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Contents

Reviews :—

COMMERCIAL RELATION BETWEEN MUSLIM SPAIN AND CHRISTIAN COUNTRIES IN THE 9th AND 10th CENTURIES

Dr. S. M. Imamuddin

We do not have books on the trade system of Medieval Spain under the Umayyads. The geographers made some references to the articles exported to foreign countries from Spain but hardly any reference to the articles imported to Spain from abroad has been made. However, historians and chroniclers came to the rescue and gave passing reference to both imports and exports. Their critical and minute study enables one to form an idea of the world-wide trade of Muslim Spain. Speaking about the commercial development of the Muslims in Spain, Colmeiro, a great economist of the middle of the 19th century, says : "In short, the Arab Spain maintains direct and very frequent commercial relations with Italy, Morocco, North Africa, Egypt, Greece and Syria and indirect one with other parts of Central Africa and several regions of Europe and Asia, without excluding India and China.[1] With the Muslim countries the Spanish Muslims themselves carried on foreign trade ; but with non-Muslim countries of Europe and Asia the trade was carried on by the Jews,[2] who were sometimes assisted by Mozarabs.[3] Henri Peres says, "The Mozarabs and the Jews played the role of middlemen between North Spain and Andalus and the Mediterranian regions, Byzantium, Baghdād and Cairo...."[4]. In the following pages a countrywise study is made of the foreign trade of Spain :—

Byzantium :—The foreign merchants were attracted to Greece by the famous fairs of Byzantium and Thessalonica and were facilitated and encouraged by favourable treaties between Greece

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1. *Historia de la Economia Politica en Espana*, Tomo I, Madrid, 1863, p. 201.
2. Musta'rab (Arabicised Christians)
3. M. J. de Goeje, Ibn Khurdādbih, Leiden, 1889, p. 153
4. *La Poesie Andalouse en arab classique au XIe siecle*, Paris, 1937, p. 327.

and foreign States, especially Italy and Spain.[5] Tufilus (Theophil) the Greek Emperor of Constantinople did not have good political relation with the 'Abbāsides of Baghdād ; specially Ma'mūn and Mu'taṣim gave him much trouble. He found an ally in the Banū Umayyah of Spain, who were the natural enemies of the House of 'Abbās and sent valuable presents to 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in 225 H. (Nov. 839-840 A. C.). In return Yaḥyā al-Ghazzāl was appointed an ambassador at his court.[6] Speaking about this friendship between Spain and Greece Vasiliev says, "The negotiations initiated by Theophile with the Venetians, Luis le Pieux, and with the Umayyads of Spain did not Produce appreciable results[7]. In 836 H. (July 947-8 A. C.) another mission was received by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III from Constantine, the Greek Emperor[8]. In the 10th century, Spain and Byzantium had enmity with North Africa. 'Abd al-Raḥmān III was an enemy of the Caliph Qā'im b. 'Ubaid Allāh of Mahdiah and occupied many of his territories through his vassals in North Africa when the Mahdian ruler had been beseiged by his rebellious Vassal Abū Yazīd. The Byzantine ruler wished to occupy Sicily, which belonged to Qā'im[9]. The Greek and Umayyad friendship continued up to the last days of the Umayyad rule in Spain. During the time of Hishām II, another Greek ambas-

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5. Boissonnade, *Life and work in Medieval Europe*, 1837, p. 52
6. This famous diplomat was born in 156 H. (773 A.C.) and died in 250 H. (864 A.C.). He was a great poet, and served five rulers of the House of Umayyah, 'Abd al-Raḥmān I to Muḥammad I. 'Abd al-Raḥmān II sent him as an ambassador to Tuda, the Norman queen.
   Al-Ḍabbī, *Kitab Tarikh Ulama' al-Andalus*, (*Biblioteca Arabigo Hispana*, Tomo III. *The Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, London, 1843, II, pp. 114-5; cf. Moro Rasis, (*Memoirs*, VIII), p. 98 & n^1.
7. A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Bruxelles, 1935, p. 17.
8. Gayangos, II, pp. 137, 140-142.
9. cf. *Histoire de l' Afrique de Mohammed-Ben-Abi-el-Kairouani*, traduit de l' arabe par E. Pallissier et Rēmusat, Paris, 1845, P. 104 quoted by Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, P. 434 n^3; cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de empire Byzantin Traduit du Russe by* P. Brodin and A. Bourguina, Paris, 1932, p. 404 ; cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, Bruxelles, 1935, pp. 185-187.

sador came with valuable presents to renew the old friendship of the early Marwānī rulers of Spain[10].

Speaking about the prosperous commerce of Byzantium, Charles Diehl says, "Due to its situation between the East and West at the head of all the commercial routes of the world, Constantinople was a great commercial centre, where the people assembled and exchanged all the products of the world ; it is calculated that in the capital alone the income from market and custom duties was 7,300,000 gold coins equivalent to more than 500 million gold coins of today"[11]. Byzantium was the meeting place of the merchants from the East and the West specially Russians, Turks, Italians, Armenians and Bulgarians[12]. The central and advantageous position of Byzantium and the friendship of the Greek emperors with the Muslim rulers of Spain might have helped Spain in having commercial relations also with Eastern Europe and North East Asia. Through this route the Spanish merchants might have also passed to Russia.

Export : Many of the articles exported to the Christian countries must have been sent to Byzantium but we have no details of these articles, which were actually sent to Byzantium[13].

Import : Horse cloths with brocade work ; marble columns and guilded basins for Zahrā' palace[14].

Italy :- The relation between Christian Italy and Muslim Spain was not cordial. Very often they were at war. In 838 A.C. the Spanish Arab fleets ravaged Marseilles[15]. Some Andalusians are known to have settled between 891 and 894 A. C. at Provence and Marseilles and later in early 10th century in the chain of the Alps where they

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10. Ibn Bassām, *Al-Dhakhirah fi Mahasin al-Jazirah*, IV/I, Cairo, 1945, P. 66.
11. *Histoire de l' Empire Byzantium*, Paris, 1934, p.121.
12. Charles Diehl, *Histoire de Moyen Age*, Tomo III, *La Monde Oriental de 395 a 1081*, Paris 1936 pp. 110, 112 ; A.A. Vasiliev, *Histoire*, Paris, 1932, p. 401
13. Cf. Gayangos, II, p. 196.
14. Maqqarī, *Azhar al-Riyad*, II, Cairo, 1359/1940, pp. 268, 270.
15. Cf. Conde, I, 1844, p. 227, Simson, Jahrbucher . . . B. II, S. 177 quoted by Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, p. 186 n[3]

remained up to 972 A. C[16]. 'Abd al-Raḥmān III of Spain and Hugues of Provence were on friendly terms, because both were enemies of the Fāṭimids. The Fāṭimid admiral, at the order of Qā'im Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad (934-945) of Mahdiah, sacked Genoa in 936 A. C[17].

According to Iṣṭakhrī, Qubrus (Cyprus) was the centre of the Muslim and Christian merchants in the 10th century.[18] It must have served as an exchange depot for goods from Italy and Spain.

Beside the commercial services of the Jews, who acted as middlemen between the merchants of Spain and Italy, this Italian and Spanish friendship in the 10th century and the settlement of the Spanish Muslim colonies in Italy helped a lot in the carrying of trade bètween the two countries. Bedarride says, "There was frequent contact between the Jews of Spain, France and Italy, specially from the time the Arabs penetrated to Gauls .... the latter (the Arabs) with difficulty left their country, while the Jews, attracted by the love for commerce or by the desire to see their brothren spread over the different regions of Spain, France and Italy and travelled over all these regions in order to settle themselves there".[19]

As early as the 9th century Spain and Italy had strong commercial relations. The laymen and the bishops of Italy used Spanish textiles as well as other materials. It is known that in the first half of the 9th century Spanish textiles with silver work were exported to Italy[20]. Gregorio de Tours and Pirenne speak about the maritime activity of the great commercial port of Marseilles.[21] Pirenne speaks about its commercial relations with Byzantine empire, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, Spain and other parts of Italy and

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16. Levi Provencal y E. Garcia Gomez, *Historia de Espana*, Madrid, 1950, t IV, pp. 355-6.
17. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 934 & n.[2]
18. Cf. Iṣṭakhrī, *Kitab Maslik al-Mamalik*, I, Leiden, 1870, p.71.
19. *Les Juifs en France en Italie et en Espagne*, Paris, 1861, Pp.93,96.
20. Cf. Migeon, *Arts Plastiques et Industriels*, 1927, Vol.II, p.320.
21. *Historia Francorum* (ed. Krusch, I,IV,[illegible],43 ;[illegible], I,V,[illegible], 5 ;I, VI,[illegible], 17, 24 ; I, IX, ff 22 quoted by Valdeavellano en *Anuario*, 1931, p. 224 n[60]; cf. Charles Diehl, *Historia*, 1934, p. 110.

adds that the Syrian and the Jewish merchants, who along with the Greeks traded in Septimania, had permanent residence in Marseilles and carried on import and export trade.[22] Previous to the 10th century when the Republics of Venice and Genoa took interest in the commercial activities of Europe, the Jews had the main share of the trade and the markets of these two towns and had amassed great wealth. One of these rich merchants was Pierre le Bone.[23] Describing the naval activity of Vanice, Latrie says, "In 971, the Senate, sanctioning the decisions of the Pope and the King prohibited their boats from transporting arms and woods for construction to Muslim countries; but authorised them to sail for Mahdiah and Tripoli with all other articles made of wood like pots, utensils, plates, porringers, stairs, walking sticks, pin for the weaver, which shows the importance of the wood work of Italy and the manufacture of cloth in East Morocco. The Duke Orseelo II (991-1009) established friendly relations with all the Arab kings of his time".[24] The same author again, speaking about the industrial development of North Africa under the Zirids in the early 11th century, says, "..... in it they refer to particularly the Italian trade, undoubtedly they sold in Africa cloth of Naples which was finer than that of the East and West and that the Venetian boats carried wooden utensils to Mahdiah and Tripoli and that our ships exchanged several kinds of commercial goods with the oil of Tripoli and purchased the oil of Sfax".[25] Through North Africa the Italian goods just mentioned above might have passed to Spain also.

In 1857 A.C. some 100 coins were discovered in the river Reno near Bologna, out of which only 39 were recovered and the remaining about 61 were lost. Among the recovered ones, 11 were 'Abbāsid dīnār, 23 Byzantine and 5 'Benventan' coins.[26] Who knows that among the lost ones some were not of Cordova mint ?

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22. Latrie, *Traites de Paix et de commerce*, Paris, 1868, pp. 11, 12n[2]
23. I. Bedarride, *Les Juifs en France en Italie et en Espagne*, Paris, 1861, p. 106.
24. *Relations et commerce de ... . . .*, Paris, 1886, p. 21, cf. Latrie *Traites de Paix et de commerce*, Paris, 1868, pp. 11-12.
25. *Relations et commerce*, Paris, 1886, p. 23.
26. Philip Grierson, *Carolingian Europe and the Arabs* in *Revue Belge de Philologie*, t. 32, no. 4, 1954, p. 1064 n[3].

Export : Silk tissues in the 9th century[27] and also many of the articles exported to Christian countries.[28]

Import : Marble columns in the 10th century from Rome for the construction of Zahrā' Palace.[29]

France : The policy of the Carolingian kings of France was to be on friendly terms with the 'Abbāsid rulers of Baghdād, the enemies of the Umayyad rulers of Cordova, and was to help the Christian petty rulers of North Spain in safeguarding their own territory from the frequent invasions of the Muslims of Spain. But in practice, except occasional wars between the two countries, they passed most of the years in peace ; for example, after the invasion of Charlemagne (d. 814 A.C.) of Saragossa in 778 A.C., there is no information of any hostilities between the two countries till the capture of Barcelona in 801 A.C. by Charlemagne who entered into the truce with Hārūn of Baghdād in 797 A.C[30]. with the motive of fighting against the Umayyads according to some, but Levi Provencal says that this was not certain.[31] A little later about 807 A.C. he was again on friendly terms with al-Ḥakam I (796-821 A.C.).[32] But from the same year hostilities started and Charlemagne is found concluding peace with Idrīs I of Morocco in order to keep the Umayyads isolated.[33] Charlemagne sent an ambassador to Hārūn and another to Idrisid ruler of Morocco. In return Hārūn sent his own men on friendly mission with gifts of luxury and rare articles in 807 A.C[34]. Carlos el Calvo was on good terms with the 'Abbāsid Caliph

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27. Migeon, *Arts Plastiques et Industriels*, II, 1927, p. 320.
28. Cf. Gayangos, II, p. 196.
29. Ibn 'Idhārī MarrāKushī, *Al-Bayan al-Maghrib fi Akhbar al-Maghrib* Leiden, 1851, II, p. 246 ; *Azhar*, II, pp.268, 270.
30. H. Pigeonneau, *Histoire du commerce de la France*, t. I, p. 73 n[1] ; *Annales Francorum*, annes 801 ann 802.
31. Emilio Garcia Gomez, *Historia de Espana*, t. IV, p. 79.
32. Emilio Garcia Gomez, *Historia de Espana*, t. IV, pp.79 & 117.
33. Emilio Garcia Gomez, *Historia de Espana*, t. IV, p.117 ; cf.H. Pigeonneau, *Histoire du commerce de la France*, I, Paris, 1885, pp. 69-70.
34. Annales Francorum, annee 807 quoted by H. Pigeonneau, *Histoire du commerce de la France*, t. I, p. 73 n[1] ; cf. Latrie, *Traites de Paix et de commerce*, Paris, 1868, p. 18 : Latrie, *Relations et commerce* , Paris, 1886, pp. 20-21,

of Baghdād, while he fought against the Umayyads of Spain. But soon truce was concluded between the Carolingian king and the Umayyad Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān II. Two ambassadors of the latter are reported to have been in the court of the former.[35] After 947 A.C. Ukoh (Hugo) the king of the Franks beyond the Albert (Pyrenees) mountain (North Western France) and Kaldoh (Charles the Simple) king of South Eastern France sent embassies to 'Abd al-Raḥmān III.[36]

The exchange of embassies of France with 'Irāq and Morocco must have facilitated the trade and commerce between France and these Muslim countries. The relations of Muslim Spain with France were not always cordial but with Germany they were always happy and the trade caravans of the Spanish Jews passed through France to Germany in order to convey Spanish goods. On their way to Germany, these caravans must have been unburdening their loads and selling their goods to the French. On the way back, these Jews, who had many colonies in the Frankish Empire, bought slaves for the Muslim lords of Spain from the world famous market of Verdun. The Christian of Cataluna, Castile etc. did not have their own industries for article of luxury and had to depend on the Andalusian goods in peace and war. In spite of the frequent hostility between the two parts of Spain, Muslim goods passed to Christian hands and they might have been transferring these goods to their allies in France. When at peace, both Christians and Muslims traded with each other along with the Jews, who carried on the trade alone, when they were at war. Sanchez Albornoz speaks of the trade monopoly of the Muslims and the French in Christian Spain and the Jews as the middlemen.[37] E. Levasseur speaks about the patronage of the Jews by Charlemagne of France[38] and says, "The Jews gathered in certain towns specially in Languedoc in order to carry on trade and moneylending business. They served under Charlemagne. After the Muslim conquest, which closed the markets of Asia and Africa to the Christians, the Jews played the parts of middlemen and carri-

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35. Emilio Garcia Gomez, *Historia de Espana*, t. IV, p. 142.
36. Gayangos, II, pp. 139, 464 n[17].
37. *La primitiva organizacion monetaria de Leon y castilla* in *Anuario de Historia del Derecho espanol*, Tomo V, Mardrid, 1928, p. 310.
38. *Histoire du commerce de la France*, Paris, 1911, p.39.

ed on trade between Europe and these regions".[39] The Jews were also patronized by the Muslim and Christian rulers of Spain. Thus they carried on trade smoothly between the two wings of Spain and France. Bedarride speaks about the commercial relation between the Jews of Spain, France and Italy mentioned above[40]. So in spite of the occasional rivalry between Andalusia and France, Andalusian goods always reached French people and vice versa through these different sources in which the two hostile states had no hands ; but everything went on with their knowledge.

In the middle of the 9th century, when due to the want of peace in the country trade and commerce suffered, we have three historical incidents, which throw light on the commercial and cultural relations between Spain and France. Bodo, son of German parents, was brought up and educated as a Christian in France and became deacon of the Palace of the Emperor Ludovico Pio. In 837 A.C. he went to Rome on pilgrimage, but in the following year he accepted Judaism, married a Jewish wife and adopted another name, that of Elcazaro. He escaped from the Empire of Ludovico Pio with some Jews, came to Saragossa in the middle of August 939 and later passed to Cordova[41]. Eulogio had three brothers. The youngest Joseph by name held an important post under the government of Cordova and the other two followed commercial pursuits[42]. These were Alvaro and Isidoro. In order to carry on foreign trade, they went out of Spain. For long Eulogio did not hear from them, so he left Cordova for France in search of them in 848 in the company of a deacon called Teodemundo. When he reached Cataluna he found it difficult to enter France through that route, because the Count of Barcelona in alliance with the Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān II of Cordova, was at war with Carlos el Calvo, king of France. He passed on to Navarre on his way to France but there also he failed because the King of Navarre was also on war with the King of France. Being disappointed he visited Pamplona and returned to Saragossa" on hearing that from the other side of France some merchants had

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39. Ibid, Ibid, p. 40.
40. *Les Juifs*, Paris, 1861, pp. 93, 96.
41. *Espana Sagrada*, XI, Madrid, MDCCLIII, pp. 20-21 ; cf. *Espana Sagrada*, X, P. 577 Apendice VIII Anales Bertinianos.
42. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, 273.

arrived. From the merchants he came to know that they had met his brothers in Maguncia". From Saragossa he returned to Cordova via Siguenza, Compluto and Toledo[43]. During the time of Carlos el Calvo, ruler of France, Hilduino the abbot of the monastry of San German of the Prados near Paris, sent Usuardo and Odilardo to bring the relics of San Vicente of Valencia in 858 A.C. When they came to Barcelona, its count Hunfrido gave them a letter of recommendation in the name of 'Abd al-Bar, governor of Saragossa for safe conduct on their journey. The journey between Saragossa and Cordova had become very dangerous and for eight years no caravan had passed by the roads between these two towns. Fortunately some Saragossan travellers started for Cordova at that time. In their company the French monks reached Cordova safely on the 15th of March, 858. After a stay of 56 days in Cordova they followed the army of Muḥammad I sent against the rebels of Toledo on the 11th of May. From Toledo via Compluto they went to Saragossa and from there via Barcelona they returned to France[44].

In a French document of the 11th century mention was made of Cordovan merchants and the shoe-makers were called cordonniers[45]. This trade in leather was carried on with Verdun even in the 9th century.[46] Sabbe, who has made a deep study of the types of merchants in the 9th & 10th centuries, has shown a close commercial connection of Verdun with Spain. The author says, "Towards the years 861-879 the monks of St. Bertin met on their way to Rome some merchants (of Verdun) returning from Spain. A century after Liutprand of Cremone, who had been sent to Constantinople on mission by Otto I in 949 A.C., informs us that the inhabitants of Verdun carried on trade in eunuch with Spain.....In 953 a person of Verdun, who knew Spain well, served as guide to Jean of Gorze, who had been sent on mission to the Khalīfah of Cordova 'Abd al-Raḥmān III by Otto I. This guide was probably a merchant and had carried on trade with the Iberian Peninsula. These three texts, one of the second half of the 9th century and the other

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43. F. J. Simonet, *Historia de los Mazarabes de Espana*, Madrid, 1897-1903, pp. 383-384.
44. Simonet, *Historia*, pp. 477, 479 ; Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, pp. 302-304.
45. Levasseur, *Histoire*, I, p. 34.
46. *Revue Belge*, XIII, 1934, p. 184 n⁵.

two of the middle of the 10th century, speak of the commercial relations between Verdun and Spain. The Miracula of St. Bertini speaks to us about the merchants of Verdun travelling in group in the 9th century. Similarly slave merchants, mentioned by Luitprand, travelled undoubtedly in considerable number in order to prevent their prisoners from fleeing"[47].

This commercial relation between Spain and France is further confirmed by the find of French coins in Andalusia and the Andalusian ones in France. A hidden treasure of some Arab dirhams with some Carolingian silver coins of the middle of the 9th century, one of Charlemagne and six of his son Luis Ludovico Pio, kings of France, were found recently in Cordova and are preserved in the local Archaeological Museum.[48] 'Arab coins appear to have been in circulation in France, and in order to drive them out of market, Charlemagne made necessary reform in the coinage system of the country.[49] It is true that the 'Abbāsids were friends and the Ummayyads were enemies of Charlemagne but 'Irāq is far away from France and Spain. We know that the Christian States of North Spain had no coins of their own for long and the Andalusian coins were freely circulated in their territories. So there is every possibility that the 'Arab coins, which were in circulation in France, were Umayyad coins of Cordova and had passed there through the channel of Cataluna. Philip Grierson

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47. Miracula S. Bertini, AA. SS. BB., Sept. III, p. 597, c.9. cf. F. Rousseau, *la Meuse et le Pays Mosan* in *Belgique*, Namur, 1930 p. 72, n 1 et 2 ; Liutprand Antapodosis, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, p. 155 ; Johannis Gorziensis, MM. GG. SS. IV, p. 369 all quoted by Et. Sabbe in *Revue Belge*, 1934, p. 183 n 1, 2, 3, 4.

48. The author is grateful to his own teacher Sr. Navascues, Director of the Archaeological Museum of Madrid, for the information of this finding and to the Director of the Archaeological Museum of Cordova for the short details supplied by him.

49. Cf. H. Pigeonneau, *Histoire du commerce de la France*, t. I, Paris, 1885, pp. 86-87 ; cf. also W· Cunningham, *An Essay on Western civilisation in its economic aspects*, Cambridge, 1923, p. 50 and n³.

suggests the penetration of Spanish 'Arab coins to France.[50]

Export : Fine leather and leather goods of Cordova from the 9th century ;[51] oil and lead[52] and perhaps luxury goods including cloth[53] and also many other goods.

Import : Slaves and eunuchs ;[54] lances ;[55] European javelins and European helmets of wood were presented to al-Ḥakam II by his prime minister Ja'far[56]—These might have been imported from France— ; Capa francisca[57] (French mantles), tazas franciscas (French pots and bowls).[58]

Northern Europe : In the 10th century there was an exchange of embassies between Muslim Spain and the Christian countries of Germany, Provence and Italy.[59] During the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (912-961 A.C.) of Cordova and Oton I (Otto the Great 938-973 A. C.) of Germany there was an exchange of missions between Spain and Germany. The Slavonian king Dẖūqū (Dux) and the German Emperor Otto sent embassies to Abd al-Raḥmān III after 947 A.C. They were hospitably received and in return Rabi the Bishop was ordered to accompany them.[60] This must have facilitated the commercial relations between the two countries. The Andalusian jews must have their pockets in

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50. Cf. *Revue Belge*, 1954, p. 1064.
51. E. Levasseur, *Histoire du commerce de la France*, I, p. 34.
52. E. Levasseur, *Histoire*, I, p. 39.
53. Pariset *Histoire de la soie*, Paris, 1862-1865, pp. 225-226 quoted by Et. Sabbe in *Revue Belge*, XIII, 1934, p. 124 n[4].
54. Gayangos, I, pp. 76, 380 n[14] ; Reinaud, *Invasion des Sarrasins en France*, p. 236 ; Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 430 ; Et. Sabbe, *Quelques types de marchands des IX et X siecles* in *Revue Belge*, XIII 1934, p. 184 n[3].
55. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Kitab A'mal al-A'lam*, II, Ribat, 1353/1934, p.118.
56. Gayangos, II, p. 158.
57. Sanchez Albornoz, *Estampas de la vida en leon durante el singlo X*, Madrid, 1926, pp.55 n[30] (referring to a document of 1003 A.C.) p. 187.
58. *Estampas*, pp. 55 n[30] (referring to a document of 938 and to another of 942 A.C.)
59. Emilio Garcia Gomez, *Historia de Espana*, t. IV, p. 345.
60. Gayangos, II, 139 ; cf. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum ordinis*

Kegensburg and Mainz, which were among the great commercial centres of Germany in the Dark Ages. In the latter town of Germany, which had been destroyed in 886 A.C., by the Vikings but repaired shortly by the Archbishop Hatto (891-914 A.C.) the Arab coins were well known and called 'Urbs nobilis' and 'opulenta' as we learn from a German text of 953 A.C.[61]

M. Lombard and Mouneret de Villard are of opinion that there had been trade relation between Western Europe and the Muslim East. By exporting slaves and raw materials from the 8th & 9th centuries onwards, Western Europe got in abundance 'Arab gold coins (dīnārs), which the Europeans called Mancus. They also imported goods like spices and luxury articles from the Muslim and Byzantine East, for which they made payment in gold ; but her trade balance was always in surplus so a sufficient proportion of 'Arab dīnārs remained in the West to play later a considerable part in her economic development.[62]

In the hoards of coin discovered in the Eastern and Northern Europe according to Philip Grierson an enormous number of 'Arab dirham have been found.[63] Sture Bolin is of opinion that Arab dirhams were also imported to the West.[64] But Philip

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Sancti Benedicti, Vol. V, p. 404 ; M. Romey, *Histoire d'Espagne*, III, p. 214, and Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrasins en France*, p. 187 quoted by Gayangos, II, p. 464 n[18] ; Juan de Gortz, *Embajada del emperador de Alemania oton I a califa de Cordova Abderrahman III*, Madrid, 1872, pp. 16-18, 70-72 ; Et. Sabbe, *Quelques types de marchands des IX et X siecles* in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d 'histoire*, Tomo, XIII, Bruxelles, 1934, p. 183 n[4].

61. H. Planitz, Fuhgeschichte der deutschen Stadt IX-XI Js., Sonderdruck aus der Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte (1943), XIII and Sabbe, op. cit. quoted by J. Lestocquoy, *The Tenth century* in *The Economic History Revue*, 1947, p. 8 n[2].

62. Cf. Philip Grierson, *Carolingian Europe and the Arabs* in *Revue Belge de Philologie et D' Histoire*, t. XXXII, no. 4, 1954, p. 1074 and p. 1059 n[2].

63. Philip Grierson, (*Revue Belge*, 1954, p. 1074 n[1]).

64. *Mohammed, Charlemagne and Ruric* (*Scandinavian Economic History Review*, t. I, 1953, pp. 5-39 quoted by Philip Grierson in *Revue Belge* p. 1074 n[1].

Grierson is against the opinion of the importation of gold and silver coins to the West in the Dark Ages and adds that the mancus was not the name of the 'Arab dīnār in the West.[65]

Philip Grierson also says that the data available to him do not suggest the wide use of gold in Germany and France and adds further that the 'Arab gold like the Byzantine one was very rare in France, where coin from Spain would have easily penetrated.[66] Speaking about the import and export of Western Europe in the early middle ages Sabbe says, "These merchants carried on trade of slaves with Spain. Probably they imported also from there articles of luxury, very much appreciated by the noble of the period and the leather of Cordova of the import of which in the 9th century we have evidence".[67]

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65. Philip Grierson, (*Revue Belge*, 1954, p. 1074).
66. Ibid, ibid., p. 1064.
67. *Quelques types de marchands des IX et X siecles* in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d' histoire*, XIII, 1934, p. 184 n 3 4 and 5.

IBN AL-IMĀM, THE DISCIPLE OF IBN BĀJJAH

By Dr. Muḥammad Ṣaghīr Ḥasan al-Ma'ṣūmi

Al-Wazīr Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abdul 'Azīz ibn al-Imām al-Anṣāri born in Saragossa and settled at Granada was a distinguished vizir of the Moravide ruler of Granada al-Amīr Abū Ṭāhīr Tamīm ibn Yousuf ibn Tāshfīn. He also acted as a Secretary to al-Amīr 'Alī ibn Yousuf, brother of the foregoing who reigned 500/1143.

Ibn al-Imām was most devoted to and a great friend of his teacher Ibn Bājjah whose importance lies in the fact that he preserved the writings of his great teacher in an anthology to which he added an introduction from himself. That Ibn Bājjah was very fond of his disciple, the vizir, is apparent from the proem of his letters addressed to Ibn al-Imām available in the anthology referred to preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Foll. 128A, 213A).

Mr.D.M. Dunlop of Cambridge has thrown a considerable light on the biography of Ibn al-Imām and has translated passages from al-'Iḥāṭah of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and the Oxford manuscript of the works of Ibn Bājjah, in his paper published in the Islamic Quarterly, London, Vol. ii. No. 2 entitled "Philosophical Predecessors and Contemporaries of Ibn Bājjah". Since Mr. Dunlop has doubted the statement of Ibn al-Imām concerning the history of the development of philosophy in the period preceding that of Ibn Bājjah, I propose in the following lines to re-examine the statement of Ibn al-Imām in the light of the historical data related to the period concerned. Mr. Dunlop says :

"Ibn al-Imām says in effect that after the first introduction of philosophical books into Spain in the 4/10th century no real advance was made till Ibn Bājjah's time, and then principally by Ibn Bājja himself. Of the other Spanish philosophers up to this time he mentions only Ibn Ḥazm and Mālik ibn Wuhayb, both of whom are here compared unfavourably with Ibn Bājjah. The work of Ibn Ḥazm is now well known, thanks in large measure to the late Miguel Asin Palacios".

Let us now turn to the statement of Ibn al- Imām which is incorporated in the prelude to his collection of the works of Ibn

Bājjah, a large portion of which has been quoted by Ibn Abī 'Uṣaybi'ah in his famous Ṭabaqāt :

هذا مجموع ما قيد من اقاويل ابى بكر فى العلوم الفلسفية، و كان فى ثقابة الذهن و لطف الغوص على تلك المعانى الجليلة الشريفة الدقيقة اعجوبة دهره، و نادرة الفلك فى زمانه، فان هذه الكتب الفلسفية كانت متداولة ببلاد الاندلس فى زمان الحكم مستجليها و مستجلب غرايب ما صنف بالمشرق، و نقل من كتب الاوائل وغيرها نضر الله وجهه، و تردد النظر فيها، فما انتهج لناظر قبله سبيل و ما تقيد عنهم فيها الا ضلالات و تبديل، كما تعددعن ابن حزم الاشبيلى و كان من اجل نظار زمنه، و اكثرهم لم يقدم على اثبات شئ من خواطره، و كان احسن منه نظرا و اثقب لنفسه تمييزا، و انماانتجهت سبل النظر فى هذه العلوم بهذا الحبر و بملك بن وهيب الاشبيلى فانهما كانا متعاصرين غيران ملكا لم يتقيد عنه ؟ الاقليل نزر فى اوايل الصناعة الذهنية ثم اضرب الرجل عن النظر ظاهرا فى هذه العلوم و عن التكلم فيها لما لحقه من المطالبات فى دمه بسببها و لقصده الغلبة فى جميع محاوراته، فى فنون المعارف و اقبل على العلوم الشرعية فرأس فيها او زاحم ذلك لكنه لم يكن يلوح على اقواله ضياء هذه المعارف و لا قيد فيها باطنا شيئا ألفى بعد موته.

واما ابو بكر رحمه الله فنهضت به فطرته الفايقة و لم يدع النظر و التنتيج و التقييد لكل ما ارتسمت حقيقته فى نفسه على اطوار احواله و كيف ما تصرف به زمنه.

"This is a collection which contains the sayings of Abu Bakr concerning the philosophical sciences. In penetration of mind and acute examination of these exalted, noble and abstruse ideas (of philosophy) he was the wonder of his age and the marvel of the sky in his time. For the philosophical books were current in Spa-

nish cities in the time of al-Ḥakam (i.e. al-Ḥakam II, 350/961-366/976), who had had them made clear (Mr. Dunlop reads: مستجليها, their importers.) and had imported the rare works composed in the East. He (i.e. Ibn Bājjah and not al-Ḥakam as Mr. Dunlop understands.) transcribed the books of the ancients and others—may Allah make his face bright—and repeated his investigation into these works. But the way was not opened to any investigator before him (Ibn Bājjah). Nor was anything except errors and alteration recorded concerning these sciences from the ancients. A number of errors, for instance, was committed by Ibn Ḥazm who was one of the most exalted investigators of his time while most of them had not ventured to record his thoughts. Ibn Bājjah was superior to Ibn Ḥazm (Mr. Dunlop translates 'their superior'.) in investigation and more penetrating in making distinctions. The ways of investigation in these sciences were opened only to this scholar (Ibn Bajjah) and to Mālik ibn Wuhayb of Seville. Both of whom were contemporaries. But except a small amount on the principles of Logic nothing was recorded from Mālik. Then, he gave up investigating these sciences and speaking about them openly, because of the attempts made on his life due to his discussing philosophical sciences, and due to the fact that he aimed at victory in all his conferences on scientific subjects. He turned to religious sciences and became the leader in his subjects, or nearly so ; but the light of this kind of philosophical knowledge did not shine upon his expressions, nor did he record in philosophy anything of a private nature to be found after his death. As for Abu Bakr—may Allah show him Mercy—, his superior nature stirred him as not to give up investigating, inferring and recording all that had left its real impression on his mind on various occasions and alteration of his time."

Now, the words of Ibn al-Imām quite clearly appreciate the merits of the contemporary Mālik, and the predecessors like Ibn Ḥazm. His expression is so precise and lucid that we cannot charge him of comparing Ibn Ḥazm to his teacher unfavourably by preferring the latter to the former. Ibn al-Imām admits the scholarship of Ibn Ḥazm, singles him out of the preceding thinkers for his vast knowledge, profound learning and rare scholarship. His expression: وكان من أجل نظار زمنه 'he was one of the great investigators of his time', itself bears out my contention. What Ibn al-Imām wants to state is the fact that all those who

preceded Ibn Bājjah were not expert in philosophical sciences. Ibn Ḥazm was however an exception who had some insight into philosophy but his knowledge was not free from defect. This statement of Ibn al-Imām is not actually a criticism of the foregoing thinkers coming from Ibn al-Imām himself, as has been understood by Mr. Dunlop. In fact, the text of Ibn al-Imām presents the prevailing contemporary view regarding the preceding Spanish thinkers, as will be revealed in the following lines.

Undoubtedly Ibn Ḥazm occupies a very high place in Theology and other religious sciences. His kitāb al-Fiṣal fi'l-Milal wa'n-Niḥal is unique in so far as he has recorded the creeds and doctrines of the Christians, Jews and others without displaying any prejudice. But in the domain of Philosophy he is never mentioned by any Spanish scholar side by side with Ibn Bājjah, Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn Rushd. On the contrary, Maqqari records:

قال ابن حبان وغيره كان ابن حزم صاحب حديث وفقه وجدل، وله كتب كثيرة فى المنطق والفلسفة ولم يخل فيها من غلط.

"Ibn Ḥabbān and others say, Ibn Ḥazm was a man of Ḥadīṭh, Jurisprudence and polemics. He has many books on Logic and philosophy in which he did not escape errors" (Nafḥ. Vol. I p. 358).

A free-thinking, religious-minded Mujtahid as he is, Ibn Ḥazm, unlike philosophers, does not always look into Greek thoughts with favour and concordance. As a matter of fact, he criticised bitterly the Aristotelian Logic in his voluminous book on Logic. This book offers many logical propositions that have found place in Modern Logic. A rare manuscript of this book exists in the Bodleian Library which would, when published, throw considerable light on the fact as to how much Imām Ibn Taymiyyah, the famous reformer of the Eighth century of the Hijrah era was influenced by it in his Kitāb al-Radd 'Ala'l-Manṭiqiyyīn—a work which anticipated many principles of Modern Logic.

Coming back to the statement of Ibn al-Imām, we can safely justify his praise of his teacher which has been shared by a number of historians. Ibn Ṭufayl, the famous author of the well known philosophical romance of Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān, and a younger contemporary of Ibn Bājjah also singles out Ibn Bājjah in the introduction of his immortal romance, and describes

him as follows : ولم يكن فيهم اثقب ذهنا ولا اصح نظرا ولا اصدق روية من ابى بكر الصائغ "But there possessed none of them more penetrative a mind, more accurate a view or more truthful sight than Abu Bakar Ibn al-Ṣā'igh". That is to say, the remark of Ibn Ṭufayl concurs with that of Ibn al-Imām, who cannot, therefore, be charged of showing undue favour to his teacher while comparing him with others. Moreover, al-Shaqandi (d.629/1231) in his famous letter in which he enumerates the achievements of the Spanish Muslims as againist the Africans challenges the latter by saying : (Nafḥ, Vol. II p. 141) وهل لكم فى علم الالحون والفلسفة كابن باجه "Have you anybody among yourselves like Ibn Bājjah in Music and Philosophy" ? Maqqari records the following statement also : واما كتب علم الموسيقى فكتاب ابى بكر بن باجة الغرناطى فى ذلك فيه كفاية ، وهو فى المغرب منزلة ابى نصر الفارابى فى المشرق

"As for the books on Music, the book of Ibn Bājjah of Granada is sufficient by itself. He occupies in the West the place of Abu' Naṣr al-Fārābi in the East" (Maqqari: Nafḥ Vol. II. p. 137).

Ibn al-Imām further showers his encomium on his beloved teacher in the following words (Bodl. Ms Fol. 4A) :

ويشبه انه لم يكن بعد ابى نصر الفارابى مثله فى الفنون التى تكلم عليها من تلك العلوم فانه اذا قرنت اقاويله فيها باقاويل ابن سينا والغزالى وهما اللذان فتح عليهما بعد ابى نصر فى المشرق فى فهم تلك العلوم ودوّنا فيها بان لك الرجحان فى اقاويله وفى حسن فهمه لاقاويل ارسطو والثلاثة ايمة دون ريب واتون ما جاء به من قبلهم من بارع الحكمة عن يقين يمتاز به اقاويلهم ويتواردون فيها مع السلف الكريم —

"It so appears that after Abu Naṣr al-Fārābi there was no man like Ibn Bājjah for the elevated manner in which he wrote and spoke on those sciences ; for if you establish a comparison between his writings and those of Ibn Sina, and al-Ghazzāli, the two authors most promoted the study of that science in the East after al-Fārābi, you will find the balance inclining rather on the side of Ibn Bājjah, especially if you bear in mind the

clearness and beauty of his expression and his aptitude in penetrating the writings of Aristotle. Of these, however, there can be no doubt that the two above mentioned philosophers were, together with Ibn Bājjah, those who united in themselves all the learning and all the talent of their predecessors, distinguishing themselves by the clearness of their dissertaions, and competing in their works with the most celebrated philosophers of antiquity."

Even a poet of the period paid tribute to the scholarship of Ibn Bājjah and said (Bodl. Ms Fol. 4B) :

عد عن البحر واهواله والبر ما يحو يه من معجب
إن شئت ان ترقى محل العلا فا طلب ولا تضجر من مطلب
هذا ابو بكر له حكمة بينها فى مذهب مذهب
اظهر للناس بها اية كأ نها معجزة من نبى
ولم تر الاعين من قبله شمسا بدت تطلع من مغرب

"Pass along the ocean and its dreadful swells, and the land which contains wonders.

If you desire to achieve a high place, strive for it and do not get annoyed with any object.

This is Abu Bakr who possesses wisdom which he explained in golden letters.

Through his science he has rcvealed a wonder as though it were a miracle from a prophet.

The eyes never saw before him a sun rising from the West."

That Ibn Bājjah had a great respect for his disciple, Ibn al-Imām, is manifest from his expression in the letters addressed to the vizier :

علمى بفضيلتك الفكر ية والخاقية لا اجد معه الى مخالفة
ارائك سبيلا لتكون سوُع عشرة اوضن بعلوم وكِلاهما شرارة .

"My knowledge of your intellectual and moral excellence prevents me opposing your wish—which would be a sin against friendship or a witholding of information, and both are bad things". (Fol.213A)

The last letter written by the teacher, as the scribe states, begins with the following: (Fol.128A)

استد يم الله للوزير الا جل ما وهبه من الجلا ل والفضل
وطلب الحقايق فى العـلم .

"I pray to Allah to prolong for the exalted vizier exaltation, excellence and search for truth in knowledge, and all that Allah has bestowed on him".

It is clear from a passage quoted below that Ibn al-Imām studied philosophy and discussed scientific problems with Ibn Bājjah during the period when the former was holding a high post (working as a secretary or vizier) at Seville and at Granada. After the death of Ibn Bājjah Ibn al-Imam left Spain and travelled to Egypt. He settled at Qūṣ where his student Qāḍi Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abi al-Naḍr transcribed the Bodleian copy (Pocock 206) from the one written by Ibn al-Imām who had in his possession an original copy in the handwriting of Ibn Bājjah himself. This is uderstood from a note available in the Bodleian MS (Pocock 206) which also indicates that Ibn al-Imam was alive when the Bodleian copy was transcribed as has rightly been understood by Mr. Dunlop. As the note referred to above is informative, I propose to reproduce it here :

وحيث انتهيت الى مثل هذا الموضع من الاصل وجدت ما مثاله :
قابلت بجميع ما فى هذا الجزء جميع الاصل المنقول منه وهو بخط الشيخ العالم الورع الزاهد البر العدل التقى عصمة الاخيار وصفوة الابرار السيد الوزير ابى الحسن بن عبد العزيز بن الامام السرقسطى وهو ينظر فى اصله المخبوء به من يد فريد دهره وبشير عصره ونادرة الفلك فى زمانه ابى بكر محمد بن يحيى بن الصايغ المعروف بابن باجه قرائته بقرائته على المصنف باشبيلية والعزيز المذكور — ادام الله عزه — يومئذ عامل عليها، ومستاد لخراجها وما اضيف من العمل اليها، وكان فراغ الوزير ادام الله عزه من قرائته هذا الجزء عليه فى تاريخ اخرة اليوم الخامس عشر من شهر رمضان سنة

ثليثن وخمس مائة وكتب الحسن بن محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن النضر بقوص فى شهر ربيع الاخر سنة سبع واربعين وخمسما ية ،

"And when I reached the corresponding place in the original, I found what is here reproduced. I compared with all that is in this part the original from which it is copied. It is in the handwriting of the Shaykh, the learned, the devout, the abstinent, the beneficent, the just, the pious, the protection of the good, the choicest, the beneficent, the Sayyid, the vizier Abul Ḥasan ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Imām of Saragossa, and he looked into his original copy in the handwriting of the unique of his age, the rarity of his period, and the portent in the sky of his time Abu Bakar Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥya ibn al-Ṣā'igh, known as Ibn Bajjah, reading lesson by lesson with the author in Seville, and the above-mentioned great man (Ibn al-Imam)—may God prolong his greatness—was at that time "Amil" (Governor) of Seville and the collector of the Kharaj of the city and its adjoining province. The vizier—may Allah prolong his greatness—finished the reading of this part with the author at the end of the Fifteenth day of the month of Ramaḍān in the year 530/1152. And al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Naḍr wrote at Qūṣ in Rabi'II,A.H.547. (Fol.120A)".

This passage leaves no ground for surmising that Ibn Bājjah might have owed to Ibn al-Imām for his career in the court in the same way as Idn Rushd was introduced to the royal court by Ibn Ṭufayl[1], since the passage indicates clearly that Ibn al-Imām finished his study with Ibn Bājjah in 530 A.H. i.e. nearly two years before the latter met his tragic death or for that matter towards the end of his career when he already enjoyed the favour of the court and was therefore secretly poisoned.

Ibn al-Imām left the territory of the Almoravides because of political reasons or perhaps on account of the enmity between his teacher and the famous physician of the period, Ibn Zuhr, which resulted in the death of his beloved teacher. This can be easily inferred from a couple of verses which Ibn al-Imām composed expressing his annoyance and disgust with Marrākush: (Nafḥ al-Ṭib, Vol. II p. 350):

(1) Cf. Islamic Quarterly, II. 2.

ياحضرة الملك ما اشهاك لى وطنا لولاضروب بلاء فيك مصبوب
ما زعاق وجو كله كدر واكلة من بذنجان ابن معتوب

"O the excellent land! how coveted a native land you would have been had there not flowed various calamity within you! (But this land possesses) saline water, entirely gloomy horizon, and the morsel of egg-plant prepared by Ibn Ma'tūb".

Ibn Ma'tub is the slave of Ibn Zuhr who under the instruction of his master, as is generally believed, poisoned Ibn Bājjah in an egg-plant.

Ibn al-Imām died at Qūṣ sometimes after A. H. 547.

THE ARAB GEOGRAPHER YĀQŪT AL-RŪMI

Mr. KHANDKAR M. 'ABDUR RAHMAN

Abū 'Abdillāh Yāqūt b. 'Abdillah al-Rūmī al-Ḥamawī al-Baghdādī, Muslim travellor and one of the greatest Muslim Geographers was born in Rūm (in Asia Minor) of Greek parents, in 575/1172 A.D. He was taken captive in his boyhood and was sold as a slave to one 'Askar b. Abī Naṣr Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamawī, a merchant in the capital of the Caliph. His master, who had settled in Baghdād and who did not know writing himself, sent Yāqūt to a boys-school and gave him a good education so that he might utilise Yāqūt in keeping account of his merchandise. When Yāqūt grew up 'Askar employed him to carry on trading expeditions. Very often he used to visit *Kaysh*, an island in the Persian Gulf, 'Umān and Syria. An estrangement, however, arose between him and his master in 596/1129 and as a result, he was manumitted and driven away. Yāqūt then began to earn his livelihood by copying manuscripts. It was during this period that he attended the lectures of Abu'l-Baqā' Ābdullāh b. al-Ḥusain al-'Ukbari, the famous grammarian (535-616A. H.). After sometime he was, however, reconciled and his old master recieved him back and sent him to *Kaysh* on a trading expedition. When Yāqūt returned from this expedition, his master had died. He gave a portion of what was with him to the wife and children of his master and kept a portion for himself which he made his capital. He settled in Baghdād and with this capital he started a trade in books. This was a turning point in the life of Yāqūt. Unlike ordinary book-sellers he did not remain satisfied with the buying and selling of books but he utilised fully the opportunity that book-trade offered him in quenching his thirst for knowledge by going through books. Unfortunately in the course of this he read a large number of books of the Khārjites and imbibed strong anti-'Alid ideas and views. In 613/1216 he went to Damascus and, sittingin in a market place, he entered into a debate with a partisan of Ḥaḍrat Alī. In the course of his debate he used words blasphemous to Ḥaḍrat 'Ali. At this the people there became so excited that they were about to kill him. Anyhow he managed to escape and save his life. The report of the incident reached the Governor who sent for him, but Yāqūt had already fled from

Damascus. Ever afraid of his life, he reached Aleppo ; but finding no safety there, he fled to Erbel and thence to Khurāsān. He avoided entering Baghdad where he had settled, as the man with whom he had debated was a Baghdadi, and he was afraid that the story might have been carried to Baghdād. When he reached Khurāsān, he carried on trade in that land and then settled in Marv al-Shāhijān for a time. It was during his stay at Marv that he first conceived the plan of writing a geographical dictionary. For this purpose he ransacked the rich libraries at Marv and gathered materials for his principal books. At the end of 615/1218 he left his studious retirement and visited Khwārizm but unlucky as he was, his entry into Khwārizm in 616/1219 coincided with the eruption of the Tartars under Chengiz Khān, the scourge of God, and he fled from there with his life as destitute as 'he would be when raised from his grave on the Day of Resurrection'. (فانهزم بنفسه كبعثه يوم الحشر من رمسه). When he reached Mawṣil (Moşul) in 617/1220, he wrote a long letter to Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Ali b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Qifṭī, the Vizir of the ruler of Aleppo. The letter is a beautiful piece of literature. After a long eulogy to the Vizir, he described in it his privations and sufferings and his continuous struggle for the very existence of his life. Then he described how after reaching Marv he found his peace of mind and engrossed himself in studying the books in the rich libraries of Marv forgetful of everything in this world, even his kith and kin and the nearest and dearest ones. The letter ended with a vivid and picturesque portrait of the land and people of Khurāsān and the havoc that was wrought by the Tartar hordes.

After a stay of two years in Mawṣil he joined al-Qifṭi in Aleppo in 619/1222. Again he returned to Mawṣil in 621/1224, and completed the first draft of his Geographical Dictionary. But his restless spirit did not allow him to stay there for a long time. At the end of the same year he went to Egypt and after a stay of about five years he returned to Aleppo in 625/1228 and had just put the finishing touches of his Geographical compilation when he died on the 20th Ramaḍān 626/20th August 1229 in a hotel outside the city of Aleppo where he resided. Before his death he had made an endowment of his books to the Zaidī mosque on the Dīnār Road in Baghdād and handed them over to 'Izzuddīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Ali b. al-Athir, the famous historian, who sent them to the Mosque.

Like many other famous authors. Yāqūt's merit was not known when he was alive, but after his death, all on a sudden, he became famous. The reason is that Yāqūt never allowed his priceless books, the fruit of his lifelong toil and experience, to be read or to be dictated or copied by others. The bar being removed by his death his works became known to and studied by the people. Soon his merit and wotṛth were recognised and he became known all over the Muslim world.

His compilations are :—

1) ارشاد الاريب الى معرفة الا د يب او ارشاد الالباء الى معرفة الا د باء
2) معجم البلدان
3) المشترك وضعا والمفترق (المختلف) صقعا
4) المقتضب فى النسب
5) كتاب المبدأ والمآل فى التاريخ
6) كتاب الـدول
7) كتاب اخبار المتنبى
8) كتاب أخبار الشعراء المتاخرين والقد ماء
9) معجم الا د باء
10) معجم الشعراء
11) كتاب عنوان الا غا نى
12) مجموع كلام ابى على الفارسى
13) اخبار أهل الملل و قصص النحل فى مقالات اهل الا سلام

Of his books only (1) Irshād al-Arīb ilā Ma'rifat al-Adīb (Edited Margoliouth 1909-16, Gibb Memorial Series, & Dr Aḥmad Farīd Rifā'ī in 20 Vols. under the name Mu'jam al'-Udabā), (2) Mu'jam al-Buldān, Ed. Wustenfeld, Liepzig, 1866-70 & Amīn Khānaji, Egypt, 1906), and (3) Al-Mushtarak waḍ'an wa'l-Muftaraq suq'an (Ed. Wustenfeld Gottingen, 1846) are in our hands. His K. al-Muqtaḍab fi'l Ansab exists in manuscript in the Khedieval Library in Egypt and has not till now seen the light of the day. His other books seem to have been lost, but let us hope that some of them at least will be recovered from the dark niche of some of the old libraries where they might have been resting. The book *Marasid al-Ittila' fi asma al-amkinati wa'l biqa'*, which some scholars attributed

to Yāqūt is actually an abridgement of Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-Buldān by Ṣafiuddīn 'Abdul Momin b. al-Khatīb 'Abd al-Ḥaq al-Baghdādi.

In the following lines I shall only try to give a brief review of his two notable books on which his fame chiefly rests, viz (a) Mu'jam al-Buldān and (b) Irshād al-Arīb.

Mu'jam al-Buldān of Yāqūt is one of the most important works of Arabic literature. It is not merely a book of geography as the title may indicate but a compendium of multifarious informations and details. One cannot form an exact idea of the book from its mere title, unless one becomes thoroughly acquainted with it. It is not a dry catalogue of place names. The author, in it, not only deals with the place names existing throughout the length and breadth of the then Muslim Empire, but like a true scholar he also deals with everything connected with each place name. The philological meaning of the place name, its exact vocalisation, its exact situation indicated by longitude and latitude, when it was conquered by Muslims and from whose hand, historical notes and biographical sketches of prominent people of all shades born in or connected with the place, any historical or mythological origin of the name, the anecdotes (نوادر) connected with the place and a host of other informations have given the book the unique distinction of an encyclopaedia. It is a store house of information not simply on geography but also on history, ethnography and natural history.

What made the book more important in the eyes of scholars is that the author widely utilised books of immense value most of which are no more extant. The book is replete with copious quotations which cover almost all branches of knowledge that were so laboriously studied at that time. Besides quotations from books on history and geography there are innumerable quotations from poetical collections, literary books, books on grammar, collections of Ḥadīth, important dictionaries—in a word from books on all branches of studies. Any one curious to know the sources which Yāqüt utilised may read "Historical and Geographical sources of Yāqüt's Mu'jam al-Buldan" by Dr Herr of Germany and an article by my humble self on "Grammatical sources of Yaqut's Geographical Dictionary" published in the Dacca University Studies, to the partial satisfaction of his curiosity.

One important peculiarity that I have noticed in going through the book is that Yāqūt gives special prominence to the Muḥaddithūn

and takes special care in dealing with them elaborately and mentions almost all Traditions in which the name of a particular place occurs. This shows how serious and devoted student he was of the Traditions of the Prophet. Curiously enough, he often enters into discussions which have no direct bearing on the subject but are connected with religious rules and regulations and this clearly gives out the religious bent of his mind. (Vide Mujam, II, 211).

Another point that I have marked is that perhaps for the first time we mark in Yāqūt a critical study of events and stories which is so markedly absent in all the Arab writers before him. Whenever he quotes or transmits anything that does not stand the test of reason he discredits it and comments on it. (Vide Mujam II,235).

The book proper is preceded by an introduction dealing with mathematical, physical and political geography, the size of the earth, the seven climates and many other information of general interest.

The incident that first gave Yāqūt the idea of compiling this 'Gazetteer' has been described by the author himself thus :

"In the year 615/1218 in a meeting of our teacher Al-Imām Fakhruddīn Abul Muẓaffar 'Abdurrahīm b. al-Imām Taju'l Islam Abū Sa'īd Abdul Karim al-Sam'āni, I was asked about *Hubasha* a place name that occurred in the Ḥadīth and it was a 'Fair' of the Arabs in the days of Ignorance. I said it is *Hubasha* taking its derivation from *habashtu lahu hubashatan ai jama'tu lahu shai'an*. But one of the traditionists opposed me and insisted that it is *Habasha*, with a *fatha* on *ha'*, and he argued tenaciously without adducing any proof. I intended to cut the contention short by citing a tradition as in matters like this no reliance can be put on reason and derivation. (فاردت قطع الا حتجاج بالنقل اذ لامعرل فی مثل هذا علی اشتقاق و لاعقل)
But inspite of the rich libraries in Marv to which I had easy access my efforts met with frustration and I could not know of it till long afterwards when the brawl and the despute was over and thank God I found it as I had said. Then I felt how much the world is in need of a book written in this line with precision and correct reading of words so that it may be a guide in darkness like this and lead to the light of correctness. So my attention was drawn to this noble and important work which the ancients have neglected and the latter day scholars did not pay due attention to".

The second notable book of Yāqūt is his Irshād al-Arīb ila Ma'rifat al-Adīb, a biographical dictionary of learned men commonly known as Mu'jam al-Udabā' or Ṭabaqāt al-Udabā'—names which

in my opinion were given afterwards by copyists or scholars. Mu'jam al-Udabā' was entirely a separate book written by our author as is evident from Wafayāt al-'A'yān of Qāḍī Ibn Khallikān which is a contemporay record. That the book which is in our hand is Irshād al-Arib is also absolutely clear from a quotation by Ibn Khallikān of a portion of the introduction of the book which is found verbatim in the present book. Moreover Yāqūt never calls this book as Mu'jam al-Udaba' except that he arranged the life sketches in alphabetical order. On the other hand he says at the end of the introduction of this book (وقد سميت هذا الكتاب ارشاد الاريب الى معرفة الاديب) I named this book "A Guide for the Ingenious to the Knowledge of the Literateurs".

The reason for the compilation of Irshād is given as follows by the author himself. To quote his own words :

"Ever since I was nourished on the fondness for literature and was inspired with the love for knowledge and of looking for it, I was passionately inclined to the life stories of learned men, and was seeking information about the literateurs. I was always inquiring into their condition and searching for their witty sayings as the passionate lover searched for his beloved. So I went through books which may cure the sick and quench the thirst of the thirsty. But I did not find any book on this subject which may cure 'nor any compilation which may suffice and satisfy."

Then after mentioning many authors who wrote on the subject whose books, in his opinion, were either sectional or imperfect, he goes on to say that not being satisfied with these books he undertook himself to compile a comprehensive book gathering in it the life stories of "grammarians, linguists, geneologists, famous Readers of the Qur'ān, chroniclers, historians, well known copyists (الورّاقين المعروفين), renowned scribes, writers of epistles, and everybody who composed a work on literature or compiled a book in his own subject.

Bibliography :—

(1) Ibn Khallikan, Wafayāt-Egypt ed. Vol II p 210
(2) Ency. of Islam 'Vol IV, p. 1153
(3) Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabichen Litteratur, Sup. Vol III
(4) George Sarton-Introduction to the History of Science Vol II p 642.
(5) Ḥaji Khalifa-Kashfuz Ẓunūn Vol V, p 623.

THE BUWAYHIDS OF JIBĀL AND RAYY

A.H.322—420/A.D.933—4—1029

Dr. Mafizullah Kabir

Origin :

The Country of *al-Jibal* the broad mountain region which the Greeks called 'Media' stretching across from the Mesopotamian Plains on the West to the great desert of Persia in the East[1], afterwards known by the appellation of *'Iraq 'Ajami* was the cradle of the Buwayhids who coming originally from Dayalmān on the Caspian Sea first secured certain footholds in the Jibāl and then reaching out into the vaster regions of the Caliphate, particularly Fārs and Kirmān, and 'Irāq and Khūzistān, held the 'Abbāsid Caliphate itself in tutelage for over a century. In Jibāl itself they ruled for a little less than one century.

It was in the year 321/933 that the eldest of the three early Buwayhid brothers, 'Alī ibn Buwayh, (later called 'Imād al-Dawla by the Caliph) was appointed ruler of the district of Karaj in Southern Jibāl by Mardāwīj, the Ziyarid ruler of Rayy and Tabaristān[2]. But shortly afterwards Mardāwij began to doubt his loyalty and revoked the appointment on which 'Alī first moved southeast to Isfahān, and having attracted a large number of Daylamites and Gīlites (Inhabitants of Daylamān and Gīlān) to his cause inflicted a defeat on the Caliph's governor there[3]. But to avoid an open encounter with Mardāwij who had grown increasingly jealous of 'Ali's spectacular success he evacuated Isfahān and moving south-west entered Arrjān in Fārs. Next year (322/933-4) he tried arms with the Caliph's governor of Fārs, defeated him and entered Shīrāz itself. But in order not to arouse the wrath of Mardāwij whose fortune was ascendant in these regions 'Ali humiliated himself to the utmost, mentioned Mardāwīj's name in the *Khutba*, agreed to pay him tribute and even sent his brother Ḥasan ibn Buwayh (later called Rukn al-Dawla) as a hostage to

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(1) Le strange : The lands of the Eastern Caliphats, 1930, P.185.
(2) Miskawayh (Misk) : *Tajārib al-Umam*, Ed. Amedroz Vol.I (of the Eclipse series), P. 277-279
(3) Misk I, 279,

Mardāwij[4]. After Mardāwīj's assassination by his Turkish body guards, however, 'Ali managed to obtain from the Caliph al-Rāḍi the investiture for Fārs [5] which province he held practically as an independent ruler from that time till his death in 338/978. The death of Mardāwīj further resulted in Ḥasan's release from custody and his establishment in Isfahān as a ruler[6].

Isfahan was thus the first territory in Jibāl to fall into the hands of the Buwayhids.

AMIRATE OF RUKN AL-DAWLA

(A. H. 322-366/A. D. 933-4-976).

From Isfahān Ḥasan gradually increased in power and strength which enabled him now to cross arms with Mardāwīj's brother and successor, Washmagīr, whom in 329 /940-1 he ejected from both Rayy and Ṭabaristān and obliged to take shelter in Khurāsān[7]. Thus Ḥasan obtained possession of almost the whole of Jibāl together with Tabaristān. His mastery over these provinces was however far from secure, for upto the year 344/955-6 he was obliged to contend with a Sāmānid army which came almost every year to the help of Washmagīr. The occasion of the death of 'Imād al-Dawla in 338/978 and the long absence of Rukn al-Dawla (we henceforth call them by these titles) in Fars, whither he had gone to have his eldest son 'Aḍud al-Dawla securely established as ruler according to his son-less brother's will was a signal for the fiercest of these trials of strength. In the summer of 340/951 the two armies of the Buwayhids and the Sāmānids encamped on the Zarīn Rūd at Rūdhbār (in Khān Lanjān). After seven days of fierce fighting during which the Buwayids kept themselves alive "with Daylamite endurance of hunger and doggedness in war" the Khurasānians took to flight[8]. Four years later, however, (344/955-6) both the parties found it to their advantage to come to an agreement which left Rukn al-Dawla in possession of Rayy and Jibāl. Rukn al-Dawla on his turn utilised his good offices with the Caliph al-Muṭī' to obtain from him a deed of investiture for

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(4) Ibid 296-298 , 300-2
(5) ,, 302-3
(6) ,, 315, 352
(7) Misk. II, 8
(8) Misk II 136-141

the Sāmānid governor of Khurāsān[9]. Thenceforth Rukn al-Dawla enjoyed undisputed authority over his dominions till his death in 366/976 and Washmagīr, the Ziyārid remained in possession of Tabaristan and Gurgān.

During the next twenty-two years of his reign Rukn al-Dawla was a powerful potentate and besides being the ruler of Jibāl also held the chieftainship of the family of the Buwayhids, whose members now simultaneously held the sovereignty over 'Irāq and Khūzistān and Fārs and Kirmān. Moreover, in 351/962 Rukn al-Dawla made an attempt to wrest from Washmagīr the territories of Tabaristān and Gurgān and temporarily succeeded in doing so.[10]

On the other hand, in 355/966 he was generous enough to lend the services of his illustrious Wazir Abu'l-Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd together with adequate men and material to reinstate Ibrāhim, the fugitive ruler of Ādharbayjān, who had lost his throne through local squabbles. This was in spite of the fact that the Wazir after Ādharbayjān had been occupied offered himself to become Rukn's governor of that province in return for a vast revenue. But Rukn deterred by saying, "People will say that having conquered a country for the benefit of a man who had thrown himself on my protection I coveted it for myself."[11]

But if the sovereign was more magnanimous than the Wazir the latter far surpassed in foresight and statesmanship. Thus during the month of Ramaḍān in 355/999 when some 20,000 Khurasānians saught permission from Rukn al-Dawla to pass through Rayy to the forntier to participate in the Jihād the Wazir perceiving a danger from such a move recommended to Rukn to allow these people to pass in small batches. But Rukn thoroughly misunderstood the situation and saw no reason in taking precaution against "The Riffraff of Khurasan". But these bands of fighters ultimately fell on Rayy all at a time and Rukn was almost on the point of losing his throne. Ultimately, however, the danger was averted with much difficulty.[12]

During the raid of the Khurasānians Rukn al-Dawla received generous help from Ḥasanawayh, leader of the Barzikānī kurds, who

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(9) " 161 Ibn al-Athīr (Torberg Ed.) Vol. VIII, 384
(10) " 190, 191
(11) " 229-230
(12) " 222-228

used to rule over a part of Western Jibāl practically independently. But he grew contumacious and began to exact favours from provincial governors appointed by Rukn in these regions. So the Wazīr Ibn al-'Amīd led an expedition against Ḥasanawayh in 359/970 but on the way he died in Hamadān and his son Abu'l-Fatḥ, who was an easy-going lad proved quite unequal to the task and returned after concluding a treaty of peace with Ḥasanawayh.[13]

Shortly before his death Rukn al-Dawla fell seriously ill and this was chiefly caused by the demeanour of his eldest son, 'Aḍud al-Dawla, ruler of Fārs. 'Aḍud al-Dawla had long coveted the kingdom of 'Irāq over which his cousin Bakhtiyār, son of Mu'izz al-Dawla (the first Buwayhid to enter Baghdād in 334/946) was ruling at that time. The opportunity offered itself in 363/974 when Bakhtiyār was faced with the most formidable rebellion on the part of his Turkish Commander-in-Chief Sabuktagīn. On this Bakhtiyār applied for help to his uncle Rukn-al Dawla in Rayy and his cousin 'Aḍud al-Dawla in Fārs. Rukn al-Dawla sent an affectionate reply and though he excused himself on grounds of old age from coming in person he promised to send forces from Rayy under the command of his Wazīr Abu'l Fatḥ ibn al- 'Amīd and from Fārs under that of his son 'Aḍud al-Dawla[14]. Accordingly, 'Aḍud al-Dawla joined by Abu'l-Fatḥ made a triumphant entry into Baghdād after suppressing the Turks in 364/975.[15] But with a view to assuming himself the sovereignty over 'Irāq he engineered to put Bakhtiyār under arrest. So upright and righteous a person Rukn was that when he heard the news of the arrest of his nephew by his son 'Aḍud—an attitude that was in sharp contrast to his towards the fugitive Ibrāhīm of 'Adharbayjān—he threw himself down in despair from his seat, rolled on the ground and foamed at the mouth. For several days then he denied himself food and drink and thereby brought on a disease from which he never fully recovered.[16] Eventually 'Aḍud al-Dawla had to yield and evacuate from Baghdād in the face of Rukn's persistent opposition.[17]

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(13) " 270-274
(14) " 329-331
(15) " 340-341
(16) " 351
(17) " 352

Soon, however, father and son were reconciled, chiefly on the intercession of the Wazīr Abu'l-Fatḥ and Rukn al-Dawla apprehending death on account of his fast declining health expressed the desire to meet 'Aḍud al-Dawla to make his last testament. In 365/976 accordingly, he met 'Aḍud al-Dawla and his other sons in Isfahān and divided his dominions among them. He appointed 'Aḍud al-Dawla as his sole successor and gave Hamadān, Rayy and the whole of Jibāl to Fakhr al-Dawla excepting Isfahān which he gave to Mu'ayyid al-Dawla—all these to be governed by them as 'Aḍud's deputies.[18] Only after six months of this in Muḥarram 366/976 Rukn al-Dawla died at the age of 70 after having ruled in Jibāl for 44 lunar years.[19]

Of all the three early Buwayhid brothers (Imād al-Dawla, Rukn al 'Dawla and Mu'izz al-Dawla) Rukn al-Dawla was by far the best by any standard. A valiant fighter struggling hard against the vicissitudes of fortune throughout a greater part of his career he never for a moment failed to upkeep the nobler elements of his character. He was affectionate to his children but not indolent towards them. He could not approve of his son's appropriation of his nephew's dominions. The memory of his brother Mu'izz al-Dawla was ever fresh in his mind and on this occasion particularly he expressed as having seen his brother in a dream biting fingers in anger and taking Rukn severely to task for not fulfilling the duties of guardianship over the orphaned children and their mother.[20] In an age of perfidy it was no small measure of sacrifice on the part of Rukn al-Dawla to reject the proposal of Ibn al-'Amīd to include the rich province of Ādharbayjān within his dominions. His princely magnanimity loathed such an action. He was also a patron of arts and his Wazīrs Abu'l Faḍl ibn al 'Amīd and the latter's son Abu'l-Fatḥ were both outstanding men of letters. Miskawayh, who was the librarian of the Wazīr Abul Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd, however belittles Rukn al-Dawla as a ruler whom the historian considered as being on the level of a predatory soldier, giving a free hand to his soldiery whenever a victory had been won—a fact that prevented Ibn al-'Amīd from establishing a perfectly efficient administration.[21]

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(18) " 361-364; Athīr VIII, 492; *Raudat al-Safā* Ed. Wilken, 20; Tārīkh Guzīda, 417

(19) Athīr VIII, 492, Guzīda, 417

(20) Misk II 351

(21) " 281

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE AMIRATE OF MU'AYYID AL-DAWLA

(A.H. 366—373/A.D. 976—983-4)

Towards the later part of the reign of Rukn al-Dawla the administrative arrangements of Jibāl were as follows :

Rukn himself stayed at Rayy and his second son Mu'yyid al-Dawla used to rule Isfahān on his behalf, while his youngest son, Fakhr al-Dawla, ruled Hamadān. In his dying behest, as we have seen, besides confirming these sons in their possession , he wished further that the territories of Rayy with his capital and other parts of Jibāl were to fall to the share of Fakhr al-Dawla, his son by the Ziyārid wife.[22] But 'Aḍud al-Dawla and Mu'yyid al-Dawla being sons of another mother conspired from the very beginning to deprive their step-brother from his paternal possessions.[23] So, shortly after the death of Rukn al-Dawla we find Mu'yyid al-Dawla—and not Fakhr al-Dawla—in possession of Rayy (and also Isfahān) while an army was sent by 'Aḍud al-Dawla to Hamadān to eject Fakhr al-Dawla from there too. Fakhr al-Dawla, being deserted by his follower, who were all won over to 'Aḍud's side, first fled to Daylam and thence to Gurgān to take shelter with the Ziyārid Qābūs, son of Washmagīr.[24] Then 'Aḍud al-Dawla himself came in person to Jibāl to lead the operations against the sons of Ḥasanawahy, whom he defeated and one of whom, Badr by name, he appointed as their chief. He rewarded Mu'ayyid al-Dawla's loyalty to him by giving him Hamadān and Nihāwand.[25]

'Aḍud's designs against Fakhr al-Dawla were even more far-reaching and not being satisfied with his territories 'Aḍud al-Dawla demanded from Qābūs the person of his fugitive brother applying all means—first persuation and then intimidation[26] but failing in his objective he had the Caliph al-Ṭāi' draw up a decree depriving Qābūs

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(22) " 8

(23) Zahīruddin Ed. Dorn, 185

(24) Misk II 416, Athīr VIII, 520, 'Utbi('Utbi-Manini) I,106-107

(25) Abū Shujā', Dhayl Tajārib, (Ed. Amedrozas Vol. VIII of the Eclipse), 9-II ; Ibn al-Jawzī, K. Al-Muntazam (Hyderbad Ed.) VII, 103; Athir IX,4.

(26) Shujā 15; Athīr IX 18; Ibn Isfandiyar Tārikh Tabaristan 226, 'Utbī Vol. I 108-9.

of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān and conferring these, instead, on Mu'ayyid al-Dawla, who thus being legally strengthened set out at the head of a large army with necessary reinforcements from Baghdād for Astarabād, the fortress commanding entrance to Gurgān. Qābūs was defeated and saught refuge along with Fakhr al-Dawla in Nishāpūr[27]. The Sāmānid Nūh ibn Mansūr being approached by the two fugitive princes instructed his Commander-in-Chief at Nishāpūr 'Abu'l-'Abbās Tāsh to assist them in recovering their lost territories.[28] 'Aḍud's missives to the Sāmānid court to get the surrender of these fugitives also failed. Tāsh then came out at the head of a large army and besciged Mu'ayyid al-Dawla in Astarabād but on Mu'ayyid's counter-charge Tāsh, Fakhr and Qābūs all fled and Mu'ayyid after occupying Gurgān was about to follow up his success with an invasion of Khurāsān itself when he received the news of the death of 'Aḍud al-Dawla (Shawwāl 372/March 983). Otherwise a Gardīzī observes, he might well have ruined not only Tāsh but Khurāsān also.[29]

On 'Aḍud's death Mu'ayyid al-Dawla aspired after the leadership of the Buwayhid family. He accordingly exchanged messages with his nephew Sharaf al-Dawla, ruler of Fārs, to the effect that he should be acknowledged as the overlord in Fārs. He also sent messages to Fakhr al-Dawla, offering him the government of Gurgān which offer the latter declined. In the midst of these Mu'ayyid died. (373/983–4).[30]

AMIRATE OF FAKHR AL-DAWLA
(A.H. 373–387/A.D.983–4–997)

On Mu'ayyid's death, his Wazīr the Ṣāhib Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād wrote forthwith to Fakhr al-Dawla bidding him to come to Gurgān. Accordingly he came to Gurgān and was installed as Amīr.[31] Soon, however he preferred to move to his ancestral capital Rayy leaving the former Sāmānid General Tāsh as his deputy in Gurgān.[32] The wise Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād then undertook to restore former harmony

(27) Shujā 15-17; Athīr IX 18; Ibn Isf. 226; 'utbī, I, 108:9
(28) 'Utbi I, 109-110; Athīr X, 8; Ibn Isf. 226.
(29) Shujā 24-28; 'Utbi I, 110-114; Athīr IX, 8-9
Gardīzī, 50 دگوئی خراسان وتاش رالاش کردند ی
(30) Shujā 91-92
(31) " 94-95
(32) " 96

and cohesion that characterised the relation among the three early Buwayhid brothers. Elaborate negotiations, at the initiative of the Ṣāḥib, with Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, the son and successor of 'Aḍud al-Dawla in Baghdād, resulted in a settlement and the caliph al-Ṭā'i confirmed Fakhr al-Dawla in his possessions issuing a deed of investiture and conferring on him the additional title of Falak al-Umma[33] (374/984-5).

