GAZETTEER
OF THE
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY
VOLUME I. PART I.
HISTORY OF GUJARAT.
17315
UNDER GOVERNMENT ORDERS.
BOMBAY:
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS,
1896.
Bombay Castle, 14th February 1902.

In further recognition of the distinguished labours of Sir James McNabb Campbell, K.C.I.E., and of the services rendered by those who have assisted him in his work, His Excellency the Governor in Council is pleased to order that the following extract from Government Resolution No. 2885, dated the 11th August 1884, be republished and printed immediately after the title page of Volume I, Part I, of the Gazetteer, and published in every issue:

"His Excellency the Governor in Council has from time to time expressed his entire approval of the Volumes of the Gazetteer already published, and now learns with much satisfaction that the remaining Statistical Accounts have been completed in the same elaborate manner. The task now brought to a close by Mr. Campbell has been very arduous. It has been the subject of his untiring industry for more than ten years, in the earlier part of which period, however, he was occasionally employed on additional duties, including the preparation of a large number of articles for the Imperial Gazetteer. When the work was begun, it was not anticipated that so much time would be required for its completion, because it was not contemplated that it would be carried out on so extensive a scale. Its magnitude may be estimated by the fact that the Statistical Accounts, exclusive of the general chapters yet to be reprinted, embrace twenty-seven Volumes containing on an average 500 pages each. Mr. Campbell could not have sustained the unflagging zeal displayed by him for so long a period without an intense interest in the subjects dealt with. The result is well worthy of the labour expended, and is a proof of the rare fitness of Mr. Campbell on the ground both of literary ability and of power of steady application for the important duty assigned to him. The work is a record of historical and statistical facts and of information regarding the country and the people as complete perhaps as ever was produced on behalf of any Government, and cannot fail to be of the utmost utility in the future administration of the Presidency.

"2. The thanks of Government have already been conveyed to the various contributors, and it is only necessary now to add that they share, according to the importance of their contributions, in the credit which attaches to the general excellence of the work."

The whole series of Volumes is now complete, and His Excellency in Council congratulates Sir James Campbell and all associated with him in this successful and memorable achievement.

H. O. QUIN,
Secretary to Government,
General Department.
The earliest record of an attempt to arrange for the preparation of Statistical Accounts of the different districts of the Bombay Presidency is in 1843. In 1843 Government called on the Revenue Commissioner to obtain from all the Collectors as part of their next Annual Report the fullest available information regarding their districts. The information was specially to include their own and their Assistants' observations on the state of the cross and other roads not under the superintendence of a separate department, on the passes and ferries throughout the country, on the streets in the principal towns, and on the extension and improvement of internal communications. As from Collectors alone could any knowledge of the state of the district be obtained, the Collectors were desired to include in their Annual Reports observations on every point from which a knowledge of the actual condition of the country could be gathered with the exception of matters purely judicial which were to be supplied by the Judicial Branch of the Administration. Government remarked that, as Collectors and their Assistants during a large portion of the year moved about the district in constant and intimate communication with all classes they possessed advantages which no other public officers enjoyed of acquiring a full knowledge of the condition of the country, the causes of progress or retrogradation, the good measures which require to be fostered and extended, the evil measures which call for abandonment, the defects in existing institutions which require to be remedied, and the nature of the remedies to be applied. Collectors also, it was observed, have an opportunity of judging of the effect of British rule on the condition and character of the people, on their caste prejudices, and on their superstitious observances. They can trace any alteration for the better or worse in dwellings, clothing and diet, and can observe the use of improved implements of husbandry or other crafts, the habits of locomotion, the state of education particularly among the higher classes whose decaying means and energy under our most levelling system compared with that of preceding governments will attract their attention. Finally they can learn how far existing village institutions are effectual to

1 Secretary's Letter 4223 to the Revenue Commissioner dated 30th December 1843. Revenue Volume 1854 of 1843.

2 1746—c
their end, and may be made available for self-government and in the management of local taxation for local purposes.

In obedience to these orders reports were received from the Collectors of Ahmedabad Broach Kaira Thana and Khundesh. Some of the reports, especially that of Mr. J. D. Inverarity, contained much interesting information. These five northern reports were practically the only result of the Circular Letter of 1843.

The question of preparing District Statistical Manuals was not again raised till 1870. In October 1867 the Secretary of State desired the Bombay Government to take steps for the compilation of a Gazetteer of the Presidency on the model of the Gazetteer prepared during that year for the Central Provinces. The Bombay Government requested the two Revenue Commissioners and the Director of Public Instruction to submit a scheme for carrying into effect the orders of the Secretary of State. In reply the officers consulted remarked that the work to be done for the Bombay Presidency would be of a multifarious character; that the article on the commerce of Bombay would require special qualifications in the writer; that again special qualifications would be required for writing accounts of the sacred cities of Nasik and Palitana, of the caves of Ajanta and Ellora, of the histories of Sindhi Gujarât and Ahmednagar, and of the Portuguese connection with Western India. The Committee observed that a third form of special knowledge would be required to write accounts of Pâris Kojaâs and other castes and tribes; that in short the undertaking would be one of much wider scope and greater difficulty than the preparation of the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces. Much thought would be required before the general plan could be laid down, and after the plan was fixed all sorts of questions as to arrangement and treatment of particular parts would be sure to arise. In the Committee's opinion local revenue officers could not as a rule find time to devote to work of this description without neglecting their ordinary duties; but they could correct and amplify such information as a special officer could compile from the published and unpublished records of Government.

In January 1868 the Bombay Government decided that the general supervision and direction of the work should be placed in the hands of a Committee consisting of the Revenue Commissioners, the Director of Public Instruction, and the Commissioner of Customs, and that an Editor should be appointed with a small copying establishment to act under the directions of the Committee. The Editor was to give his entire time to the work and was expected to
finish it in about a year. He was to collect and arrange in alphabetical order all recorded information regarding the towns and other places of interest in each Collectorate, and to send printed on half margin each draft when completed to the local officers for verification, additions, and alterations. When the drafts were returned and corrected by the Editor, they were to be laid before the Committee. To enable the Editor to meet such expenses as a fair remuneration for articles contributed by qualified persons, and also to pay for the printing of the work with small accompanying maps, an amount not exceeding Rs. 12,000 was sanctioned for the total expense of the Gazetteer including the payment of the Editor. At the outset it was decided to place a portion of the sum sanctioned not exceeding Rs. 2000, at the disposal of the Commissioner in Sindh to secure the preparation of articles referring to Sindh. The Committee were requested to meet at Poona in June 1868 and to report to Government on the best mode of preparing and editing the Gazetteer and supervising its publication. The Collectors and Political Officers were in the meanwhile requested to ascertain what records in their possession were likely to be useful for the preparation of a Gazetteer and what papers in the possession of others and likely to be useful for the purpose were obtainable within their charge. Collectors and Political Officers were requested to send their replies direct to the Director of Public Instruction who would collect them on behalf of the Committee.

In August 1868 the Bombay Gazetteer Committee, composed of Messrs. A. F. Bellasis Revenue Commissioner N. D. Chairman, Mr. W. H. Havelock Revenue Commissioner S. D. and Sir Alexander Grant, Director of Public Instruction, submitted a report recommending the following arrangements:

1. That Mr. W. H. Crowe, C. S., then Acting Professor in the Dakhan College, be appointed Editor of the Gazetteer with a monthly remuneration of Rs. 200 out of the Rs. 12,000 sanctioned for the expense of the Gazetteer and that he should at the same time be attached as an Assistant to the Collector of Poona;

2. That Mr. Crowe be allowed an establishment not exceeding Rs. 50 a month chargeable to the grant of Rs. 12,000, and such contingent charges as may be passed by the Committee;

3. That Professor Kero Luxman Chhatre be requested to assist Mr. Crowe on various questions both local and mathematical, and that on the completion of the work a suitable honorarium be granted to Professor Kero;

4. That agreeably to the suggestions of Major Prescott and Colonel Francis, Mr. Light should be directed to compile for the different districts all information in the possession of the Survey Department in communication
with the Editor of the Gazetteer who was to work under the Committee's orders.

(2) That the above appointments be made at present for one year only, at the end of which from the Committee's progress reports, it would be possible to state with approximate definiteness the further time required for the completion of the Gazetteer.

These proposals were sanctioned on the 11th, September 1868. Towards the close of 1868 Mr. (now Sir) J. B. Pells took the place of Sir A. Grant on the Committee and Colonel Francis was added to the list of the members. Adhering as far as possible to the arrangement followed in the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces, which had met with the approval of the Secretary of State, Mr. Crowe drew out the following list of subjects which was forwarded to all Collectors Sub-Collectors and Survey Superintendents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.—GENERAL DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>VIII.—SUB-DIVISIONS</th>
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<tr>
<td>(a) Latitude and Longitude.</td>
<td>(a) Names of Talukas.</td>
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<td>(b) Locality.</td>
<td>(b) Names of Towns.</td>
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<td>(c) Boundaries.</td>
<td>(c) Agriculture.</td>
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<td>(d) Aspect.</td>
<td>(d) Forest.</td>
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<td>(e) Water-supply.</td>
<td>(e) Animals.</td>
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<td>(f) Rivers.</td>
<td>(f) Minerals.</td>
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<td>(g) Mountains.</td>
<td>(g) Manufactures.</td>
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<td>(h) Area.</td>
<td>X.—TRADE AND COMMERCE.</td>
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<td>(i) Altitude.</td>
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<th>II.—CLIMATE, SEASONS</th>
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<td>(a) Rainfall.</td>
<td>(a) Roads.</td>
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<td>(b) Health.</td>
<td>(b) Railways.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) Prevailing Diseases.</td>
<td>(c) Telegraphs.</td>
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<th>III.—GEOLOGY</th>
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<td>(a) Soils.</td>
<td>(d) Post.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(b) Minerals.</td>
<td>XI.—COMMUNICATIONS.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) Scientific Details.</td>
<td>(a) Roads.</td>
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<th>IV.—HISTORY</th>
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<td>V.—ADMINISTRATION</td>
<td>(b) Railways.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(a) Judicial.</td>
<td>(c) Telegraphs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Revenue.</td>
<td>(d) Post.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) Miscellaneous.</td>
<td>XI.—REVENUE SYSTEM AND LAND TENURES.</td>
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<th>VI.—REVENUE</th>
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<td>(a) Imperial.</td>
<td>XIII.—EDUCATION.</td>
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<td>(b) Local.</td>
<td>(a) Schools.</td>
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<th>VII.—POPULATION</th>
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<td>(a) Census.</td>
<td>(b) Instruction.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(b) Description of Inhabitants.</td>
<td>XIV.—LANGUAGE.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) Castes.</td>
<td>XV.—ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS AND ANTIQUITIES.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>XVI.—PRINCIPAL TOWNS AND VILLAGES.</td>
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In 1869 the draft articles prepared by Mr. Crowe were submitted to Mr. (now Sir) W. W. Hunter of the Bengal Civil Service who expressed his satisfaction at the progress made. The Committee adopted certain suggestions made by Sir W. Hunter for the arrangement of the work and for obtaining fuller district figures from the Marine, Irrigation, Cotton, and Survey Offices. In March 1870 a further extension of one year was accorded. The Bombay Government directed that each Collector should choose one of his Assistants to correspond with the Editor and obtain for him all possible information from local records. All Heads of Offices were also desired to exert themselves zealously in aiding the prosecution of the work. In 1871 Mr. Crowe's draft article on the Dhārwar District was sent to Mr. Hunter for opinion who in addition to detailed criticism on various points made the following general remarks:

"My own conception of the work is that, in return for a couple of days' reading, the Account should give a new Collector a comprehensive, and, at the same time, a distinct idea of the district which he has been sent to administer. More reading can never supplant practical experience in the district administration. But a succinct and well reviewed district account is capable of anticipating the acquisition of such personal experience by many months and of both facilitating and systematizing a Collector's personal enquiries. The Compiler does not seem to have caught the points on which a Collector would naturally consult the Account. In order to that the Editor should understand these points it is necessary that he should have had practical acquaintance with district administration and that he should himself have experienced the difficulties which beset an officer on his taking charge of a district or sub-division. The individual points will differ according to the character of the country. For example in deltaic districts the important question is the control of rivers; in dry districts it is the subject of water-supply. But in all cases a District Account besides dealing with the local specialties should furnish an historical narration of its revenue and expenditure since it passed under the British rule, of the sums which we have taken from it in taxes, and of the amount which we have returned to it in the protection of property and persons and the other charges of civil government."

Sir William Hunter laid much stress on the necessity of stating the authority on the strength of which any statement is made and of the propriety of avoiding anything like libels on persons or classes. In 1871 Sir W. Hunter was appointed Director General of Statistics to the Government of India. In this capacity he was to be a central guiding authority whose duty it was to see that each of the Provincial Gazetteers contained the materials requisite for the comparative statistics of the Empire. As some of the Bombay District Accounts were incomplete and as it was thought advisable to embody in the District Accounts the results of the general Census of 1872, it was decided, in October 1871, that pending the completion of the census
the Gazetteer work should be suspended and that when the results of
the census were compiled and classified a special officer should be
appointed for a period of six months to revise and complete the
drafts. In October 1871, pending the compilation of the census
returns, Mr. Crowe was appointed Assistant Collector at Sholapur
and the Gazetteer records were left in a room in the Poona Collector's
Office. In September 1872 the whole of the Gazetteer records,
including thirty-one articles on British Districts and Native States,
were stolen by two youths who had been serving in the Collector's
Office as poons. These youths finding the Gazetteer office room
unoccupied stole the papers piece by piece for the sake of the
trifling amount they fetched as waste paper. Search resulted in
the recovery in an imperfect state of seven of the thirty-one
drafts. The youths were convicted and sentenced to a year's
imprisonment in the Poona Reformatory.

In 1873 Mr. Francis Chapman then Chief Secretary to Government
took the preparation of the Gazetteer under his personal control. And
in June 1873 Mr. James M. Campbell, C.S., was appointed Compiler.
An important change introduced by Mr. Chapman was to separate
from the preparation of the series of District Manuals certain general
subjects and to arrange for the preparation of accounts of those general
subjects by specially qualified contributors. The subjects so set apart
and allotted were:

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<th>No.</th>
<th>Subject</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ethnology</td>
<td>Dr. J. Wilson</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Meteorology</td>
<td>Mr. C. Chambers, F.R.S.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Geology</td>
<td>Mr. W. Blandford</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Botany</td>
<td>Dr. W. Gray</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Archaeology</td>
<td>Dr. J. Burgess</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Manufactures and Industry</td>
<td>Mr. G. W. Terry</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Trade and Commerce</td>
<td>Mr. J. Gordon</td>
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These arrangements resulted in the preparation of the following
papers each of which on receipt was printed in pamphlet form:

I. ETHNOLOGY; II. METEOROLOGY; III. GEOLOGY; and IV. BOTANY.

Of these papers it has not been deemed advisable to reprint Dr. J.
Wilson's Paper on Castes as it was incomplete owing to Dr. Wilson's
death in 1875. Reprinting was also unnecessary in the case of
Mr. Blandford's Geology and of the late Mr. Chambers' Meteorology,
as the contents of these pamphlets have been embodied in works
specially devoted to the subject of these contributions. Dr. Burgess never prepared his article on the Archeology of the Presidency, but the materials supplied by the late Pandit Bhagvánial Indraji prevented the evil effect which this failure would otherwise have caused. Dr. Bhagvánial also ably supplied the deficiency caused by Dr. G. Bühler's failure to contribute an article on the Early History of Gujarát. The notices of the manufactures in the more important industrial centres to some extent supply the blank caused by the absence of Mr. Terry's contribution. Nothing came of the late Mr. Gordon's Account of the Trade of the Presidency.

On the important subject of Botany besides Dr. W. Gray's original contribution, a valuable paper On Useful Trees and Plants was prepared by Dr. J. C. Lisboa, and a detailed account of Kaira field trees by the late Mr. G. H. D. Wilson of the Bombay Civil Service. These three papers together form a separate Botany Volume No. XXV.

The general contributions on History contained in Vol. I. Parts I. and II. are among the most valuable portions of the Gazetteer. Besides the shorter papers by Mr. L. R. Ashburner, C.S.I., on the Gujarát Mutinies of 1857, by Mr. J. A. Baines, C.S.I., on the Maráthás in Gujarát, by Mr. W. W. Loch, I. C.S., on the Musalmáns and Maráthás histories of Khándesh and the Bombay Dakhan, and by the late Colonel E. W. West, I. S. C., on the modern history of the Southern Maráthá districts, there are the Reverend A. K. Nairne's History of the Konkan which is specially rich in the Portuguese period (A.D. 1500-1750), the late Colonel J. W. Watson's Musalmáns of Gujarát with additions by Khán Sáheb Fazl Lutfulláh Fávidi of Surat, and the important original histories of the Early Dakhan by Professor Rámkrishna Gopál Bhandárkar, C.I.E., Ph.D., and of the Southern Maráthá districts by Mr. J. F. Fleet, I.C.S., C.I.E., Ph.D. With these the early history of Gujarát from materials supplied by the late Pandit Bhagvánial Indraji, Ph.D., is perhaps not unworthy to rank. The work of completing Dr. Bhagvánial's history was one of special difficulty. No satisfactory result would have been obtained had it not been for the valuable assistance received from Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, M.A., of the Indian Civil Service.

The importance and the interest of the great subject of Population have added several contributions to the Reverend Doctor J. Wilson's original pamphlet of twenty-three pages. Most of these contributions appear in different District Statistical Accounts especially Dr. John Pollen's, I.C.S., accounts in Khándesh, Mr. Cumings's, I.C.S. in Bijápur, Mr. K. Raghuñáthji's in Thána and Poona, Assistant Surgeon Shántáram
Vinayak's in Sholapur, Mr. P. F. DeSouza's in Kanara, and the late Rao Bahadur Trinalrao's in Dhurwar. Except the valuable articles contributed in the Statistical Account of Kachch by Major J. W. Wray, Mr. Vinayakrao Narayanan and Rao Såheb Dalpatram Práthivajivan Khakhhar, in the Account of Kathiawar by the late Colonel L. C. Barton, and in the Account of Rewa Kântha by Rao Bahadur Nandshankar Tulshahankar the early date at which the Gujarât Statistical Accounts were published prevented the preparation of detailed articles on population. This omission has now been supplied in a separate volume No. IX. The chief contributions to this volume are Rao Bahadur Bhimbhájí Kirpámí's Hindus, Khan Såheb Fazl Lutfüllah Faridi's Musalmáns, and Messrs. Kharsetji N. Servai and Bamanji B. Patels Fársis.

Rao Bahadur Yeshvant M. Kelkar. The names of numerous other contributors both in and out of Government service who gave help in compiling information connected with their districts have been shown in the body of each District Statistical Account. Of these the learned and most ungrudging assistance received from Dr. J. Gerson DuCunha of Bombay requires special recognition.

The third main source of preparation was the Compiler’s headquarters office. Through the interest which Mr. Francis Chapman took in the Gazetteer the Compiler was able to secure the services as Assistant of Rao Bahadur Bhimbhai Kirparam who was Head Accountant in the Kaira Treasury when the Statistical Account of Kaira was under preparation in 1874. Mr. Bhimbhai’s minute knowledge of administrative detail, his power of asking for information in the form least troublesome to district establishments, and of checking the information received, together with his talent for directing the work at head-quarters formed one of the most important elements in the success of the Gazetteer arrangements. Besides to the interest taken by Mr. Francis Chapman the Gazetteer owed much to the advice and to the support of Sir W. W. Hunter, who, in spite of the delay and expense which it involved, secured the full record of the survey and other details in which the Bombay revenue system is specially rich.

In addition to Rao Bahadur Bhimbhai, the members of the Compiler’s office whose work entitled them almost to a place among contributors are: Rao Sahib Krishnarao Narsinh, who drafted many of the Land Revenue and Survey Histories; the late Mr. Ganesh Bihaktji Gunjikar, B.A., who drafted many of the Political Histories; the late Mr. Vaikunthram ‘Manmathram Mehta, B.A., and Rao Bahadur Itelaharam Bhagavandas, B.A., who drafted many articles on Description, Production, Agriculture, Capital, and Trade; Mr. K. Raghunathji who prepared many of the fullest caste accounts; Mr. Ratiram Durgaram, B.A., who drafted many papers on places of interest; and Messrs. Yeshvant Nilkanth and Mahadev G. Naidkar who drafted many of the sections on Population, Agriculture, Capital, and Trade.

Other officers of Government who have had an important share in the satisfactory completion of the Gazetteer are: Mr. J. Kingsmill the former and Mr. Franoz Rustamji the present Superintendent of the Government Central Press and Mr. T. E. Coleman the Head Examiner, whose unfailing watchfulness has detected many a mistake. Mr. Waite the late Superintendent of the Photozoocographic Press and Mr. T. LeMesurier the present Superintendent have supplied a set of most handy, clear, and accurate maps.
A further means adopted for collecting information was the preparation of papers on the different social, economic, and religious subjects which had proved of interest in preparing the earliest District Statistical Accounts. Between 1874 and 1880 forty-nine question papers which are given as an Appendix to the General Index Volume were from time to time printed and circulated. The answers received to these papers added greatly to the fullness and to the local interest of all the later Statistical Accounts.

The Statistical Accounts of the eighteen British districts and eighty-two Native States of the Bombay Presidency, together with the Materials towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay extend over thirty-three Volumes and 17,800 pages. In addition to these Statistical Accounts 475 articles were prepared in 1877-78 for the Imperial Gazetteer.

JAMES MACNABB CAMPBELL.

Bombay Custom House,
20th May 1896.
HISTORY OF GUJARAT.
This Volume contains the Articles named below:

I.—Early History of Gujrat (B.C. 319 - A.D. 1304).—From materials prepared by the late Pandit Bhagyānlāl Indrāji, Ph.D., completed with the help of A. M. T. Jackson, Esquire, M.A., of the Indian Civil Service.

II.—History of Gujrat, Musalmán Period (A.D. 1297-1760).—Prepared by the late Colonel J. W. Watson, Indian Staff Corps, former Political Agent of Kathiavāda, with additions by Khán Sáheb Fazlullāh Lutfullāh Faridi of Surat.


Appendices:

I.—The Death of Sultán Bahādur.
II.—The Hill Fort of Mándu.
III.—Bhimád or Shrimál.
IV.—Java and Cambodia.
V.—Arab References.
VI.—Greek References.

JAMES M. CAMPBELL.

29th May 1896.
The Valabhis (A.D. 509-760):

Valeh Town (1833); Valabhi in A.D. 630; Valabhi Copperplates; Valabhi Administration (A.D. 500-760); Territorial Divisions; Land Assessment; Religion; Origin of the Valabhis; History ... ... ... ... ... ... 78-86

First Valabhi Grant (A.D. 526); Senapati Bhagatka (A.D. 509-520?); the Maitrakas (A.D. 470-509); Senapati’s Sons; Dhravasena I. (A.D. 526-533); Guhasena (A.D. 539-569); Dharanasa II. (A.D. 566-589); Silaliditya I. (A.D. 584-609); Kharagaha (A.D. 616-615); Dharanasa III. (A.D. 616-620); Dhravasena II. (614-640); Dharanasa IV. (A.D. 640-649); Dhravasena III. (A.D. 650-656); Kharagaha (A.D. 656-665); Silaliditya III. (A.D. 666-675); Silaliditya IV. (A.D. 691?); Silaliditya V. (A.D. 722); Silaliditya VI. (A.D. 760); Silaliditya VII. (A.D. 766); Valabhi Family Tree; The fall of Valabhi (A.D. 750-770); The importance of Valabhi ... ... ... ... 87-96

Valabhi and the Gehlots; The Valas of Kāthiavāda; The Valas and Kāthia; Descent from Kanakṣen (A.D. 150); Mewād and the Persians; Valas ... ... ... ... 97-106

The Chaṭṭukyas (A.D. 634-740):

Jayasunipavarmman (A.D. 666-699); Śrīvatsa Śilaliditya (heir apparent) (A.D. 669-691); Mangalaraja (A.D. 691-731); Pulaṅkotī Janakṣrī (A.D. 731); Buddhavarmman (A.D. 713?); Nāgavardhamana; Chaṭṭukya Tree ... ... ... ... 107-112

The Gurjjaras (A.D. 580-908):

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EARLY HISTORY OF GUJRAT.

CHAPTER I.

BOUNDARIES AND NAME.

The portion of the Bombay Presidency known as Gujarát fills the north-east corner of the coast of Western India.

On the west is the Arabian Sea; on the north-west is the Gulf of Cutch. To the north lie the Little Rann and the Movâd desert; to the north-east Abu and other outliers of the Arávali range. The east is guarded and limited by rough forest land rugged in the north with side spurs of the Vindhyas, more open towards the central natural highway from Baroda to Ratlám, and southwards again rising and roughening into the northern offshoots from the main range of the Sátpúdás. The southern limit is uncertain. History somewhat doubtfully places it at the Tápti. Language carries Gujarát about a hundred miles further to Balsâr and Pârdi where wild forest-covered hills from the north end of the Sahyâdri range stretch west almost to the sea.

The province includes two parts, Mainland Gujarát or Gurjârâśhra and Peninsular Gujarát the Saurâshtra of ancient, the Kâthiávâda of modern history. To a total area of about 72,000 square miles Mainland Gujarát with a length from north to south of about 280 miles and a breadth from east to west varying from fifty to 150 miles contributes 45,000 square miles; and Peninsular Gujarát with a greatest length from north to south of 155 miles and from east to west of 200 miles contributes about 27,000 square miles. To a population of about 9,250,000 Mainland Gujarát contributes 6,900,000 and the Peninsula about 2,350,000.

The richness of Mainland Gujarát the gift of the Sâbarmati Mahi Narbâda and Tápti and the goodness of much of Saurâshtra the Goodly Land have from before the beginning of history continued to draw strangers to Gujarát both as conquerors and as refugees.

By sea probably came some of the half-mythic Yádavas (B.C. 1500 - 500); contingents of Yavanas (B.C. 300 - A.D. 100) including Greeks Baktrians Parthians and Skythians; the pursued Pârsîs and the pursuing Arabs (A.D. 600 - 800); hordes of Sanganian pirates (A.D. 900 - 1200); Pârsi and Navâyât Musalmân refugees from Khulagú Khán’s devastation of Persia (A.D. 1250 - 1300); Portuguese and rival Turks (A.D. 1500 - 1600); Arab and Persian Gulf pirates (A.D. 1600 - 1700); African Arab Persian and Makran soldiers of fortune (A.D. 1500 - 1800); Armenian Dutch and French traders (A.D. 1600 - 1750); and the British (A.D. 1750 - 1812). By land from the north
have come the Skythians and Huns (B.C. 200 - A.D. 500), the Gurjjaras (A.D. 400 - 600), the early Jâdeja and Kâthîs (A.D. 750 - 900), wave on wave of Afghan Turk Moghal and other northern Musalmâns (A.D. 1000 - 1500), and the later Jâdeja and Kâthîs (A.D. 1300 - 1500) From the north-east the prehistoric Aryans till almost modern times (A.D. 1100 - 1200) continued to send settlements of Northern Bhrâmans; and since the thirteenth century have come Turk Afghan and Moghal Musalmâns: From the east have come the Mauryans (B.C. 300), the half-Skythian Kshatrapas (B.C. 100 - A.D. 300), the Guptas (A.D. 380), the Gurjjaras (A.D. 400 - 600), the Moghals (A.D. 1550), and the Marâthâs (A.D. 1750): And from the south the Sâatakarnis (A.D. 100), the Chalukyas and Râshtrakutas (A.D. 650 - 950), occasional Musalmân raiders (A.D. 1400 - 1600), the Portuguese (A.D. 1500), the Marâthâs (A.D. 1660 - 1760), and the British (A.D. 1780 - 1820).

The name Gujârât is from the Prâkrit Gujâjara-râîta, the Sanskrit of which is Gurjjarâ-râštra that is the country of the Gujjaras or Gurjjaras. In Sanskrit books and inscriptions the name of the province is written Gurjâra-mândala and Gurjâra-des'a the land of the Gurjjaras or Gurjjaras. The Gurjjaras are a foreign tribe who passing into India from the north-west gradually spread as far south as Khândesh and Bombay Gujârât. The present Gujars of the Panjab and North-West Provinces preserve more of their foreign traits than the Gujar settlers further to the south and east. Though better-looking, the Panjab Gujars in language dress and calling so closely resemble their associates the Jâts or Jats as to suggest that the two tribes entered India about the same time. Their present distribution shows that the Gujars spread further east and south than the Jâts. The earliest Gujar settlements seem to have been in the Panjab and North-West Provinces from the Indus to Mathurâ where they still differ greatly in dress and language from most other inhabitants. From Mathurâ the Gujars seem to have passed to East Rajputâna and from there by way of Kotah and Mandasor to Mâlwa, where, though their original character is considerably altered, the Gujars of Mâlwa still remember that their ancestors came from the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna. In Mâlwa they spread as far east as Bhilosa and Saharanpur. From Mâlwa they passed south to Khândesh and west probably by the Ratlam-Dohad route to the province of Gujârât.

Like the modern Ahirs of Kâthiâvdâ, the Gujars seem to have been a tribe of cattle-rearers husbandmen and soldiers who accompanied some conqueror and subsequently were pushed or spread forwards as occasion arose or necessity compelled. In the absence of better authority the order and locality of their settlements suggest that their introduction into India took place during the rule of the Skythian or Kushân emperor Kanerkes or Kanishka (A.D. 78 - 106) in whose time they seem to have settled as far east as Mathurâ to which the territory of Kanishka is known to have extended. Subsequently along with the Guptas, who rose to power about two hundred years later (A.D. 300), the Gujars settled in East Rajputâna, Mâlwa, and Gujârât, provinces all of which were apparently
subjugated by the Guptas. It seems probable that in reward for their share in the Gupta conquests the leading Gujars were allotted fiefs and territories which in the declining power of their Gupta overlords they afterwards (A.D. 450 - 550) turned into independent kingdoms.

The earliest definite reference to a kingdom of North Indian Gujars is about A.D. 890 when the Kashmir king Sankaravarman sent an expedition against the Gurjara king Alakhaman and defeated him. As the price of peace Alakhaman offered the country called Takkades'. This Takkades' appears to be the same as the Tschikia of Huien Tsang (A.D. 630 - 640) who puts it between the Biyas on the east and the Indus on the west thus including nearly the whole Panjab. The tract surrendered by Alakhaman was probably the small territory to the east of the Chinab as the main possessions of Alakhaman must have lain further west between the Chinab and the Jehlam, where lie the town of Gujarat and the country still called Gujar-desa the land of the Gujars.

As early as the sixth and seventh centuries records prove the existence of two independent Gurjara kingdoms in Bombay Gujarat one in the north the other in the south of the province. The Northern kingdom is mentioned by Huien Tsang in the seventh century under the name Kin-che-lo. He writes: 'Going north from the country of Valabhi 1800 li (300 miles) we come to the kingdom of Kin-che-lo. This country is about 5000 li in circuit, the capital, which is called Pi-lo-mo-lo, is 30 li or so round. The produce of the soil and the manners of the people resemble those of Saurashtra. The king is of the Kshatriya caste. He is just twenty years old.' Huien Tsang's Kin-che-lo is apparently Gurjara, the capital of which Pi-lo-mo-lo is probably Bhilmal or Bhimmal, better known as Srimal. Though Huien Tsang calls the king a Kshatriya he was probably a Gujar who like the later Southern Gujars claimed to be of the Kshatriya race.

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1 Raja Tarangini (Calcutta Edition), V. 150, 155; Cunningham's Archeological Survey, II. 8. An earlier but vaguer reference occurs about the end of the sixth century in Bana's Srisharacharita, p. 274, quoted in Appendix I, 671, where Pratihakkaravarman, a Thanesar the father of the great Sri Harsha is said to have waged war with several races of whom the Gurjars are one.
2 Bel's Buddhist Records of the Western World, I. 165 note 1.
3 Cunningham's Archeological Survey, II. 76.
4 Bel's Buddhist Records, II. 270.

This identification was first made by the late Col. J. W. Watson, L.S.C. Ind. Ant. VI. 63. Bhilmal or Bhimmal also called Srimal, is an old town about thirty miles north-east of Abu, north latitude 23° 4' east longitude 71° 14'. General Cunningham's ancient Geography of India, 313 and Professor Bel's Buddhist Records, II. 270 identify Pi-lo-mo-lo with Bhilmor Bhilmals or Bhilmars (north latitude 71° 10' east longitude 26° 0') in the Jodhpur State of West Rajputana. This identification is unsatisfactory. Bhilmor is a small town on the slope of a hill in an arid tract with no vestige of antiquity. Huien Tsang notes that the produce of the soil and the manners of the people of Pi-lo-mo-lo resemble those of Saurashtra. This description is unsuited to an arid tract as surrounded Bhilmor; it would apply well to the fertile neighborhood of Bhilmal or Bhimmal. Since it is closely associated with Jutar that is Gurjaras the Ajit Balhams of the Arake (A.D. 750, Elliot's History, I. 442) may be Bhilmal. A Jain writer (Ind. Ant. XIX. 283) mentions Bhimmal as the seat of king Bhimsasa and as connected with the origin of the Gadhil coinage. The late Bhilmal in a M.S. of A.D. 906 (Ditto, page 38) suggests it was then a seat under the Gurjaraas. The prince of Srimal is mentioned (Rsa Mal, I. 65)
The Southern Gurjara kingdom in Gujarát, whose capital was at Nándipuri, perhaps the modern Nándod the capital of the Rájpipla State, flourished from A.D. 589 to A.D. 735. The earlier inscriptions describe the Southern Gurjara as of the Gurjara Vänśa. Later they ceased to call themselves Gurjjaras and traced their genealogy to the Puranic king Karnak.

From the fourth to the eighth century the extensive tract of Central Gujarát between the North and South Gurjara kingdoms was ruled by the Valabhis. The following reasons seem to show that the Valabhi dynasty were originally Gujars. Though it is usual for inscriptions to give this information none of the many Valabhi copper-plates makes any reference to the Valabhi lineage. Nor does any inscription state to what family Senapati Bhaṭārka the founder of the dynasty belonged. Huien Tsiang describes the Valabhi king as a Kshatriya and as marrying with the kings of Malwa and Kanauj. The Valabhi king described by Huien Tsiang is a late member of the dynasty who ruled when the kingdom had been greatly extended and when the old obscure tribal descent may have been forgotten and a Kshatriya lineage invented instead. Intermarriage with Malwa and Kanauj can be easily explained. Rajputs have never been slow to connect themselves by marriage with powerful rulers.

The establishment of these three Gujar kingdom implies that the Gurjara tribe from Northern and Central India settled in large numbers in Gujarát. Several Gujar castes survive in Gujarát. Among them are Gujar Vänśis or traders, Gujar Sutārs or carpenters, Gujar Sonis or goldsmiths, Gujar Kumbhārs or potters, and Gujar Salāts or masons. All of these are Gujars who taking to different callings have formed separate castes. The main Gujar underlayer are the Lewis and Kaḍāwās the two leading divisions of the important class of Gujar Kumbhās. The word Kumbhā is from the Sanskrit Kūṭambin, that is one possessing a family or a house. From ancient times the title Kūṭambin has been prefixed to the names of cultivators. This practice still obtains in parts of the North-West Provinces where the peasant proprietors are addressed as Gṛhasthas or householders. As cattle-breding not cultivation was the original as it still is the characteristic calling of many North Indian Gujars, those of the tribe who settled to cultivation came to be specially known as Kūṭambin or householders. Similarly Deccan surnames show that many tribes of wandering cattle-owners settled as householders and are now known as Kumbhās. During the last

as accompanying Māla Rājā Solankhi (A.D. 942 - 997) in an expedition against Sarath. Al Birun (A.D. 1000, Sasana’s Edn. L.153, 267) refers to Bhilamāla between Multān and Anhilavāda. As late as A.D. 1611 Nicholas Ufflet, an English traveller from Goa to Ahmadābād (Kerr’s Voyages, VIII. 301) notices “Beemalā as having an ancient wall 24 kos (36 miles) round with many fine tanks going to ruin.” The important sub-divisions of upper class Gujar Hindu who take their name from it show Stīrṇāl to have been a great centre of population.

1 Indian Antiquary, XIII. 70-81. Bühler (Ind. Ant. VII. 82) identifies Nanalpāri with a suburb of Broach.


twenty years the settlement as Kunbis in Khândesh of tribes of wandering Wanjâra herdsmen and grain-carriers is an example of the change through which the Gujarât Kunbis and the Deccan Kunbis passed in early historic times.

Besides resembling them in appearance and in their skill both as husbandmen and as cattle-breedersthe division of Gujarât Kunbis into Lewa and Kadwa seems to correspond with the division of Mâlwa Gujarâst into Dáha and Karad, with the Lewa origin of the East Khândesh Gujarâs, and with the Lawi tribe of Panjâb Gujarâs. The fact that the head-quarters of the Lewa Kunbis of Gujarât is in the central section of the province known as the Charotar and formerly under Valabhi supports the view that the founder of Valabhi power was the chief leader of the Gujar tribe. That nearly a fourth of the whole Hindu population of Gujarât are Lewa and Kadwa Kunbis and that during the sixth seventh and eighth centuries three Gujar chiefs divided among them the sway of the entire province explain how the province of Gujarât came to take its name from the tribe of Gujarâs.†

† Though the identification of the Valabbis as Gurjjaras may not be certain, in inscriptions noted below both the Chavadas and the Solankis are called Gurjjaras kings. The Gurjjaras origin of either or of both these dynasties may be questioned. The name Gurjjaras may imply no more than that they ruled the Gurjjaras country. At the same time it was under the Chavadas that Gujarât got its name. Though to Al Biruni (A.D. 1030) Gujarât still meant part of Bâjputâna, between A.D. 760 and 930 the name Gurjjaras land passed as far south as the territory connected with Anhilvâda and Vâjnarâ that is probably as far as the Mahi. As a Râstrakuta copperplate of A.D. 888 (S. 810) (Ind. Ant. XIII. 66) brings the Konkan as far north as Várnav on the Tapti the extension of the name Gujarât to Lâja south of the Mahi seems to have taken place under Musalman rule. This southern application is still somewhat incomplete. Even now the people of Surat both Hindus and Musalmans when they visit Fatman (Anhilvâda) and Ahmedabad speak of going to Gujarât, and the Ahmedabad section of the Nâgar Brâhmans still call their Surat caste-brethren by the name of Kunkâyâs that is of the Konkây.
CHAPTER II.

ANCIENT DIVISIONS.

From ancient times the present province of Gujarāt consisted of three divisions Anartta, Surāśṭhra, and Lātā. Anartta seems to have been Northern Gujarāt, as its capital was Anandavapi the modern Vadānagar or Chief City, which is also called Anarttapura. Both these names were in use even in the times of the Valabhi kings (A.D. 500-770). According to the popular story, in each of the four cycles or yugas Anandavapi or Vadānagar had a different name, Chamatkārāpura in the first or Satya-yuga, Anarttapura in the second or Tretā-yuga, Anandapura in the third or Dwāpara-yuga, and Vṛiddha-nagara or Vadānagar in the fourth or Kālī-yuga. The first name is fabulous. The city does not seem to have ever been known by so strange a title. Of the two Anarttapura and Anandapura the former is the older name, while the latter may be its proper name or perhaps an adaptation of the older name to give the meaning City of Joy. The fourth Vṛiddha-nagara meaning the old city is a Sanskritized form of the still current Vadānagar, the Old or Great City. In the Ginnār inscription of Kahaḍapura Rudradāman (A.D. 150) the mention of Anartta and Surāśṭhra as separate provinces subject to the Paḥlava viceroy of Junāगadha agrees with the view that Anartta was part of Gujarāt close to Kāthiāvāda. In some Purāṇas Anartta appears as the name of the whole province including Surāśṭhra, with its capital at the well known shrine of Dwārkā. In other passages Dwārkā and Prabhāś are both mentioned as in Surāśṭhra which would seem to show that Surāśṭhra was then part of Anartta as Kāthiāvāda is now part of Gujarāt.

Surāśṭhra the land of the Sūs, afterwards Sanskritized into Saurāshṭra the Goodly Land, preserves its name in Sorath the southern part of Kāthiāvāda. The name appears as Surāśṭhra in the Mahābhārata and Pāṇini's Guṇāpātha, in Rudradāman’s (A.D. 150) and Skandagupta’s (A.D. 456) Ginnār inscriptions, and in several Valabhi copper-plates. Its Prākrit form appears as Sūratha in the Nāṣik inscription of Gotamiputra (A.D. 150) and in later Prākrit as Suraṭṭha in the Tirthakalpa of Jina-prabhāsuri of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Its earliest foreign mention is perhaps Strabo’s (B.C. 50 - A.D. 15) Suraostus and Pliny’s (A.D. 70) Oratula. Ptolemy

1 See Nagarakhanda (Junāगadha Edition), 12, 32, 35, 155, 289, 322, 542.
2 The Alīna grants (Indian Antiquary, VII. 78, 77) dated Valabhi 330 and 337 (A.D. 649-656) are both to the same donors who in the A.D. 649 grant is described as originally of Anarttapura and in the A.D. 656 grant as originally of Anandavapi.
3 Ginnār-Kalpa, Asthi Saurāśṭha evad Ujjinta nima, pustaka rāma. In the Surāshṭra district is a lovely mountain named Ujjinta (Ginnār).
4 Hamilton and Falconer’s Strabo, II. 232 - 233; Pliny’s Natural Histo.
ANCIENT DIVISIONS.

Chapter II.

ANCIENT DIVISIONS.

Laṭa, the great Egyptian geographer (A.D. 150) and the Greek author of the Periplus (A.D. 240) both call it Surasrenē.† The Chinese pilgrim Huien Tsang (A.D. 600-640) mentions Valabhi then large and famous and Surāshṭra as separate kingdoms.‡

Laṭa is South Gujarāt from the Mahi to the Tápti. The name Laṭa does not appear to be Sanskrit. It has not been found in the Mahābhārata or other old Sanskrit works, or in the cave or other inscriptions before the third century A.D., probably because the Purāṇas include in Aparānta the whole western seaboard south of the Narbada as far as Goa. Still the name Laṭa is old. Ptolemy (A.D. 150) uses the form Lariko§ apparently from the Sanskrit Laṭāka. Vatsāyana in his Kāma-Sūtra of the third century A.D. calls it Laṭa: describes it as situated to the west of Mālwa; and gives an account of several of the customs of its people.¶ In Sanskrit writings and inscriptions later than the third century the name is frequently found. In the sixth century the great astronomer Varahamihira mentions the country of Laṭa, and the name also appears as Laṭa in an Ajanta and in a Mandasor inscription of the fifth century.|| It is common in the later inscriptions (A.D. 700-1200) of the Chālukya Gūjāra and Rāshtrakūta kings as well as in the writings of Arab travellers and historians between the eighth and twelfth centuries.††

The name Laṭa appears to be derived from some local tribe, perhaps the Lattas, who, as r and l are commonly used for each other, may possibly be the well known Rāshtrakūtas since their great king Amoghaśvara (A.D. 851-879) calls the name of the dynasty Rathu. Lattalura the original city of the Rāṭus of Saundatti and Belgaum may have been in Laṭa and may have given its name to the country and to the dynasty.†‡ In this connection it is interesting to note that the country between Broach and Dhār in Mālwa in which are the towns of Bāgh and Tānda is still called Rātha.

† Bertius' Ptolemy, VII. 1; MacCrimmon's Periplus, 113. The Periplus details regarding Ilva-Skythia, Surasrenē, and Ujjain are in agreement with the late date (A.D. 247) which Rainand (Indian Antiquary of Dec. 1879 pp. 330-338) and Barnell (S. Ind. Pal. 47 note 9) assign to its author.
‡ Huien Tsang's Valabhi kingdom was probably the same as the modern Gohilvāda, which Jina-prabhaśuri in his Satrunjaya-kālpa calls the Vaiḍāka-Vīma.
§ Bertius' Ptolemy, VII. 1.
¶ Vatsāyana Sūtra, Chap. II.
|| Arch. Surv. of Western India, IV. 127. The Mandasor inscription (A.D. 437-33) mentions silk weavers from Laṭavishāya. Fleet's Corpus Ins. Ind. III. 80. The writer (Ditto, 84) describes Laṭa as green-hilled, pleasing with choice flower-hardened trees, with temple shrines and assembly halls of the gods.
†† Ind. Ant. XIII. 157, 168, 169, 180, 188, 196, 199, 204.
†‡ Elliot's History, L. 378.
†‡ Compare Lassen in Ind. Ant. XIV. 225.
CHAPTER III.

LEGENDS.

The oldest Purānic legend regarding Gujarāt appears to be that of the holy king Anartha son of Śrīyāśī and grandson of Manu. Anartha had a son named Revata, who from his capital at Kuśasthali or Dwārakā governed the country called Anartha. Revata had a hundred sons of whom the eldest was named Raivata or Kakudmi. Raivata had a daughter named Revati who was married to Baladeva of Kuśasthali or Dwārakā, the elder brother of Krishna. Regarding Revati's marriage with Baladeva the Purānic legends tell that Raivata went with his daughter to Brahmā in Brahma-loka to take his advice to whom he should give the girl in marriage. When Raivata arrived Brahmā was listening to music. As soon as the music was over Raivata asked Brahmā to find the girl a proper bridegroom. Brahmā told Raivata that during the time he had been waiting his kingdom had passed away, and that he had better marry his daughter to Baladeva, born of Viśnu, who was now ruler of Dwārakā. This story suggests that Raivata son of Anartha lost his kingdom and fled perhaps by sea. That after some time during which the Yādavas established themselves in the country, Raivata, called a son of Revata but probably a descendant as his proper name is Kakudmi, returned to his old territory and gave his daughter in marriage to one of the reigning Yādava dynasty, the Yādavas taking the girl as representing the dynasty that had preceded them. The story about Brahmā and the passing of ages seems invented to explain the long period that elapsed between the flight and the return.

The next Purānic legends relate to the establishment of the Yādava kingdom at Dwārakā. The founder and namegiver of the Yādava dynasty was Yadu of whose family the Purāñas give very detailed information. The family seems to have split into several branches each taking its name from some prominent member, the chief of them being Viśnu, Kukku, Bhūja, Sātvata, Andhaka, Madhu, Šrāṇa, and Daśārha. Sātvata was thirty-seventh from Yadu and in his branch were born Devaki and Vasudeva, the parents of the great Viśava hero and god Krishna. It was in Krishna's time that the Yādavas had to leave their capital Mathurā and come to Dwārakā. This was the result of a joint invasion of Mathurā on one side by a

1 The Viśnu Purāṇa (Aṇḍā 1, Chap. 1, Verse 19 to Chap. 2, Verse 21) gives the longest account of the legend. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (Skanda 1, Chap. 3, Verse 16-36) gives almost the same account. The Mataya Purāṇa (Chap. XII, Verse 22-24) dismisses the story in two verses. See also Harivandā, X.
legendary Deccan hero Kālayavana and on the other by Jarāsandha, the powerful king of Magadha or Behar, who, to avenge the death of his brother-in-law, Kansa killed by Krishna in fulfilment of a prophecy, is said to have invaded the Yādava territory eighteen times.

According to the story Kālayavana followed the fugitive Krishna and his companions as far as Surishtra where in a mountain cave he was burnt by fire from the eye of the sleeping sage Muchakunda whom he had roused believing him to be his enemy Krishna. According to the Harivānas the fugitive Yādavas quitting Mathurā went to the Sindhu country and there established the city of Dwārikā on a convenient site on the sea shore making it their residence. Local tradition says that the Yādavas conquered this part of the country by defeating the demons who held it.

The leading Yādava chief in Dwārikā was Ugrasena, and Ugrasena’s three chief supporters were the families of Yadu, Bhōja, and Anundhaka. As the entire peninsula of Kāthiavāda was subject to them the Yādavas used often to make pleasure excursions and pilgrimages to Prabhās and Gīrnār. Krishna and Baladeva though not yet rulers held high positions and took part in almost all important matters. They were in specially close alliance with their paternal aunt’s sons the Pāṇḍava brothers, kings of Hastināpura or Delhi. Of the two sets of cousins Krishna and Arjuna were on terms of the closest intimacy. Of one of Arjuna’s visits to Kāthiavāda, the Mahābhārata gives the following details: ‘Arjuna after having visited their holy places arrived in Aparanta (the western seaboard) whence he went to Prabhās. Hearing of his arrival Krishna marched to Prabhās and gave Arjuna a hearty welcome. From Prabhās they came together to the Raivataka hill which Krishna had decorated and where he entertained his guest with music and dancing. From Gīrnār they went to Dwārikā driving in a golden car. The city was adorned in honour of Arjuna; the streets were thronged with multitudes; and the members of the Vrishni, Bhōja, and Anundhaka families met to honour Krishna’s guest.’

Some time after, against his elder brother Baladeva’s desire, Krishna helped Arjuna to carry off Krishna’s sister Subhadra, with whom Arjuna had fallen in love at a fair in Gīrnār of which the Mahābhārata gives the following description: ‘A gathering of the Yādavas chiefly the Vṛṣṇis and Anundhakas took place near Raivataka. The hill and the country round were rich with fine rows of fruit trees and large mansions. There was much dancing singing and music. The princes of the Vṛṣṇi family were in handsome carriages glistening with gold. Hundreds and thousands of the people of Junāgadh with their families attended on foot and in vehicles of various kinds. Baladeva with his wife Revati moved about attended by many Gandharvas. Ugrasena was there with his thousand queens and musicians. Śamba and Pradyumna attended

1 Compare Mahābh. II. 12.394ff. Jarāsandha’s sisters Asti and Prāpti were married to Kansa.
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in holiday attire and looked like gods. Many Yādavas and others were also present with their wives and musicians."

Some time after this gathering Subhadra came to Girnār to worship and Arjuna carried her off. Eventually Vasudeva and Baladeva consented and the runaways were married with due ceremony. The large fair still held in Māgh (February–March) in the west Girnār valley near the modern temple of Bhavanāth is perhaps a relic of this great Yādava fair.

The Yādava occupation of Dwārikā was not free from trouble. When Krishna was at Hastināpura on the occasion of the Raajasuya sacrifice performed by Yudhiṣṭhira, Sālva king of Mṛittikāvatī in the country of Saubha led an army against Dwārikā. He slew many of the Dwārikā garrison, plundered the city and withdrew unmolested. On his return Krishna learning of Sālva’s invasion led an army against Sālva. The chiefs met near the seashore and in a pitched battle Sālva was defeated and killed. Family feuds brought Yādava supremacy in Dwārikā to a disastrous end. The final family struggle is said to have happened in the thirty-sixth year after the war of the Mahābhārata, somewhere on the south coast of Kāṭhāvāda near Prabhās or Somnāth Pātan the great place of Brāhmaṇical pilgrimage. On the occasion of an eclipse, in obedience to a proclamation issued by Krishna, the Yādavas and their families went from Dwārikā to Prabhās in state well furnished with dainties, animal food, and strong drink. One day on the sea shore the leading Yādava chiefs heated with wine began to dispute. They passed from words to blows. Krishna armed with an iron rod struck every one he met, not even sparing his own sona. Many of the chiefs were killed. Baladeva fled to die in the forests and Krishna was slain by a hunter who mistook him for a deer. When he saw trouble was brewing Krishna had sent for Arjuna. Arjuna arrived to find Dwārikā desolate. Soon after Arjuna’s arrival Vasudeva died and Arjuna performed the funeral ceremonies of Vasudeva Baladeva and Krishna whose bodies he succeeded in recovering. When the funeral rites were completed Arjuna started for Indraprastha in Upper India with the few that were left of the Yādava families.

1 Mahābhārata Vanapravā, Chap. xiv.–xxii. Skanda x. Mṛittikāvatī the capital of Sālva cannot be identified. The name of the country sounds like Švabhra in Kāruḍāmaṇa’s Girnār inscription, which is apparently part of Charotar or South Ahmadabad. A trace of the old word perhaps remains in the river Sāhhramat the modern Sabarmati. The fact that Sālva passed from Mṛittikāvatī along the sea shore would seem to show that part of the seashore south of the Mahi was included in Sālva’s territory. Dr. Bährer (Ind. Ant. VII. 263) described Pāmātī Bhagavatī’s reading of Švabhra as a bold conjecture. A further examination of the original convinced the Pandit that Švabhra was the right reading.

2 The following is the legend of Krishna’s iron staff. Certain Yādava youths hoping to raise a laugh at the expense of Vīrāṅgī and other sages who had come to Dwārikā presented to them Śāmba Krishna’s son dressed an woman big with child. The ladies asked the sages to foretell to what the woman would give birth. The sages replied: “The woman will give birth to an iron rod which will destroy the Yādava race.” Obedient to the sage’s prophecy Śāmba produced an iron rod. To avoid the ill effects of the prophecy King Ugrasena had the rod ground to powder and cast the powder into the sea. The powder grew into the grass called śraka Typha elephantina. It was this grass which Krishna plucked in his rage and which in his hands turned into iron staff. This śraka grass grows freely near the mouth of the Hiranyā river of Prabhās.
chiefly women. On the way in his passage through the Panchanada or Panjaban a body of Ābhīras attacked Arjuna with sticks and took several of Krishna’s wives and the widows of the Andhaka Yādava chiefs. After Arjuna left it the deserted Dwārīkā was swallowed by the sea. 2

1 This suggests that as in early times the Great Ban was hard to cross the way from Kathiavāda to Indraprastha or Delhi was by Kachch and Sindhi and from Sindhi by Multān and the Lower Panjāb. According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa Krishna took the same route when he first came from Indraprastha to Dwārīkā. On the other hand these details may support the view that the head-quarters of the historic Krishna were in the Panjāb.

2 So far as is known neither Gujarāt nor Kathiavāda contains any record older than the Gīrān rock inscription of about B.C. 230: The Great Kānatra, Rudra, Dānān (A.D. 139) inscription on the same rock has a reference to the Maurya Raja Chandragupta about B.C. 320. No local sign of Krishna or of his Yādava remains.

In the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XX, XXI, and XXII, Mr. Hewitt has recently attempted to trace the history of Western India back to B.C. 3000 or earlier, and as early as B.C. 6000. The evidence which makes so far-reaching a past probable is the discovery of Indian Indigo and muslin in Egyptian tombs of about B.C. 1700 (J. R. A. S. 205); and the proof that a trade in teak and in Sindūl or Indian muslins existed between Western India and the Empirates mouth as far back as B.C. 3000 or even B.C. 4000 (J. R. A. S. XX. 336, 357 and XXI 204). According to Mr. Hewitt the evidence of the Hindu calendar carries the historical past of India into still remoter ages. The moon mansions and certain other details of the Hindu calendar seem to point to the Empirates valley as the home of Hindu lunar astronomy. As in the Empirates valley inscriptions of the Semitic king Sargon of Sippara prove that in B.C. 2700 moon-worship was already antiquated (J. R. A. S. XXI. 325), and as the precession of the equinoxes points to about B.C. 3700 as the date of the introduction of the sun zodiac (Sayce’s Hibbert Lectures, 398) the system of lunar mansions and months, if it came from the Empirates valley, must have reached India before B.C. 4700. The trade records of the black-headed perhaps Dravidian-speaking Sumeria of the Empirates mouth prove as close relations with the peninsula of Sīnai and Egypt as to make a similar connection with Western India probable as far back as B.C. 5000. (Compare Sayce’s Hibbert Lectures, 33 J. R. A. S. XXI. 326.) Of the races of whose presence in Gujarāt and the neighbourhood Mr. Hewitt finds traces the earliest is the same black-headed moon-worshiping Sumri (Ditto). Next from Sumrāna in south-east Persia, the possessors of a lunar-solar calendar and therefore not later than B.C. 4700 (J. R. A. S. XXI. 325, 327, 330), the trading Sum or Sumas, in Hindu books known as Sāvarnas, entered India by way of Baluchistan and settled at Patāla in South Sind (J. R. A. S. XXI. 263). With or soon after the Sum came from the north the cattle-breeding sun-worshippers of the Sakas (J. R. A. S. XXII. 263). The Sun and Sakas passed south and together settled in Susehastā and West Gujarāt. At a date which partly from evidence connected with the early Vedic hymns (J. R. A. S. XXII. 460) partly from the early Brahmlma use of the Sanskrit Sindhu for India (J. R. A. S. XXI. 306), Mr. Hewitt holds cannot be later than B.C. 3000 northern Arya entered Gujarāt and mixing with the Sun and Sakas as ascetics traders and soldiers carried the use of Sanskrit southwards (J. R. A. S. XX. 313). Of other races who held sway in Gujarāt the earliest, perhaps about B.C. 2000 since their power was shattered by Parshurāma long before Mahābhārata times (J. R. A. S. XXII. 299 - 260), were the sun-worshipping perhaps Scædaean (Ditto, 268) Hāyayas now represented by the Gonds and the Hāyayas vassals the Vaidārhūnas (Ditto, 260) a connexion which is supported by trustworthy Central Indian Uraon or Gond tradition that they once held Gujarāt (Elliott’s Races, N. W. P., I. 134). Next to the Hāyayas and like them earlier than the Mahābhārata (say B.C. 1600 - 2000) Mr. Hewitt would place the widespread un-Aryan Būrātas or Bārgas (J. R. A. S. XXII. 279 - 284, 286) the conquerors of the Hāyayas (Ditto, 288). In early Mahābhārata times (say B.C. 1400 and 1000) the Būrātas of twenty-five thousand to two hundred thousand (Ditto, 267 and 269) the Būrātas were overcome by the very mixed race of the Bojhas and of Krishna’s followers the Vṛṣabhas (Ditto, 270). Perhaps about the same time the chariot-driving Gandharcas of Cutch (Ditto, 273) joined the Sun and Sakas, together passed east to Kosala beyond Benares, and were there established in strength at the time of Gantauta Buddha (A.D. 530) (Ditto). To the later Mahābhārata times, perhaps about B.C. 400 (Ditto, 197 - 271), Mr. Hewitt would assign the entrance into Gujarāt of the Ābhīras or Ahirs whom he identifies with the northern or
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Skythian Abara. Mr. Hewitt finds the following places in Gujurat associated with these early races. Pātala in South Sindh he (J. R. A. S. XXI. 209) considers the head-quarters of the Sos and Sakas. Another Bu capital Pragjyotisha which is generally allotted to Bengal he would (XXI. 206) identify with Broach. With the Vahdarbhahas the vassals of the Hailkayas he associates Surparika, that is Sopara near Bassen, which he identifies (Ditto 206) with the modern Surat on the Tapti. He connects (Ditto 263) the Baroda river Visvamitra and Vaderga the hill Pārāgala with the same tribe. He finds a trace of the Bharata in Baroda and in Bharat an old name of the river Mahi (Ditto 286) and of the same race under their name Bhārgav in Broach (Ditto 289). The traditional connection of the Bhojas with Dwarka is well established. Finally Kārpastka a Mahabharata name for the shore of the Gulf of Cambay (Ditto 209) may be connected with Kārvān on the Narbada about twenty miles above Broach one of the holiest Shavi places in India. Though objection may be taken to certain of Mr. Hewitt's identifications of Gujurat places, and also to the extreme antiquity he would assign to the trade between India and the west and to the introduction of the system of lunar mansions, his comparison of sacred Hindu books with the calendar and ritual of early Babylonia is of much interest.
CHAPTER IV.

MAURYAN AND GREEK RULE

(B.C. 319-100.)

After the destruction of the Yádavas a long blank occurs in the traditional history of Gujarát. It is probable that from its seaboard position, for trade and other purposes, many foreigners settled in Káthiáváda and South Gujarát; and that it is because of the foreign element that the Hindu Dharmaśastras consider Gujarát a Meechchha country and forbid visits to it except on pilgrimage. The fact also that Áśoka (B.C. 230) the great Mauryan king and propagator of Buddhism chose, among the Buddhist Thérás sent to various parts of his kingdom, a Yávanna Théra named Dharmma-rajākuto as evangelist for the western seaboard, possibly indicates a preponderating foreign element in these parts. It is further possible that these foreign settlers may have been rulers. In spite of these possibilities we have no traditions between the fall of the Yádavas and the rise of the Mauryas in B.C. 319.

Gujarát history dates from the rule of the Mauryan dynasty, the only early Indian dynasty the record of whose rule has been preserved in the writings of the Bráhmans, the Buddhists, and the Jains. This fulness of reference to the Mauryas admits of easy explanation. The Mauryas were a very powerful dynasty whose territory extended over the greater part of India. Again under Mauryan rule Buddhism was so actively propagated that the rulers made it their state religion, waging bloody wars, even revolutionizing many parts of the empire to secure its spread. Further the Mauryas were beneficent rulers and had also honourable alliances with foreign, especially with Greek and Egyptian, kings. These causes combined to make the Mauryas a most powerful and well remembered dynasty.

Inscriptions give reason to believe that the supremacy of Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty (B.C. 319), extended over Gujarát. According to Rudradáman's inscription (A.D. 150) on the great edict rock at Girnár in Káthiáváda, a lake called Sudarśana² near the edict rock was originally made by Pushyagupta of the Vaisya caste, who is described as a brother-in-law of the Mauryan king Chandragupta. The language of this inscription leaves no doubt that Chandragupta's sway extended over

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¹ Mahábhárata Anútdhapanarívan 2155-9 mentions Lápas among Káhatriya tribes who have become outcastes from seeing no Bráhmans. Again, Chap. VII. 72, to, couples (J. Bl. As. Soc. VI. (1) 387) thievish Bábikas and robber-Surákshas. Compare Vishnu Purána, II. 37, where the Yávanas are placed to the west of Báravatadvardha and also J. R. A. S. (N. S.) IV. 195; and Brockhaus' Prabodha Chandrodaya, 57. The Áśoka referred to in this law: He who goes to Aupa, Vaupa, Kalinga, Suráksha, or Magadha unless it be for a pilgrimage deserves to go through a fresh purification.
² Turnour's Mahávamsa, 71.
³ Bombay: Branch Royal Asiatic Society Journal, 1891, page 47.
⁴ It is interesting to note that Chandragupta married a Vaisya lady. Similarly while at Sáncii on his way to Ujjain Áśoka married Deví, the daughter of a Sétthi. Turnour's Mahávamsa, 76; Cunningham's Bullas Tapes, 95.
Girnar as Pushyagupta is simply called a Vaisya and a brother-in-law of king Chandragupta and has no royal attribute, particulars which tend to show that he was a local governor subordinate to king Chandragupta. The same inscription\(^1\) states that in the time of Asoka (B.C. 250) his officer Yavvanaraja Tushaspa adorned the same Sudarsana lake with conduits. This would seem to prove the continuance of Mauryan rule in Girnar for three generations from Chandragupta to Asoka. Tushaspa is called Yavvanaraja. The use of the term raja would seem to show that, unlike Chandragupta's Vaisya governor Pushyagupta, Tushaspa was a dignitary of high rank and noble family. That he is called Yavvanaraja does not prove Tushaspa was a Greek, though for Greeks alone Yavana is the proper term. The name Tushaspa rather suggests a Persian origin from its close likeness in formation to Kershap, a name still current among Bombay Parsees. Evidence from other sources proves that Asoka held complete sway over Malwa, Gujarhat, and the Konkan coast. All the rock edicts of Asoka hitherto traced have been found on the confines of his great empire. On the north-west at Kapurvidgi and at Shabazgarhi in the Baktro-Pali character; in the north-west at Kalsi, in the east at Dhaudial and Jangala; in the west at Girnar and Sopara, and in the south in Malwa all in Maurya characters. The Girnar and Sopara edicts leave no doubt that the Gujerat, Kathiavada, and North Konkan seaboard was in Asoka's possession. The fact that an inland ruler holds the coast implies his supremacy over the intervening country. Farther it is known that Asoka was viceroy of Malwa in the time of his father and that after his father's death he was sovereign of Malwa. The easy route from Mandasor (better known as Dasapur) to Dohad has always secured a close connection between Malwa and Gujarhat. South Gujarhat lies at the mercy of any invader entering by Dohad and the conquest of Kathiavada on one side and of Upper Gujarhat on the other might follow in detail. As we know that Kathiavada and South Gujarhat as far as Sopara were held by Asoka it is not improbable that Upper Gujarhat also owned his sway. The Maurya capital of Gujerat seems to have been Girinagara or Junagadhi in Central Kathiavada, whose strong hill fort dominating the rich province of Sorath and whose lofty hills: a centre of worship and a defence and retreat from invaders, combined to secure for Junagadhi its continuance as capital under the Kshatrapas (A.D. 100-380) and their successors the Guptas (A.D. 380-460). The southern capital of the Mauryas seems to have been Sopara near Bassin in a rich country with a good and safe harbour for small vessels, probably in those times the chief centre of the Konkan and South Gujarhat trade.

Buddhist and Jain records agree that Asoka was succeeded, not by his son Kunala who was blind, but by his grandsons Dasaaratha and Samprati. The Barabar hill near Gaya has caves made by Asoka and bearing his inscriptions; and close to Barabar is the

\(^1\) Probably from some mistake of the graver's the text of the inscription अशोके नाम युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित ि० नाम नार निःकाय युधकाय नै अतिरचित
Nágárjuna hill with caves made by Daśaratha also bearing his inscriptions. In one of these inscriptions the remark occurs that one of the Barábar caves was made by Daśaratha ‘installed immediately after.’ As the caves in the neighbouring hill must have been well known to have been made by Aśoka this ‘after’ may mean after Aśoka, or the ‘after’ may refer solely to the sequence between Daśaratha’s installation and his excavation of the cave. In any case it is probable that Daśaratha was Aśoka’s successor. Jain records pass over Daśaratha and say that Aśoka was succeeded by his grandson Samprati the son of Kunála. In the matter of the propagation of the Jain faith, Jain records speak as highly of Samprati as Buddhist records speak of Aśoka. Almost all old Jain temples or monuments, whose builders are unknown, are ascribed to Samprati who is said to have built thousands of temples as Aśoka is said to have raised thousands of stupas. In his Pátaliputra-kalpa Jina-prabhāsuri the well known Jaina Āchārya and writer gives a number of legendary and other stories of Pátaliputra. Comparing Samprati with Aśoka in respect of the propagation of the faith in non-Āryan countries the Āchārya writes: ‘In Pátaliputra flourished the great king Samprati son of Kunála lord of Bharata with its three continents, the great Āchārya who established vihāras for Sramanás even in non-Āryan countries.’ It would appear from this that after Aśoka the Mauryan empire may have been divided into two, Daśaratha ruling Eastern India, and Samprati, whom Jain records specially mention as king of Ujjain, ruling Western India, where the Jain sect is specially strong. Though we have no specific information on the point, it is probable, especially as he held Málwa, that during the reign of Samprati Gujarát remained under Mauryan sway. With Samprati Mauryan rule in Gujarát seems to end. In later times (a.d. 500) traces of Mauryan chiefs appear in Málwa and in the North Konkan. The available details will be given in another chapter.

After Samprati, whose reign ended about a.d. 197, a blank of seventeen years occurs in Gujarát history. The next available information shows traces of Baktrian-Greek sway over parts of Gujarát. In his description of Surastrēne or Surashtra the author of the Periplus (a.d. 240) says: ‘In this part there are preserved even to this day memorials of the expedition of Alexander, old temples, foundations of camps, and large wells.’ As Alexander did not

1 Hemachandara’s Parishešh Parva, Merutunga’s Viñcarasnci.
2 The text is ‘Kuchchhavatēkhandabhāratadhipād Parmadevadana Aśrityadeśhkar Pravarttitaśramaga-vihāraka Samprati Mahāraja Sakhākaran’ meaning ‘He was the great king Samprati son of Kunála, sovereign of India of three continents, the great saint who had started monasteries for Jain priests even in non-Āryan countries.’
3 McGregor’s Periplus, 115. The author of the Periplus calls the capital of Surashtra Minnagara. Pandit Bhagwanlal believed Minnagara to be a miswriting of Girirāga the form used for Girirā in Rudrādāman’s (a.d. 180) rock inscription at Girirā (Plaut’s Corpus Ins. Ind. III. 57) and by Varaha-Mihira (a.d. 780) (Bhilasamudra, XIV. 11). The mention of a Minnagara in Ptolemy inland from Sarda and Monoglossum or Mangrau suggests that either Girirā or Junagadh was also known as Minnagara either after the Mina or after Men that is Mounard. At the same time it is possible that Ptolemy’s Agrinagara though much out of place may be Girirāga and that Ptolemy’s Minnagara in the direction of Ujjain may be Mandalaur.
come so far south as Káthiáváda and as after Alexander's departure the Mauryas held Káthiáváda till about B.C. 197, it may be suggested that the temples, camps and wells referred to by the author of the Periplus were not memorials of the expedition of Alexander but remains of later Baktrian-Greek supremacy.

Demetrius, whom Justin calls the king of the Indians, is believed to have reigned from A.D. 190 to B.C. 165. On the authority of Apollodorus of Artemisa Strabo (B.C. 50 - A.D. 20) names two Baktrian-Greek rulers who seem to have advanced far into inland India. He says: 'The Greeks who occasioned the revolt of Baktia (from Syria B.C. 250) were so powerful by the fertility and advantages of the country that they became masters of Ariana and India. Their chiefs, particularly Menander, conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander and partly by Demetrius son of Euthydemus king of the Baktrians. They got possession not only of Patalene but of the kingdoms of Sarasotus and Sigerdis, which constitute the remainder of the coast.'

Patalene is generally believed to be the old city of Patál in Sind (the modern Haidarabad), while the subsequent mention of Sarasotus and Sigerdis as kingdoms which constitute the remainder of the coast, leaves almost no doubt that Sarasotus is Suráshtra and Sigerdis is Sógardhvipa or Cutch. The joint mention of Menander (B.C. 126) and Demetrius (B.C. 190) may mean that Demetrius advanced into inland India to a certain point and that Menander passed further and took Sind, Cutch, and Káthiáváda. The discovery in Cutch and Káthiáváda of coins of Baktian kings supports the statements of Justin and Strabo. Dr. Bhagwanlal's collecting of coins in Káthiáváda and Gujarát during nearly twenty-five years brought to light among Baktrian-Greek coins: an obolus of Eucratides (B.C. 190-158), a few drachmes of Menander (B.C. 126-110), many drachmes and copper coins of Apollodotus (B.C. 110-100), but none of Demetrius. Eucratides was a contemporary of Demetrius. Still, as Eucratides became king of Baktia after Demetrius, his conquests, according to Strabo, of the south and cities to the east of the Indus, must have been later than those of Demetrius.

As his coins are found in Káthiáváda, Eucratides may either have advanced into Káthiáváda or the province may have come under his sway as lord of the neighbouring country of Sind. Whether or not Eucratides conquered the province, he is the earliest Baktian-Greek king whose coins have been found in Káthiáváda and Gujarát. The fact that the coins of Eucratides have been found in different parts of Káthiáváda and at different times seems to show that they were the currency of the province and were not merely imported either for trade or for ornament. It is to be noticed that these coins are all of the smallest value of the numerous coins issued by Eucratides. This may be explained by the fact that these small

1 Justin's date is probably about A.D. 250. His work is a summary of the History of Trogus Pompeius about A.D. 1, Watson's Justin, 277; Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, 231.
2 Hamilton and Falconer's Strabo, II. 292-293.
coins were introduced by Eucratides into Kāthiāvāda to be in keeping with the existing local coinage. The local silver coins in use before the time of Eucratides are very small, weighing five to seven grains, and bear the Buddhist symbols of the Srastika, the Trident, and the Wheel. Another variety has been found weighing about four grains with a misshapen elephant on the obverse and something like a circle on the reverse. It was probably to replace this poor currency that Eucratides introduced his smallest obolus of less weight but better workmanship.

The end of the reign of Eucratides is not fixed with certainty; it is believed to be about B.C. 153. For the two Bactrian-Greek kings Menander and Apollodotus who ruled in Kāthiāvāda after Eucratides, better sources of information are available. As already noticed Strabo (a.d. 20) mentions that Menander's conquests (B.C. 120) included Cutch and Surat shtra. And the author of the Periplos (a.d. 240) writes: 'Up to the present day old drachms bearing the Greek inscriptions of Apollodotus and Menander are current in Barugaza (Brosch). Menander's silver drachms have been found in Kāthiāvāda and Southern Gujarāt. Though their number is small Menander's coins are comparatively less scarce than those of the earliest Kāshtrpās Nahapāna and Chāshthana (a.d. 100-140). The distribution of Menander's coins suggests he was the first Bactrian-Greek king who resided in these parts and that the monuments of Alexander's times, camps temples and wells, mentioned by the author of the Periplos were camps of Menander in Surāshtra. Wilson and Rochette have supposed Apollodotus to be the son and successor of Menander, while General Cunningham believes Apollodotus to be the predecessor of Menander. Inferences from the coins of these two kings found in Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāda support the view that Apollodotus was the successor of Menander. The coins of Apollodotus are found in much larger numbers than those of Menander and the workmanship of Apollodotus' coins appears to be of a gradually declining style. In the later coins the legend is at times indecipherable. It appears from this that for some time after Apollodotus until Nahapāna's (a.d. 100) coins came into use, the chief local currency was debased coins struck after the type of the coins of Apollodotus. Their use as the type of coinage generally happens to the coins of the last king of a dynasty. The statement by the author of the Periplos that in his time (a.d. 240) the old drachms of Apollodotus and Menander were

1 These small local coins which were found in Hālar Gondal were presented to the Bombay Asiatic Society by the Political Agent of Kāthiāwār and are in the Society's cabinet. Dr. Bhagvanlal found the two elephant coins in Junagadh.
3 See above page 15.
4 McCrindle's Periplos, 121.
5 The Bombay Asiatic Society possesses some specimens of these coins of bad workmanship found near Brosch with the legend incorrect, probably struck by some local governor of Menander. Two were also found in Junagadh.
6 McCrindle's Periplos, 115.
7 Numismatic Chronicle (New Series), X. 50; Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, 288.
8 Numismatic Chronicle (New Series), X. 80.
current in Barugaza, seems to show that these drachmæ continued to circulate in Gujarât along with the coins of the Western Kshatrapas. The mention of Apollodotus before Menander by the author of the Periplus may either be accidental, or it may be due to the fact that when the author wrote fewer coins of Menander than of Apollodotus were in circulation.

The silver coins both of Menander and Apollodotus found in Gujarât and Kathiavâda are of only one variety, round drachmæ. The reason that of their numerous large coins, tetradrachmæ didrachmæ and others, drachmæ alone have been found in Gujarât is probably the reason suggested for the introduction of the obolus of Eucratides, namely, that the existing local currency was so poor that coins of small value could alone circulate. Still the fact that drachmæ came into use implies some improvement in the currency, chiefly in size. The drachmæ of both kings are alike. The obverse of Menander’s coins has in the middle a helmeted bust of the king and round it the Greek legend BAZIADQ ZOTHO2 MENANDQPOY Of the king, the Saviour Menander. On the reverse is the figure of Athene Promachos surrounded by the Baktro-Pali legend Mahârâjasas Trâdâtasa Menandrasa that is Of the Great king the Saviour Menander, and a monogram. The drachmæ of Apollodotus have on the obverse a bust with bare filleted head surrounded by the legend BAZIADQ ZOTHO2 APOPOPOY Of the king the Saviour Apollodotus. Except in the legend the reverse with two varieties of monogram is the same as the reverse of the drachmæ of Menander. The legend in Baktro-Pali character is Mahârâjasas Râjâtirajasa Apaladatasa that is Of the Great king the over-king of kings Apaladatasa. During his twenty-five years of coin-collecting Dr. Bhagvanâlal failed to secure a single copper coin of Menander either in Gujarât or in Kathiavâda. Of the copper coins of Apollodotus a deposit was found in Junâgad, many of them well preserved. These coins are of two varieties, one square the other round and large. Of the square coin the obverse has a standing Apollo with an arrow in the right hand and on the top and the two sides the Greek legend BAZIADQ ZOTHO2 KAIAPALATOP2 APOPOPOY that is Of the King Saviour and Fatherlover Apollodotus. On the reverse is the tripod of Apollo with a monogram and the letter diw in Baktro-Pali on the left and the legend in Baktro-Pali characters Mahârâjasas Trâdâtasa Apaladatasa. The round coin has also, on the obverse, a standing Apollo: with an arrow in the right hand; behind is the same monogram as in the square coin and all round runs the Greek legend BAZIADQ ZOTHO2 APOPOPOY. On the reverse is the tripod of Apollo with on its right and left the letters di and um in Baktro-Pali and all round the Baktro-Pali legend Mahârâjasas Trâdâtasa Apaladatasa.
The reason why so few copper coins of Apollodotus have been found in Gujarāt perhaps is that these copper coins were current only in the time of Apollodotus and did not, like his silver drachmae, continue as the currency of the country with the same or an imitated die. The date of the reign of Apollodotus is not fixed. General Cunningham believes it to be B.C. 165-150,
1 Wilson and Gardner take it to be a.d. 110-100.2 Though no Indian materials enable us to arrive at any final conclusion regarding this date the fact that Apollodotus’ coins continued to be issued long after his time shows that Apollodotus was the last Baktrian-Greek ruler of Gujarāt and Kāthiāvādā. After Apollodotus we find no trace of Baktrian-Greek rule, and no other certain information until the establishment of the Kāshtriyas about A.D. 100. The only fact that breaks this blank in Gujarāt history is the discovery of copper coins of a king whose name is not known, but who calls himself Basileus Basileon Soter Megas that is King of Kings the Great Saviour. These coins are found in Kāthiāvādā and Cutch as well as in Rājputāna the North-West Provinces and the Kābul valley, a distribution which points to a widespread Indian rule. The suggestion may be offered that this king is one of the leaders of the Yauhdeyas whose constitution is said to have been tribal, that is the tribe was ruled by a number of small chiefs who would not be likely to give their names on their coins,3

1 Numismatic Chronicle (New Series), X, 86.
2 Ariana Antiqua, 288; Gardner and Poole’s Catalogue of Indian Coins, xxxii.
3 Wilson (Ariana Antiqua, 332-334) identifies the coins marked Basileus Basileon Soter Megas with a king or dynasty of Indian extraction who reigned between A.D. 50-23; chiefly in the Panjāb. Gardner (British Museum Catalogue, 47) says: The Nameless king is probably contemporary with Abhijisna (A.D. 30-50); he may have been a member of the Kadphises-dynasty. Cunningham (Ancient Geography, 245) places the coins of the tribal Yauhdeyas in the first century A.D. The remark of Prinsep (Jour. Bysal Soc., VI, 2, 173) that in the Behat group of Buddhist coins some with Baktro-Pāli legends have the name Yauhdeya in the margin seems to support the suggestion in the text. But the marked difference between the Stag coins of the Yauhdeyas (Thomas Prinsep, I, Plate V.) and the Nameless king’s coins (Gardner, Plate XIV, 1-6) tells strongly against the proposed identification. Of the Yauhdeyas details are given below.
CHAPTER V.

THE KSHATRAPAS

(B.C. 70 - A.D. 399.)

With the Kshatrapas (B.C. 70) begins a period of clearer light, and, at the same time, increased importance, since, for more than three centuries, the Kshatrapas held sway over the greater part of Western India. Till recently this dynasty was known to orientalists as the Sāh dynasty, a mistaken reading of the terminal of their names which in some rulers is Simha Lion and in others, as in Rudra Sena (A.D. 203-220) son of Rudra Simha, Sama Army.¹

The sway of the rulers who affix the title Kshatrapa to their names extended over two large parts of India, one in the north including the territory from the Kābul valley to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamnā; the other in the west stretching from Ājīmar in the north to the North Konkan in the south and from Mālwa in the east to the Arabian


The dynasty of the Kshatrapas or Mahākshatrapas of Saurāshtra was known to Princely J. B. R. A. S. VII, I-18 (1837), 331 to Thomas (J. B. R. A. S. XII, I-78); and to Newton (J. B. R. A. S. IX, 1-19) as the Sāh or Sāh kings. More recently, from the fact that the names of some of them end in Sena or army, the Kshatrapas have been called the Sena Kings. The origin of the title Sāh is the ending sīha, that is sīha rāja, which belongs to the names of several of the kings. Sīha has been read either sīh or sīra because of the practice of omitting from the sīha rāja which would fall on or above the top line of the legend and also of omitting the short vowel i with the following anusvāra. Sāh is therefore a true rendering of the writing on certain of the coins. That the form Sāh on these coins is not the correct form has been ascertained from stone inscriptions in which freedom from crowding makes possible the complete cutting of the above-line marks. In stone inscriptions the ending is sīha rāja. See Fleet's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III, 30 note 1. Mr. Fleet (Iritto) seems to suggest that with the proof of the incorrectness of the reading Sāh the evidence that the Kshatrapas were of Indo-Skythian origin ceases. This does not seem to follow. In addition to the Parthian title Kshatrapa, their northern coinage, and the use of the Saka (A.D. 78) era, now accepted as the accession of the great Kusān Kanishka, the evidence in the text shows that the line of Kāshāvāra Kshatrapa starts from the foreigner Chasham (A.D. 130) whose predecessor Āhāpasa (A.D. 120) and his Saka son-in-law Usha Manjitra are noted in Naik Inscriptions (Naik Gazetteer, 555 and 621) as leaders of Sakaas, Pallavas, and Vānas. Further as the limits of Ptolemy's (A.D. 150) Indo-Skythia (McCrinille, 120) agree very closely with the limits of the dominions of the then ruling Mahā-Kshatrapa Rudrakumāra (A.D. 150) it follows that Ptolemy or his informer believed Rudrakumāra to be an Indo-Skythian. There therefore seems no reasonable doubt that the Kshatrapas were foreigners. According to Cunningham (Num. Chron. VIII, 221) they were Sakaas who entered Gujarāt from Sindi. The fact that the Kusān era (A.D. 78) was not adopted by the first two of the Western Kshatrapas, Chasham and Jayadāman, supports the view that they belonged to a wave of northerners earlier than the Kusān wave.
Sea in the west. The former may be called the Northern the latter the Western Kshatrapas.

Besides as Kshatrapa, in the Prakrit legends of coins and in inscriptions the title of these dynasties appears under three forms Chhatrapa, Chhatrava, and Khatapa. All these forms have the same meaning namely Lord or Protector of the warrior-race, the Sanskrit Kshatrapa. It is to be noted that the title Kshatrapa appears nowhere as a title of any king or royal officer within the whole range of Sanskrit literature, or indeed on any inscription, coin, or other record of any Indian dynasty except the Northern and the Western Kshatrapas. According to Prinsep Kshatrapa is a Sanskritized form of Satrapa, a term familiar to the Grecian history of ancient Persia and used for the prefect of a province under the Persian system of government. As Prinsep further observes Satrapa had probably the same meaning in Ariana that Kshatrapa had in Sanskrit, the ruler feeder or patron of the kshattra or warrior class, the chief of a warlike tribe or clan. Prinsep further notes the Persian kings were often in need of such chiefs and as they entrusted the chiefs with the government of parts of their dominions the word came to mean a governor. So during the anarchy which prevailed on the Skythian overthrow of Greek rule in Baktria (p.c. 160) several chiefs of Malaya, Pallava, Abhira, Meda, and other predatory tribes came from Baktria to Upper India, and each established for himself a principality or kingdom. Subsequently these chiefs appear to have assumed independent sovereignty. Still though they often call themselves rijas or kings with the title Kshatrapa or Mahakshatrapa, if any Baktrian king advanced towards their territories, they were probably ready to acknowledge him as Overlord. Another reason for believing these Kshatrapa chiefs to have been foreigners is that, while the names of the founders of Kshatrapa sovereignty are foreign, their inscriptions and coins show that soon after the establishment of their rule they became converts to one or other form of the Hindu religion and assumed Indian names.

1 The Taxila plate in Journal R. A. S. (New Series), IV. 487; the Baktra-Pali on Nahapana’s coins also gives the form Chhatrapa.
2 Chhatrava appears in an unpublished Kshatrapa inscription from Mathura formerly (1888) in Pandit Bhagirath’s possession.
3 Khatapa appears in the inscription of Nahapana’s minister at Junnar (Bombay Gazetteer, XVIII, Pt. III. 167) and in some coins of the Northern Kshatrapa kings Pushanash, Rajavala, and Sudasa found near Mathura. Prinsep’s Indian Antiquities, II, Pt. XLIV, Figs. 12, 20, 21.
4 Khatrapattiti Kshatrapah.
5 Thomas’ Prinsep, II. 63 and 64.
6 Malaya or Malava, Pallava, Abhira, Moya or Meda, and Mihira or Mura appear to be the leading warlike tribes who came to India under these chiefs. These tribes formed the Kshatras whose lords or Kshatrapas these chiefs were.
7 The explanation of the word Kshatrapa started by Prinsep and accepted by Pandit Bhagirath is of doubtful accuracy. The title is well known in Greek literature in the form sparmpy, and in the form Kshatrapavan occurs twice (p.c. 520) in connection with the governors of Baktria and Arachosia in the great Bactrian inscription of Darius (Bawlinson’s Herodotica, I. 329; Spiegel’s Altperische Kellinschriften, 24-26). The meaning of Kshatrapavan in old Persian is not “protector of the Kshatras race” but “protector of the kingdom,” for the word kshatras occurs in the inscriptions of the Achaemenids with the meaning of “kingship” or “kingdom” (Spiegel, Altperische Kellinschriften, 215). As is well known Satrap was the official title of the ruler of a Persian province. That the name continued in use with the same meaning under the Greek kings of Baktria...
According to inscriptions and coins Northern Kshatrapa rule begins with king Manues about B.C. 70 and ends with the accession of the Kushán king Kanishka about A.D. 78. Manues probably belonged to the Saka tribe of Skythians. If the Manues of the coins may be identified with the Moga of the Taxila plate the date of king Patika in the Taxila plate shows that for about seventy-five years after the death of Manues the date of his accession continued to be the initial year of the dynasty. From their connexion with the Sakas, arriving in India during the reign of the Saka Manues and for nearly three quarters of a century accepting the Saka overlordship, the Kshatrapas, though as noted above their followers were chiefly Malayas, Pallavas, Abhiras, and Medas, appear to have themselves come to be called Sakas and the mention of Saka kings in Puránik and other records seems to refer to them. After lasting for about 150 years the rule of the Northern Kshatrapas seems to have merged in the empire of the great Kushán Kanishka (A.D. 78).

Though recently found inscriptions and coins show that the Kshatrapas ruled over important parts of India including even a share of the western seaboard, nothing is known regarding them from either Indian or foreign literary sources. What little information can be gleaned is from their own inscriptions and coins. Of the Northern Kshatrapas this information is imperfect and disconnected. It shows that they had probably three or four ruling branches, one in the Kabul valley, a second at Taxila near Attak on the North-West Panjáb frontier, a third at Bohát near Saharánpur or Delhi, and a fourth at Mathura. The last two were perhaps subdivisions of one kingdom; but probably those at Kabul and at Taxila were distinct dynasties. An inscription found (B.C. 250-100) is known from Srala, who says (XI. 11) "the Greeks who held Baktiú divided it into atrapae (satrapies) of which Aspiones and Tourion were taken from Eukratides (B.C. 180) by the Pthrians." It is to be presumed that the Bactro-Grecian introduced the same arrangement into the provinces which they conquered in India. The earliest occurrence of the title in its Indian form is on the coins of a Rajaula or Rajaula (Gardner, B. M. Cat. 1957), who in his Greek legend makes use of the title "King of Kings," and in his Indian legend calls himself "The unconquered Chátraupa." His adoption for the reverse of his coins of the Athenian Promachos type of Menander and Apollodeus Philopator connects Rajaula in time with those kings (B.C. 126-100) and we know from an inscription (Cunningham Arch. Rep. XX. 48) that he reigned at Mathura. He was probably a provincial governor who became independent about B.C. 100 when the Greek kingdom broke up. The above facts go to show that Kshatrapa was originally a Persian title which was adopted by the Greeks and continued in use among their successors; that it originally denoted a provincial governor; but that, when the Greek kingdom broke up and their provincial chiefs became independent, it continued in use as a royal title. That after the Christian era, even in Páthia, the title Sarraya does not necessarily imply subjection to a monarch is proved by the use of the phrase suryapura ráśi masyapura Sarraya of Sarraya, with the sense of King of Kings in Gotára's Behistán inscription of A.D. 50. See Rawlinson's Six Monarchies, 85 n, 2 and 260 n. 1. — (A. M. T., J.)

