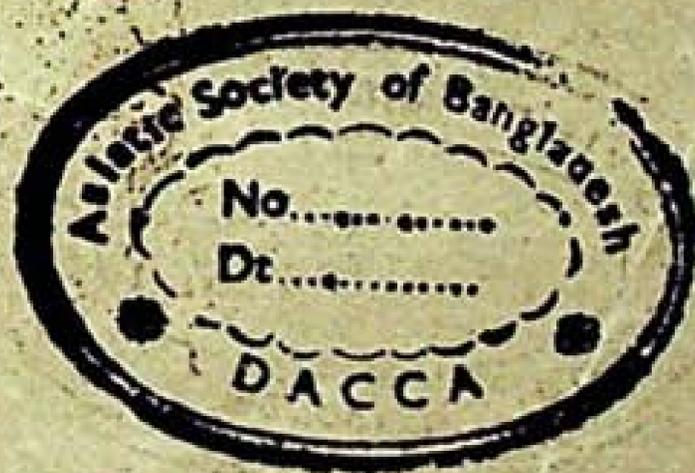


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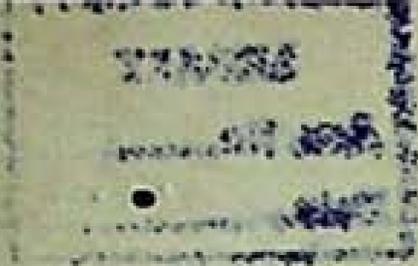
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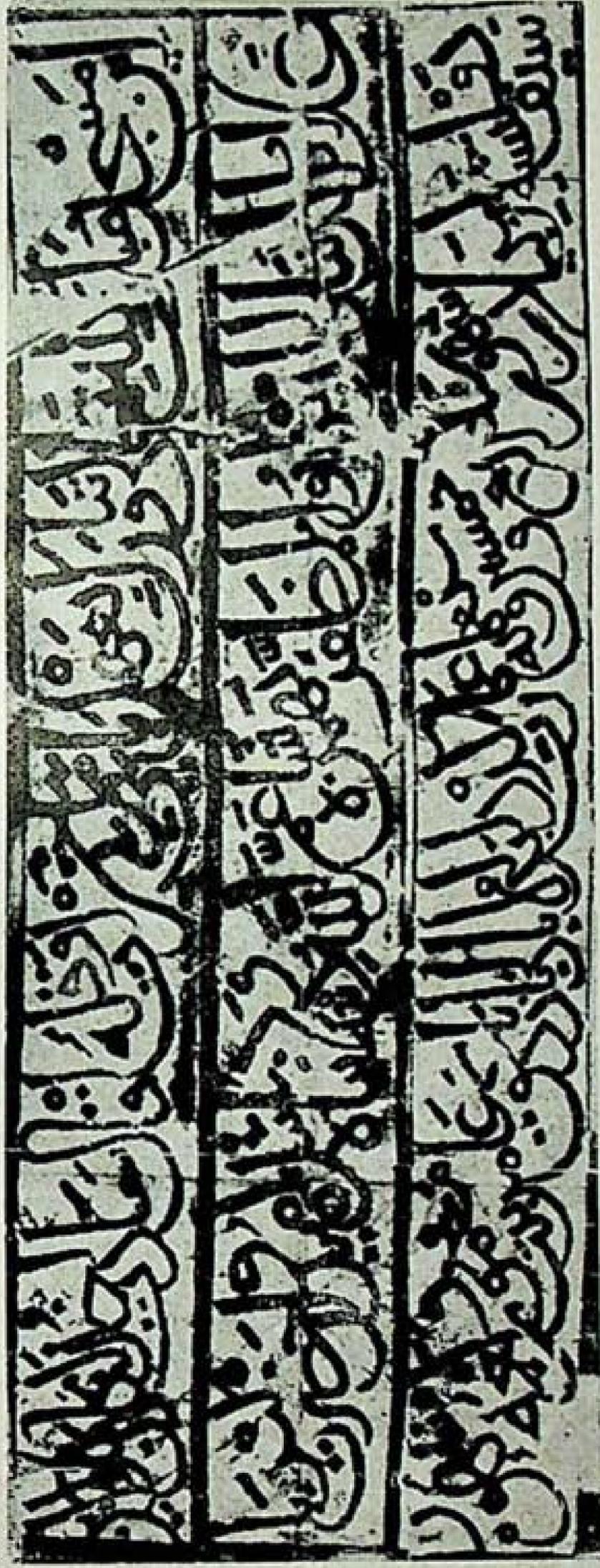
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Plate No 1



Gulbargah Mosque Inscription

A.H. 754.

(See Page 76)

A POEM OF IMĀM IBN TAYMIYYA ON PREDESTINATION

Dr. Serajul Haque

Imām Ibn Taymiyyah was not a poet but still he composed a poem in extempore in reply to a question put to him in eight ṭawīl verses by a dhimmī (a jew) named Amīn al-Baqtī who was killed for his heresy during the time of the renowned scholar Ibn Daqīq al-‘Īd : (1).

This poem was published in Egypt (Cairo) in 1906 as an appendix to K. Taflīs Iblīs of ‘Izz al Dīn b. Ghānim al-Maqdisī (d. 978H./) by Maḥmūd Afīndī Riyād. But the edition abounds in defects and errors, and there is no mention of the manuscript on which it has been based. The present edition has been mainly based on a very rare and old manuscript preserved in the British Museum, London, under Arundel Or. 10 which is identical with that listed by Brockelmann in Supplement band II, 126 as British Mus. 984/1. This MS contains 103 verses though verses 45 and 48 are incomplete. Later on I came across the following two manuscripts :--

- (1) MS preserved formerly in Berlin (see Ahlwardt's Cat. 11, p.436b.) which is identical with No. 2842 (ib. p.579) corresponds to We (Wetzstein, II) 1516 f.40a-42 a. This MS is at present preserved in the Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen. This contains 102 verses.
- (2) MS preserved in Berlin under 2481 (Ahlwardt) corresponds to Pm (Petermann, II) 35 f. 57b-60a. This is also at present in the Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen. This also contains 102 verses.

The above two manuscripts have been used alongwith the Egyptian edition in preparing the present edition. The different readings have been shown in the apparatus criticus.

(1) Murtaḍa al-Zabidi : *Ithaf al-Sadat* etc. ii 177.

The British Museum MS contains a colophone at the end of the text which indicates that the poem was completed at Aleppo in the evening of Saturday, the 3rd of Dhu al-Hijjah A.H. 712/ A.D. 1312. In Dhu al-Qa'dah of the same year, that is one month before he composed his poem, Ibn Taymiyyah was, we are told, (2) authorised to accompany the army departing for Syria and that he was absent from Damascus for seven years and seven weeks. This very copy of the MS which is now preserved in the British Museum, seems, therefore, to have been transcribed during the lifetime of the author who died in the citadel of Damascus as a prisoner in 728 A.H./1328 A. D.

I am indebted to Prof. J. Kraemer for helping me in getting the photostats of Berlin MSS from Tubingen.

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

(Fol. 4B) (هذا سوال بعض اهل الذمة من اليهود في القضاء والقدر و هو قوله) (١)

أيا علماء الدين ذمى دينكم

تخير ، دلوه باوضح حجة

إذا ما قضى ربي بكفرى بزعمكم

ولم يرضه منى فما وجه حيلتى

(2) *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. Ibn Taymiyyah.

شرح الرموز

م : نسخة المتحف البريطاني

الف : نسخة برلين (الف) الاولى

ب : نسخة برلين (ب) الثانية،

مط : النسخة المطبوعة بمصر

النسخ الاخرى : النسخ الثالث سوى منخطوط المتحف البريطاني
(١) غير موجود في م . و في نسخة (الف) : ” وقد سال
بعض اهل الذمة سوالا نظما فاجبت ان اورد السؤال و الجواب
فقال :،،

دعانى وسد الباب عنى فهل الى
 دخولى سبيل بينوا لى قضيتى
 قضى بضالى ثم قال ارض بالقضا
 فهل (٢) انا راض بالذى فيه شقوتى
 فان كنت بالمقضى يا قوم راضيا
 فربى لا يرضى بشوم بليتى
 فهل لى رضى ما ليس يرضاه سيدى
 فقد حرت دلونى على كشف حيرتى
 اذا شاء ربى الكفر منى مشيئة
 فهل انا عاص فى اتباع مشيئتى (٣)
 وهل لى اختيار ان اخالف حكمه
 فبالله فاشفوا با لبراهين غلتى

فأجابه الشيخ الامام الحافظ تقى الدين احمد بن عبد الحلیم بن
 تيمية مستعجبا اعزه الله بتقواه واعانه على الخير وقواه فقال - (٣)

(Fol. 5A) سوالك يا هذا سوال معاند

مخاصم (٥) رب المخلوق بارى البرية

وهذا سوال خاصم الملاء العالى

قديما به ابليس اصل البلية

(٢) وفى الف، وب : فها .

(٣) فى مط : المشيئة :

(٣) فى الف : "فأجاب عن ذلك نظما مر تبجلا شيخ الاسلام تقى

الدين ابو العباس احمد الشهير بابن تيمية رحمه الله تعالى،

وفى ب : فأجاب عن ذلك ارتبجلا شيخ الاسلام الخ كما فى الف -

(٥) وفى الف وب : تخصم .

ومن يك خصماً للمهيمن يرجعن
 على امر رأس هاوياً في المحفيرة
 ويدعى خصوم الله يوم معادهم
 إلى النار طراً فرقة القدرية
 سواء نفوه او سعوا ليخا صموا
 به الله او ماروا به للشريعة
 واصل ضال الخلق من كل فرقة
 هو الخوض في فعل الاله بعلة
 فان جميع الكون اوجب فعله
 مشيئة رب الخلق باري الخليفة
 وذات اله الخلق واجبة بما
 لها من صفات واجبات قد يمة
 مشيئته مع علمه ثم قدرة
 لوازم ذات الله قاضي القضية
 نقولك لم قد شاء مثل سوال من
 يقول فلم قد كان في الازلية
 و ذاك سوال يبطل العقل وجهه
 وتحريمه قد جاء في كل شرعة
 (Fol. 5B) وفي الكون تخصيص كثير يدل من
 له نوع عقل انه بارادة
 واصدره عن واحد بعد واحد
 او القول بالتجويز [رمية] (٦) حيرة
 ولا ريب في تعليق كل مسبب
 بما قبله من علته موجبية

بل الشان فى الاسباب اسباب بارئى (٤)
 و مصدرها عن حكم محض المشيئة
 فقولاك لم شاء الا له هو الذى
 ازل عقول الخلق فى قعر حفرة
 فان المجوس القا ئلين بخالق
 لنفع ورب مبدع للمضرة
 سوا لهم، عن علة الشر اوقعت
 رؤسهم فى شبهة الشنوية (٨)
 وان ملاحيد الفلاسفة الاولى
 يقولون بالفعل القديم لعلة
 نفوا (٩) علة للمكون بعد انعدامه
 فلم يجدوا ذا كم فضلوا بضامة
 وان مبادى (١٠) الشر فى كل امة (١١)
 ذوى (١٢) ملة ميمونة نبوية (١٣)
 بخوضهم فى ذا كم (١٤) صار شركهم
 وحاد رؤس البينات (١٥) بفترة

(٤) فى الف و ب و مط : ماترى

(٨) فى الف رب : المثنوية

(٩) فى النسخ الاخرى : بغوا

(١٠) فى الف رب : فان

(١١) ايضا : فرقه

(١٢) فى مط : دوى فمن رصرخ لاتباع لشبهة

(١٣) فى الف رب : منخذ رلة ثنوية

(١٤) ايضا : ذالكم

(١٥) فى م : البليات

(Fol, 6A) و يكفيك نقضا أن ما قد سألته

من القدر (١٦) مردود الى (١٧) كل فطرة

فانت تعيب الطاعنين (١٨) جميعهم

عليك وترسيهم بكل مذمة

وتنحل من والاك صفو مودة

و تبغض من ناداك (١٩) من كل فرقة

و حالهم في كل قول (٢٠) و فعلة (٢١)

كحالك يا هذا بأرجح حجة

وهبك كفت اللوم عن كل كافر

و كل غوى خارج عن محجة

فيلزمك الاعراض عن كل ظالم

على الناس من نفس و مال و حرمة

فلا تقضين (٢٢) يوما على ساؤك دماً

ولا سارق مالا لصاحب فاقة

ولا شاتم عرضاً مصوناً وان علا

ولا ناكح فرجا على وجه غيبة (٢٣)

ولا قاطع للناس نهج سبيلهم

ولا مفسد في الارض من كل و جهة

(١٦) في النسخ الاخرى : من العذر

(١٧) ايضاً : لذى .

(١٨) في مط : الطاعين

(١٩) في النسخ الاخرى : عاداك

(٢٠) في مط : قوله .

(٢١) في م : فعل

(٢٢) في النسخ الاخرى : فلا تغضبين

(٢٣) في الف ر ب : متعة

ولا شاهد بالزور إفاكا و فريفة (٢٣)
 ولا قاذف للمحصنات بريفة (٢٥)
 ولا مهلك للحرث والنسل عامدا
 ولا حاكم للعالمين برشوة
 (Fol, 6B) و كف لسان اللوم عن كل مسفه (٢٦)
 ولا تاخذن ذا جرمة (٢٧) بعقوبة
 وسهل [سبيل] (٢٨) الكاذبين تعمدا
 على ربهم من كل جاء (٢٩) بفريفة
 وإن قصدوا اضلال من يلتجى بهم (٣٠)
 يروم فساد النوع ثم الرياسة
 وجادل عن الملعون فرعون اذ طغى
 وأغرق (٣١) في اليم انتقاما بعصبة
 و كل كفور مشرك بإلهه
 و آخر طاغ كافر بنبوة
 كعادو نمرود و قوم لصاح
 و قوم لنوح ثم اصحاب الاية
 و قوم (٣٢) لموسى ثم سائر من أتى
 من الانبياء محيياً للبشرية

-
- (٢٤) ايضا : افك فريفة
 (٢٥) فى النسخ الاخرى : بزينة
 (٢٦) فى م : مفسد
 (٢٧) فى الف رب : خزيفة ، رفى مط : خربة
 (٢٨) غير مرجون فى م
 (٢٩) فى الف رب : على ربهم من كل من جا بفريفة
 (٣٠) ايضا : تستحبهم ، رفى مط : تستجيبهم
 (٣١) فى النسخ الاخرى : فاهلك
 (٣٢) فى سائر النسخ : خاصم

على انهم (٣٣) قد جاهدوا [الناس] اذ بغوا

ونالوا من العاصي بليغ العقوبة

والا فكل الخلق في كل لفظه

ولحظه عين او تحرك شعرة (٣٣)

وبطشة كف او تخطى قد يمة

و كل حراك بل و كل سكينه

هم تحت اقدار الاله و حكمه

كما انت فيما قد اتيت بحجة

(Fol. 7A) و هبك رفعت اللوم عن كل فاعل

[بغاك ردى طردا لهدى المقيسة (٣٥)]

فهل يمكن (٣٦) رفع الملام جميعه

عن (٣٧) الناس طرا عند كل قبحة

و ترك عقوبات الذين [قد] اعتدوا

و ترك الو رى الا نصاب بين الرعية

[فلا يضمن نفس و مال] (٣٨) بمثله

ولا يعقبن عاد بمثل الجرمية

و هل في عقول الناس او في طباعهم

قبول لقول النذل "ما وجه حيلتى"،

و يكفيك نقضاً ما بجسم ابن ادم

صبي و سجنون و كل بهيمة

(٣٣) فى النسخ الاخرى : كرنهم

(٣٤) فى مط : والا فكل الخلق فى لفظه و لحظه عين و تحريك
لشعرة

(٣٥) فى م : بياض

(٣٦) فى الف رب : ممكنا

(٣٧) فى م : عن

(٣٨) ايضا : بياض

من الالم المقضى من غير حيلة
 وما يشاء الله اكمل حكمته
 اذا كان فى هذا له حكمته فما
 نظن بمخلق الفعل ثم العقوبة
 وكيف ومن هذا عذاب مولد
 من الفعل فعل العبد عند الطبيعته
 كما كل سم اوجب الموت اكله
 وكل يتقد ير لرب المشيئة (٣٩)
 وكفرك يا هذا كسم اكلته
 وتعذيب نار مثل جرعة غصة (٤٠)
 (Fol 7B) ألسنت ترى فى هذه الدار من جنى
 يعاقب إما بالقضا او بشرعة
 ولا عذر للجانى بتقدير خالق
 كذلك فى الاخرى بلا مشنوية
 وتقدير رب المخلق للذنب موجب
 لتقدير (٤١) عقبى الذنب الا بتوبة
 وما كان من جنس المتاب لرفعه
 عواقب افعال العباد الخبيثة
 كخير به تمحى (٤٢) الذنوب ودعوة
 تجاب من الجانى ورب شفاعته
 وتقديره للفعل يجلب نعمة
 كتقديره الاقدار (٤٣) طرا لعله

(٣٩) فى النسخ الاخرى : المنية

(٤٠) فى مط : عضة

(٤١) فى الف رب : كتقدر

(٤٢) ايضا: كخيرية تمحر

(٤٣) فى النسخ الاخرى : الاثار

وقول حليف الشر انى مقدر
 على كقول الذئب هذى طبيعتى (٣٣)
 فهل (٣٥) ينفعن عذر الملووم فانه
 كذا طبعه ام هل يقال لعثرة (٣٦)
 ام الذئب والتعذيب اوكد للذى
 طبيعته [فعل] الشرور الشنيعة
 فان كنت ترجو ان تجاب بماعسى
 ينجيك من نار الاله العظيمة
 فدوئك رب المخلق فاقصده ضارعا
 مردا (٣٧) بان يهديك نحو الحقيقة
 (Fol. 8A) وذللى قياد النفس للحق واسمعن
 ولا تعرضن عن فكرة مستقيمة
 وما بان من حق فلا تتركه (٣٨)
 ولا تعص من يدعو لاقوم ريعه (٣٩)
 ودع دين ذى العادات لا تتبعه (٥٠)
 وعج عن سبيل الامة الغضبية
 ومن ضل عن حق فلا تقفونه
 وزن (٥١) ما عليه الناس بالمعدلية

(٣٤) فى م : هذا طبيعة

(٣٥) فى الف رب : فلم

(٣٦) فى م : لعثرة

(٣٧) فى النسخ الاخرى : مريدا

(٣٨) فى م : فلا تتركه

(٣٩) هذا الشطر غير موجود فى النسخ الاخرى وفى موضعه الشطر
 الثانى من البيت التالى هكذا : وما بان من حق فلا تتركه : وعج عن
 سبيل الامة الغضبية

(٥٠) هذا الشطر ليس بموجود فى النسخ الاخرى

(٥١) هكذا فى النسخ الاخرى وفى نسخة م : رز من راز يروز

هنالك تبدو طالعات من الهدى
 تبشر من قد جاء بالحنفية
 وملة (٥٢) ابراهيم ذاك أما منا
 ودين رسول الله خير البرية
 فلا يقبل الرحمن ديننا سوى الذى
 [به] جاءت الرسل الكرام السجية
 وقد جاء هذا الحاشر النياتم الذى
 حوى كل خير فى عموم الرسالة
 واخبر عن رب العباد بان من
 عدا عنه فى الاخرى باقبح خيبة
 فهذى دلالات العباد لحاثر
 واما هداه فهو فعل الربوبية
 وفقد (٥٣) الهدى عند الورى لا يفيد من
 عدا عنه بل يخزى بلا وجه حجة
 وحجة محتج بتقدير ربه
 تزيد عذابا كاحتجاج مريضه
 واما رضانا با لقضاء فانما
 امرنا بأن نرضى بمثل المصيبة
 كسقم وفقر ثم ذل و غربته
 وما كان من مؤذ بدون جريمة
 فاما الافاعيل التى كرهت لنا
 فلا نص ياتى فى رضاها بطاعة
 وقد قال قوم من اولى العلم لا رضى
 بفعل المعاصى والذنوب الكريهة (٥٤)

(٥٢) روى النسخ الاخرى : بملة .

(٥٣) فى الف رب : ر فعل

(٥٤) فى النسخ الاخرى : الكبيرة

فإن اله الخلق لم يرضاها لنا
 فلا نر تضي مسخوطة بمشيئته
 وقال فريق نر تضي بقضا نه
 الينا(٥٥) وما فينا فيلقى بسخوطة
 كما انها للرب خلق و انها
 لمخلوقه كسب(٥٦) كفعل الغريزة
 فنرضى من الوجه الذي هو خلقه
 ونسخط من وجه اكتساب بحيلة(٥٧)
 ومعصية العبد المكلف تركه
 لما امر المولى وان بمشيئته
 فان اله الخلق حق مقاله
 فان العباد(٥٨) في جحيم و الجنة
 (Fol. 9A) كما انهم في هذه الدار هكذا
 بل البهم في الالام ايضا و نعمة
 وحكمته العليا اقتضت ما اقتضت(٥٩) من ال
 سروق بعلم ثم امر(٦٠) و رحمة
 يسوق اولى التعذيب بالسبب الذي
 يقدره نحو العذاب(٦١) بغرة

-
- (٥٥) في م ر مط : اليه
 (٥٦) في الف ر ب : كمخلوقة كسبا الخ
 (٥٧) في م : الحيلة، ر في مط : الخطيئة،
 (٥٨) في الف ر ب : بان عبادي الخ ر في مط : بان العباد في
 نعيم و الجنة
 (٥٩) في مط : ما قضت
 (٦٠) في النسخ الخرى : بايد
 (٦١) في مط : العتاب

ويهدى اولى التنعيم نحو نعيمهم
بأعمال صدق في رجاء و خشية
وامر اله المخلق بين (٦٢) ما به
يسوق اولى التنعيم نحو السعادة
فمن كان من اهل السعادة اثرت
او امره فيه بتيسير صنعة
ومن كان من اهل الشقاوة لم ينل
بأمر ولا نهى بتقدير شقوة
ولا مخرج للعبد عما به قضى
ولكنه مختار حسن و سوءة
فليس بمجبور عديم ارادة
ولكنه شاء بخلق الارادة
ومن اعجب (٦٣) الاشياء خاق مشيئة
بها صار مختار الهدى والضلالة
فقولك هل اختار تركا لحكمه
كقولك هل اختار ترك المشيئة
و اختار ان لا اختار فعل ضالته
ولو نلت هذا الترك فزت بتو به
وذا ممكن لكنه متوقف
على ما يشاء الله من ذي (٦٣) المشيئة
فدوئك قافهم ما به قد احبت من
معان اذا انحلت بفهم غريزة

(٦٢) في النسخ الاخرى : تبين

(٦٣) في مط : عجب

(٦٤) في م : ذا

اشارت الى اصل يشير الى الهدى
 والله رب الخلق اكمل مدحه

تمت ر الحمد لله بحلب عشية نهار السبت الثالث من ذي
 الحجة سنة اثنى عشر (٦٥) عشرة وسبعون ر صلى الله على من انقذ من
 الردى رحمنا على منهم السعادة والهدى ر على اله وصحبه اولى
 الفضل والذى .

A Brief Summary Of The Poem

Question

“O the Divines of Islam ! When, according to your opinions, I have been destined by my Lord to be Kāfir, infidel, I have no way out of it as He is not pleased with it. Again, since my Lord has ordered me to be pleased with the decree (of my infidelity) I cannot but be pleased with its consequential ill-luck. Further, when my Lord wills my Kufir, am I to be a sinner if I follow my own desire ? Tell me if I have any option to go against the decree of my Lord ? I am very much perplexed as to what I should do now. Pray, remove my doubts with documentary proofs.”

Answer

“This is a question which befits only the enemies of God. The devil Iblis who is the root cause of misfortunes once put this question to God (in the ‘Ālam al-Arwāh) and quarrelled with Him. It is for such contentions that the enemies of God, such as ‘Ād, Namrūd, the people of Ṣāliḥ, Shu‘aib and Nuḥ, etc. will be cast into the Hell being stamped as the Qadarites. The holy prophets fought against these enemies and received injuries from them though they knew that these enemies were absolutely under the control of God as you are. You may excuse your enemies who want to destroy you, thinking that it is a decree of God, but is it possible for all people to pardon their

enemies and allow them to do whatever mischief they want to do? Had it been so, there would not have been any case of indemnity for any soul or property in this world. All that troubles human being or the animals here on this earth is by God's decree to which nobody questions. Similarly, God creates the deeds ('amal) and also their consequences ('uqūba) which naturally depend on the choice (ikhtiyār). He who takes poison dies, but nobody charges God for it since He had already decreed it before. So your Kufr, infidelity, is like the poison you have taken and your punishment in Hell-fire is as sure as the death caused by a morsel of food that chokes the throat.

Do you not see that a criminal is punished either by Law or by the Divine decree in this world but he does not murmur for it? Similarly in the next world, he will have no excuse for the consequential punishment for his evil deeds except that some of his sins will be condoned for the good actions he did in this world or by the intercession of the Prophet Muḥammad (ﷺ) with Allah's permission. To say that I am destined to do an evil action is like the words of a wolf, "Well, to kill (men and animal) is my nature". Such sort of arguments are of no avail. Do the right things and refrain from wrongs if you want salvation. Follow Islam, the religion of Abraham and the last of the Prophets, Muḥammad (ﷺ). To enquire into the cause of the Divine attributes is at the root of misguidance of all sections of people. Existence of everything depends on the mashiyat, will of the Lord of Creation and His dhāt, person possesses necessarily all the necessary attributes. His mashiyat, will, is with His 'ilm, knowledge, not to be separated from each other and His qadar, decree, is also a necessary attribute. To argue with God as to why He wishes this or that, is like arguing with Him as to why had He been *azali*, existing from Eternity. Such a question is beyond one's conception and is tabooed by every religion. A man of ordinary intellect can understand very many Divine mysteries in the Existence, (Kawn) which are due to God's irāda, will. The theory of the ancient philosophers that one existence depends on another or the theory of the dualists that there were two creators at the beginning, was a mere conjecture of the perplexed. The Magians believed in two creators, one for 'good' and the other for 'evil' due to their foolish enquiry into the cause of evil. Similarly the philosophers had to take resort to the theory of 'Aql Awwal', first intellect as the first cause. Therefore, your enquiry into the cause of predestination is of the above type and is futile.

“You assert that you are pleased with the consequential ill-luck as the decree of God and that you do not discriminate between good and evil, but why do you then love your friends and hate your enemies? Granting that you stop blaming the heathens and the misguided ones, but can you connive at the oppressors, the thieves, the adulterers and other evil doers? Are you then also ready to defend the cause of Pharaoh and other infidels who have been declared as the most unlucky by the Prophet Muḥammad (ﷺ)?

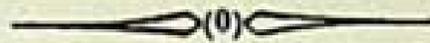
“Your arguments against taqdīr, predestination, are like those of a patient against the prescription of his physician. Our riḍā bi'l-Qaḍā or resignation to the Divine Decree is similar to our resignation to worldly misfortunes, such as poverty, disease, etc. on which we have absolutely no control and for which we never accuse anybody. There is no naṣṣ, Divine statutes as to God's riḍā, pleasure for our committing sins. They are all subject to His qaḍā, decree which amounts to His 'ilm, knowledge mentioned above.

Man possesses ikhtiyār, choice, for doing good or evil actions though he cannot escape God's decree. God facilitates the fortunate to do good actions but He does not interfere with the unfortunate who chooses the evil way and are not compelled by God to do so. This is quite in conformity with God's declaration, “Surely the righteous are in bliss and the wicked in burning fire.”

“Your assertion, ‘Have I any option to abandon His decree, (and to try to do good actions uselessly when I am destined to go to Hell?) is tantamount to your saying, ‘Have I any option to abandon the *mashiyat*, will of Allah? As for myself I choose that I shall not choose an act of misguidance. If you too could choose likewise, you would have succeeded in *tauba*, repentance and got salvation, But that again depends on the *mashiyat*, will of Allah.”

From the above reply of Imam Ibn Taimiyya, we understand that his views on the problem of predestination are similar to those of Ahl al-Sunna wa'I-Jamā'a, but he advances his arguments in a remarkable manner. In his opinion, the law of the world is the law of Allah. Man is free to do good or evil. Allah's knowledge of the events and consequences means His decree. Allah never alters anything for bad. So we have no ground to question about the evil consequences as we

are unable to grasp the causes. In other words, it is beyond our comprehension to understand the mysteries of various unforeseen events of our life for which we do not accuse anybody. Similarly, we cannot conceive the reasons of the divine works in the next world. We have to obey Allah's order. Allah knows best about the results.



AL-BĪRŪNĪ

Professor P. E. KAHLE

Al-Bīrūnī was certainly one of the greatest Islamic scholars who have ever lived. A well informed Islamic scholar who was active about a hundred years after Bīrūnī, 'Ali b. Zaid al-Baihakī, says in his book *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, of which we have the carefully made edition of Professor Muḥammad Shafi, published in Lahore 1935:

Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī was one of the greatest mathematicians. He travelled in the territories of India forty years and composed many books, the majority of which I have seen in his own handwriting. *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* which he composed in the time of Sulṭān Shihāb ad-Daula Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd (ruled 1030-41) is a diamond among his books. He had a dispute with Abū 'Alī (Ibn Sina, Avicenna). He did not like to venture on the seas of metaphysics—everybody is guided to that for which he is created. His books are heavier than the load of a camel. He was successful in his purposes. Birun, where he was born and grew up, is a beautiful town in which many curious and beautiful things are to be found—no wonder, for pearls are living on shelves.

These words contain a small appreciation of the great master by an Eastern scholar who was interested in him and who had seen most of his works in his own handwriting. Al-Bīrūnī was no born 'Arab. His mother-tongue was Khwārizmī, an East Iranian language which died out long ago. Some notes in this language found by Professor Zaki Walīdi Toghān in Arabic manuscripts concerned with Islamic law, were studied by Walter B. Henning, the great Iranist, in my house in Bonn and afterwards discussed by the two scholars at the German Congress of Orientalists at Bonn in 1936. As a result Henning was able to bring out the principles of the Khwārizmī language. In a recent letter Professor Henning tells me that he hopes to continue his studies on the Khwārizmī language in the near future.

How al-Bīrūnī himself weighed up the respective merits of his mother tongue and the Arabic and Persian languages may be gauged

from the following words in the introduction to his last work, the book on drugs, *Kitāb aṣ - Ṣaidala*, which he composed after he had passed his eightieth year, and about which we have a valuable publication of Max Meyerhof:

The sciences of the whole World have been translated into Arabic. They have been adorned and have permeated the hearts, and the beauties of the language have flowed through the veins and arteries, even although every people holds its own language to be beautiful with which it lives in intimate contact and, which it uses for its requirements in relation to associates and equals. I say this from my own experience. A language has been inculcated in me of which one could say that were any science to be in it, such a science would be as odd as a camel in a gutter or a giraffe amongst a group of noble horses.

Then I went over to the Arabic and Persian languages, and I am a stranger to each of them and spend much effort on them, but to be reviled in Arabic is more pleasing to me than to be praised in Persian.

The truth of what I say will be known to everyone who has to do with a scientific book which has been translated into Persian: its elegance has disappeared, its meaning has been darkened, its countenance blackened, its usefulness destroyed because this language is only suitable for legends about the Khusroes and for nightly entertainments.

It has been suggested, probably rightly, that when he refers to the Legends about the Khosroes he is thinking of the famous Shāhnāmah, the great poem of his contemporary Firdausi which we have been accustomed to regard as one of the greatest poems in the World. Evidently al-Bīrūnī had no real understanding for such poetry.

According to al-Bīrūnī, scholarly work has to be composed in the Arabic language. But the Arabic style used by him is a very condensed one and difficult to understand.

At the time when I was collecting material for my studies on Chinese porcelain in the lands of Islam, I became especially interested in the book by al-Bīrūnī on precious stones *Kitāb al-Jamāhir fi maʿrifat al-Jawāhir*, to which Professor Krenkow had drawn my attention.

In his account of artificial stones al-Bīrūnī describes amongst other things the Chinese bowls (**al-qaṣ'ah aṣ-ṣīniyah**). He begins with the imitations of Chinese bowls made in Persia, which he typifies as barbaric, base and common. Then he gives a description of the genuine Chinese bowls which is astonishingly exact, and as it is by far the oldest description of Chinese porcelain with which we are acquainted it is of great value. Afterwards he tells us that he had in ar-Raiy a friend among the merchants, a man from Iṣfahān who entertained him in his house and showed him everything it contained the bowls, the dishes, the bottles, the plates, the pitchers, the drinking vessels, the pouring jugs, the wash basins, the ash bowls, the censers, the lamps, the lamp stands, and other objects, all made of Chinese porcelain, and he was quite astonished at such a desire for luxury.

This report is certainly very remarkable in several respects. First with regard to the time of **al-Bīrūnī's** stay in ar-Raiy. We learn that he left his home country at the age of about 20 - he was born in 972 and as he was in Jurjān from about 998 onwards, under Qābūs b. Washmgīr, the Ziyārīde, to whom he dedicated his first great work, the Chronology of Ancient Nations, he was in ar-Raiy before the end of the 10th century. We must suppose that the porcelain collected by his wealthy friend was for the most part manufactured in the time of the T'ang, that great art-loving dynasty at the beginning of whose rule Chinese earthenware had attained such perfection as to have the quality of porcelain and during which porcelain became very famous.

It was exported in great quantities and was highly valued. I have given some references for this fact in my article published in the Journal of Pakistan Historical Society 1953.

In Europe Chinese porcelain became known only after the discovery of the sea route to China by the Portuguese in the 16th century, more than 600 years after the description given by al-Bīrūnī. As al-Bīrūnī had not been in China himself, his description was presumably based on information obtained from Chinese experts who may have been concerned with the porcelain trade in Persia.