It appears that Fakhr al-Dawla's authority over Ṭabaristān and Gurgān was not still firmly established and the Ṣāḥib was sent in 377/ 987-8 to pacify this region.[34] This having been done the Ṣāḥib on the first Muḥarram 378/April 21, 988 presented to Fakhr al-Dawla a dīnār, weighing one thousand Mithqāls, on one side of which was a poem in praise of Fakhr al-Dawla and on the other the Sūra Ikhlās, the title of the Caliph al-Ṭā'i' and that of Fakhr al-Dawla together with the mint name Gurgān.[35] The most notable event of the reign of Fakhr al-Dawla as also the most disastrous one was his expedition to 'Irāq and Khūzistān. The Ṣāḥib who had visited Baghdād once in 347/958-9 as a youngman of 20 [36] felt enamoured of 'Irāq and had long cherished the desire of becoming Wazīr in the caliphal metropolis. He took opportunity of the death of Amīr Sharaf al-Dawla (376-379) to inspire his royal ward, whom he practically held in leading strings, to undertake an expedition to Khūzistān and 'Irāq. Fakrh al-Dawla, therefore, decided to send an expedition to Khūzistān in 379/989-90. This ill-advised undertaking, however, ended in a disastrous failure on account of inundation in the valley of Ahwāz though Fahkr al-Dawla was assisted in this by the Kurdish ruler Badr who continued to pay allegience to the Buwayhids of Rayy.[37]

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(33) " 98, 99-100

(34) Athīr IX 39, Wilken, 32

(35) Athīr IX, 41; Wilken 32-. No such coin seem to have survived but a similar one dated 380 A.H. with Sūra Ikhlās on the obverse also struck by the Ṣāḥib from the mint town of al-Muḥammadiyya (al-Rayy) is described in Miles, Numismatic History of Rayy, 171. cf. Yāqūt: Irshād al-'Arīb II, 318-9.

(36) Misk. II 168

(37) Abū Shujā 163-166, 169- 171, Athīr IX 44-45

The death of the Ṣāḥib which occurred in Ṣafar 385/March 995 was a terrible calamity in the reign of Fakhr al-Dawla who became amenable to all evil influences after this. The Ṣaḥīb died after having served the Buwayhids as Wazīr for eighteen years. His dying injunctions to Fakhr al-Dawla deserve notice. He advised the prince to follow the principles that he had established by which the prince would be able to earn the eulogies of later generations whereas he would pass into oblivion. At the same time, he warned Fakhr al-Dawla that if these principles were disregarded, he—the Ṣaḥib—would ever be gratefully remembered by the people for the good of the previous period, while Fakhr al-Dawla would be held responsible for all subsequent evils.[38] On the day the Ṣāḥib was dying Fakhr al-Dawla, as was customary with the ruling princes of the time, appointed a watcher to observe the death and communicate the news quickly to the Amīr. This being done in time, all stores and treasures belonging to the Ṣāḥib were forthwith transferred to the Royal Palace.[39]

Two very interesting events followed the death of the Ṣāḥib. One was the behaviour of the Chief Qāḍī and the other was the appointment of a substitute of the Ṣāḥib, both of which reveal unmistakably the appalling state of corruption prevalent in those days. The Chief Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, who was a Mu'tazili divine refused to pray for the Ṣāḥib on the mere assumption that during his vizierate he might have accepted bribes, for, according to strict Mu'tazili belief he who has taken away one grain or even half a grain will suffer in hell for eternity. Curiously enough this was in spite of the fact that the judge himself had amassed a vast fortune by accepting bribes in his capacity as judge. To punish such an effrontery on the part of the Qāḍī Fakrh al-Dawla put him under arrest and obliged him to disgorge an amount of 3 million dirhams, presumably from the hoards earned by corrupt methods. Thus at times the corruption of the judges and the divines could have been worse than that of the courtiers.[40]

The other event referred to above was the appointment of a substitute of the Ṣaḥib. Two rival candidates vied with one another to attain the position of Wazīr. Fakhr al-Dawla first appointed Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Ḍabbī, a famous literary figure of the day,

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(38) " 261
(39) " 262
(40) " 262; Mustawfī, Guzīda (Ed. Browne), 425-426, Habīb al Siyar (Ed. Ranking), 112.

whom he entitled "Al-Kāfi al-Awḥad" (uniquely competent) but one Abū 'Ali Ibn Hamūla later called "Awḥad al-Kafāt (unique among the competent) offered 8 million dirhams for the post, on which the former also offered 6 millions. Fakhr al-Dawla remitted 2 millions from the offers of both and made both shares in the vizierate, thus obtaining 10 millions in all.[41] Both these Wazīrs then proceeded to tyrannise people beginning with the dependents of the Ṣāḥib and exacted money from persons of importance by applying all conceivable oppressive measures.[42]

Within two years and a half of the death of the Ṣāḥib Fakhr al-Dawla also died in Sha'bān 387/ Aug-Sept. 997 at the age of 46 after an Amirate of nearly 14 years. He is said to have been attacked with colic pain after having taken roasted meat and grapes successively. When his illness increased he was taken up the fortress of Ṭabārik, to the north of the city of Rayy, where after a few days of suffering he died. All his treasures were locked up and the keys were in possession of his wife, the Sayyida, mother of Majd al-Dawla. But it was not possible for anyone to go out into the city because as soon as the news of Fakhr al-Dawla's death spread the troops rioted and it was difficult first to procure the shrowd for the dead body and when this was managed from the mosque situated below the fortress, again it was not possible to give him a burial till the corpse putrefied.[43]

Fakhr al-Dawla unlike his father Rukn al-Dawla was of niggardly habits and bequeathed a vast treasure, which, he used to say, would suffice his children and their army for 15 years even if there is no increase on the original. He left in gold, silver and gems exclusive of clothing, weapons and furniture—more than 10 million dirhams.[44]

AMIRATE OF MAJD AL-DAWLA

(A. H. 387–420/A. D. 997–1029)

When Fakhr al-Dawla died his younger son Abū Ṭālib Rustam was only four years of age. The courtiers, most probably in deference to the wishes of the Queen mother, raised him on the throne in preference to the elder son Shams al-Dawla who was at that time ruler of

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(41) Shujā' 263-4
(42) " 264
(43) Ibn al-Jawzi VII; 197; Shujā, 296.
(44) Ibid 198, " 296

Hamadān. So al-Sayyida who was an accomplished lady of the day began to manage the affairs of the state on behalf of her minor son.[45] She gave Isfahān to her cousin (Kakawayh : son of maternal uncle) Abū Ja'far ibn Dushmanziyār who became the founder of the dynasty of the Kakawayhids. In 388/998 the Caliph al-Qādir conferred on Abū Ṭālib Rustam the title of *Majd al-Dawla wa-Kahf al-Umma* and invested him with the territories.[47] It was in the year of the death of Fakhr al-Dawla that after 15 years of exile Qābūs was invited by the leading persons of Gurgān to come back and though an expedition under the leadership of the Wazīr Ibn Hamūla was sent against him this was successfully repulsed by Qābūs who not only returned to Gurgān and became its undisputed ruler but also added Tabaristān, Rūyān and Sālūs to his kingdom.[48]

Sayyida, the Queen mother was a highly intelligent lady with ability for leadership and keen foresight. She used to exercise her domineering influence on all persons great or small. Sitting in court behind a thin screen she managed the affairs of the state herself talking to civil and military officers direct without the help of any intermediary. In reply to messages from mighty kings she used to bring forth weighty arguments, a specimen of which has survived in a Persian tradition depicting the Queen as applying her ready wit in averting the danger of an invasion by Maḥmud of Ghazna. To the missive of the latter asking the Queen either to acknowledge his sovereignty by announcing his name in the Khuṭba and the Sikka or to prepare for a war the Sayyida replied, "If my husband were alive I might think of war but now there is little that can agitate my mind for the Sultan is possessed of perfect intellect and he must be aware that in a war the issue is all very uncertain. If he is victorious no credit will be due to him for having defeated a mere widow. If, per chance, on the other hand he is defeated the blot of this disgrace will never be removed from the surface of time till the Day of Resurrection. Then Maḥmūd, so we are told, abandoned the idea of conquering Rayy at least during the life time of the Queen.[49]

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(45) Shujā', 297 ; Athir IX 93
(46) Athīr IX 145
(47) Shujā 311
(48) Shujā' 297-298; Athir IX 98-100
(49) Wilken 42- 43 ; Ranking 116; Guzīda, 428-429

However, the dominating influence of the Queen mother very soon displeased not only her royal ward but also the courtiers. Majd al-Dawla for the first time in 397/1006-7 when he was 14 years of age began to quarrel violently with his mother over matters of administration and against her will appointed one Khaṭīr ibn 'Ali as Wazīr who began to organise an opposition to the Queen. She left Rayy out of fear and saught refuge with Badr in Jibāl. Badr showed her every respect and immediately prepared an army to attack Rayy. Her son Shams al-Dawla also came from Hamadān. Together they fought Majd al-Dawla and made him prisoner on which the Sayyida now gave the throne to Shams al-Dawla. Soon, however, she was reconciled to Majd al-Dawla whom she reinstated.[50] Shams-al-Dawla could not accept all these in good grace and coming back to Hamadān succeeded some eight years later in temporarily occupying Rayy again (405/1014-15) but being unable to deal with the disaffected soldiery again withdrew.[51] After his death Ibn Kakawayh who was now entitled *Ala-al-Dawla* included Hamadān in his dominion by defeating Samā al-Dawla, son of Shams al-Dawla, in 414/1023-4[52]. Rayy itself was once again threatened by Minüchihr son of Qābūs of Gurgān in 418/1027-8 with no success.[53]

Meanwhile the Sayyida died. Disorders set in the affairs of Rayy. Majd al-Dawla, so we are told, had two absorbing interests in life namely women and books, while the army left to itself grew rebellious. Majd al-Dawla being unable to manage them probably in a half-hearted gesture, saught the help of Maḥmūd ibn Sabuktagīn who availed this as a heaven-sent opportunity and after little or no fighting took possession of Rayy in Rabi'II, 420/April-May 1029. On this occasion Maḥmūd is said to have asked the Prince as to whether the latter had read the Shāhnāmā which is the history of Persia and the history of Ṭabarī which is the history of Islam to which the prince gave an affirmative reply. Maḥmūd then said, "Your condition is quite unlike that of those you have read about". Maḥmūd again asked him whether he had played *Shatraj* to which also the reply was in the affirmative. Maḥmūd then said, "Is there written in those books that in one kingdom two kings may ever rule together or have you seen two

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(50) Athīr 144-5; Wilken, 42; Ranking 116
(51) Athīr IX 155
(52) " 232-3
(53) " 252

kings in the Same Checker of a Shatranj-board"? When the Prince said "No" the Sultan rejoined, "What then made you to surrender yourself in the hands of one who is stronger than you" ?[54]

Then in Jumādā II, 420/Aug. Sept.1029 Maḥmūd wrote a long letter from his camp at Rayy to the Caliph al-Qādir dilating on his unique victory. He said that that area in general and the city of Rayy in particular were the strong hold of the Bāṭinites, the Mu'tazilites and the heretics who were opposed to the injunctions of the Qur'ān and the Sunna and who indulged in public cursing of the companions of the Prophet. Their leader was Rustam ibn 'Alī al-Daylamī (Majd al-Dawla). When the army encamped at Rayy he came out surrendering himself. But he was arrested together with the leaders of the Bāṭinites from among his generals. The Daylamites then came up acknowledging their sins and the jurists condemned them to death or mutilation or banishment in proportion to the gravity of their offences. The jurists also said that most of these people did not say prayers or pay Zakāt or distinguish between what is lawful and what is unlawful. There were among them those who did not even believe in Allah, the Angels, the books, the messengers and the next world. A portion of the Sawād of Rayy was inhabited by Mazdakians who claimed themselves as Muslims and then expressly violated the injunctions of Islām. In the streets of the city of Tall these heretics were impaled. Maḥmūd further said that Rustam, his son Abu Dulāf and a group of Daylamites together with the leaders of the Mu'tazilite were then sent to Khurasān. Vast amount of treasures including jwelleries, cloth and cash money were recovered from Rayy. 50 loads of books were also transferred besides those dealing with Mu'tazilism, philosophy and heresy which were burnt to ashes under the dead bodies of those impaled. Thus the land became free from the propaganda (دعوة) of the Bāṭinites, the Mu'tazilites and the heretics while Sunnism became triumphant.[55]

This account of the state of affairs in Rayy as contained in the letter of Maḥmūd quoted verbatim by Ibn al-Jawzi must, however, be accepted with a certain amount of reservation. Maḥmūd of Ghazna justified his raids against the Indians for they were idolators; he fought and defeated orthodox Sunnite Sāmānids (racially Turks) on the grounds of their disobedience to the caliph al-Ṭā'i'[56] ; and Rayy

(54) " 261, Wilken 43-44
(55) Ibn al-Jawzī VIII, 38-40; Athīr IX 261; Wilken 44
(56) Hilāl (Chronicle) Continuation of Abu Shujā,342

according to him was a Baṭinite-Mu'tazilite Paradise. We know the Buwayhids were Shi'ites of the Zaydite denomination; we also know that some of the courtiers and diviners were Mu'tazilites. That is all and no further. Maḥmūd was a mighty conqueror and he pulled down all the dacandent dynasties that came before him. To us the students of history what is more important is what he did and not how he justified it.

GROWTH OF URDU LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE DURING SAYYID-LODI PERIOD*

DR. A. HALIM

During the period under review, we can trace the growth of a new language namely Urdū, though in a crude form as the result of Muslim settlements in the Pak-Indian subcontinent. The word 'Urdū', is Turkish in origin', and stands for 'an army', 'camp' or 'military cantonmen', but 'Urdu', meaning a distinct language, is comparatively modern, and was used for the first time, by Muḥammad 'Aṭā Ḥusain Taḥsīn in his "Nawṭarz-i-Muraṣṣa', written in 1213H/-1798. Mīr Amman followed Taḥsīn in his 'Bāgh wa Bahār' 1217/1802. After this, the term received wider acceptability so that Mīr Inshā-Allah, Qudrat,[1] and others used the new nomenclature.

A lot of controversy has gathered round the phrase 'Urdū-i-Mu'alla-i-Shāhjahānabād' referred to in the footnote. Some think that Urdū took its birth in the city of Shāhjahānabād during Shāhjahāns' reign, through the intercourse of men speaking different languages at the 'Urdū bāzār' of Delhi, blown up, as it appears from a letter of Ghālib, by the English, during the heavy fighting in 1857; so that after the decline of the Mughal Empire the word 'Mualla' (the sublime) was dropped and 'Urdū' began to denote the new language. Some even like to trace its origin in the court of Akbar at Āgrā and Fatḥpūr-Sikri where people of diverse nationalities speaking different languages and professing different religions, had assembled. Mīr Amman through his Bāgh-o-Bahār and Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khan through his 'Asārus-Ṣanādid' (آثارالصنادید) would lead us into believing that it started as a common medium of expression of the camp-market at Shāhjahānabād and writers of the old school like Mawlānā Āzād[2], ex-

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*Read at the Asiatic Society of Pakistan on 31.5.57.

(۱) شما زبان دکھنی را گزاشته ریخته را موافق اردوئی معلائے شاهجهاں اباد موزون بکنید ،

You abandon the word 'Dakhani' and name 'Rekhta' 'Urdū-i-Mu'allā-i-Shāhjahanabād.'

cf. Maḥmūd Khan Shirāni, Punjāb Mēn Urdū, Lāhore, P.18.

(2) cf. Ab-i-Hayāt.

pressed the same view. This is far from the fact. Modern scholars and philologists do not support this view, because 'Urdū' means merely a 'camping ground' and the same expression denoting a distinct language was not known before Taḥsīn as has been shown earlier. Previous to this, this language was termed Rekhta, a word denoting of course, in the early stage of its development, a verse in two languages, one line in Persian or Arabic or Turkī, the other one in Hindi or even a part of a line in Hindi and the other part in Persian Arabic or Turkī[3]. Maḥmūd Khān Shirāni[4], on the authority of the 'Rāg-Darpan considered 'Rekhta' a term of music, one line of which could consist of meaningless jargon, as in 'Tarāna' followed by a meaningful verse in Persian or Hindi. Secondly, the view about its origin during the reigns of Akbar and Shāhjahān is not worthy of any serious consideration, because the necessity of finding a common medium of expression' could not have been a new problem of Akbar or Shāhjahān but must have existed as such ever since the arrival of the Muslims in the Pak-Indian sub-continent. Moreover, we have evidences that in 1035/1625, long before Shāhjahān's transfer of capital to Delhi, Muḥammad Afḍal Pānipatī, had written his 'Bārah Māsā' ('Dwāzda Māhiah', i.e The Twelve Months), in that mixed language, which developed afterwards as Urdū. And in the Deccan, compositions in that mixed-medium started at least fifty years before Akbar's enthronement in 1556.AD. And Bābar's composition in that Rekhta medium may be taken as a form of expression of a literate Muslim settled in Pak-India.

Thirdly Urdu is not derived from Braj Bhāshā as has been supposed by Mawlāna Āzād and Ḥakīm S. Shamsullah Qādrī,[5] nor is it a dialect with Arabic and Persian words super-imposed on Braj. This language according to Prof. Shirāni[6], had its foundation laid ever since the Arab conquest of Sind and Multān particularly because of its contact with the Ṣaffārid and Sāmānid cultures of

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(3) Graham Bailey (History of Urdu Literature, p. 3) defined it as 'verse in two languages, one line Persian and one Arabic or one Persian and one Urdu, In the same Page, he writes 'Urdu was called Rekhta (lit: 'poured') because it consisted of Hindi into which Arabic & Persian words were poured.

(4) Punjāb Mēn Urdū, p. 32-33; Urdū.

(5) cf. Qadīm Urdu.

(6) Punjāb Mën Urdū, p. 47.

Persia[7]. Even today, Sindhī, which is a Prākrit language, is written in the Naskh script of the Arabs. Urdu is different from Bhāshā and follows different rules of grammar and phonetics. Muslim cultural contact with the Indians was undoubtedly intensified with Maḥmūd Ghaznawi's conquest of the Punjab. He re-named Lāhore as Maḥmudpūr[8] and converted it into the capital of his Indian possessions. And after the seizure of the Western half of the Ghaznavid Empire by the Saljūq Turks, the Ghyznavids stayed in the Punjab with Lāhore as the metropolis, and identified themselves with the Indians. The language of the Punjāb was called by the Muslims *Hindui*, a form of western Prākrīt Apabhramsh which had not perhaps attained a standardized literary form.

The Muslim settlers adopted many purely Hindui words in their literary language which was Persian. The word 'Kōtwāl' (warden of a fort, kōt) is found in Firdausī's Shāhnāmāh and 'chandan' (Sandal) 'Barshakāl (rainy season) and 'langhan' (fast) are found in the compositions of Minūchehri and Mas'ūd Sāid, Salmān[9] 'Hindui must have continued as a language of account or might be the administrative language too, because the Muslims were far too[10] few, compared with the vast majority of the indigenous population. It can well be imagined that the local spoken language had undergone some slight change through the contact of the Persian and Poshtō-speaking Muslims. To what extent the Muslims had turned to the study of the indigenous culture may be determined from the painstaking researches of Abū Raiḥān al Birūnī, who had stayed in the Punjāb, had learnt Hindui and Sanskrit, the Hindū sciences and had translated Arabic books into Sanskrit and Sanskrit ones into Arabic. A number of Maḥmūd's translators like Tilak and Bahrām stayed in Lāhôre. The former, a Kashmīri by birth and a barber by profession knew, Hinduī and Persian and was a good calligraphist in Hindī, Arabic and Persian[11]. From the post of a translator, he was promoted to

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(7) Ibid. 48

(8) V.S. Āgrawālā, Journal of Numismatic Society, Bombay, 1943 pt. I. vol.V. p. 156. Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi 1871, p. 47-49.

(9) Shirāni, Punjāb Mën Urdū. p. 51. History of Persian language & literature at the Mughal court, M. O. Ghani Allahabad, p.64.

(10) Shirani p. 46.

(11) Shirānī, Punjab mēn Urdū, p. 57.

the position of the Commander-in-Chief of Maḥmūd's Indian troops after the death of Sundar, another Indian. Sultan Maḥmūd himself appears to have been familiar with Hindui. When he invaded Kālanjar in Bundelkhand, the Hindu ruler of the place composed verses in Hindī in the Sultān's praise. The latter was pleased to such an extent that he left Kālanjar and the adjoining tracts in his hands.

Maḥmud of Ghazna issued from Lahore a unique type of silver coins with the *kalimah* and the legend in Kufic chracters on the obverse, with the exact rendering of the same in Sanskrit in Devanagari script on the reverse[12], probably to win the heart of his Indian subjects or to make the new issues more acceptable to the children of the soil[13]. The later Ghaznavid princes issued small billon coins with Rajput bull on the obverse and the Arabic legend in Kufic script on the reverse.[14]

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(12) V,S. Agrawāla, Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay, Part I, Vol. V, p. 156ff. Thomas, Chronicle of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, p. 47-49. In Thomas, the relation is changed so that the obverse becomes the reverse. The text runs as follows.

'Lā ilāha illallāh, Muḥammadur-Rasūlullāh, Yamīnud-Dawlah wa Yāmīnul Millah.

(In the margin) Bismillah hāza al-dirham, ḍaraba Maḥmudpur sanh, 418 (1027 A.D). Thomas reads as, Bismillah zaraba hāza al-dirham ba-Mahmūdpur, Sanh Samāniya 'ashara wa-arba'a mayah.

Sanskrit rendering : Avyaktameka Muhammad avatāra nripati Mahmūd. Marginal legend ; Avyaktiya jnāme ayam tankam Mahmudpur ghatita (hata, acc to another reading.) Tajikiera sambati, 418. (Tajikira, acc. to Dr. Agrawala, is a double Prākrit apabhrams adjectival form, standing for the Arab Era. Acc. to another reading Jinayāna Sambat, the Hijra Era, that is, the passing of the Prophet from Macca to Madinah.

The key to the correct uuderstanding of the inscription 'acc to Dr. Agrawala', is to be found in the fact that the Sanskrit version represents an honest attempt to render faithfully, the sense of the Arabic original on the obverse side, (p. 156); Allah is Avyakta; Muḥammad (Rasūl) is avatara; avyaktiya name is Bismillah; Ayam tankam is al-dirham, a general name for Muslim coins of silver.

(13) Some Hindu elements in the Coinage of India by S. K. Chakrabarty in the Proceeding of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939 of p. 676.

(14) Ibid, P. 676.

In the Punjāb, the Muslims quickly adjusted themselves to the local environment. Mas'ūd Sā'd Salmān wrote a 'diwān' in Hindi which is no longer extant. It is testified by 'Awfi in his Lubāb-al-Lubāb and Amir Khusru of Delhi in his introduction to the 'Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl' and Abdullah-al-Nukti[15]. Mas'ūd Salmān partronized by Masūd I, wrote the first Bārah Māsā (Dwāzda Māhiyāh, the twelve months tale) in Persian in conformity with the Indian traditions, yet on the whole the literary language of the Indians and their conquerors remained unchanged in their pronouns, verbs, numeral and grammatical systems.[16] Khusru Malik, the last Ghaznavid ruler was overthrown by Shihābuddin Muḥammad Ghorī in 1186, and soon after the battle of Tarāin, Delhi, Ajmīr and a considerable portion of the Northern and Eastern India passed under the control of the Ghorids. The legends on Shihābuddin's coins and the use of the Dēvanāgari[17] script in place of Arabic, testify to his zeal for penetrating into the heart of his new subjects and the practice was more or less followed by the Slave and Khaljī rulers[18]. Delhi became the capital of the Muslim Empire from the reign of Quṭbuddin Āibak (1206-1210 AD). The Muslim troops coming from the Punjāb consisted of Turks, Afghāns and the Hindūs. By this time the Provincial dialects had assumed a standard form and Delhi was the meeting place of many dialects such as Hariāni, Khari, Braj, Kanauji, Rājasthānī, and many types of cultures as well. The Punjābī-Hindī which most of the soldiers spoke, must have been affected by the soft, short and easy form of the Delhi dialect which required less efforts to utter than the hard and double consonanted Punjābi[19]. The way the Persian expression of the Muslims was affected by Hindu contact may be guessed from the

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15. M. A. Ghani, History of Persian Language and literature at the Mughal Court vol.1, Allahabad, p 63.

16. T. Graham Bailey History of Urdu Literature, p 6.

17. cf. Nelson-Wright, The coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi pp 6,7,11 and 12.

18. Some Hindu Elements in Muslim Coinage of India S. K. Chakraborti; Proceedings of the Indian History Cong., Cal. 1939, p 683.

19. Dr. S. Sabzwari in his Phonetic tendencies of Urdu cf. Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca Vol I P. 78-80 drives at the same conclusion.

utterances of the Poet Tājuddīn Sangrizah (d 633/1235),[20] given in the foot note. Both in north and south India and Gujrāt, the Muslim saints and mystics took the lead in the study of the regional languages and dialects giving them a decided Muslim bias. If the soldier was responsible for giving it a form as a spoken language, it was the mystic and holymen who helped in giving the new style of expression and a literary garb[21]. Some of these holymen and mystics settled and exerted their influence in tracts of north and south India long before the coming of the Muslim armies. They propagated their cult and imparted their instructions most often in Hindi and other zonal dialects, introducing Arabic and Persian words and technical terms of Sufism in the local languages and writing their memoirs in Hindi using Perso-Arabic scripts.[22] They wrote in Prose and Poetry, and preferred to ask questions from their disciples in the local dialects. Shaikh Muīnuddin Chishtī of Ajmēr, Shaikh Farīduddin Ganjshakar, Haḍrat Nīẓāmuddin Awlia, Ḥaḍrat Bahā'uddin Zakaria Quraishi Multāni were conversant with Hindi and were good poets too. We do not possess the Hindi couplets of Ḥaḍrat Shaikh Mūīnuddin Chishtī of Ajmēr which he is supposed to have composed for the sake of his Hindī-knowing disciples. It is through the sonnets and utterances of Bābā Shaikh Farid Ganjshakar (567-644/1175-1265 AD), a disciple of Ḥaḍrat Quṭbuddin Bakhtiyār kākī of Delhi that we come across the first written specimen of Islamised Hindī. He, later on, settled at Ajodhan (Pāk Pattan, Montgomery District, W. Punjab), where he died. It appears from very authentic sources that the

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خیز از مئے قدیم مرا سیر کن بر طل : بگزار این حدیث کہ یک سیر ویک من است 20

Transliteration: Khez az mai-i qadim Sair Kūn baratl Bugzar in hadis. Ke yak ser wa yak man ast.
"Rise up and make me drink to full satisfaction from the old wine this moon-lit-night.
And leave its history whether it is one maund or one seer."

21. 'Abdul Haq (Bābā-i-Urdū), Urdū ki ibtidai nashw wa numā mën sūfian-i Kirām kā kām' p. 90.

22. 'Abdul Haq, 'Urdū kī ibtidāi Nashw wa numā men cct. p.90. Ibid.

Shaikh conversed and wrote in mixed medium. From the testimony of Siyar-ul-Awlyā of Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī (d. 770H), it is narrated that while he was once helping his master (pīr) Khwāja Quṭbuddin Ba'khtiyar Kākī in performing ablution, the Shaikh enquired of Farīd as to why he had tied a bandage round his eyes. Farid replied in Hindi انکھ ائی ہے (ānkh 'ā'ī hai, I am suffering from ophthalmia). And prompt was the rejoinder in typical rekhta style[23] اگر انکھ ائی ہے ایں راچرا بستہ ایہ (agar ankh aī hai, inrā cherā bastah āid? If you have ophthalmia, why have you bandaged them?). Mawlāna Burhānuddin, son of Mawlānā Jamāluddin of Hansi was brought as a boy by his widowed mother for initiation by Shaikh Farīd. While Shaikh Farid caught the palm of Burhānuddin's hand, the latter's mother said خوجہ برہان الدین بالا ہے (Khojā Burhānuddīn bālā hai i.e. Khoja Burhānuddin is young). The Shaikh's reply[24] was مادر مؤمناں : پونوں کا چاند بہی بالا ہے (mādar-i mu-minān, punūnkā chānd bhi bālā hai i.e, Oh mother of the faithful, the full moon too appears small in the beginning). Once while Shaikh Farīd was going to visit the tomb of Shaikh Abd al-Shakūr of Sirsah as was his practice,a crowd of people gathered on the way and the Shaikh, having felt somewhat annoyed ejaculated[25] سرسہ سرسہ کبہی سرسہ کبہی نرسہ (sarsa, sarsa, kabhi sarsa kabhi nirsa i.e. Sarsa, Sarsa, sometimes it is good, sometimes it is bad). In my opinion most of the verses attributed to him in modern books including 'Abdul Haq's *Urdū ki ibtidai nashw wa numā mēn sūfīān-ī kirām kā kām*,[26] appears to be comparatively modern and hardly reconcilable with his utterances in a mixed style. Dr. S. K. Chatterji, a profound scholar of Philology and oriental languages calls Shaikh Farid 'Bābā-i Rekhta'[27] the father of Rekhtā. Rekhta* is also used in the sense of a building of durable material such as brick and mortar, because though composed in two languages, it presents coherent sense and a solid meaningful composition. In the Sikh Granth Ṣāḥib two Sabads and 120 slokas go in his name. Prof.

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23. Shirani, Punjab Men Urdū. P. 208,
24. Ibid P. 300.
25. Ibid. P. 300.
26. Vide p. 11—13 ;
27. Indo-Aryan Hindi. P.87,

* literally thrown or scattered may be used in the sense of Apabhramsh in relation to Sanskrit, meaning having gone off the usual Sanskrit expression.

Baldev Singh once spoke through the Lahôre Oriental College Magazine and following Macantiffe of two Shaikh Farīds, one of whom was a contemporary of Gurū Nānak. This may be possible, since the slokas at the latter end of the Granth are written mostly in Punjabi-Hindi dialect in which Punjābī predominates. But the Sabads are written in archaic Hindi, which may, in my opinion, be unhesitatingly attributed to Shaikh Farid Ganj-Shakar. I write from the Granth Ṣāḥib two Sabads written in a mixed style demonstrative of the use made by a Muslim of Arabic and Persian words in Hindi setting[28].

پرور د گار اپارا گم بے انت تون جنہاں پچھاتا سچ چموان پیرمون
تیری پناہ خدائے بخشند گي شیخ فریدا خیر دیجئے بند گي

Parwardigār apār agam bi ant tūn
Jinhān pichhātā sach chumuān pair mūn;
Teri Panāh Khudāi Bakhshindagi
Shaikh Frīdā Khair dijīye bandegī.

Translation (1) Thou art the Preserver, boundless inconceivable, endless,
By whom the true one has been known, their feet I kiss.
I flee to thy asylum O' God, thou art the donor,
May the happiness of thy service be given to Shaikh Farid.
(Ernest Trumpp, Adi Granth).

The second sonnet,[29] runs as follows-

بولے شیخ فریدا پیارے اللہ لگے اینہ تن ہوسی خاک نمانے گور گھرے
بولئے سچ دھرم جوٹہ نہ بولئے ۔ جو گرو سے واٹ مریدان جولئے

Bole Shaikh Faridā Piyāre Allāh Lage,
inh tan hosī khāk na mani gor ghare.
Bolīye sach dharam jūtth na bolīye
jo Gurū se wat murī-dān jô līye.[30])

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28. Granth Sāheb, Urdu Edition, Newal-Kishore, Bhai Johd Singh Giani No. 761, p. 1259-60,
(29) No. 762 p. 1260 of the Granth Urdu Edn. Newalkishore.
(30) Translation by E. Trumpp, Adi Granth. P. 669.
"Shaikh Farid says, for the sake of Allāh

Shaikh Sharfuddin Bu-'Alī Qalandar Panipatī (d 724/1323) a contemporary of Ḥaḍrat Nizāmuddin of Delhi with whom he exchanged poetic letters in Hindi, once wrote a couplet in pure Khari dialect, supposed to be the basic dialect of Urdū, when he heard that Mubāriz Khan with whom he was attached was going on an expedition. He sent him the following couplet along with its Persian translation.[31]

سجن سکارے جائینگے اورنین مرینگے روئے
بدھیا ایسی رین کر بھور کدھی نہ ہوئے

Sajan sakārey jāingey aur nain marënge rôi,
Bidhiā aisī rain kar bhōr kadhī nā hôi ;

(Translation; (I heard), my friend will march tomorrow morning and the eyes will die of weeping; Oh God bestow such a night which will never dawn.)

Amīr Khusraw of Delhi

Amir Khusraw was a peerless versatile genius, great as a poet of Persian and Hindi, and one of the greatest musician and inventive genius in the field of music. He refers to his Hindī writings in the preface to his Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl[32]' but it is difficult to say which of the extant poems that go in his name are really his. Prof. Maḥmūd Khan Shirāni,[33] has proved beyond any shadow of doubt that 'Khaliq-Bārī', was written by one Khusraw Shāh, not earlier than the reign of

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This body will become vile dust in the house of the grave.
True piety should be spoken, falsehood should not be spoken.
The way the Guru Shows, the disciple shuld be gone.

(31) Vide Shirān: Punjab Mën Urdū; Abdul Huq, Urdu ki ibtida-i : p 16.

Persian equivalent.

من شنیدم یارمن فردا رود راہ شتاب
یا الہی تا قیامت برنیاید آفتاب

(32) Vide M.A. Ghani, Hisţ of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court Vol. I, p.66.

(33) Punjāb men Urdū. p. 220.

Alamgir I[34]. It was a book intended for the beginners to make them acquainted with certain Hindi equivalents of some Persian nouns in verisfied Rekhta.[35] The following are some of the few Amir Khusraw's Rekhtas collected from authentic sources. Writing of a pretty and young Gujri girl selling milk-curd, he says[36].

گجری تو که درحسن ولطافت چومهی
آن دیگ دهی بر سر تو چتر شهی
ازهر دو لبت قند وشکر میریزد
هرگاه که بگوئی که ,, دهی لیهو دهی "

Gujrī tū ke dar husn o latāfat chu mahī,
An dëg-i dahī bar saritu chatr-i shahi
Az har do labat qand o shaker mīrizad
Har gāh ke begoī ke *dahī lëho dahī*.

Trans. Oh Gujri girl like the moon in grace and beauty !
That pot of milk-curd looks grace like a royal parasol on thy head.
From both thy lips candy and sugar pour down.
Every time that thou sayest *dahi leho dahi* 'take milk-curd, take milk-curd.

He writes of one of his sight-seeing rambles on the bank of a river[37].

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(34) Punjāb mën Urdū, P. 182.

(35) Vide Ibid, 181.

زر بود سونا، سیم جیتل، نقره روپا
جامه کپڑ، تاٹ پٹر، ڈبه کوپا

Translation.

The equivalent of Zar is sôna (gold), sīm is Jital, Nuqra is rūpā (silver),
Jāma is kapper (cloth), Tāt is Pattar (sack cloth), Dibba is kūpā (taper).

(36) Shirāni, Punjāb Mën Urdū, p. 171; Naqi Muḥammad Khān Khurjavi : Hayāt-i Amīr Khusraw (in Urdu) Karachi, 1956, P. 74.

(37) Shirāni, Punjāb mën Urdū. P. 171.

رفتم به تما شه بکنارجوئے : د یدم به لب اُب زن هندوئے
گفتم صنما چیست بهائے مویت : فریاد بر آورد که ''در در موئے''

Transliteration :—

Raftam ba tamāshā ba-kinār-i Jūi
Dīdam ba lab-i āb Zan-i Hindu-ī-
Guftam ṣanamā chīst bahā-i muyet
Faryad bar-award ke dur dur mu-i.

Translation:— Once Iwent for sight-ṣeeing on the bank of a stream-
I found a Hindu woman on the brink of water
I enquired, Oh beloved, what is the price of thy hair ?
She cried, be gone *you dead man.* (a second meaning of the line is that every hair is worth 'durr' that is pearl).

The following Rekhta is on the authority of Farhang-i Āsifiyah. It is very interesting as it shows Khusraw composing in the eastern dialect of Hindi[38].

هند و بچه بین که‌عجب حسن د هرے چهے
بروقت سخن گفتن مکه پهور جهرے چهے
گفتم زلب لعل تویک بوسه بگیرم
گفتا که آرے رام ! ترک کائین کرے چهے

Transliteration :—

Hindū bachcha bīn ke 'ajab ḥuṣn dhare-chhe,
Bar waqti sakhun guftan phur Jharechhe,
Guftam Zi lab-i lā'l tu yak busa bagīram;
Guftā ke āri Rām Turuk kāīn Karechhe.

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(38) Shirāni - P. 172.
The famous Rekhta attributed to Amīr Khusraw beginning with

زحال مسکین مکن تغافل دورائے نیناں بنائے بتیان
زتاب هجران ندارم ایجان نه لیهو گاهے لگائے چهتیان

is mentioned in almost all the books on the history of Hindi or Urdu literature, and is in conformity with the Rekhta style quoted before. vide Shirāni- P. 173.

Translation :—

Look at the Hindu boy, what strange charms he possesses;
At the time of his speech flowers from his lips fall down;
I said, I shall snatch a kiss at thy ruby-like cheek;
He said Oh Ram ! what is the Tūrk doing ?

In the opinion of a historian of Hindi literature[39]. Amir Khusraw laid the foundation of Urdū poetry 200 years before its beginning and showed the path to the poets of Urdū.

Ḥaḍrat Sharafuddīn Yaḥya Manërī 662-782/1263-1280 about whom an account has been given in my article chapter on Hindi literature, was a mystic and poet. His Persian letters, and memoirs are to be found in the Bānkipūr Oriental Library. Some of his verses, extensively recited in curing snake-bite betray a distinct Muslim- Hindi flavour. He is the author of the Malfūẓāt, Maktūbāt, Irshādul-sālekin, Adāb-ul-Murīdān. His 'Sharaf Nāmah-i Aḥmad Manerī, a lexicon also known as Farhang-i Ibrāhīmī, was dedicated to Sultān Bārbak Shah of Bengal[40]. The last was a lexicon composed by Ibrāhīm Qawām Fāruqī, in the saint's name. He wrote in Hindi and 'Sharaf' was his penname.

Khwaja Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī, a renowned legist of Jawnpūr and a contemporary of Shihābuddin Umar Daulatabādi, whose memoirs according to the author of the Akhbār-ul-Akhyār[41], was collected by his disciples, is reputed to have composed Akhlāq-wa-Taṣawwūf in Hindi[42] and if so, it ought to be the earliest work of its kind in prose in the north and south India.

Shaikh Muḥammad Jawnpūrī who claimed mahdiship[43] and toured extensively, composed in pure and mixed Hindi. Speaking of Shaikh Aḥmad Khattū, a holy man of Gujrāt, he said

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(39) Hari Audh (Ayodhya Sing Upadhyāya) Origin and Growth of Hindi language and literature, Patna. P. 242.

(40) Shirāni, p. 273 ; also vide writer's article on the growth and development of Persian literature during Sayyid-Lodi period-Journal of Pakistan Historical Society Karachi. Vol. III Part I 1955. P. 30

(41) Abdul Ḥaq Dihlavī, Litho Edition, Delhi, P. 161.

(42) Ḥāmid Ḥasan Qādrī, History of Urdu literature, Agra, P.19

(43) cf. Ency. of Islam Vol. III, P. III on Mahdawis.

روئے پیٹے خدا کون پہنچے

(rōi pītiey khudā kūn pahunche)–
He reached God by weeping and wailing[44].

Qutban's role as a Hindi poet has been discussed in a previous chapter on the growth of Hindi literature. In his Mrigavati which he completed in 909/1505 and which he dedicated to 'Alāuddin Husain Shāh of Bengal (1493-1518 AD), he makes a respectful mention of his Pīr, Shaikh Buddhan which represents the new style of Hindī we are concerned with[45].

شیخ بدھن جگ ساچا پیرو - نام لیت شدہ ہوئے سریرو
قطبن نام لیئے پاد ھرے - سربروئی دو جگ نرمرے
پاچھلے پاپ دھوئے سب گئے - جہرین پرانے اور سب نئے
نیکی بہیا اُج اوتارا - سب سون بڑ پیر ہمارا

Transliteration : Shaikh Buddhan Jag Sāchā Pīrū
Nām let shudah hôwai sarīrū
Qutban nām lye pā dhare
Sar barū-i dô Jag na marey
Pā chhle Pāp dhoi sab gayey
Jharen purāney aur sab nayey
Nīkī bhaiya āj awtārā
Sab sôn baṛ pīr hamārā

Tranlsation : Shaikh Baddhan is the true guide,
By uttering whose name the body gets purified,
Qutban prostrates at his feet,
And does not die on the face of the two earths,
All the previous sins get washed,
The sins old and new fall off,
Today brother, he is the incarnation of goodness,
My guide is the greatest of all.

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(44) Abdul Ḥaq, Urdu kī Ibtida'i nashw ect. p. 32.
(45) Shirāni - Punjāb mën Ūrdu, P. 212 .
Contrast Kabir's mention of Shaikh Taqī of Mānikpur, his guide [Ghat ghat hai abinasi sunô Taki tum Shaikh]

گھٹ گھٹ ہے ابی‌ناسی سونو تقی تم شیخ

The immortal soul is every where, listen oh Shaikh Taqi!
cf. R.C. Shuklā - Hindī Sāhitya kā itihās, Banaras, P. 199

Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs Gangôhī (d 945/1538), son of Shaikh Ismā'il, the latter a disciple of Shaikh Muḥammad 'Arif bin Shaikh Aḥmad Abdul Ḥaq Chishti Ṣābrī, was a contemporary of Bābar, and author of Anwār-ul 'Uyūn, Risala-i-Qudsīya, Ris-la-i-Anwārul Huda, Ris-la-i-Qurratul-'Ayn and Rushd Nāmah. His 'risalas' were collected by Mawlāna Khizr Buddhan bin Rukn Jawnpūrī. He died in 1538, when Humayun was still on the throne of Delhi. He was a poet of high merit and as has been mentioned earlier, 'Alakhdas' was 'his *nom de plume*. I quote only a couplet, to illustrate the new simple style.[46]

اُپ گنوائین پی ملے پی کھوئے سبھ جائے
اکتھ کتھا ھے پریم کی جے کوئی بوجھے مائے

Transliteration

Ap ganwāwen pī miley pi khoi sabh jāi
Akathh katha hai prem ki je kôi būjhey māi

Translation

When one loses his eye he secures the beloved—when he loses the beloved he loses all.
The true path is an unexplicable mystery, he knows who understands the delusion.

Namdev, Kabir and Nanak

As far as Northern India is concerned, we perceive, in the literature of the Bhakti school, particularly in some of the Sabads of Nāmdev, Kabīr and Nānak, a tendency towards the new style. According to Molesworth,[47] Namdev was a contemporary of Kabīr. The comparative polish of his style, mākes him a figure of the 14th and 15th centuries. Namdev, a contemporary of Muḥammad Tughlaq according to Macauliffe, and a calico printer by profession of Nārsibāmni, in Satāra district, Bombay seems to have possessed a good knowledge of Arabic and Persian and in my article on the growth of

46. Shirāni - Punjābmën Urdū. P. 216.
47. Maratha Dictionary; Emest Trumpp; Adi Granth, F. N. I. P. 93.

Hindi literature,[48] a full sabad in Rekhta, beginniug with "Main andhule kī tëk tërā nām hai khundkāra", has been quoted along with its translation.

Though brought up in a Muslim weaver family of Banaras, and devoid of any literary education 'Kabīr was undoubtedly the greatest poet of Hindi during his time. The simplicity of his style made his teaching acceptable to the masses. Besides composing in various dialects, as has been shown earlier, he makes use of Arabic and Persian words which according to Prof. Shirāni constitute about 10 p.c. of his vocabulary. Quite a good portion of his language is intelligible even to the present generation without much effort. "And whenever read", says the Bābā-i Urdu,[49] "his writings, after the lapse of centuries, prove as if the author is one of our own times. I shall quote below, a few of his utterances which represent simple and common place expression. Yet they are very meaningful sometimes terse and cutting. cf Slokas, Granth Sahib.

کبیر اس سنسار کو سمجھاؤن کے بار

پوچھ تو پکڑے بھیڑ کی اُترجاوے پار

Transliteration

Kabīr is sansār kô samjhāwūn kai bār,
Pūchh to pakṛe bhër kī uter jāway pār.

Translation

Kabir, how many times shall I teach the wordly men senses?
They have caught hold of the tail of a sheep and yet like to get across (ie. be redeemed)
He utters else where [cf Granth, Newal kishore, P 1848]

من کرمکه قبلا کروهی — بولنہار پرم گرو ایہی

کہورے ملا بانگ نواج — ایک مسیت دسے درواج

Transliteration

Man kar Makka qibla kar wahi, Bolan-hār param gurūyehī,
Kahô re-Mulla bang nawaj, Ek masit dasey darwāj.

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(48) Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, Vol. II, p 70 footnote 5.

(49) Udrū kī ibtidāi nashv wa numāmën etc.

Translation

Make thy mind Makka, make it also the Qibla;
It is the speechmaker and the supreme guide;
(now) tell oh cry-chanting Mulla,
There is only one mosque (the mind) and ten doors.

[50] هندو ترک کا صاحب ایک ۔ کیا کرے ملا کیا کرے شیخ

Transliteration :—

Hindū Turk kā sāhib ëk;
kiyā kare Mullā kiyā kare shekh.

Translation

The Hindus and the Turks (Muslims) have one Lord.
What can the Mullah, and what can the Shaikh (Muslim holy man) do?

Ram Mukand Verma, author of Sant Kabīr,[51] writes that many Rekhtas were among his composition and he makes a particular mention of "Hindôra kā Rekhta".

Prof. M. A. Ghani in his history of Persian language literatur a the Mughal court,[52] cites a full ghazal in Urdu-Hindi style in pure Arabic metre, attributed to Kabīr,[53] I did not find the undermen-

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50. Granth Sahib, Urdu edition, Newalkishore, p. 1849.
51. 'Sant Kabir, Sahitya Bhawan, Prayag, pp. 10 and 11.
52. Vol. 1, p. 70
53. همن هین عشق مستانه همن کو هوشیاری کیا

رهین آزاد یا جگ مین همین دنیا سے یاری کیا

Haman hain ishq mastānah, haman kô hôshiyāri kiyā.
Rahen azād ya jag mën hamën dunyā se yāri kiya.

Translation. I am mad of love where is the need for precaution?
Whether I am free or tied to the world, what attachment have I for it.?

Prof. Shirānī, quotes in his Punjāb mën Urdu, p. 204, from Kabīr's Vachanāvali.

سنتا نہیں دھن کی خبران صد باجا باجتا

اسمند مندر گا جتا باهر سنے تو کیا هوا

Translateration.

Sunta nahīn dhun kī khabrān sad bājā bājtā,
Asamand mandar gājtā, bahar suney to kiyā huwā.

tioned Ghazal in the authentic collection of his writings embodied in the Holy Granth. Though *Gurū Nānak* (and other Sikh Gurus) wrote in the Hindi medium, in the fashion of the religious teachers of the past, for the sake of ensuring a wider publicity to his teachings, it cannot be denied that Punjabi is mixed up in his idioms, sometimes to the extent of making his diction quite un-intelligible to a person knowing only Hindi. Another peculiarity with Guru Nanak's style is the free use of Arabic and Persian words mostly in a corrupt Indianised form. I pick up at random, a large number of such words from the first twelve pages of the Japji portion of the Granth such as a sahā (shāhā of shāh), wakat (Waqt), Kādian(Qāzian), sekh (Shaikh) hudur (ḥuzūr), baksis (bakhshish), hādir (ḥazir), Jôr (Zôr), sôr (Shor), Saitān (Shaitān), bakhas (bakhsh), kīmat (Qimat), kūrbān (Qurbān) Musakkat (Mashaqqat), badfeli (bad fe'li), Mukām (Muqām), Sidik (Sidq). In addition there are a few hymns and sabads and couplets in the Granth Sahib of a distinctly mixed style, which minus the Punjabi idiom, may pass for fairly good Urdu.[54]

من تن تیرا تودھنی گربه نواز سمیئو

جن ایهه جگت آپا یا تر هون کرا کار

گرمکه چانن جانیئے منمکه مگد غبار

Transliteration.

Man tan tērā tū dhani garba-nawāz samiū
Jin ihh jagat upāyā tirbhūban kar akār
Gurmukh chāna jānīey manmukh mugaddū ghubār.

Translation. (E. Prumpp, Adigranth, p. 30, XVI)

The mind and the body is yours, you are rich and the dweller in my soul[55].

Who has created the Universe and has given form to the three worlds.

His light is known by the disciple (whereas) the self-willed is bewildered in mistiness.

The again,

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54. The Granth, Newalkishore, Srirag mahala I p. 26.
55. I would prefer to render sami as a corruption of the verbal noun سمیع (sami'), the Hearer.

صدق کرے سجدہ من کرے مقصود
جیہ دھر دیکھا تیا دھر موجود

Transliteration

Sidq kare sijda man kare maqsūd,
Jih dihar dekha tia dihar maujud,

Translation by Trumpp, E.

Who practises sincerity and bows down to him, he accomplishes his best purpose.
Wherever I see there He is present.

Compare Guru Nanak's utterances in reply to an invisible voice, supposed to be God's[56].

تو دریاؤ دانا بینا مین مچھلی کسی انت لہان
جہ جہ دیکھا تہ تہ توھے تجہتے نکسی پھوٹ مران

Transliteration.

Tu daryāo dānā bīnā main machhlī kisi ant lihān
Jeh jeh dekha teh teh tu hai tujhtey niksi phut marān[57]

Translation.

Thou art (limitless like) the ocean, wise and omniscient, how shall I the little fish obtain the end ?
Wherever I see there art thou, if I go out from thee, I burst and die[58].

Also compare Nanak's speech, in reply to the Qāḍī to vindicate his thesis that there is no true Muslim or true Hindu.

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(56) Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, Vol I,P 35
(57) The Granth Sāhib, Newalkishore, Mahala I, p 33.
(58) Tr by E. Trumpp, The Adigranth, Srirag Mahala, I, IV Ghar; XXXI, p 39. I differ from this translation and consider 'daryāo' a corrupt form of the verbal nown daryāb, the Enquirer, the Knower, 'Ant lihān', is a peculiar verbal noún form, the suffix 'ān' being added to a Hindi verb 'lëhan', to lick,

مہرمسیت صدق مصلی حق حلال قران
سرم سنت سیل روزہ ہوہ مسلمان
کرنی کعبہ سچ پیر کلمہ کرم نواج
تسبیح ساتس بھوسی نا نک راکھے لاج.[59]

Transliteration.

Mihr masīt, sidq musalla, haq halāl Qurān
Saram Sunnat, sil ruzah, huh Musalmān.
Karni Ka'bah, sach pīr,kalmah karam nawāj
Tasbih sātis bhôsi, Nanak rākhey lāj.

Translation[60].

Make kindness thy mosque, sincerity thy prayer-carpet, what is just and lawful thy Qurān.

Modesty thy circumcision, civility thy fasting, so shalt thou be a Musalmān,

Make right-conduct thy Ka'bah, truth thy spiritual guide, good works thy creed and prayer.

The will of God thy rosary, and God will preserve thy honour O Nanak !

The following couplet read like easy Khari diction :

لکھ چو راسی پھر ہر آوئے - بر تھا جنم گو ایئیان.[61]

Transliteration.

Lakh chaurāsī pahar har awaiy, Birthā Janam gawāiyān.

Translation

Hari comes all the one lakh and eighty-four moments of the day and night.

I have wasted my life in vain [quest].

Gurū Nanak's writings in this new style is an additional proof of the view that the orgin of Urdu was in the Punjab.

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(59) The Granth Sāhib, Newal, Pauri Mahala I, p 191.
(60) Macauliffe I, 35,
(61) The Granth Sāhib, Newal, Mahala I, p 86, No3.

By the time Bābar came into Pak-India,[62] the practice of writing in Rekhta style appears to have become a fashion among men of culture and erudition so that Babar could scribble in his Turki 'diwan'[63] a couplet after a short sojourn in Pak-India.

مجکا نه هوا کج هوس مانک و موتی
فقرا هلینه بس بولغو سیدور پانی و روٹی

Transliteration, Mujkā na huā kuj havas-i manak o motī
Fuqara halina bas bulghusidur pānī o rôtī.

Translation, I never developed a desire for gems and pearls
For the state of the poor people, sufficient, are bread and water.

The Deccan.

The transfer of the capital from Delhi to Dawlatabād brought the Deccan in direct touch with the literary and cultural currents of Northern India and though the capital was re-transferred to Delhi, many scholars and artists preferred to stay in the Deccan because they found better reception in the Provincial courts of the Deccan and Gujrāt and Delhi did not regain its lost splendour, till the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi.

With the conquest of the Deccan and Gujrāt, the Muslim soldiers brought with them several closely related North-Indian dialects,[64] including the ones spoken in Delhi and the Punjāb and subsequently imposed their own North-Indian dialiects on the Marāthī, Telegu and Kanārese-speaking peoples. In contrast to the disorder that set in Northern India from the latter part of Muḥammad Tughlaq's reign, the Deccan became, mainly due to the patronage of the Bahmani rulers, a nursery of Urdu-Hindis. A great impetus to its growth in the Deccan was given when this north Indian tongue was recognised

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62. C/f M.A. Ghanī, History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal Court, Vol. I, p. 59. Bābar using Indian words like nilgāw (wild-ass); Kālā-hiran (buck), hāthi (elephant), ghariyal (alligator), Langôtī (loin-cloth), dôli (palanquin); gilahri (squirrel) etc.

63. Rāmpūr State Library Manuscript; C/f Graham Bailey, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies London Institute, Vol. VI, 1930--32, p 941.

64. S. K. Chatterji, Indo-Aryan and Hindi p 184

as a court language[65]. Thus the lead in the evolution of a new language for the whole of Pāk-India, is justly claimed by the Deccan and partly by Gujrāt, where the new language became known as Dihlavi and Dakhani, and Gujrī or Gujrāti respectively. The pioneers, as has been said earlier, were the saints and mystics. With the assimilation of the local languages by the Muslim settlers, the Deccani branch of Urdū-Hindi, later on called Dakhani began to differ from the Delhi branch[66], so that when local patriotism and deep hatred towards the outsiders, were encouraged by the local rulers, the two branches of Urdū-Hindi were on the parting of the ways. The evolution of the new language however, can be traced in the memoirs and tracts of the contemporary mystics and sūfis who imparted their teachings in easy popular dialect intelligible to the masses.

Ḥaḍrat Gīsu-darāz, (Sayyid Muḥammad Husaini, d 855/1421), a disciple of Ḥaḍrat Naṣiruddin Chirāgh-i Delhi who settled in Gulbarga in 801/1399, was greatly admired by Firuz Shāh Bahmani. He daily lectured on Kalām (Logic), Ḥadīs (tradition), Fiqh (Jurisprudence), and discoursed in Dakhani for the sake of his listeners who did not understand Persian[67]. Of his treatises and tracts written in Indian spoken language, the Mi'rājul 'Ashiqīn,[68] (the Ascension of the Lovers, is the most famous Since the author came to the Deccan when he was sufficiently advanced in years,[69] his expressions quoted in Dr. Abdul Haq's, 'Urdu ki nashw wa numa men sufian-i Kiram ka kam', may be taken as the spoken language of Delhi of his time.

The following is a specimen of his style.

ای عزیز اللہ ندے — اول اپنی پچھانت بعد از خدا کی پچھانت کرنا ۔ انسان کون بوجھنے کون پانچ تن ہر ایک تن کون پانچ دروازے ہین ہور پانچ دربان ہین.[70]

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65. Nsairuddīn Hāshmī, Dakhan mën Urdū., p 35. T. G. Bailey, History of Urdu Lit., p 15.

(66) Graham Bailey, History. of Urdu Lit. p. 10

(67) 'Abdul Haq, Urdu ki ibtidai etc. p. 23.

(68) Also called Mi'rāj Nāmah.

(69) G. Bailey History of Urdu Lit. P. 8.

(70) 'Abdul Haq, Urdukī Ibtidāi nashw wa numān men sufiān-i kirān kā kām, p 24.

Aiy azīz Allāh-bandey..awwal apni pichhānat, ba'd az Khudā kī pichhānat karnā. Insān kūn bujhney kūn pānch tan, hur aik tan kūn pānch darwāzey hôr pānch darbān hain.

"Oh dear slave of God.....first know thyself and then try to know God. Man has five organs of sensation and every organ has five doors and five door-keepers".

Shaikh Bahāuddīn Bājan (790-912/1388-1506), was a holyman of Būrhānpūr in Khāndesh and a disciple of Shaikh Raḥmatullah of Gujrāt. Dr. Abdul Ḥaq has quoted passages in Urdu-Hindi embodied, in the Shaikh's Khazīna-i Raḥmat. A passage, quoted below prove that his compsotions are fine examples of Urdu-Hindi, a synthesis of Indian and Persian cultures linked by Arabic metres[71].

روزہ دھرے نماز گزارے دینی فرض زکواۃ

ین فضل تیرے چھوٹک ناھین آگئین مکہ مین بات

Translation. Ruzah dhare, namaz guzārey dīnī farez Zakat
Bin Fazl terey chhūtak nāhin, āgain mukh mën bat.

Translation.

You may fast, you may have prayed, you may have paid compulosory alms,
But without your (God's) grace none will be delivered, this is what comes from my mouth.

The mystic next to Gisū-Darāz who is the author of books in Hindustāni still extant, is Mirānji Shamsul-'Ush Shāq Bijāpurī b 902/1496, a disciple of Ḥaḍrat Gisū-darāz. Though hailing from Makka which was his birth place, his compositions are still in Hindi, commonly understood in Northern India. I quote below only one passage out of the many quoted by Dr. 'Abdul Haq[72].

بسم اللہ الرحمن - الرحیم تو سبحان

تجہ بن نکوئی — تو خالق دو جہان ہوئی

جسے تیرا ہوئے کرم - تو ٹوٹے بھی بھرم

(71) Ibid, P. 35.

(72) Abdul Ḥaq Urdū ki Ibtidai nashw wanuma men etc. 51-52.

Transliteration

Bismillahir Rahmān - Al-rahim tu subhan
Tujh bin nakoi- Tū khāliq-i do-jahān hoi
Jis-i tera howey karam- To tutey bhi bharam.

Translation :—

I begin in the name of the Lord thou art Glorious
There is none else than thee, thou art the creator of the two worlds
Those on whom thou bestoweth thy grace are purged of their short-comings.

It is proved from the foregoing account that during the period under review, a new literary language was slowly evolving as the result of the intercourse between Hindi on the one hand and Arabic and Persian on the other, a language clearly distinguishable from literary Hindī, in the sense that the basic dialect of this mixed tongue is not Awadhī Purbī, Braj, or Rajasthāni but Kharī[73], the dialect spoken even now around Delhi and Meerut—the dialect which the Muslim newcomers adopted in preference to the hard and consantful Punjabi, the spoken language of many soldiers who eventully came to settle in the plains of the Jumna-Ganges Doab. The Delhi dialect had the advantage of being more polished and its words consisted of short and easier from of apabhrams. It is the 'ā' dialect of the Philologist modified of course by Persian and Arabic words and idioms in preferenc to Braj which is the O or Au dialect of the Philologists. This language in its early literary form is derived from the spoken language of the people. It attains a distinct literary standard at Golkunda during the close of the 16th century with Mulla Wajhī, the author of 'Quṭb-Mushtāri', and the prose work Sabras, in about 1654. It attains a literary position in Northern India not earlier than the 11th century Hijrah.[74]

We have noticed at least three stages in its evolution—the first being the adoption of one or two Indian words in the Persian expression of the Muslims, vocal or written as in poetical literature. Then come verses of mixed character half in Hindi half in Persian, or a part

73. Dr. Grierson in his linguistic Survey of India thinks it was Bangru or Hariāni, the long ā dialect of the Philologists, which does not appear to have been a fact. This opinion is no longer upheld by scholars.
74. Shirāni, Punjāb men.....p. 3.

in Hindi or a part in Persian. In the third stage, Indian vernacular tongues are assimilated and they form the basic dialect of expression with free use of Persian and Arabic words and their idioms. At this stage, the distinction between the mixed language and Hindi is not much but in course of time, with the adoption of Perso-Arab metres in versical expressions and use of Arabic and Persian words with iḍāfat and the choice of easy expressions in the realm of prose make it a different tongue than Hindi.

Secondly, in Urdū, as in Hindi, there is a negligible amount of prose literature compared to the ones in poetry. It is however difficult to say the extent to which Hindi received the patronage of the Sayyid-Lodi Kings. It appears that Sikandar Lodi made even the Hindus learn Persian the court language of the Muslim rulers of Northern India. Yet, this new style of Hindi received patronage of the Muslim rulers of Gujrat and the Deccan and even other Provincial languages like Bengali, Marathi, Sindhi take their place as vernaculars through the same patronage.

The poetry and even the language itself, remained known, as has already been said, Rekhta upto the 18th century. It may be proved from the numerous quotations of the 18th century north-Indian poets. Mir Taqi wrote with pride the following:—

گفتگو ریختہ مین ہم سے نہ کر : یہ ہماری زبان ہے پیارے

Transliteration in foot note.[75]

Do not attempt to speak to me in Rekhta
It is my tongue Oh dear one !

Or as Ghālib who wrote in self-admonition thus [76] :

ریختہ کے تم ہی اوستاد نہین ہو غالب
کہتے ہین اگلے زمانہ مین کوئی میر بھی تھا

Trans :— You are not the only master of Rekhta Oh Ghalib!
They say that in old days there was a certain Mir as well.

—o—

75. Shirāni, Punjab mën Urdu. P. 25,

Transliteration :—

Guftgu rekhta mën ham se na kar
Yeh hamāri zabān hai peyārey

76. Shirāni. P. 26.

Rekhta ke tum hī ustād nahin ho Ghālib
Kahtey hain agley zamāne men koī Mir bhi thhā.

ASPECTS OF MUSLIM ADMINISTRATION IN BENGAL DOWN TO A.D. 1538.

ABDUL KARIM.

No attempt has so far been made to study the Muslim administration in Bengal down to A. D. 1538. The present article is an attempt to fill up this gap in the early Muslim history of Bengal. The main obstacle to study the subject is the absence of contemporary chronicles written within the country. But such a study is not impossible as it apparently poses to be, with the help of contemporary chronicles written in Dehlī, contemporary Bengal inscriptions and coins, the later chronicles and the Bengali literature. It may also be remembered that Muslim admininstration in Bengal is not an isolated event, rather a continuation of the Muslim administration outside Bengal, notably Dehlī.

1. THE Kh<u>a</u>LJĪ MALIKS

Minhāj-i-Sirāj in his *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*[1] gives us an idea of the administration of the Muslim Kingdom of Lakhnawtī under the Kh*alj*ī Maliks. The dare-devil dash of Muḥammad Bakhtyār Khaljī towards the east suddenly made him the master of a vast kingdom extending upto the river Karatoyā[2]. His presence in the court of Quṭb al-Dīn Āibak[3] after his conquest of Bihar and subsequently his presents[4] (of booty) to that great Viceroy of Muḥammad bin Sām after his conquest of Nadiya show that he subordinated himself to the authority of Dehlī. But this subordination, diplomatic or real, did not preclude him from making administrative arrangement in his conquered possession. Lakhnawtī was made the *Dār al-Mulk*[5] (capital) and territorial assignments known as *Iqṭā's*

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1. Published in the Bibliotheca Indica series, A.D.1864. A modern edition has been published from Lahore in A. D. 1952.
2. *History of Bengal Vol. II*, Dacca University, A. D. 1948. (hereafter referred to as H. B. II) P. 12.
3. Minhāj : *Ṭabaqāt-Nāṣirī*, Lahore edition, A. D. 1952 (hereafter referred to as Minhāj) P. 61.
4. Minhāj, P. 64.
5. Minhāj, p. 64.

were made to his *Amīrs*. Names of two such assignees have come down to us. They were 'Alī Mardān Khaljī, the *Muqṭa'* of Narkoṭī[6] and Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Iwaḍ Khaljī, the *Muqṭa'* of Kankturī[7]. The policy of carving out the territory into several *Iqṭā's* was according to the general practice of the Muslims; the Abbasides, the Ghaznavides and the Ghorids[8]. Himself a *Muqṭa'*[9] under Dehlī, the division of his newly conquered possession into several *Iqṭā's* is significant. Minhāj records[10] that Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaljī issued coins and read *Khuṭbah* in each *Khiṭṭah* of his territory, but it is not explicitly mentioned whether these were done in his own name or in the name of his overlord. None of his coins has so far come to light.

Muḥammad Shīrān Khaljī, the newly chosen chief of the Khaljī nobles[11] began well with the administration according to the policy of his late master. The territorial assignments or *Iqṭā's* remained as before[12]. But his authority did not last long due to the enmity and treachery of 'Alī Mardān Khaljī, at whose instigation Quṭb al-Dīn Āibak interfered in Lakhnawtī politics. Qāemāz Rūmi was sent from Āwadh to settle affairs in Bengal[13]. Muḥammad Shīrān did not submit, rather withdrew towards the north where he died in virtual exile[14]. This very fact shows that he wanted to be independent, unhampered by Dehlī authority. Lakhnawtī passed to the sovereignty of Dehlī with Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Iwaḍ Khaljī as the Muqṭa' of Deokot[15].

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6. *Ibid.* p. 69. For variation of reading and identification see Raverty: Translation of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Bibliotheca Indica, p. 572, note 7; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (hereafter referred to as *J. A. S. B.*) 1875, p. 285; H. B. II, p 35.
7. *Ibid.* p. 70. For variation of reading and identification see Raverty: op. cit p. 575, note 2; *J.A.S.B.* 1875; H. B. II. p. 37
8. I. H. Qureshi: *Administration of the Sultanate of Dehlī*, 2nd edition Lahore, A. D. 1944, p. 122.
9. Minhāj, p. 60.
10. *Ibid.* p. 64.
11. *Ibid.* p. 70.
12. Minhāj, p. 70.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*

What became of other *iqtā's* or *Iqtā'dārs* is not known but a study of Minhāj's account shows that Deokot (or the Kingdom of Lakhnawtī) became one of the many *iqtā's* of the Dehlī Sulṭanate.

The first ruler in Lakhnawtī to assume the title of Sulṭān was 'Alī Mardān Khaljī. After the death of Quṭb al-Dīn Āibak, he assumed independence, styled himself Sulṭān 'Alā'al-Dīn and read Khuṭbah in his own name[16]. This independent status of Lakhnawtī lasted till A. D. 1227 when Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn 'Iwaḍ Khaljī (Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Iwaḍ, the former Muqṭa' of Deokot) was killed by Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the eldest son of Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish of Dehlī[17]. For various reasons, the reign of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn 'Iwaḍ Khaljī was epochmaking in the Muslim administration in Lakhnawtī.

(a) He was the first Bengal Sulṭān whose independent coinage has come down to us[18], which shows three stages of development[19].

(i) The earliest issue dated 616/A. D. 1219, 617/A. D. 1220 in which he took the title of *al-Sulṭān al-Mu'aẓẓam*.

(ii) The second stage of coins dated 617/A. D. 1220, 619/ A. D. 1222 in which he took the title of *al-Sulṭān al-Ā'ẓam*.

(iii) The third stage of coins dated 620/A. D. 1223 in which he took the title of *Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn*.

(b) He was the first Sulṭān to inscribe the name of the *Khalīfah* of Baghdād on his coins[20]. This has been the basis of the theory that he received investiture from the Baghdād Khilāfat[21]. If it proves to be true, it will indicate that he wanted to give his Kingdom a legal force and thus to make it inviolable by the Sulṭān of Dehlī.

(c) He was the first to realise the importance of Navy in extending the frontier of his Kingdom. Cavalry could be utilised

16. *Ibid*. p. 71.
17. *Ibid*. p. 75.
18. Thomas : "Initial Coinage of Bengal, Part II" in *J.A.S.B*. 1873.
19. *Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conference*, Dacca Session, A. D. 1953, pp. 111-14.
20. *J. A. S. B.* 1873, p. 358.
21. *Ibid*. Recently this theory has been challenged (see, *Proceedings of the Pakistan History* Conference, Dacca Session, A, D. 1953, pp. 111-14.

here in Bengal for only half the year. So he organised a flotilla of warboats[22] with which he could give a good account of himself[23] when Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish of Dehlī invaded his territory.

(d) He was the first to make a vigorous attempt to extend the frontier of his Kingdom in all directions. He conquered Lakhnawr[24] and made expeditions towards Bang and Kāmrud[25].

What has been discussed above shows that but for an interval of only about four years[26], Lakhnawtī attained the status of independent Kingdom under the Khaljī Maliks. Except his presence before and sending of presents to Quṭb al-Dīn Āibak after his conquest of Bihar and Nadiya respectively, there is no reference to show that Muḥammad Bakhtyār Khaljī subordinated himself to the Delhī authority. On the other hand his administrative measures in Lakhnawtī point out to his independent status. Since the death of Quṭb-al-Dīn Āibak in A. D. 1210 till A. D. 1227 Lakhnawtī was completely independent; its sovereignty being limited by only the vague legal position of the Baghdād Khilāfat. The terms applied to Lakhnawtī by Minhāj in discussing the history of this period, supports this view. He terms Lakhnawtī variously as *Mamālik*, *Diyār*, *Bilād* and *Zamīn*,[27] all synonyms of Kingdom or territory as against the terms *Iqtā'* (assignment) and *Wilāyat*[28] (Governorship) synonyms of some sort of a dependency, used in the subsequent period, when Lakhnawtī passed to the sovereignty of Sulṭan Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish and his successors.

2. *LAKHNAWTĪ UNDER DEHLĪ AUTHORITY*

After the suppression of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn 'Iwaḍ Khaljī, Lakhnawtī passed to Dehlī, the first ruler being Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the eldest son of Iltutmish. This position continued till the time of

22. Minhāj, p. 74.
23. *Ibid.* p. 75.
24. *Ibid.* p. 74.
25. *Ibid.* p. 75.
26. The period when 'Iwaḍ was the *Muqṭa'* of Deokot.
27. Minhāj, pp. 64, 66, 71, 74, 83, 85.
28. *Ibid.* pp. 142-43, 145, 146.

Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, with two attempts at Independence, one under Mughīth al-Dīn Yūzbak and the other under Mughīth al-Dīn Ṭughral. Being under the authority of Dehlī, Lakhnawtī could hardly make any headway towards the development of administrative system. The position becomes clear if we remember that, Lakhnawtī could not make any substantial change in its territorial expansion in such a long period. There was no dearth of ambitious souls; 'Izz al Dīn Ṭughral Ṭughān Khān was trying to found an East-India Sultanate[29]. But soon the internal feud let loose by the weakness of the Central authority ruined not only his ambition but also himself.[30] Mughīth al-Dīn Yūzbak showed sign of greatness; he assumed independence and issued independent coinage.[31] He also pushed his southern frontier upto Mandaran.[32] But as misfortune would have it, he lost his life in course of Kamrup expedition.[33] Mughīth al-Dīn Ṭughral, another ambitious general probably could have added laurels to the Lakhnawtī Sultanate but he incurred displeasure of the Dehlī Sulṭān who himself took the field until he (Ṭughral) was crushed.[34] This long period of Bengal history covering more than half a century, therefore, remained practically static.