The Pándi's identification of the Malavas or Malayas with a northern or Skythian tribe is in agreement with Alberuni (A.D. 1015), who, on the authority of the Bāj Parining (Sachau's Text, chap. 39 page 109-135) groups as northern tribes the Pallavas, Sakas, Malavas, and Garjars. In spite of this authority it seems better to identify the Malavas, Malayas, or Malayas with Alexander the Great's (B.C. 325) Mālīka of Maltan (compare McRindie's Alexander's Invasion of India, Note 1). At the same time (Rocksll's Life of Bakthiś, 132, 133, 137) the importance of the Máltas in Vaisali (between Patna and Tihar) during the lifetime of Sakyamuni (B.C. 580) favours the view that several distinct tribes have borne the same or nearly the same name.
in Mathurā shows a connection either by marriage or by neighbourhood between the Behāt and Mathurā branches. This is a Baktro-Pāḷi inscription recording the gift of a stūpa by Nandasirikā daughter of Kesatrapa Rājavula and mother of Kharaosti Yuvarāja. Kharaosti is the dynastic name of the prince, his personal name appears later in the inscription as Talama (Ptolemy’s?). From his dynastic name, whose crude form Kharaosta or Kharaοθα may be the origin of the Prakrit Chhāharāta and the Sanskritised Kesaharāta, this Talama appears to be a descendant of the Kesatrapa Kharaosti whose coins found at Taxila call him Arjaputra that is the son of Arta apparently the Parthian Ortu.

The same Baktro-Pāḷi Mathurā inscription also mentions with special respect a Kesatrapa named Patika,1 who, with the title of Kusulaka or Kozolos, ruled the Kānni valley with his capital first at Nagaraka and later at Taxila.

The same inscription further mentions that the stūpa was given while the Kesatrapa Sudāsa son of the Mahākṣatrapa Rājavula was ruling at Mathurā. The inference from the difference in the titles of the father and the son seems to be that Sudāsa was ruling in Mathurā as governor under his father who perhaps ruled in the neighbourhood of Delhi where many of his coins have been found. While the coins of Sudāsa have the legend in Nāgārā only, Rājavula’s coins are of two varieties, one with the legend in Baktro-Pāḷi and the other with the legend in Nāgārā, a fact tending to show that the father’s territories stretched to the far north.

Though Kharaosti is mentioned as a Yuvarāja or prince heir-apparent in the time of his maternal uncle Sudāsa, the inscription shows he had four children. It is curious that while the inscription mentions Nandasirikā as the mother of Kharaosti Yuvarāja, nothing is said about her husband. Perhaps he was dead or something had happened to make Nandasirikā live at her father’s home.

Another inscription of Sudāsa found by General Cunningham at Mathurā is in old Nāgārā character. Except that they have the distinctive and long continued Kesatrapa peculiarity of joining ya with other letters the characters of this inscription are of the same period as those of the inscriptions of the great Indo-Skythian or Kushān King Kanishka. This would seem to show that the conquest of Mathurā by Kanishka took place soon after the time of Kesatrapa Sudāsa. It therefore appears probable that Naḥapāna, the first Kesatrapa ruler of Gujārāt and Kāthiāvāda, the letters of whose inscriptions are of exactly the same Kesatrapa type as those of Sudāsa, was a scion of the Kharaosti family, who, in this overthrow of kingdoms, went westwards conquering either on his own account or as a general sent by Kanishka. Naḥapāna’s advance seems to have lain through East Rajputāna by Mandasor.2

1 Patika was apparently the son of the Liako Kajulako of the Taxila plate. Dowson in Jour. B. A. S. New Series. IV. 497 mistranslates the inscription and falls to make out the name Patika.

2 Compare Spena, Jour. Asiatique, 1833. t. II. 225. According to Chinese writers about A.D. 20 Yen-kao-teih-tai or Kadphises II. conquered Indiā (Thianatehia) and there established generals who governed in the name of the Yucchi.

3 Pandit Bhagwanlāl found two of his copper coins at Mandasor in 1894.
in West Málwa along the easy route to Dohad as far as South Gujarát. From South Gujarát his power spread in two directions, by sea to Káthísváda and from near Balsár by the Dáng passes to Násik and the Deccan, over almost the whole of which, judging from coins and inscriptions, he supplanted as overlord the great Andhara kings of the Deccan. No evidence is available to show either that East Málwa with its capital at Ujjain or that North Gujarát formed part of his dominions. All the information we have regarding Nahapáná is from his own silver coins and from the inscriptions of his son-in-law Ushavadáta at Násik and Kárlé and of his minister Ayama (Sk. Aryaman) at Jumnar. Nahapáná’s coins are comparatively rare. The only published specimen is one obtained by Mr. Justice Newton. Four others were also obtained by Dr. Bhagvánlál from Káthísváda and Násik.

The coins of Nahapáná are the earliest specimens of Kshatrapa coins. Though the type seems to have been adopted from the Baktrian-Greek, the design is original and is not an imitation of any previous coinage. The type seems adopted in idea from the drachma of Apollodotus (b.c. 110 - 100). On the obverse is a bust with a Greek legend round it and on the reverse a thunderbolt and an arrow probably as on the reverse of the coins of Apollodotus representing the distinctive weapons of Athene Promachos and of Apollo. In addition to the Báktró-Páli legend on the Apollodotus drachma, the reverse of Nahapáná’s coin has the same legend in Nágari, since Nágari was the character of the country for which the coin was struck. The dress of the bust is in the style of the over-dress of Nahapáná’s time. The bust, facing the right, wears a flat grooved cap and has the hair combed in ringlets falling half down the ear. The neck shows the collar of the coat. The workmanship of the coins is good. The die seems to have been renewed from time to time as the face altered with age. Of Dr. Bhagvánlál’s four coins one belongs to Nahapáná’s youth, another to his old age, and the remaining two to his intervening years. In all four specimens the Greek legend is imperfect and unreadable. The letters of the Greek legend are of the later period that is like the letters on the coins of the great Skythian king Kápplhísses I (b.c. 26). One of the coins shows in the legend the six letters LLÓD ÓS. These may be the remains of the name Apollodotus (b.c. 110-100). Still it is beyond doubt that the letters are later Greek than those on the coins of Apollodotus. Until the legend is found clear on some fresher specimen, it is not possible to say anything further. In three of the coins the Báktró-Páli legend on the reverse runs:

रूषो ब्यूरतस नह्पाननस.
Raño Chhaharatasa Nahapánasa.
Of king Chhaharátá Nahapáná.

The fourth has simply रूषो ब्यूरतस

Raño Chhaharatasa.
Of king Chhaharatá.

1 This is a bad specimen with the legend dim and worn.
2 Some coins of Apollodotus have on the reverse Apollo with his arrow; others have Athene Promachos with the thunderbolt.
The old Nagari legend is the same in all:
नाहापानस नाहापानस
Rāja Kshaharātasa Nahapānasa.
Of king Kshaharata Nahapana.

The Cihaharata of the former and the Kshaharata of the latter are the same, the difference in the initial letter being merely dialectical. As mentioned above Kshaharata is the family name of Nahapana's dynasty. It is worthy of note that though Nahapana is not styled Kshatrapa in any of his coins the inscriptions of Ushavadāta at Nāsik repeatedly style him the Kshaharata Kshatrapa Nahapana.¹

Ushavadāta was the son-in-law of Nahapana being married to his daughter Dakhamitā or Dakhamitrā. Ushavadāta bears no royal title. He simply calls himself son of Dinika and son-in-law of Nahapana, which shows that he owed his power and rank to his father-in-law, a position regarded as derogatory in India, where no scion of any royal dynasty would accept or take pride in greatness or influence obtained from a father-in-law.² Nāsik Inscription XIV. shows that Ushavadāta was a Saka. His name, as was first suggested by Dr. Bhaū Deji, is Prākrit for Kshabhadatta. From the many charitable and publicly useful works mentioned in various Nāsik and Kārle inscriptions, as made by him in places which apparently formed part of Nahapana's dominions, Ushavadāta appears to have been a high officer under Nahapana. As Nahapana seems to have had no son Ushavadāta's position as son-in-law would be one of special power and influence. Ushavadāta's charitable acts and works of public utility are detailed in Nāsik Inscriptions X. XII. and XIV. The charitable acts are the gift of three hundred thousand cows; of gold and of riverside steps at the Bārmāsa or Banas river near Abu in North Gujarāt; of sixteen villages to gods and Brāhmans; the feeding of hundreds of thousands of Brāhmans every year; the giving in marriage of eight wives to Brāhmans at Prathishtā in South Kathiavāda; the bestowing of thirty-two thousand cocoanut trees in Nanamgola or Noargol village on the Thāna seacoast on the Charaka priesthoods of Pinditakavāda, Govardhana near Nāsik, Suvaramukha, and Rāmatirtha in Sorpanag or Sopārā on the Thāna coast; the giving of three hundred thousand cows and a village at Pusikara or Pohkar near Ajmir in East Rajpūtaṇa; making gifts to Brāhmans at Cchāhīna or Chidhan near Kelva-Māhīm on the Thāna coast; and the gift of trees and 70,000 kirtādāpanas or 2000 suvaramas to gods and Brāhmans at Dāhānum in Thāna. The public works executed by Ushavadāta include rest-houses and alms-houses at Bhāru Kachchha or Broach, at Daśāpura or Mandasor in North Mālwa, and gardens and wells at Govardhana and Sopārā; free ferries across the Ibā or Ambikā, the Pārdīda or Pār, the Damanā or Damangana, the Tāpi or Tāpti, the Karābana or Kāverī, and the Dāhānuḳā or Dāhānum river. Waiting-places and steps were also built on both banks of each of these rivers. These charitable and public works of Ushavadāta savour much of the Brāhmanic religion. The only

¹ Bom. Gaz. XVI. 571 ff.
² A well known Sanskrit saying is भूलक्ष्यतानि परमाशः: A man known through his father-in-law is the vishet of the vile.
³ 1397—4.
Chapter V.

Western Kshatryas, A.D. 70-208.

Ushavadāta, A.D. 100-120.

Buddhist charities are the gift of a cave at Nāsik; of 3000 kārṣṭiṇayos and eight thousand coconuts for feeding and clothing monks living in the cave; and of a village near Kārle in Poona for the support of the monks of the main Kārle cave. Ushavadāta himself thus seems to have been a follower of the Brāhmanical faith. The Buddhist charities were probably made to meet the wishes of his wife whose father's religion the Buddhist wheel and the Bodhi tree on his copper coins prove to have been Buddhism. The large territory over which these charitable and public works of Ushavadāta spread gives an idea of the extent of Nahapāna's rule. The gift of a village as far north as Pokhara near Ajmir would have been proof of dominion in those parts were it not for the fact that in the same inscription Ushavadāta mentions his success in assisting some local Kshatriyas. It is doubtful if the northern limits of Nahapāna's dominions extended as far as Pokhar. The village may have been given during a brief conquest, since according to Hindu ideas no village given to Brāhmans can be resumed. The eastern boundary would seem to have been part of Mālwa and the plain lands of Khándesh Nāsik and Poona; the southern boundary was somewhere about Bombay; and the western Kāthiāvāda and the Arabian sea.

Nahapāna's exact date is hard to fix. Ushavadāta's Nāsik cave Inscriptions X. and XII. give the years 41 and 42; and an inscription of Nahapāna's minister Ayāna at Junnar gives the year 46. The era is not mentioned. They are simply dated evas Sk. vuśraka that is in the year. Ushavadāta's Nāsik Inscription XII. records in the year 42 the gift of charities and the construction of public works which must have taken years to complete. If at that time Ushavadāta's age was 40 to 45, Nahapāna who, as Inscription X. shows, was living at that time, must have been some twenty years older than his son-in-law or say about 65. The Junnar inscription of his minister Ayāna which bears date 46 proves that Nahapāna lived several years after the making of Ushavadāta's cave. The bust on one of his coins also shows that Nahapāna attained a ripe old age.

Nahapāna cannot have lived long after the year 46. His death may be fixed about the year 50 of the era to which the three years 41, 42, and 46 belong. He was probably about 75 years old when he died. Deducting 50 from 75 we get about 25 as Nahapāna's age at the beginning of the era to which the years 41, 42, and 46 belong, a suitable age for an able prince with good resources and good advisers to have established a kingdom. It is therefore probable that the era marks Nahapāna's conquest of Gujarāt. As said above, Nahapāna was probably considered to belong to the Saka tribe, and his son-in-law clearly calls himself a Saka. It may therefore be supposed that the era started by Nahapāna on his conquest of Gujarāt was at first simply called Varṣa; that it afterwards came to be called Sakavarsa or Sakasamvatasara; and that finally, after various changes, to suit false current ideas, about the eleventh or twelfth century the people of the Deccan styled it Śālivahana Saka mixing it with current traditions regarding the great Śātavahana or Śālivahana king of Paithan. If, as mentioned above, Nahapāna's conquest of Gujarāt and the establishment of his era be taken to come close after the conquest of Mathūrī by
THE KSHATRAPAS.

Kanishka, the Gujarāt conquest and the era must come very shortly after the beginning of Kanishka’s reign, since Kanishka conquered Mathurā early in his reign. As his Mathurā inscriptions give 3 as Kanishka’s earliest date, he must have conquered Mathurā in the year 3 or 4 of his reign. Nahapāna’s expedition to and conquest of Gujarāt was probably contemporary with or very closely subsequent to Kanishka’s conquest of Mathurā. So two important eras seem to begin about four years apart, the one with Kanishka’s reign in Upper India, the other with Nahapāna’s reign in Western India. The difference being so small and both being eras of foreign conquerors, a Kushāni and a Saka respectively, the two eras seem to have been subsequently confounded. Thus, according to Dr. Burnell, the Javanesse Saka era is A.D. 74, that is Kanishka’s era was introduced into Java, probably because Java has from early times been connected with the eastern parts of India where Kanishka’s era was current. On the other hand the astrological works called Karana use the era beginning with A.D. 78 which we have taken to be the Western era started by Nahapāna. The use of the Saka era in Karana works dates from the time of the great Indian astronomer Varaha Mihira (A.D. 587). As Varaha Mihira lived and wrote his great work in Avanti or Mālwa he naturally made use of the Saka era of Nahapāna, which was current in Mālwa. Subsequent astronomers adopted the era used by the master Varaha Mihira. Under their influence Nahapāna’s A.D. 78 era passed into use over the whole of Northern and Central India eclipsing Kanishka’s A.D. 74 era. On these grounds it may be accepted that the dates in the Nāsik inscriptions of Ushavadana and in Ayāna’s inscription at Junnar are in the era founded by Nahapāna on his conquest of Gujarāt and the Western Deccan. This era was adopted by the Western Kshatrapa successors of Nahapāna and continued on their coins for nearly three centuries.

1 Cunningham’s Arch. Surv. Ill. Plate 13. Inscriptions 2 and 3.
2 The author’s only reason for supposing that two eras began between A.D. 70 and 80 seems to be the fact that the Javanesse Saka era begins A.D. 74, while the Indian Saka era begins A.D. 78. It appears, however, from Lasen’s Ind. Alt. II, 1040 note 1, that the Javanesse Saka era begins either in A.D. 74 or in A.D. 75. The author’s own authority, Dr. Burnell (S. Ind. Pal. 72) while saying that the Javanesse Saka era dates from A.D. 74, gives A.D. 80 as the epoch of the Saka era of the neighbouring island of Bali, thus supporting Balfe’s explanation (Java, II, 68) that the difference is due to the introduction into Java of the Muhammadan mode of reckoning during the past 300 years. The Javanesse epoch of A.D. 74 cannot therefore be treated as an authority for assuming a genuine Indian era with this initial date. The era of Kanishka was used continuously down to its year 281 (Pergamon Hist. of Ind. Architecture, 736) and after that date we have numerous instances of the use of the Sakhapurastam or Sakalika down to the familiar Saka of the present day. It seems much more likely that the parent of the modern Saka era was that of Kanishka, which remained in use for nearly three centuries, than that of Nahapāna, who so far as we know left no son, and whose era (if be founded one) probably expired when the Kshatarāta power was destroyed by the Andhara-Sāya in the first half of the second century A.D. We must therefore assume A.D. 78 to be the epoch of Kanishka’s era. There remains the question whether Nahapāna dates by Kanishka’s era, or uses his own regnal years. There is nothing improbable in the latter supposition, and we are not forced to suppose that Nahapāna was a vendatar of the Kushāni kings. It has been shown above that the use of the title Kshatrapa does not necessarily imply a relation of inferiority. On the other hand (pace Oldenburg in Ind. Ant. X. 276) the later Kshatrapas certainly seem to have used Kanishka’s era, and Nahapāna and the Kushāni dynasty seem to have been of the same race; for Heruka, who was certainly a Kushāni, apparently calls himself Saka on his coins (Gardner R. M. Cat. xivii), and it is highly probable that Nahapāna, like his son-in-law Ushavadana, was a Saka. Further, the fact that Nahapāna does not call himself Mahārāja but Raja goes to show that he was not a paramount sovereign.

(A. M. T. J.)
Chapter V.

Western Kshatrapa.

The Malava Era, A.D. 70-398.

The question arises why should not the dates on the Western Kshatrapa coins belong to the era which under the incorrect title of the Vikrama era is now current in Gujarât and Mâlava. Several recently found Mâlwa inscriptions almost prove that what is called the Vikrama era beginning with a.c. 58 was not started by any Vikrama, but marks the institution of the tribal constitution of the Mâlava. Later the era came to be called either the era of the Mâlava lords or Mâlava Kâla that is the era of the Mâlava. About the ninth century just as the Saka era became connected with the Sâlayâhana of Paithan, this old Mâlava era became connected with the name of Vikrâmâditya, the great legendary king of Ujjain.

It might be supposed that the Mâlava who gave its name to the Mâlava era were the kings of the country now called Mâlava. But it is to be noted that no reference to the present Mâlava under the name of Mâlavadesa occurs in any Sanskrit work or record earlier than the second century after Christ. The original Sanskrit name of the country was Avanti. It came to be called Mâlava from the time the Mâlava tribe conquered it and settled in it, just as Kâthiavâra and Mâvâda came to be called after their Kâthi and Mâva or Meda conquerors. The Mâlava, also called Mâlayas, seem like the Medas to be a foreign tribe, which, passing through Upper India conquered and settled in Central India during the first century before Christ. The mention in the Mûdrârâkshaka of a Mâlaya king among five Upper Indian kings shows that in the time of the Mûrvya (R.C. 300) a Mâlaya kingdom existed in Upper India which after the decline of the Mûrvya supremacy spread to Central India. By Nahapâna's time the Mâlavas seem to have moved eastwards towards Jaipur, as Ushavâdâta defeated them in the neighbourhood of the Pushkar lake: but the fact that the country round Ujjain was still known to Rudradâman as Avanti, shows that the Mâlavas had not yet (A.D. 150) entered the district now known as Mâlava. This settlement and the change of name from Avanti to Mâlava probably took place in the weakness of the Kshatrapas towards the end of the third century A.D. When they established their sway in Central India these Mâlavas or Mâlayas like the ancient Yaudhâyas (R.C. 100) and the Kâthis till recent times (A.D. 1818) seem to have had a democratic constitution. Their political system seems to have proved unsuited to the conditions of a settled community. To put an end to dissensions the Mâlava tribe appears to have framed what the Mândasor inscription terms a sthiti or constitution in honour of which they began a new era. It may be asked, Why may not Nahapâna have been the head of the Mâlavas who under the new constitution became the first Mâlava sovereign and his reign-dates be those of

3. Cunningham's Arch. Surv. X. 33-34. Numerous Western India inscriptions prove the use and so are often internecised in Peshkar.
4. Vide Télang's Mûdrârâkshaka. Mr. Télang gives several readings the best of which means either the king of the Mâlaya country or the king of the Mâlaya tribe.
6. Compare Fleet's Corpus Ins. Ind. III. 87, 153, 158 from the (supremacy of the) tribal constitution of the Mâlavas. Prof. Kiehl now has however shown that the words of the inscription do not necessarily mean this. Ind. Ant. XIX. 56.
the new Mālava era? Against this we know from a Nāṣik inscription of Ushavadatā that Nahapāna was not a Mālava himself but an opponent of the Mālavas as he sent Ushavadatā to help a tribe of Kshatriyas called Uttamabhadrās whom the Mālavas had attacked. Further a chronological examination of the early ruling dynasties of Gujarāt does not favour the identification of the Kshatrapa era with the Mālava era. The available information regarding the three dynasties the Kshatrapas the Guptas and the Valabhīs, is universally admitted to prove that they followed one another in chronological succession. The latest known Kshatrapa date is 310. Even after this we find the name of a later Kshatrapa king whose date is unknown but may be estimated at about 320. If we take this Kshatrapa 320 to be in the Vikrama Samvat, its equivalent is A.D. 264. In consequence of several new discoveries the epoch of the Gupta era has been finally settled to be A.D. 319. It is further settled that the first Gupta conqueror of Mālwa and Gujarāt was Chandragupta II. the date of his conquest of Mālwa being Gupta 80 (A.D. 399). Counting the Kshatrapa dates in the Samvat era this gives a blank of (399—264=) 135 years between the latest Kshatrapa date and the date of Chandragupta’s conquest of Gujarāt to which we have absolutely no historical information. On the other hand in support of the view that the Kshatrapa era is the Sāka era the Kathiavāda coins of the Gupta king Kumāragupta son of Chandragupta dated 100 Gupta closely resemble the coins of the latest Kshatrapa kings, the workmanship proving that the two styles of coin are close in point of time. Thus taking the Kshatrapa era to be the Sāka era the latest Kshatrapa date is 320+78=A.D. 398, which is just the date (A.D. 399) of Chandragupta’s conquest of Mālwa and Gujarāt. For these reasons, and in the absence of reasons to the contrary, it seems proper to take the dates in Ushavadatā’s and Ayāna’s inscriptions as in the era which began with Nahapāna’s conquest of Gujarāt, namely the Sāka era whose initial date is A.D. 78.

After Nahapāna’s the earliest coins found in Gujarāt are those of Chashtana. Chashtana’s coins are an adaptation of Nahapāna’s coins. At the same time Chashtana’s bust differs from the bust in Nahapāna’s coins. He wears a mustache, the cap is not grooved but plain, and the hair which reaches the neck is longer than Nahapāna’s hair. In one of Chashtana’s coins found by Mr. Justice Newton, the hair seems dressed in ringlets as in the coins of the Parthian king Phraates II. (B.C. 136—128). On the reverse instead of the thunderbolt and arrow as in Nahapāna’s coins, Chashtana’s coins have symbols: of the sun and moon in style much like the sun and moon symbols on the Parthian coins of Phraates II., the moon being a crescent and the sun represented by eleven rays shooting from a central beam. To the two on the reverse a third symbol seems to have been added consisting of two arches resting on a straight line, with a third arch over and between

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2 Details are given below under the Guptas.
3 Borresen’s Archeological Report of Kathiawar and Cutch, 55; Numismata Orientalia, I. Pl. II. Fig. S.
the two arches, and over the third arch an inverted semicircle. Below these symbols stretches a waving or serpentine line.\(^1\)

The same symbol appears on the obverse of several very old medium-sized square copper coins found in Upper India. These coins Dr. Bhagvanlal took to be coins of Asoka. They have no legend on either side, and have a standing elephant on the obverse and a rampant lion on the reverse. As these are the symbols of Asoka, the elephant being found in his rock inscriptions and the lion in his pillar inscriptions, Dr. Bhagvanlal held them to be coins of Asoka. The arch symbol appears in these coins over the elephant on the obverse and near the lion on the reverse but in neither case with the underlying zigzag line.\(^2\) So also a contemporary coin bearing the Asoka character the clear legend वर्षेत्व वातस्वाकते shows the same symbol, with in addition a robed male figure of good design standing near the symbol saluting it with folded hands. The position of the figure (Ariana Antiqua, Plate XV, Fig. 30) proves that the symbol was an object of worship. In Chalchita’s coins we find this symbol between the sun and the moon, a position which suggests that the symbol represents the mythical mountain Meru, the three semicircular superimposed arches representing the peaks of the mountain and the crescent a Siddha-vilā or Siddha’s seat, which Jaina works describe as crescent-shaped and situated over Meru. The collective idea of this symbol in the middle and the sun and moon on either side recalls the following śloka:

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\text{वर्षेत्व वातस्वाकते सन्तन आग्नेयी सुधरी पुरी तेसा}
\text{वर्षेत्व वातस्वाकते सन्तन आग्नेयी सुधरी पुरी तेसा}
\text{सन्तन विकृती मेष श्रेष्ठो श्रेष्ठो प्रसादादिः}
\]

Mayest thou by the favour of Sambhu live surrounded by sons grandsons and relations so long as the heavenly Ganges full of water flows with its waters, so long as the brilliant sun the protector of the universe shines in the sky, and so long as the slab of diamond moonstone lapis lazuli and sapphire remains on the top of Meru.

Dr. Bird’s Kanheri copperplate has a verse with a similar meaning regarding the continuance of the glory of the relic shrine of one Pushya, so long as Meru remains and rivers and the sea flow.\(^3\) The meaning of showing Meru and the sun and moon is thus clear. The underlying serpentine line apparently stands for the Jahnavi river or it may perhaps be a representation of the sea.\(^4\) The object of repre-

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1. The meaning of this symbol has not yet been made out. It is very old. We first find it on the punched coins of Malwa and Gujrat; (regarded as the oldest coins in India) without the serpentine line below, which seems to show that this line does not form part of the original symbol and has a distinct meaning.

2. Compare Wilson’s Ariana Antiqua, Plate XV, Fig. 26–27.


4. Ariana Antiqua, Plate XV, Fig. 29. Some imaginary animals are shown under the serpentine line.

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senting these symbols on coins may be that the coins may last as long as the sun, the moon, Mount Meru, and the Ganges or ocean. Against this view it may be urged that the coins of the Buddhist kings of Kaninda (A.D. 100), largely found near Saharanpur in the North-West Provinces, show the arch symbol with the Buddhist trident over it, the Bodhi tree with the railing by its side, and the serpentine line under both the tree and the symbol, the apparent meaning being that the symbol is a Buddhist shrine with the Bodhi tree and the river Niranjana of Buddha Gaya near it. The same symbol appears as a Buddhist shrine in Andhra coins which make it larger with four rows of arches, a tree by its side, and instead of the zigzag base line a railing. This seems a different representation perhaps of the shrine of Mahabodhi at Buddha Gaya. These details seem to show that popular notions regarding the meaning of this symbol varied at different times.3

Such of the coins of Chashtana as have on the reverse only the sun and the moon bear on the obverse in Baktro-Pali characters a legend of which the four letters रवि जिमी Raño jime can alone be made out. An illegible Greek legend continues the Baktro-Pali legend. The legend on the reverse is in old Nagari character:

राजा कश्तरपा यासमोटिकपुर [कच] गम्भीर.
Rājña Kshatrapa Yasmotikaputra Chashtana.
Of the king Kshatrapa Chashtana son of Yasmotika.

The variety of Chashtana’s coins which has the arch symbol on the reverse, bears on the obverse only the Greek legend almost illegible and on the reverse the Baktro-Pali legend चतनास Chatanasa meaning. Of Chashtana and in continuation the Nagari legend:

राजा महकश्तरपा यासमोटिकपुरस चतनास.
Rājña Mahakshatrapa Yasmotikaputra Chashtana.
Of the king the great Kshatrapa Chashtana son of Yasmotika.

The name Zamotika is certainly not Indian but foreign apparently a corruption of some such form as Psamotika or Xamotika. Further the fact that Zamotika is not called Kshatrapa or by any other title, would seem to show that he was an un-titled man whose son somehow came to authority and obtained victory over these parts where (as his earlier coins with the sun and the moon show) he was at first called a Kshatrapa and afterwards (as his later coins with the third symbol show) a Mahakshatrapa or great Kshatrapa. We know nothing of any connection between Nahapana and Chashtana. Still it is clear that Chashtana obtained a great part of the territory over which

4. The variations noted in the text seem examples of the law that the later religion read its own new meaning into early holy signs.
5. This letter क in both is curiously formed and never used in Sanskrit. But it is clear and can be read without any doubt as क. Pandit Bhagwanlal thought that it was probably meant to stand as a new coined letter to represent the Greek Z which has nothing corresponding to it in Sanskrit. The same curiously formed letter appears in the third syllable in the coin of the fourth Kshatrapa king Dāmajavastra.
Chapter V.

Western Kshatrapas.
A.D. 70-398.

Nahapâna previously held sway. Though Châshțana's coins and even the coins of his son and grandson bear no date, we have reason to believe they used a nameless era, of which the year 72 is given in the Junagâd inscription of Chashtana's grandson Rudradâman.\(^1\) Though we have no means of ascertaining how many years Rudradâman had reigned before this 72. it seems probable that the beginning of the reign was at least several years earlier. Taking the previous period at seven years Rudradâman's succession may be tentatively fixed at 65. Allowing twenty-five years for his father Jayadâman and his grandfather Châshțana (as they were father and son and the son it is supposed reigned for some years with his father)\(^2\) Châshțana's conquest of Gujarat comes to about the year 40 which makes Chashtana contemporary with the latter part of Nahapâna's life. Now the Tiastanes whom Ptolemy mentions as having Ozone for his capital\(^3\) is on all hands admitted to be Châshțana and from what Ptolemy says it appears certain that his capital was Ujjain. Two of Chashtana's coins occur as far north as Ajmir. As the Chashtana coins in Dr. Gerson DaCunha's collection were found in Kathiâvâda he must have ruled a large stretch of country. The fact that in his earlier coins Châshțana is simply called a Kshatrapa and in his latter coins a Mahâkshatrapa leads to the inference that his power was originally small. Chashtana was probably not subordinate to Nahapâna but a contemporary of Nahapâna originally when a simple Kshatrapa governing perhaps North Gujarát and Malwa. Nor was Châshțana a member of Nahapâna's family as he is nowhere called Kshaharâta which is the name of Nahapâna's family. During the lifetime of Nahapâna Chashtana's power seems to have been established first over Ajmir and Mewâd. Perhaps Chashtana may have been the chief of the Utamalâdhra Kshatriyas, whom, in the year 42, Ushavadâta went to assist when they were besieged by the Malayas or Malavas\(^4\); and it is possible that the Malavas being thus driven away Chashtana may have consolidated his power, taken possession of Malwa, and established his capital at Ujjain.

On Nahapâna's death his territory, which in the absence of a son had probably passed to his son-in-law Ushavadâta, seems to have been wrested from him by his Andhra neighbours, as one of the attributes of Gautamiputra Sâtakarni is exterminator of the dynasty of Khakharâta (or Kshaharâta). That North Konkan, South Gujarát, and Kâthiâvâda were taken and incorporated with Andhra territory appears from Gautamiputra's Nâsîk inscription (No. 29) where Surâśâtra and Aparânta are mentioned as parts of his dominions. These Andhras

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1. The text of the inscription is हरदारामर्यवधानी कर्मवधानिः लक्ष्मीवर्धानी which is in the year of Rudradâman. That phrase means "in the reign of" is shown by the Danda inscription of Rudradâman's son Raudrasipha, which has हरदारामर्यवधानी कर्मवधानिः लक्ष्मीवर्धानिः that is in the hundred and third year of Rudrasipha. Clearly a regnal year cannot be meant as no reign could last over 103 years. So with the year 72 in Rudradâman's inscription. The same style of writing appears in the inscriptions at Mathura of Huvashka and Yasdevra which say "year — of Huvashka" and "year — of Yasdevra" though it is known that the era is of Kanishka. In all these cases what is meant is the dynastic or era year — in the reign of —.

2. See below page 34.


4. See above page 29.
conquests seem to have been shortlived. Chashtana appears to have eventually taken Kāṭhāvāḍa and as much of South Gujarāt as belonged to Nahapāna, probably as far south as the Narbada. Mevād, Malwa, North and South Gujarāt and Kāṭhāvāḍa would then be subject to him and justify the title Mahākshatrapa on his later coins.

The bulk of Chashtana’s army seems to have consisted of the Mevas or Medus from whose early conquests and settlements in Central Rajputāna the province seems to have received its present name Mevādā. If this supposition be correct an inference may be drawn regarding the origin of Chashtana. The Mathura inscription of Nandāsirikā, daughter of Kshatrapa Rajavula and mother of Khātmāsti Yuvarājā, mentions with respect a Mahākshatrapa Kuzulkō Patika who is called in the inscription Mevaki that is of the Meva tribe. The inscription shows a relation between the Khāratostis (to which tribe we have taken Kshatrapata Nahapāna to belong) and Mevaki Patika perhaps in the nature of subordinate and overlord. It proves at least that the Khāratostis held Patika in great honour and respect.

The Taxila plate shows that Patika was governor of Taxila during his father’s lifetime. After his father’s death when he became Mahākshatrapa, Patika’s capital was Nagaraka in the Jallūhād or Kalhūl valley. The conquest of those parts by the great Kushān or Indo-Skythian king Kanishka (A.D. 73) seems to have driven Patika’s immediate successors southwards to Sindh where they may have established a kingdom. The Skythian kingdom mentioned by the author of the Periplus as stretching in his time as far south as the mouths of the Indus may be a relic of this kingdom. Some time after their establishment in Sindh Patika’s successors may have sent Chashtana, either a younger member of the reigning house or a military officer, with an army of Mevas through Umarkot and the Great Run to Central Rajputāna, an expedition which ended in the settlement of the Mevas and the change of the country’s name to Mevādā. Probably it was on account of their previous ancestral connection that Nahapāna sent Ushavadāta to help Chashtana in Mevādā when besieged by his Mālava neighbours. That Ushavadāta went to bathe and make gifts at Pushkhara proves that the scene of the Uttamabhadra’s siege by the Mālayas was in Mevādā not far from Pushkhara.

Chashtana is followed by an unbroken chain of successors all of the dynasty of which Chashtana was the founder. As the coins of Chashtana’s successors bear dates and as each coin gives the name of the king and of his father they supply a complete chronological list of the Kshatrapa dynasty.

Of Chashtana’s son and successor Jayādāman the coins are rare. Of three specimens found in Kāṭhāvāḍa two are of silver and one of copper. Both the silver coins were found in Junāgadh but they are doubtful specimens as the legend is not complete. Like Chashtana’s
coins they have a bust on the obverse and round the bust an incomplete and indecipherable Greek legend. The reverse has the sun and the moon and between them the arched symbol with the zigzag under-line. All round the symbols on the margin within a dotted line is the legend in Baktro-Pali and Devanagari. Only three letters राज ना ते of the Baktro-Pali legend can be made out. Of the Nagari legend seven letters राज ना ते ते नाराज ना काल ते नाराजना Ja can be made out. The remaining four letters Dr. Bhagvanal read यद्यम्ब स्थाना. The copper coin which is very small and square has on the obverse in a circle a standing humped bull looking to the right and fronting an erect trident with an axe. In style the bull is much like the bull on the square hemidrome of Apollodorus (A.C. 110-100). Round the bull within a dotted circle is the legend in Greek. It is unfortunate the legend is incomplete as the remaining letters which are in the Skythian-Greek style are clearer than the letters on any Kshatrapa coin hitherto found. The letters that are preserved are स्क्रेख्य. The reverse has the usual moon and sun and between them the arched symbol without the zigzag under-line. All round within a dotted circle is the Nagari legend:

राज ना ते ते नाराज ना काल ते नाराजना.

Rājno Kshatrapa(na) Jayadāmasa.

Of the king Kshatrapa Jayadāman.

Though the name is not given in any of these coins, the fact that Chashṭana was Jayadāman's father has been determined from the genealogy in the Gunda inscription of Rudrasimha I, the seventh Kshatrapa, in the Jusdhan inscription of Rudrasena I, the eighth Kshatrapa, and in the Junāgadh cave inscription of Rudradāman's son Rudrasimha. All these inscriptions and the coins of his son Rudradāman call Jayadāman Kshatrapa not Mahākshatrapa. This would seem to show either that he was a Kshatrapa or governor of Kāthiāvāda under his father or that his father's territory and his rank as Mahākshatrapa suffered some reduction. The extreme rarity of his coins suggests that Jayadāman's reign was very short. It is worthy of note that while Zamotika and Chashṭana are foreign names, the names of Jayadāman and all his successors with one exception are purely Indian.

Jayadāman was succeeded by his son Rudradāman who was probably the greatest of the Western Kshatrapas. His beautiful silver coins, in style much like those of Chashṭana, are frequently found in Kāthiāvāda. On the obverse is his bust in the same style of dress as Chashṭana's and

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1 Except that the न is much clearer the Nagari legend in the silver coin obtained for General Cunningham is equally bad, and the Baktro-Pali legend is wanting.
2 Ind. Ant. X. 157.
3 Journal B. B. R. A. Soc. VIII, 254, 4 and Ind. Ant. XII. 295.
4 Dr. Burgess' Archaelogical Report of Kāthiāvāda and Cutch, 140.
5 The explanation of the reduction of Jayadāman's rank is probably to be found in the Naviik Inscription (No. 26) of Gautamiputra Satakarni who claims to have conquered Surishtra, Kukura (in Rajputāna), Adiś, Vījarāba (Berar), Akara, and Avanti (Ujain).
6 A. M. T. J.)
7 See below page 30.
round the bust is the Greek legend incomplete and undecipherable. The reverse has the usual sun and moon and the arched symbol with the zigzag under-line. The old Nāgārī legend fills the whole outer circle. None of Rudradāman's coins shows a trace of the Baktra-Pāli legend. The Nāgārī legend reads:

राज्ञी क्षत्रियास जयदामपुरस राज्ञी महाक्षत्रियास राजदामस।

Rājū Mahākṣatrapāsa Jayadāmaputraṇa
Rājū Mahākṣatrapāsa Rudradāmanas.

Of the king the great Kṣatrapa Rudradāman son of the king the Kṣatrapa Jayadāman.

None of Rudradāman's copper coins have been found. Except Jayadāman none of the Kṣatrapas seem to have stamped their names on any but silver coins.

An inscription on the Girmār rock gives us more information regarding Rudradāman than is available for any of the other Kṣatrapas. The inscription records the construction of a new dam on the Sudarśana lake close to the inscription rock in place of a dam built in the time of the Mauryan king Chandragupta (B.C. 300) and added to in the time of his grandson the great Asoka (B.C. 240) which had suddenly burst in a storm. The new dam is recorded to have been made under the orders of Suvishākha son of Kulaipa a Pahlava by tribe, who was appointed by the king to protect the whole of Anarta and Surāśṭra. Pahlava seems to be the name of the ancient Persians and Parthians and the name Suvishākha as Dr. Bhau Dāji suggests may be a Sanskritised form of Syāvāna. One of the Kārle inscriptions gives a similar name Sovasaka apparently a corrupt Indian form of the original Persian from which the Sanskritised Suvishākha must have been formed. Sovasaka it will be noted is mentioned in the Kārle inscription as an inhabitant of Abulmi, apparently the old trade mart of Obollah at the head of the Persian Gulf. This trade connection between the Persian Gulf and the Western Indian seaboard must have led to the settlement from very early times of the Pahlavas who gradually became converted to Buddhism and, like the Parsis their modern enterprising representatives, seem to have advanced in trade and political influence. Subsequently the Pahlavas attained such influence that about the fifth century a dynasty of Pahlava kings reigned in the Dekhan, Hindu in religion and name, even tracing their origin to the great ancient sage Bhārādvāja.

The statement in Rudradāman's Sudarśana lake inscription, that Anarta and Surāśṭra were under his Pahlava governor, seems to show

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1 Several small mixed metal coins weighing from 5 to 10 grains with on the obverse an elephant in some and a bull in others and on the reverse the usual arched Kāshātra symbol have been found in Malwa and Kāṭhāvāra. The symbols show them to be of the lowest Kāshātra currency. Several of them bear dates from which it is possible as in the case of Badrāsima's and Baradāsa's coins to infer to what Kāshātra they belonged. Lead coins have also been found at Anurādha in Kāṭhāvāra. They are square and have a bull on the obverse and on the reverse the usual arched Kāshātra symbol with underneath it the date 184.

2 Compare however Weber, Hist. of Indian Lit. 157-3.


4 Ind. Ant. II. 156; V. 50, 154 &c.
that Rudradaman’s capital was not in Gujarat or Kathiavara. Probably like his grandfather Chashtama, Rudradaman held his capital at Ujjain. The poetic eulogies of Rudradaman appear to contain a certain share of fact. One of the epithets he who himself has earned the title Mahakashatrapa’ indicates that Rudradaman had regained the title of Mahakshatrapa which belonged to his grandfather Chashtama but not to his father Jayadaman. Another portion of the inscription claims for him the overlordship of Akaravanti, Amupa, Anarta, Surashtra, Svabhir, Maru, Kachchha, Sindun-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparranta, and Nishada; that is roughly the country from Bhillala in the east to Sindhi in the west and from about Alu in the north to the North Konkan in the south including the peninsula of Cutch and Kathiavara. The inscription also mentions two wars waged by Rudradaman, one with the Yaundevyas the other with Sartakurmi lord of Dakhinapatha. Of the Yaundevyas the inscription says that they had become arrogant and untractable in consequence of their having proclaimed their assumption of the title of Heroes among all Khatriyas. Rudradaman is described as having exterminated them. These Yaundevyas were known as a warlike race from the earliest times and are mentioned as warriors by Panini.10

Like the Malavas these Yaundevyas appear to have had a democratic constitution. Several round copper coins of the Yaundevyas of about the third century B.C. have been found in various parts of the North-West Provinces from Mathura to Saharanpur. These coins

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1 Akaravanti that is Akara and Avanti are two names which are always found together. Cf. Gotami Putra’s Nasik inscription (No. 26). Avanti is well known as being the name of the part of Malwa which contains Ujjain. Akara is probably the modern province of Bhillala whose capital was Vellala the modern deserted city of Bhamragarh. Instead of Akaravanti Bhillalaamabhita, mentions Akaravantanaaka of which the third name Verna Pandit Bhaguvanaitak took to be the country about the Sangara hills containing the old town of Ena, near which still flows a river called Veri. The adjectives east and west are used respectively as referring to Akara which is East Malwa and Avanti which is West Malwa. Compare Indian Antiquary, VII. 259; Bombay Gazetteer, XVI. 331.

2 Amupa is a common noun literally meaning well-watered. The absence of the term shat or ‘country’ which is in general superceded to it shows that Amupa is here used as a proper noun, meaning the Amupa country. Dr. Bhaguvanaitak was unable to identify Amupa. He took it to be the name of some well-watered tract near Gujarat.

3 See above page 10 note 1. The greater part of North Gujarat was probably included in Savabhir.

4 Maru is the well-known name of Mewar.

5 Kachchha is the flourishing state still known by the name of Cutch.

6 Sindun-Sauvira like Akaravanti are two names usually found together. Sindun is the modern Sind and Sauvira may have been part of Upper Sind, the capital of which is mentioned as Davanamitra. Alberuni (I. 340) defines Sauvira as including Multan and Jalalpur.

7 Nothing is known about Kukura and it cannot be identified. It was probably part of East Rajputana.

8 Aparanta meaning the Western End is the western seaboard from the Mahi in the north to Goa in the south. Ind. Ant. VII. 260. The portion of Aparanta actually subject to Rudradaman must have been the country between the Mahi and the Damanganga as at this time the North Konkan was subject to the Aumulas.

9 Nishada cannot be identified. As the term Nishada is generally used to mean Bhill and other wild tribes, its mention with Aparanta suggests the wild country that includes Lasala, Dhamanapur, and north-east Thana.

10 Grumman, V. 8. 117.
which are adapted from the type of Kanishka’s coins have on the obverse a standing robed male figure extending the protecting right hand of mercy. On the reverse is the figure of a standing Kārtikāsvami and round the figure the legend in Gupta characters of about the third century:

**Yāndheya Gaṇapay.**

Of the Yandheya tribe.³

That the Girmār inscription describes Rudradāman as the exterminator of ‘the Yandheyas’ and not of any king of the Yandheyas confirms the view that their constitution was tribal or democratic.⁵

The style of the Yandheya coins being an adaptation of the Kanishka type and their being found from Mathura to Sahāranpur where Kanishka ruled is a proof that the Yandheyas wrested from the successors of Kanishka the greater part of the North-West Provinces. This is not to be understood to be the Yandheyas’ first conquest in India. They are known to be a very old tribe who after a temporary suppression by Kanishka must have again risen to power with the decline of Kushān rule under Kanishka’s successors Huvishka (A.D. 100 – 123) or Vasudeva (A.D. 123 – 150?) the latter of whom was a contemporary of Rudradāman.⁶ It is probably to this increase of Yandheya power that Rudradāman’s inscription refers as making them arrogant and intractable. Their forcible extermination is not to be understood literally but in the Indian hyperbolic fashion.

The remark regarding the conquest of Sātakarni lord of Dakshinapatha is as follows: ¹ He who has obtained glory because he did not destroy Sātakarni, the lord of the Dekhan, on account of there being no distance in relationship, though he twice really conquered him.⁷ As Sātakarni is a dynastic name applied to several of the Andhra kings, the question arises Which of the Sātakarnis did Rudradāman twice defeat? Of the two Western India kings mentioned by Ptolemy one Taustanes with his capital at Ozone or Ujjain has been identified with Chasiyana; the other Sirī Ptolemaios or Polemaios, with his royal seat at Baithana or Paithan⁷ has been identified with the Pulumāyi Vaisishthiputra of the Nāsik cave inscriptions. These statements of

¹ Compare Gardner and Poole’s Catalogue, Pt. XXVI. Fig. 2 &c.
² Another variety of their brass coins was found at Behat near Saharanpur. Compare Thomas’ Princep’s Indian Antiquities, 1. Pl. IV. Figs. 118 – 120 and Pl. XIX. Figs. 5, 6, 9. General Cunningham, in his recent work on The Coins of Ancient India, 76ff, describes three chief types, the Behat coins being the earliest and belonging to the first century B.C., the second type which is that described above is assigned to about A.D. 300, and the third type, with a six-headed figure on the obverse, is placed a little later. General Cunningham’s identification of the Yandheyas with the Johiya Rajputs of the lower Sunjey, seems certain, Rudradāman would then have “uprooted” them when he acquired the province of Sauvira.
³ Mr. Flett notices a later inscription of a Mahārāja Mahāmāhāpati “who has been set over,” the Yandheya gana or tribe in the fort of Byāna in Bharatpur. Ind. Ant. XIV. 8, Corp. Insce. Ind. III. 261ff. The Yandheyas are also named among the tribes which submitted to Samudragupta. See Corp. Insce. Ind. III. 8.
⁴ Huvishka’s latest inscription bears date 45 that is A.D. 123 (Cunningham’s Arch. Sur. III. Pl. XV. Number 8).
⁵ Ind. Ant. VII. 262.
⁶ McRindle’s Ptolemy, 152.
⁷ McRindle’s Ptolemy, 175.
Ptolemy seem to imply that Chashtana and Pulumāyi were contemporary kings reigning at Ujjain and Paithan. The evidence of their coins also shows that if not contemporaries Chashtana and Pulumāyi were not separated by any long interval. We know from the Nāsik inscriptions and the Purānas that Pulumāyi was the successor of Gautamiputra Sātakarni and as Gautamiputra Sātakarni is mentioned as the exterminator of the Kshaharita race (and the period of this extermination has already been shown to be almost immediately after Nahapana’s death), there is no objection to the view that Chashtana, who was the next Kshatrapa after Nahapana, and Pulumāyi, who was the successor of Gautamiputra, were contemporaries. We have no positive evidence to determine who was the immediate successor of Pulumāyi, but the only king whose inscriptions are found in any number after Pulumāyi is Gautamiputra Yajñāśri Sātakarni. His Kanheri inscription recording gifts made in his reign and his coin found among the relics of the Sopāra stūpa built also in his reign prove that he held the North Konkan. The Sopāra coin gives the name of the father of Yajñāśri. Unfortunately the coin is much worn. Still the remains of the letters constituting the name are sufficient to show they must be read चटुरपरा. A king named Chaturapana is mentioned in one of the Nānághat inscriptions where like Pulumāyi he is called Vāsishthiputra and where the year 13 of his reign is referred to. The letters of this inscription are almost coeval with those in Pulumāyi’s inscriptions. The facts that he was called Vāsishthiputra and that he reigned at least thirteen years make it probable that Chaturapana was the brother and successor of Pulumāyi. Yajñāśri would thus be the nephew and second in succession to Pulumāyi and the contemporary of Rudradāman the grandson of Chashtana, whom we have taken to be a contemporary of Pulumāyi. A further proof of this is afforded by Yajñāśri’s silver coin found in the Sopāra stūpa. All other Andhra coins hitherto found are adapted from contemporary coins of Ujjain and the Central Provinces, the latter probably of the Sungas. But Gautamiputra Yajñāśri Sātakarni’s Sopāra coin is the first silver coin struck on the type of Kshatrapa coins; it is in fact a clear adaptation of the type of the coins of Rudradāman himself which proves that the two kings were contemporaries and rivals. An idea of the not distant relationship, between Rudradāman and Yajñāśri Sātakarni mentioned in Rudradāman’s Girnār inscription, may be formed from a Kanheri inscription recording a gift by a minister named Satoraka which mentions that the queen of Vāsishthiputra Sātakarni was born in the Kārdamaka dynasty and was connected apparently on the maternal side with a Mahākshatrapa whose name is lost. If the proper name of the lost Vāsishthiputra be Chaturapana, his son Yajñāśri Sātakarni would, through his mother being a Mahākshatrapa’s granddaughter, be a relative of Rudradāman.

Rudradāman’s other epithets seem to belong to the usual stock of

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1 Jour. R. R. A. Soc. XV. 296.
2 Jour. R. R. A. Soc. XV. 313, 314. See also Ind. Ant. XII 272, where Bühlert suggests that the queen was a daughter of Rudradāman, and traces the syllables Rudradāman ... in the Kanheri inscription.
Indian court epithets. He is said 'to have gained great fame by studying to the end, by remembering understanding and applying the great sciences such as grammar, polity, music, and logic.' Another epithet describes him as having 'obtained numerous garlands at the Svayamvaras of kings' daughters,' apparently meaning that he was chosen as husband by princesses at several Svayamvaras or choice-marriages a practice which seems to have been still in vogue in Rudradama's time. As a test of the civilized character of his rule it may be noted that he is described as 'he who took, and kept to the end of his life, the vow to stop killing men except in battle.' Another epithet tells us that the embankment was built and the lake reconstructed by 'expending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and of the province by (exact) taxes, forced labour, nets of affection (benevolences) and the like.'

As the Kshatrapa year 80 (A.D. 138) has been taken to be the date of close of Chashitana's reign, and as five years may be allowed for the short reign of Jayadalman, the beginning of the reign of Rudradama may be supposed to have been about the year 65 (A.D. 143). This Girnar inscription gives 72 as the year in which Rudradama was then reigning and it is fair to suppose that he reigned probably up to 80. The conclusion is that Rudradama ruled from A.D. 143 to 158.²

Rudradama was succeeded by his son Damazada or Damajadari, regarding whom all the information available is obtained from six coins obtained by Dr. Bhagvanlal.³ The workmanship of all six coins is good, after the type of Rudradamas coins. On the obverse is a bust in the same style as Rudradama's and round the bust is an illegible Greek legend. Like Rudradama's coins these have no dates, a proof of their antiquity, as all later Kshatrapa coins have dates in Nagari numerals. The reverse has the usual sun and moon and between them the arched symbol with the zigzag under-line. Around them in three specimens is the following legend in Old Nagari:

राजा महाक्ष्यात्रपा भद्रभद्रमुक्ति स राजा वधमस हलामस
Rajjo Mahakahstrapasa Rudradmaputraasa Rajaasa
Kshatrapasa Luvatysadasa.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Damazada³ son of the king the Kshatrapa Rudradama."¹

¹ See above page 34.
² It seems doubtful whether the Pandit's estimate of fifteen years might not with advantage be increased. As his father's reign was so short Rudradama probably succeeded when still young. The abundance of his coins points to a long reign and the scarcity of the coins both of his son Damaaza and of his grandson Jivadama imply that neither of his successors reigned more than a few years. Jivadama's earliest date is A.D.178(S.100). If five years are allowed to Jivadama's father the end of Rudradama's reign would be A.D. 173 (S.96) that is a reign of thirty years, no excessive term for a king who began to rule at a comparatively early age.--(A.M.T. 73)
³ Two specimens of his coins were obtained by Mr. Vajeshankar Garvishankar Nibb Diwan of Bhavnagar, from Kathiavara, one of which he presented to the Pandit and lent the other for the purpose of description. The legend in both was legible but doubtful. A recent find in Kathiavara supplied four new specimens, two of them very good.
⁴ Apparently a mistake for दुरुप्य, पुरास.
⁵ As in the case of Zamottika the father of Chashitana, the variation वस for ब proves that at first न and afterwards न was used to represent the Greek θ.
The legend on the other three is:

Rājśī Mahākṣatrāpaśa Rūrdra-dāman: Puṇās Rājśī: Kṣattrapaśa dāmanādhiśīp:

Rājśī Mahākṣatrāpaśa Rūrdra-dāmanālputraśa Rājśī dāmanādhiśīp
Kṣatrāpaśa Dāmanādhiśīpah.

Of the king the Kṣatrāpaśa Dāmanādhiśīpah son of the king the great Kṣatrāpa Rūrdra-dāman.

Dāmanādhiśīpah and Dāmanādhiśīpah seem to be two forms of the same name, Dāmanādhiśīpah with ॐ for Z being the name first struck, and Dāmanādhiśīpah, with the ordinary ॐ for Z, and with Śri added to adorn the name and make it more euphonic, being the later form. It will be noted that, except by his son Jivādāman, Dāmanādhiśīpah or Dāmanādhiśīpah is not called a Mahākṣatrāpa but simply a Kṣatrāpa. His coins are very rare. The six mentioned are the only specimens known and are all from one find. He may therefore be supposed to have reigned as heir-apparent during the life-time of Rūrdra-dāman, or it is possible that he may have suffered loss of territory and power. His reign seems to have been short and may have terminated about 90 that is A.D. 188 or a little later.

Dāmanādhiśīpah or Dāmanādhiśīpah was succeeded by his son Jivādāman. All available information regarding Jivādāman is from four rare coins obtained by Pandit Bhagvānalal, which for purposes of description, he has named A, B, C, and D. ¹ Coin A bears date 100 in Nāgāri numerals, the earliest date found on Kṣatrāpa coins. On the obverse is a bust in the usual Kṣatrāpa style with a plump young face of good workmanship. Round the bust is first the date 100 in Nāgāri numerals and after the date the Greek legend in letters which though clear cannot be made out. In these and in all later Kṣatrāpa coins merely the form of the Greek legend remains; the letters are imitations of Greek by men who could not read the original. On the reverse is the usual arched symbol between the sun and the moon, the sun being twelvetrayed as in the older Kṣatrāpa coins. Within the dotted circle in the margin is the following legend in old Nāgāri:

Rājśī Mahākṣatrāpaśa Dāmaśriyālputraśa Rājśī Mahākṣatrāpaśa Jivādāman[.

Rājśī Mahākṣatrāpaśa Dāmaśriyālputraśa Rājśī Mahākṣatrāpaśa Jivādāmanah.

Of the king the great Kṣatrāpa Jivādāman son of the king the great Kṣatrāpa Dāmaśri.

Coin B has the bust on the obverse with a face apparently older than the face in A. Unfortunately the die has slipped and the date has not been struck. Most of the Greek legend is very clear but as in coin A the result is meaningless. The letters are E L U Z E N S Y L perhaps meant for Kuzulkak. On the reverse are the usual three symbols, except

¹ The oldest of the four was found by the Pandit for Dr. Dhan Dājī in Amreli. A fair copy of it is given in a plate which accompanied Mr. Justice Newton's paper in Jour. B. B. R. A. S. IX, page 120, Plate I, Fig. 6. Mr. Newton read the father's name in the legend Dāmaśri, but it is Dāmanādhiśīpah, the die having missed the letters ś and ś though space is left for them. This is coin A of the description. Of the remaining three, B was lent to the Pandit from his collection by Mr. Vajshankar Gavriśankar. C and D were in the Pandit's collection.
that the sun has seven instead of twelve rays. The legend is:

राज्यो महाखश्त्रपस दामाल्क्य गुत्स राज्यो महाखश्त्रपस जीवदासमस

Rajyo Mahakshatrapasa Damajadaaputraasa Rajyo Mahakshatrapasa Jivadamanasa.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Jivadaman son of the king the great Kshatrapa Damajada.

Coin C though struck from a different die is closely like B both on the obverse and the reverse. Neither the Greek legend nor the date is clear, though enough remains of the lower parts of the numerals to suggest the date 118. Coin D is in reverse closely like C. The date 118 is clear. On the reverse the legend and the symbols have been twice struck. The same legend occurs twice, the second striking having obliterated the last letters of the legend which contained the name of the king whose coin it is:

राज्यो महाखश्त्रपस दामाल्क्य गुत्स

Rajyo Mahakshatrapasa Damajadaaputraasa.

Of the son of the king the great Kshatrapa Damajada.

In these four specimens Damaari or Damaaja is styled Mahakshatrapa, while in his own coins he is simply called Kshatrapa. The explanation perhaps is that the known coins of Damaari or Damaaja belong to the early part of his reign when he was subordinate to his father, and that he afterwards gained the title of Mahakshatrapa. Some such explanation is necessary as the distinction between the titles Kshatrapa and Mahakshatrapa is always carefully preserved in the earlier Kshatrapa coins. Except towards the close of the dynasty no ruler called Kshatrapa on his own coins is ever styled Mahakshatrapa on the coins of his son unless the father gained the more important title during his lifetime.

The dates and the difference in the style of die used in coining A and in coining B, C, and D are worth noting as the earliest coin has the date 100 and C and D the third and fourth coins have 118. If Jivadaman's reign lasted eighteen years his coins would be common instead of very rare. But we find between 102 and 118 numerous coins of Rudrasimha son of Rudradaman and paternal uncle of Jivadaman. These facts and the difference between the style of A and the style of B, C, and D which are apparently imitated from the coins of Rudrasimha and have a face much older than the face in A, tend to show that soon after his accession Jivadaman was deposed by his uncle Rudrasimha, on whose death or defeat in 118, Jivadaman again rose to power.

Rudrasimha the seventh Kshatrapa was the brother of Damajaajara. Large numbers of his coins have been found. Of thirty obtained by Dr. Bhagvanam have the following clearly cut dates: 103, 106, 108, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, and 118. As the earliest year is 103 and the latest 118 it is probable that Rudrasimha deposed his nephew Jivadaman shortly after Jivadaman's accession. Rudrasimha appears to have ruled fifteen years when power again passed to his nephew Jivadaman.
The coins of Rudrasimha are of a beautiful type of good workmanship and with clear legends. The legend in old Nāgari character reads:

राजौ महाश्त्रपसः कृत्रिमपुनस् राजौ महाश्त्रपसः कृत्रिमिः

Rajjō Mahākshatrapasā Rdramsīmaṇputra S̄ rajjō Mahākshatrapasā Rdramsīmaṇ.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Rudrasimha son of the king the great Kshatrapa Rudrasāma.

Rudrasimha had also a copper coinage of which specimens are recorded from Mālwa but not from Kāthiāvāda. Pandit Bhagvānilīlī had one specimen from Ujjain which has a bull on the obverse with the Greek legend round it and the date 117. The reverse seems to have held the entire legend of which only five letters Kramisū (Rudrasimha) remain. This coin has been spoilt in cleaning.

To Rudrasimha's reign belongs the Gunda inscription carved on a stone found at the bottom of an unused well in the village of Gunda in Hālār in North Kāthiāvāda. It is in six well preserved lines of old Nāgari letters of the Kshatrapa type. The writing records the digging and building of a well for public use on the borders of a village named Rasopṭra by the commander-in-chief Rudrabhitī an Abhir son of Senāpati Bāpaka. The date is given both in words and in numerals as 103, 'in the year' of the king the Kshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasimha, apparently meaning in the year 103 during the reign of Rudrasimha. The genealogy given in the inscription is: 1 Chāṣṭṭāna; 2 Jayādāman; 3 Rudrādāman; 4 Rudrasimha, the order of succession being clearly defined by the text, which says that the fourth was the great grandson of the first, the grandson of the second, and the son of the third. It will be noted that Dāmājadasā and Jīvadasā the fifth and sixth Kshatrapas have been passed over in this genealogy probably because the inscription did not intend to give a complete genealogy, but only to show the descent of Rudrasimha in the direct line.

The eighth Kshatrapa was Rudrasena, son of Rudrasimha, as is clearly mentioned in the legends on his coins. His coins like his father's are found in large numbers. Of forty in Dr. Bhagvānilīlī's collection twenty-seven bear the following eleven dates, 125, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 142. The coins are of the usual Kshatrapa type closely like Rudrasimha's coins. The Nāgari legend reads:

राजी महाश्त्रपसः कृत्रिमिः पुत्रस् राजी महाश्त्रपसः कृत्रिमिः

Rajjō Mahākshatrapasā Rdramsīmaṇputra S̄ rajjō Mahākshatrapasā Rdramsīmaṇ.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Rudrasena son of the king the great Kshatrapa Rudrasīmaṇ.

Two copper coins square and smaller than the copper coins of

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1 This inscription which has now been placed for safe custody in the temple of Dwarkamīth in Jāmnagar, has been published by Dr. Bühler in Ind. Ant. X. 157-159, from a transcript by Aśārya Vālāhī Hardattā. Dr. Bhagvānilīlī held that the date is 103 Dvālaparavāche and not 102 Dvālaparavāche as read by Dr. Bühler; that the name of the father of the donor is Bāpaka and not Bāhaka; and that the name of the nakshastra or constellation is Bobini not Sṛvāṇa.

2 Several coins have the same date.
Rudrasimha have been found in Ujjain\(^1\) though none are recorded from Kāthiavāda. On their obverse these copper coins have a facing bull and on the back the usual symbols and below them the year 140, but no legend. Their date and their Kshatrapa style show that they are coins of Rudrasena.

Besides coins two inscriptions one at Mulivāsar the other at Jaslan give information regarding Rudrasena. The Mulivāsar inscription, now in the library at Dwārka ten miles south-west of Mulivāsar, records the erection of an upright slab by the sons of one Vānijaka. This inscription bears date 122, the fifth of the dark half of Vaishākha in the year 122 during the reign of Rudrasimha.\(^2\) The Jaslan inscription, on a stone about five miles from Jaslan, belongs to the reign of this Kshatrapa. It is in six lines of old Kshatrapa Nāgarī characters shallow and dim with occasional engraver’s mistakes, but on the whole well-preserved. The writing records the building of a pond by several brothers (names not given) of the Mānasasa gotra sons of Pranāthaka and grandsons of Khara. The date is the 5th of the dark half of Bhadrapada ‘in the year’ 126.\(^3\) The genealogy is in the following order:

- Mahākshatrapa Chashāna.
- Kshatrapa Jayadāman.
- Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman.
- Mahākshatrapa Rudrasimha.
- Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena.

Each of them is called Svāmi Lord and Bhadramukha Luckyfaced.\(^4\) As Rudrasena’s reign began at least as early as 122, the second reign of Jivadāman is narrowed to four years or even less. As the latest date is 142 Rudrasena’s reign must have lasted about twenty years.

After Rudrasena the next evidence on record is a coin of his son Prithivisena found near Amreli. Its workmanship is the same as that of Rudrasena’s coins. It is dated 144 that is two years later than the last date on Rudrasena’s coins. The legend runs:

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Rajā Mahākshatrapa 5śīṣaṃ Kusumara Pṛthivisena
Rudrasena 5śīṣaṃ Rājāḥ Kahan
Kshatrapasa Prithivisena
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Of the king the Kshatrapa Prithivisena son of the king the great Kshatrapa Rudrasena.

As this is the only known specimen of Prithivisena’s coinage; as the earliest coin of Prithivisena’s uncle the tenth Kshatrapa Sanghadāman is dated 144; and also as Prithivisena is called only Kshatrapa he seems to have reigned for a short time perhaps as Kshatrapa of Surāshtra or Kāthiavāda and to have been ousted by his uncle Sanghadāman.

Rudrasena was succeeded by his brother the Mahākshatrapa Sanghadāman. His coins are very rare. Only two specimens have been

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\(^1\) One is in the collection of the B. B. K. A. Society, the other belonged to the Pandit.

\(^2\) An unpublished inscription found in 1865 by Mr. Bhagvānādī Sampatram.

\(^3\) The top of the third numeral is broken. It may be 7 but is more likely to be 6.

\(^4\) The Jaslan inscription has been published by Dr. Bhau Daji, J. B. K. A. S. VIII, 231ff, and by Dr. Haerle, Ind. Ant. XII, 329.
obtained, of which one was in the Pandit’s collection the other in the collection of Mr. Vajeshankar Gavrisankar. They are dated 145 and 144. The legend in both reads:

राजा भागुहात्रपस स्मृतिस्फुर्त पाणि राजा महाकात्रपस संवदाना

Rājō Mahākāhatrapas Rudrasimhahās putrasa Rājōv Mahākāhatrapas Saṅghādamana.

Of the king the great Khaṭrapa Saṅghādamana son of the king the great Khaṭrapa Rudrasimha,

These two coins seem to belong to the beginning of Saṅghādamana’s reign. As the earliest coins of his successor Dāmasena are dated 148 Saṅghādamana’s reign seems not to have lasted over four years.

1 Five have recently been identified in the collection of Dr. Gerson daCunha.
2 His name, the fact that he regained the title Mahākāhatrapa, and his date about A.D. 225 suggest that Saṅghādamana (A.D. 222-225) may be the Sandana whom the Periploi (McCrindle, 125) describes as taking the regular mart Kalyān near Bombay from Saragena, that is the Dakhān Sātakarniś, and, to prevent it again becoming a place of trade, forbidding all Greek ships to visit Kalyān, and sending under a guard to Break any Greek ships that even by accident entered its port. The following reasons seem conclusive against identifying Saṅghādamana with Sandana: (1) The abbreviation from Saṅghādamana to Sandana seems excessive; in the case of the name of a well-known ruler who lived within thirty years of the probable time (A.D. 247) when the writer of the Periploi visited Gujarāt and the Konkan; (2) The date of Saṅghādamana (A.D. 222-225) is twenty to thirty years too early for the probable collection of the Periploi details; (3) Apart from the date of the Periploi the apparent distinction in the writer’s mind between Saṅghādas’ capture of Kalyān and his own time implies a longer lapse than suits a reign of only four years.

In favour of the Sandana of the Periploi being a dynastic not a personal name is its close correspondence both in form and in geographical position with Ptolemy’s (A.D. 150) Sandana, who gave their name, Aria, Salma, or the Eastin Aria, to the North Konkan, and, according to McCrindle (Ptolemy, 39) in the time of Ptolemy ruled the prosperous trading communities that occupied the coast from about Semnale or Chaul. The details in the present text show that some few years before Ptolemy wrote the conquests of Baddhādamana had brought the North Konkan under the Gujarāt Khaṭrapas. Similarly shortly before the probable date of the Periploi (A.D. 247) the fact that Saṅghādamana and his successor Dāmasena (A.D. 226-236) and Vijayesana (A.D. 235-249) all used the title Mahākāhatrapa makes their possession of the North Konkan probable. The available details of the Kattuvāḷa Khaṭrapas therefore confirm the view that the Sandana of Ptolemy and the Sandana of the Periploi are the Gujarāt Khaṭrapas.

The question remains how did the Greeks come to know the Khaṭrapas by the name of Sandana or Sandan. The answer seems to be the word Sanda or Sandan is the Sanskrit Saṅdhana which according to Lassem (McCrindle’s Ptolemy, 49) and Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary may mean agent or representative and may therefore be an accurate rendering of Khaṭrapa as in the sense of Vicerey. Wilford (As. Res. IX. 76, 1833) notices that Sanskrit writers give the early English in India the title Sāndhana. This Wilford would translate Lord but it seems rather meant to be a rendering of the word Factor. Prof. Bhandārkar (Bom. Gaz. XIII. 418 note 1) notices a tribe mentioned by the geographer Vaharāhimah (A.D. 586) as Sāntikas and associated with the Avarāntakas or people of the west coast. He shows how according to the rules of letter changes the Sanskrit Sāntika would in Prakrit be Sāndina. In his opinion it was this form Sandina which was familiar to Greek merchants and sailors. Prof. Bhandārkar holds that when (A.D. 100-110) the Khaṭrapa Naḥapana displaced the Sātakarniś and Anuruddhītivas the Sāntikas or Sāndina became independent in the North Konkan and took Kalyān. To make the independence secure against the Khaṭrapas they forbid intercourse between their own territory and the Dakhān and sent foreign ships to Barygaza. Against this explanation it is to be urged; (1) That Nālīk and Jumna inscriptions show Naḥapana supreme in the North Konkan at least up to A.D. 120; (2) That according to the Periploi the action taken by the Sandana or Sandana was not against the Khaṭrapas but against the Sātakarniś; (3) That the action was not taken in the time of Naḥapana but at a later time, later not only than the first Gauḍāṃputra the conqueror of Naḥapana or his son-in-law Ushavāldita (A.D. 138), but later than the second Gauḍāṃputra, who was defeated by the Kattuvāḷa Khaṭrapa Rudrasimha some time before A.D. 150; (4) That if the Sāntikas were solely a North
THE KSHATRAPAS.

Saṅghadāman was succeeded by his brother Dāmasena, whose coins are fairly common, of good workmanship, and clear lettering. Of twenty-three specimens eleven have the following dates: 148, 150, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158. The legend runs:

राज्यो महाकाश्यपस सुत्रानलं दुर्गम साथियो महाकाश्यपस दन्तसेनस्
Rajśa Mahākāshyapasa Rudrasenapuṭrasa Rajśa Mahākāshyapasa Dāmasenas.

Of the king the great Kšatrāpa Dāmasena son of the king the great Kšatrāpa Rudrasena.

Dāmasena seems to have reigned ten years (148-158) as coins of his son Viradāman are found dated 158.

Dāmājādāri the twelfth Kšatrāpa is styled son of Rudrasena probably the eighth Kšatrāpa. Dāmājādāri’s coins are rare.1 The legend runs:

राज्यो महाकाश्यपस सुत्रानलं दुर्गम साथियो महाकाश्यपस दन्तसेनस्य
Rajśa Mahākāshyapasa Rudrasenapuṭrasa Rajśa Mahākāshyapasa Dāmajādārīyaḥ.

Of the king the Kšatrāpa Dāmajādāri son of the king the great Kšatrāpa Rudrasena.

Five specimens, the only specimens on record, are dated 154.2 As 154 falls in the reign of Dāmasena it seems probable that Dāmajādāri was either a minor or a viceroy or perhaps a ruler claiming independence, as about this time the authority of the main dynasty seems to have been much disputed.

Konkan tribe they would neither wish nor be able to send foreign ships to Broach. The action described in the Periplus of refusing to let Greek ships enter Kalyan and of sealing all such ships to Broach was the action of a Gujarāt conqueror of Kalyān determined to make foreign trade centre in his own chief emporium Broach. The only possible lord of Gujarāt either in the second or third century who can have adopted such a policy was the Kšatrāpa of Utjain in Malva and of minting or Junagadh in Kāthiāwād, the same ruler, who, to encourage foreign vessels to visit Broach had (McCrindle’s Periplus, 118, 119) stationed native fishermen with well-manned long boats off the south Kāthiāwād coast to meet ships and pilot them through the tidal and other dangers up the Narmada to Broach. It follows that the Sandanes of the Periplus and Ptolemy’s North Konkan Sādana are the Gujarāt Mahākāshyapasa. The correctness of this identification of Sādana with the Sanskrit Sādana and the explanation of Sādana as a translation of Kāshātra or representative receive confirmation from the fact that the account of Kākakāhārya in the Bhārahavara Vṛtti (J. R. R. K. A. S. IX. 141-142), late in date (A.D. 1000-1100) but with notable details of the Saka or Sāhi invaders, calls the Saka king Sādana-Sipha. If on this evidence it may be held that the Kšatrāpas were known as Sādhanas, it seems to follow that Sāntika the form used by V GHzshambhara (A.D. 555-557) is a conscious and intentional Sanskritizing of Sādana whose exact form and origin had passed out of knowledge, a result which would suggest conscious or artificial Sanskritizing as the explanation of the forms of many Purānic tribal and place names. A further important result of this inquiry is to show that the received date of A.D. 70 for the Periplus cannot stand. Now that the Kanishka era A.D. 78 is admitted to be the era used by the Kšatrāpas both in the Dakhana and in Gujarāt it follows that a writer who knows the older and the younger Sātakarnids cannot be earlier than A.D. 150 and from the manner in which he refers to them must almost certainly be considerably later. This conclusion supports the date A.D. 247 which on other weighty grounds the French scholar Reinaud (Ind. Ant. Dec. 1879, pp. 330, 338) has assigned to the Periplus.

1 The Pandit’s coin was obtained by him in 1863 from Amritī in Kāthiāwād. A copy of it is given by Mr. Justice Newton who calls Saṅghadāman son of Rudrasenī (Jour. R. R. K. A. S. IX. Pl. I. Fig. 7). The other specimen is better preserved.

2 One of these coins was lent to the Pandit by Mr. Vajeshwar Gavrilshankar.
After Dāmasena we find coins of three of his sons Viradāman Yasādāman and Vijayasena. Viradāman's coins are dated 158 and 163, Yasādāman's 160 and 161, and Vijayasena's earliest 160. Of the three brothers Viradāman who is styled simply Kṣatrapa probably held only a part of his father's dominions. The second brother Yasādāman, who at first was a simple Kṣatrapa, in 161 claims to be Mahākṣatrapa. The third brother Vijayasena, who as early as 160, is styled Mahākṣatrapa, probably defeated Yasādāman and secured the supreme rule.

Viradāman's coins are fairly common. Of twenty-six in Pandit Bhagvānīlā's collection, nineteen were found with a large number of his brother Vijayasena's coins. The legend reads:

राज्या महाक्षत्रपा दामसेनस पुत्रस राज्या क्षत्रप कीर्दात्नः

Rājā Mahākṣatrapas Dāmasenas putra Rājā
Kṣatrapa Viradāmanah.

Of the king the Kṣatrapa Viradāman son of the king
the great Kṣatrapa Dāmasena,

Of the twenty-six ten are clearly dated, six with 158 and four with 160.

Yasādāman's coins are rare. Pandit Bhagvānīlā's collection contained seven.1 The bust on the obverse is a good imitation of the bust on his father's coins. Still it is of inferior workmanship, and starts the practice which later Kṣatrapas continued of copying their predecessor's image. On only two of the seven specimens are the dates clear, 160 and 161. The legend on the coin dated 160 is:

राज्या महाक्षत्रपा दामसेनस पुत्रस राज्या: क्षत्रप यशादात्नः

Rājā Mahākṣatrapas Dāmasenas putra Rājā
Kṣatrapa Yasādāmanah.

Of the king the great Kṣatrapa Yasādāman son of the
king the great Kṣatrapa Dāmasena,

On the coin dated 161 the legend runs:

राज्या महाक्षत्रपा दामसेनस पुत्रस राज्या महाक्षत्रपा यशादात्नः

Rājā Mahākṣatrapas Dāmasenas putra Rājā
Mahākṣatrapa Yasādāmanah.

Of the king the great Kṣatrapa Yasādāman son of the
king the great Kṣatrapa Dāmasena.

Vijayasena's coins are common. As many as 167 were in the Pandit's collection. Almost all are of good workmanship, well preserved, and clearly lettered. On fifty-four of them the following dates can be clearly read, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, and 171. This would give Vijayasena a reign of at least eleven years from 160 to 171 (A.D. 238-249). The legend reads:

राज्या महाक्षत्रपा दामसेनस पुत्रस राज्या महाक्षत्रपा विजयसेनस

Rājā Mahākṣatrapas Dāmasenas putra Rājā
Mahākṣatrapa Vijayasena.

Of the king the great Kṣatrapa Vijayasena son of the
king the great Kṣatrapa Dāmasena.

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1 One specimen in the collection of Mr. Vajeshankar bears date 158.
THE KSHATRAPAS.

In two good specimens of Vijayasena’s coins with traces of the date 166 he is styled Keshatrapa. This the Pandit could not explain.\(^1\)

Vijayasena was succeeded by his brother Damajadasri III. called Mahakshatrapa on his coins. His coins which are comparatively uncommon are inferior in workmanship to the coins of Vijayasena. Of seven in the Pandit’s collection three are dated 174, 175, and 176.

After Damajadasri come coins of Rudrasena II. son of Viradaman, the earliest of them bearing date 178. As the latest coins of Vijayasena are dated 171, 173 may be taken as the year of Damajadasri’s succession. The end of his reign falls between 176 and 178, its probable length is about five years. The legend on his coins reads:

राजी महाक्षत्रपस दमाजडास्रीः
क्षत्रपस दमाजडास्रीः

Damajadarsri III was succeeded by Rudrasena II, son of Damajadarsri’s brother Viradaman the thirteenth Kshatrapa. Rudrasena II’s coins like Vijayasena’s are found in great abundance. They are of inferior workmanship and inferior silver. Of eighty-four in Dr. Bhagavantil’s collection eleven bore the following clear dates: 178, 180, 183, 185, 186, 188, and 190. The earliest of 178 probably belongs to the beginning of Rudrasena’s reign as the date 176 occurs on the latest coins of his predecessor. The earliest coins of his son and successor Visvasimha are dated 198. As Visvasimha’s coins are of bad workmanship with doubtful legend and date we may take the end of Rudrasena II’s reign to be somewhere between 190 and 198 or about 194. This date would give Rudrasena a reign of about sixteen years, a length of rule supported by the large number of his coins. The legend reads:

राजी क्षत्रपस वीरदमाजडास्रीः
क्षत्रपस वीरदमाजडास्रीः

Rudrasena was succeeded by his son Visvasimha. In style and abundance Visvasimha’s coins are on a par with his father’s. They are carelessly struck with a bad die and in most the legend is faulty, often omitting the date. Of fifty-six in the Pandit’s collection only four bear legible dates, one with 198, two with 200, and one with 201. The date 201 must be of the end of Visvasimha’s reign as a coin of his brother Bharttridaman is dated 200. It may therefore be held that Visvasimha reigned for the six years ending 200 (A.D. 272-278). The legend reads:

राजी महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसेनपुत्रस राजी विशवसिमहः

\(^{1}\) One of them was lent by Mr. Vajeshankar Gavrihankar.
It is not known whether Visvasimha's loss of title was due to his being subordinate to some overlord, or whether during his reign the Kshatrapas suffered defeat and loss of territory. The probable explanation seems to be that he began his reign in a subordinate position and afterwards rose to supreme rule.

Visvasimha was succeeded by his brother Bhartritrddamāna. His coins which are found in large numbers are in style and workmanship inferior even to Visvasimha's coins. Of forty-five in the Pandit's collection seven bear the dates 202, 207, 210, 211, and 214. As the earliest coin of his successor is dated 218, Bhartritrddamāna's reign seems to have lasted about fourteen years from 202 to 216 (A.D. 278 - 294). Most of the coin legends style Bhartritrddamāna Mahakshatrapa though in a few he is simply styled Kshatrapa. This would seem to show that like his brother Visvasimha he began as a Kshatrapa and afterwards gained the rank and power of Mahakshatrapa.

In Bhartritrddamāna's earlier coins the legend reads:

राज्यो महाक्षत्रपस्त रुद्रसेनपुत्रस्त राजः: क्षत्रपस् महाक्षत्रपम्
Rājāo Mahakshatrapasa Rudrasaperatrasa Rajiaḥ
Kshatrapasa Bhartritrddamāhaḥ.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Bhartritrddamana son of the king the great Kshatrapa Rudrasena.

In the later coins the legend is the same except that महावर्जनस् the great Kshatrapa takes the place of भद्दपास the Kshatrapa.

Bhartritrddamāna was succeeded by his son Visvasena the twentieth Kshatrapa. His coins are fairly common, and of bad workmanship, the legend imperfect and carelessly struck, the obverse rarely dated. Of twenty-five in Dr. Bhagvānālī’s collection, only three are doubtful dates; one 218 and two 222. The legend reads:

राज्यो महाक्षत्रपस्त रुद्रसेनपुत्रस्त राजः: क्षत्रपस् विश्वसेनस्
Rājāo Mahakshatrapasa Rudrasaperatrasa Rajiaḥ
Kshatrapasa Viśvasena.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Viśvasena son of the king the Mahakshatrapa Bhartritrddamāna.

It would seem from the lower title of Kshatrapa which we find given to Visvasena and to most of the later Kshatraps that from about 220 (A.D. 298) the Kshatrapa dominion lost its importance.

A hoard of coins found in 1861 near Karād on the Krishna, thirty-one miles south of Sātām, suggests that the Kshatrapas retained the North Konkan and held a considerable share of the West Dakhan down to the time of Viśvasena (A.D. 300). The hoard includes coins of the six following rulers: Vijayasena (A.D. 238-249), his brother Dāmājajasri III. (A.D. 251-256), Rudrasena II. (A.D. 256-272) son of Viśvdaman, Viśvasimha (A.D. 272-278) son of Rudrasena, Bhartritrddamāna (A.D. 278-294) son of Rudrasena II., and Viśvasena (A.D. 296-300) son of Bhartritrddamāna. It may be argued that this Karād hoard is of no historical value being the chance importation of some Gujrāti pilgrim to the Krishna. The following considerations favour the.

1 This name has generally been read Atritdamāna. 2 Jour. R. R. R. A. S. VII. 16.
view that the contents of the hoard furnish evidence of the local rule of the kings whose coins have been found at Karád. The date (A.D. 238-239) of Vijayasena, the earliest king of the hoard, agrees well with the spread of Gujarát power in the Dakhan as it follows the overthrow both of the west (A.D. 180-200) and of the east (A.D. 220) Sátakarnis, while it precedes the establishment of any later west Dakhan dynasty: (2) All the kings whose coins occur in the hoard were Mahákshatrapas and from the details in the Periplus (A.D. 247), the earliest, Vijayasena, must have been a ruler of special wealth and power: (3) That the coins cease with Viśvasena (A.D. 296-300) is in accord with the fact that Viśvasena was the last of the direct line of Chashtaana, and that with or before the close of Viśvasena's reign the power of the Gujarát Kshatrapas declined. The presumption that Kshatrapa power was at its height during the reigns of the kings whose coins have been found at Karád is strengthened by the discovery at Amrávatí in the Berars of a hoard of coins of the Mahákshatrapa Rudrasena (II.?) (A.D. 256-272) son of the Mahákshatrapa Dámagavástrí,1

Whether the end of Chashtaana's direct line was due to their conquest by some other dynasty or to the failure of heirs is doubtful. Whatever may have been the cause, after an interval of about seven years (A.D. 300-303) an entirely new king appears, Rudrasimha son of Jivadáman. As Rudrasimha's father Jivadáman is simply called Sámi he may have been some high officer under the Kshatrapa dynasty. That Rudrasimha is called a Kshatrapa may show that part of the Kshatrapa dominion which had been lost during the reign of Viśvasena was given to some distant member or secon of the Kshatrapa dynasty of the name of Rudrasimha. The occurrence of political changes is further shown by the fact that the coins of Rudrasimha are of a better type than those of the preceding Kshatrapas. Rudrasimha's coins are fairly common. Of twelve in Dr. Bhagvánlal's collection five are clearly dated, three 230, one 231, and one 240. This leaves a blank of seven years between the last date of Viśvasena and the earliest date of Rudrasimha. The legend reads:

स्वामि जिवधामा पुत्रस् राजस् क्षत्रपस् कुर्सिसम

Svámi Jivádáman putrasa Rajásah Kshatrapasá Rudrasimhasa.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Rudrasimha son of Svámi Jivádáman.

Rudrasimha was succeeded by his son Yásadáman whose coins are rather rare. Of three in Dr. Bhagvánlal's collection two are dated 239, apparently the first year of Yásadáman's reign as his father's latest coins are dated 240. Like his father Yásadáman is simply called Kshatrapa. The legend reads:

राजः क्षत्रपस् हर्ष सहुपुरस् राजः क्षत्रपस् यासदामः

Rajásah Kshatrapasah Rudrasimhaspatrasa Rajásah

Kshatrapasah Yásadámanah.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Yásadáman son of the king the Kshatrapa Rudrasimha.

1 See below Chapter VI. page 57.
Chapter V.
Western Kshatrapas, A.D. 70-398.
Kshatrapa
XXII.
Damasiri
A.D. 320.

EARLY GUJARAT.

The coins found next after Yasadaman's are those of Damasiri, who was probably the brother of Yasadaman as he is mentioned as the son of Rudrasimha. The date though not very clear is apparently 242. Only one coin of Damasiri's is recorded. In the style of face and in the form of letters it differs from the coins of Yasadaman, with which except for the date and the identity of the father's name any close connection would seem doubtful. The legend on the coin of Damasiri reads:

राजा महाक्षप्रस्त दक्षिणस पुत्रस राजी महाक्षप्रस्त दामसिरिता.

Bajio Mahakshatrapas Rudrasimhasputrassa Bajio Mahakshatrapas Damasiri.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Damasiri son of the king the great Kshatrapa Rudrasimha.

It will be noted that in this coin both Rudrasimha and Damasiri are called great Kshatrapas, while in his own coin and in the coins of his son Yasadaman, Rudrasimha is simply styled Kshatrapa. It is possible that Damasiri may have been more powerful than Yasadaman and consequently taken to himself the title of Mahakshatrapa. The application of the more important title to a father who in life had not enjoyed the title is not an uncommon practice among the later Kshatrapas. The rarity of Damasiri's coins shows that his reign was short.

After Damasiri comes a blank of about thirty years. The next coin is dated 270. The fact that, contrary to what might have been expected, the coins of the later Kshatrapas are less common than those of the earlier Kshatrapas, seems to point to some great political change during the twenty-seven years ending 270 (A.D. 321-348).

The coin dated 270 belongs to Swami Rudrasena son of Swami Rudradaman both of whom the legend styles Mahakshatrapas. The type of the coin dated 270 is clearly adapted from the type of the coins of Yasadaman. Only two of Rudrasena's coins dated 270 are recorded. But later coins of the same Kshatrapa of a different style are found in large numbers. Of fifty-four in the Pandit's collection, twelve have the following dates 285, 290, 292, 293, 294, 296, and 298. The difference in the style of the two sets of coins and the blank between 270 and 293 leave no doubt that during those years some political change took place. Probably Rudrasena was for a time overthrown but again came to power in 285 and maintained his position till 298. Besides calling both himself and his father Mahakshatrapas Rudrasena adds to both the attribute Swami. As no coin of Rudrasena's father is recorded it seems probable the father was not an independent ruler and that the legend on Rudrasena's coins is a further instance of a son ennobling his father. The legend is the same both in the earlier coins of 270 and in the later coins ranging from 288 to 295. It reads:

राजा महाक्षप्रस्त धीमिष्ठदामप्रत्स राजी महाक्षप्रस्त धीमिष्ठदरासनेन.

Bajio Mahakshatrapas Swami Rudradamanaputra Bajio Mahakshatrapas Swami Rudrasena.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Swami Rudrasena son of the king the great Kshatrapa Swami Rudradaman.
The Kshatrapas.

After Rudrasena come coins of Kshatrapa Rudrasena son of Satyasena. These coins are fairly common. Of five in the Pandit's collection through faulty minting none are dated. General Cunningham mentions coins of Kshatrapa Rudrasena dated 300, 304, and 310.4 This would seem to show that he was the successor of Rudrasena son of Rudradaman and that his reign extended to over 310. The legend on these coins runs:

राजा महाक्षत्रप न्यायिन्यसन्तुरस राजा महाक्षत्रप न्यायिन्यसन्तुरस.