On the other hand, we must bear in mind, that real T'ang porcelain about the manufacture of which **al-Bīrūnī** gives such a valuable description, became known in the west only recently. T'ang porcelain

was only identified with certainty in the west when sherds of such porcelain were discovered in the ruins of the 'Abbāside residence at Samarra by Sarre and Herzfeld at the beginning of the present century.

I have translated and investigated the chapter of **al-Bīrūnī's** book on precious stones dealing with *rock-crystal, glass and mina*. I shall confine myself here to a few pieces of information given by him which are of unusual interest. The famous rock-crystal vessels, which are connected with the Fatimide caliphs in Egypt and which often have the name of a Caliph inscribed on them, are familiar to us. Several valuable examples of these artificially decorated vessels are to be found in the Museums. We scarcely doubted that they were made in Egypt and that the rock crystal used for them came from Arabia. Now al-Bīrūnī who was living at the time when these vessels were manufactured, tells us that the rock-crystal used for them was imported from the islands of the Zenj, that is to say from Madagascar and the Lacedive and Maldive Islands, that the material was brought to Baṣra, and that the rock-crystal vessels and similar articles were manufactured there. He tells us that there was a **muqaddir**, a kind of valuer, to whom the greater and smaller pieces of rock-crystal were brought. He had to investigate them carefully and to suggest how the most beautiful and convenient artistic objects could be made from the individual pieces. He had to write a specification on each of the pieces. Then the pieces were taken to the artist who had to carry out the work in accordance with the specification given. And al-Bīrūnī adds that the muqaddir, the valuer, receives from the value of each piece a multiple of what the artist gets, according to the essence of the difference between the idea and the execution.

I discussed al-Bīrūnī's report with Professor Kühnel in Berlin. He told me, first, that he had known a great expert on rock-crystal in Berlin who had always said that the Fatimide rock-crystal ware bore the peculiar characteristics of rock crystal coming from Madagascar. This observation was now confirmed by the contemporary Bīrūnī.

Secondly, Kühnel was convinced that what al-Bīrūnī says about the import of rock crystal to Baṣra and the manufacture of vessels out of it in 'Irāq is of greatest importance. An authority like the Swedish scholar Lamm, by studying the decorations of these vessels, had come to the conclusion many years ago that the place of their manufacture could probably be determined as 'Irāq. Kühnel added: Even

if it is doubtful whether the Fatimide names could have been inscribed on the vessels in the 'Abbāside Baṣra, it is certain that in the light of these remarks of al-Bīrūnī the whole series will have to be reconsidered.

I was just working on a chapter of the introduction to Bīrūnī's book in autumn 1936, when Taqiyuddīn al-Hilālī, the excellent Arabic scholar of whom I have already spoken, came to Bonn. In the paragraph of the Introduction to the book on precious stones devoted to Futuwwa, I had found a few things which were not quite clear to me. They were not clear to Taqiyuddīn either when I showed the text to him. It was only after a very careful discussion and investigation of every detail that the text became completely intelligible to both of us and our translation could be published by Professor Taeschner in the periodical *Der Islam*, vol. XXIV, 1937.

By means of this work Taqiyuddīn became acquainted with the way in which we tackled such kinds of problems. We continued to work together for a long time on other difficult Arabic texts, particularly the Arabic shadow plays of Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl, a contemporary of the 13th century Mamlūk Sulṭān aḡ-Zāhir Baibars. The material for this work on the shadow plays had come to me by bequest of my old friend George Jacob, the Professor at Kiel University who had died in Summer 1937. An extract from our work on it appeared in the *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, April, 1954, 98-115. I think whoever reads it will appreciate the statement of Taqiyuddīn that these shadow play texts were both the most difficult and the most humorous Arabic texts he had ever read. We had completed our work by the time I had to leave Bonn with my family in spring 1939. Since then I have not had many opportunities of returning to these Arabic shadow plays, through pressure of other work, but I hope to be able to publish the text in the not too distant future. However, Taqiyuddīn took over the translation of the whole introduction to Bīrūnī's book on precious stones and investigated it exactly, preparing the work as a thesis at Berlin University under the supervision of Professor Richard Hartmann. The book was published in Leipzig in 1941, and showed that Taqiyuddīn had become a fine scholar who had obtained a real understanding of al-Bīrūnī. Unfortunately the copies of the book were destroyed during the war, but I was still able to buy one when I came to Leipzig for the first time after the war, in 1948. It would be most valuable to publish

an English translation of it. From this introduction we can acquire a very good idea of the personality of the master BĪRŪNĪ.

In his preface to his translation of the Chronology of Ancient Nations, Eduard Sachau gives the following characterization of al-BĪRŪNĪ:-

“As a Muslim he inclined towards the Shī‘a, but he was not a bigoted Muslim. He betrays a strong aversion to the ‘Arabs, the destroyers of Sassanian glory, and a marked predilection for all that is of Persian or Iranian nationality. Muslim orthodoxy had not yet become so powerful as to imperil the life of a man, be he Muslim or not, who would study other religions and publicly declare in favour of them.”

Brockelmann pointed out in his Supplement that several of Sachau’s statements could not be right. Taqiyuddīn, going further, asks the following questions:

1. What was al-BĪRŪNĪ’s attitude towards Islam ?
2. Was he a Shī‘ite or a Sunnite ?
3. Was he hostile towards the ‘Arabs and was he an Iranian nationalist ?
4. What was his attitude towards Arabic scholarship ?

In answer Taqiyuddīn shows clearly that in the introduction to his book on precious stones al-BĪRŪNĪ presents himself as both a religious and an orthodox author. He shows that BĪRŪNĪ affirms God to have given to man sight and hearing that they may see God’s wisdom in the creation and may be led thereby to Him, and Taqiyuddīn proves this by several verses of the Qur’ān, saying that even Ghazzālī could not have made the proof clearer. He shows that BĪRŪNĪ discusses with great respect and full understanding the views of the ‘Arabs and the Qur’ān that real knowledge is concerned with the heart and not with the brain, and by quoting several passages of the introduction, that BĪRŪNĪ’s orthodoxy cannot be doubted.

It is very interesting that Max Meyerhof, when dealing with BĪRŪNĪ’s **Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaidala** (Berlin 1932) comes to very similar conclusions, and my own view formed on the basis of what I have carefully read of the book on precious stones, is the same. It is true that the book on drugs and the book on precious stones belong to the final period of BĪRŪNĪ’s literary activity, and it is possible that he may have expre-

ssed a different attitude in an earlier work. But I have the clear impression that Sachau has misunderstood several sentences in the Chronology and that the portrait of Bīrūnī drawn by Sachau will have to undergo careful revision.* We have to note first that the manuscripts used by Sachau were late and not very accurate. H. Ritter has pointed out that the Istanbul manuscript Umumi 4667 is much more correct and contains many passages missing in Sachau's edition.

In the **Documenta Islamica Inedita**, edited 1952 by Johannes Fück and dedicated to Richard Hartmann, quite a number of lacunae in Sachau's edition are supplied by Karl Garbers and by Johannes Fück. These passages will have to be included in a new edition of Bīrūnī's Chronology. But not only will it be necessary to include in a new edition of the book the passages missing in Sachau's edition, but the whole text will have to be revised according to the Istanbul manuscript, and a fresh translation and investigation according to the new text is also required.

But the same is to be said of the edition and translation of Bīrūnī's book on India. Bīrūnī has himself declared that during the course of about 40 years he visited India again and again. We know that he made a careful study of Sanskrit and discussed all the chief problems with learned Indian scholars. We can say that hardly any Islamic or foreign scholar has studied so objectively, and in such an exact way the highly civilised land of India.

Sachau's edition of the book on India has been out of print for many years. It is very welcome to hear that a new edition is being prepared in India. May we hope that all material now accessible will be used for the edition and that Sachau's translation of the book will be thoroughly revised. That such a revision is imperative was the opinion of such an authority on Indian subjects as Heinrich Luders of Berlin University with whom I have often discussed the matter. There can be no doubt that Sachau's translation and commentary are quite inadequate. Lūders was firmly of the opinion that this excellent account of India given by so prominent a scholar as Bīrūnī some 900 years ago should be seriously investigated by experts on the Arabic and Indian languages, religions and cultures. It would not, I think, be an easy task but it would be a most beneficial one for the Pakistan Historical Society to take over in a sound, scholarly way.



CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE BUWAYHIDS OF BAGHDĀD*

DR. MAFIZULLAH KABIR

The disintegration of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate was complete by the year 324/935 and the historian of the Caliphate (Miskawayh) records with regret:

“Fārs went to 'Alī ibn Buwayh; Rayy, Iṣfahān and Jibāl to Ḥasan ibn Buwayh; the Jazīrah to the Ḥamdānids, Egypt and Syria to the Ikhshīdids; al-Andalus to 'Abd al-Raḥmān the Umayyad; Khurāsān to the Sāmānids and Ṭabaristān and Daylam to the Daylamites; only Madīnat al-Salām remained in the hands of the Caliph.”¹

Though the implication from the point of view of the Caliphate was one of despair yet the historian was perhaps too close to the current of events to appreciate the cultural significance of this new phenomenon. The Caliphate was undergoing a new process of re-orientation in which the centre of gravity shifted from Baghdād to the provinces and in line with the tradition once set up by Baghdād several cultural centres arose rivalling and relegating her to a position of minor importance. The Buwayhid share to the territories of the Caliphate was proportionately larger and their contribution to the cultural elevation of those regions comparatively greater. The patronage extended by many of the Buwayhid Amīrs to men of learning and their generally liberal views, particularly because they were Shī'ites, encouraged much notable scientific and literary activity.

The Early Period

We include in this period the reigns of Mu'izz al-Dawla and his son Bakhtiyār. Mu'izz al-Dawla's interests lay mainly in warfare and state affairs. Coming straight from primitive stage of society he was quite unacquainted with the cultural life of Baghdād over which he gained mastery. In a memorable visit to the palace of the Caliph al-Muṭī' he stood agap to see the effigy of a woman which

*For Abbreviations used in this article see the end.

1. *Miskawayh* (M) 1, 366-67, I. J. VI, 288

decorated some part of the palace and wished that he could get a slave-girl of that type.² Besides, his preoccupation in warfare afforded him very little opportunity to develop cultural interests. Still it was during his reign that his Wazīr al-Muhallabī was the centre of a literary circle which left its mark on Arabic literature.

The evening assemblies, to which the 'Abbāsid Caliphs attracted during their hey-day men of literary taste, had created successful prototypes in the assemblies convened by courtiers and nobles in their private capacity. The Buwayhids were singularly fortunate in having a number of Wazīrs who were themselves men of learning and patronised art and culture. Abu Muḥammad al-Muhallabī, the Wazīr of Mu'izz al-Dawla used to hold such assemblies and the best geniuses of the period received bounties from him. Himself a poet of no mean order his poverty prior to his rise into power seems to have urged him to creativeness.³ And when favoured by fortune he attached to his person a number of writers and poets chief among whom were the family of poets called "Banu 'I-Munajjim",⁴ one 'Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Baqqāl,⁵ a group of Qāḍīs notable among them being Abu' l-Qāsim al-Tanūkhī⁶ (father of the famous 'Alī ibn Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī), and two other outstanding literary figures—Abu' l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī and Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī. As for al-Iṣfahānī though he wrote the Kitāb al-Aghānī for Sayf al-Dawla of Aleppo yet as a Baghdādī he was most intimately related to al-Muhallabī whom he praised in the most high-flown language:

ولما انتجعنا لا نذین بظله اعان وما عنی ومن وما منا
وردنا علیه صقترین فراشدا وردنا نداه مبدیین فاخصبنا⁷

2. Ibn al-Jawzi 21, al Muntazam (I. 7) VII, 21

3. Yātima (Yat.) II, 8-9

فإذا العيش مالا خير فيده	الا صرت يباع فاشتره
يخلصني من العيش الكريه	الا صرت لذيذ الطعم ياتي
وددت لو انني مما يليه	اذا ابصرت قبرامن بعيد
تصدق بالرفاة على اخيه	الا رحم المهيمن نفس حر

4. Yat. 11, 283

5. Irshad (Irsh.) V, 507

6. Yat. 11, 106

7. Ibid, 278

“And when we intended to take shelter in his shade he helped us while he is not from me and he treated us kindly while he does not belong to us; we visited him exploring a little water; we arrived his hospitality when suffering from drought and then we were drenched heavily.”

As for Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī, about whom we shall learn much later, he was the Ṣāhib Dīwān al-Rasā' il of Mu'izz al-Dawla and as a writer was most intimately attached to the person of al-Muhallabī on whose death the Amīr put him under arrest.⁸ Ibrāhīm's works included a selection of al-Muhallabī's poetry.⁹

Bakhtiyār, son and successor of Mu'izz al-Dawla, though a weak and incapable ruler was interested in poetry and the Yatīma has preserved specimens of his compositions which establish him as the best versifier of his family.¹⁰ He reinstated Ibrāhīm in his former position and also had in his service the poet Ibn al-Ḥajjāj about whom we have to say much afterwards.

The Middle Period : the reign of 'Aḍud al-Dawla

During the reign of 'Aḍud al-Dawla (in Shīrāz from 949 to 978 A.D. & in Baghdād from 978 to 983 A.D.) Fārs and 'Irāq enjoyed greater measure of peace and security and consequently cultural development reached its high water mark. In the style of the great 'Abbāsīd Caliphs he used to hold evening assemblies in which apart from the usual drinking entertainments by music and recitation took place. Himself a composer, though to my mind inferior to his cousin Bakhtiyār, he showed keen interest in the music played and asked questions about the songs sung.¹¹ The songs of the famous singers were followed by a recital of the classical poems and the improvisation of new ones by the boon companions.¹² On ceremonial occasions these assemblies were very gorgeous and particularly so on the birth-day of 'Aḍud

8. *Yat.* 11, 25

9. *Irsh.* 1, 358

10. To give one example : (*Yat.* 11, 5)

رفاؤك لازم مكنون سرى وحبك غايتهى و الشوق زادى

وخالک فى عذارک فى الليالى سواد فى سواد فى سواد

11. Abu Shujā', *Dhayl Tajarib*, (s) 41, I. 7. VII, 115

12. *Irsh.* VI, 254-6.

according to the solar calender. 'Aḍud would enter into a large hall of audience which was brilliantly decorated. The astrologers, the musicians and a select few of his boon companions would be allowed access to him, and among them again only two or three would be permitted to sit in his presence. Then while the company would amuse themselves with drinking and music, 'Aḍud received courtiers, officials, secretaries, governors, and the leading citizens of the state, who would come to congratulate him on the occasion. The poets would then enter and sing his glory.¹³

'Aḍud al-Dawla was a great lover of learning. He granted ample allowances to jurists, Qur'ānic commentators, traditionists, theologians, poets, grammarians, genealogists, physicians, astrologers, mathematicians and engineers. In his palace a room next to his own suite was always set apart for men of special attainments who could engage in their peaceful pursuits without interference from ordinary folk. Allowances and honoraria were fixed for them. The young were thus encouraged to study and the old to instruct. Talent and ability had free scope.¹⁴

'Aḍud himself was much given to reading. He used to take vows that on being able to master Euclid and Abū 'Alī's grammar he would give twenty-thousand and fifty-thousand dirhams respectively in charity.¹⁵ We also learn that the Kitāb al-'Aghānī was his constant companion alike at home and on journeys.¹⁶ He used to take part in the lively discussions of the savants assembled in his house.¹⁷ Indeed he preferred assemblies of the learned to those of the Amīrs and nobles.¹⁸ That 'Aḍud was keenly interested personally in different sciences and learning is also evident from the following saying attributed to him:

"My tutors in the stars and their stations is 'Abd al-Raḥmān the Ṣūfī, in the interpretation of astronomical tables(al-Zīj) the Sharīf ibn al-A'lam and in syntax Abū 'Alī al-Fārsī."¹⁹

13. *Ibib*, 258-9.

14. M11,408

15. *I. J.* V11, 115, S., 66

16. *Irsh.*, V, 250

17. *Abu Shujā'*, 68

18. *Yat.* 11, 3; *I. J.* V11, 115

19. *Qisti*, 226 *Irsh.* 111,310

These people and several others had made definite contributions to the branches of learning in which they specialised. Of them Abū 'Alī al-Fārsī wrote for him the Kitāb al-Ḥujja fi'l-Qirā'at al-Sab' (a book on seven different ways of reading of the Qur'ān), and two books on grammar - al-Takmila and al-'Īdāh. The last named was so much liked by 'Aḍud that he was reluctant to let anyone else read it.²⁰ Abū 'Alī had a rival in Abū Sa'īd al-Ṣirāfi whose "Sharḥ Sibawayh" was much in demand among the students of Abū 'Alī. These students were however interested only in finding fault with al-Ṣirāfi's work but according to a report of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī they failed ultimately to point out any discrepancy in it.²¹ Al-Ṣirāfi, deprived from court patronage for reasons not known to us, was however according to Ibn Khallikān the best grammarian of the Baṣrite School.²² Another grammarian of 'Aḍud's court was Uṭmān ibn Jinnī, a prolific writer, among whose many works were a commentary of a single couplet of a poem of 'Aḍud al-Dawla and several books on grammar.²³ The chief merit of his many writings, says Sarton, is their philosophical treatment of philology.²⁴

More important contribution of this period was made by the clients of 'Aḍud al-Dawla in the field of astronomy (which was of course hardly distinguished in those days from astrology), and its ally mathematics on the one hand, and in medical science on the other. We have already mentioned two of 'Aḍud's teachers - the astronomer 'Abd al-Raḥmān the Ṣūfī and the astrologer the Sharīf Ibn al-A'lam. The former was the author of several important books, namely, 'the Book of Fixed Stars' (كتاب الكواكب الثابتة) which according to Sarton is one of the three masterpieces of Muslim observational astronomy,²⁵ 'the Book of Verses on the Fixed Stars' (كتاب الارجوزة فى الكواكب الثابتة), 'the Tadhkira' and 'the Projection of Rays'²⁶ (مطارج الشعاعات). He also prepared for 'Aḍud al-Dawla

20. S., 68

21. *Irsh.* 111, 85

22. *Ibn Khallikan* (Cairo ed) 11, 130

23. Details of his life in *Irshad* V, 29-32; the couplet of 'Aḍud referred to is

اهلا رسلا بنى البشرى ونوبتها
رباشتمال سرا يا نا على الظفر

24. G. Sarton-*Introduction to the history of Science* vol. 1, 689

25. *Ibib*, 666

26. *Qifti*, 26; *Fihri.*, 284

a silver globe weighing three thousand dirhams, which was afterwards seen in 435/1043 by an Egyptian astronomer in the library of Cairo by which it had been bought for three thousand dīnārs.²⁷

Ibn al-A'lam was the author of some astronomical tables (صاحب الزيج). He was equally well-versed in both astrology and astronomy. His tables were used for about three hundred years down to the days of al-Qifī (d. 646/1248/9). 'Aḍud al-Dawla entirely depended on his prognostications for all his plans and programmes.²⁸ Another astrologer and mathematician of 'Aḍud's court was Abu'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh known as "Saturn's Slave" (غلام زحل). He wrote several books on both astronomy and astrology. Al-Qifī relates as to how in an assembly of the learned he clearly explained to the opponents of astrology the principle by which happenings on earth are related to siderial changes.²⁹ 'Aḍud also honoured a scion of the 'Abbāsīd royal family named Abu'l-Faḍl Ja'far, son of the Caliph al-Muktafī, for his knowledge of astrology.³⁰

Pure mathematics and geometry also flourished under the patronage of 'Aḍud al-Dawla. The most outstanding figure in this field was Abu'l-Qāsim al-Anṭākī. He wrote a commentary on Euclid and books on arithmetic, including the following on different methods of arithmetical reckoning :-

- (a) كتاب التخت الكبير في الحساب الهندي On the Indian Method of Counting
- (b) كتاب الحساب على التخت بلا منحر On Counting by the fingers without Substraction,
- (c) كتاب الحساب بلا تخت بل باليد Counting by the fingers without a board, and
- (d) كتاب في المكعبات A Book on Cubes.³¹

Another mathematician of 'Aḍud's court was Abū Naṣr al-Kalwādhānī who also wrote a book on the Indian method of reckoning entitled: كتاب التخت الكبير في الحساب الهندي.³²

27. *Qifti*, 440

28. *Qifti*, 235

29. *Qifti*, 224 ; *Fihrist* (Fih.), 284; *Suter*, 63

30. *Qifti*, 155; *Suter*, 64-5

31. *Qifti*, 234 ; *Fih.*, 266,284

32. *Fih.*, 284 ; *Qifti*, 288 ; *Suter*, 74

The contribution to medical science was even more remarkable for, apart from the books on medicine written by 'Aḍud's physicians, there arose a great school of medicine so to say, around the hospital which 'Aḍud established. The greatest figure in this field was 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī known to the west as 'Hāly 'Abbās' who compiled for 'Aḍud an encyclopaedia of medicine called 'the 'Aḍudī Kunnāsh', also known as the *Kitāb al-Mālikī* (the *Liber Regius* in Latin), described by al-Qiftī as "a noble treasure comprehending the science and practice of medicine admirably arranged". "It enjoyed", he adds, "great popularity in its day and was diligently studied until the appearance of the 'Qānūn' of Avicenna, which usurped its popularity and caused it to be somewhat neglected. The former excels on the scientific side and the latter on the practical side."³³ The name of Abu'l-'Abbās, however, does not occur on the list of physicians employed by 'Aḍud for his hospital. Apparently he did not accompany his patron to Baghdād.

As for the *Bīmāristān al-'Aḍudī*, 'Aḍud al-Dawla built it on the site of the old *Khuld* Palace. There had existed hospitals in Baghdād before his day but they were not organised like the one he established. Projects also had been formed by some of his predecessors in the Amirate for the foundation of hospitals. The Turkish Amīr Bajkam had intended building one on the same site as the 'Aḍudī but had been unable to complete it;³⁴ and Mu'izz al-Dawla had ordered a hospital to be built in Eastern Baghdād on the site known as "the New Prison House" allotting an annual revenue of five thousand dīnars for its maintenance ; but he too was overtaken by death before its execution.³⁵ 'Aḍud al-Dawla had a liking for hospitals and had built one in *Shīrāz* before coming to Baghdād.³⁶ He completed the 'Aḍudī in the year of his death, 983 A.D. and endowed it with large trust funds appointing trustees, treasurers, inspectors and porters. Many kinds of drugs, medicine, plants, bedding and instruments were provided. By the side of the *Bīmāristān 'Aḍud* set up a market for cloth merchants, probably to make clothes and sheets available

33. *Qifti*, 232, as translated by Browne in his *Arabian Medicine* p., 53-4

34. *I. J.* VII, 114.

35. *Ibib*, 33

36. *Farsnama*, 37

for the hospital, and established some grinding mills on the Zubay-dīya canal of which the profits went to swell its revenue.³⁷

He gathered together from various parts of his realm many physicians the chief among whom was Jibrā'īl ibn 'Abdu'llah ibn Bakhtīshū', a member of the famous Bakhtīshū' family. Qifī mentions that Jibrā'īl received two monthly salaries from 'Aḍud al-Dawla—three hundred Shujā'ī (i.e. 'Aḍudī) dirhams as pay for his service in the hospital and another three hundred as a notable courtier of 'Aḍud.³⁸ This Jibrā'īl is famous for his renowned treatise on medicine "the Kāfi", a copy of which he presented to the Dār al-'Ilm in Baghdād.³⁹ Qifī says that 'Aḍud al-Dawla engaged some twenty four physicians for his hospital mentioning in particular the names of 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Bakhsb, Abu'l-Ḥasan ibn Kaṣḥkarāyā, Nazīf al-Rūmī, the surgeon Abu'l-Khayr, Abū Ya'qūb of Ahwāz and Ibn Mandawayh.⁴⁰ The first four are also mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a who adds the names of others, viz. the skilful ophthalmologist (الأمحال) Abū Naṣr ibn al-Duḥalī, the surgeon (الجزائري) Abu'l-Ḥasan ibn al-Tuffāḥ, the orthopaedic surgeon (المجبر) Abu'l-Ṣalt, and the physicians Abū'Isā Baqīya and Banū Ḥasnūn.⁴¹

The traveller Ibn Jubayr visited the hospital some two hundred years after its foundation and saw it functioning elaborately and efficiently.⁴² During the Mongol invasion the institution must have shared the common fate of the city of Baghdād, so that about one hundred and fifty years after him Ibn Baṭṭuṭa found it in complete ruins. For at least two centuries, therefore, the hospital remained a place of refuge for the sick and the invalid of Baghdād.⁴³

In the domain of literature a mass of materials was produced by the clients of 'Aḍud al-Dawla and these still await examination by the

37. *I. J.* VII, 112, 114; S., 69

38. *Qifī*, 148; *Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a* (I.A.U.) I, 145

39. *Qifī*, 150

40. *Qifī*, 235-6; 304; 337-8; 407; 436; 438; *Chahar Maqala*, 70, 80-1

41. *I.A.U.* I, 1310

42. *Travels*, Gibb Memorial V, 225

43. *Ibn Battuta*, 100

students of literature. The Buwayhid period was indeed a glorious period for the development of Arabic literature. In prose and poetry alike the writers of this period made lasting contribution. The celebrated Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād, in a statement attributed to him by Ṭha 'ālibi, says that the leading writers of the day were four: the Ṣāhib himself, Ustād Abu'l-Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd, 'Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābi and Abd'l-'Azīz ibn Yūsuf.⁴⁴ Of them the first two were Wazīrs of the Buwayhid dynasty of Rayy, while the other two were in the service of 'Aḍud al-Dawla.

Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi was undoubtedly the best prose-writer of his time. He was, as referred to above, the Ṣāhib Diwān al-Inshā appointed under Mu'izz al-Dawla, arrested by the latter after the death of his patron al-Muhallabī, reinstated under Ba'h̄tiyār who offered him the Wizāra on condition of his acceptance of Islām, an offer that he declined. When 'Aḍud al-Dawla came to Baghdād he again put him under arrest merely because Ibrāhīm had written to 'Aḍud some letters on behalf of Ba'h̄tiyār under whom he was then serving. 'Aḍud promised to release him only on condition that he would write a book on the history of the Daylamites. The result was 'the Kitāb al-Tājī', a book which is unfortunately lost to us but referred to by later writers as one of their main sources for the history of the Daylamites.⁴⁵ As Ṣāhib Dīwān al-Inshā Ibrāhīm set up the standard and the style for official correspondence and his letters which still survive are fine literary products. "Even to day" says Mez, "the letters of Ṣābī can be read with relish and admiration for the command of language which enlivens even purely business correspondence with delightful diction, adorns it with pleasing rhymes and embellishes it with wit and humour."⁴⁶ The following is an extract from a letter written by him on behalf of Ba'h̄tiyār to Rukn al-Dawla describing the battle of Ba'h̄tiyār and 'Aḍud with the rebellious Turks:-

فنشبت الحرب بين الميسرة و بينهم (الاعداء) منذ الضحى الى
العصر واكبوا باجمعهم عليها و صمدوا بجد هم اليها ... وافضى
ذلك الى ان انجد ها السيد الملك الجليل عضد الدولة بطائفة من

44. *Yal* 11, 28.

45. *Yal.* 11,26-7

46. *Mez* tr. *Khudā Bakhsh*,243.

رجالہ ... ثم انه زحف عليهم زحفا ملاً قلوبهم رجفا ... فاجفلوا
اجفال النعم .. فاوغل الاولياء المنصورون في طلبهم يستلحمون
ويقتلون حتى الجاهم الى عبور تلك الجسور فقتلوا وغرقوا وملك
عليهم ما وراء ديالى واحرق و نهب جميع سوادهم وسفنهم والاتهم
وحجز الليل عن استقصاء الطلب -⁴⁷

“Then the battle started between the left wing and the enemy and continued from midday till after-noon and they—all of them—bent down and turned towards it (the left wing) in right earnest.....
...This continued till the mighty king ‘Aḍud al-Dawla reinforced it with a contingent of his infantry.....Then he marched upon them in such a way that it filled their hearts with terrorand they were carried away like a flock of sheep.....Then the victorious Day-lamites (Awliya) penetrated far into the country pursuing them fighting and killing till they (the enemies) were compelled to cross those bridges when they were either killed or drowned and he (‘Aḍud al-Dawla) occupied from them what was beyond the river Diyālā, burnt and plundered their fertile lands, their boats and instruments, and night prevented from further pursuit.”

Here is an extract of a letter in which the sovereign rebukes a rebellious Turkish general :-

ولا ترى لنا ما يراه الشريك لشريكه فضلا عن العولى لمليكه و
مازلت تترقى في اطراح الحقوق واستعمال العقوق الى ان صرت لا
تحضر عندنا في مجلس ولا تتركب معنا في موكب ولا تهنئنا بعطية
ولا تعزينا عن ذريئة وتدعى مع ذلك علينا انا نبغيك الغوائل
وننصب لك الحبائل ... لا بدلالته ولا عن حجة ... لو كانت التهمة
منك لنا واقعة بحقها ومقروته بشاهدها لكانت طاعتك ايانا مظلوما
ازين لك من مخالفتنا متعصبا وانا بريؤون من كل ما قلت وزعمت
وظننت -⁴⁸

“You do not look to us even as a partner looks to a partner not to speak of how a slave looks to its lord. You continued to disregard your duties and show disobedience so much so that you altogether

47. *Rasā'il al-Ṣābi* (Lebanon), p.26.

48. *Ibid*, 230

ceased to be present in our assembly and stopped riding along with our retinue; you did not greet us with any gift nor condole us in any misfortune. Despite all these you allege against us saying that we want to do mischief to you and lay traps for you.....all these without any proof or evidence.....Even if your allegation would have been just and well-founded your allegiance in spite of suffering would have been more decent than your rebellion, while we are innocent from all that you said, harboured and imagined”.

As for ‘Abdu’l-‘Azīz ibn Yūsuf, he was the secretary of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla and his letters, extracts of which are to be found in the *Yatīma*, follow closely the style of Ibrāhīm without however approaching it in excellence.⁴⁹

A boon companion of ‘Aḍud, a writer of note, one Qāḍī Abū ‘Alī al-Muḥassin ibn ‘Alī al-Tanūkhī, who had to suffer reverses from the wrath of ‘Aḍud, has preserved in his many writings—chiefly stories interesting materials regarding the tenth century happenings. Two of these books—*al-Faraj Ba’d al-Shidda* and *al-Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara* (of the latter 3 out of 8 volumes) have come down to us.⁵⁰ His story books provide us with a kind of material never taken notice of by the court-historian. This became the model for such later works as “*Jawāmi‘l-Hikāyat*” of Muḥammad ‘Awfī.

A distinguished historian of the time Abū ‘Alī Miskawayh adorned the court of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla. He wrote the monumental work in history—“the *Tajārib al-‘Umam*” of which the parts dealing with the period between A.H. 295 and 369 have been made accessible to us.

The value of Miskawayh’s work as history, his wonderful capacity for character drawing, his superiority in certain respects to al-Ṭabarī and his freedom from religious fanaticism, which had however sometimes verged on total indifference to religious movements, are all dwelt at length and with justice by Margoliouth in the preface to the *Tajārib*.⁵¹ Another notable writer Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī, an adept in private letter-writing (in contrast with Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābī,

49. *Yat.* 11,86-101

50. *Al-Faraj Ba’d al-Shidda*, Cairo, 1903; *al-Nishwar al-Muhadara* ed. Margoliouth part I, Cairo, 1921; pt. 11 tr. *Islamic Culture*, 1931-2; pt. VIII, Damascus, 1930

51. *Eclipse* vol VII, v-vii.

who as we have seen, excelled in official letter-writing), after a chequered career sought refuge with 'Aḍud al-Dawla at Shīrāz.⁵²

As for poetry, not only did 'Aḍud patronise poets of merit but he was himself a versifier though in this he was definitely inferior to his cousin Bakhtiyār. Tha'ālibī quotes some of his verses among which is one extemporised by 'Aḍud, after all the professional poets present on the occasion had failed, on a rice pudding (بُهْطَة).⁵³ Among the poets patronised by 'Aḍud were Abu 'I-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'llāh al-Salāmī, Ibn Nubāta al-Sa'dī, and Ustād 'Alī al-Ṭabarī. The poet al-Mutanabbī was an occasional visitor to the court of 'Aḍud and composed a number of poems in his praise for which he was amply rewarded.⁵⁴ His is the famous couplet:-

و قد رأيت الملوك قاطبة — وسرت حتى رأيت مولاها⁵⁵

“And verily I have seen kings—all of them and I travelled till I saw their Lord”

As for al-Salāmī 'Aḍud had a special liking for him and used to say about him: “When I see al-Salāmī in my assembly meseems Mercury has come down from heaven and taken his stand in front of me.”⁵⁶ Regarded as the best poet of 'Irāq by the contemporaries, al-Salāmī began to make verses at the age of only ten and the following is a specimen of his early compositions in praise of a page with a mirror in his hand:

كانها شمسة على ملك	رأيته والمرأة في يده
من غير زهد فينا ولا نسك	فقلت للصورة التي احتجبت
تخبرنا عنك غير مؤتفك	يا اشبه الناس بالحبيب الا
وهذه قطعة من الفلك	قال انا البدر زرت بدر كم
فقال هذا بقیة الحبك ⁵⁷	قلت فاني ارى بها صدا

52. *Yat*, IV, 125.

53. *Yat*. 11,3.

54. *Diwan*, Cairo, 'Aḍud's praise, vol. II, 385-97, vol. III, 296-8, vol. IV, 164-5, 251-62, 269-81.

55. *Yat*. 1, 84; *Ibn Khall*. I, 416.

56. *Yat*. II, 163

57. *Yat*. 11, 158

“I saw him while he had a mirror in hand as though the mirror were a disc before a king. Then I addressed the figure that had secluded itself from us for no piety or devotion, ‘O the one who resembles most to the friend! Don’t you tell us about you without any falsehood?’

It said, ‘I am the full moon and have visited your full moon and this is a piece of heaven.