The important point to be noted in this period is that though Lakhnawtī was under the Dehlī authority, forming one of the *Iqṭā's* of the Dehlī Sultanate,[35] some of the Governors exercised unlimited powers like making of Warfare,[36] and assuming the canopies of state.[37]

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29. Minhāj, pp. 145ff; H. B. II, pp. 46-47.
30. Minhāj, pp. 148-49.
31. H. N. Wright : *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum; Calcutta, Vol. II*, Oxford A. D. 1907 (hereafter referred to as Catalogue), p. 146; Minhāj, p. 163.
32. Minhāj, p. 162.
33. *Ibid*. P. 163.
34. Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī: *Tārikh-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, Bibliotheca Indica, (hereafter referred to as Baranī), pp. 89 ff.
35. Minhāj, pp. 142-43, 145, 146, 161.
36. As in the case of 'Izz al-Dīn Ṭughral Ṭughān Khān (Minhāj, pp. 145 ff) or Mughīth al-Dīn Yūzbak (Minhāj, pp. 161-163).
37. As in the case of 'Izz al-Dīn Ṭughral. (Minhāj, p. 146).

3. *BENGAL FROM THE TIME OF BUGHRĀ KHAN TO A. D. 1338.*

Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban gave a new outlook to the administration of Bengal. He appointed his own son Bughrā Khān in Iqlīm Lakhnawtī and himself appointed *Iqtā'dārs* there.[38] He also left instructions with Bughrā Khān to extend the frontier and to bring under his control Iqlīm Bangālah[39]. For the first time Lakhnawtī was termed *Iqlīm* and the same term was applied to Bangālah. The territorial assignment like *Iqṭā'* continued. So the term *Iqlīm* given to Lakhnawtī and Bangālah is significant. Minhāj always used the name Bang and never Bangālah and Bang was always termed *Bilād* and never *Iqlīm*.[40] The change of terms therefore, indicates the administrative reorganisation. Lakhnawtī assumed

38. Baranī, p. 92.

39. *Ibid.*

وهرچه از کارخانهای طغرل بغیر پیل وزربدست افتاده بود به بغراخان بخشید وپیش خود درمجلس خلوت طلبیده سوگند داد که پیش ازان اقلیم بنگاله رابدست آرد ودر ضبط خودمستقیم کند درهیچ روز مجلس نسازد وشراب نخورد وبلهو مشغول نشود ـ

Translation :-"And whatever of the *Kārkhānah* (work shop) of Ṭughral except elephant and gold came to his hand, he gave to Bughrā Khān. He also called him (Bughrā Khān) before his presence in private and made him swear that he (Bughrā Khān) should not merry nor rejoice any day, nor drink nor engage himself in pastime before conquering Iqlīm Bangālah and taking it into his direct control."

40. In one place Baranī applies the term 'Arṣah to Bangālah. (Baranī, p. 93). This leads Dr. K. R. Qanungo (H. B. II, p. 71) to suggest that 'Arṣah Bangālah meant Satgāwn and Iqlīm Bangālah meant Sunārgāwn. But such a distinction seems to be far-fetched. Minhāj (Minhāj, pp. 72 ff) divided Bengal into Rāl (Radha or south west Bengal which included Satgāwn), Barind (Varendra or north Bengal) and Bang (East Bengal which included Sunārgāwn). Secondly, a minute study of Baranī shows that 'Arṣah Bangālah was only a part of Bangālah. The relevant passage is reproduced below : (Baranī p. 93).

the status of more than an *Iqṭā'* or *Wilāyat* and Bughrā Khān was more than a Governor. He had a *Dabīr* of his own,[41] his father bestowed upon him *Chatr* (umbrella) and *durbāsh* (royal staff).[42] A number of *Iqṭā'dārs* were put under him and the vast territory i.e. Iqlīm Bangālah to be subdued was put under his authority. The special position of Lakhnawtī may be gauged from the fact that Balban, who maintained a policy of non-expansion gave only the ruler of Lakhnawti a free hand to extend his frontier towards the east.

After the death of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, Bughrā Khān assumed independence in Lakhnawtī and styled himself Sulṭān

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سلطان بلبن بغرا خان را با چند نفر مقرب د یگر درمجلس
خلوت پیش طلبید و بحضورآن بزرگان او را گفت که ای محمود
من اگرچه در توشایستگی الو الامری دیدم یاندیدم فاما ازجهت
شفقت فرزندی الو الامری وصلاح دید ملک خود اقلیم لکهنوتی
وعرصه بنگاله که دربدست آوردن آن چندین خون خورده ام
واز برائی استقامت این ملک اینچنین فرعونی کرده‌ام وخلق
را بردار کشیده بتو دادم ـ

Translation :—"Sulṭān Balban called Bughrā Khān before him in private with a few closely associated servants and told him (Bughrā Khan) before them, 'O Maḥmūd, I may or may not find fitness and commanding ability in you, but I have seen in you these qualities because of my filial love. I have shed much blood in bringing (under control) my own Kingdom of Iqlīm Lakhnawti and 'Arṣah Bangālah and I have done cruelties for consolidating them. After slaughtering people, I have given them to you."

The above passage shows that 'Arṣah Bangālah was a part of Bangālah which was already conquered, while the Iqlīm Bangālah i. e. the whole of Bangālah was yet to be conquered, for which he left instructions to Bughrā Khān (see, note 39.). Thirdly, Satgāwn was conquered not by Balban but long after him in the reigns of Rukn al-Din Kaikā'us and Shams al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh, (See, *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, July 1956, pp. 198 ff.)

41. Baranī, p. 95.
42. *Ibid.* p. 92.

Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd[43]. It is not known whether he issued independent coinage. But his successors Rukn al-Dīn Kaikā'us (son of Bughrā Khān), Shams al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh (usurper[44] after Kaikā'us) and three of his children not only issued independent coinage with full regal titles but inscribed on these coins, the name of al-Musta'ṣim, the last Abbaside Khalīfah of Baghdād[45]. They cut off all connections with Dehlī.

Whether Bughrā Khān could or did conquer Iqlīm Bangālah is not definitely known. The first inscription discovered from Triveni area is of the time of Sulṭān Rukn al-Dīn Kaikā'us[46] (son of Bughrā Khān), who was also the first to issue coins from the Kharāj (land-tax) of Bang[47] (East Bengal). During the time of Sulṭān Shams al Dīn Fīrūz Shāh the eastern frontier was carried upto Sylhet[48]. He issued coins from the mints of Bang and Sunārgāwn[49]. His son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Bahādur issued coins from the mint of Ghiyāthpūr[50]. These new mints and the Sylhet inscription prove that East Bengal upto Sylhet was conquered during the time of Shams al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh.

Some inscriptions of the period refer to the appointment of Governors in certain areas indicating a provincial administration under the Lakhnawtī Sultanate. Thus one Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Fīrūz Aitgīn was a governor in Bihar under Sulṭān Rukn al-Dīn Kaikā'us[51]. He was given the lofty title of Khān al-A'ẓam (the great Khān), Khāqān *al-Mu'aẓẓam*, (the great Khāqān) Khān *al-Sharq wa al-Ṣīn* (the Khān of the East and of China) and *Sikandar al-thānī*[52]

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43. Baranī, p. 148.
44. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1942, pp. 65-70.
45. *Catalogue*, pp. 147-148 ; *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVII, pp. 86-91.
46. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18, pp. 13.
47. *J. A. S B.* 1922, p. 410.
48. *J. A. S. B.* 1922, p. 413; *Dacca Review*, August, 1913, p. 154.
49. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVIII, pp.76-77
50. *Ibid.* p. 85.
51. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18, pp. 10-11; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXXVI, 1955, p. 166.
52. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18, pp. 10-11 ;
Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXXVI, 1955, p. 166.

(the second Alexander.) Similarly one Ẓafar Khān Bahrām Aitgīn was a Governor (al-Sulṭāni) in Gangarampur under the same Sulṭān with the title Khusraw-i-Ẓamān (Lord of the time) and *Sikandar al-*Thāni (the second Alexander)[53]. This same Ẓafar Khān is called "an aider of Kings and monarchs" (*M'uīn al-Mūlūk wa al-Salāṭīn*) under the next Sulṭān i. e. Shams al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh[54]. Fīrūz Shāh's son Ḥātim Khān was a viceroy (Nā'ib) under him in Bihar[55].

This growth in the administration was interrupted for a short period when Bengal passed to the sovereignty of the House of Ṭughluq. Muḥammad bin Ṭughluq divided Bengal into three Iqtā's, Lakhnawtī, Satgāwn and Sunārgāwn[56]. But as we shall see presently, the system that was begun in this period did not completely die out ; rather it was further developed by the Independent Sulṭāns, under whom Bengal enjoyed an unqualified sovereignty for long two hundred years.

4. *THE PERIOD OF INDEPENDENT SULṬĀNS*

Several factors were responsible to give this period a distinct character in Bengal's history. First, the earlier connotation of Lakhnawtī to denote the Muslim Kingdom of Bengal was replaced by the term Bangālah[57]. Muslim power penetrated into the nook and corner of Bengal. For the first time Bengal was united by a Muslim King i. e. Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh under his banner[58]. 'Afīf calls

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53. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18, pp. 11-13.
54. *J.A.S.B.* 1873, pp. 287-88.
55. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18, p.22; *J.A.S.B.* 1873, p. 249.
56. Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad bin 'Abd Allāh al-Sarhindī ; *Tārikh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, Bibliotheca Indica, A. D. 1931, p. 98.
57. The trace of such a change is found first in 'Afīf (Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf; *Tārikh-i-Fīrūzshāhi* Bibliotheca Indica A.D. 1890, pp. 114-118). Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baṛanī (Barani p. 593) also uses the term Bangālah in his description of Ilyās Shāh's army and war-preparation. Recently Dr. A. H. Dani has made a detailed study on the subject. (See A.H. Dani "Shamsuddin Ilyās Shāh, Shāh-i-Bangālah" in Sir *Jadu Nath Sarkar Commemoration* Volume, Punjab University, Hoshiarpur, India A. D. 1958.)
58. H. B. II, P. 105.

him Shāh-*i-Bangālah*, *Sulṭān-i-Bangālah* and *Shāh-i-Bangāliyān*[59], the latter phrase indicating the general popularity of the Muslim Sultanate. Secondly, during this whole period covering two hundred years, Bengal was completely independent, unhampered by any foreign authority. Interregnum[60] and foreign invasions[61] were there, but they could not crush Bengal's independence, nor could they throw the Muslims out of power. Thirdly, there was an all-out effort to give the administration a popular character taking the local people into confidence, and encouraging local aspirations.[62] Naturally, therefore, there grew up and developed an elaborate administrative system. A comprehensive study of the subject is seriously handicapped due to lack of materials. The only dependable sources are the coins and inscriptions, supplemented by the later chronicles and Bengali literature.

(a) *THE SULṬĀN*

The supreme power exercised by the Sulṭāns is nowhere best illustrated than in their coins, in which they assumed titles *Sulṭān al Ā'ẓam*, and *Sulṭān al-Mu'aẓẓam*,[63] pointing out their undisputed sovereignty. In some of the coins the titles included *Sulṭān al-'Ādil*, *Imām al-A'ẓam* and *Sikandar al-*Thānī.[64] But the assumption of these regal titles did not preclude them to pay allegiance to the vague legal authority of the institution of Khilāfat. The early Ilyās Shāhī Sulṭāns declared themselves *Nāṣir-i-Amīr al-Mu'minīn* (helper of the Commander of the Faithful), *Yamīn-i-*Khilāfat *Allāh* (right hand of the vicegerent of God) and *Yamīn al-*Khilāfat (right hand of the Caliphate).[65] There are also instances to show that some Sulṭāns

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59. Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf : Tārikh-i-Firūzshāhi, Bibliotheca Indica A. D. 1890, pp. 114-118.

60. For example the interregnums of Rājā Gaṇeśā and the Ḥabshī usurpers.

61. Invasion of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī of Jawnpūr may be cited as an example. (Ghulām Ḥusayn Salīm: *Riyāḍ al-Salāṭīn*, Bibliotheca Indica, A. D. 1898, (hereafter referred to as *Riyāḍ*), P. 113.

62. *J.A.S.B.* 1952. p. 121.

63. For coins see, Catalogue, pp. 149 ff.

64. *Ibid.* pp. 149-161.

65. *Ibid.*

themselves took the title[66] of Khalīfah. Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh was the first to assume such title and the practice continued till the time of the last of the Ḥabshī usurpers.[67] Side by side they declared themselves *Nāṣir al-Islām wa al-Muslimīn* (helper of Islam and the Muslims) and *Ghawth al-Islām wa al-Muslimin* (helper of Islam and the Muslims).[68] The reversal of titles in the coins is a significant event in the Muslim administration in Bengal. The change was introduced by a convert (Jadū later on Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Rājā Gaṇeśā) who occupied the throne after dispossessing a dynasty which upheld the local aspirations for more than half a century.[69]So his assumption of the Khalīfah title and his pledge to be a 'helper of Islam and the Muslims' (*Nāṣir al Islām wa al-Muslimīn*) was to spark a sense of homogenity[70] among the people and to show that the Sultanate was firm and stable. Materials at our disposal do not permit us to ascertain the probable reaction against such assumption of title by a convert; nor do we know how far the sudden overthrow of his dynasty after his son Shams al Dīn Aḥmad Shāh was the result of such a reaction. The following account of Firishtah shows that his accession to the throne was approved by the Muslim nobility who 'follow the King in wordly affairs and have nothing to do with religion.' Firishtah writes as follows:[71] "Jitmal after the death of his father, summoned

66. *Catalogue, p.* 163. Ḥāji Dabīr in his *Arabic History of Gujrat* (edited by Sir E. Denison Ross, Vol. III, London A. D. 1928, p. 979) writes that Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh sought for and obtained recognition from the Khalifah of Egypt. This information is not available in any other source. Moreover it is not supported by his coins.
67. *Ibid.* pp. 163-171.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *J.A.S.B.* 1952, p. 121.
70. Ḥāji Dabīr writes that after his accession to the throne he continued the Islamic practices and rebuilt those mosques which were demolished by his father (Rājā Gaṇeśa). (E. Denison Ross : *Arabic History of Gujrat*, Vol. III, London; A. D. 1928, p. 979).
71. *Tārikh-i-Firishtah* Vol II, Newal Kishore edition, P. 297. (hereafter referred to Firishtah).

جیتمل بعد از فوت پدر اعیان وارکان درگاہ راحاضر ساختہ گفت
نزد من حقیقت ملت احمدي ظاهر شده ومرا ازین امر گریزي

the nobles and all the other pillars of the state and said, 'the truth of the religion of Islam is clear to me and I have no alternative but to accept it. If you accept me and do not wish to stray away from my sovereignty, I will place my feet on this honourable throne; otherwise let my younger brother be King and excuse me'. All the officials unanimously declared, 'we follow the King in worldly affairs and have nothing to do with religion'. Then Jitmal having summoned the learned men and elite of Lakhnawtī uttered the *Kalimah* and having assumed the title of Jalāl al-Dīn ascended the throne." The practice of Bengal Sulṭāns claiming themselves Kh*alīfah* and declaring themtelves 'helper of Islam and the Muslims' continued till the time of the Ḥabshī ruler Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh.[72] The Ḥusayn Shāhī Sulṭāns inscribed the names of first four rightful Khalīfahs in their coins.[73] They put emphasis on their noble birth belonging to the family of the Prophet.[74]

(b) *THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD*

During this period three cities—Fīrūzabād, Lakhnawtī and Ikdālah alternately attained the status of *dar al-Mulk* (Capital) of the Bengal Sultanate.[75] Only for a short time covering the first decade,

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نیست پس اگرشما مرا قبول کرده اطراف بشاهی می کنید بر ین تخت جلیل القدرمی نهم وگرنه برادرکو چک را بسلطنت برداشته مرا معزو ردارید - جمیع اهل حل وعقد متفق شده گفتند ماتابع بادشاهیم درامور دنیوي بمذهب ودین کارے نیست - جیتمل علما وفضلا لکهنوتی را طلبیده کلمه شهادت گفت وخود راسلطان جلال الدین لقب داده قدم بر تخت حکومت نهاده -

72. *Catalogue*, p 171
73. *Ibid.* pp. 172 ff.
74. *Ibid.* In their coins they called themselves Sayyids.
75. During the early Ilyās Shāhi period Pandwa, named Fīrūzabād was the Capital (Riyāḍ p. 96). Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad transferred the capital to Lakhnawtī. (*Ibid.* p. 116). Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn transferred the Capital to Ikdālah. (Firishtah, pp. 301-21 ; *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, Vol. V, part I, Nos.* 130-32).

Sunārgāwn became the seat of a rival Government under the House of Sulṭān Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh.[76] The use of the epithet Ḥaḍrat Jalāl to Sunārgāwn even after this period in the contemporary coins, has been the basis for supposition of numismatists that, though not a capital, Sunārgāwn had the privilege of royal presence there.[77]

The Sulṭān held his court in the royal palace. The Chinese account[78] records that the palace was heavily guarded by soldiers. The sovereign used to sit on a high throne inlaid with precious stones. The Chinese envoys were received by the Sulṭān in the audience-hall. Poet Kṛittivāsa had to cross nine halls before he could reach the royal presence, when the King was sorrounded by his high officials some of whom are called wazīrs.[79]

The sources supply the names of a few officers who, as the nature of their duties suggests, were appointed in the Royal palace. They were Ḥājib, *Silāḥdār*, Sharābdār, *Jamadār* and *darbān*. When Sulṭān Sikandar Shāh was besieged in the Ikdālah fort, he sent his ḥājib to Sulṭān Firūz Shāh Ṭughluq with a present of five elephants.[80] When Qāḍi Sirāj al-Dīn sent his peon to deliver a summon to Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn A'ẓam Shāh, it was the ḥājib who presented him before the Sulṭān.[81] In Dehlī during this time, the ḥājib was the master of ceremonies at the Court; it was his duty to marshall the nobles and officials in accordance with the precedence of their rank.[82] The duty of the ḥājib as has just been mentioned point out that the duties of the ḥājib were similar both in Dehlī and Bengal. According to the Chinese account,[83] the Chinese envoys were received in the court amidst ceremonies and etiquette, two persons with silver staff and two persons with gold staff leading them alternately to the royal presence and offering salutations at intervals. The *silāḥdār* as the term suggests, was the armour-bearer of the Sulṭān and was necessarily attached

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76. H. B. II, pp. 98-99.
77. *Catalogue*, p. 142.
78. *Visva-Bharati Annals, Vol. I*, 1945 (hereafter referred to as *Annals*), p. 121.
79. Sukumar Sen: *Bāṅgālā Sāhityer Itihāsa*, Calcutta A.D. 1940, pp. 80 ff.
80. *Riyāḍ*, *p*. 100.
81. *Ibid*, *pp*. 106-7.
82. I. H. Qureshi : *Op cit* p. 61.
83. *Annals*, pp. 121-22.

to his person. Fakhrā (later on Sultān Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh) was the *silāhdār* of Bahrām Khān the Imperial Governor of Sunārgāwn under Muḥammad bin Ṭughluq.[84] The biographers of Chaitanya refer to one Keśava who is called *Chhatrī* (umbrella holder) of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh.[85] *Sharabdār* was the royal cupbearer in charge of drink, may be of water or wine. The Chinese account[86] records that there was no system of drinking wine in the court of Bengal Sulṭāns, because it was held to be a breach of decorum but they used to drink *sharbat* or sweetened water. In the royal household of Dehlī, there was a servant named *sharabdār* who was responsible for drink served by *Sāqi-i-Khās*.[87] *Jāmadār* was in-charge of royal ward-robe. Inscriptions supply the names of two other officers, *Sharabdār-i-Ghayr Maḥalī* (cup-bearer outside the palace) and *Jāmadār-i-Ghayr Maḥalī* (keeper of ward-robe outside the palace.)[88] The word *Ghayr Maḥalī* suggests that they were attached to the Royal Person when they were out to the country for military or other reasons. In the inscriptions these two officers are also given the titles of *Wazīr*, and *Sar-i-Lashkar*[89], thus indicating their high status. Darbāns were the gate-keeper of the palace. They, sometimes, took part in the court politics especially during the Abyssinian interregnum and the resultant political upheaval.[90]

Besides these officers, there were large number of slaves attached to the royal palace. Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh was the first to recruit Ḥabshī slaves[91], who later on rose to prominence in state affairs. Probably he took this step to rest the Sultanate on a firm support

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84. Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad bin 'Abd Allāh al-Sarhindī; *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, Bibliotheca Indica, A. D. 1931, (hereafter referred to as Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad) p. 104.
85. *Chaitanya Bhāgavata : Chaitanya Charitāmṛita.*
86. *Annals*, p. 122.
87. I. H. Qureshi *op cit.*, p. 65.
88. A. H. Dani ; *Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal* (*Appendix to Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Vol. II*, 1957) hereafter referred to as *Inscripitions*, p. 108.
89. *Ibid.* pp. 99 ff.
90. For example, Malik Andīl, the *Wazīr* of Jalāl al-Dīn Fatḥ Shāh avenged the murder of his master (Fatḥ Shāh) with the help of darbān. Firishtah, p. 299.
91. *Ibid.* p. 298.

and thus to stop any future interregnum like that of Rājā Gaṇeśa, which his predecessors witnessed. These slaves gained so much prominence that some of them occupied the position of *Wazīr*.[92] During the time of the successors of Bārbak Shāh, the practice gained ground that five thousand *pāiks* (foot-soldiers) used to remain in attendance in the palace. After the Sulṭān took salute in the morning, they departed making room for another batch of an equal number of *pāiks*.[93] This position gave them an opportunity to take the law in their own hands. According to Firishtah,[94] "they attained the peak-point (in power) and their intemperence grew beyond imagination". They murdered the legitimate ruler Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Fatḥ Shāh.[95] For a time the *masnad* (throne) of Bengal became a prey to the contending conspirators till order was restored by Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh.

(c) *THE NOBLES* :

The Sulṭān was surrounded by his nobles. Their influence is nowhere best illustrated than in determining the succession to the throne. Muslim historians, Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥamd Bakhshī, Firishtah and Ghulām Ḥusayn Salīm record that the *Amīrs*, the *Maliks* and the great officers used to place the new Sulṭān to the throne. For example, "when Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn (Ilyās Shāh) departed (this life), the Amīrs and the chiefs of different groups, on the third day after his death, placed his elder son on the throne of the empire, giving him the title of Sikandar Shāh",[96] and "when Sulṭān Sikandar died, the *Amīrs* and the chiefs of different groups of the people gave the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-al-Dīn to his son and seated him on the throne in the place of his father."[97] Such examples of the Sulṭāns being placed on the throne may be multiplied, but we have to remember that this was a formality, because the choice of the nobles was always confined to the Royal House. The practice was deep rooted and gained

92. As in the case of Malik Andīl (Firishtah, p. 299).
93. *Ibid.*
94. *Ibid.*
95. *Ibid.*
96. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī: *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, A. D. 1935, Vol. III, p. 264; *Firishtah*, p. 296; Riyāḍ p. 100.
97. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥamad Bakhshī *Op cit.* Vol. III. p. 265; *Riyāḍ* p. 105.

the status of political concept. Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, the converted son of Rājā Gaṇeśa took the consent of the nobles[98] before he ascended the throne, although he gained supremacy by sword. Moreover on two particular occasions, those of Nāṣir the slave[99] (who declared himself Sulṭān after the murder of Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh, son of Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh) and Sikandar Shāh[100] (son of Shams al-Dīn Yūsuf Shāh of the later Ilyās Shāhī dynasty), the nobles took a more active part and deprived them of the throne; in the first case because he was a slave and in the second case, because on inquiry it was found that "he did not possess the qualification or the right of being invested with this high office[101]." In another instance, the Amīrs headed by Malik Andīl murdered Bārbak, eunuch, (who murdered the reigning Sulṭān, Fatḥ Shāh and assumed Kingship with the title of Sulṭān Shāhzādah), and then held a council under the leadership of Khān-i-Jahān, the *waẓīr* to choose a Sulṭān. The opinion of the Queen (the widow of late Sulṭān Fatḥ Shāh) was taken and ultimately they decided to put Malik Andīl (later on Sulṭān Sayf al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh) to the throne.[102]

From what has been discussed above, it is clear that the nobles played a significant part in determining the succession to the throne. It has been pointed out that one Sulṭān was deposed because he did not possess the qualification, thus indicating that the Sulṭāns were expected to have some qualification, though materials at our disposal do not help us in determining the same. Heredity and strength of arms must have played the most important part and the Ḥabshī usurpation shows that the second one played a greater part. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī and Ghulām Ḥusayn Salīm record that for some years it became the practice in Bengal that whoever slew the ruling King became the recipient of homage and submission of the people who did not protest against his installation as King.[103]

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98. *Supra*, p.
99. *Firishtah*, p. 298.
100. *Ibid*. p. 299.
101. *Ibid*.
102. *Ibid*. pp. 300-301.
103. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, op cit, Vol. III, p. 268; *Riyāḍ*, pp. 120-25.

The inscriptions supply some titles of officers or nobles, derived from the word *Majlis*. These titles are Khān Majlis, *Majlis al-Ā'lā*, Majlis *al-A'ẓam*, *Majlis al-Mu'aẓẓam* and *Majlis al-Majālis*.[104] The real implication of these titles are difficult to ascertain. In one inscription, the holder of the title is called 'adviser of Kings and Sulṭāns' (Nāṣiḥ al-Mulūk wa al-Salāṭīn).[105]

(d) *THE WAZĪR*

The extant inscriptions of the period supply the names of a number of persons with the title of *Wazīr*.[106] In these inscriptions the wazīrs are put in charge of *Iqlīm*, *'Arṣah* and Shahr.[107] Persons holding the title of *Wazīr* are also mentioned as *Sar-i-Lashkar*, *Kotwāl*, Sharabdār-i-Ghayr Maḥali.[108] The inscriptions, therefore, give an idea that the *Wazīrs* performed multiple functions and worked in various capacities.

In the Chronicles, there are references to *wazīrs* as heads of finance and having an overall control upon the administration of the country. A'ẓam Khān, brother of the famous saint Ḥaḍrat Nūr Quṭb 'Ālam was a *wazīr*.[109] Rājā Gaṇeśa assumed supreme control over both administrative and revenue functions,[110] and exercised enormous authority in the state, which position helped him in supplanting the ruling dynasty. Firishtah gives an idea[111] that under Jalāl al-Dīn Fatḥ Shāh, there were two wazīrs—Malik Andīl who was out in the frontier heading an expeditionary force and who later on avenged the murder of his master (Jalāl al-Dīn Fatḥ Shāh) and Khān-i-Jahān, the *wazīr* who was called upon to deliberate on the succession to the throne. In the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II, one Ḥabsh Khān, a slave assumed similar power as that of Rājā Gaṇeśa and overthrew his master.[112] Sayyid Ḥusayn Makkī (later on Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh) was appointed a *wazīr* of

104. *Inscriptions*, pp. 96-101.
105. *Ibid.*
106. *Ibid.* pp. 96-101
107. *Ibid.*
108. *Ibid.*
109. Shaykh 'Abd al Ḥaqq Dehlawī: *Akhbār al-Akhyār fī Asrār al-Abrār*, Mujtabi Press, Dehlī, p. 152.
110. Firishtah, p. 297.
111. *Ibid.* p. 299.
112. Firishtah, pp. 300-301.

Shams al-Dīn Muẓaffar Shāh.[113] From this position he fought against his master and himself occupied the throne.[114]

Firishtah describes[115] the above named wazīrs as '*Ṣāḥib-i-Ikhtyār al-Mulk wa māl garded*' (became supreme in administrative and revenue functions). They were, therefore, of the nature of Chief Ministers having unlimited authority as found to exist in the Sultanate of Dehlī.[116] A study of the history of their rise shows that they served weak masters and Firishtah gives a definite hint that the wazīrs enjoyed unlimited authority only when the sovereign became weak. They naturally proved dangerous to the Sultanate. Rājā Gaṇeśa, Ḥabsh Khān and Sayyid Ḥusayn Makkī, all proved so and overthrew the ruling monarch.

Bengali literature supply the names of two other officers—*Dabir Khās*(correctly *Dabīr-i-*Khāṣ) and *Sāker Mālik*(Ṣaghīr *Malik*)[117]. Under Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh, two brothers, Rupa and Sanātana held these two posts respectively. In Dehli *Dabīr-i-*khāṣ was in charge of Diwān-i-Inshā.[118] He was required to be well-versed in literature and the art of composition and to be a master of style and diction.[119] Qawām al Dīn Dabīr wrote the *Fatḥnāmah* (tale of victory) of Balban's victory in Lakhnawtī and sent it to Dehlī while Shams al-Dīn Dabīr wrote Balban's injunctions that the Sulṭān left with his son Bughrā Khān, the new Governor of Bengal.[120] The very title *Dabīr-i-*Khās given to Rupa under 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh suggests that he was entrusted with similar duties. As for *Sāker Mālik* (or Ṣaghīr *Malik*) Dr. Sukumar Sen thinks[121] that he was the Chief Secretary of the Sulṭān though the word *Sāker* or Ṣaghīr does not warrant such an opinion. But the account given in the Bengali literature about him leads us to believe that he played an important part in the administration. Sulṭān 'Ala' al Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh felt

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113. *Ibid.*
114. *Ibid.*
115. *Ibid*, pp. 297 ff.
116. I. H. Qureshi, *Op cit*, p. 79.
117. *Chaitanya Bhāgavata; Chaitanya Charitāmṛita.*
118. I. H. Qureshi, *Op cit.*; *p.* 86.
119. I. H. Qureshi; *Op cit.*, p. 86.
120. Baranī, pp. 93 ff.
121. Sukumar Sen : *Bāngālā Sāhityer Itihāsa*, Calcutta, A.D. 1940, p. 73.

helpless when Sanātana absented himself from the court for a few days. The Sulṭān first sent his personal physician, Mukunda Deva and then came personally to Sanātana and said as follows[122]:—"All my works are entrusted in your hands, how do you leave them and reside in your own house ?"

(e) *THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT*

A study of the contemporary coins and inscriptions brings out the following units of administration :—

Coins[123] :—

1.	*Iqlīm* :—	(a)	Iqlīm	Mu'aẓẓamābād.
2.	*'Arṣah* :—	(a)	'Arṣah	Satgāwn.
		(b)	'Arṣah	Sẖahr-i-Nau.
		(c)	'Arṣah	Chawāḷistān 'urf Kāmru.
		(d)	'Arṣah	Chātgąwn.
3.	*Shahr* :—	(a)	Sẖahr	Lakhnawtī
4.	*Qaṣbah* :—	(a)	Qaṣbah	Lakhnawtī
5.	Khiṭṭah :—	(a)	Khiṭṭah	Lakhnawtī

Inscriptions[124] :—

1.	*Iqlīm* :—	(a)	Iqlīm	Mu'aẓẓamābād.
		(b)	Iqlīm	Mubārakābād.
2.	*'Arṣah* :—	(a)	'Arṣah	Sājlā Mankhbād.
		(b)	'Arṣah	Hādigar.
		(c)	'Arṣah	Srihat.
3.	Sẖahr :—	(a)	Sẖahr	Lāobalā.
		(b)	Sẖahr	Simlābād.
		(c)	Sẖahr	Hādigar.
		(d)	Sẖahr	Ḥusaynābād.
		(e)	Sẖahr	Bārbakābād.
		(f)	Sẖahr	Fīrūzābād.
		(g)	Sẖahr	Muẓaffarābad.

122. *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita.*

আমার যে কিছু কার্য্য সব তোমা লঞা।
তাহা ছাড়ি থাক তুমি ঘরেতে বসিয়া॥

123. *Catalogue*, Vol. II. pp. 142 ff.

124. *Inscriptions*, pp. 114 ff.

(h) Shahr Maḥmūdābād.
(i) Shahr Muḥammadābād.
4. *Qasbah* (a) Qaṣbah Dhākhā.
5. *Thāna* :— (a) Thāna Lāobalā.
(b) Thāna Lāoḍ.

(i) *Iqlīm* :—

The above evidences show that *Iqlīm* and *'Arṣah* were two important administrative divisions under Independent Sulṭāns. Names of two *Iqlīms* have come down to us. *Iqlīm* Mu'aẓẓamābād[125] is known from both coins and inscriptions from the time of Sikandar Shāh (A. D. 1358-1393) to the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh (A. D. 1493-1519). Iqlīm Mubārakābād[126] is known from only one inscription of the time of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I (A.D. 1442-1459). The inscription records that in the year 863/A. D. 1459 in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, a gate (to a mosque) was erected by one Khwājah Jahān in the frontier post (*fī ḥadde*) of Iqlīm Mubārakābād.[127] The inscription was discovered from a ruined mosque at Naswalagali in the modern city of Dacca.[128] Mu'aẓẓamābād is identified with Mu'aẓẓampūr, a few miles to the east of Sunārgāwn.[129] As for the indentification of Mubārakābād, Stapleton thinks that, "a relic of *Iqlīm* (Mubārakābād) seems to be Mubārak Ujiyāl mentioned in the Ā'in as a paraganah of Sirkār Bāzuhā (Vol. II, Jarrett's trans, p. 138). This still exists as a large paraganah of the Dacca district, comprising much of the land South-west and west of Ḍacca town, between the Padma on the south and the Dhaleswari on the north".[130] The identification of the the two *Iqlīms* as shown above and keeping in view the term *fi ḥadde* (in the frontier post,) a fairly correct idea may be had on the location of the two *Iqlīms*.

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125. It is generally suggested that Mu'aẓẓamābād was after the name of Ghiyāth al-Dīn A'ẓam Shāh (Inscriptions, p. 110), but Mu'aẓẓamābād appears as a mint town under Sikandar Shāh (Catalogue, pp. 153-54).
126. Stapleton (*J.A.S.B.* 1910 p.147) thinks that Mubārakābād was named after Sulṭān Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh.
127. *J. A. S. B.* 1910, p. 145, Plate XXIV.
128. Inscriptions, p. 18
129. *J.A.S.B.* 1873, p. 235.
130. *J. A. S. B.* 1910 p. 147.

Inscriptions discovered from Sunārgāwn and Sylhet refer to Iqlīm Mu'aẓẓamābād, thus suggesting that the *Iqlīm* included a vast tract from Sunārgāwn in the southwest, stretching towards east and north-east upto at least Sylhet.[131] On the other hand the 'frontier post' (ḥadd) of Iqlīm Mubārakābād was Dacca. As Sunārgāwn which was within Mu'aẓẓamabād was just a few miles east of Dacca, Dacca must have been on the eastern 'frontier post'. So Iqlīm Mubārakābād stretched towards west and south-west of Dacca, and probably included, as Stapleton suggests, "all old Vikrampur, i.e., those portions of the existing districts o Dacca and Faridpur, south of the Dhaleswari, which lay in acute angle between the old course of the Ganges, and the Meghnā on the east".[132]

In the coins Iqlīm Mu'aẓẓmābād appears as a mint. In inscriptions Iqlīm Mu'aẓẓamābād has been put under officers with the title of *Jamadār-i-Ghayr Maḥalī*, *Sar-i-Lashkar* and *Waẓīr*.[133] In one inscription the officer is also called *al-Sulṭāni*[134] and in another *Zamīn* (territory) of Tipura (Tippera) was included under the same officer.[135] As for Iqlīm Mubārakābād, the titles of officer is not known. It is curious to note that not a single *Iqlīm* is found to exist in other parts of Bengal.

(*ii*) *'Arṣah* :—

The names of the following 'Arṣahs have come down to us. 'Arṣah Satgāwn, 'Arṣah Sājlā Mankhbād, 'Arṣah Hādigar were lying in West Bengal near about Satgāwn[136] and 'Arṣah Chāwalistan *'urf* Kāmru, 'Arṣah Srihat in East Bengal[137] bordering Assam. H. N. Wright refers[138] to one 'Arṣah Chātgāwn (Chittagong). Coins supply the name of one 'Arṣah Shahr-i-Nau,[139] but its identifica-

131. This is also accepted by Blochmann. (*J.A.S.B.* 1873, p.235).
132. Stapleton in *J. A. S. B.* 1910, p. 147.
133. *Inscriptions*, pp. 35, 52, 59.
134. *Ibid.* p. 35.
135. *Ibid.* p. 59.
136. For identification see, *Inscriptions*, pp. 109 ff.
137. *Inscriptions*, p. 7; *Catalogue*, p. 152.
138. *Catalogue*, p. 142.
139. *Ibid.* p. 142.

tion has so far been difficult.[140] It is curious to note that no *'Arṣah* is found to exist in North or South Bengal.

In the coins 'Arṣahs appear as mint towns. In the inscriptions 'Arṣahs are put under officers with titles, *Jamadār-i-Ghayr Maḥali*, *Sar-i-Lashkar* and *Wazīr*[141] and the same officer is entrusted with the duties of *Shahr* and *Thāna*.[142] If the titles are indicative of their functions, it may be supposed that they held both civil and military authority. It is difficult to say how *Wazīrs* performed their duties as head of these administrative units. The functions of *Wazīr* as discussed above suggests that they resided in the metropolis. If that was so their duties in the administrative units were probably perpormed by their deputies.

Dr. A. H. Dani holds[143] that in East Bengal the administrative divisions were known as *Iqlīm*, while in West Bengal they were given the name of *'Arṣah*. A close examination of the inscriptions and coins reveals that this view needs revision. In the first place it is not a fact that *'Arṣah* was not in use in East Bengal. One inscription supplies the name of 'Arṣah Srihat[144] (identified with Sylhet) and a coin of Sikandar Shah supplies the name of 'Arṣah Chāwalistān *'urf* Kāmru. Kāmru is identified with Kāmarupa or Assam or a portion of it, but in any case it is not West Bengal. We have also the name of 'Arṣah Chātgāwn. Secondly, Ḍiyā al-Din Baranī[145] termed Bangālah both as *Iqlīm* and 'Arṣah. We have pointed out earlier[146] that Iqlīm Bangālah was not exactly the same as 'Arṣah Bangālah. But whatever that may be the word Bangālah suggests that both Iqlīm Bangālah and 'Arṣah 'Bangālah lay in East Bengal.

Dr. Dani further holds that *Iqlīm* and *'Arṣah* were corresponding to one another.[147] The reason why he holds such an opinion is that in the inscriptions both the units are put under officers of same rank i. e., wazīr and *Sar-i-Lashkar*. Probably the country was divided into big and smaller units. Baranī's reference[148] to Iqlīm Lakhnawtī,

140. *J. A. S. B.* 1867, p. 65; *J. A. S. B.* 1873, p. 214.
141. Inscriptions, p. 114.
142. *Ibid.*
143. *Ibid.* p. 115.
144. *Supra*,
145. Baranī. pp. 92-93.
146. *Supra*,
147. *Inscriptions*, p. 115
148. Baranī, pp. 92-93.

Iqlīm Bangālah and 'Arṣah Bangālah hints at some sort of a distinction between *Iqlīm* and '*Arṣah*. The distinction seems to be that of the area of territory under these units i.e. the bigger units were probably called *Iqlīm* and smaller units '*Arṣah*. Lakhnawtī which was till then used to denote the then Muslim Kingdom of Bengal was called an Iqlīm. Secondly, Baranī himself applied the word '*Arṣah* to only that portion of Bangālah which was already conquered, whereas his Iqlīm Bangālah was the vast territory of Bangālah that was yet to be conquered. Thirdly, we have already seen[149] that Iqlīm Mu'aẓẓamābād covered a vast territory extending from Sunārgāwn to Sylhet. As against this no '*Arṣah* seems to be so big or at least no inscription gives us such an idea.

(iii) Shahr, *Qaṣbah and* Khiṭṭah :—

These three units were almost synonymous. Shahr means a city, *Qaṣbah* an unfortified city and Khiṭṭah a fortified one.[150] They were not separate units but component parts of bigger units like '*Arṣah* or *Iqlīm*. They were put under *wazīr* or *Sar-i-Lashkar* i. e. officers of bigger units.

(iv) *Thāna* :—

Thāna was put under a *Sar-i-Lashkar*, thus giving it a military character. The inscriptions supply[151] the names of only two thānas, Lāobalā[152] in West Bengal and Lāoḍ[153] in East Bengal. Their geographical position shows that they were frontier outposts and thus required to be guarded by an army officer.

(v) Shiq *and Maḥal* :—

Only two inscriptions,[154] one of Sulṭān Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh and the other of Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad refer to Shiqdār. In the former one Ulugh Nuṣrat Khān is mentioned as a "Shiqdār of the affairs of Jor and Baror and other *Maḥals*". The suggestion, therefore, is that Shiqdār was charged with the affairs of few maḥals,

149. Supra
150. I. H. Qureshi : *Op cit.*, p. 203 note 7.
151. *Inscriptions*, p. 116.
152. *Ibid.* Lāobalā is identified with Lāopalā in Twenty Four Paraganas, ten miles due east of Triveni. (*Ibid* p. 109).
153. Lāoḍ is well known place in the district of Sylhet (*Ibid.* p. III)
154. *Inscriptions* p. 23, 14.

which were probably combined into a Shiq. There is no other reference to Shiq or Shiqdār. There is however one specific name of a maḥal i.e., Hādigar.[155] Hādigar is also called an *'Arṣah*.[156] *'Arṣah* Hādigar, therefore, seems to be a greater unit than the *Maḥal* of that name. But it is difficult to fiind out the relation between *'Arṣah* and Shiq.

In his rent-roll of Bengal, Todar Mal divided the Ṣūbah into *Sarkārs* and the *Sarkārs* into *maḥals*, forming them into revenue units, each *maḥal* yielding a specific amount of dams.[157] It would be really interesting, if a link could be established between Todar Mal's rent-roll and the revenue system during the period under review.

(vi) *The vassal chiefs* :—

Reference to the existence of vassal chief is also available in this period. For example, there was one Bhandsi Ray in the region of Ghoraghat under Sulṭān Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh.[158] He helped Shāh Ismā'īl Ghāzī in his war against Kāmrup and later on conspired against his life. On a false report from him, Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh executed Shāh Ismā'īl Ghāzī.[159] According to the Bengali literature,[160] one Rājā Rāma Chandra Khān of Benapol was punished by the *wazīr* of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh for non-payment of tax. These two incidents suggest that the vassal chiefs were under the obligation of paying tax and rendering military service.

5. *Sources of Revenue* :—

The earliest recorded source of revenue of the Muslims in Bengal is the *Ghanīmah* or booty. According to Minhāj,[161] "such a vast ghanīmah fell into the hands of Muḥammad Bakhtyār (after his conquest of Nadiya) that it cannot be recorded." Most of the Bengal Sulṭāns made frequent raids into the neighbouring kingdoms

155. *Ibid*. p. 37.
156. *Ibid*.
157. *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. II, translated by Jarrett and annotated by J. N Sarkar, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, A. D. 1949.
158. *Risālat al-Shuhadā*, Text edition and English translation in *J. A. S. B*. 1874, pp. 215 ff.
159. *Ibid*.
160. *Chaitanya Bhāgavata*.
161. Minhāj, p. 64.

and brought vast Ghanīmah. For example, Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn 'Iwaḍ Khaljī received wealth from Jājnagar (Orissa), Tirhut, Kāmrup and Bang (Eastern Bengal).[162] Sulṭān Mughīth al-Dīn Ṭughral brought vast booty from Jājnagar (Orissa) which made him revolt against the Sulṭān of Dehlī.[163] Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh also brought vast booty including elephants from the same kingdom.[164]

According to strict Islamic principle, four-fifths of the ghanīmah required to be distributed to the army who actually participated in the battle, one fifth only going to the state treasury. How far this practice was followed in Bengal is not known.

The next recorded but by far the most important source of revenue is the Kharāj or the land-tax, According to Minhāj, [165] when 'Alī Mardān Khaljī (Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Mardān Khaljī) took the insignia of royalty, the neighbouring *rāes* began to send Kharāj to him. Sulṭān Mughīth al-Dīn Yūzbak issued coin from the Kharāj of Nadiya and Umardan (Mandaran),[166] and Sulṭān Rukn al-Dīn Kaikā'us issued coins from the Kharāj of Bang.[167] Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf refers to the Kharāj realised by Ẓafar Khān, son-in-law of Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh from the outskirts of Sunārgāwn.[168] He also refers to the *Zamīndār* of Bengal who sided with Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Ṭughluq when the latter invaded Lakhnawtī.[169] In the proclamation issued in course of his first invasion of Lakhnawtī, Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Ṭughluq promised remission of Kharāj to the Zamindārs or land-

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162. *Ibid*, p. 74.
163. Baranī, p. 82.
164. *Riyāḍ*, pp. 95-96.
165. Minhāj, p. 71.
166. *Catalogue*, p. 146, Plate I (part II) No. 6.
H. N. Wright's reading of بدن in the margin is a mistake for Umardan. The word is written like لرمعردن . This has been read by H. N. Wright as ارضبدن . While we cannot suggest any better reading for the earlier portion, the latter portion seems to be Mardan i.e. Umardan. Minhāj (Minhāj, p. 162) also records that Mughīth al-Dīn Yūzbak occupied as for south as Umardan (Mandaran).
167. *J. A. S. B.* 1922, p. 410.
168. Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf : *Op cit* p. 138.
169. *Ibid*, pp. 114-18.

owners.[170] Firīshtah records[171] that in the reign of Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn (Sayf al Dīn Ḥamzah Shāh) the *R*āes used to send Kh*arāj* regularly to the state treasury. All these evidences prove that *Kharāj* or land-tax constituted an important source of income of the Muslim kingdom in Bengal.

According to the Chinese account,[172] the state-dues was one-fifth. We do not know whether the dues varied from time to time, nor do we know, whether the Kh*arāj* was payable in cash or kind. During this period in Dehlī, both the systems, payment in cash or kind was prevalent.[173] Due to lack of materials it is not possible to have any idea about the system of assessment. The reference[173](a) to an officer with the title of *Sar-i-Gumāshtah* in an inscription, however leaves no doubt that there was an elaborate machinery for the collection of land-tax. Gumāshtah means an agent and hence Sar-i-Gumāshtah means head of agents charged with the collection of revenues. The word survives even today.

Foreign accounts are the only sources to refer to the customs duties. The Chinese account records[174] that customs duties were realised at the port of Chittagong and according to Barbosa,[175] 'there were many towns both up the country and on the coast where receivers of customs and revenue were appointed. We have on the authority of the Bengali literature that there were restrictions on the movement of valuable commodities like *Chandan* (Sandal wood) between Bengal and Orissa.[176]

Beside these, there were some minor duties, which may be termed as tolls or excise duties. Bengali literature refer to *Ghāti* (owner of ferry service) and *dāni* (receiver of *dāna*, a kind of toll) and taxes *hātkar* (taxes payable in weekly *hāt* or markets), *Pathkar* (taxes payable for traversing a path or road over private lands),

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170. *J. A. S. B.* 1923, p. 280.
171. Firishtah, p. 297.
172. *Annals*, p. 99.
173. I. H. Qureshi, *Op cit*, pp. 104 ff. 173 (a). *Inscriptions*, p. 22.
174. *Annals*, p. 120.
175. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, English translation by Mansel Longworth Dames, Hakluyt Society, London, A. D. 1921, pp. 135-48.
176. *Chaitanya Bhagavata*.

and *ghātkar* (taxes payable to owner of ferry service).[177] Chaṇḍidāsa and Mālādhara Vasu's reference to these taxes may not be taken seriously, because they refer to Bṛindāvana, but the taxes are also referred to by Bṛindāvana Dāsa and Kṛishna Dāsa Kavirāja in connection with Chaitanya's life in Bengal.

It is interesting to note that there is no reference to the existence of *Jiziyah* (poll-tax) in Bengal.

6. *Military Organisation* :—

The army was at the root of the Muslim Sultanate in Bengal. It was an army headed by Muḥammad Bakhtyār Khaljī which invaded, conquered and established a Muslim Sultanate in Bengal. For the whole period under discussion the administration seems to be half civil and half-military. The civil officers were also heads of the army. For example, we have seen earlier[178] that officers put in charge of *Iqlīm*, *'Arsah* or *Shahr* were called *Sar-i-Lashkar*. The military character was, therefore, a fundamental fact of Muslim administration in Bengal, for which the following explanation may be offered.

First, the Muslims, whatever might be the strength of their number, were hopelessly in a minority compared to those over whom they ruled and who belonged to an alien faith. Secondly, the Sultanate in Bengal had always to keep a watchful eye towards the neighbouring Kingdom of Dehlī. In fact Dehlī did not remain a silent spectator towards the independence of Bengal. Beside earlier invasions, Fīrūz Ṭughluq, the last important ruler of the Ṭughluq dynasty twice measured sword with this eastern Kingdom. The later Sulṭāns did not try to recapture Bengal, probably because Dehlī itself lost much of its power by the rise of provincial Kingdoms like Jawnpūr. Thirdly, Bengal Sulṭāns could not forget their eastern border territories like Kāmrup, Tippera and Arakan. They tried to extend their sphere of influence to the east whenever they got an opportunity.

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177. Chaṇḍidāsa : *Sri Kṛishṇa Kirtana*, edited by Basanta Rañjan Roy, Bangīya Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta, 2nd edition, B. S. 1342; Mālādhara Vasu : *Sri Kṛishṇa Vijaya* edited by K. N. Mitra, Calcutta University, A. D. 1944, *Chaitanya Bhāgavata* ; *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita*

178. *Supra*.

(a) *Army Organisation :*

The Sulṭān was the head of the army. Sometimes, especially in the initial period, they led the army in battles. Muḥammad Bakhtyār Khaljī, Muḥammad Shīrān Khaljī, Mughīth al-Dīn Yūzbak, Mughīth al-Dīn Ṭughral, Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh, all led expeditionary forces against the neighbouring Kingdoms.[179] In his fight against Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq, Ilyās Shāh himself took the field.[180] Sikandar Shāh led the army against his rebel son A'ẓam Shāh.[181] 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh led expeditionary force against Kāmrup.

Sometimes individuals were appointed as Commander-in-Chief to lead the battle. In the reign of Shams al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh, one Sikandar Khan Ghāzī was sent to conquer Sylhet.[182] In the reign of Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh, one Shāh Ismā'il Ghāzī volunteered his services and conquered Kāmrup and Orissa.[183] Under 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh, one Rukn Khān is credited to have been the conquerer of Kāmta, Kāmrup and Orīssa.[184] Under him Parāgal Khān and Chute Khān were sent to the frontier of Chittagong.[185] Royal princes were also deputed to lead the expedition. For example under 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh, Prince Nuṣrat Shāh was sent to Chittagong,[186] and Prince Dāniyāl was sent to Kāmrup, where he lost his life.[187] Sometimes wazīrs were appointed Commander-in-Chief and asked to lead the battle. Thus Malik Andīl, the *wazīr* was in the frontier, leading war-fare when his master Jalāl al-Dīn Fatḥ Shāh was murdered.[188] According to the Chinese account,[189] the Commander of the army was called *Pa-sse-la-eul*, restored

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179. Minhāj, pp. 64 ff. 69, 75, 162 ff; Baranī, p.82; *Riyāḍ* pp. 95-96.
180. Baranī, pp. 586 ff.
181. *Riyāḍ*, pp. 101-104.
182. *Inscriptions*, p. 7
183. *J. A. S. B.* 1874, pp. 215 ff.
184. *Inscriptions*, p. 58.
185. D. C. Sen : *Banga Bhāshā O Sāhitya*, Calcutta University, 1356 B. E. 8th edition, pp. 94-97.
186. *Ibid.*
187. *Riyāḍ*, p. 134 ; *J. A. S. B.* 1872, p. 335.
188. Firishtah, p. 299.
189. *Annals*, p. 118.

as *Sipāh-Sālār* but in the inscriptions we get only the title Sar-i-Lashkar.[190]

(b) *Division of the army :*

The Bengal militia was divided into (i) Army (Cavalry and Infantry), (ii) the navy and the (iii) elephant corps. At the beginning the cavalry played a very important part. The Turks were skilful horsemen, which tradition they imported from their homeland. But in the riverine tract of Bengal, remaining inundated for half the year, cavalry proved effective only for half year and that was also in the high land of North Bengal. This situation explains why in the initial period the Muslim Sultanate was confined only to North-West Bengal. It has been pointed out earlier that Sulṭan Ghiyāth al-Dīn 'Iwaḍ Khaljī[191] was the first to realise the importance of navy. He organised a flotilla of war-boats which later on became a regular practice.

Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh was probably the first to make a large recruitment of local people to his army. Baranī gives the description of Ilyās Shāh's army in the following words[192]:—"The well-known *pāiks* of Bangālah, who, for years, gave themselves the name of *Abū Bangāl* (the Father of Bengal) and claimed to be (heroic) men, took promise before Ilyās, the bhang-eater to sacrifice their lives (for him); and standing in front of his (array of) horses, together with the *Rāis* of the river-girt Bangālah, they bravely threw about their arms and legs. In the time of battle, when faced with the brave soldiers and archers of the army of the Victorious, (they) put their fingers

190. *Inscriptions.*
191. Minhāj, p. 74.
192. Baranī, p. 593.

پایکان معروف بنگاله که سالها خود را ابو بنگال می خوانا
ند ند ومردهامی گو یا نیدند وبیرۀ جان بازی از پیش الیاس
بهنگی برمی گرفتند وپیش رکاب آن سودای بارایگان اب گرفته
بنگاله دست و پای زدند در حالت محاربه درپیش شیر ا فگنان
وتیر ا ندازان لشکر منصور هر دو انگشت دردهان می اند اختندو
خبر دری می کردند وتیغ وتیر ازدست می انداختند وپیشا نی
بر زمین می مالید ند وعلف تیغ می شدند ـ

(in fear) into their mouths, lost their sense, threw away swords and arrows from their hands, rubbed their foreheads on the ground, and fell to the swords of the enemies." In another place, Baranī writes,[193] "That Ilyās, the ruler of Lakhnawtī, who has taken possession of that country by force, at this time has gathered together the *pāiks* (foot soldiers) and *dhanuks* (bowmen) from the river-girt Bangālah and invaded Tirhut without any reason". 'Afīf also speaks[194] of his *Lashkar i-Bangālah* (Bengali soldiers) and Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad bin 'Abd Allāh Sarhindī gives[195] the name of one of his supporters 'Shahdeo' and records about his "equipage, attendants and countless Bengalis". During the later Ilyās Shāhī period it was the practice that five thousand *Pāiks* used to remain always in watch and ward in the palace.[196] 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh in his war against Kāmrup sent twenty four thousand infantry and cavalry and numerous ships.[197]

Contemporary inscriptions apply three terms to the army officials *Sar-i-Lashkar*, *Sar-i-Khayl* and *Jangdār*.[198] *Jangdār* was perhaps applied to ordinary soldiers or to those who attained prominence by their bravery. One Sar-i-Khayl had ten horsemen under him.[199] In the Triveni inscription of Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh, Sar-i-Khayl Ulugh Ajmal Khān has been put under Sar-i-Lashkar Iqrār Khān.[200] According to Makhdoomi, *Sar-i-Lashkar-i-Mulk* was the same as *'Āriḍ i-Mamālik* or minister of the army, charged with the management.

He was not the Commander-in-Chief, nor he had anything to do with war operations, which was controlled by the king. During war a Commander was specially appointed.[201] Our sources do not refer to

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193. Baranī, p. 586.
که الیاس ضابط لکهنوتی که بتغلب ان دیار را فرو گرفته‌است درین وقت حشری از پایک ودها نک آب گرفته بنگاله راجمع کرده‌است وازے‌عا قبتی درترهت تازیده ـ

194. Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf ; *Op cit*, pp. 114-118.
195. Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad, P. 125 note 5.
196. Firishtah, p. 299.
197. *Inscriptions*, p. 108.
198. *Ibid*, p. 21.
199. Baranī, p. 145.
200. *Inscriptions*, p. 21.
201. M. Akram Makhdoomi in *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, Vol. XIV, 1935, pt. 1-111, P. 107.

Sar-i-Lashkar-i-Mulk but only *Sar-i-Lashkar*, and the officers with the title of *Sar-i-Lashkar* are always called *wazīr*. Again, in an inscription of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh, one Rukn Khān, who is called *wazīr* and *Sar-i-Lashkar* is given the credit of conquering *Hasht Kāmhāriyān* (eight Kamhars).[202] It is therefore difficult to make a correct assessment of the functions of *Sar-i-Lashkar*. In the first place it is not safe to identify *Sar-i-Lashkar* with *Sar-i-Lashkar-i-Mulk* and thus with *'Ariḍ-i-Mamālik*. Secondly, the title *Sar-i-Lashkar* is associated with *wazīr*, thus giving him the rank of a minister. Thirdly, *Sar-i-Lashkar* is found to act as commander and called a conqueror in the inscription. It may,however, be suggested that the *wazīr* having multiple functions, was also the head of an army and if necessary headed expeditions and made conquests. Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Bughrā Khān advising his son Kaiqubād, describes the army organisation in the following manner.[203]

A *Sar-i-Khayl* had ten horsemen under him, a *sipāh-sālār* directed ten *Sar-i-Khayl*, an *Amīr* had authority over ten *sipāh-sālārs*, a *Malik* had authority over ten *Amīrs* and a Khān's forces contained at least those of ten *Maliks*.

As for the organisation of the navy,chroniclers are completely silent. They only refer to the utilisation of war-boats by Sulṭāns in times of war.[204] Only one inscription[205] refers to one Ākhund Shir who is called Mīr *Baḥr* (Admiral). This title indicates the existence of other subordinate officers.

Elephants played important part in constituting the Bengal army. There are instances, when Bengal Sulṭans invaded Jājnagar (Orissa) and brought elephants from there.[206] The Sulṭāns of Dehlī never missed an opportunity to seize elephants from Lakhnawtī and

202. *Inscriptions*, p. 58. The identification of *Hasht Kāmhāriyān* is difficult.
203. Baranī, p. 145.
204. Minhāj, p. 74; *Riyāḍ* p. 134.
205. *Inscriptions*, p. 34.
206. *Ibid*, p. 82; *Riyāḍ*, pp. 95-96.
Elephants were also probably captured from the jungles of Bengal. In later days during the time when Islām Khān was the Ṣūbahdār of Bengal, elephants were captured from Bengal. (See, Mirza Nathan; Baharistān-i-Ghaybī, Published by the Government of Assam).

sometimes their governor in Lakhnawtī also sent elephants to them. The elephants were considered so important that the Dehlī historians carefully recorded each and every occasion when elephants were sent. According to Minhāj, when Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn invaded Lakhnawti, Ghiyāth al Dīn 'Iwaḍ Khaljī presented to him thirty elephants.[207] Sayf al-Dīn Yughān Tat captured several elephants and sent them to Dehlī.[208] Baranī records how Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ṭughluq captured elephants of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Bahādur of Bengal and kept them in his own elephant stable[209] and 'Afīf records how Ilyās Shāh met Fīrūz Shāh Ṭughluq in the battle field with ten thousand cavalry, two lakhs infantry and fifty elephants.[210]

(c) *Weapons of War* :—

The weapons of war were *tīr* and *dhanuk* (arrow and bow) nezah (spear), Khanjar (dagger), *tegh* and Shamshir (sword).[211] The reference to the existence of *Kārkhānah* suggests that these weapons were locally manufactured. Baranī informs that that the execution of Mughīth al-Dīn Ṭughral, Sulṭān Ghiyāth al Dīn Balban handed over Ṭughral's *Karkhānah* to his son Bughrā Khān who was appointed governor in Lakhnawtī.[212] Sher Khān (later on Sher Shāh) captured the *topkhānah*(gunnery) of Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh of Bengal.[213] Probably the Bengalees also knew the use of guns.

(d) *Forts* :—

Bengal Sulṭāns built forts for defence purpose. Ghiyāth al-Dīn 'Iwaḍ Khaljī built a fort known as Basankot.[214] The famous Ikdālah fort gave protection to two Sulṭāns, Ilyās Shāh and his son Sikandar Shāh from the onslaught of Fīrūz Shāh Ṭughluq of Dehlī[215]

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207. Minhāj, p. 171.
208. *Ibid*, p. 239.
209. Baranī, p. 480.
210. Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf : *Op cit* pp.114; 152-53.
211. *Riyāḍ*, pp. 104, 128; Firishtah, pp. 299, 301; Baranī, p. 480;
212. Baranī, p. 92.
213. 'Abd al Qādir Badāonī : *Muntakhab al-Tawārikh*, Vol. I. Bibliotheca Indica, A. D. 1869. p. 360.
214. Minhāj, p. 73. For identification of Basankot see, H.B. II,p.35
215. Baranī, p. 589. For identification of Ikdālah see, H. B. II, p.107 note I.

The nature of this fort is discussed by 'Afīf, who calls it an island[216] and according to Baranī, it was surrounded by water on one side and by jungle on the other.[217] The trench round the fort was twenty yards broad and inside the trench there was a mud-wall.[218] At a time when modern scientific weapons of war were not invented and at a place like Bengal where the country remains inundated for half of the year, Ikdālah was no doubt an ideal fort. Probably, due to its impregnability, Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh transferred his capital to this place.[219] Abu'l Faḍl refers to forts of Jannatābād and Maḥmūdabād.[220] Jannatābād is the same as Lakhnawtī.[221] The fort of Jannatābād was either the same as Basankot built by 'Iwaḍ or a new one built by later Sulṭāns. An inscription of the time of Jalāl al-Dīn Fatḥ Shāh, combines Maḥmūdābād with Iqlīm Mu'aẓẓamābād.[222] We have already indentified[223] Mu'aẓẓamabad with a vast territory stretching from Sunārgāwn to Sylhet. It may therefore be suggested that the fort of Maḥmudābād was built to defend the eastern border of the Kingdom.

(e) *Pay and emoluments of soldiers :—*

Nothing definite is known about the pay and emoluments of the soldiers. The Chinese[224] account makes a vague reference that the army received salary and ration. That the army received salary is also alluded to by Firishtah,[225] who says that Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Muẓaffar Shāh, the last of the Ḥabshī usurpers wanted to cut the salary of infantry and cavalry to minimise expenditure, which made them revolt against him.

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216. Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf : *Op. cit.* pp.112.149.
217. Baranī, p. 589.
218. Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf *Op. cit.* pp. 151-52; 160.
219. Firishtah pp. 301-2; Supra.
220. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II English translation of Jarret, revised by J. N. Sarkar, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, p. 135.
221. A'īn-i-Akbarī, Vol. II English translation of Jarrett, revised by J. N. Sarkar, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, p. 135.
222. *Inscriptions* p. 35, 111.
223. *Supra.*
224. *Annals*, p. 118.
225. Firishtah, p. 301.

7. *Judiciary :—*

The later chroniclers lead us to believe that sacred law was observed in the Sultanate[226] and almost all Bengal Sulṭāns were learned and just.[227] The contemporary inscriptions also refer to some of the Sulṭāns as learned and just.[228] Although a comprehensive idea of the Judicial system prevalent during the period is difficult to obtain, there are examples to show that the Sulṭāns were the head of the Judiciary. Firishtah records that Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Yūsuf Shāh used to call the leading '*Ulam*ā to his court from time to time and admonished them not to side with anybody in the discharge of religious duties.[229] Firishtah also says that most of the cases in which the Qāḍis failed, the Sulṭān, (Shams al-Dīn Yūsuf Shāh) used to dispose of himself.[230] Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Fatḥ Shāh is praised in one inscription[231] as, "the revealer of the secrets of the Qur'ān." According to the Bengali literature, Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh punished one Haridāsa(Yavana Haridāsa of the Vaishṇava literature) for heresy and sentenced him to be beaten in twenty two markets.[232] Sulṭān Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh ordered for the execution of one Shāh Isma'īl Ghāzī, because it was reported that the latter made an offensive and defensive alliance with the Rājā of Kāmrup.[233] These examples give an idea that the Sulṭāns used to decide only difficult cases like heresy and treason. It may be supposed that they sat in Judgement during certain days of the week and tried appelate cases and also those of the first instance.

Under the Sulṭān, the Chief Judicial officer, however, was the *Q*āḍī. We are not certain whether there was any gradation of Judicial officers. One Taqī al-Dīn claims himself to be *Qudwat al-Fugh*ā *wa'l Muhaddithin*, but this seems to be enlogistic title[233a] and not official. The more just and benevolent Sulṭāns subjected themselves to the sacred law and the decision of the Qāḍī. Sulṭān

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226. Firishtah, p. 298. *Riy*āḍ, pp. 105, 113, 118.
227. Firishtah, pp. 298, 299, 301-2.
228. *Inscriptions*, pp. 78 ff.
229. Firishtah, p. 298.
230. *Ibid.*
231. *Inscriptions*, p. 36.
232. *Chaitanya Bhāgavata*, Adi, 14th.
233. *J. A. S. B.* 1874, Pp. 215 ff.
233(a) Inscriptions, p. 67.

Ghiyāth al-Dīn A'ẓam Shāh will remain a shining example for recognising the supremacy and independence of the Bench.[234] It is said that once on a hunting excursion the Sulṭān's arrow accidentally struck the son of a widow. The widow appealed to Qāḍī Sirāj al-Dīn for relief. On a summon from the Qāḍī, the Sulṭān attended the Qāḍī's court. The Qāḍī asked him to console the widow and the Sulṭān did accordingly. After this the Sulṭān brought out a sword from underneath his arm and said that if he found the Qāḍī refraining from doing justice, he would have smitten him (*Q*āḍī) with that very sword. The Qāḍī also brought out stick from underneath his seat and said that if he found the Sulṭān disobeying law, he would have cajoled him with that very stick.[235]

Beside the capital, Qāḍīs were also appointedin the outlying towns. We have the examples of Qāḍī of Nadiya and the Qāḍī of Ḥāsān Hāṭi in Bengali literature.[236] They are said to have taken steps to punish the disturbers belonging to certain sects not liked by the general people. If the evidences of Bengali literature, which are not free from religious frenzy, are accepted, it may be supposed that the Qāḍīs, though they were judges, protected the law, punished heresy and handled religious disputes e. g., when the Hindus complained against Chaitanya for disturbing the tranquillity of the locality by their *Kirtanas*.

According to the Chinese account,[237] the system of punishment was of two kinds, beating by bamboos, and banishment, the last one being the highest punishment. The system of imprisonment was also prevalent. Sulṭān 'Alā' alī Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh imprisoned one Sanātana, one of his important officers, for neglect of duty.[238] This did not mean the existence of Jail. That officer was placed in the custody of an officer who looked after his confinement. We have seen earlier[239] that the punishment of execution was not absent but it was probably limited to the charge of treason.

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234. *Riyāḍ*, pp. 106-108.
235. *Ibid*.
236. *Chaitanya Bhāgavata*; Vijaya Gupta: *Padma Purana* edited by B. K. Bhattacharjee, Barisal.
237. Annals, p. 117.
238. *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita*, Vasumati Sāhitya Mandir publication, Calcutta, pp. 230-31.
239. *Supra*, p. 100.

8. *Conclusion* :—

The history of Bengal from the conquest of Nadiya by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaljī down to A.D. 1538 is of profound interest to the students of history. Politically, it is a history of gradual expansion of the Muslim power and its consolidation. It is interesting to note that the administration of the country developed in close relation to the gradual expansion of the Muslim Power. Judging from this point the administration may be divided into two stages.

In the first period, the Muslim Kingdom of Bengal was confined to a small principality round about Lakhnawtī. In this period Bengal remained largely under the authority of Dehlī, though the Khaljī Maliks maintained independence for a considerable period. Even after this period there were repeated attempts at shaking off the tutelage of Dehlī. In the second period, however, the Muslim Kingdom of Lakhnawtī was turned into the Muslim Kingdom of Bengal and the Kingdom became completely independent. In the first period, naturally therefore, Lakhnawtī followed Dehlī in all its aspect, itself forming one of the many Iqṭā's of the Dehlī Sultanate. But in the second period a change was bound to come because for the first time Bengal was free to shape its own organisation unhampered by any outside authority. Though unfortunately, it is not possible to form any comprehensive idea of the organisation in this period for want of materials, we have been able to establish that the administration received a definite shape, having a Central Government with the Sulṭān, his household officials, his nobles and ministers and a local government dividing the state into a number of big and smaller units. The local government began with the appointment of Bughrā Khān as Governor of Bengal. From this time onward, the Kingdom extended to the east, south and south west. Addition of territories required expansion of administrative facilities and thus grew up the governorships under able officers. The interregnum of the Ṭughluq conquest further helped the system when Bengal was divided into three *Iqṭā's*. With the installation of Independent Sultanate these three divisions served as the local units. Materials do not supply a common terminology of local units for the whole of Bengal—names of only two Iqlīms lying in East Bengal and only five 'Arṣahs lying both in East and West Bengal have come down to us.

On one point however, we are almost certain, i.e. the administration especially in the Independent Sultanate period was gradually

becoming liberal. This is not only evidenced by the trace of local administration but by the fact that the local people especially the Hindus were gradually ,being associated with the administration. They were appointed as ministers, and even in the military service. Hindu nobles were allowed to countinue as vessal chiefs ; there is no trace of persecution for religious differences; they were not subjected to pay any special tax like *Jizyah* and lastly the system of punishment was humane.

To conclude therefore, it may be suggested that the Muslims not only unified Bengal and gave it a homogeneous character but also evolved an administration looking to the interest of all people, Muslims and non-Muslims.

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THE SALT TRADE IN BENGAL DURING THE SECOND HALF OF 18th CENTURY

Dr. M. Huq

Salt was an important article of the inland trade of Bengal. It was manufactured in the maritime districts by a class of people called "molungees". They extracted the salt from the efflorescent deposits left by sea water on land surface. It does not appear that the native government differentiated between salt lands and other lands for the purpose of land revenue. From the evidence of Clive and Sumner before the Parliamentary Committee of 1772 the salt trade at the time of the independent Nawabs of Bengal had been a monopoly.[1] Although this evidence in a large measure determined the history of the manufacture of salt and its trade in the years to come, it may not be taken as conclusive in the face of other evidences to the contrary. An inquiry was made in 1776 to Md. Reza Khan by Hastings' government regarding the circumstances under which the salt trade had been carried on at the time of Aliverdi Khan and other independent Nawabs of Bengal. In reply Reza Khan stated that the trade had been open to all on payment of a duty of 2½% to 5%. He further stated that the price of salt had been very low.[2] It may also be mentioned here that when the servants of the Company were detected sending salt to Patna surreptitiously in the Company's boats under cover of the Company's dustacks, in the half century before Plassey, the charge against the company was not that the Company was infringing monopoly rights. On the contrary besides evasion of duty the complaint made by the Nawab was that the traders of the country suffered as a result of the Company's servants' duty free trade.[3] That there was no monopoly at the time of Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim is evident from the fact that both of them tried to attract the sympathy of the

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1. 4th Report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1772, p. 465. Before that Clive on his return to England in 1767 for the first time had asserted that the salt trade had always been a monopoly. Vide H. M. S. 92. P, 757.
2. H. M. S. 92, p. 749.
3. See p.

Governor and Council to the miserable plight of the poor traders of the country who had lost their livelihood on account of the monopoly made effective in an oppressive manner by the agents of the Company's servants.[4] While in Bengal Clive had never asserted that the salt trade was always a monopoly. When the Society of Trade's monopoly was in operation it was Clive's anxiety to make that monopoly least "odious" by the enactment of salutory regulations. There is no mention of the salt trade being always a monopoly in the Select Committee's angry letter to the Court of Directors dated the 16th January, 1767 in reply to their letter reiterating that the Society of Trade's monopoly must be abolished in the interest of the inhabitants of the country. It must be made clear that a monopoly of trade in salt may mean either the disposal of salt procured from the manufacturers or both the provision of the commodity and its disposal. It appèars that the two functions were separate until the introduction of the agency system of salt management by Hastings in 1781.

The manufacturers of salt, the molungees produced the salt on a contract basis with the help of advances from the commercial people. If there were only one person with monopoly rights for the provision of salt he had obviously to arrange the manufacture of the commodity by all the producers dispersed over a wide area. Under the prevailing system of the organisation of the production of salt and the dispersal of the salt pans all over the maritime districts of the province, monopoly of the provision of salt does not appear to be a practical proposition for any one single merchant. It is therefore evident that the organisation of the production of salt was in the hands of many during the administration of the independent Nawabs before 1757. If, however, the alleged monopolist held exclusive rights of trade, and not the provision of the commodity, he must have obtained his supply of salt from merchants who got it manufactured by the molungees. Even in the matter of trade an exclusive monopoly for the whole of the province seems equally improbable because the commodity was produced over a wide area by many without restrictions. It seems, therefore, probable that the monopolist, if there was one, held his exclusive rights over limited areas distant from the centres of production, A general monopoly of the salt trade,

4. See p.

as stated by Clive and Sumner in their evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of 1772, is not, therefore, supported by the evidence quoted above ; nor does it appear probable on an examination of the condition of production and trade of the article.