Rājā Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī Satyasenaputrasa Rājā Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī Rudrasena.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Svāmī Rudrasena son of the king the great Kshatrapa Svāmī Satyasena.

Of Rudrasena's father Satyasena no coin is recorded and as this Rudrasena immediately succeeds Rudrasena IV. son of Rudradaman, there is little doubt that Satyasena was not an actual ruler with the great title Mahākṣatrapa, but that this was an honorary title given to the father when his son attained to sovereignty. General Cunningham records that a coin of this Rudrasena IV. was found along with a coin of Chandragupta II. in a stūpa at Sultānganj on the Ganges about fifteen miles south-east of Mongir.5

With Rudrasena IV. the evidence from coins comes almost to a close. Only one coin in Dr. Bhagvānlāl's collection is clearly later than Rudrasena IV. In the form of the bust and the style of the legend on the reverse this specimen closely resembles the coins of Rudrasena IV. Unfortunately owing to imperfect stamping it bears no date. The legend reads:

राजा महाक्षत्रप न्यायिन्यसन्तुरस राजा महाधर्मप स्वामिन्यसन्तुरस न्यायिन्यसन्तुरस.

Rājā Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī Rudrasena Rājā Mahākṣatrapa svāyastu ṣvāmī Śimhāsena.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Śvāmī Śimhāsena, sister's son of the king the great Kshatrapa Śvāmī Rudrasena.

This legend would seem to show that Rudrasena IV. left no issue and was succeeded by his nephew Śimhāsena. The extreme rarity of Śimhāsena's coins proves that his reign was very short.

The bust and the characters in one other coin show it to be of later date than Śimhāsena. Unfortunately the legend is not clear. Something like the letters राजा धर्मप राजप Kṣatrapa may be traced in one place and something like उत्तर पुत्र Skanda in another place. Dr. Bhagvānlāl took this to be a Gujarāt Kṣatrapa of unknown lineage from whom the Kṣatrapa dominion passed to the Gupta.

Along with the coins of the regular Kṣatrapa coins of a Kṣatrapa of unknown lineage named Śvāradatta have been found in Kāthiāvāda. In general style, in the bust and the corrupt Greek legend on the obverse, and in the form of the old Nāgarī legend

3 Cunningham's Arch. Surv. X. 127; XV. 29-30.
4 This coin of Rudrasena may have been taken so far from Gujarāt by the Gujarāt monk in whose honour the stupa was built.
on the reverse, Īśvaradatta's coins closely resemble those of the fifteenth Kshatrapa Vijayasena (A.D. 238–249). At the same time the text of the Nagari legend differs from that on the reverse of the Kshatrapa coins by omitting the name of the ruler's father and by showing in words Īśvaradatta's date in the year of his own reign. The legend is:

राजो महाशापासाः राजवर्धत्स सर्व ग्रामे,
राजा महाशापास राजवर्धत्ता, यस्यास्य प्रथाने.
In the first year of the king the great Kshatrapa Īśvaradatta.

Most of the recorded coins of Īśvaradatta have this legend. In one specimen the legend is

वर्ष वित्तियोः.
Vareshe dviitye.
In the second year.

It is clear from this that Īśvaradatta's reign did not last long. His peculiar name and his separate date leave little doubt that he belonged to some distinct family of Kshatrapas. The general style of his coins shows that he cannot have been a late Kshatrapa while the fact that he is called Mahākshatrapa seems to show he was an independent ruler. No good evidence is available for fixing his date. As already mentioned the workmanship of his coins brings him near to Vijayasena (A.D. 238–249). In Nasik Cave X, the letters of Inscription XV, closely correspond with the letters of the legends on Kshatrapa coins, and probably belong to almost the same date as the inscription of Rudradaman on the Girnar rock that is about A.D. 150. The absence of any record of the Andhras except the name of the king Madhuvinda Sirsimena or Sakasena (A.D. 180), makes it probable that after Vajnâsiri Gautamiputra (A.D. 150) Andhra power waned along the Konkan and South Gujarāt seaboard. According to the Purāṇas the Abhiras succeeded to the dominion of the Andhras. It is therefore possible that the Abhira king Īśvarasena of Nasik Inscription XV, was one of the Abhira conquerors of the Andhras who took from them the West Dakhan. A migration of Abhiras from Ptolemy's Abhira in Upper Sindh through Sindh by sea to the Konkan and thence to Nasik is within the range of possibility. About fifty years later king Īśvaradatta1 who was perhaps of the same family as the Abhira king of the Nasik inscription seems to have conquered the kingdom of Kshatrapa Vijayasena, adding Gujarāt, Kāthiawāda, and part of the Dakhan to his other territory. In honour of this great conquest he may have taken the title Mahākshatrapa and struck coins in the Gujarāt Kshatrapa style but in an era reckoned from the date of his own conquest, Īśvaradatta's success was shortlived. Only two years later (that is about A.D. 252) the Mahākshatrapa Dīmājahadasi won back the lost Kshatrapa territory. The fact that Īśvaradatta's recorded coins belong to only two years and that the break between the regular

1 Īśvaradatta's name ends in datta as does also that of Sivadatta the father of king Īśvarasena of the Nasik inscription.
Kshatrapas Vijayaseya and Dāmśjādaśri did not last more than two or three years, gives support to this explanation. The following table gives the genealogy of the Western Kshatrapas:

Dr. Blagvavali's suggestion that Vijayaseya (A.D. 236-238) was defeated by the Abhir or Alur king Ṣvavaradatta who entered Gujarāt from the North Konkan seems open to question. First as regards the suggestion that Vijayaseya was the Kshatrapa whose power Ṣvavaradatta overthrew it is to be noticed that though the two coinless years (A.D. 219-251) between the last coin of Vijayaseya and the earliest coin of Dāmśjādaśri agree with the recorded length of Ṣvavaradatta's supremacy the absence of coins is not in itself proof of a reverse or loss of Kshatrapa power between the reigns of Vijayaseya and Dāmśjādaśri. It is true the Pandit considers that Ṣvavaradatta's coins closely resemble those of Vijayaseya. At the same time he also (Nāsik Stat. Auct. 62) thought them very similar to Virālamaṇa's (A.D. 236-238) coins. Virālamaṇa's date so immediately precedes Vijayaseya's that in many respects their coins must be closely alike. It is to be noted that A.D. 230-235 the time of rival Kshatrapas among whom Virālamaṇa was one (especially the time between A.D. 236 and 238 during which none of the rivals assumed the title Mahākshatrapa) was suitable to (perhaps was the result of) a successful invasion by Ṣvavaradatta, and that this same invasion may have been the cause of the transfer of the capital, noted in the Peripius (A.D. 247) as having taken place from Cannauj before from Cannauj or Vījain to Mināgara or Jumāgadh (McCrindle, 114, 123). On the other hand the fact that Vijayaseya regained the title of Mahākshatrapa and handed it to his successor Dāmśjādaśri III. would seem to show that no reverse or humiliation occurred during the coinless years (A.D. 249-251) between their reigns, a supposition which is supported by the flourishing state of the kingdom at the time of the Peripius (A.D. 247) and also by the evidence that both the above Kshatrapas ruled near Karśā in Sāttara. At the same time if the difference between Virālamaṇa's and Vijayaseya's coins is sufficient to make it unlikely that Ṣvavaradatta's can be copies of Virālamaṇa's it seems possible that the year of Ṣvavaradatta's overlordship may be the year A.D. 244 (R. 166) in which Vijayaseya's coins bear the title Kshatrapa, and that the assumption of this lower title in the middle of a reign, which with this exception throughout claims the title Mahākshatrapa, may be due to the temporary necessity of acknowledging the supremacy of Ṣvavaradatta. With reference to the Pandit's suggestion that Ṣvavaradatta was an Abhir the fact noted above of a trace of Kshatrapa rule at Karśā thirty-one miles south of Sāttara together with the fact that they held Abhirāta or the Konkan makes it probable that they reached Karśā by Chiplūn and the Kumhālīkāi pass. That the Kshatrapas entered the Dakhan by so southerly a route instead of by some one of the more central Thana passes, seems to imply the presence of some hostile power in Nāsik and Khānāla. This after the close of the second century A.D. could hardly have been the Andhras or Sāttakars. It may therefore be presumed to have been the Andhras' successors the Abhiras. As regards the third suggestion that Kshatrapa Gujarāt was overrun from the North Konkan it is to be noted that the evidence of connection between Vijayaseya of the Nāsik inscription (Cave X, No.13) and Ṣvavaradatta of the coins is limited to a probable nearness in time and a somewhat slight similarity in name. On the other hand no inscription or other record points to Abhirāa ascendency in the North Konkan or South Gujarāt. The presence of an Abhirā power in the North Konkan seems inconsistent with Kshatrapa rule at Kalyān and Karśā in the second half of the third century. The position allotted to Aberg in the Peripius (McCrindle, 113) inland from Euarestrene, apparently in the neighbourhood of Thrā and Pārkar; the finding of Ṣvavaradatta's coins in Kāthāvāja (Nāsik Gaumtere, XIII, 624) and (perhaps between A.D. 230 and 240) the transfer westwards of the headquaters of the Kshatrapa kingdom seem all to point to the east rather than to the south, as the side from which Ṣvavaradatta invaded Gujarāt. At the same time the reference during the reign of Radhāsīgha I. (A.D. 181) to the Abhirāa Bhrdrbhrdhi who like his father was Senapati or Commander-in-Chief suggests that Ṣvavaradatta may have been not a foreigner but a revolted general. This supposition, his assumption of the title Mahākshatrapa, and the finding of his coins only in Kāthāvāja to a certain extent confirm,
Chapter V.
The Kshatrapa Family Tree.

THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS.

I.
NARADA,
King, Kshaharatha, Kshatrapa.
(A.D. 100 - 120 B.C.)

II.
Chaushana, son of Zamotika,
King, Mahakshatrapa.
(A.D. 100 - 130).

III.
Jayadaman, King, Kshatrapa.
(A.D. 150 - 160).

IV.
Radradaman,
King, Mahakshatrapa.
(A.D. 160 - 150 circe).

V.
Gudandash or Daimjadehri,
King, Kshatrapa.
(A.D. 160 circe).

VI.
Jayadaman,
King, Mahakshatrapa.
(A.D. 170, A.D. 160 circe).

VII.
Radradama,
King, Mahakshatrapa.
(A.D. 180 - 166 circe).

VIII.
Bhurtrishnam,
King, Mahakshatrapa.
(A.D. 220 - 230 circe).

IX.
Bhurtrisena,
King, Mahakshatrapa.
(A.D. 220 - 225 circe).

X.
Pratisthasena,
King, Kshatrapa.
(A.D. 225 circe).

XI.
Daimjadehri, II,
King, Kshatrapa.
(A.D. 225 circe).

XII.
Viasdaman,
King, Kshatrapa.
(A.D. 230 - 230 circe).

XIII.
Vas'adaman II,
King, Kshatrapa.
(A.D. 230, 230 circe).

XIV.
Vijayadaman,
King, Kshatrapa.
(A.D. 230, 230 circe).

XV.
Vijayadaman,
King, Mahakshatrapa and
Kshatrapa.
(A.D. 230 - 240 circe).

XVI.
Radmanasa,
King, Mahakshatrapa.
(A.D. 231 - 235 circe).

XVII.
Radmanasa,
King, Mahakshatrapa.
(A.D. 235 - 235 circe).

XVIII.
Vivasvamana,
King, Kshatrapa.
(A.D. 240 - 270 circe).

XIX.
Bharmrtishnam,
King, Mahakshatrapa.
(A.D. 240 - 260 circe).

XX.
Vivasvamana,
King, Kshatrapa.
(A.D. 260 - 290 circe).

XXI.
Radmanasa, son of
Svamji Jayadaman,
King, Kshatrapa.
(A.D. 300, 300, 315 circe).

XXII.
Vas'adaman II,
King, Kshatrapa.
(A.D. 315 circe).

XXIII.
Bharmrtishnam,
King, Mahakshatrapa.
(A.D. 230 circe).

XXIV.
Svamji Radmanasa III,
King, Mahakshatrapa.
son of King Mahakshatrapa,
Svamji Radmanasa.
(A.D. 340, 340 - 370 circe).

XXV.
Svamji Radmanasa IV,
King, Mahakshatrapa.
son of King Mahakshatrapa,
Svamji Satyasena.
(A.D. 323 - 325 circe).

XXVI.
Svamji Satyasena,
King, Mahakshatrapa.
sister's son of king Mahakshatrapa
Svamji Radmanasa (XXV).

XXVII.
Skanda.
CHAPTER VI.

THE TRAIKŪṬAKAS

(A.D. 250-450.)

The materials regarding the Traikūṭakas, though meagre, serve to show that they were a powerful dynasty who rose to consequence about the time of the middle Kshatrapas (A.D. 250). All the recorded information is in two copperplates, one the Kanheri copperplate found by Dr. Bird in 1839,4 the other a copperplate found at Pārdi near Balsār in 1855.5 Both plates are dated, the Kanheri plate 'in the year two hundred and forty-five of the increasing rule of the Traikūṭakas'; the Pārdi plate in Samvat 207 clearly figured. The Kanheri plate contains nothing of historical importance; the Pārdi plate gives the name of the donor as Daharasa or Dharaśana 'the illustrious great king of the Traikūṭakas,' though it does not give any royal name the Kanheri plate expressly mentions the date as the year 245 of the increasing rule of the Traikūṭakas. The Pārdi plate gives the name of the king as 'of the Traikūṭakas,' but merely mentions the date as Sam. 207. This date though not stated to be in the era of the Traikūṭakas must be taken to be dated in the same era as the Kanheri plate seeing that the style of the letters of both plates is very similar.

The initial date must therefore have been started by the founder of the dynasty and the Kanheri plate proves the dynasty must have lasted at least 245 years. The Pārdi plate is one of the earliest copper-plate grants in India. Neither the genealogy nor even the usual three generations including the father and grandfather are given, nor like later plates does it contain a wealth of attributes. The king is called 'the great king of the Traikūṭakas,' the performer of the avamadha or horse-sacrifice, a distinction bespeaking a powerful sovereign. It may therefore be supposed that Dharaśana held South Gujarāt to the Narbīda together with part of the North Konkan and of the Ghatt and Dakhan plateau.

What then was the initial date of the Traikūṭakas? Ten Gujarāt copper-plates of the Gurjjaras and Chalukyas are dated in an unknown era with Sam. followed by the date figures as in the Pārdi plate and as in Gupta inscriptions. The earliest is the fragment from Sāṅkhedā in the Baroda State dated Sam. 346, which would fall in the reign of Dadda I. of Broach.6 Next come the two Kaira grants of the Gurjjar king Dadda Pravāntarāja dated Sam. 380 and Sam. 385; and the Sāṅkhedā grant of Ramagraha dated Sam. 391; then the Kaira grant of the Chalukya king Vijayarāja or Vijayavarman dated Samvatāsara 394; then the Bagumra grant of the Sendraka chief Nikumbhalla-

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5 J. R. B. R. A. S. XVI. 346. 6 Epigraphia Indica, II. 19. 7 Ind. Ant. XII. 810.
8 Ep. Ind. II. 29.
9 Ind. Ant. VII. 2482. Dr. Rambākar (Early Hist. of the Deccan, 42 note 7) has given reasons for believing this grant to be a forgery.
EARLY GUJARAT.

Chapter VI.

TAIRKUTONAK, A.D. 250 - 460.

Initial Date.

śakti; two grants from Navsārī and Surat of the Chalukya king Silāditya Sṛyārasya dated 421 and 443; two the Navsārī and Kāvī grants of the Gurrjasa king Jayabhaṭa dated respectively Sam. 456 and Sam. 486; and a grant of Pulakesi dated Samvat 490.

Of these the grant dated 421 speaks of Silāditya Sṛyārasya as Yuvarāja or heir-apparent and as the son of Jayasimhavarman. The plate further shows that Jayasimhavarman was brother of Vikramaditya and son of Pulakesi Vallabha, the conqueror of the northern king Harshvardhana. The name Jayasimhavarman does not occur in any copperplate of the main line of the Western Chalukyas of the Dakhān. That he is called Mahārāja or great king and that his son Silāditya is called Yuvarāja or heir-apparent suggest that Jayasimhavarman was the founder of the Gujarat branch of the Western Chalukyas and that his great Dakhān brother Vikramaditya was his overlord, a relation which would explain the mention of Vikramaditya in the genealogy of the copper-plate. Vikramaditya's reign ended in A.D. 650 (Saka 602). Supposing our grant to be dated in this last year of Vikramaditya, Samvat 421 should correspond to Saka 602, which gives Saka 181 or A.D. 259 as the initial date of the era in which the plate is dated. Probably the plate was dated earlier in the reign of Vikramaditya giving A.D. 250. In any case the era used cannot be the Gupta era whose initial year is now finally settled to be A.D. 519.

The second grant of the same Silāditya is dated Samvat 443. In it, both in an eulogistic verse at the beginning and in the text of the genealogy, Vinayaditya Satyārasya Vallabha is mentioned as the paramount sovereign which proves that by Samvat 443 Vikramaditya had been succeeded by Vinayaditya. The reign of Vinayaditya has been fixed as lasting from Saka 602 to Saka 618; that is from A.D. 650 to A.D. 666-67. Taking Saka 615 or A.D. 693 to correspond with Samvat 443, the initial year of the era is A.D. 250.

The grant of Pulakesivallabha Janāśraya dated Samvat 490, mentions Mangalarasarāya as the donor's elder brother and as the son of Jayasimhavarman. And a Balsār grant whose donor is mentioned as Mangalarāja son of Jayasimhavarman, apparently the same as the Mangalarasarāya of the plate just mentioned, is dated Saka 653. Placing the elder brother about ten years before the younger we get Samvat 480 as the date of Mangalarāja, which, corresponding with Saka 653 or A.D. 780-31, gives A.D. 780 minus 480 that is A.D. 250-31 as the initial year of the era in which Pulakesi's grant is dated. In the Navsārī plates, which record a gift by the Gurrjasa king Jayabhaṭa in Samvat 456, Dadda II, the donor of the Kaira grants which bear date 380 and 385, is mentioned in the genealogical part at the beginning as 'protecting the lord of Valabhi who had been defeated by the great lord the illustrious Harshadeva. Now the great Harshadeva or Harsha Vardhana of Kanaúj whose court was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen
Taixang between A.D. 629 and 645, reigned according to Reinaud from A.D. 607 to about A.D. 648. Taking A.D. 250 as the initial year of the era of the Kaira plates, Dauda II.'s dates 380 and 385, corresponding to A.D. 630 and 635, fall in the reign of Harshavardhana.

These considerations seem to show that the initial date of the Traikūtaka era was at or about A.D. 250 which at once suggests its identity with the Chedi or Kalachuri era. The next question is, Who were these Traikūtakas. The meaning of the title seems to be kings of Trikūta. Several references seem to point to the existence of a city named Trikūta on the western seaboard. In describing Raghu's triumphant progress the Rāmāvansa and the Raghubauamsa mention him as having established the city of Trikūta in Aparānta on the western seaboard. Trikūtakan or Trikūtam, a Sanskrit name for sea salt seems a reminiscence of the time when Trikūta was the emporium from which Konkan salt was distributed over the Dakhan. The scantly information regarding the territory ruled by the Traikūtakas is in agreement with the suggestion that Junnar in North Poona was the probable site of their capital and that in the three ranges that encircle Junnar we have the origin of the term Trikūta or Three-Peaked.

Of the race or tribe of the Traikūtakas nothing is known. The conjecture may be offered that they are a branch of the Abhirā kings of the Parāyas, one of whom is mentioned in Inscription XV. of Nāṣik Cave X, which from the style of the letters belongs to about A.D. 150 to 200. The easy connection between Nāṣik and Balsār by way of Peth (Pent) and the nearness in time between the Nāṣik inscription and the initial date of the Traikūtakas support this conjecture. The further suggestion may be offered that the founder of the line of Traikūtakas was the Iśvaradatta, who, as noted in the Kshatrapa chapter, held the overlordship of Kāthiavāda as Mahakshatrapa, perhaps during the two years A.D. 248 and 249, a result in close agreement with the conclusions drawn from the examination of the above quoted Traikūtaka and Chalukya copperplates. As noted in the Kshatrapa chapter after two years' supremacy Iśvaradatta seems to have been defeated and regular Kshatrapa rule restored about A.D. 252 (K. 174) by Dāmājaśaśri son of Vījayaśena. The unbroken use of the title Mahakshatrapa, the moderate and uniform lengths of the reigns, and the apparently unquestioned successions suggest, what the discovery of Kshatrapa coins at Karād near Sátārā in the Dakhan and at Amrāvatī in the Berārs seems to imply, that during the second half of the third century Kshatrapa rule was widespread and firmly established. The conjecture may be offered that Rudrasena (A.D. 256-272) whose coins have been found in Amrāvatī in the Berārs spread his power at the expense of the Traikūtakas driving them towards the Central Provinces where they established themselves at Tripura and Kālanjara. Further that under Brāhma

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1 Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 9) and Sir A. Cunningham (Arch. Surv. IX. 77) agree in fixing A.D. 250 as the initial date of the Chedi era. Prof. Kielhorn has worked out the available dates and finds that the first year of the era corresponds to A.D. 219-220. Ind. Ant. XVII. 215.
3 For details see above page 48.
4 Tripura four miles west of Jubalpur; Kālanjara 140 miles north of Jubalpur.
influence, just as the Gurjars called themselves descendants of Karna, the hero of the Mahabharata, and the Pallavas claimed to be of the Bharadwaja stock, the Traikyuktakas forgot their Abhira origin and claimed descent from the Haishyas. Again as the Valabhis (A.D. 430-767) adopted the Gupta era but gave it their own name so the rulers of Tripura seem to have continued the original Traikyuktaka era of A.D. 248-9 under the name of the Chedi era. The decline of the Kshatrapas dates from about A.D. 300 the rule of Visvasena the twentith Kshatrapa son of Bhartrirddam. The subsequent disruption of the Kshatrapa empire was probably the work of their old neighbours and foes the Traikyuktakas, who, under the name of Haishyas, about the middle of the fifth century (A.D. 455-6) rose to supremacy and established a branch at their old city of Trikuta ruling the greater part of the Bombay Dakhan and South Gujarat and probably filling the blank between A.D. 410 the fall of the Kshatrapas and A.D. 500 the rise of the Chalukyas.

About 1887 Pandit Bhagvatal secured nine of a hoard of 500 silver coins found at Daman in South Gujarat. All are of one king a close imitation of the coins of the latest Kshatrapas. On the obverse is a bust of bad workmanship and on the reverse are the usual Kshatrapa symbols encircled with the legend:

Maharajendravarnaputra Parama Vaishnava
Sri Mahanupa Raudragana.

The devoted Vaishnava the illustrious king Raudragana son of the great king Indravarman.

At Karad, thirty-one miles south of Satara, Mr. Justice Newton obtained a coin of this Raudragana, with the coins of many Kshatrapas including Visvasimha son of Bhartrirddam who ruled up to A.D. 300. This would favour the view that Raudragana was the successful rival who wrested the Dakhan and North Konkan from Visvasimha. The fact that during the twenty years after Visvasimha (A.D. 300-320) none of the Kshatrapas has the title Mahakshatrapa seems to show they ruled in Kathiavada as tributaries of this Raudragana and his descendants of the Traikyuktaka family. The Dahrsena of the Pardi plate whose inscription date is 207, that is A.D. 457, may be a descendant of Raudragana. The Traikyuktaka kingdom would thus seem to have flourished at least till the middle of the fifth century. Somewhat later, or at any rate after the date of the Kanheri plate (245 = A.D. 495), it was overthrown by either the Mauryas or the Guptas.\footnote{That the era used by the Gurjars and Chalukyas of Gujaratt was the Chedi era may be regarded as certain since the discovery of the Sakhkara grant of Nizamuddin (Bos. Ind. Hist. 21), who speaks of a certain Sankara as his overlord. Palaeographically this era belongs to the sixth century, and Dr. Bühler has suggested that Sankara was a member of the Chedi Sankhara family whose son Siddhakara was defeated by Mangalda some time before A.D. 600 (Bos. Ant. XIX. 16). If this is accepted, the grant shows that the Chalukyas were in power in the Nerbade valley during the sixth century, which explains have come to an end about A.D. 380 when Dudda I established himself at Dharasana. It must being established that the Chalukyas once ruled in South Gujarat, the difficulty in the way of identifying the Traikyuktakas with these. There is no great Tralikyuktaka grants are dated in the third century of their era, and belong to the known two known to the fifth century A.D. Their era, therefore, like that of the Kanheri plate, must be identified with the Hathian rather than the same era, begins in the same.

Chapter VI.

Traikyuktakas.
A.D. 250-450.
Their Race or Tribe.
that two different eras, whose initial points were only a few years apart, were in use in the same district. Now that the Saka and the Vikrama eras are known to have had different names at different times, the change in the name of the era offers no special difficulty. This identification would carry back Kalachuri rule in South Gujarat to at least A.D. 450-6, the date of the Pârâli grant; and it is worth noting that Varahânihara (By. Sam. XIV. 29) places the Halâyuna or Kalachuris in the west along with the Aparântakas or Konkana.

Though the name 'Trânikùta' seems to be the name of a city called Trikùta, the authorities quoted by Dr. Bhavnâdi do not establish the existence of a city called Trikùta. They only refer to a mountain of that name somewhere in the Western Ghats, and there is no evidence of any special connection with Jumna. Further, the word Trânikùta seems to mean rock-salt, not sea-salt, so that there is here no special connexion with the Western coast. Wherever Trikùta may have been, there seems no need to reject the tradition that connects the rise of the Kalachuris with their capture of Kâlanjara (Cunningham's Arch. Surv. IX. 779), as it is more likely that they advanced from the East down the Nalbandh than that their original seats were on the West Coast, as the Western Indian inscriptions of the third and fourth centuries contain no reference either to Trânikùtas or to Jumna or other western cities in Trikùta.

With reference to the third suggestion that the Trânikùtas twice overthrew the Kabatrapas, under Iâvaradatta in 243 and under Rudragâya in A.D. 310-320, it is to be noted that there is no evidence to show that Iâvaradatta was either an Abhir or a Trânikùta, and that the identification of his date with A.D. 243-250 seems less probable than with either A.D. 244 or A.D. 250. (Compare above Footnote page 59.) Even if Iâvaradatta's supremacy coincided with A.D. 250, the initial date of the Trânikùta era, it seems improbable that a king who reigned only two years and left no successor should have had any connection with the establishment of an era which is not found in use till two centuries later. As regards Rudragâya it may be admitted that he belonged to the race or family who weakened Kabatrapa power early in the fourth century A.D. At the same time there seems no reason to suppose that Rudragâya was a Trânikùta or a Kalachuri except the fact that his name, like that of Naâkarasâga, is a compound of the word gâya and a name of Śiva; while the irregular posthumous use of the title Mahâkabatrapa among the latest (23rd to 25th) Kabatrapas favours the view that they remained independent till their overthrow by the Guptas about A.D. 440. The conclusion seems to be that the Trânikùta and the Kalachuri eras are the same namely A.D. 248-97; that this era was introduced into Gujarât by the Trânikùtas who were connected with the Halâyuna; and that the introduction of the era into Gujarât did not take place before the middle of the fifth century A.D.—(A. M. T. J.)
CHAPTER VII.

THE GUPTAS

(G. 90–149; A.D. 410–470.)

After the Kadhatrapas (A.D. 120–410) the powerful dynasty of the Guptas established themselves in Gujarat. So far as the dynasty is connected with Gujrat the Gupta tree is:

Gupta.
G. 1-12 (?)—A.D. 319–322 (?)
Petty N. W. P. Chief.

Gn̄otkacha.
G. 12-29 (?)—A.D. 332–340 (?)
Petty N. W. P. Chief.

Chandragupta I.
G. 29-49 (?)—A.D. 349–369 (?)
Powerful N. W. P. Chief.

Samudragupta.
Great N. W. P. Sovereign.

Chandragupta II.
G. 70-96—A.D. 396–415.
Great Monarch conquers Mālwa.
G. 80 A.D. 400 and Gujrat G. 90 A.D. 410.

Kumāragupta.
Rules Gujrat and Kāthiavāda.

Skandagupta.
G. 133-149—A.D. 454–470.
Rules Gujrat Kāthiavāda and Kachch.

According to the Purānas¹ the original seat of the Guptas was between the Ganges and the Jamna. Their first capital is not determined. English writers usually style them the Guptas of Kanauj. And though this title is simply due to the chance that Gupta coins were first found at Kanauj, further discoveries show that the chief remains of Gupta records and coins are in the territory to the east and south-east of Kanauj. Of the race of the Guptas nothing is known. According to the ordinances of the Smritis or Sacred Books,² the terminal gupta belongs only to Vaiśyās a class including shepherds

¹ Vāyu Purāṇa, Wilson’s Works, IX. 219 n.
cultivators and traders. Of the first three kings, Gupta Ghaṭotkacha and Chandragupta I, beyond the fact that Chandragupta I bore the title of Mahārājādhirāja, neither descriptive titles nor details are recorded. As the fourth king Samudragupta performed the long-neglected horse-sacrifice he must have been Brahmanical in religion. And as inscriptions style Samudragupta’s three successors, Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, Parama Bhāgavata, they must have been Śrīmāta Vaishnavas, that is devotees of Viṣṇu and observers of Vedic ceremonies.

The founder of the dynasty is styled Gupta. In inscriptions this name always appears as Śrī-gupta which is taken to mean protected by Śrī or Laks̄mi. Against this explanation it is to be noted that in their inscriptions all Gupta’s successors have a Śrī before their names. The question therefore arises: If Śrī forms part of the name why should the name Śrīgupta have had no second Śrī prefixed in the usual way. Further in the inscriptions the lineage appears as Gupta-vamsa that is the lineage of the Guptas never Śrīguptavamsa; and whenever dates in the era of this dynasty are given they are conjoined with the name Gupta never with Śrīgupta. It may therefore be taken that Gupta not Śrīgupta is the correct form of the founder’s name.

Gupta the founder seems never to have risen to be more than a petty chief. No known inscription gives him the title Mahārājādhirāja Supreme Ruler of Great Kings, which all Gupta rulers after the founder’s grandson Chandragupta assume. Again that no coins of the founder and many coins of his successors have been discovered makes it probable that Gupta was not a ruler of enough importance to have a currency of his own. According to the inscriptions Gupta was succeeded by his son Ghaṭotkacha a petty chief like his father with the title of Mahārāja and without coins.

Chandragupta I (A.D. 348-389 [?]), the son and successor of Ghaṭotkacha, is styled Mahārājādhirāja either because he himself became powerful, or, more probably, because he was the father of his very powerful successor Samudragupta. Though he may not have gained the dignity of “supreme ruler of great kings” by his own successes Chandragupta I. rose to a higher position than his predecessors. He was connected by marriage with the Liechhavi dynasty of Turāhūt an alliance which must have been considered of importance since his son Samudragupta puts the name of his mother Kumārādevi on his coins, and always styles himself daughter’s son of Liechhavi.

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1 Fleet’s Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 53 line 7.
2 Compare Skandagupta’s Junagadh Inscription line 15, Ind. Ant. XIV.; Cunningham’s Arch. Sur. X. 118; Fleet’s Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 59.
3 Compare Mr. Fleet’s note in Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 8.
4 Fleet’s Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 135. Mr. Fleet believes that the Liechhavi family concerned was that of Nepal, and that they were the real founders of the era used by the Guptas. Dr. Bühler (Vienna Or. Journal, V. Pt. 3) holds that Chandragupta married into the Liechhavi family of Pātaliputra and became king of that country in right of his wife. The coins which bear the name of Kumārādevi are by Mr. Smith (J. B. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. 50) and others assigned to Chandragupta I., reading the reverse legend Liechhaviya Kendru. The Liechhavies in place of Dr. Bühler’s Liechhaviya Kendru. Daughter’s son of Liechhavi. On the Keśa coins see below page 62 note 2.

The Liechhaviya claim to be sprung from the solar dynasty. Manu (Barnell’s Manuscript).
Samudragupta was the first of his family to strike coins. His numerous gold coins are, with a certain additional Indian element, adopted from those of his Indo-Skythian predecessors. The details of the royal figure on the obverse are Indian in the neck ornaments, large earrings, and headdress; they are Indo-Skythian in the tailed coat, long boots, and straddle. The goddess on the reverse of some coins with a lillet and cornucopia is an adaptation of an Indo-Skythian figure, while the lotus-holding Ganges on an alligator and the standing Glory holding a flyfapper on the reverse of other coins are purely Indian.1

A noteworthy feature of Samudragupta’s coins is that one or other of almost all his epithets appears on each of his coins with a figure of the king illustrating the epithet. Coins with the epithet Saramvatika Destroyer-of-all-kings have on the obverse a standing king stretching out a banner topped by the wheel or disc of universal supremacy.2

Coins3 with the epithet Apratiratha Fearless have on the obverse a standing king whose left hand rests on a bow and whose right hand holds a loose-lying unaimed arrow and in front an Eagle or Garuda standard symbolizing the unrivalled supremacy of the king, his arrow no longer wanted, his standard waving unchallenged. On the obverse is the legend:

308) describes them as descended from a degraded Kshatriya. Real (R. A. S. X, S. XIV, 39) would identify them with an early wave of the Yuehchi or Kushans; Smith (J. R. A. S. XX, 55 n. 2) and Hewitt (J. R. A. S. XX, 355-360) take them to be a Kokarian or local tribe. The fame of the Lichchhavis of Vaissali or Pasana between Patna and Tirhut goes back to the time of Gautama Buddha, and his funeral rites the Lichchhavis and their neighbours and associates the Mallas took a prominent share (Rockhill’s Life of Buddha, 62-63, 143, 208). Compare Lego’s Fu Hien, 71-76; Real’s Buddhist Records, II, 57, 70, 75, 77 and 81 note). According to Buddhist writings the first king of Thibet (A.D. 50) who was elected by the chiefs of the South Thibet tribes was a Lichchhavi the son of Prasenajit of Kosala (Rockhill’s Life of Buddha, 208). Between the seventh and ninth centuries (A.D. 635-854) a family of Lichchhavis was ruling in Nepal. (Fleet’s Corp. Ins. Ind. III, 134). The earliest historical member of the Nepali family is Jayadeva I, whose date is supposed to be about A.D. 330 to 355. Mr. Fleet (Ditto, 136) suggests that Jayadeva’s reign began earlier and may be the epoch from which the Gupta era of A.D. 318-319 is taken. He holds (Ditto, 136) that in all probability the so-called Gupta era is a Lichchhavi era.

The figure of the Ganges standing on an alligator with a stalked lotus in her left hand on the reverse of the gold coins of Samudragupta the fourth king of the dynasty may be taken to be the Sri or Luck of the Guptas. Compare Smith’s Gupta Coinsage, J. Beng. A. S. LIII. Plate I. Fig. 10. J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. Pl. I. 2.

The presence of the two letters न म that is for “on” on the obverse under the arm of the royal figure, has left the late Mr. Thomas, General Cunningham, and Mr. Smith to suppose that the coins belonged to Ghatotkacha, the last two letters of the name being the same. This identification seems improbable. Ghatotkacha was never powerful enough to have a currency of his own. Saramvatika: the attribute on the reverse is one of Samudragupta’s epithets, while the figure of the king on the obverse grasping the standard with the disc, illustrating the attribute of universal sovereignty, can refer to none other than Samudragupta the first very powerful king of the dynasty. Perhaps the Kacha or Keha coins on these coins in a pat or shift name of Samudragupta. Mr. Raphael (Numismatic Chronicle. 3rd Ser. XL. 450) has recently suggested that the Keha coins belong to an elder brother and predecessor of Samudragupta. But it seems unlikely that a ruler who could justly claim the title Destroyer-of-all-kings should be passed over in silence in the genealogy. Further, as is remarked above, the title Saramvatika belongs in the inscriptions to Samudragupta alone; and the fact that in his lifetime Samudragupta’s father chose him as successor is against his exclusion from the throne even for a time.

THE GUPTAS.

63

Aparatiratharajyakriiti (r) मन्यक्यैत्रि.
Triumphant is the glory of me the unrivalled sovereign.

Coins with the attribute Kritānta parāśu the Death-like-battle-axe have on the obverse a royal figure grasping a battle-axe. In front of the royal figure a boy, perhaps Samudragupta's son Chandragupta, holds a standard. Coins with the attribute Āvānedhaparādrīmaṇah able-to-hold-a-horse-sacrifice have on the obverse a horse standing near a sacrificial post yūpa and on the reverse a female figure with a flyap. The legend on the obverse is imperfect and hard to read. The late Mr. Thomas restores it:

नवजनम् राजारिजुर शिष्यी ज्यतयः.
Navajamalaḥ rājābhiraja pradhihvim jyatyaya.

Horse sacrifice, after conquering the earth, the great king (performs).

Coins with the legend Līchchhaveyaṇa, a coin abbreviation for Līchchhavinduhitrā Daughter's son of Līchchhavi (?), have on the obverse a standing king grasping a javelin. Under the javelin hand are the letters Chandraguptaḥ. Facing the king a female figure with trace of the letters Kumāradēvi seems to speak to him. These figures of his mother and father are given to explain the attribute Līchchhaveyaṇa or scion of Līchchhavi. This coin has been supposed to belong to Chandragupta I. but the attribute Līchchhaveyaṇa can apply only to Samudragupta.

A fuller source of information regarding Samudragupta remains in his inscription on the Allahābād Pillar. Nearly eight verses of the first part are lost. The first three verses probably described his learning as what remains of the third verse mentions his poetic accomplishments, and line 27 says he was skilled in poetry and music, a trait further illustrated by what are known as his lyrist coins where he is shown playing a lute. The fourth verse says that during his lifetime his father chose Samudragupta to rule the earth from among others of equal birth. His father is mentioned as pleased with him and this is followed by the description of a victory during which several opponents are said to have submitted. The seventh verse records the sudden destruction of the army of Agyuta Nāgāsena and the punishment inflicted on a descendant of the Kota family.

Lines 19 and 20 record the conquest, or submission, of the following South Indian monarchs, Mahendra of Kosala, Vyāghravarāja of Mahā Kāntāraś, Mundarāja of Kaurātāś, Śvāmādatta of Pañjapura Mahendra-Giri and Aṇṭumara, Damana of Aṃraḍapallaka, Vishnu of Kānceti, Nilarāja Śrīvāmaka, Ḩastivarman of Vengi, Ugrasena of Pālaka, 10

1 Compare Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, Pt. XVIII, Fig. 8, which has the same legend with the exception of the date.
4 Smith J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI, Pt. I, Mr. Smith reads Līchchhaveyaṇa (the Līchchhavia) and assigns this type to Chandragupta II.
5 Corpus Ins. Ind. III, 1.
7 Apparently South Kosala, the country about Raipur and Chhattisgarh.
8 Fleet divides the words differently and translates "Mahendra of Pañjapura, Śvāmādatta of Kūtaṇga on the hill."
9 Fleet reads "Nilarāja of Avamakta."
10 Fleet reads Paḷakkā or Pāḷakkā.
Kubera of Daivarāśthra, and Dhanaṃjaya of Kauśalalapura. Line 21 gives a further list of nine kings of Aryanāta exterminated by Samudragupta:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rūdradeva</td>
<td>Chandravarman</td>
<td>Achyuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malla</td>
<td>Ganaṇapatināga</td>
<td>Nauḍini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgaṇadatta</td>
<td>Nāgaṇesāna</td>
<td>Balavarman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As no reference is made to the territories of these kings they may be supposed to be well known neighbouring rulers. General Cunningham's coins and others obtained at Mathurā show that the fifth ruler Ganaṇapatināga was one of the Nāga kings of Gwālovī and Narwār.1 The inscription next mentions that Samudragupta took into his employ the chiefs of the forest countries. Then in lines 22 and 23 follows a list of countries whose kings gave him tribute, who obeyed his orders, and who came to pay homage. The list includes the names of many frontier countries and the territories of powerful contemporary kings. The frontier kingdoms are:2

Samataṭa, Davāka, Kāmarṣa, Nepāla, Kṛṣṭikī.

The Indian kingdoms are:3

Māṇavā, Mādraka, Sanakānīka.
Arjunaṇa, Ābhirā, Kāka.
Yauddheya, Prājrūnā, Kharaparkhā.

Mention is next made of kings who submitted, gave their daughters in marriage, paid tribute, and requested the issue of the Garuda or Eagle charter to secure them in the enjoyment of their territory.4 The tribal names of these kings are:5

Devaṇputra, Saka.
Shāhī, Murunḍa.
Shahānmuhaḥ, Saimphalaka.

Island Kings.

1 Arch. Surv. II. 310; J. R. A. S. 1865, 115-121.
2 Samataṭa is the Ganges delta; Davāka may, as Mr. Fleet suggests, be Daoca; for Kṛṣṭikī Mr. Fleet reads Kṛṣṭipura, otherwise Cuttack might be intended.
3 For the Māṇavas see above page 24. The Arjunaṇas can hardly be the Kalachuris as Mr. Fleet (C. I. I. III. 10) has suggested, as Varāha Mihira (Br. S. XIV. 23) places the Arjunaṇas in the north near Trigarta, and General Cunningham's coin (Coins of Ancient India, 90 points to the same region. The Yauddheyas lived on the lower Sutlej; see above page 36. The Mādrakas lived north-east of the Yauddheyas between the Chenāh and the Sutlej (Cunningham Anc. Geog. 189). The Ābhiras must be those on the south-east border of Sindh. The Prājrūnas do not appear to be identifiable. A Sanakānīka Mahārāja is mentioned (C. I. I. III. 3) as dedicating an offering at Udayagiri near Bhilai, but we have no clue to the situation of his government. The name of his grandfather, Chhagalaga, has a Turki look. Kāka may be Kakāpur near Rīthār (Cunningham Anc. Geog. 330). Kharaparkhā has not been identified.—(A. M. T. J.)
4 Mr. Fleet translates “(giving) Garuda-tokens, (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories.”
5 The first three names Devaṇputra, Shāhī, and Shahānmuhaḥ, belong to the Kusān dynasty of Kanāṭika (A.D. 78). Shahānmuhaḥ is the oldest, as it appears on the coins from Kanāṭika downwards in the form Shahānmuha Shahān (Stein in Babylonian and Oriental Record, I. 163). It represents the old Persian title Shahānuš or king of kings. Shāhī, answering to the simple Shāhī, appears to be first used alone by Vasudeva (A.D. 128-170). The title of Devaṇputra occurs first in the inscriptions of Kanāṭika. In the present inscription all three titles seem to denote divisions of the Kusān empire in
The inscribed pillar is said to have been set up by the great Captain or Dandanāyaka named Tilahattanāyaka.

This important inscription shows that Samudragupta's dominions included Mathurā, Oudh, Gorakhpur, Allahābād, Benares, Behār, Tirhut, Bengal, and part of East Rājputāna. The list of Dakhan and South Indian kingdoms does not necessarily imply that they formed part of Samudragupta's territory. Samudragupta may have made a victorious campaign to the far south and had the countries recorded in the order of his line of march. The order suggests that he went from Behār, by way of Gaya, to Kōsāla the country about the modern Raipur in the Central Provinces; and from Kōsāla, by Gānjam and other places in the Northern Circars, as far as Kāñchī or Conjeeveram forty-six miles south-west of Madras. Mālwa is shown in the second list as a powerful allied kingdom. It does not appear to have formed part of Samudragupta's territory, nor, unless the Sakas are the Kshatrapas, does any mention of Gujarāt occur even as an allied state.

Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Chandragupta II, whose mother was the queen Dattādevī. He was the greatest and most powerful king of the Gupta dynasty and added largely to the territory left by Samudragupta. His second name Vikramādiya or the Sun of Prowess appears on his coins. Like his father Chandragupta II, struck gold coins of various types. Chandragupta II, who spread his power over Mālwa and Gujarāt which he apparently took from the Kshatrapas as he was the first Gupta to strike silver coins and as his silver coins of both varieties the eastern and the western are modifications of the Kshatrapa type. The expedition which conquered Mālwa seems to have passed from Allahābād by Bundelkhand to Bihār and thence to Mālwa. An undated inscription in the Udayagiri caves at Vidisa (the modern Besnagar) near Bihāra records the making of a cave of Mahādeva by one Śata of the Kautsa gotra and the family name of Virasena, a poet and native of Pātaliputra who held the hereditary office of minister of peace and war sandhinigrahika, and who is recorded to have arrived with the king who was intent upon conquering the whole earth. A neighbouring cave bears an inscription of a feudatory of Chandragupta who was chief of Sanakānī. The chief's name is lost, but the names of his father Vishuddisa and of his grandfather Chhagaralaga remain. The date is the eleventh of the bright half of Chhagaralaga.

India. The title of Shahi was continued by the Turks (A.D. 600-900) and Beilhams (A.D. 900-1000) of Kabul (Albert, II. 10) and by the Shahis (Elliot, I, 138) of Aher in Sindh (A.D. 901-1001). Unless it refers to the last remnants of the Gujarāt Mahākshatrapas the word Saka seems to be used in a vague sense in reference to the non-Indian tribes of the North-West frontier. The Muruṣas may be identified with the Mundas of the Native dictionaries, and hence with the people of Lampeka or Lamphi twenty miles north-west of Jakhābād. It is notable that in the fifth century A.D. Jyānaithāta, Maharāja of Uchehalakpa (not identified) married a Muruṣadevi (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 129, 131, 136).

1 The mention of the king of Simhala and the Island Kings round off the geographical picture. Possibly after the Chinese fashion presents from these countries may have been magnified into tributes. Of Simhala may here stand, not for Ceylon, but for one of the many Simhappuras known to Indian geography. Sihor in Kathiawar, an old capital, may possibly be the place referred to. The Island Kings would then be the chiefs of Cutch and Kathiāvāra. (A.M. T.J.)

2 Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 6.

3 Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 3a

4 1397-9
Chapter VII.

THE GUPTAS.
A.D. 410 - 470.

Chandragupta II.
A.D. 386 - 415.

Ashadh Sasvatsara 52 (A.D. 401). From this Chandragupta's conquest of Vidiśa may be dated about Sasvatsara 50 (A.D. 399), or a little earlier.

A third inscription is on the railing of the great Sāνeli stūpa. It is dated the 6th day of Bhādrapada Sasvat 93 (A.D. 412) and records the gift of 25 dīnakas and something called Īśvaravāsaka (perhaps a village or a field) to the monks of the great monastery of Kākanādābojāsri for the daily maintenance of five bhikshus and the burning of a lamp in the rukaśila or shrine of the Buddhist trikāsa, for the merit of the supreme king of great kings Chandragupta who bears the popular name of Devaṇa or god-like. The donor a feudatory of Chandragupta named Amakārda is described as having the object of his life gratified by the favour of the feet of the supreme ruler of great kings the illustrious Chandragupta, and as showing to the world the hearty loyalty of a good feudatory. Amakārda seems to have been a chief of consequence as he is described as winning the flag of glory in numerous battles. The name of his kingdom is also recorded. Though it cannot now he made out the mention of his kingdom makes it probable that he was a stranger come to pay homage to Chandragupta. The reference to Chandragupta seems to imply he was the ruler of the land while the two other inscriptions show that his rule lasted from about 80 (A.D. 399) to at least 93 (A.D. 412). During these years Chandragupta seems to have spread his sway to Ujjain the capital of west Mālwa, of which he is traditionally called the ruler. From Ujjain by way of Bhāg and Tānda in the province of Rāth he seems to have entered South Gujarāt and to have passed from the Broach coast to Kāthāvāda. He seems to have wrested Kāthāvāda from its Khaṭrapa rulers as he is the first Gupta who struck silver coins and as his silver coins are of the then current Khaṭrapa type. On the obverse is the royal bust with features copied from the Khaṭrapa face and on the reverse is the figure of a peacock, probably chosen as the bearer of Kārtikasvāmi the god of war. Round the peacock is a Sanskrit legend, this legend is of two varieties. In Central Indian coins it runs:

Sri Gubukulīsha Mahārājādhīraja Sri Khaṭramādikākaya,
(Coin) of the king of kings the illustrious Chandragupta Vikramāditya,
of the family of the illustrious Gupta.

In the very rare Kāthāvāda coins, though they are similar to the above in style, the legend runs:

Paramahārājādhīraja Sri Chandragupta Vikramāditya.
The great devotee of Vishnu the supreme ruler of great kings,
the illustrious Chandragupta Vikramāditya.

Several gold coins of Chandragupta show a young male figure behind the king with his right hand laid on the king's shoulder. This youthful figure is apparently Chandragupta's son Kumara Gupta who may have acted as Yuvarāja during the conquest of Mālwa.

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1. Corp. Ins. Ins. III. Ins. 5.
2. Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ins. III. Ins. 33) prefers to take Devaṇa to be the name of Chandragupta's minister.
The rareness of Chandragupta’s and the commonness of Kumāragupta’s coins in Kāthiāvāda, together with the date 90 (A.D. 400) on some of Kumāragupta’s coins make it probable that on their conquest his father appointed Kumāragupta viceroy of Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāda.

As the first Gupta was a chief of no great power or influence it is probable that though it is calculated from him the Gupta era was established not by him but by his grandson the great Chandragupta II. This view is confirmed by the absence of datte on all existing coins of Chandragupta’s father Samudragupta. It further seems probable that like the Mālayas in c.57 and the Kshatrapas in A.D.78 the occasion on which Chandragupta established the Gupta era was his conquest of Mālaya. The Gupta era did not remain long in use. After the fall of Gupta power (A.D. 470) the old Mālaya era of c. 57 was revived. The conjecture may be offered that, in spite of the passing away of Gupta power, under his title of Vikramaditya, the name of the great Gupta conqueror Chandragupta II. lived on in Mālaya and that, drawing to itself tales of earlier local champions, the name Vikramaditya came to be considered the name of the founder of the Mālaya era.

Working back from Gupta Samvat 80 (A.D. 400) the date of Chandragupta’s conquest of Mālaya we may allot 1 to 12 (A.D. 319-332) to the founder Gupta: 12 to 29 (A.D. 332-349) to Gupta’s son Ghatotkacha; 29 to 40 (A.D. 349-359) to Ghatotkacha’s son Chandragupta I.; and 50 to 75 (A.D. 370-395) to Chandragupta’s powerful son Samudragupta who probably had a long reign. As the latest known date of Chandragupta II. is 93 (A.D. 413) and as a Bilsad inscription of his successor Kumāragupta is dated 95 (A.D. 415) the reign of Chandragupta II. may be calculated to have lasted during the twenty years ending 95 (A.D. 415).

1 Mr. Fleet (Corpus Ins. Ind. III. Introd. 133ff) argues that the era was borrowed from Nepal after Chandragupta I. married his Lichchhavi queen. Dr. Rheder thinks there is no evidence of this, and that the era was started by the Gupta themselves (Vienna Or. J.V. Pt. 2).

2 The further suggestion may be offered that if as seems probable Dr. Bhagavadlal is correct in considering Chandragupta II. to be the founder of the Gupta era this high honour was due not to his conquest of Mālaya but to some success against the Indo-Skythians or Sakas of the Punjab. The little more than nominal suzerainty claimed over the Devetapas, Shāhās, and Sthanandhīs in Chandragupta’s father’s inscription shows that when he came to the throne Chandragupta found the Saka power practically unbroken. The absence of reference to conquests is no more complete in the case of the Punjab that it is in the case of Gujarāt or of Kāthiāvāda which Chandragupta is known to have added to his dominions. In Kāthiāvāda, though not in Gujarāt, the evidence from coins is stronger than in the Punjab. Still the discovery of Chandragupta’s coins (J.R. A.S. XXI. 5 note 1) raises the presumption of conquests as far north and west as Panjāb and as Jadhīs in the heart of the Punjab. Chandragupta’s name Devarāja may, as Pandit Bhagavadlal suggests, be taken from the Saka title Devaputra. Further, the use of the name Vikramaditya and of the honorific Sri is in striking agreement with Beril’s statement (Sachau, II. 6) that the conqueror of the Sakas was named Vikramaditya and that to the conqueror’s name was added the title Sri. Mr. Fleet (Corpus Ins. Ind. III. 37 note 2) holds it not improbable that either Chandragupta I. or II. defeated the Indo-Skythians. The fact that Chandragupta I. was not a ruler of sufficient importance to issue coins and that even after his son Samudragupta’s victories the Sakas remained practically independent make it almost certain that if any conquest of the Sakas to the Gupta’s took place it happened during the reign of Chandragupta II.

3 Corpus Ins. Ind. III. 10a.
Chandragupta II. was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta whose mother was the queen Dhrūva-Devi. On Kumāragupta’s coins three titles occur: Mahendra, Mahendra-Vikrama, and Mahendrāditya. As already noticed the circulation of Kumāragupta’s coins in Kāthiāvāda during his father’s reign makes it probable that on their conquest his father appointed him viceroy of Kāthiāvāda and Gujarāt. Kumāragupta appears to have succeeded his father about 96 (A.D. 416). An inscription at Mankawār near Pravāna shows he was ruling as late as 129 (A.D. 449) and a coin of his dated 130 (A.D. 450) adds at least one year to his reign. On the other hand the inscription on the Girmār rock shows that in 137 (A.D. 457) his son Skandagupta was king. It follows that Kumāragupta’s reign ended between 130 and 137 (A.D. 450-457) or about 133 (A.D. 453).

None of Kumāragupta’s four inscriptions gives any historical or other details regarding him. But the number and the wide distribution of his coins make it probable that during his long reign he maintained his father’s dominions intact.

Large numbers of Kumāragupta’s coins of gold, silver and copper have been found. The gold which are of various types are inferior in workmanship to his father’s coins. The silver and copper coins are of two varieties, eastern and western. Both varieties have on the obverse the royal bust in the Kshatrapa style of dress. In the western pieces the bust is a copy of the moustached Kshatrapa face with a corrupted version of the corrupt Greek legend used by the Kshatrāpas. The only difference between the obverses of the Western Guptas and the Kshatrāpa coins is that the date is in the Gupta instead of in the Kshatrapa era. On the reverse is an ill-formed peacock facing front as in Chandragupta II.’s coins. The legend runs:

\[
\text{परम भगवन्त महाराजाधिराज श्री कुमारगुप्त महेन्द्रादित्य।}
\]

Paramabhadra-garva Maharajādhirāja Śrī Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya.

The great Vaishnavya the supreme ruler of great kings, the illustrious Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya.\(^1\)

In Kumāragupta’s eastern silver and copper coins the bust on the obverse has no moustache nor is there any trace of the corrupt Greek legend. The date is in front of the face in perpendicular numerals one below the other instead of behind the head as in the Kshatrapa and Western Kumāragupta coins. On the reverse is a well-carved peacock facing front with tail feathers at full stretch. Round the peacock runs the clear cut legend:

\[
\text{विजयवानिर्वर्णिति कुमारछापे देवं जयति।}
\]

Vijayavānivarmanipati Kumāragupta devam jayati.

This legend is hard to translate. It seems to mean:

Kumāragupta, lord of the earth, who had conquered the kings of the earth, conquers the Devas.\(^2\)

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\(^{1}\) Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 3, 9, 10 and 11.

\(^{2}\) J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. 123.
Probably the Doña whose name suggested the antithesis between the kings of the earth and the gods was one of the Devaputra family of Indo-Skythian rulers.1

Kumāragupta was succeeded by his son Skandagupta. An inscription of his on a pillar at Bhitari near Saidpur in Ghazipur bearing no date shows that on his father’s death Skandagupta had a hard struggle to establish his power.2 The text runs: "By whom when he rose to fix fast again the shaken fortune of his house, three months3 were spent on the earth as on a bed," an apparent reference to flight and wanderings. A doubtful passage in the same inscription seems to show that he was opposed by a powerful king named Pushyamitra on whose back he is said to have set his left foot.4 The inscription makes a further reference to the troubles of the family stating that on re-establishing the shaken fortune of his house Skandagupta felt satisfied and went to see his weeping afflicted mother. Among the enemies with whom Skandagupta had to contend the inscription mentions a close conflict with the Hūnas that is the Ephthalites, Thotals, or White Huns.5 Verse 3 of Skandagupta’s Ghirnār inscription confirms the reference to struggles stating that on the death of his father by his own might he humbled his enemies to the earth and established himself. As the Ghirnār inscription is dated 138 (A.D. 456) and as Kumāragupta’s reign ended about 134, these troubles and difficulties did not last for more than two years. The Ghirnār inscription further states that on establishing his power he conquered the earth, destroyed the arrogance of his enemies, and appointed governors in all provinces. For Surāshtra he selected a governor named Parṇadatta and to Parṇadatta’s son Chakrapalita he gave a share of the management placing him in charge of Junagadh city. During the governorship of Parṇadatta the Sadarsana lake close to Junagadh, which had been strongly rebuilt in the time of the Kshatraka Rudradāman (A.D. 159), again gave way during the dark sixth of Bhadrapa in the year 136 (A.D. 456). The streams Palāśiṇī Sikātā and Vilāśiṇī6 burst through the dam and flowed unchecked. Repairs were begun on the first of bright Grīṣma 137 (A.D. 457) and finished in two months. The new dam is said to have been 100 cubits

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1 J. R. A. S. (N.S.) XXI. 126. That Kumāragupta’s two successors, Skandagupta and Badhagupta, use the same phrase deems japati makes the explanation in the text doubtful. As Mr. Smith (1012b) suggests deems is probably a mistake for dree, meaning His Majesty. The legend would then read: Kumāragupta dvara lord of the earth is triumphant. Dr. Bhagvanīdī would have preferred dree (see page 90 note 29) but could not neglect the amāra. — (A. M. T. J.)

2 Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 13.

3 Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 55, 56) reads "nīka triumfā" and translates "a (whole) night was spent." Dr. Bhagvanīdī reads "nīna triṃṇākā." Mr. Fleet finds that Pushyamitra is the name of a tribe not of a king. No. VI. of Dr. Bühler’s Jain inscriptions from Mathura (Ep. Ind. I. 3782) mentions a Pushyamitra king of the Yavanas, which is also referred to in Buhler’s Kalpaśītria (Jaini’s Edition, 8), but is there referred to the Chārana-gaṇa, no doubt a misunderstanding for the Yavanas of the inscription. Dr. Bühler points out that Yavara is the old name of Bhandeshahr in the North-Western Provinces, so that it is there that we must look for the power that first weakened the Guptas. — (A. M. T. J.)


5 In Rudradāman’s inscription the Palāśiṇī is mentioned, and also the Suvārāsākāta, & the other rivers. In Skandagupta’s inscription Mr. Fleet translates Shatabaliṇī as an adjective agreeing with Palāśiṇī.

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Chapter VII.


Skandagupta, A.D. 454–470.
long by 68 cubits broad and 7 men or about 33 feet high. The probable site of the lake is in the west valley of the Girnar hill near what is called Bhavanathas's pass.\(^1\) The inscription also records the making of a temple of Vishnu in the neighbourhood by Chakrapâla, which was probably on the site of the modern Damodar's Mandir in the Bhavanathas pass, whose image is of granite and is probably as old as the Guptas. A new temple was built in the fifteenth century during the rule of Mandalika, the last Chuljasami ruler of Jumagadh. At the time of the Musalmân conquest (A.D. 1484) as violence was feared the images were removed and buried. Mandalika's temple was repaired by Amarnâ Divân of Jumagadh (1759-1784). It was proposed to make and consecrate new images. But certain old images of Vishnu were found in digging foundations for the enclosure wall and were consecrated. Two of these images were taken by Girirá Brahmans and consecrated in the names of Baladevi and Revati in a neighbouring temple specially built for them. Of the original temple the only trace is a pilaster built into the wall to the right as one enters. The style and carving are of the Gupta period.

As almost all the Gupta coins found in Cutch are Skandagupta's and very few are Kumaçagupta's, Skandagupta seems to have added Cutch to the province of Gujarât and Kâthiavâda inherited from his father. In Kâthiavâda Skandagupta's coins are rare, apparently because of the abundant currency left by his father which was so popular in Kâthiavâda that fresh Kumaçagupta coins of a degraded type were issued as late as Valabhi times.

Like his father, Skandagupta issued a gold coinage in his eastern dominions but no trace of a gold currency appears in the west. Like Kumaçagupta's his silver coins were of two varieties, eastern and western. The eastern coins have on the obverse a bust as in Kumaçagupta's coins and the date near the face. On the reverse is a peacock similar to Kumaçagupta's and round the peacock the legend:

\[\text{विजिताबिन्नापिपिता जयति देय वस्तुगांवे ये} \]

\[\text{Vijñātābhinivânapitā jayati deya vasantu-guṇave ye} \]

This king Skandagupta who having conquered the earth conquers the Deva.\(^3\)

Skandagupta's western coins are of three varieties, one the same as the western coins of Kumaçagupta, a second with a bull instead of a peacock on the reverse, and a third with a bull on the reverse an altar with one upright and two side jets of water. Coins of the first two varieties are found both in Gujarât and in Kâthiavâda. The third water-jet variety is peculiar to Cutch and is an entirely new feature in the western Gupta coinage. On the reverse of all is the legend:

\[\text{परमालंकत्त महासांज्ञारवर्जत कार्तिक कमालित्य} \]

\[\text{Paramālsāṅgavatar Mahāsāṃjñāvarjat kārtikikālālītya} \]

The great Vasishtra the supreme ruler of great kings, Skandagupta the Sun of Prowess.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Remains of the dam were discovered in 1830 by Khan Bakshâr Aarsar Jametji Special Divân of Jumagadh. The site is somewhat nearer Jumagadh than Dr. Bhagviâlî supposed. Details are given in Jour. B. B. R. A. S. XVIII. Number 48 page 67.

\(^2\) The reading here is to be preferred, but the conclusion is clear both on these coins and on the coins of his father. For these coins see J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXII. Pl. IV. 4.

\(^3\) J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. Pl. IV, 67.
The beginning of Skandagupta's reign has been placed about Gupta 133 or A.D. 458: his latest known date on a coin in General Cunningham's collection is Gupta 149 or A.D. 469.  

With Skandagupta the regular Gupta succession ceases. The next Gupta is Budhagupta who has a pillar inscription in a temple at Eran in the Sangor district dated 165 (A.D. 485) and silver coins dated Samvat 174 and 180 odd (A.D. 494-500 odd). Of Budhagupta's relation or connection with Skandagupta nothing is known. That he belonged to the Gupta dynasty appears from his name as well as from his silver coins which are dated in the Gupta era and are the same in style as the eastern coins of Skandagupta. On the obverse is the usual bust as in Skandagupta's coins with the date (174, 180 odd) near the face. On the reverse is the usual peacock and the legend is the same as Skandagupta's:

Devanāja jayatī viṣṇuvaniśvanapatī Śrī Śukutu

The king the Illustrious Budhagupta who has conquered the earth

Since the coins are dated Samvat 174 and 180 odd (A.D. 494 and 500 odd) and the inscription's date is 165 (A.D. 435) the inscription may be taken to belong to the early part of Budhagupta's reign, the beginning of which may be allotted to about 160-162 (A.D. 480-482). As this is more than ten years later than the latest known date of Skandagupta (G. 149 A.D. 489) either a Gupta of whom no trace remains must have intervened or the twelve blank years must have been a time of political change and disturbance. The absence of any trace of a gold currency suggests that Budhagupta had less power than his predecessors. The correctness of this argument is placed beyond doubt by the pillar inscription opposite the shrine in the Eran temple where instead of his predecessor's title of monarch of the whole earth Budhagupta is styled protector of the land between the Jamma (Kālīndi) and the Narbādā implying the loss of the whole territory to the east of the Jamma. In the west the failure of Gupta power seems still more complete. Neither in Gujarāt nor in Kathāvāḍa has an inscription or even a coin been found with a reference to Budhagupta or to any other Gupta ruler later than Skandagupta (G. 149 A.D. 469). The pillar inscription noted above which is of the year 165 (A.D. 485) and under the rule of Budhagupta states that the pillar was a gift to the temple by Dhanya Vishaṇu and his brother Mātri Vishaṇu who at the time of the gift seem to have been local Brāhmaṇ governors. A second inscription on the lower part of the neck of a huge Boar or Varāha image in a corner shrine of the same temple records that the image was completed on the tenth day of Phālguna in the first year of the reign of

1 The known dates of Skandagupta are 136 and 137 on his Gimār inscription, 141 in his pillar inscription at Kahan in Gorakhpur, and 146 in his Indro-Kheera copperplate. The coin dates given by General Cunningham are 144, 145, and 149.
2 But see below page 73.
3 Dr. Bhāgya Walker examined and copied the original of this inscription. It has since been published as Number 19 in Mr. Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III.
4 J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. 134.
5 It is now known that the main Gupta line continued to rule in Magadha. See page 73 below.
Toramāṇa the supreme ruler of great kings and was the gift of the same Dīnaya Vīṣṇu whose brother Mātrī Vīṣṇu is described as gone to heaven. Since Mātrī was alive in the Budhagupta and was dead in the Toramāṇa inscription it follows that Toramāṇa was later than Budhagupta. His name and his new era show that Toramāṇa was not a Gupta. A further proof that Toramāṇa wrested the kingdom from Budhagupta is that except the change of era and that the last turns to the left instead of to the right, Toramāṇa’s silver coins are directly adapted from Gupta coins of the eastern type.

Certain coin dates seem at variance with the view that Toramāṇa flourished after Budhagupta. On several coins the date 52 is clear. As Toramāṇa’s coins are copies of the coins of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta and as most of these coins have a numeral for one hundred the suggestion may be offered that one dropped out in striking Toramāṇa’s die and that this date should read 152: not 52. Accepting this view Toramāṇa’s date would be 152 (A.D. 472) that is immediately after the death of Skandagupta.

The Gvālōir inscription mentions prince Mihirakula as the son of Toramāṇa and a second inscription from a well in Mandasor dated Mālava Samvat 589 (A.D. 533) mentions a king named Yāsodharman who was ruler of Mālwa when the well was built and who in a second Mandasor inscription is mentioned as having conquered Mihirakula. This would separate Mihirakula from his father Toramāṇa (A.D. 471) by more than sixty years. In explanation of this gap it may be suggested that the [1]52 (A.D. 472) coins were struck early in Toramāṇa’s reign in honour of his conquest of the eastern Gupta territory. A reign of twenty years would bring Toramāṇa to 177 (A.D. 497). The Gvālōir inscription of Mihirakula is in the fifteenth year of his reign that is on the basis of a succession date of 177 (A.D. 497) in Gupta 192 (A.D. 512). An interval of five years would bring Yāsodharman’s conquest of Mihirakula to 197 (A.D. 517). This would place the making of the well in the twenty-first year of Mihirakula’s reign.

After Budhagupta neither inscription nor coin shows any trace of Gupta supremacy in Mālwa. An Erān inscription found in 1869 on a linga-shaped stone, with the representation of a woman performing sāti, records the death in battle of a king Goparājā who is mentioned as the daughter’s son of Sarabharjā and appears to have been the son of king Madhava. Much of the inscription is lost. What remains records the passing to heaven of the deceased king in the very destructive fight with the great warrior (pravīra) Bhanugupta brave as Pārtha. The inscription is dated the seventh of dark Bāḍrāpada Gupta 191 in words as well as in numerals that is in A.D. 511. This Bhanugupta would be the successor of Budhagupta ruling over a petty Mālwa principality which lasted till nearly the time of the great Harshavardhana the beginning of the seventh century (A.D. 607-650), as a Devagupta of Mālwa is one of Rājyavardhana’s rivals in the Srisravshacharita. While Gupta power failed in Mālwa

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1 Published by Mr. Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 35.
2 Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 37.
3 Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 35.
4 Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 39.
5 Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 20.
and disappeared from Western India a fresh branch of the Guptas rose in Magadha or Behrā and under Nāragupta Bālādiya, perhaps the founder of the eastern branch of the later Gupta dynasty, attained the dignity of a gold coinage.

[Though the history of their last years is known only in fragments, chiefly from inscriptions and coins, little doubt remains regarding the power which first seriously weakened the early Guptas. The Bhitari stone pillar of Skanda Gupta, speaks of his restoring the fortunes of his family and conquering the Pushyanmitras and also of his joining in close conflict with the Hūnas. Unfortunately the Bhitari inscription is not dated. The Junāgaḍh inscription, which bears three dates covering the period between A.D. 455 and 458, mentions pride-broken enemies in the country of the Mlechchhas admitting Skanda Gupta’s victory. That the Mlechchhas of this passage refers to the Hūnas is made probable by the fact that it does not appear that the Pushyanmitras were Mlechchhas while they and the Hūnas are the only enemies whom Skanda Gupta boasts either of defeating or of meeting in close conflict. It may therefore be assumed that the Hūnas became known to Skanda Gupta before A.D. 455. As according to the Chinese historians the White Hūnas did not cross the Oxus into Baktari before A.D. 452, the founding of the Hūna capital of Badeoghīs may be fixed between A.D. 452 and 455. As the above quoted inscriptions indicate that the Hūnas were repulsed in their first attempt to take part in Indian politics the disturbances during the last years of Kumāragupta’s reign were probably due to some tribe other than the Hūnas. This tribe seems to have been the Pushyanmitras whose head-quarters would seem to have been in Northern India. Some other enemy must have arisen in Malwa

1 On Nāragupta see below page 77, and for his coins J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. note Pl. III. 11.
2 Fleet’s Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 13 lines 10 and 15.
3 The Pushyanmitras seem to have been a long established tribe like the Vaudheya (above page 37). During the reign of Kanishka (A.D. 78-83) Pushyanmitras were settled in the neighbourhood of Bulaandshahr and at that time had already given their name to a Jain sect.

The sense of the inscription is somewhat doubtful. Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. page 62) translates: Whose fame, moreover, even (his) enemies in the countries of the Mlechchhas . . . . , having their pride broken down to the very root announces with the words ‘Verily the victory has been achieved by him’. Prof. Peterson understands the meaning to be that Skanda Gupta’s Indian enemies were forced to retire beyond the borders of India among friendly Mlechchhas and in a foreign land admit that the renewal of their conflict with Skanda Gupta was beyond hopes. The retreat of Skanda Gupta’s Indian enemies to the Mlechchhas suggests the Mlechchhas are the Hūnas that is the White Hūnas who were already in power on the Indian border, whom the enemies had previously in vain brought as allies into India to help them against Skanda Gupta. This gives exactness to the expression used in Skanda Gupta’s Bhitari inscription (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Number 13 page 36) that he joined in close conflict with the Hūnas . . . . , among enemies, as if in this conflict the Hūnas were the allies of enemies rather than the enemies themselves. For the introduction into India of foreign allies, compare in a.c. 327 (McCordle’s Alexander in India, 412) the king of Taxila, 34 miles north-west of Riwalpindi, sending an embassy to Baktra to secure Alexander as an ally against Pusula, the Gujurat country, and (Dito, 409) a few years later (a.c. 319) the North Indian Mahayaka allies himself with Yavanas in his attack on Pataliputra or Patna.

4 Fleet’s Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 14 line 4.
6 Badeoghīs is the modern Badhyr, the upper plains between the Merv and the Herat rivers. The probable site of the capital of the White Hūnas is a little north of Herat. See Marco Polo’s Itineraries Nos. 1, 2; Yule’s Marco Polo, I. xxxii.
since the terms of Parnadatta's appointment to Surāshṭra in A.D. 450-8 suggest that country had been lost to the Gupta empire and re-conquered by Skandagupta which would naturally be the case if a rival state had arisen in Mālwa and been overthrown by that king. So far as is known the Huns made no successful attack on the Gupta empire during the lifetime of Skandagupta whose latest date is A.D. 488-9. It is not certain who succeeded Skandagupta. His brother Purâ (or Sîhira) gupta ruled in or near Magadha. But it is not certain whether he was the successor or the rival of Skandagupta. That Skandagupta's inscriptions are found in the Patna district in the east and in Kāthīāwa in the west suggests that during his life the empire was not divided nor does any one of his inscriptions hint at a partition. The probability is that Skandagupta was succeeded by his brother Purâ Gupta, who again was followed by his son Narasimhagupta and his grandson Kumâragupta II.

Among the northerners who with or shortly after the Pusya-mitrâs shared in the overthrow of Gupta power two names, a father and a son, Torâmaṇâ and Mihirâkuła are prominent. It is not certain that these kings were Hûnas by race. Their tribe were almost certainly his rivals' allies whom Skandagupta's Bhītarī and Janaṇagâdh inscriptions style the one Hûna the other Mēchchhas. On one of Torâmaṇâ's coins Mr. Fleet reads the date 52 which he interprets as a regnal date. This though not impossible is somewhat unlikely. The date of Mihirâkuła's succession to his father is fixed somewhere about A.D. 515. In the neighbourhood of Gwâlîor he reigned at least fifteen years. The story of Mihirâkuła's interview with Bâlâditya's mother and his long subsequent history indicate that when he came to the throne he was a young man probably not more than 25. If his father reigned fifty-two years he must have been at least 70 when he died and not less than 45 when Mihirâkuła was born. As Mihirâkuła is known to have had at least one younger brother, it seems probable that Torâmaṇâ came to the throne a good deal later than A.D. 460 the date suggested by Mr. Fleet. The date 52 on Torâmaṇâ's coins must therefore refer to some event other than his own accession. The suggestion may be offered that that event was the establishment of the White Huns in Baktia and the founding of their capital Badeghis, which, as fixed above between A.D. 452 and 455, gives the very suitable date of A.D. 504 to 507 for the 52 of Torâmaṇâ's coin. If this suggestion is correct a further identification follows. The Chinese ambassador Sung-yun (A.D. 520)\(^1\)

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describes an interview with the king of Gandhára whose family Sangyun notices was established in power by the Ye-tha, that is the Ephthalites or White Huns, two generations before his time. Mihirakula is known to have ruled in Gandhára and Sangyun's description of the king's pride and activity agrees well with other records of Mihirakula's character. It seems therefore reasonable to suppose that the warlike sovereign who treated Sangyun and the name of his Imperial mistress with such scant courtesy was no other than the meteor Mihirakula. If Sangyun is correct in stating that Mihirakula was the third of his line the dynasty must have been established about A.D. 460. Beal is in doubt whether the name Læ-lih given by Sangyun is the family name or the name of the founder. As a recently deciphered inscription shows Toramána's family name to have been Jaivla it seems to follow that Læ-lih, or whatever is the correct transliteration of the Chinese characters, is the name of the father of Toramána. Sangyun's reference to the establishment of this dynasty suggests they were not White Huns but leaders of some subject tribe. That this tribe was settled in Baktoria perhaps as far south as Kabul before the arrival of the White Huns seems probable. The Hindu or Persian influence notable in the tribal name Maitraka and in the personal name Mihirakula seems unsuited to Hunas newly come from the northern frontiers of China and proud of their recent successes. Chinese records show that the tribe who preceded the White Huns in Baktoria and north-east Persia, and who about A.D. 350-400 destroyed the power of Kitoto the last of the Kushánas, were the Yuan-Yuan or Jouen-Jouen whom Sir H. Howorth identifies with the Avars. To this tribe it seems on the whole probable that

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1 Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 369. 2; 2 Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 171. Huen Tsiang's statement (Ditto) that Mihirakula conquered Gandhára after his capture by Baladitya may refer to a reconquest from his brother, perhaps the Chandra referred to in note 10 on page 74. 3 Beal's Buddhist Records (I. c.) suggests that Læ-lih is the founder's name; in his note 30 he seems to regard Læ-lih as the family name. 4 Bühler, Ep. Ind. I. 298. Dr. Bühler hesitates to identify the Toramána of this inscription with Mihirakula's father. 5 Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 369. 6 This is the kingdom which the Ye-tha destroyed and afterwards set up Læ-lih to be king over the country. 7 Maitraka is a Sanskritized form of Mihiraka and this again is perhaps an adaptation of the widespread and well-known Western Indian tribal name Mer or Med. Compare Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. 111. 320-327. It is to be remembered that the name of the emperor then (A.D. 470-550) ruling the White Huns was Khusanhwa, a Persian name, the Happy Cherisher. 5. The emperor's Persian name, Mihirakula's reported (Darustiter J. Asiatique, X. 70 n. 3) introduction of Magi into Kashmir, and the insatiable Mihirakula as a personal name give weight to Mr. Fleet's suggestion (Ind. Ant. XV. 245-232) that Mihirakula is pure Persian. The true form may then be Mihirakula, that is Sun Rose, a name which the personal beauty of the prince may have gained him. 'I have heard of my son's wisdom and beauty and wish once to see his face' said the fated reading mother of king Baladitya (Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 160) when the captive Mihirakula was led before her his young head for very shame shrouded in his cloak. 8 Specht in Journ. Asiatique 1885 II. 585 and 586. 9 J. R. A. S. XXI. 721. According to other accounts (Enc. Brit. IX. Ed. Art. Turk. page 535) a portion of the Jouen-Jouen remained in Eastern Asia, where, till A.D. 552, they were the masters of the Tukhun or Turks, who then overthrew their masters and about ten years later (A.D. 560) crushed the power of the White Huns.
Lae-lih the father of Toramana belonged. At the same time, though perhaps not themselves White Huns, the details regarding Toramana and Mihirakula so nearly cover the fifty years (A.D. 470-530) of Huna ascendancy in North India that, as was in keeping with their position in charge of his Indian outpost, the White Hun emperor Khushmawas, while himself engaged in Central Asia and in Persia (A.D. 460-500), seems to have entrusted the conquest of India to Toramana and his son Mihirakula. Of the progress of the mixed Yuna-Yuan and White Hun invaders in India few details are available. Their ascendancy in the north seems to have been too complete to allow of opposition, and Hunas were probably closely associated with the Maitraka or Mahara conquest of Kathavada (A.D. 480-520). The southern fringe of the White Hun dominions, the present Sangor district of the Central Provinces, seems to have been the chief theatre of war, a debateable ground between the Guptas, Toramana, and the Malwa chiefs. To the east of Sangor the Guptas succeeded in maintaining their power until at least A.D. 528-9. To the west of Sangor the Guptas held Eran in A.D. 484-5. About twenty years later (A.D. 505) Eran was in the hands of Toramana, and in A.D. 510-11 Bhanugupta fought and apparently won a battle at Eran.

Mihirakula's accession to the throne may perhaps be fixed at A.D. 512. An inscription of Yasodharman, the date of which cannot be many years on either side of A.D. 522-3, claims to have enforced the submission of the famous Mihirakula whose power had established itself on the tiares of kings and who had hitherto bowed his neck to no one but Siva. In spite of this defeat Mihirakula held Gwalior and the inaccessible fortress of the Himlayas. These dates give about A.D. 520 as the time of Mihirakula's greatest power, a result which suggests that the Gollas, whom, about A.D. 520, the Greek merchant Cosmas Indikopleustes heard of in the ports of Western India as the supreme ruler of Northern India was Kulla or Mihirakula.

Regarding the history of the third destroyers of Gupta power in Malwa, inscriptions show that in A.D. 437-8, under Kumara-gupta, Bandhuvarman son of Vishnuvarman ruled as a local king.

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1 The name Jous-Jous seems to agree with Toramana's surname Jadvia and with the Javias whom Cosmas Indikopleustes (A.D. 520-535) places to the north-east of Persia. Priainix's Indian Travels, 220.
2 Rowlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 331-349.
3 Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 25 line 1.
4 Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 18 line 2.
5 Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 39.
6 Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 39.
7 Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. and Ind. Ant. XVIII. 219.
8 Priainix's Indian Travels, 222. Compare Yule's Cathay, I. cxxv.; Migne's Patr. Gr. 88 page 450. For the use of Kula for Mihirakula, the second half for the whole, compare Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 8 note. As regards the change from Kula to Gollas it is to be noted that certain of Mihirakula's own coins (Ind. Ant. XV. 43) have the form Gula not Kula, and that this agrees with the suggestion (page 75 note 8) that the true form of the name is the Persian Mihravigula Rose of the Sun. Of this Gollas, who, like Mihirakula, was the type of conqueror round whom legends gather, Cosmas says (Priainix, 233): Besides a great force of cavalry Gollas could bring into the field 2000 elephants. So large were his armies that once when besieging an inland town defended by a water-fossa his men horses and elephants drank the water and marched in dry-ash. 
9 Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 19.
Possibly Bandhuvarman afterwards threw off his allegiance to the Guptas and thereby caused the temporary loss of Surashtra towards the end of Kumāragupta’s reign. Nothing further is recorded of the rulers of Mālwa until the reign of Yaśodharman in A.D. 533-4.\(^1\) It has been supposed that one of Yaśodharman’s inscriptions mentioned a king Vishnudevaram but there can be little doubt that both names refer to the same person.\(^2\) The name of Yaśodharman’s tribe is unknown and his crest the auśikara has not been satisfactorily explained.\(^3\) Mandasor\(^4\) in Western Mālwa, where all his inscriptions have been found, must have been a centre of Yaśodharman’s power. Yaśodharman boasts\(^5\) of conquering from the Brahmaputra to mount Mahendra and from the Himalayas to the Western Ocean. In the sixth century only one dynasty could claim such widespread power. That dynasty is the famous family of Ujjain to which belonged the well known Vikramāditya of the Nine Gems. It may be conjectured not only that Yaśodharman belonged to this family but that Yaśodharman was the great Vikramāditya himself.\(^6\)

The difficult question remains by whom was the power of Mihirakula overthrown. Yaśodharman claims to have subdued Mihirakula, who, he distinctly says, had never before been defeated.\(^7\) On the other hand, Huen Tsang ascribes Mihirakula’s overthorw to a Bālāditya of Magadhā.\(^8\) Coins prove that Bālāditya\(^9\) was one of the titles of Narasimhagupta grandson of Kumāragupta I. (A.D. 417-453) who probably ruled Magadhā as his son’s seal was found in the Ghasipur district.\(^10\) If Huen Tsang’s story is accepted a slight chronological difficulty arises in the way of this identification. It is clear that Mihirakula’s first defeat was at the hands of Yaśodharman about A.D. 530. His defeat and capture by Bālāditya must have been later. As Skandagupta’s reign ended about A.D. 470 a blank of sixty years has to be filled by the two reigns of his brother and his nephew.\(^11\) This, though not impossible, suggests caution in identifying Bālāditya. According to Huen Tsang Bālāditya was a feudatory of Mihirakula who rebelled against him when he began to persecute the Buddhists. Huen Tsang notices that, at the intercession of his own mother, Bālāditya spared Mihirakula’s life and allowed him to retire to Kashmir. He further notices that Mihirakula and his brother were rivals and his statement suggests that from Kashmir Mihirakula defeated his brother and recovered Gandhāra. The ascendancy of the White Huns cannot have lasted long after Mihirakula. About A.D. 560 the power of the White Huns was crushed between the combined attacks of the Persians and Turks.\(^12\) —(A. M. T. J.)

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1 Fleet’s Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 33-35.
2 Fleet’s Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 36 line 5.
3 Fleet’s Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 51 note 4.
4 N. Lat. 26° 3’; E. Long. 78° 8’.
5 Fleet’s Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 53 line 5.
6 This has already been suggested by Genl. Cunningham, Num. Chron. (3rd Ser.), VIII. 41. Dr. Horne (J. B. A. S. LVIII. 1002) has identified Yaśodharman with Vikramāditya’s son Bālāditya Pratāpaka.
7 Fleet’s Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 53 line 6.
8 Beal’s Buddhist Records. I. 169.
9 Horne in J. B. A. S. LVIII. 97.
10 See Smith and Horne J. B. A. S. LVIII. 84; and Fleet Ind. Ant. XIX. 224.
11 Horne makes light of this difficulty: J. B. A. S. LVIII. 97.
12 Rawlinson’s Seventh Monarchy, 420, 422.
CHAPTER VIII.

THE VALABHIS

(A.D. 509-766.)

The Valabhi dynasty, which succeeded the Guptas in Gujarāt and Kāśṭhīvādā, take their name from their capital in the east of Kāśṭhīvādā about twenty miles west of Bhāvnagar and about twenty-five miles north of the holy Jain hill of Satrunjaya. The modern name of Valabhi is Vajeh. It is impossible to say whether the modern Vajeh is a corruption of Valabhi the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit Valabhi or whether Valabhi is Sanskritised from a local original Vajeh. The term Valabhi occurs in the writings of Jinarajadasa a learned Jain of the thirteenth century who describes Sātrunjaya as in the Valāhaka province. A town in the chiefship of Vajeh now occupies the site of old Valabhi, whose ruins lie buried below thick layers of black earth and silt under the modern town and its neighbourhood. The only remains of old buildings are the large foundation bricks of which, except a few new houses, the whole of Vajeh is built. The absence of stone supports the theory that the buildings of old Valabhi were of brick and wood. In 1872 when the site was examined the only stone remains were a few scattered Lingas and a well-polished life-size granite Nandi or bull lying near a modern Mahideva temple. Diggers for old bricks have found copper pots and copperplates and small Buddhist relics shrines with earthen pots and clay seals of the seventh century.

The ruins of Valabhi show few signs of representing a large or important city. The want of sweet water apparently unifies the site for the capital of so large a kingdom as Valabhi. Its choice as capital was probably due to its being a harbour on the Bhāvnagar creek. Since

1 Mr. Vajeshankar Gavalsankar, Nāthī Diwān of Bhāvnagar, has made a collection of articles found in Valabhi. The collection includes clay seals of four varieties and of about the seventh century with the Buddhist formula Yā Bhāvanā hey Prabhānu; a small earthen top with the same formula imprinted on its base with a seal; beads and ring stones mages of several varieties of aukh or coramellum and saptik or coral some finished others half finished showing that as in modern Cambay the polishing of coramellums was a leading industry in early Valabhi. One circular figure of the size of a half rupee carved in black stone has engraved upon it the letters ma ra in characters about the second century. A royal seal found by Colonel Watson in Vajeh bears on it an imperfect inscription of four lines in characters as old as Dharanyasam I. (A.D. 520). This seal contains the names of three generations of kings, two of which the grandfather and grandson read Athvarman and Pushyapa all three being called Maḥāvajra or great king. The dynastic name is lost. The names on these movable objects need not belong to Valabhi history. Still that seals of the second and fifth centuries have been discovered in Valabhi shows the place was in existence before the founding of the historical Valabhi kingdom. A further proof of the age of the city is the mention of it in the Kathāsārīt-viṣara a comparatively modern work but of very old materials. To this evidence of age, with much hesitation, may be added Balal Pratāmya’s name for Gopinath point which suggests that as early as the second century Vajeh or Bajeh (compare Alberuni’s era of Bajah) was known by its present name. Badly minted coins of the Gupta ruler Kumāragupta (A.D. 417-453) are so common as to suggest that they were the currency of Valabhi.

* The অ and ০ are of the old style and the side and upper strokes, that is the base and outer of ০ are horizontal.
the days of Valabhi’s prime the silt which thickly covers the ruins has also filled and choked the channel which once united it with the Bhavanagar creek when the small Gheko was probably a fair sized river.