I said, ‘but I find rust in it’ and it replied, ‘this is the remnant of the waist-band”

His praises of ‘Aḍud were of extremely high order, even better than those of al-Mutanabbī and the following is regarded by Ibn Khallikān as lawful witchcraft (*السحر الحلال*) :

اليك طوى عرض البسيطة جاعل قصارى المطايا ان يلوح لها القصر
فكنت وعزسى فى الظلام وصارسى ثلاثة اشباه كما اجتمع النسر
فبشرت امالى بملك هو الورى ودار هى الدنيا ويوم هو الدهر⁵⁸

“The Creator has unfolded unto you the breadth of the vast world so that the utmost desire of the riding beasts is the appearance of the Palace before them. So my resolution, my sword and myself were in the darkness three phantoms gathered together like the three stars in the Aquila. I gave to my desire the good tidings of a king who is himself mankind, of a house which is the world, and of a day which is Time.”

So great was ‘Aḍud’s regard for culture and learning that he established a large library in his palace at Shīrāz. The geographer al-Muqaddasī was shown over it by the chief *farrāsh* (lit. chief bed-maker) and reports that it was housed in a building by itself and looked after by a superintendent, a treasurer and an inspector chosen from among the trustworthy citizens of the town. It was ‘Aḍud’s aim to collect in it every book upto his time in every branch of knowledge. The library consisted of a large ante-room and a long vaulted hall with rooms on all sides. In the walls of the hall and the rooms he had contrived cupboards of veneered wood two yards long with doors which were let down from above. The books were all ranged upon shelves. Every branch of knowledge had its own cupboards and catalogues in which the names were registered. The library was open only to distinguished people capable of understanding it.⁵⁹

58. Ibid, 163, *Ibn Khall.*I, 416

59. Muqaddasi, (*Muq*) 449 and ibid foot-note of 450-1

The Period after 'Aḍud al-Dawla

In spite of the political unrest into which the Buwayhid territories were plunged on the death of 'Aḍud al-Dawla the advancement of his reign was duly carried over into the reigns of his two sons and successors - Ṣamṣām al-Dawla and Sharaf al-Dawla. Thus it is under the year 373 A.H.(983-4 A.D.) in the annals and so during the reign of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla that we first hear of the secret philosophical society called "the Iḵhwān al-Ṣafā" or 'the Brethren of Sincerity' among whose works are the fifty-two well-known different treatises dealing with philosophy, mathematics, logic, metaphysics, mysticism, astrology and magic. Ṣamṣām's Wazīr Ibn Sa'dān, himself a patron of learning, in that year discussed the aims and objects of the society with the distinguished writer Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī.⁶⁰ Though we have no evidence to show that the society had any direct connection with the Buwayhid rulers yet the latter's patronage of literature and philosophy, exemplified in particular by 'Aḍud al-Dawla, must have created an atmosphere favourable to the cultivation of such studies as those of the Iḵhwān.

As a patron of learning Sharaf al-Dawla was a worthy successor of his father. While still a provincial ruler of Fārs he is said to have established in Shīrāz a new library of his own which he committed to the care of one Qāḍī Fazārī.⁶¹ Like the Caliph al-Māmūn he was particularly interested in astronomical observations so that like him again he constructed an observatory inside the garden of his Palace in Baghdād in order to follow the motions of seven celestial bodies through the "Signs of Zodiac". He depended for this task entirely on his Astronomer Abū Sahl ibn Rustum al-Kūhī, who was equally well-versed in both astronomy and mathematics. Several of his books mentioned in the Fihrist are still extant.⁶² He was a specialist in the instruments of observation with which he fitted Sharaf's observatory. He carried out two wonderful experiments which were in those days regarded as the highest achievement of astronomy. Thus twice during the year 378/988 he invited qāḍīs, witnesses, astronomers, geometricians, and other men of learning to bear witness to the results of his astronomical observations and they duly signed two documents

60. *Qifti*, 82 ; *E.I.* vol. II pt. 1,460

61. *Shiraznama*, 35

62. *Fihrist*, 283 ; *Suter*, 75-6

certifying that they have viewed the sun entering successively into the signs of the "Crab" and the "Scales".⁶³

Among those who put their signature to these documents was one Abū Aḥmad al-Ṣāghānī al-Manṭiqī who was equally well-versed in geometry and astronomy. His special field was, however, the preparation of astrolabes, from which he derived his nickname "al-Asṭurlābī"⁶⁴ Among other signatories was the famous letter-writer Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābī, who incidentally took a great interest in astronomy as well, and who still adorned the Buwayhid court after he had suffered reverses, as we have mentioned, during the reign of 'Aḍud al-Dawla.⁶⁵

To this assembly of the learned also belonged the greatest mathematician of the age, Abu'l-Wafā Muḥammad al-Buzjānī, after whom George Sarton has named the period of scientific development in the second half of the tenth century.⁶⁶ Born in Buzjān in Qūhistān he came to Baghdād in 348/959-10. The Fihrist records the names of a large number of books by him, the scientific evaluation of which has been made by Sarton.⁶⁷ He wrote commentaries on the algebraic works of al-Khwārizmī and Diophantos and also attempted a commentary on Euclid, which he did not complete. Other works of his include astronomical tables named "al-Zīj al-Wāḍiḥ", a manual of arithmetic for scribes and revenue officials (a copy of which is said to be available in Rāmpūr, India), and the "Kitāb al-Kāmil" which Sarton considers to be a simplified version of Almagest.⁶⁸

Under Bahā' al-Dawla, another son of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, who ruled from 989 A.D. to 1012 A.D. the cultural spirit of the earlier reigns was to a certain extent maintained though not under the patronage of the rulers themselves. His reign had very little of stability and tranquillity to allow of any effective intellectual patronage by the Amīr yet one name stands out prominent in this sphere—that of the Wazīr Abū Naṣr ibn Ardashīr. This personage was the centre of a literary circle and so many poets of 'Irāq lavished their praises on him

63. *Qifli*, 351-54

64. *Ibid*, 79,359.

65. *Berhebreus, Dynasty* (Beyrut), 308 ; *Qifli*. 353.

66. *Sarton, Introduction* vol. 1, 'The time of Abu'l-Wafa' p 646.

67. *Ibid*, 666-67.

68. *Fihrist*. 266,283 ; *Sarton* vol I, 666.

that Tha'ālibī has devoted one entire chapter to a study of their poetry. His catalogue of names is a large one perhaps the most notable being Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥamdūnī, Ibn Bābak, Ibn Lu'lu, al-Khalī al-Nāmī, al-Ḥātīmī, Muḥammad ibn Bulbul, Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Munajjim and al-Sufyānī none of whom however seems to have possessed any creativeness.⁶⁹ A writer of note belonging to the literary circle of Sayf al-Dawla of Aleppo Abu'l-Faraj al-Babaghā - was for sometime attached to the Wazīr Sābūr after the death of Sayf al-Dawla.⁷⁰

By far the most important from an intellectual point of view was the establishment of the famous Dār al-'Ilm (House of Learning) by Sābūr in the year 383/993 in the Karkh quarter "between the two Walls". He dedicated this building to use by men of learning. Among the books collected numbering about 10,400 there were a hundred copies of the Qur'ān written by the Banū Muqla and many autographs of famous writers. Ṣābūr also prepared a catalogue of books in the library, entrusting it to the care of two members of the 'Alid family and a Qādī and appointing the Shaykh Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Mūsa al-Khwārizmī supervisor of the establishment.⁷¹ Though the fortune of Ṣābūr was variable because of frequent dismissal from office his institution was left unmolested and survived till 451/1059 when a fire broke out in the area and the books were objects of plunder among officials and mob.⁷²

The Academy of Sābūr became a rendezvous for men engaged in literary pursuits and when Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī, the Syrian poet-philosopher visited Baghdād in 399-400/1009-10 he not only joined the discussions of eminent men of letters in the Academy but on one occasion was also entertained by the musical performance of a sprightly songstress—an incident which he celebrated in the following verse:

وغنت لنا في دار سابور قينة من الورق مطراب الاوائل مهيا⁷³

69. *Yat.* II, 290-7

70. *Ibid* vol. 1, 174.

71. *I.J.* VII, 173 ; *Ath.* IX, 246, X, 5 *Yaqut, Buldan* vol. I, 799 art. "ما بين السورين" ; Margoliouth, *Letters of Abu'l-'Ala* p. XXIV.

72. *Ibn al-Athir (Ath.)* X, 5.

73. *Ibn Khall.* I, 200.

“There appeared to us in the House of Sābūr a songstress made of silver gay in the evening and excited.” There al-Ma‘arrī came into touch with many literary figures of the period whom he mentions in his works e.g. al-Maghribī, Ibn Fawrāza, Abū Bakr al-Ṣābūnī and Abū'l-Qāsim ibn Jalabāt. He also mentions that he once attended a lecture of Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Rabā'ī, regarded as the best grammarian of the time.⁷⁴

Among the nobles of Bahā al-Dawla the chief literary figure was the Sharīf Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Raḍī, the Registrar of the 'Alids. A distinguished poet and a master of elegy al-Raḍī was regarded by the contemporaries as the greatest poet ever produced by the tribe of Quraysh.⁷⁵ He was intimately connected with Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī whose death he mourned in a poem that can be regarded the best of his elegies.⁷⁶ In imitation of the Wazīr Sābūr al-Raḍī founded another academy also known as Dār al-'Ilm where the scholars patronised by the Sharīf were provided with everything necessary. A treasurer was entrusted with the task of supplying the needs but when on one occasion a slight inconvenience was caused to a scholar by the absence of the treasurer, al-Raḍī provided each scholar with a key to enable him to take whatever he needed from the treasury.⁷⁷

Patronage of art and learning was also due to another Wazīr of Bahā al-Dawla, Fakhr al-Mulk Abū Ghālib, who gathered round him a number of men of letters. Among the poets of his circle was the famous Mihyār ibn Marzwaih al-Daylamī (whom we shall soon discuss), who paid him the most glowing tribute.⁷⁸ Fakhr al-Mulk also patronised a mathematician of repute in Abū Bakr

74. Margoliouth, *op. cit.* p. XXV-VI.

75. Yat. II, 297.

76. Yat. II, 81-5 (Below is a specimen p. 83)

اما الدموع عليك غير بخيلة والقلب بالسلوان غير جواد
سودت ما بين الفضاء وناظري وغسلت من عيني كل سواد

77. *Diwan of al-Radi* (Beyrut) p. 3.

78. *Diwan of Mihyar* (Cairo), vol 1, p 358 :-

ارى كبدى وقد بردت قليلا عمات الهم ام عاشن السرور
ام الايام خافتني لانى بفخر الملك منها استجير

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī who composed for him his algebrical treatise “al-Fakhrī” and his arithmetical work “al-Kāfī” both of which are extant and have been published.⁷⁹ Al-Karkhī was a supporter of the conservative ‘Arab school of reckoning, his al-Kāfī fi’l-Ḥisāb ‘rivalling al-Muqni’ fi’l Ḥisāb of Abu’l-Ḥasan al-Nasawī, who flourished in Rayy under the patronage of Majd al-Dawla. In contrast to al-Karkhī al-Nasawī was an advocate of the Indian system of reckoning which had long been introduced into the ‘Arab world.⁸⁰

The well-known historian Hilāl al-Ṣābī was also a recipient of the favours of Faḫr al-Mulk. This Hilāl was the author of a universal history which like the Tājī of his grandfather Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābī is lost, surviving only in part in Abū Shuja Rūdhrawārī’s “*Dhaylu Tajārib*” and also in a fragment dealing with the history of three years (389-393).⁸¹ Among other books that have come down to us, also in fragment, is “the Kitāb al-Wuzarā” dealing with the lives of a number of ‘Abbāsīd Wazīrs. The vast amount of varied and interesting materials with which to judge from the surviving three years’ chronicle Hilāl must have enriched the rest of this history, have thus been lost. But even what we possess shows beyond doubt his superiority as an historian.

We may pause for a while at this stage to note some of the peculiarities and trends of literature during the periods. While all the poets of our period followed the beaten track harping on the traditional tune by mainly concentrating on eulogies it is only towards the end of our period that we do notice a desire among some of the poets and writers to reflect everyday themes in their writings. This realism took two different forms, one pessimistic and the other epicurean. The representative of the former school was the Syrian vegetarian poet philosopher Abu’l-‘Alā al-Ma‘arrī whose pessimism could not ultimately find a solution out of the world of woes and miseries. The advocate of the latter school was the Buwayhid court official Abū ‘Abd’llāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥajjāj, who introduced in literature what according to the orthodox standard was filth (مقا ذیر)

79. *Ibn Khall.* II,65.

80. For details of al-Nasawi see *Suter*, 96-7 and Weepeke in *Journal Asiatique* 1863 pt 11 p. 492-500.

81. Published as appendix to vol. 111 of the *Eclipse* series.

and frivolity (سَخْف). He claimed himself to be the prophet of frivolity.

رجل يدعى النبوة في السخ - - - ف ومن ذائشك في الانبياء
جاء بالمعجزات يدعو اليها فاجيبوا يا معشر السخفاء⁸²

“A man claims prophethood in frivolity and who is there to doubt the Prophets ? So respond, O the Frivolous community !” and justified his standpoint by saying that his poetry cannot be free from filth as there cannot be any house without a privy.

وشعري لا بد من سخفه وهل بد للدار من مستراح⁸³

Though he was once a Muḥtasib his Dīwān because of its filth was proscribed for boys by the later police manual.⁸⁴ But his filth never worried his contemporaries and his poems were in great demand in different centuries. Often his Dīwān would sell 50 to 70 dīnārs.⁸⁵ A good eulogist he was paid by a Fātimid Caliph 1000 Maghribī dīnārs for one single poem. He was also a satirist and his sharp tongue was dreaded by rich and poor alike. He had as his supporter in spite of his immorality no less an aristocratic person than the Sharīf al-Raḍī who edited a selection of his poems.⁸⁶ The same immoral strain pervades the writings of one Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Abu'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, probably a disciple of Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, whose dramatic monologue depicts in excellent Maqāmāt style the luxurious and sensual life of Baghdād as enjoyed by the higher stratum of society unaffected by the political disequilibrium.⁸⁷

The disintegration of the Buwayhid empire was complete by the time of the death of Bahā al-Dawla and the later princelings of the dynasty were too busy maintaining their position to be able to patronise men of art and learning. So reduced to penury was a prince entitled Jalāl al-Dawla that once he had to dismiss his porters and bed-makers on account of poverty.⁸⁸ Still this prince had in his court a poet of outstanding merit in Mihyār ibn Marzwayh al-Daylamī, four

82. *Yat.* 11,212-13.

83. *Ibid.*, 214.

84. *Mez.* (tr. Khuda Bakhsh), 269.

85. *Yat.* II,215.

86. *Eclipse* 111,404.

87. *His Maqamat* ed. Mez (Heidelberg), 1908.

88. *I. J.* VIII, 64.

volumes of whose *Dīwān* have been published from Cairo.⁸⁹ He seems to have depended more on subsidies from courtiers than on any royal grant. He wielded a great influence at court and took severely to task on a number of occasions his clients all nobles and courtiers of repute for delay in the payment of usual subsidies. A wazīr of Jalāl al-Dawla Hibat Allāh Ibn Mākūla was the author of an encyclopaedic work *al-Ikmāl* of which only a portion is available in the British Museum.⁹⁰ In a period of decline when the prestige of the Caliphate was at its lowest ebb the jurists of the time of Jalāl al-Dawla, the 'Aqḍa al-Qudāt al-Māwardī and the Qāḍī Ibn Abī Ya'la l-Farrā expounded the theoretical powers of the Caliphate in their works "*al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniya*". The work of the name by al-Māwardī written from a Shāfi'ī point of view is very much well-known to need any comment here. The work by Ibn Abī Ya'la written from a Ḥanbali point of view follows closely the "*Sulṭāniya*" of al-Māwardī; but as they wrote almost about the same time and it is not certain whether one took from the other it is just possible that they ventilated the same spirit of writing independently of one another.⁹¹

Two other treatises one a scientific book and the other a manual of mathematics are ascribed to the later Buwayhid period but about whose identification I do not myself feel satisfied. The former a chemical treatise entitled (*عين الصنعة وعن الصنعة*) was written by one Abu'l-Ḥākim al-Kāthī in 426 A.H. and dedicated to a certain Ra'īs Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abdu'llāh, who is taken to be a courtier of Jalāl al-Dawla.⁹² The other work called *كتاب الحارمى للعمل السلطانية* reviewed by Claude Cahen and considered to be a work written under al-Malik al-Raḥīm, the last of the Buwayhid Amīrs in Baghdād, should to my mind be assigned to a later period. The book, meant for training revenue clerks and officials, contains questions and answers on revenue calculation.⁹³

89. *Cairo*, 1925.

90. *B.M. MS, no. or. 4585*.

91. al-Mawardi, *Ahkam al-Sultaniya*, Bonn, 1853 ; Ibn Abī Yala, *Ahkam*, Cairo, 1638,

92. The book is annotated by Stapleton and Azoo in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* vol. 1, no.4.1905 p.47-70.

93. *Annales De l'Institut D'Etudes Orientales D'Alger*, Tom 10 Anne 1952 p. 326-363.

Particulars of abbreviations used in this article :

M.—Miskawayh : *Tajarib al-Umam* vols. 1 & 11 of 'Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate' Ed. Margoliouth and Amedroz, Oxford, 1921.

I.J.—Ibn al-Jawzī : *al-Muntazam* vols, Hyderabad, 1938-43

Yat.—Tha'ālibī : *Yatimat al-Dahr* vols.1 & 11, Damascus, 1302 A.H.

Irsh.—Yāqūt : *Irshad al-Arib* 7 vols. Ed. Margoliouth London, 1907-1926

S.—Abu Shuja: '*Dhayl Tajarib* published in original and translation as vols 111 & VI of 'Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate, Oxford, 1921.

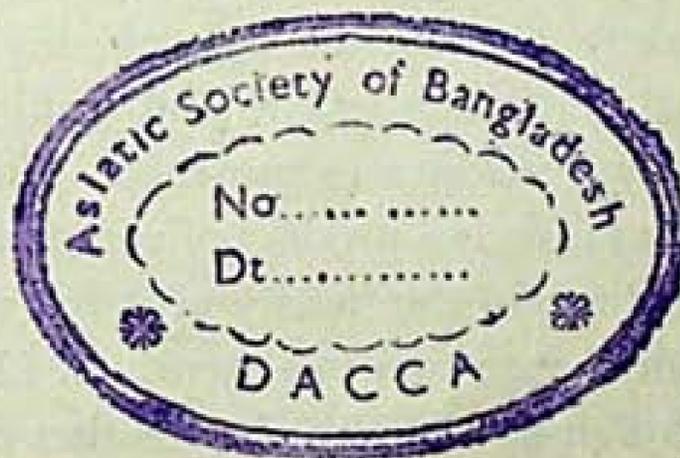
Ibn Khall.—Ibn Khallikan : *Wafayat al-A'yan* vols 1&11, Bulaq,

Fihrist.—Ibn al-Nadim : *al-Fihrist* vols. 1&11, Ed. Flugel, Leipzig, 1871.

I.A.U.—Ibn Abi Usaybi 'a : '*Uyun al-Anba* Cairo, 1882.

Muq.—Muqaddasi : *Ahsan al-Ta'asim fi ma'rifat al-Aqalim* Ed. Goeje Leyden, 1906.

Ath.—Ibn al-Athīr : *al-Kamil*, Ed. Tornberg, Leyden, 1851-76.



HISTORY OF THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH-INDIAN MUSIC DURING SAYYID—LODI PERIOD

DR. A HALIM

This paper will bring into discussion such music as conform to the strict rules of grammar. This would necessarily exclude light music and folk music. Secondly, it will consist of the history of music which had evolved in northern India, as distinct from Carnatic music, the latter being comparatively less influenced by Muslim contact. Next, the scope of the paper is such that it will not touch either the glorious age of Dhrupad of the time of Akbar or that of Khiyāl during the time of Muḥammad Shāh Rangīlah.

The first Muslim contact with India started with the 'Arab conquest of Sind in A.D. 711. About three hundred years after this event the Punjab came under the occupation of the Ghaznavids. And when Shihābuddīn Muḥammad Ghori defeated Prithvī Rāj, the Muslims merely extended their political and cultural activity from the midlands to the western and eastern zones. It is very difficult to say what type of music was sung by the Indians before the coming of the Muslims or what the style of singing was then like. If any body comes to me and claims to sing a pre-Muslim song, I shall accept the things with serious doubts, because the style of singing like that of any other fine art, including architecture and calligraphy, changes from age to age and from province to province. And since the system of notation of Indian music is a product of comparatively modern times¹, it is difficult to believe in the 'purity of style', when songs are transmitted orally from generation to generation. If an attempt is made to reconstruct Indian music from the treatises on the subject written during the early Middle Ages in Sanskrit, the venture will not be a very paying one². Even Pandit Vishnu Nārāyan Bhatkhande, the greatest

1. The credit goes to Mahārājā Saurindra Mohan Tagore, who is the author of many authentic books on music.
2. Emil Naumann, in his *History of Music* vol I, (Edited by Sir F.A. Gore Ousley) p. 25, says that the nearest approach to the old Hindu music is most likely to be found in the religious hymns of the Hindus of the present day.

authority on music in modern times, does not give us any clear idea on the issue. This much is certain that music was chanted in Sanskrit, and according to Muslim authorities³, consisted of 'Chhand', 'man', 'sūt', 'gīt'. This is also certain that Indian music represented a very elaborate and scientific system—as scientific as its astronomy and mathematics⁴. When the Muslims came to this sub-continent as conquerors they brought with them, a Perso-'Arab system, which was in many respects similar to the Indian prototype. The Perso-'Arab system of the Muslims was evolved in the land of the Khilāfat. Prof. Farmer, in his learned monograph on the 'History of Arabian Music', asserts that 'Arab Music was a product of indigenous growth. This he proves by the similarity of musical terms and nomenclature of musical instruments, in countries of Semitic civilization. For instance 'Ghinā' (song), is 'nigutu' or 'ningutu' (from the root *nagu* to sing), of the Assyrians, and 'nagan' of the Hebrews. 'Ṭabl' of the 'Arabs is 'Tabbalu' of the Assyrians. 'Duf' of the 'Arabs is 'tof' of the Hebrews. 'Qānūn' (dulcimer') is 'Qinnor' of the Jews. 'Arab music in course of the Muslim expansion into the Byzantine and Persian empires was influenced 'superficially' by the Greeks on the vocal side, and by the Persians on the instrumental side. The scales of music were taken by the 'Arabs, according to Prof. Farmer, from the Greeks, whereas the Persian indebtedness is writ large on their stringed instruments. The 'Arabs call the 'fret' of the lute (ūd) 'Dāstān', after the Persians, and, like them they call the 'first string' 'Zīr', and the 'fourth string' 'Bamm.' But nowhere has Dr. Farmer indicated any clue to Indian influence on the 'Arab musical system. This appears to me very strange, and

3. Faqirullah (Saif Khan), *Rāg-Darpana*, Aligarh Muslim University Mss.

4. In the introduction to Krishnavyāsadeva's *Sangīt Rāga-Kalpadruma*, Vol. III, Mr. N.N. Vasu, the editor, mentions that there are, 16,108 *Rāgas* and *Rāginis* in Indian music and the volume alone contains songs to be sung in one thousand different *Rāgas*. The writer of this paper thinks that many of the *Rāgas*, such as *Aheri* from the *Ahirs*, *Gujri* from the *Gujars*, *Gandhārī* from *Gandhār* etc. were evolved at a later stage; yet the number is indicative of the fertility of Indian imagination, which could in its sculpture, conceive of gods with many heads and many arms

yet this art of the Indians praised by Amīr Khusraw⁵, who was a past master in the Indian and Perso-‘Arab Systems, could not draw ‘Arab attention. And yet in the court of Hārūn there was an Indian ambassador, and Dubān the Brahman, was translating in Hārūn’s Bait-ul-Hikmah, Sanskrit books into Arabic. I am of the opinion that such a thing had taken place. Prof. Farmer himself refers to Mas-‘ūdī, who in his **Murūj-adh-dhahab**, says that he fully dealt with the various kinds of music, used by the Greeks, Byzantines, Syrians, Nabataeans, the people of Sind, Hind and people of Persia⁶. On the other hand Lane asserts⁷ that most of the technical terms are borrowed from the Persian and Indian languages. Furthermore, Indian music itself has incorporated certain Perso-‘Arab airs such as **Yeman**, and **Hijj** from Hijāz and **Zangulah**, corrupted into **Jangla**. Again, ‘Arab music is similar to the systems of the Greeks and the Indians, being based on melody and not on harmony. Like the Indian and Greek systems, ‘Arab music believes in its being in consonance with nature, and is expressive of varied feelings such as pleasure, sadness, fury, slumber, ecstasy and is also capable of producing wonderful effects⁸. Consequently, the airs are sung (as in the Greek and Indian systems), at fixed hours of the day and night. By the time the Muslims came into the Punjāb, their music had assumed a rigid Perso-‘Arab shape and many of their airs bore close resemblance to the Rāgas and Rāginīs. Thus ‘Naurūz’ was akin to ‘Lalita-Panchama’, ‘Qandahārī’, ‘Irāq’ to ‘Mālkaus’ and ‘Pūrva’, ‘Nishāpurī’ to ‘Bilāwal’, ‘Zangūlah Chahārgāh’ to Asāwari, ‘Paid-i-Azl’ to ‘Khaṭ’, ‘Chahārgāh to ‘Gujrī’, ‘Ashirān’ to ‘Jaitsrī’, ‘Rihāwī’ to ‘Dhanasrī’, ‘Zangūlah-

5. Amīr Khusraw of Delhi says in his *Nuh Sipahr*, III, (Wahid Mirza, *Amir Khusraw* p. 184) “Indian music, the fire that burns heart and soul, is superior to the music of any other country. Foreigners, after a stay of 30—40 years in India cannot play a single Indian tune correctly.....”

6. Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, London. p. 166.

7. ‘*Modern Egyptians*’; quoted by Farmer in his *Music and Musical Instruments of the Arab*. London, p, 175

8. A story is given on page 145, of Farmer’s *History of Arabian Music* of Al-Farabi’s advent in Saifud-daulah’s court in a beggar’s dress. On his recital, the court seized with a fit of laughter, then came sadness, fury of madness and slumber. He fled before the court gained consciousness,

'Hijāz' to 'JaitiGaurī, Mubārīka-i-Karishmā' to 'Bihāgra', 'Saghir' to Kalyān, 'Bai'at' to 'Kānrā', 'Gusha-i-Azl' to 'Shuddh Ṭoḍī'⁹. But here ends the similarity between the two systems. The Indians believed that music was taught by gods and goddesses to the sages, even the five major scales (**Rāgas**) emanated from the five heads of Mahādeva, the sixth from that of his consort, Pārvati. As such they considered music as something sacred and sacrosanct, and took it as a form of devotion. To the Muslim music was a secular art, a means to joy and a necessary accomplishment for kings, princes, nobles, poets, men of letters, artists and even holy men¹⁰. This secular aspect has been very beautifully described by Prof. Farmer thus¹¹: the "whole history, language, and social life of the 'Arabs may be summed up in one word 'phantasy'. Their literature, science and art certainly reveal abundant evidence of this. Look at their architecture, it is more decorative design and complicated pattern, than staple architecture; their pictorial representations all point out to colour array and undefinable arabesque without organic arrangement. The same with their music. It is the gloss, the variants, the ornaments". On the other hand, it has to be remembered that the conscious aim of Indian art is the portrayal of the divinity, an attempt to express the infinite. Further-more, the Muslims brought with them a variety of musical instruments, such as the **Qānūn**¹² (dulcimer); the 'ūd¹³ (lute); the **Chang** (harp), the **Ghīchak** (Arabic **Ghīshak**¹⁴); the **rubāb** (rebec of the Europeans¹⁵); the **Shāhrūd**¹⁶;

9. *Naghmatul asrar*, by Mīr Maḥammad, Muslim University Aligarh MS. compiled during the reign of Aurangzeb.

10. *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, Abul Kalām Āzād, p. 321.

11. Vide, Farmer, *Music & Musical Instruments of the Arab*, London, p. 193.

12. *Qanun* consisted of 72 strings divided into three octaves, the earliest indigenous instrument of the Arabs, Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, London pp. 152, 198, 200.

13. Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, London pp. 15, 16, 108, 174.

14. *Ibid.* p. 210.

15. Farmer, *Music and Musical Instruments of the Arab*, London, p. 119.

16. *Shahrud*, corrupted into 'Sarod' in India, was invented by one Ḥakīm Ibnul-Ahwaz. Vide Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, London p, 237; for picture see frontispiece page of the same book.

the **Qitar** (also **ghithara**, the Guitar of the Europeans¹⁷) the **Qabūz** (also **Qunbus**¹⁸); the **Tambūr** (pandore¹⁹) **Kamanjah** (violin²⁰) all being of stringed variety; **Baq** (clarion²¹), **nai** (reed-pipe, flute) **Surnai** (surna²²)—all piping instruments; **naqqāra**, (Kettle-drum²³, military drum); **sanj** (plural **sunūj**²⁴), **daff**, (tambourin), **Ṭabl** (drum) **ḍhol**²⁵;—all timing instruments. They even brought music as an insignia of royalty. The practice of playing the **naubah** or **naubat**, military music, at regular intervals by a band of musicians playing in turn in the household of the **Khalīfahs** started during the early 'Abbāsīd times. Beginning as a military band, played by the 'Arabs at five prayer times, it became the most important emblem (**marātib**) of the **Khalīfah's** sovereignty. Later on, usurping chiefs were conferred this privilege by the **Khalīfahs**. During the Saljuq times, the practice continued with specific distinction as to the class and number of the **naubahs** and the type of musical instruments to be used by the Amīrs. Recipients of this honour were ranked as holders of three, four and five **naubahs**²⁶. The practice became widely prevalent during Muslim rule in India, so that the honour was bestowed upon feudatory princes, and even Hindū rulers without exception maintained **Naubah** as the insignia of their royalty²⁷.

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17. Farmer, *Music and Musical Instruments of the Arab*, pp. 6,209.
 18. Farmer, *Music and Musical Instruments of the Arab*, p. 119.
 19. Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, London, p. 5,7,55.
 20. Z. Barni, *Tar Firozshahi*, A. S. B. Text p. 162.
 21. *Ibid*, p. 210.
 22. *Ibid*, pp. 121, 154,208.
 23. Nakeres of the English; Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, London p. 210,
 24. Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, London, p. 155; *Jhanjh of the Indians*.
 25. *Dhol* of the Indians.
 26. Nasir-Khusraw refers to 'būq' (clarion), the *surna* (reedpipe) *Ṭabl*, *Dhol*, *Kus* (kettledrum) and *kasa* among Fatimid emblems of sovereignty. Later on it appears the number increased to even seven and in India the practice was of playing a *naubah* during each 'pahar', there being eight such during the day and night.
 27. The writer has heard *naubat* being played by instrumentalists, at the *naubatkhana* of the Mahārājā of Mysore, in 1941, most of the musicians being Muslims. It was for *naubah* service that musicians were sought after and patronised.

The early Muslim kings indulged in music and were fond of both the Perso-'Arab and Indian varieties. Like the **Qainas** (dancing girls of 'Arab), the Indian dancing girls were trained to the art by **Kalāwants** and **Pātras**. This is corroborated by the account of the revelries of Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād (A.D. 1286-1290) who ascended the throne of Delhi at the age of seventeen years. He was instructed by his father **Bughrā Khān** not to drink wine or give access to the musicians and dancers. This dismayed the practisers of these arts²⁸. And when the Sulṭān marched in procession from Awadh to Delhi after meeting his father the '**Arbāb-i-ṭarab**' laid down a trap for the Sulṭān, so that at each stage of the journey, young and fair-looking girls, buffoons and '**bhānds**' trained in singing, instrument playing and dancing, greeted the Sulṭān with their enchanting art. They sang Persian and Indian music. Yet the Sulṭān kept fast to his promise. At this the trainers made the fair ones mount on horse-back, and they rode straight to the Sulṭān's camping place. The Sulṭān at last stopped to listen to them and broke his promise by drinking wine. The whole journey thenceforward became a procession of drunken revelry, and debauchery and the phase lasted even after the Sulṭān had settled in Delhi, and the infection spread on to such a large scale among the citizens of Delhi, that people had no other business than pleasure, merry-making, arranging bouts, eating, singing, hearing music, love-making, mixing with the pretty, playing chess.....²⁹ **Ḍiā'uddīn Barnī** who was young at that time heard the story from his father, the Mu'izzul Mulk, who happened to be in the procession. It is interesting to note that Indian and Persian music are mentioned separately by the historians. A stage in the development of Indian music was reached during the reign of Sulṭān '**Alā'uddīn Khaljī**', when with the conquest of Hindū states of the Deccan, a number of Hindū musicians migrated to the north to seek the patronage of Muslim kings and nobles. A story is told in every music book old and new³⁰, to the effect that one Nāyak Gopāl, a very reputed Deccani musician whose palanquin was carried by two thousand of his devoted followers, came to the court of Sulṭān '**Alā'uddīn Khaljī**' (1296-1316 A.D.), and challenged Amīr **Khusraw**, the Sulṭān's poet-laureate and musician-in-chief. Amīr **Khusraw** accepted the challenge but

28. Vide Barni, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 156-167.

29. *Ibid*, p. 167.