Broadly speaking, the organisation of the production of salt was the same as the organisation of the production of the articles of export trade such as silk and piece-goods. The system of advances to the manufacturers, it appears, was more general in the production of salt than in the production of other commodities. The producers of salt, on receipt of advances bound themselves to supply a certain amount of the commodity at a stipulated price. In the provision of the East India Company's "investment" viz., silk and piece goods, certain intermediaries generally existed between the Company's servants and the actual producers. These intermediaries were either contract merchants or Company's own gomastahs, dallals and paicars. In the case of salt, however, there was no intermediary between the merchant and the molungee. In his bargain with the merchant with whose advance he worked, the molungee was always exploited, as the weaver or the producer of silk was.

When the East India Company obtained the zamindary of the 24 Pargannahs, a salt producing district, it first came in direct contact with the manufacture of salt. It did occur to the servants of the Company in 1762 that the organisation of the manufacture of salt might be undertaken by the Company for its own profit. But this policy was not adopted because it was felt that the measure would be prejudicial to the interests of the merchants who did the same for their private profit. Hastings who was then a member of the Committee of New Lands objected to the plan on the ground that "it would be attended with an inevitable ruin to the salt merchants who from father to son have gained a livelihood by the trade".[5] The merchants referred to here were those who organised the manufacture of salt. The system of manufacture of salt, therefore, continued to be the same as before.

In 1762 a change, however, took place with regard to the tenure of lands of the 24 Pargannahs which produced salt. The salt lands were separated from other lands and were let out to the highest bidders. A tax of Rs. 30/- per khalary or salt pan was levied in order to raise a revenue. The farmers of the salt lands were made responsible for the outstanding balances of the merchants with the molungees for the

5. See p.

manufacture of the previous year's salt. The earlier balances to the extent of four and a half lakhs of rupees were liquidated by the Company, and a tax of Rs. 10/- per hundred maunds of salt was levied to reimburse the Company. The cession of the districts of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong by Mir Kasim in 1760 brought the lands that produced the bulk of the supply of salt in Bengal under the Company's management. When in 1762 the salt lands of the 24 Parganahs were let out separately from other lands, the Company wanted to introduce the same method in the ceded districts as well. This, however, could not be carried out because of the differences in the Company's rights in the ceded districts and the 24 Pargannahs. The salt lands in the ceded districts were under the management of the zamindars or farmers as the case may be. These lands could not, therefore, be let out separately without infringing the rights of these people. There was no such difficulty in the 24 Pargannahs where the Company itself held zamindary rights. In any case, the fact that the bulk of the salt manufactured in Bengal was now produced in the lands under the Company's management helped the servants of the Company in their private capacity to engross the trade in salt of the entire province.

Trading in salt was a particularly profitable business in the districts which did not produce the commodity. The private trade in salt of the Company's servants had begun very early. Instances are on record in which the Company's boats plying up the river to Patna, laden with salt, were stopped by the officers of the native government long before 1757. Although the salt actually belonged to the servants of the Company who attempted to evade the duty by sending the salt surreptitiously under cover of the Company's dustack which allowed free trade in articles of external trade only, when detected the Company was charged with the offence of the evasion of duty by the unfair use of the dustack. The Company was compelled to give undertakings to the native government that such offences would not be repeated. In order to ensure the Court of Directors also had to issue strict orders so that their servants desisted from making unfair use of the dustacks.[6] After the battle of Plassey, during the first administration of Mir Jafar (1757-1760) the extent of Company's servants' private trade in salt became quite large. In course of time, during the administration of Mir Kasim the volume of this trade and the

6. *H. M. S.* 68, pp. 69—71.

incidental hardship on the inhabitants of the country assumed alarming proportions. This unlawful trade on the part of the Company's servants was the cause of blood-shed in the war with Mir Kasim. All this happened, it has been stated above, in utter disregard of the Court of Directors' orders to refrain from engaging in the inland trade of the country. Notwithstanding the views expressed by Clive in England and the letter of the Court of Directors to stop the inland trade of the servants until a settlement with the Nawab had been made, the very person who had been sent to Bengal to reform abuses, on arrival at Calcutta entered into a partnership with Verelst, Sumner and Sykes for trading in salt. They traded for nine months, until the beginning of the production of salt on account of the Society of Trade.[7] The profits came up to 36% in nine months after paying interest on the capital invested.

On the 10th August, 1765 the Select Committee, the organ of Clive's administration made the trade in salt, betel-nut and tobacco a close monopoly of the senior servants of the Company incorporated in what was called the Society of Trade on the 18th September, 1765 it was decided to pay a duty of 35% on salt valuing salt at Rs. 90 per hundred maunds. It is curious to observe that the regulations they made were in consonance with the orders of the Court of Directors as communicated in their letter dated the 1st June, 1764. It is important to note that the plan for the exclusive trade of the Company's senior servants in salt, betel-nut and tobacco had been made before the acquisition of the dewany, although so far as salt is concerned, it became operative after the grant of the dewany because the production of salt for the next year did not start before the coming winter.[8] The

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7. Evidence of Verelst before the Parliamentary Committee of 1772. 4th Report, pp. 462-63. Clive's interest in the trade was for the support of three Englishmen he brought with him from England.
8. The dewany was granted by Shah Alam on the 12th August, 1765 at Allahabad and was received by Clive in person. The news of the acquisition of the dewany was not received in Calcutta before the end of the month. As the decision for the monopoly had been taken before the grant of the dewany, there was in fact a plan to give the Nawab a share of the profits. But the grant of the dewany made any consideration for the Nawab unnecessary.

plan for the salt trade was as follows. All the salt produced in or imported into Bengal shall be purchased by the Society of Trade which shall have the exclusive right to trade in that article. The Company shall notify "strictly prohibiting all other persons whatever" dependent on the Company to deal in salt. A similar notification was to be issued by the Nawab to all his officers and subjects of the districts where salt was manufactured. The bulk of the salt manufactured in Bengal, however, came from the district under the direct management of the Company, namely, Burdwan, Midnapore, Chittagong and the 24 Pargannashs. For the provision of salt, the Committee of Trade formed for the management of the Socity of Trade's affairs, retained the old system of arranging the production of the Commodity through merchants who in their turn, entered into an arrangement with the molungees for the supply of salt at a stipulated rate. The Society of Trade entered into contracts with merchants and gave them advances. The merchants in their turn made advances to the molungees. The contract merchants were required to supply the salt at certain fixed places at the stipulated prices. At these places the Committee of Trade sold the article thus obtained, to native merchants who in their turn perhaps sold it to the retailers or consumers directly.

The formation of the Society of Trade for the exclusive trade of the senior servants of the Company was reported to the Court of Directors in the General letter from Bengal dated, the 30th Sept. 1765. This letter also carried the news of the acquisition of the dewany by Clive. Before receiving this letter the Court of Directors in their letter of the 15th February, 1765 insisted that no steps be taken towards "renewing" the inland trade of their servants without the Court of Directors' express leave. The attitude of the Court of Directors appears to have hardened after they had come to know more about the consequences of their servants engrossing the inland trade of the country. Notwithstanding this letter, the Select Committee under the guiadance of Clive on the 3rd September, 1766 decided to continue the exclusive trade of the Society of Trade for another year. They ignored the letter of the Court of Directors on the ground that the Court of Directors had no knowledge of the acquisition of the dewany at the time of writing. After the grant of the dewany the Nawab had no immediate interest in the inland trade as he was no langer the receiver of revenue. Clive in his minute to the Select Committee expressed the view that by proper regulation of the salt

trade the monopoly of the Society of Trade could be made least "odious." He also assured the Select Committee that the court of Directors were not opposed to their servants benefiting from the salt trade provided that the natives were not oppressed and the interests of the Nawab and the Company did not suffer. Clive felt that the interests of the Company, now as the receivers of revenue, could be secured by fixing a proper duty which he proposed to be 50% in the second year in place of 35%.[9] To secure the interests of the natives certain regulations were proposed by him. These regulations aimed at controlling the price of salt at two stages, namely, as sold by the Society of Trade to the native merchants, and secondly, as sold by the native merchants to the consumers. The native merchants alone were eligible to buy from the Society of Trade. Clive proposed the exclusion of the banians from the salt trade. He had no doubt in his mind that the exclusive right of the native merchants to sell salt in the country to the consumers and the absense of restriction in the business of contracting for the provision of salt[10] together with the control of its price in the interest of the consumers would fulfil the wishes of the Court of Directors to safegard the interests of the natives while the trade would also benefit the Company and its servants.

The knowledge of the acquisition of the dewany, however, did not alter the attitude of the Court of Directors. In their letters to Clive and the Select Committee dated the 17th May, 1766 they strongly disapproved of the exclusive trade of the Society of Trade. To Clive the Court of Directors wrote, "....the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a scene of the most tyrannic and oppressive conduct that ever was known in any age or community.. After the fatal experiences we had of the violent abuses committed in this trade, that we could not be brought to approve it even in the limited and regulated manner with which it comes to us." To the Select Committee they wrote, "It is now more immediately our interest and duty to protect and cherish the inhabitants, and to give them no occasion to look on every Englishman as their national enemy,

9. The duty on betel-nut was fixed at 10% on the prime cost and on tobacco at 25% on prime cost.
10. In the provision of salt Archibald Keir had extensive interests. It is possible there were other Englishmen in the business in the early years.

a sentiment we think such a monopoly would necessarily suggest." With great indignation the Select Committee on the 16th January, 1767 decided to terminate the exclusive trade of the senior servants of the Company with effect from the 1st of September, 1767. Later, however, on a representation from the Committee of Trade the Governor and Council allowed the Society of Trade to function for another year.[11] The Court of Directors in their letter forbade in the most emphatic terms the inland trade of their servants. The most repugnant aspect of it was the monopoly. They wrote, "We consider it too disgraceful and below the dignity of our present situation to allow of such a monopoly." They enjoined upon the Select Committee to take particular care, in the interest of the poor natives, so that no monopolies were created in the trade of necessaries. Clive and his Select Committee in their indignation expostulated with the Court of Directors questioning the propriety of stripping their servants of the benefits of the trade. It was pointed out to the Court of Directors that "gratitude for affluence in service and for an independency at the close there of will be found the strongest ties or motives for the faithful discharge of their servants' duty".[12] The Court of Directors, however, would not concede. To meet this criticism they later allowed some of their senior servants to share 2½% commission on the net revenues of Bengal as a compensation. On the 11th February, 1767 the Select Committee notified that no European whatsoever would be permitted to trade in the articles of inland trade. The Court of Directors' letter dated the 20th November, 1767 confirmed their earlier orders to the effect that no Company's servants, free merchants or any European shall in any mode or shape trade in any articles of inland trade. They wrote, "We look upon every innovation in the inland trade as an intrusion on the natural rights of the natives of the country who now more particularly claim our protection."

After the abolition of the Society of Trade's exclusive trade the Court of Directors ordered that such duties should be levied on salt, betel-nut and tobacco as to yield a revenue of not less than £ 100,000 and not more than £ 120, 000 per annum. They also desired that the import duty on salt should be the same or more. On the report of the Committee appointed to examine the matter the Governor and

11. *Consultations of Governor and Council*, 27th July, 1767.
12. *Letter from the Select Committee*, 16th January, 1767.

Council levied a duty of 30 rupees per hundred maunds of salt in order to collect the revenues fixed by the Court of Directors. It is significant to note that the Committee did not recommend the imposition of a counterveiling duty on the import of salt in addition to what it paid as Company's customs at Calcutta (if it was imported there) or the government duty at Hughly. Three reasons were given. Firstly, the import duty, it was argued, would discourage shipping and close a market for the salt produced at Masulipatam and other lands on the Coromandel coast. Secondly, by raising the price of imported salt which then sold at rupees 50 to 60 per hundred maunds, hardship would be caused to the poor consumers of salt. Lastly, it was stated that as the quantity annually imported did not "prevent the whole of what is produced in the country being consumed" the Company would not suffer a fall in revenues.[13] Another instruction of the Court of Directors was that the salt lands should be farmed out separately. This recommendation could not be implemented for two reasons. Firstly, should the salt lands be farmed out separately, the merchants who had advanced money to the molungees for the manufacture of salt and had outstanding claims on them must be reimbursed. This involved a large amount of money. Secondly, it has been stated above that separation of salt lands would infringe the rights of the zamindars and talukdars except in the 24 Parganahs where the Company itself was in the position of zamindar. The Governor and Council made certain regulations for the protection of the molungees so that they were not compelled to work for the merchants by force. In the interest of the consumers the price of salt was fixed at Rs. 140 per hundred maunds after paying the duty, at the two chief marts, Calcutta and Rajabari.

The salt trade was now theoretically open to the native merchants alone. In the organisation of the manufacture of salt by giving advances to the molungees there was, however, no restriction on the Europeans. At any rate so far as the trade in salt was concerned, the grant of the exclusive right to the natives only, did not really exclude the servants of the company from the field. The salt trade still continued to be largely in the hands of the Company's servants through their native banians and gomastahs. It also appears that the Society of Trade's activities did not completely cease before 1770. What with the interests of the company's servants in the salt trade and the acti-

13. *Consultation of the Governor and Council*, 7th October, 1768.

vities of the Society of Trade the yield of revenue from the salt duty in the years from 1768 to 1772 was disappointing.[14] The Court of Directors in their order dated the 15th December, 1769 removed the restrictions imposed on their servants trading in the articles of inland trade. They were obviously influenced by Clive in this decision. Clive on return to England asserted that the natives had never before enjoyed the freedom in the salt trade as was now granted by the Company.[15] On the 12th December, 1770 the Governor and Council officially threw open the salt trade to the Company's servants in accordance with the Court of Directors' orders. This did not really make any great difference in the character of the salt trade because it had already been very largely in the hands of the Company's servants, working through their native servants. The salt trade remained on this footing until Hastings made it a monopoly of the East India Company in 1772.[16]

An example of the monopolistic authority exercised and the oppression committed by the native agents of the Company's servants in high position, in the manufacture of salt is to be found in the records of the Company. For instance, the proceedings of the Committee of Revenue of the 13th May, 1771 reveal that a complaint had been forwarded to Calcutta by Charles Steuart, the Resident at Burdwan to the effect that one Kerparam Mukherjee who professed to work on behalf of the Governor and Council forced the molungees to accept, advances, and seized the goods that belonged to other merchants. The Resident of Burdwan arrested Kerparam Mukherjee and sent him to Calcutta for trial. Petitions from the oppressed molungees were also forwarded. The Committee of Revenue however left the matter to three of their members including Floyer for inquiry. Kerparam Mukherjee was actually the agent of Floyer and others. It does not appear that any action was taken against Kerparam Mukherjee.

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14. Vide letter from the Resident at the Durbar to the Select Committee, 18th April, 1770. The Select Committee, however, blamed the Foujdar of Hughly for the deficiency. Vide letter to the Court of Directors, 31st October, 1770.
15. *H. M. S.* 92, p. 737.
16. Vide Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, p. 77. Sinha does not mention that the private trade of the Company's servants was not unlawful after the 12th December 1770. It was no longer necessary to carry on the trade in the names of their banians.

After assumption of office as Governor in 1772, Hastings found that the duty on salt had not yielded the anticipated revenue. The reasons were well known to him. The collection of the duty was difficult and involved heavy expenses. The opportunities for smuggling and evasion of duty were great. On the 7th October, 1772 the Governor and Council decided to make salt a monopoly of the Company. Under the Company's monopoly all salt in the province was manufactured for the Company by contractors who took the farm of the salt lands for five years. The salt was to be delivered to the Company at stipulated prices. The farmers were to pay a penalty should they fail to supply a certain stipulated minimum. In the year 1773-74 contracts were made for the supply of 26 lakh maunds of salt. It was estimated that the duty alone would yield Rs. 780,000 at the rate of Rs. 30 per hundred maunds. The salt contractors producing salt on behalf of the Company were required to deliver the article to the merchants who traded in it at certain fixed centres in the province. The receipts of the trading merchants were to serve as a release of the contractors' liability as well as the basis of the collection of duty from the trading merchants. The new system of Company's monopoly however necessitated the liquidation of the outstanding debts of the molungees with the merchants who had advaced money for the production of salt. This involved a large sum of money. A good many of the claimants were Englishmen which shows that they played a large part in the provision of salt as well. Under the prevailing system of the organisation of the production of salt, it appears that the molungees were always in arrears with the merchants who made the advances, in the same way as the weavers who produced cloth with advances received from the Company's gomastahs were in perpetual arrears. The result was that the poor molungees found themselves in the position of bonded slaves in relation with their employers. The recovery of the balances, it was stated in the revenue letter from Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated the 27th February, 1773, gave opportunities for violence and oppression so that the government was often obliged to interfere[17].

17. It was Hastings' plan to untilise the first years profits in excess of the maximum duty fixed by the Court of Directors, to liquidate the balances of the merchants with the molungees. The Court of Directors object to this. Some of the claimants, most of whom were Englinshmen sued the Company before the Supreme Court for the recovery of the balances,

The plan of government monopoly of salt was approved by the Court of Directors in their letter dated the 3rd March, 1775. In the following year they ordered that the plan might be continued after the expiry of the five year lease unless the authorities in Bengal felt that they could collect £100,000 per annum by increasing the duty without causing greater hardship. The Court of Directors' principles with regard to monopolies of necessaries of life thereofore underwent a great change. To ease their moral scruples, the Court of Directors wrote that the salt trade had "ever been in a great measure an exclusive trade." The influence of Clive who was now dead was still lingering. In October, 1775, as a result of a great influx of salt from the Coromandel coast the price of Bengal salt at the Company's sales fell heavily. Hastings estimated that the total import of salt was to the tune of 15 lakh maunds. It was said that the greater part of this salt was imported in small country boats. A duty of Rs. 30 per hundred maunds was now levied on the salt imporetd in country boats. Salt imported in boats of European construction and navigated by Europeans was not affected. Large quantities of salt thus continued to be imported duty free in boats of European construction. The government of Warren Hastings therefore resolved to prohibit totally the import of salt from outside.[18] Curiously enough this resolution was not made effective out of consideration for the fact that the native government had always permitted the import of salt. It may be asked why the import of salt had not jeopardised the monopoly of the Society of Trade. It is significant to note that under the rgulation made for the management of the salt trade of the Society of Trade, all imported salt had to be sold to the Society of Trade. This regulation therefore did not encourage the importation of salt. There was no such regulation under the monopoly of the East India Company. The salt trade which had been so long under the management of the revenue department of the Governor General and Council on the ground that the business was more a matter of revenue than trade, was in the autumn of 1776 placed under the management of the Board of Trade at the instance of the Court of Directors.

In September, 1776 when the five year settlement was coming to an end Hastings in a minute reviewed the position of the salt trade, and expressed the view that the plan of the government monopoly

18. *Consultations of the Governor General and Council*, 19th April, 1776.

of salt had been well conceived and yeilded large profits in the first two years. The plan however, failed to yield revenue in the subsequent years because of large importation of salt. Hastings now suggested that the salt business could be managed in one of the following five methods :—[19]

1. Universal freedom of trade both in the matter of manufacture and sale of the commodity subject to a duty.

2. Arrangement under which advances should be made to the farmers of land revenue for the manufacture of salt and its delivery to the Company.

3. Farmers of land revenue to be responsible for the manufacture of salt on receipt of advances. They should dispose of the salt thus manufactured and pay back the advances to the Company and the duty on the sale of salt.

4. Salt lands to be let out separately to the farmers who are to arrange the production of salt with advances from the Company and supply the salt to the Company.

5. The same as above, but instead of receiving the salt from the farmers the payment should be in money, duty included.

Hastings preferred the third mode. In the following year it was decided to adopt this mode of salt management with the difference that the zamindars and farmers, as the case may be, would not get any advances, and that if there were any outstanding balances with the molungees no claim on the Company would be admissible. The production of salt in the years 1778-1780 was on this footing, but the receipts of the Company fell from year to year. This unsatisfactory state was attributed to the importation of salt which continued, and the incapacity of the zamindars and other farmers of land revenue to manage the salt business.[20] The shifting of the responsibility on the shoulders of the land revenue farmers did not really shift the loss. In 1780 Hastings' government was compelled to devise a new plan for the production of salt in the 24 pargannahs because the zamindars on account of the low price of salt refused to undertake the provision of salt even with advances from the Company. Griffith was therefore put in charge of the production of salt in 24 Pargannahs on account of the Company. The enterprise was a success although the business was undertaken late in the season. It yielded a good profit to the

19. See p.

20. Letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 10th January, 1780

Company even though the selling price was not high. Encouraged by the success of this plan in the 24 Pargannahs, Hastings on the 19th September, 1780 proposed the same plan for the whole of Bengal. This plan may be called the agency system of production on account of the Company. Henry Vansittart was appointed controller of the salt business. To ensure the success of the plan for earning a profit total prohibition of the import of salt was now made effective from the first day of the year 1781. The whole of the salt producing area was divided into six divisions :—

(1) Hijli (2) Mysadal and Mandal Ghat (3) 24 Pargannahs (4) Raymongal (5) Bhulua (6) Chittagong. An English agent was appointed to each division. It was the duty of the agent to receive and make advances to the manufacturers, to superintend production and receive the salt from the molungee and sell the same to the merchants at the rates fixed by the Governor General and Council. The duty on salt was also collected by the Agents when the salt was sold to the merchants. It was also their duty to seize all contraband salt. As an incentive to good management the Controller and the Agents were to share 10% of the difference between the cost price and the sale proceeds in the ratio of 25% to the Controller and 75% to the Agent of each division. Under this plan in the three years (1781, 1782 and 1783) the total profits from the salt trade amounted to £1,530,634.

It remains to examine the effects of the conditions under which salt was manufactured and marketed at different times, in respect of the price of the commodity, the condition of the native merchants who traded in salt and the molungees who manufactured the commodity. The price of salt varied from place to place depending on the distance from the source of supply. It appears that the price was the highest in Behar. In Bengal the price was the highest in the northern districts. By carefully scrutinising the different sources it is possible to generalise that the price of salt to the consumers was much higher than the prices at which salt was obtained from the molungees. The molungees did not generally get a price much higher than Rs. 50 per hundred maunds. Those who had the salt manufactured by the molungees sold it to the trading merchants at prices which varied from time to time. Verelst says that the price at which salt was sold at Calcutta immediately before the formation of the Society of Trade was between one hundred and one hundred and seventy arcot rupees.

Calcutta was the place where salt produced in the neighbouring areas was disposed of. The price at Patna was sometimes as high as Rs. 700 per hundred maunds. This gives us an idea to the trend of prices kept forcibly high by their oppressive monopoly of the Company's servants during the time of Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim. If the price at which the merchants obtained their salt at Calcutta was between 100 and 170 rupees per hundred maunds, the prices at which this salt was sold to consumers at distant markets must have been very high indeed. The formation of the Society of Trade and the monopoly of the salt trade had a steadying effect on salt prices. But it does not appear that the price of salt was Rs. 200 per hundred maunds as stated by Sumner in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of 1772.[21] From the testimony of Verelst it is known that the price of salt at Rangpur was Rs. 250 per hundred maunds under the monopoly of the Society of Trade. Dr. William Sample who was the Society of Trade's Agent at Rajabari in East Bengal in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, stated that in 1766 he sold the Society's salt at Rs. 250 per hundred maunds. He further stated that in 1767 he began his scale at Rs. 300 per hundred maunds under instructions from the Committee of Trade. Some salt was even sold for Rs. 320 and Rs. 325 per hundred maunds. On receipt of complaints from the merchants, the Committee of Trade, we are told, asked Sample to reduce the pric to Rs. 200 per hundred maunds[22]. The enormity of the profits made by the Society of trade is evident from Sumner's evidence. He stated that his capital in the business was Rs. 20,000 in the first year. His interests were sold to Hazzari Mull, a native merchant for 54⅛% on the capital exclusive of interest. In the second year when the government duty was raised to 50% which probably reduced the margin of profits, Sumner's interests were sold to Chevallier for 41% on the capital. The risks of the trade were to be borne by the purchasers.[23] The price at which the Society of Trade sold was the whole price, duty included. The retail price at which the merchants sold the article to the consumers must have been considerably higher. It is interesting to note that during the monopoly of the Society of Trade the Select Committee tried to control the price of salt as sold by the merchants. It appears

21. 4th Report of the Parliamentary Committee.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid, p. 463.

from the proceedings of the Select Committee of the 15th August, 1766 that certain merchants were compelled to refund Rs. 41, 535 as excessive profit made by selling salt at a price higher than the Select Committe thought they had a right to charge. Between the abolition of Society of Trade and the establishment of the Company's monopoly in 1772 the price of salt does not appear to have been as high as it had been previously. The Governor and Council on the seventh October, 1768 fixed the price of salt at Rs. 140 per hundred maunds, duty paid. It also appears from the evidence of Archibald Keir that he sold his salt in 1769 at different prices ranging from Rs. 120 to Rs. 140. It is significant to note that the Select Cmmittee had allowed the Society of Trade to charge Rs. 200 per hundred maunds (though actually the selling price was generally higher than the sanctioned amount), while the Governor and Council after the abolition of the Society of Trade and Clive's departure fixed the price of salt at Rs. 140 per hundred maunds, duty paid. After the abolition of the Society of Trade, the import of foreign salt which had been shut out by the provision that the importer had to sell to the Society of Trade, was now worth while because the internal prices were still much higher. But it does not appear that there was any large importation of salt in the years between the abolition of the Society of Trade's monopoly and one year after the functioning of the monopoly of the East India Company. Under the government monopoly the price of salt was stated to be lower than when the trade had been open to every body. The importation of foreign salt began in the second year of the government monopoly and began to increase year after. It seriously threatened the revenues from salt. The reason why there was a large influx of salt immediately after the Government monopoly had begun to operate, is not far to seek. The bulk of the salt imported was on account of the Company's servants. While company's servants had been interested in the profits of the trade of internally produced salts as virtual monopolists, the importation of salt from the Coromandel coast would have injured that interest and as such did not take place on any appreciable scale. Now that this interest had ceased to exist, the servants of the Company could make private profit by importing salt from the Coromandel coast and selling it at a much higher price in Bengal. This higher price was now kept up in the interest of Company's monopoly. Large importation of salt began to depress the price of Bengal salt which had been kept high for more than a decade by the

operation of monopolies. As the imposition of 30% duty on salt imported in country boats did not solve the problem it was felt necessary to stop the importation of salt altogether with effect from the 1st January, 1781. The price that ruled under the Agency system of salt production and disposal which began in 1781, was, therefore, an artificial price kept up by a rigid monopoly. Nevertheless the price of salt under the Agency system was the lowest prevailing under different forms of monopoly since the rise of the Company's power in Bengal.[25]

It has been stated above that up to 1780 the production of salt was organised by commercial people by entering into engagement with the molungees who received advances from them. Before the ascendancy of the Company's Servants in Bengal this was done by the natives of the country, and the profits of the business went to them. After the acquistion of the zamindary of the 24 Pargannahs Englishmen were attracted by the profits of the business and became entrepreneurs in the production of salts by engaging the molungees to produce the commodity. Archibald Keir was the pioneer in the field. Gradully he extended his business and at one stage employed 13000 men in a season for the manufacture of salt.[26] The interest of Englishmen in the production side of the salt business increased with the acquisition of more land by the Company in 1760 and finally with the aqcuisition of the dewany in 1765. Although this side of the salt business was open to the natives until the introduction of the Agency system in 1781, the interests of Englishmen, Company's servants in high positions, were extensive.[27] If they did not hold contracts directly, they did so in the names of natives. The entry of the banian in the field of salt production as well as in the trade either as the agents of their master or sometimes as principals meant the perpetration of the same oppression as they committed in the investment side of the Company's business. The picture is thus substantially the same as in the export trade

24. 4th Report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1772.
25. See Appendix at the end of the chapter.
26. Verelst' *View* p. 115.
27. To cite a few examples, Charles Steuart, the Resident and Fleekwood held contracts in the names of natives during the monopoly of the Company (1772-77). Burton and Sheeles did the same in Bhulua. Burwell, the Chief of Dacca had extensive interests in the production side of the salt business and was accused of oppression for personal gain.

of the country. Clavering Monson, and Francis in their minute to the Governor General and Council took notice of the oppression of the molungees by the salt contractors. In this particular case the alleged offenders were the banians of one Captain Wheeler who lived with the Governor General and the notorious banian of the Governor General. It was alleged that contractors had been entered into with the molungees for the supply of salt at Rs. 40 per hundred maunds; but actually between 112 and 125 maunds had been forcibly taken from the molungees for the same money. The molungees came to Calcutta to complain to the Roy-Royan who sent them to the contractors. There the molungees were seized and sent back to th khalaries under guard of sepoys. Some of them fled into the jungles where they were said to have been devoured by tigers. These incidents indicate the nature of the oppression committed on the molungees by the banians in the mutual interest of their masters and themselves. The hostile majority in the Council of Hastings put on record, "It is said that the molungees are in a state of vasslage, and may be compelled to work at whatever price the master imposes on them. The doctrine is not confined to the salt boilers, but seems to be extended to the ryot to the manufacturer and in general to all the first sources of internal industry...The world well soon see that it is oppression of the most violent and pernicious nature which has reduced this fertile country into a state of depopulation." Hastings in his personal letter to the Court of Directors dated the 22nd February, 1775, in order to remove the impression created by the majority's minute, wrote "No new hardship has been imposed upon the salt manufacturers by taking the management of that article into the hands of the Government. The only difference is that the profit which was before reaped by English gentlemen and banians is now acquired by the Company." This statement is substantially correct. The condition of the molungees remained the same under the government monopoly as before. The condition of the molungees had been indeed pitiable before 1772 when the salt trade and even the organisation of the production of salt were virtual monopolies of Englishmen under the management of their banians. Under the advance systm of production the lot of the poor molungees was none too enviable even when there had existed an effective native government. Since the ascendancy of the Company's servants in the affairs of Bengal the molungees like weavers and the producers of silk came under the rapacious banians, and were thus reduced into an intolerable servitude.

The condition of the molungees may be judgd from the minutes of Hastings in the consultations of the Governor General and Council on the 27th January and 4th Febuary, 1780. This was in connection with the manufacture of salt in the 24 Pargannahs in 1780. When the zamindars refused to undertake the management of the salt business Hastings proposed that the organisation of the manufacture of salt should be undertaken by the Company. He argued that the abandonment of manufacture would cause great hardship to all those who were concerned with its production. Moreover, Hastings admittd that the life of the ryot was of comparative ease, and once the molungees settled down as ryots they "could not be easily retrieved" from that occupation. It, therefore, appears that the molungees suffered the opperession incidental to their profession which was looked upon as heriditary and as such could not be normally abandoned.

Appendix A

Company's receipts from salt between 1766 and 1784 in pounds sterling.

1766–67	....	118,926
1767–68	....	114,218
1768–69	....	not distinguished
1769–70	....	16,907
1770–71	....	70,914
1771–72	....	61,663
1772–73	....	45,027
1773-74	....	229,192
1774–75	....	130,263
1775–76	....	1,473 (loss)—
1776–77	....	139,012
1777–78	....	54,160
1778–79	....	63,697
1779–80	....	32,287
1780–81	....	8,427
1781–82	....	321,912
1782–83	....	605,646
1783–84	....	603,076

Between 1766 and 1772 the receipts were from duties collected. During this period trade was at first a monopoly of the Society of Trade, and later a virtual monopoly of the Company's servants under the management of their banians. Between 1773 and 1778 the receipts included both duty and profits if any. This was the period when the salt was a monopoly of the Company but the provision of the commodity was made by contractors. Between 1779-80, the receipts were again duties alone. During this period the salt trade was under the management of the zamindars, talukdars and farmers of land revenue. In the last three years the large incomes were due to the fact that Company got the salt produced by its own agents. The receipts therefore, included the profits of manufacture.

The above account was signed by John Annis, Auditor of Indian Accounts. Vide H. M. S. 92, p. 784.

Appendix B

COMPARATIVE ACCOUNT OF SALT PRODUCED IN 1781 AND 1782

Divisions	1781 Maunds	1782 Maunds
1. Hijli	5,31,550	8,05,321
2. Tamlook	5,08,798	8,01,694
3. 24 Pargannahs	5,78,943	7,74,364
4. Raymongal	2,75,718	4,02,604
5. Bhulua	2,64,218	6,13,077
6. Chittagong	72,230	92,000
Total :—	22,31,458	34,89,060
Price realised :—	S Rs. 38,23,043	S Rs. 66,15,703

The fractions of maunds and rupees have been omitted.
In the year 1781 the price works out as Rs. 170 per hundred maunds and in the year 1782 as Rs 185 per hundred maunds.
Vide Revenue Consultations, 20th December, 1782.
Also H. M. S. 381.

Appendix C

The following information will throw light on the prices of salt at different times to help form a judgement as to the extent of monopolistic exploitation :—

1. The price of foreign salt was stated as Rs 50 to Rs 60 per hundred maunds. (Consultations of Governor and Council, 7th October, 1768)

2. In 1773 under the Government monopoly, 14,20, 743 maunds of salt were sold to the merchants for Rs. 20,28, 786. The price thus works out at Rs. 150 per hundred maunds. (Letter to Court of Directors from the Revenue Department, 18th October, 1774).

3. In 1780-81 the cost of making 3,09,550 maunds of salt was Rs. 1,93,966. This works out at Rs. 66 per hundred maunds. (Appx. 91 of the 9th Report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1782).

From appendix 88 of the same report it appears that the molungees of the 24 Pargannahs produced salt for Rs 50 to Rs. 60 per hundred maunds.

4. 1780-81 the price of salt produced on account of the Company in the 24 Pargannahs was fixd at Rs 100 per hundred maunds. Even then there were good profits.

5. In 1781-82, 34,89,062 maunds were produced all over Bengal at a cost of Rs. 18,00,000. This works out at a little over Rs. 50 per hundred maunds.

6. In the first year of Government monopoly, the difference between the prime cost of salt and the price at which the article was sold to the merchants was over a hundred rupees per hundred maunds. This difference at the time of the Society of Trade's monopoly was some times well over two hundred rupees.

TWO NINETEENTH CENTURY LETTERS IN PĀLI*

DEVAPRASAD GUHA

Towards the end of 1954 an unknown friend, Brahmacārī Môn Bo Kay by name, wrote to me from Bassein, a port in the south west coast of Burma, that he had in his possession a collection of palmleaf manuscripts which he inherited from his grandfather and which contained two *Sandesakathās* (pieces of message). My friend was kind enough to offer me the copies of these two with the request to present them before the scholarly world. Thankfully I accepted the offer and received the copies within a few days. The information supplied by him about the manuscripts was, however, incomplete and I asked for further details. I am sorry to say that in spite of repeated reminders my friend remained silent for reasons best known to him. Placed as I am, I have got no other alternative but to remain content with the copies of the manuscripts only. On further enquiry I found these two *Sandesakathās* incorporated in *Tipeṭkavinicchaya Kyam*, vol. ii, pp. 493-502, by Rev. Main Khaing Sayadaw and (2) *Pāli Sagā :— thin Sāye-thin* pp. 452-45, by Rev. Ledi Paṇḍita U Maung Gyi. The former contains a translation in Burmese of the second letter, while the latter gives the translation of both the texts, of course in Burmese. Besides, there is something like a colophon in both these works, according to which the first letter was addressed to Pukham Sāsanāpaing i. e. the Head of the Church at Pukham, a place in Upper Burma, by Siri Sumaṅgala Nāyakathera of Ceylon. As to the second letter, it may be mentioned that it was the reply to the above and it was composed by the Sayadaw of Maing Khaing on behalf of the Head of he Church at Pudham.

Before proceeding with by observation on the texts, I would like to give a summary of their contents.

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* Paper read at the Eighteenth All-India Oriental Conference, Annamalai University.

SUMMARY

LETTER I

The Venerable Siri Sumaṅgala Nāyakathera, the Chief of the Sudassanârāma monastery at Panasathala, a village near Gālu (modern Galle) in Ceylon, took the opportunity of conveying his respect to the Buddhist monks of different categories residing at Mandalay, the crown of the Aparānta country, i.e. Upper Burma. The Nāyakathera went further to say that he and his followers belonged to the Amarapura School of Buddhism which was founded by the eminent Burmese Saṁgharāja Nāṇâbhivaṁsa who had the appellation of *dhammasenāpati mahādhammarājâdhirājāguru*. The Venerable Sumaṅgala further admitted that though the Amarapura School of Ceylon continued to maintain its existence so far, of late it had fallen into bad days and appeared to be weak. In his letter he spokc of the noble qualities of the Venerable Siri Saddhammârāma, the Chief of the Amarapura establishment at Mahātittha (modern Matara) who was sent to Burma with the letter. This *thera*, he added, had taken the risk of the dangers that might befall him while journeying along the sea in order to seek for advice from the Church in Burma. Sumaṅgala further requested the Burmese Saṁgha to grant all its favours on and extend all the facilities to Saddhammārāma during the latter's stay in that country and put him in the custodianship of the Burmese Saṁgha. The letter was dated on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Māgha (January-February) in the *Sāsana* Year 2442 (1898-99 A. D.).

LETTER II

This letter, a reply to the former, was written by the Sayadaw of Maing Khaing at the behest of and on behalf of his teacher Reverend Nandābhidhaja, the Head of the Saṁgha at Pukham, who had the appellations of *Siri saddhammâdhipatipavara-mahādhammarājâdhirajaguru* and *Neyyadhammâbhimuni varaññāṇa-kittisiridhajadhammasenāpati*. Reverend Nanda was a resident of the Mahāatulavijaya monastery lying to the north of the Mahāloka Mārajina monastery which was adorned with 729 stone slabs containing the Three Piṭakas engraved at the end of the Fifth Buddhist

Council by the order of King Mindon. The *thera* acknowledged herewith the receipt of the two letters, one from Siri Sumaṅgala Nāyakathera and the other (which has not yet been traced) from Siri Saddhammasivakathera, the chief of Jayasekharârāma an Amarapura organisation near the port town of Colombo. He also acknowledged the gifts of two shrines, an ivory casket containing tooth relics, a towel and a full set of robes sent by the latter, all of which reached him on the ninth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Vesākha (April-May) in the year 2443 (A. D. 1899-1900). In his reply to the Nāyakathera, the Sayadaw said that neither Saddhammârāma nor his pupil, who accompanied him, could reach Mandalay as, while on the way, both of them died of small pox in Rangoon. Their death, he added further, was a rude shock to the Saṁgha as well as to the laity at Mandalay, besides the ruling princes of the Shan states of (Burma). Through his letter the *thera* assured all help and service for the development and well-being of the Amarapura School in Ceylon.

From the above precis it is evident that the two letters are mutually connected with each other. Reverend Sumaṅgala's letter contains an appeal to the Buddhist Church at Pukham. Now the question arises what sort of help did the Sinhalese Saṁgha ask for and why? To get an answer to this question, one must look at the condition of Buddhism that prevailed in Ceylon and Burma during the last centuries, particularly the nineteenth century.

As regards Ceylon, it is well-known that from the sixteenth century onwards the native kings of Ceylon started quarrelling amongst themselves for political supremacy. As a result, for a long time there was no one ruler ruling over the whole of the island. At this juncture foreign traders like the Arabs, the Dutch, the Portugese and the English came one after another to exploit her rich resources. The native kings, burnt as they were with mutual jealousy, instead of opposing the foreigners welcomed them to gain advantage over their political rivals. The merchants, however, did not remain content with their business transactions alone. Gradually they went on introducing their religious faiths amongst the people of the land, as a result of which Islam and Christianity, particularly the latter, gained a strong foothold all over the country excepting the Kandyan region. Of the merchants the last to come were the English. Proverbially shrewed

as they were, the English traders at first tried to gain the confidence of the people by keeping themselves engaged with social and cultural ac'ivities alone. But as time rolled by, they showed themselves in their true colour. They had already set up the convents and brought in the missionaries and while spreading modern education amongst the people they started infusing Christian ideas into them. But once they consolidated their political influence over the country, they came out with their sinister motive of imposing their own faith upon the people by duping them with material advantages. The internal condition of the Saṁgha too was far from being encouraging. Monks belonging to different sects started quarrelling amongst themselves. The English took full advantage of this condition and went on widening the breach in the Saṁgha by encouraging mutual jealousy amongst the monks. But the strides they took were too hasty and very soon came the inevitable. Discontent grew among the people and there was vigorous movement by eminent monks for the reformation of the Order and in open controversies through press and public platform the Christian missionaries started becoming disgraced. This timely intervention by some distinguished *theras* saved the island from wholesale conversion to Christianity.

A few words about the condition prevailing in the Saṁgha during the time will possibly not be out of place here. The rivalry existing amongst the native kings, coupled with the steps taken by the foreigners, had disturbed the very life in the monasteries and the Saṁgha became deteriorated. Monks started neglecting the spiritual side of the life and engaged themselves with more of temporal affairs. At this juncture, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Sinhalese Saṁgha adopted certain disciplinary measures which were not in conformity with the orthodox teachings of Buddhism. This naturally irritated some puritan monks who did not like such an interference with their code of conduct and sought the guidance and help from the Saṁgha of the outside world. In their objective they were successful and during the reign of Kittisiri Rājasīha (A.D. 1748-78) obtained twenty monks from Siam and restored the ecclesiastical hierarchy which was considered to be lost. These monks, who adopted themselves to the new condition, formed a group of their own and ultimately came to be known as the Siyamasaṁgha, the Siamese School.

Things went on well for sometime. But trouble started again. The king, presumably approved and authorised by the Saṁgha, issued a decree that none other than the highest calss of people would receive the *upasampadā* ordination. This naturally brought in indignation and in 1802 Ambagahapitiya Nāṇavimalatissa, a novice from the castic of Salāgūma, defied the order and with five others set sail on the sea and went to Amarapura, the then chief ecclesiastical centre of Burma, to receive the *upasampadā* ordination there. They were cordially recieved by the Burmese king Bodawpaya (1782-1819) and were ceremoniously presented to the Saṁgharāja Nāṇābhivaṁsa, reputed for his scholarship in Vinaya, who conferred ordination on them. Spending two years in Burma they returned home with a full chapter of Burmese monks and started ordaining people. In course of time they established a new school of Buddhism in Ceylon which still now is known as the Amarapura Saṁgha. Their aim was to hold strictly to the pristine purity of the religion and to allow ordination to all castes, high or low.

Now, looking towards Burma we; however, see a different picture. The rulers were all zealous Buddhists and great patrons of the cause of Buddhism and the Saṁgha. Bodawpaya was a great builder who caused scores of pagodas to be built all over his kingdom. We are told that he kept keen watch over the affairs of the Saṁgha and it is said that he decreed that no monk could be the head of a monastery unless by virtue of his personal conduct and character, learning and wisdom, he was fit to adorn the post. His successors Bagyidaw (1819-37), Tharawaddy (1837-46) and Pagan (1846-52) were keen enthusiasts who too contributed immensely for the welfare of the Saṁgha. During the reign of Tharawaddy another Sinhalese mission visited Amarapura under the leadership of Thera Paññatissa, while, during the time of his successor, great enthusiam was noticed amongst the members of the Saṁgha in the literary field. But the real glorious period of the Burmese Buddhist ecclesiastical life is marked by the reign of the great king Mindon, the son and successor of King Pagan. With him we enter into an era of peace and progress for the religion. The period of his rule was indeed a golden age for the Saṁgha which enjoyed the sincere and vigorous patronage of the king. He infused new vigour into the order by taking interest in all its affairs.

Religious studies were pursued by the monks with vigour and zeal, and some of the best pieces of Burmese Buddhist tracts were composed during this period. Enthusiasm even penetrated into the common people who started vieing with one another in matters of the observance of the precepts enacted by the Master. It was Mindon's encouragement and leadership which gave a new lease of life to the Burmese Buddhism which had not been very much affected by the impact of Christianity imported into this country by her British ruler. It was under his patronage that the Fifth Buddhist Council was held at Mandalay, the last centre of Burmese monarchy, and the text adopted therein had been incised on 729 stone slabs. It is again this text which has formed the basis of the revision work of the Three Piṭakas just finished under the auspices of the Sixth Buddhist Council still in session in Rangoon.

The observation made above suggests that in the nineteenth century the condition of Buddhism in Burma and Ceylon was totally different. In Ceylon a dark cloud hung over the Saṁgha, whereas in Burma it shone in all glory. In Burma the Saṁgha enjoyed all prestige and honour, and being supported both by the laity and the ruling power, the monks found ample time and opportunity to absorb themselves with religious and spiritual pursuits as also to engage themselves with scholarly and cultural activities. As a result, in a short period a large number of Buddhistic works came out of the pens of the Burmese monks, an act which inspired also the Burmese Buddhist laity, the effect of which has saved Burma from falling a victim to Christianity.

But in the case of Ceylon the story is totally different. The mutual jealousy amongst the Buddhist sects, inspired by the dark designs of the British rulers, actually stood on the way of progress of the Sinhalese Saṁgha. That which suffered the most seems to have been the Vinaya, the pride of the ancient Ceylonese Church, for recouping which loss time and again Ceylon had to look beyond the Bay to Burma which was then the ideal place for its culture and pursuit. The letters with which we are concerned seem to suggest that the reason for which Siri Sumaṅgala sent his pupil to Burma was to appraise the Burmese Church of the affairs of the Amarapura organisations in the country.

The two records under investigation, it must be admitted, do not give us much information. But there is every possibility

that such records would be found in large numbers in Burma and Ceylon and presumably also in Siam. If these records could be placed together and studied carefully, it is just likely that much welcome light would thereby be thrown on the rather hazy picture of the Theravāda form of Buddhism of the last two centuries.

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NAMATTHU ADVAYAVĀDINO BUDDHASSA

Apariyantânanta-guṇa-gaṇâdhāra-pasattha-varatara-jambudī pâ-parantaka-janapada-makuṭabhūte Mantaleḥ-mahānagare nivasatānaṁ sāsanabhāravāhakānaṁ pariyattivisāradānaṁ sikkhāgarukasāsanasodhakānaṁ supesala-mahāpaññānaṁ saṅgharājamahātheravararappamukhānañ ca tad aññesaṁ pariyattivisāradapākaṭamahāpaññānaṁ therânuthera-gaṇapāmokkhānañ ca ācariyānaṁ sabbesaṁ mahātherānaṁ mama vuḍḍhatarānaṁ pāde vanditvā, sesānaṁ samādaraṁ katvā, mayā Laṅkādīpe Gālunaga-râsanne Panasathalagāma-Sudassanârāmavihārâdhipati nā Amara-puraganappadhāna - sirisaddhammavaṁsapāla - Sirisumaṅgalāmahānāyaka therena uposampadato tepaññāsa-vassikena pesiyate.

Suṇantu bhante āyasmanto Jambudīpikā Saṁgharājā mahātherappamukhā c' eva tad aññagaṇapāmokkhā gaṇavācakā mahātherā ca āyasmanto navakatarā ca:

Amhe kho pana bhante Laṅkādīpe Amarapuravaṁsika-Bhaddantānaṁ yeva Amarapura-rājadhānikāle Nāṇābhivaṁsa-dhammasenāpati-mahādhammarājādhirāja-guru-saṅgharaññño kāle tam eva theravaraṁ upajjhāyâcariyaṁ katvā laddha pabbajjūpasampadānaṁ amhākañ câcariyapācariyānam yeva vaṁso yāv'ajjatanā mahantena ussāhena avinassantā yeva viharāma. Tathâpi bhantek etarahi amhākaṁ vaṁso dubbalo viya khāyati. Aham pi kho pana bhante jarādubbalo. Etarahi kho pana Laṅkādīpato bhaddantānaṁ Mrammadesaṁ āgacchanto eso Sirisaddhamma-dharâbhidhāno nāma thero pana amhākaṁ Amarapuranikāya-Mahātitthanagare pubbe ṭhita-gaṇapāmokkha-gaṇâcariya-Sirisaddhammarāma-mahāthera-varassa sisso supesalo sikkhākāmo sa-saddasattha-dhamma vinayâdīsukata-paricayo niccaṁ eva sāsanavuḍḍhiyā yeva vāyamati vamsânurakkhanepi mah'ussāho.

Idāni eso pi Mahātitthanagare amhākaṁ nikāyapālako gaṇapāmokkho gaṇavācako aham pi etassa kammavācācariyo ekakuliko ekavaṁsiko mama ñātako câhosī ti. Eso kho pana bhante etarahi mahantera ussāhena jīvitantarāyam pi agaṇetvā maha-samuddaṁ taritvā Laṅkasāsanâbhivuddhikiccaṁ theravarānaṁ santikā pihayamāno patthayamāno dukkhena kasirena āgacchati. Tasmā tumhe bhaddantā mahāpuññā Mrammadesavāsino saṁgharājamahātheravarappamukhā sabbe pi gaṇavācakā gaṇappadhānavaṁsānurakkhakā sāsanânukampakā lokânukampakā mahātherânutherā etassa Siri-saddhammadhârabhidhānatherassa ca amhākaṁ Laṅkādīpika-sabba-Mrammavaṁsikānaṁ c'eva Laṅkāsāsanassa ca tumhākaṁ mahākāruññataṁ pattharitvā iminā therena ākaṅkhamānā-sāsan'upatthambhakiccaṁ garuṁ sallakkhetva khippam eva yath'ajjhāyasayavasena samijjhanākāraṁ karontu. Bhonto mahātheravarā, eso thero yattakaṁ kālaṁ Mrammaraṭṭhe vicarati tattakaṁ kālaṁ tumhe mahātherā eva ārakkhaṁ karontu. Bhaddantānaṁ yeva bhāran ti ñātabhaṁ.

Idaṁ gārava-bahumāna-pubbaṅgama-sāsanasandesapaṇṇam mayā Laṅkādipe Amarapuragaṇappadhāna-sirisaddhammavaṁsapāla-Sirisumaṅgala-mahānāyaka-therena Sambuddhaparinibbānato catusatādhikānaṁ dvinnaṁ vassasahassānaṁ upari dvi-(cat) tālīsatime saṁvacchare māghamāsa-juṇhapakkha-dasamīyam pesitan ti daṭṭhabbaṁ.

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Jambudīpasaṅkhātassa dakkhiṇa-mahādipassa sikhûpamānaṁ Sunâparanta-Tambadīpanāmikānaṁ dvinnaṁ maharaṭṭhānaṁ kamṇikābhutāya dhaññâdhivāsāya Mantalâcalāsamipe māpitattā Mantalâcala-sannisitattā ca Mantaleḷ-nagaran ti ca nānāvidharatanehi puṇṇattā Ratanapuṇṇanagaran tica tesaṁ yeva ratanānaṁ puñjabhūtattā Ratanapuñjanagaran ti ca sabbhattha pākaṭāya mahārājaṭṭhāniyā pubbuttara-disābhāge Mantaleḷ-mahāngarassa ādimāpakena Pañcama-saṁgītikāra-mahādhammarañña kāritāhi ekûnatiṁsādhika sattasatāhi samāropita-piṭakattaya-selaguhāhi samalaṅkatassa Mahâloka-Mārajinâbhidhānassa mahācetiyassa accupantika-dakkhiṇadisābhāge ṭhitassa ten'eva Mahādhammarañña kāritassa Mahā-atulavijayârāma mahāvihārassa abbhantaraṁ ajjhāvasanto Nandâbhidhaja-siri-saddhammâdhipati-pavara-mahādhammarājâdhi rājâgurû

tiladdhalaṇjako sāsanabhāravaha-sāsanasodhana-sāsanahitakaraṇesu Neyyadhammâbhimuni - varaññāṇa - kittisiridhaja - dhammasenāpati mahādhamma rājâdhirājagurū ti laddhalañjaka mamâcariya-Mahā-samgharājato laddhā ācariyamuṭṭhinayo sammuti-samgharājabhūto mahātheravaro Mahā-pukhanta-rājagurû ti ca pākaṭakittiko aham sandesakatham paṭi-āroceyāmi

Dīpaseṭṭha-dīpuggata saṅkhāte Laṅkādipe Gālunagarâsanne Panasathala-gāma -Sudassanârām-adhipati Amarapuragaṇappadhāna Sirisaddhammavaṁsapāla-sirisumaṅgala-mahānāyaka-mahātheravaro ca Kolambanagara-nāvātitthasamīpe vaṁsānugatam Jayasekha-râ rāmam ajjhâvasanta-Amarapuragaṇapāmokkha-siri-saddhamma-vaṁsika-Śivakatheravaro câti dve āyasmanto tumhehi pesitā dve sandesakathā ca vandanapūjanatthāya āyasmatā Sivikatherena pesitāni dve Buddhadhātucetiyāni ca hatthidantena kārāpita-dāṭhā-dhātusaṇṭhānañ ca dhātunidhānakaraṇḍabhūta-mahagghacetiyañ ca mama bhuñjanatthāya pesitamukhapuñjana-ticīvarāni ca īdisa paṇṇākāra Sammāsambuddhaparinibbānato catu-satadhikānam dvinnam vassasahassānam upari tecattālīsatime saṁvacchare visākhamāsa kālapakkha-navamiyaṁ mama hattham pattā.

Tumhākam pi rucim gahetvā idhâgato Sirisaddhammadharâ-bhidhāna-paññavanta-bahussuta-supesala - sikkhākāma - gaṇapāmok-kha-gaṇavācaka-theravaro tam sisso câ ti dve pana thero mahāsa-muddam atikkamitvā Rankun-nagaram pattakāle masurikaroga-pāpa-roga-sankhātena mahābheravarogena phuṭṭhā saṇkhārasabhāvam aniccatam maraṇavasam patavā amhākam santikam na pattā.

Tesaṁ dvinnaṁ therānaṁ mama santikaṁ apāpuṇanañ ca tesaṁ apattattā vacanapaṭivacana-pucchanapaṭipucchanānaṁ abhāvato tum-hākaṁ Siri-sumaṇgala-mahānāyaka-mahāthera-Sirisevakatherānaṁ mūlasabhava-icchitatara-āsāchandâdinañ ca Amarapura-Maramma-vaṁsika-sakalasaṁghagaṇāṇaṁ Buddhasāsane nivāsa-ussāhâdi-ākārassa ca anavasesaṁ asavanaṁ ajānanañ ca amhākaṁ tumhākañ ca mahā-anatthâvahāni Lankāsāsanâbhibuddhakaraṇâdikiccasādhane atīva-antarāyakarāni viya jātāni.

Tassa Siri-saddhammâdhāra-theravarassa jīvitantarāyam pi aganetvā mahussāhena idhâgamanañ ca tumhākaṁ sandesapannâ-nusāren tassa gunakathañ ca Mantaleḷ-nagaram pi apatvā Rankun-nagare masūrikārogena kālakiriyañ ca sutvā Mantaleḷ-nagarâdīsu vasantā maṁ-pamukha-rājaguru-therânutherā ca tad aññe mahāthe-

ranutherâdayo ca atikāruññacittam uppādetvā sahottappa ñāṇasankhātaṁ saṁvegaṁ paṭilabhiṁsu.

Yathā nāma cirakālaṁ nāvikānaṁ hitasukhâvahā thirataraṣusanṭhānanānārtanasampuṇṇā suvaṇṇamahānāvā samuddaṁ atikkamitvā tīaṁ pattamattāya pāsāṇa-pabbata-mahātīrassa bhajjitvā avattharaṇena ekappahārena adassanaṁ antaradhānaṁ gatā viya. Aho naṭṭho, aho naṭṭho, asutapubbaṁ sutam abhūtapubbaṁ bhutaṁ. Ediso pi nāma theravaro evaṁ bhūto. Aho sankhārānaṁ aniccatā dukkhatā anattatā jammitā ti. Tathā Marammika Sāsanamāmakā ratanattayapasādakā paññavantā Marammaraṭṭhissarānaṁ raṭṭhakāra-purakāra-mahārājūnaṁ mahāñatisālohitā ca mahā-nāyaka mahāmattā ca mahārājānāmikā Syāmaraṭṭhâdhipatino ca guṇavanta-sirimanta-mahāmanussa-sādhumanussagaṇā ca atikāruññiacittaṁ uppādetvā sah-ottappa-ñāṇa-saṅkhātaṁ saṁvegaṁ paṭilabhiṁsu.

Tathā tumhākam pi Laṅkādīpavāsinaṁ samānanikāyika sabbabhikkhugaṇa-sahitānaṁ saparivāranaṁ samvegasaṅkhātasah-ottappa-ñāṇam eva uppādetvā yuttaṁ.

Api ca idāni evaṁ sante pi sabba-saṁghabhārassa ussāhavahanakammaṁ garuṁ katvā anajjhupekkhitvā sakicca-sabhāram iva upatthambhetvā ussahetvā sāsanavarassa paggah'upatthambhane mama atirekasammāchando ca atthi. Tumhākañ ca sa-samuddaṁ Laṇkādipaṁ ottaritvā yāva Mantaleḥ-nagarā patthaṭakitti tejânūbhāvo Laṅkādipe Amarapuranikāye sāsanâbhivuḍḍhikaraṇe dahataraatireka-sammāchando ca atthi.

Tasmā chandavato "kin nāma na sijjhatī" ti vacanânurūpaṁ tesaṁ sammāchandānaṁ vasena amhākaṁ hetu-saṇkappa-kamma kicca-sampuṇṇā sāmaggiyakāle Lankā-Sīhala Tambapāni-dipikānaṁ Amarapuraganasaṁghānaṁ sāsanâbhivuḍḍhiṁ sukhena sampādetvā paggahetuṁ samattho appeva nāma bhaveyyan ti. Sammāmanopaṇidhinā ahaṁ udikkhanto patthento viharāmī ti.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL CONTENT OF THE SCULPTURE OF SANCHI

By Abu Imam.

Although much work has already been done on the monuments of Sanchi, no systematic and comparative analysis of the material content of its Sculpture has so far been attempted. Work of this nature has recently been done on the relief from Amaravati and Nagarjuni Konda, yet even these were not exhaustive, and stressed comparatively limited aspects. It was felt that a critical study of the Sanchi Sculptures from a new angle could provide a reassessment of their content. Cunningham wrote his book more than a century ago and much of his thought is now outdated. Maisey's book, which was ultimately published at the end of the nineteenth century, contained much that is almost useless as sober history and was marred by his preconceived ideas concerning the origin of Buddhism. Marshall wrote in the preface to his folio volumes on Sanchi: "Apart from their artistic religious and iconographic interest the early sculptures of Sanchi are an almost inexhaustive mine of information in regard to contemporary Indian civilization. To attempt even a provisional discussion of them....would require many more chapters than this work contains....." Thus as Marshall himself suggested, his great work provided rather an exhaustive corpus of its reliefs than an analysis of their content.

Thus the following paper is an attempt at a systematic analysis and description of the material content of the sculptural reliefs. Whenever possible the contents are related to archaeological finds and several interesting conclusions are thereby suggested. We found that new light can be thrown upon the dating of the gateways of the great Stupa; and the inscriptional and archaeological grounds favour a dating in the first half of the first century A. D.*** Early Buddhist practice and belief, in particular, domestic objects appear to confirm this dating of the reliefs. Also careful consideration is

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***For a fuller discussion of the whole question see my article "A re-examination of Andhara chronology" in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Vol, II....1957, Dacca, pp. 35-49.

given to the evidence thrown by cult objects etc. In this respect we have sought to allow the objects to tell their own story rather than forcing upon them a theoretical interpretation; in this way we have sought a fresh and more practical approach than that of earlier writers.

We have not dealt with the dress and ornaments as this subject has been treated in some detail in other works, in particular, works by Moti Chand and Ghurye. Practical reasons prevented us from illustrating the paper to the desired extent. Generally the illustrations are tracings from the photographs in "The Monuments of Sanchi", but quite a large number are taken from Maisey's excellent drawings. In this context it was noticed Cousens' photographs, which were utilised by Marshall are, in some respects, not sufficiently clear. It is not apparent whether this lack of clarity is the outcome of the photographs themselves or of the method of reproduction; for it is noticeable that they compare unfavourably with other photographs of the same subjects. It is regrettable indeed that the photographs are not of a quality one would expect in a publication of this nature and that the volumes have been rendered almost unwieldy by making them unnecessarily bulky. Wherever plates are mentioned in the paper they are to be taken as MOS plates. For illustrations in the text, we have used the words 'Text figure such and such....' For lists of abbreviations used please see the end of the article.

SECTION I A
The Cult Objects

The analysis of the cult objects in our reliefs throws a flood of light on the early practice of the popular form of Buddhism as distinguished from the philosophical. Generally, this seemingly more important side of the new religion is ignored; and the history of Buddhism is treated as though the man in the street, in the market place or the fields, the artisans, merchants, and villagers were really aware of the philosophical background of their faith. Thus it will be seen below that, although the sacrificial practices of the Brahmanas were scorned, many pre-Buddhistic beliefs and rituals, all of them possibly indigenous, were taken over by Buddhism and incorporated in its own rituals.[1]

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1. Also see Dr. N. Dutta's article "Popular Buddhism" IHQ, vol. XXI, December 1945, No. 4, pp. 245-270. On p. 245

The cult objects represented in our reliefs fall under three categories (a) trees and Bodhigharas, (b) stupas and (c) columns.

A. *Tree-shrines and Bodhi-gharas :*——Three types of tree-shrines are represented in our reliefs; (i) a tree enclosed by an elaborate structure which looks like a temple (Pl. 18, b 1;PI 61 B. L; Pl.51, a 2 and Pl. 40 B.L.); (ii) a tree with an altar (vajrāsana) only (Pl. 65, b 1) and (iii) a tree enclosed by a low railing (vedikā) (Pl. 75, 5b; Pl. 86, 66c). A single instanc of a tree shrine which has no enclosure but a free-standing *torana* occurs on MOS pl. 65 bl. Text figure 61. There is, however, almost always an altar (vajrāsana) at the foot of the trees. We may call all of them by the general name Chaitya as, it seems, it can be applied to any object of worship including its structural components.[2] A Bodhi-tree with a temple structure

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Dutta writes: "Early Buddhism though propagated in different provincial dialects could not be appreciated by the commonfolk in general. The insistence on retirement from worldly life was a great handicap in the way of its popularity, so during the first century of its existence, it remained confirmed to the reclues and monasteries, and hardly reached the home and the hearth. It was perhaps about a century after Buddha's death that the religion became dynamic, assimilating some of the ideas and thoughts current around .....This move towards popularity too did not proceed far as we find that it just allowed a little scope for rituals of a sober character, a little of faith and worship and a slight relaxation from the stringency of disciplinary rules. Asoka as a ruler gave preference to the popular ideas.....It cannot be ascertained how far Asoka had a hand in the matter of making the religion popular but the history of the religion shows that after the days of Asoka, it developed new aspects which became so very popular that the reoriented religion spread all over India, making every notable spot with magnificent structures of rare artistic value, and ultimately reaching countries beyond the borders of India. These are, in fact, two stages in the course of its attainment of popularity, one of the Pre-Asokan days and other of the Post-Asokan."

2. Fergusson, J. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.*, 2nd Ed. 1910, Vol. I, p. 55 F. N. 2.

may be called a Bodhi-ghara as is evident from the texts (Mahāvaṁsa). In our reliefs, men, women and children are shown offering food or flowers to the trees, each of which is supposed to be the symbol of a particular Buddha gaining enlightenment under it. The reliefs would suggest that the method of worship was to bow or kneel before the trees with folded hands while music is played by the accompanying band.[3] The trees themselves are bedecked with hanging garlands and umbrellas and flags. Most of these trees at Sanchi can be identified with the help of the labelled Bodhi-trees at Bharhut. Thus, apart from the Aśvattha, which is Gautama's, we can recognise the Bodhi-trees of Vipaśvī, Kāshyapa and Kanakamuni, the trees being respectively the Pāṭali, the Nyāgrodha and the Udumbara. The Bodhi-tree of Viśvabhū (śāla) is missing; our a3, Pl. 64 should be his but it is unidentified and does not look like a śāla tree.

How far this elaborate cult of the tree-shrines is an invention of the Buddhists is a matter of controversy. It is, however, inconceivable that it was developed all at once by the new community. It seems from the literary and archaeological evidence at our disposal that the Buddhist practice of worshipping at the tree-shrines was intimately connected with the earlier practice of venerating trees as the abodes of Yakshas.[4] The Buddhists took over and adapted this popular cult to their own needs.

Indeed, the cult of tree-worshipping can be traced back to the days of the Indus valley civilization. On sealings from Harappā various sacred trees are represented and they are enclosed with railings in much the same way as the trees in the reliefs at Sānchi, Bhārhut and Amarāvatī.[5] These enclosures would almost certainly indicate that

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3. Mahāvaṁsa contains an interesting reference to this "....In the same (splendid manner in which the water festival at the Mahathupo had been conducted), in honour of the pre-eminent bo-tree, also, he (i.e. Bhatiko rājā of Ceylon) celebrated annually....the solemn festival of watering the bo-tree....and a great festival at the Mahāthupo, with gymnastics of all descriptions, and every kind of instrumental and vocal music...." Turnour, transl. by p. 212.
4. Fergusson, J., *Tree and Serpent Worship* 1873, first elaborated the theory of the antiquity of such worship.
5. Marshall, J., *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, 1931, p. 65.

the trees were sacred. On another seal, between the branches of a tree, is shown the figure of a deity who probably is meant to be the spirit of the tree. The tree represented is an Aśvattha, which, as is well known, was regarded as the Bodhi-tree of Gautama himself and which has since been adopted by both the Śaivites and the Vaishnavites and is still sacred to the common Indian.[6]

Tree-chaityas are also frequently represented on the punchmarked coins which are often claimed to date from C. 5th-4th century B. C. The trees on these coins have usually been described as Bodhi-trees, but it is rather doubtful if all of them are really Buddhistic.[7] If the passage in the Visuddhimagga[8] were true that by means of the symbols stamped upon the Kahāpaṇas an expert banker would know at what village, borough mountain or river bank they were issued, it would appear that many towns and districts anciently had their own particular tree-shrines by which they were known.

Apart from archaeology, the Buddhist and Jain texts also provide us with certain significant facts which may indicate a pre-Buddhistic background for the tree-shrines. Coomaraswamy[9] also links them up with the so-called cult of the Yakshas and quotes certain passages from the Buddhist and Jain texts in his support, one of which is well worth quoting here : "At Sāvatthi, ... lived a householder named Great-Wealth Maha-Suvanna....he was childless. One day,....he saw by the road side a large forest tree with spreading branches.

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6. Also see Nanimadhab Chaudhuri's article "A Pre-historic Tree cult" IHQ, vol. XIX, December 1943, No.4, pp.318-329. where he discusses the question in detail and develops Hutton's theory that the sanctity of the Fig tree is a contribution of the Negrito Substratum of the Indian population. The cult appears among the Andamanese who are apporximately a pure Negrito race, because physically and culturally they have been isolated for some five thousand years at least (J.H. Hutton *Census of India* 1931 part I, p.397). Chaudhri also says that according to Wake the regard for the pipal extends through Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Sumatra, Java etc, (*Wake-Serpent Worship* p. 118.)
7. See Ostasiatische Zeitschrift 1927-28, Coomaraswamy's article *Notes on Indian Coins and Symbols*, pp. 186-87.
8. Pointed out by D. R. Bhandarkar. See *Excavations at Besnagar*, ASIR, 1913-14.
9. Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Yakashas*, pt, I.

Thought he, 'This tree must be tenanted by a powerful tree-spirit'. So he caused the ground under the tree to be cleaned, the tree itself to be enclosed with a wall and sand to be spread within the enclosure. And having decked the tree with flags and banners, he made the following vow: 'should I obtain a son or a daughter I will pay you great honour'. Having so done he went on his way".[10] The details that we read of in the texts; the banners and umbrellas, the garlands and altars, enclosures and offerings are significantly the same as those we find in our sculptural reliefs. Even the spreading of sand has been mentioned in connection with the shrine of the Bodhi-Tree planted by Ānanda at Jetavana monastery.[11] As a matter of fact the famous Aśvattha tree under which Buddha received enlightenment was, we learn, already a sacred shrine provided with an altar, and Sujātā's maid-servant mistook the Bodhisattva for the tree-spirit himself (Nidānkathā).

We have, altogether four representations of Bodhi-gharas in our reliefs (Pl. 18, bl. Pl. 61 B.L; Pl. 51 a2 and Pl. 40 B.L.) and all of them enclose an Aśvattha tree, presumably the one at Bodh Gaya. The Bodhi-gharas, in our reliefs, however, do not resemble one another, nor do they resemble the labelled Bodhi-ghara from Bhārhut which probably is the representation of the actual Bodhi-ghara at Bodh Gaya traditionally (Aśokāvdāna) regarded as being erected and consecrated by Aśoka. As it appears from our reliefs, the Bodhi- gharas are gallery-like structures always of necessity, open to the sky. Usually they consist of one superstructural storey on top of a pillared base, but one which in many respects is an aberrant from the series is shown with two additional storeys (Pl. 61 B. L.). The superstructure, which has barrel-vaulted roofs and so-called chaitya windows, seems to be continuous and runs all round the tree. There is a balcony space at the front and it is invariably provided with a railing. The upper galleries were, perhaps, accessible; in the Bharhut relief a couple of worshippers may be seen on

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10. From Dhammapada Atthakatha, quoted by Coomaraswamy, *Ibid.*, p. 22.
11. *Eastern Art.* Vol. II, p. 227.
    It is said in the above story that the King offered to this tree eight hundred jars of scented water furnished with water-lilies. Women carrying water-vessels are actually seen in our reliefs and presumably they contain perfumed water.

the upper floors. Considering the nature of the construction it would seem that the material used may well have been wood. Our a2 of Pl. 51 (T. F. 1) comes from the East toraṇa, lower architrave front, and shows an octagonal structure, almost the same as the Bodhighara in Pl. 40 B. L. (T. F. 2). Fig a2 pl. 51 is somewhat curious in that some of the branches of the tree are shown coming out of the chaitya-windows. The tri-ratna symbol is clearly visible on the Vajrāsana beneath the tree. The trees are crowned by garlanded umbrellas. The Bodhighara in Pl. 61. B. L. (T. F. 3) as already noticed, consists of three storeys, each successive storey being smaller than the one immediately below; whereas, b1 Pl. 18. (T. F. 4) is circular in plan. In the latter, the heavy supporting pillars and their *kalasa* bases are noteworthy.

We may also observe in our reliefs a few examples of shrines of a different kind (pl. 52. a2; Pl.27; Pl. 34, a2) which evidently are connected with the practice of nāga worship and the cult of the sacred fire. They are curious domed structures raised on pillars, with altars within, although our a2, Pl. 34 is somewhat exceptional in having thatched roofs and walls instead of pillars. Their architectural interest is also great and Percy Brown[12] remarks: "In support of the presumed very ancient derivation of these two architectural orders (i. e. Indo-Aryan and Dravidian) it is possible to trace back the particular shrine which, for instance gives its specific character to the Dravidian style, to the rude shelter over the nāga altars or those protecting the sacred fires of the non-Buddhists, as depicted on the Sanchi bas-reliefs executed before the Christian era" (Sic.). The Temple in our pl. 27 is sheltering a hearth in which fire is burning. A2, Pl. 52 (T. F.) and d2, Pl. 19 have orders of almost similar proportions to those of the Bodhi-gharas but their plans and roof-plans are necessarily different. In both the cases the interesting thing to note is the Vedikā near the top of the pillars which runs round the base of the dome. The domes in these structures are usually surmounted by finials. The chaitya-windows on the dome of a2, Pl. 52 are noteworthy.

We know two other early sources where somewhat similar domed structures occur. They are (a) the so-called Audumbara coins found in Kangra district and (b) the Sohgaurā copper-plate inscription.

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12. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Vol.I Bombay, 1942, p. 76.

The Audumbara coins[13] generally show a tall tree in an enclosure on the obverse : on the right the forepart of an elephant to left. The reverse type is a two storeyed domed and pillared structure which Allan mistook for a stupa; beside it stands a trident with an axe-head on the shaft. These coins have been dated to C. 1st. Century B.C.

The Sohgaura copper plate[14] comes from the village of the same name near Gorakhpur. Fleet[15] thinks that the standard of the Brahmi Characters of the inscription refers it to, at any rate, an early date in the Maurya period: B. C. 320 to about 180; and the method of spelling presented in it and the general style of the record would justify our placing it even before that time. The translations of the inscription differ but there is no doubt that it is a public notification about two store houses connected, perhaps, as Dr. Fleet interprets, it, with three high-roads of vehicular traffic. There are seven symbols, well-known to us from the punch-marked coins, depicted on the top of the inscription. Among them there are two structures which are exactly like those which occur on the Audumbara coins. Fleet took them for the two store-houses mentioned in the inscription. But judging from their appearance it is difficult to agree with Fleet that they really represent the two store-houses.