In spite of the disappearance of every sign of greatness Hünén Tsiang’s (A.D. 640) details show how rich and populous Valabhi was in the early part of the seventh century. The country was about 1000 miles (6000 li) and the capital about five miles (30 li) in circumference. The soil the climate and the manners of the people were like those of Málava. The population was dense; the religious establishments rich. Over a hundred merchants owned a hundred lākṣas. The rare and valuable products of distant regions were stored in great quantities. In the country were several hundred monasteries or sāṅghārāmas with about 6000 monks. Most of them studied the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatiya school. There were several hundred temples of Devas and sectaries of many sorts. When Tathāgata or Gautama Buddha (B.C. 560 - 480) lived he often travelled through this country. King Asokā (B.C. 240) had raised monuments or stupas in all places where Buddha had rested. Among these were spots where the three past Buddhas sat or walked or preached. At the time of Hünén Tsiang’s account (A.D. 640) the king was of the Kalasūriya caste, as all Indian rulers were. He was the nephew of Sīlādiva of Málava and the son-in-law of the son of Sīlādiva the reigning king of Kanyakubja. His name was Dhuvaratna (Tu-lu-h’o-po-tu). He was of a lively and hasty disposition, shallow in wisdom and statecraft. He had only recently attached himself sincerely to the faith in the three precious ones. He yearly summoned a great assembly and during seven days gave away valuable gems and choice meats. On the monks he bestowed in charity the three garments and medicaments, or their equivalents in value, and precious articles made of the seven rare and costly gems. These he gave in charity and redeemed at twice their price. He esteemed the virtuous, honoured the good, and revered the wise. Learned priests from distant regions were specially honoured. Not far from the city was a great monastary built by the Arhat Achāra (‘O-che-lo), where, during their travels, the Bodhisattvas Guṇamati and Sthiramati (Kien-hwén) settled and composed renowned treatises.1

The only historical materials regarding the Valabhi dynasty are their copperplates of which a large number have been found. That such powerful rulers as the Valabhis should leave no records on stones and no remains of religious or other buildings is probably because, with one possible exception at Gopnáth,2 up to the ninth century all temples and religious buildings in Káthiavára and Gujarát were of brick and wood.3

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1 As suggested by Dr. Rühler (Ind. Ant. VI. 30), this is probably the Vihāra called Srí Rappapadiyavihāra which is described as having been constructed by Achārya Bhadanta Sthiramati who is mentioned as the grantor in a copperplate of Dharasena II. bearing date Gupta 269 (A.D. 580). The Sthiramati mentioned with titles of religious veneration in the copperplate is probably the same as that referred to by Hünén Tsiang. (Ditto).
2 Burgess, Kathiawar and Kutch, 187.
3 Stories on record about two temples one at Satrágajaya the other at Somnáthá support this view. As regards the Satrágajaya temple the tradition is that while the minister of Kumarañá (A.D. 1148 - 1174) of Anahávdjava was on a visit to Satrágajaya to worship and meditate in the temple of Adinátha, the wick of the lamp in the shrine was removed.
The Valabhi copperplates chiefly record grants to Brahmanical temples and Buddhist monasteries and sometimes to individuals. All are in one style two plates inscribed breadthwise on the inner side, the earliest plates being the smallest. The plates are held together by two rings passed through two holes in their horizontal upper margin. One of the rings bears on one side a seal with, as a badge of the religion of the dynasty, a well-proportioned seated Nandi or bull. Under the bull is the word Bhatarka the name of the founder of the dynasty. Except such differences as may be traced to the lapse of time, the characters are the same in all, and at the same time differ from the character then in use in the Valabhi territory which must have been that from which Devanagari is derived. The Valabhi plate character is adopted from that previously in use in South Gujarat plates which was taken from the South Indian character. The use of this character suggests that either Bhatarka or the clerks and writers of the plates came from South Gujarat. The language of all the grants is Sanskrit prose. Each records the year of the grant, the name of the king making the grant, the name of the grantee, the name of the village or field granted, the name of the writer of the charter either the minister of peace and war sandhi vigraha dhdikrita or the military head baladrkita, and sometimes the name of the distak or gift-causer generally some officer of influence or a prince and in one case a princess. The grants begin by recording they were made either 'from Valabhi' the capital, or 'from the royal camp' 'Vijaya skandhavedra.' Then follows the genealogy of the dynasty from Bhatarka the founder to the grantor king. Each king has in every grant a series of attributes which appear to have been fixed for him once for all. Except in rare instances the grants contain nothing historical. They are filled with verbose description and figures of speech in high blown Sanskrit. As enjoined in law-books or dharma ststras after the genealogy of the grantor comes the name of the composer usually the minister of peace and war and after him the boundaries of the land granted. The plates conclude with the date of the grant, expressed in numerals following the letter sans or the letters samra for samvatsara that is year. After the numerals are given the lunar month and day and the day of the week, with, at the extreme end, the sign mannal svahastama nam followed by the name of the king in the genitive case that is Own hand of me so and so. The name of the era in which the date is reckoned is nowhere given.

So far as is known the dates extend for 240 years from 207 to 447. That the earliest known date is so late as 207 makes it pro-

by mice and set on fire and almost destroyed the temple which was wholly of wood. The minister seeing the danger of wooden buildings determined to erect a stone edifice (Kumarpallra Charta). The story about Somasrtha is given in an inscription of the time of Kumarpallra in the temple of Bhadrakali which shows that before the stone temple was built by Bhilmala I. (A.D. 1025-1072) the structure was of wood which was traditionallly believed to be as old as the time of Krsna. Compare the Bhadrakali inscription at Somasrtha.

1 The correctness of this inference seems open to question. The descent of the Valabhi plate character seems traceable from its natural local source the Shandagupta (A.D. 450) and the Rudradaman (A.D. 150) Girnar inscriptions. - (A. M. T. J.)
bale that the Valabhis adopted an era already in use in Kāthiāvāda. No other era seems to have been in use in Valabhi. Three inscriptions have their years dated expressly in the Valabhi Samvat. The earliest of these in Bhadrakāla's temple in SomnāthPātān is of the time of Kumārapāla (A.D. 1143-1174) the Solangi ruler of Anahilavāda. It bears date Valabhi Samvat 850. The second and third are in the temple of Harsatā Devī at Verāvali. The second which was first mentioned by Colonel Tod, is dated Hijra 662, Vikrama Samvat 1520, Valabhi Samvat 945, and Simha Samvat 151. The third inscription, in the same temple on the face of the pedestal of an image of Krishna represented as upholding the Govardhana hill, bears date Valabhi S. 937. These facts prove that an era known as the Valabhi era, which the inscriptions show began in A.D. 319, was in use for about a hundred years in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This may be accepted as the era of the Valabhi plates which extended over two centuries. Further the great authority (A.D. 1030) Alberuni gives Saka 241 that is A.D. 319 as the starting point both of the 'era of Balah' and of what he calls the Gupta-kala or the Gupta era. Alberuni's accuracy is established by a comparison of the Maudasur inscription and the Nepal inscription of Amśavarman which together prove the Gupta era started from A.D. 319. Though its use by the powerful Valabhi dynasty caused the era to be generally known by their name in Gujarāt in certain localities the Gupta era continued in use under its original name as in the Marhi copperplate of Jāikadeva which bears date 588 "of the era of the Guptas."

The Valabhi grants supply information regarding the leading office bearers and the revenue police and village administrators whose names generally occur in the following order:

1. Āyukta, meaning appointed, apparently any superior
2. Vinyuktaka, official.
3. Drāngikā, apparently an officer in charge of a town, as dranga means a town.
4. Mahattara or Senior has the derivative meaning of high in rank. Mahāttra the Marāthi for an old man is the same word. In the Valabhi plates mahattara seems to be generally used to mean the accredited headman of a village, recognised as headman both by the people of the village and by the Government.
5. Chāṭabhaṭa that is bhaṭa or sepoys or rogues, police mounted and on foot, represent the modern police jāmādār havaldārs and constables. The Kumārapāla Charita mentions that Chāṭabhaṭas were sent by Siddharāja to apprehend the fugitive Kumārapāla. One plate records the grant of a village 'unenterable by chāṭabhaṭas.'
6. Dhravā fixed or permanent is the hereditary officer in charge of the records and accounts of a village, the Talāti and Kulkarni

1 The era has been exhaustively discussed by Mr. Fleet in Corp. Ins. Ind. III, Introduction.
2 Nepal Inscriptions. The phrase achatra-bhatra is not uncommon. Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III, page 98 note 2) explains achatra-bhatra-praveya as "not to be entered by regular (bhata) or by irregular (chata) troops."
of modern times. One of the chief duties of the Dhrúva was to see that revenue farmers did not take more than the royal share. The name is still in use in Cutch where village accountants are called Dhrúva and Dhrúva. Dhrúva is also a common surname among Nágár Bráhmans and Modh and other Vánás in Cutch Gujrat and Káthiáváda.

(7) Adhikaránya means the chief judicial magistrate or judge of a place.

(8) Duyapáśika literally 'holding the fetters or noose of punishment,' is used both of the head police officer and of the hangman or executioner.

(9) Chaurodáharaṇika: the thief-catcher. Of the two Indian ways of catching thieves, one of setting a thief to catch a thief the other the Pági or tracking system, the second answers well in sandy Gujrat and Káthiáváda where the Tracker or Pági is one of the Bárábalate or regular village servants.

(10) Rájastháníya, the foreign secretary, the officer who had to do with other states and kingdoms rājasthánus. Some authorities take rājastháníya to mean viceroy.

(11) Amátya minister and sometimes councillor is generally coupled with kumára or prince.

(12) Anútpanna dáñanásamudgráhaka the arrear-gatherer.

(13) Sámkaka the superintendent of tolls or customs.

(14) Bhogíka or Bhogodáharaṇika the collector of the Bhoga that is the state share of the land produce taken in kind, as a rule one-sixth. The term bhoga is still in use in Káthiáváda for the share, usually one-sixth, which landholders receive from their cultivating tenants.

(15) Varmanpāla the roadwatch were often mounted and stationed in thánis or small roadside sheds.

(16) Práthanaaka patrols, night-guards or watchmen of fields and villages.

(17) Vishayapati division-lord probably corresponded to the present subah.

(18) Rákhtrapati the head of a district.

(19) Grámkáya the village headman.

The plates show traces of four territorial divisions: (1) Vishaya the largest corresponding to the modern administrative Division: (2) Áhára or Áharaṇi that is collectorate (from áhára a collection) corresponding to the modern district or zillah: (3) Puthaka, of the road, a sub-division, the place named and its surroundings: (4) Sthali a petty division the place without surroundings.

The district of Kaira and the province of Káthiáváda to which the Valabhi grants chiefly refer appear to have had separate systems.

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1 Bühlcr in Ind. Ant. V. 205.
2 Ind. Ant. VII. 68.
3 Ind. Ant. VII. 68.
4 Of the different territorial divisions the following examples occur: Of Vishaya or main division Suváthagaparvishaye and Súryagaparvishaye; of Áhára or collectorate Khejaka-áhára the Kaira district and Hastavápra-áhára or Hastavápra-áhara the Hathabí district near Bhavnagar; of Puthaka or sub-division Nágar-puthaka Pádandar-puthaka. (Paren still talk of Navári puthaka); of Sthali or petty division Vájasthali, Lójapadrakaštali, and others.
of land assessment Kaira by yield Kăthiavāda by area. Under the Kăthiavāda system the measurement was by pādvārta literally the space between one foot and the other that is the modern kadum or pace. The pace used in measuring land seems to have differed from the ordinary pace as most of the Kăthiavāda grants mention the bhūpāvārta or land pace. The Kaira system of assessment was by yield the unit being the pīṭaka or basketful the grants describing fields as capable of growing so many baskets of rice or barley (or as requiring so many baskets of seed). As the grants always specify the Kaira basket a similar system with a different sized basket seems to have been in use in other parts of the country.

Another detail which the plates preserve is that each field had its name called after a guardian or from some tree or plant. Among field names are Kothinka, Atimana-kedāra, Khanda-kedāra, Gargara-kshetra, Bhima-kshetra, Khagali-kedāra, Sāmi-kedāra.

The state religion of the Valabhi kings was Śaivism. Every Valabhi copperplate hitherto found bears on its seal the figure of a bull with under it the name of Bhaṭārka the founder of the dynasty who was a Śaiva. Except Dhruvacena I. (A.D. 526) who is called Paramādityabhaṭṭa or the great Vaishnavas and his brother and successor Dharapatta who is styled Paramādityabhaṭṭa or the great devotee of the sun, and Guhasena, who in his grant of Sam. 248 calls himself Paramopāsaka or the great devotee of Buddha, all the Valabhi kings are called Parama-śukla the great Śaiva.

The grants to Buddhist vihāras or monasteries of which there are several seem special gifts to institutions founded by female relatives of the granting kings. Most of the grants are to Brāhmans who though performing Vaidik ceremonies probably as at present honoured Śaivism. This Śaivism seems to have been of the old Pāṇḍava school of Nakuliṣa or Lakuliṣa as the chief shrine of Lakuliṣa was at Kārāvana the modern Kārvān in the Gātkwar's territory fifteen miles south of Baroda and eight miles north-east of Mṛyāgām railway station a most holy place till the time of the Vāgliha king Arjunadeva in the thirteenth century.¹ The special

¹ Kārvān seems to have suffered great desolation at the hands of the Musalmāns. All round the village chiefly under pipal trees, images and pieces of sculpture and large śikhara are scattered. To the north and east of the village on the banks of a large bulk pond called Karukuta are numerous sculptures and śikhaṇḍa. Partly embedded in the ground a pillar in style of the eleventh century has a writing over it of latter times. The inscription contains the name of the place Sanskritised as Kāyavaḥana, and mentions an ascetic named Virāhobharadāśi who remained there for twelve years. Near the pillar, at the steps leading to the water, is a carved doorway of about the tenth or eleventh century with some well-proportioned figures. The left doorpost has at the top a figure of Śiva, below the Śiva a figure of Śrīya, below the Śrīya a male and female, and under them attendants or parvī of Śiva. The right doorpost has at the top a figure of Viṣṇu seated on Gagai, below the seated Viṣṇu a standing Viṣṇu with four hands, and below that two sitting male and female figures, the male with hands folded in worship the female holding a purse. These figures probably represent a married pair who paid for this gateway. Further below are figures of parvī of Śiva. In 1884 in repairing the south bank of the pond a number of carved stones were brought from the north of the town. About half a mile north-west of the town on the bank of a dry brook is a temple of Chāmunda Devi of about the tenth century. It contains a mutilated life-size image of Chāmunda. Facing the temple lie mutilated figures of the seven Matrikās and of Bhairava, probably the remains of a separate altar
holiness attached to the Narbādā in Śaivism and to its pebbles as liṅgas is probably due to the neighbourhood of this shrine of Kārvān. The followers of the Nakulīśa-Pāṇḍapata school were strict devotees of Śaivism, Nakulīśa the founder being regarded as an incarnation of Śiva. The date of the foundation of this school is not yet determined. It appears to have been between the second and the fifth century a.d. Nakulīśa had four disciples Kuśika, Gārgya, Kārussa, and Maitreyā founders of four branches which spread throughout the length and breadth of India. Though no special representatives of this school remain, in spite of their nominal allegiance to Śankarachārya the Dasanāmīs or Ātīs are in fact Nakulīśas in their discipline doctrines and habits—applying ashes over the whole body, planting a liṅga over the grave of a buried Ātita and possessing proprietary rights over Śaiva temples. The Pāṇḍapatas were ever ready to fight for their school and often helped and served in the armies of kings who became their disciples. Till a century ago these unpaid followers recruited the armies of India with celibates firm and strong in fighting. It was apparently to gain these recruits that so many of the old rulers of India became followers of the Pāṇḍapata school. To secure their services the rulers had to pay them special respect. The leaders of these fighting monks were regarded as pontiffs like the Bappa-pāda or Pontiffs of the later Valabhi and other kings. Thus among the later Valabhis Śiśālītiya IV. is called Bārapadānbidhyata and all subsequent Śiśālītiyas Bappapadānvidhyata both titles meaning Worshipping at the feet of Bava or Bappa.

This Bava is the popular Prakrit form of the older Prakrit or dēsi Bappa meaning Father or worshipful. Bappa is the original of the Hindustāni and Gujarāti Bāva father or elder; it is also a special term for a head Gosvī or Atit or indeed for any recluse. The epithet Bappapadānvidhyata, Bowing at the feet of Bappa, occurs in the attributes of several Nepal kings, and in the case of king Vasantāsenā appears the full phrase:

Parama-dakṣita-bappa-bhartivratu-mailṣitroṣa-Śrī-padānvidhyata.

Falling at the illustrious feet of the great Mahārāja Lord Bappa.

These Nepal kings were Śaivas as they are called paramamāṭheśvara in the text of the inscription and like the Valabhi seals their seals bear a bull. It follows that the term Bappa was applied both by the Valabhis and the Nepal kings to some one, who can hardly be the same individual, unless he was their

facing the temple with the matri-mandapa or Mother-Meeting upon it. The village has a large modern temple of Śiva called Nakleśvara, on the site of some old temple and mostly built of old carved temple stones. In the temple close by are a number of old images of the sun and the bear incarnation of Vaisūna all of about the tenth or eleventh century. The name Nakleśvara would seem to have been derived from Nakleśa the founder of the Pāṇḍapata sect and the temple may originally have had an image of Nakleśa himself or a Ātīta representing Nakleśa. Close to the west of the village near a small dry reservoir called the Kuṇḍa of Rajarājēśvara lies a well-preserved black stone seated figure of Ātīta one of the most respected of Śiva's attendants, without whose worship all worship of Śiva is imperfect, and to whom all that remains after making oblations to Śiva is offered. A number of other sculptures lie on the banks of the pond. About a mile to the south of Kārvān is a village called Lāṅghāthā the place of liṅgas.
common overlord, which the distance between the two countries and still more the fact that his titles are the same as the titles of the Valabhi kings make almost impossible. In these circumstances the most probable explanation of the Bappa or Bāva of these inscriptions is that it was applied to Shaivite pontiffs or ecclesiastical dignitaries. The attribute Parama-dvaita The Great Divine prefixed to Bappa in the inscription of Vasantasena confirms this view. That such royal titles as Mahārājādhipati, Parama-bhattāraka, and Paramesvara are ascribed to Bappa is in agreement with the present use of Mahārāja for all priestly Brāhmans and recluses and of Bhattāraka for Digambara Jain priests. Though specially associated with Saivas the title bappa is applied also to Vaisnavas dignitaries. That the term bappa was in similar use among the Buddhists appears from the title of a Valabhi vihāra Bappapādiyavihāra. The monastery of the worshipful Bappa that is Of the great teacher Sthiramati by whom it was built. 1

The tribe or race of Bhatārka the founder of the Valabhi dynasty is doubtful. None of the numerous Valabhi copperplates mentions the race of the founder. The Chalukya and Rāshtrakūta copperplates are silent regarding the Valabhi dynasty. And it is worthy of note that the Gehlots and Gohils, who are descended from the Valabhīs, take their name not from their race but from king Guha or Guhasena (A.D. 559-597) the fourth ruler and apparently the first great sovereign among the Valabhīs. These considerations make it probable that Bhatārka belonged to some low or stranger tribe. Though the evidence falls short of proof the probability seems strong that Bhatārka belonged to the Gurjara tribe, and that it was the supremacy of him and his descendants which gave rise to the name Gurjara-rātra, the country of the Gurjjaras, a name used at first by outsiders and afterwards adopted by the people of Gujarāt. Except Bhatārka and his powerful dynasty no kings occur of sufficient importance to have given their name to the great province of Gujarāt. Against their Gurjara origin it may be urged that the Chinese traveller Huen Tsang (A.D. 640) calls the king of Valabhi a Kshatriya. Still Huen Tsang's remark was made more than a century after the establishment of the dynasty when their rise to power and influence had made it possible for them to ennoble themselves by calling themselves Kshatriyas and tracing their lineage to Puranic heroes. That such ennobling was not only possible but common is beyond question. Many so-called Rajput families in Gujarāt and Kāthiavāda can be traced to low or stranger tribes. The early kings of Nandipuri or Nandod (A.D. 450) call themselves Gurjjaras and the later members of the same dynasty trace their lineage to the Mahābhārata hero Karna. Again two of the Nandod Gurjjaras Dadda II. and Jayabhata II. helped the Valabhīs under circumstances which suggest that the bond of sympathy

1 Compare Real Buddhist Records, II. 268 note 76 and Ind. Ant. VI. 9. The meaning and reference of the title bappa have been much discussed. The question is treated at length by Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 156 note 1) with the result that the title is applied not to a religious teacher but to the father and predecessor of the king who makes the grant. According to Mr. Fleet bappa would be used in reference to a father, bavna in reference to an uncle.
may have been their common origin. The present chiefs of Nándod derive their lineage from Karna and call themselves Gohils of the same stock as the Bhavnagar Gohils who admittedly belong to the Valabhi stock. This supports the theory that the Gurjars and the Valabhis had a common origin, and that the Gurjars were a branch of and tributary to the Valabhis. This would explain how the Valabhis came to make grants in Braûch at the time when the Gurjars ruled there. It would further explain that the Gurjars were called sànsàptas or feudatories because they were under the overlordship of the Valabhis.4

The preceding chapter shows that except Chandragupta (A.D. 410) Kumåragupta (A.D. 416) and Skandagupta (A.D. 450) none of the Guptašs have left any trace of supremacy in Gujaråt and Kåthiåvåda. Of what happened in Gujaråt during the forty years after Gupta's death (A.D. 460), when the reign of Skandagupta came to an end nothing is known or is likely to be discovered from Indian sources. The blank of forty years to the founder Bhåtårka (A.D. 509) or more correctly of sixty years to Dhråvasena (A.D. 526) the first Valabhi king probably corresponds with the ascendency of some foreign dynasty or tribe. All trace of this tribe has according to custom been blotted out of the Sanskrit and other Hindu records. At the same time it is remarkable that the fifty years ending about A.D. 525 correspond closely with the ascendency in north and north-west India of the great tribe of Ephthalites or White Huns. As has been shown in the Gupta Chapter, by A.D. 470 or 480, the White Huns seem to have been powerful if not supreme in Upper India. In the beginning of the sixth century, perhaps about A.D. 520, Cosmas Indikopleustes describes the north of India and the west coast as far south as Kåliåna that is Kålyâna near Bombay as under the Huns whose king was Gollas.5 Not many years later (A.D. 530) the Hun power in Central India suffered defeat and about the same time a new dynasty arose in south-east Kåthiåvåda.

The first trace of the new power, the earliest Valabhi grant, is that of Dhråvasena in the Valabhi or Gupta year 207 (A.D. 526). In this grant Dhråvasena is described as the third son of the Senåpati or general Bhåtårka. Of Senåpati Bhåtårka neither copperplate nor inscription has been found. Certain coins which General Cunningham Arch. Surv. Rept. IX, Pl. V. has ascribed to Bhåtårka have on the obverse a bust, as on the western coins of

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1 Whether the Valabhis were or were not Gurjars the following facts favour the view that they entered Gujarat from Malwa. It has been shown (Fleet: Ind. Ant. XX. 376) that while the Guptašs used the so-called Northern year beginning with Chaitra, the Valabhi year began with Kårtika (see Ind. Ant. XX. 376). And further Kielhorn in his examination of questions connected with the Vikrama era (Ind. Ant. XIX. and XX.) has given reasons for believing that the original Vikrama era began with Kårtika and took its rise in Malwa. It seems therefore that when they settled in Gujarat, while they adopted the Gupta era the Valabhis still adhered to the old arrangement of the year to which they had been accustomed in their home in Malwa. The arrangement of the year entered into every detail of their lives, and was therefore much more difficult to change than the starting point of their era, which was important only for official acts. (A.M.T.J.)

2 Mântafonçon's Edition in Prasada's Indian Travels, 232-233. It seems doubtful if Cosmas meant that Gollas' overlordship spread as far south as Kålyâna. Compare Migne's Patrologia Cursus, lxxxviii. 466; Yule's Cathay, I. clx.
Kumāragupta, and on the reverse the Śaiva trident, and round the trident the somewhat doubtful legend in Gupta characters:

Rajīna Mahākaleśṭri Parasmālīyaabhaktā Sṛṭ Sāravva-bhaṭṭārakānām.

Of the king the great Kshatri, great devotee of the sun, the illustrious Sāravva-bhaṭṭāraka.

This Sāravva seems to have been a Rāṣṭrakūṭa or Gurijara king. His coins were continued so long in use and were so often copied that in the end upright strokes took the place of letters. That these coins did not belong to the founder of the Valabhi dynasty appears not only from the difference of name between Bhaṭṭāraka and Bhaṭārka but because the coiner was a king and the founder of the Valabhi a general.

Of the kingdom which Senāpati Bhāṭārka overthrew the following details are given in one of his epithets in Valabhi copperplates: "Who obtained glory by dealing hundreds of blows on the large and very mighty armies of the Maitrakas, who by force had subdued their enemies." As regards these Maitrakas it is to be noted that the name Maitraka means Solar. The sound of the compound epithet Maitraka-amitra that is Maitraka-enemy used in the inscription makes it probable that the usual form Mihira or solar was rejected in favour of Maitraka which also means solar to secure the necessary assonance with amitra or enemy. The form Mihira solar seems a Hinduizing or meaning-making of the northern tribal name Medh or Mehr, the Mehrs being a tribe which at one time seem to have held sway over the whole of Kāthiavāḍa and which are still found in strength near the Barda hills in the south-west of Kāthiavāḍa. The Jethvā chiefs of Porbandar who were formerly powerful rulers are almost certainly of the Mehr tribe. They are still called Mehr kings and the Mehrs of Kāthiavāḍa regard them as their leaders and at the call of their Head are ready to fight for him. The chief of Mehr traditions describes the fights of their founder Makaradhipa with one Mayāradhipa. This tradition seems to embody the memory of an historical struggle. The makara or fish is the tribal badge of the Mehrs and is marked on a Morbi copperplate dated a.d. 904 (G. 555) and on the forged Dhiniki grant of the Mehr king Jākādeva. On the other hand Mayāradhipa or peacock-banneled would be the name of the Guptas beginning with Chandragupta who ruled in Gujarāt (a.d. 396-418) and whose coins have a peacock on the reverse. The tradition would thus be a recollection of the struggle between the Mehrs and Guptas in which about a.d. 470 the Guptas were defeated. The Mehrs seem to have been a northern tribe, who, the evidence of place names seems to show, passed south through Western Rājputana, Jaolo, Ajo, Bad, and Komi leaders of this tribe giving their names to the settlements of Jaisalmir, Ajmir, Badmer, and Konalmer. The resemblance of name and the nearness of dates suggest a connection between the Mehrs and the great Panjab conqueror of the Guptas Mihirakula (a.d. 512-540?). If not their-

The Mehrs seem to have remained in power also in north-east Kāthiavāḍa till the thirteenth century. Mahāraja Gohil the famous chief of Piaro was the son of a daughter of Dhan Mehr or Mair of Dhandaka. Rāś-Māla, l. 316.
Chapter VIII.
The Valabhis.
A.D. 509-788.
The Maitrakas.
A.D. 470-500.

Early Gujarat.
selves Hūnas the Mehrs may have joined the conquering armies of
the Hūnas and passing south with the Hūnas may have won a
settlement in Kāthiavāda as the Kāthis and Juḍejas settled about
300 years later. After Senāpati Bhatārkā's conquests in the south
of the Peninsula the Mehrs seem to have retired to the north of
Kāthiavāda.

The above account of the founder of the Valabhis accepts the
received opinion that he was the Senāpati or General of the
Guptas. The two chief points in support of this view are that
the Valabhis adopted both the Gupta era and the Gupta currency.
Still it is to be noted that this adoption of a previous era and
currency by no means implies any connection with the former
rulers. Both the Gurjars (A.D. 580) and the Chālukyas (A.D. 642)
adopted the existing era of the Trākūṭakas (A.D. 248-9) while as
regards currency the practice of continuing the existing type is by
no means uncommon. In these circumstances, and seeing that
certain of the earlier Valabhi inscriptions refer to an overlord who
can hardly have been a Gupta, the identification of the king to
whom the original Senāpati owed allegiance must be admitted to be
doubtful.

All known copperplates down to those of Dharasena (A.D. 579 the
great grandson of Bhatārkā) give a complete genealogy from
Bhatārkā to Dharasena. Later copperplates omit all mention of
any descendants but those in the main line.

Senāpati Bhatārkā had four sons, (1) Dharasena (2) Dronāsimha
(3) Dhruvasena and (4) Dhārapatā. Of Dharasena the first
son no record has been traced. His name first appears in the
copperplates of his brother Dhruvasena where like his father he is
called Senāpati. Similarly of the second son Dronāsimha no record
exists except in the copperplates of his brother Dhruvasena. In
these copperplates unlike his father and elder brother Dhruvasena
is called Mahārāja and is mentioned as 'invested with royal authority
in person by the great lord, the lord of the wide extent of the whole
world.' This great lord or paramesvīmi could not have been his
father Bhatārkā. Probably he was the king to whom Bhatārkā owed
allegiance. It is not clear where Dronāsimha was installed king
probably it was in Kāthiavāda from the south-east of which his
father and elder brother had driven back the Mehrs or Maitrakas.

1 All the silver and copper coins found in Valabhi and in the neighbouring towns of
Sihor are poor imitations of Kumāragupta's (A.D. 417-453) and of Sūndagupta's (A.D.
454-470) coins, smaller lighter and of bad almost rude workmanship. The only traces
of an independent currency are two copper coins of Dharasena, apparently Dharasena
IV., the most powerful of the dynasty who was called Chakravartin or Emperor.
The question of the Gupta-Valabhi coins is discussed in Jour. Royal As. Socy. for Jan.
1899 pages 133-133. Dr. Bühler (page 138) holds the view put forward in this note of
Dr. Bhagwan'd's namely that the coins are Valabhi copies of Gupta currency. Mr.
Smith (Botta, 142-143) thinks they should be considered the coins of the kings whose
names they bear.

2 These three types of coins still current at Ujjain, Bhilas, and Uwālī in the territories
of His Highness Sindia are imitations of the previous local Mahammadnā coins.

3 As the date of Dronāsimha's investiture is about A.D. 520 it is necessary to
consider what kings at this period claimed the title of supreme lord and could boast of
ruining the whole earth. The rulers of this period whom we know of are Mihirakula.
The third son Dhruvasena is the first of several Valabhis of that name. Three copperplates of his remain: The Kukkad grant dated Gupta 207 (A.D. 528), an unpublished grant found in Janágadha dated Gupta 210 (A.D. 529), and the Vajeh grant dated Gupta 216 (A.D. 535). One of Dhruvasena’s attributes Parama-bhatárka-pádásanúdhyata, Bawing at the feet of the great lord, apparently applies to the same paramount sovereign who installed his brother Dronásimha. The paramount lord can hardly be Dhruvasena’s father as his father is either called Bhatárka without the parama or more commonly Senápati that is general. Dhruvasena’s other political attributes are Mahárája Great King or Mahásimanta Great Chief, the usual titles of a petty feudatory king. In the A.D. 535 plates he has the further attributes of Maháspratibháva the great doorkeeper or chamberlain, Mahádaúdáyaka the great magistrate, and Mahákárirkritika (?) or great general, titles which seem to show he still served some overlord. It is not clear whether Dhruvasena succeeded his brother Dronásimha or was a separate contemporary ruler. The absence of “falling at the feet of” or other successional phrase and the use of the epithet “serving at the feet of” the great lord seem to show that his power was distinct from his brothers. In any case Dhruvasena is the first of the family who has a clear connection with Valabhi from which the grants of A.D. 526 and 529 are dated.

In these grants Dhruvasena’s father Bhatárka and his elder brothers are described as great Māhesvaras that is followers of Siva, while Dhruvasena himself is called Paramahéégyavata the great Vaishnav. It is worthy of note, as stated in the A.D. 535 grant, that his niece Durjá (or Lulá?) was a Buddhist and had dedicated a Buddhist monastery at Valabhi. The latest known date of Dhruvasena is A.D. 535 (G. 216). Whether Dharaþa or Dharapattā or Dharaþa’s son Guhasena succeeded is doubtful. That Dharaþa is styled Mahárája and that a twenty-four years’ gap occurs between the latest grant of Dhruvasena and A.D. 539 the earliest grant of

Yadovinman Vanaúvaradhisana, the descendents of F. Magadha’s son Parasagupta, and the Gupta chiefs of eastern Malwa. Neither Varan and Mihirakula appears to have borne the paramount title of Paramaevvara though the former is called Maháraźhijdrája in the Erak inscription and Avanipati or Lord of the Earth (= simply king) on his coin; in the Gwalke inscription Mihirakula is simply called Lord of the Earth. He was a powerful prince but he could hardly claim to be ruler of “the whole circumference of the earth.” He therefore cannot be the installer of Dronásimha. Taking next the Gupta of Magadha we find on the Bhátar seal the title of Maháraźhijdrája given to each of them, but there is considerable reason to believe that their power had long since shrunk to Magadha and Eastern Malwa, and if Hiren Tisang’s Baláitya is Naraúshupagupta, he must have been about A.D. 530 a vassal of Mihirakula, and could not be spoken of as supreme lord, nor as ruler of the whole earth. The Guptas of Malwa have even less claim to these titles, as Bhásurraya was a mere Maháraźa, and all that is known of him is that he won a battle at Banás in Eastern Malwa in A.D. 510-11. Last of all comes Vanaúvaradhisana or Yayoviharan of Mandal. In one of the Mandalor inscriptions he has the title of Ratjáhijdrája and Paramasvarâ (A.D. 532-33), in another he boasts of having led his conquests from the Lánitya (Brahmagupta) to the western ocean and from the Himálaya to Mount Mahendra. It seems obvious that Yayoviharan is the Paramaswámi of the Valabhi plate, and that the reference to the western ocean relates to Bhásurraya’s successes against the Maitrakas. —[A.M.T.J.]

1 Ind. Ant. V. 204. 2 Ind. Ant. IV. 104.

3 In a commentary on the Kalpaśitra Dandaśanyaka is described as meaning Jñápana-pála that is head of a district.

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Guhasena favour the succession of Dharanapātta. On the other hand, in the A.D. 559 grant all Guhasena’s sins are said to be cleansed by falling at the feet of, that is, by succeeding, Dhruvasena. It is possible that Dharanapātta may have ruled for some years and Dhruvasena again risen to power.

Of Guhasena (A.D. 532-569) three plates and a fragment of an inscription remain. Two of the grants are from Valabhi dated A.D. 559 and 565 (G. 240 and 246); the third is from Bhāvnamgar dated A.D. 567 (G. 248). The inscription is on an earthen pot found at Valabhi and dated A.D. 566 (G. 247). In all the later Valabhi plates the genealogy begins with Guhasena who seems to have been the first great ruler of his dynasty. Guhasena is a Sanskrit name meaning Whose army is like that of Kārttika-svāmī: his popular name was probably Guhila. It appears probable that the Gohil and Gehlot Rajput chiefs of Kāthiavara and Rājputana, who are believed to be descendants of the Valabhis, take their name from Guhasena or Guha, the form Gehloti or Gehlot, Gaha-tita, being a corruption of Gahilaputra or descendants of Gahila, a name which occurs in old Rājput records. This lends support to the view that Guhasena was believed to be the first king of the dynasty. Like his predecessors he is called Mahārāja or great king. In one grant he is called the great Sāiva and in another the great Buddhist devotee (paranagaṇa), while he grants villages to the Buddhist monastery of his paternal aunt’s daughter Duddā. Though a Sāivate Guhasena, like most of his predecessors, tolerated and even encouraged Buddhism. His minister of peace and war is named Skandabhaṭa.

The beginning of Guhasena’s reign is uncertain. Probably it was not earlier than A.D. 530 (G. 220). His latest known date is A.D. 567 (G. 248) but he may have reigned two years longer.

About A.D. 563 (G. 250) Guhasena was succeeded by his son Dharasena II. Five of his grants remain, three dated A.D. 571 (G. 253), the fourth dated A.D. 588 (G. 260), and the fifth dated A.D. 589 (G. 270). In the first three grants Dharasena is called Mahārāja or great king; in the two later grants is added the title Mahāśāṃaka, Great Feudatory, seeming to show that in the latter part of his reign Dharasena had to acknowledge as overlord some one whose power had greatly increased. All his copperplates style Dharasena II Parama-mahārāja, Great Šāiva. A gap of eighteen years occurs between A.D. 589 Dharasena’s latest grant and A.D. 607 the earliest grant of his son Sīlāditya.

Dharasena II was succeeded by his son Sīlāditya I, who is also called Dharmāditya or the sun of religion.

The Sātrujaya Mahātmya has a prophetic account of one Sīlāditya who will be a propagator of religion in Vikrama Saṃvat.
477 (A.D. 420). This Māhātmya is comparatively modern and is not worthy of much trust. Vikrama Samvat 477 would be A.D. 420 when no Valabhi kingdom was established and no Śilāditya can have flourished. If the date 477 has been rightly preserved, and it be taken in the Saka era it would correspond with Gupta 237 or A.D. 558, that is thirty to forty years before Śilāditya's reign. Although no reliance can be placed on the date still his second name Dharmāditya gives support to his identification with the Śilāditya of the Māhātmya.

His grants like many of his predecessors style Śilāditya a great devotee of Śiva. Still that two of his three known grants were made to Buddhist monks shows that he tolerated and respected Buddhism. The writer of one of the grants is mentioned as the minister of peace and war Chandrabhaṭṭi; the Dūtaka or causer of the gift in two of the Buddhist grants is Bhaṭṭa Adityasaśas apparently some military officer. The third grant, to a temple of Śiva, has for its Dūtaka the illustrious Kharagraha apparently the brother and successor of the king.

Śilāditya's reign probably began about A.D. 594 (G. 273). His latest grant is dated A.D. 609 (G. 290).^1

Śilāditya was succeeded by his brother Kharagraha, of whom no record has been traced. Kharagraha seems to have been invested with sovereignty by his brother Śilāditya who probably retired from the world. Kharagraha is mentioned as a great devotee of Śiva.

Kharagraha was succeeded by his son Dharasena III. of whom no record remains.

Dharasena III was succeeded by his younger brother Dhruvasena II. also called Bālāditya or the rising sun. A grant of his is dated A.D. 629 (G. 410).^2 As observed before, Dhruvasena is probably a Sanskritised form of the popular but meaningless Dhruvapāṭṭa which is probably the original of Huen Tsiangs's Lu-ho-pu-tu, as A.D. 629 the date of his grant is about eleven years before the time when (640) Huen Tsiang is calculated to have been in Mālwa if not actually at Valabhi. If one of Dhruvasena's poetic attributes is not mere hyperbole, he made conquests and spread the power of Valabhi. On the other hand, the Navsāri grant of Jayabhata III. (A.D. 706-734) the Gurjara king of Broach states that Dadda II. of Broach (A.D. 630-650) protected the king of Valabhi who had been defeated by the great Śri Harshādeva (A.D. 607-648) of Kanauj.

Dhruvasena II. was succeeded by his son Dharasena IV., perhaps the most powerful and independent of the Valabhis. A copperplate dated A.D. 649 (G. 330) styles him Parama-bhoṭṭāraka, Mahā-rājādhirāja, Paramacāvatra, Chakravartin Great Lord, King of Kings, Great Ruler, Universal Sovereign. Dharasena IV.'s successors continue the title of Mahā-rājādhirāja or great ruler, but none is called Chakravartin or universal sovereign a title which implies numerous conquests and widespread power.

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^1 Ind. Ant. XI. 308.
^2 Ind. Ant. VI. 18.
Two of Dharasena IV's grants remain, one dated A.D. 645 (G. 326) the other A.D. 649 (G. 330). A grant of his father Dhruvasena dated A.D. 634 (G. 315) and an unpublished copperplate in the possession of the chief of Morbi belonging to his successor Dhruvasena III. dated A.D. 651 (G. 332) prove that Dharasena's reign did not last more than seventeen years. The well known Sanskrit poem Bhaṭṭikāvya seems to have been composed in the reign of this king as at the end of his work the author says it was written at Valabhi protected (governed) by the king the illustrious Dharasena.1 The author's application to Dharasena of the title Narendra Lord of Men is a further proof of his great power.

Dharasena IV. was not succeeded by his son but by Dhruvasena the son of Derabhata the son of Dharasena IV's paternal grand-uncle. Derabhata appears not to have been ruler of Valabhi itself but of some district in the south of the Valabhi territory. His epithets describe him as like the royal sage Agastya spreading to the south, and as the lord of the earth which has for its two breasts the Sahya and Vindhaya hills. This description may apply to part of the province south of Kaira where the Sahyādri and Vindhaya mountains may be said to unite. In the absence of a male heir in the direct line, Derabhata's son Dhruvasena appears to have succeeded to the throne of Valabhi. The only known copperplate of Dhruvasena III's, dated A.D. 651 (G. 332), records the grant of the village of Pedhapadra in Vantali, the modern Vantali in the Navānagar State of North Kāthiāwada. A copperplate of his elder brother and successor Kharagraha dated A.D. 656 (G. 337) shows that Dhruvasena's reign cannot have lasted over six years.

The less than usually complimentary and respectful reference to Dhruvasena III. in the attributes of Kharagraha suggests that Kharagraha took the kingdom by force from his younger brother as the rightful successor of his father. At all events the succession of Kharagraha to Dhruvasena was not in the usual peaceful manner. Kharagraha's grant dated A.D. 656 (G. 337) is written by the Divirapati or Chief Secretary and minister of peace and war Anabilla son of Skandabhata.2 The Dūtaka or causer of the gift was the Pramātri or survey officer Srinā.

Kharagraha was succeeded by Silāditya III. son of Kharagraha's elder brother Silāditya II. Silāditya II. seems not to have ruled at Valabhi but like Derabhata to have been governor of Southern Valabhi, as he is mentioned out of the order of succession and with the title Lord of the Earth containing the Vindhaya mountain. Three grants of Silāditya III. remain, two dated A.D. 666 (G. 346)3 and the third dated A.D. 671 (G. 352).4 He is called Parama-bhāttrāka Great Lord, Mahārājādhirāja Chief King among Great Kings, and Paramesvarā Great Ruler. These titles continue to be applied to all

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1 Kṛṣṇamidham rāchitaṁ maṁ Valabhyām Sṛṇi Dhruvasena-nārāyaṇa pālitaṁ.
2 Ind. Ant. VII. 76.
4 Ind. Ant. XI. 505.
subsequent Valabhi kings. Even the name Śilāditya is repeated though each king must have had some personal name.

Śilāditya III. was succeeded by his son Śilāditya IV. of whom one grant dated A.D. 691 (G. 372) remains. The officer who prepared the grant is mentioned as the general Divirapati Śrī Haragana the son of Rappa Bhogika. The Dūtaka or gift-causer is the prince Kharagruha, which may perhaps be the personal name of the next king Śilāditya V.

Of Śilāditya V. the son and successor of Śilāditya IV. two grants dated A.D. 722 (G. 403) both from Gondal remain. Both record grants to the same person. The writer of both was general Gillaka son of Budhabhatṭa, and the gift-causer of both prince Śilāditya.

Of Śilāditya VI. the son and successor of the last, one grant dated A.D. 760 (G. 441) remains. The grantee is an Atharvavedi Brāhmaṇa. The writer is Sasyagupta son of Empattha and the gift-causer is Gānjaśāti Śrī Jujjar (or Jujjir).

Of Śilāditya VII. the son and successor of the last, who is also called Dhrūbhaṭa (Sk. Dhruvabhaṭa), one grant dated A.D. 786 (G. 447) remains.

The following is the genealogy of the Valabhi Dynasty:

**VALABHI FAMILY TREE, A.D. 609 - 766.**

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shatśrīra</th>
<th>A.D. 609 (Gupta 169)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dharmasena I.</td>
<td>Promaksha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmasena I.</td>
<td>Kharapati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gohasena</td>
<td>A.D. 626, 628 (Gupta 227)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmasena II.</td>
<td>A.D. 671, 675 (Gupta 228, 229)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūladrītya I.</td>
<td>or Dhrasmāḍītya I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D. 657, 659 (Gupta 228, 229)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhruvabhaṭa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūladrītya II.</td>
<td>Kharagruha II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūladrītya III.</td>
<td>or Dhrasmāḍītya II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D. 661 (Gupta 230)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmasena III.</td>
<td>Dhrusvesaṇa III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmasena IV.</td>
<td>or Bāladrītya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D. 681 (Gupta 240)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūladrītya IV.</td>
<td>A.D. 691, 695 (Gupta 247)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D. 722 (Gupta 227-228)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūladrītya V.</td>
<td>A.D. 733 (Gupta 228)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūladrītya VI.</td>
<td>A.D. 760 (Gupta 241)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūladrītya VII.</td>
<td>A.D. 786 (Gupta 447)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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1 Ind. Ant. V. 208.
Chapter VIII.

The Valabhis, A.D. 509-700.

The Fall of Valabhi, A.D. 700-770.

Of the overthrow of Valabhi many explanations have been offered.1 The only explanation in agreement with the copperplate evidence that a Silladityya was ruling at Valabhi as late as A.D. 706 (Val, Sam. 447) is the Hindu account preserved by Alberuni (A.D. 1030)2 that soon after the Sindh capital Mansura was founded, say A.D. 750-770, Ranksa a disaffected subject of the era-making Valabhi, with presents of money persuaded the Arab lord of Mansura to send a naval expedition against the king of Valabhi. In a night attack king Valabhi was killed and his people and town were destroyed. Alberuni adds: Men say that still in our time such traces are left in

1 Since his authorities mention the destroyers of Valabhi under the vague term mohahClassNotFoundExceptions or barbarians and since the era in which they date the overthrow may be either the Vikram Samvat 57, the Saka A.D. 78, or the Valabhi A.D. 319, Tol is forced to offer many suggestions. His proposed dates are A.D. 214 Vik. Sam. 203 (Western India, 306), A.D. 214 Val. Sam. 106 (Uttar, 311 and 211), A.D. 204 Val. Sam. 206 (Annals of Rajasthan, L. 83 and 217-220), and A.D. 619 Val. Sam. 300 (Western India, 252). Tol identifies the barbarian destroyers of Valabhi either with the descendents of the seventh century Parthians, or with the White Huns Gutes or Kuthis, or with a mixture of those who in the beginning of the sixth century, supplanted the Parthians (An. of Raja, L. 58 and 217-220; Western India, 214, 502). Elliot (History, I. 408) accepting Tol's date A.D. 624 refers the overthrow to Skythian barbarians from South Russia, and accepting Tuls's date A.D. 212 as the overthrow to the Sassanian Sassanian or Choresian the Great (A.D. 531-579) citing in support of a Sassanian general Maximus the Pescio, L. 141 and Tttinger's Travels, 395. Forbes (Raja Mal, 1. 29) notes that the Jain account places the date of the over throw Vik. Sam. 379 that is A.D. 319 apparently in confusion with the epoch of the Gupta era which the Valabhi kings adopted.3 Forbes says (Uttar, 24): If the destroyers had not been called mohah ClassNotFoundExceptions I might have supposed them to be the Dakhak Chalakayas Gen. Cunningham (Anc. Geo. 318) holds that the date of the destruction was A.D. 626 and the destroyer the Rashtrakuta Baja Govinda who restored the ancient family of Srivatsa. Thomas (Princ. of Useful Tables, 108) fixes the destruction of Valabhi at A.D. 745 (S. 802). In the Kathakar Gazetteer Col. Watson in one passage (page 627) says the destroyers may have been the early Muhammadans who retired as quickly as they came. In another passage (page 274), accepting Mr. Burgess (Arch. Surv. Rep. IV, 75) Gupta era of A.D. 193 and an overthrow date of A.D. 622, and citing a Wadkhawan couplet telling how Eshab Valabhi without the Iranians, Col. Watson suggests the destroyers may have been Iranians. However, such in A.D. 642 they must have come not as raiders but as refugees. If they would not have destroyed Valabhi if the Parsis destroyed Valabhi as soon as they entered to.

2 Similarly 8, 200 the date given by some of Col. Tol's authorities (An. of Raja, L. 32 and 217-220) represents A.D. 254 the practical establishment of the Valabhi dynasty. The mistake of placing an era to the overthrow not to the founding of a dynasty (compare Suchak's Alberuni, II. 7) in the case both of the Vikram era 57 and of the Valabhi era 78. In both cases the error was intentional. It was devised with the aim of hiding the supremacy of foreigners in early Hindu history. So also, according to Alberuni's information (Suchak, II. 1) the Gopadabra A.D. 212 marks the ceasing not the beginning of the Miludda and power of Gupta. This device is not confined to India. Her Indo-Iranian i.e. 343 Haraempolis Herodotus (E. 590) the founding of the Medes community. The date likewise marks the overthrow of the Khakas by the Alexander Persians.

3 Tol (An. of Raja, L. 233) notices what is perhaps a reminiscence of this era (A.D. 760). It is the story that Happa, who according to the Magi tradition is the founder of the Ghulat power at Cahir, abandoned his country for Iraq in A.D. 764 (8, 829). It seems probable that this Happa or Salta is not the founder of Ghulat power at Cahir, but, according to the Valabhi use of Happa, is the founder's father and that this retreat to Iraq refers to his being carried captive to Mansura on the fall either of Valabhi or of Gudarh.

4 Reinaud's Fragmentes, 134 note 1: Mémoire Sur l'Inde, 185: Suchak's Alberuni, I. 158. The treachery of the magician Ranksa is the same case as that assigned by Forbes (Raja Mal, 1. 12-13) from Jain sources. The local legend (Uttar, 24) points the inevitable Tower of Silenus moral, a moral which (compare Raja Mal, L. 55) is probably at the root of the antique tale of Lot and the Cities of the Plain, that men whose city was incompletely destroyed must have been sinners beyond others. Dr. Nicholson (J. R. A. S., Ser. I. Vol. XIII, page 179) in 1831 thought the site of Valabhi bore many traces of destruction by water.
that country as are found in places wasted by an unexpected attack. For this expedition against Valabhi Alberuni gives no date. But as Mansur was not founded till A.D. 750 and as the latest Valabhi copperplate is A.D. 756 the expedition must have taken place between A.D. 750 and 770. In support of the Hindu tradition of an expedition from Mansur against Valabhi between A.D. 750 and 770 it is to be noted that the Arab historians of Sindh record that in A.D. 758 (H. 140) the Khalif Mansur sent Amr bin Jamal with a fleet of barks to the coast of Barada. Twenty years later A.D. 778 (H. 160) a second expedition succeeded in taking the town, but, as sickness broke out, they had to return. The question remains should the word, which in these extracts Elliot reads Barada, be read Balaha. The lax rules of Arab narsee writing would cause little difficulty in adopting the reading Balaha. Further it is hard to believe that Valabhi, though to some extent sheltered by its distance from the coast and probably a place of less importance than its chroniclers describe, should be unknown to the Arab raiders of the seventh and eighth centuries and after its fall be known to Alberuni in the eleventh century. At the same time, as during the eighth century there was, or at least as there may have been, a town Baranda on the south-west coast of Kathiawara the iden-

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1 Lassen (Ind. Alt. III. 533) puts aside Alberuni's Arab expedition from Mansur as without historical support and unadmissible. Lassen held that Valabhi flourished after its alleged destruction from Mansur. Lassen's statement (see Ind. Alt. III. 533) is based on the mistaken idea that the Valabhi were the Balauras the Balauras' capital Māturā must be Valabhi. So far as is known, except Alberuni himself (see below) none of the Arab geographers of the tenth or eleventh centuries mentions Valabhi. It is true that according to Lassen (Ind. Alt. III. 530) Mansur A.D. 715, Ishtakhri A.D. 801, and Ibn Haukal A.D. 970 all attest the existence of Valabhi up to their own time. This remark is due either to the mistake regarding Māturā or to the identification of Haiwi or Baeti in Sindh (Elliot's History, I. 37-38) with Valabhi. The only known Muslim reference to Valabhi later than A.D. 750 is Alberuni's statement (Sacchā, II. 7) that the Valabhi of the era of 20 gajammas or 20 miles south of Anahitavada. That after its overthrow Valabhi remained, as it still continues, a local town has been shown in the text. Such an after-life is in no way inconsistent with its destruction as a leading capital in A.D. 707.

2 According to Alberuni (Sacchā, I. 21) Al Mansur, which was close to Beihamsbadi about 47 miles north-east of Haidarabad (Elliot's Muslim History, I. 371-374) was built by the great Muhammad Kāsīm about A.D. 713. Apparently Alberuni wrote Muhammad Kāsīm by mistake for his grandson Amrū Muhammad (Elliot, I. 372 note 1 and 442-3), who built the city a little before A.D. 750. Reimand (Fragment, 150) makes Amrū the son of Muhammad Kāsīm. Mansur (A.D. 812) gives the same date (A.D. 750), but Elliot (I. 254) makes the builder the Umayyad governor Mansur bin A'mar bin Ja'far. Elliot (A.D. 1137 Elliot, I. 78) states Mansur was built and named in honour of the Khalif Almah Ja'far-al-Mansur. If so its building would be later than A.D. 750. On such a point Elliot's authority carries little weight.

3 Elliot, I. 344.

4 That the word read Barada by Elliot is in the lax pointless stopper writing is shown by the different proposed readings (Elliot, I. 444 note 1) Nastrad, Barada, and Barad. So far as the original goes Balaha is probably as likely a rendering as Barada. Reimand (Fragment, 212) says he cannot restore the name.

Though, except as applied to the Porbandar range of hills, the name Barada is almost unknown, and though Omnīn or Barada was the early (eighth-eleventh century) capital of Porbandar some place named Barada seems to have existed on the Porbandar coast. According to V. H. Yule (McRitchie, 37) and Elliot (Sacchā, I. 208) Baroda seems to have been the capital of the village K秉承 (probably the road from) of Sarnabird; and E. Martyn (Geographie des Indes, 189) identifies Pliny's (A.D. 77) Varatana next the Odibhera or people of Kachh with the Varadas according to Homer (A.D. 1150) a class of foreigners or mlechchhas. A somewhat tempting identification of Barada is with Beruni's Barwi (Sacchā, I. 208) or Barusin (Reimand's Fragments, 121) 84 miles (14 parasangs) west of Somnath. But an examination of Beruni's text shows that Barwi is not the name of a place but of a product of Kachh the latter or horn stone.
The Importance of Valabhi,

tification of the raids against Barada with the traditional expedition against Balaba though perhaps probable cannot be considered certain. Further the statement of the Sindh historians\(^1\) that at one time the Sindh Arabs also made a naval expedition against Kandhar in accord with the traditional account in Tod that after the destruction of Valabhi the rulers retired to a fort near Cambay from which after a few years they were driven.\(^2\) If this fort is the Kandhar of the Sindh writers and Gandihar on the Broach coast about twenty miles south of Cambay, identifications which are in agreement with other passages, the Arab and Rajput accounts would fairly agree.\(^3\)

The discovery of its last site; the natural but mistaken identification of its rulers with the famous eighth and ninth century (A.D. 750-822) Balbaras of Makkhet in the East Dakhan;\(^4\) the trading to Valabhi of the Rana of Udepur in Mewad the head of the Sciona or Ghilis the most exalted of Hindu families; and in later times the wealth of Valabhi copperplates have combined to make the Valabhiras one of the best known of Gujarati dynasties. Except the large kingdom, covering the 250 years from the beginning of the Arab to the middle of the eighth century, little is known of Valabhi or its seaport. The

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\(^1\) Elliot, I. 445.

\(^2\) Compare Tod (Annals, I. 83 and 217). Gajju or Gajnu another capital whence the last prince Sidhitya was expelled by Parthian invaders in the sixth century.

\(^3\) Compare Reinach (Fragments, 312 note 4) who identifies it with the Alu-akbara Kandhar that is Gandihar in Broach. The identification is doubtful. Tod (Annals, I. 217) names the fort Gajju or Gajnu and there was a fort Gajju close to Cambay. Elliot (I. 445) would identify the Arab Kandhar with Kandalar in north-west Kathiawar.

\(^4\) Even after A.D. 770 Valabhi seems to have been attacked by the Arabs. Dr. Bhugvinali\(^1\) notices that two Jain dates for the destruction of the city 833 and 888 are in the Vikram era and that this means not the Mahavira era of B.C. 526 but the Vikram era of B.C. 57. The corresponding dates are therefore A.D. 767 and 820. Evidence in support of the A.D. 769 and 770 defeat is given in the text. On behalf of Dr. Bhugvinali’s second date A.D. 820 it is remarkable that in or about A.D. 830 (Elliot, I. 417) Mass the Arab governor of Sind has captured Balsa the ruler of As Shariq. As there seems no reason to identify this As Shariq with the Sindhi lake of As Shariq mentioned in a raided in A.D. 790 (Elliot, I. 441; J. R. A. S. (1893) page 70) the phrase would mean Balsa king of the east. The Arab record of the defeat of Balsa would thus be in close agreement with the Jain date for the latest foreign attack on Valabhi.

\(^5\) The identification of the Balbaras of the Arab writers with the Chalukyas (A.D. 500-753) and Rashtrakutas (A.D. 738-972) of Makkhet in the East Dakhan has been accepted. The vagueness of the early (A.D. 850-900) Arab geographers still more the inaccuracy of Idri (A.D. 1137) in placing the Balbaras capital in Gujarat (Elliot, I. 87) suggested a connection between Balbar and Valabhi. The unhelpfulness of this identification was increased by the use among Rajput writers of the title Balakarai for the Valabhi chief (Tod An. of Raj. I. 83) and the absence among either the Chalukyas (A.D. 500-753) or the Rashtrakutas (A.D. 738-972) of Makkhet of any title resembling Balbar. Prof. Bhandarkar’s (Decennal History, 56-57) discovery that several of the early Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas had the personal name Valabha Beloved settled the question and established the accuracy of all Madanl’s (A.D. 913) statements (Elliot, I. 20-21) regarding the Balbaras who ruled the Kanyakar that is Kamrakar or Karnatak (Santhan’s Bernl. !. 262; II. 318) and had their Kanares (Kiriya) capital at Manik (Makkhet) 640 miles from the coast.

\(^6\) After their withdrawal from Valabhi to Mewad the Vallas took the name of Gehlot (see below page 28), then of Aharya from a temporary capital near Udepur (Tod’s An. of Raj. I. 218), next of Secodia in the west of Mewad (Tod’s An. of Raj. I. 216; Western India, 57). Since 1568 the Rana’s head-quarters have been at Udepur. Raja. Gaz. Ill. 18. After the establishment of their power in Chitor (A.D. 780), a branch of the Gehlot or Gehil family withdrew to Khed in south-west Mewar. These driven south by the Ratholes in the end of the twelfth century are the Gehil of Pura, Bhavnagar, and Rājpūta in Kathāvāḍa and Gujarāt. Tod’s Annals of Raj. I. 114, 228,
The origin of the city and of its rulers, the extent of their sway, and the cause and date of their overthrow are all uncertain. The unfitness of the site, the want of reservoirs or other stone remains, the uncertainty when its rulers gained an independent position, the fact that only one of them claimed the title Chakravarti or All Ruler are hardly consistent with any far-reaching authority. Add to this the continuance of Maitraka or Mer power in North Káthiáváda, the separateness though perhaps dependence of Saurástra even in the time of Valabhi's greatest power, the rare mention of Valabhi in contemporary Gujárat grants, and the absence of trustworthy reference in the accounts of the Arab raids of the seventh or eighth centuries tend to raise a doubt whether, except perhaps during the ten years ending 650, Valabhi was ever of more than local importance.

In connection with the pride of the Sesodias or Gohils of Mewád in their Valabhi origin the question who were the Valabhis has a special interest. The text shows that Pandit Bhágvánlal was of opinion the Valabhis were Gújjaras. The text also notes that the Pandit believed they reached south-east Káthiáváda by sea from near Broach and that if they did not come to Broach from Malwa at least the early rulers obtained (A.D. 520 and 526) investiture from the Malwa kings. Apart from the doubtful evidence of an early second to fifth century B.á or Valabhi three considerations weigh against the theory that the Valabhis entered Gujárat from Malwa in the sixth century. First their acceptance of the Gupti era and of the Gupti currency raises the presumption that the Valabhis were in Káthiáváda during Gupti ascendancy (A.D. 440-480); Second that the Sesodias trace their pedigree through Valabhi to an earlier settlement at Dhánk in south-west Káthiáváda and that the Válas of Dhánk still hold the place of heads of the Válas of Káthiáváda; And Third that both Sesodias and Válas trace their origin to Kanaksa a second century North Indian immigrant into Káthiáváda combine to raise the presumption that the Válas were in Káthiáváda before the historical founding of Valabhi in A.D. 526 and that the city took its name from its founders the Válas or Bálás.

Whether or not the ancestors of the Gohils and Válas were settled in Káthiáváda before the establishment of Valabhi about A.D. 526

1 The somewhat doubtful Jālakshena plates (abover page 87 and Káthiáváda. Gazetteer, 276) seem to show the continuance of Maitraka power in North Káthiáváda. This is supported by the expedition of the Arab chief of Sílísh in Káshí (A.D. 840) against the Muháms of Hind which ended in the capture of Málá in North Káthiáváda. Elliot, I. 490. Hindi Tánsa (A.D. 630) (Béa's Buddhás Records, II. 69) describes Saurástrá as a separate state but at the same time notes its dependence on Valabhi. Its rulers seem to have been Muhás. In A.D. 713 (Elliot, L. 123) Múhammad Kásim made peace with the men of Súrását, Muhás, sea-farers, and pirates.

2 The only contemporary rulers in whose grants a reference to Valabhi has been traced are the Gújjaras of Broach (A.D. 580-585) one of whom, Dódá II. (A.D. 663), is said (Jum. Ant. XIII. 70) to have gained renown by protecting the lord of Valabhi who had been defeated by the Illustrious Síri Shrásadáva (A.D. 608-640) and another Jaya-bána in A.D. 706 (Jum. Ant. V. 115) claims to have quieted with the sword the impetuousness of the lord of Valabhi.

3 Tól. Ant. of Raj. I. 217; Western India, 509.

4 Tod. Ant. of Raj. I. 112 and Western India, 148; Bás Málá, I. 21. It is not clear whether these passages prove that the Sesodias or only the Válas claim an early settlement at Dhánk. In any case (see below page 101) both claim their origin to Kanaksa.
several considerations bear out the correctness of the Rajput traditions and the Jain records that the Gohils or Sesodias of Mewad came from Buda or Valabhi in Kathiavada. Such a withdrawal from the coast, the result of the terror of Arab raids, is in agreement with the fact that from about the middle of the eighth century the rulers of Gujarat established an inland capital at Anhilavada (A.D. 748).\(^3\) It is further in agreement with the establishment by the Gohil refugees of a town Balli in Mewad; with the continuance as late as A.D. 908 (S. 1924) by the Sesodia chief of the Valabhi title Siladiya or Sail; and with the peculiar Valabhi blend of Sun and Siva worship still to be found in Udepur.\(^4\) The question remains how far can the half-poetic accounts of the Sesodias be reconciled with a date for the fall of Valabhi so late as A.D. 766. The mythical wanderings, the caveborn Guha, and his rule at Idar can be easily spared. The name Gehlot which the Sesodias trace to the caveborn Guha may as the Bhavnagar Gehlots hold have its origin in Guhasena (A.D. 559-567) perhaps the first Valabhi chief of more than local distinction.\(^5\) Tod\(^6\) fixes the first historical date in the Sesodia family history at A.D. 720 or 728 the outing of the Mori or Maurya of Chitor by Bappa or Sail. An inscription near Chitor shows the Mori in power in Chitor as late as A.D. 714 (S. 770).\(^7\) By counting back nine generations from Sakti Kumara the tenth from Bappa whose date is A.D. 1068 Tod fixes A.D. 720-728 as the date when the Gohils succeeded the Moris. But

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\(^1\) Tod's Western India, 51.
\(^2\) Tod's An. of Raj, I. 230.
\(^3\) The cherished title of the later Valabhi, Siladiya Sun of Virtue, confirms the special sun worship at Valabhi, which the mention of Dharapadja (A.D. 559) as a devotee of the supreme sun supports, and which the legends of Valabhi's sun-horse and sun-fountain keep fresh (Ras Mal, I. 14-18). So the great one-stone lingas, the most notable trace of Valabhi city (E. R. A. S. Scr. I. Vol. XIII, 149 and XVII, 271), bear out the Valabhi copperplate claim that its rulers were great worshippers of Siva. Similarly the Ranas of Udepur, while enjoying the title of Sun of the Hindus, prospering under the sun bunny, and especially worshipping the sun (Tod's Annals, I. 563) is at the same time the Minister of Siva the One Luminous (Bhagavatadharmas) (Dittr 222, Raja Gov. III, 55). The blend is natural. The fierce moon-tide sun is Mahakala the Destroyer. Like Siva the Sun is lord of the Moon. And marshalled by Somnatha the great soul Home: the souls of the dead pass heavenwards along the rays of the setting sun. (Compare Sachau's Alberuni, II. 168.) It is the common sun element in Saurism and in Vaishnavism that gives their holiness to the sun shrines of Somnath and Dwarka. For (Dittr, 169) the setting sun is the door whence men march forth into the world of existences Westwards, heavenwards.

\(^4\) This explanation is hardly satisfactory. The name Gehlot seems to be Gohila-putra an ancient Brahman gotra, one of the not uncommon cases of Rajputs with a Brahman gotra. The Rajput use of a Brahman gotra is generally considered a technical affiliation, a mark of respect for some Brahman teacher. It seems doubtful whether the practice is not a reminiscence of an ancestral Brahman strain. This view finds confirmation in the Aitipur inscription (Tod's Annals, I. 892) which states that Guhadit the founder of the Gohil tribe was of Brahman race (Vipra-kala). Compare the legend (Ras Mal, I. 13) that makes the first Siladiya of Valabhi (A.D. 559-609) the son of a Brahman woman. Compare (Elliot, I. 411) the Brahman Chaudhuris (I. 920-570) marrying the widow of the Shahi king of Agra in Sindhi who is written of as a Rajput though like the later (A.D. 850-1060) Shahis of Kabul (Alberuni, Sachau II. 18) the dynasty may possibly have been Brahman.\(^7\) The following passage from Hodgson's Essays (J. A. Soc. Sc. II, 218) throws light on the subject: Among the Khils and Rajputs of Nepel the sons of Brahman by Khils women take their fathers' gotras. Compare Ishbehoon's Panch Cenas 1781 page 236.

\(^5\) Tod's Western India, 51.
\(^6\) Tod's An. of Raj, I. 230.
\(^7\) Compare Elliot (I. 411) the Brahman Chaudhuris (I. 920-570) marrying the widow of the Shahi king of Agra in Sindh who is written of as a Rajput though like the later (A.D. 850-1060) Shahis of Kabul (Alberuni, Sachau II. 18) the dynasty may possibly have been Brahman. The following passage from Hodgson's Essays (J. A. Soc. Sc. II, 218) throws light on the subject: Among the Khils and Rajputs of Nepel the sons of Brahman by Khil women take their fathers' gotras. Compare Ishbehoon's Panch Cenas 1781 page 236.
the sufficient average allowance of twenty years for each reign would
bring Bappa to A.D. 770 or 780 a date in agreement with a fall of
Valabhi between A.D. 770 and 770, as well as with the statement of
Abul Fazl, who, writing in A.D. 1596, says the Rāma's family had been
in Mewad for about 500 years. 1

The Arab accounts of the surprise-attack and of the failure of the
invaders to make a settlement agree with the local and Rājputāna
traditions that a branch of the Valabhi family continued to rule at Vajeh
until its conquest by Mūlā Rāja Solankhi in A.D. 950. 2 Though their
barde favour the explanation of Vāla from the Gujarāti: vālas return
or the Persian vālas 3 noble the family claim to be of the old Valabhi
stock. They still have the tradition they were driven out by the Musul-
mans, they still keep up the family name of Selaś or Sīlāditya. 4

The local tradition regarding the settlement of the Vālas in the
Balakhshetra south of Valabhi is that it took place after the capture
of Valabhi by Mūlā Rāja Solankhi (A.D. 950). 5 If, as may perhaps be
accepted, the present Vālas represent the rulers of Valabhi it seems
to follow the Vālas were the overlords of Balakhsetra at
least from the time of the historical prosperity of Valabhi (A.D.
626-680). The traditions of the Bāburās who held the east of Surath
show that when they arrived (A.D. 1200-1250) the Vāla Rajputs
in possession and suggest that the lands of the Vālas originally
stretched as far west as Diu. 6 That the Vālas held central Kathiāvāda
is shown by their possession of the old capital Vantlāli nine miles south-
west of Junāgadh and by (about A.D. 850) their transfer of that town
to the Chudāsamās. 7 Dhānk, about twenty-five miles north-west of
Junāgadh, was apparently held by the Vālas under the Jetwas when
(A.D. 900-1200?) Ghumli or Bhumli was the capital of south-west
Kathiāvāda. According to Jetwa accounts the Vālas were newcomers
whom the Jetwas allowed to settle at Dhānk. 8 But as the Jetwas
are not among the earliest settlers in Kathiāvāda it seems more
probable that, like the Chudāsamās at Vantlāli, the Jetwas found
the Vālas in possession. The close connection of the Vālas with the
earlier waves of Kāthis is admitted, 9 Considering that the present

1 Gladwin's Alw-i-Abkar, II, 81; Tod's Annals, I, 235 and note. Tod's dates are
confused. The Altipur inscription (Ditto, page 230) gives Saktī Kumāra's date A.D. 908
(S. 1034) while the authorities which Tod accepts (Ditto, 231) give A.D. 1068 (S. 1125).
That the Mūrās were not driven out of Chitor as early as A.D. 728 is proved by the
Navārī inscription which mentions the Arabs defeating the Māryas as late as A.D. 738-9
(Sam, 49). See above page 56.

2 Tod Western India, 268 says Siddha Rāja (A.D. 1094-1143) Mūlā Rāja (A.D. 942-997)
seems correct. See Ras Malā, I, 65.

3 Kathiāwār Gazetteer, 672.

4 The chronicles of Bhādrol, fifty-one miles south-west of Bhāvnagar, have (Kāth.
Gaz. 399) a belact Vāla as late as A.D. 1554.

5 Kathiāwār Gazetteer, 672. Another account places the movement south after the
arrival of the Gohīla A.D. 1250. According to local traditions the Vālas did not pass to
Bhādrol near Mahuva till A.D. 1554 (Kāth. Gaz. 390) and from Bhādrol (Kāth. Gaz. 900)
retired to Dholara.

6 Kāth. Gaz. 111 and 132. According to the Alw-i-Abkar (Gladwin, II, 63) the
inhabitants of the ports of Mahuva and Tadāra were of the Vāla tribe.

7 Kāth. Gaz. 680.

8 Kāth. Gaz. 414.

9 The Vāla connection with the Kāthis complicates their history. Col. Watson (Kāth.
Gaz. 130) seems to favour the view that the Vālas were the earliest wave of Kāthis who
came into Kathiāvāda from Mālva apparently with the Guptas (A.D. 459) (Ditto, 671).
Col. Watson seems to have been led to this conclusion in consequence of the existence
Chapter VIII.

The Valas and Kâthis.

The total of Kâthisvaḍa Vâlas Râjputs is about 900 against about 9000 Vâla Kâthis, the Vâlas, since their loss of power, seem either to have passed into unnoticed subdivisions of other Râjput tribes or to have fallen to the position of Kâthis.

If from the first and not solely since the fall of Valabhi the Vâlas have been associated with the Kâthis it seems best to suppose they held to the Kâthis a position like that of the Jetwas to their followers the Mers. According to Tod both Vâlas and Kâthis claim the title Tata Multâdka Rai Lords of Tata and Multân. The accounts of the different sacking of Valabhi are too confused and the traces of an earlier settlement too scanty and doubtful to justify any attempt to carry back Valabhi and the Vâlas beyond the Maitrakas overthrow of Guptas power in Kâthisvaḍa (A.D. 470-480). The boast that Bhatrâka, the reputed founder of the house of Valabhi (A.D. 509), had obtained glory by being hundreds of blows on the large and very mighty armies of the Maitrakas who by force had subdued their enemies, together with the fact that the Valabhi did and the Maitrakas did not adopt the Guptas era and currency seem to show the Vâlas were settled in Kâthisvaḍa at an earlier date than the Mers and Jetwas. That is, if the identification is correct, the Vâlas and Kâthis were in Kâthisvaḍa before the first wave of the White Huns approached. It has been noticed above under Skandagupta that the enemies, or some of the enemies, with whom, in the early years of his reign A.D. 452-454, Skandagupta had so fierce a struggle were still in A.D. 456 a source of anxiety and required the control of a specially able viceroy at Junâgal. Since no trace of the Kâthis appears in Kâthisvaḍa legends or traditions before the fifth century, the suggestion may be offered that under Vâla or Bala leadership the Kâthis were among the enemies who on the death of Kumâragupta (A.D. 454) seized the Guptas possessions in Kâthisvaḍa. Both Vâlas and Kâthis would then be northerners driven south from Multân and South

of the petty state of Kotti in west Khân Deel. But the people of the Kotti state in west Khân Deel are Hûls or Kolls. Neither the people nor the position of the country seems to show connection with the Kâthis of Kâthisvaḍa. Col. Watson (Kâth. Gaz. 130) inclines to hold that the Vâlas are an example of the rising of a lower class to be Râjputs. That both Vâlas and Kâthis are northerners admitted into Hinduism may be accepted. Still it seems probable that on arrival in Kâthisvaḍa the Vâlas were the leaders of the Kâthis and that it is mainly since the fall of Valabhi that a large branch of the Vâlas have sunk to be Kâthis. The Kâthi traditions admit the superiority of the Vâlas. According to Tod (Western India, 270; Annals, I, 112-113) the Kâthis claim to bear branch or descendants of the Vâlas. In Kâthisvaḍa the Vâlas, the highest division of Kâthis (Bass Mâl, 296; Kâth. Gaz. 123, 124, 125, 126), admit that their founder was a Vâla Râjput who lost caste by marrying a Kâthis woman. Another tradition (Bass Mâl, 1, 296; Kâth. Gaz. 122 note 1) records that the Kâthis flying from Simhâ took refuge with the Vâlas and became their followers. Col. Watson (Kâth. Gaz. 130) considers the practice in Vhoras and Navanga of styling any lady of the Dhanak Vâla family who marries into their house Kâthisvaḍi the Kâthis lady proves that the Vâlas are Kâthis. But as this name must be used with respect it may be a trace that the Vâlas claim to be lords of the Kâthis as the Jetwas claim to be lords of the Mers. That the position of the Vâlas and Kâthis as Râjputs is doubtful in Kâthisvaḍa and is assured (Tod’s Annals, I, 111) in Râjputâna is strange. The explanation may perhaps be that aloofness from Muhammadans is the practical test of honour among Râjputana Hindus, and that in the troubled times between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries, like the Jhilas, the Vâlas and Kâthis may have refused Mogul alliances, and so won the approval of the Rânas of Mewâr.

1 Kâth. Gaz. 110-120.
2 Western India, 207; Annals, I, 112-113.
Sind by the movements of tribes displaced by the advance of the Ephthalites or White Huns (A.D. 440–450) upon the earlier North Indian and border settlements of the Yuan-Yuan or Avars. The Sesodia or Gohil tradition is that the founder of the Válas was Kanakṣen, who, in the second century after Christ, from North India established his power at Virát or Dholka in North Gujarát and at Dhánk in Kathiavár. This tradition, which according to Tod is supported by at least ten genealogical lists derived from distinct sources, seems a reminiscence of some connection between the early Válas and the Kshatrapas of Junágadh with the family of the great Kushán emperor Kaniška (A.D. 78–93). Whether this high ancestry belongs of right to the Válas and Gohils or whether it has been won for them by their lands or nothing in the records of Káthaváda is likely to be able to prove. Besides by the Válas Kanakṣen is claimed as an ancestor by the Chávádas of Okhámandal as the founder of Kanakapuri and as reigning in Krišna’s throne in Dwárka. In support of the form Kanakṣa for Kaniška is the doubtful Kanaka-Sakas or Kanisha-Sakas of Varsáhumírha (A.D. 580). The form Kanik is also used by Alberuni for the famous Vihára or monastery at Peshávár of whose founder Kanak Alberuni retails many widespread legends. Tod says:

1 If the traditional date (A.D. 144) of Kanakṣen’s arrival in Káthaváda had been only a little earlier it would have fitted well with Wilson’s Kaniška of the Raja Tarangini. Information brought to light since Tod’s time shows that hardly any date could fit better than A.D. 144 for some member of the Kushán family, possibly a grandson of the great Kaniška, to make a settlement in Gujarát and Káthaváda. The date agrees closely with the revolt against Vasudeva (A.D. 123–150), the second in succession from Kaniška, raised by the Panjáb Yauhleyyas, whom the great Gujarát Kshatrapa Kúdradáman (A.D. 143–155), the introducer of Kaniška’s (A.D. 73) era into Gujarát, humbled. The tradition calls Kanakṣen Kosalaputra and brings him from Lohkot in North India. Kosála has been explained as Oudh and Lohkot as Lahore, but as Kanak came from the north not from the north-east an original Kushána-putra or Son of the Kushán may be the true form. Similarly Lohkot cannot be Lahore. It may be Alberuni’s Lakhavár or Lahor in the Kashmir uplands one of the main centres of Kushán power.

1 It is worthy of note that Bāls and Kátháls are returned from neighbouring Panjáb districts. Bāls from Delr Ísmail Khan (Panjáb Census Report 1891 Part III. 316), Káthá Rájputs from Montgomery (Ditto. 318), and Káthá Játs from Jhang and Ísmail Khan (Ditto. 143). Compare Ibbetson’s (1851) Panjáb Census, I. 259; where the Kátháls are identified with the Kátháls who fought Alexander the Great (A.D. 325) and also with the Kátháls of Káthaváda. According to this report (Grammar 240) the Válas are said to have come from Malwa and are returned in East Panjáb.

2 Tod’s Annals, I. 83 and 215; Elliot, H. 410; Jour. B. Br. A. S. XXIII.


5 Brill-Šahíni, XIV. 21. The usual explanation (compare Fleet Ind. Ant. XXII. 180) that Ghil-Ghils seems meaningless.

6 Sachau, I. 11. Among the legends are the much-applied tales of the foot-stamped cloth and the self-sacrificing minister.

7 Western India, 213. 8 Tod’s Annals, I. 83, 215; Western India, 370–372.

9 Sachau, I. 208, II. 341. For the alleged descent of the Sesódis and Válas from Bárān of the Sun race the explanation may be offered that the greatness of Kaniška, whose power was spread from the Ganges to the Oxus, in accordance with the Hindu
Chapter VIII.

The Valabhis, A.D. 500-700. Mewad and the Persians.

One further point requires notice, the traditional connection between Valabhi and the Rana of Mewad with the Sassanian kings of Persia (A.D. 250-650). In support of the tradition Abul Fazl (A.D. 1590) says the Rana of Mewad consider themselves descendants of the Sassanian Naushirvan (A.D. 531-579) and Tod quotes fuller details from the Sassanian history Maasser-al-Umra. No evidence seems to support a direct connection with Naushirvan. At the same time marriage between the Valabhi chief and Maha Banu the fugitive daughter of Yazidgird the last Sassanian (A.D. 651) is not impossible. And the remaining suggestion that the link may be Naushirvan’s son Naushizad who fled from his father in A.D. 570 receives support in the statement of Procopius that Naushizad found shelter at Belapatan in Khuzistan perhaps Balapatan in Gujjaristan. As these suggestions are unsupported by direct evidence, it seems best to look for the source of the legend in the fire symbols in use on Kothivava and Mewad coins. These fire symbols, though in the main Indo-Skythian, betray from about the sixth century a more direct Sassanian influence. The use of similar coins coupled with their common sun worship seems sufficient to explain how the Agnikulas and other Kothivava and Mewad Rajputs came to believe in some family connection between their chiefs and the fireworshipping kings of Persia.

Can the Vala traditions of previous northern settlements be supported either by early Hindu inscriptions or from living traces in the present population of Northern India? The convenient and elaborate tribe and surname lists in the Census Report of the Panjab, and vaguer information from Rajputana, show traces of Balas and Valas among the Musalmans as well as among the Hindu population of Northern India. Among the tribes mentioned in Varaha-Mihira’s sixth century (A.D. 580) lists the Vahlkis appear along with the dwellers on Sindhi’s banks. An inscription of a king Chandra, probably Chandragupta, and if so about A.D. 390-440, boasts of crossing the seven mouths of the Indus to attack the Vahlkis. These references suggest that the Balas or Valas are the Vahlkis and that the Balihkias of the Hariyamsha (A.D. 550-500?) are not as Langlois supposed people then ruling.

document (compare Beal’s Buddhist Records, I. 99 & 153; Bha Malla, I. 330; Fryer’s New Account, 190) that a conqueror’s success is the fruit of transcendent merit in a former birth, led to Kanishka being considered an incarnation of Rama. A connection between Kanishka and the race of the Sun would be made easy by the intentional confusing of the names Kishanapa and Kishatriya, and by the fact that during part at least of his life fire and the sun were Kanishka’s favourite deities.

1 Gladwin’s Ain-i-Akbari, II. 81; Tod’s Annals, I. 248.

2 The invasion of Sindh formerly (Reimand’s Fragments, 26) supposed to be by Naushirvan in person according to fuller accounts seems to have been a raid by the ruler of Karstan (Elliot, I. 407). Still Reimand (Mémoire Sur l’Inde, 127) holds that in sign of vassalage the Sindh king added a Persian type to his coins.

3 Compare Tod’s Annals, I. 233-238 and Rawlinson’s Seventh Monarchy, 576.

4 Rawlinson Seventh Monarchy, 452 note 3.

5 Compare Tod’s Annals, I. 63; Thomas’ Princel, I. 413; Cunningham’s Arch. Survey, V. 261. According to their own accounts (Bha Malla, I. 296) the Katis learned sun-worship from the Vala of Dhanka by whom the famous temple of the sun at Than in Kathiawad was built.

6 Vala Musalmans Jats in Lahir and Gondaspur: Vala in Gujarati and Gujranwali; Vala in Moonfarango and Dhens Lenam Khan. Also Valas in Kansra, Paunjab Census of 1891, III. 162.

7 Erihat Sahib, I. 80.

8 Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 140-141.
in Balkh but people then established in India.1 Does it follow that the Vâlîkâs of the inscriptions and the Bâlîkâs of the Harivamsha are the Panjâb tribe referred to in the Mahabhârata as the Bâhikas or Bâlîkâs, a people held to scorn as keeping no Brâhman rites, their Brâhmans degraded, their women abandoned?2 Of the two Mahabhârata forms Bâhika and Bâlîka recent scholars have preferred Bâlîka with the sense of people of Balkh or Baktria.3 The name Bâlîka might belong to more than one of the Central Asian invaders of Northern India during the centuries before and after Christ, whose manner of life might be expected to strike an Aryavarta Brâhman with horror. The date of the settlement of these northern tribes (B.C. 180 - A.D. 300) does not conflict with the comparatively modern date (A.D. 150 - 250) now generally received for the final revision of the Mahabhârata.4 This explanation does not remove the difficulty caused by references to Bâhikas and Bâlîkâs in Panini and other writers earlier than the first of the after-Alexander Skythian invasions. At the same time as shown in the footnote there seems reason to hold that the change from the Bakhtri of Darins (b.c. 510) and Alexander the Great (b.c. 330) to the modern Balkh did not take place before the first century after Christ. If this view is correct it follows that

1 The references are: Langlois' Harivamsha, I. 388-420, II. 178. That in A.D. 247 Balkh or Baktria was free from Indian overlordship (McCrindle's Periplus, 121) is no more evident than the Bâhikas and Bâlîkâs of the Mahabhârata were a native tribe of the plains of Bâhikas. The younger brothers are without restraint. A Brâhman may sink to be a barber and a barber may rise to be a Brâhman. The Bâlîka eats flesh, even the flesh of the cow and drink liquor. Their women know no restraint. They have no public places unmixed with people. In the Harivamsha (Langlois, I. 409 and II. 178, 388, 420) the Bâlîkâs occur in lists of kings and peoples.

2 Kern in Mair's Sanskrit Texts, II. 446. St. Martin (Geogr. Grek. et Latins de l'Inde, 149) takes Bâhika to be a contraction of Bâlîka. Reasons are given below for considering the Mahabhârata form Bâhika a corruption of the earlier name that rather than a contraction of Bâlîka or Bâlîka. The form Bâhika was also favoured by the writer in the Mahabhârata because it fitted with his punning derivation from their two old ancestors Vahi and Hika. St. Martin, 408.

3 St. Martin Geogr. Grek. et Latins de l'Inde, 403, puts the probable date at b.c. 380 or about fifty years before Alexander. St. Martin held that the name of Bâlîka was still a corruption of the Mahabhârata writer gives as another name for Bâhika is a Sanskritised form of Jat. Further supports the later date. It is now generally accepted that the Jats are one of the most homogeneous tribes who, from the Indo-European era through Central Asia into India.

4 The name Valabhi, as we learn from the Jain historians, is a Sanskritised form of Vâlîka, which can be easily traced back to one of the many forms Bâhika, Bâlîka, Bâlîka, Bâlîka, Vâhika, Vâhika, Valika, Vâhika, Valika, Valika of a tribal name of which is common occurrence in the Epics. This name is, no doubt, traced back to the city of Balkh, and originally was merely the people of Balkh. There is, however, evidence that the name also denoted a tribe doubtless of Baktrian origin but settled in India; for example, the Emperor Chandragupta speaks of defeating the Vâlîkas after crossing seven months of the Indus; Vâsishtha-Mihira speaks of the Vâlîkas along with the people who dwell on the Vâsishtha's bank (Br. Samp. V. 80); and, most decisive of all, the Kâlîka Vratta on Pam. VIII. iv. 9 (a.d. 650) gives Bâhika as the name of the people of the Saurashtra country, which, as Alberni tells us, corresponded to the
Chapter VIII.

The Valachias, A.D. 509-706.

Valas.

If the form Bahluka occurs in Pāṇini or other earlier writers it is a
mistaken form due to some copyist's confusion with the later name
Bahluka. As used by Pāṇini the name Bāhika applied to certain Panjab
tribes seems a general term meaning Outsider a view which is supported
by Brian Hodgson's identification of the Mahābhārata Bāhikas with
the Bahings one of the outcaste or broken tribes of Nepali. The use
of Bāhika in the Mahābhārata would then be due either to the wish
to identify new tribes with old or to the temptation to use a word
which had a suitable meaning in Sanskrit. If then there is fair ground
for holding that the correct form of the name in the Mahābhārata is
Bāhika and that Bāhika means men of Balkh the question remains
which of the different waves of Central Asian invaders in the centuries
before and after Christ are most likely to have adopted or to have
received the title of Baktrians. Between the second century before
and the third century after Christ two sets of northerners might justly
have claimed or have received the title of Baktrians. Those northerners
are the Baktrian Greeks about B.C. 180 and the Yuechi between B.C. 20
and A.D. 300. Yavana is so favourite a name among Indian writers
that it may be accepted that whatever other northern tribes the name
Yavana includes no name but Yavana passed into use for the Baktrian
Greeks. Their long peaceful and civilised rule (B.C. 130 - A.D. 305)?)
from their capital at Balkh entitles the Yuechi to the name Baktrians
or Bāhikas. That the Yuechi were known in India as Baktrians is
proved by the writer of the Periplus (A.D. 247), who, when Baktia
was still under Yuechi rule, speaks of the Baktiani as a most warlike
race governed by their own sovereign. It is known that in certain
cases the Yuechi tribal names were of local origin. Kusán the name
of the leading tribe is according to some authorities a place-name.8

Modern Multan, the very country to which the traditions of the modern Valas point.

If the usual derivation of the name Bahluka be accepted, it is possible to go a step
further and fix a probable limit before which the tribe did not enter India. The name
of Bahluk in the sixth century B.C. was, as we learn from Darics inscriptions, Bakhotri;
and the Greeks also knew it as Baktra: the Avesta form is Bahluki, which according
to the laws of sound-change established by Prof. Darmesteter for the Arachsumian
language as represented by the modern Pushtu, would become Bahlui (see Chants
Populaires des Afghans, Introd. page xxi). This reduction of the hard aspirates to
spirants seems to have taken place about the first century A.D.: parallel cases are the
change from Purhava to Pahlava, and Mithra to Mihra. It would seem therefore that the
Bahlukas did not enter India before the first century A.D. and if we may identify their
subduer Chandra with Chandragupta I., we should have the fourth century A.D. as a
lower limit for dating their invasion.

Unfortunately, however, these limits cannot at present be regarded as more than plausile: for the name Bahluk or Wallaka appears to occur in works that can hardly
be as modern as the first century A.D. The Atharvaveda-parishisthas might be put aside,
as they show strong traces of Greek influence and are therefore of late date: and the
supposed occurrences in Pushtu belong to the commentators and to the samapatha
only and are of more or less uncertain age. But the name occurs, in the form Bahluk, in
one hymn of the Atharvaveda itself (Book V. 22) which there is no reason to suppose
is of late date.

The lower limit is also uncertain as the identification of Chandra of the inscription
with the Gupta king is purely conjectural. - (A. M. T. J.)