30. *Rag Darpan*, Faqirullah, *Muslim University Aligarh MS. folio.14b*

feigning illness, absented himself from the court. In fact, he managed to conceal himself behind the king's throne for seven days in succession when Nāyak Gopāl gave his performances. On the eighth day he emerged from his refuge with his disciples, Sāmat and Niāz³¹ and gave magnificent recital of all the techniques of Nāyak Gopāl through **qawl** songs composed in Arabic, Persian and Indian tongues and some in meaningless jargons (as in **Tarānā**³²). Then he sang the Perso-'Arab songs such as **Qawl Naqsh, hawā, nigār, gul, basīt**³³, set in his own composition to the joy of all present. Nāyak Gopāl accepted defeat saying that he could not compete with a thief. The above story furnishes, in my opinion, an incontrovertible proof of the beginning of the fusion of the Indian and Perso-'Arab systems. Amīr **Khushraw** became so proficient in Indian music that he was conferred the title of Nāyak (that is, one well-versed in the theory and practice of music of the past and present), an honour denied to the great Tānsen, who, was only a '**gandharva**' (one proficient in playing the past and present rāgas). "I was perfect", says he, in the **Ghurratul-Kamāl**, "in both the lines (poetry and music), and had practised both in proper way; that I had written three **daftars** (volumes) on poetry, and if I were to write on music, I could have composed three volumes on that science too"³⁴ Amīr **Khushraw** invented many airs like **Ṣanam, Ghanam, Zīlaf, Sāzgarī, Yamān, 'Ush-shāq, Mu'āfiq, Ghāra, Farghna, Firudast**³⁵.

We do not get any clear clue to the progress made by this art in the court of the Muslim kings. Its evolution was contributed by many factors, and its best early period came in the fifteenth century, when, after the decline of the Delhi empire, numerous provincial dynasties sprang up. The rulers found in music and musicians, means for transmitting their names and fame to posterity. Its evolution came from :—

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31. Tradition has it that they are the founders of the Indian *Qawali*, music.
 32. Defined by Prof Farmer as diversions of rhythmic modes.
 33. According to Shāhnawāz Khān (*Mirat-i-Aftab-numa*, Muslim University of Aligarh, MS. p. 520 Khushraw sang Qawl first, composed in Arabic and Persian words, in *Khat Rag* (of the present *Asawari That*), in 'Yaktal' (Ektal) that is a time measure of 12 beats, six pairs.
 34. Wahid Mirza, *Amir Khushraw*, p. 146.
 35. *Ibid* p. 240.

- a) its patronage by Muslim *Ṣūfīs*,
- b) its cultivation by the poets and *Bhagats* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,
- c) the introduction of a new singing by Ḥusain **Shāh Sharqī**³⁶,
- d) Its patronage by kings and nobles all over the country, and
- e) through its re-orientation by Rājā Mānsingh Tonwar of Gwālior. (1486-1516).

(a) Indian music owes a deep debt of gratitude to the religious movements in India. Muslim mystics, being the ambassadors of Muslim culture, used music as a vehicle for the spread of their cult, long before its patronage by Muslim kings³⁷. The Muslim mystics of the Chishtiā, and, I suppose, of the Suhrawardiā order as well³⁸, spread the knowlege and indirectly a taste for music. The Chishtiā mystics allowed **Sama'** (music) to be played with the accompaniment of 'ḍaff' only in their devotional gatherings as a means of inspiring spriritual ecstasy and the **Khānqāhs** of Multān, Ajodhan (Pākpaṭṭan), Delhi, Gaur and elsewhere did a useful service in spreading a taste for music. Shaikh Niṣāmuddīn Auliā of Delhi, who saw several kings being raised on the throne of that great city, and had the courage to refuse persistent calls sometimes from tyrant kings, was very fond of **Sama'** and Hindī **Rāgas** (**Multānī** particularly), and gave a great impetus to music³⁹. Amīr **Khushraw** and his disciples, **Sāmat** and **Niāz**, the latter two being recognised as the founders of the **Qawwālī** school of Indian music, were in attendance at the musical assemblies of the great Shaikh. Shaikh 'Alā'uddin Lājurī was a gifted Hindī musician. Maulānā Abul Kalām Āzād in his *Ghubār-i-Khaṭir*⁴⁰ has quoted a specimen of his musical composition. Maulānā Jamāli, the mystic and poet of Sikandar Lodī's court, was an expert

36. Vide writer's article on Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī published in the *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Patna Session, 1946, p.245 ff.

37. Abul Kalam Azad, *Ghubār-i-Khaṭir*, p. 320.

38. Invention of several airs, including *Multani-Dhanasri*, and *Puriya-Dhanasri* are attributed to Ḥadrat Bahāuddin Zakaria Quraishi Multānī, vide *Mirat Aftab-i-numa*, Shāhnawāz Khān, Aligarh Muslim University Ms. p. 519.

39. 'Abdul Ḥaq, *Urdu ki Ibtidai Nasho wa numa men Sufian-i-Kiram ka Kam* p. 17.

40. *Ibid* p. 323.

musician⁴¹. Shai'kh 'Alāi, a contemporary of the Lodī and Sūrī rulers, the founder of the 'Alāi Order, indulged in music⁴².

(b). **Bhagats**:—Indian music derives its form and spirit from the **Bhakti** movement of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The debt that this fine art owes to the **Bhakti** movement can never be exaggerated. Paradoxical as it may sound, there was hardly any distinction between music and poetry till recent times. Music was an accomplishment which no poet could afford to miss, and musicians were poets and composers at the same time⁴³. Poets like Jayadeva, Amīr **Khusraw**, or **Vidyāpati Thākur**, were exponents of Indian music. The verses composed by poets were meant not merely for recital, but for being sung in a proper manner to the tune of recognised melodies of the **Rāgas**⁴⁴. Since the aim of such poetry was to rouse devotion, that is **Bhakti bhāva** or **bhakti ras**, music was recognised as the safest, surest, and quickest vehicle for evoking the devotional attitude. But the most permanent impress on Indian music and dancing was made by the poets of the Krishna Cult⁴⁵. Music with them formed a part of spiritual discipline. A study of the **Granth Śāḥeb**, the Holy Book of the Sikhs, will convey to the mind of the reader the idea that every **Bhagat**, whether he was **Nāmadeva**, **Raidāsa** or **Guru Nānak**, composed poems to be sung in particular airs. Sonnets of the **Bhagats** were not arranged in order of chronology, or in a personal order, but only under recognised **rāgas** or airs. **Bābā Rāmadāsa**, the inventor of **Rāmadāsī Malhār**, **Nāyak Dhondū**, whose songs are extensively quoted in **Sangīta Rāga-Kalpadruma** Vol. III, lived in Vrindāvana, and were patronized by the Sūrī and early **Mughal** rulers⁴⁶. It may be pointed out incidentally that **Sūradāsa**, son of **Bābā Rāmadāsa** who was also the inventor of the **Sūradāsī**,

41. Abul Kalām Āzād, *Ghubār-i-Khaṭir*,

42. N B. Roy, *Successors of Sher Shah*.

43. Vide *Sangita Rāga-Kalpadruma* III by N.N. Vasu for the innumerable songs composed in chaste verses by musicians like **Nāyak Baiju**, **Nāyak Dhondū**, **Nāyak Charju**, **Swāmī Haridās** of Vrindāban, **Miān Tānsen** and others.

44. Miçra Bandhu Vinod, *History of Hindi Literature* vol.I, pp.73-101.

45. Ram Chandra Çuklā, *Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas*, p. 130.

46. *Mirat-i-Aflab Numa*, **Shāhnawāz Khān Muslim University** Aligarh MS. 522.

Malhār, sang the **Çrīmad Bhagwadgītā** from beginning till end before Vallabhāchārya, his spiritual guide. It was through Chaitanya that the whole of Bengal sang Krishna **Bhakti**, because Chaitanya, who himself was fond of singing Vidyāpati's songs, made Sankīrtan (chorus singing) the vehicle of popular devotion for the members of his Order. Vrindāvana became the centre of the **Bhagats** of the Vaishnava cult, and after Sūradāsa it became a part of the devotional exercise of the **Bhagats**, to sing songs with **Braj-bhūmi** as the back-ground particularly those associated with Krishna's childhood, the love of the **Gopīs** and of Rādhā for Krishna in various 'rasas' or moods, such as **Bhakti**, **Çringāra** (passion), through **Samyog** (Union) **Viyog** (separation). The love between Rādhā and Krishna was an allegory for the love of the devotee for Vishnu, the loving and all-pervading Hindū God. It is impossible to discuss in this connection every **Bhagat** in detail. Swāmī Haridāsa of Vrindāvana, the founder of the **Ṭaṭṭi** Order, was a past master in music. It is said that Akbar used to call at the Swāmījī, along with Tānsen, the former's disciple, incognito, and at Akbar's beckon, Tānsen would begin singing in a wrong manner, whereupon the Swāmījī would chant the correct version over again⁴⁷. Mathurā, till late, held the reputation as the centre of the best **Dhrupad** singing in Northern India. The great **Bhaktin** Mīrā Bāī, widow of Bhoj Rāj, son of Rānā Kumbh of Mewar, has enriched classical music by adding the air Mīrā Bāī kā Malhār⁴⁸. The study of the Holy Granth confirms the impression that music was made use of for improving manners and morals. I have counted no less than 54 different varieties of **Rāgas** in the Granth. It is interesting to read on p.104 of the Urdū Edition of the Granth (Nawalishore press, Lucknow), **Çrīrāga**, being mentioned as an air which attracts people as a real guide does to the devotee⁴⁹. At the end of the

47. Vide, Rai Bahādur Pandit Sukhdev Bihari Misra '*Hindi Sahitya aur Itihas*, Patna University Lecturers, 1934.

48. Rājā Nawāb 'Ali Khān in his *Marif-ul-Naghamat* vol. II, Lucknow, has given a *Dhrupad* (with notation) in Mira bai ka Malhar sung by Raja Husain Khan of Lucknow,

49. *Ragan wich Srirag hai jise such dhare piyar : Sada hari sach man wase, nichchal mat apār.*

Tr. Among the Rāgas, there is Çrirag for which people develop a love

The eternal Hari takes abode in a truthful heart and a steady mind is redeemed.

Granth there is a separate versical discussion on the **Rāgas** bearing the heading **Rāgamālā**. It discusses the **Rāgas** and **Rāginīs** under the old sixfold division. It is noteworthy that in this as well as in the body of the book, many **Rāgas** are mentioned which have become obsolete or are rarely heard these days. These are **Āsā**, **Mānjh**, **Sukhmanī**, **Mārwar**, **Prem-Ashleki**, **Sālū**, **Gajdhar** (elephant-catching) **Kedāra**, **Dharant**, **Sindor**, **Nand**, **Bhāskar**, **Chāoder Vinoda**, **vinoda**, **Kachheli**, **Kuntal**, **Rāmā**, **Kamāl**, **Kusum** and **Champak**.

It is known to every body acquainted with the life of **Bābā Nānak**, that he always took in his company **Mardāna**, a **rūbāb**-player to sing his verses and no occasion was missed for setting to tune, verses suited to the occasion. So far about **Bhakti** music. It is to be remembered that the **Bhakti Bhāva** (attitude), while nursed in the luxurious **Mughal** court, changed into **Çringār** (passion, passionate love). This was even true of other forms of fine arts such as poetry⁵⁰. At present the boyhood scenes of Krishna, his pranks with the **gopīs**, twisting their wrists, breaking their pitchers and bangles, or barring their way to the water-**ghāṭs** of the **Jumnā** or even **Rādhā's** pangs of love for boy-krishna, are taken, not in their allegorical sense, but for provoking mirth and enjoyment. The whole literature of **Khiyāl** school of music, which is secular in its origin and outlook, is identified with this aspect of Krishna's life in **Vrindāvana**.

(d) Its patronage by Kings and nobles.

During the Middle Ages, as at the present time, music depended much for its cultivation and progress upon the patronage of kings and nobles, that is the privileged ones who had the means and inclination to keep the musician on their pay rolls. Most of the Muslim kings did not bother much as to what the Muslim legists and canoneers of the past or of their times opined about the legality of music. With the break-up of the Delhi empire and the establishment of provincial dynasties and semi-independent kingdoms⁵¹ vocalists and instrumentalists found a warmer welcome with rulers who competed with their contemporaries of a neighbouring kingdom in the matter of trans-

50. **Rām Chandra Çuklā**, *Hindi Shahitya ka Itihās*, p. 109.

51. Vide writer's article on "Some Minor Dynasties of Northern India During the 15th and 16th centuries", published in December 1948 issue of the *Journal of Indian History*, Trivendrum.

mitting their names as patrons of literary men and artists. Thus Sulṭān Zainul-'Ābedīn, king of Kashmir (1416-67) was patron of music to such an extent that he had the musical instruments of the court musicians embroidered with leaves of gold, and ordered Lūdī Bhaṭṭ, his court musician, to prepare a standard book on music. He used to get literature on music from Rājā Dungār Sen and his son Kirāt Singh of Gwalior⁵². Moreover, it was during Sulṭān Zainul-'Ābedīn's reign and probably under his patronage that Kālinātha wrote, in about 1450, a commentary on **Sangit Ratnākara**. The latter, being the first authentic book on Indian music, was written by Sārangadeva (1210-47), a musician of the Yādava kings of Devgir⁵³. Even a religious zealot like Sikandar Lodī, who was a strict adherent of the Canon Law, had made it a habit to go to bed after listening to music. Ni'matullah Herātī, in his **Makhzan-i Afghānī**, 'Abdullah in his **Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī**, and Yādgar Aḥmad in his **Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīni Afāghīnah** (**Tārīkh-i-shāhī**) have all mentioned that he evaded the letter of the law by making musicians and instrument players give a display of their art in the camp of the two Sayyid nobles, Sayyid Rūḥullah and Sayyid Ibn Rasūl, situated near his own tent. He did this perhaps following the example of the 'Abbāsīd rulers who allowed a silken curtain to be dropped between them and their musicians, giving performances. Sikandar had four slave boys, one skilled to play on the **Chang** (harp) the second on **Qānūn**, the third on the **Vīnā**, the fourth on **Tunbūr** (Pandore). There were four **Surnāi** (**Shahnāi**) players in his **Naubat-Khānā**. He had a liking for four airs such as **Ḥusainī Kānrā** (supposed to be invented by Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī) **Kidara**, **Māli-Gauda** and **Kalyān**⁵⁴. The information that two Sayyids were patrons of music is very interesting. Ibrāhīm Lodī had a number of dancing girls trained in singing and dancing, and after the conquest of India by Bābar, they were delivered to the Mughal Begams.⁵⁵ Maḥmūd Lodī, brother of Sikandar Lodī, who was raised to the throne of Bihār, by the Pathāns after the battle of Kanwāh, was a lover of music. Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī and Rājā Mānsingh Tonwar of Gwālior, as will be noticed, were musicians of high accomplishments.

52. Niṣāmuddīn, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 439.

53. Herbert Popley, *Music of India*, p. 14; Macdonald *India's Past*, Oxford, 1927, p. 172.

54. The three historians referred to before, give different lists of the four *Ragas*.

55. *Memoirs of Gulbadan Begam*, Tr. by Mrs. Beveridge, p. 95.

The pre-eminence of Bāz Bahādur, the last king of Mālwā, can be testified from Abul Faḍl's references in the *Ain-i-Akbarī*⁵⁶. He was one of the great musicians in Akbar's court and fourth in the list. His consort, Rūpmatī, was an accomplished songstress and composer. Salīm Shāh Sūr was a composer and most likely, a musician as well. Songs composed by Sulṭān Salīm and Bāz Bahādur of Mālwā are quoted in the third volume of the *Sangīta Rāga Kalpadruma*⁵⁷. Bāz Bahādur and Miān Tānsen received their training from 'Ādil Shāh Sūr who reigned over the eastern districts of Northern India with Chunār as his headquarter. 'Ādil Shāh (Adali) was a matchless musician⁵⁸. Muḥaffar Shāh of Gujrāt (1511-23), whose piety and devotion to the religion of Islām have been praised by Bābar in his Memoirs, could play on any musical instrument. He staged a drama of Saraswati, the goddess of learning and music, after six months of preparation and for it the best jewellers and dress-makers were commissioned⁵⁹. Bahādur Shāh of Gujrāt (A.D.1526-37) was the patron of many famous artists like Nāyak Baiju and Nāyak Gopāl. Nāyak Baiju, formerly a court musician of Rājā Vikramājī of Gwālīor, invented the **Bahāduri Ṭoḍī** in the name of his patron Bahādur Shāh. His own name is written on Rāgas like **Nāyakī Kānrā**, **Nāyakī Ṭoḍī**, and **Nāyakī Malhār**, practised to this day by artists of high accomplishments. On the day the Mughals entered the city of Ahmadabad, following Bahādur Shāh's defeat and flight, a general slaughter was ordered by Humāyūn, and after a good deal of bloodshed, Nāyak Baijū, nicknamed the Bāorā, (the crazy) was caught by the soldiers. He would have been executed but for his prompt suggestion that he would give the equivalent of his weight in solid gold, if he could be brought before the emperor. On the way one **Khushhāl Beg** pleaded for Baiju by saying that he was a musician and king of the dancing girls⁶⁰. When taken before the emperor, he said, he was a musician and would merit any punishment after he had sung. He sang a song with the following theme.

56. Blochmann, I, 681 ff.

57. For Shah Salim's song see p. 69, song no, 26; for that of Baz Bahadur, p. 69, No, 23. One of the chief musicians of his court was Baba Ramdas.

58. Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, vol. 1. Tr. p. 434.

59. Bayley, *History of Gujrat*, p. 390.

60. *Mirat-i-Aflab Numa*, Muslim University, Aligarh Ms. p. 522

کسے نہ ماند کہ اورا بہ تیغ ناز کشی
مگر تو زندہ کنی عالمے و باز کشی

'None remained whom you could kill with the sword of thy blandishment.

But you resurrect the world (first) and kill it afterwards.'⁶¹

The emperor was so pleased that he expressed his readiness to give him anything he wanted. Baiju pleaded for the stoppage of the slaughter and it was done. Soon after, when he rejoined Bahādur Shāh, the latter cried out on seeing him, "I have regained all I had lost, and the sight of Baijū has taken all my grief, and sorrow. When Sher Shāh attacked Raisin held by Pūran Mal in 1544, his consort, Ratnāvali sang heroic melodies, before he went to offer battle. Rāi Silahdī (afterwards Ṣalāhuddīn), chief of Raisin, had at the time of the storming of the fort by Bahādur Shāh II of Gujrāt, four bands of dancing girls, unrivalled in music and dancing and each one of them had two attendants and forty damsels held torches when the dancers performed.'⁶²

(c) **Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī**. Now coming to the contribution of Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī (1457 to 1483 in Jaunpur; and for the next eleven years in Bihar) to Indian music, it may first be said that he was the greatest inventive genius after Amīr **Khusraw** of Delhi. He bore the title of Gandharva⁶³. His reputation as a musician of rare accomplishments had spread all over India. His inventions include 12 Syāms such as **Malhār Syāma**, **Gaur Syāma**, **Bhopal-Syāma** and four out of the 14 **Ṭoḍis**, one **Asawari**, long known as **Ḥusainī or jaunpurī Asawari** or simply **Jaunpurī** as it is called by its abbreviated name at the present time and **Jaunpurī-Basant**.⁶⁴ He also introduced the Arabic air named **Zangūlah** corrup-

61. This is on the authority of Shahnawaz Khan's *Mirat-i-Aftab Numa*, Muslim University, Aligarh; Ms. p. 522. It is to be remembered that this couplet was presented to Nadir Shah on the occasion of his sack of Delhi in 1739.

62. Bayley, *History of Gujrat*, p. 366.

63. *Mirat-i-Aftab Numa*, Shah Nawaz Khan, Muslim University Aligarh Ms. p. 519.

64. *Nishat Ara Ms.* in the Private Library of the late lamented Sadr Yar Jung, Dr. Habibur-Rahman Khan Sherwani at Habibgunj, Aligarh Dist, U.P. The Ms. is of the time of Shah Jahan.

ted into **Jangla**, and made it into a very popular air of Jaunpūr.⁶⁵ Ḥusain Shāh has left an undying name through his invention of the **Khiyāl** school of ornate music. Unlike **Dhrupad** which is static and conventional, and aims at rousing an attitude of devotion, **Khiyāl** aims at creating joy, rather new joys by the multiplication of melodies in an unceasing rhythm. Production of beauty through notes arranged in 'tāns' or strings of melodies, is the aim of the artist. **Khiyāl**, by the nature of its aim and the fleeting character of its gait befits secular music for which it stands. It has to be remembered that the **Khiyāl** type of music became popular during the reign of Shāh-Jahān⁶⁶, when a taste for beauty and refinement in all branches of art and craft had set in. Even then **Dhrupad** held a predominant position.

(e) **Rājā Mānsingh Tonwar and Music.**

Indian music was profoundly influenced by the activity of Rājā Mānsingh Tonwar (1486-1517), of Gwalior. Gwalior by its geographical position was in the border of the two main streams of music, **Hindustānī** and **Cārnātic**, and the Gwalior **Darbār** patronized music and musicians on a lavish scale. Mānsingh, who was a musician with a rich voice, comparable to two men singing together, possessed also a unique style⁶⁷. The catholicity of his heart has been praised by Farishtā.⁶⁸ He appears to have been influenced by the new type of singing introduced by Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī. He introduced a new style of **Dhrupad** singing in **Hindī**. Before this **Dhrupad** used to be sung in Sanskrit in the archaic style.⁶⁹ The Rājā had as his consort Mriga Nainā (dear eyed), as accomplished a musician as himself. He composed a large number of **Dhrupads** and set them to tune through his chief court musician Nāyak Maḥmūd.⁷⁰ But by far his greatest service lies in his classification and codification of the

65. *Idid*.

66. Vide writer's article on 'Music and Musicians of the court of Shahjahan' in the Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, Deccan, Oct. 1945, Vol. IX, No. 4.

67. *Mirat-i-Aftab Numa*, Shahnawaz Khan, Muslim University Aligarh Ms. 521.

68. Farishtā comments on his death saying that though he was a Hindu, at heart he was a Muslim.

69. V.N. Bhatkhande's Presidential Address at the all-India Music Conference at Baroda, 1916.

70. *Man Kautuhal*, Muslim University Aligarh Ms.

Indian **Rāgas** and **Rāginīs**. On account of the coming of the Muslims who introduced new melodies and new techniques, many **rāgas** had changed their forms and had become mutilated beyond recognition. To remove this fluidity and restore uniformity and purity in Indian music, he entrusted the task of classifying the **Rāgas** and giving them a correct form to a body of experts including Nāyak Bakhshu, Nāyak Bhannu, Nāyak Pāṇḍe and his court musicians, that is, Nāyak Maḥmūd, Nāyak Lohang and Nāyak Karan.⁷¹ This commission, after a great deal of research, prepared a full text-book after examining the form, past and present, of every **Rāga**, in detail and laid down rigid rules of grammar, and fundamental principles of scales and notes. The book was given the name of **Mān Kautuhal** (Curiosity of Rājā Mān), and embodied a list of **Rāginīs**, arranged under the six traditional **rāgas** or major scales. The list included almost all the airs introduced by the Muslim musicians in the country.⁷² This classification marks a decisive step in the evolution of North Indian music and differentiates the latter for all times to come, from the Deccani system. At the same time, this classification gave to Gwalior a pre-eminence in the field of music during the whole of the Middle Ages, so much so that Gwalior provided the bulk of the musicians and instrumentalists during the rule of the Imperial Mughals.

The foregoing observations have proved that a curious blending of the Perso-'Arab and indigenous systems of music had taken place during the period under review yielding to the evolution of a single type for the whole of northern India. The synthesis reached a climax during the rule of the Mughals.

It was not on the customary munificence of the Mughal emperors or their whims in playing the patrons of artists that a great heritage was built up. This change was reached by a process of slow evolution, and the ground was prepared on a large scale during the 15th and the early part of the 16th centuries. **Dhrupad**, reformed by Rājā Mānsingh, held the field in northern India, till **Khiyāl**, its rival, superseded it in popularity during the middle of the 18th century.⁷³

71. Faqirullah, *Man Kautuhal*, Muslim University Aigarh Ms. p. 14

72. Vide writer's article on *Some rare Ragas in Indian Music*, published in the *New Horizons*, Allahabad, November 1946.

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THE COGNOMEN, GANGŪI, ATTACHED TO THE NAME OF THE FOUNDER OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

DR. S. A. Q. ḤUSAINI

As for a part of Bahman Shāh's name, Gangūi¹ or Kānkūi,² several explanations have been offered, and I am going to add one more to them. According to Mawlawī 'Abdu'l-Walī, the term is a distortion of the name Kaikā'ūs³. Professor Sherwānī explains the term in two different ways—that the word Gangū may be a corruption of the epithet "Gungu"⁴ (dumb), or that it may be the distortion of the name Kākūyah⁵. Dr. Qanungo thinks that Ḥasan "was either a Hindu convert himself or the descendant of a Hindu convert, belonging to the **Gango subdivision of the Arain**, commonly known as the **Rain tribe** of the Punjab"⁶. Again we have the most popular story spread by Firishtah that Ḥasan called himself Kānkūi after his Brahmin master Kānkū Bahman⁷. I believe that the word should be read as Gangawī being a noun of relationship formed from the word Gangī, a suburb of Miraj⁸ with which Ḥasan's early life seems to have been closely connected.⁹

Let me deal with the explanation offered by Mawlawī 'Abdu 'l-Walī who asks: "Is it the Dakhni corruption for Kaikā'ūs, the name of the King's father?"¹⁰ He suggests that the king could have been

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1. *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, by Sayyid 'Alī bin 'Azīzillah Tabataba, Dihli, 1936, p. 11.
 2. *Firishtah*, Vol. 1, Lucknow 1281 A. H. p. 273.
 3. *Journal and Proceedings*, A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 463.
 4. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XX (1941), Part I to III, p. 98.
 5. *Ibid.*
 6. *The Dacca University Studies*, No II, Vol I, (1936), p. 144.
 7. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 273.
 8. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, p. 273.
 9. *Ibid.*
 10. *Journal and Proceedings*, A. S. B., Vol. V, (1909) p. 463.

called *کیکاروس حسن* just like *اسفند یار یمن* which would mean Ḥasan son of Kaikā'ūs. According to him, if the last letter of Kaikā'ūs is left out, "the word may give rise to the following variants: Kaikā'ū, Kankāu, kankū, Gangū, etc"¹¹.

This explanation stands to reason and has been approved by an expert like Wolseley Haig.¹² But the difficulty comes in when we consider, how it happened that we do not come across a single manuscript with the *س*. Moreover, I see no reason to suspect that the Dakhni dialect would have dropped the final *س* and substituted a *ن* for the *ی* between the two *ک*s. The *ی* sound is found in all the local languages. Moreover, if it was his father's name and as such formed an integral part of his name, it should have found a place in the contemporary inscription which was placed over the mosque in his capital or in some of his coins just as his son, Muḥammad Shāh, has called himself *محمد حسن* (Muhammad, son of Ḥasan) in one of his coins¹³.

Further, we have the writings of two contemporary writers with us--the Futūḥu 's-Salāṭīn of 'Iṣāmī and the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī of Baranī. 'Iṣāmī, who wrote under the direct orders of the Sulṭān, could not have omitted the epithet Kaikā'ūs if it formed a part and parcel of the name of the monarch. Baranī, who was in the Deccan at the time of Ḥasan's revolt calls him Ḥasan Kānkū,¹⁴ and it is highly improbable that even Baranī should have corrupted the name Kaikā'ūs into Kānkū. Dr. Qanungo is quite right when he writes "From the time of Zīyau'd-Dīn Baranī down to our own time Gangu or Kangu has thus been found corrupted once and once only and that too in a single manuscript. Even in this case Sir W. Haig's authority, namely, Maulavi Abdul Wali, is not certain about the reading of the word Kakuya. The Maulavi only suggests whether this is a Dakani corruption for Kaikaus, the name of the king's father. We say it is not (a corruption) because the Deccan was the home of Iranian emigrants and no Persian history of the Deccan from Burhān-i-Ma'āthir to Basātin-i-Salāṭīn ever commits such a mistake, or uses **Kakuya** for

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Cambridge History of India*, (1926). Vol. III, p. 373.

13. *J. A. S. B.*, 1923, Numismatic Supplement, No. 24 (at the end of the Volume).

14. *Barani*, (Bib. Ind.) Calcutta, 1862, p. 520.

Kaikaus, a name which a Muslim, particularly an Irani, picks up from nursery tables".¹⁵ On the whole I am convinced that Māwlawī 'Abdul-Walī's explanation is not enough and that we have to find some other explanation for the term.

Professor Sherwānī explains the term in two different ways, viz., that Gangu was a corruption of gungū, meaning dumb¹⁶, and that the word may be كَكُيَا (Kākūyah)¹⁷ as found in a manuscript of the **Haft-Iqlīm**.¹⁸ (D/347 A.S.B.). Let us examine these two explanations one after the other.

Regarding the former explanation the learned Professor writes "As we learn from the contemporary 'Iṣāmī, 'Ali Shāh's sobriquet was Natthū, a very ordinary nickname of male children who might have had their nose pierced through some superstition. The next boy's name was Gangū, possibly a corruption of gungū, meaning dumb, perhaps alluding to the infantile dumbness of the child, Ḥasan. This allusion to the weakness was no doubt responsible for the fact that it does not occur in 'Iṣāmī's work, the Futūḥu 's-Salāṭīn, which is otherwise replete with the names of Hindu and Muslim friends and foes of the new King."¹⁹

This inference of Professor Sherwānī has at least two flaws. Firstly, the king's defect (dumbness) is purely a supposition for which there is no documentary or literary basis at all. Secondly, that the word Gangū is akin to the term, **gungū**, is the only basis and again we have to depend on a process of corruption. Therefore, the explanation that **Gangū** is a corruption of **gungū**, I fear, is not satisfactory.

Now turning to the term, Kākūyah, the following is Professor Sherwānī's explanation: "It remains now to explain the significance of the mysterious Kākūya which Mawlawi 'Abdul Wali²⁰ considers to be a corruption of the word Kaikāūs while Messrs. Oturkar and Khare think it to be a form of Gangū. As a matter of fact the Kākuyids were the rulers of Iṣfahān and Hamadān from 385/1007 to 433/1051. The dynasty took its name from Kākuya which, in the

15. *The Dacca University Studies*, Vol. I, No. 11, (April 1936), p. 139

16. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XX (1938), p. 98.

17. *Barani*, p. 516.

18 & 19. *Ibid*, p. 520.

20. *Journal and Proceedings of A. S. B.*, Vol. V, (1909), p. 463.

Dailamite dialect, means a maternal uncle, as its founder, Muḥammad was called Ibn-i-Kākūya, as he was the son of Dushmanziār Rustam, the maternal uncle of Majdu'd-Dawlah the Buyid.²¹ We have already traced the home of the first Bahmani up to Afghanistan, and it is just possible that there was a tradition of the family being Kakūyid, which migrated from Central Asia as so many families were doing about that time. There is another interesting point. We know that the Kākūyids placed their state under the vassalage of the Ghaznavid Sulṭān Maḥmūd,²² and it is not a mere coincidence that the first Bahmani entitles himself in his coins as Yamīnu l-Khilāfat, a title which comes very close to Maḥmūd's title Yamīnu'd-Dawlah. The courtiers must have known of this Persian origin of Ḥasan's ancestors and it was not entirely off the mark for them to connect him with even an earlier Persian dynasty of Bahman and Isfandiyār".²³

There are several difficulties in accepting this position: Firstly the term occurs in a lone manuscript of a work which, as a book of history, is not of much value. Secondly, the work is not a contemporary one and the manuscript is of a much later date. If Ḥasan claimed descent from the Kākūyah family, there is no reason why 'Iṣāmī, his contemporary historian who wrote under his orders, should omit the fact and another contemporary Baranī should call him Kānkū. We can safely assume that the term Kākūyah was not strange or "Mysterious" either to 'Iṣāmī or Baranī. Thirdly, the term is absent from inscriptions and coins. If it was an important term connecting the family with a former ruling family of Central Asia, there is no reason why Ḥasan should have omitted it from his coins and inscriptions. Fourthly, to connect the title of Yamīnu'l-Khilāfat, assumed by Ḥasan, with the title of Yamīnu'd-Dawlah, which had been adopted by Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, through the Kākūyid link is straining the point too far. The Kākūyids were the vassals of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. No proud monarch would celebrate or choose to revive the memory of the vassalage of his ancestors to another prince. Ḥasan adopted the full regnal titles of 'Alā'ud-Dīn Khalji.

Coming to Dr. Qanungo's opinion, he contends "Yaḥya Sarhindi, the author of *Tārikh-i-Mubārakshāhi*, in his account of the conspiracy for the murder of Sayyid Mubārak Shāh—his patron and

21. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 667, article by Huart.

22- *Ibid.*

23. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XX, (1938), p. 98.

contemporary—says ‘some villainous infidels, such as, the sons of Kangu and Kajo Khatri.....made deliberations together²⁴Sadharan Kangu stood with his party outside the door to prevent any outside relief’²⁵.

“It is a common fact that many of the Hindu tribes of the Punjab tenaciously cling to their tribal surnames even centuries after their conversion to Islam. So it is not unreasonable to infer that the Kangu or Gangu was a Hindu tribe or caste of the Punjab, a portion of which had accepted Islam. Ḥasan, the founder of the so-called Bahmani dynasty, and Sadharan, the murderer of Sayyid Mubārak Shāh, belonged originally to the same stock.

“...There is a Jat clan, Gangha, in the Multan district and also an Arain clan, Gango, in the Montgomery district.²⁶ Ḥasan perhaps belonged to one of these clans, more probably to the Gango clan of the Arains, who are now ‘almost to a man Muhammadans and strongly inclined to orthodoxy’.²⁷

“.....We hold that Ḥasan Gangu, founder of the so-called Bahmani dynasty, like the founders of several independent Muslim dynasties in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, was either a Hindu convert himself, or the descendant of a Hindu convert, belonging to the **Gango subdivision** of the **Arain**, commonly known as the Rain tribe of the Punjab’.²⁸

Dr. Qanungo’s line of argument appears to be sound, but the learned Doctor has ignored several data which militate against his conclusion. In assuming that the term Bahmani was a later concoction he has ignored several contemporary pieces of evidence, one of them positively known to him. He has omitted to mention the “inscription, which was cut while Bahman Shāh was still alive and reigning, and was placed over a mosque in his capital”²⁹ which calls the Sulṭān “Alā’u’d-Dunya Wa’d-Din Abū’l-Muẓaffar Bahman Shāh.”³⁰

24. *Ta’rikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 139.