There are minor differences between all these examples but in basic characteristics they seem to be identical. It is interesting to note in this connexion that the Gujarāṭi commentators gloss the word "Jakkhāyayana" by "āyat thānak dehro", a little domed temple.[16] This description would very aptly characterize our little domed shrines at Sānchi. Thus it appears that the tradition of the domed shrines, which may have been Brahmanical or otherwise presented throughout. Their existence can be traced continuously, as already noticed, through the Sohgaura inscription of Maurya date, the Audumbara coins of C. 1st. century B. C. and the Sānchi reliefs of C. 1st. century A. D., and their development obviously lead on to the more elaborate circular structures depicted on the reliefs of Amarāvatī and Mathurā, probably of the sort of the temple at Bairāṭ and even to the highly advanced form of the Ghaṇṭā-śālā relief.[17]

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13. Allan, *Catalogue of Ancient Indian Coins*, p. lxxxiii ff. pl.
14. Fleet, *JRAS* 1907, p. 509 ff.
15. *Ibid.*
16. See Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, pt. 1, P. 19
17. This interesting relief which is in Musee Guimet has so far not been published.

SECTION I B

Stūpas

Several architectural forms can be recognised in the stūpas depicted in our reliefs. Our text Fig. 6 represents the stūpa in its simplest and probably earliest form which is almost unknown among surviving examples. Fergusson regarded the Chakpat stūpa, which bears an amazing resemblance to this relief as being also of early form.[18] What is more significant is that it is supposed in our relief to be a Brāhmanical shrine. It is illustrated in M.O.S. pl. LII, a3 and depicts a hermitage scene. It is a small, squat mound without a harmikā, but carefully encased within a stone or brick facing. We do not know what the objects on its front face mean. That it is a shrine of some sort is certain from the nature of the enclosure which apparently har no passage leading to the stūpa. If it is correct that the stūpa belonged to a Brāhmaṇa community, it may be a concrete proof of the theory that the practice of raising stūpas was prevalent in India before the Buddhists adopted it.

Somewhat similar stūpas of simple form occur many times in our reliefs in Buddhist contexts. The small stūpa in pl. 93. is supposed to be the stūpa of the Fourth Great Miracle or the Parinirvāṇa at Kusinārā. However, there is no reason to suppose that it is the actual representation of the stūpa at Kusinārā because the same has been depicted in different forms on other panels. It differs only from the stūpa of the Brāhmaṇas in that it has a simple Vedikā type harmikā with umbrella and garlands. The stūpa has a pradakshiṇā patha around its base enclosed with a vedikā. The Parinirvāna stūpa on pl. 33 N. G. Back may be grouped under this class of simple stūpas. This Parinirvāṇa is almost hemispherical in shape although not so squat as the other two. It too has an enclosure at ground level and a vedikā type harmikā on top with three umbreallas, However a new feature is the garland encircling the body of the stūpa unhung from the hooked-pegs or *nāga-dantas*. These garlands are also found on other Stūpas but sometimes they hang from ropes instead of nāga-dantas. There is actual reference to these garlands in Mahāvaṁsa :[19] "This ruler of men (i. e. Bhatiko rājā) remitting the taxes due to himself, caused to be planted, within a space of one

18. Fergusson, J., *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* 1876, pp. 91-2.
19. George Turnour, *The Mahawanso*, Ceylon 1837, p. 211.

yajano environing the town the small and large jessamine plants. (With the flowers produced from the garden) the Mahāthupo was festooned, from the pedestal edge to the top of the pinnacle, with fragrant garlands, four inches thick; and there (between these garlands) having studded flowers by their stalks most completely, he made the thupo represent a perfect bouquet. . . ".

Some of the stūpas, however, are shown to be definitely of considerable height although this may be due to the system of perspective employed. The Parinirvāṇa stupa on Pl. 32 N. G., however, has a strikingly raised drum. There are worshippers before it with a bowl containing food offerings and a ewer containing, perhaps, scented water. Incidentally, it is apparent again from our reliefs that a stūpa was not worshipped only by doing pradakshiṇā but also by offering food and flowers, and bowing, kneeling and dancing before it.[20]

The Parinirvāṇa stūpa on Pl.36 N.G.-W.P. deserves special attention as it is interesting from many angles. The scene depicted here is the feast celebrated by the Mallas of Kuśinagara in honour of their share of Buddha's relics. This is the only stūpa in our reliefs which shows a toraṇa of Sānchi type at the entrance. Its elaborate decoration of the harmikā is noteworthy, specially the hanging standards with crescents and stars. The body of the stūpa is encircled by a garland hanging from ropes and it has two pradakshiṇā-pathas with

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20. The following quotation from Mahāvaṁsa is illuminating: ". . The theros causing a passage to develop itself, conducted him to the relic receptacle. The monarch (i. e. Bhatiko rājā) beheld the whole of the splendour of the relic receptacle. He who had thence returned, caused an exact representation of what (he had seen there) to be painted, and made offerings thereto: first, of sweet spices, aromatic drugs, vases, (filled with flowers) golden sandal wood, and orpiment: secondly, having spread powdered red lead, ankle deep, in the square of the chetiya (he made offerings) of uppala flowers studded thereon: thirdly, having filled the whole chetiyo square with a bed of aromatic soil, (he made offerings) of uppala flowers studded in holes regularly marked out in that bed : fourthly, stopping up the drains of the chetiyo square, and filling it with cow's milk butter (he made offerings) of innumerable lighted wicks made of silk....." cf. George Turnour, op. cit pp. 211-12.

vedikā railings, exactly like the stūpas I, II and III at Sānchi. The first *Patha* is around the base and the second is provided by the raised berm. Other examples of stūpas with two pradakshiṇā-pathas occur on Pls. 96, 103, 83, etc.

All the stūpas excepting the one on Pl. 3 N. G. Back and the one Pl. 93 have harmikās which in general show the following features. Around the lower portion is a railing, this is crowned by three slabs each one larger than the one below. Fergusson took the slabs to indicate the lid of a relic chamber. Over the third slab there is in nearly every case zigzag line indicating a sort of castillation or indented cornice. In one case, i. e. in the stūpa on Pl. 103, W. P.-S III this cornice is stepped and reminiscent of the Persepolitan motif. Garland bearers can be seen on the terrace of this stūpa. Above the harmikā is one or are sometimes three umbrellas and in some cases garlands and banners are depicted. Note the decoration of the harmikās in the stūpas on Pl. 15 S. G. and Pl. 41 E. G.—T. L.

SECTION 1 C

Pillars

There are columns of various types depicted in our reliefs. In a general way these may be described as monolithic shafts, faceted or round, sometimes lightly tapering towards the top, with the so-called bell-capitals which are in reality inverted lotuses, surmounted by groups of lions and elephants set back to back. The surmounting animals sometimes rest on an abacus separated by a cable necking, and support a "wheel of law" on their backs. The enclosures, the garlands and the standards that decorate them leave no room for doubt that they are devotional in nature. Besides, almost in every case, the reliefs, show men and women and even animals as worshipping them. They are apparently the copies of what we know today as Aśoka columns. The Buddhistic nature of both classes and the similarity between their component orders ; their lotus-capitals, cable neckings, the surmounting addorsed animals and the "dharmachakras" perhaps point in that direction. Indeed, some of them may well be the actual representations of the more famous of Aśoka's columns ; for instance, the column in the Deer Park at Sārnāth where Buddha preached his first sermon. The pillars, in our reliefs, which have four lions back to back on their tops and

two or more deer near their feet, may be taken almost certainly to represent the column at Sārnāth, even though there may exist slight differences between the details of the two. Thus sometimes the wheel is not shown on the backs of the lions.

As noticed above, the animals on the top of the columns in our reliefs include lions and elephants. The Aśoka columns so far discovered have lions, bulls (Rāmpurvā) and elephants (Sankissa). We also learn from Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang[21] that there was a wheel capital at Śrāvastī and a horse capital at Lumbini[22]. We have instances in our reliefs where the pillars are surmounted by wheel alone (see Pl. 103 S. III. W. P. and Pl. 18, al N. G.) (T. F. 7). The symbolical meaning of these animals is not precisely known. But Scholars seem to be generally agreed in taking the lion to symbolise Buddha himself (Ṣākya-Simha) ; the elephant, his conception (the white or superb elephant of the Aśokan edicts); the bull, the traditional date of his birth; and the horse, kanthaka. Daya Ram Sahni suggest an alternative, which is less likely, that the four animals represent the four noble animals who guarded the four entrances of the late Anotaṭṭa.[23]

B. Majumdar suggested, on the basis of the Chula Siṁhanāda Sutta of Majjhima Nikāya, as to the meaning of the four addorsed lions that they represent monks proclaiming the glories of Buddha and his teachings to the four cardinal points.[24]

Whether all the columns were built by Aśoka is however a matter of controversy. The fact that the columns are closely similar in work-

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21. Mookerji, R. K., *Asoka*, 1928, p. 90,

22. It is interesting in this connexion to note that a fragment of a Bhārhut relief illustrated in the catalogue of the Allahabad Municipal Museum shows a pillar with a lotus-capital surmounted by a horse, and also a woman with raised arm holding a śāl tree---apparently signifying the birth scene. A fragmentary inscription occurs on the relief which has been translated as : "Pillar, the religious gift of Pushya". See Kala, S. C., *Sculptures in the Allahabad Municipal Museum*, Allahabad, 1946, p. 28, pl. XV.

23. Sahni, *D. R.*, *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins of Sarnath*, p. 40 (1933 edition).

24. Majumdar, B., *A Guide to Sarnath*, Delhi, 1937 p. 82

manship may support the attribution of their authorship to Aśoka [25] but what is more important, the columns are all, perhaps, Buddhistic in character and no royal predecessor of Aśoka is known to have been a Buddhist. However, it is only fair to say that there are views contrary to this.[26] Whatever the truth may be, it seems extremely unlikely that Aśoka himself invented the practice of putting up religious pillars. The "dhamma-thambhas" were perhaps well-known in India even before Aśoka.[27]

Not enough attention, it seems, has so far been paid to the animals and other objects on the capitals of culumns depicted on the punch-marked coins. The objects depicted on these columns are not clearly visible but some of them are almost certainly addorsed bulls.[28] On some, even human figures occur, somewhat reminiscent of our Gupta column at Sānchi. If, as it is now generally assumed, these coins go back to pre-Mauryan times or at any rate to early Mauryan times,[29] the conclusion is tempting that the practice itself was pre-Buddhistic in origin and, as is generally pointed out, it may even have been connected with the vedic custom of putting up sacrificial posts or Yūpas. Although they were originally built of wood, the Yūpas may also have been made later of stone; two specimens of a later date have

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25. Chakravarti, N. P., *The minor rock-edicts of Asoka and some connected problems*, *Ancient India*, No. 4, 1947-48 pp. 14-25.
26. Mookerji, R. K., op. cit. p. 87.
27. Aśoka said in the seventh pillar edict that he had raised *Dhamma-thambhas* : "Dhamma-thambhāni Kaṭāni etc...." Its significance, it seems, has so far been missed, for, we may fairly assume that Aśoka did not coin the special word for naming his pillars. He was, it appears, using in this edict a familiar term, the name by which pillars with religious significance were known.
28. See Puri, K. N., *Excavations at Rairh*, Jaipur, 1942 pls XXVII-XXXVI
29. The dating of the irregular rectangular punch-markerd coins to circa 5th/4th cent. B.C. is becoming more firmly established with the increasingly firmer dating in the recent years at Hastinapur and Kausambi of the N. B. P. ware with which the coins are usually associated. See B. B. Lal's report on Hastinapur Excavations 1950-52 in *Arcient India* Nos. 10 and 11 1954-55 P.p. 5-51.

actually been discovered at Isāpur near the town of Mathurā.[30] It is also quite possible that the idea of religious pillars originated out of some unknown practice (menhirs?) prevalent among the Indians before the so-called Aryans came. In support of this we may note the seals from the Indus Vally[31] which depict a procession carrying long poles on the tops of which are images of animals and other objects. The theory is further strengthened by the fact that there are two pillars of apparently non-Buddhistic connexions although they are post-Mauryan. The existence of these non-Buddhist pillars at a time when the Buddhists were also erecting them may indicate a common origin, adapted to their respective needs. Another example of such adaptation is the Garuḍa-Pillar dedicated to Vāsudeva at Besngar which is generally dated to Śūṇga times.

The two pillars referred to above are (a) the cock-pillar appearing in bas-relief on the Lala Bhagat pillar[32] and (b) the makara pillar discovered by Cunningham at Besnagar.[33] The Lala Bhagat Pillar was discovered by Ray Bahadur Prayag Dayal and it has an octagonal shaft of red sand-stone, on one side of which there are elaborate carvings in low relief. Prayag Dayal assigns the pillar on artistic and palseographic grounds to about the 1st. Century B. C. In the last scene on the bas-relief occurs a pillar crowned with the figure of a cock, which Pandey connects with the cult of the Surya.[34] Curiously enough a cock of red sand-stone carved in the round was also found about 18 feet from the domed chamber, where the pillar was kept. From the mortice between the legs of the cock it appears that it was intended to be placed on the top of the pillar, in the same manner as we find it in the lowest relief on the shaft.

The Besnagar pillar with the makara capital has been assigned to the time of the Śūṇgas by Cunningham.

Coomaraswamy connects it with the cult of Pradyumna Kāma-

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30. Vogel, J. Ph., ASIR, 1910-11 pp. 40-49.
31. Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. 2 P. 384, pl, CXVI. 5 and 8 and pl. CXVIII.9.
32. Ray Bahadur Prayag Dayal, *JUPHS*, Vol. IV, pt. 2, July, 1930, pp. 38-41,
33. Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. X, p. 42. pl. XIV,
34. Pandey, D. P., *Surya Iconographical study of the Indian Sun-God.* Leyden, 1939, pp. 48-51,

deva and illustrates another makara pillar of unknown provenance but probably of similar date.[35]

If, on the other hand, the early dating of the punch-marked coins is considered as unproven, the problem of the origin of the column may be stated in another way. It has long been accepted that the Aśokan pillars are the earliest surviving monuments of their class. There can be no doubt of the strong Achaemenid influence which is represented by their craftsmanship.[36] Thus it would appear that the erection of stone columns, at least, must be traced to Achaemenid or even Alexándrian influence. It must be admitted, however, that the single free-standing column is unknown at Persepolis,[37] But also there is no positive evidence of the earlier existence of free-standing columns in India. Thus we must be contented to conclude that between the time of Asoka and the cutting of the Sānchi reliefs the veneration of the pillars on which Aśoka carved his edicts continued as a major element of Buddhist worship. Furthermore, there are many indications on our columns that the pillars represented there were in a very real sense the emblems of their sites and of those incidents of Buddha story associated with them.

On the Sānchi relief the pillars are repeated frequently in bas-reliefs on the architraves, balustrades and the uprights between the architraves. They fall into several distinctive groups, but all of them have the so-called bell-capital which derives from the inverted lotus. The drooping petals of the lotuses are clearly delineated. Apparently some of the pillars are faceted and some of them rounded and smooth. None seems to be fluted. The following are the main types :—

Group (1) :— The pillars coming under this group have lotus capitals surmounted by wheels only[38] and no animals (as already mentioned Pls. 103 and 18). The column on pl. 18 is of great interest because it has a stepped pedestal at the base which is rather unusual (T. F. 9). The faceted shaft, which is emerging out of a vase,is sur-mounted by a "Dharmachakra" decorated with garlands and

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35. Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Yakshas*, pt. 11, 1931, p. 54, pl. XVI.
36. Codrington, K. de. B., *Ancient India*, 1926, p. 19., and many other writers have analysed these features.
37. Fergusson, J., op. cit. 1876, Vol. 1 p. 59.
38. For capitals with wheels only as noticed by the Chinese travellers see above p. 146.

umbrellas. The wheel contains 32 spokes and a similar number of nandipada or tri-ratna emblems correspond on the outer side of the felly. The column on Pl. 103 however, has an abacus and its wheel has no nandipadas, umbrellas or garlands.

Group (2) :— The pillars falling within this group have for their capitals four lions back to back supporting a wheel (T.F.10). As noticed above, they are obviously the copies of the Sāranāth prototype (see Pls. 103 S. III E. P; Pl. 82, 44b. S.II G. B; Pl. 22NG; Pl. 27 N. G.).

Pl. 82. 44b is the most eleaborate in nature and comes nearest to the Sārnāth original. The cable necking is clearly visible. However, perhaps on account of limited space, the animals on the abacus that we find at Sārnāth were not carved. Its wheel has nandipadas, whereas the others have not. The column on pl. 27 N. G. is somewhat different from the others in that it has a very short shaft, a stepped pedestal and a rather large wheel in proportion to the body. Pl. 22N. G. has two standards on its two sides and is flanked by two umbrellas near the base. Its wheel is garlanded but has no umbrellas.

Group (3) :— The pillars belonging to this group have elephants bearing wheels on top (Pl. 86, 66 b. S. II G. B.) (T. F. 8). Columns with elephants are known from the Chinese travellers as we have already seen. But the one that is extant i. e. the Sankissa capital, has only one elephant. The Bhārhut relief depicting the Bodhi-ghara at Bodh Gaya (see Text fig ....) shows a column with an elephant capital in front of the temple.

Group (4) :—This group consists of pillars surmounted by the unusual combination of two lions and two elephants back to back (see Pl. 93. S. III and pl. 74, 5a S. II. G. B.). It is, of course hardly necessary to say that we can see only one elephant, the existence of the other is presumed. MOS pl. 93 ground balustrade, stūpa III is of unique interest in that it depicts a chaitya hall and a chaṅkrama along with the pillar thus reproducing the well-known combination of a temple with a pillar as known from Sārnāth and Sānchi. The relief may well be the actual representation of some shrine. The door leaves of the Chaitya hall are clearly visible. The apsidal end of the hall, however, cannot be seen. There is an aperture of some sort visible on the side wall. The Chaṅkrama is decorated, perhaps, translating the phrase "Jewelled chaṅkrama" as we get it in the

Buddhist texts. The pillar is flanked by two umbrellas which spring from the ground.

There are repeated examples of columns which are not free-standing devotional columns but belong to structures as architectural members. * They are worth noticing because they show their close resemblance with the similar columns used in the rock-cut Chaitya halls in western India. They have either lotuses or vases for their capitals, which are then surmounted by winged and addorsed animals. Their abaci are supported in a curious way by brackets. The striking resemblance between the bases of the pillars of pls. 12 and 16a and the pillars at Kārle, Nāsik and Junnār is noteworthy.

SECTION II
Domestic Objects

Various forms of vessels, either of pottery, stone or metal, occur in our reliefs, ranging from flat tray-bowls to necked and handled ewers. Among these a kind of shallow "Tray- bowls" (see Pls. 16, 22, 58, etc.) containing food or flowers is constantly represented as being carried by worshippers. Their shapes are reminiscent of the characteristic forms of the "N. B. P." ware and it is possible that they are intended to represent vessels of this ware. Pls. 65. 52. 91. 88b. S. II and 29 show examples of narrow-necked vessels with spherical bellies. All of them occur in the context of hermitages. This range of forms is well known in pottery and even in metal. There are two main varieties: with spouts and without. The spouted pot without handle on pl. 65 is reminiscent of the spouted vessel No. 67 from the Bhir Mound, Stratum II at Taxila, and also of the bronze example from Kolhāpur.[39] Both the varieties occur in the "Red Polished" ware at many west and North Indian Sites,[40] and specimens are even illustrated in the catalogue of the Sānchi Museum (Pl. XX C503 and C 498; Pl. XVIII. C 572).[41] The

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* For a few examples of these please look up. pl. 24 N.G. and pls. 12 and 16a. There are many repetitions.

39. Wheeler, *Brahmagiri and Chandravalli, Ancient India No.* 4 1947-48 p. 280 and Fig. 46, pl. 281.
40. Subba Rao, B. *Baroda through the ages*, pp. 62-4.
41. Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sānchi, Calcutta, 1922.

dating of all these examples, with the exception of that from the Bhir Mound is not likely to be earlier than 1st. century A. D.[42] The persistent connection of the form with Buddhist sites has been commented on, and it is interesting to note that it occurs many times upon the reliefs of Borobadur and finds its final form in the so-called "lustral ewers" in Korean glazed ware of the 11th ecentury.[43] It is indeed curious that the Sānchi reliefs appear to associate these vessels with hermitage scenes. Examples of lidded vessels can be seen on Pls. 18, 24 and 31. These lids are surely similar to forms which are known from excavations in many parts of India, for example, Sisūpālgaṛh, Bāṇgaṛh, Chandrāvalli etc. On pls. 52 and 29 occur vessels which, as it appears from our reliefs, are used for holding the sacred fire. Vessels looking somewhat like the one on pl. 52, although, perhaps little smaller, have been found in many South Indian cist- and urn-burials, but there appear to be no evidence in any case that they had been used to contain fire; and indeed usually they appear too fragile for such purpose.[44]

For lidded vessels of characteristic shape and with spouts and handles see pls. 11, 15, 40, 43 etc. and many repetitions. They were evdiently used for carrying and pouring water. They were almost

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42. Subbarao has recently commented on this ;—
See Subbarao, B. *The Personality of India*, M. S. University Archaeology Series no. 3. Baroda, 1956, P. 19. "Fortunately we can trace its (Red Polished Ware) further expansion all over the country by the wide spread occurrence in small quantities of a very characteristic diagnostic type—a narrow necked "Sprinkler type" ——— right from Rupar in the Punjab to Bangarh in Bengal and Chandravalli in Northern Mysore. This occurs no where before the Christian era and inspite of a number of sites where they occur together, it is no where reported to overlap with the N. B. P."
43. Information from Dr. F. R. Allchin.
Dr. Vasudev Saran Agrawala's comments upon the Voṭa or Voṭakuṭa,an open necked vessel still used for drinking water are probably relevant to our reliefs. See his *Harsha-Charita* (in Hindi) Patna, 1953 P. 182, F. N. 1 and pl. 23.
44. Naiyar, T. B., *Studies in South Indian Pottery*, M. A. Thesis for London University, 1931.

certainly made of metal, copper or bronze, as their shapes suggest. Indeed, they bear a marked resemblance to the two copper vessels illustrated by Marshall from Taxila[45] where they are described as vessels of traditional Indian form. The firmer date at Taxila appears to be from Sirkap II, i.e. 1st. century A. D. which brings us near in time to our examples. Pl. 65 illustrates a vessel which is unspouted but is with a handle and may be described as a *ghara* with handle and as is evident from the context (MOS pl. 65 a1, Śyāma Jātaka) it was used for drawing water.

This too was, perhaps, a copper vessel. The pitcher is hanging from a bamboo pole carried by a man on his shoulders on Pl. 61 is certainly one of those pea-shaped earthen picther which are common in Northern Indian sites. These are examples of jugs with handles on one side only. An example of such a vessel of copper at Taxila (No. 261, from Sirkap stratum II) is treated by Marshall as being of Gracco-Roman type, and indeed such vessels in pottery are common in Śāka and Kushāṇa sites. Foucher refers to such vessels at Sānchi as bhṛṅgāras (see pl. 32). The conical earthenware cup (MOS pl. XCI. 88b and LXIV. C1.) which is among the commonest of pottery finds at early historic sites and is probably the antecedent of the modern *Khūri* etc. occurs many times at Sānchi (see pls. 91. 88b and 64. C1). It was used, perhaps for drinking both water and wine. For a sacrificial ladle see pl. 52.

The elegant flower vases[46] (see Pls. 16,30,32 etc. Many repetitions.) so strikingly resemble the stone relic-caskets found from the stupas at Sānchi and the neighbouring regions, that there can be little doubt that they are of similar nature i.e. polished stone (schist) with incised decorations. Our examples closely resemble also the stone vases discovered by Marshall at the Parthian levels at Sirkap.[47]

MOS pl. 64. C1. (text fig. 11..) is a remarkable scene which shows a group of noble ladies and gentlemen resting in a garden, in the cool shadows of the specially prepared arbours; some of them are

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45. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II, ch. 28, Nos. 259 and 260.
46. For Mahāvaṁsa reference to flower vases see pp. 10-11. F.N. 2 above.
47. Marshall, *op. cit.*, ch, 25, Nos. 52-4. The analysis of the copious examples of stone vessels (particularly relic-caskets) from many sites in India has never been attemped, but it is certain that it would be well worth to attempt.

drinking, some are playing on musical instruments and the woman in our text fig. 11 is adorning herself. The handled mirror is noteworthy. Examples of handled mirrors occur on reliefs at Bhārhut, Amrāvatī and on the Begram ivories.[48] Sivarāmmurti quotes[49] Jataka V. No. 531, p. 158 (Fausboll) and states that the frames and the handles of these mirrors were made of ivory. Again archaeology provides striking confirmation of the reliefs and the Jātaka. No less than five examples are recorded from Taxila[50] of which the earliest is from Sirkap Stratum II, whilst no less than nine handles of bone or ivory were found in the same stratum.[51] The charpoys or low-beds on which they are sitting are note-worthy.

Text fig. 12 (pl. 63 M.L.) gives us a glimpse of a chair or throne of two thousand years ago. Our fig. 12 offers only the side view of it but a front view of a similar chair or throne can be obtained from another panel i. e. our fig. 13 and pl. 96 B. L. The legs are evidently turned on the lathe, similar to the ones noticed by Cunningham at Bhārhut (Bhārhut pl. 48 , 2) . The elegant cane *morā* on which the queen sits in Fig. 12. is noteworthy.

Figs. 14 and 15 have been specially chosen as they give us an excellent idea of objects of the home. Fig. 15 is a scene from the panel depicting the village life of Uruvilvā (MOS Pl. 52 al). It shows women busy at their household work. The legged-quern has an especial interest, for, as Sankalia recently pointed out[52] these distinctive objects have a fairly short history in India. Once again we may turn to Taxila where the earliest legged quern occurs at Bhir Mound, Stratum III and the latest specimens are from Sirkap Stratum II.[53] The bamboo-fibre fan used for winnowing rice is still used today. The other women is busy husking rice in a wooden mortar with a big wooden pestle. We cannot say what the other woman is doing on the

48. Cf. Jeanine Auboyer's article in the *Journal of the India Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 16, 1948.
49. Sivarammurti, C. *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, Vol IV. New series, Madras,
50. Marshall, *op, cit.*, ch 28, nos. 208-11. 1942, p. 120
51. See also Codrington K. de B.-Ancient Indian Hand Mirrors, Man, 1929, no. 130 ; *Ibid* ch 32, p. 659,
52. *J. Anth. Soc. Bombay*, 1950, *The cultural significance of saddle Querns*.
53. Marshall, *op. cit.* ch. 25, p. 486

high, four-legged "table". Perhaps she is grinding something or rolling dough for chapattis, as Foucher suggests.

The other scene i.e. Fig. 14 and MOS. a3 of the same plate depicts life in a hermitage. The axe with crossed rings is of exceptional interest and great significance. For, such axes are found frequently in the stone cist- and circle graves of south India. Gordon has pointed out that they are one of the distinguishing features of the iron tools from these graves,[54] whilst Allchin has shown that they may be taken as distinguishing feature of the whole S. Indian Iron Industry.[55] The most northerly occurence of such axes in graves is fron Jūnāpāni in Nagpur where Revett-Carnac[56] suggested that they were the descendants of stone axes.

SECTION III

Cities, City-Gates, Moats, Houses etc.

In our reliefs are depicted the cities which had some association with the various lives of Buddha. They afford us a glimpse of the ancient Indian cities, although only the areas adjacent to the city-gates are shown. Among the cities depicted are Kuśinārā, Jetuttara, Sāvatthi, Rājagaha and Kapilā Vatthu, if the identifications of Foucher and Marshall—based on the contexts of the stories---are right. It is, however, apparent that they do not represent any particular city or cities. For instance, the city of Kusinārā has been shown once with two gateways and elsewhere with one (pl. 40 E.G. M.L; Pl. 15 S. G.—B. L) whilst the rampart is of different type in the two instances. It is obvious that certain cliches, such as a gate-house, a rampart or a group of houses are used to indicate the towns.

Not enough of the interior of these cities is visible to justify a conjecture about their lay out. Rows of thickly set houses are shown clustered around the gate-house. The city streets are broad enough tolet at least three horse riders pass side by side (Pl. 61 W. G.-T.L.). At least in two cases it seems that main roads led straight from the gate-house (pl. 61 W. G.-T. L. and pl. 50 E.G.-N. P.). We know from literary sources that "the four main streets (chatumahāpatha)

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54. D. H. Gordon, *Early Use of Metals in India*, JRAI, 80
55. F. R. Allchin, "*The development of early cultures in the Raichur Dist. of Hyderabad*", (Ph. D. Thesis, 1954, London.)
56. *JRASB*, 1879, No. 1, *Prehistoric Remains in Central India*, pp. 1-16

led direct from the gates to the central square (siṅghāṭaka) on which the palaces abutted; for, a city elder from the siṅghāṭaka can see a man coming from East, South, West or North"[57]. This would suggest that the city streets were laid out in a planned and systematic way. It is interesting to recall in this connection that the site of Sirkap at Taxila excavated by Marshall, has actually revealed the remains of a well-planned city where the streets cut across one another at right angles.[58] The introduction in India of this chess-board pattern of city planning is ascribed by Marshall to the Bactriam Greeks. However, in view of the recent excavation at Sīsupālgaṛh[59] it would seem that Marshall's opinion has to be reassessed. The disposition of the gateways at Sisūpalgaṛh suggested to its excavators a regular planning of inside, which are "likely to have run east-west and north-south connecting the opposite gateways in a grid pattern".[60]

In our reliefs, processions, pedestrians, riders on elephants and horses can be seen going about the streets and the nearby houses are always full of gay on-lookers of both sexes leaning out of the railings (vedikā) of the balconies (ālinda) or sitting by the windows.

The cities are invariably shown as surrounded by ramparts[61] and in a single instance (Text fig. 16) even a village (uruvilvā) has a rampart complete with a gatehouse. However, only a few cities are shown with a moat (parikhā). Four such moats are certainly indicated by lotuses and haṁsas[62] and by the women who are shown coming

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57. Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Early Indian Architecture, Eastern Art*, Vol. II. 1930, p. 211
58. Marshall, J., *Taxila*, Vol. 1, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 112 ff.
59. B. B. Lal, *Sisupalgarh, Ancient India No.* 5, *Jan.* 1949. pp. 62-105. The ruins of Sisupālgarh, an early historical fort are located about 1½ miles to the east-south-east of the town of Bhuvaneswar in Orissa.
60. *Ibid*, p-64
61. It may be pointed out that traces of ancient habitation are found in a wide area even outside the defensive walls at Sisupālgarh.
62. The ditches of the city of Avanti were full of water with lotuses and cranes floating over its surface. (Navasahasāṅka-caritam)—quoted by Udai Narayan Ray, *Fortifications of cities in Ancient India, The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXX, no. 3, Sept. 1954, pp. 237-244.

to fetch water[63]. Some of these moats must surely have been rivers. An interesting example of such a moat will be found at Sisupalgarh where a river was utilised and controlled in a way that it served as a moat. The excavator comments : "The fort is circums cribed by the waters of a streamlet called the Gangua.....whether this main line of the stream is natural or diverted, it seems fairly reasonable to imagine that the buildings of the fort taking advantage of the proximity of this stream, trained its waters around the northern, eastern and southern sides of the fort, thus producing a moat with a perennial supply of water...."[64]. As already noticed, at Sirkap at Taxila, the Tamrā nālā was utilised for similar purposes.

It does not follow, however, that the others did not have at least dry ditches. There is certainly mention in literature of such ditches.[65] It was easy to provide a clay rampart with a ditch, for the pits created when excavating for earth could be utilised later as the moat.

Coomaraswamy[66] appears to be mistaken in identifying the Vedikā borders of the architraves as the bridges connecting the two banks of the moats. Such Vedikās are common motifs for the borders of the architraves of the gateways at Sānchi and occur frequently in contexts where neither bridges nor railings are intended to be related to the narrative relief. It seems that no bridges are represented at Sanchi.

Except for a single instance (pl. 40 E. G. M. L.) it would appear from our reliefs that the ramparts (prākāra) were made of brick or dressed stone. Archaeology does not provide us with any definite clue on this point. The rampart at Sirkap[67] was composed of a core of random rubble in mud with a facing of coursed rubble. Cuttings across the defence walls of Śiśupālgarh have revealed several types of masonry for the different phases of building.[68] In phase I it was a clay rampart; its top received a 4-6 feet thick covering of laterite gravel in Phase II; while in Phases III and IV the clay-filling was

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63. This reminds us of Marshall's suggestion that the citizens of Sirkap used to draw their water from the Tamrā Nālā, the river outside the city-gate, which was used as the moat.
64. Lal, B. B., *op. cit.*, p. 64.
65. "The ditches were sometimes filled with water, sometimes with mud and sometimes they are left empty"-Udai Narayan, *lot.cit.*
66. Coomarayway, *op. cit.*
67. Marahsll, *op. cit.* p. 113.
68. Lal, B. B., *op. cit.* p. 67.

retained by baked-brick rivetments on either side. The representation of the city on Pl. 40. E. G. M. L. is a unique example which shows, apparently, a wooden wall of palisade construction. This is somewhat reminiscent of the wooden wall that defended the city of Pāṭaliputra.

The city walls are finished at their tops in various ways. The height of these walls is a matter of conjecture. The gate-houses, however, provide us with a rough scale. In three cases the tops of the walls abutt the gatehouse at the junction of the 1st and 2nd floors above the tower (pl. 35, b 2 N. G. E. P. Pl. 34 b1 N. G. E. P. and Pl. 31 N. G. B. L.); in one instance at the middle of the first floor (Pl. 50 E. G. N. P.) and in another at least at the top of the tower (pl. 61 W. G. M. L.). The other examples, however, are lower and only reach the middle of the tower (pl. 23 N. G. B. L. etc.). The gate-houses themselves must have been high enough to provide passage for riders on elephants. Allowing for the structural elements above the towers a height of about 70 feet may be inferred for such a gate as that shown in pl. 35 b2 N.G.E.P. Some idea of the tremendous sizes of these ramparts may be obtained from the size of the original clay rampart at Śiśupālgaṛḥ which was, some 25 feet high and over 110 feet wide at the base. The stone wall that surrounded the city of Sirkap had a thickness varying from 15 to 21 feet 6 inches and a height between 20 and 30 feet. On its north side the wall was further strengthened on the outside by a raised berm about 25 feet in width and by a series of solid rectangular bastions probably higher than the walls, set at irregular intervals along its face. The remains of a massive defensive wall can still be seen at Kauśāmbī.

The primary function of the gate-house was the defence of the town and to control entrance and exit to the city. How many gateways these ramparts had is a matter of conjecture : at Taxila Marshall thought there were four such gateways, whereas at Śiśupālgaṛḥ as many as eight are known to have existed. On pl. 40 E. G. M.L., besides the regular gateway, the city is shown to have an ordinary toraṇa of simple construction. See Pl. 15 S. G. B. L. for another auxiliary gateway which has two towers bridged by a simple pavilion. The existence of such auxiliary gateways is known from Śiśupālgaṛh.

The gate-houses in our reliefs are always shown as provided with two tall towers projecting forward from the rampart and supporting balconied upper storeys which bridged the two towers (see pl. 61 W.

G. T. L. etc.). In some cases there are additional projections on the sides contiguous with the rampart (Pl. 15 S. G. B. L.). It cannot be determined whether the towers are made of brick or stone. Square apertures or small horizontal slit-windows, with or without drip-stones, can be clearly seen high up on the front of each of the forward towers (pls. 15, 34, 50, 61 etc.).

The gate-houses usually have two storeys above the tower (Pl. 35, 40, 61 etc.) but on occasions three are shown (pl. 31 N. G. B. L.). The upper storeys, with their vedikās, rows of pillars and eaves present a pavilion like appearance. Usually the top of the first floor has eaves on all sides (pl. 15, 50 etc.). On pl. 23 N. G. B. L. the supprting brackets can be clearly seen. On Pl. 31 N. G. B. L. the second floor also has eaves. The topmost floor has always a roof apartment with the so-called barrel-vaulted roof and four caitya-windo ends. The windows and the roof-ridges have finials at intervals. The top-floor may be with or without a vedikā.

Coomaraswamy reconstructed the plan of such gatehouses based on their description in the Arthaśāstra.[69] The plan may be said to conform roughly with the plans of gatehouses that are known from the ancient gateways that have survived at Taxila, Sārnāth and Śiśupālgaṛh. Our reliefs, to judge from their appearace, perhaps, represent gatehouses of this type. According to Marshall, the Taxila gateway of stone masonry which dates from approximately 2nd cent. B. C. comprised a large hall constituting the gateway proper, with an inside measurement of about 62 feet north and south by 35 feet east and west and the hall projected about 20 feet on both sides of the wall, the outer projection being more solid than the inner. There were two guardrooms set against the outer face of the wall and two more with sleeping cells against the inner face, to the west of the gateway. From the excessive strength of their construction, Marshall thought, that these possessed at least one upper storey; whether there was a second and possibly third storey over the entrance hall, (like the gatehouses in our reliefs), there is no evidence to show.[70] The two brick-built gateways (dating approximately from the 12th cent. A. D.) of the walled monasteries at Sārnāth are of exceptional interest.[71] The smaller one was flanked on the outside with richly carved bastions

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69. Coomaraswamy, A. K., *op. cit.*
70. Marshal. *op, cit.*
71. Marshall and Sten Konow, *Excavations at Sarnath*, ASIR 1907-8

and provided with a neatly constructed gate-keeper's lodge within. Its foundations did not go deep down and evidently it was a lightly constructed one-storeyd building. The second gateway, however, was much elaborately planned, but followed the same pattern. The foundations of this gate-house go down to a depth of 8′2″ and appear to have been intended to carry a high superstructure. The Sisupāl garh gateway built of large well-dressed laterite blocks and dating from as early as the 2nd cent. B. C. followed almost the same pattern except that it guarded a very deep passage, 25′ wide and about 100′ long, controlled by two gates, one near the entrance and the other at the back. Immediately behind the first entrance there was a guard room and adjacent to the second gate was an ancillary passage which Lal suggests was used for controlled admission at late hours. The width of each gate was 13′.

There are other auxiliary towers represented in our reliefs but none of them is shown as bastions on the wall (pl. 15 and 61). It seems certain that they were defensive guard-posts and must have been connected with the ramparts.

Altogether about twenty buildings are represented in our reliefs including one that is definitely known to be a palace (pl. 50E G. N. P.) and they can be classified into groups of several types. Most numerous are the three-storeyed houses. We have seven instances in all of this (pls. 35, 40, 34, 50, 23etc.). Next in frequency come the two storeyed houses; four of them are represented (pl. 35, 40). A four-storeyed building occurs only once. The simplest and mots often represented type (pls. 15,50.) of house consists of a single storey often without a roof apartment. The main storey is provided with an ālinda (verandah) with railings. A variant of this type has an upper floor with vedikā and a gabled roof-apartment. The most interesting house type is represented in Pl. 61. W. G. M. L. It is a three-storeyed building of which the second storey consists of one large hall flanked by two narrow and gabled side-rooms projecting forward, the open space between the projecting parts of these rooms being the balcony. A gabled roof-apartment rests on the roof of the central hall; the roof is provided with a vedikā. The upper floor of the house in Pl. 34. N. G. E. P. appears to be open except for a tower like structure with battlements. This floor is supporting a group of pillars which, however, do not take up the whole floor space. These pillars support the topmost floor which is balconied and contains several barrel-vaulted rooms. We may

also notice the type of a small house resting on very low pillars which is depicted in M. L. E. G. pl. 40. The palace at Kapilavatthu (pl.50 E. G. N. P.) (T. F. 17) is not different from any of the other mansions already noticed except for its more ambitious layout. The structure on pl. 15. S.G. B. L. is a curious one of light construction consisting of one basement storey with a rather large window with drip-stone and just another balconied upper storey with a roof-apartment of the usual barrel-vaulted type. The vedikā at ground level in pl. 50 N. P. is noteworthy. Thus the common features of this architectural system may be said to consist of the railings, verandahs and barrel-vaulted roof-apartments with Chaitya-windows. We have also examples of two other types of windows. Our pl. 61 W. G. M. L. shows two slit-windows and pl. 50 E. G. N. P. contains an example of a latticed window. The rooms are always recessed so as to leave space for a verandah. This was a necessity in a hot climate and in our reliefs men and women can actually be seen taking the air.

The houses in our reliefss appear to stand on rows of pillars, and following Coomaraswamy, it has been generally held that the houses consisted of superstructures raised on pillars. Such a theory is not easily maintained in the light of archaeological evidence. Marshall's excavations have revealed that the dwelling houses at Taxila or Bhiṭā were not raised on pillars. It may be argued that a different system of architecture prevailed in the north-west but this can hardly apply to Bhiṭā. There is another class of mounments, the architectural interest of which has so far been ignored, which may, perhaps, throw some light on the problem. These are the monastic buildings excavated at various northern Indian sites. Perhaps none of them dates from before C. 2nd-3rd cent A. D. But since architectural systems usually persist for centries our inferences based on their evidence seem to be justified. Apparently none of these monastic buildings, so far, is knwn to have stood on pillars, whose foundations in every case could be traced, whether at Sānchi, Sārnāth, Kasia or Nālandā. At Sānchi itself and at many other monastery sites, a feature may be observed which seems to resolve the problem. Around the four sides of the courtyard the foundations of pillars reveal that originally there existed a sort of cloister. It is known that monasteries themselves were frequently of more than one storey (see below). If such a cloistered building were viewed in elevation it would appear as though the lower floor was without walls. We may thus conclude that our

reliefs represent buildings surrounded by pillared verandahs.

The remains of these monastic buildings may also, perhaps, provide us with some clues about the materials used for the building of the city dwellings, such as are represented in our reliefs. Our archaeological evidence does not point to any general uniform practice for any particular place or period. Obviously the choice of materials for building purposes depended on the materials that were locally available. However there are notable exceptions to this and this argument should not be pressed too far as Percy Brown pointed out.[72] The excavations at Taxila revealed the use of stone masonry; the monastery buildings at Sānchi itself, dating, from C. 4th cent. A. D. to 12th cent., were all made of dry stone masonry, whereas the monastic buildings at Sārnāth and Kasiā of about the same period were composed of bricks. At Śiśupālgaṛh, in the late levels (100-200 A. D.) houses built of laterite blocks were found. But towards the end of the period some baked-brick houses were built. The Stūpas which are usually ascribed to Aśoka were all brick mounds. Brick buildings of highly developed nature are not unkown even from the time to the Śuṅgas; the Vāsudeva temple at Besnagar is an example.[73] The developed nature of the brick architecture of the time was proved when it was revealed that portions of the foundations of this temple consisted of bricks cemented together by a well-made grade of lime mortar,[74] the first instance known in India during historical times of the use of cement in bonding masonry. Yet it seems that much more material is necessary before we can agree with Percy Brown that "from these various sources it seems fairly clear that an important phase of brick building was partly coterminous with and succeeded the period of wooden construction....Moreover it has been found that buildings of this character were produced in different parts of the country, but more particularly in the north, culminating in a great development of brick architecture, which prevailed throughout most of the first millenium. It is only logical therefore that in any classification of

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72. Brown, P., *Indian Architecture*, Vol. 1, Bombay, 1942 p. 49.
73. *ASIR*, *Excavations at Besnagar*, 1913-14.
74. There is reference to burnt brick and lime mortar in the Vinaya-Piṭaka. See JUPHS, Vols. XXIV- XXV, 1951-52. Nilakanta Joshi's article *Glimpses of material life in ancient India as based on the Vinaya-Piṭaka* (in Hindi) p. 234 etc.

the art of building in India the position of the brick phase, while following that of wood should precede that of dressed stone."[75]

For an idea of the size of the dwelling houses we may again turn to archaeology. The Sānchi monasteries had all of them remains of stairways proving that they consisted of more than one storey. The monastery D at Kasia[76] (which is by no means the only of its kind) had such thick walls ($8\frac{1}{2}'$ for the outer and 5′ for the inner walls) that Vogel thought that the original building consisted of several storeys.

In our reliefs can be seen some other types of houses besides the large city dwellings. These are obviously the houses where the common people lived. pl. 34. a2 N. G. E. P. represents a hut or kuṭi. It occurs in the relief showing the Jetavana garden. The parṇaśālās or leaf-thatched houses are shown in our reliefs as used by the hermits (pl. 29 N. G. B. L.). The houses in the village of Uruvilvā, though on a much humbler scale than the houses in the metropolitan towns are not parṇasālās. It may be inferred that these were large and prosperous market villages which fell between the large cities and small hamlets.

In our reliefs, royal courts are held in the pavilion-like structures (pl. 34, a3 N. G. E. P ; pl. 18b S. G. W. P). We have discussed in detail in a former section the small pillared domes sheltering the sacred fire (pl. 27. N. G. B. L.) (T. F. 18). However, it is not inappropriate here to quote a passage from Percy Brown[77] : "Previously all shrines connected with the Brahmanical faith appear to have been of a very impermanent order. An ancient commentary, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, incidentally describing one of these before the Christian era, states that it comprised two sheds formed of posts and beams covered with reeds and mats, thus seeming to imply that a very primitive shelter was all that custom ordained in the ceremonial usage of this belief. That such was the practice is shown by the bas-reliefs of Barhut and Sanchi, of the second and first centuries B.C. (Sic.), the fire altars and nāga tabernacles of the non-Buddhists being either entirely uncovered or merely protected by temporary erections....."

SECTION IV

Weapons

The weapons depicted in the reliefs include swords, daggers, spears, bows and arrows, tridents, axes and another strange weapon,

75. brown, P., *op. cit.*, p. 49.
76. Vogel, J. Ph., *Excavations at Kasia*, *ASIR*, 1904-5
77. Brown, P., *op. cit.*, p. 57.

the name of which is unknown. Besides these there are various types of shields. All the four kinds of troops; on foot; on horseback, on elephants and in chariots are represented in our reliefs. The hunters are almost always shown as carrying only bows and arrows. It is very curious that royal personages or noble men are never portrayed as carrying arms; as a matter of fact, display of arms does not play a conspicuous part in our reliefs and weapons are not usually carried in processions. For instance MOS pl. 34. bl shows king Prasenajit coming out of Śrāvastī in procession; and MOS pl. 35. b2 shows another royal procession, but no arms are depicted. However, on pl. 50 al, in the royal procession in Kapilāvastu there are a few bowmen accompanying the procession. On Stupa II ground balustrade, the relief shows two genii standing under hanging garlands (MOS pl. 91 88b). The man is holding with his left hand the handle of his sword which is hanging on a strap going over his right shoulder. This is very unusual, for, in our reliefs, hardly any civilian is to be seen with a sword.

Our text figure 19 MOS pl. 66a W. G. S. P. T. F. is of unique interest as the detail of the sword and the spear carried by the Yaksha can be seen and the sword and its scabbard agree remarkably with those of the well-known Bhārhut soldier which Cunningham described in the following terms;[78] ".... and in his (i. e. Bharhut soldier's) right a monstrously broad straight sword, sheathed in a scabbard, which is suspended from the left shoulder by a long flat belt. (The sword of the Yaksha, however, is hanging from the nearby mango tree). The extreme breadth of the sword may be judged by comparing it with the thickness of the man's arm, which it exceeds, while its length may be about 2½ feet or perhaps somewhat more. The belt of the sword is straight and without a guard. The face of the scabbard is ornamented with the favourite Buddhist Omega symbol of Tri-ratna or the triple gem. The sword belt, after being passed through a ring attached to the side of the scabbard, appears to be twice crossed over the scabbard downwards, and then fastened to a ring at the tip, below which the broad ends hang down like the ends of a scarf". Whether the tri-ratna on the scabbard is a decoration or a detachable pin for securing the thong is doubtful. Foucher thinks it is a pin and specimens of such tri-ratna pins have been actually found from Taxila from a level dateable to

78. Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, 1879, pp. 32-33

1st. century A. D.[79] For further examples of the characteristic criss-cross arrangement of the thongs of the scabbard see text figures 22, 24. Note the tri-ratna pin in fig 22 and the way it is slung from the right shoulder. We learn from a later text[80] that "the most esteemed swords are those that are fashioned like a cow's tongue a lotus petal, a bamboo leaf. . . ." The swords depicted in text figures 20. 21, 22, 24 answer these descriptions. The sword on pl. 101 s. III M. L. Back demands our special notice as it is rather unusual in being comparatively short but heavy with a blade that gradually broadens towards the tip and thus is invested with more striking power. Several types of hilts are represented in our reliefs.

The only representation of a dagger at Sānchi is of a short specimen with a triangular blade which occurs on stupa II ground balustrade MOS pl. 91 No. 88. The relief itself is of unique interest because it demonstrates the adoption by Indian artisans of a favourite theme from Persepolis, i. e. warrior striking at a lion. The man, to judge from his dress and features, his curly hair and Phrygian cap, his tunic, kilt and boots, is evidently a foreigner. Even the ornamented shield that he is wielding differs from the shields depicted elsewhere (text figures 26-30 and also see pl. 61. T. L.). Text figure 28 perhaps, represents that type of shields which covered almost the entire body of the soldiers, mentioned in Megasthenes. Text figure 30 was perhaps, made of metal. This is suggested by the embossings.

The most common weapons used were spears (text figs. 25, 26, 27, 29 and also pl. 34, b1 N. G. E. P).. Some of the spear heads are unusually broad. For such broad spears see text figure 19 and MOS pl. 62 bottom lintel, north end, Rout of Māra's army. The rounded arrow-head in text fig. 31 and lp.64, a1 W. G. S. P. is the only representation of its kind, so far as we know, to be found anywhere in India. The arrow-head is evidently made of wood or stone, for a metal head of this size would be too heavy. The purpose of such an arrow is obviously to strike with force and not to pierce. It is interesting in this connection to quote a passage from

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79. *ASIR*, 1926-27, p. 113, No. 9 and pl. XXVI, II Also see Puri, *Op. cit.* pl. XXI. 17 for an identical pin.

80. Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira, quoted by Rājendralāl Mitra in *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature from Nepal*, 1882, p. 122 ; quoted by Sivarāmmurti, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

Śivarāmmurti,[81] where he states, "The arrow heads were shaped in a number of ways, some like the heads of animals (Rāmāyaṇa, vi, 100, 41-44), some like a crescent (i. e. our text figure 31), and they were accordingly distinguished by special names such as 'ardhachandra' 'karṇi', 'Bhalla', and 'kshura' etc."

A bearer of the bow and quiver is usually inserted between the king and the standard-bearer on the back of the elephants. One such figure is our text figure 32 (MOS pl. 15 S. G. B. L. Back). His headdress is noteworthy. The ends of his turban surround his face and are drawn like a scarf round his neck. Text figure 33 shows the dress of a typical soldier with bands of cloth wound round his waist and belly. There are endless repetitions of this figure.

Three other interesting wepons now remain to be seen, all coming from the same lintel i. e. the bottom lintel of the western gateway (MOS pl. 61) which depicts the story of Buddha's triumph over Māra's army. The weapons depicted are a battle-axe (text figure 23), a trident (text figure 34) and another strange weapon for piercing which is unknown outside this representation. It consists of two heavy piercing ends, presumably of metal, joining at the middle and forming a depression at the joint, which is of sufficient width to allow it to be gripped with both hands (text figure 35). Thus the weapon is shown in our relief as being wielded with both hands.

SECTION V

Chariots and Vehicles

The principal vehicles of transport portrayed in our reliefs, besides animals, such as elephants, horses and even camels, are boats ox-carts and chariots. There are boats of two types, ox-cart of one type and chariots of one type but drawn by different numbers of horses.

It appears from our reliefs that chariots were not solely used in warfare; they were also used for the purposes of communication and transport.

There are altogether about ten representations of chariots at Sānchi, although they display only one type. This is the type, which judging from sculptures at other places, seems to have been common all over India. It is always two-wheeled and the main body is of pleasing proportions. It has high curved front and the two sides are

81. Śivarāmmurti, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

a little lower and rounded and the body seems to be open at the back. The front and the sides are almost always ornamented. Usually the chariots are shown as drawn by two horses but examples of four horsed ones are also found (pl. 23, al. N. G. B. L.). (see also text figure 56.) No one-horsed chariot, however, occurs in our reliefs. Judging from the number of horses harnessed to them and their capacity for carrying as many as four passengers it seems that some of these chariots were fairly large. The chariot just noticed is carrying the whole family of Prince Vessantara. The richly caparisoned and plumed horses here make a gorgeous sight. Notice how curiously the tails are tied up on one side to prevent the animals from whisking them. Our representations show the charioteer standing behind the principal passenger and they in every case suggest that persons of importance used such chariots. The bottom lintel of the north gateway, front, whence our text fig. 57 has been taken and which depicts the story of Prince Vessantara's sacrifices, shows us another interestig detail of the parts of a chariot. We can clearly see here the shaft and the yoke of the chariot at the point of the story when the horses have been given away. It is doubtful if there is only one shaft or there are two, the other being hidden behind the man. Coomaraswamy has an interesting comment to make on this point. He suggests[82] that there are two converging shafts and the triangle thus formed has been referred to in litereature as 'Rathachhidra". Foucher, however, thinks that there is only one shaft and that seems to be more likely.[83]

The only representation of an ox-cart at Sānchi comes from the east pillar, south gateway, front (Pl. 19 and text. fig. 58). It almost certainly repretents, as is apparent from its features, a type which must have been rather expensive and was used by rich merchants. Indeed the relief shows the merchants Trapusha and Bhallika in the cart who are passing through the village of Uruvilvā. The cart depicted is two wheeled and is fairly large sized, rectangular in shape and open on all four sides except for a number of uprights on either side supporting a curved canopy over head. Besides the two merchants, the driver can be seen sitting in front.

Only two examples of boats are found in our reliefs, one an ordinary canoe type Pl. 51 bl E. G. S. P. and text fig. 59) and the other an elaborately built barge of quite an impressive appearance

82. JAOS, Vol. 51, 1931, pl. 172, *Brief note on Ratha-chhidra.*
83. For a toy bronze chariot see Puri, *op. cit.* Pl. XXII. 6.

(pl: 65, a3 W. G. N. P. and text fig. 60). The canoe apparently is plank-built with a raised bow and a flat stern. The planks appear to be held together either by metal clamps or more probably sewn with some coarse material. It is propelled with two paddles. The barge (fig. 60) is in the form of a winged griffin carrying on its back a pillared canopy which is an exact replica of other architectural pavilions familiar to us from our reliefs, complete with a barrel-vaulted roof-chamber and railings. The oarsman is sitting in the stern and the shovel-shaped paddle is noteworthy. It is, however, not clear whether this figure is actually propelling the boat or steerng it. But in any case, the vessel as depicted would have been a top-heavy and unstable affair.

SECTION VI

Musical Instruments

Representations of musical instruments at Sānchi are more numerous than at Bhārhut and Amarāvatī. Instruments falling under three of the four traditional classes (cf. Bhārata Nāṭya śāstra) e. g. *Sushira*, *Ānaddha* and *taṭa* are comparatively plentiful; but there is only one example of an instrument belonging to the *ghaṇa* class i. e., cymbal-like resonating instruments. The class taṭa, as is well-known, includes all stringed instruments; ānaddha all that are struck; and sushira all tubular instruments such as flutes and chanks.

Music, it would appear from our reliefs, played a very prominent role in the everyday life in ancient India. In our sculptures, musicians and musical instruments are everywhere to be seen : they are represented in the scenes of royal and ordinary processions; in the royal courts and in the pleasure-groves of the nobles. No ceremonial function seems to be complete without a band of musicians accompanying it. Indeed, in our reliefs, musicians even follow the worshippers at chaityas and stūpas. A procession is always led by a band of drummers flute and conch players and others playing on bow-shaped harps. MOS pl. 40. a, depicts King Aśoka's visit to Bodh Gayā and his retinue is shown as being accompanied by a band of flutes, conches and drums. The civilian procession arriving from the other side of the Bodhi-tree on the same panel also includes a band which, in addition to the instruments we have just named, includes hand-tabours and a long trumpet. In front of the royal procession of the Mallas at Kusinagara, carrying their portion of the sacred relics (MOS pl. 61) marches a band

consisting of a tambourine or dholak and two kettle-drums with two conches and two flutes in the background. In the relief (MOS pl. 49) which shows the gods holding a heavenly court, the space between the columns on the right is regularly filled with musicians playing on harps, lutes and tambourines. On this analogy, it may, perhaps, be inferred that musicians were always present in the royal courts. The most interesting relief, in this connexion, is the one on the upper panel of the west pillar of the north gateway, which represents, according to the identification of Foucher, the worship of the stupa at Kusinara by the Mallas (MOS pl. 26 and Text fig. 37). They are wearing unusal dresses resembling 'chlamyses', kilts and high-boots; but what is more important from our point of view in this chapter, is that they are playing musical instruments of various kinds. The instruments, which can be clearly seen as the relief is very well preserved, include the harp, kettle-drum, two sorts of tambourine, double-flute and two curved trumpets.

Usually an orchestra is shown to consist of various types of drums,—tambourines or dholaks, kettle-drums, hand-tabours (text figs. 38-48 and pl. 36. cl. 40. Many repetitions) and they are accompanied by flutes and conches (text figs. 49-51) and almost always one harp or more. The sound of the trumpet, it seems, was popular in India too. Trumpets are frequently depicted, specially the common variety. The only representations of two trumpets of an unusual variety, which are shaped somewhat like *nāga* heads occur in the orchestra of the Mallas (Text fig. 37 pl. 36). Flutes of two types, those that are held straight and transverse are represented in great numbers. But our reliefs do not clearly indicate whether the former are end-blown or whistle flutes. Double flutes are comparatively rare, the one occurring in the orchestra of the Mallas being one of the few specimens depicted in our reliefs. It may perhaps, indicate that the double-flute was a favourite of the northerners.

It may be said in a general way that in our reliefs various kinds of drums are always proportionately larger in number, although, it is not implied that any special significance is attached to this. Next in order of frequency comes the bow-shaped harp whilst cymbals and the lute type vīṇās are totally absent. Both big drums (dundubhi-text fig. 48 for all kinds of drums and dholaks see pl. 24 a1.49 a1 -4; 61 -1 and 2; 64 a1 and 2 and 65. a2 and many repititions.) and small hand-tabours (Murajas or mṛdaṇgas) occur in our reliefs. Fig. 45 appears to be a representation of a sort of dṛum

which is held under the arm the tension of the parchment is varied by pressure against the body. The Mallas are playing two types of dholak; ovoid and cylindrical (big. 8. pl. 58).

There are numerous examples of ordinary tom toms and kettle-drums. In the majority of instances the drums are played with a stick or a pair of sticks (koṇa). In other cases they are played with the fingers alone. Many of the drum-sticks are curved at the end (figs. 38, 41 etc.). The drums are almost always strapped and slung from the shoulder (figs. 39, 41, etc,), the only exceptions being the large drums. The arrangement of the criss-cross thongs which stretch the skin over the body of the drum is clearly visible. The somewhat unusual shape of fig. 46 is noteworthy.

The custom of blowing conches on religious and ceremonial occasions, a practice which seems to be peculiarly Indian, is still practised, and the sound of a conch is considered auspicious. Our reliefs, which depict conch blowing on solemn occasions, take the practice back some two thousand years. Two types of conches are represented; one is blown in its natural form (fig.49) and the other has a long pipe attached to the tip of its mouth. On our reliefs the conch is not limited to religious scenes. On the middle lintel of the north gateway, back, among the musical instruments played by Māra's retiune, Foucher could see a sistrum, which we could not distinguish from the photographs.

A bow-shaped, harp-like instrument constantly appears in the Indian sculptures down to the time of the later Guptas. The instrument (text figs. 52, 54, 56), in its perfect form, appears from our reliefs, to consist of a hollow, rounded belly (Ambhaṇa) with a narrow, curved projection (daṇḍa) tapering towards the front and sometimes terminating in a little scroll. The strings (tantrī), one above the other are stretched from the curved arm to the belly and then pass through holes in the flat surface (*charma* or parchment sounding board) to the underside of the belly where they are fastened. Usually the instrument is seven-stringed.

On various grounds it is thought that the Vīṇā of the early Sanskrit literature is the same as this instrument.[84] This assumption is, perhaps, supported by the fact that what is known as Vīṇā today—, the instrument consisting of a long, narrow sounding board with a gourd at either end—is nowhere represented in the

84. Coomaraswamy, JAOS, Vol. 50, *The Parts of a Vīnā* pp. 244-53

early sculptures. It is also, perhaps, not without significance that a kind of harp of the same characteristic shape is still called "Phin" in Siam. The conclusion, perhaps, is justified that the original name of the instrument persists in this Siamese form. The instrument has also survived in Burma although it is long extinct in India.

The problem of the ancestry and distribution of the bow-shaped harp is not without interest. Its area of distribution is far wider than one would imagine and it seems probable that it was not originally an Indian instrument. Bow-shaped harps of great antiquity have been found both from Mesopotamia and Egypt. And no doubt they are the ancestors of those which are still made in many parts of Africa. J. Kunst drew attention to the fact that the old Egyptian bow-harp was called 'bjṇt" or 'bin' which becomes "vini" in Coptic.[85] The connection between this and the Sanskrit word vīnā is at once apparent. From India, later on, this instrument spread in the countries of the Far East as is evident from the sculptures. It is interesting to note in this connexion that in Paṭṭuppāṭṭu, a collection of ten Tamil poems of the early centureies of the Christian era, there are many references to a kind of musical instrument which is called Yāl[86]. This is the chief instrument of the bard, and accompanies his song. From its description in the poems, it appears to be a stringed instrument consisting of a body with resonance holes and a curved neck. The description at once suggests the shape of a vīnā and indeed, Vithiānāthan's reconstruction of the instrument, based on the descriptions in the poems of Paṭṭuppāṭṭu is almost a replica of a harp vīnā.

It is apparent from our reliefs that the harp was played by men and women alike and it seems to have been particularly popular as a solo instrument. It is held in the lap when played while sitting (text. fig. 52, 54) but perhaps it is slung from the shoulder in fig. 37. Usually a plectrum (koṇa) is used. The plectrum can be clearly seen in our figs. 37, 54. Sometimes the plectrum is held in the right hand (fig.54) and sometimes in the left (fig 52).

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85. Kunst, J., *Hindoe-Javanasche Muziek instrumenten*, 1927 p. 15 - quoted by *Coomaraswamy, op. cit.*, p. 49.
86. S. Vithinathan, *The Patluppattu : A historical social and linguistic study*, (Ph. D. Thesis, London, 1950).

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT.

A. S. I. R. — Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report.
I. H. Q. — The Indian Historical Quarterly.
J. A. O. S. — Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J. Anth. Soc. Bom—Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.
J. A. S. B. or — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Socity of Bengal.
J. R. A. S. B.
J. B. O. R. S.— Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J. R. A. I. — Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Gt. Britain and Ireland.
J. R. A. S. — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
J. U. P. H. S.— Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society.
M. O. S. — The Monuments of Sanchi, 3 Vols. by Marshall and others.

B. L. — Bottom Lintel.
E. G. — East Gateway.
E. P. — East Pillar.
G. B. — Ground Balustrade.
I. F. — Inner Face.
M. L. — Middle Lintel.
N. G. — North Gateway.
N. P. — North Pillar.
N. F. — North Face.
S. G. — South Gateway.
S. F. — South Face.
S. P. — South Pillar.
S. II. — Stupa II.
S. III. — Stupa III
T. F. — Text Figure.
T. L. — Top Lintel.
W. F. — Western Face.
W. G. — Western Gateway.
W. P. — West Pillar.