1 There is a very close parallel in the modern Panjhar, where see Census Report of 1883).
2 The modern name Indisch has become a tribal name in the same way as Bahluka.
3 Hodgson's Essays on Indian Subjects, I. 486 Note.
4 McCrindle's Periplus, 121. Compare Rawlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 79. The
absence of Indian references to the Yuechi supports the view that in India the Yuechi
were known by some other name.
5 According to Reinaud (Mémoire Sur l'Inde, 82 note 3), probably the modern
And it is established that the names of more than one of the tribes who about B.C. 50 joined under the head of the Kushāns were taken from the lands where they had settled. It is therefore in agreement both with the movements and with the practice of the Yuechi, that, on reaching India, a portion of them should be known as Bāhlikas or Bāhikas. Though the evidence falls short of proof there seems fair reason to suggest that the present Rajput and Kāthi Vālas or Bālas of Gujarāt and Rajputāna, through a Sanskritised Vāhika, may be traced to some section of the Yuechi, who, as they passed south from Baktria, between the first century before and the fourth century after Christ, assumed or received the title of men of Balkh.

One collateral point seems to deserve notice. St. Martin\(^1\) says: ‘The Greek historians do not show the least trace of the name Bāhika.’ Accepting Bāhika, with the general sense of Outsider, as the form used by Indian writers before the Christian era and remembering \(^2\) Pāṇini’s description of the Mālavas and Kshudrakas as two Bāhika tribes of the North-West the fact that Pāṇini lived very shortly before or after the time of Alexander and was specially acquainted with the Panjāb leaves little doubt that when (A.D. 326) Alexander conquered their country the Malloi and Oxydrakai, that is the Mālavas and Kshudrakas, were known as Bāhikas. Seeing that Alexander’s writers were specially interested in and acquainted with the Malloi and Oxydrakai it is strange if St. Martin is correct in stating that Greek writings show no trace of the name Bāhika. In explanation of this difficulty the following suggestion may be offered.\(^3\) As the Greeks sounded their κβ (χ) as a sprint, the Indian Bāhika would strike them as almost the exact equivalent of their own word ᾠκυδρακαί. More than one of Alexander’s writers has curious references to a Bacchic element in the Panjāb tribes. Arrian\(^4\) notices that, as Alexander’s fleet passed down the Jhelum, the people lined the banks chanting songs taught them by Dionysus and the Bacchantes. According to Quintus Curtius\(^5\) the name of Father Bacchus was famous among the people to the south of the Malloi. These references are vague. But Strabo is definite.\(^6\) The Malloi and Oxydrakai are reported to be the descendants of Bacchus. This passage is the more important since Strabo’s use of the writings of Aristobulus Alexander’s historian and of Onesikritos Alexander’s pilot and Brāhman-interviewer gives his details a special value.\(^7\) It may be said Strabo explains why the Malloi and Oxydrakai were called Bacchic and Strabo’s explanation is not in agreement with the proposed Bāhika origin. The answer is that Strabo’s explanation can be proved to be in part, if not altogether, fictitious. Strabo\(^8\) gives two reasons why the Oxydrakai

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2. McCrindle’s Alexander in India, 350.
3. The suggestion is made by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson.
4. McCrindle’s Alexander, 156.
5. McCrindle’s Alexander, 252.
6. Compare Strabo, XV. I. 8. The Oxydrakai are the descendants of Dionysus, Again, XV. I. 24: The Malloi and the Oxydrakai who as we have already said are failed to be related to Dionysus.
8. Strabo, XV. I. 8 and 24, Hamilton’s Translation, III. 76, 95.
were called Bacchic. First because the vine grew among them and second because their kings marched forth Bakhikios that is after the Bacchic manner. It is difficult to prove that in the time of Alexander the vine did not grow in the Panjab. Still the fact that the vines of Nysa near Jalalabad and of the hill Meros are mentioned by several writers and that no vines are referred to in the Greek accounts of the Panjab suggests that the vine theory is an after-thought. Strabo’s second explanation, the Bacchic pomp of their kings, can be more completely disproved. The evidence that neither the Malloi nor the Oxydrakai had a king is abundant. That the Greeks knew the Malloi and Oxydrakai were called Bakhikoi and that they did not know why they had received that name favours the view that the explanation lies in the Indian name Bāhika. One point remains. Does any trace of the original Bāhikas or Outsiders survive? In Cutch Kāthiāvāḍa and North Gujarāt are two tribes of half settled cattle-breeder and shepherds whose names Rabāris as if Rabāber and Bharvāds as if Bahervāda seem like Bāhika to mean Outsider. Though in other respects both classes appear to have adopted ordinary Hindu practices the conduct of the Bharvād women of Kāthiāvāḍa during their special marriage seasons bears a curiously close resemblance to certain of the details in the Mahābhārata account of the Bāhika women. Colonel Barton writes: The great marriage festival of the Kāthiāvāḍa Bharvāds which is held once in ten or twelve years is called the Milkdrinking, Budhāni, from the lavish use of milk or clarified butter. Under the exciting influence of the butter the women become frantic singing obscene songs breaking down hedges and spilling the surrounding crops. Though the Bharvāds are so long settled in Kāthiāvāḍa as to be considered aboriginals their own tradition preserves the memory of a former settlement in Mārwār. This tradition is supported by the fact that the shrine of the family goddess of the Cutch Rabāris is in Jodhpur, and by the claim of the Cutch Bharvāds that their home is in the North-West Provinces.

1 References to the vines of Nysa and Meros occur in Strabo, Pliny, Quintus Curtius, Philostratus, and Justin; McCrindle’s Alexander in India, 103 note 1, 321, and 329. Strabo (Hamilton’s Translation, 111, 86) refers to a vine in the country of Muskanaus or Upper Sind. At the same time (Ditto, 108) Strabo accepts Megasthenes’ statement that in India the wild vine grows only in the hills. The Kathiawar Malloi and Oxydrakai are (Arrian in McCrindle’s Alexander, 115, 137, 140, 149) called independent in the sense of kingless; they (Ditto, 134) sent leading men not ambassadors: (compare also Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch, Ditto 257, 311) the Malloi had to choose a leader. (Q. Curtius, Ditto 236).

2 Kathiawar Gazetteer, 138. 4 Kathiawar Gazetteer, 137. 5 Cutch Gazetteer, 80.

* Cutch Gazetteer, 81.
CHAPTER IX.

THE CHÁLUKYAS

(A.D. 634-740.)

The Chálukyas conquered their Gujarát provinces from the south after subdividing the Konkan Mauryas of Puri either Rájápuri that is Janjira or Elephanta in Bombay harbour. The fifth century Véd inscription of king Suketuvarmman proves that this Maurya dynasty ruled in the Konkan for at least a century before they came into collision with the Chálukyas under Kírtivarman. They were finally defeated and their capital Puri taken by Chaujadanda an officer of Pulakeśi II. (A.D. 610-640). The Chálukyas then pressed northwards, and an inscription at Ahole in South Bijápur records that as early as A.D. 634 the kings of Lata, Málava, and Gurjjara submitted to the prowess of Pulakeśi II. (A.D. 610-640).

The regular establishment of Cháluksya power in South Gujarát seems to have been the work of Dhúríśraya Jayasimhavarman son of Pulakeśi II. and younger brother of Vikramáditya Satyáśmya (A.D. 670-680). A grant of Jayasimhavarman’s son Súladiyá found in Návsári describes Jayasimhavarman as receiving the kingdom from his brother Vikramáditya. As Jayasimhavarman is called Paramaśráyakara Great Lord, he probably was practically independent. He had five sons and enjoyed a long life, ruling apparently from Návsári. Of the five Gujarát Cháluksya copperplates noted below, three are in an era marked Sám, which is clearly different from the Saka era (A.D. 78) used in the grants of the main Cháluksyas. From the nature of the case the new era of the Gujarát Cháluksya may be accepted as of Gujarát origin. Grants remain of Jayasimhavarman’s sons dated S. 421, 443, and 490. This checked by Vikramáditya’s known date (A.D. 670-680) gives an initial between A.D. 249 and 259. Of the two Gujarát eras, the Gupta-Yalabhí (A.D. 319) and the Traikitaka (A.D. 248-9), the Gupta-Yalabhí is clearly unsuitable. On the other hand the result is so closely in accord with A.D. 248-9, the Traikitaka epoch, as to place the correctness of the identification almost beyond question.

Jayasimhavarman must have established his power in South Gujarát before A.D. 669-70 (T. 421), as in that year his son Sryáśraya made a grant as heir apparent. Another plate of Sryáśraya found in Surat shows that in A.D. 691-2 (T. 440) Jayasimhavarman was still ruling with Sryáśraya as heir apparent. In view of these facts the establishment of Jayasimhavarman’s power in Gujarát must be taken at about A.D. 666. The copperplates of his sons and grandson do not say whom Jayasimhavarman overthrew. Probably the defeated rulers were Gurjjaras, as about this time a Gurjjara dynasty held the Broach district with its capital at Nándipuri the modern Nándod in the Rájpiplá State about thirty-five miles east of Broach. So far

as is known the earliest of the Nándod Gurjjaras was Dudha who is estimated to have flourished about A.D. 580 (T. 331). The latest is Jayabhata whose Navsári copperplate bears date A.D. 784-5 (T. 486) so that the Gurjjaras and Cháluikya kingdoms flourished almost at the same time. It is possible that the power of the earlier Gurjjaras spread as far south as Balsár and even up to Konkan limits. It was apparently from that, during the reign of his brother Vikramáditya, Jayasimhavarman took South Gujarát, driving the Gurjjaras north of the Tápti and eventually confining them to the Broach district, the Gurjjaras either acknowledging Cháluikya sovereignty or withstanding the Cháluikyas and retaining their small territory in the Broach district by the help of the Valabhis with whom they were in alliance. In either case the Cháluikya power seems to have hemmed in the Broach Gurjjaras, as Jayasimhavarman had a son Buddhavarman ruling in Kaira. A copperplate of Buddhavarman’s son Vijayarája found in Kaira is granted from Vijayapura identified with Bijápur near Párantíj, but probably some place further south, as the grant is made to Bráhmans of Jambúsar. Five copperplates remain of this branch of the Cháluikyas, the Navsári grant of Sryáśraya Síláditya Yuvarája dated A.D. 669-70 (T. 421); the Surat grant of the same Síláditya dated A.D. 691-2 (T. 443); the Balsár grant of Vinaváditya Mangalarája dated A.D. 751 (Saka 653); the Navsári grant of Pulakesí Janársraya dated A.D. 733-9 (T. 490); the Kaira grant of Vijayarája dated Sárvatsara 294; and the undated Nirpan grant of Nágavardhamá Tribhuvánáraysaya.

The first four grants mention Jayasimhavarman as the younger brother of Vikramáditya Satyárasya the son of Pulakesí Satyárasya the conqueror of Harshavardhamá the lord of the North. Jayasimhavarman’s eldest son was Sryáśraya Síláditya who made his Navsári grant in A.D. 669-70 (T. 421); the village granted being said to be in the Navásáríká Vishaya. Sryáśraya’s other plate dated A.D. 691-2 (T. 443) grants a field in the village of Osumbalah in the Kárménaya Ahára that is the district of Kámlej on the Tápti fifteen miles north-east of Surat. In both grants Síláditya is called Yuvarája, which shows that his father ruled with him from A.D. 669 to A.D. 691. Both copperplates show that these kings treated as their overlords the main dynasty of the southern Cháluikyas as respectful mention is made in the first plate of Vikramáditya Sryáśraya and in the second of his son Vinaváditya Satyárasya. Apparently Sryáśraya died before his father as the two late grants of Balsár and Khelá give him no place in the list of rulers.

Jayasimhavarman was succeeded by his second son Mangalarája. A plate of his found at Balsár dated A.D. 731 (Saka 653) records a grant made from Mangalapuri, probably the same as Purí the doubtful Konkan capital of the Sílaháras. As his elder brother was heir-apparent in A.D. 691-2 (T. 443), Mangalarája must have succeeded some years later, say about A.D. 698-9 (T. 450). From this it may be inferred that the copperplate of A.D. 731 was issued towards the end of his reign.

1 See Chap. X. below.  
2 Ind. Ant. XIII. 73.  
3 Ind. Ant. XIII. 70.  
4 B. B. R. A. 8, XVI. 5.
Mangalaraja was succeeded by his younger brother Pulakesi Janakaraaya. This is the time of Khalif Hasham (a.d. 724-743) whose Sindh governor Junaid is recorded to have sent expeditions against Marmad, Mandal, Dalmaj (Kamloj?), Barus, Uzain, Maliba, Baharimad (Meval?), Al Basilimun (Bhimal?), and Juvar. Though several of these names seem to have been misspelt and perhaps misspelled on account of the confusion in the original Arabic, still Marmad, Mandal, Barus, Uzain, Maliba, and Juvar can easily be identified with Marvad, Mandal near Viramgam, Bharuch, Ujjain, Malwa, and Gurjara. The defeat of one of these raids is described at length in Pulakesi’s grant of A.D. 738-9 (T. 490) which states that the Arab army had afflicted the kingdoms of Sindh, Kachchh, Saurashtra, Chavota, Maniya, and Gurjara that is Sindh, Kachch, the Chavada, the Maniyas of Chitor, and the Gurjaras of Bhimul.

1 For the Moris or Maniyas, described as a branch of Pramuras, who held Chitor during the eighth century compare Tod. Jr. R. A. S. 211; Wilson’s Works, X11. 182.
2 The text of the copperplate runs:

Plate II.

[Image]
Pulakeśi was at this time ruling at Navaśī. It is uncertain how much longer this Chālukya kingdom of Navaśī continued. It was probably overthrown about A.D. 750 by the Gujarāt branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were in possession in A.D. 757-8.¹

The Kaira grant dated 394 gives in hereditary succession the names Jayasimha, Buddhavarman, and Vijayarāja.² The grant is made from Vijayapura, which, as the late Colonel West suggested, may be Bijāpur near Parānti though this is far to the north of the otherwise known Chālukya limits. The village granted is Pariyaya in the Kāsākala division. If taken as Traikūṭaka the date 394 corresponds to A.D. 642-3. This is out of the question, since Vijayarāja’s grand-uncle Vikramāditya flourished between A.D. 670 and 680. Professor Bhandarkar considers the plate a forgery, but there seems no sufficient reason for doubting its genuineness. No fault can be found with the character. It is written in the usual style of Western Chālukya grants, and contains the names of a number of Brāhmaṇ grantees with minute details of the fields granted a feature most unusual in a forged grant. In the Gupta era, which equally with the Traikūṭaka era may be denoted by the word Sasa, and which is more likely to be in use in North Gujarāt than 394 would represent the fairly probable A.D. 713. Jayasimha may have conquered part of North Gujarāt and sent his son Buddhavarman to rule over it.

Jayasimha appears to have had a third son Nāgavaradhana ruling in West Nāsik which was connected with South Gujarāt through Balsār, Pārdi, and Penth. The Nīnapā grant of Nāgavaradhana is undated,³ and, though it gives a wrong genealogy, its seal, the form of composition, the bhrut or title of the king, and the alphabet all so closely agree with the style of the Gujarāt Chālukya plates that it cannot be considered a forgery.

Not long after A.D. 740 the Chālukyas seem to have been supplanted in South Gujarāt by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

CHĀLUKYA FAMILY TREE.

Pulakesihishabha Satyavāraya,
Conqueror of Harishchandragiri, Lord of the North,
A.D. 610-668.

Chālukya
Tree.

(Vanav Chalukyas).

(Vlāmāditya Sātyavāraya,
A.D. 668-699,)

(Vikramāditya Sātyavāraya,
A.D. 650-689,)

(Jayasimhavarman Pulakeshvaraya,
A.D. 669-701,)

(Gujarat Branch).
Vijayarāja's grant of the year 394 (A.D. 642-3) is the earliest trace of Chalukya rule in Gujarāt. Dr. Bhagvándaí, who believed in its genuineness, supposes it to be dated in the Gupta era (c. 394 = A.D. 714) and infers from it the existence of Chalukya rule far to the north of Brāhmag. But the most cursory comparison of it with the Khād grants of Dudda II. (see Ind. Ant. XIII. 91ff.) which are dated (admittedly in the [so-called] Trāikutaka era) 380 and 385 respectively, shows that a large number of Dudda's grants reappear in the Chalukya grant. The date of the Chalukya plate must therefore be interpreted as a Trāikutaka or Choli date.

This being so, it is clearly impossible to suppose that Vijayarāja's grandfather Jayasimha is that younger son of Pulakeśi II. (A.D. 610-640) who founded the Gujarāt branch family. It has been usually supposed that the Jayasimha of our grant was a younger brother of Pulakeśi II., but this also is chronologically impossible for Jayasimha can hardly have been more than ten years of age in A.D. 597-98, when his elder brother was set aside as too young to rule. His son Buddhānasimha could hardly have been born before A.D. 610, so that Buddhānasimha's son Vijayarāja must have made his grant at the age of twelve at latest. The true solution of the question seems to be that given by Dr. Bührer in his Early History of the Deccan (page 42 note 7), namely that the grant is a forgery. To the reasons advanced by him may be added the fact pointed out by Mr. Fleet (Ind. Ant. VII. 251) that the grant is a palimpsest, the engraver having originally commenced it "Sruti Vijayavikasapā Na." It can hardly be doubted that Na is the first syllable of Nāndipuri the palace of the Gurjara kings. Many of the grants were Brahmans of Jambura and subjects of Dudda II. of Brāhmag, whose grants to them are extant. It seems obvious that Vijayarāja's grant was forged in the interest of these persons by some one who had Gurjara grants before him as models, but knew very little of the forms used in the chancery of the Chalukyas.

Setting aside this grant, the first genuine trace of Chalukya rule in Gujarāt is to be found in the grant of the Soudraka chief Nikumbhastakši, which bears date Sosya, 406 (A.D. 654-5) and relates to the gift to a Brahma of the village of Balleś (Wanessa) in the Trenya (Ten). Dr. Bühl has shown (Ind. Ant. XVIII. page 265ff.) that the Soudrakas were a Kamarese family, and that Nikumbhastakši must have come to Gujarāt as a Chalukya feudatory, though he names no overlord. He was doubtless subordinated to the Chalukya governor of Nālik.

The next grant that requires notice is that of Nāgavriddhana, who describes himself distinctly as the son of Pulakeśi's brother Jayasimha, though Dr. Bhagvandai believed this Jayasimha to be Pulakeśi's son. Mr. Fleet points out other difficulties connected with this grant, but on the whole decides in favour of its genuineness (see Ind. Ant. IX. 123). The description of Pulakeśi II. in this grant refers to his victory over Harsha-āvarta, but also describes him as having conquered the three kingdoms of Chera, Chola, and Pāṇaḷyam by means of his horse of the Chitrakānta breed, and as meditating on the feet of Nāgavriddhāna. Now all of these epithets, except the reference to Harsha-āvarta, belong properly to Pulakeśi II. but to his son Vikramāditya I. The conquest of the confederacy of Cholas, Cheras (or Keraḷas), and Pāṇaḷyam is ascribed to Vikramāditya in the inscriptions of his son Vinayāditya (Fleet in Ind. Ant. X. 194): the Chitrakānta horse is named in Vikramāditya's own grants (Ind. Ant. VI. 75 &c.) while his meditation upon the feet of Nāgavriddhana recurs in the T. 421 grant of Śrīkāraṇa Śiddalikśa (B. D. B. A. S. XVI. 1ff.). This confusion of epithets between Pulakeśi II. and Vikramāditya makes it difficult to doubt that Nāgavriddhana's grant was composed either during or after Vikramāditya's reign, and under the influence of that king's grants. It may be argued that even in that case the grant may be genuine, its insufficiencies being due merely to carelessness. This supposition the following considerations seem to negative. Pulakeśi II. was alive at the time of Hima Taiang's visit (A.D. 640), but is not likely to have reigned very much longer. And, as Vikramāditya's reign is supposed to have begun about A.D. 669-70, a gap remains of nearly thirty years. That part of this period was occupied by the war with the three kings.
of the south we know from Vikramāditya's own grants; but the grant of Śrīśāstraya Sīlāditya referred to above seems to show that Vikramāditya was the successor, not of his father, but of Nāgavaradāhana upon whose feet he is described as meditating. It follows that Nāgavaradāhana succeeded Pulakori and preceded Vikramāditya on the imperial throne of the Chālukyas whereas his grant could not have been composed until the reign of Vikramāditya.

Although the grant is not genuine, we have no reason to doubt that it gives a correct genealogy, and that Nāgavaradāhana was the son of Pulakori's brother Jayasīkha and therefore the first cousin of Vikramāditya. The grant is in the regular Chālukya style, and the writer, living near the Northern Chālukya capital, Nāsik, had better models than the composer of Vījyārāja's grant. Both grants may have been composed about the time when the Chālukya power succumbed to the attacks of the Rāṣṭrakūtas (A.D. 743).—(A. M. T. J.)
CHAPTER X.

THE GURJARAS

(A.D. 580-606)

Druna Valabhi and Chalukya ascendency a small Gurjara kingdom flourished in and about Broach. As has been noticed in the Valabhi chapter the Gurjaras were a foreign tribe who came to Gujarāt from Northern India. All the available information regarding the Broach Gurjaras comes from nine copperplates, three of them forged, all obtained from South Gujarāt. These plates limit the regular Gurjara territory to the Broach district between the Mahi and the Narbadā, though at times their power extended north to Kheādā and south to the Tāppī. Like the grants of the contemporary Gujarāt Chalukyas all the genuine copperplates are dated in the Traikāṭaka era which begins in A.D. 249-50. The Gurjara capital seems to have been Nāndipuri or Nāndor, the modern Nāndod the capital of Rājpipla in Rewa Kānta about thirty-four miles east of Broach. Two of their grants issue Nāndipurātā that is from Nāndipuri like the Valabhitā or from Valabhi of the Valabhi copperplates, a phrase which in both cases seems to show the place named was the capital since in other Gurjara grants the word vānaka or camp occurs.

Though the Gurjaras held a considerable territory in South Gujarāt their plates seem to show they were not independent rulers. The general titles are either Śāmādhigata-panchamahāsabda ‘He who has attained the five great titles’, or Śāmanta Feudatory. In one instance Jayabhaṭa III. who was probably a powerful ruler is called Śāmantaśādhāpati9 Lord of Feudatories. It is hard to say to what suzerain these Broach Gurjaras acknowledged fealty. Latterly they seem to have accepted the Chalukyas on the south as their overlords. But during the greater part of their existence they may have been feudatories of the Valabhi dynasty, who, as

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2 See above page 107.
3 That Nāndor or Nāndod was an old and important city is proved by the fact that Brahmans and Vānis called Nāndora that is of Nāndor are found throughout Gujarāt. Māngrol and Chordad on the South Kathiāvada coast have settlements of Velāri betel-vine cultivators who call themselves Nāndora Vānis and apparently brought the betel-vine from Nāndod. Dr. Buhler, however, identifies the Nāndipuri of the grants with an old fort of the same name about two miles north of the east gate of Broach. See Ind. Ant. VII. 62.
4 Ind. Ant. XIII. 81, 88.
5 Ind. Ant. XIII. 70.
6 The fact that the Umeṭa and Ilāo plates give their grantor Dahlia II. the title of Mahārajādhiraja Supreme Lord of Great Kings, is one of the grounds for believing them forgeries.

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Chapter X.
The Gujratis, A.D. 580-808.

mentioned above were probably Gurjjaras who passed from Malwa to South Gujarát and thence by sea to Valabhi leaving a branch in South Gujarát.

The facts that in A.D. 649 (Valabhi 330) a Valabhi king had a 'carnp of victory' at Broach where Ranagrahä's plate1 shows the Gurjjaras were then ruling and that the Gurjjar king Dadda II. gave shelter to a Valabhi king establish a close connection between Valabhi and the Nándod Gurjjaras.

Their copperplates and seals closely resemble the plates and seals of the Gujarát ChálokyaS. The characters of all but the forged grants are like those of Gujarát Chálokya grants and belong to the Gujarát variety of the Southern India style. At the same time it is to be noted that the royal signature at the end of the plates is of the northern type, proving that the Gurjjaras were originally northerners. The language of most of the grants is Sanskrit prose as in Valabhi plates in a style curiously like the style of the contemporary author Bana in his great works the Kádambari and Harsacharita. From this it may be inferred that Bana's style was not peculiar to himself but was the style in general use in India at that time.

The following is the Gurjjar family tree:

Dadda I. A.D. 580.
Jayabhata I. A.D. 605.
Dadda II. A.D. 633.
Jayabhata II. A.D. 655.
Dadda III. A.D. 683.
Jayabhata III. A.D. 706-734.

A recently published grant2 made by Nirihullaka, the chieflain of a jungle tribe in the lower valley of the Narbâd, shows that towards the end of the sixth century A.D. that region was occupied by wild tribes who acknowledged the supremacy of the Chedi or Kalachuri kings: a fact which accounts for the use of the Chedi or Trakoutaka era in South Gujarát. Nirihullaka names with respect a king Sañkaraga, whom Dr. Bühler would identify with Sañkaragana the father of the Kalachuri Buddhavarmman who was defeated by Mangalîsa the Chálokya about A.D. 600.3 Sañkaragana himself must have flourished about A.D. 580, and the Gurjjar conquest must be subsequent to this date. Another new grant,4 which is only a fragment and contains no king's name, but which on the ground of date (Sam. 346 = A.D. 594-5) and style may be safely attributed to the Gurjjar dynasty, shows that the Gurjjaras were established in the country within a few years of Sañkaragana's probable date.

A still nearer approximation to the date of the Gurjjar conquest is suggested by the change in the titles of Dharasena I. of Valabhi, who

1 Ep. Ind. II. 20. 2 Ep. Ind. II. 21. 3 Ind. Ant. VII. 162. 4 Ep. Ind. II. 19.
in his grants of Sānuvat 252 (A.D. 571) calls himself Mahārāja, while in his grants of 269 and 270 (A.D. 588 and 589), he adds the title of Mahāsāmanta, which points to submission by some foreign power between A.D. 571 and A.D. 588. It seems highly probable that this power was that of the Gurjaras of Bhinmal; and that their successes therefore took place between A.D. 580 and 585 or about A.D. 585.

The above mentioned anonymous grant of the year 346 (A.D. 594-95) is ascribed with great probability to Dadda I, who is known from the two Khedā grants of his grandson Dadda II (c. 620-650 A.D.) to have "uprooted the Nāga" who must be the same as the jungle tribes ruled by Nirikutaka and are now represented by the Nákhus of the Panch Mahālīs and the Talabdas or Locals of Broach. The northern limit of Dadda's kingdom seems to have been the Vindhyā, as the grant of 380 (A.D. 628-29) says that the lands lying around the feet of the Vindhyā were for his pleasure. At the same time it appears that part at least of Northern Gujarāt was ruled by the Mahāsāmanta Dharasaṇa of Valabhi, who in Val. 270 (A.D. 589-90) granted a village in the āhira of Khetaka (Khedā). Dadda is always spoken of as the Sāmanta, which shows that while he lived his territory remained a part of the Gurjara kingdom of Bhinmal. Subsequently North Gujarāt fell into the hands of the Mālava kings, to whom it belonged in Huen Tsiang's time (c. 640 A.D.). Dadda I is mentioned in the two Khedā grants of his grandson as a worshipper of the sun; the fragmentary grant of 346 (A.D. 594-95) which is attributed to him gives no historical details.

Dadda I was succeeded by his son Jayabhata I, who is mentioned in the Khedā grants as a victorious and virtuous ruler, and appears from his title of Vītarāga the Passionless to have been a religious prince.

Jayabhata I was succeeded by his son Dadda II, who bore the title of Praśāntarāga the Passion-calmed. Dadda was the donor of the two Khedā grants of 380 (A.D. 628-29) and 385 (A.D. 633-34), and a part of a grant made by his brother Ranagrāha in the year 391 (A.D. 639-40) has lately been published. Three forged grants purporting to have been issued by him are dated respectively Saka 300 (A.D. 478), Saka 415 (A.D. 493), and Saka 417 (A.D. 495). Both of the Khedā grants relate to the gift of the village of Sirishpadakaka (Sisodā) in the Akruresvāra (Ankleśvar) vishaya to certain Brāhmans of Jambusar and Broach. In Ranagrāha's grant the name of the village is lost.

Dadda II's own grants describe him as having attained the five great titles, and praise him in general terms; and both he and his brother Ranagrāha sign their grants as devout worshippers of the sun. Dadda II heads the genealogy in the later grant of 456 (A.D. 704-5), which states that he protected "the lord of Valabhi who had been defeated by the great lord the illustrious Harshadeva." The event referred to must have been some expedition of the great Harshavardhana of Kanauj.

2 Ind. Ant. VII, 9, VII, 70. 3 Ind. Ant. XIII, 81-88. 4 Ind. Ant. VII, 76.
5 Beal's Buddhists Records, II, 266, 268. 6 Ind. Ant. XIII, 81-88, Eq. Ind. II, 19.
7 On these forged grants see below page 117. 8 Ind. Ant. XIII, 70.
(A.D. 607-648), perhaps the campaign in which Harsha was defeated on the Narbadā by Pulakesi II. (which took place before A.D. 634). The protection given to the Valabhi king is perhaps referred to in the Kheḍā grants in the mention of "strangers and suppliants and people in distress." If this is the case the defeat of Valabhi took place before A.D. 628-29, the date of the earlier of the Kheḍā grants. On the other hand, the phrase quoted is by no means decisive, and the fact that in Huien Tsang's time Dhruvasesa of Valabhi was son-in-law of Harsha's son, makes it unlikely that Harsha should have been at war with him. It follows that the expedition referred to may have taken place in the reign of Dharasena IV. who may have been the son of Dhruvasesa by another wife than Harsha's granddaughter.

To Dadda II.'s reign belongs Huien Tsang's notice of the kingdom of Broach (c. 640 A.D.). He says "all their profit is from the sea" and describes the country as salt and barren, which is still true of large tracts in the west and twelve hundred years ago was probably the condition of a much larger area than at present. Huien Tsang does not say that Broach was subject to any other kingdom, but it is clear from the fact that Dadda bore the five great titles that he was a mere feudatory. At this period the valuable port of Broach, from which all their profit was made, was a prize fought for by all the neighbouring powers. With the surrounding country of Lāta, Broach submitted to Pulakesi II. (A.D. 610-640): it may afterwards have fallen to the Mālava kings, to whom in Huien Tsang's time (A.D. 640) both Kheḍā (K'ie-ch'a) and Anandapura (Vadnagar) belonged; later it was subject to Valabhi, as Dharasena IV. made a grant at Broach in V.S. 330 (A.D. 649-50).

Knowledge of the later Gurijjaras is derived exclusively from two grants of Jayabhata III, dated respectively 456 (A.D. 704-5) and 486 (A.D. 734-5). The later of these two grants is imperfect, only the last plate having been preserved. The earlier grant of 456 (A.D. 704-5) shows that during the half century following the reign of Dadda II. the dynasty had ceased to call themselves Gurijjaras, and had adopted a Purānic pedigree traced from king Karṇa, a hero of the Bhārata war. It also shows that from Dadda III. onward the family were Śaivas instead of sun-worshippers.

The successor of Dadda II. was his son Jayabhata II. who is described as a warlike prince, but of whom no historical details are recorded.

Jayabhata's son, Dadda III. Bāhusahāya, is described as waging wars with the great kings of the east and of the west (probably Mālava and Valabhi). He was the first Śaiva of the family, studied Manu's works, and strictly enforced "the duties of the varṇas or castes and of the āśrama or Brāhman stages." It was probably to him that the Gurijjaras owed their Purānic pedigree and their recognition as true Kshatriyas. Like his predecessors Dadda III.

1 Beal's Buddhist Records, II. 259. 2 Ind. Ant. VIII. 227. 3 Ind. Ant. XV. 335. 4 Ind. Ant. V. 109, XIII. 70.
was not an independent ruler. He could claim only the five great titles, though no hint is given who was his suzerain. His immediate superior may have been Jayasimha the Chalukya, who received the province of Lāṭa from his brother Vikramāditya (C. 690-690 A.D.)

The son and successor of Dadda III was Jayabhaṭa III, whose two grants of 436 (A.D. 704-5) and 438 (A.D. 734-5) must belong respectively to the beginning and the end of his reign. He attained the five great titles, and was therefore a feudatory, probably of the Chālukyas: but his title of Mahāśimantādhipati implies that he was a chief of importance. He is praised in vague terms, but the only historical event mentioned in his grants is a defeat of a lord of Valabhi, noted in the grant of 438 (A.D. 734-5). The Valabhi king referred to must be either Śilāḍitya IV. (A.D. 691) or Śilāḍitya V. (A.D. 722). During the reign of Jayabhaṭa III, took place the great Arab invasion which was repulsed by Pulakesi Janāsraya at Naḷavārī. Like the kingdoms named in the grant of Pulakesi, Broach must have suffered from this raid. It is not specially mentioned probably because it formed part of Pulakesi's territory.

After A.D. 734-5 no further mention occurs of the Gurjaras of Broach. Whether the dynasty was destroyed by the Arabs or by the Gujarāt Ḍāshtrakūṭas (A.D. 750) is not known. Later references to Gurjaras in Ḍāshtrakūṭa times refer to the Gurjaras of Bhīṃmāḷ not to the Gurjaras of Broach, who, about the time of Dadda III (C. 675-700 A.D.), ceased to call themselves Gurjaras.

A few words must be said regarding the three grants from Háṣ, Umetā, and Başāvar (Ind. Ant. XIII. 116, VII. 61, and XVIII. 183) as their genuineness has been assumed by Dr. Bühler in his recent paper on the Mahābharata, in spite of Mr. Fleet's proof (Ind. Ant. XVIII. 19) that their dates do not work out correctly.

Dr. Bhagvīdād's (Ind. Ant. XIII. 70) chief grounds for holding that the Umetā and Háṣ grants (the Başāvar grant was unknown to him) were forgeries were:

(1) Their close resemblance in paleography to one another and to the forged grant of Dharasena II. of Valabhi dated S'aka 400:

(2) That though they purport to belong to the fifth century they bear the same writer's name as the Khējā grants of the seventh century.

Further Mr. Fleet (Ind. Ant. XIII. 116) pointed out:

(3) That the description of Dadda I. in the Háṣ and Umetā grants agrees almost literally with that of Dadda II. in the Khējā grants, and that where it differs the Khējā grants have the better readings.

To these arguments Dr. Bühler has replied (Ind. Ant. XVIII. 183):

(1) That though there is a resemblance between these grants and that of Dharasena II., still it does not prove more than that the forger of Dharasena's grant had one of the other grants before him;

(2) That, as the father's name of the writer is not given in the Khējā grants, it cannot be assumed that he was the same person as the writer of the Háṣ and Umetā grants; and

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1 B. B. R. A. S. JI. XVI. 16.
2 Ind. Ant. V. 109, XIII. 70. The earlier grant was made from Kāyāvāla (Kāriwān); the latter one is mutilated.
(3) That genuine grants sometimes show that a description written for one king is afterwards applied to another, and that good or bad readings are no test of the age of a grant.

It may be admitted that Dr. Bühler has made it probable that the suspected grants and the grant of Dharasena were not all written by the same hand, and also that the coincidence in the writer's name is not of much importance in itself. But the palaeographical resemblance between Dharasena's grant on the one hand and the doubtful Gurijar grants on the other is so close that they must have been written at about the same time. As to the third point, the verbal agreement between the doubtful grants on the one hand and the Khējā grants on the other implies the existence of a continuous tradition in the record office of the dynasty from the end of the fifth till near the middle of the seventh century. But the Saṅkhejā grant of Nirhullaka (Ep. Ind. II. 21) shows that towards the end of the sixth century the lower Narhāt valley was occupied by jungle tribes who acknowledged the supremacy of the Kalachuris. Is it reasonable to suppose that after the first Gurijar line was thus displaced, the restorers of the dynasty should have had any memory of the forms in which the first line drew up their grants? At any rate, if they had, they would also have retained their original seal, which, as the analogy of the Valabhi grants teaches us, would bear the founder's name. But we find that the seal of the Khējā plates bears the name “Śaṁanta Dadda,” who can be no other than the “Śaṁanta Dadda” who ruled from c. 585-605 A.D. It follows that the Gurijaras of the seventh century themselves traced back their history in Brāhmi no further than A.D. 585. Again, it has been pointed out in the text that a passage in the description of Dadda II. (a.d. 520-620) in the Khējā grants seems to refer to his protection of the Valabhi king, so that the description must have been written for him and not for the fifth century Dadda as Dr. Bühler's theory requires.

These points coupled with Mr. Fock's proof (Ind. Ant. XVIII. 91) that the Saha dates do not work out correctly, may perhaps be enough to show that none of these three grants can be relied upon as genuine.—(A. M. T. J.)
CHAPTER XI.

THE RĀŚHTRAKŪṬAS

(A.D. 743-974.)

The Rāśhtrakūṭa connection with Gujarāt lasted from Saka 665 to 894 (A.D. 743-974) that is for 231 years. The connection includes three periods: A first of sixty-five years from Saka 665 to 730 (A.D. 743-808) when the Gujarāt ruler was dependent on the main Dakhan Rāśhtrakūṭa; a second of eighty years between Saka 730 and 810 (A.D. 808-888) when the Gujarāt family was on the whole independent; and a third of eighty-six years Saka 810 to 896 (A.D. 888-974) when the Dakhan Rāśhtrakūṭas again exercised direct sway over Gujarāt.

Information regarding the origin of the Rāśhtrakūṭas is imperfect. That the Gujarāt Rāśhtrakūṭas came from the Dakhan in Saka 665 (A.D. 743) is known. It is not known who the Dakhan Rāśhtrakūṭas originally were or where or when they rose to prominence. Rāṭhod the dynastic name of certain Kanauj and Mārwār Rajputs represents a later form of the word Rāśhtrakūṭa. Again certain of the later inscriptions call the Rāśhtrakūṭas Rāṭṭas a word which, so far as form goes, is hardly a correct Prakrit contraction of Rāśhtrakūṭa. The Sanskritisation of tribal names is not exact. If the name Rāṭṭa was strange it might be pronounced Ratta, Rathra, or Raddi. This last form almost coincides with the modern Kanaress caste name Reddi, which, so far as information goes, would place the Rāśhtrakūṭas among the tribes of pre-Sanskrit southern origin.

If Ratta is the name of the dynasty kūṭa or kuda may be an attribute meaning prominent. The combination Rāśhtrakūṭa would then mean the chiefs or leaders as opposed to the rank and file of the Rāṭṭas. The bardic accounts of the origin of the Rāṭhods of Kanauj and Mārwār vary greatly. According to a Jain account the Rāṭhods, whose name is fancifully derived from the raḥā or spine of Indra, are connected with the Yavanas through an ancestor Yavanaśva prince of Pārlipur. The Rāṭhod genealogies trace their origin to Kuśa son of Rāma of the Solar Race. The bards of the
Solar Race hold them to be descendants of Hiranya Kausipu by a
Demon or daitya mother. Like the other great Râjput families the
Râthods' accounts contain no date earlier than the fifth century
A.D. when (A.D. 470, S. 528) Nâin Pâl is said to have conquered
Kanauj slaying its monarch Ajipâl.1 The Dakhan Râshtrakutas
(whose earliest known date is also about A.D. 450) call themselves
of the Lunar Race and of the Yadu dynasty. Such contradictions
leave only one of two origins to the tribe. They were either
foreigners or southerners Brahmanised and included under the
all-embracing term Râjput.

Of the rise of the Râshtrakutas no trace remains. The earliest
known Râshtrakuta copperplate is of a king Abhimanyu. This plate
is not dated. Still its letters, its style of writing, and its lion seal,
older than the Garuda mark which the Râshtrakutas assumed along
with the claim of Yâdava descent, leave no doubt that this is the
earliest of known Râshtrakuta plates. Its probable date is about
A.D. 450. The plate traces the descent of Abhimanyu through two
generations from Mânânka. The details are:

Mânânka,
Devavâja,
Bhaviânya,
Abhimanyu.

The grant is dated from Mânâpura, perhaps Mânânka's city,
probably an older form of Mânapurata the modern Malshed the
capital of the later Râshtrakutas about sixty miles south-east of
Sholapur. These details give fair ground for holding the Mânânkas
to be a family of Râshtrakuta rulers earlier than that which appears
in the usual genealogy of the later Râshtrakuta dynasty (A.D. 500-
972).

The earliest information regarding the later Râshtrakutas is
from a comparatively modern, and therefore not quite trustworthy,
Châlukya copperplate of the eleventh century found by Mr. Wallon.
This plate states that Jayasimha I, the earliest Châlukya defeated
the Râshtrakuta Indra son of Kršna the lord of 800 elephants.
The date of this battle would be about A.D. 500. If historic the
reference implies that the Râshtrakutas were then a well established
dynasty. In most of their own plates the genealogy of the Râsh-
trakutas begins with Govinda about A.D. 680. But that Govinda
was not the founder of the family is shown by Dantidarga's Elora
Dâsavatâra inscription (about A.D. 750) which gives two earlier
names Dantivarman and Indra. The founding of Râshtrakuta
power is therefore of doubtful date. Of the date of its overthrow
there is no question. The overthrow came from the hand of the
Western Châlukya Tailapp in Sâka 894 (A.D. 972) during the reign
of the last Râshtrakuta Kakka III, or Kakkala.

1 Tod's Annals of Bâjâsthûn, I. 88; II. 2.
The following is the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family tree:

1. Dantivarman (about A.D. 620).
2. Indra I. (about A.D. 650).
5. Indra II. (about A.D. 730).
6. Dantivarman, Dantivarman II. (Saka 670, A.D. 769).
7. Krishna.
Jagatnaga, (did not reign).

3. Indra (founder of Gujarāt Branch).
5. Govinda. (Saka 755, 756, A.D. 955).
9. Dhrurva II. (Saka 760, 768, A.D. 967, 971).
10. Sakta, or Karkaraja, (Saka 800, A.D. 972).

The earliest Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa grant, Kakka's of Saka 669 (A.D. 747), comes from Antrolī-Chārolī in Surat. It is written on two plates in the Valabhi style of composition and form of letters, and, as in Valabhi grants, the date is at the end. Unlike Valabhi grants the era is the Saka era. The grant gives the following genealogy somewhat different from that of other known Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants:

- Kakka.
- Dhrurva.
- Govinda.
- Kakka II. (Saka 669, A.D. 747).
The plate notices that Kakka the grantor was the son of Govinda by his wife the daughter of the illustrious Nāgavarmman. Kakka is further described by the feudatory title 'Sawamadhigapunamahisabah' Holder of the five great names. At the same time he is also called Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārāja Great Lord Great King, attributes which seem to imply a claim to independent power. The grant is dated the bright seventh of Asvayuṇa, Saka 669 (A.D. 747). The date is almost contemporary with the year of Dantidurga in the Sāmangad plate (A.D. 753). As Dantidurga was a very powerful monarch we may identify the first Kakka of this plate with Kakka I, the grandfather of Dantidurga and thus trace from Dhruva Kakka's son a branch of feudatory Rashtrakūṭas ruling in Mālwa or Gujarāt, whose leaders were Dhruva, his son Govinda, and Govinda's son Kakka II. Further Dantidurga's grant shows that he conquered Central Gujarāt between the Mahī and the Narbādā while his Elura Daśāvatiśa inscription (A.D. 750) shows that he held Lāṭa and Mālava. Dantidurga's conquest of Central Gujarāt seems to have been signalised by grants of land made by his mother in every village of the Mātrī division which is apparently the Mātrī talūka of the Kaira district. It is possible that Dantidurga gave conquered Gujarāt to his paternal cousin's son and contemporary Kakka, the grantor of the Antroli plate (A.D. 747), as the representative of a family ruling somewhere under the overlordship of the main Dakhana Rashtrakūṭas. Karka's Baroda grant (A.D. 812) supports this theory. Dantidurga died childless and was succeeded by his uncle Kṛishṇa. Of this Kṛishṇa the Baroda grant says that he assumed the government for the good of the family after having rooted out a member of the family who had taken to mischief-making. It seems probable that Kakka II, the grantor of the Antroli plate is the mischief-maker and that his mischief was, on the death of Dantidurga, the attempt to secure the succession to himself. Kṛishṇa frustrated Kakka's attempt and rooted him out so effectively that no trace of Kakka's family again appears.

From this it follows that, so far as is known, the Rashtrakūṭa conquest of Gujarāt begins with Dantidurga's conquest of Lāṭa, that is South Gujarāt between the Mahī and the Narbādā, from the Gurjara king Jayabhāṣṭa whose latest known date is A.D. 736 or seventeen years before the known date of Dantidurga. The Gurjara probably retired to the Rājpipla hills and further east on the confines of Mālwa where they may have held a lingering sway. No Gujarāt event of importance is recorded during the reign of Kṛishṇa (A.D. 765) or of his son Govinda II. (A.D. 780) who about

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1 Ind. Ant. XI. 112.
2 Bombay Arch. Surv. Separate Number, 10, 94.
3 This verse which immediately follows the mention of Govinda's conquest on the banks of the Mahī and the Narbādā punningly explains the name of the Mātrī talūka as meaning the Mother's talūka.
4 Ind. Ant. XII. 156.
5 The Khāndesh Reje and Dore Gujars of Chōplā and Bāvner in the east, and also over most of the west, may be a remnant of those Gujars of Brench who at this time (A.D. 749), and perhaps again about sixty years later, may have been forced up the Narbādā and Tāpī into South Mālwa and West Khāndesh. This is doubtful as their migration is said to have taken place in the eleventh century and may have been due to pressure from the north the effect of Muhmmad Ghaznī's invasions (A.D. 1000-1025).
A.D. 795 was superseded by his powerful younger brother Dhrumā.¹

Dhrumā was a mighty monarch whose conquests spread from South India as far north as Allahābād. During Dhrumā's lifetime his son Govinda probably ruled at Mayūrakhandi or Morkhanda in the Nāsik district and held the Ghāt country and the Gujarāt coast from Balsār northwards. Though according to a Kapadvanj grant Govinda had several brothers the Rādhaṇpur (A.D. 808) and Van-Dindori (A.D. 808) grants of his son Govinda III state that his father, seeing Govinda's supernatural Kṛṣṇa-like powers, offered him the sovereignty of the whole world. Govinda declined, saying, The Kāṇṭhikā or coast tract already given to me is enough. Seeing that Mayūrakhandi or Morkhanda in Nāsik was Govinda's capital, this Kāṇṭhikā appears to be the coast from Balsār northwards.

According to Gujarāt Govinda's (A.D. 827–833) Kāvī grant (A.D. 827), finding his power threatened by Stambha and other kings, Dhrumā made the great Govinda independent during his own lifetime. This suggests that while Dhrumā continued to hold the main Rāshaṭrakūṭa sovereignty in the Dakhan, he probably invested Govinda with the sovereignty of Gujarāt. This fact the Kāvī grant (A.D. 827) being a Gujarāt grant would rightly mention while it would not find a place in the Rādhaṇpur (A.D. 808) and Van-Dindori (A.D. 808) grants of the main Rāshaṭrakūṭas. Of the kings who opposed Govinda the chief was Stambha who may have some connection with Cambay, as, during the time of the Anahilavadā kings, Cambay came to be called Stambha-tārtha instead of by its old name of Gumbhūṭa. According to the grants the allied chiefs were no match for Govinda. The Gurjara fled through fear, not returning even in dreams, and the Mālava king submitted. Who the Gurjara was it is hard to say. He may have belonged to some Gurjara dynasty that rose to importance after Dantidurga's conquest or the name may mean a ruler of the Gurjara country. In either case some North Gujarāt ruler is meant whose conquest opened the route from Broach to Mālwa. From Mālwa Govinda marched to the Vindhyas where the king apparently of East Mālwa named Mārṣa Sārva submitted to Govinda paying tribute. From the Vindhyas Govinda returned to Gujarāt passing the rains at Sṛibhavana,² apparently Sarbhōna in the Āmod tālukā of Broach, a favourite locality which he had ruled during his father's lifetime. After the rains Govinda went south as far as the Tungabhādra.

On starting for the south Govinda handed Gujarāt to his brother Indra with whom begins the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshaṭrakūṭas. Several plates distinctly mention that Indra was given the kingdom of the lord of Lāṭa by (his brother) Govinda. Other Gujarāt grants, apparently with intent to show that Indra won Gujarāt and did not receive it in gift, after mentioning Sārva Amoghaṇavastra as the successor of Govinda (A.D. 818), state that the king (apparently of Gujarāt) was Sārva's uncle Indra.

¹ Ind. Ant. VI. 65; Jour. R. A. Soc. V. 350.
² Ind. Ant. VI. 65.
As Govinda III, handed Gujarât to his brother Indra about S'aka 730 (A.D. 808) and as the grant of Indra's son Karka is dated S'aka 734 (A.D. 812), Indra's reign must have been short. Indra is styled the ruler of the entire kingdom of Lâtesvara, the protector of the mandala of Lâta given to him by his lord. An important verse in an unpublished Baroda grant states that Indra chased the lord of Gurjara who had prepared to fight, and that he honourably protected the multitude of Dakhan (Dakshinâpatha) feudatories (mahâdsamantas), whose glory was shattered by Srîvallabha (that is Srîvva or Amoghavarsha) then heir-apparent of Govinda. That is, in attempting to establish himself in independent power, Indra aided certain of the Râshtrakûta feudatories in an effort to shake off the lordship of Amoghavarsha.

Indra was succeeded by his son Karka I, who is also called Suvarnavarsha and Pâtalamallâ. Karka reversed his father's policy and loyally accepted the lordship of the main Râshtrakûta. Three grants of Karka's remain, the Baroda grant dated S'aka 734 (A.D. 812), and two unpublished grants from Navsâri and Surat dated respectively S'aka 738 (A.D. 816) and S'aka 743 (A.D. 821). Among Doctor Bhagvânâlî's collection of inscriptions bequeathed to the British Museum the Baroda grant says that Karka's srâmi or lord, apparently Govinda III, made use of Karka's arm to protect the king of Mâlava against invasion by the king of Gurjara who had become puffed up by conquering the lords of Gauḍa and Vanga that is modern Bengal. This powerful Gurjara king who conquered countries so distant as Bengal has not been identified. He must have been ruling north of the Mahâ and threatened an invasion of Mâlava by way of Dohad. He may have been either a Valabhi king or one of the Bhînmâl Gurjjaras, who, during the decline of the Valabhis, and with the help of their allies the Châvâdjas of Anahilalvâda whose leader at this time was Yog Bâja (A.D. 806-841), may have extended their dominion as far south as the Mahâ. As the Baroda plate (A.D. 812) makes no mention of Amoghavarsha-S'rvva while the Navsâri plate (A.D. 816) mentions him as the next king after Govinda III, it follows that Govinda III died and Amoghavarsha succeeded between A.D. 812 and 816 (S', 734 and 738). This supports Mr. Fleet's conclusion, on the authority of Amoghavarsha's Srîrur inscription, that he came to the throne in S'aka 736 (A.D. 814). At first Amoghavarsha was unable to make head against the opposition of some of his relations and feudatories, supported, as noted above, by Karka's father Indra. He seems to have owed his

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1. The kingdom is not called Lâta in the copperplate but Lâtesvara-mandala. An unpublished Baroda grant has श्रवाच दस्ताधिकारिण: दक्षिणापथ दक्षिणापथवर्जस्य. The ruler famous by glory, of the whole kingdom of the king of Lâta. Other published grants record Govinda's gift of Gujarât to Indra as सर्वभूमि सर्वभूमि भवदश्च. Of him (Indra) to whom the kingdom of the lord of Lâta had been given by him (Govinda). Ind. Ant. XII. 162.

2. Ind. Ant. XII. 160; unpublished Baroda grant. Srîvallabha appears to mean Amoghavarsha who is also called Lakshmanivallabha in an inscription at Srîrur in Dîsdrâwr (Ind. Ant. XII. 215).
subsequent success to his cousin Karka whom an unpublished Surat grant and two later grants (S. 757 and S. 789, A.D. 835 and 867) describe as establishing Amoghavarsha in his own place after conquering by the strength of his arm arrogant tributary Rāṣṭrakūṭa who becoming firmly allied to each other had occupied provinces according to their own will.

Karka's Baroda plates (S. 734, A.D. 812) record the grant of Baroda itself called Vadhāpadra in the text. Baroda is easily identified by the mention of the surrounding villages of Jambuvānikā the modern Jambuvāna on the east, of Ankotaka the modern Akotā on the west, and of Vagghāchihā perhaps the modern Vadhoda on the north. The writer of the grant is mentioned as the great minister of peace and war Neminātṛya son of Durga-bhatta, and the Dūtaka or grantor is said to be Rājapatra that is prince Dantivarman apparently a son of Karka. The grantee is a Brāhmaṇ originally of Valabhi.

Karka's Nāvṣāri grant (S. 738, A.D. 816) is made from Khedā and records the gift of the village of Sāmpadra in the country lying between the Mahī and the Narbadā. The grantee is a South Indian Brāhmaṇ from Bādāmi in Bījāpur, a man of learning popularly known as Pandita Valla-bharaja because he was proficient in the fourteen Vidyaś. The Dūtaka of this grant is a South Indian bhūta or military officer named the illustrious Droṇamama.

Karka's Surat grant (S. 743, A.D. 821) is made from the royal camp on the bank of the Vankīkā apparently the Vānki Creek near Balsār. It records the gift of a field in Ambāpātaka village near Nāgāsārika (Nāvṣāri) to a Jain temple at Nāgarikā (Nāvṣāri). The writer of the grant is the minister of war and peace Nārāyaṇa son of Durgabhaṭṭa. As this is the first grant by a Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa of lands south of the Tāpti it may be inferred that in return for his support Amoghavarsha added to Karka's territory the portion of the North Konkan which now forms Gujarāt south of the Tāpti.

According to Karka's Baroda plate (S. 734, A.D. 812) Karka had a son named Dantivarman who is mentioned as the prince Dūtaka of the plate. The fact of being a Dūtaka implies that Dantivarman was then of age. That Dantivarman was a son of Karka is supported by Akālavarsha's Bagumrā plate (S. 810, A.D. 888), where, though the plate is badly composed and the grammar is faulty, certain useful details are given regarding Dantivarman who is clearly mentioned as the son of Karka. Karka had another son named Dhruva, who, according to three copperplates, succeeded to the throne. But as Dantivarman's son's grant is dated Saka 810 or seventy-six years later than the Baroda plate some error seems to have crept into the genealogy of the plate. Neither Dantivarman nor Dhruva seems to have succeeded their father as according to Govinda's Kāvī grant (A.D. 827) their uncle Govinda succeeded his brother Karka. The explanation may be that Dantivarman died during his father's lifetime, and that some years later, after a great yearning for a son, probably in Karka's old age, a second

1 Several copperplates give Karka the epithet Patrīpatustasya Son-yearning.
son Dhrusa was born, during whose minority, after Karka’s death, Govinda appears to have temporarily occupied the throne.

This Govinda, the brother and successor of Karka, was also called Prabhutavarsa. One plate of Govinda’s Kâvî grant is dated Saka 749 (A.D. 827). It gives no details regarding Govinda. The grant is made from Broach and records the gift of a village1 to a temple of the Sun called Jayâditya in Kotipur near Kâpikâ that is Kâvî thirty miles north of Broach. The writer of the grant is Yogeshvara son of Avalokita and the Dâtaka or grantor was one Bhâtta Kumuda. As it contains no reference to Govinda’s succession the plate favours the view that Govinda remained in power only during the minority of his nephew Dhrusa.

This Dhrusa, who is also called Nirupama and Dhârâvarsha, is mentioned as ruler in a Baroda grant dated Saka 757 (A.D. 835).2 He therefore probably came to the throne either on attaining his majority in the lifetime of his uncle and predecessor Govinda or after Govinda’s death. Dhrusa’s Baroda grant (S. 757, A.D. 835) is made from a place called Sarvavamangalâ near Khedâ and records the gift of a village to a Brâhmân named Yogo3 of Badorasidhi apparently Borsad. The writer of the grant is mentioned as the minister of peace and war, Narâyana son of Durgabhâta, and the Dâtaka or grantor is the illustrious Devarâja. Dhrusa seems to have abandoned his father’s position of loyal feudatory to the main Râshtrakutâs. According to a copperplate dated Saka 832 (A.D. 910) Vallabha that is Amoghavarsha, also called the illustrious Skanda, sent an army and besieged and burned the Kânthikâ that is the coast tract between Bombay and Cambay. In the course of this campaign, according to Dhrusa II.’s Bagumrâ grant (S. 789, A.D. 867),4 Dhrusa died on the field of battle covered with wounds while routing the army of Vallabha or Amoghavarsha. This statement is supported by a Kanheri cave inscription which shows that Amoghavarsha was still alive in Saka 799 (A.D. 877).

Dhrusa was succeeded by his son Akâlavarsa also called Subhatungâ. A verse in Dhrusa II.’s Bagumrâ grant (S. 789, A.D. 867) says that Akâlavarsa established himself in the territory of his father, which, after Dhrusa’s death in battle, had been overrun by the army of Vallabha and had been distracted by evil-minded followers and dependants.5

Akâlavarsa was succeeded by his son Dhrusa II. also called Dhârâvarsha and Nirupama. Of Dhrusa II. two copperplates remain the published Bagumrâ grant dated Saka 789* (A.D. 867) and an

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1 All village and boundary details have been identified by Dr. Bühler. Ind. Ant. V. 148.
2 Jyotishika by the illustrious Govindarâja apparently the uncle and predecessor of the granting king. Ind. Ant. XII. 179.
3 This verse may be translated: By whom before long was occupied the province handed down from his father which had been overrun by the forces of Vallabha and distracted by numbers of evil-minded followers. Ind. Ant. XII. 179.
unpublished Baroda grant dated Saka 793 (A.D. 871). Both plates record that Dhruva crushed certain intrigues among his relatives or bhuldawaea, and established himself firmly on the throne. Regarding the troubles at the beginning of his reign the Bagumra plate states that on one side Vallabha the head of the Dakhan Reshtrakutas was still against him; on another side Dhruva had to face an army of Gurjaras instigated by a member of his own family; thirdly he was opposed by certain of his relatives or bhulhdvaë, and lastly he had to contend against the intrigues of a younger brother or anuja. It further appears from Dhruva II.'s Bagumra plate that he checked an inroad by a Mihira king with a powerful army. This Mihira king was probably a chief of the Kathiavara. Mehs on the downfall of the Valabhis spread their power across Gujarât. In all these troubles the Bagumra grant notes that Dhruva was aided by a younger brother named Govindarâja. This Govindarâja is mentioned as appointed by Dhruva the Dûtaka of the grant.

Dhruva II.'s Bagumra (A.D. 867) grant was made at Bhurgu-Kacheleha or Broach after bathing in the Narbadâ. It records the gift to a Brahman of the village of Parshamaka, probably the village of Palsana six miles south-east of Bagumra in the Balesar subdivision of the Gâikwar's territory of Surat and Navasã. Dhruva's Baroda grant (A.D. 871) was also made at Broach. It is a grant to the god Kâpâles vara Mahâdeva of the villages Konvali and Nakkhabhajra both mentioned as close to the south bank of the Mahâ. The facts that the Bagumra grant (A.D. 867) transfers a village so far south as Balesar near Navasã and that four years later the Baroda grant (A.D. 871) mentions that Dhruva's territory lay between Broach and the Mahâ seem to prove that between A.D. 867 and 871 the portion of Dhruva's kingdom south of Broach passed back into the hands of the main Râshtrakutas.

The next and last known Gujarât Râshtrakuta king is Akâlavarsa-Krishna son of Dantivarman. A grant of this king has been found in Bagumra dated Saka 810 (A.D. 888). The composition of the grant is so bad and the genealogical verses after Karka are so confused that it seems unsafe to accept any of

1 This plate was in Dr. Bhagvatâlal's possession. It is among the plates bequested to the British Museum. Dr. Bhandarkar (B. B. A. S. 31, XVIII, 255) mentions another unpublished grant of S. 789 (A.D. 867) made by Dhruva's brother Dantivarman.

2 These may be either the Gurjaras between Malwa and Gujarât, or the Bhîmaul Gurjaras north of the Mahâ. It is also possible that they may be Chârâvâs as in this passage the term Gurjaras does not refer to the tribes but to the country. (There seems little reason to doubt the reference is to the Gurjaras of Bhîmaul or Sirmul, probably acting through their underkinds the Chârâvâs of Anâhivâda whose king in A.D. 885 was the warlike Kahem Râja (A.D. 841-866). Census and other recent information establish almost with certainty that the Chârâvâs or Chârâvâaks are of the Gurjaras race.)

3 The identification is not satisfactory. Except the Brahman settlement of Mottaka, apparently the well known Motâla Brahman settlement of Motâ, which is mentioned as situated on the west, though it is on the north-east, some of the boundary villages can be identified in the neighbourhood of Palsana. In spite of this the name Palsana and its close vicinity to Bagumra where the grant was found make this identification probable.

4 Ind. Ant. XIII. 65.
its details except its date which is clearly Śaka 810 (A.D. 888). It seems also improbable that the son of Dantivarman who flourished in Śaka 734 (A.D. 812) could be reigning in Śaka 810 (A.D. 888) seventy-six years later. Still the sixty-three years' reign of the contemporary Mānyakaśa Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa (S. 736-799, A.D. 814-877) shows that this is not impossible.

The grant which is made from Anklesvar near Broach records the gift to two Brāhmans of the village of Kaviṭhassādi the modern Kosād four miles north-east of Surat, described as situated in the Varaśi (the modern Varad two miles north of Surat) sub-division of 116 villages in the province of Konkan. The grant is said to have been written by the peace and war ministers the illustrious Jajīka son of Koluca, the Dutaka being the head officer (mahatlamasatravādhibhūrī) the Brāhmaṇa Olliyaka. This grant seems to imply the recovery by the local dynasty of some portion of the disputed area to the south of the Tapti. This recovery must have been a passing success. After Śaka 810 (A.D. 888) nothing is known of the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭas. And the re-establishment of the power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheśa of the main line in south Gujarāt in Śaka 836 (A.D. 914) is proved by two copperplates found in Navaśāri which record the grant of villages near Navaśāri, in what the text calls the Lāta country, by king Indra Nityamvarsha son of Jagattunga and grandson of Krishnā Akālavarsa.

That Amoghavarṣa's long reign lasted till Śaka 799 (A.D. 877) is clear from the Kanberi cave inscription already referred to. His reign can hardly have lasted much longer; about Śaka 800 (A.D. 878) may be taken to be its end.

Amoghavarṣa was succeeded by his son Krishnā also called Akālavarsa, both his names being the same as those of the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of the same time (A.D. 888). It has been noted above that, in consequence of the attempt of Karka's son Dhravva I. (A.D. 835-867) to establish his independence, Amoghavarṣa's relations with the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭas became extremely hostile and probably continued hostile till his death (A.D. 877). That Amoghavarṣa's son Krishnā kept up the hostilities is shown by Indra's two Navaśāri plates of Śaka 836 (A.D. 914) which mention his grandfather Krishnā fighting with the roving Gurjjara. Regarding this fight the late Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kardā plate (S. 891, A.D. 973) further says that Krishnā's enemies frightened by his exploits abandoned Khetaka, that is Khejā, with its Mandala and its forepart that is the surrounding country. Probably this roving Gurjjara or king of Gujarāt, was a northern ally called in by some Rāṣṭrakūṭa of the

1. Ind. Ant. XIII. 65-69.
2. These were among Dr. Bhagvānlal's copperplates, and seem to be the same as the two grants published by Dr. Bhandākar in B. B. R. A. S. J. Xviii. 233.
3. See above page 127.
4. The text is: उद्गीतिपरमलघुवशस्यप्रपक्षमन्नभयम: | कुक्षीनोपि वत्तिपिपिक्षः | समवेन नक्षिपः: | श्रृंग:; भाषासारीति सेत्त्रापावलये यस्यत्यम नक्षिमाणम नक्षिभुजारक- | स्तग्राध्यतिर्क्ते बीमानिः: इति.
Gujarat branch, perhaps by Krishna's namesake the donor of the a.d. 888 Bagmura grant. The Dakhan Krishna seems to have triumphed over his Gujarat namesake as henceforward South Gujarat or Lāṭa was permanently included in the territory of the Dakhan Raśtrakūṭas.¹

At this time (a.d. 910) a grant from Kapadvanj dated S. 832 (a.d. 910) and published in Ep. Ind. I. 52ff. states that a mahā-śramaṇa or noble of Krishna Akālawarsha's named Prachanda, with his dasaṇdyaka Chandragupta, was in charge of a sub-division of 750 villages in the Khetā district at Harshapura apparently Harso near Parantij. The grant gives the name of Prachanda's family as Brāhma-vaka (?) and states that the family gained its fortune or Lakhnun by the prowess of the feet of Akālawarsha, showing that the members of the family drew their authority from Akālawarsha. The grant mentions four of Prachanda's ancestors, all of whom have non-Gujarat Kānareswar-looking names. Though not independent rulers Prachanda's ancestors seem to have been high Raśtrakūṭa officers. The first is called Āṭuddha-kkumbhadi, the second his son Deogadi, the third Deogadi's son Rājahamsa, the fourth Rājahamsa's son Dhavalappa the father of Prachanda and Akkuka. The plate describes Rājahamsa as bringing back to his house its flying fortune as if he had regained lost authority. The plate describes Dhavalappa as killing the enemy in a moment and then giving to his lord the Mandala or kingdom which the combined enemy, desirous of glory, had taken. This apparently refers to Akālawarsha's enemies abandoning Khetaka with its Mandala as mentioned in the late Raśtrakūṭa Kardā plate (a.d. 973). Dhavalappa is probably Akālawarsha's general who fought and defeated the roaring Gurgara, a success which may have led to Dhavalappa being placed in military charge of Gujarat.² The Kapadvanj (a.d. 910) grant describes Dhavalappa's son Prachanda with the feudatory title 'Who has obtained the five great words.' Dr. Bhagvānūlā believed Prachanda to be a mere epithet of Akkuka, and took Chandragupta to be another name of the same person, but the published text gives the facts as above stated. The grantee is a Brāhma and the grant is of the village of Vyāgrāra, perhaps Vagra in Broach.³ The plate describes Akkuka as gaining glory fighting in the battle field. A rather unintelligible verse follows implying that at this time the Sella-Vidyādhara, apparently the North Konkan Śilāhāra (who traced their lineage from the Vidyādhara) also helped Akālawarsha against his enemies,⁴ probably by driving them from South Gujarat. The Śilāhāra king at this time would be Jhanjha (a.d. 916).⁵

¹ It will be noted that in Saka 828 (a.d. 914) Krishna's grandson Indra re-grants 400 resumed villages many of which were perhaps resumed at this time by Krishna.
² It follows that none of Dhavalappa's three ancestors had any connection with Gujarāt.
³ Dr. Hultzsch (Ep. Ind. I. 32) identifies Vyāgrāra with Vaghas, north-east of Kapadvanj. Dr. Bhagvānūlā's account of the grant was based on an impression sent to him by the Māmatadar of Kapadvanj.
⁴ The text is: तेष्वाय विषादरस्याय तेष्वाय विषादरस्याय तेष्वाय विषादरस्याय तेष्वाय विषादरस्याय. Dr. Hultzsch takes the Sella-Vidyādhara here named to be another brother of Prachanda and Akkuka. The verse is corrupt.
⁵ a. 1207-17
Krishna or Akalavarsa had a son named Jagattunga who does not appear to have come to the throne. Other plates show that he went to Chedi the modern Bundelkhand and remained there during his father's lifetime. By Lakshmi, the daughter of the king of Chedi, Jagattunga had a son named Indra also called Nityamvarsha Raṭṭakandarpa. In both of Indra's Narsāri copperplates (A.D. 914) Indra is mentioned as Pāṇḍamudhyēita, falling at the feet of, that is successor of, not his father but his grandfather Akalavarsa. In one historical attribute of Indra in both the plates is that "he uprooted in a moment the Mehr," apparently referring to some contemporary Mehr king of North Kathiavāda. Both the Narsāri plates of Saka 836 (A.D. 914) note that the grants were made under peculiar conditions. The plates say that the donor Indra Nityamvarsha, with his capital at Manyakheta, had come to a place named Kurundaka for the puṭṭabandha or investiture festival. It is curious that though Manyakheta is mentioned as the capital the king is described as having come to Kurundaka for the investiture. Kurundaka was apparently not a large town as the plates mention that it was given in grant. At his investiture Indra made great gifts. He weighed himself against gold or silver, and before leaving the scales he gave away Kurundaka and other places, twenty and a half lakhs of dramma coins, and 400 villages previously granted but taken back by intervening kings. These details have an air of exaggeration. At the same time gifts of coins by lakhs are not improbable by so mighty a king as Indra and as to the villages the bulk of them had already been alienated. The fact of lavish grants is supported by the finding of these two plates of the same date recording grants of two different villages made on the same occasion, the language being the same, and also by a verse in the late Rāṣṭrakūta Karḍā plate (S. 894, A.D. 972) where Indra is described as making numerous grants on copperplates and building many temples of Śiva. The date of Indra's grants (S. 838, A.D. 914) is the date of his investiture and accession. This is probable as the latest known date of his grandfather Krishna is Saka 833 (A.D. 911) and we know that Indra's father Jagattunga did not reign. Umāra and Tenna, the villages granted in the two investiture plates, are described as situated near Kammanīḍa the modern Kāmlej yak the Lāta province. They are probably the modern villages of Umara near Sāyān four miles west of Kāmlej, and of Tenna immediately to the west of Bārdoli, which last is mentioned under the form Vārṇḍapallikā as the eastern boundary village. Dhrūva II's Bagumra plate (S. 789, A.D. 867) mentions Tenna as granted

1 The Khārapātā grant makes this clear by passing over Indra's father Jagattunga in the genealogy and entering Indra as the grandsons and successor of Akalavarsa. Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc. 1, 217.

2 The text has Helomumittemudra to chime with the poetical allusion and figure about Indra. By Mura co dub Mura or Mehr is meant.

3 Kurundaka may be the village of Kurun in the Thāna zilla seven miles north-east of Bīlwadā. It was a village given away in grant and cannot therefore be any large town. Kurundā at the holy meeting of the Krishna and Pāṭhuganga in the Southern Marathās Country close to Narōba's Vadi seems a more likely places for an investiture.] 4 J. R. A. S. III. 94. 4 Ind. Ant. XI. 109. 6 See above.
by Dhruva I. to a Brahman named Dhoodi the father of the Neemapa, who is the grantee of Dhruva II's A.D. 897 Bagumara grant, whose son Siddhabhata is the grantee of Indra's A.D. 914 grant.¹ The re-granting of so many villages points to the re-establishment of the main Rashtrakuta power and the disappearance of the Gujarát branch of the Rashtrakutas.²

Though no materials remain for fixing how long after A.D. 914 Gujarát belonged to the Manyakheta Rashtrakutas, they probably continued to hold it till their destruction in Saka 894 (A.D. 972) by the Western Chalukya king Tailappa. This is the more likely as inscriptions show that till then the neighbours of Gujarát, the North Konkan Śilāhāras, acknowledged Rashtrakuta supremacy.

It is therefore probable that Gujarát passed to the conquering Tailappa as part of the Rashtrakuta kingdom. Further, as noted below in Part II, Chapter II, it seems reasonable to suppose that about Saka 900 (A.D. 978) Tailappa entrusted Gujarát to his general Bāruapa or Dvarappa, who fought with the Solanki Mulardja of Anahilavādha (A.D. 961–997).

The text does not carry the question of the origin of the Rashtrakutas beyond the point that, about the middle of the fifth century A.D., two tribes bearing the closely associated names Bāroha and Raṭṭa, the leaders of both of which are known in Sanskrit as Rashtrakūṭa, appeared the first in Upper India the second in the Bombay Kārūṭaka, and that the traditions of both tribes seem to show they were either southerners or foreigners Bārhumised and included under the all-embracing term Raṭjasa. The Sanskrit form Raṣṭrakūṭa may mean either leaders of the Raṭjasa tribe or heads of the territorial division named raṣṭra. The closely related forms Raṭṭrapati and Gārvākaśa occur (above page 22) in inscriptions. And Mr. Fleet (Kānarsee Dynasties, 32) notices that Raṣṭrakūτa is used in the inscriptions of many dynasties as a title equivalent to Raṭṭrapati. Such a title might readily become a family name like that of the Sahi Jats of the Panjāb or the Marathi surnames Patel, Narkar, and Dasse. It may be noted that one of the Marāwār traditions (Raṣṭrapāla Gazetteer, III, 246) connects the word Bāroha with Raṭṭa, a country-making the original form Raṭṭravara or World-blessing and referring to an early tribal guardian Raṭṭraḷaḷya or the World-Falcon. It is therefore possible that the origin of both forms of the name, of Bāroha as well as of Raṣṭrakūτa, is the title ruler of a district. At the same time in the case of the southern Raṣṭrakūṭas the balance of evidence is in support of a tribal origin of the name. The Raṭjas of Saundatti in Belgaum, apparently with justice, claim descent from the former Raṣṭrakūṭa rulers (Belgaum Gazetteer, 335). Further that the Raṣṭrakūṭas considered themselves to belong to the Raṭṭa tribe is shown by Indra Nityaparsa (A.D. 914)

¹ Though the name of the gatra Lakhamnasa and Lakṣṭhpurasa differs slightly in the two grants, the identity of the name Neemapa the son of Dhoodi and the father of Siddhabhata the A.D. 914 grantee, suggests that the original grant of the village of Teema by Dhruva I. (A.D. 798) had been cancelled in the interval and in A.D. 914 was renewed by king Indra Nityaparsa. [Dr. Bhansālkar reads the name in Indra's Navarī grant (A.D. 914) as Vennapa.]

² That in A.D. 915 the Dakhian Rashtrakūtas held Gujarāt as far north as Cambay is supported by the Arab traveller Al Māṣīdī who (Prairies d'Or, I, 223–224) speaks of Cambay, when he visited it, as a flourishing town ruled by Banīa the deputy of the Balharī lord of Mākkir. The country along the gulf of Cambay was a succession of gardens villages fields and woods with date-palm and other groves alive with peacocks and parrots.
EARLY GUJARAT.

calling himself Rajjakandarpa the Love of the Rajjas. The result is thus in agreement
with the view accepted in the text that Rashtrakuta means leaders of the Rajja tribe,
for the word is perhaps chosen because the leaders held the position of
Rashtrakutas or District Headmen. According to Dr. Bhandarkar (Decem History, 9).
the tribal name Rajja or Rashtra enters into the still more famous Dakhin tribal,
name Maharatha or Maharatas. So far as present information goes both the Rajjas and
the Great Rajjas are to be traced to Rashtrakutas mentioned in number five of Asoka's
(a.e. 244) Girkar edicts among the Aparantias or westerners along with the Putukales
or people of Patahuni about forty miles north-east of Ahmadnagar (Kolhapur Gazetteer,
82). Whether the Rashikas of the edicts is like Putukales a purely local name and if so
why a portion of the north Dakhin should be especially known as the country or
Rashtra me points that must remain open.1

The explanation that Kota the second half of Rashtrakuta means chief, has been
accepted in the text. This is probably correct. At the same time the rival theory
deserves notice that the name Rashtrakuta is formed from two tribal names Kota
representing the early widespread tribe allied to the Gonds known as Kotaas and
Koja in the Central Provinces North Konkan and Delhi (Thana Gazetteer, XII, Part II,
414). In support of this view it may be noticed that Abhimanyu's fifth century
Rashtrakuta inscription (J. Bo. Br. R. 9a. XVI 92) refers to the Kotaas though as
enemies not allies of the Rashtrakutas. At the same time certain details in
Abhimanyu's grant favour an early Rashtrakuta settlement in the Central Provinces,
the probable head-quarters of the Kotaas. The grant is dated from Manapura and
is made to Daksita Siva of Peppapadugara which may be the Great Siva shrine
in the Mahadev hills in Hoshangabad, as this shrine is under the management of a
petty chief of a place called Pagaria, and as Manapura in the Vindhya hills is not far
off. Against the tribal origin of the word Kota is to be set the fact that the northern
Rajjas are also called Rashtrakutas though any connection between them and the
Kotja tribe names unlikely.

The question remains were the southern Rajjas or Rashtrakutas connected with
the northern Batochas or Rashtrakutas. If so what was the nature of the connection
and to what date does it belong. The fact that, while the later southern Rashtrakutas

1 It seems doubtful whether the Kanyaraas Rajjas the Belgum Raksas and the Telugu Raksas could
have been Rashikas or least in the north Dakhin. The widespread Rashika trace their origin
(Bailey's Encyclopaedia of India, III, 397) to Rajaomuabiri about thirty miles from the mouth of the
Godaveri. A tradition of a northern origin remains among some of the Raksas. The Travancore
Raksha (Madras J. Litt., and Science, 1897-98, page 120 note 90) tell themselves. Audh Raksas and it may
be that Audh is the native country of their tribe. The late Sir George Campbell (J. R. As. Soc. XXXVI,
Part II, 189) has recorded the notable fact that the fine handsome Raksha of the north of the Kurna
country are like the Jats. With this personal resemblance may be compared the Raksas armed force of polysandry
(Bailey's Encyclopaedia of India, III, 398) in accordance with which the wife of the chief-bullsherd
be choses to the adult male of the family, a practice which received theories pummarile Mr.
Kirkpatrick in Indian Ann. VII, 50 and Dr. Muir in Diet. VI, 383 would associate with the
northern or Skythian conquerors of Upper India during the early centuries of the Christian era. In
support of a northern Kota element later than Asoka's Rashikas the following points may be noted.
That the Khoshasras or Khosastered tribe to which the great northern conqueror Nakhapaas (A.D. 186)
belonged should disappear from the Dakhin seems unlikely. Karshakshaka the Mahakshakshaka name
(I., E., XV, 47, quoted in Wilens's Works VI, 179) for Kork on the Krishna suggests that
Nababand's conquest included Kstara and that the name of the holy place on the Krishna was altered
to give it a resemblance to the name of the conqueror's tribe. That, perhaps after their overthrow
by Ganapitiyas Pakharas (I., 159), the Khosashedas may have established a local centre at
Karnataka at the meeting of the Krishna and the Palamgadh may be the explanation way in
A.D. 504, centuries after Manyaakhe or Manbok had become their capital, the Khosasheda Indra
should proceed for invaas to Khosasheda, which, though this is doubtful, may be Karnatika. The
parallel case of the Khousathedas associates the Pakharas, who passed across the southern Dakhin
and by intermarriage to have in the Pallas assumed the characteristics of a southern tribe, give a
probability to the existence of a northern Khosashedas or Raksas element in the southern Rashtrakutas
and Raksas which the facts at present available would not otherwise justify.
call themselves Vādadva of the Lunar race, the northerners claim descent either from Kula the son of Kama or from Hiranyakaśipu would seem to prove no connection did not Abhimanyu's fifth century grant show that in his time the southern Rāṣṭrakūṭas had begun to claim Vādadva descent. That the Mārvār Rāṣṭrakūṭas trace their name to the right or spine of Indra (Tod's Annals, II, 2), and in a closely similar fashion the Rāṣṭrā or Rāṭtā Jāta of the Sultān (Bibliothec's 1881 Census, page 236) explain their name as strong-handed, and the Rāṭjas of Bijāpur (Bijāpur Stat. Account, 145) trace their name to the Kānasa vēṭṭa right arm, may imply no closer connection than the common attempt to find a meaning for the name Rāṭja in a suitable word of similar sound. A legend preserved in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Grantha (III, 346) but not noted by Tod, tells how Sevji, after (s.a.n. 1159) the Narakalina drove his father Jalchand out of Kamaun (Tod's Annals, I, 88) took Khargad from the Ghehōla and went to the Karnaṇāk where the Rāṭhode had ruled before they came to Kamaun. From the Karnaṇāk Sevji brought the image of the Rāṭhaṅg Rāṣṭrakūṭa which is now in the temple of Nēpānā in Mōrvā. The account quoted to the text from Tod (Annals, I, 88) that the Rāṭhode who rose to power in Mārvā in the thirteenth century belonged to a royal family who had held Kamaun since the fifth century has not stood the test of recent inquiry. It is now known that about a.d. 470 Kamaun was in the hands of the Guptās. That about a.d. 600, according to the contemporary Srīharavāchara it was ruled by the Maṅkharī Gramavārmā who was put to death by a Māleya chief and was succeeded by Harēla. About a.d. 750, according to the Rādjārānāng, Kamaun was held by Yaṅtvaravārmā, and in the next century, as inscriptions prove, by the family of Bhoja. It was not till about a.d. 1030 that Kamaun was occupied by the Gītālāvāns or Gāhārāwals family from whom the Rāṭhode of Mārvā claim descent. If the legendary connection of the Mārvār Rāṭhode with Kamaun must be dismissed can the Mārvār Rāṭhode be a branch of the southern Rāṣṭrakūṭa who like the Maṅkharī some 500 years later spread conquering northwards? Such a northern settlement of the southern Rāṣṭrakūṭa might be a consequence of the victories of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dīrūva who according to received opinions about a.d. 700 conquered as far north as Allahābād. It is beyond question that southernners or Karnaṇās were settled in North India between the seventh and the eleventh centuries. Still the latest information makes it improbable that Dīrūva's conquests extended further north than Gujarāt. Nor has any special connection been traced between the southern Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the middle-age settlements of southernners or Karnaṇās in North India. Must therefore the North Indian tribe of Rāṭhode be admitted to have its origin

1 The eleventh-century Kamaun Gītālāvāns are now represented by the Bundelas who about 1200 overthrew the Chandelas in Bundelkhand. These Gāhārāwals or Bundelas trace their origin to Kamaun or Ksid and may, as Harēla suggests have been related to the Pānā of that city which several times intermarried with the Dākhān Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Gāhārāwals seem to have nothing to do with the district of Garhāwals (Gudwār) in the Haridvaras. —(A. M. T. J.)

2 The Vānareṇa defeated by Dīrūva who has hitherto been identified with the Vēla Yān of Kosamūd is now likely to prove to be a Rāḍhāka, of the Gujjarās of Bhānūmal or of Sūṭkāt in north Gujarāt. Among references to southern settlements in North India between a.d. 600 and 1000 may be noted the tradition (Wilensk's Indian Castes, II, 145 of a Deshālān strain in the Kānṣhā in Bīrāmarānā. In the eleventh century also in Kānṣhā (Rādjārānāng, VI, 237) the presence of a Kānṣhā tribe, the Karmātās, the name being the same as the early Karmātās of Pālānā near Almāduṇas. Other references which might seem more directly connected with the southern Rāṣṭrakūṭas (a.d. 700-975) are the six Kānṣhā Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Nepal beginning with a.d. 830 (Ind. Anth. VII, 81) and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Kānṣhā (Bhandāl) who Bhandāl's Alberuā, L, 179; II, 127) used the Karmātā emblem. The presence of Kānṣhā Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Nepal in the ninth and tenth centuries remains a puzzle. But the use of the term Karmātā for Kānṣhās of Kānṣhā in a.d. 990 (Ep. Ind. I, 230) suggests that the Kānṣhās were Chauṇḍās rather than Rāṣṭrakūṭas while Māleya's Bhandāl's Karmātā may naturally be traced to the Karmātās of Kānṣhā, with Bhandāl's Nārāyaṇa of the tenth century. The only recorded connection of the southern Rāṣṭrakūṭas with Northern India during the middle ages (a.d. 700-1159) are their intermarriages
Champion XI.
The Ráthapóitized, a.d. 743-974.

as late as the twelfth century, and further is the North Indian name Rátho not tribal but derived from the title head of a district. Several considerations make both of these solutions unlikely if not impossible. First there is the remarkably widespread existence of the name Ráthor, Ratho, or Ráti, and endless variations of these names, in almost all parts of the Punjab, among all castes from the Brahman to the Baluch, among all religious Musalmán, Sikh, Jain, and Brahmanic.1 No doubt the practice of a wandering tribe adopting the name of a wandering tribe has always been common. No doubt also the fame of the name during the last 600 years must have tempted other classes to style themselves Rátho.2 Still it is to be noted: first that (Ibhetson, page 240) the Rátho of the Punjab though widespread are not numerous, and second that the list of sub-caste names has this merit that with a few exceptions the holders of the sub-name are not known by it but by some general or craft name. The evidence of these sub-caste-tribal names has this merit that a very large number of the Punjab population represents an important tribe or nation of whom the least mixed remnant are perhaps the Ráthis or lower class Rájpats of Kangra and Chander (Ibhetson, pp. 219 and 221) and from some connection with whom the Márwár Ráthos of the thirteenth century may have taken their name. Among other traces of northern Rátho in the middle ages may be mentioned the twelfth and thirteenth century Ráthapóizadas of Badam in the North-West Provinces (Kielhorn in Épigraphia Indica, I. 61 and 63), and (a.d. 1150) in the Kumarpálía-Charitá (Tod’s Western India, 182) the mention of Rátho-deśa near the Sawaiak hills. Among earlier and more doubtful references are the Aratriel whom probably correctly (since at that time a.d. 247 one main Roman trade route to Central Asia passed up the Indus) the author of the Peripitus (McCrindle, 180) places between Abdor or lower Sind and Arachosia or south-east Afghanistan that is in north Sind or south Punjab. Another earlier and still more doubtful reference is Flivy’s (a.d. 77) Oraturna (Hist. Nat. VI. 28) whom Vivien de St. Martin (Geog. Grecque et Latine de l’Inde, 203) identifies with the Rátho. The fact that while claiming descent from Ráma the Márwá Rátho (Tod’s Annals, II. 2 and 3) preserved the legend that their founder was Yararama from the northern city of Paralipous supports the view that the tribe to which they belonged was of non-Indian or Central Asian origin, and that this is the tribe of whom traces remain in the Ráthi Rájpats of the Kangra hill country and less partly in the widely spread Bás, Rattas, and Bás of the Punjab plains. The examples among Punjab caste names Rora for Arora (Ibhetson’s 1851 Census, page 297), her for Aher (Ditto, 290-297), and Hari for Aheri (Ditto, 310) suggest that the Punjab Rátho or Ráti may be the ancient Arati whom the Mahabharata (Chap. VII. Verse 44. J. Bl. Soc. VI. Pt. I. 337 and Vivien de St. Martin Geog. Grecque et Latine de l’Inde, 149) ranks with Prasatias, Madras, and Gandháras, Punjab and frontier tribes, whose identification with the Shákikas (Karnaparvan, 206ff.) raises the probability of a common Central Asian origin. Remembering that the evidence (Kahatra Chapter, pages 22 and 33) favours the view that the Kahatra family who ruled the Punjab between a.d. 70 and a.d. 75 were of the same tribe as NaHápasana, and also that Sháhi is so favourite a prefix in Samudra Gupta’s (a.d. 338) list of Kushan tribes, the suggestion may be offered that Kaháhará is the earlier form of Sinharáta and is the tribe of foreigners afterwards known in the Punjab as Aráti and of which traces survive in the present widespread tribal names Ráta, Ratta, Rátha, and Ráthor.

with the Pratas of Benares (a.d. 850-1000) mentioned above (Page 122 Note I), and, between a.d. 900 and 960, with the Katharata of Tripura near Jhalijpur (Cunningham’s Arch. Survey Report for 1894, IX. 89).

1 The details compiled from the excellent index and tables in the Punjab Census yield the following leading groups: 77 subcastes named Rathor, Rothon, and other close variants; 83 Bhat and Bhatia, and 3 Bhatos, 30 Rata, Rota, or other close variants. Compare Rath the name of the people of Mount Abu (Rajpurana Gauatter, III. 129) and the Bhat tract in the north-west of Alwar (Ditto, 147).
CHAPTER XII.

THE MIHIRAS OR MERS.

A.D. 470–900.