25. *Ibid*, p. 141.

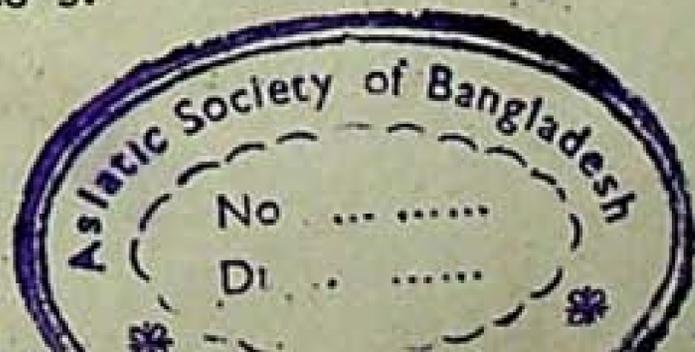
26. *Rose’s Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-western Frontier Province*, Vol. II, p. 278.

27. *Ibid*, p. 13.

28. Dr. Qanungo’s article, *Origin of the Bahmani Sultans*, *The Dacca University Studies*, Vol. I, No. 11, (April 1936), pp. 142-44.

29. *J. A. S. B.*, 1904, Extra No. p. 2 to 3.

30. Please see Plate No. 1.



Another contemporary evidence which perhaps Dr. Qanungo did not know, or did pass over, was the lines of 'Iṣāmī which read,

31 چراغ خوش از درهٔ بهمن است

"He is a pleasant lamp from Bahman's house".

32 در صد لشکر از قوت یک تن است
که هم بهمنی است و هم بهمن است

"One man was equal to two hundred men,
For he was Bahmani as well as Bahman."

To these it may be added that a large number of the Sulṭān's coins (many of which were published before Dr. Qanungo wrote the article) conclusively prove that the claim of Ḥasan to have descended from Bahman son of Isfandiyar was contemporary.

Again, the assumption that he himself might have been a convert to Iṣtam is not backed by any evidence. According to Firish-tah he was the nephew of Ṣafar Khān, the great general of 'Alā'u d-Dīn³³ and a brother of 'Alī Shāh.³⁴ The author of the Tadhkirātu 'l-Mulūk writes that he spent his youth with his mother in the vicinity of Miraj and that both the mother and the youthful son constantly visited Shaykh Muḥammad Sirāj Junaydi.³⁵ So even in his early life he is reported to have been a Muslim and there is no other evidence available to show that he was converted or was a descendant of a convert.

Moreover, there are so many tribes and their subdivisions in India that any personal name can be easily associated with one of them. That the name Kānku or Gangu is symphonious with the name of one of the obscure subdivisions of a tribe in the Punjab is not enough to ignore powerful and authentic contemporary evidence and the testimony given by subsequent writers which is borne out by coins issued by the rulers of the dynasty. Further, Dr. Qānūngo's contention runs counter to the geneology of Ḥasan leading to Bahrām

31. 'Isami, *Futuhu's-Salatin*, Madras, 1948, p, 521, line 5.

32. *Ibid*, p. 9, line 10.

33. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 138.

34. *Ibid*.

35. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154.

Gūr which has been passed on to us by Firishtah³⁶ and the Burhān-i-Ma'āthir.³⁷

Further, most of the authors write the name with an **ya** of relation (یاے نسبتی) as Kankawī, Kūnkawī, Gāngawi, Gāngawī etc. But none of the illustrations of the retention of the tribal epithets by the Hindu converts of the Punjab given by Dr. Qānūngo³⁸ possess theyā of relation.

For the reasons given above, the contention of Dr. Qānūngo that Ḥasan was a Hindu convert or the descendant of a Hindu convert belonging to the Punjabi clan known as the Gango is untenable. There is overwhelming evidence to prove that he claimed to be a descendant of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār as witnessed by contemporary evidence and the testimony of later writers. We have to seek elsewhere for a satisfactory explanation of the term, گنگوی (Gangawī).

Now, let us examine the most popularly accepted explanation of the term—the one given by Firishtah. According to him Ḥasan, in his early days, lived in Dihli and served Kānkū Bahman. On Ḥasan giving proof of his trustworthiness, the Brahmin, who was the Court astrologer, recommended him for a **manṣab** to Sulṭān Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn Tughluq, and after casting his horoscope, predicted kingship for him. Then he made Ḥasan promise that, in the event of his prediction proving true, he would assume his name as a part of his royal title. The historian proceeds to record that Ḥasan adopted the name Kankui before he established a kingdom and continued it as a part his official name even after his accession.³⁹ Firishtah is all alone in giving this version and no other evidence, contemporary or subsequent, supports it.

The term is written in different ways in different works. Khāfi Khān gives the form گنگوی⁴⁰ (Gāngawī) in stead of گنگوی⁴¹

36. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, pp. 281-82.

37. *The Burhan* (Dihli, 1936), pp. 11-12 : *The Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXVIII, p. 141.

38. Shāhbāz Khān Kambo, Muḥammad Ṣalih Kambo, Kamāl Khān Ghakkar, Qiyās Khān Kango etc. *The Dacca University Studies*, Vol. I, No. 11, (April 1936), p. 143.

39. *Firishtah*, Vol. 1, pp. 973-74.

40. *The Muntakhabu 'l-Lubab*, part III, Fasc. I, p. 8. (Bib. Indica)

41. *Firishtah*, Vol. 1, p. 273.

(Kānkawī) found in the pointed text of Firishtah's work. The author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* uses the epithet as گنگوی⁴² (Gangawi) but does not give any explanation of it. Barani calls the Sulṭān Ḥasan گنگو⁴³ (Kānkū)—Badāyūnī adopts the form گنگو (Kānkū) in one passage⁴⁴ and گنگو (Kāngū) in others⁴⁵. Badāyūnī's knowledge of this sulṭān seems to have been very meagre, for he confuses him with Jalālu 'd-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh, the first independent Sulṭān of Madura, whom he calls Sayyid Ḥasan Kaithali⁴⁶.

According to Firishtah, Ḥasan called himself Kānkūī (گنگوی) because he had not only been in the service of a Brahman by name گنگو (Kānkū) but also because he owed his **manṣab** to his recommendation to Sulṭān Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn. Further, it was the same Kānkū who foretold that Ḥasan would become a king.

There are at least half a dozen arguments against accepting Firishtah's explanation of the term گنگوی. Firstly, according to Firishtah's own version⁴⁷, Ḥasan came of a very eminent family which had reached the peak of glory towards the close of the 13th century. It is highly improbable that within a quarter of a century the great hero Zafar Khān'Alā'i's family should have sunk so low as to make a nephew of his a menial servant of a Brahmin astrologer. Secondly, Firishtah's account says that Ḥasan was called Kānkūī Bahmanī after the Brahmin. We have found that Ḥasan never called himself Bahmanī and that Firishtah's account in that respect was absolutely baseless and even liable to be suspected as deliberate concoction. Hence it is highly probable that Firishtah's inference that Ḥasan was called Kānkūī after a Brahmin named Kānkū should also share the same fate. Thirdly, if Ḥasan adopted the name, Kānkūī, as a part of a contract which explicitly laid down that Ḥasan should combine the Brahmin's name with his own, Ḥasan would not have dropped it from his coins and inscriptions especially after putting the Brahmin (according to Firishtah) in charge of his treasury⁴⁸.

42. *The Burhan*, p 11.

43. *Barani*, p 420.

44. *Muntakhabu 't-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 282.

45. *Ibid*, pp. 231, 232, 236 and 245.

46. *Ibid*, p, 231.

47. *Firishtah*, p. 138.

48. *Firishtah*, p. 138.

Fourthly, if the Sulṭān had adopted the epithet as a part of his royal title, 'Iṣāmi would have given it. Fifthly, the contract, according to Firishtah, was that the name of the astrologer should be adopted after⁴⁹ Ḥasan attained kingship. But according to Firishtah himself, Ḥasan adopted the title even before⁵⁰ he rose to power. Ḥasan is called گنگوی in the speech of Isma'īl Mukh, as reported by Firishtah,⁵¹ even before his election as the Sulṭān of the Deccan. Sixthly, we have already observed⁵² that Firishtah, who was a Shī'ah and was in the service of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijāpūr was interested in injuring the prestige of the founder of the Bahmani dynasty. It was in pursuance of this motive that he called him **Bahmani** and stated that he was so called after a Brahmin astrologer under whom he was a menial servant. Probably the same motive made him write that the term گنگوی was connected with the name of the Brahmin. For the above reasons Firishtah's explanation is not tenable.

The Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk gives some relevant material bearing on this epithet. According to it, Ḥasan in his "youth"⁵³ lived at Gangī,⁵⁴ a suburb of Miraj, which later, that is, at the time when the author was writing (1608-1609) was known as Murtaḍābād⁵⁵. There he used to visit Shaykh Muḥammad Sirāj Junaydī and pass most of his time in his cell⁵⁶. Sometimes Ḥasan's mother accompanied him and even represented to him some of her difficulties⁵⁷. The above details are quite significant.

I feel convinced that Ḥasan was called گنگوی after the name of the township, Gangī. It is nothing other than the noun of relationship (اسم نسبت) formed from the word Gangī, the possible place of birth and sure place of adoption of Ḥasan. A noun of relationship formed from Gangī becomes Gangawī (گنگوی)

49. *Firishtah*, Vol I, p. 274.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid*, p. 277.

53. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 153-4,

54. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 153.

55. *Ibid*, p. 154 = *Ta'rīkh*, (a Hyderabad Journal) Vol. III, part IX, p. 16.

56. *Ibid.* = *Ibid.*

57. *Ibid.* = *Ibid.*

and fortunately the most important texts, those of Firishtah,⁵⁸ *Khāfi Khān*⁵⁹ and 'Alī bin 'Azīzillah Ṭabāṭabā,⁶⁰ have retained the **س**. The later confusion seems to have arisen chiefly due to the false story concocted by Firishtah.

Now what are the connections between Ḥasan and the village of Gangī ? Are they intimate enough to warrant that Ḥasan should have been called Gangawī after it ? Firstly, as we have already seen, the *Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk* clearly states that Ḥasan and his widowed mother were living in the village of Gangī⁶¹. Secondly, from 'Iṣāmī we learn that Ḥasan's mother was still living in Miraj,⁶² of which Gangī was a suburb or dependency when he fled southward after the forces of Ismā'il Mukh had been defeated by Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq at Dawlatābād. Thirdly, the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* says that Ḥasan's original jāgīr (ولايت قديم) comprised Hukēri, Balgāon and Miraj.⁶³ Fourthly, 'Iṣāmī and 'Alī bin 'Azīzillah agree that Miraj was given as a jāgīr to Ḥasan's eldest son and heir-apparent, Muḥammad,⁶⁴ and that even during the early part of his rule, when the kingdom was not yet established on a firm basis and when there were internal revolts and the danger of external attacks or a serious attempt by Muḥammad bin Tughluq to regain his lost territory in the south, Ḥasan took rest at Miraj for two months at a stretch spending the days with his family.⁶⁵ Fifthly, there was a well established practice in Central Asia, referred to by Moreland,⁶⁶ according to which a deserving officer could hope to receive by way of grant the village in which he had been born.

The first four of the facts given above establish a clear relation between Ḥasan and the village of Gangī and the last one even suggests that Ḥasan might have been born in Gangī. The term, ولايت قديم⁶⁷ may even be taken to mean that Ḥasan's father Kaikā'us held the jāgīr before him.

58. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 273.

59. *The Muntakhabu l-Lubāb*, Part III, Fasc. I, p. 8.

60. *The Burhān*, p. 11.

61. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154, Ta'rīkh, p. 16.

62. 'Iṣāmī, (Madras), p. 541.

63. *The Burhān*, p. 29.

64. 'Iṣāmī, p. 594, line 7: *The Burhān*, p. 29, lines 11 and 12.

65. 'Iṣāmī, p. 596, line 16: *The Burhān*, p. 24, lines 25-27.

66. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 466-470.

67. *The Burhān*, p. 29.

Rafi'ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm does not say that Ḥasan was called Gangawī after the place named Gangī denying the contention of Firishtah or anticipating the ingenuity of Dr. Qanungo. He simply narrates that Ḥasan spent his early days at Gangī in the company of his widowed mother. But when he writes that Ḥasan lived in Gangī, a suburb of Miraj, he is borne out by other testimony. 'Iṣāmī, a contemporary authority, states that he and his mother resided at Miraj⁶⁸ and the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* records that his original jāgīr comprised Hukērī, Balgāon and Miraj.⁶⁹ Thus Ibrāhīm's statement that Ḥasan spent his early days in Gangī is not a lone report but one borne out by contemporary and subsequent evidence. One contemporary and another later writer give the name of the city while Rafi'u'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm mentions the particular locality, an adjunct of the city, where our hero lived. Nor can we impute any motive to the author of the *Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk*, for he tries to prove or disprove nothing, but merely states that Ḥasan spent his early days at Gangī.

The omission of the **ی** in the version of Baranī, available to us, is a serious factor to be reckoned with as the author happens to be a contemporary writer. But before attaching too much value to the author, who wrote under Fīruz Tughluq, the following facts should be borne in mind. Firstly, Baranī was in the royal camp and Ḥasan was a rebel against Baranī's patrons. Secondly, Baranī did not come across Ḥasan or even go to the area of his activity or the territory under his rule to know his name exactly. Thirdly, it is possible that the omission of the **ی** was an error by Baranī himself or one of his scribes. Fourthly, the three authors Firishtah, 'Alī bin 'Azīzillah Ṭabāṭabā and *Khāfi Khān* who have retained the **Ya** had access to Baranī's work. Since they have all retained the **Ya** and none of them have mentioned the absence of it in Baranī's version, it is quite probable that Baranī's copy available to them had the **ya** of relationship. Fifthly, it is highly likely that the vast number of books available to the above mentioned famous authors, who have quoted many of them, of which some are not available to us, possessed the **ya** now missing in Baranī's version. Sixthly, it must be borne in mind that the two famous histroians who wrote in the Deccan---Firishtah and 'Alī bin Azīzillāh—and who had access to the manuscripts in the royal libraries of the Deccan, have both retained the **ya**; and *Khāfi Khān* who,

68. 'Iṣāmī, p. 541.

69. *The Burhān*, p. 29.

admittedly, followed Firishtah as far as the history of the Deccan was concerned, has also retained that letter.

For the above six reasons the absence of the *ya* in Baranī's text now available to us, is not of much consequence since his knowledge about Ḥasan could not have been accurate.

To conclude, Ḥasan's boyhood was spent at Gangī⁷⁰ and his family, even later, continued to live in or near that place; the village constituted his first jāgīr or formed a part of his ancestral jāgīr⁷¹; according to the prevalent practice among the people of Central Asia, the village in which an officer was born used to be given to him as his jāgīr⁷²; hence he was called Gangawī after Gangī which was certainly his place of residence and possibly the place of birth.

APPENDIX

This inscription was mounted on the first mosque built in the town of Gulbargah. The mosque is situated behind the fort constructed by Bahman Shāh. The inscription, now broken into four pieces, is lying in the Maḥbūb Gulshan at Gulbargah. It reads:

این مسجد مبارک لله تعالی و تبارک بعهد بانى مبدانى
 خيرات و قله اقبال سعادات خدا ننگان سلا طين
 علا و الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر بهمن شاه عمر الله دینه
 و دنياه بنده امید وار حضرت کبرياء سيف در ليشه
 از کياء در شهر سنه اربع و خمسين و سبعمائه عمارت کرد
 ابدالاباد آباد باد بحق عامر بيت معمور و کعبه مشهور

This holy mosque, (dedicated) to Allāh, the Elevated and Exalted, in the reign of the builder of good institutions and the summit of good fortunes, the Master of Sultāns, 'Alā'ud-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Bahman Shāh (may Allah prosper his spiritual and world-

70. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154 *Ta'rikh* (Hyderabad) Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement (January to March 1931) p. 16.

71. *The Burhān*, p. 29.

72. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 466-67.

ly state) the aspirant (to the Mercy) of the Great Presence¹, the Sword² of the Government of the King³ of the Pure⁴, in the months of the year seven hundred and fifty-four, constructed⁵. May it last and thrive throughout eternity for the sake of the occupant of the Bayt-iMa'mūr⁶ and the famous Ka'bah''

1. حضرت کبریاء refers to God.
2. Sayf appears to be the chief part of the name of the builder of the mosque.
3. The رسم الخط or the form of writing of دولتشه suggests that the builder was called so. Dawlat Shah was the Shahna-i-Bārgāh under Bahman Shāh and was probably in charge of construction works. See the *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 16, line 12.
4. شه ازکیاء refers to the Prophet Muḥammad.
5. The chief part of the principal clause of the sentence is, "This holy mosque the sword (sayf) constructed."
6. The term is used in the Qur'an, chapter III, verse 4. It refers to a temple which is believed to be exactly above the Ka'bah in the fourth heaven for the use of angels, See al-Baydawi: *Anwaru't-Tanzil*, (Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1282 A. H., Vol. II, p. 327; An-Nasafi : *Madariku't-Tanzil* (Egypt 1306 A. H.) Vol. II, p. 378. Both al-Baytu'l-Ma'mur and the Ka'bah are considered to be the houses of God and their occupants (worshippers therein) are the angels and men respectively.

A PHONETIC TENDENCY OF URDŪ

DR. S. A. SABZAWARI

An attempt is here made to throw light on a very important phonetic tendency of Urdū, which has a bearing on its origin, and may enable the scholars to decide the source from which it sprang and the language which gave birth to it.

Saṅskṛit abounds in words having conjunct, as *Bhakta*, *karma* and *mushṭi*, in which *kt*, *rm* and *Shṭ* are consonantal combinations. It is difficult to pronounce a conjunct, so in Prākṛit these were made simple by process of assimilation i.e. by eliding the first member, and doubling the second one. The conjuncts were as before, but they were made up, not of two different letters, but two of the same kind. Thus *Bhakta* became *Bhatta*, *Karma* became *Kamma* and *mushṭi* became *muṭṭha*. Hence the abundance of words having double consonants in Prākṛit forms. These are remnants of the Saṅskṛit words, and remind one of the Saṅskṛitic conjuncts. Out of the modern Indo-Aryan languages Panjābī has preserved the double consonants and the short vowels. In Urdū they are simplified. For example:

Saṅskṛit	Prākṛit	Panjābī	Urdū
Satya	Sachcha	Sachch	Sach
Sarva	Savva	Sabb	Sab
Kalya	Kalla	Kall	Kal
Nasta	Nattha	Natth	Nath
Chakra	Chakka	Chakk	Chāk
Akshi	Akkhi	Akkh	Āṅkh
Agra	Agga	Agge	Āge
Agni	Aggi	Agg	Āg

The Saṅskṛit conjuncts have been simplified in Urdū by two processes. The first I call **تخفيف** and the second **تسهيل**. By **تخفيف** I mean elision of the first member of the conjunct only as Kal from Kalya and Sab from Sarva and by **تسهيل** the elision of the first member and lengthening of the preceding vowel. Thus, Saṅs : Chakra, Urdū : Chāk, Saṅs : Agni, Urdū : Āg.

This tendency in Urdū, is the second step towards simplifying the Saṅskṛit conjuncts. The first was adopted by Prākṛit. I have already mentioned that to pronounce a conjunct is an operation of great difficulty. The letters of conjunct are combined in pronunciation, but as they are not of the same nature "one has to pass from one position of the vocal organ to another without letting off the breath checked or compressed in the first". By assimilation the passage from one vocal position to another was avoided but the difficulty was not finally solved. The "strong contact" and "high pressure" were there. Urdū was more inclined towards simplification. It lengthened the preceding vowel of the conjunct. The breath thus was let off and the pressure on the vocal organ became less. Prākṛit sought to render the two members of a conjunct clear and distinct, but Urdū wanted to make it simple and easy. The double consonants could only be pronounced distinctly and easily with the help of two vowels, the preceding and the following. As Prākṛit was in favour of distinctness more than easiness it gave momentum to the previous vowel by uttering it forcibly and with a jerk. Urdū on the other hand was more inclined to easiness than distinctness, so it lengthened either the previous vowel or the following one. In the first position the double consonants became indistinct, weak and after sometime one of them dropped. In the second position both remained intact. Hence a host of words in Urdū having double consonants. Only a few are given below:

Miṭṭī	Kuttā	Rakkhā	Haḍḍī	Sachchā	Achchhā
Paṭṭī	Makkhī	Kachchā	Billī	Chakkī	Machchhar
Patthar	Makkhan		Rattī		Nikhaṭṭū

Urdū has got three phases of simplification (i) by eliding one of the consonants and lengthening the preceding vowel. This I call *تسهیل* as āg from agge (ii) by eliding one consonant only. This I call *تخفیف* as کل from کلیر (iii) by only lengthening the following vowel. This I call *رتی-هدی* as تشدید.

Urdū thus lies midway between Panjābī and Braj Bhāshā. The former has got تشدید and the latter تسهیل while Urdū has got تشدید and تسهیل both. The following words are used in Urdū, مشدود in consonance with Panjābī:

Urdū	Braj
Chakkhe	Chākhe
Rakkhe	Rākhe

Miṭṭī	Māṭī
Makkhan	Mākhan
Haḍḍī	Hāḍa
Chakkī	Chākī

Moreover, Urdū has got تخفیف too which process lies midway between تشدید and تسهیل . A few examples would make the point clear ;

Urdū	Panjābī	Braj
Kal	Kall	Kāl
Sab	Sabb	Sāb
Sach	Sachch	Sānch
Nath	Natth	Nāth

These are the three phases of simplification. Now which of these three is natural to Urdū and which it has taken from other languages akin to it ? Prof. Maḥmood Sherāni, is the first writer who came forward to answer it. He said that Urdū is derived from Panjābī. In the beginning, like Panjābī, it doubled the consonants, but when it migrated to Delhi and came under the influence of Braj Bhāshā, which was according to prof. Sherāni, spoken at that time in Delhi and its neighbourhood, it changed and by and by began to simplify the double consonants. His arguments are :

(1) In the histories and dictionaries compiled in the 14th and 15th century A.D. the words like ام بھاند کھاند لاکہ are spelt according to the Panjābī pronunciation, with انب بھند کھند لکھ تخفیف and گازی with گدی تشدید (2) Urdū is merely a follower; sometimes it follows Panjābī, sometimes Braj Bhāshā and at times both of them, but often it leans towards Panjābī. For example the Braj words like ماچھر ماکھی and پاتھر have been doubled in Urdū and pronounced مچھر مکھی and پتھر:

The well-known linguist Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, though not in favour of deriving Urdū from Panjābī, holds that Urdū has been influenced by Panjābī. In his opinion the words which show a short vowel and single or double consonants are properly against the spirit of Hindustānī and are to be explained as the result of Panjābī influence. "Panjābī *sachch* influenced or gave the Hindi *sach*, *kall* influenced *Kal*, *Natth* influenced *nath*, *sabb* helped to establish *sab*, and *ratti* gave *rati*."

These two views are at variance with each other; according to Prof. Sherāni Urdū descended from Panjābī, so the double consonants with short vowels, like Panjābī, are natural to it but, according to Dr. Chatterjee it is against the spirit of Urdū; it rather prefers one consonant with a long vowel. Both these views, I think, preclude the previous history of Urdū. Urdū is said to be descended from Western Apabhramśa which in its turn evolved from Sauraseni Prākṛit, and it is a known fact that both these languages are replete with double consonants and short vowels. Even Dr. Chatterjee has to admit that "in olden days it also reminded one of the Apabhramśa double consonants and short vowels and in India conservatism in language has always a charm with even the masses."

Apabhramśa was prevalent in Delhi, Panjāb and Western U.P. upto the end of the 11th century, and when Muslims conquered Delhi it was, as Chatterjee says, "in general employment from Mahārāshṭra to Bengal". Panjābī or Braj had not yet taken its rise. It is said that Western Hindī forms a link between Urdū and Apabhramśa. Apabhramśa, after undergoing some phonological and morphological changes, was transformed into western Hindī. By this time Panjābī appeared and took a definite form. So long as Apabhramśa reigned supreme, Urdū and Panjābī were in a latent state as branches are in the trunk of a tree. By the end of the 12th century the old Panjābī and Western Hindī began to spring up and gradually spread like an offshoot. But we have no specimen of Western Hindī. Chānd Bardai's Rāso is said to be composed at the end of the 12th century, but we can not rely on it as it has always received additions and alterations. The language of the Rāso also prefers double consonants. It not only contains words which show a short vowel with a single consonant in Urdū but even the Persian words have been used in it with double consonants.

کمان - اسوار - سہنائی - ترکی - عربی - سبئی - پچاس -

This goes a long way to prove that doubling of consonants, which we see in Urdū, was neither taken from Panjābī nor was due to any Panjābī influence. It was a tendency of the language from which Urdū is said to have taken its rise and prevailed just before Urdū came to prominence. It was taken into Urdū from its progenitor and became the spirit and peculiarity of the language. This fact solves also another difficulty faced by Prof. Sherāni. The words

culled by him from old Persian histories and dictionaries undoubtedly show a doubling tendency, but even this is not the result of Panjābī origin, as Prof. Sherāni would have us believe. These books were originally written outside the region of Urdū in places where Apabhramśa reigned supreme. So naturally the writers of the books spelt the words mostly in accordance with the generally accepted and prevalent pronunciation. It has, however, nothing to do with the phonetic tendency of Urdū or the influence that Panjābī exercised on it. Moreover, it is not true that all the words used by old writers show a short vowel with a single or double consonant. We find a number of words with one consonant and a long vowel also used in these books, as.

چھاچ - ماسا (مسا) جامن - گھانٹی (گھنٹی) پاٹی (پٹی) ساہی (سہی)
 چا پاتی (چپاتی) آنڈا (انڈا) آملی (املی) ساچی (سچی) ہاڈ (ہڈی)
 ما کھی (مکھی) بلائی (بالی) -

Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahyā Muneri, lived in the beginning of 14th century A.D. A charm کچ مندرا is attributed to him in which the following, words have been used with تسہیل according to the Urdū pronunciation

رات (رتری) تین (تن) پانچ (پنج) سات (ست) آٹھ (اٹھ) وغیرہ

Another well-known Şūfī Shaikh Farīduddīn Ganj-i-shakar who died more than a century before Sharfuddin Muneri, is said to have used چاند (in place of چند) and آنکھ (in place of آنکھ). This proves beyond doubt the antiquity of the tendency of simplification in Urdū.

Here it may be said with Prof. Sherani that the words referred to are the result of the Braj Bhāshā influence, as some of them i.e. ہاڈ and ما کھی, are even today current in Braj rather than in Urdū. But this can in no case be true. Braj, like Urdū, is said to have descended from Sauraseni Prākṛit, Apabhramśa and Western Hindī. It is more akin to Prākṛit and Apabhramśa, therefore it is rightly referred to by the learned "as the direct descendant of Sauraseni Prākṛit." The Rāso has a greater affinity with Braj than with Urdū. It may easily be taken as the parent of Braj from which the latter developed and took its present shape. Śyām Sundar Dās holds that in Rāso we can see the true picture of Braj. If Braj developed from western Hindī, descendant of Western Apabhramśa and Sauraseni Prākṛit as it is, then wherefrom it got simplification ?

These languages, as I have shown above, always preferred double consonants and in no stage of their development were found hesitating in this matter. How Braj can inherit a phonetic peculiarity from its progenitors which they themselves did not possess. One consonant preceded by a long vowel is, no doubt, a characteristic common to new Indo-Aryan, and the Western dialects, including Urdū, persistently prefer it, but it is a riddle that no trace of it we find in the languages which fall in direct lineage of these dialects. Had Braj inherited it from its parent and possessed it in its nature it could justly be explained as the result of Braj influence.

At this stage it would be advisable to trace the early history of this tendency and try to find out the link, if any, which connects Urdū and Braj with their parents. In the old Indo-Aryan language, however, we come across a dialect which liked to simplify the conjunct by eliding one member and lengthening the preceding vowel. The early traces of this tendency have been found in the Vedas. Hariaudh and others have particularly noted two examples; Durdabha and Durnāṣa with conjunct 'dr' have been used in the Vedas Dūdabha and Dūnāṣa by eliding 'r' and lengthening the vowel of 'd'. Next stage in the development comes in Pāli which is known to have never adopted the process and is said to be the first language to start the assimilation. But by the side of assimilation, we see simplification, of a slightly different nature. Conjuncts, whether assimilated or not, require an amount of muscular exertions to be pronounced. In Pāli the conjuncts were separated by inserting a vowel between them and a simple mode of pronouncing conjuncts was created. Thus Saṅskṛit Kārya was changed to Kariya, Sūrya to Suriya, Chaitya to Chaitiya. But when a Saṅskṛit conjunct occurred at the beginning of a word it was reduced to a simple letter, as:

Bhamara (Bharmara),

Kamena (Krameṇa)

Khalita (Skhalita).

After Pāli the process became dim and almost obliterated and no trace could be found in Prākṛit. This state continued upto the end of the 11th century when, to our astonishment, it reappeared in the modern languages of the Sub-continent except Panjābī. The solitary instance of the process could only be met with in the Aśoka Pillar Edicts where Dāhanti (Prākṛit Dassanti, Saṅskṛit Dasyanti) is commonly used. Since the beginning of the Christian era, when Pāli flourished

upto the end of the 11th century A.D., there existed a gap of full one millenium. To fill up this gap the learned had to propound a hypothesis of some dialects in the Prākṛit stage which possessed this tendency and from which the New Indo-Aryans took their immediate rise. But as they never rose from the spoken level to the high status of the literary languages no clear proof of this supposition could be produced. Dr. Grierson, having studied the Dardic dialects, expressed the view that the Prākṛit from which these dialects sprang, perhaps, preferred non-conjunct consonants. Sindhī and Gujrātī, too, are devoid of consonantal combination, therefore, either they descended from the same north western Prakṛit or some other Prākṛit with the same inclination. One example would suffice.

Saṅs: Bhakta. Pr. Bhatta. Dr. Baṭu. Sindhī: Bhaṭu
Gujrātī: Bhāṭa.

The well known Italian philologist Dr. Tessitori wrote a long series of articles in *Indian Antiquary* (1914 to 1916) in which after declaring Gujrātī, Mārwarī and old Western Rajasthānī of one and the same stock, he came to the conclusion that the language of the Prākṛit Piṅgal "represents the intermediate step between the Apabhraṁśa of Hemachandra and the earliest stage in the history of the modern vernaculars." It extended from about the tenth century to eleventh century A.D. One of the most important features of this stage, according to Dr. Tessitori, is the case of the present passive ending in *ije* (pr. *ijje*) which shows that the process of simplification of double consonants and lengthening of the preceding vowel was already there. This was in its turn inherited by the old Western Rājasthānī with the following three phases.

- (1) Simplification of the double consonants and lengthening of the preceding vowel, as ج from جج and رادل from رادلل etc.
- (2) simplification without compensatory lengthening of vowel as اچی from اچچی etc.
- (3) Retaining the double consonants, as اٲانن and چینن

These phases correspond to the three Phases of simplification in Urdū. As they have their source in Piṅgal Apabhraṁśa, we can justly suppose to account for the lending a similar source for Urdū. I doubt whether Piṅgal Apabhraṁśa "represents a stage of development more advanced than the Apabhraṁśa of Hemachandra." To me it is the dialect of a different affinity, and represents a group of dialects which developed from the old Indo-Aryan having simpli-

fication as its character. Urdū along with Braj belonged to one of these dialects.

The only difficulty experienced by the philologist is what they call a conflict of tendencies in Urdū. It leans sometimes towards Panjāb dialects in preferring double consonants and sometimes towards the Braj Bhāshā Group in preferring one consonant with or without a long vowel. But this is not the conflict of tendencies as it is so systematic and consistent with the nature of the language. The three phases of simplification in Urdū are connected with the following three kinds of conjuncts in the old and middle Indo-Aryan :

- (i) General conjuncts of Saṅskṛit, as Kalya and sarva etc.
- (ii) Conjuncts having a consonant preceded by a nasal, as Danta and Śuṇḍā.
- (iii) Double consonants of Prākṛit, as Kamma, bhalla, kajja.

The simplified words without compensatory lengthening of vowel have been taken, through Pāli, from Saṅskṛit, as they have been rendered to a single letter. For example :

Saṅskṛit	Urdū	Process
Kalya	Kal	By dropping 'y'
Sarva	Sab	" " 'r'
Tarka	Tak (Taknā)	" " 'r'
Skandha	Kandhā	" " 's'
Varddha	Barh	" " 'r'
Karta	Kaṭ (Kaṭnā)	" " 'r'

The words given below were, perhaps, imported from Pāli or dialect of the same lineage. The conjuncts in them were, in agreement with Pāli, changed to some other words but were not doubled.

Saṅskṛit	Urdū	Process
Satya	Sach	By changing 'ty' to 'ch'
Nasta	Nath	" " 'st' to 'th'

Urdū *Nath*, I think, came from Prākṛit *Naltha*.

Saṅskṛit conjuncts having a nasal as one of the two members were made simple by changing the nasal to *anunāsikā* (مغزونه) and lengthening the preceding vowel. Examples :

Saṅskṛit	Urdū
Danta	Dānt
Śuṇḍā	Śhūṇḍ
Kaṇṭaka	Kāṇṭā
Pañcha	Pānch
Śṛiṅga	Sīṅg
Kampa	Kāmp

کند and دلل etc. came subsequently into Urdu and as Tatsama were not made simple.