(1)

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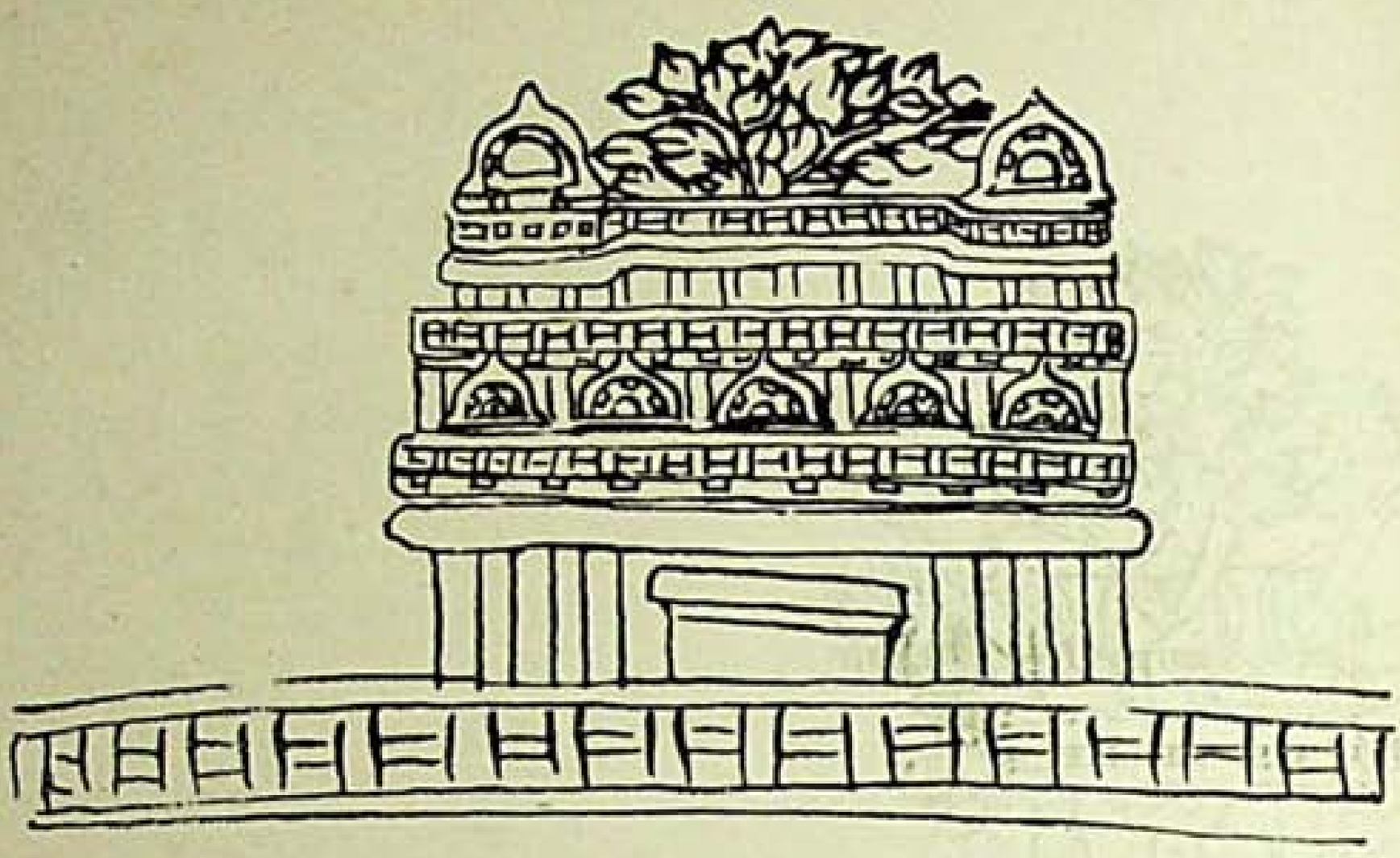

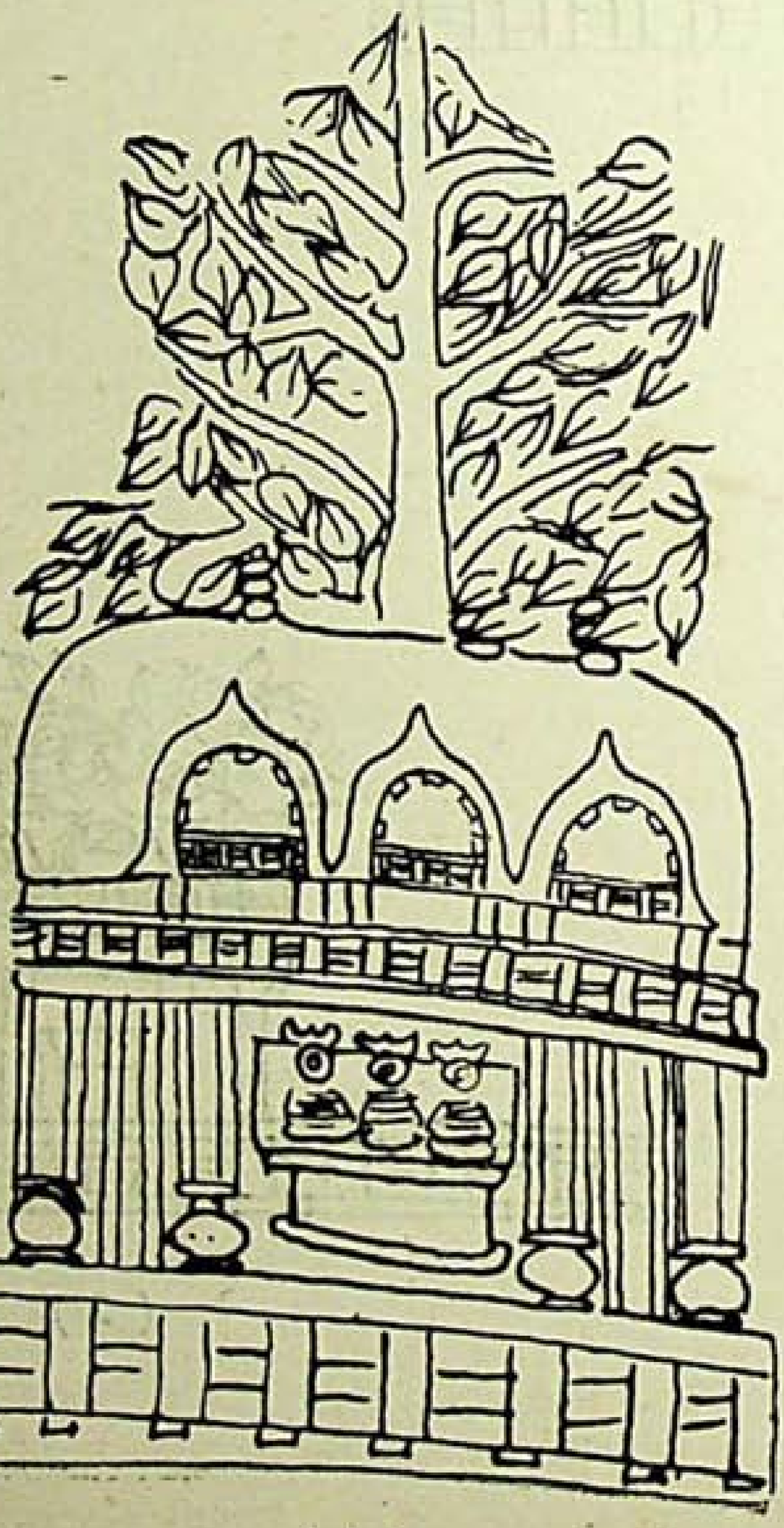

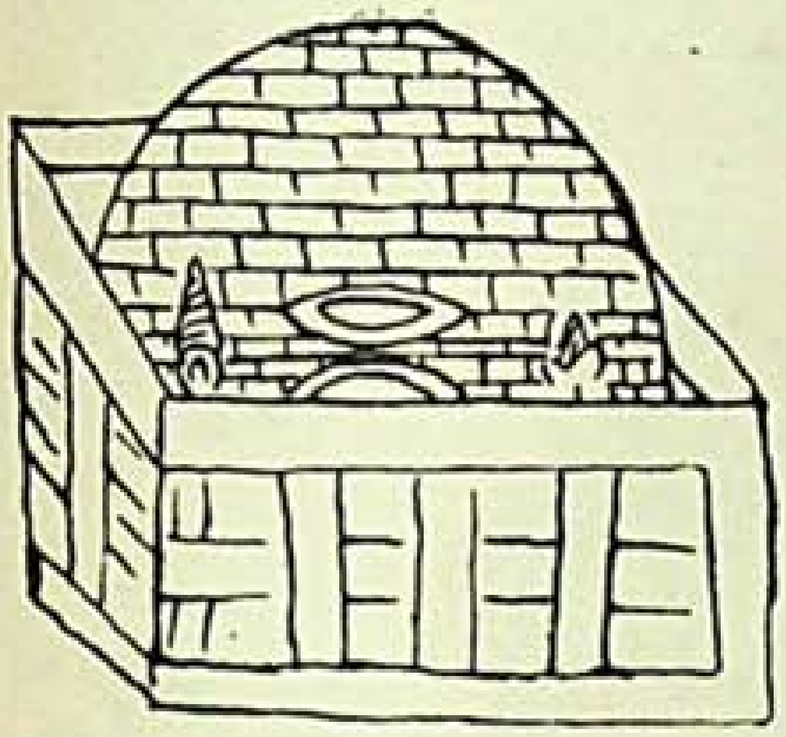

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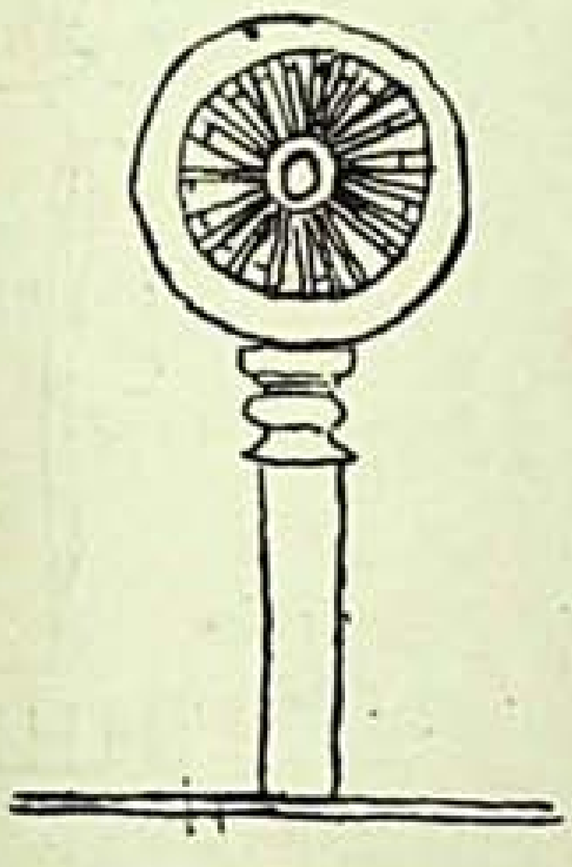

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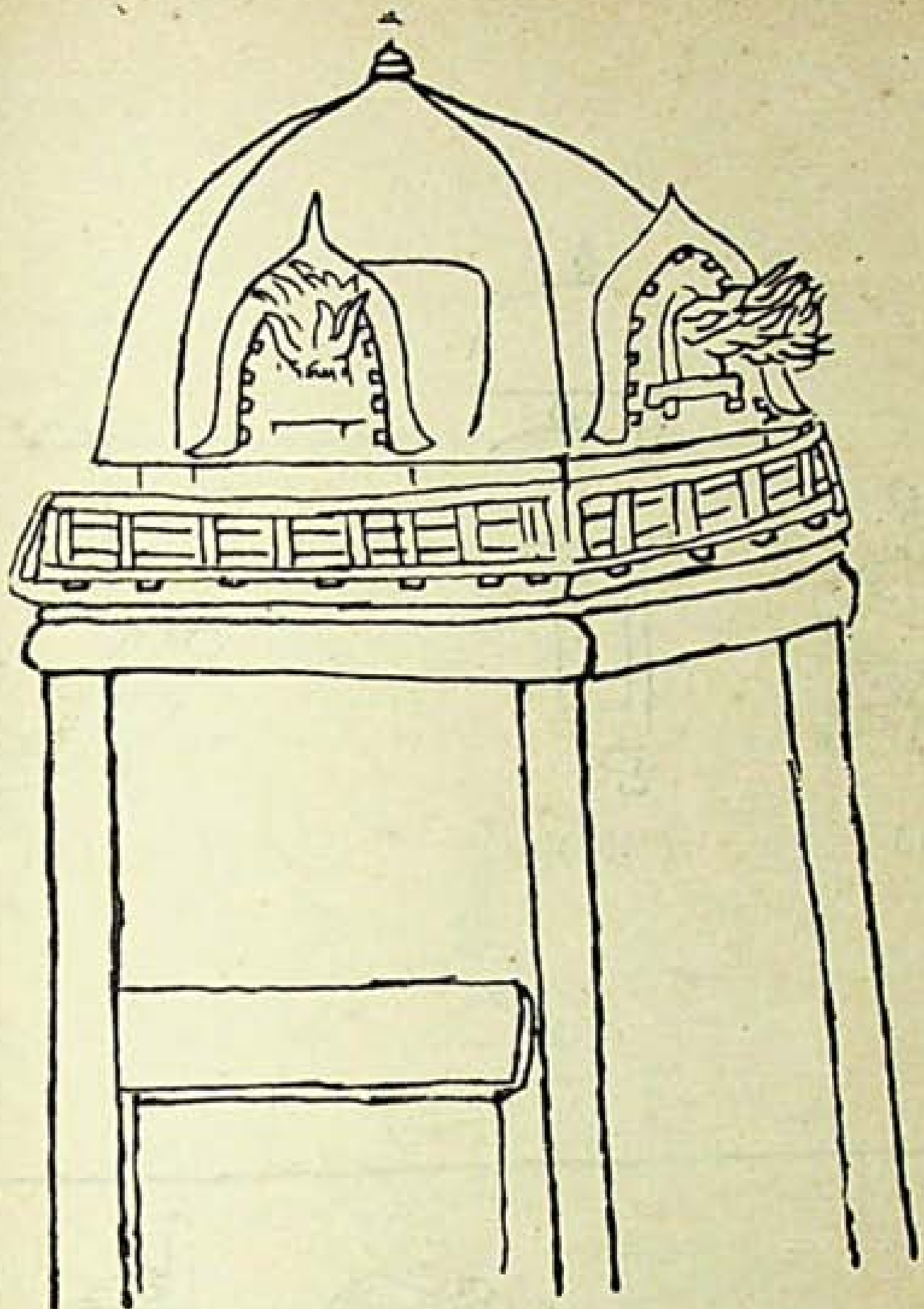

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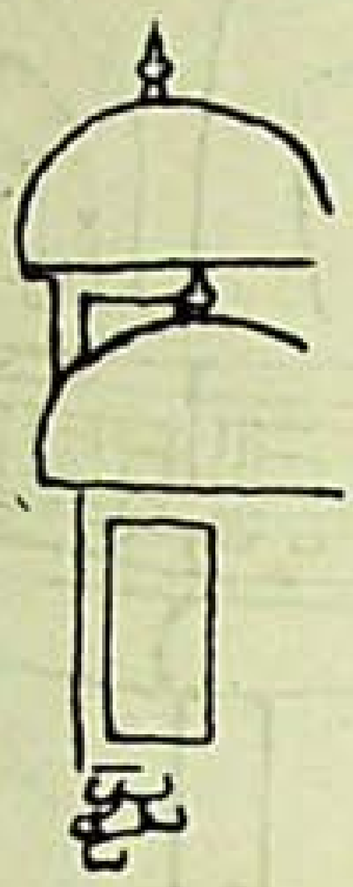

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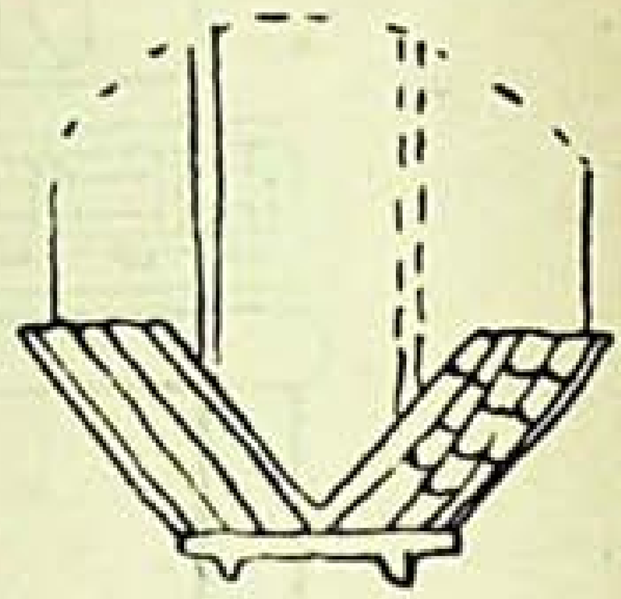

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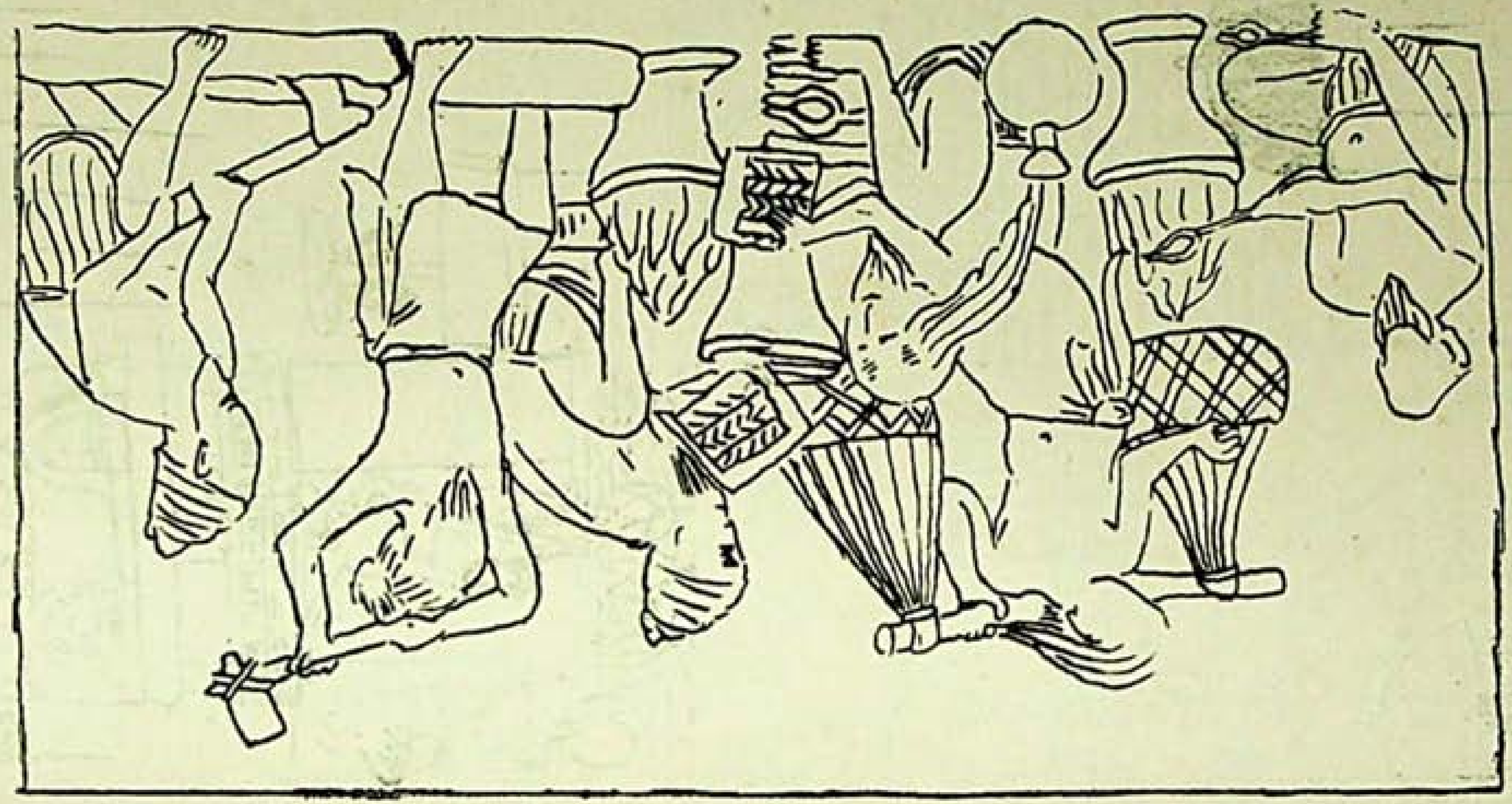

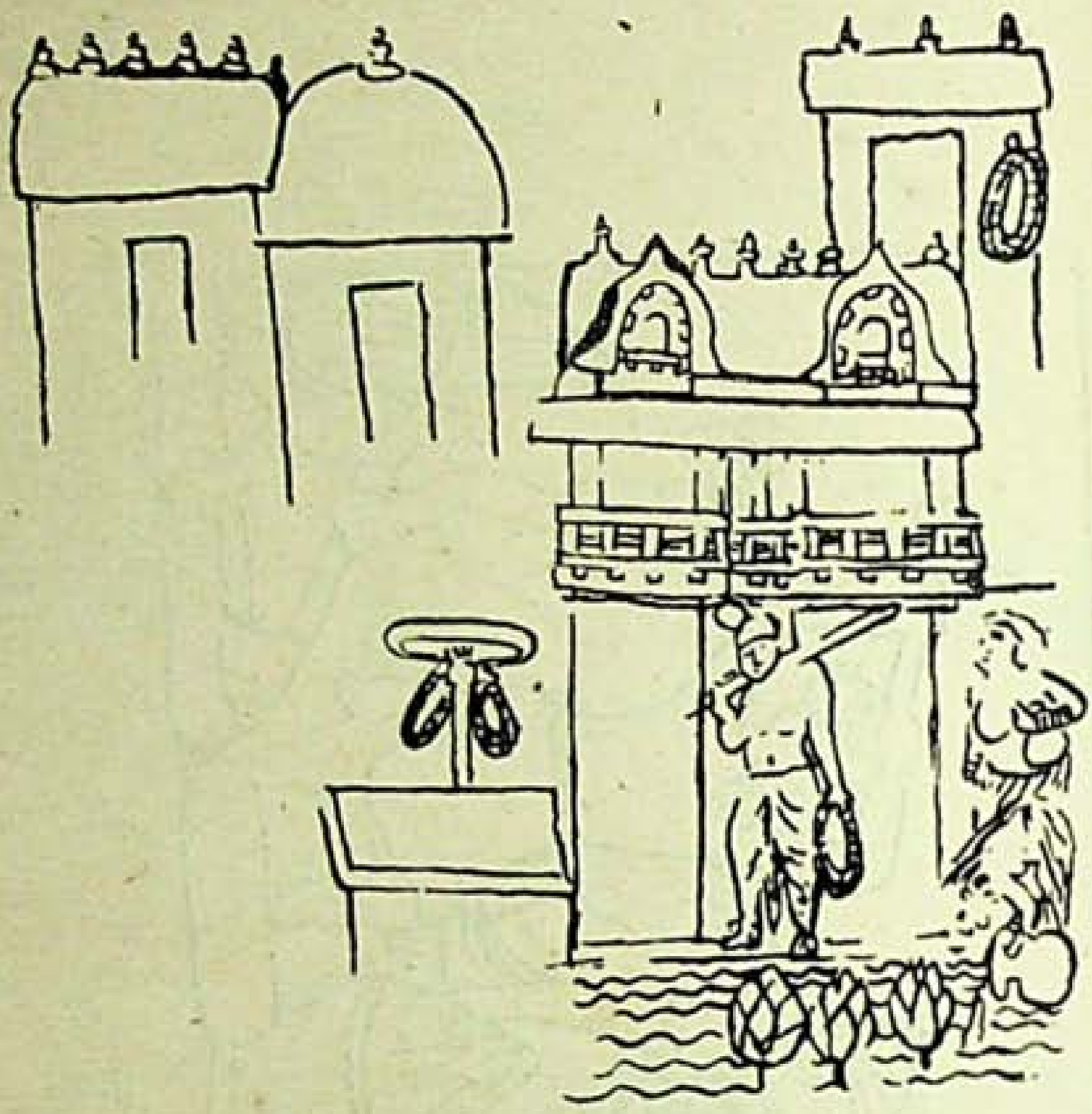

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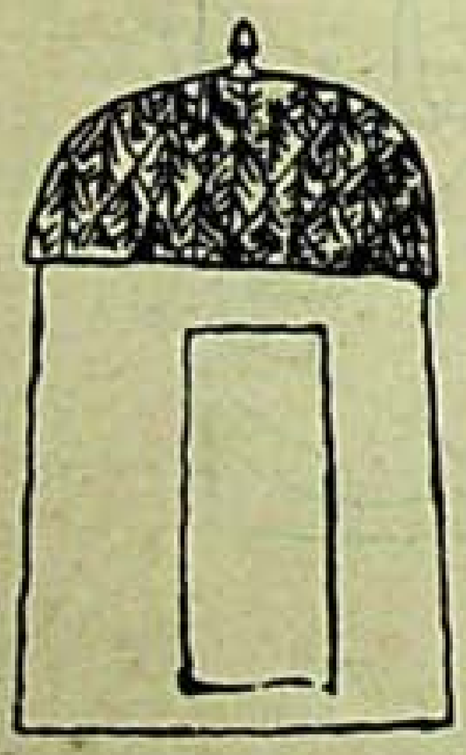

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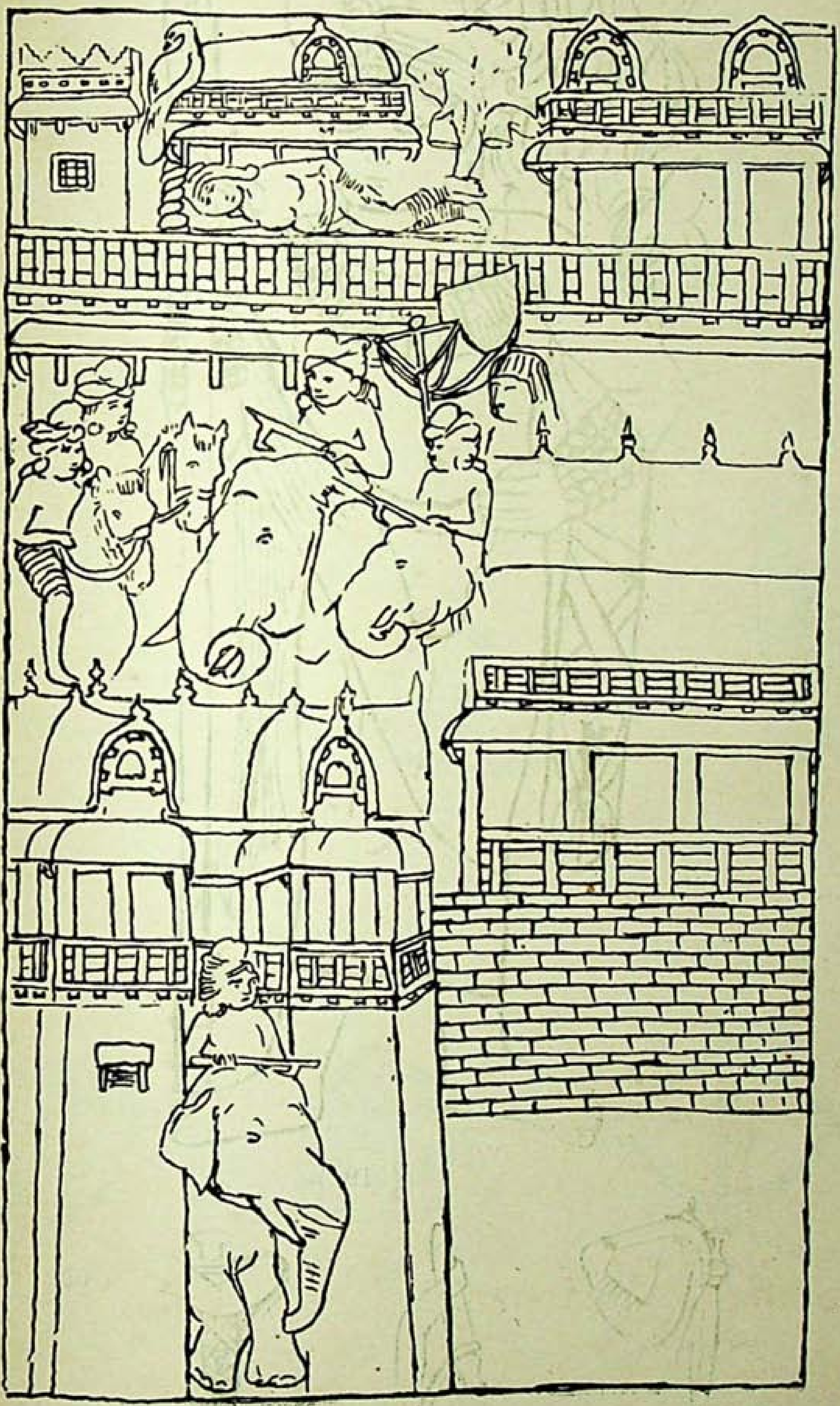

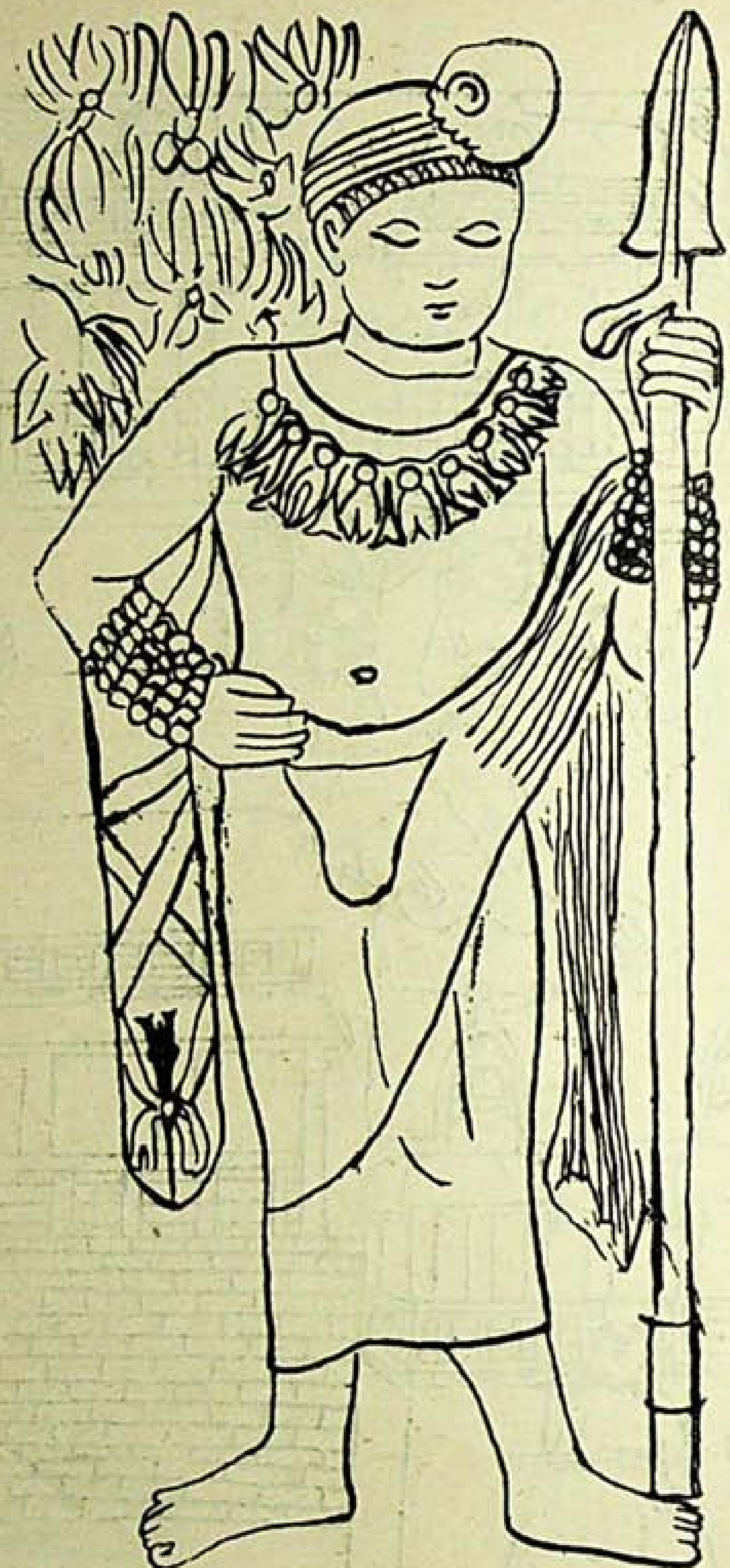

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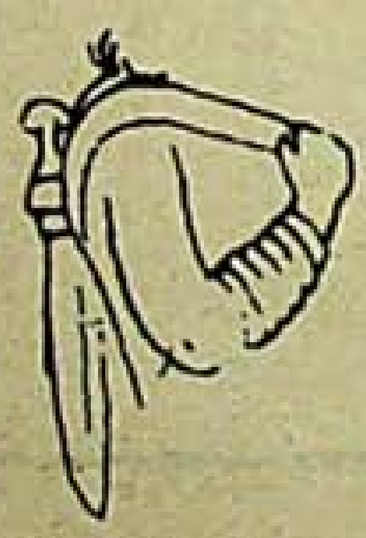

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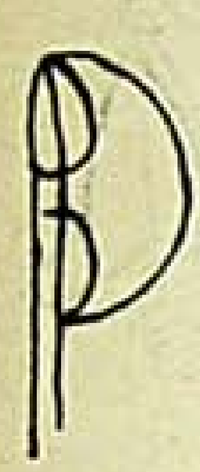

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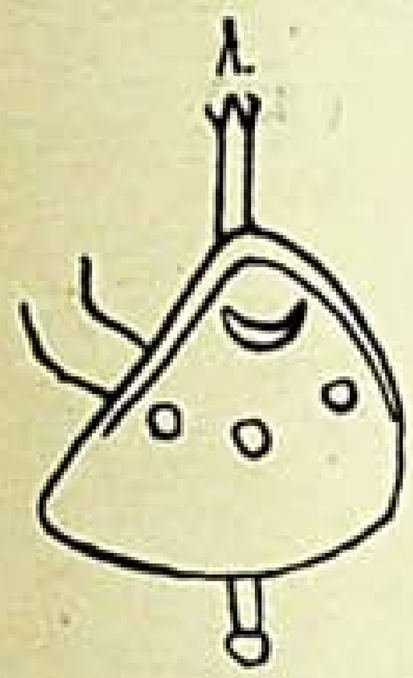

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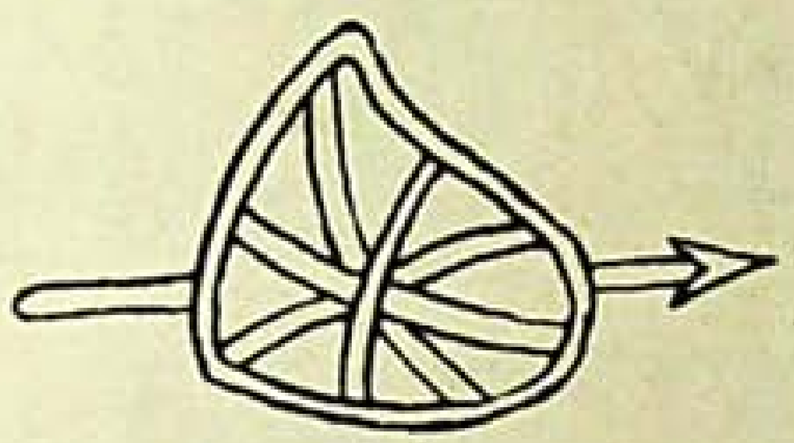

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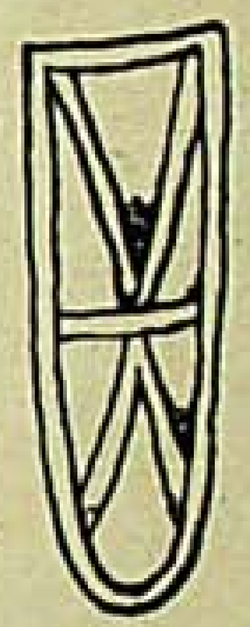

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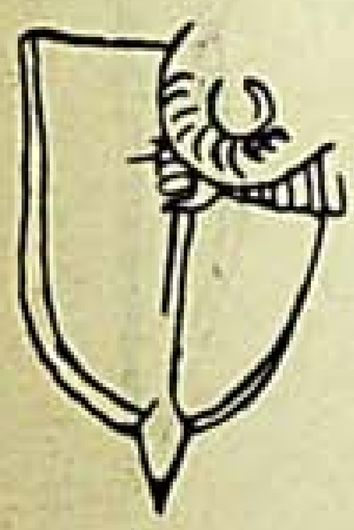

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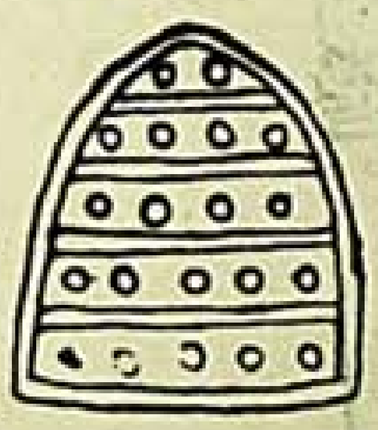

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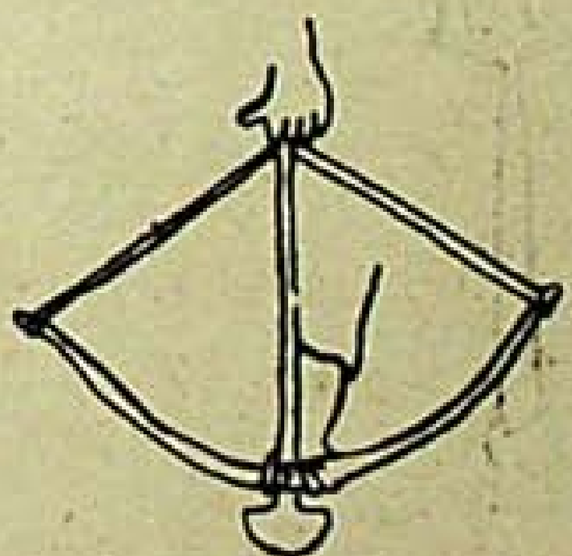

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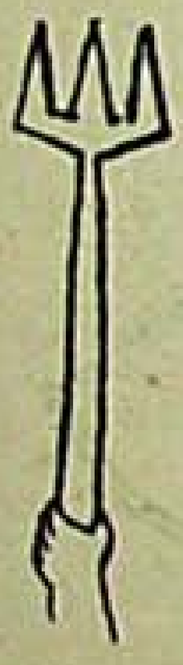

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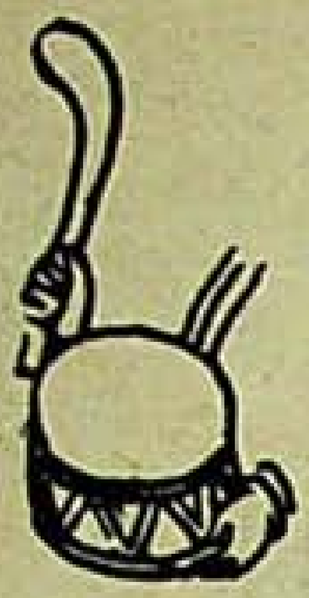

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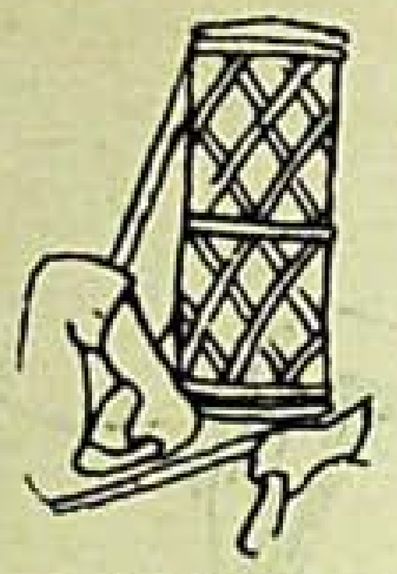

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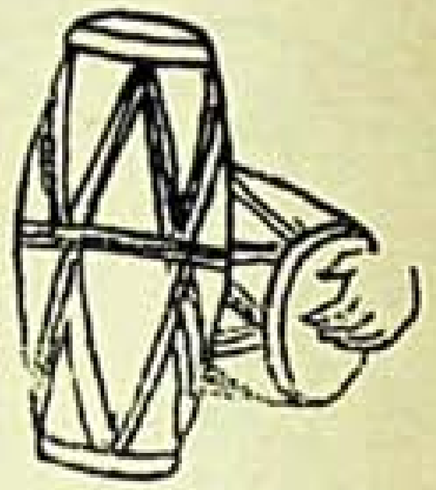

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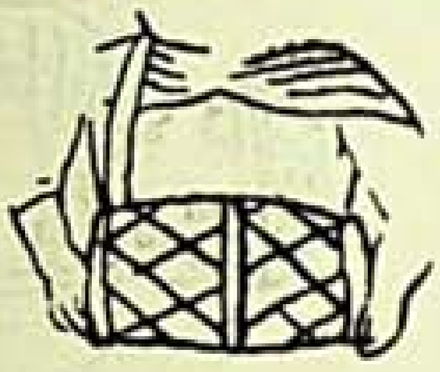

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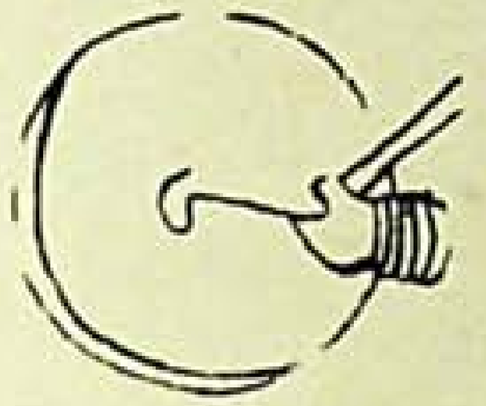

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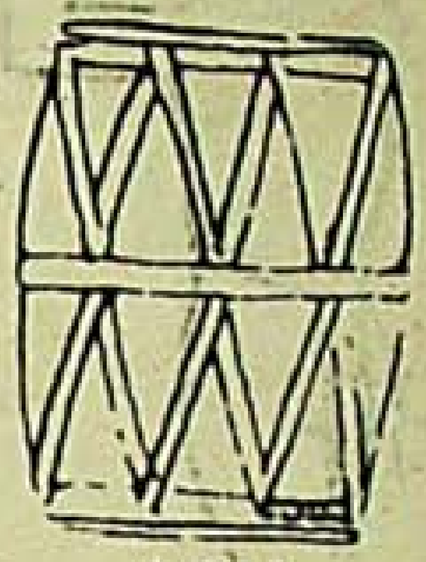

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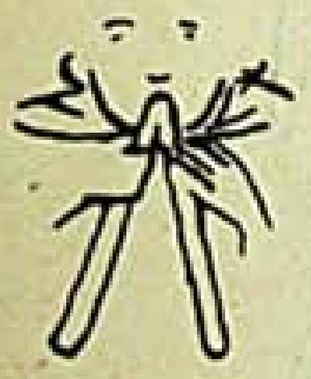

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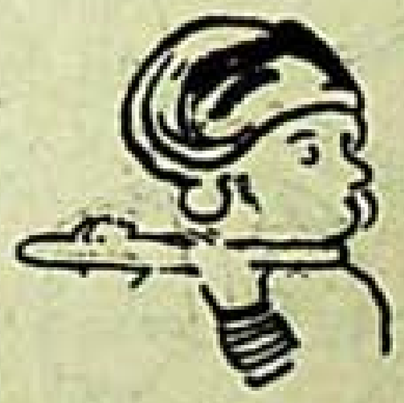

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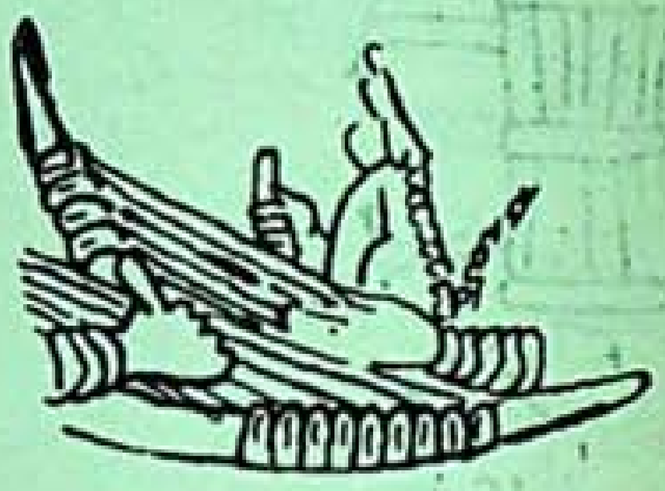

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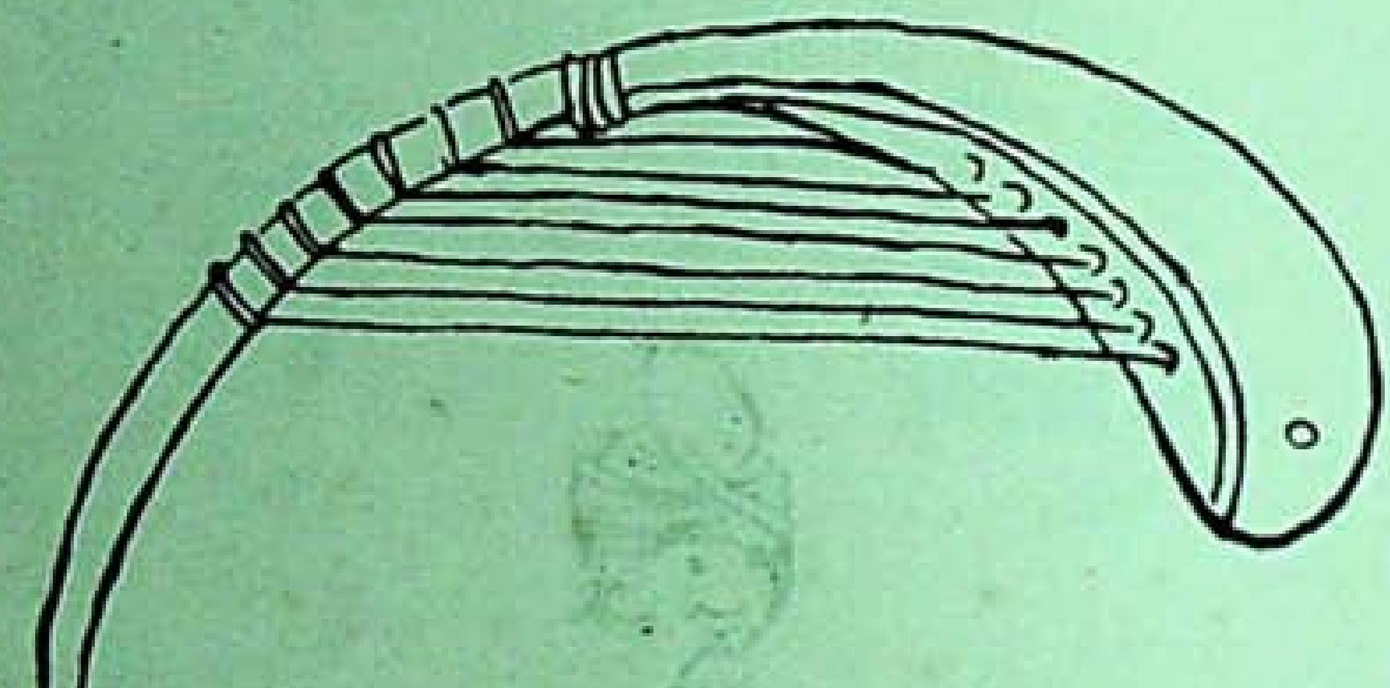

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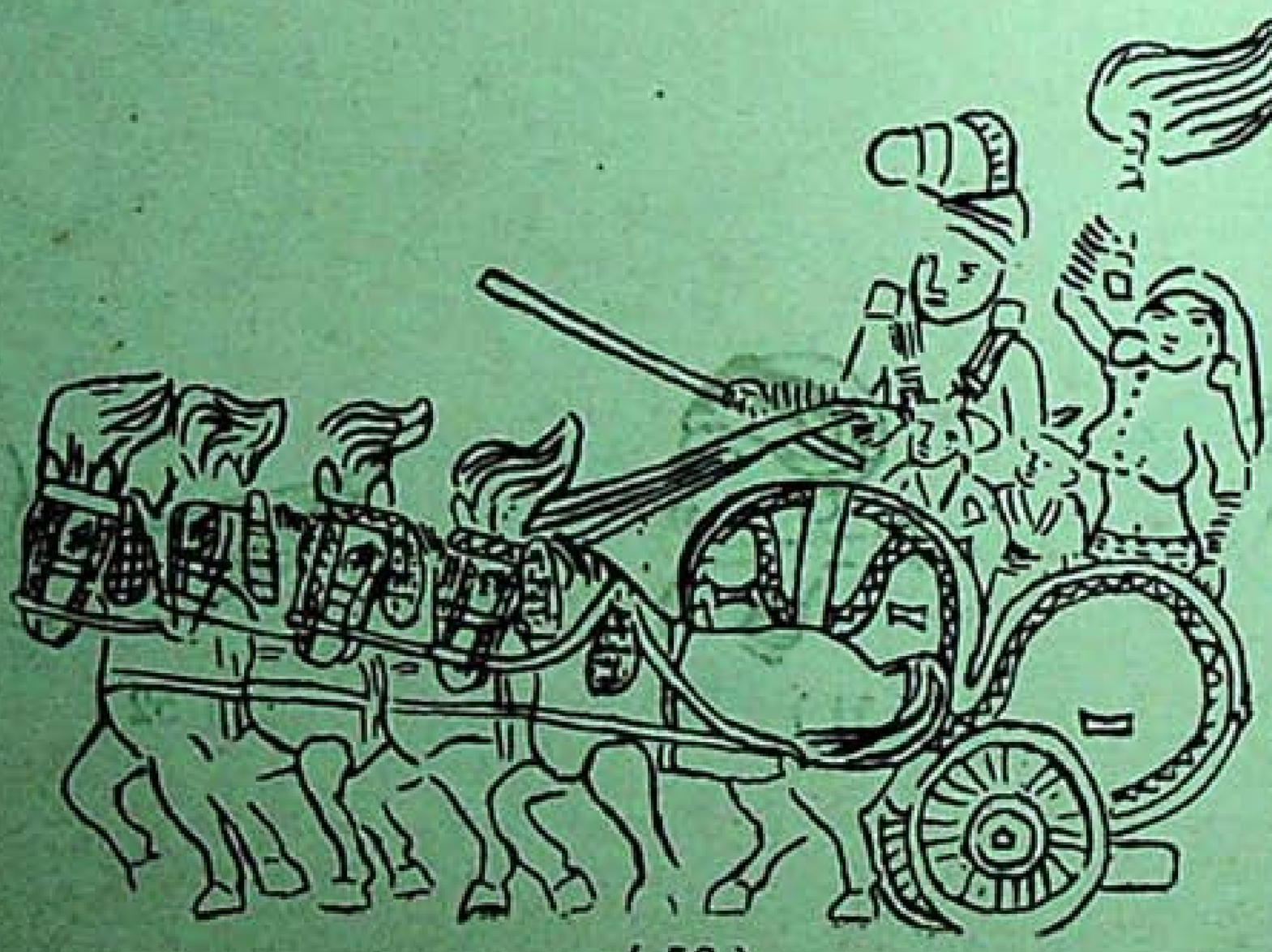

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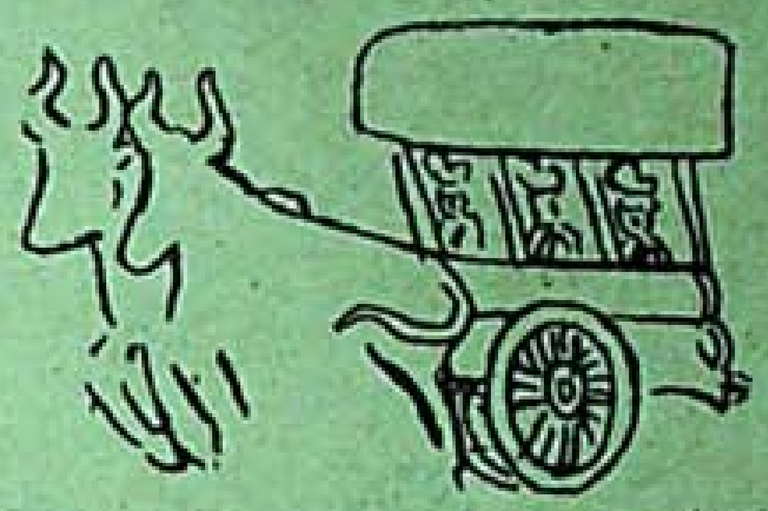

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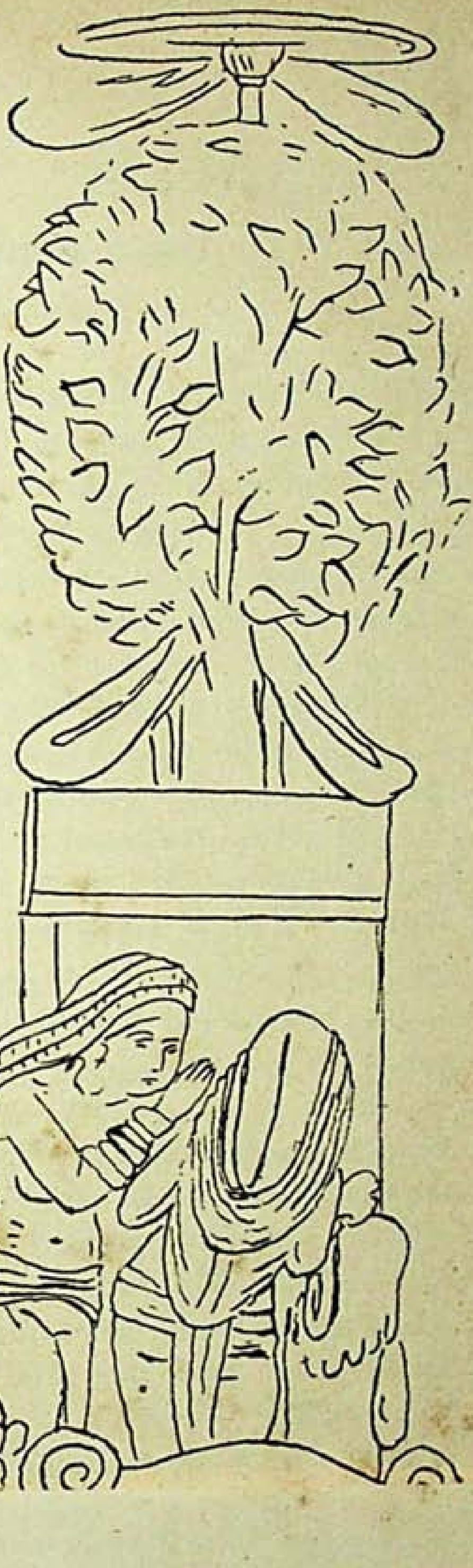

SACRED PLACES OF THE GARO

By Dr. Pierre Bessaignet

At the Western end of Assam are situated the Garo Hills. They lie between 25° 49′ and 91° 2′ of East Longitude. They are bordered on the West by the Brahmaputra river, on the East by the Khasi Hills, and on the South by the district of Mymensingh.

These Hills are the land of the Garo—one of the tribes of Assam. But the tribesmen do not belong exclusively to the moutains, for they form actually two groups: the "Hill-Garo" and the "Plain-Garo". If the former constitute the bulk of the tribe (probably over 150,000), the latter, which number 40 or 45,000 souls, are far from negligible. They live at the foot of the hills, in Mymensingh district, in a fringe from 9 to 14 miles in depth south of the Indo-Pakistani border, and form one of the most important tribal groups of East Pakistan. It is with these Garo of Mymensingh that the present paper is concerned.

Hill-Garo and Plain-Garo have much in common : they are the same people. But they differ in some respects, due to the influence that the Bengali and other cultures have exerted upon the latter, but which failed to penetrate among the former.

Comparatively speaking much has been written about the Garo, mainly about their social organization.[1] They admit several geographical divisions (Awe, Abeng, Dual, etc.). Besides, the Garo are divided into three *Chatchi* : Momin, Marak and Sangma. The first is found only among the Awe, the other two being distributed among all the geographical divisions, both in the Hills and Plain. The *Chatchi* are subdivided again into *machong*, or "motherhoods".[2] *Chatchi* and *machong* were originally—and are still largely—exogamous. Descent is matrilineal—group membership and property following the female

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1. It is not here the place to give an exhaustive bibliography. The three main sources are undoubtedly : Major A Playfair, *the Garos*, David Nutt, London 1909, Rev. Baldwin, Garo Law (Baptist Mission—not dated), and Father Giulio Costa, *The Garo Code of Law*, Anthropos, Vol. 49, 1954.
2. See Playfair, loc. cit, pp. 59 to 65. Conditions though might have changed since Playfair wrote.

line; marriage is in principle matrilocal—the husband moving to the place of his wife.

Religious beliefs.

Among the written sources, so far as I know, only one writer, Playfair, describes the religion of the Garo in general outline.[3] But it deals essentially with Hill people. My purpose will be to report some observation made in Mymensingh, among plain Garo, which well illustrate—50 years later—Playfair's descriptions, but also suggest that Plain people differ somewhat in their religious practices from their brethren in the Hills.

Playfair gives the religion of the Garo as a combination of two cults : "ancestor worship" and the "worship of natural forces" and "deities". But he adds :

> A great deference for ancestors and for the deceased, in general, is clearly indicated in the Garo funeral observances, such as the placing of food for the spirits, the erection of shrines for the temporary sepulture of the bones, and the carving of memorial posts ; but I cannot find that ancestor worship itself is practiced. There is no deification of ancestors and no sacrifices are offered to them. The Garos fear the return of the dead in ghost form, but they look to their reincarnation after a period of penance.[4]

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3. Father Costa, who lived 16 years among the Hill Garo, has an unpublished manuscript, in which he deals substantially with their religion. But it is not available. I have been told also that a recent booklet, in Bengali, gives informations about Garo religion, but I could not yet secure it. At any rate it does not seem to be known to the best specialists. On the other hand, Jobang Marak has published a *Garo Folklore*, in Bengali (Banerjee Press, 2 Maharani Sarnamojee road, Calcutta 1927, and some governmental agency of Assam has started to publish by instalments : Dewan *Singh*, *Garo Folklore and Mythology*. I had an opportunity to consult the manuscript.
4. Playfair, loc, cit. p. 87. The statement is certainly correct, and it still holds true.

The "deities" or high spirits recognized by the Garo are the following: first, and foremost, *Tatara-Rabuga*. At his command, *Nostu-Nopantu* and *Machi* brought the world into existence. Next come *Saljong*, the sun ; *Susime*, the moon; *Noringro-Nojingjo*, the Stars; *Goera*, the thunder ; *Norechire-Kimrebokre*, the rain; *Mane*, the earth; *Asima-Dingsima*, Susime's mother ; *Kalkame*, *Gorea's* brother; *Chorabudi*, the protector of the crops; *Rokime* and *Misi-agrang-Soljong-Song-Gitang*, spirits of the rice ; *Nawang*, the keeper of the dead.[5]

> Like all animistic religions, that of the Garos consists of the belief in a multitude of beneficent and malevolent spitits. To some it attributes the creation of natural phenomena; and the destinies of man from birth to death are governed by a host of divinities whose anger must be appeased by sacrifice, and whose good offices must be entreated in like manner.[6]

According to the origin myth, there was nothing in the beginning, but water. There was no land, and darkness was over everything. *Tatara-Rabuga* sent *Nostu-Nopantu*, in the shape of a woman to bring forth the earth. She took her abode on a spider's web which was stretched over the water. *Tatara-Rabuga* had given *Nostu-Nopantu* some sand, but the particles could not stick together. So *Nostu-Nopantu* send the big crab, then the small crab, then the beetle, to get some clay from under the water. The latter succeeded, and, with the clay, *Nostu-Nopantu* fashioned the earth, *Mane-Pilte*. But everything was still wet; so *Tatara-Rabuga* placed the sun in the sky, and the moon, and sent the wind, and the three dried up and hardened the surface of the Earth. Then *Tatara* gave the Earth a petticoat and a turban made of clouds. He caused her hair to grow in the form of vegetation. He then put the animals on earth, the ape first.

Under the earth there was much water, but on the surface there was none. *Tatara* put then the rivers, and sent the rain preceded by the thunder to announce its coming. Then *Tatara* put on the earth

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5. Playfair. loc. cit. pp. 80-83; 85-87; 93. Playfair does not list the spirits exactly in this order. The sequence suggested here, which follows the order of the universe, seems more logical.
6. Playfair. loc. cit. p. 80.

the first man and the first woman: *Sani* and *Muni* whose children, *Gancheng* and *Dujong*, were the parents of *Naro* and *Mande*, who were the progenitors of the Garo race. Two dwarfs: *Bonejasku* and his wife *Jane Gando*, cleared the forest and offered pumpkins to *Tatara-Rabuga*, who rewarded their efforts by causing rice to grow.[7]

Ceremonies

The main features of Garo religious observances are the sacrifice of animals and birds, and dancing to which drinking is often added.[8]

Further studies might reveal a connection between the myth and the ceremonies; for such is the case with all religions. Playfair however says nothing about it. He distinguishes:

1. ceremonies connected with the dead.
2. ceremonies connected with particular spirits.
3. ceremonies connected with illness.
4. ceremonies connected with agriculture.

Due to the absence of actual ancestor worship, the sacrifices referred to as "the main feature" of Garo religion apply to the last three.

In the absence of information about how ceremony relates to mythology, a more scientific classification than the one offered by Playfair might be that between *annual* and *occasional* rituals, which in fact underlies Playfair's own analysis. For, the former might, if more closely scrutinised, reveal the mythological backing at present yet undeciphered, and in that way bridge the gap which, in Playfair, keeps beliefs and observances as if separate from each other.

Annual festivals

There are two sorts of annual festivals: those connected with agriculture, and those connected with the protection from calamities.

The agricultural festivals consist of the *Agalmaka*, *Gitchipong*, *Michiltata*, *Rongchugala*, *Wangla* and *Jaokara* ceremonies. They mark respectively, the various phases of cultivation: clearing, sowing, offering of first fruits, harvesting and storing. *Wangala*, which involves the fabrication of bamboo "horse" images, is the most considerable ceremony.[9]

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7. Playfair loc. cit. pp. 82-84.
8. Playfair. loc. cit. p. 89.
9. Playfair, loc. cit. pp. 93-95.

The annual festival for protection from calamities is worth describing in some details, in view of the observations that I shall report later.

> Besides the sacrifices for individual cases of illness, there are certain ceremonies which are observed once a year by a whole community or village, and are intended to safeguard its members from dangers of the forest, and from sickness and mishap during the coming twelve months. The principal of this is the Asongtata ceremony. Close to the outskirt of every big village a number of stones may be noticed stuck into the ground, apparently without order or method. These are known by the name of *asong*, and on them is offered the sacrifice which the Asongtata demands. The sacrifice of a goat takes place, and a month later, that of a *langur* (Enrellus monkey) or a bamboo-rat is considered necessary. The animal chosen has a rope fastened round its neck and is led by two men, one on each side of it, to every house, in the village. It is taken inside each house in turn, the assembled villagers, meanwhile, beating the walls from the outside, to frighten and drive out any evil spirits which may have taken up their residence within. The round of the village having been made in this manner, the monkey or rat is led to the outskirts of the village, killed by a blow of a *dao*, which disembowels it, and then crucified on bamboos set up in the ground. Round the crucified animal long, sharp bamboo stakes are placed, which form *chevaux de frise* round about it. These commemorate the days when such defences surrounded the villages on all sides to keep off human enemies and they are now a symbol to ward off sickness and dangers to life from the wild animals of the forest.[10]

> In describing the Asongtata ceremony I referred to the sacrificial stones which are to be seen at the entrance of every big village. They are rough, enhuned stones, set up in the ground without any attempt at regularity, and seldom more than three feet high. The number of these stones vary greatly; I have seen as few as four or five, and as many as fifty in one place .....

10. Playfair, loc. cit. P. 92.

When the time for the Asongtata sacrifice arrives, the stones are decked with *Kadisils* or crowns made of bamboo, and some of the sacrificial emblems which I have described are erected close to them. For some reason that I have not been able to ascertain, a number of swords are also brought and placed, point upwards, into the hollow ends of a row of short bamboos. The priest slaughters the animal to be sacrificed and smears its blood over the stones. In some cases, each stones appears to represent a particular guardian spirit, for in one village I was shown a stone named Chokki, and in another, his brother Dalmang, while round about them were many other smaller stones said to represent their wives and families. In other villages the stones have no names to distinguish them, but are known only by the collective name of Asong or Kosi.[11]

Occasional Ceremonies

These are of two sorts: sacrifices to particular spirits, and funeral ceremonies. They occur, respectively, whenever catastrophies (mainly disease) or death strike certain individuals.

Throughout the hills, certain sacrificial erections of bamboo are prepared, which vary in form according to the spirit to whom the offering is made, and which may, not inappropriately, be called altars.

The most commonly seen of these is the *sambasia*, which consists of an upright, oblong panel composed of a bamboo about four feet long and two feet broad, filled in with reeds and the leaves of certain trees. Another is the *Chorabudi*, named after the spirit which is invoked at its base. This consists of bamboos stuck upright in the ground, the top section of which has been split into narrow strips which, when played outward and bound with cane, form a conical basket. Into this, offerings of food and sometimes money are placed. Another form of this is the *wadambeng sekrek*. This consists of two bamboos lashed together in the form of a cross. The top and horizontal extremities of this cross are opened

11. Playfair, loc, cit, pp. 96-97.

out into the conical basket above described. The bamboos are further scraped so that masses of shavings hang down at intervals. When an offering is made at any of these sacrificial altars, the blood of the animal or bird is smeared over it and some of the hairs or feathers are made to adhere to the bamboos thereby.

> In the villages, there are always a number of long bamboos with leaves on, placed upright in the ground in front of and close to many of the houses. These are hung with cotton bols or bunches of paddy in ear, and serve as offerings either to the dead or the spirits. In the first case they are called *memang-midong*, and in the second *mite-midong*. Another form of this is the *wadong*, the difference being merely in the size of the bamboo.[12]

The Garo burn their dead. The body is laid out in the main room of the house. Food offerings are put by its side, and a chicken tethered to the big toe. Cremation usually takes place the second night after death[13], following a ceremony meant to help the departed soul to find its way back to this world.[14] For the basic belief of the Garo about death is reincarnation :

> They believe in the existence in man of a spirit which, after death, wends its way to an appointed place, there to dwell for a period of time before being reincarnated....the lowest form of reincarnation is that in the shape of animals and birds, and then that in human form. The greatest reward for a virtuous life is to be born into the same motherhood as before.[15]

> On being released from its mortal covering...(the spirit), wends its way to Mangru-Mangram, the abode of the spirits. Several spots are indicated as the place of their residence. The spirits are said to have first taken up their abode at Nopak, a place in the north-

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12. Playfair. loc. cit. pp. 89-90.
13. Playfair. loc. cit. p. 107.
14. Playfair. loc. cit. p. 108.
15. Playfair. loc. cit. p. 80. To what extent these beliefs might be the result of Hindu influence remains to be seen.

eastern hills between Damro and Cheran. Later, when their number increased, they went to two hills, named Balsiri and Balpakram, and they now wend their way to Chikmang, an isolated peak in the south east of the Garo Hills, not far from the Someswari river (see picture 1)[16].

On his way to Chikmang, the departed soul has a mid-day meal near a pool of water known as *Memang-Misal Charam*, eating the food offered or sacrificed at the moment of death.[17] He further meets *Nawang*, the keeper of the dead, who tries to devour him, and to whom he throws brass ear-rings, escaping while the monster is engaged in picking them up.[18]

As soon as the proper time has arrived for—cremating the body, it is taken out and placed upon the funeral pyre or altar called *ganchi*. This is built in the *Atela* or public square of the village, in front of, and close to the house of mourning. It consists of four upright posts, so arranged as to enclose a rectangle, within which logs of wood are piled. These posts are sometimes roughly carved, as also is the pole used to stir the—fire. A curious ornamentation of the *ganchi* is the *mangpil*, a T-shaped board about two feet long and one foot broad, on which rough pictures of human beings and animals are painted with a mixture of blood and soot. One such ornament is hung on each of the four sides of the *ganchi*, and they remain there until the pile of wood is set on fire. They are then taken down and kept to hang round the *delang* or shrine, which will be described later. There is no particular meaning in this board, and I believe it to be put on for the sake of ornamentation only.....

The favourite wood for burning a body is that of the *mandal* tree (Erythrina Suberosa).....

Near the place of cremation a bull is kept tethered to a Y-shaped post named *gilmirong*, and when the last of the body is about to be consumed by the fire, the—animal is slaughtered, so that its spirit may accompany

16. Playfair. loc. cit. p. 102.
17. Playfair. loc. cit. p. 103.
18. Playfair loc. cit. p. 103-104.

that of the dead person and be of service to it in the next world[19]. Human sacrifice [was] customary in olden times. Another and more merciful form of celebrating this part of the funeral rites was to keep a living slave tied to the leg of the corpse from the day of the decease to the hour of cremation.[20]

When the cremation has been completed, the bones that remain among the ashes are carefully collected. The ashes are placed in a basket which is taken into the jungle and there deposited. It is not emptied, but merely placed on the ground and left. The bones are disposed in a number of ways [according to various subdivisions of the Garos].

Among the Abengs and Chisaks, the bones are collected .... and placed in a pot which .... is buried in the earth outside the deceased's house. Over the pot a little shrine is built called *delang*, and to this offerings of food are made. The *delang* is a covered—in enclosure made of bamboo sometimes filled with earth, and often surmounted by a canopy of white cloth[21].

About two months after the cremation ceremony, or as soon as the relatives of the deceased can afford it, the second ceremony takes place. Among the Akawes the pot is brought out of the house and taken to a place where preparations have been made for feasting and dancing. Here the bones are taken out of the pot and distributed among some of the female relatives of the deceased, who bind the bones to their persons and dance with them during the entire celebration. Finally

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19. Playfair. loc. cit. p. 109
20. Playfair. loc. cit.p. 109-110. The purpose of all the sacrifices which accompany, the funerals is not to "worship" the dead, as we already know, but to provide him the necessary food supplies during his journey to Chikmang. Apparently, the human sacrifice of olden days or their substitute, was to allow a man who had servants in this world to have some also in the other (see Playfair, p. 103).
21. Playfair. loc. cit. p. 110-111.

the bones are taken into the jungle and buried, preferably on the bank of a stream.

Among the Abengs, there is the same dancing and feasting, after which the *delang* is set on fire and destroyed, but the bones are not disturbed.

The Atongs, like the Abengs, bury the bones of the dead and erect a *delang* over them, but for the second ceremony they dig up the bones and dance with them like the Akawēs.[22]

It appears that the funeral ceremonies of the Garo go through the following phases :

I. First ceremony.

1. laying out of the body with offerings of food.
2. cremation (with slaughtering of a bull).
3. disposal of the ashes.
4. collection of the bones.
5. erection of a shrine.

II. Second Ceremony.

1. dancing with the bones (Akawe, Atong)
2. burning of the shrine (Abeng)

These various phases, however, do not completely exhaust the practices connected with the taking care of the dead. In addition, there are erections of—ancestral posts.

Except among the Rugas and Chiboks, it is the custom throughout the hills to put up memorial posts in front of a dead person's house as soon as possible after the cremation ceremony. These are known by the name of *Kima*. They are usually placed under the eaves of the houses, and may be put up at more than one house to commemorate the same person. Each *Kima* consists of a pair of posts, stuck into the ground, from which they rise to a height of from two to four feet. One post is sometimes carved in the resemblance of human face, while its companion is adorned with several rows of notches only. The first is supposed to be a likeness of—the deceased, and the second is used to support the horns

22. Playfair. loc. cit. p. 111.

of the bull sacrificed at the cremation. In villages which do not possess an artist of sufficient skill to carve a human face, the latter is dispensed with and two notched posts are prepared. When the face is carved, it is customary to adorn the figure with some of the deceased wearing apparel and ornaments. I have seen one, for instance, clothed with a woman's *riking* or petticoat and wearing ear-rings and a *Kadisil* or ornamented browband. Another similarly attired, was marred by a European hat, and an open umbrella fastened above it. A *rang* or gong is often broken and set up upon a stick beside the *Kima*. [23]

Observations

On April 20, 1958, while residing in Birisiri, I visited some "non-christian" [24] villages of the neighbourhood, and had the occasion to examine two places where offerings and sacrifices had taken place. Both places were groves used for religious purposes by the inhabitants of adjacent *baris*.[25]

In the first instance, there were actually two groves, separated by an open space [picture 1]. In one of them could still be seen a bamboo offering stand [chart 1]. The condition of the wood indicated that the erection of the stand had taken place at least a few months back. There was also a more elaborate [though half-collapsed] offering stand in the open space that separated the two groves [picture 2]. I was told that the grove with the bamboo structure was used for offerings and sacrifices, while the other was used for the consumption of the sacrificial food by the participant in the ceremonies [chart 2]. I should indicate, though, that I did not notice the presence of any of the sacrificial paraphernalia (stones, cooking places, etc.) that I had occasion to observe elsewhere [see below].

In the second instance there was only one grove. Signs were obvious that the place had been recently the site of a ceremony. At the centre of the grove was an open space. There were found: two

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23. Playfair. loc. cit. p. 113.
24. Today, 50% of the plain Garo are christians—mainly Catholics and Baptists.
25. A "bari" is a cluster of houses,

bamboo offering stands, a pair of stones, two short Y-shaped posts, a cooking place [chart 3 and picture 3]. The first offering stand was made of a single bamboo shaft split so as to form an inverted cone possibly of Playfair's *skerek* type [see above]. Along the shaft, shavings were hanging down at regular intervals as indicated by Playfair, and animal blood was noticeable. The second offering stand was of the more elaborate, and also more delicate, type already encountered. The stones had a crude conical shape and were in part buried in the ground. The cooking place was a narrow trench, three or four feet long. Fresh bamboo splits, the broken containers in which rice had been ceremonially cooked were lying on the ground. The grove was adjacent to a bari in whose courtyard was a miniature bamboo house. I was told that this structure sheltered Hindu images, probably of Kali, a situation indicative of syncretism.

On April 22, while residing at the catholic mission in Ranikhong, I spent a few hours in *Odikuna*, a village situated very close to the Indian border, on the other side of the Someswari river, at an estimated distance of four miles from the mission. The village seems to be predominantly—and perhaps entirely—non-christian. It had been brought to my attention by the missionaries themselves. They had mentioned having observed, while on tour, funerary structures of recent construction.

The village was situated on a bute which dominated the rice fields—one of the typical village locations [picture 4]. Some four hundred yards before getting to the bute, I passed by a place located on the right hand side of the footpath, which was pointed out to me as being commonly used by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood for ceremonial purposes. It resembled a grove except for the fact that it mainly consisted of an enormous banian tree. At the foot of the tree were various ceremonial objects : a pair of stones, a row of seven short bamboo sticks planted in the ground, and a long bamboo post surrounded by stakes as described by Playfair in reference to the *Asongtata* Ceremony. The two stones were semi-conical and partly buried in the ground. The bamboo post was bent on top so as to form a triangle. On that triangle, as if on a frame, a goat skin was stretched [chart 4 and picture 5].

Proceeding to the village, I went to the bari in which were the funeral structures described to me by the missionaries. The bari was

made of five houses—a quite common formation: a main house of the long traditional type, a paddy store house, a wood store house, a cowshed and a chicken house [chart 5]. The bari is located on an artificially built mud platform, the cowshed being on a slightly lower level. Until recently the population included the head of the family, *Gurdeb Manda*, his two wives, an elder son of about twenty-two by the first wife, a younger son (age eighteen) and a daughter (age fifteen) by the second wife, an adopted daughter (age thirty) and her son (age twelve), and a young female servant (age fifteen).[26] But at the time of my visit it was reduced to eight persons, the elder wife having died two months earlier. Indeed it was for her that the funerary rites had been recently performed. The head of the household was, as his name indicates, from the Manda machong; he was a *kamal*, or "priest", of the Garo religion. The wives were both from the Kobi machong. The household was depicted to me as belonging to the Abeng division of the tribe, but I am told that the funerary shrine described below is distinctly Dual, so that some uncertainty remains as to the actual situation.

The funerary structure corresponded to Playfair's *Delang* (shrine) and *Kima* (ancestral posts). As to whether the terms apply to the present case, I could not check. The shrine was a square box. On its top, various objects had been placed, such as pots, etc. A piece of white cloth covered the whole in the fashion of a canopy. Bamboo posts had been erected at the four corners. On each side of the box were two wooden objects possibly corresponding to Playfair's

26. Actually, the elder son is married, and, according to the rule of residence (matrilocal) should not be living in the bari. But having no independent means of subsistance, he has hired himself as a servant with his own father—a not uncommon situation now that the Garo are losing part of their land. His wife, though, remains, as she should, with her own parents. Apart from this, the family includes an elder daughter from the first wife. She used to live, in the bari, with her parents, being indeed the *nokna* or heiress to the family property. But she and her husband have fled away. As for the adopted daughter she has joined the group recently after her husband had deserted her. Her son is employed as servant in the household, being entrusted with the care of the cows.

mangpil, but having the form of long boards over three feet in length and terminating in the form of a goat's head. They were impregnated with soot. Five feet away from the shrine were two stones of the kind already described. In front of them was a bamboo offering stand. Further, on the edge of the mud platform, the calcinated logs of the funeral pyre were lying on the ground (chart 6, pictures 6 and 7).

The ancestral posts were situated near the house, as expected, toward the right side of the entrance door. The one closest to the door, was dressed with hat and clothes—presumably the garments of the departed wife. The other posts were bare [picture 8]. Shrine and memorial posts well befitted a *Kamal* family by their orthodoxy.

Passing through the village, I had occasion to notice another house with memorial posts [picture 9]. An offering stand was erected at a distance. I also noticed offering stands near practically every store house. They were situated close to the entrance door, and had their base planted in iron containers in the fashion of flower pots [chart 7].

The material presented above does not allow for immediate interpretation. A full understanding of it would require a systematic study of Garo religion as practised among Plain-people. I have shown this material to Father Costa to whom part of it appeared as differing from what could be collected in the Hills. Groves, for example, seem to play a greater role in Mymensingh than is the case in Assam. Some of the bamboo stands might be connected with agricultural ceremonies rather than with sacrifice. On the other hand, the role played by stones does fit with Playfair's description, which most probably refers to Hill people. According to Playfair, stones are associated only with the *Asongtata*, the annual ceremony for protection against calamities; but we have found them used on almost every occasion, including the funerals. Also, according to the English writer, the stones are found in huge collections; in the instances described, there were never more than two at a time. For that reason it is, for example, impossible to determine whether in spite of certain suggestive characteristics, the goat sacrificed in the grove near *Odikuma* was part of an *Asongtata* or not.