That the Guptaas held sway in Káthiáváda till the time of Skandagupta (A.D. 454–470) is proved by the fact that his Sorath Viceroy is mentioned in Skandagupta’s inscription on the Girnár rock. After Skandagupta under the next known Gupta king Budhasagupta (Gupta 165–180, A.D. 484–499) no trace remains of Gupta sovereignty in Sorath. It is known that Budhasagupta was a weak king and that the Gupta kingdom had already entered on its decline and lost its outlying provinces. Who held Suráshtra and Gujarát during the period of Gupta decline until the arrival and settlement of Bhatkárka in A.D. 514 (Gupta 195) is not determined. Still there is reason to believe that during or shortly after the time of Budhasagupta some other race or dynasty overthrew the Gupta Viceroy of these provinces and took them from the Guptas. These powerful conquerors seem to be the tribe of Maitrakas mentioned in Valabhi copperplates as people who had settled in Káthiáváda and established a mandala or kingdom. Though these Maitrakas are mentioned in no other records from Suráshtra there seems reason to identify the Maitrakas with the Mihiras the well-known tribe of Mbers or Mers. In Sanskrit both súrya and mihira are names of the sun, and it would be quite in agreement with the practice of Sanskrit writers to use derivatives of the one for those of the other. These Mbers or Mers are still found in Káthiáváda settled round the Barda hills while the Porbandar chiefs who are known as Jethvás are recognized as the head of the tribe. The name Jethvá is not a tribal but a family name, being taken from the proper or personal name of the ancestor of the modern chiefs. As the Porbandar chiefs are called the kings of the Mbers they probably belong to the same tribe, though, being chiefs, they try, like other ruling families, to rank higher than their tribe tracing their origin from Hanumán. Though the Jethvás appear to have been long ashamed to acknowledge themselves to belong to the Mher tribe the founders of minor Mher kingdoms called themselves Mher kings. The Porbandar chiefs have a tradition tracing their dynasty to Makaradhvaja son of Hanumán, and there are some Puránik legends attached to the tradition. The historical kernel of the tradition appears to be that the Mbers or Jethvás had a makara or fish as their flag or symbol. One of the mythical stories of Makaradhvaja is that he fought with Mayúradhvaja. Whatever coating of fable may have overlaid the story, it contains a grain of history. Mayúradhvaja stands for the Guptas whose chief symbol was a peacock mayura, and with them Makaradhvaja that is the people with the fish-symbol that is
the Mhers had a fight. This fight is probably the historical contest in which the Mhers fought with and overthrew the Guptas Viceroys of Kăthiāvāda.

The Kāthiāvāda Mhers are a peculiar tribe whose language dress and appearance mark them as foreign settlers from Upper India, like the Mālavas, Jāts, Gurjars, and Pahlavas, the Mhers seem to have passed through the Pānjab Sind and North Gujārat into Kāthiāvāda leaving settlements at Ajnār, Bādner, Jesałużir, Kōkālużir, and Mhervāda. How and when the Mhers made these settlements and entered Kāthiāvāda is not known. It may be surmised that they came with Toramāna (A.D. 470-512) who overthrew the Guptas, and advanced far to the south and west in the train of some general of Toramāna’s who may perhaps have entered Surāshtra. This is probable as the date of Toramāna who overthrew Buddagupta is almost the same as that of the Maitrukas mentioned as the opponents and enemies of Bhaṭārka. In the time of Bhaṭārka (A.D. 500-520?) the Mhers were firmly established in the peninsula, otherwise they would not be mentioned in the Valabhi grants as enemies of Bhaṭārka, a tribe or māṇḍala wielding incomparable power. As stated above in Chapter VIII., some time after the Mher settlement and consolidation of power, Bhaṭārka seems to have come as general of the fallen Guptas through Malwa and Broach by sea to East Kāthiāvāda. He established himself at Valabhi and then gradually dislodged the Mhers from Soraθ until they retired slightly to the north settling eventually at Morbi, which the Jethvās still recognize as the earliest seat of their ancestors. At Morbi they appear to have ruled contemporarily with the Valabhis. In support of this it is to be noted that no known Valabhi plate records any grant of lands or villages in Hālār, Machhukānta, or Okhāmāndai in North Kāthiāvāda. As the northernmost place mentioned in Valabhi plates is Venuthalai known as Wani’s Vanthali in Hālār it may be inferred that not the Valabhis but the Mhers ruled the north coast of Kāthiāvāda, probably as feudatories or subordinates of the Valabhis. On the overthrow of Valabhi about A.D. 770 the Mhers appear to have seized the kingdom and ruled the whole of Kāthiāvāda dividing it into separate chiefships grouped under the two main divisions of Bardāi and Gohelvādi. About A.D. 860 the Mhers made incursions into Central Gujārat. A copperplate dated Saka 789 (A.D. 847) of the Gujārat Rāaḥtrākūṭa king Dhruva describes him as attacked by a powerful Mihira king whom he defeated. At the height of their power the Mhers seem to have established their capital at the fort of Bhumli or Ghumli in the Bardā hills in the centre of Kāthiāvāda. The traditions about Ghumli rest mainly on modern Jethvā legends of no historical interest. The only known epigraphical record is a copperplate of a king named Jāchikadeva found in the Morbi district. Unfortunately only the second plate remains. Still the fish mark on the plate, the locality where it was found, and its date

1 Ind. Ant.-XII, 179. 2 Ind. Ant., II, 237.
leave little doubt that the plate belongs to the Makaradhvaja or Jethva kings. The date of the grant is 583 Gupta era the 5th Plāṅguma Sudi that is A.D. 904, about 130 years after the destruction of Valabhi, a date with which the form of the letters agrees.

A similar copperplate in which the king’s name appears in the slightly different form Jāikadeva has been found at Dhinika in the same neighbourhood as the first and like it bearing the fish mark. This copperplate describes the king as ruling at Bhūmilikā or Bhūmili in Sorath and gives him the high titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramesāvara, that is Great Lord Great King of Kings (Great King, titles which imply wide extent and independence of rule. This grant purports to be made on the occasion of a solar eclipse on Sunday Vikrama Samvat 794 Jyesṭha constellation, the no-moon of the second half of Kārttiika. This would be A.D. 738 or 160 years before the Jāchika of the Mārbī plate. Against this it is to be noted that the letters of this plate, instead of appearing as old as eighth century letters, look later than the letters of the tenth century Mārbī plate. As neither the day of the week, the constellation, nor the eclipse work out correctly Dr. Bhagvanlāl believed the plate to be a forgery of the eleventh century, executed by some one who had seen a fish-marked copperplate of Jāchika dated in the Saka era. It should however be noted that the names of ministers and officers which the plate contains gives it an air of genuineness. Whether the plate is or is not genuine, it is probably true that Jāikadev was a great independent sovereign ruling at Bhūmili. Though the names of the other kings of the dynasty, the duration of the Bhūmili kingdom, and the details of its history are unknown it may be noted that the dynasty is still represented by the Porbandar chiefs. Though at present Bhūmili is deserted several ruined temples of about the eleventh century stand on its site. It is true no old inscriptions have been found; it is not less true that no careful search has been made about Bhūmili.

Early in the tenth century a wave of invasion from Sindh seems to have spread over Kachch and Kāthiāvāda. Among the invading tribes were the Jādejās of Kachch and the Chudāsāmās of Sorath, who like the Bhattis of Jaisalmir call themselves of the Yaduvamśa stock. Doctor Bhagvanlāl held that the Chudāsāmās were originally of the Ābhīra tribe, as their traditions attest connexion with the Ābhīras and as the description of Graharjita one of their kings, by Hemachandra in his Dvīvasrāya points to his being of some local tribe and not of any ancient Rājput lineage. Further in their bardic traditions as well as in popular stories the Chudāsāmās are still commonly called Ahem-rāmā. The position of Aberia in Ptolemy (A.D. 150) seems to show that in the second century the Ahirs were settled between Sindh and the Panjāb. Similarly it may be suggested that Jādejā is a corruption of Jaudhejā which

1Ind. Ant. XII. 151.
in turn comes from Yaudheyas (the change of y to j being very common) who in Kshatrapa Inscriptions appear as close neighbours of the Ahirs. After the fall of the Valabhis (A.D. 775) the Yaudheyas seem to have established themselves in Kachch and the Ahirs settled and made conquests in Kāthiāvāda. On the decline of local rule brought about by these incursions and by the establishment of an Ahir or Chūḍāsāma kingdom at Junāgadh, the Jethvas seem to have abandoned Bhūmli which is close to Junāgadh and gone to Srinagar or Kāptelun near Porbandar which is considered to have been the seat of Jethvā power before Porbandar.

A copperplate found at Hadda on the road from Dholka to Dhaundhuka dated A.D. 917 (Saka 839) shows that there reigned at Vadhwan a king named Dhārnävarāha of the Chāpa dynasty, who granted a village to one Mahēsvarāchārya, an apostle of the Amaraśa Sākhā of Saivism. Dhārnāvarāha and his ancestors are described as feudatory kings, ruling by the grace of the feet of the great king of kings the great lord the illustrious Mahipālāda. This Mahipāla would seem to be some great king of Kāthiāvāda reigning in A.D. 917 over the greater part of the province. Dr. Bhagvanlāl had two coins of this king of about that time, one a copper coin the other a silver coin. The coins were found near Junāgadh. The copper coin, about ten grains in weight, has one side obliterated but the other side shows clearly the words ‘Rāṇā Śrī Mahipāla Deva’. The silver coin, about fourteen grains in weight, has on the obverse a well-executed elephant and on the reverse the legend ‘Rāṇā Śrī Mahipāla Deva’. From the locality where the name Mahipāla appears both in coins and inscriptions, and from the fact that the more reliable Chūḍāsāma lists contain similar names, it may be assumed as probable that Mahipāla was a powerful Chūḍāsāma ruler of Kāthiāvāda in the early part of the tenth century.

After the fall of Valabhi no other reliable record remains of any dynasty ruling over the greater part of Gujarāt. The most trustworthy and historical information is in connection with the Chāvaḍās of Anahilpur. Even for the Chāvaḍās nothing is available but scant references recorded by Jain authors in their histories of the Solankis and Vāghelas.

[The modern traditions of the Chūḍāsāma clan trace their origin to the Yādava race and more immediately to the Sama tribe of Nagar Thatha in Sindh.] The name of the family is said to have been derived from Chūḍāchandra the first ruler of Vanthali

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1 The inscription calls Chāpa the ‘founder of the dynasty. The name is old. A king Vṛgharāja of the Chāpa Vama is mentioned by the astronomer Brahmagupta as reigning in Saka 560 (A.D. 625) when he wrote his book called Brahma-Gupta Siddhantsa. The entry runs “In the reign of Śrī Vṛgharājukha of the Śrī Chāpa dynasty, five hundred and fifty years after the Saka king having elapsed.” Ins. B. R. R. A. Soc. VIII. 27. For Dhārnāvarāha’s grant see Ind. Ant. XII. 190ff.

2 Elliot’s History, I. 266.
The migration of the Sammas to Kacch is ascribed by the Tarikh-i-Tahiri (A.D. 1621) to the tyranny of the Sūmra chiefs. The Sammas found Kacch in the possession of the Chāwaras, who treated them kindly, and whom they requested by seizing the fort of Gunti by a stratagem similar to that which brought about the fall of Ginnār.

The date of the Chudāsamā settlement at Vanthal is usually fixed on traditional evidence, at about A.D. 875, but there is reason to think that this date is rather too early. In the first place, it is worthy of notice that Chudāchandra, the traditional eponym of the family, is in the Tuhfat-ul-Kirām, a son of Jādam (Yādava) and only a great-grandson of Krishña himself, a fact which suggests that, if not entirely mythical, he was at all events a very distant ancestor of Mūlarāja's opponent Grahārī, and was not an actual ruler of Vanthal. As regards Grahārī's father Viśavavardha and his grandfather Mūlarāja, there is no reason to doubt that they were real persons, although it is very questionable whether the Chudāsamās were settled in Kāthiāvāda in their time. In the first place, the Morbi grant of Jāikadāva shows that the Jethvās had not been driven southwards before A.D. 907. Secondly, Dharaṇīvarāha's Vadhrān grant proves that the Chāpa family of Bhūmāl were still supreme in Kāthiāvāda in A.D. 914; whereas the Tarikh-i-Tahiri's account of the Chudāsamā conquest of Kacch implies that the Chāwaras, who must be identified with the Chāpas of Bhūmāl, were losing their power when the Chudāsamās captured Gunti, an event which must have preceded the settlement at Vanthal in Kāthiāvāda. Beyond the fact that Mūlarāja Solarik transferred the capital to Anahilavāda in A.D. 942, we know nothing of the events which led to the break-up of the Bhūmāl empire. But it is reasonable to suppose that between A.D. 920 and 940 the Chāpas gradually lost ground and the Chudāsamās were able first to conquer Sindh and then to settle in Kāthiāvāda. — A. M. T. J.]

Kāthiāvāda contains three peculiar and associated classes of Hindus, the Mers, the Jethvās, and the Jhālās. The Mers and the Jethvās stand to each other in the relation of vassal and lord. The Jhālās are connected with the Jethvās by origin, history, and alliance. The bond
of union between the three classes is not only that they seem to be of foreign that is of non-Hindu origin, but whether or not they belong to the same swarm of northern invaders, that they all apparently entered Kāthiāvāda either by land or sea through Sindh and Khos. So far as record or tradition remains, the Mers and Jethvās reached Kāthiāvāda in the latter half of the fifth century after Christ, and the Jhālas, and perhaps a second detachment of Mers and Jethvās, some three hundred years later. The three tribes differ widely in numbers and in distribution. The ruling Jethvās are a small group found solely in south-west Kāthiāvāda. The Jhālas, who are also known as Makvānas, are a much larger clan. They not only fill north-east Kāthiāvāda, but from Kāthiāvāda, about A.D. 1500, spread to Rajputāna and have there established a second Jhālavāda, where, in reward for their devotion to the Sosoda Rāja of Mevād in his struggles with the Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1580-1600), the chief was given a daughter of the Udepur family and raised to a high position among Rajputs. The Mers are a numerous and widespread race. They seem to be the sixth to tenth century Mollis, Meda, Mande, or Mins of Baluchistan, South-Sindh, Khos, and Kāthiāvāda. Further they seem to be the Mers of Mevād or Medapatha in Rajputāna and of Mauvād in Malava, and also to be the Muslim Mins and Mins of Northern India. In Gujarāt

1 According to the Kathiawar Gazetteer pages 110 and 278, the first wave reached about A.D. 600 and the second about 250 years later. Dr. Bhagvanlal's identification of the Mers with the Matrikas would take back their arrival in Kathiavada from about A.D. 650 to about A.D. 450. The Mers were again formidable in Gujarat in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. In A.D. 867 (see above Pages 127 and 139) the Rāshtrakūta Dhruva II. checked an invasion of a Mihira king with a powerful army. Again in A.D. 914 the Rāshtrakūta Indrak in a moment uprooted the Mehs (Ilīs). The Al-n-Ādkari (Glævin, II. 69) notices that the sixth division of Shamlatikra which was almost impervious by reason of mountains and rivers and woods, was (A.D. 1280) inhabited by the tribe Cheertes that is Jītwa.

2 Of the Jhālas or Chālalas the Al-n-Ādkari (Glævin, II. 64) notes: Chālālāuren (in north-east Kāthiāvāda) formerly independent and inhabited by the tribe of Chālāls.

3 Tod's Annals of Rajasthān, II. 115.

4 Ellis and Dowson, I. 14 and 310-321. It is noted in the text that the Arab invaders of the eighth and ninth centuries the Meda or Hind were the chief people of K-thiavādā, both in Sindh and in Malava, which were almost impervious by reason of mountains and rivers and woods, was (A.D. 1280) inhabited by the tribe Chālālāuren (in north-east Kāthiāvāda) formerly independent and inhabited by the Chālāls.

5 Indian Antiquary, VI, 191.

6 Rajputāna Gazetteer, I. 60); North-West Province Gazetteer, III. 265; Bhagvanlal's Panjāb Gazetteer, page 261. Some of these identifications are dubious. Dr. Bhagvanlal in the text (21 Note 8 and 33) distinguishes between the Mers and Meda whom he identifies as northern immigrants of about the first century B.C. and the Mers. This view is in agreement with the remark in the Rajputāna Gazetteer, I. 59, that the Mers have been suspected to be a relic of the Indo-Skythian Meda. Again Tod (Annals of Rajasthān, I. 9) derives Mevād from mādhyapā (Sk. mādhya) middle, and the Mevād of Khoswādā from mādhya a hill. In support of Tod's view it is to be noted that the forts Kimer, Khulmāna, and Ajmer, which Pandit Bhagvanlal would derive from the personal names of Mevād leaders, are all either hill forts or rocks (Annals, I. 11, and Note 9). It is, on the other hand, to be noted that no hill forts out of this particular tract of country are called Mers, and that the similar names Koll and Malava, which with equal probability as Meda might be derived from Koli and Malha hill, seem to be tribal not geographical names.
their strength is much greater than the 30,000 or 40,000 returned as Mers. One branch of the tribe is hidden under the name Koli; another has disappeared below the covering of Islam.1

Formerly except the vague contention that the Medhams, Jhetvas, and Jhala-Makvans were northerners of somewhat recent arrival little evidence was available either to fix the date of their appearance in Kathiavarda or to determine to which of the many swarms of non-Hindu Northerners they belonged.2 This point Dr. Bhagvandlal’s remarks in the text go far to clear. The chief step is the identification of the Mers with the Maitrakas, the ruling power in Kathiavarda between the decline of the Guptas about A.D. 470 and the establishment of Valabhi rule about sixty years later. And further that they fought at the same time against the same Hindu rulers and that both are described as foreigners and northerners favours the identification of the

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1 The tales cited in the Ras Malai (I. 103) prove that most of the Koli between Gujarat and Kathiavarda are Mers. That till the middle of the tenth century the south-east of Kathiavarda was held by Meda (Kath, Gazetteer, 672) supports the view that the Koli, whom about A.D. 1100 (Tod’s Western India, I. 263) the Golcha drove out of the islands of Pram, were Meda, and this is in agreement with Idari (A.D. 1190 Eltig, I. 83) who calls both Pirm and the Meda by the name Mand. Similarly some of the Mers claim of Kacch (Gazetteer, 70) seem to be descended from the Meda. And according to Mr. M. D. de G. Bhaskar three sub-divisions of Brahmo-Bhaktas, of which the best known are the Menona Mers and the Jitala Mers, maintain the surname Miler or Mr. (Cutch Gazetteer, 82, note 2.). Miler or Miler is a common surname among Sindhi Baluchis. Many of the best Muslimah captains and pilots from Kathiavarda, Kacch, and the Makran coast still have Mr. as a surname. Miler is also a favourite name among both Kholjas and Memana, the two special classes of Kathiavarda converted to Islam. The Kholja explain the name as meaning Miler. All the friend of All; the Memana also explain Mr as Miler or friend. But as among Memana Mr. is a common name for men as well as for women or the crook can hardly mean friend. The phrase Merah or Lady Miler applied to Memna mothers seems to have its origin in the Rajput practice of calling the wife by the name of her caste or tribe as Kathiwan, Memilah. In the case both of the Kholja and the Memnas the name Mr. seems to be the old tribal name continued because it yields itself to the need of Islam. Miler, Miler, and Miler are also used as titles of respect. The Khát Koli or Gira, apparently a mixture of the M roller name and that of a local or of a local hill tribe, still (Kathikwar Gazetteer, 142) honour their heads with the name Mr. explaining the title by the Gujarati name the main head in a rosary. Similarly in Makva a Gurjar title is Miler (Rajputana Gazetteer, I. 80) and in the Panjah Miler (Gazetteer of Panjah, Gujar, 50-51). And in Kacch the hoosam among the Bharmias, who according to some accounts are Gurjarias, is called Mr. (Cutch Gazetteer, 81). Similarly among the Rabhas of Kacch, the name of the holy she-camel is Miler. (Delto, 50). All these terms of respect are probably connected with Miler, Sinh.

2 Compare Tod (Western India, 426): Though enrolled among the thirty-six royal races we may assume the Jethavas have become Hindus only from locality and circumstance. Of the Jhala Tod says (Rajasthan, I. 113): As the Jhala are neither Solar Lumin or Agnikula they must be strangers. Again (Western India, 418): The Jhala Makvans are a branch of Huna. Of the name Makvani (Kathikwar Gazetteer, 111): Ras Miler, I. 267) two explanations may be offered, either that the word comes from Mal the dewy tractor in Central Kacch (Cutch Gazetteer, 75, note 2) where (Kathikwar Gazetteer, 40) the Jhala stopped when the Mers and Jhetvas passed south, or that Makvani represents Manva a Parthic name for the Hunas (Wilson’s Works, IV. 1947. 2073. Tod’s and Wilford’s Asiatic Researches, IX. 287) suggestion that Makvani is Mahalum is perhaps not phonetically possible. At the same time that the Makvans are a comparatively recent tribe of northerners is supported by the assemblance in the fourteenth century in the Himlaya of Makvans (Herigot’s Essays, I. 307; Government of India, Report, IX 70 and 110) who used the Indo-Iranian title Sakt (Delto). With the Nepal Makvans may be compared the Muppans or army-men the caste of the chief of Kifistan or Little Tibet. Vigor’s Kashmir, II, 288, 439.
Chapter XII.

The Mass, A.D. 470-500.

White Hindu.

power of the Maitrakas with the North Indian empire of the Epithalites, Yethras, or White Huns. 1

Though the sameness in name between the Mibras and Mihirakula (A.D. 508-530), the great Indian champion of the White Huns, may not imply sameness of tribe it points to a common sun-worship. 2

That the Multan sun-worship was introduced under Sassanian influence is supported by the fact (Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, 357) that the figure of the sun on the fifth century Hindu sun coins is in the dress of a Persian king: that the priests who performed the Multan sun-worship were called Magas; and by the details of the dress and ritual in the account of the introduction of sun-worship given in the Bhavishya Purana. 3 That the Meyds or Mands had some share in its introduction is supported by the fact that the Purana names the third or Sudra class of the sun-worshippers Mandagas. 4 That the Meyds were associated with the Magas is shown by the mention of the Magas as Mihiragases. 5 The third class whom the Bhavishya Purana associates with the introduction of sun-worship are the Mānas who

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1 The evidence in support of the statement that the Maitrakas and Huns fought at the same time against the same Hindu rulers is given in the text. One of the most important passages is in the Grant of Dhrusavasa III. (Epigr. Ind. I. 99 [A.D. 623-4]) the reference to Bhasrama the founder of Valubbi (A.D. 509-630) meeting in battle the matchless armies of the Maitrakas.

2 Mr. Fleet (Epigraphia Indiae, III. 327, and note 12) would identify Mihirakula’s tribe with the Maitrakas. More recent evidence shows that his and his father Torontay’s tribe was the Jauhars. That the White Huns or other associated tribes were sun-worshippers appears from a reference in one of Mihirakula’s inscriptions (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicorum, III. 161) to the building of a specially fine temple of the sun; and from the fact that in Kashmir Mihirakula founded a city Mihirapuram and a temple to Mihirshewar. (Darmaster in Journal Asiatico, X. 70; Fleet in Indian Antiquary, XV. 242-252) Mihirakula’s (A.D. 508-530) sun-worship may have been the continuation of the Kshatran (A.D. 50-150) worship of Mihro or Halio (Wilson’s Ariana Antiqua, 367). At the same time the fact that Mihirakula used the more modern form Mihir makes it probable (Compare Rawlinson’s Seventh Monarchy, 284) that Mihirakula’s sun-worship was more directly the result of the spread of sun-worship in Central Asia under the Zoroastrian influence pervading the White Huns is shown by the Persian name not only of Mihirakula but of Kushawax (A.D. 470-500) the great emperor of the White Huns the overthower of Perseus. That this Indian sun-worship, which, at least from the seventh to the tenth century made Multan so famous was not of local origin is shown by the absence of reference to sun-worship in Multan by Alexander the Great. Its foreign origin is further shown by the fact that the temple of Birsu (A.D. 1029 Edmian’s Edition, I. 119) the priests were called Mihras and the image of the sun was clad in a northern dress falling to the ankles. It is remarkable as illustrating the Hindu readiness to adopt priests of conquering tribes into the ranks of Brahmins that the surname Magha survives (Gutch Gazetteer, 33 note 2) among Shrimals Brahmanas. These Maghas are said to have married Brahmin or Rajput girls and to have become the Brahmin Rajoaks of Dwarka. Even the Mands who had Saha wives, whose descendants were named Mandagas, obtained a share in the temple ceremonies. Benaud’s Mémorial Sur l’Inde, 393.


4 Benaud’s Mémorial Sur l’Inde, 393; Wilson’s Works, X. 382.

5 The name Mihiraga is explained in the Bhavishya Purana as derived from their ancestress a daughter of the sage Rigu or Bijalva of the race named Mihira (Benaud’s Mémorial Sur l’Inde, 393; Wilson’s Works, X. 382). The name Mihiraga suggests that the spread of sun-worship in the Punjab and Sind, of which the sun-worship in Multan, Sind and Kathiawar and Mewar, and the fire-worshipping Rajput and Sindhi coins of the fifth and sixth centuries are evidence, was helped by the spread of Sassanian influence.
are given a place between the Magas and the Manda. The association of the Mänas with the Milharas or Maitrakas suggests that Mäna is Mäna, a Purãnîk name for the White Hûnas. That the Multân sun idol of the sixth and seventh centuries was a Hûna idol and Multân the capital of a Hûna dynasty seems in agreement with the paramount position of the Râis of Alor or Hori in the sixth century. Though their defeat by Yasoharman of Malvâ about a.d. 540 at the battle of Karur, sixty miles east of Multân, may have ended Hûna supremacy in north and north-west India it does not follow that authority at once forsook the Hûnas. Their widespread and unchallenged dominion in North India, the absence of record of any reverse later than the Karur defeat, the hopelessness of any attempt to pass out of India in the face of the combined Turk and Sassanian forces make it probable that the Hûnas and their associated tribes, adopting Hinduism and abandoning their claim to supremacy, settled in west and north-west India. This view finds support in the leading place which the Hûnas and Hará-Hûnas, the Maitrakas or Mers, and the Gurjaras hold in the centuries that follow the overthrow of the White Hûna empire. According to one rendering of Cosmas (a.d. 525) the chief of Orhatha or Soroth in common with several other coast rulers owed allegiance to Gollas, apparently, as is suggested at page 75 of the text, to Gulla or Mihiragulla the Indian Emperor of the White Hûnas. These details support the view that the Maitrakas, Milharas, or Mers who in Cosmas' time were in power in Kâthiavâda, and to whose ascendancy during the seventh and eighth centuries both the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsiang (a.d. 612-640) and the Arab historians of Sindh bear witness, were a portion of the great White Hûna invasion (a.d. 480-530). In the many recorded swarmings south from the Balkh to Baluchistan, Karsch-Gandevi and other parts of western Sindh, through Sakastravan the modern western Sistan near the lake Helmund. This Sakastravan or land of the Sâkas received its name from the settlement in it of one of the earlier waves of the Yuechi in the second or first century before Christ. The name explains the statement in the Shâhâsh-Purâna that sun-worship was introduced by Magas into Multân from Sakastravan the land of the Sâkas. In this connection it is interesting to note that Darâkshâvar (Zend Avesta, xxxiv) holds that the Zend-Avesta was probably completed during the reign of Shahpur II. (a.d. 309-379); that (ixxv.) Zend was a language of eastern Persia an earlier form of Pahlav, and that (ixxv.) western Sistan and the Helmund river was the holy land of the Avesta the birth-place of Zarasâstar and the scene of king Vishtasp's triumphs. A memory of the spread of this western or Sassanian influence remains in the reference in the Mughul-T-Tawârikh in Elîs, I. 107-109, to the fire temples established in Kaukulâh (Gandevi) and Buddhâ (Mamara) by Mahrâ a general of Bahman that is of Yamchdan Y. (a.d. 430-440). It seems probable that Mahrâ is Meir the family name or the title (Rawlinson's Sassanian Monarchies, 221 note 1 and 222) of the great Milhar family of Persian nobles. The general in question may be the Mehr-Narses the minister of Varahana's son and successor, Illâqâr I. (a.d. 440-457), who enforced Zoroastrianism in Armenia (Rawlinson, Ditto 305-308). Mehr's success may be the origin of the Indian stories of Varahana's visit to Malvâ. It may further be the explanation of the traces of fire temples and towers of silence noted by Pottinger (1810) in Baluchistan (Travels, 126-127) about sixty miles west of Khelat.

1 Wilson's Works, IX. 207.
2 Coupland Pius's Embassy, 292.
3 The White Hûnas overran Bakhtria and the country of the Yuechi between a.d. 450 and 530. About a hundred years later they were crushed between the advancing Turks and the Sassanian Chosroes I. or Naushirvân (a.d. 537-590). Rawlinson's Sassanian Monarchies, 420; Specht in Journal Asiatique (1888) Tom II. 549-550. The Hûnas supremacy in North India did not last beyond a.d. 530 or 540. The overthrow of their

Chapter XII.

THE MERS.

White Hûnas.

A.D. 570-900.
Chapter XII.

EARLY GUJARAT.

Central Asia into Persia and India no feature is commoner than the leading of the conquered by certain families of the conquering tribe. Chinese authorities place it beyond doubt that when, towards the middle of the fifth century A.D., the White Hūnas crossed the Oxus they found in power a cognate tribe of northerners whose date of settlement on the Indian frontier was less than a century old. This preceding swarm was the Yūn-Yūn, Var-Var, or Avrī, who, about the close of the fourth century (A.D. 380), had driven from Balkh southwards into the Kabul valley Kitsa the last ruler of the long established Yuetchi (B.C. 50 - A.D. 380). It is known that in retreating before the Yūn-Yūn a division of the Baktrian Yuetchi, under the leadership of Kitsa's son, under the name of the Kidāra or Little Yuetchi, established their power in Gandhāra and Pusawar. This Kidara invasion must have driven a certain share of the people of the Kabul valley to the east of the Indus. The invasion of the White Hūnas (a century later), who were welcomed as allies by some of the Panjāb chiefs, would cause fresh movements among the frontier tribes. The welcome given to the Hūnas, and the show and dash which marked their courtesy of ascendancy in India and Persia, make it probable that as leaders they conducted south as far as Kāthiavādā and Malava large bodies of the earlier northern settlers. To which of the waves of earlier northerners the Mede belonged is doubtful. The view held by Pandit Bhagvanādī that one branch of the Medhs entered India in the first century before Christ among the tribes of which the great Yuetchi were the chief is on the whole in agreement with General Cunningham's argument that Medes Hydaspes, Virgil's phrase for the Jhelum, proves that the Medhs were then (B.C. 40) already settled on its banks.

supremacy perhaps dates from A.D. 540 the battle of Karar about sixty miles east of Multan, their conqueror being Yashaharmman of Malwa the second of the three great Vikramādityas of Malwa. Of the Hūnas' position among Hindu castes Colonel Tod states that the Hūnas are one of the Skyths who have got a place among the thirty-six races of India. They probably came along with the Kāthi, Bals, and Makrana of Saurashtra. Tod's Annals of Rajasthan, I. 119.

1 Specht in journal Asiaticus (1883), II. 348.
2 Specht in journal Asiaticus (1883), II. 349.
3 Compare above Chapter VII, page 72 note 3.

4 Dr. Bhagvanādī (Text, 23) traces one set of Medhs to the Mevas the tribe of Yasamitha the father of the Kshattraps Chashând (A.D. 130). He holds those Medhs entered India (21) with the Malayas, Pahlavas, and Abdās about B.C. 150 (?) At the same time he seems to have considered those early Medhs different from the fifth and sixth century Medhs and from the seventh and eighth century Medhs. Tod, in his Report for 1883-84, II. 62. In support of this Cunningham cites Poleno's (A.D. 150) Euthymella that is Sagaha, sixty miles north-west of Lahore, and the Medhs of Pentinger's Tables (A.D. 480). This Euthymella is a corruption of the original Euthymidīa the name given to Sagaha by Demetrius (B.C. 150) the great Graeco-Baktrian in honour of his father Euthymenos (Compare Text page 16 and Mecriusine's Poleno, 134). Of the cause of this change of name, which may be only a clerical error, two different explanations have been offered. Tod (An. of Rāj. II. 233) would make the new form Yushi-media the Middle Yuchi. Cunningham (Annals, Arch. Rep., II. 53) would attribute it to the southward migration towards Sindh about B.C. 50 of the Kushan-pressed hordes which under Mona or Magha came from Little Tibet and entered the Panjāb either by way of Kashmir or down the Swat valley. According to General Cunningham (Ditto, 53) the followers of this Mona were Manuromas called after the Manurom river south of the Oxus. The two forms Medh and Maid are due to the cerebral which explains the Minnagas of Poleno and the Periphus, Masudi's (A.D. 915) Mind and Ibn Khurad-
Dr. Bhagavanlal's view that the Jethvas are Medhs ennobled by long overlordship is somewhat doubtfully shared by Colonel Watson and is not inconsistent with Tod's opinions. Still though the Hindu rulership, which, as in the case of the Maratha Sivaji, explains the raising to the twice-born of leaders of successful early and foreign tribes makes it possible that the Jethvas were originally Mers, it seems on the whole probable that the Jethvas' claim to an origin distinct from the Mers is well founded. The evidence recorded by Colonel Tod and the name Jethva led the late Dr. John Wilson to trace the Jethvas to the Jatis or Jits. According to the bards the name of the Kathiavada tribe Jethva is derived from Jetha No. 85 or No. 95 of the Portbandar list, who was probably so called because he was born under the Jyeshta constellation. The common practice of explaining a tribal name by inventing some name-giving chief deprives this derivation of most of its probability. In the present case it may further be noticed that the name Jethi is borne by two of the chiefs earlier than the Jetha referred to. In the absence of any satisfactory explanation the name Jethva suggests an origin in Yetha the shortened Chinese form of Ye-ta-i-li-to or Epthalite the name of the ruling chief of the White Huns. It is true that so good an authority as Sepeh holds that the shortened form Yetha is peculiar to the Chinese and was never in use. But the form Tetal or Haital, adopted by bhra's (died A.D. 912) and Idrisi's (perhaps from Ahdajhaban) Mard (Elliot, I. 14 and 79, Belinand's Abulfeza, lxiii.), the present associated Mers and Mins in Rajputana (Ditto, 58); and perhaps the Mushimar Mers and Mins of the Panjab (Hbkeson's Census, 26). 1

1 The Jethvas are closely allied to the Medhs (Kathiav, Gaz. 138); they entered Khatiawada along with the Medhs (Ditto, 278).

2 The passages are somewhat contradictory. Tod (Western India, 413) says: Jethvas marry with Katha, Ahira, and Mewar. In the Kathiawad Gazetteer (page 110) Colonel Burton seems to admit the Jethvas' claim to be distinct from the Mers. In another passage he says (page 158): The Mers claim to be Jethvas; this the Jethvas deny. So also Colonel Watson in one passage (page 621) seems to favour a distinct origin while in another (page 279) he says: It seems probable the Jethvas are merely the ruling family Rajkula of the Mers and that they are all of one tribe. Two points seem clear. The Jethvas are admitted to rank among Kathiawada Rajputs and they formerly married with the Mers. The further question whether the Jethvas were originally of a distinct and higher tribe remains undetermined.

3 Bombay Administration Report for 1873. Colonel Tod made the same suggestion: Western India, 256. Compare Petter's (Travels in Baluchistan, 81) identification of the Jetha of Kachch-Gandevi north of Khelat with Jits or Jita.

4 Tod's Western India, 413.

5 Compare Buhler in Epigraphia Indica, I. 294. Like the Chalukyas and other tribes the Jethvas trace the name Jethva to a name-giving chief. Of the Jethvas Tod says (Annals of Rajasthan, I. 114): The Jethvas have all the appearance of Skythian descent. As they make no pretension to belong to any of the old Indian races they may be a branch of Skythians. In his Western India (page 413), though confused by his identification of Sanka-ravara with Saktra instead of with Bet-Dwarika (compare Kach, Gaz. 616), Tod still holds to a northern origin of the Jethvas.

6 Ams. 6 and 82 of Colonel Watson's List, Kathiawar Gazetteer, 621. The Pandit's evidence of the text accords to the somewhat doubtful Jakhadeva's date of A.D. 758 (Vikrama 794); to Jakhadeva a date of about A.D. 904 (Gupta 860); and to the G simi a probable eleventh century. Tod (Western India, 417) traces the Jethva further back putting the foundation of Ghumal or Bhumal at about A.D. 902 (S.494) the date of a settlement between the Tans of Delhi and the Jethvas (Ditto, 411). Col. Watston (Kach, Gaz. 278) gives either A.D. 650 or A.D. 1000.

7 The form Yetha is used by the Chinese pilgrim Sung-yun A.D. 519. Real's Buddhist Records, I. 20.

8 Journal Asiatique (1883), II. 319.
Chapter XII.

EARLY GUJARAT.

Armenian Musalmān and Byzantine historians,\(^1\) makes probable an Indian Yethal or Jethāl if not a Yetha or Jetha. Nor does there seem any reason why Yetha the Chinese form of the word should not be more likely to be adopted in India than the western and otherwise less correct form Tetel or Haithal. In any case the irregular change from a correct Yethal to an incorrect Yetha cannot be considered of much importance, if, as seems likely, the change was made in order to give the word an Indian meaning.\(^2\) The \(r\) in Jethva would come to be added when the origin from a chief named Jetha was accepted.

Another name for the White Hūṇa swarm, is preserved by Cosmas\(^3\) in the form Juvia. This form, if it is not a misreading for Oumia or Hūṇa, suggests Jāvula the recently identified name of the tribe ennobled in India by the great Toramanu (a.d. 450 - 500) and his son Mihrikula (a.d. 500 - 540), and of which a trace seems to remain in the Jāvula and Jāhula divisions of Panjāb Gujarā.\(^4\) This Jāvula, under such a fire baptism as would admit the holders of the name among Hindus, might be turned into Jvāla flaming and Jvāla be shortened to Jhāla. That Jhāla was formerly punningly connected with flame is shown by a line from the bard Chand, "The lord of the Ranas the powerful Jhāla like a flaming fire."\(^5\) That the Kāthiāvāḍa bards were either puzzled by the name Jhāla or were unwilling to admit its foreign origin is shown by the story preserved in the Rās Māla,\(^6\) that the tribe got the name because the children of Hirpal Makvāna, about to be crushed by an elephant, were snatched away jhāla by their witch-mother. It has been noticed in the text that the break in Gujarāt History between a.d. 480 and 520, agreeing with the term of Hūṇa supremacy in North India, seems to imply a similar supremacy in Gujarāt. The facts that up to the twelfth century Hūṇas held a leading place in Gujarāt chronicles,\(^7\) and that while in Rajputāna and other parts of Northern India the traces of Hūṇas are fairly widespread in Gujarāt they have almost if not altogether disappeared, support the view that the Hūṇa strain in Kāthiāvāḍa is hid under the names Mera, Jethva, and Jhāla.\(^8\)

\(^1\) Journal Asiatique (1883), II 331.
\(^2\) Compare for the chief's name Jetha, Colonel Watson Kath. Gaz. 62 in the Jyeshtā Nakahatnā.
\(^3\) Priand's Embassies, 220; Mige's Patrologie Currus, Vol. 82 page 98.
\(^4\) Cosmas of 1891, III, 116. A reference to the Jīnāvīlas is given above page 75 note 4. General Cunningham (Ninth Oriental Congress, I. 228 - 244) traces the tribe of Jīnāvīla ruling in Sindh, Zulibulat or Ghaam, and Makran from the sixth to the eighth and ninth centuries.
\(^5\) Tod's Western India, 194 Note 2. Tod adds: Chand abounds in such jue-de-mot on the names of tribes.
\(^6\) Rās Māla, I. 302: Kāthiāvāḍa Gazetteer, 117. Tod's Annals of Rajasthan, I. 111, Among references to Hūṇas may be noted: In the Vāya Purāṇa (Sachau's Alberuni, I. 500) in the west between Kamarpārvarna and Darva; in the Vīśṇu Purāṇa Hūṇas between the Sahulhavas and the Sālvas (Wilson's Works, VII. 183 and 184 Note 1); in the eighth century Ungutāl lord of the Hūṇas who helped Chitor (Tod's Annals, I. 457); in the Khōli bard Mogji, traditions of many powerful Hūṇa kings in India (Tod's Annals, I. 111 Note 1) among them the Hūṇa chief of Barolli (Ditto, II. 705); and Raja Hūṇa of the Framāna race who was lord of the Pathār or plateau of Central India (Ditto, II. 467).
In the Middle Ages the Hūnas were considered Kshatriyas and Kshatriyas married Hūna wives (Wilson's Works, VII, 134 Note f). Of existing traces in the Punjab may be noted Hūn and Hūna Bājpūls and Gujjars, Hūn Jatis, Hūn Labāmas, Hūn Lohars, Hūn Malls, Hūn Meohia, Hūna Barbers, and Hām Rubers (Punjab Census, 1891, III, pages 116, 139; 227, 233, 246, 255, 276, 305, 315). The only traces Colonel Tod succeeded in finding in Gujars were a few Hūna huts at a village opposite Umetha on the gulf of Cambay, a second small colony near Somanath and, a few houses at Tribauli five miles from Baroda. (Western India, 247, 323.) Since 1825 these traces have disappeared.
PART II.

THE KINGDOM OF AṆAHILAVĀDA.
A.D. 720-1300.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHĀVADĀS
(A.D. 720-956)

The history embodied in the preceding chapters is more or less fragmentary, pieced together from coins, stone and copperplate inscriptions, local traditions, and other similar sources. A history based on such materials alone must of necessity be imperfect, leaving blanks which it may be hoped fresh details will gradually fill.

The rise of the AṆahilavāda kingdom (A.D. 720) marks a new period of Gujarāt history regarding which materials are available from formal historical writings. Though this section of Gujarāt history begins with the establishment of AṆahilavāda by the Chāvādās (A.D. 720-956) the details for the earlier portions are very imperfect being written during the time of the Chalukya or Solaṇki (A.D. 957-1242) successors of the Chāvādās. The chief sources of information regarding the earlier period of Chāvādā rule are the opening chapters of the Prabhandhachintāmaṇi, Vichārasreṇi, Sukrītasankirtana, and Ratnamalā.

Before the establishment of AṆahilavāda a small Chāvādā chiefship centred at Pańchāsār, now a fair-sized village in Vadnār between Gujarāt and Kaeč. The existence of a Chāvādā chiefship at Pańcāsār is proved by the Navaśrī grant dated Sauvat 490 (A.D. 788-89) of the Gujarāt Chalukya king Puliceśi Ṣaṁśraya. This grant in recording the triumphant progress of an army of Tājikas or Arabs

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1 The following manuscripts have been used in preparing Part II. Hemachandra's Dyvaśrayakāvyā, Merutunga's Prabhandhachintāmaṇi, Merutunga's Vichārasreṇi, Jinasurabhāsirī's Tīrthaśakalā, Jīnavandamūlakāvyā's Kamāśāla-prabhandā, Kṛṣṇa-paśi's Kamāśaśakasirī, Kṛṣṇa-haṭṭa's Ratnamalā, Somēvara's Kirtikumudā, Aśvinī's Sukrītasankirtana, Rājdevēcā's Chaturvinsatīprabhandā, Vastupalasirī, and published and unpublished inscriptions from Gujarāt and Aḥilāvāda.

2 The Prabhandhachintāmaṇi is a short historical compilation; the Vichārasreṇi, though a mere list of kings, is more reliable; the Ratnamalā is a poetic history with good descriptions and many tables taken from the Prabhandhachintāmaṇi; the Sukrītasankirtana is a short work largely borrowed from the Vichārasreṇi.

3 This is apparently Vṛddhā Ahāra or the Vṛddhā Collectorate, probably called after some village or town of that name.
from Sindh to Narsari and mentioning the kingdoms “afflicted” by the Arabs, names the Châvoetakas next after the kings of Kacch and Saurashtra. These Châvoetakas can be no other than the Chavâdâs of Paîchâsâr on the borders of Kacch. The Chavâdâs of Paîchâsâr do not appear to have been important rulers. At the most they seem to have held Vadhiâr and part of the north coast of Kathiâvâda. Whatever be the origin of the name Chavâdâ, which was afterwards Sanskritised into the high-sounding Châpoâkās or Strongbow, it does not seem to be the name of any great dynasty. The name very closely resembles the Gujarâti Chor (Prakrit Chautâ or Chorâtâ) meaning thieves or robbers; and Jâvâdâ, which is a further corruption of Chavâdâ, is the word now in use in those parts for a thief or robber. Except the mention of the Châvoetakas in the Narsari copperplate we do not find the Chavâdâs noticed in any known contemporary Gujarâti copperplates. For this reason it seems fair to regard them as unimportant rulers over a territory extending from Paîchâsâr to Aparâhivâda.

The author of the Ratnadhâl (c. 1230 A.D.) says that in A.D. 696 (8.752) Jayasâkâra the Chavâdâ king of Paîchâsâr was attacked by the Chaulukya king Bhuvâda of Kâlyânakatakâ in Kanyâkubja or Kanoj and slain by Bhuvâda in battle. Before his death Jayasâkâra, finding his affairs hopeless, sent his pregnant wife Rupasundari to the forest in charge of her brother Sumâpâla, one of his chief warriors. After Jayasâkâra’s death Rupasundari gave birth to a son named Vanârâja who became the illustrious founder of Aparâhivâda. It is hard to say how much truth underlies this tradition. In the seventh century not Chaulukya but Pâla kings flourished in Kanoj. No place of importance called Kâlyânakatakâ is recorded in the Kanoj territory. And though there was a southern Chaulukya kingdom with its capital at Kâlyân, its establishment at Kâlyân was about the middle of the eleventh not in the seventh century. Further the known Dakhan Chaulukya lists contain no king named Bhuvâda, unless he be the great Châluukiya king Vijayâditya (A.D. 696-733) also called Bhuvânâsrava, who warred in the north and was there imprisoned but made his escape. The inference is that the author of the Ratnadhâl, knowing the Selañkis originally belonged to a city called Kâlyân, and knowing that a Châluukiya king named Bhuvâda had defeated the Chavâdâs may have called Bhuvâda king of Kâlyânakatakâ and identified Kâlyânakatakâ with a country so well known to Pârañik fame as Kanyâ-kubja. This view is supported by the absence in the Prabandha-chintâmanî and other old records of any mention of an invasion from Kanoj. It is possible that in A.D. 696 some king Bhuvâda of the Gujarât Châluukiyas, of whom at this time branches were ruling as far north as Kaira, invaded the Chavâdâs under Jayasâkâra. Since traces of a Châvoetaka kingdom remain, at least as late as A.D. 720, it seems probable that the destruction of Paîchâsâr was caused not by Bhuvâda in A.D. 696, but in the Arab raid mentioned above whose date falls about A.D. 720. 

1 See above page 106. 
2 See above page 109.
of the birth of Vanarāja. Merutunga the author of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi tells how Rupaśundari was living in the forest swinging her son in a hammock, when a Jain priest named Silagunāsūri noticing as he passed royal marks on the boy bought him from his mother. The story adds that a nun named Viramati brought up the boy whom the sādhāraṇa called Vanarāja or the forest king. When eight years old, the priest employed Vanarāja to protect his place of worship from rats. The boy’s skill in shooting rats convinced the priest he was not fit to be a sādhāraṇa but was worthy of a kingdom. He therefore returned the boy to his mother. These details seem invented by the Jains in their own honour. No mention of any such story occurs in the Ratnāvalī.¹

In the forests where Vanarāja passed his youth lived his maternal uncle Surapala, one of Jayasēkharā’s generals, who, after his sovereign’s defeat and death, had become an outlaw. Vanarāja grew up under Surapala’s charge. The Prabandhachintāmaṇi records the following story of the origin of Vanarāja’s wealth. A Kanyakubja king married Mahānakā the daughter of a Gujarāt king. To receive the proceeds of the marriage cess which the Gujarāt king had levied from his subjects, a deputation or panchkula came from Kanyakubja to Gujarāt. The deputation made Vanarāja their leader or vahanābhūtī to realize the proceeds of the cess. In six months Vanarāja collected 24 lākhas of pāratothea drūmannas² and 4000 horse, which the deputation took and started for Kanyakubja. Vanarāja waylaid and killed them, secured the money and horses, and remained in hiding for a year. With the wealth thus acquired Vanarāja enrolled an army and established his power assuming the title of king. He fixed the site of a capital which afterwards rose to be the great city of Anahilapura. The story of the choice of the site is the usual story of a hunted hare turning on the hounds showing the place to be the special nurse of strength and courage. Vanarāja is said to have asked a Bharvād or Shepherd named Apahila son of Sākhadā to show him the best site. Apahila agreed on condition that the city should be called by his name. Apahila accordingly showed Vanarāja the place where a hare had attacked and chased a dog. Though much in this tradition is fabulous the city may have been called after some local chief since it was popularly known as Anahilavāda (Sk. Anahilavāta) that is the place of Apahila. In the Prabandhachintāmaṇi Merutunga gives a.d. 746 (S. 802) as the date of the installation of Vanarāja, while in his Vichāravṛttī the same author gives a.d. 755 (S. 821 Vaisakha Śukla 3) as the date of the foundation of the city. The discrepancy may be explained by taking a.d. 746 (S. 802) to refer to the date of Vanarāja’s getting money enough to fix the site of his capital, and a.d. 765 (S. 821) to refer to the date of his installation in the completed Anahilavāda. Local tradition connects the date a.d. 746 (S. 802) with an image of Gangatī which is said to be as old as the establishment of the city and

¹ In the Satyapurakalpa of his Tīrthaṅkara, Jina-prabhāsūri tells an almost identical story of another king.
² This name often occurs in Jain works. These would seem to be Kālātropa coins as Gadhāya coins are simply called drūmannas.
to bear the date 802. But as the letters of the inscription on the image can be made out by ordinary readers they cannot have been inscribed at nearly so early a date as 802. A.D. 785 (S. 821), the year given in the Víchāraśreni, seems the more probable date for the installation as the Prabandhachintāmaṇī says that Vararāja got himself installed at Aṇahilavāda when he was about fifty. This accords with the date fixed on other grounds. Placing Vararāja’s birth at about A.D. 720 would make him 44 in A.D. 765 (S. 821), the date at which according to the Víchāraśreni he was formally installed as sovereign of Aṇahilavāda. Merutunga in both his works gives the length of Vararāja’s life at 109 and of his reign at sixty years. The figure 60 seems to mark the length of his life and not of his reign. So long a reign as sixty years is barely possible for a sovereign who succeeded late in life, and the 109 years of his life can hardly be correct. Taking Vararāja’s age at 45 when he was installed in A.D. 785 (S. 821) and allowing fifteen years more to complete the sixty years A.D. 780 (S. 836) would be the closing year of his reign.

The Prabandhachintāmaṇī narrates how generously Vararāja rewarded those who had helped him in his adversity. His installation was performed by a woman named Sīr Devī of Kākara village whom in fulfilment of an early promise Vararāja had taken to be his sister. 2 The story regarding the promise is that once when Vararāja had gone with his uncle on a thieving expedition to Kākara village and had broken into the house of a merchant he by mistake dipped his hand into a pot of curds. As to touch curds is the same as to dine at a house as a guest, Vararāja left the house without taking anything from it. 3 Hearing what had happened the merchant’s sister invited Vararāja as a brother to dinner and gave him clothes. In return Vararāja promised if he ever regained his father’s kingdom he should receive his installation as king at her hands. 4 Vararāja chose as minister a Bānia named Jāmba. The story is that while Vararāja was looting with two others he came across a merchant Jāmba who had five arrows. Seeing only three enemies, Jāmba broke and threw away two of the arrows, shouting ‘One for each of you.’ Vararāja admiring his coolness persuaded Jāmba to join his band and found him so useful that he promised to make him minister. From the absence of any reference to him in these and similar tales it is probable that his uncle Surapāda died before the installing of Vararāja. Vararāja is said to have built at Aṇahilvāda a Jain temple of Pañchāśarā Pārasnāth so called because the image was brought from the old settlement of Pañchāśarā. Mention of this temple continues during the Solanki and Vēghelā times.

Vararāja is said to have placed a bowing image of himself facing the image of Pārasnāth. The figure of Vararāja is still shown at Sidhāpur.

1 The text is ‘Pañchāśarāvarṇahādosyah.’
2 Probably Kākra, famous for its bullocks.
3 Stories of thieves refraining from plundering houses where they have accidentally laid their hands on salt or milk are common.
4 The making of the installation mark on the forehead is the privilege of the king’s sister who gives a blessing and receives a present of villages.
and a woodcut of it is given by the late Mr. Forbes in his Rás Mála. It is clearly the figure of a king with the umbrella of state and a nimbus round the head and in the ears the long ornaments called kundalas noticed by Arab travellers as characteristic of the Balkara or Rashtrakūṭa kings who were cotemporary with Vanarāja. The king wears a long beard, a short waistcloth or dhōti, a waistband or kammarbānd, and a shoulder garment or upārana whose ends hang down the back. Besides the earrings he is adorned with bracelets armlets and anklets and a large ornament hangs across the chest from the left shoulder to the right hip. The right hand is held near the chest in the act of granting protection: and the left hand holds something which cannot be made out. By his side is the umbrella-bearer and five other attendants. The statue closely resembles the lifesize figure of a king of the Solanki period lying in the yard of a temple at Māli about twenty-four miles north of Somāṇātha Pātan. At Somāṇātha Pātan are similar but less rich cotemporary figures of local officers of the Solankis. Another similar figure of which only the torso remains is the statue of Aṇarāja the father of Vastupalā in a niche in Vastupalā's temple at Gīrṇār. The details of this figure belong to the Solanki period.

The lists of Vanarāja's successors vary so greatly in the names, in the order of succession, and in the lengths of reigns, that little trust can be placed in them. The first three agree in giving a duration of 196 years to the Chāvaḍa dynasty after the accession of Vanarāja. The accession of the Solanki founder Mūlarāja is given in the Vichārasreṇi at Samvat 1017 and in the Prabandhachintāmaṇi at Samvat 998 corresponding with the original difference of nineteen years (S. 802 and 821) in the founding of the city. This shows that though the total duration of the dynasty was traditionally known to be 196 years the order of succession was not known and guesses were made as to the duration of the different reigns. Certain dates fixed by inscriptions or otherwise known to some compilers and not known to others caused many discrepancies in the various accounts.

According to the calculations given above Vanarāja's reign lasted to about a.d. 780. Authorities agree that Vanarāja was succeeded by his son Yogarāja. The length of Yogarāja's reign is given as thirty-five years by the Prabandhachintāmaṇi and the Ratnamālā and as twenty-nine by the Vichārasreṇi. That is according to the Prabandhachintāmaṇi and Ratnamālā his reign closes in a.d. 841 (S. 897) and according to the Vichārasreṇi in a.d. 836 (S. 891). On the whole the Prabandhachintāmaṇi date a.d. 841 (S. 897) seems the more probable. The author of the Vichārasreṇi may have mistaken the 7 of the manuscripts for a t, the two figures in the manuscripts of that date being closely alike. If a.d. 780 is taken as the close of Vanarāja's reign and a.d. 806 as the beginning of Yogarāja's reign an interval of twenty-six years is left. This blank, which perhaps accounts for the improbably long reign and life assigned to Vanarāja, may have been filled by the forgotten reign of a childless elder brother of Yogarāja.

1 Elliot and Dewson, I. 11.
Of Yogaraja the Prabandhachintamanih tells the following tale. Kashemaraja one of Yogaraja’s three sons reported that several ships were storm-stayed at Prabhasha or Somanatha. The ships had 10,000 horses, many elephants, and millions of money and treasure. Kashemaraja prayed that he might seize the treasure. Yogaraja forbade him. In spite of their father’s orders the sons seized the treasure and brought it to the king. Yogaraja said nothing. And when the people asked him why he was silent he answered: To say I approve would be a sin; to say I do not approve would annoy you. Hitherto on account of an ancestor’s misdeeds we have been laughed at as a nation of thieves. Our name was improving and we were rising to the rank of true kings. This act of my sons has renewed the old stain. Yogaraja would not be comforted and mounted the funeral pyre.

According to the Prabandhachintamanih in A.D. 841 (S. 893) Yogaraja was succeeded by his son Kashemaraja. The Vicharasreni says that Yogaraja was succeeded by Ratnaditya who reigned three years, and he by Vairisimha who reigned eleven years. Then came Kashemaraja who is mentioned as the son of Yogaraja and as coming to the thrones in A.D. 849 (S. 905). The relationship of Yogaraja to Ratnaditya and Vairisimha is not given. Probably both were sons of Yogaraja as the Prabandhachintamanih mentions that Yogaraja had three sons. The duration of Kashemaraja’s reign is given as thirty-nine years. It is probable that the reigns of the three brothers lasted altogether for thirty-nineth years, fourteen years for the two elder brothers and twenty-five years for Kashemaraja the period mentioned by the Prabandhachintamanih. Accepting this chronology A.D. 880 (S. 935) will be the date of the close of Kashemaraja’s reign.

According to the Vicharasreni and the Sukritasankirtana Kashemaraja was succeeded by his son Chamuanda. Instead of Chamuanda the Prabandhachintamanih mentions Bhuyada perhaps another name of Chamuanda, as in the Prabandhachintamanih the name Chamuanda does not occur. The Prabandhachintamanih notes that Bhuyada reigned twenty-nine years and built in Anahilavada Patan the temple of Bhuyadeshvar. The Vicharasreni gives twenty-seven years as the length of Chamuanda’s reign an insignificant difference of two years. This gives A.D. 908 (S. 964) as the close of Chamuanda’s reign according to the Vicharasreni.

After Bhuyada the Prabandhachintamanih places Vairisimha and Ratnaditya assigning twenty-five and fifteen years as the reigns of each. The Vicharasreni mentions as the successor of Chamuanda his son Ghaghada who is called Rabadha in the Sukritasankirtana. Instead of Ghaghada the Prabandhachintamanih gives Sambantasimha or Lion Chiettain perhaps a title of Ghaghada’s. The Vicharasreni gives Ghaghada a reign of twenty-seven years and mentions as his successor an unnamed son who reigned nineteen years. The Sukritasankirtana gives the name of this son as Bhulbhasa. According to these calculations the close of Ghaghada’s reign would be A.D. 936 (Samvat 905 + 27 = 932). Adding nineteen years for Bhulbhasa’s reign brings the date of the end of the dynasty to A.D. 958 (Samvat
THE CHAVADAS.

993 + 19 = 1012) that is five years earlier than 8. 1017 the date
given by the Vicharas'reni. Until some evidence to the contrary is
shown Merutunga's date A.D. 961 (8. 821 + 196 = 1017) may be
taken as correct.

According to the above the Chavaḍa genealogy stands as follows:
Vunaraja, born A.D. 729; succeeded A.D. 785; died A.D. 780.

Interval of twenty-six years.
Yogaraja, A.D. 806 - 841.

Ratnaditya, A.D. 842.
Vairisama, A.D. 845.
Kahemaraja, A.D. 856.

Chamunda or Hadvada (?), A.D. 881.
Ghaghada or Kahaṇḍa, A.D. 908.

Name Unknown, A.D. 937 - 961.

[The period of Chavaḍa rule at Anahilavada is likely to remain
obscure until the discovery of contemporaneous inscriptions throws more
light upon it than can be gathered from the confused and contradictory
legends collected by the Sollaki historians, none of whom are
older than the twelfth century. For the present a few points only can
be regarded as established:

(i) The Chavaḍas, Chavotaśas, or Chapotaśas, are connected with
the Chāpas of Bhūmāl and of Vadhyāṇa and are therefore of
Gurjara race. (Compare Ind. Ant. XVII. 192.)

(ii) They probably were never more than feudatories of the Bhūmāl
kings.

(iii) Though the legend places the fall of Paṅchāsar in A.D. 696
and the foundation of Anahilavada in A.D. 746, the grant of
Pulakasa Janārāya shows that a Chavaḍa (Chavotaka) kingdom
existed in A.D. 728.

As regards the chronology of the dynasty, the explanation of the
long life of 110 years ascribed to Vunaraja may be that a grandson
of the same name succeeded the founder of the family. The name of
Chamunda has, as Dr. Bühler long ago pointed out, crept in through
some error from the Sollaki list. But when the same author in two
different works gives such contradictory lists and dates as Merutunga
does in his Prabandhachintamaṇi and his Vicharas'reni, it is clearly
useless to attempt to extract a consistent story from the chroniclers.—
A. M. T. J.]
CHAPTER II.

THE CHAULUKYAS OR SOLAŃKIS

(A.D. 961-1242.)

The next rulers are the Chaulukyas or Solańkis (A.D. 964-1242) whose conversion to Jainism has secured them careful record by Jain chroniclers. The earliest writer on the Solankis, the learned Jain priest Hemachandra (A.D. 1089-1173), in his work called the Dvyasravya, has given a fairly full and correct account of the dynasty up to Siddharaja (A.D. 1148). The work is said to have been begun by Hemachandra about A.D. 1160, and to have been finished and revised by another Jain monk named Abhayatilakagni in A.D. 1255. The last chapter which is in Prakrit deals solely with king Kumāraspada. This work is a grammar rather than a chronicle, still, though it has little reference to dates, it is a good collection of tales and descriptions. For chronology the best guide is the Vichārasreni which its author has taken pains to make the chief authority in dates. The Vichārasreni was written by Merutunga about A.D. 1314, some time after he wrote the Pralandhachintamaṇi.

According to the Vichārasreni after the Chávadás, in A.D. 961 (Vaishakh Sudha 1017), began the reign of Mūlārāja the son of a daughter of the last Chávadá ruler. The name Chaulukya is a Sanskritised form, through an earlier form Chálukya, of the old names Chalkya, Chalkyka, Chhirka, Chaltukya of the great Dakhan dynasty (A.D. 552-973), made to harmonise with the Purānic-looking story that the founder of the dynasty sprang from the palm or Chāluka of Brahma. The form Chaulukya seems to have been confined to authors and writers. It was used by the great Dakhan poet Bihāna (c. 1050 A.D.) and by the Aṅahilavāda chroniclers. In Gujarát the popular form of the word seems to have been Solaki or Solańki (a dialectic variant of Chaulukya), a name till lately used by Gujarát lards. The sameness of name seems to show the Dakhan and Gujarát dynasties to be branches of one stock. No materials are available to trace the original seat of the family or to show when and whence they came to Gujarát. The balance of probability is, as Dr. Bühler holds, that Mūlārāja's ancestors came from the north.  

The Sukritasankirtana says that the last Chávadá king Bhūbhata was succeeded by his sister's son Mūlārāja. Of the family or country of Mūlārāja's father no details are given. The Pralandhachintamaṇi calls Mūlārāja the sister's son of Sāmantasimha and gives the following details. In A.D. 930 of the family of Bhuivāda (who destroyed Jayaśekhara) were three brothers Rājī, Bija, and Danakā, who stopped at Aṅahilavāda on their way back from a pilgrimage to Somanātha in the guise of Kārpaṭika or Kāpdi beggars. The three brothers attended a cavalry

1 Ind. Ant. IV. 71-72 and VI. 189.
2 Ind. Ant. VI. 180ff. The suggestion may be offered that the Kanyakulkha which is mentioned as the seat of Mūlārāja's ancestors, is Kanyakulka, an old name of Jumgad. Compare Burgess' Kathiāwār and Kutch, 166.
parade held by king Sāmantasimha. An objection taken by Rāji to some of the cavalry movements pleased Sāmantasimha, who, taking him to be the scion of some noble family, gave him his sister Lilādevi in marriage. Lilādevi died pregnant and the child, which was taken alive from its dead mother’s womb was called Mūlarāja, because the operation was performed when the Mūla constellation was in power. Mūlarāja grew into an able and popular prince and helped to extend the kingdom of his maternal uncle. In a fit of intoxication Sāmantasimha ordered Mūlarāja to be placed on the throne. He afterwards cancelled the grant. But Mūlarāja contended that a king once installed could not be degraded. He collected troops defeated and slew his uncle and succeeded to the throne in a.d. 942 (S. 998). The main facts of this tale, that Mūlarāja’s father was one Rāji of the Chaulukya family, that his mother was a Chāvadā princess, and that he came to the Chāvadā throne by killing his maternal uncle, appear to be true. That Mūlarāja’s father’s name was Rāji is proved by Dr. Bühler’s copperplate of Mūlarāja.1 Merutunga’s details that Rāji came in disguise to Aṇahilavāda, took the fancy of Sāmantasimha, and received his sister in marriage seem fictions in the style common in the hallowed praises of Rājput princes. Dr. Bühler’s copperplate further disproves the story as it calls Mūlarāja the son of the illustrious Rāji, the great king of kings Māhārajādhirāja, a title which would not be given to a wandering prince. Rāji appears to have been of almost equal rank with the Chāvadās. The Ratnamāla calls Rāji fifth in descent from Bhuvadā, his four predecessors being Karnaḍītya, Chandraḍītya, Somāḍītya, and Bhuvanadītya. But the Ratnamāla list is on the face of it wrong, as it gives five instead of seven or eight kings to fill the space of over 200 years between Jayāśekhara and Mūlarāja.

Most Jain chroniclers begin the history of Aṇahilavāda with Mūlarāja who with the Jains is the glory of the dynasty. After taking the small Chāvadā kingdom Mūlarāja spread his power in all directions, overrunning Kāthiavāda and Kacch on the west, and fighting Būrappa of Lāta or South Gujarāt on the south, and Vigravanāja king of Ajmir on the north. The Ajmir kings were called Sapādalaksha. Why they were so called is not known. This much is certain that Sapādalaksha is the Sanskrit form of the modern Sewālik. It would seem that the Chohāns, whom the Gujarāt Jain chroniclers call Sapādalakshiyā, must have come to Gujarāt from the Sewālik hills. After leaving the Sewālik hills the capital was at Ajmir, which is usually said to have been first fortified by the Chohān king Ajayapāla (a.d.1174-1177).2 This story seems invented by the Chohāns. The name Ajmir appears to be derived from the Mērs who were in power in these parts between the fifth and the eighth centuries. The Hāmīramahākāvya begins the Chohān genealogy with Vāsudeva (a.d.780) and states that Vāsudeva’s fourth successor Ajayapāla established the hill fort of Ajmir. About this time (a.d.840) the Chohāns seem to have made settlements in the Ajmir country and to have harassed Gujarāt. Vigravanāja the tenth in suc-

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1 Ind. Ant. VI. 1918. 2 Kirtane’s Hāmīramahākāvya, I.
cession from Vásudeva is described as killing Múlarája and weakening the Gúdjara country.¹ The author of the Prabándhaháinta-mápi gives the following details. The Sapádlakshsa or Ajmir king entered Gúdjara and at the same time from the south Múlarája's territory was invaded by Bárippa a general of king Tálla-pa of Télíngána.² Unable to face both enemies Múlarája at his minister's advice retired to Kanthusírpa apparently Kánthkot in Cutch.³ He remained there till the Naváratra or Nine-Night festival at the close of the rains when he expected the Sapádlakshsa king would have to return to Ajmir to worship the goddess Sákambhari when Bárippa would be left alone. At the close of the rains the Sapádlakshsa king fixed his camp near a place called Sákambhari and bringing the goddess Sákambhari there held the Nine-Night festival. This device disappointed Múlarája. He sent for his sámanvas or nobles and gave them presents. He told them his plans and called on them to support him in attacking the Sapádlakshsa king. Múlarája then mounted a female elephant with no attendant but the driver and in the evening came suddenly to the Ajmir camp. He dismounted and holding a drawn sword in his hand said to the doorkeeper 'What is your king doing. Go and tell your lord that Múlarája waits at his door.' While the attendant was on his way to give the message, Múlarája pushed him on one side and himself went into the presence. The doorkeeper called 'Here comes Múlarája.' Before he could be stopped Múlarája forced his way in and took his seat on the throne. The Ajmir king in consternation asked 'Are you Múlarája?' Múlarája answered 'I would regard him as a brave king who would meet me face to face in battle. While I was thinking no such brave enemy exists, you have arrived. I ask no better fortune than to fight with you. But as soon as you are come, like a bee falling in at dinner time, Bárippa the general of king Tálla-pa of Télíngána has arrived to attack me. While I am punishing him you should keep quiet and not give me a side blow.' The Ajmir king said, 'Though you are a king, you have come here alone like a foot soldier, not caring for your safety. I will be your ally for life.' Múlarája replied 'Say not so.' He refused the Rája's invitation to dine, and leaving sword in hand mounted his elephant and with his nobles attacked the camp of Bárippa. Bárippa was killed and eighteen of his elephants and 10,000 of his horses fell into Múlarája's hands. While returning with the spoil Múlarája received news that the Sapádlakshsa king had fled.

¹ The Choháns of Ajmir were also known as the rulers of Sákambhari, the Sáchhíbír lake in Rajputána on the borders of Júlpur and Jodhpur. The corrected edition of the Harsha Inscription published by Prof. Kielhorn in Epigraphia Indica II. 116ff. shows that their first historical king was Gúvaka, who reigned some time in the first half of the ninth century (c. 830 A.D.). The Choháns are still very numerous in the neighbourhhood of the Sáchhíbír hills, especially in the districts of Ambála and Karnál. Compare Thévet's Panjáb Census for 1881.

² It appears from the grant of Saka 972 published by Mr. Dhírua in Ind. Ant. XII, 196 and from the Sarc grant of Árdhára dated Saka 940, that this Bárippa was the founder of a dynasty who ruled Láta or South Gúdjara as under-kings of the Dakhan Cháulkyaas until at least A.D. 1050. Bárippa was, as his name shows, a Southerner from the Kánarse country, but his descendants spell the family name Cháulkya in the same way as the dynasty of Anábilavája.

³ Dr. Buhler (Ind. Ant. XII, 153) sees a reference to this retirement in Múlarája's grant of Suyvat 1043.
This story of the author of the Prabandhachintamani differs from that given by the author of the Hannmirakavya who describes Mularaja as defeated and slain. The truth seems to be that the Ajmir king defeated Mularaja and on Mularaja's submission did not press his advantage. In these circumstances Mularaja's victory over Bapappa seems improbable. The Dyavasraya devotes seventy-five verses (27-101) of its sixth chapter to the contest between Bapappa and Mularaja. The details may be thus summarised. Once when Mularaja received presents from various Indian kings Dyaprapa king of Latadesa sent an ill-omened elephant. The marks being examined by royal officers and by prince Chandumunda, they decided the elephant would bring destruction on the king who kept him. The elephant was sent back in disgrace and Mularaja and his son started with an army to attack Latadesa and avenge the insult. In his march Mularaja first came to the Svahrhavati or Sabantami which formed the boundary of his kingdom, frightening the people. From the Sabantami he advanced to the ancient Puri where also the people became confused. The Lata king prepared for fight, and was slain by Chandumunda in single combat. Mularaja advanced to Broach where Bapappa who was assisted by the island kings opposed him. Chandumunda overcame them and slew Bapappa. After this success Mularaja and Chandumunda returned to Aushhalapura.

The Dyavasraya styles Bapappa king of Latadesa; the Prabandhachintamani calls him a general of Tailapa king of Telingana; the Sukritasankirtana a general of the Kanyakubja king; and the Kirtikaumudi a general of the Lord of Lata.

Other evidence proves that at the time of Mularaja a Chaulukya king named Bapappa did reign in Latadesa. The Surat grant of Kirtiraja grandson of Bapappa is dated A.D. 1018 (Saka 940). This, taking twenty years to a king, brings Bapappa's date to A.D. 978 (Saka 900), a year which falls in the reign of Mularaja (A.D. 961-996; S. 1027-1053). The statement in the Prabandhachintamani that Bapappa was a general of Tailapa seems correct. The southern form of the name Bapappa supports the statement. And as Tailapa overthrew the Keshttraktas in A.D. 972 (Saka 894) he might well place a general in military charge of Lata, and allow him practical independence. This would explain why the Dyavasraya calls Bapappa king of Latadesa and why the Kirtikaumudi calls him general of the Lord of Lata.

One of Mularaja's earliest wars was with Graharpura the Abhira or Chudasaam ruler of Sorath. According to Mularaja's bard, the cause

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1 Apparently a Sanskrit form of Bapappa. 2 Broach according to the commentator. 3 The Sukritasankirtana mentions this defeat of Bapappa who is said to be a general of the Kanyakubja or Kanoj king. The Prabandhachintamani (Mularaja prabandha) also mentions the invasion and slaughter of Bapappa; but there is no reference to it in the grant of Bapappa's descendant Trilochanapatra (Ind. Ant. XII. 1907). 4 Canto II. Verse 3. 5 As Mr. Forbes rightly observed Graharpura the Planet-seer is a made-up title based on the resemblance of the planet-seer's name Bahu to Bahu the title of the Chudasaam of Junagadh. The personal name of the chief is not given and the list of the Junagadh Chudasaams is too incomplete to allow of identification.
of war was Graharipu’s oppression of pilgrims to Prabhāsa. Graharipu’s capital was Vāmanamathali, the modern Vanthali; nine miles west of Junágañṭ, and the fort of Durgapalli which Graharipu is said to have established must be Junágañṭ itself which was not then a capital. Graharipu is described as a cow-eating Mlechha and a grievous tyrant. He is said to have had much influence over Lākhā’s son of king Phula of Kaceh and to have been helped by Turks and other Mlechhas. When Mularāja reached the Jambumali river, he was met by Graharipu and his army. With Graharipu was Lākhā of Kaceh, the king of Sindh, probably a Sunrā, Mewās Bihlas, and the sons of Graharipu’s wife Nīl who had been summoned from near the Bhadar river by a message in the Yavana language. With Mularāja were the kings of Silāprastha, of Mārwār, of Kāśi, of Arbuda or Abu, and of Srīmālā or Bhinmāl. Mularāja had also his own younger brother Gangāmah, his friend king Revatāmitra, and Bihlas. It is specially mentioned that in this expedition Mularāja received no help from the sons of his paternal uncles Bija and Dandaka. The fight ended in Graharipu being made prisoner by Mularāja, and in Lākhā being slain with a spear. After the victory Mularāja went to Prabhāsa, worshipped the līṅga, and returned to Anahilavāda with his army and 108 elephants.

According to the author of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi Lākhā met his death in a different contest with Mularāja. Lākhā who is described as the son of Phuladā and Kānalātā daughter of Kirttirāja a Parmār king, is said to have been invincible because he was under the protection of king Yaśovarm of Mālwa. He defeated Mularāja’s army eleven times. In a twelfth encounter Mularāja besieged Lākhā in Kapilakot, slew him in single combat, and trod on his flowing beard. Enraged at this insult to her dead son Lākhā’s mother called down on Mularāja’s descendants the curse of the spider poison that is of leprosy.

Mr. Forbes, apparently from bardic sources, states that on his wife’s death Rājī the father of Mularāja went to the temple of Vishnu at Dwārkā. On his return he visited the court of Lākhā Phulāni and espoused Lākhā’s sister Rāyājī by whom he had a son named Rākhāśīch. This marriage proved the ruin of Rājī. In a dispute about precedence Lākhā slew Rājī and many of his Rājput followers, his wife Rāyājī becoming a Sati. Bija the uncle of Mularāja urged his nephew to avenge his father’s death and Mularāja was further incited against Lākhā because Lākhā harboured Rākhāśīch the younger son of Rājī at his court as a rival to Mularāja.

According to the Dvyāśaya, either from the rising power of his son or from repentance for his own rough acts, after Chāmuṇḍa’s victory over Bārappā Mularāja installed him as ruler and devoted himself to religion and charity. According to the Prabandhachintāmaṇi Mularāja built in Anahilavāda a Jain temple named Mūlavasatikā. But as the Nandi

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1 The mention of her name and of the language in which she wrote suggest something remarkable in the race and position of queen Nīl.
2 Perhaps Sītā in Jalāvād.
3 The same account appears in the Kumārapalācharita.
symbol on his copperplate shows that Mūlarāja was a devoted Śaivite, it is possible that this temple was built by some Jain guild or community and named after the reigning chief. 1 Mūlarāja built a Mahādeva temple called Mūlasvāmi in Apahilavāda, and, in honour of Somanātha, he built the temple of Mūlesvara at Manḍalaji-mahāmārāj where he went at the bidding of the god. 2 He also built at Apahilavāda a temple of Mahādeva called Tripurūsāpāsīdā on a site to which the tradition attaches that seeing Mūlarāja daily visiting the temple of Mūlanāthadeva at Manḍalaji, Somanātha Mahādeva being greatly pleased promised to bring the ocean to Apahilavāda. Somanātha came, and the ocean accompanying the god certain ponds became brackish. In honour of these salt pools Mūlarāja built the Tripurūsāpāsīdā. Looking for some one to place in charge of this temple, Mūlarāja heard of an ascetic named Kanthadi at Siddhapura on the banks of the Sarasvatī who used to fast every other day and on the intervening day lived on five morsels of food. Mūlarāja offered this sage the charge of the temple. The sage declined saying ‘Authority is the surest path to hell.’ Eventually Vayavajarādeva a disciple of the sage undertook the management on certain conditions. Mūlarāja passed most of his days at the holy shrine of Siddhapura, the modern Sidhur on the Sarasvatī about fifteen miles north-east of Apahilavāda. At Siddhapura Mūlarāja made many grants to Brāhmans. Several branches of Gujarāt Brāhmans, Audichyas, Srigandas and Kanojias, trace their origin in Gujarāt to an invitation from Mūlarāja to Siddhapura and the local Purāṇas and Mahātmayas confirm the story. As the term Audichya means Northerner Mūlarāja may have invited Brāhmans from some such holy place as Kurukṣetra which the Audichyas claim as their home. From Kanyakubja in the Madhyadesa between the Ganges and the Yamunā another equally holy place the Kanojias may have been invited. The Sri Gaṇḍas appear to have come from Bengāl and Tirhut. Gaṇḍa and Tirhut Brāhmans are noted Tāntrics and Mantrasāstris a branch of learning for which both the people and the rulers of Gujarāt have a great fondness. Grants of villages were made to these Brāhmans. Sidhur was given to the Audichyas, Simhapura or Sihor in Kāthiavāda to some other colony, and Stambhātirtha or Camay to the Sri Gaṇḍas. At Siddhapura Mūlarāja built the famous temple called the Rudramahālaya or the great shrine of Rudra. According to tradition Mūlarāja did not complete the Rudramahālaya and Siddharāja finished it. In spite of this tradition it does not appear that Mūlarāja died leaving the great temple unfinished as a copperplate of A.D. 987 (S. 1043) records that

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1 Compare the Lakṣhmī-Vīṇāra Jain temple in Jayāñir built by the Jain Saṅgha and called after the reigning king Lakṣhmīna.
2 Dr. Bühl’s copperplate of Mūlarāja records a grant to this temple, said to be of Mūlanāthadeva in Manḍal in the Vahilī sīla, apparently the modern Māndal near Pakhāsār in the Vahilī province near Janjirvādā. The grant is in Sarvat 1043 and is dated from Apahilavāda though the actual gift was made at Śristhālī or Sidhur after bathing in the Sarasvatī and worshipping the god of the Bādmahālaya. The grant is of the village of Kambakā, the modern Kambī near Mulhera. India. Ant. VI. 192-193. The grant is said to have been written by a Kavastha named Kāṇčhana and ends with the words “of the illustrious Mūlarāja.”
Mūlarāja made the grant after worshipping the god of the Rudramahālaya on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the fifteenth of the dark half of Māgha. It would seem therefore that Mūlarāja built one large Rudramahālaya which Siddhārāja may have repaired or enlarged.

Mūlarāja is said while still in health to have mounted the funeral pile, an act which some writers trace to remorse and others to unknown political reasons. The Vichārasreni gives the length of Mūlarāja’s reign at thirty-five years A.D. 961-996 (S. 1017-1052); the Prabandhachintāmani begins the reign at A.D. 942 (S. 998) and ends it at A.D. 997 (S. 1053) that is a length of fifty-five years. Of the two, thirty-five years seems the more probable, as, if the traditional accounts are correct, Mūlarāja can scarcely have been a young man when he overthrew his uncle’s power.

Of Mūlarāja’s son and successor Chāmunda no historical information is available. The author of the Prabandhachintāmani assigns him a reign of thirteen years. The author of the Dryāśraya says that he had three sons Vallabha Rāja, Durlabha Rāja, and Nāga Rāja. According to one account Chāmunda installed Vallabha in A.D. 1010 (S. 1060) and went on pilgrimage to Benares. On his passage through Mālwa Munja the Mālwa king carried off Chāmunda’s umbrella and other marks of royalty. Chāmunda went on to Benares in the guise of a hermit. On his return he praved his son to avenge the insult offered by the king of Mālwa. Vallabha started with an army but died of small-pox. The author of the Prabandhachintāmani gives Chāmunda a reign of six months, while the author of the Vichārasreni entirely drops his name and gives a reign of fourteen years to Vallabha made up of the thirteen years of Chāmunda and the six months of Vallabha. This seems to be a mistake. It would seem more correct, as is done in several copperplate lists, to omit Vallabha, since he must have reigned jointly with his father and his name is not wanted for purposes of succession. The Vichārasreni and the Prabandhachintāmani agree in ending Vallabha’s reign in A.D. 1019 (S. 1066). The author of the Dryāśraya states that Chāmunda greatly lamenting the death of Vallabha installed Vallabha’s younger brother Durlabha, and himself retired to die at S’uklatirtha on the Narhada.

Durlabha whom the Sukritasankirtana also calls Jagatjhamapaka or World Guardian came to the throne in A.D. 1010 (S. 1060). The Prabandhachintāmani gives the length of his reign at eleven years and six months while the Vichārasreni makes it twelve years closing it in A.D. 1022 (S. 1078). The author of the Dryāśraya says that along with his brother Nāga Rāja, Durlabha attended the Svayamvaram or bridegroom-choosing of Durlabha Devī the sister of Mahendrā the

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1 The difference between 1052 and 1053 is probably only a few months.
2 The fight with Munja must have taken place about A.D. 1011 (S. 1067). As Chāmunda started just after installing Vallabha the beginning of the reign must be before A.D. 977 as Tālapa who fought with Munja died in that year. This is proved by a manuscript dated A.D. 994 (S. 1040) which gives the reigning king as Munja. That Bhoja Munja’s successor was ruling in A.D. 1014 (S. 1067) makes it probable that Munja’s reign extended to A.D. 1011 (S. 1067).
Rája of Nadol in Márvár. The kings of Ánga, Káši, Avanti, Chedi, Kurn, Húna, Mathura, Vindhyá, and Andhra were also present. The princess chose Durlabhá and Mahendra gave his younger sister Lakshmi to Durlabhá's brother Nágá Rája. The princess's choice of Durlabhá drew on him the enmity of certain of the other kings all of whom he defeated. The brothers then returned to Anahilaváda where Durlabhá built a lake called Durlabhásarowara. The author of the Prabandhachintámáni says that Durlabhá gave up the kingdom to his son (? Bhíma. He also states that Durlabhá went on pilgrimage and was insulted on the way by Muñá king of Málwa. This seems the same tale which the Dvyás'rava tells of Chámnuda. Since Muñá cannot have been a contemporary of Durlabhá the Dvyás'rava's account seems correct.

Durlabhá was succeeded by his nephew Bhíma the son of Durlabhá's younger brother Nágá Rája. The author of the Dvyás'rava says that Durlabhá wishing to retire from the world offered the kingdom to his nephew Bhíma; that Bhíma declined in favour of his father Nágá Rája; that Nágá Rája refused; that Durlabhá and Nágá Rája persuaded Bhíma to take the government; and that after installing Bhíma the two brothers died together. Such a voluntary double death sounds unlikely unless the result was due to the machinations of Bhíma. The Prabandhachintámáni gives Bhíma a reign of fifty-two years from A.D. 1022 to 1074 (S. 1078-1130), while the Víchárasváti reduces his reign to forty-two years placing its close in A.D. 1064 (S. 1120). Forty-two years would seem to be correct as another copy of the Prabandhachintámáni has 42.

Two copperplates of Bhíma are available one dated A.D. 1030 (S. 1086) eight or nine years after he came to the throne, the other from Kaecch in A.D. 1037 (S. 1093).

Bhíma seems to have been more powerful than either of his predecessors. According to the Dvyás'rava his two chief enemies were the kings of Sindh and of Chedi or Bundelkhand. He led a victorious expedition against Hammuka the king of Sindh, who had conquered the king of Sivasimá and another against Kárna king of Chedi who paid tribute and submitted. The Prabandhachintámáni has a verse, apparently an old verse interpolated, which says that on the Málwa king Bhoja's death, while seeking Dhárápuri, Kárna took Bhíma as his coadjutor, and that afterwards Bhíma's general Dámar took Kárna captive and won from him a gold mañdapiká or canopy and images of Ganésa and Nilakamthí'svara Mahádeva. Bhíma is said to have presented the canopy to Śománátha.

When Bhíma was engaged against the king of Sindh, Kulachandra the general of the Málwa king Bhoja with all the Málwa feudatories, invaded Anahilaváda, sacked the city, and sowed shell-money at the gate where the time-marking gong was sounded. So great was the

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1 This Sravanavar and the list of attendant and rival kings seem imaginary. The Nadol chiefship was not important enough to draw kings from the countries named.
2 The text has son but Bhíma was Durlabhá's nephew not his son.
loss that the ‘sacking of Kulachandra’ has passed into a proverb. Kulachandra also took from Aushalivada an acknowledgment of victory or jagapatra. On his return Bhoja received Kulachandra with honour but blamed him for not sowing salt instead of shell-money.¹ He said the shell-money is an omen that the wealth of Malwa will flow to Gujarāt. An unpublished inscription of Bhoja’s successor Udayāditya in a temple at Udepur near Bhilsa confirms the above stating that Bhima was conquered by Bhoja’s officers.²

The Sānika kings of Aushalapura being Saivites held the god Somanātha of Prabhāsa in great veneration. The very ancient and holy shrine of Prabhāsa has long been a place of special pilgrimage. As early as the Yādavas of Dwarka,³ pilgrimages to Prabhāsa are recorded but the Mahābhārata makes no mention either of Somanātha or of any other Saivite shrine. The shrine of Somanātha was probably not established before the time of the Valabhis (A.D. 480-767). As the Valabhi kings were most open-handed in religious gifts, it was probably through their grants that the Somanātha temple rose to importance. The Sānika were not behind the Valabhis in devotion to Somanātha. To sava pilgrims from oppression Mūlarāja fought Grahariṇu the Abhirā king of Sorastra.⁴ Mūlarāja afterwards went to Prabhāsa and also built temples in Gujarāt in honour of the god Somanātha. As Mūlarāja’s successors Chāmanḍa and Durlabhā continued firm devotees of Somanātha during their reigns (A.D. 997-1022) the wealth of the temple must have greatly increased.

No Gujarāt Hindu writer refers to the destruction of the great temple soon after Bhima’s accession.⁵ But the Musalmān historians place beyond doubt that in A.D. 1024 the famous tenth raid of

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¹ By sowing cowries Kulachandra may have meant to show the cheapness of Auṣhalivāda. Bhoja’s meaning was that as shells are money, to sow shells was to sow Malwa wealth in Gujarāt. If Kulachandra had sown salt all would have melted, and no trace been left. (This seems a symbolic later-stage explanation. The sense seems to be shell-sowing keeps the Auṣhalivāda guardsmen in place since guardsmen can live in shells; salt-sowing scares the guardian spirits and makes the site of the city a haunt of demons. Bhoja saw that thanks to his general the Lock of Auṣhalivāda would remain safe in the shells.)

² The Prabandhashāstirnāmi tells other stories of the relations between Bhima and Bhoja. Once when Gujarāt was suffering from famine Bhima learnt that Bhoja was coming with a force against Gujarāt. Alerted at the news Bhima asked Dāmara his minister of peace and war to prevent Bhoja coming. Dāmara went to Malwa, assured the king by witty stories, and while a play was being acted in court degreasing and jolting other kings, something was said regarding Tallapa’s Telingana. On this Dāmara reminded the king that the head of his grandfather Muhja was fixed at Tallap’s door. Bhoja grew excited and started with an army against Telingana. Hearing that Bhima had come against him as far as Bhimaspura (?) Bhoja asked Dāmara to prevent Bhoja advancing further. Dāmara stopped Bhima by taking him an elephant as a present from Bhoja. The Prabhandashāstirnāmi gives numerous other stories showing that at times the relations between Bhoja and Bhima were friendly.

³ See above page 9.