All the other words were taken directly from Prākṛit following a very reasonable rule. The words ending with the consonants were rendered to a single letter with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, as:

Prākṛit	Saṅskṛit	Urdu
Kamma	Karma	Kām
Kajja	Kārya	Kāj
Bhatta	Bhakta	Bhāt
Niddā	Nidrā	Nīnd
Aggi	Agni	Āg
Chakka	Chakra	Chāk
Ikkha	Ikshu	Īkh

And the words ending with a vowel, semi-vowel or a nasal remained intact. The conjuncts here could easily be pronounced with the help of the following vowel or the weak consonant like nasal and semi-vowel.



THE BRAHMIN DOCTRINE OF SACRIFICE AND RITUALS IN THE PĀLI CANON

Professor P. R. Barua.

We are not concerned here with the origin and significance of a Brahmanical sacrifice, which may be defined as the inherent tendency of the yearning of the feeble human heart to make itself part of the divine nature by means of a rite in the cause of which something is forfeited or destroyed, the main object of which is to establish relationship between a source of spiritual strength and the one in need of such strength on earth. ¹ Buddhism, as arising out of Brahmanism, may be said to have started in agreement with the central religious tenets or principles in Brahmanism of that day. But it drifted far away from Brahmanism in not attaching importance to external rituals, but in emphasizing the sanction of religious conduct (*charaṇa*). We find that many *Suttas* in the *Nikāyas* do not hesitate to speak of the laxity in the moral standard of the Brahmins and take up a certain view-point involving disagreements with Brahmanism as to ritual observances, the veneration shown on account of birth or caste, and the value given and to be given to religious conduct or morals. It is to those external matters, and not to internal spiritual matters, that much weight has been attached in the Pāli *Suttas*. This is evidenced by the fact that in the *Brāhmaṇadhammika-Sutta* of the *Sutta-Nipāta*, certainly one of the earliest discourses in the Pāli canon, the Buddha is described to have held a conversation with some Brahmins at Sāvatti and to have been consulted as to his opinion regarding the Brahmins of his day as compared with their predecessors. The Buddha did not utter a single word of dissent with their religious belief but only denounced the moral laxity to which they were addicted having deteriorated from the standard of their predecessors. ²

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1. See *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics* (Sacrifice-Hindu).
 2. In the *Vessantara-Jātaka* (VI, No. 547, V. 517, P 554) when prince Vessantara was going to hand over his children Jāli and Kauhājina to the Brahmin who asked for them as gifts in charity, the children say that an evil person like Jujuka cannot be a Brahmin at all, which means that they had regard for a real Brahmin if he was virtuous and pious, but not on the basis of his being born in a Brahmin family.

The *Sutta* narrates that once several old and decrepit, but wealthy Brahmins came to the Buddha to ask about the customs of the ancient Brahmins, while he was sojourning at Jetavana in Sāvatti. Their question was whether the Brahmins of the time were seen maintaining the Brahmanical customs (*dhamma*) of the ancient Brahmins. The Buddha replied that they were not, and described the real cause of the downfall of the Brahmins. The *ṛishis* of old were the sages self-restrained, and having abandoned the objects of sensual pleasure, they looked after their own welfare. They had no such treasure as cows, cattle, gold or corn, but they kept watch over their best treasure in the shape of guarding the doors of the senses. They practised chastity, virtue, mildness, quietude, compassion, tenderness and forbearance. At the time of sacrifice they did not slaughter cows or any other living creatures, but they used to offer their sacrifices in oil, ghee, rice and butter, collecting from the people. But seeing the king's prosperity in material wealth, a change was wrought in their outlook and they became covetous. Then they, after composing hymns, approached king Okkāka (Sanskrit *Ikshvāku*) and besought him to offer *Assamedha*, *Purisamedha*, *Sammāpāsa* and *Vāchāpeyya* sacrifices and by these they obtained wealth from the king. Their desire increased still more and the king, instructed by the Brahmins caused many hundred thousand living beings to be slain in sacrifices. Then Indra, the lord of the gods, the departed forefathers, the *Asuras* and the *Rākkhasas*; became agitated at the animal sacrifices, and after this injustice of violence being done to the innocent animals at sacrifices, the Brahmins fell from the old *dhamma* and were despised by others. ³

The *Brāhmaṇas* are an extensive compilation of prose works which deal with the sacrificial rituals of the Brahmins in their minutest detail, the most important of which are the (i) *Rājasūya*, royal consecration, and (ii) *Vājapeya*, drink of strength, a kind of rejuvenation ceremony which raised the king performing this sacrifice, from the state of king (*rājā*) to that of an emperor (*Samrāṭ*), owing allegiance

3. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, II, *Chūlavagga*, *Brāhmaṇadhammika-Sutta*.

The degeneration from harmless rites to bloody animal sacrifice which the Brahmins took resort to after coveting the king's riches, is also commented on by Buddhaghosha in his *Saṃyutta Commentary* I, 144 ff and subsequently, by Dhammapāla in his *Itivuttaka commentary* I, 93.

to none, the minor kings being subordinate to him. Most important and significant of all is the *Aśvamedha*⁴ the horse sacrifice, in which a horse was let loose to wander about in the neighbouring kingdoms, and if it was not challenged or caught by any of the neighbouring kings, it returned home safely and was sacrificed at the end of a year by the paramount king. By the end of the period of the *R̥gveda* and during the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* the most important sacrifices were the *Aśvamedha* and the *Vājapeya*.

The *Tevijja-sutta* of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* (1,13) deals with the *Tevijja-Brahmins*, i.e., the Brahmins who were endowed with the knowledge of the three *Vedas* (*trivedajñā* in Saṅskṛit)⁵. Naturally, the *Tevijja* sutta speaks of these four kinds of chief priests in a Brahmanical sacrifice, namely, (1) the *Hotar*, or 'caller' who recites the hymns (*richaḥ*) praising the gods and inviting them to the sacrifice; (2) the *Udgātar* or 'singer', who prepares and presents the sacrifices, particularly the *Soma* with Chants (*Sāman*), (3) the *Adhvaryu* or 'executor' of the sacrifice', who is in charge of the performance of all the acts of the sacrifice, muttering simultaneously the prayers and the formulae (*Yajus*), and (4) the Brahmin or the high priest, whose duty is to protect the sacrifice from any harm or danger; because every sacred act is considered to be liable to a certain kind of danger. Hence the Brahmin is responsible for the correct performance of every act of the sacrifice, as regards the correct intonation of the prayer formula or the correct singing of the melody.

The Buddha points out in this *Sutta* that the belief of the Brahmins that the knowledge of the three *Vedas* will lead one to re-union

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4. The *Aśvamedha*, the horse sacrifice and the *Vājapeya*, the drink of strength, a sacrificial drink or *Soma* associated with secular Brahmanism, had a political significance-see B. C. Law-*India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, 1941, p. 205.
 5. The whole of Brahmanical literature is dominated by the conception of sacrifice. According to the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (V, 5, 5, 10) "The whole sacrifice is as great as the threefold *Veda*."

with *Brahmā* is futile⁶, and speaks of the practice of the four *Brahma-Vihāras*, which will certainly lead one to the attainment of the *Brahma-loka*.

Similarly, in the *Kūṭadanta-Suttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (1.127ff.) while the Brahmin Kūṭadanta was going to celebrate a sacrifice, the Buddha's duty was to tell him a wonderful story. The Buddha arrived at the village of Khānumata (which had been given to the Brahmin Kūṭadanta as a royal gift; '*rāja-deyyam Brahmadeyyam*', by king Bimbisāra of Magadha) at the time when Kūṭadanta was going to offer a great sacrifice (*Mahāyañña*). He asked the Buddha the best way of offering sacrifice and the Buddha told him the story of king Mahāvijitāri, who offered a sacrifice in days of yore under the able guidance of his *purohita* (domestic priest) when no living beings were injured, no regret was felt at any stage of the sacrifice, where all the services were done voluntarily and the sacrifice was offered not only on behalf of the king, but also of all the good people⁷. The Buddha then tells Kūṭadanta of the sixteen requisites of a sacrifice, each one higher and of greater value than the previous ones, and the *Sutta* concludes with a description of *Arahatship* as to how the best form of sacrifice can be made, not by killing animals in such sacrifices, but by cultivating the cult of *Ahiṃsā*⁸ (or non-harming to all living beings) and by observing

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6. Cf. *Dhammapada*, verse 20:-Bahuni pi he sahitaṃ bhāsamāno,
na takkaro hoti naro pamatto,
gopo va gāvo gaṇayaṃ paresaṃ,
na bhāgavā sāmāññaṃ hoti

—“If a man utters many a sacred text but does not act upto them being indolent, he cannot be a sharer of monkhood just like the cowherd who counts the cows of others, but does not own them.”

7. This *Sutta* sounds like a *Jātaka* story and it is really a *Jātaka* included in the *Suttas* without the hero being identified with the *Bodhisatta*, or the Buddha-to-be in his last birth, which may be called *Suttanta Jātakas*; the primary ethical teaching of the *Jātaka* stories is the doctrine of *Karma* according to which the *Bodhisatta* had to undergo countless previous births until he attained to perfection.
8. King's sacrifice, though told in a way of satire or irony in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta*, may never have taken place in actual fact. It is typically Vedic in character and, as such, there would have been slaughter of cows, cattle, goats, and rams. See I. B. Horner : 'Early Buddhism and the taking of life' in *B. C. Law Volume*, I, 1945, p. 440.

the śīla which will lead one certainly to his mental training that will pave the way for the realisation of Truth.

The performance of *Yañña* or sacrifice was once considered to be the highest object in life for an earthly monarch or a wealthy man in the Buddhist as well as the pre-Buddhistic ages. Thus in the *Vinaya-Piṭaka*,⁹ (*Chullavagga*) we find that the great *seṭṭhi* of Kāṣāgaha was supposed to be offering a great sacrifice by his brother-in-law Anātha-piṇḍika, the great treasurer of Sāvatti, while the former was much absorbed in attending to his visitors, namely the Buddha and his disciples, whom he had invited for a meal on the next day. In the *Sela-Sutta* of the *Sutta-Nipāta* (93,p.202)¹⁰ as well as the *Majjhima Nikāya* (11,92), while *Keniya*, the fire worshipper *Jaṭila* and his other *Jaṭila* followers were busy in preparing a meal for the Buddha and his disciples for the next day, the Brahmin Sela was wondering whether it was a great sacrifice that was going to be offered, or a wedding feast or whether king Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha was invited with his retinue to *Keniya's* house on the morrow. In the *Kosala-Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* (176), we are told that king Pasenadi of Kosala was going to celebrate a sacrifice (*Mahāyañña*) as advised by his *purohita* (chaplain) in order to prevent a threatened danger which he dreamt in his dream. Five hundred bulls, five hundred bullocks, and the same number of heifers, goats and rams were led to the pillar to be sacrificed. The slaves and menials who were to do the necessary preparation for the sacrifice were said in the commentary to be doing their jobs with tearful eyes. A number of monks with their alms-bowls were out on their begging round and the news of the sacrifice was reported to the Buddha by those monks. The Buddha's duty was to deliver a sermon as to how best a sacrifice can be made by cultivating *ahiṃsā* (or non-killing of living beings in a sacrifice). That is to say, in Buddhism we always find, an ethical meaning has been given to sacrifice, in that bloody animal sacrifices where hundreds of animals are killed mercilessly for the pleasure of the so-called gods (*devatās*) are replaced by the cultivation of the four *Brahma-Vihāras*, characterised as the *Seṭṭha-Vihāras* by the commentator Buddhaghosha, viz. *Mettā* (friendliness) *Karuṇā* (compassion), *Muditā* (equanimity) and *Upekkhā* (poise). These four aspects of the mind, or rather the one aspect of the mind in four different forms, are said to be the best form of sacrifice

9. See *Chullavagga* VI ; and *Sacred Books of the East* XX, 180.

10. *Therāgāthā*, pp. 78-80 ; *Vinaya-Piṭaka*, I, 245.

that a man on earth can perform by means of which he can develop within himself an unbounded love for all creatures that have life.

In the *Kūṭadanta-Suttanta*, already referred to above, the eminent Brahmin Kūṭadanta is represented to have prepared a great animal sacrifice regarding the best procedure for which he consults the Buddha. It is, as the learned translator of the *Sutta* points out¹¹, nothing but a deliberate irony humorously stated to propound the Buddhist teaching of respect for animal life¹², since the Brahmin *purohita* of a Brahmanical society was the last man to come to the Buddha to seek such advice, as the Brahmin has his own liturgical formula for all the Vedic rites and rituals of the sacrifice to be performed.

Buddhism as a religion assumed and adapted much from the current beliefs of the time. But its simple ritual was not based on the sacrificial Brahmanism of the day, in which slaughter of innumerable living creatures was involved for the pleasure of the gods; on the other hand, we find in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* (1,76) that a vehement protest has been made against such killing of animals and it is asserted that such animal sacrifices not only bring forth no good results, but also the gods (*devatās*) for whose pleasure the sacrifices were made are not pleased with them. In the *Brāhmaṇa-dhammika Sutta* of the *Sutta-Nipāta*, four kinds of animal sacrifices prevalent at the time (see above) are referred to and regretted by the Buddha because of the slaughter of innocent animals in those sacrifices¹³. In the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*¹⁴ (loc.cit)

11. Rhys Davids-*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, 173.

12. For the cult of *ahimsā* or respect for animal life as practised by Aśoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India in the 3rd century B. C., see Rock Edict, I. (From this day no animals may be slaughtered for sacrifice). The *Nigrodhamiga-Jātaka* (No. 12) is one of the finest examples showing how man gradually developed moral sense and compassion towards lower animals and ultimately recognised mercy as a principle far above the mere law-see also *Dhammapada Commentary*, III, pp. 144 ff; and *Questions of king Milinda*, p. 289 as the *Jātaka* is referred to in the *Milinda* too.

13. Though horse and cattle sacrifices were characteristic of the Vedic Aryans, it seems that the *Sutta* alludes to the seers who had reverence for the cows as parents, brothers and kins as their best friend and the source of milk, which gives health, complexion and long-life. So in gratefulness they never slaughtered cows in sacrifices, but then there came a change, and the Brahmins became avaricious and covetous. Instigated by the huge gifts they obtained from the king for offering sacrifices of horse and man (*aśamedha*, *purisamedha*) their next choice fell upon the cows and so Okkāka caused many hundred and thousand of cows to be slain.

it has been stated that the sacrifices called 'the Horse', 'the Man', 'the Peg-thrown Site', 'the Drink of Victory', 'the Bolts withdrawn' and all the great ceremonial performances, are not the rites that bring a good result. The noble seers who walk on the perfect way never repair to such rites as these, where various kinds of goats, sheep and kine are slain. But offerings to the Righteous ones where there is no fuss or bustle and no animals or goats are slain—to such sacrifices alone the noble seers do repair; because these rites produce good results and the celebrants also are blessed and not cursed by the gods who are certainly pleased with this sort of sacrifices.

During the Middle Ages of ancient Indian history, these five kinds of great sacrifices (*pañcha mahāyajña*) are found associated with the Brahmins viz. (1) *Brahmayajña*—the worship of *Brahman*, the world soul, by reciting the *vedas*. (2) *Pitriyajña*—worship of the forefathers by libations of water and performance of *śrāddha* periodically. (3) *Devayajña*—worship of the gods by pouring *ghee* on the sacred fire, *Agni*. (4) *Bhūtajajña*—the worship of all living creatures by scattering food on the threshold for animals, birds, and spirits. (5) *purushayajña*—the worship of men by doing hospitality¹⁵.

In comparison with and contrast to the above five we find the fivefold offering (*pañcha-bali*) of the Buddhists mentioned in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (11,68; 111,45), namely, (1) offering to kinsfolk (*nāti*) (2) to guests (*atithi*), (3) to the departed (*pubbapeta*), (4) to the king (*rājā*) and (5) to the gods (*devatā*) In several *Jātakas* of the *Jātaka-Book*¹⁶

14. See *Samyutta-Nikāya* I, 76 :-

'Assamedham Purisamedham Sammāpasam Vāchāpeyyam
niraggalam mahārambhā na te honti mahapphalā.
ajelakā cha gāvo cha vividhā yattha haññare,
na tam samaggatā yaññam upayanti mahesino.
ye cha yañña nirārambhā yajanti anukulamā sadā,
ajelakā cha gāvo cha vividhā na ettha haññare.
etaṃ samaggatā jaññam, upayanti mahesino.
etaṃ yajetha medhāvī, eso yañño mahapphalo
etaṃ sri yajamānassa seyyo hoti na pāpiyo,
yañño cha vipulo hoti, Pasīdanti cha devatā ti.'

These verses also occur in *Aṅguttara Nikāya* II, 42; IV, 151, *Samyutta-Nikāya* 303, *Itivuttaka*, 21 etc.

15. See A.L. Basham - *The Wonder that was India*, 1954, P.170.

16. e g, *Jātaka* I, 169,260; II, 149, 215. IV, 246, etc.

offering of food to *Bhūtas*, *devas* and others as well as offering to tutelary genii of a city which are called *Bali-Kammas* in Pāli, are recommended. In the *Vinaya-Piṭaka*¹⁷ and the *Sutta-Nipāta*¹⁸ as well as the *Majjhima-Nikāya*¹⁹ it is stated that in the forefront of Brahmanical sacrifice is the oblation to *Agni*; *Sāvitrī* (*Sāvitthī*) is the foremost of Vedic metres²⁰, a king ranks first among men, the sea among the streams, the moon among the lamps of night, the sun among the luminaries, but gifts to the Monkhood constitute the most profitable of all sacrifices for those who desire merit²¹.

It is clear then that Buddhism lays special stress on the inner purity but it certainly did not abrogate the idea of the material sacrifice, whether direct or vicarious, as we shall presently see when discussing the stories of the *petavalthu*. What Buddhism emphasizes is the transformation and spiritualisation of the nature of a sacrifice, viz. as symbol and as self-devotion. The stages of spiritual progress to higher life are set forth in a graduated method in the *Kūṭadanta suttanta* already referred to, as so many degrees of sacrifice, each one higher and more fruitful than the other²². Naturally, therefore, the conception of sacrifice has undergone a great change for the Buddhists. Fundamentally the concept of a sacrifice carries this two-fold result, viz. (1) the propitiation of a higher power or divine power, and (2) the acquisition of merit (*puṇya* in Saṅskṛit). The action of sacrifice may be conceived to take place as a direct communion between the sacrificer and the recipient or object of the offering, or it may go through an intermediary, a connecting link between donor and the recipient (earth and heaven). In the *Vedas*, we may recall, the son of the departed was required to make periodical offerings at the grave, as he still is, but the purpose here is to bring the dead back to earth.

Yañña (Saṅskṛit *yajña*) has two main meanings in Pāli, namely, (a) a Brahmanical sacrifice and (b) alms-giving, especially a gift (*dāna*), or offering to a Buddhist monk (*bhikkhu*) or to the Order of monks (*saṅgha*). The word 'yajña' has thus lost its original meaning

17. See *Mahāvagga* VI, 35, 8.

18. No. 93, p. 102 ff.

19. II, No. 92.

20. The *Sāvitrī* is the famous R̥igvedic hymn of light of the same name in *R̥igveda* iii, LXII, 10.

21. "Puññam ākaṅkhamānānaṃ Saṅgho ve yajato mukharā".

22. See, *Dialogues* I, 173 ff.

in the Brahmanical sense and has come to equal *dāna*, *pūjā*, *dakkhiṇā* or *deyyadhamma*, in the sense of a gift to a holy person or an institution. In the *Niddesa* 11, 523, it is stated “*yañño vuchchati deyyadhammo*”. The actual sacrificial act or the object sacrificed has thus come to be termed *yañña*, *dāna*, *pūjā*, or *deyyadhamma* or the “sacrificial duty.”

The purpose of the sacrifice is the acquisition of merit (*puñña*) and some of the terms in Buddhism for the recipient of the sacrifice are *dakkhiṇeyya* (worthy of an offering), or *puñña-khetta* (field of merit) or simply *Arahanto* (holy man). Hence the formulary of taking refuge in the Buddhist *Saṅgha* came to be designated in later days as :-

*Supaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakaśaṅgho ujjupaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakaśaṅgho nāyapaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakaśaṅgho sāmichipaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakaśaṅgho yadidam chātṭāri purisayugāni aṭṭhapurisapuggalā esa bhagavato sāvakaśaṅgho āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo dakkhiṇeyyo aṅjalikaraneyo anuttaraṃ Puññakhettaṃ lokassāti.*²³ “The community of disciples of the Lord is well established, is straight, is based on morality, well bent on good just as this community of disciples of the Lord consisted of four pairs, of noble disciples. They are worthy of respect, veneration, to be worshipped with folded hands and incomparable in the world.”

It is apparent then that the sacrifices and the rites themselves so far as they are not bloody animal sacrifices are not condemned by the Buddha, but what is propounded is the right way or the proper method of approach for performing those sacrifices by mental training, by the observance of the *śīlas*, and by cultivating unbounded love and respect for others that have life²⁴.

The popular Indian custom of offering food to the dead relatives (*mataka-bhatta* in Pāli) by a householder was prevalent in India even from the R̥gvedic times, if not earlier still. From time immemorial the *Peta* beliefs and the *peta*-rites were very popular in India. In

23. See *Majjhima - Nikāya* I, 27, II, 89, etc.

24. The *Jātaka* mentions the “drum of no-slaughter” being sounded throughout the town (III, 428, 434) and it mentions that a Zamindar laid a prohibition from slaughter of animals (*Jātaka* IV, 115). King Aśoka, too, in the 3rd century B.C. minimised the slaughter of animals in the royal kitchen by reducing the number to one deer and two peacocks (*eko migo dve morā*) only, but even then “those three living creatures shall not be slain in future” (Rock Edict I).

the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (111,43) it is enjoined that the regular offering of 'Peta-dakkhiṇā', i.e., gifts in honour and for the sake of the dead ancestors, is a duty of the householder (*dāyajjaraṃ paṭipajjati athavā pana petānaraṃ kālakatānaraṃ dakkhiṇaraṃ anuppadassati*). The *Matakabhalla-Jātaka* (1,18) deals with the sacrifice of animals by Vedic teachers in offering such food to the dead relatives by the householder for the benefit of their dead kinsmen, and the doctrine of non-harming or non-killing of beings promulgated by the Buddha²⁵. The *Jātaka* relates how the ram which was going to be sacrificed was washed with the holy waters of a river and adorned with the five-finger marks (*pañchāṅgulikā*) before it was taken to the execution block. The custom of offering sacrifices or oblations to the dead ancestors is also to be found in Buddhism in a more refined way which is fully elaborated in the *Tirokuḍḍa-Sutta* in the *Khuddaka-pāṭha* (No. 5) and the stories of the *Petavatthu*.

The verses of the *Tirokuḍḍa-Sutta* set forth the fulfilment of obligations by a householder to his dead relatives and inculcate the Buddhist teaching that lamentation over the dead is not a dignified way of expressing sorrow felt by the human heart at the loss of dear and near ones. The futility of this mode of lamentation or expression of sorrow is fully brought out in the *Salla-Sutta* of the *Sutta-Nipāta* too. Mention may be made here that the *Dasaratha-Jātaka* (IV,461) which contains the Pāli version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story of Rāma and Sītā, relates how Bharata brings the news of the death of king Dasaratha, whereupon Rāma tells Lakṣhaṇa and Sītā to step into the water to offer the libations to the departed. Bharata asks Rāma how it is that he shows no sign of sorrow, and Rāma replies with a lengthy speech of consolation, explaining how futile it is to lament over the dead as death is inevitable to all mortals.

25. The moral of the story inculcated in the *gāthā* is as follows :-

Evam cha sattā jāneyyumaṃ dukkhāyamaṃ jāli sambhavo
na paṇamaṃ paṇinaṃ haññe, paṇaghāti hi sochati ti. -

“Let the beings know by this that existence is painful. So let no creature kill another creature for it is the killer who has to lament for his misdeeds.”

Jātaka I, 18; *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā* I, *Nikāya* version of this *Jātaka* story is to be met with in the *Kuṭadanta Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* already mentioned.

It is true that Buddhism did not introduce the *preta*-belief. The belief in its varying forms was prevalent among the people at large and served as the basis of many social functions and religious rites. (see *Pāyāsi suttanta* in the *Dīgha*, *Māhānārada Kassapa-Jātaka* (No. 544)²⁶. The belief has also found its expression in literature and art of Buddhistic as well as pre-Buddhistic ages, as will appear from the *Grihya-Sūtras* of Brahmanical literature. A guiding principle of Buddhism is not to introduce anything new which is not consistent with the times and not to upset anything which has long been established as a custom.²⁷ According to this principle, Buddhism has accepted without adverse criticism but with some modifications the social functions and religious rites based upon the existing belief.

Now *petā* is a Pāli form of the Saṅskṛit *preta* which literally means "he who has gone forth", "the departed one", and hence the "departed spirit or ghost of a dead person" as Childers puts it²⁸. Again in the Pāli expression "*petānaṃ kālakatānaṃ*" the word *petā* has been used as equivalent to *kālakata*, i.e. 'he whose time is finished or he who has died'. The word *petā* has a verbal correspondence with the Vedic 'pitṛi' and the expression *pettivishaya* or *pittivishaya* is synonymous with *petaloka*, the world of the *petas* or *pitāras*. In Buddhism too the *petas* are the dead ancestors or kinsmen (*nātakā nāti*) whether the happy dead or the unhappy ones and, like the Vedic *pitāras*, they are the inhabitants of the 'petti-vishaya or the *pitṛiloka* and they too are the beings of the next world or the world of *Yama* (*pāralokikā sattā yamalokikā*). The stories of the *petas* in the *Petavatthu* are the stories of those *petas* who are the dwellers in the *pettivishaya* or *petaloka*, the spirits or ghosts of the unhappy dead forming a class of infernal beings.

In complete agreement with the doctrine of *karma*, the consequence invariably following on man's actions, either good or bad (*sukaṭa dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko*) the Buddhists have developed the idea of heavens and hells (*sagga* and *niraya*) and the possibility of intercommunication between this world and the next. The usefulness of the funeral rites over the dead kinsmen and the social functions connected therewith have been elaborately dealt with in the *Tirokuḍḍa-sutta* mentioned above, which forms the doctrinal

26. See also B.M. Barua - *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya*, Vol I, Book I.

27. See *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta* VI, *Dīgha-Nikāya*, II, 100ff.

28. See Childers-*Pali Dictionary*.

basis of *petā-dakkhiṇā* (offerings to the dead ancestor) as well as the *Tirokuḍḍa-Vatthu* of the *Petavatthu*. Half the stanzas of the *Tirokuḍḍa-sutta* are cited in the *kathāvatthu*, (VII,6), a compilation of the Asokan age which goes to prove that the idea had developed as early as the 3rd century B.C.

The main purport of the stories of the *petas* (see *Petavatthu*, 1.1.2) is to establish the merit of offering gifts to the Buddhist *Saṅgha* (community of monks) and the efficacy of transferring the merits to the *petas* to enable them to be released from their state of woe. The *Samaṇas* and *Brāhmaṇas* of other religions, are not excepted from this idea of charity or offering gifts, the only question to be considered is whether the person is really worthy of such offering of gifts or not. The argument put forward in favour of charity and liberality to persons worthy of respect and veneration has been stated thus in the (*petavatthu*, 67), “*Yam dadāti na tam hoti, detth eva dānaṃ datvāna ubhayaṃ tena dānena gachchhati, jāgaratha mā pamajjatha*”. “The gift that is made may not reach him for whom it is meant, yet give away the gifts, for by giving a man overcomes the misery both here and hereafter, and attains happiness in both worlds, doing good to himself and to others. So be awake and not slothful.”

It should be borne in mind that a personal gift or an interchange of gifts between a man and a *petā* or the donor and the recipient is not possible; hence as regards food, clothing and other worldly objects, it is clearly stated that a *petā* cannot accept such gifts from here either by force or guile or even when the gifts are voluntarily offered; but it is only when the gifts are offered to holy men (*Sappurisa*) and the merits transferred to the dead spirit that these worldly comforts can reach the *petaloka* and supply the *petā's* needs there. This is the fundamental idea of the Buddhist teaching of removing the sufferings and woes of the parted spirits, which is in agreement with the Brahmanical form of *Śrāddha* excluding the external ceremonies.²⁹

29. For a detailed description of growth and development of the *Preta*-belief in Buddhism see B.C. Law - *The Buddhist conception of spirits*, Revised edition, 1936. In the *Dakkhina-Vibhaṅga-Sutta* of the *Majjhima-Nikāya* (II, 142), donations to individuals are ranked in fourteen grades of which the *Tathāgata*, the All-enlightened *Arahat* supreme comes first, next come the *Paccheka-Buddhas* and the *Arahats*, *Anāgāmins* etc. Similarly in the same *Sutta* four degrees of donations

Buddhism is said to be partly a revolt against the Vedic religion and partly an innovation. Accordingly, though several modifications have been made by the Buddhists in the Brahmanical doctrine of re-incarnation or metempsychosis, they accepted without adverse comment the term '*preta*' with modifications, namely as indicating not a transitory existence of the departed spirit before the performance of the funeral rites by his living kinsmen as in the Hindū doctrine, but a possible career among five destinies (*pancha-gati*) of a dead man, to wit (1) hell (*niraya*), (2) birth as an animal, (3) birth as a *peta* (*petayoni*), (4) birth as a man (*manussaloka*) and (5) birth as a god (*devaloka*). The first three stages are apparently states of punishment or suffering, and according to the commentarial addition a sixth stage, that of the *Asuras* (demons) was added later (see *Khuddakapāṭha Commentary*, p.189). Similarly, the conception of *yama* has been changed in Buddhism. In the *Vedas* *Yama* is the king of the dead in the happy world of the dead ancestors, whilst to the Buddhists he is not only the lord of the fathers, but also the ruler of the ghosts and he is in charge of the tortures of hell (*niraya*). Consequently, *yamaloka* has been equated with *petaloka* in Buddhism.

Most probably the sacrificial instinct among the people at the time of the rise of Buddhism was too deep to be completely eradicated³⁰ and hence Buddhism sought to propound its own way of attaining salvation first by cogent arguments against the Brahmanical system of sacrifice and secondly, by spiritualising or dematerialising the nature and concept of a sacrifice. The cult of "*ahimsā*" crystallised the disapproval of such material sacrifice where living animals are slaugh-

In almsgiving or charity are enumerated, viz, (1) the purity of the donor but not of the recipient, (2) of the recipient but not of the donor, (3) of neither recipient nor the donor, and (4) of both. That is the question of virtue and good dispositions to be found either in the donor or the recipient. In other words if the gift is offered to a virtuous person, it blesses the giver and the recipient as well.

30. The Upanishadic teaching, though opposed to the excessive ritualism in Brahmanical sacrifices and the domination of the priesthood, did not alter the sacrificial system. It is Buddhism alone which challenged the whole Brahmanical sacrifice principle, especially the animal-killing therein.

tered for the purpose of the pleasure of the gods with the obvious reason of acquisition of merit by the donor. The Brahmin sacrifices, especially animal sacrifices, are criticised by the Buddhists on the two-fold grounds of (1) misdirected effort and (2) the ultra-material aspect of the benefits wished for. In the *vinaya-piṭaka*³¹ Uruvela-Kassapa was asked why he had abandoned the sacrifice to Agni ? In reply, Kassapa says that sacrifices offer material things and savour of sensual delights, and in these material objects or gains he has perceived that "this is dross", therefore he has no more delight in sacrifice or oblation. That the animal-killing in sacrifice is reprehensible for the Buddhists appears in the *Suttas* in the doctrine of the four categories of beings, viz. (1) those who torment themselves, (2) who torment others, (3) who torment both self and others and (4) who torment neither of these four categories; the first are those who practise excessive asceticism (*tapas*) whilst Buddhism teaches the middle way by avoiding the two extremes of asceticism and hedonism. The second category includes the butchers, hunters, fishermen and robbers etc; the third one includes kings or mighty priests who used to hold a sacrifice with slaughter of animals, wood-cutting and grass strewing, with much bullying of servants and menials who worked for fear of chastisement (*daṇḍabhaya bhītā vāchā dosa-bhayadditā*). The fourth category includes the Buddhas, *pachcheka-Buddhas* and *Arahats* as well as those who follow the teaching of the *Buddhas*³². This sympathy with animal suffering or cruelty to living creatures is not only eloquently expressed in the *Bhuridattā Jātaka* (VI,543) in the address delivered by the *Bodhisatta* on the futility of sacrifices practised by the Brahmins and the abuses to which these practices led, but also more elaborately brought out in the verses of the *Dhammapada* which is to the Buddhists what the *Gītā* is to the Hindus. In the *Dhammapada* it is stated that all beings desire happiness (*sukhakā māni bhūtāni*) as we do ourselves, so putting oneself in the place of another, one should not kill or cause slaughter. Again, just as the bee collects honey from flower to flower without causing any injury or harm to the fragrance or the flower colour, so should a person mind his own business without causing disadvantage or harm to others³³. It must be remembered

31. See *Vinaya-Piṭaka, Mahavagga I, 22 4; Sacred Books of the East XIII, II.*

32. See *Majjhima I,341ff; Aṅguttara II, 205, etc., (See especially Kandaraka-Sutta in the Majjhima Nikāya II,51).*

that his respect for life in Buddhism not only includes all men in its religious significance, but also all beings or creatures that have life. (*Sabbe sattā sabbe bhūtā sukhitā hontu*) let all beings, all creatures be happy,—mentioned in different *suttas* in the *Nikāyas* and the *Vinaya*.