These various circumstances seem to indicate that field work among Mymensingh Garo might prove rewarding, and might reveal religious developments of which there is not yet adequate record.[27]

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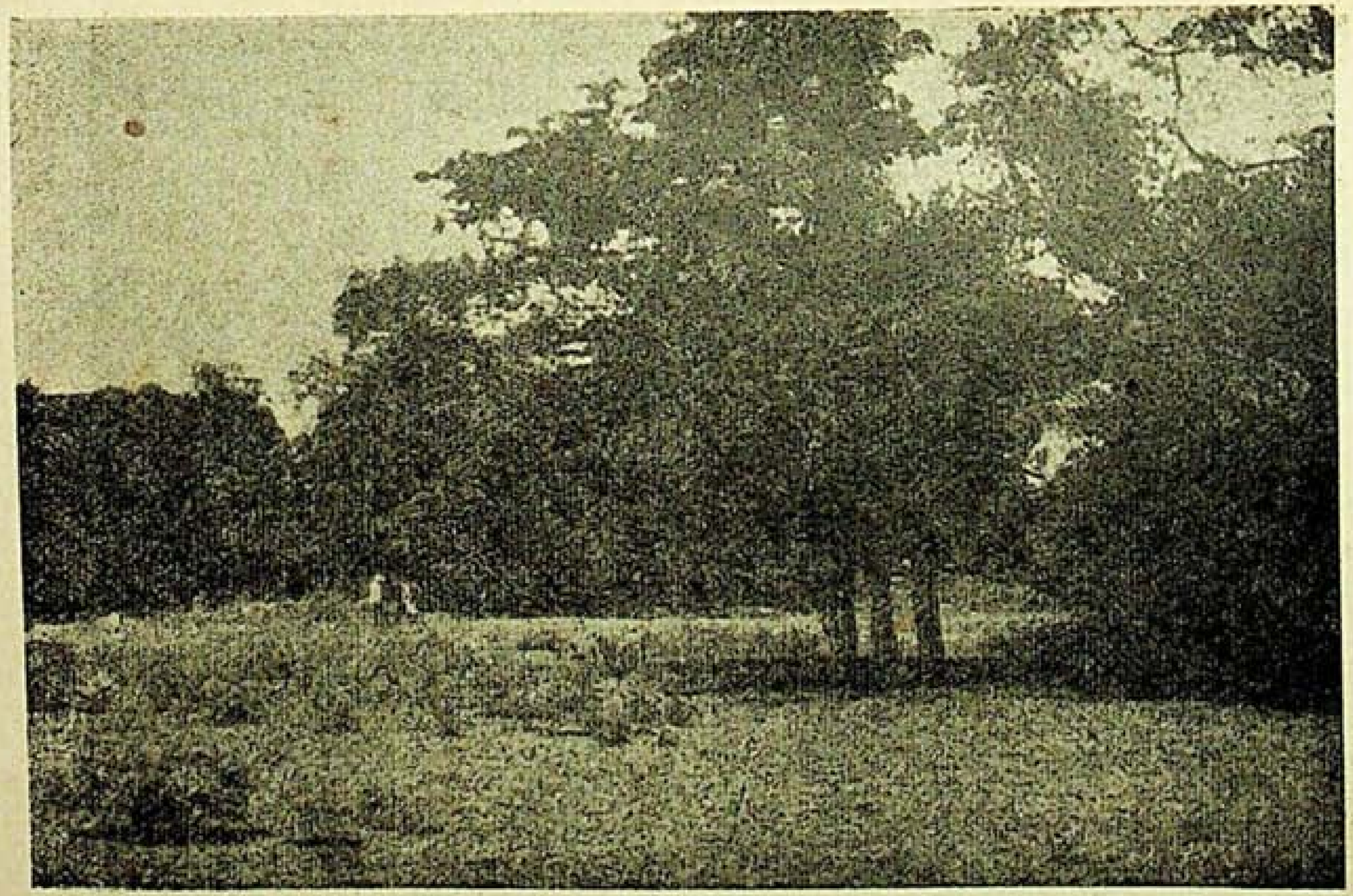
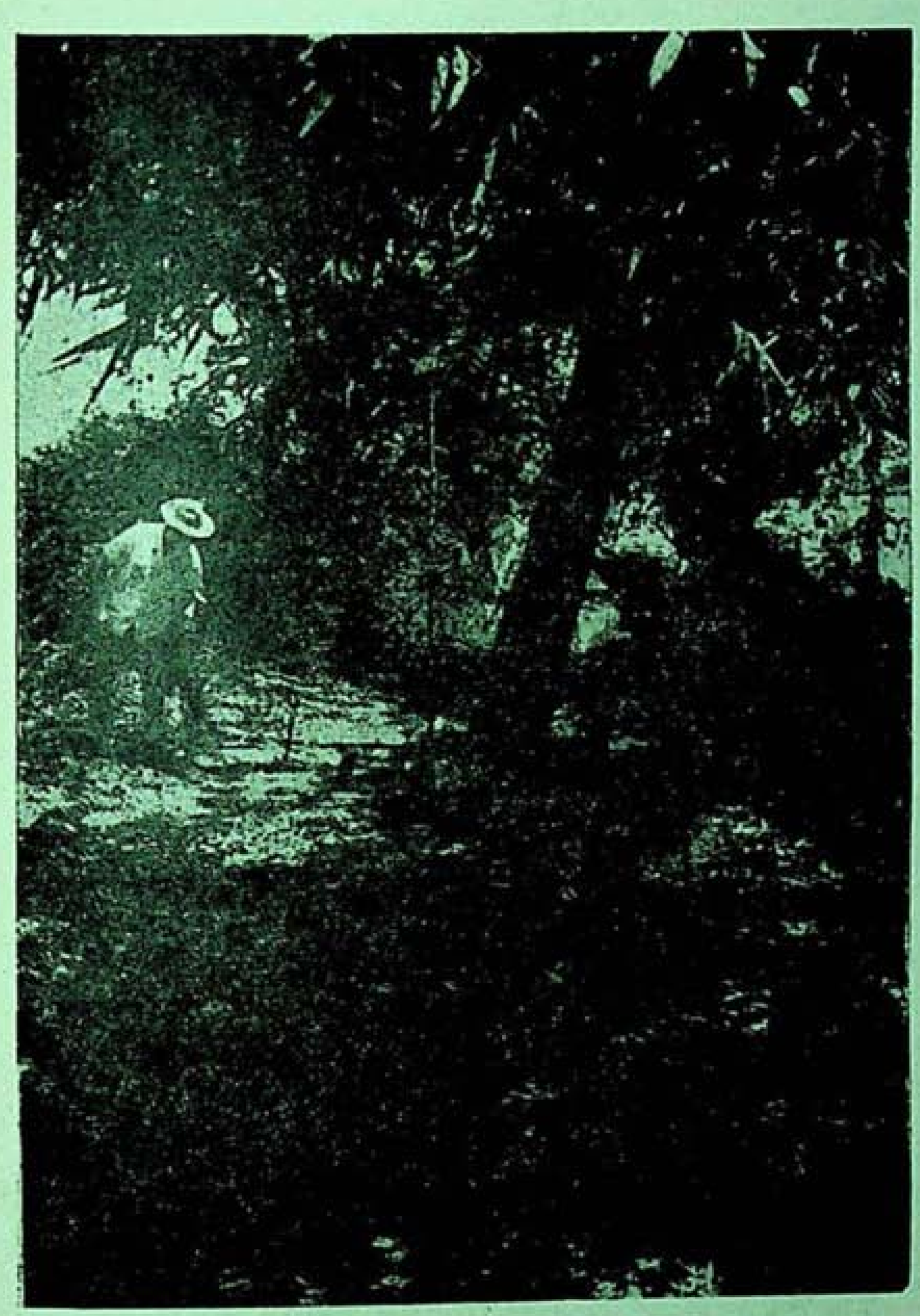
27. Costa is inclined to assume that the peculiarities of the religion of the plain are due in part to Hindu and Koch influence,



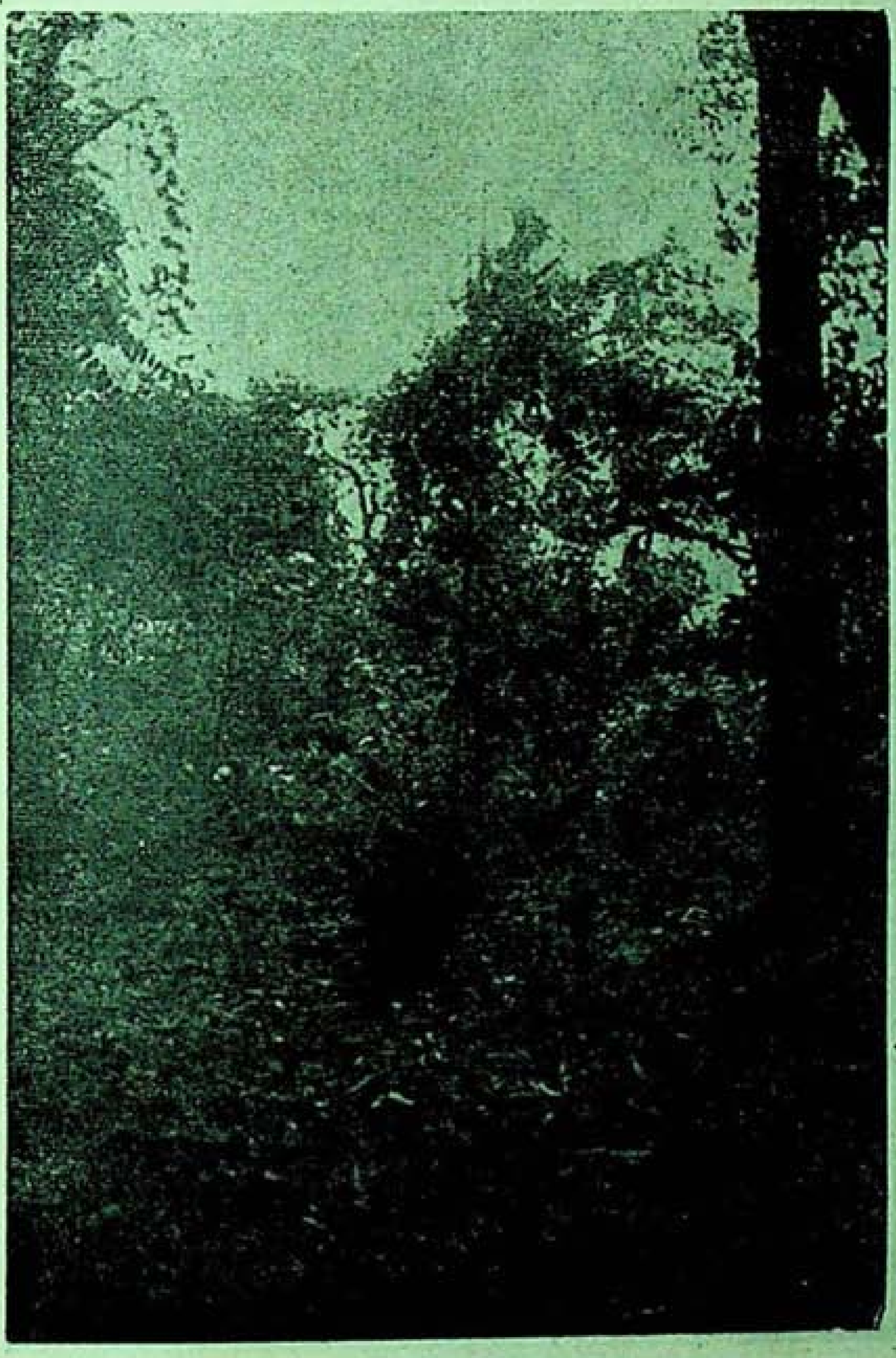
Picture 1

Picture 2

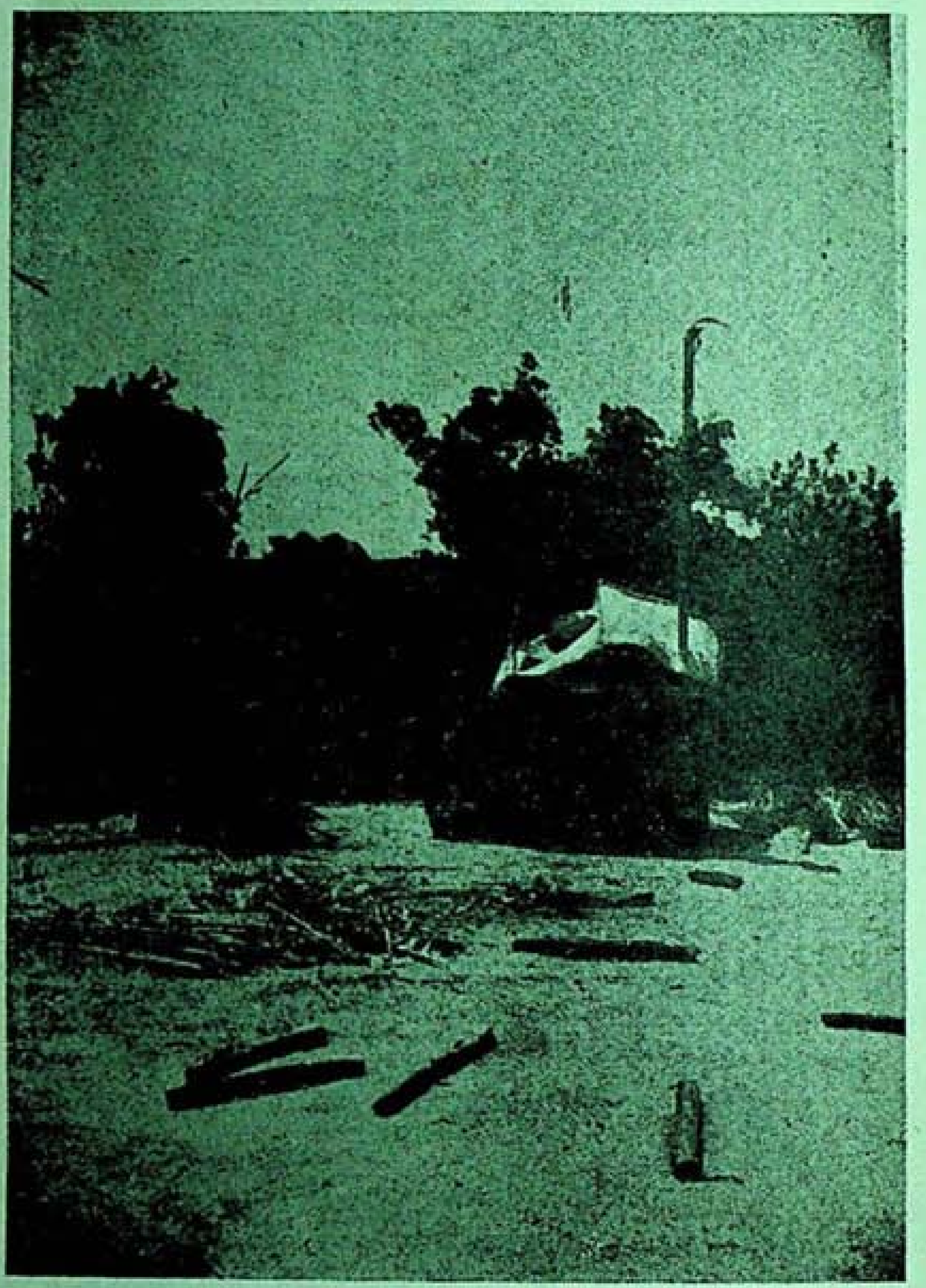


Picture 3

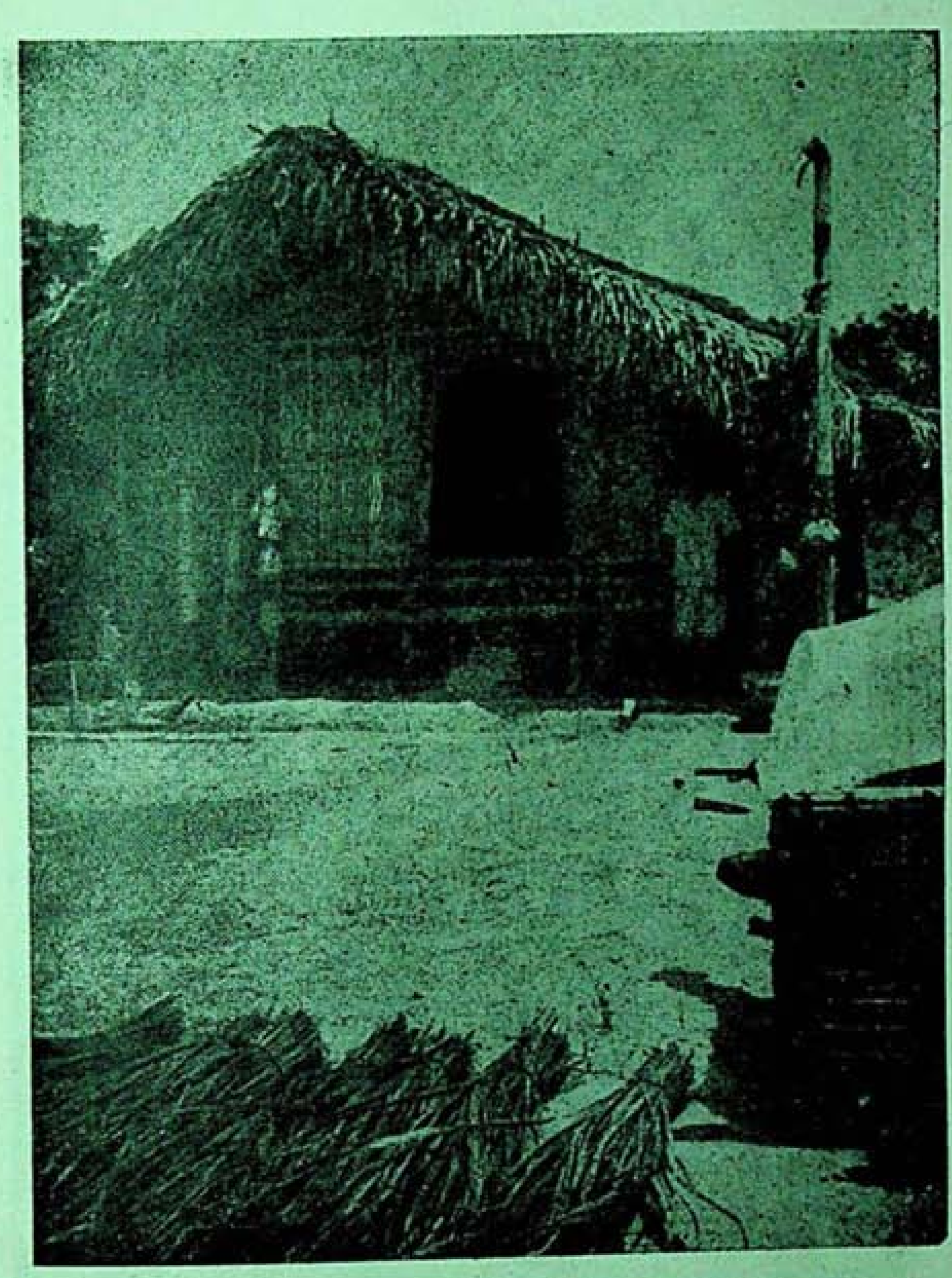
Picture 4



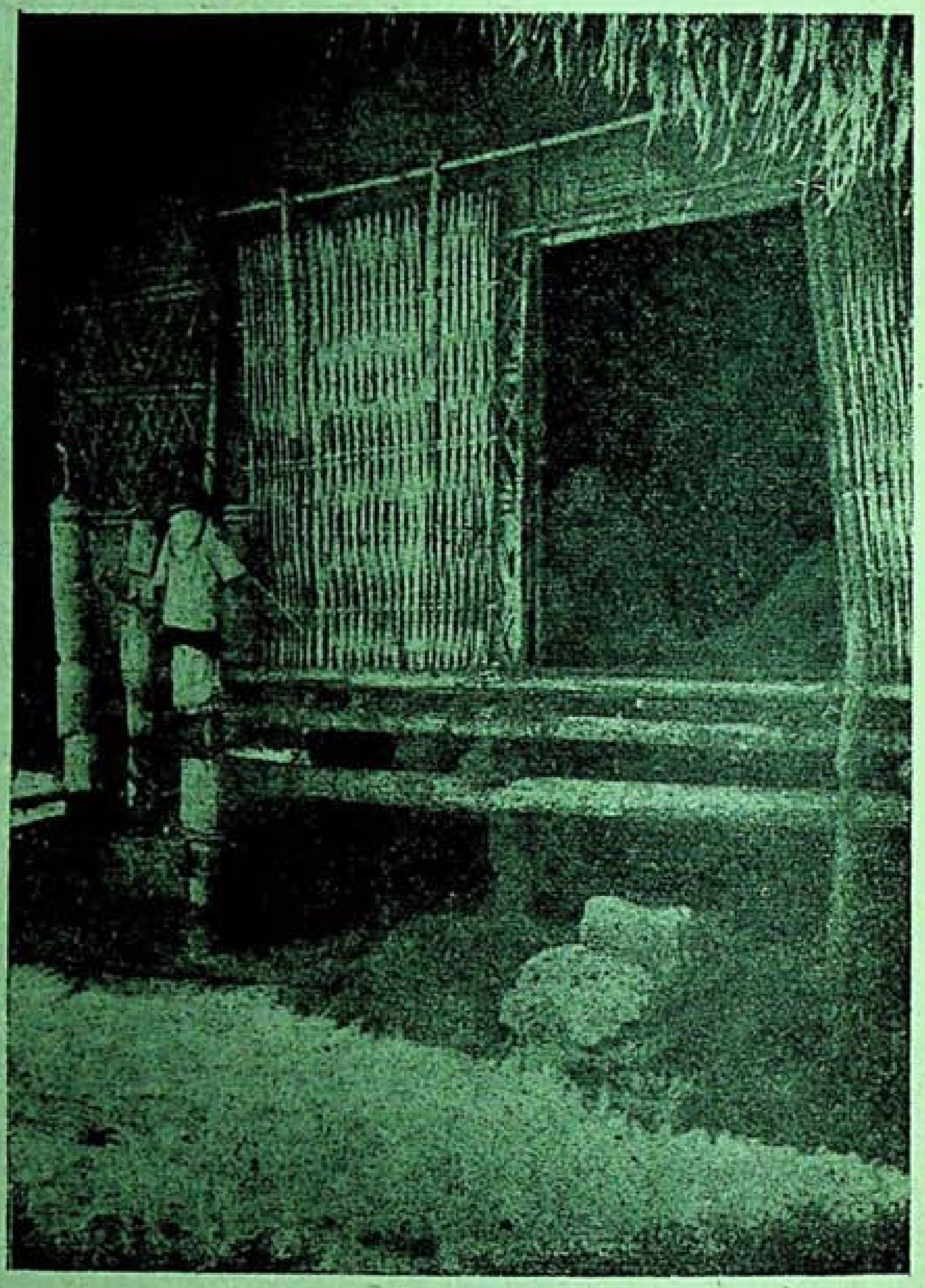
Picture 5



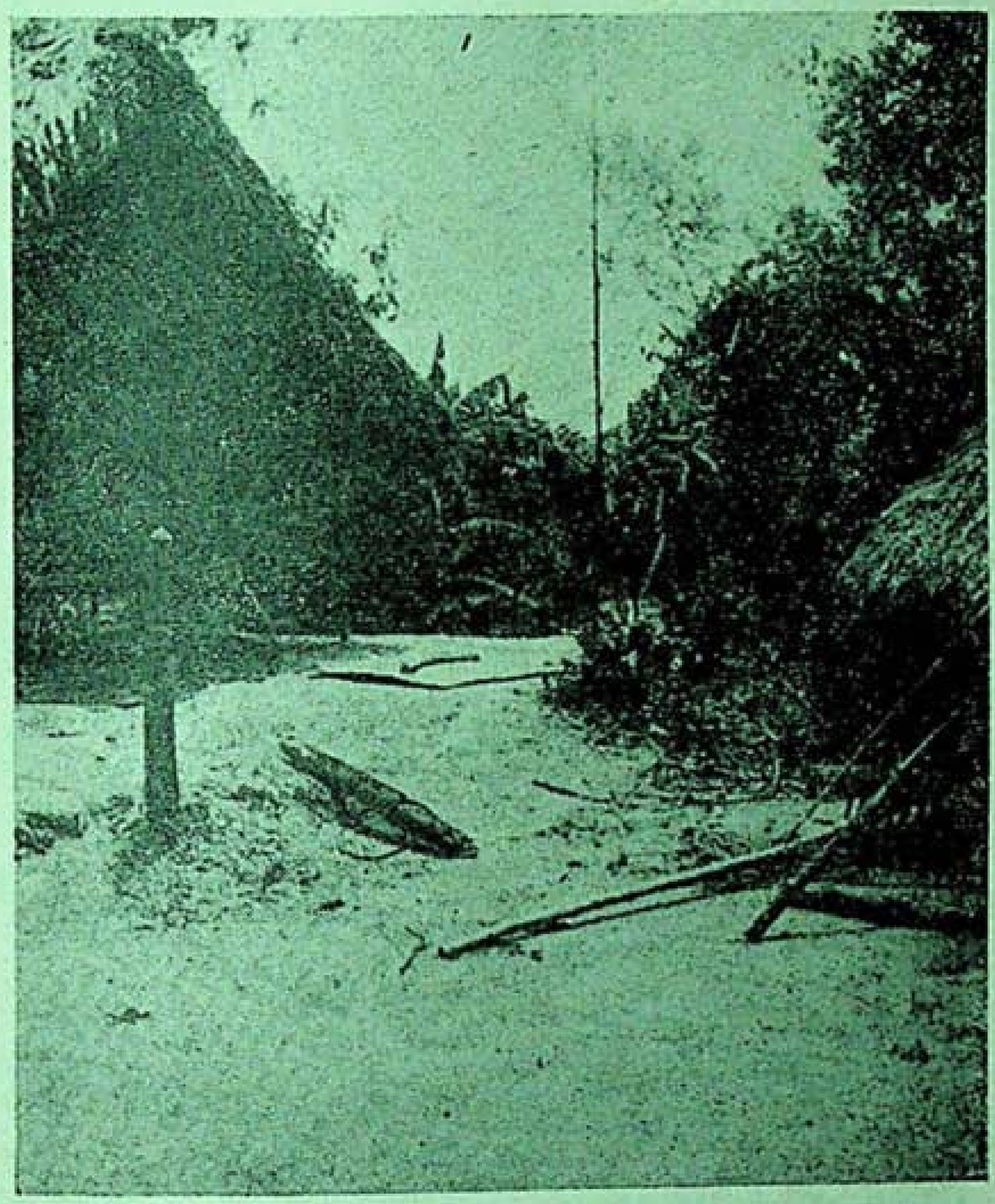
Picture 6



Picture 7



Picture 8



Picture 9

Picture 10
Hinduised **Dalang** near Birisiri

Picture 11
Chikmang, the abode of the dead.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ربنا اغفر لنا ذنوبنا وإسرافنا في أمرنا وثبت أقدامنا وانصرنا على القوم الكافرين

الحمد لله الذي أحيا بنور الهدى من شاء من عباده وأماته بسيف الشرع بلسان الفصاحة

بالحنفية وختم الصلاة على سيد المرسلين بالشريعة الغراء والكواكب

السلام على من أوتي الشفاء في الحق والهدى والبيان وشرح الإسلام من الظلمات

كالقرص في الشمس وبان كالشمس في الحجى كالجبل الراسيات وبين نهجه الحق على

طرق السنة والجماعات يعني مولاي شريف الله سيد السلاطين والملك

الرابع عشر سلمه الله ست وثمانين ومائتين وألف ١٢٨٦

كتبه بيده الحقير في الثامن عشر من ذي القعدة سنة ١٢٥٥ هـ

سنة وكان عمره

سنة وعمر مولوده إلى يوم وفاته تسع وخمسون سنة

BAMBOO STAND IN GROVE (A)

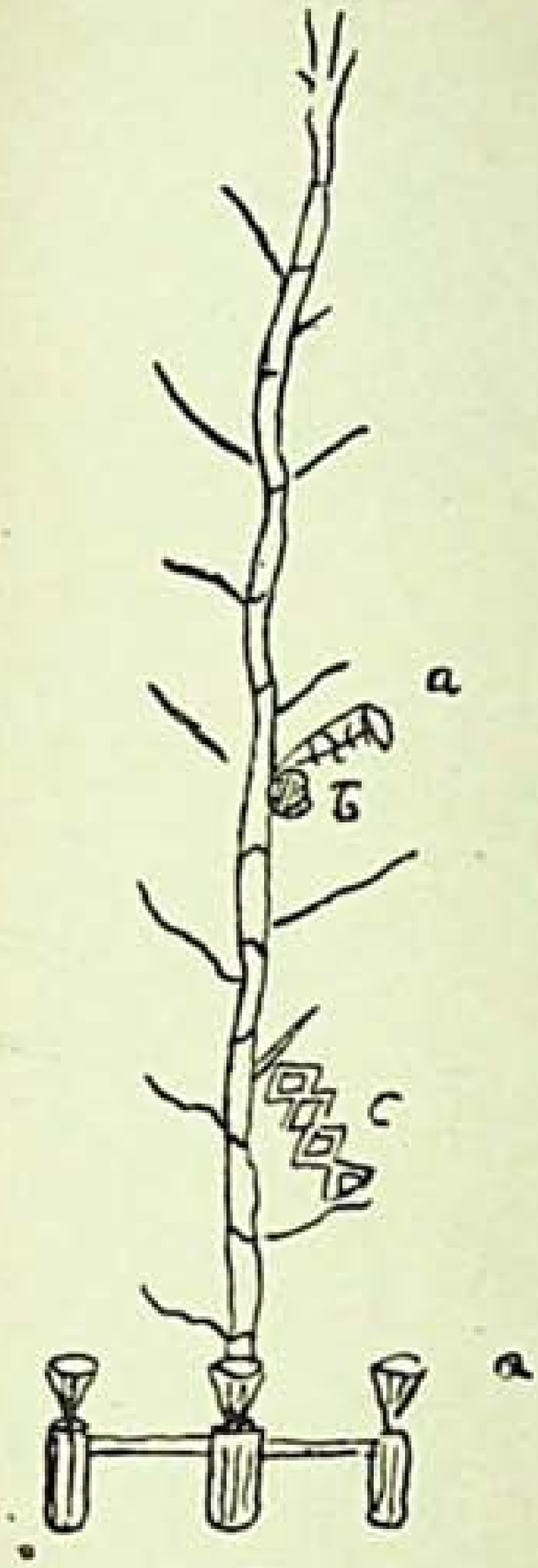


Chart I

a. Cones
b. Bone from the skull of a goat
c. Bamboo work

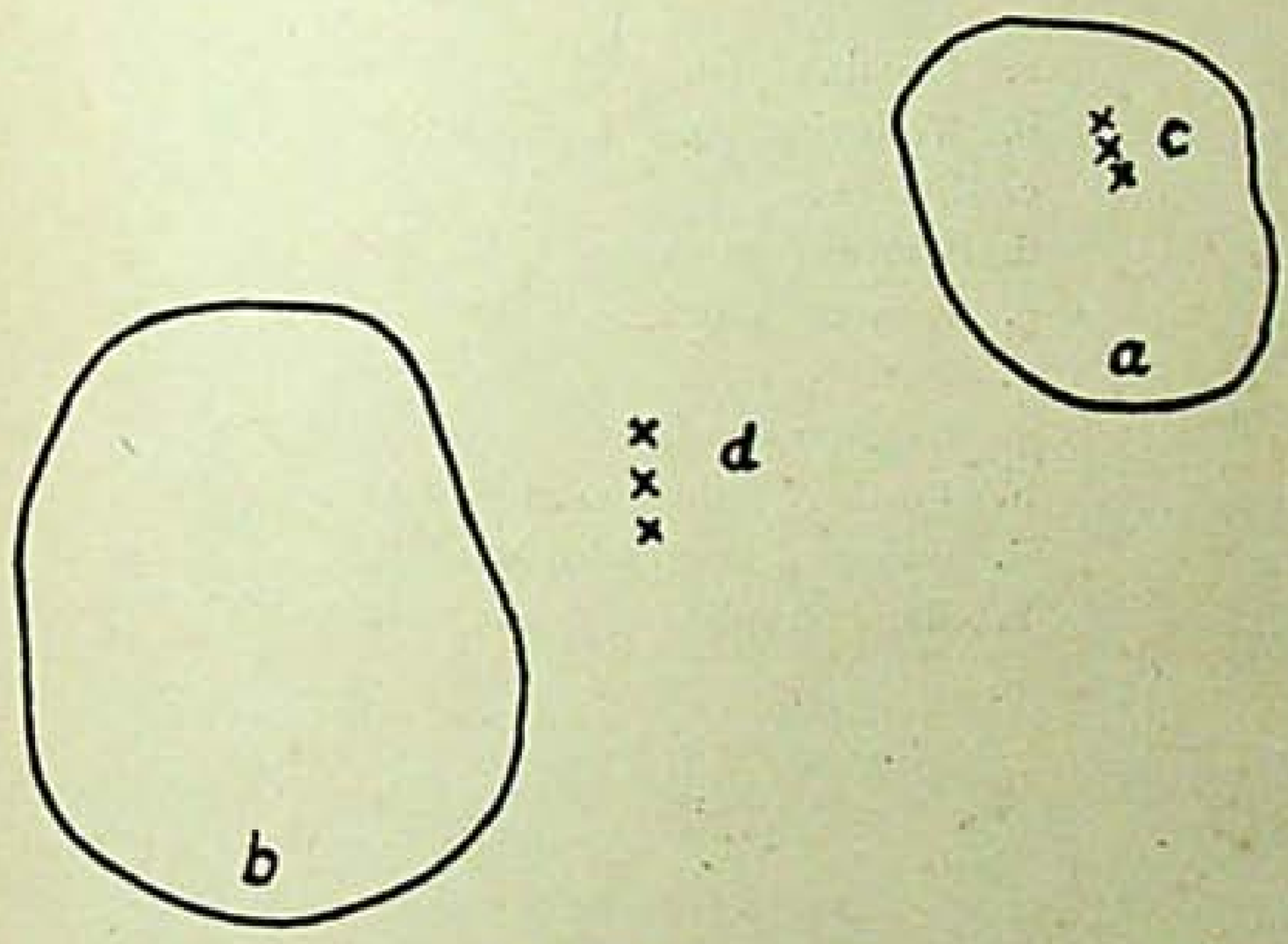


Chart II

a. Grove where the sacrifice is performed
b. Grove where the sacrificial good is consumed by the participant
c.d. Offering stands

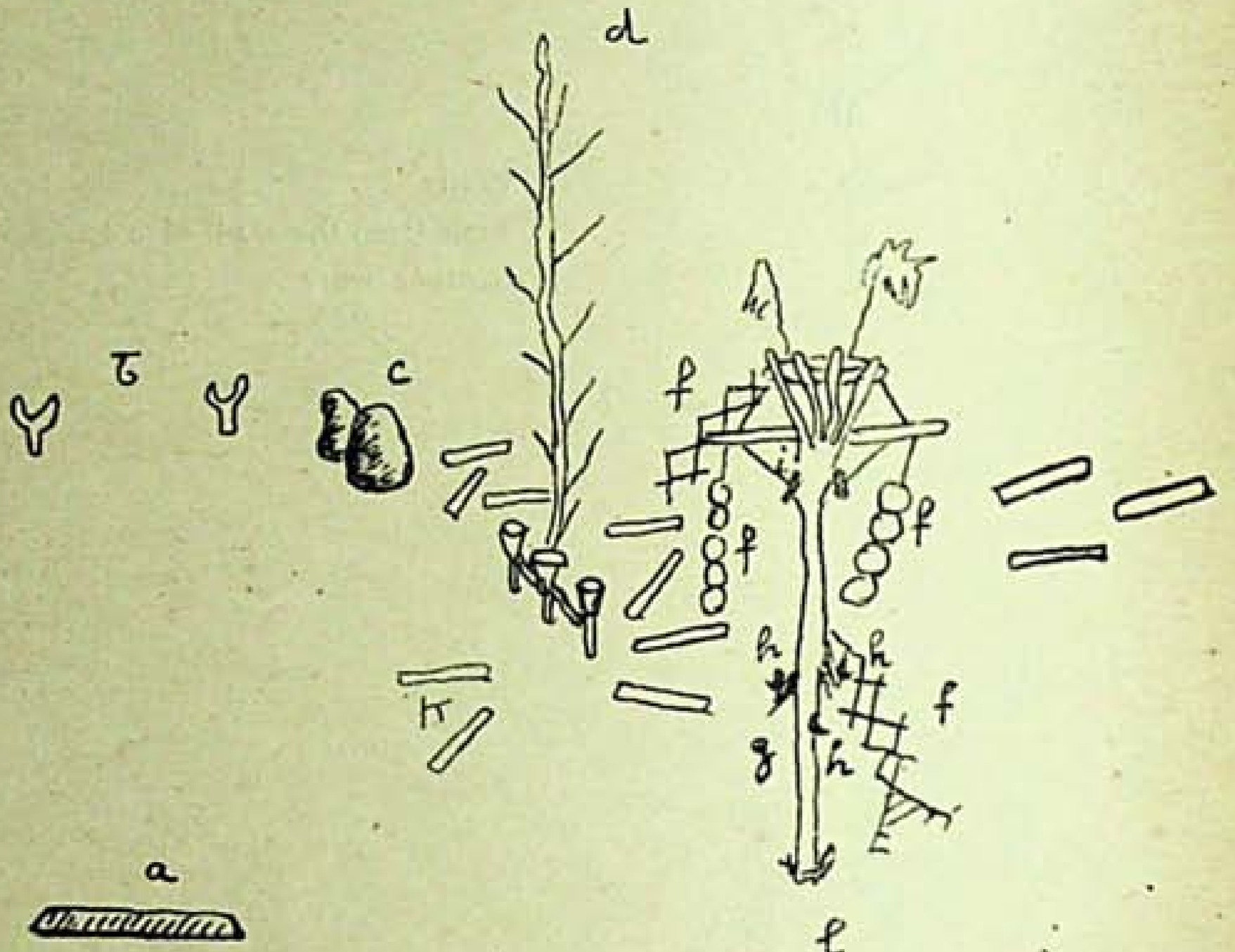


Chart III

a. Cooking plak
b. Tethering posts (victim)
c. Stones
d. Bamboo stand
e. Bamboo stand
f. Bamboo work
g. Bamboo shavings
h. Feathers (glued with blood)
i. Leaves (glued with blood)
k. Bamboo splits

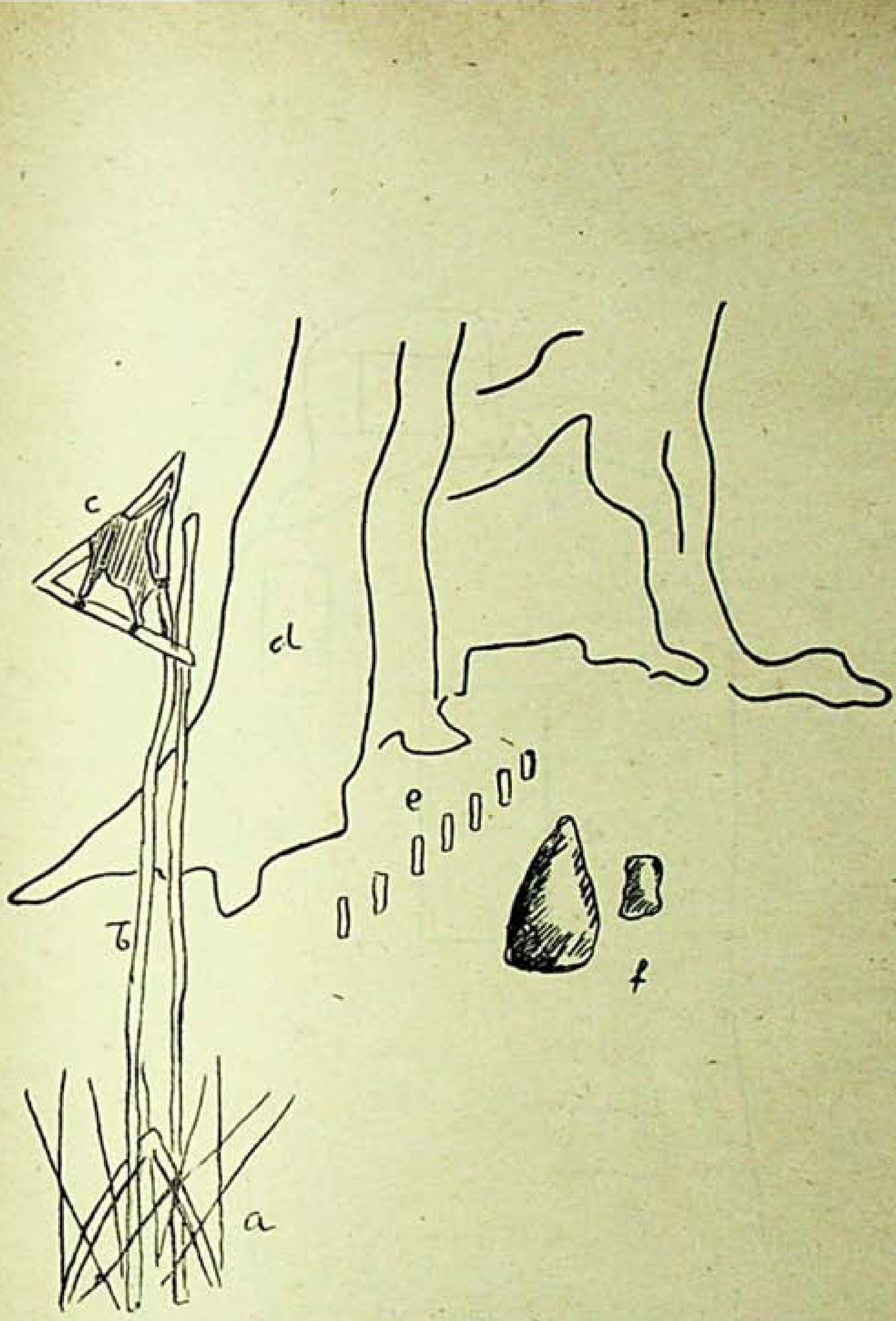


Chart IV

a. Bamboo stakes
b. Bamboo poles
c. Goat skin
d. Tree
e. Bamboo sticks
f. Stones

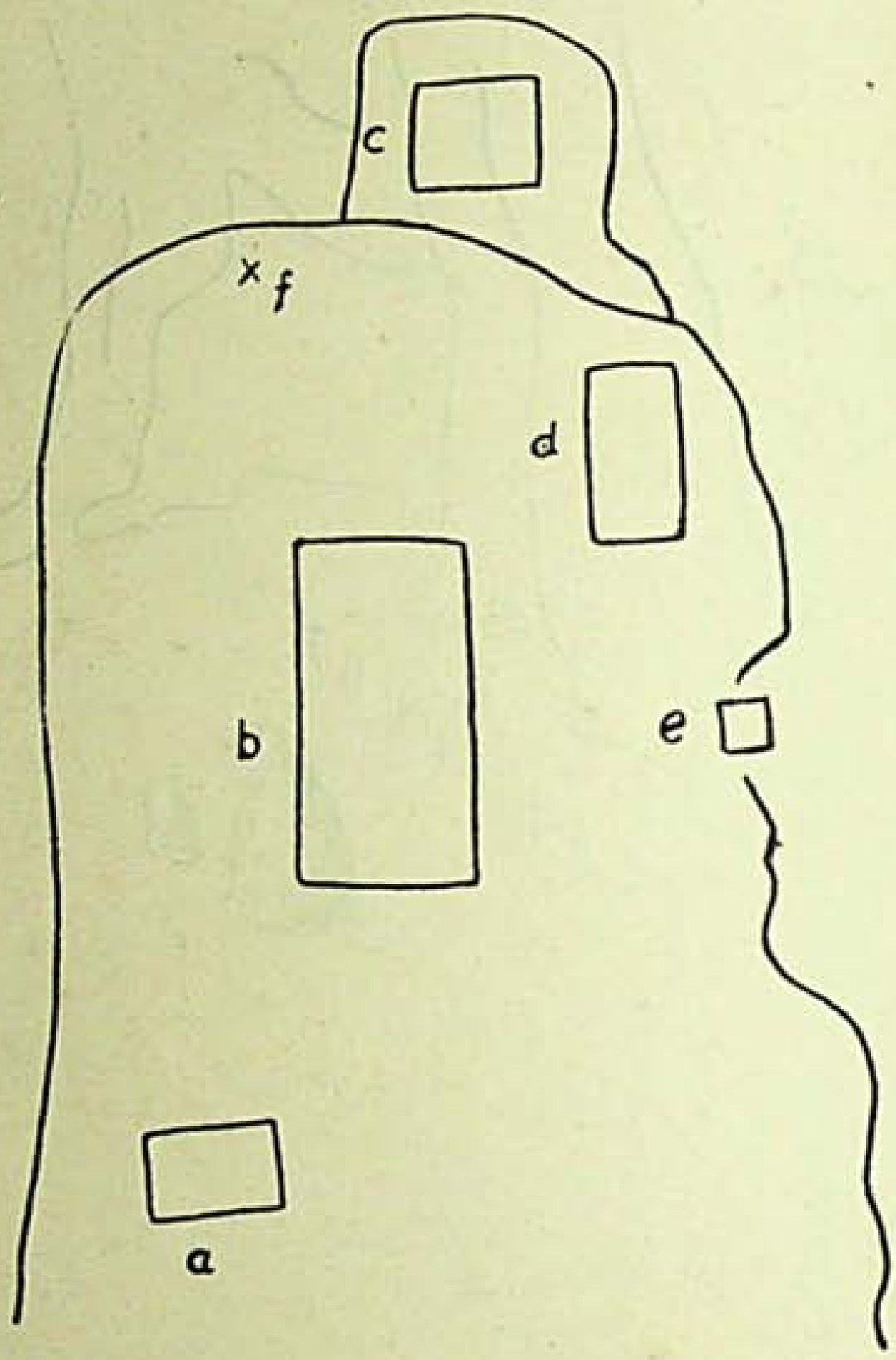
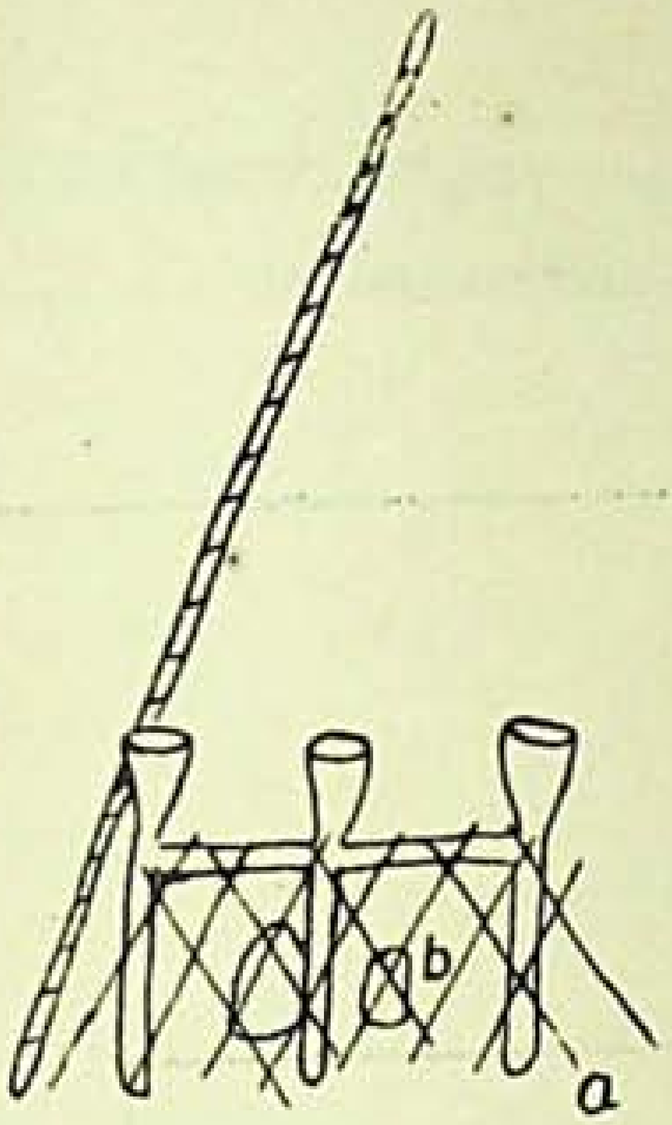


Chart V

a. Wood store house
b. Main house
c. Cow shade
d. Store house
e. Chicken house
f. Funerary structure



a. Offering stand
b. Stones
c. Offering stand
d. Stones
e. Goat-like posts
f. Invested black pots
g. Canopy
h. Invested basket
i. Remains of the funeral pyre
j. Broom

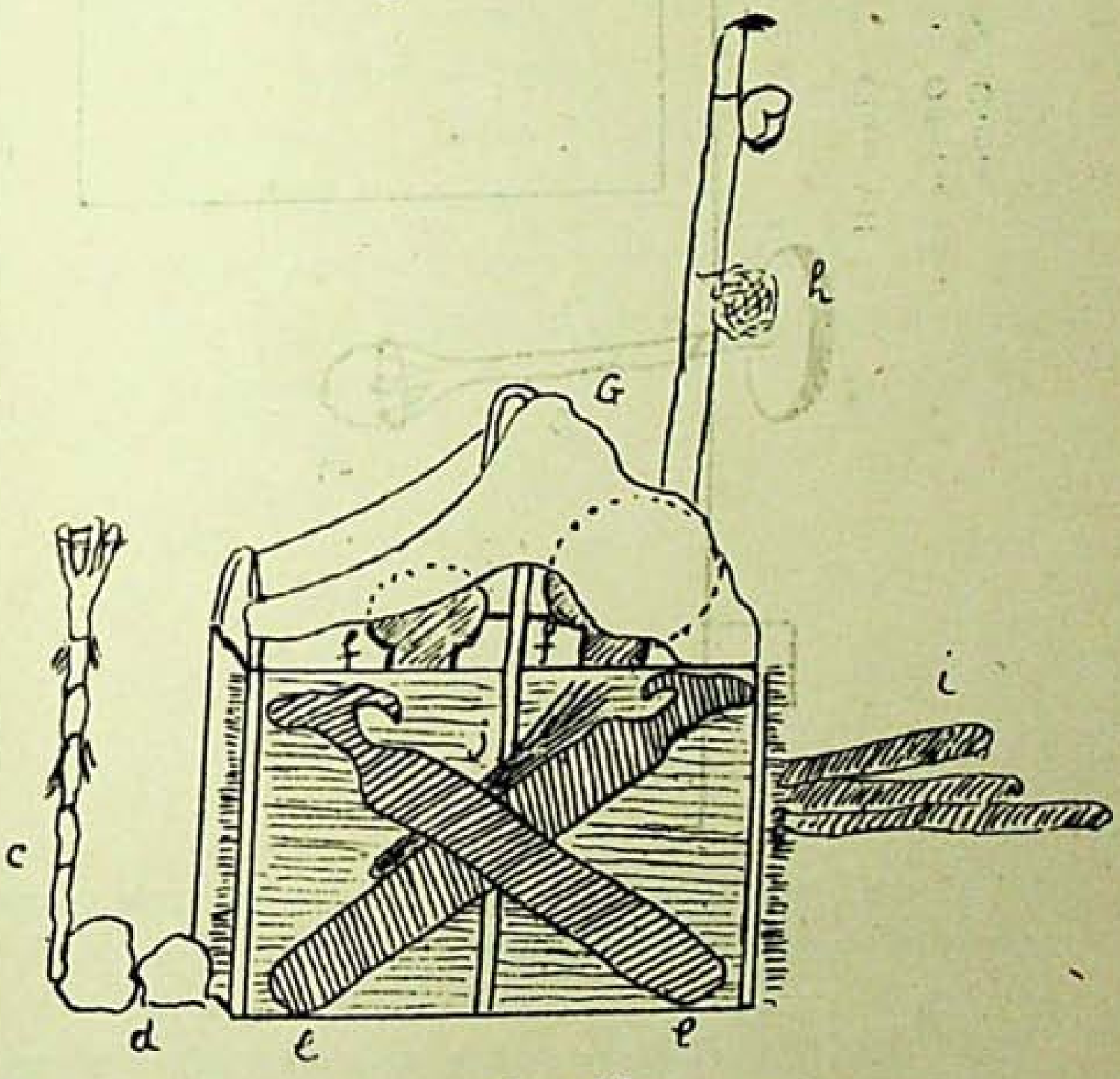


Chart VI

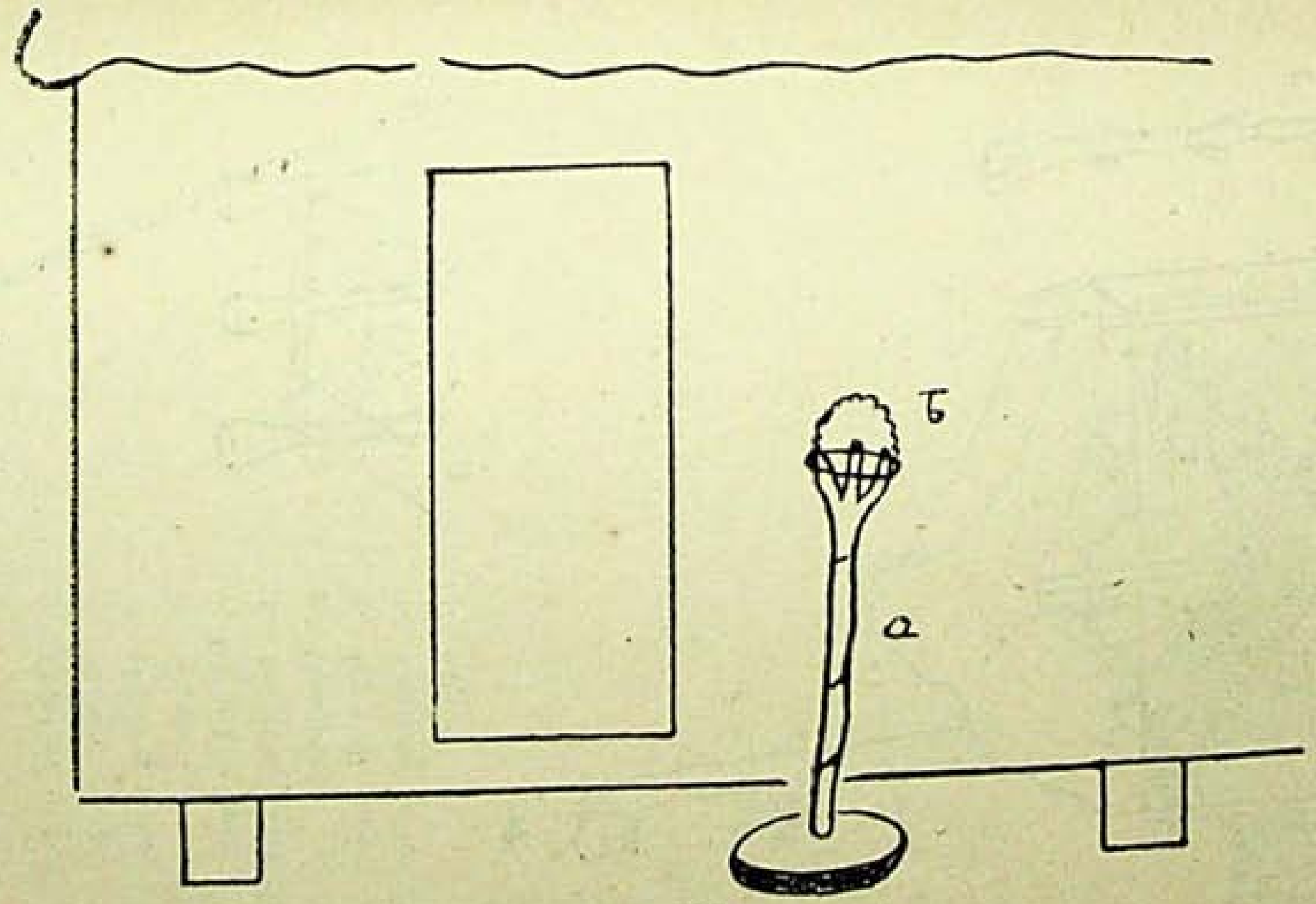


Chart VII

a. Offering stand
b. Cottoon

TOMB INSCRIPTION OF ḤĀJI SHARI'AT ALLAH

An Important Farā'idi Relic

Errata

(Charts)

Chart II, b : read "food" instead of "good", and "participants" instead of "participant".

Chart III, a : read "place" instead of "plak"

Chart V, c : read "Shed" instead of "Shade".

Chart VI, f & h : read "inverted" instead of "invested".

" The upper diagram should be on the left of the lower diagram.

century, and it thrives to a limited extent in the interior of the districts of Faridpur, Bakarganj, Dacca and Tipperah down to the present day.

2. Bādshāh Miyān is the great grand son of Ḥājī Sharīāt Allāh.
3. Bahadurpur is the site of the permanent residence of Dūdū Miyān, son and successor of Ḥājī Shari'āt Allāh.
4. The villages of Shamail and Bahadurpur fall in the subdivision of Madaripur, which was transferred from the district of Bakarganj to the district of Faridpur in A. D. 1873 (*cf.* H. Beveridge, *District of Bakarganj : Its History and Statistics;*

TOMB INSCRIPTION OF ḤĀJI SHARI'AT ALLAH

An Important Farā'iḍi Relic

MU'INUDDIN AHMMD KHAN

A stone inscription on black basalt, originally fixed into the tomb of Ḥājī Shari'at Allāh, the founder of the Farā'iḍī movement[1], has recently been presented to the Asiatic Society of Pakistan by Abā Khālid Rashīd al-Dīn Aḥmad *alias* Bādshāh Miyān[2], the present head of the Farā'iḍīs and his eldest son Muḥsin al-Dīn Aḥmad *alias* Dūdū Miyān. Previous to its presentation to the Asiatic Society, it was preserved by the descendants of Ḥājī Sharī'at Allāh at the village Bahadurpur[3] in Faridpur district.

The Ḥājī's grave was situated in the backyard of his residence at Shamail[4], a village about one mile and a half south-west of Bahadurpur. Not long after his death the site of his residence was encroached by the Arialkhan river, and all traces of his house and tomb were washed away. His son Dūdū Miyān who had then shifted his residence from Shamail to Bahadurpur, recovered the stone inscription and preserved it with his family.

The stone-slab is rectangular in shape being 21.8 inches in length 13.5 inches in breadth, and 1.8 inches in thickness. It contains ten lines of Arabic inscription in Naskh character. The letters are written freely without any complication.

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1. The Farā'iḍī movement was started by Ḥājī Sharī'at Allāh in Eastern Bengal in A.D. 1818, which aimed at religious reform of the existing Muslim society. It flourished in Faridpur and its neighbouring districts during the nineteenth century, and it thrives to a limited extent in the interior of the districts of Faridpur, Bakarganj, Dacca and Tipperah down to the present day.
2. Bādshāh Miyān is the great grand son of Ḥājī Sharīāt Allāh.
3. Bahadurpur is the site of the permanent residence of Dūdū Miyān, son and successor of Ḥājī Sharī'āt Allāh.
4. The villages of Shamail and Bahadurpur fall in the subdivision of Madaripur, which was transferred from the district of Bakarganj to the district of Faridpur in A. D. 1873 (*cf.* H. Beveridge, *District of Bakarganj : Its History and Statistics;*

The inscription is fairly legible. The Arabic language is not, however, free from grammatical errors. Many of these linguistic mistakes are to be attributed to the indiscriminate use of the long ta (تا ، الجمع) for the sake of rhyme; such as العلامات, الفصاحات, البلاغات and البنگالات. Also, the text bears influence of the Persian style of expression; for instance وفات, for Arabic وفاة, مطابق for Arabic الموافق. For a grammatical error we may cite the use of أربع عشر for أربعة عشر. Nevertheless, the inscription conveys its meaning clearly without any ambiguity whatsoever.

London, 1876; p. 249). Bādshāh Miyān claims that Ḥājī Sharī'āt Allāh was born at Shamail; and that his father 'Abd al-Jalīl Tālūkdār had landed property at Shamail and Hajipur. 'Abd al-Jalīl died when the Ḥājī was only 8 years old. The Ḥājī's mother being dead since long at that time, he resided with his paternal uncle 'Aẓīm al-Dīn. Thereafter, he had gone to Makkah and returned to Bengal after an absence of 20 years. After his return, he settled at his native village, Shamail, and resided there till his death. Some government reports, however, state that the Ḥājī was born in the neighbouring village, "Dawlutpore, in the Thannah Circle of Seeb-Chur, District Fureedpore" (*cf.* J. E. Gastrell, *Geographical and Statistical Report of the Districts of Jessore, Fureedpore and Backergunge;* Calcutta, 1868; p. 36, no. 151; and W. W. Hunter, ed., *Imperial Gazetteer of India;* London 2nd ed., 1885; vol. iv, p. 398; "Faridpur"). It may be noted that Col. Gastrell's authority in this case, appears to be a disaffected Farā'iḍī and an anonymous person, is weak, and Hunter appears to have followed him. On the other hand, the claim of Bādshāh Miyān, which represents the family tradition of Ḥājī Sharī'at Allāh, is further supported by Munshī 'Abd al-Ḥalīm in his biography of the Ḥājī (MS. Ḥājī Sharī'at Allāh, p.1.), which is said to have been written on the basis of dairies and notes of his ancestors who were traditionally Farā'iḍī Khalīfahs, his grand father, Mawlawī Aḥsan Allāh being the Khalīfah of Ḥājī Sharī'at Allāh himself and colleague at Makkah during their student life (the MS. is now in the possession of the present writer). But the contention of M. Hidayet Hosain that the Ḥājī resided in the village, Bahadurpur (*cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. II, p. 67), does not tally with the above evidence.

The inscription eulogises the Ḥājī as a person who went on pilgrimage to Makkah and Madinah; an able exponent of the Divine Law (Shar'); a source of guidance in *Hind* and Bengal; a defender of religion from the menaces of the disbelievers and the Shī'ites, as well as from all misguidance (Ḍalāl*āt*); and as a valiant fighter for righteousness against all falsehood and vanity. It says that the Ḥājī was a Ḥ*anaf*ī and a follower of the *Ahl al-Sunnat wa'l-Jamā'at*. Finally, it gives the date of his death both in Bengali and Hijrī era, and states that he died at the age of 59.

From historical point of view, the latter part of the inscription, which deals with the madhhab of the Ḥājī and the date of his death, is of special interest to us for the following reasons :

(1) It enables us for the first time to ascertain the dates of Ḥājī's birth and death which have not been fixed before.

(2) On the basis of these dates we are able to calculate the chronology of the Ḥājī's life.

(3) Finally, the categorical assertion (in the inscription) that the Ḥājī was a Ḥ*anaf*ī and followed the path of *Ahl al-Sunnat wa'l-Jamā'at*, provides us with a basis to judge more carefully than before Mawlawī Karāmat 'Alī's allegation that the Ḥājī was a Khā*rij*ī.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ḤĀJI'S LIFE

1. The inscription gives the B. S. date of the Ḥājī's death as "in the late afternoon of Saturday, the 14th Māgh, 1245" اربع عشر شهر ماکهه یوم السبت وقت العصر سنة ۱۲۴۵ بنگله. The corresponding Hijrī date is given as "the 10th Dhi'l-Qa'dah, 1255" (عشر شهر ذی القعد سنة ۱۲۵۵ هجری). According to the table of dates prepared by Amulya Chandra Banerjee,[5] the above B. S. date corresponds to the 5th Dhi'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 1254 (22nd January, A. D. 1839); whereas the above Hijrī date corresponds to the 4th Māgh, B. S. 1246 (16th January, 1840). Thus, surprisingly there is a difference of 359 days in between the two dates (supplied by the inscription), which were to synchronise with each other. This discrepancy renders the problem

5. Amulya Chandra Banerjee, *Chronological Tables*. Calcutta, 1914; pp. 96 and 98.

of resolving the exact date of the Ḥājī's death somewhat difficult.

The inscription, however, categorically states that the Ḥājī died on Saturday, and specifies the exact time to be "late afternoon" وقت العصر. According to the *Tables* of Banerjee the 10th Dhi'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 1255[6], falls on Saturday; whereas the 14th Māgh, B.S. 1245,[7] falls on Tuesday. Thus, from the specification of the inscription, the stress laid on the week-day, i. e., Saturday, and the time, i.e. late afternoon, it appears that the Hijrī date (provided by the inscription), is the correct date of the Ḥājī's death.

If the above suggestion is accepted, the difference in the Bengali date can be explained on the assumption that the inscription was prepared long after the death of the Ḥājī; so that the exact date of the Bengali era was forgotten. The discrepancy may have thus crept in the process of recapitulation.

It may be mentioned that there occurs a difference of one day in the Hijrī dates from A. H. 1253 to A. H. 1259, in between the calculations of Banerjee and Sir Wolseley Haig. According to the former the 1st day of A. H. 1256, falls on the 6th March, 1840; whereas the latter fixes it on the 5th March 1840. But Sir Wolseley calculates only the 1st day of each Hijrī year in terms of the Christian calendar; whereas Banerjee calculates the Bengali, Hijrī, Christian and other eras in details indicating also the week-days corresponding to different dates. In preparing his tables of Hijrī and Christian dates, H. W. Hazard followed closely the *Tables* of Sir Wolseley, and both are identical. At any rate, the difference of one day in the caluculation of Hijrī lunar era (in which the month frequently vary from 29 to 30 days), does not pose any difficult problem; especially, when we have got the week-day citation (i. e., Saturday), both from the inscription and the *Tables* of Banerjee,—the difference of one day can be easily adjusted—(*cf.* Sir Wolseley Haig, *Comparative Tables of Muhammadan and Christian Dates*. London, 1932; p. 25; Harry W. Hazard, *Atlas of Islamic History*. Princeton, 1952; p. 45).

6. Corresponding to the 4th Māgh, B.S. 1246; 16th January, A. D. 1840.
7. Corresponding to the 5th Dhi'l-Qa'dah; A. H. 1254; 22nd January, A.D. 1839.

The question may be considered from another angle of vision viz., in the light of other sources. which are discussed below:

i. James Taylor, a contemporary of the Ḥājī, says, "This person [Shurkitullah, *sic.*] at the early age of 18, made a pigrimage to Mecca; he visited it a second time, and took up his abode among the Wahabees, and after an absence of twenty years returned to his native country about the year 1828[8].

ii. James Wise says, "When eighteen years of age he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, but instead of returning, as was usual, he remained a disciple of the Wahābī leaders then ruling the sacred city. About 1820, after an absence of twenty years, he came back to India a skilful disputer and a good Arabic scholar."[9]

iii. M. Hidayet Husain says "When eighteen years of age [Ḥājī Sharī'at Allāh] went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but instead of returing as usual he remained a disciple of al-Shaikh Ṭāhir al-Sunbal al-Makkī, the head of the Shāfi'ī sect there in those days. About 1802, after an absence of twenty years, he came back to India, a skilful disputer, and a good Arabic scholar."[10]

iv. According to the tradition current in the family of Ḥājī-Sharī'at Allāh, he went to Calcutta and thence to Makkah when he was 18 years old, and returned home in 1818, after passing twenty years there.[11]

v. James Wise further says, "Dudhu Miyān [son of Ḥājī Sharī'at Allāh], was born in 1819"[12].

vi. H. Beveridge says, "Dudha Mia was born in Thana Mulfatgonj (now transferred to Faridpur), and his sect is parti-

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8. James Taylor, *A Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca*. Calcutta. 1840; p. 248.
9. James Wise, *Notes on the Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal*. London, 1884; p. 22.
10. M. Hidayet Husain, "Farā'iḍī", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. ii. p. 57.
11. The above information was obtained from Bādshāh Miyān, and his son Abū Hāmid Muḥsin al-Dīn Aḥmad *alias* Dūdū Miyān.
12. James Wise, *op. cit.* p. 23,

cularly strong in that neighbourhood."[13]

On a close examination of above evidences, we find that all of them agree in the chronology of Ḥājī Sharī'at Allāh's life, i.e., he went on a pilgrimage to Makkah at the age of 18, and returned home after 20 years of absence. The inscription categorically says that the Ḥājī lived for 59 years, thus suggesting that he was born in A. H. 1196/ A. D. 1781. According to Taylor, Wise, and Hidayet Husain, he went to Makkah at the age of 18, which falls in A. H. 1214/ A. D. 1799; and returned home after an absence of 20 years, that is, in A.H. 1234/ A. D. 1818. This date exactly corresponds with the tradition current in the family of the Ḥājī. Also, it is not opposed to the other statement of Wise that the Ḥājī's son Dūdū Miyān was born in A.D. 1819. Judging from this standpoint the dates of return of the Ḥājī to Bengal as suggested by Taylor, Wise, and M. Hidayet Husain prove incorrect.

In the first place, if the date of Taylor, i. e., 1828, is accepted the date of the Ḥājī's birth falls in 1790; because Taylor, Wise, and Hidayet Husain assign (18+20) 38 years from the Ḥājī's birth to return from Makkah. But this goes against the evidence of the inscription. Moreover, both the dates, i. e., 1828 of Taylor, and 1820 of Wise, are opposed to the remark of Wise himself that Dūdū Miyān was born in A.D. 1819. Now if Dūdū Miyān was born in 1819, at Mulfatgonj (in the district of Faridpur) as said by Beveridge, the Ḥājī must have returned to Bengal at least one year before that date.

Secondly, as the statements of Taylor, wise, and Hidayet Husain go, all of them appear to have been in confusion about the exact date of the Ḥājī's return, as the word "about" indicates.

As for the unusually early date of Hidayet Husain, and late date of Taylor, (i. e., 1802 and 1828 respectively), we have special reason to express doubt on their authenticity. The inscription categorically states that the Ḥājī lived for 59 years. If the date of Hidayet

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13. H. Beveridge, *The District of Bakargonj : its History and Statistics*. London. 1876; p. 254.
It may be noted that the name of Dūdū Miyān has been variously spelt by different writers, as "Dūdhū Miyān," Dudha Mia and Dūdū Miyān. The last form, e. g., Dūdū Miyān (دودو میان) has been adopted in this paper on the basis of his own signature in a document, which has come down to us (now preserved in the Asiatic Society of Pakistan).

Husain, i. e., A. D. 1802, is accepted, the Ḥājī must have been born in A.D. 1764, as Hidayet Hosain himself ascribes (18+20) 38 years to the Ḥājī from his birth till his return from Makkah. On this hypothesis he must have died in 1823. But Mawlawī Karāmat 'Alī informs us that he met the Ḥājī at Calcutta in A. H. 1252[14] (A. D. 1836-1837). Besides, it is contradictory to the evidence of the inscription.

On the other hand, the whole tenor of the discussion of Taylor suggests that he was mainly concerned with the last ten years of the Farā'iḍī movement when he wrote the *Topography* about A. D. 1838-1839,[15] which the following quotation will amply illustrate.

Taylor says :[16]

"Within the last ten years a Mahommedan sect has sprung up, in this part of the country and has spread with extraordinary rapidity in this district [i.e., Dacca], Fureedpore, Backergunge, and Mymensing. The founder of it is a man of the name of Shurkitullah [sic.], a native of Fureedpore".

Thus, it is clear that the date of the Ḥājī's birth as evidenced by the Hijrī era of the inscription (i.e., A.H. 1196/A.D. 1781), is correct. There is, therefore, no reason to question the validity of the same Hijrī era (i. e., A. H. 1255), in regard to the date of his death. Moreover the fact that the 10th Dhi'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 1255, falls on Saturaday, further strengthens this view.

Even if we consider the date of the Ḥājī's death as supplied by the Bengali era of the inscription (i. e., B. S. 1245), it does not fundamentally alter the chronology of the Ḥājī's life, as specific dates cannot be established in this regard, with the only exception of the date of his death. As a result, our calculation about it must remain approximate. If, therefore, he died in B. S. 1245 (A.H. 1254/A. D. 1839, he must have been born in B. S. 1186 (A. H. 1195/A. D. 1780); he went on pilgrimage to Makkah in B. S. 1204 (A. H. 1213 / A. D. 1798); and returned home in B. S. 1224 (A. H. 1234/ A. D. 1818). Thus, on the above calculation the two chronological tables of the Bengali and Hijrī era approximately synchronise in A.D. 1818, the date of the

14. Karāmat 'Alī Jawnpūrī, *Hujjat-i-Qāṭi'* (See, *infra*. p. 10).
15. *A Skech of the Topography and Statitics of Dacca*, of Taylor was submitted to the Government of India in the form of a report on the 30th March, 1839.
16. James Taylor, *A Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca, op, cit.*, pp. 247-48.

Ḥājī's return from Makkah,[17] even though the difference remains in the dates of his birth and death.