⁴ See above page 160.

⁵ With this silence compare the absence (Belameli’s Ménèdure Sur l’Inde, 67) of any reference either in Sanskrit or in Buddhist books to the victories, even to the name, of Alexander the Great. Also in modern times the ignoring of British rule in the many inscriptions of Jain reformers on Sattvilaya hill who belong to British territory. The only foreign reference is by one merchant of Damin who acknowledges the protection of the Firangwati Parakshala Pataashri the king of the Firangis of Porngal. Bihler in Epigraphia Indica, II. 30.
Mahmúd of Ghazni, ended in the destruction and plunder of Soma-
nátha.¹

Of the destruction of Somanátha, the earliest Musalmán account, of his Asir (a.d. 1160-1229), supplies the following details: In the year a.d. 1024 (H. 414) Mahmúd captured several forts and cities in Hind and he also took the idol called Somanátha. This idol was the greatest of all the idols of Hind. At every eclipse² the Hindus went on pilgrimage to the temple, and there congregated to the number of a hundred thousand persons. According to their doctrine of transmigration the Hindus believe that after separation from the body the souls of men meet at Somanátha; and that the ebb and flow of the tide is the worship paid to the best of its power by the sea to the idol.³ All that is most precious in India was brought to Somanátha. The temple attendants received the most valuable presents, and the temple was endowed with more than 10,000 villages.⁴ In the temple were amassed jewels of the most exquisite quality and of incalculable value. The people of India have a great river called Gangá to which they pay the highest honour and into which they cast the bones of their great men, in the belief that the deceased will thus secure an entrance to heaven. Though between this river and Somanátha is a distance of about 1200 miles (200 parásamya) water was daily brought from it to wash the idol.⁵ Every day a thousand Brahmans performed the worship and introduced visitors.⁶ The shaving of the heads and beards of pilgrims employed three hundred barbers.⁷ Three hundred and fifty persons sang and danced at the gate of the temple,⁸ every one receiving a settled daily allowance. When Mahmúd was gaining victories and demolishing idols in North India, the Hindus said Somanátha is displeased with these idols. If Somanátha had been satisfied with them no one could have destroyed or injured them. When Mahmúd heard this he resolved on making a campaign to destroy Somanátha, believing that when the Hindus saw their prayers and impregnations to be false and futile they would embrace the Faith.

So he prayed to the Almighty for aid, and with 80,000 horse besides volunteers left Ghazni on the 10th Sha'áín (H. 414, a.d. 1024).

¹ Elliot and Dowson, II. 668ff. Sir H. M. Elliot gives extracts for this expedition from the Tárikh-i-Álfi, Tabákát-i-Akbarí, Tabákát-i-Náṣiri, and Banna-t-i-sára.
² Since the earliest times Hindus have held eclipse days sacred. According to the Mahábhrata the Yudhavas of Dwarká came to Somanátha for an eclipse fair. Great fairs are still held at Somanátha on the Kárikà and Chaitra (December and April) full moons.
³ This old Indian idea is expressed in a verse in an inscription in Somanátha Pátañ itself.
⁴ Ten thousand must be taken vaguely.
⁵ Compares Sachau's Altermi, II. 104. Every day they brought Somanátha a jug of Gangá water and a basket of Kashmir flowers. Somanátha they believed cured every invertebrate sickness and healed every desperate and incurable disease. The reason why Somanátha became so famous was that it was a harbour for those who went to and fro from Sufals in Zanzibar to China. It is still the practice to carry Gangá water to bathe distant gods.
⁶ These must be the local Somparas Brahmans who still number more than five hundred souls in Somanátha Pátañ.
⁷ Shaving is the first rite performed by pilgrims.
⁸ Dances are now chiefly found in the temples of Southern India.
He took the road to Multán and reached it in the middle of Ramzán. The road from Multán to India lay through a barren desert without inhabitants or food. Mahmúd collected provisions for the passage and loading 30,000 camels with water and corn started for Anahilaváda. After he had crossed the desert he perceived on one side a fort full of people in which place there were wells. The leaders came to conciliate him, but he invested the place, and God gave him victory over it, for the hearts of the people failed them through fear. He brought the place under the sway of Islam, killed the inhabitants, and broke in pieces their images. His men carrying water with them marched for Anahilaváda, where they arrived at the beginning of Zilkáda.

The Chief of Anahilaváda, called Bhím, fled hastily, and abandoning his city went to a certain fort for safety and to prepare for war. Mahmúd pushed on for Somanátha. On his march he came to several forts in which were many images serving as chamberlains or heralds of Somanátha. These Mahmúd called Shaitán or devils. He killed the people, destroyed the fortifications, broke the idols in pieces, and through a waterless desert marched to Somanátha. In the desert land he met 30,000 fighting men whose chiefs would not submit. He sent troops against them, defeated them, put them to flight, and plundered their possessions. From the desert he marched to Dabalwárán, two days' journey from Somanátha. The people of Dabalwárán stayed in the city believing that the word of Somanátha would drive back the invaders. Mahmúd took the place, slew the men, plundered their property, and marched to Somanátha.

Reaching Somanátha on a Thursday in the middle of Zilkáda Mahmúd beheld a strong fortress built on the sea-shore, so that its walls were washed by the waves. From the walls the people jeered at the Musalmáns. Our deity, they said, will cut off the last man of you and destroy you all. On the morrow which was Friday the assailants advanced to the assault. When the Hindus saw how the Muhammadans fought they abandoned their posts and left the walls. The Musalmáns planted their ladders and scaled the walls. From the top they raised their war-cry, and showed the might of Islam. Still their loss was so heavy that the issue seemed doubtful. A body of Hindus hurried to Somanátha, cast themselves on the ground before him, and besought him to grant them victory. Night came on and the fight was stayed.

Early next morning Mahmúd renewed the battle. His men made greater havoc among the Hindus till they drove them from the town to the house of their idol Somanátha. At the gate of the temple the slaughter was dreadful. Band after band of the defenders entered the temple and standing before Somanátha with their hands clasped round their necks wept and passionately entreated him. Then they issued forth to fight and fought till they were slain. The few left alive took

1 Mahmúd seems to have crossed the desert from Multán and Baháwalpur to Bilkálír and thence to Ajmír.
2 Apparently Dabalváda near Uná. Mahmúd's route seems to have been from Anahilaváda to Madwána and Mándáli, thence by the Láthí Ráin near Palí and Bójána, and thence by Jáhárág, Gohálvád, and Babálvád to Dabalwárán.
3 The waves still beat against the walls of the ruined fort of Somanátha.
to the sea in boats but the Musalmans overtook them and some were killed and some were drowned.

The temple of Somanatha rested on fifty-six pillars of teakwood covered with lead. The idol was in a dark chamber. The height of the idol was five cubits and its girth three cubits. This was what appeared to the eye; two cubits were hidden in the basement. It had no appearance of being sculptured. Mahmud seized it, part of it he burnt, and part he carried with him to Ghazni, where he made it a step at the entrance of the Great Mosque. The dark shrine was lighted by exquisitely jewelled chandeliers. Near the idol was a chain of gold 200 mana in weight. To the chain bells were fastened. And when each watch of the night was over the chain was shaken and the ringing of the bells roused a fresh party of Brahmins to carry on the worship. In the treasury which was near the shrine were many idols of gold and silver. Among the treasures were veils set with jewels, every jewel of immense value. What was found in the temple was worth more than two millions of dinars. Over fifty thousand Hindus were slain.

After the capture of Somanatha, Mahmud received intelligence that Bhim the chief of Anahilavada had gone to the fort of Khandahat, about 240 miles (40 parasangs) from Somanatha between that place and the desert. Mahmud marched to Khandahat. When he came before it he questioned some men who were hunting as to the tide. He learned that the ford was practicable, but that if the wind blew a little the crossing was dangerous. Mahmud prayed to the Almighty and entered the water. He and his forces passed safely and drove out the enemy. From Khandahat he returned intending to proceed against Manstras in central Sindh, whose ruler was an apostate Muhammadan. At the news of Mahmud’s approach the chief fled into the date forests. Mahmud followed, and surrounding him and his adherents, many of them were slain, many drowned, and few escaped. Mahmud then went

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1 This shows that the temple was a building of brick and wood. According to Alberuni (Sachau, II, 103) the temple was built about a hundred years before Mahmud’s invasion. An inscription at Patan states that Bhimdeva I (A.D. 1022-1072) rebuilt the Somanatha temple of stone. In Dr. Bhagvanda’s opinion the first dynasty in Gujarath to make stone buildings were the Solankis. Before them buildings and temples were of wood and brick.

2 Of the fate of the great Lridga Alberuni (Sachau, II, 103) writes: Prince Mahmud ordered the upper part to be broken. The rest with all its coverings and trappings of gold and embroidered garments he transported to Ghazni. Part of it together with the brass Chatravarti or Vishnu of Thanesar has been thrown into the hippodrome of the town: part lies before the mosque for people to rub their feet on.

3 The next paragraph relating to Mahmud’s return will be found on page 349 of the same volume of Sir H. Elliot’s work.

4 Khandahat which must have been on the coast has not been identified. The description suggests some coast island in the gulf of Kaseh. By the gymnast route forty parasangs that is 240 miles would reach the Kaseh coast. Karmikot in Vagad in east Kaseh suits well in sound and is known to have been a favourite resort of the Solankis. But the shoal and flow of the tide close to it are difficult to explain. The identification with Karmikot is favoured by Dr. Bulleher. Colonel Watson (Kashivad Gazetteer, 80) prefers Karmikot on the Kathivad coast a few miles north-east of Miiani. M. Reinard and Dr. Weil suggest Ganghara in Broach on the left bank of the mouth of the Dhadhar river. Sir H. Elliot (I, 444 and II, 473) prefers Khandahar at the north-west angle of Kathivad.
EARLY GUJARAT.

Chapter II.

THE CHAUHANAS,
A.D. 961-1242.
Somanath, A.D. 1024.

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to Bhátiá, and after reducing the inhabitants to obedience, returned to Ghazni where he arrived on the 10th Safar 417 H. (A.D. 1026).

The Kanauj-e-safá of Mirkhand supplements these details with the following account of Mahmúd's arrangements for holding Gujarat:

'It is related that when Sultan Mahmúd had achieved the conquest of Somanátha he wished to fix his residence there for some years because the country was very extensive and possessed many advantages among them several mines which produced pure gold. Indian rubies were brought from Sarandíp, one of the dependencies of the kingdom of Gujarat. His ministers represented to Mahmúd that to forsake Khurrásan which had been won from his enemies after so many battles and to make Somanátha the seat of government was very improper. At last the king made up his mind to return and ordered some one to be appointed to hold and carry on the administration of the country. The ministers observed that as it was impossible for a stranger to maintain possession he should assign the country to one of the native chiefs. The Sultán accordingly held a council to settle the nomination, in concurrence with such of the inhabitants as were well disposed towards him. Some of them represented to him that amongst the ancient royal families no house was so noble as that of the Dásháhilims of whom only one member survived, and he had assumed the habit of a Bráhman, and was devoted to philosophical pursuits and austerity.\(^1\)

That Mahmúd should have found it necessary to appoint some local chief to keep order in Gujarat is probable. It is also probable that he would choose some one hostile to the defeated king. It has been suggested above that Bhumá's uncle Durlabha did not retire but was ousted by his nephew and that the story of Vallabha and Durlabha dying together pointed to some usurpation on the part of Bhumá. The phrase the Dásháhilims seems to refer either to Durlabhasena or his son. Whoever was chosen must have lost his power soon after Mahmúd's departure.\(^2\)

\(^1\) According to Perišita (Bombay Persian Ed. I. 57, Briggs' Translation, I. 74) Mahmúd stayed and meant to make his capital at Anahilavája not at Somanátha. That Mahmúd did stay at Anahilavája the Martyr's Monum and the Ghazi Mosque in Patan are evidence. Still the mention was probably raised and the mosque may at least have been begun in honour of the capture of Anahilavája on the journey south. Traces of a second mosque which is said to have had a tablet recording Mahmúd of Ghazi as the builder have recently (1876) been found at Munjpur about twenty-five miles south-east of Raibánpur.

\(^2\) Briggs' Perišita, I. 76. This account of the Dásháhilims reads more like a tradition than an historical record. It is to be noted that the authors both of the 'Ain-i-Akbari (A.D. 1583) and of the Miráti-Áhmádí (A.D. 1762) give Chánaulá as king at the time of Mahmúd's invasion. Their statements cannot weigh against the Asir's account. Compare Dr. Böhléru's remarks in Ind. Ant. VI. 184. Of Mahmúd's return to Ghazi (A.D. 1054) the Tabákáti-Ákbarí says: 'When Mahmúd resolved to return from Somanátha he learned that Parmá Dev, one of the greatest Rajás of Hindúkush, was preparing to intercept him. The Sultán, not deeming it advisable to confide with this chief, went towards Multán through Síndhi. In this journey his men suffered much in some places from scarcity of water in others from want of forage. After enduring great difficulties he arrived at Ghazi in A.D. 1059 (H. 417).\(^3\) This Parmá Dev would seem to be the Parmára king of Añú who could well block the Ajmir-Gujarat route. The route taken by Mahmúd must have passed by Manátra near Bráhmánbád, Bhitá, and Multán. It
An inscription at Somanatha shows that soon after Mahmud was
gone Bhimadeva began to build a temple of stone in place of the former
temple of brick and wood.

A few years later, Bhima was on bad terms with Dhandhuka the
Panamara chief of Abu, and sent his general Vimala to subdue him.
Dhandhuka submitted and made over to Vimala the beautiful Chitra-
kuta peak of Abu, where, in A.D. 1032 (S. 1088), Vimala built
the celebrated Jain temples known as Vimalavasahi still one of the
glories of Abu.1

Bhima had three wives Udayamati who built a step-well at Anabila-
vada, Bukuldevi, and another. These ladies were the mothers of
Karna, Keshmaraja, and Mularaja. Of the three sons Mularaja, though
his mother’s name is unknown, was the eldest and the heir-apparent.
Of the kindly Mularaja the author of the Prabandhachintamani tells
the following tale: In a year of scarcity the Kutumbikas or cultivators
of Vishopaka and Dandahi found themselves unable to pay the king
his share of the land-produce. Bhimaraja sent a minister to inquire
and the minister brought before the king all the well-to-do people of
the defaulting villages. One day prince Mularaja saw these men
talking to one another in alarm. Taking pity on them he pleaded the
king by his skillful riding. The king asked him to name a boon and
the prince begged that the demand on the villagers might be remitted.
The boon was granted, the ryots went home in glee, but within three
days Mularaja was dead. Next season yielded a bumper harvest, and
the people came to present the king with his share for that year as
well as with the remitted share for the previous year. Bhimdev declined
to receive the arrears. A jury appointed by the king settled that the
royal share of the produce for both years should be placed in the king’s
hands for the erection of a temple called the new Tripurushaprasida
for the spiritual welfare of prince Mularaja.2

must have been in the crossing of the great desert that he suffered so severely from scarcity of water and forage. Periplus (Briggs, I. 75) says that many of Mahmud’s troops died raging mad from the intolerable heat and thirst. The historian Muhammad Ufl (A.D. 1330) alleges (Elliot, II. 192) that two Hindus disguised as countrymen offered themselves as guides and led the army three days’ march out of the right course, where they were saved only by Mahmud’s miraculous discovery of a pool of sweet water. [A tale of the self-sacrificing Brahman or priest and the miraculous find of water has gathered round Mdmud as the latest of myth centres. It is herodotus’ (Book III. 154–138) old Zephyrus tale (Rawlinson’s Seventh Monarchy, 318): it is revived in honour of the Great Kushan Kanishka, A.D. 78 (Bunini in Elliot, II, 11), of the Sassanian Firdows A.D. 457–483 (Rawlinson’s Seventh Monarchy, 318), and of a certain king of Zabulistan or Ghazi of uncertain date (Elliot II. 170). Similarly the puzzling Dabashilim tale seems to be peculiar neither to Gujarati nor to Mahmud of Ghazi. It seems a repetition of the tale of Dabashilim the man of the royal race, who, according to the Panchatantra or Fables of Pipali, was chosen successor of Persia after Alexander (Viscount) and had been driven out. (Compare Reinhard’s Memoire Sur Fables, 157–138.) The Tabakat-i-Nasiri (A.D. 1227) states (Elliot, II, 475) that the guide devoted his life for the sake of Somanatha and this account is adopted by Periplus, Briggs, and Malafente. I. 78.

1 Vasabha Prakrit for Vasati that is residence. The word is used to mean a group of temples.
2 Several later mentions of a Tripurushaprasida show there was only one building of that name. The statement that the great Mularaja I. built a Tripurushaprasada seems a mistake, due to a confusion with prince Mularaja.
Bhima reigned forty-two years. Both the Prabandhachintāmāni and the Vie̅raśāreṇi-mention Karṇa as his successor. According to the Dvyāśraya Bhima, wishing to retire to a religious life, offered the succession to Kṛṣṇa. But Kṛṣṇa also was averse from the labour of ruling and it was settled that Karṇa should succeed.

Bhima died soon after and Kṛṣṇa retired to a holy place on the Sarasvati named Mundakaṇvara not far from Ayāhilavaḍa. Karṇa is said to have granted Dāhitāli a neighbouring village to Devaprāśadā, the son of Kṛṣṇa that he might attend on his father in his religious seclusion. But as the Kumārapālacharita mentions Kṛṣṇa being settled at Dāhitāli as a ruler not as an ascetic it seems probable that Dāhitāli was granted to Kṛṣṇa for maintenance as villages are still granted to the bhūyās or brethren of the ruler.

Karṇa, who came to the throne in A.D. 1064 (S. 1120) had a more peaceful reign than his predecessors. He was able to build charitable public works among them a temple called Karṇa-meru at Ayāhilavaḍa. His only war was an expedition against Ashā Bhi, chief of six lókhaś of Bhīs residing at Ashāpalli the modern village of Asāval near Ahmadābād. Ashā was defeated and slain. In consequence of an omen from a local goddess named Kochharva, Karṇa built her a temple in Asāval and also built temples to Jayantī Devī and Karṇēśvara Mahādeva. He made a lake called Karṇasāgara and founded a city called Karnāvati which he made his capital.

Karṇa had three ministers Munjāla, Sāntu, and Udāya. Udāya was a Śrīmālī Vānī of Mārwar, who had settled in Ayāhilavaḍa and who was originally called Udā. Sāntu built a Jain temple called Sāntu-vasahi and Udā built at Karṇa-vari a large temple called Udāya-vari, containing seventy-two images of Tirthankaras, twenty-four past twenty-four present and twenty-four to come. By different wives Udā had five sons, Ahaḍa or Ashada, Chhāhada, Bahada, Ambada, and Solā, of whom the last three were half brothers of the first two. Except Solā, who continued a merchant and became very wealthy, all the sons entered the service of the state and rose to high stations during the reign of Kumārapāla.

In late life Karṇa married Miyāṇalladevi daughter of Jayakosī son of Sūhakosī king of the Karṇāka. According to the Dvyāśraya a wandering painter showed Karṇa the portrait of a princess whom he described as daughter of Jayakosī the Kadamba king of
Chandrapura in the Dakhan, and who he said had taken a vow to marry Karńa. In token of her wish to marry Karńa the painter said the princess had sent Karńa an elephant. Karńa went to see the present and found on the elephant a beautiful princess who had come so far in the hope of winning him for a husband. According to the Prabandhachintanami Karńa found the princess ugly and refused to marry her. On this the princess with eight attendants determined to burn themselves on a funeral pyre and Udayamati Karńa's mother also declared that if he did not relent she too would be a sacrifice. Under this compulsion Karńa married the princess but refused to treat her as a wife. The minister Munjāla, learning from a kautukī or palace-servant that the king loved a certain courtezan, contrived that Miyānalladevi should take the woman's place, a device still practised by ministers of native states. Karńa fell into the snare and the queen became pregnant by him, having secured from the hand of her husband his signet ring as a token which could not be disclaimed. Thus in Karńa's old age Miyānalladevi became the mother of the illustrious Siddharāja Jayasimha, who, according to a local tradition quoted by Mr. Forbes, first saw the light at Pālanpur.

When three years old the precocious Siddharāja climbed and sat upon the throne. This ominous event being brought to the king's notice he consulted his astrologers who advised that from that day Siddharāja should be installed as heir-apparent.

The Gujarāt chronicles do not record how or when Karńa died. It appears from a manuscript that he was reigning in A.D. 1089 (S. 1145). The Hammīramahākāvya says 'The illustrious Karṇadeva was killed in battle by king Duśala of Sākambhari,' and the two appear to have been contemporaries. The author of the Dvyāśraya says that Karńa died fixing his thoughts on Vishnu, recommending to Siddharāja his cousin Devaprasāda son of Ksemba raided. According to the Prabandhachintanami Vichāraśreni and Sukṛitasankirtana Karńa died in A.D. 1094 (S. 1150).

As, at the time of his father's death, Siddharāja was a minor the reins of government must have passed into the hands of his mother Miyānalladevi. That the succession should have been attended with struggle and intrigue is not strange. According to the Dvyāśraya Devaprasāda, the son of Ksemba raided burned himself on the funeral pile shortly after the death of Karńa, an action which was probably the result of some intrigue regarding the succession. Another intrigue

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1 Chandrapura is probably Chandīvar near Gobārī in North Kāñāra.
2 His Mālk (New Edition), 85.
3 Kielhorn's Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1881 page 22.
4 Dvārapala was the elder, in descent from Vigrāhaṇaṇa the enemy of Mālakṛṣṇa, from whom Karńa was fifth in descent.
5 The date of his installation is given by the author of the Vīchāraśreni as Vīkrama S. 1150.
ended in the death of Madanaśa's brother of Karnā's mother queen Udayāmati, at the hands of the minister Śantu, who along with Munjāla and Udā, helped the queen-mother Miyānalladevi during the regency. Munjāla and Śantu continued in office under Siddharāja. Another minister built a famous Jain temple named Mahāśrīkhaḍhava in Sidhpur at the time when Siddharāja built the Rudramāla. An inscription from a temple near Bhadrarā in Kachch dated A.D. 1139 (S. 1195 Ashādha Vad 10, Sunday), in recording grants to Audhīya Brāhmans to carry on the worship in an old temple of Udaleravarna and in a new temple of Kumārapālēsvara built by Kumārapāla son of the great prince Amāla, notes that Dādāka was then minister of Siddharāja. Among his generals the best known was a chief named Jagaddeva (Jag Dev), commonly believed to be a Paramāra, many of whose feats of daring are recorded in bardic and popular romances. Though Jag Dev is generally called a Paramāra nothing of his family is on record. The author of the Prabhandaṁtaṁati describes Jagaddeva as a three valiant warrior held in great respect by Siddharāja. After Siddharāja's death Jagaddeva went to serve king Permaṇi, to whose mother's family he was related. Permaṇi gave him a chiefship and sent him to attack Mālana.

When Siddharāja attained manhood his mother prepared to go in great state on pilgrimage to Somanātha. She went with rich offerings as far as Bāmhoda apparently the large modern village of Bholsada on the Gujarāt-Kāthiavāda frontier about twenty-two miles south-west of Bholā. At this frontier town the Amālarāsavan kings levied a tax on all pilgrims to Somanātha. Many of the pilgrims unable to pay the tax had to return home in tears. Miyānalladevi was so saddened by the woes of the pilgrims that she stopped her pilgrimage and returned home. Siddharāja met her on the way and asked her why she had turned back. Miyānalladevi said, I will neither eat nor go to Somanātha until you order the remission of the pilgrim tax. Siddharāja called the Bholsada treasurer and found that the levy yielded 72 lakhs a year. In spite of the serious sacrifice Siddharāja broke the board authorizing the levy of the tax and pouring water from his hand into his mother's declared that the merit of the remission was hers. The queen went to Somanātha and worshipped the god with gold presenting an elephant and other gifts and handing over her own weight in money.

According to the Prabhandaṁtaṁati while Miyānalladevi and Siddharāja were on pilgrimage Yasovarman king of Mālana continually harassed the Gurjara-Maṇḍala. Śantu who was in charge of the kingdom asked Yasovarman on what consideration he would retire.

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1 Asapala and Kumarasala appear to be local chiefs.
2 Compare Flinders Petrie, Hād Māla, I. 119-129.
3 Goa Pedstha inscriptions say that Jagaddeva was the cousin of the Goa King and Vijayarka the nephew of Miyānalladevi and call him by courtesy the younger brother of Vijayarka's son Jayakari II. He would seem to have been held in esteem by Vijayarka and his son Jayakari, to have then gone for some time to Siddharāja, and after leaving Siddharāja to have transferred his services to Permaṇi. His being called Paramāra may be due to his connection with Permaṇi. Fleet's Kāmareśa, Dynasties, 91.
4 Seventy-two a favourite number with Indian authors.
Yasovarman said he would retire if Sidhilaraja gave up to him the merit of the pilgrimage to Somesvara. Santu washed his feet and taking water in his hand surrendered to Yasovarman the merit of Siddharaja, on which, according to his promise, Yasovarman retired. On his return Siddharaja asked Santu what he meant by transferring his sovereign's merit to a rival. Santu said, 'If you think my giving Yasovarman your merit has any importance I restore it to you.' This curious story seems to be a Jain fiction probably invented with the object of casting ridicule on the Brahmanical doctrine of merit. Yasovarman was not a cotemporary of Siddharaja. The Malwa king referred to is probably Yasovarman's predecessor Naravarman, of whom an inscription dated A.D. 1134 (S. 1190) is recorded.

Under the name Sadharo Jesingh, Siddharaja's memory is fresh in Gujarat as its most powerful, most religious, and most charitable ruler. Almost every old work of architectural or antiquarian interest in Gujarat is ascribed to Siddharaja. In inscriptions he is styled The great king of kings, The great lord, The great Bhattachar, The lord of Avanti, The hero of the three worlds, The conqueror of Barbaraka, The universal ruler Siddha, The illustrious Jayasimhadeva. Of these the commonest attributes are Siddhachakravartin the Emperor of Magic and Siddharaja the Lord of Magic, titles which seem to claim for the king divine or supernatural powers. In connection with his assumption of these titles the Kumaraapalaprabandha, the Dvyasraya, and the Prabandhachintamani tell curious tales. According to the Dvyasraya, the king wandering by night had subdued the Bhutas, Sakinis, and other spirits. He had also learnt many mantras or charms. From what he saw at night he would call people in the day time and say 'You have such a cause of uneasiness' or 'You have such a comfort.' Seeing that he knew their secrets the people thought that the king knew the hearts of all men and must be the avatara of some god. A second story tells how Siddharaja helped a Naia prince and princess whom he met by night on the Samavati. According to a third story told in the Kumaraapalaprabandha two Yoginis or nymphs came from the Himalayas and asked the king by what mystic powers he justified the use of the title Siddharaja. The king agreed to perform some wonders in open court in the presence of the nymphs. With the help of a former minister, Haripala, the king had a dagger prepared whose blade was of sugar and its handle of iron set with jewels. When the king appeared in court to perform the promised wonders a deputation of ambassadors from king Permadi of Kalyanakataka was

1 Prabandhachintamani and Kumaraaplapalarita.
2 Dr. Kielhorn's Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1881 page 22.
3 The Kumaraaplapalarita says that the title was assumed on the conquest of Barbaraka. The verse is :

that is, by him the demon Barbaraka was vanquished, therefore he became Siddharaja The Lord of Magical Power.

4 Ind. Ant. IV. 265.
5 This Permadi may be the Goa Kalsama chief Permadi Svachitta (A.D. 1147-1175), who was heir-apparent in the time of Siddharaja, or the Sinda chief Permadi who was a cotemporary of Siddharaja and flourished in A.D. 1144.
announced. The deputation entered and presented the prepared dagger as a gift from their lord. The king kept the prepared dagger and in its stead sent all round the court a real dagger which was greatly admired. After the real dagger had been seen and returned the king said: I will use this dagger to show my mystic powers, and in its place taking the false dagger ate its sugar blade. When the blade was eaten the minister stopped the king and said Let the Yoginis eat the handle. The king agreed and as the Yoginis failed to eat the handle which was iron the superiority of the king’s magic was proved.

A fourth story in the Dvâyâ’srâya tells that when the king was planning an invasion of Malwa a Yogini came from Ujjain to Patan and said: O Râja, if you desire great fame, come to Ujjain and humbly entreat Kâlika and other Yoginis and make friends with Yas’ovarman the Râja of Ujjain. The king contemptuously dismissed her, saying, If you do not fly hence like a female crow, I will cut off your nose and ears with this sword.

So also the king’s acts of prowess and courage were believed to be due to magical aid. According to the common belief Siddharâja did his great acts of heroism by the help of a demon named Bâbaro, whom he is said to have subdued by riding on a corpse in a burying-ground. The story in the Prabhândhachintâmañi is similar to that told of the father of Harshawardhana who subdued a demon with the help of a Yogi. It is notable that the story had passed into its present form within a hundred years of Siddharâja’s death. Somesvara in his Kirtikaumudî says: This moon of kings fettered the prince of goblins Barbaraka on a burial-place, and became known among the crowd of kings as Siddharâja. Older records show that the origin of the story, at least of the demon’s name, is historical being traceable to one of Siddharâja’s copperplate attributes Barbaraka-jahnu that is conqueror of Barbaraka. The Dvâyâ’srâyakosha represents this Barbaraka as a leader of itâkâhasas or Mlechhas, who troubled the Brahmans at Srîsthâla-Siddhapura. Jayasimha conquered him and spared his life at the instance of his wife Pingalîka. Afterwards Barbaraka gave valuable presents to Jayasimha and served him as other Rajputs. 31 Barbaraka

31 Ind. Ant. IV. 2. Regarding Barbaraka Doctor Bühler remarks in Ind. Ant. VI. 167: ‘The Varavaras are one of the non-Arya tribes which are settled in great numbers in North Gujarât, Koll, Bih, or Mâr. Siddharâja’s contests with the Barbarakas seem to refer to what Tod (Western India, 178 and 190) describes as the incursions of mountaineers and foresters on the plains of Gujarât during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. To attempt to identify Bâbar or Vararaks as barbarians. The name Barbar is of great age and is spread from India to Morocco. Wilson (Works, VII. 170) says: The analogy between Barbaras and barbarians is not sound only. In all Sanskrit authorities Barbaras are classed with barbarians and foresters. According to Sir Henry Rawlinson (Ferrier’s Carvan Journies, 223 note) tribes of Barbaras are found all over the east. Of the age of the word Càmis Rawlinson (Herodotus, IV. 229) writes: Barbar is to be the local name for the early race of Aymanci. In India Fergusson (A.D. 150; McClintock’s Edn. 145) has a town Bâbari on the Indus and the Periplus (A.D. 247; McClintock’s Ed. 105) has a trade-centre Barbarikon on the middle mouth of the Indus. Among Indian writings, in the Ramâyana (Hall in Wilson’s Works, VII. 176 Note *) the Barbaras appear between the Tukheras and the Kambojas in the north; in the Mahâbhârata (Muir’s Sanskrit Texts, I. 481-2) in one list Var-varas are entered between Savaras and Sakas and in another list (Wilson’s Works, VII. 176-2)
seems to be the name of a tribe of non-Aryans whose modern representatives are the Balaris settled in South Kathiavara in the province still known as Bhabhara.

A Dohad inscription of the time of Siddharaja dated A.D. 1140 (S. 1196) says of his frontier wars: 'He threw into prison the lords of Surashtra and Malwa; he destroyed Siddharaja and other kings; he made the kings of the north bear his commands.' The Surashtra king referred to is probably a ruler of the Ahir or Chudasama tribe.

Barbaras come between Kiratas and Siddhas. Finally (As. Rev. XV. 47 footnote) Barbaras is the northmost of the Seven Konkans. The names Barbaree in Pehlevi and Barbaruk in the Persians look like some local place-names, perhaps Bambhara; altered to a Greek form. The Hindu tribe names, from the same is sound as well as from their position on the north-west border of India, suggest the Mongol tribe Juin-Juin or Zarvar, known to the western nations as Avara, who drove the Little Yuezhi out of Bacth in the second half of the fourth century, and, for about a hundred years, ruled to the north and perhaps also to the south of the Hindu Kush. (Spechi in Journal Asiaticque 1880. II. 390-410; Howorth in Jour. R.A.S. XXI. 721-810.) It seems probable that some of these Vars-Vars passed south either before or along with the White Huns (A.D. 450-500). Vars, under its Mongol plural form Avarri (Howorth, Ditto 722), closely resembles Avariya one of the two main divisions of the Katis of Kathi (Mr. Krakar's List in J. Hom. Gen. Soc. II. 59-60 for Aug. 1835). That among the forty-seven clans included under the Avariya four (Nos. 30, 35, 42, and 43) are Barabariyas, suggests, that the Kathis received additions from the Vars-Vars at different times and places. Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. VI. 186) thinks that the Bahu or Barvar or Barvar-Vars who gave trouble to Siddharaja represent some early local non-Aryan tribe. The fact that they are called Rakshasas and Mlekchas and that they stopped the ceremonies at Siddharnath north of Amalibhavasa seems rather to point to a foreign invasion from the north than to a local uprising of hill tribes. Though no Muslim invasion of Gujarat during the reign of Siddharaja is recorded a Jusamir legend (Forbes Kao Malh, I. 175) tells how Launcha Bijirao the Bhutti prince who married Siddharaja's daughter was killed by his mother-in-law as the bulwark of Amalibhavasa against the power of the king who grows too strong.

This king may be Bahalim the Indian vicerey of the Ghamnavi Bahram Shah (A.D. 1116-1157), Bahalim (Elliot II. 279; Briggs' Persia, I. 161) collected an army of Arabis, Persians, Afghans, and Khillija, repaired the fort of Nagur in the province of Sewalik, and committed great devastations in the territories of the independent Indian rulers. He threw off allegiance to Ghazni and advancing to meet Bahram Shah near Multan was defeated and slain. Except that they were more powerful and that Bahalim's is the only known invasion from the north during Siddharaja's reign nothing has been found connecting Barbaras and Bahalim. At the same time that the Barbara-Vars-Vars the Gujarati writers may have been non-Hindu mercenaries from the north-west. How Siddharaja admitted as Hindu subjects is made not unlikely by two incidents preserved by the Muhammadan historians. The Tarikh-i-Sorath (Bayley's G. S. 52 Note 9) tells how in A.D. 1178 from the defeated army of Shahb-e-ad-din Ghori the Turkish Afghans and Moghal women were distributed the higher class to high caste and the commoner to low caste Hindus. Similarly how the better class of male captives were admitted among Cloakaid and Wadhat Rajputs and the lower among Khutte, Kolis, Bahlis, and Mera. Again about thirty years later (A.D. 1210) when his Turk mercenaries, who were not converted to Islam, revolted against Shamsuddin Alam Khah they seized Delhi and built Hindu temples (Elliot II. 257-265). These seem inclined to make it likely that among Bahalim's mercenaries were some un-Islamised North Indian Var-Vars and that they were admitted into Hinduism by Siddharaja and as the story relates served him as other Rajputs. Some of the new-comers as noted above seem to have merged into the Kathis. Others founded or joined the Barbaras who give their name to Bhabhara or a small division in the south of Kathiawah. Though the tribe is now small the 18 divisions of the Var-Vars show that they were once important. One of their leading divisions preserves the early form Var (Kawahar Gazetteer, 132-133) and supports their separate northern origin, which is forgotten in the local stories that they are descended from Jetrais and Ahirs and have a Brahman element in their ancestry. (Tod's Western India, 413; Kathiawah Gazetteer, 132-133.) Of the Var-Vars in their old seat a somewhat doubtful trade remains in the Barbaras a tribe of Haritals near Himn (Bollev in Imp. and As. Rev. Review Oct. 1891 page 376) and in the Punjáb (Uberton's Census, 333) Bhahara a class of Paunjab Jains.
whose head-quarters were at Junagadh. According to the Prabandha-
chintamani Siddharaja went in person to subdue Noghah or Navaghah
the Ahar ruler of Surashtra; he came to Vardhamanapurâ that is
Vadhvan and from Vadhvan attacked and slew Noghah. Jina-prabhab-
asuri the author of the Tirthakalpa says of Girnar that Jayasimha
killed the king named Khengâr and made one Sajjana his viceroy in
Surashtra. So many traditions remain regarding wars with Khengâr
that it seems probable that Siddharaja led separate expeditions against
more than one king of that name. According to tradition the origin
of the war with Khengâr was a woman named Rûnakadevi whom
Khengâr had married. Rûnakadevi was the daughter of a potter of
Majevâdi village about nine miles north of Junagadh, so famous for her
beauty that Siddharaja determined to marry her. Meanwhile she had
accepted an offer from Khengâr whose subject she was and had married
him. Siddharaja enraged at her marriage advanced against Khengâr,
took him prisoner, and annexed Sorath. That Khengâr's kingdom was
annexed and Sajjana, mentioned by Jina-prabhâsuri, was appointed
Viceroy is proved by a Girnar inscription dated A.D. 1129 (S. 1176).

An era called the Simha Samvatāra connected with the name of
Jayasimha and beginning with A.D. 1113-1114 (S. 1169-70), occurs in
several inscriptions found about Prabhâsa and South Kâthinâvâda. This
era was probably started in that year in honour of this conquest of
Khengâr and Sorath. The earliest known mention of the Simha Samvatâra
era occurs in a step-well at Mângrol called the Sodhâli Râv. The
inscription is of the time of Kumârâpâla and mentions Sahajîga the father of
Mûlaka the granter as a member of the bodyguard of the Châlûkya.
The inscription states that Sahajîga had several sons able to protect
Surashtra. one of whom was Somarâja who built the temple of
Sahajiesvara, in the enclosure of the Somanâtha temple at Prabhâsa;
another was Mûlaka the nâyaka of Surashtra, who is recorded to
have made grants for the worship of the god by establishing cesses
in Mangalapura or Mângrol and other places. The inscription in
the A.D. 1143 (Monday the 13th of the dark half of Ashvin in S. 1202 and Simha S. 32). This inscription supports the
view that the Simha era was established by Jayasimha, since if the
era belonged to some other local chief, no Châlûkya viceroy would
adopt it. The Simha era appears to have been kept up in Gujarât so
long as Anahilapura rule lasted. The well known Verâval inscription
of the time of Arjunâdeva is dated Hijri 662, Vikrama S. 1320,
Valabhi S. 945, Simha S. 151, Sunday the 13th of Ashâdha Vadi.
This inscription shows that the Simha era was in use for a century and
a half during the sovereignty of Anahilâvâda in Surashtra.

Regarding Sajjana Siddharaja's first viceroy in Surashtra, the
Prabandhachintamani says that finding him worthy the king appointed
Sajjana the dvâra-dhârapati of Surâshtradesa. Without consulting his
master Sajjana spent three years' revenue in building a stone temple of

3 Abhayatilaka Gañi who revised and completed the Dvâstâraya in Vikrama S. 1212
(A.D. 1256) says, in his twentieth Sarga, that a new era was started by Kumârapâla.
This would seem to refer to the Simha era.
Neminâtha on Gîrnâr instead of a wooden temple which he removed. In the fourth year the king sent four officers to bring Sajjana to Aparâhyânâda. The king called on Sajjana to pay the revenues of the past three years. In reply Sajjana asked whether the king would prefer the revenue in cash or the merit which had accrued from spending the revenue in building the temple. Preferring the merit the king sanctioned the spending of the revenues on the Tirtha and Sajjana was reappointed governor of Soraâh. 1 This stone temple of Sajjana would seem to be the present temple of Neminâtha, though many alterations have been made in consequence of Muhammadan sacrilege and a modern enclosure has been added. The inscription of Sajjana which is dated A.D. 1120 (S. 1178) is on the inside to the right in passing to the small south gate. It contains little but the mention of the Sadhu who was Sajjana’s constant adviser. On his return from a second pilgrimage to Somanâtha Siddharâja who was encamped near Râvatâka that is Gîrnâr expressed a wish to see Sajjana’s temple. But the Brahmins envious of the Jains persuaded the king that as Gîrnâr was shaped like a brâhman it would be sacrilege to climb it. Siddharâja respected this objection and worshipped at the foot of the mountain. From Gîrnâr he went to Satrujadiya. Here too Brahmins with drawn swords tried to prevent the king ascending the hill. Siddharâja went in disguise at night, worshipped the Jain god Adîsvara with Ganges water, and granted the god twelve neighbouring villages. On the hill he saw so luxuriant a growth of the kallu a plant dear to elephants, that he proposed to make the hill a breeding place for elephants a second Vindhâya. He was reminded what damage wild elephants would cause to the holy place and for this reason abandoned his plan.

Siddharâja’s second and greater war was with Mâlwa. The contemporary kings of Mâlwa were the Pârama ruler Naravarman who flourished from A.D. 1104 to 1138 (S. 1160 - 1189) and his son and successor Yas’ovarman who ruled up to A.D. 1143 (S. 1190) the year of Siddharâja’s death. As the names of both these kings occur in different accounts of this war, and, as the war is said to have lasted twelve years, it seems that fighting began in the time of Naravarman and that Siddharâja’s final victory was gained in the time of Yas’ovarman in Siddharâja’s old age about A.D. 1134 (S. 1190). This view is supported by the local story that his expedition against Yas’ovarman was undertaken while Siddharâja was building the Sahasralinga lake and other religious works. It is not known how the war arose but the statement of the Prabandhachintâman’i that Siddharâja vowed to make a scabbard of Yas’ovarman’s skin seems to show that Siddharâja received grave provocation. Siddharâja is said to have left the building of the Sahasralinga lake to the masons and architects and himself to have been involved in other religious works.

1 The Kumârapâlacharita states that Sajjana died before the temple was finished, and that the temple was completed by his son Parasurama. After the temple was finished Siddharâja is said to have come to Somanâtha and asked Parasurama for the revenues of Soraâh. But on seeing the temple on Gîrnâr he was greatly pleased, and on finding that it was called Karuâ-vihâra after his father he sanctified the cuttis on the temple.
started for Málwa. The war dragged on and there seemed little hope of victory when news reached Siddharāja that the three south gates of Dhārā could be forced. With the help of an elephant an entrance was effected. Yaśovarman was captured and bound with six ropes, and, with his captured enemy as his banner of victory, Siddharāja returned to Aṇābilapura. He remembered his vow, but being prevented from carrying it out, he took a little of Yaśovarman's skin and adding other skin to it made a scabbard. The captured king was thenceforward kept in a cage. It was this complete conquest and annexation of Málwa that made Siddharāja assume the style of Avantīmatī, 'Lord of Avanti,' which is mentioned as his birda or title in most of the Chauhlukya copperplates. Málwa thenceforward remained subject to Aṇābilavāda. On the return from Málwa an army of Bhils who tried to block the way were attacked by the minister Sāntu and put to flight.

Siddharāja's next recorded war is with king Madanavarman the Chandela king of Mahobaka the modern Mahobā in Bundelkhand. Madanavarman, of whom General Cunningham has found numerous inscriptions dating from a.d. 1130 to 1164 (S. 1185-1220), was one of the most famous kings of the Chandela dynasty. An inscription of one of his successors in Kālanjar fort records that Madanavarman 'in an instant defeated the king of Gúrijara, as Krishnas in former times defeated Kamsa,' a statement which agrees with the Gujarāt accounts of the war between him and Jayasimha. In this conflict the Gujarāt accounts do not seem to show that Siddharāja gained any great victory; he seems to have been contented with a money present. The Kirtikaumudi states that the king of Mahobaka honoured Siddharāja as his guest and paid a fine and tribute by way of hospitality. The account in the Kumārapālacharita suggests that Siddharāja was compelled to come to terms and make peace. According to the Kirtikaumudi, and this seems likely, Siddharāja went from Dhārā to Kālanjar. The account in the Prabandhachintāmani is very confused. According to the Kumārapālacharita, on Siddharāja's way back from Dhārā at his camp near Patan a bard came to the court and said to the king that his court was as wonderful as the court of Madanavarman. The bard said that Madanavarman was the king of the city of Mahobaka and most clever, wise, liberal, and pleasure-loving. The king sent a courtier to test the truth of the bard's statement. The courtier returned after six months declaring that the bard's account was in no way exaggerated. Hearing this Siddharāja at once started against Mahobaka and encamping within sixteen miles of the city sent his minister to summon Madanavarman to surrender. Madanavarman who was enjoying himself took little notice of the minister. This king, he said, is the same who had to fight twelve years with Dhārā; if, as is probable, since he is a kubādi or wild king, he wants money, pay him what he wants. The money

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1 Ind. Ant. VI. 1944. Dr. Bühler (Ditto) takes Avantīmatī to mean Siddharāja's opponent the king of Málwa and not Siddharāja himself.
2 Archaeological Survey Report. XXI. 86.
3 Jour. B. A. Soc. (1848), 319.
was paid. But Siddharāja was so struck with Madanavarman's indifference that he would not leave until he had seen him. Madanavarman agreed to receive him. Siddharāja went with a large bodyguard to the royal garden which contained a palace and enclosed pleasure-house and was guarded by troops. Only four of Siddharāja's guards were allowed to enter. With these four men Siddharāja went in, was shown the palace garden and pleasure-houses by Madanavarman, was treated with great hospitality, and on his return to Patan was given a guard of 120 men.

The Dvyāstrāya says that after his conquest of Ujjain Siddharāja seized and imprisoned the king of a neighbouring country named Sim. We have no other information on this point.

The Dholad inscription dated A.D. 1140 mentions the destruction of Sindhurāja that is the king of Sindh and other kings. The Kirti-kaumudi also mentions the binding of the lord of Sindh. Nothing is known regarding the Sindh war. The Kirti-kaumudi mentions that after a war with Armorāja king of Sambhar Siddharāja gave his daughter to Armorāja. This seems to be a mistake as the war and alliance with Armorāja belong to Kumārapāla's reign.

Siddharāja, who like his ancestors was a Śaiva, showed his zeal for the faith by constructing the two grandest works in Gujarāt the Rudramahālaya at Siddhpur and the Sahasralinga lake at Patan. The Jain chroniclers always try to show that Siddharāja was favourably inclined to Jainism. But several of his acts go against this claim and some even show a dislike of the Jains. It is true that the Jain sage Hemāchārya lived with the king, but the king honoured him as a scholar rather than as a Jain. On the occasion of the pilgrimage to Somanātha the king offered Hemāchārya a palanquin, and, as he would not accept the offer but kept on walking, the king blamed him calling him a learned fool with no worldly wisdom. Again on one occasion while returning from Mālwa Siddharāja encamped at a place called Srinagara, where the people had decorated their temples with banners in honour of the king. Finding a banner floating over a Jain temple the king asked in anger who had placed it there, as he had forbidden the use of banners on Jain shrines and temples in Gujarāt. On being told that it was a very old shrine dating from the time of Bharata, the king ordered that at the end of a year the banner might be replaced. This shows the reverse of a leaning to Jainism. Similarly, according to the Prabandhachintāmani, Hemāchārya never dared to speak to the king in favour of Jainism but used to say that all religions were good. This statement is supported by the fact that the opening verses of all works written by Hemāchārya in the time of Siddharāja contain no special praise of Jain deities.

So great is Siddharāja's fame as a builder that almost every old work in Gujarāt is ascribed to him. Tradition gives him the credit of the Dabhoi fort which is of the time of the Vāghela king Viradhavala, A.D. 1220-1260. The Prabandhachintāmani gives this old verse regarding Siddharāja's public works: 'No one makes a great temple (Rudramahālaya), a great pilgrimage (to Somanātha), a great Āsthāna (darbār hall), or a great lake (Sahasralinga)
such as Siddharāja made.\(^1\) Of these the Rudramahālaya, though very little is left, from its size and the beauty of its carving, must have been a magnificent work the grandest specimen of the architecture of the Solanki period. The remains of the Sahasralinga lake at Anahilapura show that it must have been a work of surprising size and richness well deserving its title of mahāśarā or great lake. Numerous other public works are ascribed to Siddharāja.\(^3\)

At this period it seems that the kings of Gujarāt Sambhar and other districts, seeing the great reputation which his literary tastes had gained for Bhoja of Dhāra used all to keep Pandits. Certain carvings on the pillars of a mosque at the south-west of the modern town of Dhāra show that the building almost as it stands was the Sanskrit school founded by Bhoja. The carvings in question are beautifully cut Sanskrit grammar tables. Other inscriptions in praise of Naravarman show that Bhoja’s successors continued to maintain the institution. In the floor of the mosque are many large shining slabs of black marble, the largest as much as seven feet long, all of them covered with inscriptions so badly mutilated that nothing can be made out of them except that they were Sanskrit and Prakrit verses in honour of some prince. On a rough estimate the slabs contain as many as 4000 verses.\(^2\) According to the old saying any one who drank of the Sarasvatī well in Dhāra became a scholar. Sarasvatī’s well still exists near the mosque. Its water is good and it is still known as Akkal-kuti or the Well of Talent. As in Dhāra so in Ajmir the Arhāl-dinkā Jhopā mosque is an old Sanskrit school, recent excavations having brought to light slabs with entire dramas carved on them. So also the Gujarāt kings had their Pandits and their halls of learning. Śripāla, Siddharāja’s poet-laureate, wrote a poetical eulogium or prastuti on the Sahasralinga lake. According to the Prabandhachintāmanī Siddharāja gathered numerous Pandits to examine the eulogy. As has already been noticed Siddharāja’s constant companion was the great scholar and Jain āchārya Hemachandra also called Hemāchārya, who, under the king’s patronage, wrote a treatise on grammar called Siddhāhema, and also the well-known Dvārakavyakshā which was intended to teach both grammar and the history of the Solankis. Hemachandra came into even greater

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1 The original verse is महाशाल विपदाशाल महाशाल महाशाल: यह विद्वान भवेन विभवे तलं कृपायित

2 There, as quoted by Rāo Sēphā Mahāpatrām Bāprān in his Sadhara Janagha, are the erection of charitable feeding houses every year or four miles, of Dholā fort, of a kund or reservoir at Kapadwāj, of the Mahāśa-lake at Dholā, of small temples, of the Rudramahālaya, of the Rani’s step-well, of the Sahasralinga lake, of reservoirs at Silor, of the fort of Saita, of the Dātmahāra or ten thousand temples, of the Maha-lake at Vejampur, of the gada or fort of Datharapur Vadhvan Anantapur and Charā, of the Sasā-rā lake, of the gada of Jhunjhūvālā, Virpur, Bhāldula, Vāshingpura, and Thān, of the palaces of Kandola and Sīlī Jagāpur, of the reservoirs of Dātharā and Kirtī stāmbhā and of Virpur-Anantpur. It is doubtful how many of these were actually Siddharāja’s works.

3 One of the best preserved slabs was sent by Sir John Malcolm to the Museum of the B. R. A. S., where it still lies. It has verses in twelfth century Prakrit in honour of a king, but nothing historical can be made out of it.
prominence in the time of Kumārapāla, when he wrote several further works and became closely connected with the state religion. Several stories remain of Siddharāja assembling poets, and holding literary and poetic discussions.

Record is preserved of a sahā or assembly called by the king to hear discussions between a Śvetāmbara Jaina dehārya named Bhattāraka Devasūri and a Digambara Jaina dehārya named Kumudachandra who had come from the Karnatāk. Devasūri who was living and preaching in the Jain temple of Arishtanemi at Kārṇāvati, that is the modern Ahmadābād, was there visited by Kumudachandra. Devasūri treated his visitor with little respect, telling him to go to Patan and he would follow and hold a religious discussion or vāda. Kumudachandra being a Digambara or skyclad Jaina went naked to Patan and Siddharāja honoured him because he came from his mother’s country. Siddharāja asked Hemachandra to hold a discussion with Kumudachandra and Hemachandra recommended that Devasūri should be invited as a worthy disponent. At a discussion held before a meeting called by the king Kumudachandra was vanquished, probably because the first principle of his Digambara faith that no woman can attain nirvāṇa, was insulting to the queen-mother, and the second that no clothes-wearing Jains can gain mukti or absorption, was an insult to the Jain ministers. The assembly, like Brāhmaṇical sahās at the present day, appears to have declined into noise and Siddharāja had to interfere and keep order. Devasūri was complimented by the king and taken by one Ahada with great honour to his newly built Jaina temple.

In spite of prayers to Somanātha, of incantations, and of gifts to Brāhmaṇas, Siddharāja Jayasimha had no son. The throne passed into the line of Tribhuvanapāla the great-grandson of Bhimadeva 1. (A.D. 1074-82) who was ruling as a feudatory of Siddharāja at his ancestral appanage of Dahithali. Tribhuvanapāla’s pedigrees is Bhimadeva 1.; his son Keshavarāja by Bakulādevi a concubine; his son Haripāla; his son Tribhuvanapāla. By his queen Kāmadādevi Tribhuvanapāla had three sons Mahipāla, Kirttipāla, and Kumārapāla, and two daughters Premalādevi and Devalādevi. Premalādevi was married to one of Siddharāja’s nobles a cavalry general named Kān̄hada or Krishnādhaka: Devalādevi was married to Amorāja 2 or Anarāja.

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1 See above page 170.
2 Devasūri was born in S. 1134 (A.D. 1078), took dikṣā in S. 1152 (A.D. 1096), became a Śurī in S. 1174 (A.D. 1118), and died on a Thursday in the dark half of Śravana S. 1226 (A.D. 1170). His famous disciple Hemachandra was born on the fullmoon of Kartika S. 1145 (A.D. 1089), became an ascetic in S. 1150 (A.D. 1094), and died in S. 1229 (A.D. 1173).

3 The Prakrit local name was Ano, of which the Sanskritised forms would appear to be Arno, Arna, Arānak, and Arāalla as given in the Hammāramahākavya. The genealogy of these kings of Sākambhri or Skambhar is not settled. The Nādel cooperation dated Samvat 1218 gives the name of its royal grantor as Alan and of Alan’s father as Māhrāja (Tul’s Rajasthan, I. 594), the latter apparently a mistake for Amorāja which is the name given in the Dryāvaya. Alan’s date being V. 1218, the date of his father Anā would fit in well with the early part of Kumārapāla’s reign. The order of the two names Ahana and Anall in the Hammāramahākavya would seem to be mistaken and ought to be reversed.
king of Sākambhari or Sāmbhar, the Analladeva of the Hammira-
manahākāvya. Kumārapāla himself was married by his father to one 
Bhupāladevi. According to the Dvivāravī, Tribhuvanapāla was on 
good terms with Siddharāja serving him and going with him to 
war. The Kumārapālacharita also states that Kumārapāla used 
to attend the court of Siddharāja. But from the time he came to 
feel that he would have no son and that the bastard Kumārapāla 
would succeed him Siddharāja became embittered against Kumāra-
pāla. According to the Jain chronicles Siddharāja was told by the 
god Somanātha, by the sage Hanachandra, by the goddess Ambikā 
of Kodinār, and by astrologers that he would have no son and 
that Kumārapāla would be his successor. According to the 
Kumārapālacharita so bitter did his hate grow that Siddharāja 
planned the death of Tribhuvanapāla and his family including 
Kumārapāla. Tribhuvanapāla was murdered but Kumārapāla 
escaped. Grieved at this proof of the king’s hatred Kumārapāla 
consulted his brother-in-law Krishnadāva who advised him to 
leave his family at Dahithal and go into exile promising to keep 
him informed of what went on at Anahilapura. Kumārapāla left 
in the disguise of a jaṭādhāri or recluse and escaped the assassins 
whom the king had ordered to slay him. After some time Kumāra-
pāla returned and in spite of his disguise was recognized by the 
guards. They informed the king who invited all the ascetics in the 
city to a dinner. Kumārapāla came but noticing that the king 
recognized him in spite of his disguise, he fled. The king sent a 
trusted officer with a small force in pursuit. Kumārapāla persuaded 
some husbandmen, the chief of whom was Bhimasimha, to hide him 
in a heap of thorns. The pursuers failing to find him returned. At 
night Kumārapāla was let out bleeding from the thorns, and promised 
the husbandmen that the day would come when their help would 
be rewarded. He then shaved his topknot or jaṭā and while 
travelling met with a lady named Devasri of Udambara village 
who pitying him took him into her chariot and gave him food. 
Kumārapāla promised to regard her as a sister. He then came to 
Dahithal where the royal troops had already arrived. Siddharāja 
sent an army which invested the village leaving Kumārapāla without 
means of escape. He went to a potter named Sajjana or Aliṅga 
who hid him in the flues of his brick-kiln throwing hay over him. 
The troops searched the village, failed to find Kumārapāla, and 
retired. The potter then helped Kumārapāla from his hiding place 
and fed him. A former friend named Bosari joined Kumārapāla 
and they went away together Kumārapāla commending his family 
to the care of Sajjana. On the first day they had no food. Next 
day Bosari went to beg and they together ate the food given to 
Bosari in a monastery or math where they slept. In time they 
came to Cambay where they called upon Hemāchārya and asked him 
their future. Hemāchārya knew and recognized Kumārapāla. 
Kumārapāla asked when fate would bless him.
could reply Udayana, one of the king's ministers, came. Hemáchárya said to Udayana, 'This is Kumárapála who shall shortly be your king.' Hemáchárya also gave Kumárapála a writing stating that he would succeed to the throne. Kumárapála acknowledged his obligations to Hemáchárya and promised to follow his advice. Udayana took him to his house and gave him food and clothes. Siddhárāja came to know of this and sent his soldiers who began to search. Kumárapála returned to Hemáchárya who hid him in a cellar covering its door with manuscripts and palm leaves. The soldiers came but failed to search under the manuscripts and returned. Kumárapála acknowledged his obligations to Hemáchárya and said he owed him two great debts one for telling him the day on which he would come to the throne; the other for saving his life. Kumárapála left Cambay at midnight, the minister Udayana supplying him with provisions. From Cambay he went to Vatapadrapura probably Baroda, where feeling hungry he entered the shop of a Váníya named Katuka and asked for parched gram. The Váníya gave the gram and seeing that Kumárapála had no money accepted his promise of future payment. From Baroda he came to Bhrigu Kachch or Broach where he saw a soothsayer and asked him his future. The soothsayer, seeing the bird káli-deví perched on the temple flagstaff, said 'You will shortly be king.' Kumárapála shaved his matted hair and went from Broach to Ujjain where he met his family. But as here too the royal troops followed him he fled to Kolhapura where he came across a Yogi who foretold his succession to a throne and gave him two spells or mantras. From Kolhapura Kumárapála went to Káñchí or Conjeveram and from there to the city of Kálamapattana. The king of Kálamapattana Pratápasimha received him like an elder brother and brought him into his city, built a temple of Sívananda Kumárapálesvara in his honour, and even issued a coin called a Kumárapála. From Kálamapattana Kumárapála went to Chitrakúṭa or Chitor and from there to Ujjain whence he took his family to Siddhapúra going on alone to Anahilapu to see his brother-in-law Krishnadeva. According to the Vichárásreṇi Siddhárāja died soon after in A.D. 1143 on the 3rd of Kárttika Suddha Samvat 1199.

In the dissensions that followed the king's death Kumárapála's interests were well served by his brother-in-law Krishnadeva. Eventually the names of three candidates, Kumárapála and two others, were laid before the state nobles sitting in council to determine who should be king. Of the three candidates the two others were found wanting, and Kumárapála was chosen and installed according to the Vichárásreṇi on the 4th of Márgasíra the Suddha and according to the Kumárapálaprabandha on the 4th of Márga-
śrā Vádhyā. At the time of his succession, according to the Prabandhachintāmāni and the Kumárapálaprabandha, Kumárapála was about fifty years of age.

The Kumárapálaprabandha has Kálamapattana and Kálamapattana probably Koluam or Quilon.
Chapter II.

On his accession Kumárapála installed his wife Bhopaladevi his anointed queen or pattarini; appointed Udayana who had befriended him at Cambay minister; Báhađa or Vágbhaṭa son of Udayana² chief councillor or mahāmātya; and Alińga second councillor or mahāpradhāna. Ahada or Arabhatta, apparently another son of Udayana, did not acknowledge Kumárapála and went over to Anorája Anáka or Año king of Sapádalaksha or the Sámbhar territory who is probably the same as the Analladeva of the Hammámamahákavya.

The potter Sajana was rewarded with a grant of seven hundred villages near Chitrakúta or Chitoda fort in Rájputána, and the author of the Prabandhachántama notices that in his time the descendants of the potter ashamed of their origin called themselves descendants of Ságara. Bhúmasimha who hid Kumárapála in the thorns was appointed head of the bodyguard; Devásri made the sister's mark on the royal forehead at the time of Kumárapála's installation and was granted the village of Devayo; and Katsaka the Váni of Baroda, who had given Kumárapála parched gram was granted the village of Vatsapadra or Baroda. Bosari Kumárapála's chief companion was given Látamaundala, which seems to mean that he was appointed viceroy of Láta or South Gujarát.

Kanada or Krishnadeva Kumárapála's brother-in-law and adviser overvaluing his great services became arrogant and disobedient insulting the king in open court. As remonstration was of no avail the king had Krishnadeva waylaid and beaten by a band of athletes and taken almost dying to his wife the king's sister. From this time all the state officers were careful to show ready obedience.

The old ministry saw that under so capable and well served a ruler their power was gone. They accordingly planned to slay the king and place their own nominee on the throne. The king heard of the plot; secured the assassins; and employed them in murdering the conspirators. According to the Prabandhachántama, Ahada or Arabhatta who had gone over to the Sámbhar king and was in charge of the Sámbhar infantry, bribed the local nobles as a preliminary to a war which he had planned against Kumárapála. He so far succeeded as to bring Aına or Anáka the Sámbhar king with the whole of his army to the borders of Gujarát to fight Kumárapála.¹ Kumárapála went to meet Anáka. But, in consequence of intrigues, in the battle that followed the Gujarát army did not obey orders. Kumárapála advanced in front on an elephant, and Báhađa trying to climb on Kumárapála's elephant was thrown to the ground and slain. Anáka was also pierced with arrows and the Sámbhar army was defeated and plundered of its horses.⁴

¹The Kumárapalaprabanda says that Udayana was appointed minister and Vágbhaṭa general. Soldà the youngest son of Udayana did not take part in politics.
²Kirtane's Hammámamahákavya, 13.
³Dhavalakka or Dhalka according to the Kumárapalaprabanda.
⁴According to the Kumárapalaprabanda Kumárapála's sister who was married to Aına having heard her husband speak slightingly of the kings of Gujarát took offence, resented the language, and handed words with her husband who beat her. She came to her brother and incited him to make an expedition against her husband.
The Dvyāśrāya, probably by the aid of the author’s imagination, gives a fuller account of this war. One fact of importance recorded in the Dvyāśrāya is that Anāka though defeated was not slain, and, to bring hostilities to an end, gave his daughter Jalhanā to Kumārapāla in marriage. The Kumārapālacharita calls the Sāmbhar king Arnorāja and says that it was Kumārapāla who invaded the Sāmbhar territory. According to this account Kumārapāla went to Chandravatī near Abū and taking its Paramāra king Vikramasimha with him marched to Sākambharī or Sāmbhar and fought Arnorāja who was defeated but not killed. Kumārapāla threatened to cut out Arnorāja’s tongue but let him go on condition that his people wore a headdress with a tongue on each side. Arnorāja is said to have been confined in a cage for three days and then reinstalled as Kumārapāla’s feudatory. Vikramasimha of Chandravatī, who in the battle had sided with Arnorāja, was punished by being disgraced before the assembled seventy-two feudatories at Anahilavāḍa and was sent to prison, his throne being given to his nephew Yasodhara. After his victory over Arnorāja Kumārapāla fought, defeated, and, according to the Kritikaumudī, beheaded Ballāla king of Mālwa who had invaded Gujarāt. The result of this contest seems to have been to reduce Mālwa to its former position of dependence on the Anahilavāḍa kings. More than one inscription of Kumārapāla’s found in the temple of Udayāditya as far north as Udayapura near Bhilāsa shows that he conquered the whole of Mālwa, as the inscriptions are recorded by one who calls himself Kumārapāla’s general or daṇḍandnāyaka.

Another of Kumārapāla’s recorded victories is over Mallikārjuna said to be king of the Konkan who we know from published lists of the North Konkan Sīlāhāras flourished about A.D. 1160. The author of the Prabandhahārintāmaṇi says this war arose from a bard of king Mallikārjuna speaking of him before king Kumārapāla as Kajapatīmāha or grandfather of kings. Kumārapāla annoyed at so arrogant a title looked around. Ambādā, one of the sons of Udayana, divining the king’s meaning, raised his folded hands to his forehead and expressed his readiness to fight Mallikārjuna. The king sent him with an army which marched to the Konkan without halting. At the crossing of the Kalāvini it was met and defeated by Mallikārjuna. Ambādā returned in disgrace and shrouding himself his umbrella and his tents in crape retreated to Anahilavāḍa. The king finding Ambādā though humiliated ready to make a second venture gave him a larger and better appointed force. With this army Ambādā again started for the Konkan, crossed the Kalāvini, attacked Mallikārjuna, and in a hand-to-hand fight

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1 The Dvyāśrāya does not say that Kumārapāla’s sister was married to A’ma.
2 This was a common title of the Sīlāhāra kings. Compare Bombay Gazetteer, XIII. 407 note 1.
3 Ambādā is his proper name. It is found Sanskritized into Āmrabhaṭa and Ambakha.
4 This is the Kaveri river which flows through Chikli and Balur. The name in the text is very like Karabha the name of the same river in the Nāgin cave inscriptions (Bomb. Gaz. XVI. 571) Kalāvini and Karabha being Sanskritized forms of the original Kāveri. Perhaps the Kaveri is the Akbaroun of the Periplus (A.D. 247).
climbed his elephant and cut off his head. This head eased in gold with other trophies of the war he presented to the king on his triumphant return to Anahilapura. The king was greatly pleased and gave Ambāda the title of Rājapālāmaha. Of this Mallikārjuna two stone inscriptions have been found one at Chipān dated A.D. 1156 (Saka 1078) the other at Bassein dated A.D. 1160 (Saka 1082). If the story that Mallikārjuna was slain is true the war must have taken place during the two years between A.D. 1160 and 1162 (Saka 1082, 1084) which latter is the earliest known date of Mallikārjuna's successor Aparāditya.

The Kumārapālācharita also records a war between Kumārapāla and Samara king of Surāśṭra or south Kāthiāvāda, the Gujarāt army being commanded by Kumārapāla's minister Udayana. The Prabandhachintāmani gives Saunscara as the name of the Surāśṭra king: possibly he was some Gohilvād Mehr chief. Udayana came with the army to Vadhvān, and letting it advance went to Pālitāna. While he was worshipping at Pālitāna, a mouse carried away the burning wick of the lamp. Reflecting on the risk of fire in a wooden temple Udayana determined to rebuild the temple of stone. In the fight with Saunscara the Gujarāt army was defeated and Udayana was mortally wounded. Before Udayana died he told his sons that he had meant to repair the temple of Adīśvara on Satrunjaya and the Sakunikā Vīhāra at Broach and also to build steps up the west face of Gīrnār. His sons Bāhaḍa and Ambāda promised to repair the two shrines. Subsequently both shrines were restored, Kumārapāla and Hemāchārya and the council of Anahilapura attending at the installation of Suvrittinātha in the Sakunikā Vīhāra. The Gīrnār steps were also cut, according to more than one inscription in A.D. 1166 (S. 1222). This war and Udayana's death must have occurred about A.D. 1149 (S. 1265) as the temple of Adnātha was finished in A.D. 1156-57 (S. 1211). Bāhaḍa also established near Satrunjaya a town called Bāhaḍapura and adorned it with a temple called Tribhuvanapalāvasati. After the fight with Saunscara Kumārapāla was threatened with another war by Karna, king of Dāhala or Chedi. Spies informed the king of the

1 Saunscara or Sāsār seems the original form from which Saunscara was Sanskritised. Sāsār corresponds with the Mehr name Chachar.
2 The Kumārapālācharita says that Saunscara was defeated and his son placed on the throne.
3 The translation of the inscription runs: Steps made by the venerable A'mbāka, Saunscara 1222. According to the Kumārapālāprabandaḥ the steps were built at a cost of a lakh of drāmasa, a drāma being of the value of about 5 coins. According to the Prabandhachintāmani an earthquake occurred when the king was at Gīrnā on his way to Somanathā. The old ascent of Gīrnā was from the north called Chātraśād that is the umbrella or overhanging rocks. Hemāchārya said if two persons went up together the Chātraśād rocks would fall and crush them. So the king ordered A'mbāhata to build steps on the west or Jumāgārā face at a cost of 63 lakhs of drāmasa.
4 The site of Bāhaḍapura seems to be the ruins close to the east of Pālitāna where large quantities of coach shell haungies and pieces of brick and tile have been found.
5 This would appear to be the Kalachuri king Gayā Karna whose inscription is dated 902 of the Chedi era that is A.D. 1152. As the earliest known inscription of Gayā Karna's son Narasimhadeva is dated A.D. 1157 (Chedi 907) the death of Gayā Karna falls between A.D. 1152 and 1157 in the reign of Kumārapāla and the story of his being accidentally strangled may be true.
impending invasion as he was starting on a pilgrimage to Somanātha. Next day he was relieved from anxiety by the news that while sleeping on an elephant at night king Karna's necklace became entangled in the branch of a banyan tree, and the elephant suddenly running away, the king was strangled.

The Prabandhachintāmāni records an expedition against Sāmghar which was entrusted to Chāhadā a younger brother of Bāhada. Though Chāhadā was known to be extravagant, the king liked him, and after giving him advice placed him in command. On reaching Sāmghar Chāhadā invested the fort of Bābrānagar but did not molest the people as on that day 700 brides had to be married.1 Next day the fort was entered, the city was plundered, and the supremacy of Kumārapāla was proclaimed. This Bābrānagar has not been identified. There appears to be some confusion and the place may not be in Sāmghar but in Bābāriāvāda in Kāthiāvāda. Chāhadā returned triumphant to Patan. The king expressed himself pleased but blamed Chāhadā for his lavish expenditure and conferred on him the title of Raja-gharatā the King-grinder.

Though the Gujarāt chronicles give no further details an inscription in the name of Kumārapāla in a temple at Udepur near Bhilsa dated A.D. 1166 records that on Monday, Akṣaya tritiya the 3rd of Vaisākh Sud (S. 1222), Thakkara Chāhadā granted half the village of Sangavāda in the Rangārākā district or bhakti. Just below this inscription is a second also bearing the name of Kumārapāla. The year is lost. But the occasion is said to be an eclipse on Thursday the 15th of Paush Sud. when a gift was made to the god of Udayapura by Yasodhiavala the viceroy of Kumārapāla.2

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1 So many marriages on one day points to the people being either Kadva Kumbia or Bharvāda among whom the custom of holding all marriages on the same day still prevails.
2 The text of the inscription is:

(1) ******पौपुडीयुगी अभोष भामरण-  
(2) हिंडवारके [समस्त] राजवर्षियाधिकरमरम्यरसिद्धमा-  
(3) [राजवर्षियाधिकर] तांकमरीपूर्वकर्मदन्तिताधिकरकु  
(4) [मार्गम] ******निविष्ठसहायस्मिनानं—  
(5)  त  अष्ट्रेष्टिण हिंदवारके समस्तस्यस्यस्याधिकरकुर्मितोमि—  
(6) कृषि [पवित्रतमस्य महर्षिका] विराजमहर्षिकारपिनविजन विजन  
(7) ******अभयन्वितुः शेषकार्यये महर्षिक—  
(8) पवित्र ******महारजपुजवत्सलापूर्व भुवन—  
(9) ******कांडेश्वरवास्याः । अथ वेषं महर्षिकमिनि  
(10) ******क्षेत्रकर्त्तवो नारायणजयदु  
(11) ******महाराजगुजवत्सलापूर्व नवने भुवन—  
(12) ******कांडेश्वरकारितुः । कु पार्वत्य द्रविषी—  

Line broken below.
Similar inscriptions of Kumárapála’s time and giving his name occur near the ruined town of Kerádu or Kiráya-Kúpa near Bálmer in Western Rájpután. The inscriptions show that Kumárapála had another Amátya or minister there, and that the kings of the country round Kerádu had been subject to Gujarát since the time of Siddharája Jayasimha. Finally the inscription of Kumárapála found by Colonel Tod in a temple of Brahma on the pinnacle of Chitoda fort shows that his conquests extended as far as Mewáda.

According to the Kumárapaláchintámaí Kumárapála married one Padmávati of Padmapura. The chronicler describes the city as to the west of the Indus. Perhaps the lady belonged to Padmapura a large town in Kashmir. Considering his greatness as a king and conqueror the historical record of Kumárapála is meagre and incomplete. Materials may still come to light which will show his power to have been surprisingly widespread.

Mr. Forbes records the following Bráhmanical tradition of a Mewáda queen of Kumárapála, which has probably been intentionally omitted by the Jain chroniclers.

Kumárapála, says the Bráhman tradition, had wedded a Sisodani Ráni, a daughter of the house of Mewáda. At the time that the sword went for her the Sisodani heard that the Rája had made a vow that his wives should receive initiation into the Jain religion at Hemáchárya’s convent before entering the palace. The Ráni refused to start for Patán until she was satisfied she would not be called on to visit the Áchárya’s convent. Jyádeva Kumárapála’s household bard became surety and the queen consented to go to Anahilapura. Several days after her arrival Hemáchárya said to the Rája: ‘The Sisodani Ráni has never come to visit me.’ Kumárapála told her she must go. The Ráni refused and fell ill, and the bard’s wives went to see her. Hearing her story they disguised her as one of themselves and brought her privately home to their house. At night the bard dug a hole in the wall of the city, and taking the Ráni through the hole started with her for Mewáda. When Kumárapála became aware of the Ráni’s flight he set off in pursuit with two thousand horse. He came up with the fugitives about fifteen miles from the fort of Idar. The bard said to the Ráni: ‘If you can enter Idar you are safe. I have two hundred horse with me. As long as a man of us remains no one shall lay hands on you.’ So saying he turned upon his pursuers. But the Ráni’s courage failed and she slew herself in the carriage. As the fight went on and the pursuers forced their way to the carriage, the maids cried: ‘Why struggle more, the Ráni is dead.’ Kumárapála and his men returned home.

The Paramára chiefs of Chandrávâti near A’bu were also feudatories of Kumárapála. It has been noted that to punish him for siding with Arñorája of Sámbhur Kumárapála placed Vikrama Sinha the Chandrávâti chief in confinement and set Vikrama’s

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1 Annals of Rájasthán, I, 803.
2 Ráš Malá (New Edition), 154.
3 Ráš Malá (New Edition), 154.
nephew Yasodhavala on his throne. That Kumarápála conquered the chiefs of Sambhar and Málwa is beyond question. Among his names is the proud title Avantínátha Lord of Málwa.

The Kumárapálaprabandha gives the following limits of Kumárapála’s sway. The Turukkás or Turks on the north; the heavenly Ganges on the east; the Vindhyas mountains on the south; the Sindhur river on the west. Though in tradition Kumárapála’s name does not stand so high as a builder as the name of Siddharája Jayasimha he carried out several important works. The chief of these was the restoring and rebuilding of the great shrine of Somasvará or Somanátha Patan. According to the Prabhahchintamañi when Kumárapála asked Devasúri the teacher of Hemáchárya how best to keep his name remembered Devasúri replied: Build a new temple of Somanátha fit to last an age or yuga, instead of the wooden one which is ruined by the ocean billows. Kumárapála approved and appointed a building committee or pañchakula headed by a Bráhman named Gágá Bháva Brihaspati the state officer at Somanátha. At the instance of Hemáchárya the king on hearing the foundations were laid vowed until the temple was finished he would keep apart from women and would take neither flesh nor wine. In proof of his vow he poured a handful of water over Nilakantha Mahádeva, probably his own royal god. After two years the temple was completed and the flag hoisted. Hemáchárya advised the king not to break his vow until he had visited the new temple and paid his obeisance to the god. The king agreed and went to Somanátha, Hemáchárya preceding him on foot and promising to come to Somanátha after visiting Sátruñjaya and Girnar. On reaching Somanátha the king was received by Gágá-Brihaspati his head local officer and by the building committee, and was taken in state through the town. At the steps of the temple the king bowed his head to the ground. Under the directions of Gágá-Brihaspati he worshipped the god, made gifts of elephants and other costly articles including his own weight in coin, and returned to Ánapilapura.

It is interesting to know that the present battered sea-shore temple of Somanátha, whose garbhágára or shrine has been turned into a mosque and whose spire has been shattered, is the temple of whose building and consecration the above details are preserved. This is shown by the style of the architecture and sculpture which is in complete agreement with the other buildings of the time of Kumárapála.

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1 The text is: 

2 It is also interesting, if there is a foundation of fact to the tale, that this is the temple visited by the Persian poet Saádi (a.d. 1200-1230) when he saw the ivory idol of Somanátha whose arms were raised by a hidden priest pulling a cord. According to Saádi, on presence of surprise he was admitted behind the shrine, discovered the cord-puller, threw him into a wall, and fled. Compare Journal Royal Asiatic Society Bengal VII:2 pages 886-896. That Saádi ever visited Somanátha is doubtful. No ivory human image can ever have been the chief object of worship at Somanátha.
Kumárapálá’s temple seems to have suffered in every subsequent Muhammadan invasion, in Alaf Khan’s in A.D. 1500, in Mozaftar’s in A.D. 1399, in Mahmúd Begada’s about A.D. 1490, and in Munafar II’s about A.D. 1530. Time after time no sooner had the invader passed than the work of repair began afresh. One of the most notable restorations was by Khengár IV. (A.D. 1279-1333) a Chudásamá king of Junágadh who is mentioned in two Girmá inscriptions as the repairer of Sománátha after its desecration by Ala-ud-dín Khilji. The latest sacrilege, including the turning of the temple into a mosque, was in the time of the Ahunádábát king Múzaffar Sháh II. (A.D. 1511-1533). Since then no attempt has been made to win back the god into his old home.

In the side wall near the door of the little shrine of Bhadrakáli in Patán a broken stone inscription gives interesting details of the temple of Sománátha. Except that the right hand corners of some of the lines are broken, the inscription is clear and well preserved. It is dated A.D. 1169 (Valabhi 850). It records that the temple of the god Soma was first of gold built by Soma; next it was of silver built by Rávama; afterwards of wood built by Krishna; and last of stone built by Bhámadeva. The next restoration was through Gánda-Brihaspáti under Kumárapálá. Of Gánda-Brihaspáti it gives these details. He was a Kanyákubja or Kanoj Bråhman of the Pás’úpata school, a teacher of the Málwa kings, and a friend of Siddharája Jayasimha. He repaired several other temples and founded several other religious buildings in Sománátha. He also repaired the temple of Kédàré’svara in Kumáon on learning that the Khas’s king of that country had allowed it to fall into disrepair. After the time of Kumárapálá the descendants of Gánda-Brihaspáti remained in religious authority in Sománátha.

Kumárapálá made many Jain benefactions. He repaired the temple of Ságala-Vasahiká at Stambha-tírtha or Cambay where Hemáchárya received his initiation or dírghá. In honour of the lady who gave him barley flour and curds he built a temple called the Karambaka-Vihára in Patán. He also built in Patán a temple called the Móose or Mushaka-Vihára to free himself from the impurity caused by killing a mouse while digging for treasure. At Dhandhúka Hemáchárya’s birthplace a temple called the Jholiká-Vihára or cradle temple was built. Besides these Kumárapálá is credited with building 1444 temples.

Though Kumárapálá was not a learned man, his ministers were men of learning, and he continued the practice of keeping at his court scholars especially Sanskírt poets. Two of his leading Pandits were Rámachandra and Udyañachandra both of them Jains. Ramachandrá is often mentioned in Gujaráti literature and appears to have been a great scholar. He was the author of a book called the Hundred Accounts or Prabandha-sástha. After Udayana’s death Kumárapálá’s chief minister was Kapardi a man of learning skilled in Sanskrit poetry. And all through his reign his principal adviser

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1 From the Prabandhachintámañi and the Kumárapálacharita.
was Hemachandra or Hemâchârya probably the most learned man of his time. Though Hemâchârya lived during the reigns both of Siddharâja and of Kumârapâla, only under Kumârapâla did he enjoy political power as the king's companion and religious adviser. What record remains of the early Solañkis is chiefly due to Hemachandra.

The Jain life of Hemâchârya abounds in wonders. Apart from the magic and mystic elements the chief details are: Châchîga, a Modh Vâna of Dhandhuka\(^1\) in the district of Ardhashtana had by his wife Pâhini\(^2\) of the Châmunda gôtra, a boy named Chângodeva who was born A.D. 1083 (Kartik fullmoon Samvat 1145). A Jain priest named Devachandra A'chârya (A.D. 1078-1170; S. 1134-1226) came from Patan to Dhandhuka and when in Dhandhuka went to pay his obeisance at the Modh Vasahikâ. While Devachandra was seated Chângodeva came playing with other boys and went and sat beside the âchârya. Struck with the boy's audacity and good looks the âchârya went with the council of the village to Châchîga's house. Châchîga was absent but his wife being a Jain received the âchârya with respect. When she heard that her son was wanted by the council, without waiting to consult her husband, she handed the boy to the âchârya who carried him off to Karpavati and kept him there with the sons of the minister Udâyana. Châchîga, disconsolate at the loss of his son, went in quest of him vowing to eat nothing till the boy was found. He came to Karpavati and in an angry mood called on the âchârya to restore him his son. Udâyana was asked to interfere and at last persuaded Châchîga to let the boy stay with Devachandra.

In A.D. 1097, when Chângodeva was eight years old Châchîga celebrated his son's consecration or dikshâ and gave him the name of Somachandra. As the boy became extremely learned Devachandra changed his name to Hemachandra the Moon of gold. In A.D. 1110 (S. 1166) at the age of 21, his mastery of all the Sàstras and Siddhâantas was rewarded by the dignity of Sûri or sage. Siddharâja was struck with his conversation and honoured him as a man of learning. Hemachandra's knowledge wisdom and tact enabled him to adhere openly to his Jain rules and beliefs though Siddharâja's dislike of Jain practices was so great as at times to amount to insult. After one of their quarrels Hemâchârya kept away from the king for two or three days. Then the king seeing his humility and his devotion to his faith repented and apologised. The two went together to Somanâtha Patan and there Hemâchârya paid his obeisance to the liṅga in a way that did not offend his own faith. During Siddharâja's reign Hemâchârya wrote his well known grammar with aphorisms or sàtras and commentary or vritti called Siddha-Hemachandra, a title compounded of the king's name and his own. As the Brâhmans found fault with the absence of any detailed references to the king in the work Hemachandra

\(^1\) The head-quarters of the Dhandhuka sub-division sixty miles south-west of Ahmadabad.
\(^2\) Another reading is Lâhini.
added one verse at the end of each chapter in praise of the king. During Sidhharaja's reign he also wrote two other works, the Haimamadamala "String of Names composed by Hema(chandra)" or Abhidhamamathan* and the Anekaranamamala a Collection of words of more than one meaning. He also began the Dvya'srayakosha† or Double Dictionary being both a grammar and a history. In spite of his value to Kumara, in the beginning of Kumara's reign Hemacharya was not honoured as a spiritual guide and had to remain subordinate to Brahmanas. When Kumara asked him what was the most important religious work he could perform Hemacharya advised the restoring of the temple of Somanatha. Still Hemacharya so far won the king to his own faith that till the completion of the temple he succeeded in persuading the king to take the vow of ahimsa or non-killing which though common to both faiths is a specially Jain observance. Seeing this mark of his ascendancy over the king, the king's family priest and other Brahmanas began to envy and thwart Hemacharya. On the completion of the temple, when the king was starting for Somanatha for the installation ceremony, the Brahmanas told him that Hemacharya did not mean to go with him. Hemacharya who had heard of the plot had already accepted the invitation. He said being a recluse he must go on foot, and that he also wanted to visit Girmar, and from Girmar would join the king at Somanatha. His object was to avoid travelling in a palanquin with the king or suffering a repetition of Siddharaja's insult for not accepting a pallki. Soon after reaching Somanatha Kumara asked after Hemacharya. The Brahmanas spread a story that he had been drowned, but Hemacharya was careful to appear in the temple as the king reached it. The king saw him, called him, and took him with him to the temple. Some Brahmanas told the king that the Jain priest would not pay any obeisance to Siva, but Hemacharya saluted the god in the following verse in which was nothing contrary to strict Jainism: 'Salutation to him, whether he be Brahma, Vishnu, Hera, or Jina, from whom have fled desires which produce the sprouts of the seed of worldliness.' After this joint visit to Somanatha Hemachandra gained still more ascendancy over the king, who appreciated his calmness of mind and his forbearance. The Brahmanas tried to prevent the growth of his influence, but in the end Hemachandra overcame them. He induced the king to place in the sight of his Brahmanical family priests an image of S'antinatha Tirthankara among his family gods. He afterwards persuaded Kumara publicly to adopt the Jain faith by going to the hermitage of Hemachandra and giving

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* Prabandhachintamanj.
† navamcatramtanta rasa[hit: navampatatva bhaty] l
vri[ha] na vi[ply] horo vi[ne] na narpate ||
numerous presents to Jain ascetics. Finally under his influence Kumárapála put away all Bráhmanical images from his family place of worship. Having gone such lengths Kumárapála began to punish the Bráhmans who insulted Hemachandra. A Bráhman named Vámarásí, a Pandit at the royal court, who composed a verse insulting Hemachandra, lost his annuity and was reduced to beggary, but on apologising to Hemachandra the annuity was restored. Another Bráhmanical officer named Bháva Bhíhaspati, who was stationed at Sumanátha, was re-called for insulting Hemachandra. But he too on apologising to Hemachandra was restored to Sumanátha. Under Hemachandra's influence Kumárapála gave up the use of flesh and wine, ceased to take pleasure in the chase, and by beat of drum forbade throughout his kingdom the taking of animal life. He withdrew their licenses from hunters fowlers and fishermen, and forced them to adopt other callings. To what lengths this dread of life-taking was carried appears from an order that only filtered water was to be given to all animals employed in the royal army. Among the stories told of the king's zeal for life-saving is one of a Bania of Sánbhár who having been caught killing a house was brought in chains to Aparahalaváda, and had his property confiscated and devoted to the building at Aparahalaváda of a Louse Temple or Yúká-Vibára. According to another story a man of Nador in Márwár was put to death by Kelhana the chief of Nador to appease Kumárapála's wrath at hearing that the man's wife had offered flesh to a field-god or kshetrapála. Hemachandra also induced the king to forego the claim of the state to the property of those who died without a son.

During Kumárapála's reign Hemachandra wrote many well known Sanskrit and Prakrit works on literature and religion. Among these are the Ahyátmpanishad or Yogaásástra a work of 12,000 verses in twelve chapters called Prakáśas, the Trisishṭi- sállakaprunashcharitrà or lives of sixty-three Jain saints of the Utsarpini and Avasarpini ages; the Parisishṭaparvan, a work of 3500 verses being the life of Jain Stílavirás who flourished after Mahávira; the Prákrit Sañdánuásana or Prakrit grammar; the Dvyásraya¹ a Prakrit poem written with the double object of teaching grammar and of giving the history of Kumárapála; the Chhando nasana a work of about 8000 verses on prosody; the Lángánuásana a work on genders; the Deśinámamálà in Prakrit with a commentary a work on local and provincial words; and the Alákáraçubdámáni a work on rhetoric. Hemachandra died in A.D. 1172 (S. 1229) at the age of 84. The king greatly mourned his loss and marked his bow with Hemachandra's ashes. Such crowds came to share in the ashes of the pyre that the ground was hollowed into a pit known as the Haima-Khadda or Hema's Pit.

Kumárapála lived to a great age. According to the author of the Prabandhachintámani he was fifty when he succeeded to the

¹ संयुक्त १२२९ जैनसाहित्य २ साही अध्यादेशकेक्षक समस्त्साहित्यसाहित्य- विश्लेषणाचार्याचिन्तामणि अम्बेदकरकालिगतवर्गे नवादत्तद्विपीलिनि महा- नाथजीसमेते परे भीकशादि.

a 1397-25
throne, and after ruling about thirty-one years died in A.D. 1174 (S. 1230). He is said to have died of litt a form of leprosy.