Vehement protest is meted out in the early Pāli texts against the futility of Brahmanical rites of oblation by fire and ablution in the sacred waters of the Ganges for the purification of self and acquisition of merit. In the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* (1,169) Buddha says :-

“I lay no wood, Brahman, for fires on altars,
Only within burneth the flame I kindle.
Ever my fire burns, ever composed of self,
I, perfected, fare the Brahma-faring.
As load of fuel surely is pride, Brahman ;
The Altars' smoke, anger; thy false words ashes ;
The tongues' the priests' spoon, and the heart the altar,
The flame thereon, this is man's self well-tamed”³⁴

For, to quote the *Chhândogya-Upanishad* (IV,4,3,) “sacrifices and such other pious works lead only to new re-births, but just as no water remains attached to the lotus-leaf, so no bad deed remains attached to him who has acquired knowledge”. It is narrated in the *Vinaya-piṭaka* (Mahāvagga 1,15ff.) that the three Kassapa brothers of the Gayā district, Gayā Kassapa, Nadi-Kassapa and Uruvela-Kassapa, after their renunciation of the world became leaders of the three groups of Vedic ascetic followers known as the *Jaṭila* sect with matted hair as their characteristic mark. They were Vedic Brahmins and fire-

33. See *Dhammapada*, *Daṇḍavagga* V.1; *Pupphavagga*, V.5; *Sacred Books of the East*, X, pt. I. Of. *Prāṇā yothātmano' bhishka bhūtānām api tetathā*

Ātmanupamyeva bhuteshudayām kurvanti sādharah
Hitopades'a I, II.

Yo'himsakāni bhūtāni hinastyātmasukhechchhayā,
sa jīvams'chamritas'chaiva nākvachit sukham
edhate. *Manu*, V, 45.

Ahimsakāni bhutani dandena vihinanti yah,
Atmanah sukham echchhan sa pretya naiva sukhi
bhavet *Mahabharata*, XIII, 5568.

Cf. *Mahabharata* XIII, *Hitopades'a* I, 12, & *Ramayana* V, etc.

34. Mrs. Rhys Davids—*kindred sayings* I, p, 212.

worshippers, their sacrificial cult was *Agnihotra*, sacrifice to the Kassapa Saṅskṛit Kā'yapa.³⁵ The three brothers are said to have had a thousand followers; one resided at Uruvela, another on the bank of the river Neranjarā (Saṅskṛit Nairanjanā modern Phalgu), and the third in the Gayā region. Buddha converted the three brothers and their numerous followers by preaching the famous sermon known as the Fire sermon³⁶. Before their conversion to Buddhism they were addicted to bathing in sacred waters for purification (*Śuddhi*), and to other Vedic sacrifices (*yanna*). Their *gāthās* preserved in the *Theragāthā* of the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*³⁷ contain the lonely musings of the respective *Theras* after their attainment of *Arhatship* as to how they were brought to correct views (*sammā-diṭṭhi*) and how they got rid of wrong views (*michchha-diṭṭhi*). It need hardly be mentioned here that Buddhism attempted to shift the outward sanctity to an internal one, bodily purity to mental purity. In connection with the idea of purity by observing the *Śīlas*, which may be briefly called the gateway to the City of *Nibbāna* Buddhaghosha refers in his *Visuddhimagga* or the path of purity to the ancient Brahmanical practice of bathing in sacred rivers, of which only seven are mentioned as the prototype, viz. Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarabhū (Sarayū), Sarassati, Māhi, Achiravati, and Mahānadī. As regards the Buddhist view of purity, the *Vatthūpama-Sutta* of the *Majjhima-Nikāya* (1,6), where the names of the rivers are slightly different, and the *Jaṭila-Sutta* in the *Udāna* (1,9), contain an elaborate refutation of the idea of purity, in its doctrinal aspect, by ablution, and lay more emphasis on the purity of mind (*chitta-visuddhi*).³⁸

35. According to the *Mahavastu*, a Sanskrit Buddhist work of the 1st. century A.D. all the verses of the *Sahasavagga* in the *Dhammapada* are addressed to the Jaṭila leaders who were fireworshippers (*agni-upasakas*) before their conversion to the Buddhist faith.

36. See *Vinaya-Pitaka* I, 26; V.8. The Jaṭilas were exempted from the probationary period of 4 months to receive ordination in the Buddhist *Saṅgha*, as they were believers in *Karma* (See *Vinaya-Pitaka* I, 38, II).

37. See Canto V & VI. translation in *Psalms of the Brethren*, 1913, by Mrs. Rhys Davids.

38. Cf. *Dhammapada*, verse 394:

“kin te ja'āhi dummedho, kin te ajinasatiya,
abbhautaran te gahanam, bahiram parimajjasi”

The verses ascribed to Punnika in the Therigāthā,³⁹ are also remarkable for their strong criticism of this Brahmanical practice. Punnika was a domestic slave in the household of Anāthapiṇḍika, great treasurer of Sāvatti. During winter when she went to fetch water from the river, she met the Brahmin Udakasuddhika bathing in the river and trembling from biting cold. Asked by Punnika, the Brahmin said that by bathing in the Ganges river he was washing away all the sins committed by him. Punnika by way of showing the worthlessness of ablution for washing away sins and acquiring merit (puṇya) argued with the Brahmin that if the sacred waters could cleanse sin and offer merit, aquatic animals such as crocodiles, frogs and tortoises etc., would surely have gone to heaven and sinners like butchers, hunters and robbers etc., might have washed away their sin. Moreover, if the sin is washed away by the current of the river, merit is also washed away leaving one stripped of all. As a matter of fact, there is no redemption from the consequences of sin by outward observances. To keep sin at arm's length one should be established in the śīlas (precepts). Thus one should be cleansed by the inward spiritual bath (antarina snānena). The Brahmin was thus convinced of the hollowness of bathing in the holy waters to become holy.⁴⁰

An earlier form of this criticism of the Brahmanical practice is found in the Jaṭila-Sutta and the Vatthūpama-Sutta already mentioned above. In the Vatthūpama-Sutta, better known as the parable of the cloth (vastropama in Saṅskṛit), the Buddha says that even as a dirty piece of cloth takes dyes badly, so in an impure mind bliss is not to be found. He then proceeds to enumerate the mind's impurities and to show how they can be cleansed. Let the monks know what impurities are, and fully knowing, they should abandon them. Just as a clean piece of cloth from which all stain has been washed away will take the dye readily, so also he in whom the spotless

39. See *Therigatha* canto XVI, translation. *Psalm of the Sisters*, 1909, by Mrs. Rhys Davids.

40. According to Buddhaghosh's *Papanoha-sudant*, a commentary on the *Majjhima-Nikaya*, Adhikakka was a well-known bathing ghat and Bahuka, Sudarika, Sarassati and Bahumati are described as four rivers; but none of them was of any use for internal purification---see *Papanhasudani*, vol. I, p. 178 ff.

eye for the truth has arisen, knows "whatsoever has its origin, has the inherent quality of passing away." Thus being pure in mind a monk is contented with whatever he gains as soup or curry and then he develops within himself the four Brahma-Vihāras, viz., love, compassion, equanimity and indifference to pleasure and pain. In him thus set free then arises the knowledge of his emancipation and he knows "Rebirth is no more, the higher life has been led, the task is done", etc. A monk thus purified in mind is called "bathed internally".

The Brahmin Sundarika-Bhāradvāja⁴¹ asks the Buddha if he has bathed in the Bāhuka river for merit (Puñña). The Buddha then gives a list of places whose waters are considered holy by the Brahmins and explains to him that the real cleansing is the cleansing of the mind and not of the body—"to love all that lives to speak the truth, to slay not, nor steal, not to be niggard, but dwell in faith". When a man is thus purified he is not required to go to the river in order to purify himself.

But what is the underlying conception of mind here. It is "Pakati pabhassara", radiant by its intrinsic nature. But it becomes tainted coming in contact with the impurities from outside, which are, naturally, foreign or alien to its inherent nature (āgantukadosehi paduṭṭho). The impurities being foreign to its nature, it is possible for us to get rid of them. The reference to Śukla or white which is synonymous with Pabhassara in Pāli (Saṅskṛit pra bhāsvara) i.e., the purity of mind as conceived and illustrated by the simile of a piece of cloth dyed blue, red, yellow or the like in the Vatthūpama-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya can be retraced in the earlier Upanishads and is later hinted at the Jaina Sūtra Kṛitāṅga and developed in the Uttarajjhāyana.⁴²

The popular Buddhist conception of mind (chitta) has been described in the verses of the Chittavagga in the Dhammapada. The mind is unsteady, fickle, flighty and seizes upon whatsoever it desires, and is very difficult to guard and restrain. It goes afar, moves alone, incorporeal and hides in the cavity of the heart. But those who bridle their mind as a fletcher makes straight his arrow,

41. See the *Sundarika-Bharadvaja-Sutta* in the *Sutta-Nipata*, IV, 12.

42. See *Jacobi-Jaina Sūtras, Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII, pt. I; B. C. Law—*Mahāvira: his life and teachings*, Calcutta, 1940, pt. II. (The Jaina doctrine of *leśā* or *leśyā*, colour).

it brings happiness to them. As a fish struggles hard when cast on land taken from out of its watery home, so also the mind struggles hard to get rid of the domain of Mara, the Evil one. So the wise one knowing the body as fragile as an earthen pot and the mind as strong as a fortress, fight out the armies of Mara by means of the weapon of knowledge. Because in whatever way a hater may harm him whom he hates or an enemy may injure his foe, still greater mischief will be done by a misdirected mind. Hence the opening verse of the Dhammapada starts from the broad based truth: *manopubbam-gamā dhammā manoseṭṭhā manomayā*—“that of all things or states or conditions mind is the foremost”; every state or condition is dominated by mind, dictated by mind and made up of mind. In other words, mind is the prime mover of all actions. Hence the teaching, which strikes the key-note of Buddhist ethics—that no one should cherish hatred for anybody, for hatred does not cease by hatred, rather it ceases by love—this is the law eternal.

Numerous allusions to sacrifices (*yañña*) and other Vedic rites and rituals may be cited from the stories of the *Jātakas*⁴³ which are considered to be the most important vehicle of Buddhist ethical teaching, more especially, the story of the king who sacrificed all his belongings including even his dearest wife and children in the *Vessantara-Jātaka* (VI, 547), where the Bodhisatta born as the prince *Vessantara* sacrificed all in fulfilment of his *dāna-pāramitā* (generosity).⁴⁴ Similarly, while in the *Mahāmaṅgala-Jātaka* (VI, 453,) all the Brahmanical practices and rites of *maṅgala-Kiriya* (good or auspicious acts) are discussed, the tone and spirit of the Buddhist teaching of *Maṅgala* has been changed in the *Mahāmaṅgala-Sutta* in the *Sutta-Nipāta* (S.N.II) and the *Mahgala-Sutta* in the *Khuddaka-patha* (No.3). The term *maṅgala*, as used by the Buddhists, contains the idea of *Sotthi* ‘well-being’, meaning thereby the ‘means of victory’ in direct contradistinction to ‘*parābhava*’ or defeat;⁴⁵ while

43. See *Jātaka* Vol. III, Nos. 314, 433, and Vol. VI, Nos. 542, 543, 547 etc.

44. The *Milinda-Pañha*, Pp. 117-118, alludes to the uncommon sacrifice of *Vessantara* for the giving up of his wife and children in charity due to which the earth quakes in applause of his gift.

45. See the *Parābhava-Sutta* in the *Sutta-Nipāta*, III, 3.

the Brahmanical teachers understood it in the sense of superstitious rites and practices (*maṅgala-kārya*) the Buddhists viewed it in the light of the conscious fulfilment of all duties and obligations by the right minded householder.⁴⁶ Both these meanings are also found to have been contrasted in Aśoka's Edicts. (Rock Edict IX).

As a matter of fact, the ethical doctrine of self-sacrifice and oblation of a contrite heart involving intelligent self unification with God through prayer, penitence and abstinence, are conceived in the early Pāli texts involving the practice of the Bodhisatta-chariyas or *pāramitās* to sacrifice their own selves for the attainment of Bodhi or knowledge and fully developed in the Mahāyāna teaching. It is undeniably the Bodhisattva cult which is the foremost factor which distinguishes the Buddhism of the two schools or Hīnayāna & Mahāyāna. Whilst in the original teaching of Buddha we find Arahantship is the ultimate goal, in the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva-hood is the first and foremost ideal to be set up by any man even in the household life without renunciation to attain finally to the Buddhahood (see the *Bodhicharyāvatāra*, chapter 1, of Śāntideva, for the cult of the Bodhisattva). As for instance, mention may be made here of the *Kshānti-Jātakam* of Āryasuras' *Jātaka mālā* (No.28), a Saṅskṛit Buddhist work of the 4th century A.D., belonging to the canon of the Northern Buddhists, illustrating one of the ten 'perfections' attained by the Bodhisattva, namely, *Kshānti-Pāramitā*. As in the Pāli *Jātaka*, the story is introduced by a simple prose sentence which is to be illustrated by the story, viz *sātvī-bhūtakshamānam pratisamkhyāṇamahatam nābi-sahyam nāma kinchid asti* - "Those who are imbued with the idea of forbearance and endowed with knowledge, there is nothing unbearable for them," The *Jātaka* is really a lesson for forgiveness. The story relates how a wicked king maltreated an ascetic and how the patience of the holy man endured to the last, and the cruel king was thrown into hell. In the Pāli *Jātaka*,⁴⁷ it is stated that the story was told by the Master regarding the malice of the renegade Devadatta figured as the wicked king. This idea of patience and forbea-

46. See the *Siṅgalovāda-Sutta* in the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, III, 27, which is characterised as the *gīha-vinaya* or the *Vinaya* for householders, and which is in complete accord with the Aśoka's *Dhamma* as promulgated in his Edicts throughout his empire. See also *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, I, 33.

47. See *Khantivādi-Jātaka, Jātaka*, Vol. III, No 313.

rance is also clearly brought out in the Dhammapada, Buddhavagga, V.6 :—

*Khanti paramarṇ tapo titikkhā, nibbānarṇ paramarṇ vadanti Buddhā,
Na hi pabbajito parūpaghāti samaṇo hoti paramo vihethayanṇo.*⁴⁸

Many Jātakas illustrate this idea ; special mention may be made here of the Sasa-Jātaka (III,316) and the Śibi-Jātaka (IV,499)⁴⁹.

Two minor canonical books included in the Khuddaka-Nikāya, namely, the Buddhavaṃsa or the history of the Buddhas, which gives an account of the life of the Bodhisatta, the Buddha-to-be, in the character he fulfilled during the dispensation of each of the 24 previous Buddhas, and the chariyā-piṭaka, which consists of 35 Jātakas told in verse, contain the Buddha-Karā or Buddhakaraka-dhamma, the Buddha-making virtues or the qualities that tend towards making a Buddha. In other words, they illustrate the qualities maturing the life of a Bodhisatta for the attainment of Buddhahood in his last birth. In order to attain Bodhi or Enlightenment the Bodhisatta had to fulfil the ten Pāramis.⁵⁰ The virtues or the charivās to be fulfilled by a Bodhisatta are called Bodhisatta-chariyas or charitas which mean literally 'conduct' (chariya-Saṅskṛit charyā) as well as 'efforts' to fulfil certain virtues which are nothing but the Pāramis or Pāramitās, the bulk of Pāli works in inclining to the

48. This idea of endurance and forbearance has been illustrated more effectively in the *Nāgavagga* of the *Dhammapada*. The elephant is an emblem of endurance and self-restraint to the Buddhists. According to the *Lalita-Vistara* (p. 553) the Buddha himself is called the *Mahānāga*, the great elephant, and he is *Sudanta* (well-tamed) like an elephant. He descends from the *Tusita* heaven in the shape of a white elephant to be born on earth. See *Achchhanyabbhūta dhamma-Sutta* of the *Majjhima-Nikāya* (III, 123) and the *Nidānakathā of the Jātaka*, I. Introduction.

49. Cf. also the *Śibi-Jātaka* in Saṅskṛit which occurs in three versions in the *Mahābhārata* III, 130f 197; XIII, 32; VII, 58 etc. The legend of Śibi also occurs in *Avadāna-Śataka* (No. 34) who gave away all his possessions and *Sariyā-Chariya* in the *Chariyāpiṭaka*, I, VIII;

50. The *Pāramis* are ten in number in Pāli, while they are said to be six in Saṅskṛit Buddhist works.

former, and the later Saṅskṛit Buddhist works to the latter. The special feature of these books, apart from the Jātakas, is that Buddha himself is the narrator of these verses and he is invariably the moraliser in them. Another work of the same type, viz., the Apadāna (Saṅskṛit Avadāna) meaning 'pure action', heroic deed' or 'edifying legends' contains legends of the Early Buddhist saints of 550 male members and 40 female members of the Buddhist order in the time of the Buddha. Each of the Apadānas first gives his or her pure actions in a previous existence by means of which he or she came to a distinguished position in the present life. These Apādāna Chronicles may be broadly divided into the three sections of Buddhāpadāna, Pachchekabuddhāpadāna and Therāpadāna. Looked at from this point of view the Apadāna forms only a literary supplement to the Buddhavaṃśa and the chariyā-piṭaka constituting together the Buddha-Bodhisatta-Apadāna. At any rate, the Apadāna stories lay much stress on formal aspects of the religion e.g., Pūjā, vandana, dāna, and dakkhiṇā. They exemplify by the lives of the Theras and Theris how the heavenly reward so obtained by them continues until Arahātship is attained. They show the importance of worship of shrines, relics and topes, and emphasize the charitable and humanitarian aspects of the faith. In a word, they show traces of Mahāyāna in the making. Under the Buddhāpadāna, for example, we are given a highly imaginative or poetical description of an account of Buddhakkhetta or the sphere of benign influence of the Buddhas, which anticipates the later Mahāyānic conception of 'Sukhāvātā' or the "Land of Bliss", a paradise, which has been fully developed in the Sukhāvātī-Vyūha and the Amitāyurdhyāna-Sūtra in the Mahāyāna,⁵¹ where the Buddha Amitābha, of limitless light or Amitāyush, of unlimited age, is presiding over the host of the Bodhisattvas, who re-appear on earth from time to time as the incarnations of Buddha Amitābha.⁵²

51. See Max Muller—*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLIX, - *Buddhaharita & the Buddhist Mahāyāna Sutras*, translated by E.B. Cowell, F. Max Muller J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1884.

52. In Buddhism Buddha happens to be the highest god above all gods after his decease. In the Mahāyāna the idea has been developed as far as that Buddha is conceived to be the Ādi-Buddha or Primordial Buddha, and the *Bodhisattvas* are his re-incarnations who come down on earth from time to time for the salvation of beings. See B. Bhattacharya—*Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Oxford, 1934, Introduction.

INDIAN PUNCH-MARKED COINS—A NEW APPROACH.

DR. AHMAD HASAN DANI

The origin and development of the punch-marked coins are questions that still remain to be solved. Numismatists have been puzzled by the peculiarity of the symbols occurring on them, and the conservatism of the Indians in following this almost primitive type of coinage to a late period,¹ in spite of the fact that well-developed coins were current in its north-west neighbouring countries, has led many of them² to assume their indigenous origin. Literary evidence has been quoted to prove the validity of this assumption³. Indian archaeologists⁴ today are citing punch-marked coins as evidence for definite dating, though the very basis of their chronology is a mere presumption.

In order to understand the correct position it is necessary to make a clear distinction between coinage and currency on the one hand and between coinage and weight system on the other. A currency need not be coin. In modern times notes and cheques are more current than actual coins which are used only for small change. In the R̥igveda cow⁵ served as the standard of value. In the Harappan culture a definite system of weight was known. Its details have been worked out by Mr. A. S. Hemmy.⁶ But there is no evidence for the use of coins. In the words of Sir George Hill, "a coin is a piece of metal of a fixed weight, stamped by authority of government, and employed as a circulating medium."⁷

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1. J. Allan, *B. M. C., Ancient India*, introduction, p. LVII.
 2. E. J. Rapson: *Indian Coins*, p. 2; *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 869. Cunningham: *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 43.
 3. A review of the literary material has been recently given by Dr. A. S. Altekar in *J. N. S. I*, Vol. XV, pt. I (1953), pp. 1-26.
 4. B. B. Lal: 'Hastinapur Excavation', *Ancient India*, Nos. 10-11.
 5. Ka imam daśabhir mama Indram kṛṇāti dhenubhiḥ. *R̥igveda*, IV. 24. 10.
 6. Sir John Marshall: *Mohenjodaro & Indus Valley Civilisation*, pp. 589-97.
 7. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 1911.

The next point is to evaluate our sources for the coinage. The most important is, no doubt, the archaeological evidence : the coins found in a definite archaeological stratum, i.e. in association with known sequence or known objects of definite date, e.g. the hoard of coins found at Taxila⁸, or the punch-marked coins found along with a denarius of Augustus⁹. In these cases the dating is made easier by the associated sequence or finds. But such finds are rare. A greater number of the coins have been obtained as treasure trove finds without any clue to their dating. Anything written on them is based on the analysis of the coins themselves, and the conclusion derived therefrom is only relative. Its validity depends on how far this conclusion is corroborated by other evidences. The next source is the literary material, if it can be correctly dated and an interpretation generally agreed upon. Much of the literary squabble is due to confusing coin with currency or with a system of weights.¹⁰ If the definition given in the second paragraph above is borne in mind, the literary evidence can be of some value.

To take the literary evidence first, it is easy to recognise, in the terms available, three different stages in the development of the idea of weight standard and currency. In the R̥igveda the oft-quoted word is Nishka, which originally meant a necklace, but has sometimes been used as a standard of value.¹¹ It is not certain what was its actual weight. The other standard of value was Hiranya Piṇḍa (lump of gold)¹², or as in later times simply suvarṇa.¹³ Here is found the crudest system in which a gold ornament or a gold lump had just

8. *An Rep. A. S. I*, 1924-25, pp. 47-48. *Ibid*, 1912-13, pp. 40-42; *Memoirs of the Arch. Surv Ind*, no. 59. Comment by P. L. Gupta in *J.N.S.I*, Vol. XI (1949), pp. 114-46; *Ibid*, Vol. XII (1950), pp. 136-50; *Ibid*, Vol. XV (1953), pp. 172-177.

9. Allan, *Op Cit.*, p. LIV.

10. Dr. A. S. Altekar in his review has made no distinction between them.

11. Macdonell & Kieth, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I. p. 455

12. e. g. in the following well-known verse:--- Daśāśvān daśa kośān daśa vastrādhīhojanā, Daśohiranya piṇḍān Divodāsā-dasānīsham. R̥igveda, VI, 47, 23.

13. e. g. in the following passage : Suvarṇam hiraṇyam bhavati rūpasyevā varuddhyai Śatamānam bhavati Śatāyurvai puruṣaḥ.

appeared as a standard of value in the society. Another such term, *manās*, used in the *Rigveda*¹⁴ is generally taken to refer to a definite weight. Dr. A. S. Altekar¹⁵ even cites the example of the Babylonian *mina*, suggesting its possible origin. It is significant that in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature we get a weight standard called *Śatamāna*. The term, *pāda*, no doubt, refers to a quarter. With the increasing importance of *Śatamāna* the gold standard must have been established in the society. This is the second stage of development. The only¹⁶ other term commonly used, is the *Kārshāpaṇa*, which has been traced to Pāṇinī's *Ashṭādhyāyī*¹⁷ and the *Jātaka* stories.¹⁸ The *paṇa* is a well-known term in *Saṅskṛit*.¹⁹ In *Kauṭilya*'s *Arthaśāstra* the officers are graded in terms of the *Paṇas* that were fixed to them. The term, *Karsha*, in the sense of weight, is not known to have been used in *Saṅskṛit*. But in the Empire of the Achaemenian Persians, which included N.W. India, the *Karsha* was a unit of weight forming part of the following system--

- 1 mann = 6 karsha = 500 grammes.
- 1 Karsha = 10 shekels = 83.3 grammes.
- 1 Shekel = 8.33 grammes.

Various documents of the Achaemenian period attest the practice of making payments in silver bullion, weighed out in *Karsha* and *Shekels*.²⁰ Hence the formation of the word *Kārshāpaṇa* and its subsequent use for purchase and sale of commodities cannot be dated earlier than the Achaemenian rule in N.W. India. Its foreign origin can hardly be doubted. The earliest use of this word by Pā-

14. *Ā naro bhara vyañjanaṃ gāmaśvamabhyaṃ jayam. Sa chā manā hiraṇyayā. Rigveda, VIII 78-2.*
15. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XV, pt. I, (1953), p. 14.
16. The terms *Purāṇa*, meaning 'ancient', and *dharāṇa*, have also been used for coins in later literature.
17. Dr. V. S. Agrawala : 'Ancient Coins as known to Pāṇinī' in *J.N.S.I.* Vol. XV. pt. 1. (1953), p. 27-41.
18. Bhandarkar : *Ancient Indian Numismatics*. Carmichael Lectures 1921. Lectures II and III.
19. *J.R.A.S.* 1916, p. 366 ; 1924 p. 94
20. Cameron : *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, p. 3 ; and also in Achaemenian Aramaic papyri e. g., Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, no. 35, E. G. Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, No. 12. I am indebted to Mr. A. D. H. Bivar and Dr. C. M. Kraay of Oxford for kindly looking for me these references.

ṇinī, a man of North West India, is quite appropriate. The Arthaśāstra fully defines the sense in which paṇa was used by Kauṭilya, and in keeping with this sense the term Kārshāpaṇa must also refer to a coin. Here then is the third and final stage of development. The relative value of Śatamāna and Kārshāpaṇa need not worry us here, as it depends on several economic factors for which we have hardly enough material.

The archaeological evidence²¹ may be tackled next. The late occurrence of these coins is accepted by one and all, and hence need not be discussed here. The question is to know the earliest archaeological stratum in which such coins have been found. The evidence comes from the Bhir mound, Taxila,. The great mass of material produced by Marshall in his three volumes of Taxila (Cambridge, 1951) must form the basis of our discussion. The stratigraphy at the Bhir reduces itself, from the point of view of coins, into two phases: A, including strata IV and III of Marshall, and B referring to strata II and I of Marshall. In phase A only two types of punch-marked coins were found: "Oblong bar" and "round and concave" types both of silver and copper.²² In phase B these coins become less common, but two new types of coins emerge: one is called "rectangular", or "round or oval" type, generally of base metal or copper²³ (Allan's Class II) and the other called "Local Taxilan Coins".²⁴ These two different series of coins must have formed the metallic currencies of the two phases of the Bhir. Besides these coins, two hoards have also been reported from the Bhir. The earlier find which was a small Hoard of 167 silver coins²⁵, contains the first type of coins (Allan's Class II) of phase B. Marshall has rightly placed this hoard in the second stratum.²⁶ The lower date of this hoard is fixed by the associated discovery of a gold coin of Diodotus, (King of Bactria, c.250 B.C.) struck in the name of Antiochus II of Syria, and its upper date may be any period in phase B of the Bhir.

21. This subject has been discussed in a greater detail. See.

J.N.S.I., Vol XVII. pt. II (1955), PP. 27-32.

22. See stratigraphical Table on p. 103, also on p. 753, Marshall, *Taxila*.

23 See Marshall, *Taxila* p. 754.

24. See Marshall, *Taxila* the Chart on pp. 760-61.

25. *An. Rep. A.S.I.* 1912-13., pp. 40-42.

26. Marshall, *Taxila* p. 110.

Other objects found in association indicate a period when the so-called "Hellenistic" influence began to be felt in Taxila most probably after the appearance of the Indo-Bactrian Greeks. The later find, which was a Large Hoard of 1167 silver coins²⁷ has produced, besides the "oblong bar", a new type of silver punch-marked coins (Class VI of Allan's Catalogue), only one such specimen is known to have been found independently on the Bhir Mound site.²⁸ The suggestion is, as has already been pointed out by Allan,²⁹ "that this type of coin was not struck in the North-West". The lower date of this hoard is fixed by the associated finds of 'three Greek gold coins fresh from the mint, two of Alexander the Great, and one of Philip Aridaeus (died in 317 B.C.), besides a well worn Daric of the Persian Empire.'³⁰ The other associated objects comprised a gold necklace of gadrooned beads, embossed wares, like a modern martabān,³¹ stamped round the shoulder with 'head and reel' mouldings and bands of floral patterning, a design which, according to Marshall, shows Hellenistic influence; and a terracotta medallion³² with human mask in centre surrounded by beaded circles, which, as Marshall remarks,³³ is a copy from Greek coins or gems. These gadrooned beads, the embossed ware, and the mask not only relate this hoard to phase B, but also indicate a period when the "Hellenistic" influence had been felt in Taxila. On the evidence of these latter associated objects there can hardly be any great difference in time between the two hoard burials. But Marshall points out: "the great hoard of silver punch-marked coins found near the top of the third stratum dates in all probability from the early years of Maurya rule."³⁴ Accordingly he ascribes this hoard to the third stratum, i.e., phase A of the Bhir. This attribution is, no doubt, based on the find of three Greek coins "in mint condition", though Marshall himself

27. *An. Rep. A.S.I.* 1924, pp. 47-48.

28. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 752, pl. 234, no. 48.

29. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 855.

30. Walsh, *Memoirs of A.S.I.* no. 59, p.1.

31. *An. Rep. A S. I.* 1924-25 pl. VIII, d. ; Marshall, *Taxila*, pl. 130, no. 238.

32. *An. Rep. A. S. I.* 1924-25 pl. VIII-c; Marshall, *Taxila*, pl. 135, no 136.

33. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 461.

34. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 110.

lays stress on the difference of level of find of the two hoards.³⁵ Though the Greek coins, may give a fixity to early dating of the hoard, the nature of hoarding is such that they cannot put limitation upon its late dating. That must be governed by the latest object found in the hoard, and accordingly the large Hoard, as has been pointed out by Allan,³⁶ also belongs to the second stratum. A hoard buried in this stratum is likely to be found "near the top of the third stratum." Thus there is hardly any evidence to ascribe either of these hoards to phase A of the Bhir. The only difference between the two is that the coins of the small Hoard were current in Taxila in phase B, while those of the Large Hoard (Class VI of Allan) are not known to have been current in Taxila, or any part of North-West India, if Allan's cataloguing of the find spots is to be believed.³⁷ In other words at Taxila or in the North West, the "oblong bars" and 'round and concave coins' of phase A were succeeded by those of the small Hoard and the Local Taxilan issues. Allan's Class VI coins should, therefore, be attributed to other parts of India, where they have been found in large numbers.

There now remains the question of analysing the treasure trove finds recorded from all over this sub-continent, and even beyond, in Afghanistan. Working strictly from archaeologist's angle the entire assemblage of punch-marked coins can be broadly divided into three groups: (1) Bent Bar Coins, (2) Round or Oval Coins, and (3) rectangular or square coins (generally roughly shaped). This classification is based entirely on the shape visible to the eye. The next classification will be done on the basis of technique of manufacture. From these punch-marked coins one can easily distinguish cast and die-struck coins which in shape resemble those of group 2 and 3. These coins invariably belong to the so-called "tribal" series whose late dating is beyond question, and hence they need not be discussed here. Confining ourselves to only punch-marked coins we can further classify them on the standard weight. Two main standards are found: one is called 24-rati weight standard and the other 32-rati weight standard by Durgā Prasād.³⁸ On this basis we have:—

35. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 751.

36. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 855.

37. But see different conclusion by Allan in his Catalogue on pp LV-LVI.

38. *J.A.S.B.* N.S. 1934, pp. 5N-59N.; 1937 pp. 51 N. 89N.

- A : Under 24-rati weight standard.
- (1) Bent Bar Coins
 - 2a) Some counter-marked coins of Chaman Huzuri Hoard.
 - (2b) Round and concave coins of the Bhir mound.
 - (2c) Kośala coins of Durgā prasād.³⁹
 - (2d) Paila Hoard of coins.⁴⁰
- B : Under 32-rati weight standard
- (2e) Golakhpur Hoard of Coins described by Walsh.⁴¹
 - (2f) Round coins of the type of Taxila Large Hoard find.
 - (2g) Minute coins of Taxila, which are in weight 1/20th.
 - (3) Rectangular or square coins of the type of the Taxila Small Hoard.

C: Besides these, we have some punch-marked coins, from Chaman Huzuri Hoard,⁴² which, as has been shown by Mr. A.D.H. Bivar⁴³ are struck on original Greek flans, and hence follow altogether foreign standard of weight.

Coming now to metal, we can leave out a single gold coin from Taxila illustrated by Cunningham⁴⁴ (the coin weighs 3.8 grains-1/4th of the Daric). The copper currency, which is also small in number, may as well be left. The silver currency shows either pure metal or debased metal. The debasement is noticed generally in no (3) i.e., rectangular or square coins. It is about them that Marshall remarks : "Even more explicit is the evidence afforded by stratification in regard to the latest punch-marked coins of the type illustrated at the foot of pl.234 (B.M. Catalogue, class 2, group 1): for in their case all except one were found within 5 feet of the surface, and there can be no room for doubt that they date from the

39. *J.A.S.B.* N. S. 1934, pp. 9-12, pls. I-III ; *J.N.S.I.* Vol. III (1941), pp. 51-52.

40. *J.N.S.I.* Vol. II (1940), pp. 15-78.

41. *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. V, (1919), pp. 16-72.

42. R. Curiel & D. Schlumberger : *Tresors monetaires d' Afghanistan*, Paris, 1953.

43. *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. XIV (1954), p. 163-172.

44. *Coins of Anc. Ind.* P. 62, pl. II, no. 18.

close of the third or opening years of the second century B.C.”⁴⁵ These coins have been found in phase B of Taxila, and if the evidence of Taxila can be generalised as applicable to Northern India, it is possible to conclude that this type of punch-marked coins are the issues of the post-Mauryan period. To a numismatist the debasement of the coinage is of special significance, implying some kind of economic strain or at least reduction in the supply of silver. Such a situation is evidenced by the post-Mauryan history in Northern India.

Reverting now to the coins of pure silver, we can further classify them on the basis of groups of symbols, punched on their obverse.

A (1) Bent Bar Coins show two symbols one at each end.

A (2a) Counter-marked coins of the Chaman Huzuri Hoard show sometimes a group of 2 or 3 symbols.

A (2b) “Round and concave” coins of the Bhir mound show only one symbol.

A (2c) Kośala coins have a miscellany of symbols.

A (2d) Paila Hoard of coins have a group of four symbols.

B (2e) and (2f) Golakhpur Hoard and the “silver punch-marked” coins have a group of five symbols.