On the basis of above discussion, we may fix the dates of the Ḥājī's birth in A. D. 1781 or 1780, and death in A. D. 1840 or 1839.

2. The above calculations further enable us to fix the dates of the Ḥājī's visit to Makkah in A. D. 1799 or 1798, and return to Bengal in A. D. 1818, and, thus, resolve the interesting controversy put forward by Dr. Abdul Bari, which is reproduced below :—

"The authorities put the date of his [Ḥājī Sharī'at Allāh's] return [i. e. from Makkah] variously in 1802, 1822 and 1828—some suggest that he visited [i. e., Makkah] twice and finally returned to Bengal (1828)."

"If the first date, 1802, is correct, any possibility of Sharī'atullah's coming into contact with the Wahhābīs, who entered Mecca for the first time in 1803, is to be precluded. If on the other hand, the second date, 1820, is accepted, the Farāizī [Farāidī] movement become [s] junior to the reform movement led by Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd Barelvī, an opinion Dr. J. Wise, himself does not hold, Taylor's theory of two visits, too, in the absence of satisfactory evidence, remains doubtful."[18]

We have already discussed the chronology of Ḥājī Sharīāt Allāh's life and come to the conclusion that the Ḥājī returned from Makkah in A. D. 1818.[19]

To conclude, therefore, the chronology of Ḥājī Sharī'at Allāh's life stands as follows :

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17. The synchronisation of the Bengali and Hijrī tables in A. D. 1818 is by no means exact, since the Bengali era, i. e., B. S. 1224, falls in the earlier part of A. D. 1818, and the Hijrī era, i. e. A. H. 1234, falls in the later part of A. D. 1818.
18. *A History of Freedom Movement* 1707-1831. Karachi 1957; vol. i, p. 545, foot note 3.
19. See *supra*. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that Ḥājī Shariat Allāh had started the Farā'iḍī movement in A. D. 1818, on his return from Makkah, which is also corroborated by James Wise's anecdote that the Ḥājī made disciples of the "Dakāits" in whose hands he fell on his way from Makkah to Bengal (*cf Eastern Bengal, op. cit.*, p. 22).

(i) Birth—A.D. 1781 or 1780.

(ii) Pilgrimage to Makkah—A. D. 1799 or 1798.

(iii) Return from Makkah—A. D. 1818.

(iv) Death—A. D. 1840 or 1839.

THE MADHHAB OF THE ḤĀJĪ

The next important point in the inscription is the statement that the Ḥājī "belonged to the Ḥanafī School of Law[20] (*Madhhab*) on the path of *Ahl al-Sunnat wa'l-Jamā'at*".[21] This categorical assertion in the tomb-inscription is redundant in Bengal where the Muslims generally belong to the Ḥanafī School of Law. This evidence negates the allegation of Mawlawī Karāmat 'Alī that Hājī Sharī'at Allāh was a Khārijī.[22] Two quotations are put below to illusutrate Karāmat 'Alī's point of view. He says :—

"I beg to submit that in the land of Bengal, adjacent to the country of Hindustan, two [religious] sects (i) one, the *La Madhhab*[23], and (ii) the other, the Khārijīs of Bengal[24],- have led the masses astray by raising doubts [in their mind] about their religion (*Din*) and School of Law (*Madhhab*), by means of inciting evil

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20-21. The *Ḥanafī* School of Law (Ḥanafī Madhhab) is the school of Imām Abu Ḥanīfah (see, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. i, pp. 90-91 : "Abu Ḥanīfa"),—one of the four traditionally recognised schools of law (*Madhāhib*), belonging to the *Ahl al-Sunnat wa'l-Jamā'at*, popularly known as *Sunnī* (see, *ibid.*, vol. iv, pp. 555-57 : Sunna").

22. The Khārijī. School (Khārijī *Madhhab*) is a principal contending party against the *Ahl al-Sunnat wa'l Jamā'at* on various doctrinal problems (see, *ibid*, vol. ii, pp. 904-908 : Khāridjites".) and is outside the pale of *Ahl al-Sunnat wa'l-Jāmā'at* (see ibid. vol. iv, pp. 555-57 : Sunna).

23. The term *La Madhhab* (meaning *La Madhhabī*), literally means non-sectarian. Mawlawī Karāmat 'Alī's allusion is to the *Ahl-al Ḥadith*, or the so-called Indian *Wahhabis* who follow no particular schcool of law.

24. By the term "Khārijīs of Bengal", Mawlawi Karāmat 'Alī alluded to the *Farā'iḍīs*, i. e., Ḥājī Sharī'at Allāh and his followers, as is clear in the next passage.

thoughts, putting fictitious interpretation, and telling lies"[25].

He further says.

"In A. H. 1252 (A. D. 1836-1837) there was a meeting between me and the leader of the Khārijīs of Bengal, Ḥājī Sharī'at Allāh, in the city of Calcutta"[26].

Beside the writings of Mawlawī Karāmat 'Alī, there is no other contemporary evidence to determine the *Madhhab* of Hājī Sharī'at Allāh except the inscription under discussion. But the inscription far from supporting the view of Karāmat 'Alī emphatically asserts that Ḥajī Sharī'at Allāh was a Ḥanafī, and followed the *Ahl al Sunnat wa'l-Jamā'at*. There is, therefore, good reason to express doubt on the veracity of Mawlawī Karāmat 'Alī's view.

The Text of the Inscription :

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الر حيم

(2) ربنا اغفرلنا ذنو بنا واسرافنا فى امرنا وثبت اقد امنا وانصر نا على القوم الكا فر ين ٥

(3) تا ريخ وفات[27] مولانا حاجى الحرمين الشريفين عالم العلامات[28] وناطق الشرع بلسان الفصاحات

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25. ''عرض ہے کہ اس ملک ہندوستان کے متعلق بنگا لے کے ملک میں دو فرقوں نے ایک تو لا مذہب لوگوں نے اور دوسرے بنگا لے کے ——خارجی لوگوں نے طرح طرح کے وسواس دِ لا کے اور افترا کر کے او ر جھوٹ کہہ کے لوگوں کو دین اور مذہب میں شک دلا کے گمراہ کردیا ،،

cf. Karāmat 'Alī Jawnpurī, *Tazkiyat al-'Aqā'id*) (Published in Dhakhirah-i-*Karāmat*. Calcutta, 1344 A. H. Part i, No. 3), p. 63.

26. ''شہر کلکتہ میں سنہ ۱۲۵۲ ھ کے ہم سے اور بنگا لے کے خار جیوں کے استاد حاجی شریعت اللہ سے ملا قات ہوئی تھی،،

cf. Karāmat 'Alī Jawnpurī, *Ḥujjat-i-Qāṭi'* (in Dhakhirah-i-*Karāmat, op, cit.*), p. 85.

27. The correct Arabic form is ''وفاة''

28. In Arabic the term ''عالم العلامات'' is not used ; simply

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ربنا اغفر لنا ذنوبنا واسرافنا في امرنا وثبت اقدامنا وانصرنا على القوم الكافرين

تاريخ وفات سوانح عمري آخرين الشريفين علم الاعلامات عاطي الشرع بلسان الفصاحات

فتاح الكلمات وممنع العلماء عن الهذيان والهجو والكلمات ومجلي الايد بالحجج والبراهين والآيات

والاعلانات وغائص الشعراء في بحور الفرس والبحار وشارح الاسلام من الظلمات

كالشمس في الظلمات وبان كلامه في الكون كالجبال على الارض ومذهبه الحنفي على

طريق السنة والجماعات يعني مولوي شريعت الله سمة السلفين والخلف

اربع عشر شمسي الهجرية ست وثمانين العربية

مكلمسايق خرسعر ذي القعدة سنة ١٣٠٥ شمسي وكان عمره

من يوم مولوده الى يوم وفاته تسع وخمسون سنة

(4) والبلاغات ومنبع الهد ى ببلا د الهند والبنگا لات [29] ومجاهد الدين بالروافض [30] والكوا فر

(5) و الضلالات و غازى الشجاع بالحق على الزور و البطالات وشرح الا سلام من الظلمات

(6) كالشمس فى الغما مات وكان [31] كلا مه فى الحق كالجبال على العراصات[31] ومذهبه الحنفى على

(7) طريق [32] السنه والجما عات يعنى مولوى شريعت الله سيد المسلمين والمسلمات

(8) اربع [33] عشر شهر ما كهه يوم السبت [34] وقت العصر سنة ١٢٣٥

(9) بنگله مطابق عشر شهر ذى القعدة [35] سنة ١٢٥٥ هجر ى وكان عمره

(10) من يوم مولده [36] الى يوم وفاته تسع وخمسون سنة ط ٥

'العلا مة" would have suffised to convey the intended meaning.

29. The term "البنگالات" is used here as the plural of "البنگا لة" which is tecnically wrong.

30. Here preposition "الباء" is used to give the meaning of "against" which is, how ever, out of place. The reading ; "الروافض والكو افر" by droppoing the preposition "الباء" altogether gives more accurate meaning than the present form.

31. It must be read "كلّ" with "تشد يد", correct العرصات

32. "ظريف" in the inscription; apparently due to the mistake of the workman of the inscription.

33. It must be read "فى اربعة عشرمن شهر"

34. "يوم السبت" in the inscription.

35. "ذى القعد" in the inscription.

36. "مولوده" in the inscription.

Translation

(1) In the name of Allāh, the most Compassionate, the Merciful.
(2) Our Lord ! Forgive us [of] our sins and extravagance of our actions, make our feet firm, and assist us against the disbelieving people !
(3) The date of the death of Mawlānā Ḥājī al-Ḥaramayn [i. e., one who made pilgrimage to Makkah and Madinah]; the learned of all learned; the exponent of the Divine Law (shar') in eloquent
(4) and elegant tongue; the source of guidance in the lands of *Hind* and Bengal; defender of religion against the *Shī'ites* and the disbelievers,
(5) and against all misguidance; valiant fighter for righteousness against all falsehood and vanity; deliverer of Islam [which was] covered by darkness
(6) Like the sun enveloped in clouds, whose words in truthfulness were like mountains in the open field; and who followed the Ḥanafī Sschool of Law (*Madhhab*)
(7) on the path of *Ahl al-Sunnat wa'l-Jamā'at*; that is, Mawlawi Hājī Sharī'at Allāh, the leader of all Muslims, men and women,-
(8) is [i. e. the date of his death is] the fourteenth of *Māgh*, Saturday, at the time of late afternoon (*'Aṣr*), in the year 1245
(9) of the Bengali era; corresponding to the tenth of Dhī'l-*Qa'dah*, of the year 1255 of the Hijrī era; his age having been
(10) from the day of his birth till the day of his death, fifty-nine years.

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ORIGIN OF THE NAME DHAKA (DACCA) : A NOTE

ABU IMAM

Recently I came across an article by D. C. Sircar in Bharatiya Vidya Vol. XI Nos. 3 & 4 pp. 183-186, where he tries to trace the origin of the name Ḍhaka to the Sanskrit word Ḍhakka as used in the Rājatarangini in the technical sense of a "watch-station". Sircar refers to the Rājatarangini verses: iii, 227; v. 39 and v. 306. The following explanation given by Aurel Stein in Vol. ii p. 391 of Rajatarangini may also be consulted : "We have already in connection with the accounts of Alberuni and the Chinese Pilgrims, had occasion to note the system of frontier watch stations by which a careful guard was kept over the passes leading through the mountains. These fortified posts and the passes they guarded, play an important part in the narrative of Kalhaṇa and his successors. As most of the Chronicles' references to Kashmir arography are directly connected with these watch-stations, it will be useful to premise here a few general remarks regarding their character and purpose. The small forts which since ancient *times closed all regularly used passes* leading into the Valley, are designated in the Chronicles by the word Dvāra, 'gate', or by the more specific terms 'dranga' or 'dhakka'. Numerous passages show that they served at the same time the purposes of defence, customs and police administration. They were garrisoned by troops under special commanders, designated as 'drangesa' or 'drangādhīpa'.

Sircar writes on p. 184 : "The name Ḍhākā (Dacca) is apparently a Prākrit corruption of Sanskrit Ḍhakka (or possibly Ḍhakkaka)." And again, "It seems to us that Ḍhākā (Dacca) was a similar watch-station during the days of the Pre-Muslim rulers of East Bengal." (p. 185).

In my humble opinion Dr. Sircar has made, in all probablity, a correct guess. He is however not correct when he mentions and supports his theory on the fact that "As a matter of fact we have no knowledge of any other locality called Ḍhakka excepting the place of that name, now called Ḍhākā (Dacca), in Eastern Bengal (East Pakistan) (P. 186). On the contrary there are other localities called Ḍhākā, and rather that and not the absence of it, that proves the soundness of Dr. Sircar's main thesis. Let me explain below how it is so.

There is at least one more place of the same name and fortunately, as if to settle all controversy, it is in the Gandhara region (the area of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle) where, more than in any other place, the existence of a place-name derived from the word Ḍhakka is to be expected if we are to accept Dr. Sircar's suggestion at all. The reference is to the place called Ḍakkā on the river Kabul, within the territory of Afghanistan, just on the other side of the Pakistan border (See *Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Edition*, Vol. XXVI-Atlas, Plate 49F/3).

At Ḍakkā there is a watch station even to-day in the form of a mud-fort and what is surprising, it is used even now as a border post for customs checking etc. It appears almost certain that this Ḍakkā has derived its name from Ḍhakka. So we can argue that if this Afghan Ḍhākā or Dakkā is derived from Dhakka, the Bengali Ḍhākā too can reasonably be said to have been derived from the same source. There should not be any objection to my equating Dakkā with Dhakā since there cannot be any doubt that Dakkā is nothing but Dhākā minus the aspiration in the first syllable. The loss of aspiration is apparently due to the phonetic peculiarity of the Pashto language. This I say on the authority of Dr. Shahidullah who observes that Indo-Aryan ḍ and ḍh are both represented by Pashto ḍ, and shows that Hindi, Bengali 'ḍhāl', (shield) becomes in Pashto 'ḍāl' Bengali 'ḍher' (heap) becomes Pasto 'der' (see Dr. Muhnmmad Shahidullah, The Philology of the Pashto Language" in Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Vol. II, 1957, p. 27.)

The similarity of the two names is so strikingly brought out in Robert Byron's famous book of Central Asian travels "The Road to Oxiana". In this book he spells the name Ḍakkā as Dacca. Apparently he was quite oblivious or perhaps quite ignorant of the existence of another 'Dacca' in the eastern most corner of the Sub-continent and unknowingly created confusion for his Bengali readers. It took me sometime to realise which 'Dacca' he meant when I read on p. 283 of his book : "At Dacca, a scattered hamlet containing a few shops, a Petrol-Pump, and one stunted tree on a cliff .... the frontier formalities were quickly done with.."

How this Ḍhākka-Ḍhākā came to be transplanted in Eastern Bengal after travelling thousands of miles and leaving no trace whatsoever in the intervening lands of Northern India is of course a pertinent question and at the same time defies any explanation at the moment. The position however is not as hopeless as it

apparently seems as I have fortunately discovered the existence of another Dhākā in this intervening space i. e. in Northern India while reading B. B. Lal's article "Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the Problem in *Ancient India* No. 7, Jan. 1951, p. 27 (also see map on p. 21 ibid). In this article he makes mention of a village called Dhākā under the Police Station Tilhar, Dist. Shahjahanpur, U. P. So we see that here is another Dhākā and I am quite confident that thorough search will reveal the existence of many more 'Ḍhākās' throughout Northern India which were all originally 'Ḍhakkas'. Sircar's theory thus remains the most satisfactory of all until a better sugestion is forthcoming about the origin of the name Ḍhākā.*

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* Dr. M. Ṣaghir Hasan, Gen. Secy. Asiatic Socierty of Pakistan now informs me of another Dhākā in the famous P.S. of Champaran near the border of Muzaffarpur and Nepal. I now find that there is also another Dhākā the real name is Jaldhāka in the *Rangpur* district of East Bengal. It is a Police station in Nilphamari Sub-division and situated on the western bank of the river Ghaghat. Only about 8 miles to the North-West of this place is situated the ancient site of Dharmapāl. The most interesting thing is the name Jaldhākā, meaning a water fort? These new findings only encourage our hope that a thorough search in the line is reasonably certain to bear fruit. It is needless to repeat again that the discovery of these four new Dhākās only strengthens our contention and establishes Dr. Sircar's theory on former grounds.

REVIEWS

Mahmut Makal : A Village In Anatolia. Translated from the Turkish by Sir Wyndham Deedes and edited by Paul Stirling, M.A., Ph.D. Vallentine Mitchell & Co. Ltd., London, 1954. (pp 190, Illustrated, Price 18s.)

A Village In Anatolia is a translation of two books in Turkish written by a village school teacher. The author, Mahmut Makal, is a young man of twenty-eight who became a teacher at the age of seventeen after five year's training. The two books published under one title in English consist of a series of sketches, somewhat disjointed, of village life as Mahmut Makal saw it. They are marked by an extraordinary candour such that the author was jailed in 1950 for his supposed subversive tendencies, which is of course a reflection on the imbecility and stupidity of red-tape-dominated bureaucrats. What any sensible person could see in these descriptions of rural folk and their ways which could be considered subversive is difficult to understand. To his candour the author joins a deceptive artlessness in which perhaps resides the secret of his charm as a writer. As one turns from sketch to sketch, not connected by any thread of narrative, one is inclined at first to feel amused at the simplicity of a village pedagogue. But this amusement quickly gives way to admiration for his unusual powers of observation which miss no detail and his remarkable faculty for recording his impressions in vivid phrases. (The qualities noticed in the translation undoubtedly reflect, as the translator himself points out, those of the original).

What is original about the book is that you see life here, not, as is usual in books of this kind, through the eyes of an outsider but through those of a villager himself who lives the life that he describes so frankly.

The chapter headings in the English translation might give some idea of the contents of this book :

1. The struggle for existence
2. Scenes from village life
3. Beliefs and superstitions
4. My dreams and my troubles
5. Marriage customs in our village

6. Public affairs
7. The old against the new
8. Medical matters
9. Amusements

Here is an extract from a section of the first chapter dealing with bread : "Our bread consists of a thickish dough, and very often it's quite raw inside. Good luck to you if you can digest it ! You can tug and tug away at the stuff as if it were a piece of rubber, but it won't break. You get the impression that you're eating a piece of damp cardboard. But what a lot of trouble goes to the making of it."

It is the extraordinary frankness characterising this description that compels our admiration. There is another factor perhaps operating secretly to add to its effectiveness. If this author's purpose were to wash his community's dirty linen in public (which is perhaps what the bureucrats thought it to be) or if he were writing with a feeling of shame, the effect would not be what it is now. The most impressive thing about the author is that nowhere does he betray either any sense of contempt for the villages or any shame because of the wretchedness and poverty of the villagers. In his own artless way thus he is able to lift himself to a level where one's main feeling is a feeling of respect for life with a Capital L. A sense of cosmic humour enlivens his observations. One is made to feel that poverty, slovenliness, dirt, superstition all look different in the perspective of eternity.

The most interesting chapter from a purely human point of view is the one called *Marriage Customs in our Village*. It records facts which are of great anthropological interest. The section called the *nuptial night* recording their absurd customs designed to satisfy the relatives that the bride is indeed a virgin reveals a touching lack of sophistication among Turkish villages which is very difficult to understand for an average person in East Pakistan. Equally interesting from this point of view is the report about the priests whose powers seem almost unlimited. One also forms the impression that there are levels of poverty which are comparatively unknown in South East Asia. The homes which the author describes are hovels of a kind seldom seen in these parts. But against the stark background of poverty one must set the life of the villagers irradiated with a warmth and humanity, a gaiety and joyousness of which we have no idea.

Reading A VILLAGE IN ANATOLIA is like having a kind of spiritual experience. It is not perhaps a great book but it is undoubtedly one that moves, fascinates and enchants.

Sayed Sajjad Husain

Pierre Cachia (B.A., Ph. D.) : Ṭaha Husain : His Place in the Egyptian Literary Renaissance. Luzac & Company Ltd. 46 Great Russell Street, London, 1956.

(Pp. 260, illustrated with Arabic script)

The book, as the author explains, is a "revised form" of a Ph.D. thesis submitted in 1951 to the University of Edinburgh and is unfortunately not free from the usual defects which characterise such dissertations. It is not easy to read; the language is pedestrian and leave much to be desired, and, unless one is a specialist in modern Egyptian history, one would find it difficult to appreciate or understand many of the references. Its greaterst merit probably lies in the fact that it offers an authentic and well-documented account in English of the life and works of one of the greatest modern Egyptians. Divided into six chapters the book deals with

(a) The Egyptian Renaissance
(b) The man
(c) The reformer
(dh The man of letters
(e) The craftsman
(f) Conclusions.

There is an appendix containing summaries of the novels of Taha Husain and a useful bibliography.

The story of Ṭaha Husain is one of the most fascinating chapters in modern Asian history. It is on the one hand the story of a man's triumph over physical infirmities, in this case blindness and on the other hand it coincides with the emergence of Egypt as a modern nation. Taha Husain himself has played no insignificant part in this evloutionary process. A third factor which would probably interest audiences in Pakistan and India and lends an additional enchantment to it is the fusion in hsi personality of two diver-

gent cultures : Arabic and French, in other words, Asian and European. The stresses produced by the impact of Western civilisation upon Asia have not always been resolved in the harmonious manner in which Taha Hussain in his life and work has been able to reconcile the two opposites. The problems which confronted him bore a striking resemblance to those which faced the people of this sub-continent in the nineteenth century. The problem of creating a modern nation out of Egypt had to be tackled on two levels. There was first the general problem of conservatism and reaction, the age-old inertia of the masses aided by the sloth and indifference of the educated. Secondly, Taha Husain had to face the task of fashioning a new instrument of expression capable of conveying modern thought. The two problems of course were basically one but there were difficulties peculiar to each which had to be tackled separately. To the solution of these prolems Taha Husain brought unique gifts, a thorough grounding in Arabic culture coupled with an education at the Sorbonne. This is probably what distinguished him from most Asian leaders of his time at least in India. He was never rootless in the sense which many Hindu and Muslim leaders felt rootless having been brought up in surroundings which cut them off from their own society. Ṭaha Husain had fallen under the spell of European culture during his stay abroad in France but his knowledge of his country's past prevented him from losing contact with reality. The result was that he was able to arrive at a synthesis between the two opposed tendencies claiming his allegiance much more quickly than many of the Indian leaders.

Apart from the part he played in the rise of modern Egypt, Ṭaha Husain's eminence as one of the foremost writers in Arabic deserved probably a more readable account. The book fails to convey to non-Arabic-knowing readers an adequate idea of the unique position occupied by Taha Husain in Arabic letters or of his significance as a writer in the wider context of Asia.

It is not the purpose of this review, however, to suggest that the book is worthless. As has ben stated before it is well-documented and contains an enormous mass of data collected from Arabic, English and French sources. One hopes that some one will follow it up by writing a more readable and, if necessary, popular book on the subject.

SYED SAJJAD HUSAIN

Dr. Aḥmad Hasan Dani : Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal (down to A. D. 1538)

Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, 1957. Price not given. pp. 147+Errata.

A good number of Bengal inscriptions has already been published by several European and Indian scholars in different journals and books dealing with the history, geography, palaeography and architecture of medieval Bengal. The first problem that confronts a scholar doing reserach in the mediaeval history of the country is the preparation of an exhaustive list of these inscriptions that may be referred to in cases of necessity for consutltation. Students of history are now indebted to Dr. Dani, who has put together and analysed these valuable epigraphic records in the booklet under-review, recently published as an appendix to the Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan, vol. II.

Divided into three main sections, the booklet gives a thorough analysis of the contents of the inscriptions ranging in dates from 1242 to 1536 A. C. and thus covering what may be called the Pre-Afghan period of the history of Muslim Bengal. The writer has quite carefully given in detail the titles of the ruling Sultans of the period together with those of their officials and briefly discussed the geographical situation of the places mentioned in these inscriptions. One complete section has been devoted to the consideration of references to Muslim Sultans found in Sanskrit epigraphic and literary sources and a separate addenda utilized for giving the purports of twelve unpublished inscriptions.

Apart from supplimenting and perfecting the chronology of the Sultans, based on the numismatic sources, these inscriptions throw a considerable light on various aspects of the life of Bengal, hinting at those missing links, which Persian chronicles and Bengali literature have failed to establish. Bengal administration may be rightly regarded as one of these missing links. So far as the administrative structure of the initial period is concerned, neither inscriptions nor literary sources can possibly help us, excepting the fact that the *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri* (text, p. 156) refers to the introduction of a somewhat feudal type of administration by Bakhtiyār Khalji who is said to have divided the country into a number of military governorships, each being placed under a Khalji chief. A serious student of history may consider this phenomenon to be an outcome of the influence of feudal legacies left behind by the Sena rule and about the rest, he

is totally in the dark. He is, therefore, compelled to hang on tenaciously to the simple conjecture .that Bengal administration in the initial period was merely a replica of the central administrative machinary, possibly resembling the system that obtained in many other provinces under the Delhi Sultanate.

But we can glean from these inscriptions at least a few salient features of the administrative pattern of Bengal in the period of independence. Some of the independent Sultans from Jalāluddin Muhammad to Al'āuddin Ḥusain called themselves *Khalifa of God* (or khalifa of God by proof and evidence) which is established not only epigraphically but also numismatically. The process was started by Jalāluddin Muḥammad, a convert from Hinduism, who wanted possibly to consolidate his position by taking the title of *Khalifatullah*, so that he might not be branded as an upstart or a usurper by the Sunni Muslims who must have had profound respect for the institution of khilāfat. Thus the assumption of the title of Khalifatullah was probably the result of well-calculated policy of Jalāluddin, who was anxious to win the support of the Sunnis of the then Bengal by associating himself with the Khilāfat, the sacred institution of the Sunnis. Some of his successors down to the time of 'Ala'uddin Ḥusain Shāh followed the practice quite traditionally in view of the fact that the assumption of these titles by the Sultans had become almost usual in the Muslim world especially after the break-up of the Baghdad Caliphate. The inscriptions show that the Sultans of the initial period, who could hardly call themselves Khalifatullah, were satisfied with such titles as "the Helper of the Commander of the Faithful" and Right Hand of the Khilāfat". These are also mentioned on the coins of the period in question. Chinese and Arabic sources give different versions about the political status of Jalāluddin, who is said to have received a letter of recognition from the Caliph, Ashraf Barsbay of Egypt (Sakhāwi and Ibn Ḥajar, cited in Islamic Culture, 1958, July, p. 204) and a mandate from the Chinese emperor to whom he is said to have sent annual tributes (Chinese annals; English Translation by Dr. Bagchi in *Visva Bhārati Annals*, 1945, I, 121-22,123-27 and 130-31). We are told that the Chinese Emperor's intervention was necessary for stopping the war between Jalāluddin of Bengal and Ibrāhiṁ Sharqī of Jaunpur. It seems that Jalāluddin acknowledged the supremacy of the Chinese Emperor at a time (1415-20 A. C.) when Bengal's war with Jaunpur was in progress. The political alliance which he cultivated with the Chinese Emperor must have originated

in his desire to check the growing Sharqi power with the Chinese help. After the shifting of the centre of political interest from Baghdād to Cairo, the practice of receiving investiture from the Egyptian ruler had become quite usual with the Muslim Sultans. We are told by Barani (*Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhi*, p. 492) that Muḥammad bin Tughluq received recognition of his political authority from the pseudo-Abbaside Caliph, Mustakfi-bi'llah of Egypt. Viewed in this light, the view of the Arab writers with regard to Jalāluddin's relation with the Egyptian ruler seems tenable. Although it is epigraphically and numismatically established that he had emphasised his sovereign power by assuming the title of Khalifatullah in 1426 and 1430 A. C., he seems to have felt the need of recognising in 1433, the political surremacy of the Egyptian ruler, with a view to counteracting the Sharqi influence. Moreover, he might have assumed the title of Khalifatullah to legalise his own position against the Sharqi ruler from the point of view of religio-political advantages.

The inscriptions published so far do not give us any information about the central structure of Bengal administration which the independent Sultans must have evolved. The titles *Malik-al-Umarā wal-Wuzarā* found in the Sunargaon inscription of Nusrat, may be tentatively regarded as those of the prime minister whose functions have been incidentally referred to by Salim (*Riyaz*, Bib, Ind. text., pp. 126 and 128) and Firishtah (Nawal kishore ed. pp. 300 and 301) The duty of the *Kar-farman* mentioned in another inscription of Nusrat was possibly to issue royal orders to the people concerned and as such he seems to have been connected with the correspondence department presided over by the Dabir-i-khās repeatedly mentioned in Bengali sources, the office being a stepping stone to the Wazārat in the central structure of Delhi Sultanat administration. The department of correspondence undoubtedly needed the service of a number of kātibs mentioned in the Deotala inscription of Sikandar Shāh. The *Sipah Sālār* was probably the army chief and the *Sar-khail* the chief cavalry officer. The Mir Baḥr controlled the admiralty.

Two of the expressions which we frequently come across in the inscriptions of Bengal are *Sharābdār-i-Ghair Mahalli* and *Jamadār-i-Ghair Mahalli* which seem to be identical with each other. A careful persual of the inscriptions in which they appear shows that the title was generally conferred upon a governor who used to accompany the ruler during his expeditions. As he was the bearer of cup outside the place, it was probably his function to supervise the drinks that

might be supplied to the ruler. The office seems to have been quite important, for it could be conferred upon one who used to enjoy the complete confidence of the Sultan so that no one might administer poison to him through liquor. Literally taken, the expression *Sharābdār-i-Ghair Mabhlli* indicates that there was a similar Sharābdar inside the palace. The office was a peculiar one in Bengal administration and did not have an exact counterpart in the Delhi Sultanate where drink was served by the Sāqi-khāṣ.

It is epigraphically established that the kingdom of Bengal was divided into a number of provincial units known variously as *Iqlim* and *'Arṣa* to which numismatic and literary sources add a few more terms such as Diyār, Mulk and Iqṭā'. Each of the provinces was divided perhaps into a number of *mahals* and *shiqs*. Thus the terms *Sarkar* and *pargana* which were in general use in the Shershahi and Mughal periods, seem to have been totally absent. The provincial governor used to have the titles of *Sar lashkar* and *wazir* which indicate the nature of the military and civil aspects of his office. The term *Sar-Lashkar* means commander-in-chief and *Wazir* seems to have been used in a peculiar sense in the political terminology of Bengal. Understood in the context of the duties of a provincial governor, it means probably a chief revenue officer in which sense the term has been occasionally used in Indian history. To illustrate this point, we may cite here the cases of Malik Burhānuddin, Razī-ul-Mulk, Malik Ashraf and Malik Abu Rizā who were appointed in the reign of Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq, as the wazirs of Deogir, Ma' bar, Tilang and Lakhnauti respectively (*Tārikh-ī-Mubārak shāhi*, P. 98). Bengali sources also associate this officer with the revenue administration of the country. At the time of Akbar, the provincial *Diwan* was very often called *wazīr*. Thus it seems that the provincial governor of the independent Muslim Bengal combined in his person the duties of the highest military and civil officers of the province. It should not be concluded that all the governorships had a uniform nature, for the Devikot inscription of Ḥusain Shāh shows that 'Ala'uddin Sarhati was the *Sar-Lashkar wa wazir* of the city of Muzaffarabad where he had also to act as the chief police officer and *munsif* of the criminal court. There are other epigraphic records to show that a single governor could be simultaneously in charge of an *'arsa* and of a number of cities and *mahals* besides acting as a *Sar-Lashkar* of an adjacent *thāna* or military outpost which was generally placed under a *thānadar* in the Mughal period. In the period under review, administrative unifomity

seems to have been a rare phenomenon which may also be illustrated by the fact that a number of terms used to be applied to the provincial units of a similar nature. One of the Dinajpur inscriptions shows that *mahals* were generally placed under an officer called *Siqdār wa Jangdār* which also indicates the two fold nature of his function. He was thus a smaller counterpart of the provincial governor.

There is another official title, *Wazir Lashkar* appearing in the Gauḍ inscription of Fatḥ Shāh dated 389/1484. Although appearing to be an abbreviation of the terms *Wazir wa Sar Lashkar*, it is probably a different title indicating that the officer concerned was in charge of the financial side of the military department. In that case, his function must have been indentical with that of the *Mir Bakhshi* or Pay Master general of the Mughals. It is mentioned as *Lashkar Wazir* in the *Memoris* of Babur (Mrs. Beveridge's Tran., II, p. 676) and as Bada Wazir in the Assam Buranji (ed. G. C. Barua, pp. 61 and 66), both connecting the office with military affairs.

The title *Sar Gumashtah* or the chief Agent (possibly connected with revenue department) mentioned in the Bara inscription of Bārbak Shāh, indicates that there were several subordinate agents under him.

It may not be out of place to mention here that some of the administrative terms and honorary titles such as *Arsa*, *Moqta*, *Jamdar*, *Sharābdār*, *Kotwāl*, *Qāzi*, *wazīr*, *Khān-i-Azam*, *Khaqan-i-Muazzam*, *Mu'azzam wa Mukarram*, *Masnad-i-Āla*, *Dastur and Majlis* which appear in the inscriptions of the Pre-Mughal Bengal, are also found in the inscriptions of the Pre-Mughal Gujrat (See Chughtai: Muslim Monuments of Ahmedabad Through Their Inscriptions, Bulletin of The Deccan College Institute, III, pp. 108-9, 111-12, 133, 135, 139, 141-33, 147 etc.). Gujrat inscriptions give a few more terms such as *'Ariz* and *khwaja sara* (*op-cit*, pp. 128-30, 136 and 138) which we come across in Persian chronicles dealing with pre-Mughal Bengal (Tārīkhi Mubarak Shāhi p. 105 and Riyaz p. 120) One of the inscriptions of Aḥmed Shah dated 856/1452 speaks of the grant of six ploughs (شش جفتوار) of rent free land to an officer named Malik Sha'bān. Mukundarām's description of the kingdom of Kālketu suggests that the cultivator in Bengl had to pay the rent in accordance with the number of ploughs used for tilling the plot of land he possessed. Thus it seems probable that there was mutual contact between Bengal and Gujrat connected by the common link of

maritime commerce which flourished in those days. Bengal seems to have felt tempted to borrow some of its administrative features from Gujrat which had developed a stable administration in the fifteenth century. In support of this inference, we can point to the fact that the 'bow and arrow' type of the fine Tughra style of writing found in the inscriptions of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Bengal, had its crude beginning in Gujrat as early as the first quarter of the fifteenth century (op. cit. pls. 4, VIII and 5, Xa) and that the 'Adinā and Chota Sona mosques with the central nave of each flanked by two side-wings and the ladies' gallery at the north western corner, look more like the mosques of Ahmedabad than like their north Indian counter-parts. It is possible to show a few more points of resemblance that the Bengal monuments bear to those of Ahmedabad. Administrative features of Bengal seem to have migrated to Arakan, for we are told by Daulat Qazi (*Satī Mainā Lora-Candrāni*, Viśvabhāratī ed. p. 46) that Ashraf Khan, an officer of the early seventeenth century Arakan had the title of *Lashkar wazīr*. Chronicles give us the information that Bengal had political contacts with Gujrat and Arakan.

Such is, therefore, the scope and nature of the inscriptions included in Dr. Dani's bibliography. He has taken special care to mention the findspots of the inscriptions together with the references in which one can find out their complete texts, translations and other relevant details. He considers the term *shāhzāda* to be an official title without adducing reasons and excludes *wazīr-Lashkar* from the list, although the latter has a better claim to such a consideration. He has given a chart showing the gradation of what he calls honorific titles, without telling us if it indicates also the gradation of the officials concerned. If supplimented by the Todar Mall's Rent-roll as reproduced in the *Ain*, the geographical units mentioned in the epigraphic sources, can possibly give us a fairly accurate idea of the divisions and subdivisions of Bengal. While accepting the views of other scholars with regard to the identification of most of these place names, he says that Kamrup "denoted only western portion of the Brahmaputra valley" and that "Kamta was a buffer state between the Muslim kingdom of Bengal and Kamrup in northern Rangpur, Cooch Bihar and the neighbouring regions" (p. 112). But the writer of the *Baharistān-i-Ghaibi* (Eng. Tran. I, 249-52 and II, 806-7, notes 15 and 16) tells us that Kamrup extended from the western bank of the Brahmaputra to the eastern bank of the Banas, that the region lying between

this river and the Karotoya in the west was called Kamta and that in Jahangir's time, Pariksit Nārāyana and Lakṣmi Nārāyana were ruling over Kamrup and Kamta respectively. Equally doubtful is Dr. Dani's identification of *Hasht kamhāriyan* with "some tribal area in the neighbourhood of Sylhet" Mediaeval Indian rulers used to very often call themselves the conqueror of *Haft Eqlim* or *Haft keshwar*. The expression فتح‌کنندهٔ هشت کامهاریان seems to point to the fact that it was applied to Rukn Khan only in a decorative sense. The term کامهار does not appear in Persian lexicons, although the plural form of the word as found in the inscripcion under consideration is undoubtedly Persian. The term itself seems to be a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word *Skandhāvār* (meaning tent) which is frequently found in Sanskrit inscriptions. *Thānas* or military outposts were placed in those days along the frontier with a view to protecting the frontier region from the attack of the neighbouring country. Rukn Khan was probably styled "the conqueror of eight military out-posts" belonging obviously to the enemy.

In page 123, Dr. Dani tries to correct the text of the inscription by placing سر before لشکری بوده (as the word سر is absent in the inscription lying in the Dacca Museum and also in pl. IX, facing p. 413, *J.A.S.B.* 1922) and substituting لشکر کشیده بود for لشکری کرده باشند —a reading yet to be established. One might have expected a textual criticism of inscriptions like no. 122, p. 124, which contains کهز instead of کز. One can easily question the inclusion of the inscription no. 122 (See pp. 65-66 and 124) in a bibliography which proposes to consider Bengal inscriptions down to A. D. 1538 only. It does not seem to have been issued in the Pre-Mughal period. Lying at present in the Varendra Research Museum, the inscription exhibits Nasta'liq style of writing which did not obtain in Bengal in the period in question and which received "a new impetus" only from the time of Akbar (*Ain*, Blochmam and Phillot, I, p. 109). Moreover, the wording of the inscription and titles of the ruler, do not resemble those mentioned traditionally in other inscriptions of Pre-Mughal Bengal.

The Rajshahi inscription of Ḥusain Shāh dated 904/1494 (A.K. Maitra : *The Ancient Monuments of Varendra*, p. 38, pl. XVI, 34) recording the construction of a Mosque by one Ramandala (?), son of Kinapati (?), has escaped the notice of Dr. Dani. He has avoided another Bengal inscription (*I.H.Q*, 1950, pp.173-83) which apart from

recording Quranic verses, contains at the top, five names of God, symbolising possibly the Shi'ite tradition of *Panjatan-i-Pak* or Five Holy Personages. Of several printing anomalies, the repetition of the content of P.40 on p.41, is a serious one.

The bibliography is sure to be frequently used and seriously examined by the scholars working in the field of mediaeval Bengal history.

MOMTAZUR RAHMAN TARAFDAR

——

Verrier Elwin : A Philosophy For Nefa. Foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru. North-Eastern Frontier Agency. Shillong, India, 1957.

During the years which preceded World War II, several noted Anthropologists advocated a change in the method of administering tribal areas throughout the world. They usually recommended that indirect rule be substituted for direct administration, and that the populations be entrusted with a larger participation in the management of their own affairs. They further recommended that, with its body of knowledge about tribal people, Anthropology be called upon to serve as a guide to the new policy. Among the exponents of the doctrine, was Bronishlaw Malinowski. These developments took place at such a time as to directly anticipate the shake-up of the colonial system which was to take place after World War II.

A Philosophy for NEFA is an attempt at outlining for the tribal area of the North-Eastern fringe of the Indian province of Assam a policy akin to that defined above though in a somewhat different context. A recognized authority on tribal India, Elwin is well known for such works as *Tribal Myths of Orissa*, *The Muria and their Gothul*, *The religion of an Indian Tribe*, and others. He has for some time been working in the North-Eastern area. His new book differs from these previous ones and is more in line with his *Loss of Nerve* to the extent that the author departs from the strict attitude of the observer to take more directly that of the counsellor. *A Philosophy for NEFA* is a contribution to applied Anthropology.

Addressing himself to the Indian authorities, Elwin urges them to devise for NEFA a policy of smooth integration. The tribes should

become a part of the economic and political dominion of India, but they should be allowed to do it in their own way. The administration should take the lead in helping them to develop their own identity within the Indian Union. The populations should be protected against the habitual hardships of modernization. Administrators in the field should develop new attitudes, deriving their inspiration from Anthropology. That the problem is of genuine concern to those at present in power in India is well attested by the fact that the book has a foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru.

Apart from its numerous and detailed recommendations, the book contains a general description of tribal life in NEFA, and to that extent is of interest to the Ethnologist. As for its significance to the student of applied Anthropology, it is difficult to tell. Under the conditions as they are to day in the world, industrialization—which is after all the backbone of modernization—has always meant a ruthless handling of tribal people. That the good-heartedness of Anothropologists—and the good intentions of the governments they advise—will ever change anything in this can be very much doubted. But it remains that in their attempts to clarify concrete issues, such works as *A Philosophy for NEFA* offer a contribution to learning and to a better understanding of the problems of our time. Within these limits they are higly commendable.

PIERRE BESSAIGNET

Sachindra Kumar Maity : The Economic Life of Northern India in Gupta Period (CIR A.D. 300-550). The World Press Private Ltd. Calcutta, August 1957 pp. XV-223 with 1 Plate, 1 map and charts. Price Rs. 12. 50/215 net.

The book under review is originally a doctoral thesis of the University of London and was written under the supervision of the famous Indologist, Prof. A. L. Basham. The need for a study in depth of the economic life under the Great Guptas cannot be over emphasised and Dr. S. K. Maity is to be congratulated on producing

a very useful volume on the subject based as it is on pains-taking research. It is indeed a curious fact that this very important aspect of the Gupta history has always been sadly neglected and even of such recent publications as the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, History of the Indian people which are produced on an ambitious scale, the paper devoted to the economic life of the period are amazingly few—to be more precise only ten pages. With this back ground in mind, all will agree that the 223 and odd pages of Dr. Maity are indeed a valuable contribution. And all through this book is manifest Dr. Maity's pains-taking search for truth very aptly described by Prof. Basham in his forword : "Dr. Maity has followed his research wherever it has led him without trying to deflect its course. . he has not been tempted to see in the Gupta period the conditions he would like to see in twentieth century India. He has shown that in Gupta India, as in all other ancient civilisations the lot of the toiler was hard, the peasant suffers periodically for drought which destroyed his crop and disease which killed his cattle, and the evils of indebtendness and penury were widespread. In recognizing these facts Dr. Maity has in no way disparaged India's ancient greatness, but rather has placed it in its true perspective, for there has been no time in the history of any part of the world when these evils have not existed in greater or lesser measure". In his search for truth Dr. Maity has not left out any possible source of any value and indeed the peculiar merit of his book lies in the fact that he has collected evidence from the hitherto untapped sources like the Law Digests of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian or the astrological works of Varahmibira and the Amarakosha. Dr. Maity has divided the book in nine chapters covering such aspects of economic activities as Land System, Revenue System, Industry, Guilds and corporations, Trade and Commerce, Labour, Agriculture, Irrigation, Forestry, Gardenning and animal husbandry.

It is however too much to expect that all the views expressed in a book of this nature will meet with the general acceptance of scholars. To choose a random example one will find it rather difficult to accept Dr. Maity's contention based on the criterion of gold content that the Standard coins of Samudragupta came after his Tiger and Lyrist types.

ABU IMAM.

—

Denise And Lucien Bernot : Les Khyang des Collines de Chittagong.

Cahiers "L'homme" PLON, PARIS 1958-144 PAGES

This book is a study of a Chin dialect. It is therefore a contribution to linguistics. But since the first thirty five pages are devoted to a Khyang village of the Chittagong Hill Tracts ("Khyang" is the Arakanese mispronounciation of "Chin"), the book is also of interest to the social anthropologist.

It so happens that several French authors (including the present writer) have been lately concerned with the tribes of the Hill Tracts. After a brief trip through the area, Levi-Strauss contributed three articles, in 1951 and 1952. Following a field study of twelve months Bernot and his wife gave in 1957 a paper about the tribes in Stanley Maron's *Pakistan : Society and Culture* (Yale University Area Files, New Haven). With *The Khyang*, also written in collaboration with his wife, he now publishes his first book, a mere prelude to more important contributions. Since Lewin wrote his great works in the second half of the 19th century, it is the first time that, thanks to the Bernots, Mogh and other groups are being again systematically studied. This is promising, and it is to be hoped that it will help stimulate Anthropology in East Pakistan.

A chapter devoted to Chin vocabulary, a Khyang-French and French-Khyang dictionary, give a distinctive tone to the book. Due to lack of competence, we will however refrain from commenting upon these and will limit ourselves to the part of the book which presents the sociological material.

In 1952, Denise and Lucien Bernot paid a short visit to a Khyang village: Gongru, in the Bandarban area. In their book, they give a description of that settlement. Though very general in character, their report will appear surprisingly substantial if one keeps in mind that their stay did not exceed forty-eight hours.

Gongru is a settlement of 12 houses with a population of 52. It is a scattered village, a quite exceptional situation in the Hill Tracts. With the exception of the Karbari's house, which is in mud, huts are of bamboo. In the activities of the villagers, "Jhuming" (shifting cultivation) combines with irrigated agriculture (paddy). From all this, it clearly appears that, sited at the limit between the Hill Tracts and the plain of Bengal, Gongru is an hybrid of Hill Tracts and Bengali cultures.

Chapter II contains an interesting nomenclature of the kinship terms, some of which are of Marma (Mogh) origin. It also contains some indications about the marriage system:

"Like the Marma, the Khyang favour cross-cousin marriage. But, though, with only two exceptions (which, possibly, result from the application of Burmese kinship terms to a non-Burmese situation), marriage among the Marma is with the bilateral cross-cousin, this does not appear to be the case neither with the Khyang nor with the Southern Chin in general.." p. 33).

Coming from ethnologists who intensively observed the area, these observations regarding cross-cousin marriage in the Hill Tracts are of great interest. For, neither is that matrimonial system described as such in the older literature, nor is it, I would submit, obvious to the general observer (cf. Bessaignet, *Tribesmen of the Chittagong Hill Tracts*, Memoir No. 1 of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, 1958). The Bernots' further publications will no doubt inform us in more detail about that matter. They are something we shall look forward to.

The Khyang acknowledge kin groups (p. 28). Residence in marriage seems to be patrilocal (ibid).

Having recorded the family connections between the different households of the village, the authors conclude as follows:

"We can observe that [the relationship] between three [of the houses] stems from our informant's father and that between four other stems from his mother. This village structure is by no means peculiar to the Khyang: it also prevails among the Kumi, the Mro, the Tipera. In most of Hill Tracts villages, the majority of the houses are inhabited by the Karbari's [village Headman] close relatives, the title being transmitted from father to son. Around him are found his brothers and sisters—on his side as well as on his wife's side. Outsiders to this group are very few: one or two houses in each village. They are migrants from other villages, and usually are destitute people who have been compelled to move due to family deaths, family quarrels or legal disputes". (p. 30).

Let us here make a remark : the authors do not ask themselves whether this structure is really ancestral with the Khyang ; but, may it not rather be, at least in part, the late produce of the system of land revenue which, from pre-British days and up to our time, has dominated the area ? (cf. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein*, Calcutta, 1869 ; Hut-

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Chapter II contains also a few observations about the religion of the Khyang. They suggest certain similarities with other Tibeto-Burmese tribes outside of the Hill Tracts. For example, funerary practices such as tethering a cock to the deceased's big toe (as described page 27-28), erecting a shrine and representing the dead by a roughly carved log (p. 28, footnote), etc, cannot help but remind us of the Garo (cf. the present writer's article, *Sacred Places of the Garo*, in the same issue of this journal) At the present stage, however, generalising might prove dangerous.

PIERRE BESSAIGNET

Smitter, Faith, and Iqbal Dar : 'Growing up in Pakistan'

16, Lahore, 1957. 187 P., ill.

Recently the term 'birth-control' has given way to the more positive and also wider 'family-planning'. The latter indicates that the problems around the family not only are concerned with quantity (number of births), but also with quality (what will be done to the children that are allowed to be born ?).

The writers of the present book have made a substantial contribution in making clear this latter aspect to their Pakistani readers. They have achieved this by telling Pakistani educators aud parents about the processes of growth in children. To clarify their theoretical expositions they took illustrations from life stories of students of the Dept. of Social Work of the University of the Panjab and of the Lady Maclagan College.

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It is not for its educational and psychological qualities that this book will be discussed here. The reason that in these columns attention is given to this book lies in the just-mentioned feature, the numerous illustrations taken from individual life. The narratives reveal phenomena that rouse the interest of the sociologist, because they contain information of a sort he too scarcely gets. The data are suggestive of the existence of educational patterns within Pakistan culture and hint at a rich field for social investigation. For this frank information about often concealed and ignored experiences the sociologist will feel grateful towards the writers. A superficial inspection tells that the book contains information on family life, social structure, marriage-customs, kinship ties, status of women, purdah, sexual education, the important toilet training, social change, relationship detween sexes, between parents and children, on some psychological deviations in behaviour, etc. It goes without saying that the writers see these subjects from the angle of psychology.

This is a reason why the sociologist will not agree with every statement of the book. He will forgive the writers, for their aim was to give information on developmental psychology to interested people—parents, etc.

Nevetheless, when he has summed up the favourable points of the publication, he also wants to assess its shortcomings. He will question the validity of the title 'Growing up in Pakistan'. Can one justify this title when the informative basis is restricted to a few students of some Dept. of one of the Universities of Pakistan and some trainees of a College ? He is inclined to deny the suggested representativeness of the sample ; a sample about which the writers fail to give any elucidation. Another question-mark must be put behind the writers' assumption (based on what evidence ?) that Pakistani society is stratified into three classes ; lower middle and upper class and that these three have no connections with each other and are characterised by specific educational systems. It is not made clear whether the number of life-stories offered the evidence for this conclusion. If not, it remains dark whether and how the sample was stratified according to this trichotomy deduced from other data.

These are methodical shortcomings in the eyes of the

sociologist, but perhaps not in the psychologist's. The value of the book is therefore reduced to a source of suggestive statements, each one of which will provide the scientist with promising topics for his own investigation. Let us hope that the writers, Smitter and Dar, will find opportunity to publish more of their interesting information and to give it to us, not in the form of illustrations to an instructional argumentation, but as a body of data in its own right. We also hope that some East-Pakistani sociologist will take up the challenge and investigate whether the title of the book is correct or otherwise.

C. Opt' Land

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C. Opt' Land

REPORT
OF THE
GENERAL SECRETARY

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN

EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING

DACCA
15th March, 1959

ANNUAL MEETING OF ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN, MARCH 15, 1959, REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY.

The last Annual Meeting of the Society was held on 23rd February, 1958 in the compound of the Dacca Museum. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, the then Governor of East Pakistan Patron of the Society was to inaugurate the function, but he could not be present owing to his ill-health. His address was read by Mr. Abdur Rahman Khan, the President of the Society.

The Society had to undergo cosinderable difficulties during the year under review owing to a change in the executives, and especially due to the departure of Dr. Ahmad Hasa Dani, its former General Secretary to U.K. So long the General Secretary of the Society had the charge of the Museum as well, and had there fore no inconvenience in the discharge of the Society works. Soon after the new General Secretary assumed the charge of the office he had to appoint a full-time peon. The Museum clerk who acted as a part-time clerk of the Society could not continue after June 1958. A new clerk was appointed in July 1958. The Society now has a full-time clerk and a peon who keep the Office open on all working days from 10 a.m. to 4-30 p.m. This has increased the recurring expenditure of the Society.

The Society was registered in July 1958, as the Bank insisted on having the registration number of the Society, (No. $\frac{1173\text{-EP}}{18}$ of 1956-59). This year the Society has increased its strength by nine members. One member has discontinued his membership. The Society records with regret the loss of a veteran member in Dr. J.W. Jenkins by death during the year. The total number of members is now eighty. The names of the members are given in Appendix A. The Appendix (C) gives an abstract of accounts for the year 1958-59, up to the end of January, 1959.

The opening balance in the year under review was Rs. 36423/4/- and the income from the subscription was Rs. 373/4 and from admission fee Rs. 200/-. A Sum of Rs. 50,000/- granted by the President was received from the Central Govt. in December last. It is gratifying to note that the Central Govt. increased its

grant from Rs. 35,000/- (1957) to Rs. 50,000/- in 1958. The closing balance on 31st January 1959 stood at Rs. 66,743/10/6.

The monthly meetings of the Society were held regularly. On the 28th Feb. 1958, Sir Hamilton A.R. Gibb of Harvard, U.S.A., visited the Society, became a member and gave a very interesting talk on "Arabic Biographical Literature." Appendix B. gives a list of papers read in the Society in the year under review.

To the utter surprise of the Society the Pakistan Co-operative Book Society Ltd. Dacca, refused to print Dr. S.M. Imamuddin's edition of Tārīkh-i-khani Jahāni by Khwaja Ni'matullah al-Harawi after the above Society had accepted the work last year and taken an advance of more than Rs. R. 3000/-.

As for the projects undertaken by the members of the Society, Mr. Mumtāzuddin Tarafdār is preparing for the Society a Bibliography of the Articles & books on History and Culture of East Pakistan and Muslim Bengal under the supervision of Dr. A.B.M. Ḥabībullah, and is proceeding with his work satisfactorily. Mr. M.A. Khan, Research Scholar of the Society, who is working on the Farā'iḍi Movement of Bengal has made considerable progress in his research and read two papers in the Society relating to his subject (vide Appendix B).

This year the Society has extended its activities to other branches of science and literaturer. An order for the photostats of a number of rare manuscripts on History, Philosophy and Literature available in U.K., India and Paris has already been placed. But for exchange difficulties most of these works would have reached us by now.

The appendix to the Second volume of the Journal entitled "Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal (down to A.D. 1535)" prepared by Dr. A.H. Dani has already been supplied to the members. The short monograph on the "Tribesmen of the Chittagong Hill Tracts'' prepared by Dr. Pierre Bessaignet will soon be in the hands of the members along with the third volume of the year 1958.

This year, under the new project, a critical edition and English translation of Ibn Bājjah's treatises on Political Thought is being prepared by Dr. M. Ṣaghīr Ḥasan. Mr. Salīmullah Fahmi is working on Tārīkh-i-Bangālah of Munshi

Salimullah. The photostats of two manuscripts of the latter have just arrived from India Office Library, London.

The Society is also contemplating to offer some scholarhsips, each of the value of Rs. 200/- a month, to induce research on the following subjects as included in the future plan passed by the Council :—

(a) History and Archaeology.
(b) Linguistics, Anthropology and Sociology.
(c) Sanskrit or Pali.
(d) Natural History : Botany, Zoology Geology, Biology relating to East and West Pakistan.

The greatest handicap the Society is faced with at the moment is the problem of accommodation. The present room of the Museum Buildings is in fact no room worth the name. The present Curator of the Museum was very kind to lend one ceiling fan for the Office, but he urged the Society to contribute a sum of Rs. 45/- a month to meet the electricity and other charges. As the Society has already incurred a recurring expendidure of Rs. 5228/- for the year, the Council members postponed the consideration of this demand sine die. At this the Curator of the Museum cut of the electric connection. Perhaps it will not be out of place to mention that the Dacca Museum Committee in the year 1956 not only offered shelter to the Society in its buildings but also lent the use of its valuable library to its members. For the last two months, the monthly meetings of the Society have been held outside the Museum Buildings, on account of the lack of cooperation displayed by the Curator.

The Society has however decided to contribute a token sum of Rs. 25/- per month from Jan. 1959 to the Museum Fund. Asiatic Society of Pakistan in fact owes its origin to the members of the Museum Committee; and it has gone on so long with their co-operation and assistance. Now the Museum is planning to pull down the existing main building. The Society therefore appeals to its members to give a serious thought to its accommodation problem and to save it from closing down. The lump sum grant the Society has received so far is surely not sufficient for its building; nor has it made the Society strong enough financially to spend its money lavishly. The Provincial Govt. perhaps can come to rescue the Society by housing it in one of its bungalow-type houses in the Ramna area.

The Society is deeply indebted to the following Societies for the kind exchange of their journals with those of the Society, and offers sincere thanks for the same:—

1. Oriental Institute, Baroda, India,
2. The School of Oriental & African Studies.
3. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland, London.
4. The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
5. Iran Society, Calcutta.
6. Ceskislovenska Akademie Ved.
7. Acta Orientalia, Budapest.
8. Instituto per L' Oriennte, Viak David Lubin.
9. Akademie Hayk.
10. Instituto Italiano per Il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
11. Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi.
12. Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi.
13. The Enthrographic and Folk Culture Society, U. P., India,
14. Visva Bharati, Santiniketan, India.
15. Philippine National Historical Society, Manila,

And others.

Nearly Six hundred books including some rare printed books have been added to the collection of the library. A large number of books and manuscripts are still lying uncatalogued.

Before I come to the end of this report of the work of the Society in the year under review, I once more like to draw your kind attention to the most important problem the Society is facing at the moment. I mean the accommodation. Perhaps some of the members may offer some concrete solution to overcome this difficulty and thus help her to thrive and prosper in days to come. Our thanks are due to all those who have made the Society a success till to day.

—:o:—

Appendix A

UP-TO-DATE LIST OF THE MEMBERS.

1.	Dr. M. Shahidullah, M. A., D. Litt.	Foundation Member.
2.	Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah, M. A., Ph.,D., F. L. A., Professor & Head of the Deptt. of Islamic History and Culture, Dacca University.	do.
3.	Dr. W. H. A. Shadani, M. A., Ph. D., Professor and Head of the Deptt. of Persian & Urdu. Dacca Unieersity.	do.
4.	Dr. Serajul Haque, M. A., Ph. D., Professor and Head of the Deptt. of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Dacca University.	do.
5.	Dr. A. Halim, M. A., Ph. D. Professor & Head of the Deptt. of History, Dacca University.	do.
6.	Dr. Ahmad Hasan Dani, M. A., Ph. D., Reader in Hinstory, Dacca Un versity.	do.
7.	Mr. S. M. Taifoor, Kawser House, Ramna, Dacca.	do.
8.	Dr. S. M. Imamuddin, M. A. Ph. D , D. Lit., Lecturer in Islamic History & Cultute, Dacca University.	15. 1.1952.
9.	Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahman Khan, M.A.B.T., 82, Agha Masih Lane, Dacca.	26. 1.1952.
10.	Mr. Abdul Karim M. A. Lecturer in History, Dacca Unive sity.	1. 2.1952.
11.	Mr. Abdur Razzaq, M. A., Lecturer in the Deptt. of International Relations, Dacca University.	2. 2.1952.
12.	Mr. A. F. M. Sayeed, M. A. Lecturer in History, Dacca University.	2. 2.1952.
13.	Dr. M. A. Aziz, M. A., Ph. D., Lecturer in the Deptt. of International Relations, Dacca University.	2. 2.1952.
14.	Dr. S. A. Q. Husaini, M. A. Ph. D., Lecturer in Islamic History & Culture, Dacca University,	3. 2.1952.

15.	Mr. M. R. Karim, M. A., Lecturer in Islamic History & Culture, Dacca University.	5. 2.1952.
16.	Dr. S. F. Sadeque, M. A., Ph. D., Lecturer in Arabic & Islamic Studies, Dacca University.	6. 2.1952.
17.	Mr. Wadudur Rahman, M. A., Lecturer in History, Dacca University.	6. 2.1952.
18.	Dr. M. Enamul Haq, M. A. Ph. D., Director of Bengali Academy, Dacca.	7. 2.1952.
19.	Mr. Abdus Sobhan, M. A., B. Litt. (Oxon) Lecturer in Arabic & Islamic Studies, Dacca University.	13. 2.1952.
20.	Mr. Abdul Majed Khan, M. A., Lecturer in Islamic History and Culture, D.U.	13. 2.1952.
21.	Mr. S. C. Bhattacharya, M. A., Lecturer in History, Dacca University.	13. 2.1952.
22.	Mr. Shaikh Sharafuddin, M. A., Principal Jagannath College, Dacca.	11. 3.1952.
23.	Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmad, M. A., Office of the Director of Archaeology, Karachi, Pakistan.	20. 4.2952.
24.	Mr. M. Z. Islam, M. A., Inspector of Colleges, Rajshahi University.	28. 4.1952.
25.	Mr. M. Ibrahim, B. A. B. L. Ministerof Law, Govt. of Pakistan, Karachi.	5. 5.1952.
26.	Dr. Abdul Sadeque, M. A. Ph. D., 2/4, Baley Road, Dacca	7.11.1952.
27.	Mr. Abdur Rouf Fatmi, M. A., Principal Quaid-Azam College, Dacca	29.11.1952.
28.	Dr. Muhammad Ishaq, M. A. Ph. D., Lecturer in Arabic & Islamic Studies, Dacca University.	1. 2.1953.
29.	Dr. M. Saghir Hasan, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon) Lecturer in Arabic & Islamic Studies, Dacca University.	15. 2.1953.
30.	Mr. Abul Makarim Salimullah Fahmi, M. A., 262/C/2, Ingle Road, Karachi.	12. 3.1953.

31,	Mr. Muhammad Abdur Rashid, B. A. B. T., 3 Abdul Hadi Lane, Dacca.	13. 3.1953
32.	Mr. Habibur Rahman, M. A., Rajshahi,	3. 5.1953.
33.	Mr. Khondkar Md. Abdur Rahman, M.A.B.T Lecturer in Arabic & Islamic Studies, Dacca University.	6. 2.1954.
35.	Dr. Syed Sajjad Husain, M. A., Ph. D., Head of the Deptt. of English, Dacca University.	25. 3.1954.
36.	Mr. Syed Murtaza Ali, B. Sc.,	30. 1.1955.
37.	Mr. Meezanur Rahman, 5, Purana Paltan, Ramna, Dacca.	24. 2.1956.
3.	Mr. M. A. Shakoor, B. F. R. S. A. M. A. F. A. General Secretary, Museums Association, of Pakistan, Patiala House, Lahore,	2. 3.1956.
39.	Mr. M. H. Choudhuri, M. A., Lecturer in Bengali, Dacca University.	17. 3.1956.
40.	Mr. Raoul Curiel, Archieological Adviser, Ministry of Education, Karachi—1.	18. 3.1956.
41.	Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad Choudhuri, M. A., Lecturer in Political Science, Dacca University.	31. 3.1956.
42.	Mr, Manzoor Ahmad, 17, Nawab Katra Road, Dacca.	5. 6.1956.
43.	Mr. Syed Ehsan Kabir 17/6 Rankin Street, Dacca.	10. 6.1956.
44.	Mr. Abdur Rahman, "Darul Amn" Baburail 1, Naryanganj, Dacca.	30. 6.1956.
45.	Dr. Mazharul Haq, M. A., Ph. D., Reader in Economics, Dacca University.	16. 7.1956.
46,	Mr. Abul Khair, M. A., Lecturer in History, Dacca University.	2. 9.1956.
47,	Mr. M. A. Hai, M. A., Head of the Deptt. of Bengali. Dacca University.	10. 9.1956.

48, Dr. A. B. M. Naqiullah, M. B., 26. 9.1956.
76, Begum Bazar Road, Dacca.

49. Mr. S. M. Ikram, M. A., 8. 2.1957.
5, Minto Road, Dacca.

50. Mr. Mumtazur Rahman Tarafdar, M. A. 8. 2.1957.
Lecturer in Islamic History & Culture,
Dacca University.

51. Monsieur J. H. Casal, 8. 2.197
Head of the French Archacolgical Mission in Kabul,
C/o. French Embassy- Kabul,

52. Lt. Col. K. A. Rashid. 8. 2.1957.
C/o. Medical Director, G. H. Q.,
Rawalpindi,

53. Prof. Dr. Pellat 8. 2.1957.
13, Rue du Four, Paris.

54. Prof. Pierre Bessaignet, M. A. (D. Litt.) Paris, 3. 3.1957.
Dept. of Sociology, Dacca University.

55, Mr. Abu Imam, M. A., 6. 3.1957.
Jahangir Manzil,
(Near Public Library)
P. O. Ghoramara, Rajshahi.

56. Dr. Charles C. Fries, M. A. Ph. D., D. Litt., 17. 3.1957.
Prof. of English & Director, English Institute,
University of Mishigan.

57. Mr. C. M. Murshid, B. Com., 3. 8.1957.
Pakistan Oxygon Ltd., Ramgahr Road,
Jalalabad, Chittagong.

58, Mr. Muinuddin Ahmad Khan, M. A., 20. 8.1957.
Research Scholar,
Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca.

59. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Haq, M. A., 22. 8.1957.
President,
East Pakistan Secondary Education Board.
Dacca.

60. Mr, Azizul Haq, 23. 8.1957.
Director of Cottage Industries,
Govt. of East Pakistan, Dacca.

61. Director of Archaeology, 10. 9.1957.
Pakistan, Karachi.

62. Mr. B. Ahmad. — 12. 9.1957.
37, Becharams' Gate, Dacca.

63, Dr. Govinda Chandra Dev, M.A., Ph. D., — 27. 9.1957.
Deptt. of Philosophy, Dacca University.

64, Mr. P. R. Barua, M. A., — 5.11.1957.
Prof. of Pali,
Chittagong College, Chittagong.

65, Mr. A. Jalil Mir, M. A., — 17. 1.1958.
Deputy post Master General, Dacca.

66. A. K. M. Nazmul Karim, M. A., — 17. 1.1958.
Deptt. of Political Science, Dacca University.

67. Mr. A. F. M. Safiyullah, — 17. 1.1958.
10, Northbrook Hall Road, Dacca.

68, Dr. M. Rahman, M. Sc., Ph. D., — 22. 1.1958.
Reader in Mathematics, Dacca University.

69. Mr. Zafrul Huda, M. A., — 29. 1.1958.
Deptt. of Persian & Urdu, Dacca University.

70. Mr. M. A. Khair, M. A., — 23. 2.1958.
Ramna, Dacca.

71. Dr. Fred C. Shorter, M. A., Ph. D., — 2. 3.1958.
Adviser East Pakistan Planning Board,
P. O. Box. No. 97,
Ramna, Dacca.

72. Prof. H. A. R. Gibb, — 7. 3.1958.
16, Dunster Street,
Cambridge, 36, Mass, U.S.A.

73. Dr. Ishtiaque Husain Qureshi, — 7. 3.1958.
Zeba Manzar,
Shahid-i-Millat Road,
Karachi—5.

74. Mr. Abdul Ali Khan, M. A. — 7. 3.1958.
Head of the Deptt. of History,
University of Peshawar,
Peshwar,

75. Dr. S. M. Murshid M. A. Ph. D., — 19. 3.1958.
Editor "New Values,"
C/o. English Deptt. Dacca University.

76.	Mr. A. Siddique, Asstt. Director, Deptt. of Archaeology, Karachi, Pakistan.	27.5.1958.
77.	Mr. Ahmad Sharif, M. A., Lecture in Bengali, Dacca University,	4.11.1958.
78.	Mr. Ghiyasuddin Ahmad, M. A., Leacturer in History, Dacca University.	15.12.1958.
79.	Dr. K. M. Jamil, M. A. Ph. D., Head of the Deptt. of Philosophy, University of Rajshahi, Rajshahi.	6. 1.1959.
80.	Mr. Hasan Nawab, C. S. P., Secretary to the Governor, Governor House, Dacca.	18. 2.1959.

Apendix B

LIST OF PAPERS READ IN THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN IN 1958-59.

1. Dr. Muḥammad Isḥāq, Lecturer in Arabic and Islamic Studies, Dacca University, read a paper on "A Scholar Prince of Sistān," on 23rd Febuary. 1958.
2. Sir Hamiltion A. R. Gibb of Harvard, U. S. A. visited the Society and gave a very interesting talk on "Arabic Biographical Literature" on February 28, 1958.
3, Mr. Muin Uddin Ahmad Khan, Research Scholar, Asiatic Society of Pakistan, read a paper on "Stone Inscription from the tomb of Ḥāji Shari 'atullah" on 9th May, 1958.
4, Dr, S. A. Q. Ḥusaini, Lecturer in Islamic History and Culture, Dacca University, read a paper on "Some observations on Muslim Philosophy," on June 20.
5. Dr. Mehdi Ḥusain of Calcutta University, read a paper on "Bahādur Shāh II and the War of 1857 in Delhi", on 25th July, 1958.
6. Dr. Mafizullah Kabir, Reader in International Relations, Dacca University, read a paper on "The Buwayhids of Jibāl and Ray," on August 22, 1958.
7. Mr. Abdul Karim, Lecturer in History, Dacca University, read a paper on "Aspects of Muslim Administration in Bengal down to A. D. 1538." on November 21, 1958.
8. Mr. Muin Uddin Ahmad Khan Research Scholar, Asiatic Socitety of Pakistan, read a paper on "The Religious Principles as Emphasised by the Far'iaḍis", on January 9, 1959.

Expenditure

Head of Expenditure	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Progressive Total
Staff Salary.	22-0-0	22-0-0	22-0-0	78-5-3	100-0-0	100-0-0	134-10-0	155-0-0	102-8-0	92-0-0	141-0-0	169-0-0	1138-7-3
Contingency.	225-1-6	71-14-0	22-13-0	166-5-0	45-15-6	1615-8-0	34-15-0	13-0-0	75-3-6	33-8-0	88-11-9	38-14-9	2431-14-0
Expense on Scholarship.	200-0-0	200-0-0	200-0-0	300-0-0	300-0-0	300-0-0	300-0-0	300-0-0	300-0-0	300-0-0	300-0-0	300-0-0	3300/-
Tour of the Scholar.	—	—	—	52-4-0	26-0-0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	78-4-0
Part time clerk for research help.	50-0-0	—	50/-	2-5-0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	102-5-0
Purchase of books.	3191-4-0	—	697-8-0	274-0-0	—	—	111-14-0	—	—	191-11-0	268-0-0	14-7-0	4748-12-0
Binding of books	—	—	317-0-0	219-0-0	194-0-0	—	106-8-0	—	45-8-0	185-0-0	—	—	1067-0-0
Furniture	300-0-0	—	—	420-0-0	—	85-10-0	—	—	—	—	—	—	805-10-0
Printing of the Journal & the Appendix.	—	2544-0-0	—	—	—	—	—	—	1538-0-0	—	—	—	4082-0-0
Purchase of paper	269-8-0	—	—	—	90-4-0	—	7-12-0	39-11-0	—	1385-12	5-0-0	—	1792-15-0
Stamps.	3-10-0	—	3-0-0	1-8-0	3-8-6	3-15-6	3-4-0	2-7-0	9-6-0	6-4-6	2-2-0	9-11-9	48-13-3
Photestate copy Mss.	—	—	—	73-0-0	22-12	—	—	—	100-0-0	86-0-0	—	—	281-12-0
Expense on research work.	—	50-0-0	—	—	—	—	300-0-0	—	92-8-0	—	—	—	492-8-0
Purchase & printing of note cecards and invitation		36-0-0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36-0-0

Total 20356-4-6

Opening balance	36,423-4-0
Total income	50,676-11-0
Total money in hand	87,099-15-0
Total Expenditure	20,356-4-6
Balance	66,743-10-6

Sd/ S. M. Taifoor
Treasurer,
Asiatic Society of Pakistan,
Dacca.

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Professor Pierre Bessaignet, M. A., D. LITT. (Paris)

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4. Mr. A. M. Abdur Raouf Fatimi, M. A.
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DACCA

1. Journal, 1956, Vol. I ... Rs. 5/-
2. „ 1257, Vol. II ... Rs. 5/-
3. Appendix to the J. Vol. II ... Rs. 5/-
4. Publication No. I :
   The Tribesmen of Chittagong Hill Tracts Rs. 5/-
5. Publication No. II :
   English Edition of the Catalogue of Bengali Puthi Collections of Abdul Karim. (in the Press)

To be had of

General Secretary, Asiatic Society of Pakistan
Museum Buildings, Ramna, Dacca
East Pakistan.

Paramount Press, Dacca.