Thus we have here a definite advance from a single, double or miscellaneous symbols to a group of four or five symbols. The complicated ones are obviously later. The coins bearing simpler symbols all fall in Class A, which are related by the same standard of weight. The Paila Hoard of coins, which has a group of four symbols, also fall in this class. These must have been the latest in this class. It is also reasonable to infer that four-symbol group coins led to the development of five-symbol group coins. Hence the coins of Class B i.e., 32-rati weight coins are later than the coins of Class A i.e., 24-rati weight coins.

Putting them in chronological order, we have

A (1), A (2a), A (2b), and A (2c) the earliest.

A (2d) i.e., the Paila Hoard in the middle.

B i.e., 32-rati weight coins the latest.

Out of the earliest series A(1) i.e., Bent Bar Coins and A(2b) i.e., “Round and concave” coins are known to have been current in Taxila during phase A of the Bhir mound. A(2a) i.e., the counter-

45. Marshall, *Taxila*, p 752.

marked coins of the Chaman Huzuri Hoard have been dated to about 400 B.C. by Mr. A.D.H. Bivar on the evidence of other associated Greek coins. Taking these known dates as our basis, we can fairly well assume that the date of A(2c) i.e., the Kośala coins cannot be far removed. The similarity of shape of the Kośala coins with "round & concave" coins of the Bhir mound and also with the counter-marked coins of the Chaman Huzuri Hoard, suggests an affinity which cannot be easily brushed aside. This inference is further strengthened if we bear in mind the paucity of silver in India, and look for the possible source of the silver of the Kośala coins towards North West in which direction commerce and trade, scholars and pilgrims are known to have always moved.

Here we can also take advantage of the literary evidence to prove our point. Dr. V. S. Agrawala⁴⁶ has suggested that the 24-rati weight coins are following the Śtatamāna standard of about 173 grains and 32-rati weight coins are following the Kārshāpaṇa standard of about 57 grains. These calculations in grains have been made on the assumption of the average weight of the gunja berry. In criticism to this assumption the following quotation from D.D. Kośāmbi⁴⁷ is of greatest value: "Leaving aside the remarkable procedure of obtaining the average weight of the seed by selecting the average seeds first and then weighing them, it would have been found that 32 of WALSH'S own rati's would have come to within a grain of the average coin in his own tables. His touching faith in CUNNINGHAM is unfortunately of very little use; "peresent practice" is based on the fact that an honest goldsmith or jeweller will choose his seeds to conform to the measure of 96 per tola (of 180 or 183. 75gr). *I submit the opinion that the rati was not used, even in ancient times to weigh the coins, but rather the coins determined the choice of the seed, exactly as at present.*

"My opinion is based on the fact that, even now, the goldsmith uses only one or two seeds, in either pan of the balance, to make up the weight. This, one feels, would have been the practice in all but the most primitive times, and the people who punched these coins were not primitive in that sense of the word." It has been shown before that the very term Śtatamāna implies a fixed standard of weight. That standard cannot be established by taking an ave-

46. *J. N. S. I.* Vol. XV (1953) P.p, 30-34.

47. *New Indian Antiquary* Vol. IV, 1941-42, Pp. 13-14.

rage of the hundred gunja weight. This standard has to be discovered. When we apply the term Śatamāna to the standard of 24-rati weight coins, it is the coins that give us an idea of the standard weight, and not vice-versa, because the Śatamāna weight is not known to us at all. Hence when this standard is believed to be following the Achaemenian silver standard of the Siglos,⁴⁸ it is reasonable to infer that this Śatamāna standard itself was fixed on the Persian weight system. The connection of the Śatamāna with Manas of the Ṛigveda and Mina of the Babylonians are possibly missing links. Whatever name we may give to this standard of weight, whether śatamāna or Persian Siglos, the identity of the standard weights is beyond question and this identity in such neighbouring regions, which were connected by commerce and trade, can lead to only one conclusion that it originated at one place. Whatever information we possess today on this point, indicates Persia as the place of origin. The other standard, which has been called Kārshāpaṇa standard, is connected by Hemmy⁴⁹ and Kośāmbi⁵⁰ with the Indus Valley weight system. It may be so, but there is nothing to bridge the gulf between Indus valley period and the time when these coins were current in India. On the other hand it may be pointed out that this weight is identical with the Phoenician drachm, which is half of the fifteen light staters of about 115 grains.⁵¹ Whether this identity is accidental or is based on actual borrowing, cannot be proved at present. But the very name Kārshāpaṇa, as has been shown before, is based on the borrowing of the foreign term, Karsha. It is true that the weight of the Achaemenian Karsha is very heavy, and that this weight has not been followed in the coins to which the term is now applied. In these coins there has been a tremendous reduction in the bullion content

48. Both Durga Prasad (*Science and culture*, 1938, Pp. 462-65) and Dr. V. S. Agrawala (*Op. Cit.* p. 30) point out that the Bent Bar Coins, which weigh between 155. 7—177. 3 grains cannot be said to be double siglos as the Persian Sigloi weighs 86. 45 grs. and hence the double siglos=173 grs. But as clarified in the chart given by Barclay V. Head (*Historia Numorum*, Oxford, 1911, p. XL) this is only the average. This is the Persic ten-stater silver standard, which varies between 172—177 grains. In the Chaman Huzuri Hoard the variation goes right upto 183 grains.

49. *J. R. A. S.* 1937, Pp. 1-26.

50. *Op. Cit.*

51. *Historia Numorum*, p. XL.

of the original Karsha, the reason for which has to be sought for in certain economic necessity. How were these changes adjusted between the original Karsha weight of the Achaemenians and the weight of the local currencies is very difficult to say. Truly speaking, the Indian weight system, given by Thomas,⁵² Bhandarkar⁵³ and Chakraborty⁵⁴ is based on the evidence of Mānava Dharma Śāstra and other late works, by which time it seems the Indian coinage and their weights were well established. Hence the process by which the original weight of the coinage was determined, is still unknown. We have made the suggestion before that the Persian standard of weight provided one clue.

There will hardly be any hesitation in accepting this hypothesis, but for a numismatist the greatest objection to the derivation of the Indian punch-marked coinage from the Persian coins is the fact that there is no similarity between the two types of coins. This objection is understandable as it is based on our knowledge of later coins, e.g., the derivation of the Gupta gold coins from the Kushan gold coins or the Indian coins of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and Muḥammad Bin Sām. But the analogy between the two is not correct. In the Gupta period or the Muslim period we are dealing with a situation when coinage was widely known. The original types were copied because they were current in these regions, and hence had the greatest chance of popular acceptance. This is what is meant by conservatism in numismatics. But in the earlier period the question was the introduction of an altogether new system, i.e., coinage guaranteed by the State. It was not a question of importing coins into India from Persia. What was necessary, was to change the local currency in line with the new invention of coinage. That there was a local currency in India before the introduction of coinage, has been shown before. It was the same conservatism that dictated the type of coinage that was to be prevalent in North West India. It is the system, the new idea of coinage, that is borrowed, and not the coins themselves. That system was adjusted in accordance with the currency known in India.

One great contribution that the Indians made towards the development of the coinage, was in the great variety of symbols that

52. Ancient Indian Weights in *Numismata Orientalia*, (London, 1874).

53. *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*.

54. *Ancient Indian Numismatics*.

appear on them. There is, no doubt, that these symbols are of local origin. Dr. Fabri⁵⁵ and Durgā Prasād have pointed out many similarities with those occurring in the Harappan culture. Most of them can be easily recognised as rooted in the local fauna and flora. Some of them can also be paralleled in the Sanchi and Bharhut sculptures. The adoption of these local symbols lent further support to their acceptance by the common mass of the illiterate people. Beyond this simple description it is not possible to give the meaning of the symbols. In the absence of literary evidence any meaning attached to them is purely subjective. Such conjectures are not attempted here. What is necessary, is not to read one's mind in the symbols but to catalogue them and recognise in them a new wealth of material available to us for the reconstruction of Indian culture through them. For the numismatist the grouping of symbols is essential for classification into different types and varieties. Along with the evolution of the coinage these changing types provide us with a clue to proper understanding of the monetary system of the period.

This analysis of the coins is quite sufficient for our general purpose. It is a matter of detail to go into the intricacies of different symbols, types, and metrological variation. Once these general principles are agreed, the details can be easily worked out. These principles are based on re-examination of the totality of evidence available today.

Abbreviations.

B.M.C.—British Museum Catalogue.

J.R.A.S.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

J.N.S.I.—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.

An.Rep.A.S.I.—Annual Report of the Archaeological survey of India.

Śat.Br—Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

J.A.S.B.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J.B.O.R.S.—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

55. *J. R. A. S.* 1935, Pp. 307-318.

Reviews :

The General Theory of the Law of Obligations and Contracts Under Muhammadan Jurisprudence, Sobḥi Maḥmaṣṣāni, Docteur en Droit (Lyon), LL.B. (London), Published by Dāru'l-Kashshāf, in two Volumes. Beirut, Lebanon. Price 8 L.L.

Dr. Sobḥi Maḥmaṣṣāni is a distinguished Syrian writer who has been teaching Law and especially the Civil Code and Roman Law in the American University for a number of years. He is a member of the famous Arab Academy of Damascus and has published a number of books besides the one under review. This book entitled "Al-Nazariyatu'l-'Āmmatu li'l-mūjibāt wa'l-'Uqūd fi'sh Shari'ati'l-'Islāmiyyah" offers a comparative study of the Islamic rites from the modern stand point. It consists of two volumes and is divided into four parts, each volume comprising two parts.

As mentioned, the First Volume of the book contains two parts—the FIRST PART deals with the Religious free use in a general way and consists of the following Five books:

I—A general discourse on wealth and its division.

II—The obligations or duties and the sources thereof.

III—The use of rights. This book contains four chapters as detailed below :

Chap. I—Religious permission is inconsistent with Suretiship (ضمان)

Ch. II—Theory of absolute right.

Ch. III—Objective view of the misuse of rights.

Ch. IV—Subjective view of the misuse of rights.

IV—The intruder and the free use of the wealth of somebody else. This consists of the following four Chapters :

Ch. I—Prohibition of the free use of the wealth of somebody else.

Ch. II—Theory of the absurdity of the actions of the intruder.

Ch.III—Theory of the dependence on the permission.

Ch.IV—Theory of gain.

V—Illegal earning. The following chapters are contained therein :

Chap. I—Various theories.

Chap.II—The Islamic Sharī'āh.

The second part : Actual Free Uses or Unlawful Actions.

This part consists of THREE books, each book containing several Chapters as detailed below :

I—Civil Indemnity (التعويض المدنى) in crimes and violence :

Ch. I—General knowledge.

Ch. II—Divine penal laws (الحدود) and punishment (التعزير)

Ch.III—Crimes or major offences.

Ch.IV—Violence (الغصب)

II—Encroachment upon wealth, and a general theory of Actual Free Use (التصرفات الفعلية). This book consists of SIX chapters ;

Chap. I—General knowledge.

” II—Harmful action.

” III—Transgression (التعدى)

” IV—The attachment of harm to the crime.

” V—Criminal fault.

” VI—Suretiship and Compensation.

III—Special Cases of Suretiship (الضمان). There are THREE chapters in it.

Chap. I—Responsibility of the Action of somebody else, of the compulsion and of the prosecution of those who are devoid of right.

Chap. II—The prosecution caused by the action of animals.

” III—The prosecution caused by the inanimate.

The SECOND VOLUME contains parts 3 and 4. The THIRD PART entitled the Theory of Contrast consists of Four Books as detailed below.

I—General Knowlege. This book contains Two Chapters :

Chap. I—The individual intention and Contracts.

” II—Kinds of Contracts.

II—Conditions of concluding a Contract and its soundness.

This Book contains Three Chapters :

- Chap. I—Number of the conditions.
 " II—The Form of the Contract.
 " III—Acquiescence (رضا). This Chap. is divided into Four Sections :

- Section I—Affirmation and Approbation.
 " II—Affirmation and Approbation through speech, Action and Indication (or a sign).
 " III—Decision of Silence.
 " IV—Correspondence and Exchange of Message.

Chap. IV—Subject of Contract. This is divided into 3 sections :

- Section I—The Subject matter and its terms.
 " II—Existence of the subject matter.
 " III—License (أباحة) of the subject matter.

Chap. V—The Cause of Contract. This has Two sections :

- Section I—Foreign Theories.
 " II—The Islamic Shari'ah.

Chap. VI—Aptitude of the two parties of Contract. This consists of NINE sections ;

- Section I—Deprivation of Civil rights and its kinds.
 " II—Tender Age.
 " III—Madness and idiocy.
 " IV—Levity (السفه), want of judgment.
 " V—Woman.
 " VI—The illness that causes death (مرض الموت).
 " VII—The indebted.
 " VIII—The intoxicated.
 " IX—Slavery.

Chap. VII—Quasi-Consent. There are Four sections in it.

- Section I—Mistake or Ignorance.
 " II—Seduction.
 " III—Cheating.
 " IV—Compulsion.

III—Condition and Duration. This has Two Chapters :

- Chap. I—Condition.
 " II—Duration.

IV—Effects of Contracts and their Dissolution. Two Chapters.

- Chap. I—Effects of Contracts.
 " II—Dissolution of contracts.

The Fourth Part is entitled "Effects of obligations, and the transmission and fall thereof. This consists of Four Books.

I—Effects of Obligations. This contains FIVE Chapters :

- Chap. I—Enforcement.
- ” II—Imprisonment of the indebted.
- ” III—Confiscation of the article.
- ” IV—Rights of Creditors.
- ” V—Natural Obligations.

II—Fall of Obligations. This consists of FIVE Chapters :

- Chap. I—Fulfilment.
- ” II—Retaliation.
- ” III—Immunity from debt.
- ” IV—Passing of Time or Antiquity.
- ” V—Other causes of the fall of Obligations.

III—Transmission of Obligations. There are Two chapters in it.

- Chap. I—Transmission by inheritance.
- ” II—Transmission among the Living. This includes Two Sections :
- Section I—Transmission of the debt of the creditor.
- ” II—Transmission of the debt of the indebted or transference.

IV—The Compound Obligations. This includes two Chapters :

- Chap. I—Excess in the number of the creditors.
- ” II—Excess in the number of the debtors.

The work includes a bibliography of Arabic and foreign sources. As the title of the book itself indicates, this work deals with the laws of contracts and obligations. But the object of the work as explained by the author himself is to investigate the general theory maintained in the Islamic Shari‘ah and to compare it with the general theory as understood in the modern contemporary laws. The author does not claim that in their studies of Jurisprudence, Muslims ever adopted any general theory as understood in the modern age, but has, in a different book, maintained that primarily Muslim Jurisprudence was never influenced by the Roman Jurisprudence, (*vide* فلسفة التشريع الإسلامى) In reality, the Muslims have a scientific and a peculiar method of Jurisprudence which is remarkably their own.

The distinctive feature of the work is that it does not confine itself to one particular aspect or a particular madhhab only, but refers to all diverse madhāhib; and hence it can be said that the comparison of foreign theories with the Islamic Shari‘ah meted out in the book is complete and that it discovers a vast field for the exercise of legal (Juridical) thought and the discussion thereof. For in analysing the Muslim madhāhib many valuable, scientific, philosophical

theories and ideas agreeable or disagreeable lying upto now hidden and stored like a rich treasure can be discovered which may be of great scientific value.

Usually the works on Islamic Jurisprudence do not deal with the personal rights or obligations in one place under one specific heading; and it is the characteristic of Roman Law alone to treat them under a single title. Of course, it is curious that Muslims have never been in the habit of treating the personal rights separately though they have based their science of Jurisprudence on practical cases which either actually happened or were hypothetically assumed on a particular line. For example, the term *مرجب* as explained by the author in the second Chapter, exists in the works on Islamic Jurisprudence in the meaning of *الحكم*, law, or *الامر الشرعى*, religious law, which relates to two parties of the individuals—creditor and debtor—concerning the payment or the surrender of something, or the execution of an action or refraining from a particular action. Now, the term *مرجب* in the meaning of 'personal right' is nearer to the usage of the science of the principles of Islamic Jurisprudence *علم اصول الفقه* in which the phrase *الراجب المحدود*, the necessary the limited, is well-known among the students of the science. The writers on the principles of Islamic Jurisprudence deal with *الراجبات* *والحقوق* the necessary, the rights, which are divided by them into 'Limited', *المحدودة* and 'Unlimited' *غير المحدودة*. The unlimited rights are the ethical and cultural rights. The limited rights for which an adult is held responsible is of two kinds: (1) that which relate to God, such as worship, prayer etc; (2) and that which relates to the fellow individual. The second kind of right is the personal right or *المرجب*.

The sources of personal rights according to the Romans are crimes and contracts, but according to the Muslim Jurists the sources may also be found in the order of the Shari'ah, in an execution not ordered by the Shari'ah or in unpermissible actions. All this has been discussed by the Muslim Jurists under the heading *التصرفات الشرعية* the religious free uses, which indicates both the oral and the actual contracts containing all kinds of contracts and obligations which have been elaborately discussed by the author in a very simple language under different headings.

The author has invariably referred to *مجلة الاحكام العدليه* the Turkish Judicial Codes—a work which is not usually known to

the learned of the Pak-Bharat subcontinent. This Majallah was prepared by the Turkish 'Ulama in the regime of the Osmanly Turks. Similar code-books are in use in Syria and Egypt. Since these works are known in the Middle East, the author has not unconsciously given any particulars of them.

In spite of taking care in printing and adding an Errata some mistakes have escaped the notice of the proof-reader. The following list will present some of the printing mistakes available in the book:

Vol. 1. p. 25. l. 20	read	الاثر الشرعى	instead of	لاثر الشرعى
„ „ p. 45. l. 4	„	كلية	„	كلية
„ „ p. 50. l. 2	„	ممنوع	„	ممنوع
„ II. p. 9. l. 5	„	كالنذر	„	كالنذر

This book, however, seems to be the only work in its subject which attempts to compare the Islamic Codes with the Roman and other foreign Codes. The lead taken by the author, it is expected, would inspire all those who are interested in Islamic Law to come forward to compare other aspects of Islamic Jurisprudence with the corresponding aspects of foreign laws inasmuch as a comparative study alone can establish the validity as well as the superiority of Islamic Law to other laws. I therefore strongly recommend the work to all those who are interested in the subject.

M. Saghir Hasan

Nafasiyatur-Rasuli'l-Arabi

Muhammad ibn Abdillah as-Superman al-Awwalu'l-Alami.

in two PARTS, by Labib al-Riyashi, Published by Darul-Kashshaf li 'n-Nashr wa 't-Tiba'ati wa't-Tawzi, Beirut, Lebanon, 1949. The price is not given.

This excellent book on the philosophy of the Islamic Religion discusses some important psychical characteristics of the life of the holy prophet. The title of the book embodies the famous phraseology of "Superman" introduced for the first time in the history of the European thought by the well-known European thinker, Nietzsche. In the opinion of the writer, "the Superman" of the philosophy of Nietzsche is only applicable to the prophet of Islam.

The book is divided into two parts which contain introductions written by eminent Syrian writers, and the reviews of the book by savants like Shaykh Muḥammad Muṣṭafa al-Maraghi, the Shaykh of al-Jami' al-'Azhar, and others.

The book is an admirable attempt to introduce a new method of writing the biography of the prophet Muḥammad (ص), (Blessings and peace be upon him!). Although the theme is not new, the style of the writer is unique, and his treatment dramatic. No less renowned a personality than Shaykh Muṣṭafa al-Maraghi himself has expressed his admiration for the expression of the book when, in his letter to the author, he says: "You pick up pearls and brush them up. Thus you make them shiny for the seers so much so that the substance is rendered pure, free from any blemish, and lustrous to be accepted at once as sure and true without needing 'logos' or philosophical arguments."

In his beautiful book, professor al-Riyashi invites us to purge ourselves of all defects—of the leprosy of bigotry, and conformation to formalism—and thus lays the foundation of a new school of thought for himself and for his followers. In the very beginning of this book, he confesses by saying: "I never repented of anything in my life but of my ignorance of the psychology of the Arab Apostle, and great universal leader, Muḥammad ibn Abdillah (ص), in my past and the present life. Had I studied his life and its psychology, understood its substance, observed its light for the last quarter of a century of my life I would have surely attained truth, the beloved

of my mind, my blood, and my nerve, which would have developed into my corporeal and psychical personality a great compact intellectual faculty, viz, the right-guidance and the brilliance of the intellect of the universal Arab Messenger. Surely, then, I would have been a different man and a different thinker”.

The author is surprised at those who insist on their obstinacy and arrogance even after studying the life of Muḥammad (ص) and listening to his following divine words : “O Fatimah ! daughter of Muḥammad, work, I shall not be of any use to you before Allah.” “Verily the most noble of you to Allah is the most pious of you” ; All creatures are the family of Allah” ; “No Arab has any superiority over a non-Arab except by way of piety.”

The writer is taken aback when he observes that the Prophet has put the human species on a footing of absolute equality so much so that in his Shari‘ah a slave can rise to the position of a chief nay a sultān. Even the Ka‘bah, the House of Allah bowed down to Bilāl, the Abyssinian slave, who often climbed up its roof to call for prayer as if to say : “O you the powerful and proud Arabs ! this is the Ka‘bah which according to your belief is the holiest place. Muḥammad has given me a right to climb upon it. I, the black slave, call you - you, the noble chiefs—for the worship of yours as well as my Sustainer from its top.”

He is bewildered to find that the writers have written on Napoleon as many as two hundred thousand volumes while he flourished only a century ago, whereas in the course of long 1354 years only two hundred volumes of the old and antiquated style have been written on Muḥammad. In the opinion of the author, if the Muslims had tried to understand the secrets of the Apostolical life of the prophet and acted upto his Shari‘ah more sincerely and faithfully than what they have done so far, they would have been today altogether a different people and the world would have presented a different scene .

What is most astonishing to the author is the fact that “the first universal Superman” lived with his followers and enemies alike for a considerable period of time, but was never a bore to anyone, as is the wont with every associate endeared and known. They became, on the other hand, more and more interested in, affectionate for, and devoted to him—a state of things which is generally antagonistic to the principles of psychology. Miraculously enough, association and familiarity, in the case of Muḥammad (ص), have added to his greatness and dignity in the eyes of both his friends and foes.

The avarice of Muḥammad (ص) is different from that of other heroes of the world which latter assumes the form of extreme domination, ill-treatment, and plundering of the vanquished etc., etc. The avarice of the prophet, on the contrary, results in the establishment of justice, truth, happiness of mankind, and a respite to the wretched humanity. Among the instances, the writer has cited in this connection, is the fact that the Quraysh approached Abu Ṭālib, the uncle of the prophet, to urge his nephew to stop disgracing their faith and abusing their idols, and added that they would offer Muḥammad everything he wanted. At this, when the uncle asked his nephew to dissuade himself from reviling the Gods of the Quraysh, the prophet wept and spoke out with the following ever memorable words: "By Allah, O dear uncle even if they put the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left hand with a view to giving up my mission, I shall not give it up unless Allah makes me victorious or I perish in the attempt."

Next, the author compares the courage of Muḥammad (ص) with that of great warriors of the world, and says that it was the undaunted courage of Muḥammad alone which enabled him to invite the kings of the world to accept his mission at a time when he had none at his beck and call, except God, to help or defend him. The writer, then, refers to the justice and veracity of the prophet as his miracles, and narrates the stories of the Arab Bedouin and the Jew to whom the prophet owed the prices of a riding beast and a coat of mail respectively. On the harsh words of the creditors, the prophet prevented the Ṣaḥābah from chastising them for their misbehaviour by saying: "Leave him alone, for the possessor of a right has his say", "stop, O Umar! I needed most to be ordered to keep my word, and he (the Jew) needed most to be modest in his demand."

These are the few salient topics I have touched here. The book, however, is of so very absorbing interest that I wish I had the time and space to recount everything it contains.

The fact that late Allamah Sayyid Sulayman al-Nadavi of happy memory asked the author for permission to render the book into Urdu, and that Syed Zaki Gunsal, and Dr. Syed Salimun Abud of Argentina, America, sought his permission to translate it into Spanish throws a flood of light upon the utility and usefulness of the book.

In my opinion, all the lovers of Islam should make it a point to peruse it and make full use of its contents in their day to day life.

M. Saghir Hasan

Bengal under Akbar and Jahāngīr, by Tapankumar RayChau-
dhuri, published by A.Mukherjee & Co., Ltd. Calcutta, August,
1953. Price Rs. 12/-. Pp. 1-VIII and 1-246.

The book purports to fill up a gap, limited to Bengal, in the cultural history of India and Pakistan. As the author himself main-
tains, it affords "an introductory study in social history" of Bengal,
and in accordance with the definition quoted by him from Trevelyan,
his "social history" includes sections on religion, literature, music,
architecture, art and painting. The book is divided into two parts,
the first part dealing with "the new forces at work" and the second
part narrating "the life of the people".

The period chosen by the author between "the initial con-
quest by the Mughals to Jahāngīr's death", is an arbitrary one. The
beginning and the end can hardly be maintained as "two landmarks"
in the political history of Bengal, as has been assumed by the author.
Though Akbar's conquest introduced a new force into the political
life of Bengal, there was hardly any break in the chaotic politics of the
country that followed after the break-up of the Sūrī empire. The
epoch-making change came from the day Dacca was made the Mu-
ghal capital. This date can possibly be regarded as the sheet-anchor
of future peace in Bengal. Jahāngīr's death did not mark the end
of this epoch,. The only important consideration is that for this
period two valuable books are available, the *Ain-i-Akbarī* and the
Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī, both of which have been suitably utilised by
the author for his chapter on "Mughal Rule in Bengal", in which
details of civil, military and revenue administration have been given.
The next chapter, "The Coming of the Europeans", starts long
before the appearance of the Mughals in the scene. It adds no new
material to our knowledge on the subject. The bulk of the book
deals with the Hindu religious movement, social practices and common
ways of life, only two sections referring to the Muslims: section VII
of chapter 4, entitled "The State of Islam in Bengal", and section
IV of chapter 6, entitled "The life of the Muslims", the total number
of pages devoted to this topic being 11. The first Muslim section
is a bare resume of Dr. Enamul Huq's work, **Vange Sufi prabhāva**,
and the second section adds a few more details from the *Bahāristān*.
The sections dealing with literature, architecture, painting and music
have been very superficially treated. On Muslim architecture the
undatable Mughal water-forts in Dacca district have been referred
to, but the author does not know about the existence of a number
of contemporary monuments at Maldah, Sherpur and Ashtagram.
The period, chosen by the author, has been inadequately described,
and the sources available yet remain to be exhaustively analysed.
This is true both of the Hindu and Muslim "social history."

Ahmad Hasan Dani.

“IBN AL-ḤARĪRĪ WA MAQĀMĀTUHŪ”

DR. AHMAD SIDDIQI*

This work is the thesis of the author which he presented to the University of Allahabad for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The book is a fine piece of Arabic literature and is perhaps the first attempt to present a Ph.D. thesis in Arabic language after the independence of the sub-continent of India and Pakistan.

The Maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī have always formed the part of the Arabic syllabus in this sub-continent both in old scheme madrasahs and modern universities. The credit goes to Dr. Aḥmad Siddīqi who has tried to give an exposition of a few maqāmāt in the light of the social, cultural and economic conditions of the later Abbasid period when they were composed. He has also discussed with illustrations the merits and demerits of al-Ḥarīrī's maqāmāt. Thus, the long-felt need of analysing the MAQĀMĀT has to a great extent been fulfilled by the book under review. It is unanimously held that al-Ḥarīrī made a successful attempt in imitating Abul Ḥasan Aḥmad known as BADI'UZZAMĀN, the wonder of the Time, and in raising the art of MAQĀMĀT to perfection. The author therefore deserves congratulation for defending Ḥarīrī against some unhealthy criticism advanced by a group of scholars like al-Fakhrī and others. The contents of the book under review is as follows :—

1. The preface-p.7 ; 2. The literary characteristics of the Abbasid period, p.16; 3. Ḥarīrī—his birth and life, p. 12 ;
4. His qualities and manners, p.31 ; 5. His works and their characteristics p.42 ; His verse, p.44 ; 7. His prose, P.59 ;
8. The history of al-Maqāmāt and the writers thereof, p.80 ;
9. The Maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī, 110; 10. Philological peculiarities of the Maqāmāt, p.119 ; 11. The defects of the Maqāmāt, p.150 ; 12. The style of al-Ḥarīrī in his Maqāmāt, p. 154 ; 13, Ḥarīrī's Maqāmāt as the mirror of the life of the people of Baṣra, p.165 ;
14. A comparison between al-Ḥarīrī and al-Badī' p. 174;

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15. The baseless criticism of the author of Kitāb al-FaKhrī on the Maqāmāt of al-Badi' and al-Ḥarīrī, p.191 ;
16. The value of al-Ḥarīrī and his Maqāmāt according to the men of Arabic literature, p.216 ;
17. The influence of al-Ḥarīrī's Maqāmāt on the life and literature of the Arabs and on some foreign literature, p.228.

The book would have been most useful and scholarly if the learned author had followed the modern methods of research in giving his findings in plain and simple language referring to early sources directly and avoiding metaphors and similies in expression. The author seems to have insisted on calling al-Ḥarīrī "Ibn al-Ḥarīrī" although early sources do not endorse his claim. Nor is he himself steady in using this epithet. Authorities like al-Zamakhshari, Ibn Zafar al-Rāzi, who admired the style of al-Ḥarīrī in his maqāmāt, always call him "al-Ḥarīrī" and never "Ibn al-Ḥarīrī".

It is, again, curious that the sources like Abul Fidā's Tārikh Baghdādi's Khizānah, Ḥāji Khalīfa's Kashf al-Zunūn and Suyūti's Bughyah have not been mentioned by the learned author, and a fiction like Zawāl Baghdad by A. Halim Sharar has been included in the bibliography. Further, the quotations available in the book are not always authentic and accurate (Cf.p.9lines:3,12,p.10, to mention only a few). The categorical statement of the author that Ḥarīrī sold ḥarir, silk, in his early age is doubtful and not correct as has been maintained by Dr. Serājul Ḥaq in his article "Al-Ḥarīrī" published in the Dacca University study, 1934.

Lastly, the book could have reasonably been condensed in a smaller volume with considerably cheaper expense. It is expected that due attention will be given in its second edition.

M. Saghir Hasan.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN.

The Asiatic Society of Pakistan was founded in 1951 as the result of the efforts of a group of scholars, headed by the great philologist Dr. M. Shahidullah, who found themselves by the circumstances of the partition isolated from the advantages of such societies, all of which remained in India. Dr. S. M. Husain, the then Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University—an eminent orientalist, lent his support to the proposal to establish a sort of mother society co-ordinating and promoting the research in the fields of both Sciences and Humanities, and at the invitation of Mr. Abdul Hamid, the then minister of Education, Govt. of East Bengal, a group of about fourteen persons met at his residence on the 3rd September 1951 to discuss the project. A committee consisting of the foundation members thereupon was formed to organise a society in the line of the old Asiatic Society of Bengal. Its object, as determined, can not be better put than in the words of Sir William Jones—"Study of Man and Nature of Asia." Thus the Society's interest extends to the people of Asia, not merely to the people in Asia, and the Natural history of that continent. Whether one studies history, religion, philosophy literature, philology, economics, political relationship, or one pursues the geography, the soil, the environment, the archaeology, the anthropology, the biology, the geology and other positive sciences which throw light on any special feature of Asia, all these come under the purview of Asiatic Society of Pakistan.

Although established and located in East Pakistan the Society functions as a Pakistan Society and is not a rival to any organisation existing in West Pakistan. The Associations, so far established there, have a special subject of study, like history, economics, politics, sciences etc. ; while the Asiatic Society of Pakistan is designed to serve some what like a co-ordinating mother society, not because it has given or intends to give rise to number of other specialised associations but because it provides a common platform to all the scholars, engaged in different pursuits, who are eager to meet with others working in the same field, profit by mutual discussion and at the same time wish to impart their knowledge to others who are interested in their subjects. The main function of the Society is to co-ordinate

the various branches of research and to diffuse knowledge among the interested persons. This society has no special organisational connection with its namesake either in Calcutta or Great Britain.

The then Governor, Malik Mohammad Firoz Khan Noon, the Society's patron, in his inaugural address at the first annual general meeting held on 28th March, 1952, stressed the work the society could do in continuing great traditions of the Asiatic Society founded by Sir William Jones "the glorious product of Europe's contact with Asia", and also in reviving in Pakistan the tradition of learning and research on the lines of Mamun's Baitul Hikmah. "We may not have library facilities such as those at Calcutta and in England.... But that need not stand in the way of our making a beginning however humble. A young country like Pakistan which seeks to build up a modern state based on the rich heritage of Islamic civilization must look into history as well as the present-day geographical conditions and the potentialities and resources of the country—human and material. It would also be interesting and instructive to know our kinship or relationship with other human beings in the world, to go back to the hoary past, and read what we can from the ruins of Mohenjodaro, Harappa and the innumerable mounds that lie scattered in this province, and to discover in what measure the remains of the ancient civilizations of Babylonia and Sumer and the cultures of the societies of Persia, China, Turkistan and India were transmuted by the impact of the moral and spiritual values of Islam to produce a new amalgam which is our proud heritage today in Pakistan, shared no doubt, by many other countries of the world."

In course of his annual address the first President of the Society Mr. Abdul Hamid spoke of the challenge which Pakistan had to face in the fields of intellectual achievement. "Independent states had come and disappeared in the limbo of oblivion. Intellectual and cultural contribution of abiding character alone had made some of them immortal. If Pakistan is to have an honoured place in the comity of nations, she must make some contribution, according to her special genius, to the common pool of knowledge. I do not see any reason why the Pakistanis should fail to discharge this responsibility."

The Secretary's first annual report however, could show no spectacular achievements. "The constitution of the society has been drafted and other rules framed. A tentative executive body has