Another story given by the Kumárapálaprabandha is that Kumárapála was imprisoned by his nephew and successor Ajayapála. The Kumárapálaprabandha gives the exact length of Kumárapála’s reign of 30 years 8 months and 27 days. If the beginning of Kumárapála’s reign is placed at the 4th Magar Sud Samvat 1299, the date of the close, taking the year to begin in Káríka, would be Bhádrapada Súdha Samvat 1229. If with Gujarát almanacs the year is taken to begin in Áshádhá, the date of the close of the reign would be Bhádrapada of Samvat 1230. It is doubtful whether either Samvat 1229 or 1230 is the correct year, as an inscription dated Samvat 1229 Vaishákha Súdha 3rd at Údayapúra near Bhílá describes Ajayapála Kumárapála’s successor as reigning at Añahilapúra. This would place Kumárapála’s death before the month of Vaishákha 1229 that is in A.D. 1173.1

As Kumárapála had no son he was succeeded by Ajayapála the son of his brother Mahipála.2 According to the Kumárapálaprabandha Kumárapála desired to give the throne to his daughter’s son Pratápamalla, but Ajayapála raised a revolt and got rid of Kumárapála by poison. The Jain chroniclers say nothing of the reign of Ajayapála because he was not a follower of their religion. The author of the Sukrásāñkirtana notices a small silver canopy or pavilion shown in Ajayapála’s court as a funeral’s gift from the king of Sápádhalakaha3 or Sewálík. The author of the Kártikayumjá dismisses Ajayapála with the mere mention of his name, and does not even state his relationship with Kumárapála. According to the Prabandhachintamani Ajayapála destroyed the Jain temples built by his uncle. He showed no favour to Ámbádá and Kumárapála’s other Jain ministers, Ajayapála seems to have been of a cruel and overbearing temper. He appointed as his minister Kapardi because he was of the Bráhmanical faith.4 But considering his manners arrogant he ordered him to be thrown into a caldron of boiling oil. On another occasion he ordered the Jain scholar Rámacandra to sit on a red-hot sheet of copper. One of his nobles Ámrá-bháta or Ámbádá refused to submit to

1 Regarding the remarkable story that not long before their deaths both Hemácharya and Kumárapála inclined towards if they did not become converts to Islam (Toó’s Western India, 184) no fresh information has been obtained. Another curious saying of Toó’s (Ulit, 182) also remains doubtful, Kumárapála expelled the tribe of Lár from his kingdom. That this tribe of Lár can had to do either with Lára or South Gujarát or with the coat of Lád Vánis seems unlikely. The alternative is Parsí from Lárin on the Persian Gulf whom Toó (Annals of Rajasthan, I. 235) notices as sending an expedition from Lárishtán to Gujarát. In this connection it is worthy of note that Lárin remained the seat of a Quebec prince till A.D. 1600 the time of Shah Aboo (D’Herbelot, Ríb. Or. II. 477). A repetition of the Parí riots (Chamby Gazetteer, VI. 213) may have been the cause of their expulsion from Gujarát.

2 See the Dhváyárya. A Pataín inscription lying at Veraval also calls Ajayapála the brother’s son of Kumárapála.

3 It is stated in a grant of Bhúna II. dated S. 1239, that Ajayapála, as he is there called, made the Sápádhalakaha or Sémbhar king tributary. Ind. Ant. VI. 190ff.

4 The Udayapúra inscription mentions Susekrana as the minister of Ajayapála in Samvat 1229 (A.D. 1178). See above page 193.
the king, saying that he would pay obeisance only to Vitaraja or Tirthankara as god, to Hemachandra as guide, and to Kumdarapala as king. Ajayapala ordered the matter to be settled by a fight. Ambadá brought some of his followers to the drum-house near the gate, and in the fight that followed Ambadá was killed. In a.d. 1177 (S.1233), after a short reign of three years, Ajayapala was slain by a doorkeeper named Vijañadeva who plunged a dagger into the king’s heart.1

Ajayapala was succeeded by his son Mularaja II, also called Balla Mularaja as he was only a boy when installed. His mother was Náikidivi the daughter of Paramardi, apparently the Kádamba king Permádi or Siva Chittra who reigned from a.d. 1147 to 1175 (S.1203-1231).2 The authors of the Kirtiakumudi3 and the Sukritasankirtana say that even in childhood Mularaja II dispersed the Turushka or Muhammadan army.4 The Prabandhamchintamani states that the king’s mother fought at the Gádrarakghatta and that her victory was due to a sudden fall of rain. Mularaja II. is said to have died in a.d. 1179 (S.1235) after a reign of two years.

Mularaja II. was succeeded by Bhima II. The relationship of the two is not clearly established. Mr. Forbes makes Bhima the younger brother of Ajayapala. But it appears from the Kirtiakumudi and the Sukritasankirtana that Bhima was the younger brother of Mularaja. The Sukritasankirtana after concluding the account of Mularaja,5 calls Bhima ‘saya bandhu’ his brother, and the Kirtiakumudi, after mentioning the death of Mularaja, says that Bhima his younger brother ‘anugmaneya’ became king.6

1 The abuse of Ajayapala is explained if Tod’s statement (Western India, 121) that he became a Muslimian is correct.
2 Fleel’s Kádarasa Dynasties, 93.
3 Chapter II. Verse 57.
4 We know much less about this event than its importance deserves, for with the exception of a raid made in a.d. 1197 by one of the Ghori generals this victory secured Gujrát from any serious Muhammadan attack for more than a century. We learn from various grants made by Bhimadeva II. (Ins. Ant VI. 195, 198, 200, 201) that Mularaja’s regular epithet in the Periáanan was “He who overcame in battle the ruler of the Garjana, who are hard to defeat”: and Dr. Büder has pointed out (Dit. 201) that Garjana is a Sanskritising of the name Gharmal. As a matter of fact, however, the leader of the Musliman army was Muhammad of Ghur, and the battle took place in a.d. 1178 (S.1234). One of the two Muhammadan writers who mentions the invasion (Muhammad ‘Ufi, who wrote at Delhi about A.D. 1211) says that Muhammad was at first defeated, but invaded the country a second time two years later “and punished the people for their previous misconduct.” But this is only mentioned incidentally as part of an anecdote of Muhammad’s equity, and there is some confusion with Muhammad’s victory in the second battle of Nárayan (in Jaipur territory) in a.d. 1192, as a better, though slightly later authority, Minhaj-us Siraj, speaks of no second expedition to Gujrát led by Muhammad himself. Minhaj-us-Siraj’s account of the defeat is as follows (Elliott, II. 294): He (Muhammad) conducted his army by way of Uch and Multan towards Náhrwal. The Ráj of Náhrwal, Bhimek, was a minor, but he had a large army and many elephants. In the day of battle the Muslimans were defeated and the Sultan was compelled to retreat. This happened in the year 574 H. (1178 A.D.).” Further on go read (Elliott II. 300): “In 503 H. (1117 A.D.) he (Muhammad’s general Kaith-ud-din) went towards Náhrwal, defeated Ráj Bhimek, and took revenge on the part of the Sultan.” As no conquest of the country is spoken of, this expedition was evidently a mere raid. The only inaccuracy in the account is the mention of Bhima instead of Mularaja as the king who defeated the first invasion. — (A.M.T.J.)
5 Sarga II. Verse 47.
6 Sarga II. Verse 60.
Mūlarāja we know came to the throne as a child. Of Bhīma also the Kirtikaumudi says that he came to the throne while still in his childhood, and this agrees with the statements that he was the younger brother of Mūlarāja. Bhīma probably came to the throne in A.D. 1178 (S. 1234). There is no doubt he was reigning in A.D. 1179 (S. 1235), as an inscription in the deserted village of Kerkū near Bāman of Aṇāhilavāḍa dated A.D. 1179 (S. 1235) states that it was written 'in the triumphant reign of the illustrious Bhīmadeva.' A further proof of his reigning in A.D. 1179 (S. 1235) and of his being a minor at that time is given in the following passage from the Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri: In A.D. 1178 (Hijri 574) the Rāi of Nahrwālā Bhūmdeo, was a minor, but he had a large army and many elephants. In the day of battle the Muhammadans were defeated and the Sultān was compelled to retreat. Merutunga says that Bhīma reigned from A.D. 1179 (S. 1235) for sixty-three years that is to A.D. 1242 (S. 1298), and this is borne out by a copperplate of Bhīma which bears date A.D. 1240 (S. 1296) Mārgha Vadi 14th Sunday).

Bhīma was nicknamed Bholo the Simpleton. The chroniclers of this period mention only the Vāghelās and almost pass over Bhīma. The author of the Kirtikaumudi says 'the kingdom of the young ruler was gradually divided among powerful ministers and provincial chiefs'; and according to the Sukṛitasankirtana Bhīma felt great anxiety on account of the chiefs who had forcibly eaten away portions of the kingdom.' It appears that during the minority, when the central authority was weak, the kingdom was divided among nobles and feudatories, and that Bhīma proved too weak a ruler to restore the kingly power. Manuscripts and copperplates show that Bhīmadeva was ruling at Aṇāhilavāḍa in S. 1247, 1251, 1261, 1263, and 1264, and copperplates dated S. 1283, 1888, 1295, and 1296 have also been found. Though Bhīma in name enjoyed a long unbroken reign the verses quoted above show that power rested not with the king but with the nobles. It appears from an inscription that in A.D. 1224 (S. 1280) a Chālukya noble named Jayantasimha was supreme at Aṇāhilavāḍa though he mentions Bhīma and his predecessors with honour and respect.

It was probably by aiding Bhīma against Jayantasimha that the Vāghelās rose to power. According to the chroniclers the Vāghelās succeeded in the natural course of things. According to the Sukṛitasankirtana Kumārapāla appeared to his grandson Bhīma and directed him to appoint as his heir-apparent Viradhavala son of Lavanaprasāda and grandson of Arjorda the son of Dhavala king of Bhīmapalli. Next day in court, in the presence of his nobles, when Lavanaprasāda and Viradhavala entered the king said to

1 The Vichitraraṇī also gives S. 1235 as the beginning of his reign.
2 Elliot's History of India, II. 204. This event properly belongs to the reign of Mūlarāja. See above page 195 note 5.
3 Int. Ant. VI. 207.
4 Chapter II. Verse 61.
5 Kielhorn's and Petram's Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts.
6 Int. Ant. VI. 197.
Lavanaprásáda: Your father Arnorája seated me on the throne: you should therefore uphold my power: in return I will name your son Viradhavala my heir-apparent.¹ The author of the Kirtikaumudi notes that Arnorája son of Dhavala, opposing the revolution against Bhima, cleared the kingdom of enemies, but at the cost of his own life. The author then describes Lavanaprásáda and Viradhavala as kings. But as he gives no account of their rise to supremacy, it seems probable that they usurped the actual power from Bhima though till A.D. 1242 (S. 1295) Bhima continued to be nominal sovereign.

Bhima’s queen was Láládevi the daughter of a Chohán chief named Samarasimha.²

¹ The text is दुन्स्तार्धं दृष्टप्रेते युध्रमस्य राज्यं निः तु वर्म.
² The text is भाहु रागः that is भाहुमाय रागः. The term Rājaka would show him to be a Chohán chief.
CHAPTER III.

THE VĀGHELĀS

(A.D. 1219–1304)

While Bhīmadeva II. (A.D. 1178–1241) struggled to maintain his authority in the north, the country between the Sābarmati and the Narbādā in the south as well as the districts of Dhokkā and Dhandhukā in the south-west passed to the Vāghelās. A branch of the Solaṅkis sprang from Anākā or Arporāja, the son of the sister of Kumārapāla's (A.D. 1143–1173) mother. In return for services to Kumārapāla,1 Anākā, with the rank of a noble or Sāmanta, had received the village of Vyāgarapalli or Vāghelā, the Tiger's Lair, about ten miles south-west of Aṇahlavāda. It is from this village that the dynasty takes its name of Vāghelā.

Anākā's son Lavaṇaprasāda, who is mentioned as a minister of Bhīmadeva II. (A.D. 1179–1242)2 held Vāghelā and probably Dhavalagadha or Dholkā about thirty miles to the south-west. The Kīrtikaumudī or Moonlight of Glory, the chief contemporary chronicle,3 describes Lavaṇaprasāda as a brave warrior, the slayer of the chief of Nadulā the modern Nándol in Mārwār.4 "In his well-ordered reign, except himself the robber of the glory of hostile kings, robbers were unknown. The ruler of Māla va invading the kingdom turned back before the strength of Lavaṇaprasāda. The southern king also when opposed by him gave up the idea of war."5 The ruler of Māla va or Mālwa referred to was Sohāja or Subhatavarman.6 The southern king was the Devagiri Yādava Singhapa II. (A.D. 1209–1247).7

Lavaṇaprasāda married Madanarājā and by her had a son named Vīradhavala. As heir apparent Vīradhavala, who was also called Vīra Vāghelā or the Vāghelā hero,8 rose to such distinction as a warrior that in the end Lavaṇaprasāda abdicated in his favour. Probably to reconcile the people to his venturing to oppose his sovereign Bhīmadeva, Lavaṇaprasāda gave out that in a dream the Luck of Aṇahlavāda

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1. Anākā survived Kumārapāla and served also under Bhīmadeva II. Seeing the kingdom of his weak sovereign divided among his ministers and chiefs Anākā strove till his death to re-establish the central authority of the Solaṅkī dynasty. Kāthavat's Kīrtikaumudī, xiii. 2. Rās Māla (New Edition), 200.
3. Kīrtikaumudī, Bombay Sanskrit Series Number XXV.
4. Ind. Ant. VI. 166 footnote. According to Merutunga a contemporary chronicler an epigram of Bhūma's minister turned back Subhatavarman.
5. Ind. Ant. VI. 168.
6. According to one story Madanarājā left her husband's house taking Vīradhavala with her, and went to live with Deva Rāja Pattaṅka the husband of her deceased sister. On growing up Vīradhavala returned to his father's house. Rās Māla (New Edition), 201.
appeared bewailing her home with unlighted shrines, broken walls, and jackal-haunted streets, and called on him to come to her rescue. Though he may have gone to the length of opposing Bhimadeva by force of arms, Lavaṇaprāśadā was careful not to rule in his sovereign's name. Even after Lavaṇaprāśadā's abdication, though his famous minister Vastupulī considered it advisable, Viradhavala refused to take the supreme title. It was not until the accession of Viradhavala's son Visaladeva that the head of the Vāghelās took any higher title than Rāpaka or chieftain. Lavaṇaprāśadā's religious adviser or Guru was the poet Somesvara the author of the Kīrtikaumudi and of the Vastupulīcharīta or Life of Vastupulī, both being biographical accounts of Vastupulī. The leading supporters both of Lavaṇaprāśadā and of Viradhavala were their ministers the two Jain brothers Vastupulī and Tejāpulī the famous temple-builders on Abu, Sātrunjaya, and Girnār. According to one account Tejāpulī remained at court, while Vastupulī went as governor to Stambhatirtha or Cambay where he redressed wrongs and amassed wealth.

One of the chief times of peril in Lavaṇaprāśadā's reign was the joint attack of the Devagiri Yadava Singhaṇa or Sinhaṇa from the south and of four Mārwār chiefs from the north. Lavaṇaprāśadā and his son Viradhavala in joint command marched south to meet Singhaṇa at Broach. While at Broach the Vāghelās' position was made still more critical by the desertion of the Godhrāna or Godhrā chief to Māwi and of the Lēta or south Gujarāt chief to Singhaṇa. Still Lavaṇaprāśadā pressed on, attacked Singhaṇa, and gave him so crushing a defeat, that, though Lavaṇaprāśadā had almost at once to turn north to meet the Māwi army, Singhaṇa retired without causing further trouble. Somesvara gives no reason for Singhaṇa's withdrawal beyond the remark: 'Doer do not follow the lion's path even when the lion has left it.' The true reason is supplied by a Manuscript called Forms of Treaties. The details of a treaty between Sinhaṇa and Lavaṇaprāśadā under date Samvat 1288 (A.D. 1232) included among the Forms seem to show that the reason why Sinhaṇa did not advance was that Lavaṇaprāśadā and his son submitted and concluded an alliance.

In this copy of the treaty Sinhanadeva is called the great king of kings or paramount sovereign Mahārajaśāhīraja, while Lavaṇaprasadā, Sanskritised into Lavanaprasadā is called a Rāna and a tributary chief Mahāmandalesvara. The place where the treaty was concluded

1 Dr. Buhler in Ind. Ant. VI. 188.
2 According to the Kīrtikaumudī, Kāthavate's Ed. XIV. note 1, under Vastupulī low people ceased to earn money by base means; the wicked turned pale; the righteous prospered. All honestly and securely plied their calling. Vastupulī put down piracy, and, by building platforms, stopped the mingling of castes in milk shops. He repaired old buildings, planted trees, sank wells, laid out parks, and rebuilt the city. All castes and creeds he treated alike.
3 The use of the date Monday the fullmoon of Vaiśākha, Samvat 1288 (A.D. 1232) in the second part of the Focus seems to show that the work was written in A.D. 1232.
4 Though the object is to give the form of a treaty of alliance, the author could not have used the names Sinhaṇa and Lavaṇaprāśadā unless such a treaty had been actually concluded between them. Apparently Sinhaṇa's invasion of Gujarāt took place but a short time before the book of treaties was compiled. Bhandākar's Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts (1832-83), 40-41.
is styled "the victorious camp," and the date is Monday the fullmoon of Vais\'\'haka in the year Samvat 1288 (A.D. 1322). The provisions are that, as before, each of the belligerents should confine himself to his own territory; neither of them should invade the possessions of the other; if a powerful enemy attacked either of them, they should jointly oppose him; if only a hostile general led the attack, troops should be sent against him; and if from the country of either any noble fled into the territory of the other taking with him anything of value he should not be allowed harbourage and all valuables in the refugee's possession should be restored. His good fortune went with Lavaqa\'apras\'ada in his attack on the Mar\'war chiefs whom he forced to retire. Meanwhile S\'ankha, who is described as the son of the ruler of Sindh but who seems to have held territory in Bhera, raised a claim to Cambay and promised Vastup\'ala Lavaqa\'apras\'ada's governor, that, if Vastup\'ala declared in his favour, he would be continued in his government. Vastup\'ala rejected S\'ankha's overtures, met him in battle outside of Cambay, and forced him to retire. In honour of Vastup\'ala's victory the people of Cambay held a great festival when Vastup\'ala passed in state through the city to the shrine of the goddess Ekalla Vira outside of the town.

Another of the deeds preserved in the Foms is a royal copperplate grant by Lavaqa\'apras\'ada or Lavaqa\'apras\'ada of a village, not named, for the worship of Soman\'atha. Lavaqa\'apras\'ada is described as the illustrious R\'\'anaka, the great chief, the local lord or Mandalat\'\'avara, the son of the illustrious Ranaka Analde born in the illustrious pedigree of the Chaulukya dynasty. The grant is noted as executed in the reign of Bhimadeva II. while one Bhabhuya was his great minister. Though Bhimadeva was ruling in A.D. 1232 (Samvat 1288) Lavaqa\'apras\'ada apparently had sufficient influence to make grants of villages and otherwise to act as the real ruler of Gu\'jara\'t. It was apparently immediately after this grant (A.D. 1232?) that Lavaqa\'apras\'ada abdicated in favour of Viradhavala.

Soon after his accession Viradhavala, accompanied by his minister Tejah\'pala, started on an expedition against his wife's brothers Sangana and Chamu\'nda the rulers of V\'amanasthali or Vanthali near Jun\'agadh. As in spite of their sister's advice Sangana and Chamu\'nda refused to pay tribute the siege was pressed. Early in the fight the cry arose Viradhavala is slain. But on his favourite horse Uparavata, Viradhavala put himself at the head of his troops, slew both the brothers, and gained the

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1 Bhanderkar's Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts (1892-83), 40.
2 According to other accounts S\'ankha, a Bhera chief, took up the cause of a certain Sayad or Musalm\'an merchant with whom Vastup\'ala had quarrelled. In the fight Lunap\'ala a Gola, one of Vastup\'ala's chief supporters, was slain and in his honour Vastup\'ala raised a shrine to the Lord Lunap\'ala. Bas Mala (New Edition), 301-302.
3 Kathavate's Kiritkarnamul, xv.-xvi.
4 Kathavate's Kiritkarnamul, xv.-xvi.
5 The modern Gujarati R\'\'an\'a.
6 Bhimadeva's name is preceded by the names of his ten Chaulukya predecessors in the usual order. The attributes of each are given as in published Chaulukya copperplates. Ind. Ant. VII, 180-213.
7 Bhanderkar's Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts (1892-83), 39.
boarded treasure of Vanthali. In an expedition against the chief of Bhadreśvara, probably Bhadresar in Kacch, Viradhavala was less successful and was forced to accept the Kacch chief's terms. The chroniclers ascribe this reverse to three Rājput brothers who came to Viradhavala's court and offered their services for 3,000,000 drammis (about £7500). "For 3,000,000 drammis I can raise a thousand men," said Viradhavala, and the brothers withdrew. They went to the court of the Bhadresar chief, stated their terms, and were engaged. The night before the battle the brothers sent to Viradhavala saying 'Keep ready 3000 men, for through a triple bodyguard we will force our way.' The three brothers kept their word. They forced their way to Viradhavala, dismounted him, carried off his favourite steed Uparavāsa, but since they had been his guests they spared Viradhavala's life.

Another of Viradhavala's expeditions was to East Gujarāt. Ghughula, chief of Godhra or Godhra, plundered the caravans that passed through his territory to the Gujarāt ports. When threatened with punishment by Viradhavala, Ghughula in derision sent his overlord a woman's dress and a box of cosmetics. The minister Tejāhpāla, who was ordered to avenge this affront, dispatched some skirmishers ahead to raid the Godhra cattle. Ghughula attacked the raiders and drove them back in such panic that the main body of the army was thrown into disorder. The day was saved by the prowess of Tejāhpāla who in single combat unhorsed Ghughula and made him prisoner. Ghughula escaped the disgrace of the woman's dress and the cosmetic box with which he was decorated by biting his tongue so that he died. The conquest of Ghughula is said to have spread Viradhavala's power to the borders of Mahārāṣṭra. The chroniclers relate another success of Viradhavala's against Muizz-ud-din, apparently the famous Muhammad Gori Sultan Muizz-ud-din Bahramshāh, the Sultan of Delhi (A.D. 1191-1205) who led an expedition against Gujarāt. The chief of Abu was instructed to let the Musalāmān force march south unmolested and when they were through to close the defiles against their return. The Gujarāt army met the Musalāmāns and the Abu troops hung on their rear. The Musalāmāns fled in confusion and cartloads of heads were brought to Viradhavala in Dholā. The chronicles give the credit of this success to Vastupāla. They also credit Vastupāla with a stratagem which induced the Sultan to think well of Viradhavala and prevented him taking steps to wipe out the disgrace of his defeat. Hearing that the Sultan's mother, or, according to another story, the Sultan's religious adviser, was going from Cambay to Makkā Vastupāla ordered his men to attack and plunder the vessels in which the pilgrimage was to be made. On the captain's complaint Vastupāla had the pirates arrested and the property restored. So grateful was the owner, whether mother or guide, that Vastupāla was taken to Delhi and arranged a friendly treaty between his master and the Sultan.
Their lavish expenditure on objects connected with Jain worship make the brothers Vastupāla and Tejāhpāla the chief heroes of the Jain chroniclers. They say when the Musalmān trader Sayd was arrested at Cambay his wealth was confiscated. Viradhavala claimed all but the dust which he left to Vastupāla. Much of the dust was gold dust and a fire turned to dust more of the Sayd's gold and silver treasure. In this way the bulk of the Sayd's wealth passed to Vastupāla. This wealth Vastupāla and his brother Tejāhpāla went to bury in Hadalaka in Kāthāvād. In digging they chanced to come across a great and unknown treasure. According to the books the burden of their wealth so preyed on the brothers that they ceased to care for food. Finding the cause of her husband Tejāhpāla's anxiety Anupamā said 'Spend your wealth on a hill top. All can see it; no one can carry it away.' According to the chroniclers it was this advice, approved by their mother and by Vastupāla's wife Lalitādevi, that led the brothers to adorn the summits of Abu, Gīrmār, and Sattrujāyā with magnificent temples.

The Sattrujāyā temple which is dedicated to the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha is dated A.D. 1232 (Samvat 1288) and has an inscription by Somesvara, the author of the Kīrtikāmudrī telling how it was built. The Gīrmār temple, also dedicated to Neminātha, bears date A.D. 1232 (Samvat 1288). The Abu temple, surpassing the others and almost every building in India in the richness and delicacy of its carving, is dedicated to Neminātha and dated A.D. 1231 (Samvat 1287). Such was the liberality of the brothers that to protect them against the cold mountain air each of their monas had a fire near him to warm himself and a hot dinner cooked for him at the close of the day. The finest carvers were paid in silver equal in weight to the dust chiselled out of their carvings.

The author Somesvara describes how he twice came to the aid of his friend Vastupāla. On one occasion he saved Vastupāla from a prosecution for peculation. The second occasion was more serious. Simha the maternal uncle of king Vīsāladeva whipped the servant of a Jain monastery. Enraged at this insult to his religion Vastupāla hired a Rājput who cut off Simha's offending hand. The crime was proved and Vastupāla was sentenced to death. But according to the Jains the persuasions of Somesvara not only made the king set Vastupāla free, but led him to upbraid his uncle for beating the servant of a Jain monastery. Soon after his release Vastupāla was seized with fever. Feeling the fever to be mortal he started for Sattrujāyā but died on the way. His brother Tejāhpāla and his son Jayantāpāla burned his body on the holy hill, and over his ashes raised a shrine with the name Svargārohanaprāśada The shrine of the ascent into Heaven.
In A.D. 1238 six years after his father’s withdrawal from power Viradhavala died. One hundred and eighty-two servants passed with their lord through the flames, and such was the devotion that Tejāhpāla had to use force to prevent further sacrifices.¹

Of Viradhavala’s two sons, Virama Visala and Pratāpamalla, Vastupāla favoured the second and procured his succession according to one account by forcing the old king to drink poison and preventing by arms the return to Anahilavāda of the elder brother Virama who retired for help to Jalālipura (Jabalpur). Besides, with his brother’s supporters Visala had to contend with Tribhuvanapāla the representative of the Anahilavāda Solankis. Unlike his father and his grandfather Visala refused to acknowledge an overlord. By A.D. 1243 he was established as sovereign in Anahilavāda. A later grant A.D. 1261 (Samvat 1317) from Kaḍi in North Gujarāt shows that Anahilavāda was his capital and his title Mahārāja Devaśrī King of Kings. According to his copperplates Visaladeva was a great warrior, the cruiser of the lord of Mālwa, a hatchet at the root of the turbulence of Mewād, a volcanic fire to dry up Singhasana of Devagiri’s ocean of men.² Visaladeva is further described as chosen as a husband by the daughter of Karnaṇā³ as and as ruling with success and good fortune in Anahilavāda with the illustrious Nāgada as his minister.⁴ The harsa praise Visaladeva for lessening the miseries of a three years famine,⁵ and state that he built or repaired the fortifications of Visalanagara in East and of Darbhavati or Dābhōl in South Gujarāt.

During Visaladeva’s reign Vāghela power was established throughout Gujarāt. On Visaladeva’s death in A.D. 1261 the succession passed to Arjunadēva the son of Visaladeva’s younger brother Pratāpamalla.⁶ Arjunadēva proved a worthy successor and for thirteen years (A.D. 1262-1274; Samvat 1318-1331) maintained his supremacy. Two stone inscriptions one from Verāval dated A.D. 1264 (Samvat 1320) the other from Kach dated A.D. 1272 (Samvat 1328) show that his territory included both Kach and Kathiavāda, and an inscription of his successor Sāraṅgadēva shows that his power passed as far east as Mount Abu.

The Verāval inscription of A.D. 1264 (Samvat 1320), which is in the temple of the goddess Harṣatā,⁷ describes Arjunadēva as the king

¹ Rās Māla, 302.
² Ind. Ant. VI. 191. The word for Mewād is Medapāta the Med or Mēr land.
³ The Karnā king would probably be Someśvara (A.D. 1253) or his son Narasimha III (A.D. 1254) of the Hysala Bāllālas of Dvārakamātra. Priest’s Kānarese Dynasties, 64, 69.
⁴ These details are mentioned in a grant of land in Māṇḍal in Ahmadābād to Beḷhams to fill a drinking fountain, repair temples, and supply offerings. Ind. Ant. VI. 219-213.
⁵ Rās Māla (New Ed.), 312. A Jaina Pattāvai or succession list of High-priests notices that the famine lasted for three years from Samvat 1318 (A.D. 1259). The text may be translated as follows: Vikrama Samvat 1318, three years’ famine the king (being) Visaladeva. Bhunderkar’s Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1889-84, 10, 333.
⁶ See Ep. Ind. I.
⁷ The inscription was first noticed by Colonel Tod; Rājasthān, I, 705; Western India, 506.
of kings, the emperor (chakrasarta) of the illustrious Chaulukya race, who is a thorn in the heart of the hostile king Nibhekanamalla, the supreme lord, the supreme ruler, who is adorned by a long line of ancestral kings, who resides in the famous Anahillapataka. The grant allots certain income from houses and shops in Somanatha Patan to a mosque built by Piroz a Muhammadan shipowner of Ormuz which is then mentioned as being under the sway of Amir Rukn-ud-din. The grant also provides for the expenses of certain religious festivals to be celebrated by the Shute sailors of Somanatha Patan, and lays down that under the management of the Muslim community of Somanatha any surplus is to be made over to the holy districts of Makka and Madina. The grant is written in bad Sanskrit and contains several Arabic Persian and Gujarati words. Its chief interest is that it is dated in four eras, "in 992 of the Prophet Muhammad who is described as the teacher of the sailors, who live near the holy lord of the Universe that is Somanatha; in 1320 of the great king Vikrama; in 945 of the famous Valabhi; and in 151 of the illustrious Simhu." The date is given in these four different eras, because the Muhammadan is the donor's era, the Samvat the era of the country, the Valabhi of the province, and the Simha of the locality. The Kachch inscription is at the village of Rav about sixty miles east of Bhuj. It is engraved on a memorial slab at the corner of the courtyard wall of an old temple and bears date A.D. 1272 (Samvat 1328). It describes Arjunadeva as the great king of kings, the supreme ruler, the supreme lord. It mentions the illustrious Maladeva as his chief minister and records the building of a step-well in the village of Rav.

Arjunadeva was succeeded by his son Sאותagadeva. According to the Vicharaśreni Sאותagadeva ruled for twenty-two years from A.D. 1274 to 1296 (Samvat 1331-1353). Inscriptions of the reign of S敖agadeva have been found in Kachch and at Abu. The Kachch inscription is on a pelia or memorial slab now at the village of Khokhar near Kathkot which was brought there from the holy village of Bhadresar about thirty-five miles north-east of Mándvi. It bears date A.D. 1275 (Samvat 1332) and describes S敖agadeva as the great king of kings, the supreme ruler, the supreme lord ruling at Anahillapataka with the illustrious Maladeva as his chief minister. The Abu inscription dated A.D. 1294 (Samvat 1350) in the temple of Vastupala regulates certain dues payable to the Jain temple and mentions S敖agadeva as sovereign of Anahillapataka and as having for vassal Vaisaladeva ruler of the old capital of Chandravati about twelve miles south of Mount Abu. A third inscription dated A.D.

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1 This is not Sultan Rukn-ud-din of the slave kings, who ruled from A.D. 1234 to A.D. 1235. Elliot and Dowson, II.
2 All four dates tally. The middle of A.D. 1264 (Samvat 1320) falls in Hijra 662. As the Valabhi era begins in A.D. 218-219 and the Sigha era in A.D. 1113, 945 of Valabhi and 151 of Sigha tally with A.D. 1264.
4 From an unpublished copy in the possession of Rao Sahib Dalpatram Praniwar Khakhar, late Educational Inspector, Kachch. Only the upper six lines of the inscription are preserved.
5 Asiatic Researches, XVI. 311; Rás Malá, 213.
1287 (Samvat 1343), originally from Somanātha, is now at Cintra in Portugal. It records the pilgrimages and religious benefactions of one Tripurāntaka, a follower of the Nakulāsār Paśupata sect, in the reign of Śarangadeva, whose genealogy is given. A manuscript found in Ahmadābād is described as having been finished on Sunday the 3rd of the dark fortnight of Jyesṭha in the Samvat year 1350, in the triumphal reign of Śarangadeva the great king of kings, while his victorious army was encamped near Āśāpalli (Ahmadābād).

Śarangadeva’s successor Karnadeva ruled for eight years A.D. 1296-1304 (Samvat 1352-1360). Under this weak ruler, who was known as Ghelo or the Insane, Gujarāt passed into Musalmān hands. In A.D. 1297 Alaf Khān the brother of the Emperor Ala-u-dīn Khilji (A.D. 1296-1317) with Naṣrat Khān led an expedition against Gujarāt. They laid waste the country and occupied Anahilavāda. Leaving his wives, children, elephants, and baggage Karnadeva fled to Ramadeva the Yādava chief of Devagiri. All his wealth fell to his conquerors. Among the wives of Karnadeva who were made captive was a famous beauty named Kaulādevi, who was carried to the harem of the Sultān. In the plunder of Cambay Naṣrat Khān took a merchant’s slave Malik Kafur who shortly after became the Emperor’s chief favourite. From Cambay the Muhammadans passed to Kāthiavāda and destroyed the temple of Somanātha. In 1304 Alaf Khān’s term of office as governor of Gujarāt was renewed. According to the Mīrāt-i-Ahmadi after the renewal of his appointment, from white marble pillars taken from many Jain temples, Alaf Khān constructed at Anahilavāda the Jāma Masjid or general mosque.

In A.D. 1306 the Cambay slave Kafur who had already risen to be Sultān Ala-u-dīn’s chief favourite was invested with the title of Malik Naib and placed in command of an army sent to subdue the Dakhan. Alaf Khān, the governor of Gujarāt, was ordered to help Malik Kafur in his arrangements. At the same time Kaulādevi persuaded the Emperor to issue orders that her daughter Devaladevi should be sent to her to Delhi. Devaladevi was then with her father the unfortunate Karnadeva in hiding in Bāglān in Nāsik. Malik Kafur sent a messenger desiring Karnadeva to give up his daughter. Karnadeva refused and Alaf Khān was ordered to lead his army to the Bāglān hills and capture the princess. While for two months he succeeded in keeping the Muhammadan army at bay, Karnadeva received and accepted an offer for the hand of Devaladevi from the Devagiri Yādava chief Sāṅkaradeva. On her way to Devagiri near Klura Devaladevi’s escort was attacked by a party of Alaf Khān’s troops, and the lady seized and sent to Delhi where she was married to prince Khizar Khān.

Chapter III

THE VAGHELAS.

Karnadeva,
A.D. 1296 - 1304.

1 Professor Bhandarkar’s Report for 1883-84, 17-18.

2 The same story is that king Karna had two Nāgar Brahman ministers Mādhava and Keśava. He slew Keśava and took Mādhava’s wife from her husband. In revenge Mādhava went to Delhi and brought the Muhammadans. After the Muhammadan conquest Mādhava presented Ala-u-dīn with 300 horses. In return Mādhava was appointed civil minister with Alaf Khān as military governor commanding a lakh of horsemen, 1500 elephants, 20,000 foot soldiers and having with him forty-five officers entitled to use kettledrums. Rās Mālī, 214.
Nothing more is known of Karṇādeva who appears to have died a fugitive.

Though the main cities and all central Gujarāt passed under Musalmaā rule a branch of the Vāghelās continued to hold much of the country to the west of the Sāhāram, while other branches maintained their independence in the rugged land beyond Ambā Bhawānī between Vīrpar on the Mahī and Posinā at the northmost verge of Gujarāt.  

GENEALOGY OF THE VĀGHELĀS.

Dhavalā,  
A.D. 1160  
Married Kumārāspāla's Aunt.

Arjuna,  
A.D. 1170  
Founder of Vāghula,

Lavangapnāśā,  
A.D. 1200  
Chief of Dholkā,  
Virardhavalā,  
A.D. 1233-1238  
Chief of Dholkā,  
Vishalādēva,  
A.D. 1243-1261  
King of Anahilavāḍa,  
Arjunādēva,  
A.D. 1262-1274  
Śālavādēva,  
A.D. 1274-1295  
Karṇādēva or Ghelā,  
A.D. 1296-1304.
PART II.

MUSALMÁN GUJARÁT.
A.D. 1297-1760.

This history of Musalman Gujarát is based on translations of the Mirât-i-Sikandari (A.D. 1611) and of the Mirât-i-Ahmedi (A.D. 1756) by the late Colonel J. W. Watson. Since Colonel Watson's death in 1889 the translations have been revised and the account enriched by additions from the Persian texts of Farishtuh and of the two Mirâts by Mr. Fazl Lutfullah Faridi of Surat. A careful comparison has also been made with other extracts in Elliot's History of India and in Bayley's History of Gujarát.
MUSALMÁN GUJARÁT.
A.D. 1297-1760.

INTRODUCTION.

MUHAMMADAN rule in Gujarát lasted from the conquest of the province by the Delhi emperor Alá-ud-din Khilji (A.D. 1295-1315), shortly before the close of the thirteenth century A.D., to the final defeat of the Mughal viceroy Mumín Khán by the Maráthás and the loss of the city of Khámísábát at the end of February 1758.

This whole term of Musalman ascendancy, stretching over slightly more than four and a half centuries, may conveniently be divided into three parts. The First, the rule of the early sovereigns of Delhi, lasting a few years more than a century, or, more strictly from A.D. 1297 to A.D. 1403; the Second, the rule of the Ahmedábád kings, a term of nearly a century and three-quarters, from A.D. 1403 to A.D. 1573; the Third, the rule of the Mughal Emperors, when, for little less than two hundred years, A.D. 1573-1760, Gujarát was administered by viceroys of the court of Delhi.

In the course of these 450 years the limits of Gujarát varied greatly. In the fourteenth century the territory nominally under the control of the Musalman governors of Patan (Achalábáda) extended southwards from Jhálor, about fifty miles north of Mount Abu, to the neighbourhood of Bombay, and in breadth from the line of the Málwa and Khánsáh hills to the western shores of peninsular Gujarát. The earlier kings of Ahmedábád (A.D. 1403-1450), content with establishing their power on a firm footing, did not greatly extend the limits of their kingdom. Afterwards, during the latter part of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries (A.D. 1450-1530), the dominions of the Ahmedábád kings gradually spread till they included large tracts to the east and north-east formerly in the possession of the rulers of Khánsáh and Málwa. Still later, during the years of misrule between A.D. 1530 and A.D. 1573, the west of Khánsáh and the north of the Konkan ceased to form part of the kingdom of Gujarát. Finally, under the arrangements introduced by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1583, more lands were restored to Málwa and Khánsáh. With the exception of Jhálor and Sirohi on the north, Dungarpur and Bánsváda on the north-east, and Áhirápur on

The first notice of the exercise of sovereignty by the Musalman rulers of Gujarát over lands farther south than the neighbourhood of Surat is in A.D. 1428, when king Ahmad I. (A.D. 1412-1443) contended with the Dakhán sovereign the possession of Káta (north latitude 19° 40'; east longitude 72° 47'). As no record remains of a Musalman conquest of the coast as far south as Danda Rája-puri or Janjira, about fifty miles south of Bombay, it seems probable that the North Konkan fell to the Musalman in A.D. 1297 as part of the recognised territories of the lords of Achalábáda (Pátan). (Raja Ráni, I. 352.) One earlier reference may be noted. In A.D. 1423, among the leading men slain in the battle of Saragar, about fifty miles north-east of Ujjain in Central India, was Sávánt, chief of Danda Rája-puri that is Janjira. Mirá- Isfandjári (Persian Text); 40, and Farahíshtah (Persian Text), II. 468.

*1396-26*
the east, since handed to Rājputāna and Central India, the limits of Gujārāt remain almost as they were laid down by Akbar.

Though, under the Musalmāns, peninsular Gujārāt did not bear the name of Kāthiāwāda, it was then, as at present, considered part of the province of Gujārāt. During the early years of Musalmān rule, the peninsula, together with a small portion of the adjoining mainland, was known as Sorath, a shortened form of Saurāshtra, the name originally applied by the Hindus to a long stretch of sea-coast between the banks of the Indus and Daman.1 Towards the close of the sixteenth century the official use of the word Sorath was confined to a portion, though by much the largest part, of the peninsula. At the same time, the name Sorath seems then, and for long after, to have been commonly applied to the whole peninsula.

For the author of the Mirāt-i-Ahmedī, writing as late as the middle of the eighteenth century (A.D. 1756 ; A.H. 1170), speaks of Sorath as divided into five districts or zillāhās: Hālār, Kāthiāwāda, Gohilvāda, Bāhrīvāda, and Jetvāda, and notices that though Navānagar was considered a separate district, its tribute was included in the revenue derived from Sorath.2 In another passage the same writer thus defines Saurāshtra:

Saurāshtra or Sorath comprehends the Sarkar of Sorath the Sarkar of Islāmmagar or Navānagar and the Sarkār of Kachh or Bhujnagar. It also includes several zillāhās or districts, Naiyād, which they call Jatwār, Hālār or Navānagar and its vicinity, Kāthiāwāda, Gohilvāda, Bāhrīvāda, Chorvār, Panchāl, Okhāgīr in the neighbourhood of Jagat, otherwise called Dwarka, Pabla, Khētr or Pātan Sonmatt and its neighbourhood, Nāghār also called Sālāgohā, and the Nākhāntā.3

1 The details of Akbar’s settlement in A.D. 1583 show Sorath with sixty-three subdivisions and Navānagar (Islāmmagar) with seventeen. Similarly in the A.H.-1580 Sorath with its nine divisions includes the whole peninsula except Jāhāvāda in the north, which was then part of Ahmedābād. Ghodwin, II, 64 and 66–71.
2 Bird’s History of Gujārāt, 415.
3 Naiyād is the present Naiyād Kāntā just ten miles south-west of Rākhānpur; containing Jatwār and Varam in the west near the Ran and spreading east to Sālāgohā and Munjāpur thirty to forty miles south-west of Pātan. Hālār is in the north-west of the peninsula; Kāthiāwāda in the centre; Gohilvāda in the southeast; Bāhrīvāda south-west of Gohilvāda; Chorvār or Churvār north-west of Vārāvāl; Panchāl in the north-east; Okhāgīr or Okhambandā in the extreme-west. Nākhāntā is the hollow between Kāthiāwāda and the mainland. Besides these names the author of the Mirāt-i-Ahmedī gives one more district in Sorath and others in Gujārāt. The name he gives in Sorath is Nāghār or Nāghār which he says is also called Sālāgohā. Sālāgohā is apparently a Slāfet and its neighbourhood, as Kādrā, Mādhpur, Chāngāsh, and Pātan in south Kāthiāwāda are still locally known as Nāghār, a tract famous for its fruitfulness. The Mirāt-i-Ahmedī contains the following additional local names: For Kālī thirty-five miles north-west of Ahmedābād, Bāndar; for Dabhā twenty-five miles south-west of Ahmedābād, Patīl-Nagrī; for Camlāy, Tāmānagāri; and for Vārāmār forty miles north-west of Ahmedābād, Jāhāvā; for Munjāpur twenty-two miles south-east of Rākhānpur and some of the country between it and Pātan, Vārāpā; for the tract ten miles south-east of Bāhrīvāda to the neighbourhood of Pātan, Kākrā; for the town of Rākhānpur in the Pātanpur Political Superintendency and its neighbourhood, Vāgālī; for the town of Pālanpur and its neighbourhood: up to Dānivāda, Dāhādā; for Bālasainor forty-two miles east of Ahmedābād with a part of Kājurdvānī in the Kāla district, Mastāsvānī; for Baroda, Pārkhā; for the subdivision of Jambūnār in the Broach district fifteen miles north-west of Broach city, Kālam; for Ahmānī that is Chota Udepur and the rough lands east of Gohilvā, Pālāshā.
The present Setthi stretches no farther than the limits of Junsagadi, Bantwa, and a few smaller holdings.

The name Kathiavarida is of recent origin. It was not until after the establishment of Mussamman power in Mewar that any portion of the peninsula came to bear the name of the tribe of Kathis. Even as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, the name Kathiavarida was applied only to one of the sub-divisions of the peninsula. In the disorders which prevailed during the latter part of the eighteenth century, the Kathis made themselves conspicuous. As it was from the hardy horsemen of this tribe that the tribute-exacting Marathis met with the fiercest resistance, they came to speak of the whole peninsula as, the land of the Kathis. This use was adopted by the early British officers and has since continued.

Under the Ahmedabad kings, as it still is under British rule, Gujarat was divided politically into two main parts; one, called the khilafa or crown domain administered directly by the central authority; the other, on payment of tribute in service or in money, left under the control of its former rulers. The amount of tribute paid by the different chiefs depended, not on the value of their territory, but on the terms granted to them when they agreed to become feudatories of the kings of Ahmedabad. Under the Gujarat Sultans this tribute was occasionally collected by military expeditions headed by the king in person and called mutkgti or country-seizing circuits.

The internal management of the feudatory states was unaffected by their payment of tribute. Justice was administered and the revenue collected in the same way as under the Anahilapur kings. The revenue consisted, as before, of a share of the crops received in kind, supplemented by the levy of special cesses, trade, and transit dues. The chief's share of the crops differed according to the locality; it rarely exceeded one-third of the produce, it rarely fell short of one-sixth. From some parts the chief's share was realised directly from the cultivator by agents called mutkeli; from other parts the collection was through superior landowners.

The Ahmedabad kings divided the portion of their territory which was under their direct authority into districts or mukdi. These districts were administered in one of two ways. They were either assigned to nobles in support of a contingent of troops, or they were set apart as crown domains and managed by paid officers. The officers placed in charge of districts set apart as crown domains were called mukdi. Their chief duties were to preserve the peace and to collect the revenue. For the maintenance of order, a body of soldiers from the army head-quarters at Ahmedabad was detached for service in each of these divisions, and placed under the command of the district governor. At the same time, in addition to the presence of this detachment of regular troops, every district contained certain

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2 Maktah and s채, the district administered by a mukdi, come from the Arabic root ـ ـ. This is an allusion to the public revenue or the lands cut and apportioned for the pay of the officers and their establishments.
fortified outposts called shānās, varying in number according to the character of the country and the temper of the people. These posts were in charge of officers called thānādārs subordinate to the district governor. They were garrisoned by bodies of local soldiery, for whose maintenance, in addition to money payments, a small assignment of land was set apart in the neighbourhood of the post. On the arrival of the tribute-collecting army the governors of the districts through which it passed were expected to join the main body with their local contingents. At other times the district governors had little control over the feudatory chiefs in the neighbourhood of their charge.

For fiscal purposes each district or sarkār was distributed among a certain number of sub-divisions or purganā, each under a paid official styled amīl or taksidār. These sub-divisional officers realised the state demand, nominally one-half of the produce, by the help of the headmen of the villages under their charge. In the sharehold and simple villages of North Gujarat these village headmen were styled patels or according to Musalmān writers mukaddams and in the simple villages of the south they were known as desāis. They arranged for the final distribution of the total demand in joint villages among the shareholders, and in simple villages from the individual cultivators. The sub-divisional officer presented a statement of the accounts of the villages in his sub-division to the district officer, whose record of the revenue of his whole district was in turn forwarded to the head revenue officer at court. As a check on the internal management of his charge, and especially to help him in the work of collecting the revenue, with each district governor was associated an accountant. Further that each of these officers might be the greater check on the other, King Ahmad I. (A.D. 1412 - 1443) enforced the rule that when the governor was chosen from among the royal slaves the accountant should be a free man, and that when the accountant was a slave the district governor should be chosen from some other class. This practice was maintained till the end of the reign of Muzaffar Shāh (A.D. 1511-1525), when, according to the Mirāt-i-Ahmedī, the army became much increased, and the ministers, condensing the details of revenue, farmed it on contract, so that many parts formerly yielding one rupee now produced ten, and many others seven eight or nine, and in no place was there a less increase than from ten to twenty per cent. Many other changes occurred at the same time, and the spirit of innovation creeping into the administration the wholesome system of checking the accounts was given up and mutiny and confusion spread over Gujarat. The second class of directly governed districts were the lands assigned to nobles for the maintenance of contingents of troops. As in other parts of India, it would seem that at first these assignments were for specified sums equal to the pay of the contingent. When such assignments were of long standing, and were large enough to swallow the whole revenue of a district, it was natural to simplify the

1 Further particulars regarding these village headmen are given below.
2 Bird’s History of Gujarat, 192; Mirāt-i-Sikandari, Persian Text, 44.
arrangement by transferring the collection of the revenue and the whole management of the district to the military leader of the contingent. So long as the central power was strong, precautions were doubtless taken to prevent the holder of the grant from unduly rackrenting his district and appropriating to himself more than the pay of the troops, or from exercising any powers not vested in the local governors of districts included within the crown domains. As in other parts of India, those stipulations were probably enforced by the appointment of certain civil officers directly from the government to inspect the whole of the noble’s proceedings, as well in managing his troops as in administering his lands. The decline of the king’s power freed the nobles from all check or control in the management of their lands. And when, in A.D. 1536, the practice of farming was introduced into the crown domains, it would seem to have been adopted by the military leaders in their lands, and to have been continued till the annexation of Gujarat by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1573.

It was the policy of Akbar rather to improve the existing system than to introduce a new form of government. After to some extent contracting the limits of Gujarat he constituted it a province or sābah of the empire, appointing to its government an officer of the highest rank with the title of sābahdar or viceroy. As was the case under the Ahmedshād kings, the province continued to be divided into territories managed by feudatory chiefs, and districts administered by officers appointed either by the court of Delhi or by the local viceroy. The head-quarters of the army remained at Ahmedshād, and detachments were told off and placed under the orders of the officers in charge of the directly administered divisions. These district governors, as before, belonged to two classes, paid officers responsible for the management of the crown domains and military leaders in possession of lands assigned to them in pay of their contingent of troops. The governors of the crown domains, who were now known as faujdārs or commanders, had, in addition to the command of the regular troops, the control of the outposts maintained within the limits of their charge. Like their predecessors they accompanied the viceroy in his yearly circuit for the collection of tribute.

As a check on the military governors and to help them in collecting the revenue, the distinct class of account officers formerly established by king Ahmed I. (A.D. 1412-1443) was again introduced. The head of this branch of the administration was an officer, second in rank to the viceroy alone, appointed direct from the court of Delhi with the title of dīwān. Besides acting as collector-general of the revenues of the province, this officer was also the head of its civil administration. His title dīwān is generally translated minister. And though the word minister does not express the functions of the office, which corresponded more nearly with those of a chief secretary, it represents with sufficient accuracy the relation in which the holder of the office of dīwān generally stood to the viceroy.

*Elphinston’s History, 76.*
For its revenue administration each district or group of districts had its revenue officials called *amin* who corresponded to the collector of modern times. There were also *amins* in the customs department separate from those whose function was to control and administer the land revenue. Beneath the *amin* came the *āmil* who carried on the actual collection of the land revenue or customs in each district or *parganah*, and below the *āmil* were the *fāisāls*, *mukaddīrs*, or *khālers* that is the revenue clerks. The *āmil* corresponded to the modern *māhilādār*, both terms meaning him who carries on the *āmal* or revenue management. In the leading ports the *āmil* of the customs was called *muṭasādī* that is civil officer.

The *āmil* or *māhilādār* dealt directly with the village officials, namely with the *mukaddīm* or headman, the *patvāsī* or lease manager, the *kāndīgo* or accountant, and the *hāvādār* or granary guard. The *hāvādār* superintended the separation of the government’s share of the produce, apportioned to the classes subject to forced labour their respective turn of duty; and exercised a general police superintendence by means of subordinates called *pasātī* or *vartamān*. In ports under the *muṭasādī* was a harbour-master or *vadh-bāndīr*.

Crown sub-divisions had, in addition, the important class called *desāis*. The *desāi’s* duty appears at first to have been to collect the *sahāmi* or tribute due by the smaller chiefs, landholders, and *vāntālādārs* or sharers. For this, in Akbar’s time, the *desāi* received a remuneration of 2½ per cent on the sum collected. Under the first viceroy Mirza Aziz Kokaltūsh (d.1573-1575) this percentage was reduced to one-half of its former amount, and in later times this one-half was again reduced by one-half. Though the Muhammadan historians give no reason for so sweeping a reduction, the cause seems to have been the inability of the *desāi* to collect the tribute without the aid of a military force. Under the new system the *desāi* seems merely to have kept the accounts of the tribute due, and the records both of the amount which should be levied as tribute and of other customary rights of the crown. In later times the *desāis* were to a great extent superseded by the district accountants or *majmuḍārs*, and many *desāis*, especially in south Gujarāt, seem to have sunk to *pātels*.

Up to the viceroyalty of Mirza Isā Tarkhān (1642-1644), the land tax appears to have been levied from the cultivator in a fixed sum, but he was also subject to numerous other imposts. Land grants in *wuzifah* carried with them an hereditary title and special exemption from all levies except the land tax. The levy in kind appears to have ceased before the close of Mughal rule. In place of a levy in kind each village paid a fixed sum or *jama* through the district accountant or *maḥmuḍār* who had taken the place of the *desāi*. As in many cases the *jama* really meant the lump sum at which the crown villages were assessed and farmed to the chiefs and *pātels*, on the collapse of the empire many villages thus farmed to chiefs and landlords were

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1 In Mārañ and in the north and north-east this official was styled *taḥālīdār* and in the Dakhan *maṅadīlādār*. 
retained by them with the connivance of the mujmudra desais and others.

The administration of justice seems to have been very complete. In each kashth or town kazi, endowed with glebe lands in addition to a permanent salary, adjudicated disputes among Muhammadans according to the laws of Islam. Disputes between Muhammadans and unbelievers, or amongst unbelievers, were decided by the department called the sadar, the local judge being termed a sadr. The decisions of the local kazi and sadar were subject to revision by the kazi or sadr of the subah who resided at Ahmedabad. And as a last resort the Ahmedabadi decisions were subject to appeal to the Kazi-ul-Kuzzat and the Sadri-ul-Suddar at the capital.

The revenue appears to have been classed under four main heads: 1. The Khazana-i-A'mirah or imperial treasury which comprehended the land tax received from the crown pargana or districts, the tribute, the five per cent customs dues from infidels, the import duties on stuffs, and the sayer or land customs including transit duties, slave market dues, and miscellaneous taxes. 2. The treasury of arrears into which were paid government claims in arrear either from the amils or from the farmers of land revenue; takizi advances due by the raja; and tribute levied by the presence of a military force. 3. The treasury of charitable endowments. Into this treasury was paid the 2½ per cent levied as customs dues from Muhammadans. The pay of the religious classes was defrayed from this treasury. 4. The treasury, into which the jasnah or capital tax levied from zimmis or infidels who acknowledged Muhammadan rule, was paid. The proceeds were expended in charity and public works. After the death of the emperor Farrukhsiyar (A.D. 1718-1719), this source of revenue was abolished. The arrangements introduced by Akbar in the end of the sixteenth century remained in force till the death of Aurangzeb in A.D. 1707. Then trouble and perplexity daily increased, till in A.D. 1724-25, Hamid Khan usurped the government lands, and, seeking to get rid of the servants and assignments, gradually obtained possession of the records of the registry office. The keepers of the records were scattered, and yearly revenue statements ceased to be received from the districts.

Akbar continued the system of assigning lands to military leaders in payment of their contingents of troops. Immediately after the annexation in A.D. 1573, almost the whole country was divided among the great nobles. Except that the revenues of certain tracts were

1 Zakat, literally, purification or cleansing, is the name of a tax levied from Muslims for charitable purposes or religious uses. In the endowments-treasury the customs duties from Muslims at 2½ per cent (the technical 1 in 40) as contrasted with the five per cent levied from infidels (the technical 2 in 40) were entered. Hence in these accounts zakat corresponds with customs duties, and is divisible into two kinds - khasak zakat or land customs and nahi zakat or sea customs.

2 Bird's History of Gujarat, 23. Though under the Mughal vicissitudes, the state demand was at first realized in grain, at last the custom was to assess each subdivision, and probably each village, at a fixed sum or jame. The literal amount for the subdivision was collected by an officer called mazcahd, literally, keeper of collections, the village headman, patel or taluqdad, being responsible each for his own village.

3 Bird's History of Gujarat, 325.
set aside for the imperial exchequer the directly governed districts passed into the hands of military leaders who employed their own agents to collect the revenue. During the seventeenth century the practice of submitting a yearly record of their revenues, and the power of the viceroy, to bring them to account for misgovernment, exercised a check on the management of the military leaders. And during this time a yearly surplus revenue of £300,000 (Rs. 60,00,000) from the assigned and crown lands was on an average forwarded from Gujarat to Delhi. In the eighteenth century the decay of the viceroy’s authority was accompanied by the gradually increased power of the military leaders in possession of assigned districts, till finally, as in the case of the Nawâls of Broach and Suret, they openly claimed the position of independent rulers.\(^1\)

Of both leading and minor officials the Mirât-I-Ahmedi supplies the following additional details. The highest officer who was appointed under the seal of the minister of the empire was the provincial divân or minister. He had charge of the fiscal affairs of the province and of the revenues of the khâlise or crown lands, and was in some matters independent of the viceroy. Besides his personal salary he had 150 navârs for two provincial thâwas Arjanpur and Khambâla. Under the divân the chief officers were the phîkîâr divân his first assistant, who was appointed under imperial orders by the patent of the divân, the darâghâh or head of the office, and the shârîf or mushrif and tehwîldâr of the duftâr khâmîsh, who presided over the accounts with munshis and mubâhîrs or secretaries and writers. The khâzîs, both town and city, with the sanction of the emperor were appointed by the chief law officer of the empire through the chief law officer of the province. They were lodged by the state, paid partly in cash partly in kind, and kept up a certain number of troopers. In the khâzî’s courts wâkits or pleaders and mûjtâs or law officers drew 8 as. to Re. 1 a day. Newly converted Musalmans also drew 8 as. a day. The city censor or muhtasib had the supervision of morals and of weights and measures. He was paid in cash and land, and was expected to keep up sixty troopers. The news-writer, who was sometimes also baâshi or military paymaster, had a large staff of news-writers called wâkit-nigâr who worked in the district courts and offices as well as in the city courts. He received his news-reports every evening and embodied them in a letter which was sent to court by camel post. A second staff of news-writers called sawânathnigâr reported rumours. A third set were the harkârs on the viceroy’s staff. Postal chankis or stations extended from Ahmedâbâd to the Ajmir frontier, each with men and horse ready to carry the imperial post which reached Shâh Jehânâbâd or Delhi in seven days. A line of posts also ran south through Broach to the Dakhan. The fâyûdârs or military police, who were sometimes commanders of a thousand and held estates, controlled both the city and the district police. The kotwâl or head of the city night-watch was appointed by the viceroy. He had fifty troopers and a hundred foot. In the treasury department were the amin or chief, the darâghâh, the

\(^1\) Bird’s History of Gujarat, 341.
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mushrif, the treasurer, and five messengers. In the medical department were a Yūnānī or Greek school and a Hindu physician, two under-
physicians on eight and ten annas a day, and a surgeon. The yearly
grant for food and medicine amounted to Rs. 2,000.¹

Besides the class of vernacular terms that belong to the administration of the province, certain technical words connected with the tenure of land are of frequent occurrence in this history. For each of these, in addition to the English equivalent which as far as possible has been given in the text, some explanation seems necessary. During the period to which this history refers, the superior holders of the land of the province belonged to two main classes, those whose claims dated from before the Musalmān conquest and those whose interest in the land was based on a Musalmān grant. By the Musalmān historians, landholders of the first class, who were all Hindus, are called zamīndārs, while landholders of the second class, Musalmāns as a rule, are spoken of as jāgīrīdārs. Though the term zamīndār was used to include the whole body of superior Hindu landholders, in practice a marked distinction was drawn between the almost independent chief, who still enjoyed his Hindu title of rōja, rāval, rāv, or jām, and the petty claimant to a share in a government village, who in a Hindu state would have been known as a gaurisīd.²

The larger landholders, who had succeeded in avoiding complete
subjection, were, as noticed above, liable only for the payment of a
particular fixed sum, the collection of which by the central power, in later
times usually required the presence of a military force. With regard
to the settlement of the claims of the smaller landholders of the
superior class, whose estates fell within the limits of the directly
administered districts, no steps seem to have been taken till the reign
of Ahmed Shāh I. (A.D. 1411 - 1443). About the year A.D. 1420 the
peace of his kingdom was so broken by agrarian disturbances, that
Ahmed Shāh agreed, on condition of their paying tribute and
performing military service, to re-grant to the landholders of the
zamīndār class as hereditary possessions a one-fourth share of their
former village lands. The portion so set apart was called vīnta or
share, and the remainder, retained as state land, was called tulpat.
This agreement continued till, in the year A.D. 1545, during the reign
of Mahbūb Shāh II. (A.D. 1538 - 1553), an attempt was made to annex
these private shares to the crown. This measure caused much
discontent and disorder. It was reversed by the emperor Akbār who,
as part of the settlement of the province in A.D. 1563, restored their
one-fourth share to the landholders, and, except that the Marāṭhās

¹ Mirāt-i-Āḥmedī Persian Text page 115.
² The title rōja is applicable to the head of a family only. The payment of tribute
to the Moghul or Marāṭhā does not affect the right to use this title. Rōja and rāv
seem to be of the same dignity as rōja. Rāval is of lower rank. The terms of rōja,
rēda, rāva, and rāva are called kavan and their sons dākivāna. The younger
sons of dākivāna become kawars that is landowners or gaurisīd, that is owners of
gaur or a mouthful. Jām is the title of the chief of the Jādeja tribe both of the older
branch in Kāgh and of the younger branch in Navānagar, or Little Kāgh in Kāthīārā, 
Rā Māla, II, 277.
afterwards levied an additional quit-rent from these lands, the arrangements then introduced have since continued in force.

During the decay of Musalmán rule in Gujarát in the first half of the eighteenth century, shareholders of the garásia class in government villages, who were always ready to increase their power by force, levied many irregular exactions from their more peaceful neighbours, the cultivators or inferior landholders. These levies are known as *val* that is a forced contribution or *pdl* that is protection. All have this peculiar characteristic that they were paid by the cultivators of crown lands to petty marauders to purchase immunity from their attacks. They in no case partook of the nature of dues imposed by a settled government on its own subjects. *Tora garás* more correctly *toda garás*, is another levy which had its origin in eighteenth century disorder. It was usually a ready-money payment taken from villages which, though at the time crown or *khāles*, had formerly belonged to the *gardoia* who exacted the levy. Besides a ready-money payment contributions in kind were sometimes exacted.

The second class of superior landholders were those whose title was based on a Musalmán grant. Such grants were either assignments of large tracts of land to the viceroy, district-governors, and nobles, to support the dignity of their position and maintain a contingent of troops, or they were allotments on a smaller scale granted in reward for some special service. Land granted with these objects was called *jāgir*, and the holder of the land *jāgirdār*. In theory, on the death of the original grantee, such possessions were strictly resumable; in practice they tended to become hereditary. No regular payments were required from holders of *jāgirs*. Only under the name of *pakhāsh* occasional contributions were demanded. These occasional contributions generally consisted of such presents as a horse, an elephant, or some other article of value. They had more of the nature of a free will offering than of an enforced tribute. Under the Musalmán contributions of this kind were the only payments exacted from proprietors of the *jāgirdār* class. But the Maráthas, in addition to contributions, imposed on *jāgirdārs* a regular tribute, similar to that paid by the representatives of the original class of superior Hindu landholders.

Under Musalmán rule great part of Gujarát was always in the hands of *jāgirdārs*. So powerful were they that on two occasions under the Ahmedábád kings, in A.D. 1554 and A.D. 1572, the leading

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1 Under the Maráthas the title *zamindār* was bestowed on the farmers of the land revenue, and this practice was adopted by the earlier English writers on Gujarát. In consequence of this change small landholders of the superior class, in directly administered districts, came again to be called by their original Hindu name of *gardas*. Mr. Elphinstone (History, 76 and note 19) includes under the term *zamindār* (1) half-subsidized chief-taxes, (2) independent governors of districts, and (3) farmers of revenue. He also notices that until Aurangzéb's time such chiefs as enjoyed some degree of independence were alone called *zamindārs*. But in Colonel Walker's time, A.D. 1703, at least in Gujarát (Bombay Government Selections, XXXIX, 25) the term *zamindār* included *dātās, majmudārs* (district accountants), *patels*, and *toldus* (village clerks).
nobles distributed among themselves the entire area of the kingdom. Again, during the eleventh century, when Mughal rule was on the decline, the “jagirdar” by degrees won for themselves positions of almost complete independence.

The changes in the extent of territory and in the form of administration illustrate the effect of the government on the condition of the people during the different periods of Musalman rule. The following summary of the leading characteristics of each of the main divisions of the four-and-a-half centuries of Musalman ascendancy may serve as an introduction to the detailed narrative of events.

On conquering Gujarát in A.D. 1297 the Musalman found the country in disorder. The last kings of Ahmadabur or Pátan, suffering under the defects of an incomplete title, held even their crown lands with no firmness of grasp, and had allowed the outlying territory to slip almost entirely from their control. Several of the larger and more distant rulers had resumed their independence. The Bhils and Kolis of the hills, forests, and rough river banks were in revolt. And stranger chiefs, driven south by the Musalman conquests in Upper India, had robbed the central power of much territory. The records of the early Musalman governors (A.D. 1297-1391) show suspicion on the side of the Delhi court and disloyalty on the part of more than one viceroy, much confusion throughout the province, and little in the way of government beyond the exercise of military force. At the same time, in spite of wars and rebellions, the country, in parts at least, seems to

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1 Details of A.D. 1671 given in the Míráḥ-Áhmdí show that the chief nobles were bound to furnish cavalry contingents varying from 4,000 to 25,000 horse, and held lands estimated to yield yearly revenues of £160,000 to £1,520,000. Bird’s Gujarát, 149-127.

2 According to the European travellers in India, during the seventeenth century, provincial governors, and probably to some extent all large holders of service lands, employed various methods for adding to the profits which the assigned lands were meant to yield them. Of these devices two seem to have been specially common: the practice of collecting a body of horse smaller than the number agreed for, and the practice of purveyance that is of levying supplies without payment. Sir Thomas Roe, from A.D. 1615 to 1618 English ambassador at the court of the emperor Jahángir, gives the following details of these irregular practices: “The Pátan (that is Pátan in Bengál) viceroy’s government was estimated at 5000 horse, the yearly pay of each trooper being £30 (Rs. 200), of which he kept only 1500, being allowed the surplus as dead pay. On one occasion, this governor wished to present me with 100 leaves of the finest sugar, as white as snow, each leaf weighing fifty pounds. On my declining, he said, ‘You refuse these leaves, thinking I am poor, but being made in my government the sugar costs me nothing, as it comes to me gratis.’” Sir Thomas Roe in Kerr’s Voyages, IX, 282-294. The same writer, the best qualified of the English travellers of that time to form a correct opinion, thus describes the administration of the Musalman governors of the seventeenth century: “They practice every kind of tyranny against the natives under their jurisdiction, oppressing them with continual exactions and are exceedingly severe from any way being opened by which the king may be informed of their infamous proceedings. They grind the people under their government to extract money from them, often hanging men up by the heels to make them confess that they are rich, or to ransom themselves from faults merely imputed with a view to fleece them.” Sir Thomas Roe in Kerr’s Voyages, IX, 338.

3 Of these settlements the principal was that of the Rathah chief who in the thirteenth century established himself at Idrâ, now one of the states of the Mahal Kâthâ. In the thirteenth century also, the Bhils from the north and Solha Farms and Kuthis from Sindh entered Gujarát. Ras Mâh, II, 269.
have been well cultivated, and trade and manufactures to have been flourishing.\(^1\)

The period of the rule of the Ahmedabad kings (A.D. 1403-1573) contains two divisions, one lasting from A.D. 1403 to A.D. 1530, on the whole a time of strong government and of growing power and prosperity; the other the forty-three years from A.D. 1530 to the conquest of the province by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1573, a time of disorder and misrule. In A.D. 1403 when Gujarat separated from Delhi the new king held but a narrow strip of plain. On the north were the independent chiefs of Sirohi and Jhalor, from whom he occasionally levied contributions. On the east the Raja of Jhad, another Rajput prince, was in possession of the western skirts of the hills and forests, and the rest of that tract was held by the mountain tribes of Bihals and Kolias. On the west the peninsula was in the hands of nine or ten Hindu tribes, probably tributary, but by no means obedient.\(^2\) In the midst of so unsettled and warlike a population, all the efforts of Muzaffar I., the founder of the dynasty, were spent in establishing his power. It was not until the reign of his successor Ahmed I. (A.D. 1412-1443) that steps were taken to settle the different classes of the people in positions of permanent order. About the year A.D. 1420 two important measures were introduced. Of these one assigned lands for the support of the troops, and the other recognised the rights of the superior class of Hindu landholders to a portion of the village lands they had formerly held. The effect of these changes was to establish order throughout the districts directly under the authority of the crown. And though, in the territories subject to feudatory chiefs, the presence of an armed force was still required to give effect to the king’s claims for tribute, his increasing power and wealth made efforts at independence more hopeless, and gradually secured the subjection of the greater number of his vassals. During the latter part of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth century the power of the Ahmedabad kings was at its height. At that time their dominions included twenty-five divisions or sarkears. Among nine of these namely Patan, Ahmedabad, Sûnh, Godhra, Champaner, Baroda, Broach, Nândod or Râjpipla, and Surat the central plain was distributed. In addition in the north were four divisions, Sirohi, Jhadar, Jodhpur, and Nâgor now in south-west and central Râjputâna; in the north-east two, Dungarpur and Bansvada, now in the extreme

\(^1\) Gujarât of about the year A.D. 1300 is thus described: 'The air of Gujarât is healthy, and the earth picturesque; the vineyards bring forth blue grapes twice a year, and the strength of the soil is such that the cotton plants spread their branches like willow and plane trees, and yield produce for several years successively. Besides Cambay, the most celebrated of the cities of Hind in population and wealth, there are 70,000 towns and villages, all populous, and the people abounding in wealth and luxuries.' Elliot’s History of India, III, 31, 32, and 43. Marco Polo, about A.D. 7292, says: 'In Gujarât there grow much pepper and ginger and indigo. They have also a great deal of cotton. Their cotton trees are of very great size, growing full six paces high, and attaining to an age of twenty years.' Yule’s Edition, II, 334. The cotton referred to was probably the variety known as desheya, Gossypium religiosum or peruvianum, which grows from ten to fifteen feet high, and bears for several years. Royle, 149-160.

\(^2\) Elphinstone’s History, 762.
MUSLAMAN PERIOD.

south of Rájpután; in the east and south-east three, Nándürbár now in Khándes, Mulk or Bágán now in Násik, and Rám Nágár or Dharampúr now in Surat; in the south four, Dándá-Rájapúr or Jánjira, Bombay, Bassein, and Daman now in the Konkán; in the west two, Sorat and Návánagar now in Káthiávád; and Káchi in the north-west. Besides the revenues of these districts, tribute was received from the rulers of Ahmadnagar, Burhánpúr, Berár, Golkonda, and Bijápúr, and customs dues from twenty-five ports on the western coast of India and from twenty-six foreign marts, some of them in India and others in the Persian Gulf and along the Arabian coast. The total revenue from these three sources is said in prosperous times to have amounted to a yearly sum of £11,460,000 (Rs. 11,46,00,000). Of this total amount the territorial revenue from the twenty-five districts yielded £5,840,000 (Rs. 5,84,00,000), or slightly more than one-half. Of the remaining £5,620,000 (Rs. 5,62,00,000) about one-fifth part was derived from the Dakhan tribute and the rest from customs-dues.

The buildings at Ahmadábád, and the ruins of Chámáná and Mehmúdábád, prove how much wealth was at the command of the sovereign and his nobles, while the accounts of travellers seem to show that the private expenditure of the rulers was not greater than the kingdom was well able to bear. The Portugese traveller Duarte Barbosa, who was in Gujurát between A.D. 1511 and A.D. 1514, found the capital Chámáná a great city, in a very fertile country of abundant provisions, with many cows and goats and plenty of fruit, so that it was full of all things. Ahmadábád was still larger, very rich and well

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1 Bird’s History of Gujrat, 110, 129, and 130.
2 The passage from the Mirát-i-Ahmedí, Bird 109, is: “A sum of 25 lakhs of káns and one éрова of ítáštímá, that were two parts greater, being altogether nearly equal to 5,000 and 62 lakhs of rupees, was collected from the Dakhan tribute and the customs of the European and Arab ports.” The word káns, from an old Kánárak word for gold, is the Musalamán name for the coin known among Hindus as saura or the wild-bull coin, and among the Portugese as the prata or temple coin. Primep Ind. Ant. Thomas’ Ed., II. U. T. 18. The old specimens of this coin weighed either 60 grains or half pagoda, or 120 grains the full pagoda. Thomas, Chup. 452, 11, 234, note. The star pagoda, in which English accounts at Madras were formerly kept, weighs 52-65 grains, and was commonly valued at Rs. 5 (Primep as above). At this rate in the present sum the 25 lakhs of káns would equal one éрова (100 lakhs) of rupees. The ítáštímá, two parts greater than the káns, would seem to be a gold coin, perhaps a variety of the Persian drosh (worth about 9s. English. Marsden, N. O. 445). Taking the two parts of a káns as fifteenth or sixteenth, this would give the ítáštímá a value of Rs. 41, and make a total customs revenue of 425 lakhs of rupees. This statement of the revenue of the kingdom is, according to the author of the Mirát-i-Ahmedí, taken from such times as the power of the Gujurát kings continued to increase; the total revenue of the twenty-five districts (£5,840,000) is the amount recovered in the year A.D. 1671. But the receipts under the head of Tributes must have been compiled from accounts of earlier years. For, as will be seen below, the neighbouring kings ceased to pay tribute after the end of the reign of Bahádúr (A.D. 1538). Similarly, the customs-revenues entered as received from Daman and other places must have been taken from the accounts of some year previous to A.D. 1530.

3 The remains at Chámáná in the British district of the Panch Mahálas are well known. Of Mehmúdábád, the town of that name in the district of Kaira, eighteen miles south of Ahmadábád, a few ruins only are left. In A.D. 1590 this city is said to have contained many grand edifices surrounded with a wall eleven miles (7-3 km) square with at every 1 mile (1 km) a pleasure house, and an enclosure for deer and other game. (Akaí-i-Akbarí: Ghadwin, II. 84.) The Mirát-i-Ahmedí makes no special reference to the sovereign’s share of the revenue. The greater part of the £5,820,000 derived from
supplied, embellished with good streets and squares, with houses of stone and cement. It was not from the interior districts of the province that the Ahmedshah kings derived the chief part of their wealth, but from those lying along the coast, which were enriched by manufactures and commerce. So it was that along the shores of the gulf of Cambay and southward as far as Bombay the limit of the Gujrat kingdom, besides many small sea-port, Barboza chooses out for special mention twelve towns of commerce, very rich and of great trade. Among these was Din, off the south coast of Kathavada, yielding so large a revenue to the king as to be a marvel and amusement. And chief of all Cambay, in a goodly, fertile, and pretty country full of abundant provisions; with rich merchants and men of great prosperity; with craftsmen and mechanics of subtle workmanship in cotton, silk, ivory, silver, and precious stones; the people well dressed, leading luxurious lives, much given to pleasure and amusement.

The thirty-eight years between the defact of king Bahadur by the emperor Humayun in A.D. 1535 and the annexation of Gujrat by Akbar in A.D. 1576 was a time of confusion. Abroad, the superiority of Gujrat over the neighbouring powers was lost, and the limits of the kingdom shrank; at home, after the attempted confiscation (A.D. 1549) of their shares in village lands the dissatisfaction of the superior landowners became general, and the court, beyond the narrow limits of the crown domains, ceased to exercise substantial control over

tribute and customs would probably go to the king, besides the lands specially set apart as crown domains, which in A.D. 1571 were returned as yielding a yearly revenue of 20,000,000 (200,000,000 farsaks). This would bring the total income of the crown to a little more than 64 millions sterling.

1 To Rukshanda Lodhi, emperor of Delhi, A.D. 1488-1517, is reported to have said: 'The magnificence of the kings of Delhi rests on wheat and barley; the magnificence of the kings of Gujrat rests on coral and pearls.' Bird, 322.

2 The twelve Gujrat ports mentioned by Barboza are: On the south coast of the peninsula, two: Patemux (Patan-Soomnath, now Veraval), very rich and of great trade; Surat-Mangalore (Mangrul), a town of commerce, and Din. On the shores of the gulf of Cambay: four: Godari (Gogha), a large town; Barbesy (Broach); Ganaduri or Gandar (Gandhar), a very good town; and Cambay. On the western coast five: Harav (Ravadar), a rich place; Surat, a city of very great trade; Danvy (Gandolvi), a place of great trade; Baxay (Kassan), a good seaport in which much goods are exchanged; and Tanamayumh (Thana-Mahim), a town of great Moorish mosques, but of little trade, (Stanley's Barboza, 59-65). The only one of these ports whose identification seems doubtful is Ravad, described by Barboza (page 87) as a pretty town of the Moors on a good river, twenty leagues south of Gandhar. This agree with the position of Ravadar on the Tapti, nearly opposite Surat, which appears in Al-Bakri (A.D. 1059) as Bahawar one of the capitals of south Gujrat and is mentioned under the name Rair, both in the Ain-i-Akhbari (A.D. 1599) and in the Miskat-i-Ahmadi for the year A.D. 1571, as a place of trade, 'in ancient times a great city.' In his description of the wealth of Cambay, Barboza is supported by the other European travellers of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. According to Nicolo de Conti (A.D. 1420-1444), the town, including its suburbs, was twelve miles in circuit abounding in spikeheard, lau, indigo, myrobalans, and silk. Athanasius Nikitin (A.D. 1458-1474) found it a manufacturing place for every sort of goods as long gowns damask and blankets; and Vartbena (A.D. 1503-1505) says it abounds in grain and very good fruits, supplying Africa Arabia and India with silk and cotton stuffs; it is impossible to describe its excellence.' Barboza's account of Ahmedshah is borne out by the statement in the Ain-i-Akhbari (Edwin, II. 63) that the whole number of the suburbs (quaero) of the city was 350, and in the Miskat-i-Ahmadi, that it once contained 380 suburbs each of considerable size, containing good buildings and markets filled with everything valuable and rare, so that each was almost a city. Bird, 311,
either its chief nobles or the more turbulent classes. In spite of these forty years of disorder, the province retained so much of its former prosperity, that the boast of the local historians that in A.D. 1573 Gujarat was in every respect allowed to be the finest country in Hindustan is supported by the details shortly afterwards (A.D. 1590) given by Abul Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari. The high road from Patan to Baroda was throughout its length of 150 miles (100 kos) lined on both sides with mango trees; the fields were bounded with hedges; and such was the abundance of mango and other fruit trees that the whole country seemed a garden. The people were well housed in dwellings with walls of brick and mortar and with tiled roofs; many of them rode in carriages drawn by oxen; the province was famous for its painters, carvers, inlayers, and other craftsmen.1

Like the period of the rule of the Ahmadshad kings, the period of Mughal rule contains two divisions, a time of good government lasting from A.D. 1573 to A.D. 1700, and a time of disorder from A.D. 1700 to A.D. 1750. Under the arrangements introduced by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1583, the area of the province was considerably curtailed. Of its twenty-five districts nine were restored to the states from which the vigour of the Ahmadshad kings had wrested them; Jalar and Jodhpur were transferred to Rajputana; Nagar to Ajmir; Mulher and Nandurbar to Khindesh; Bombay, Bassin, and Daman were allowed to remain under the Portuguese; and Dandadari (Jinjira) was made over to the Nizamshahis (A.D. 1490-1595) rulers of the Dakhan Ahmednagar. Of the remaining sixteen, Sirohi, Dungarpur, and Bavnava now in Rajputana, Kachch, Sindh in Rewa Kâňth, and Itambagar (Dharampur) in Surat were, on the payment of tribute, allowed to continue in the hands of their Hindu rulers. The ten remaining districts were administered directly by imperial officers. But as the revenues of the district of Surat had been separately assigned to its revenue officer or mutasaddi, only nine districts with 184 sub-divisions or parvats had been entered in the collections from the viceroy of Gujarat. These nine districts were in continental Gujarat, Patan with seventeen sub-divisions, Ahmadshad with thirty-three, Godhra with eleven, Champañer with thirteen, Baroda with four, Broach with fourteen, and Rajpipla (Nándod) with twelve. In the peninsula were Sorath with sixty-two and Navasagar with seventeen sub-divisions. This lessening of area seems to have been accompanied by even more than a corresponding reduction in the state demand. Instead of £5,840,00 (Rs. 5,84,00,500), the revenue recovered in A.D. 1571, two years before the province was annexed, under the arrangement introduced by the emperor Akbar, the total amount, including the receipts from Surat and the tribute of the six feudatory

1 Giselin's Ain-i-Akbari, II. 62-63. Compare Terry (Voyage, 50, 131) in 1615: Gujarat a very goodly large and increasing rich province with, besides its most spacious popula and rich capital Ahmadshah, four fair cities Cambay Baroda Broach and Surat with great trade to the Red Sea, Aachin, and other places. At the same time (Ditto, 172-180) though the villages stood very thick, the houses were generally very poor and loose, all set close together some with earthen walls and flat roofs, most of them cottages miserably poor little and base set up with sticks rather than timber.
HISTORY OF GUJARAT.

Introduction.

CONDITION OF GUJARAT. A.D. 1297-1763.

Under the Mughals, 1573-1750.

districts, is returned at £1,999,113 (Rs. 1,99,91,130) or little more than one-third part of what was formerly collected. ¹

According to the Mirat-i-Ahmed, this revenue of £1,999,113 (Rs. 1,99,91,130) continued to be realised as late as the reign of Muhammad Shah (A.D. 1719-1748). But within the next twelve years (A.D. 1748-1762) the whole revenue had fallen to £1,235,000 (Rs. 1,23,50,000). Of £1,999,113 (Rs. 1,99,91,130), the total amount levied by Akbar on the annexation of the province, £520,501 (Rs. 52,05,010), or a little more than a quarter, were set apart for imperial use and royal expense; £55,000 (Rs. 5,50,000) were assigned for the support of the viceroy and the personal estates of the nobles, and the remainder was settled for the pay of other officers of rank and court officials. Nearly £39,000 (Rs. 3,90,000) were given away as rewards and pensions to religious orders and establishments. ²

¹ The decrease in the Mughal collections from Gujarat compared with the revenues of the Ahmedabad kings may have been due to Akbar's moderation. It may also have been due to a decline in prosperity. Compare Roe's (1617) account of Todar Mantu, fifty miles south-east of Afnan. It was the best and most populous country Roe had seen in India. The districts were level with fertile soil abounding in corn cotton and cattle and the villages were so numerous and near together as hardly to exceed a span from each other. The town was the best built town he had seen in India with two-storied houses good enough for decent shopkeepers. It had been the residence of a Rajput Raja before the conquest of Akbar Shah and stood at the foot of a good and strong rock about which were many excellent works of hewn stone, well cut, with many tanks arched over with well-trenched vaults and large and deep descents to them. Near it was a beautiful grove two miles long and a quarter of a mile broad all planted with mangoes tamarind and other fruit trees, divided by shady walks and interspersed with little temples and idol altars with many fountains wells and summer houses of carved stone curiously arched so that a poor man's Englishman might have been content to dwell there. This observation may serve universally for the whole country, that ruin and devastation operate everywhere. For since the property of all has become vested in the king no person takes care of anything so that in every place the spoil and devastations of war appear and nowhere is anything repaired. See in Kerr's Voyages, IX. 329-331.

² Bird's History of Gujarat. Another detailed statement of the revenue of Gujarat given in the Mirat-i-Ahmed, applicable for the time when the author wrote (A.D. 1760) gives: Revenue from crown lands £210,758; tribute-paying divisions or sarbars £12,700; Mahi Kanntha tribute £175,741; Waizar Kanntha tribute £169,768; and Subbar Kanntha tribute £121,151; in all £2,578,78: adding to this £22,000 for Kachch, £40,000 for Dungarpur, and £2000 for Sirohi, gives a grand total of £2,644,878. According to a statement given by Bird in a note at page 108 of his History, the revenue of Gujarat under Jahangir (A.D. 1605-1627) averaged £1,260,000; under Aurangzeb (A.D. 1658-1707) £1,519,622; and under Muhammad Shah (A.D. 1719-1748) £1,218,300. In this passage the revenue under the emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) is given at £96,845. This total is taken from Gladwin's Akbar's Akhbar. But at vol. II, page 25 of that work there would seem to be some miscalculation; for while the total number of rupees (424,44,000) is 3,689,00,000, the conversion into rupees is Rs. 10,90,123; instead of Rs. 1,09,20,374. The corresponding returns given by Mr. Thomas (Rev. of the Mag. Emp. page 82) are under Akbar, A.D. 1574, £1,99,91,130; under Shah Jahan, A.D. 1648, £1,320,000; and under Aurangzeb, A.D. 1658 £2,173,220, A.D. 1663-1666 £2,330,500, A.D. 1697 £2,330,500, and A.D. 1707 £2,319,623. The varieties in the currency employed in different parts of the accounts cause some confusion in calculating the Gujarat revenue. Under the Ahmadi at least, the accounts were kept in tankas or shis of rupees, while under the Mughals diners, or four-fifths of a rupee took the place of tankas. The revenues from Surat Baroda Broach and other districts south of the Mahi were returned in chougis, a coin varying in value from something over 50s. of a rupee to slightly less than 44; the revenues from Dadhanpur and Morvi were entered in mahunid, a coin nearly identical in value with the chougis, while, as noticed above, the tribute and customs dues are returned in a gold currency, the tribute in azmur of about 5s. (Rs. 4) and the customs in idraAlmas of Rs. (Rs. 4).
Besides lightening the state demand the emperor Akbar introduced three improvements: (1) The survey of the land; (2) The payment of the headmen or *makaddams* of government villages; and (3) The restoration to small superior landholders of the share they formerly enjoyed in the lands of government villages. The survey which was entrusted to Raja Todar Mal, the revenue minister of the empire, was completed in A.D. 1575. The operations were confined to a small portion of the whole area of the province. Besides the six tributary districts which were unaffected by the measure, Godhra in the east, the western peninsula, and a large portion of the central strip of directly governed lands were excluded, so that of the 184 sub-divisions only 84 were surveyed. In A.D. 1575, of 7,261,849 acres (12,360,594 *bighas*), the whole area measured, 4,929,818 acres (8,374,438 *bighas*) or about two-thirds were found to be fit for cultivation, and the remainder was waste. In those parts of the directly governed districts where the land was not measured the existing method of determining the government share of the produce—either by selecting a portion of the field while the crop was still standing, or by dividing the grain heap at harvest time, was continued. In surveyed districts the amount paid was determined by the area and character of the land under cultivation. Payment was made either in grain or in money, according to the instructions issued to the revenue-collectors, 'that when it would not prove oppressive the value of the grain should be taken in ready money at the market price.' The chief change in the revenue management was that, instead of each year calculating the government share from the character of the crop, an uniform demand was fixed to run for a term of ten years.

Another important effect of this survey was to extend to cultivators in simple villages the proprietary interest in the soil formerly enjoyed only by the shareholders of joint villages. By this change the power of the military nobles to make undue exactions from the cultivators in their assigned lands was to some extent checked. It was, perhaps, also an indirect effect of this more definite settlement of the crown demand that the revenue agents of government and of the holders of assigned lands, finding that the revenues could be realised without their help, refused to allow to the heads of villages certain revenue dues which, in return for their services, they had hitherto enjoyed. Accordingly, in A.D. 1589-90, these heads of villages appealed to government, and Akbar decided that in assigned districts as well as in the crown domains from the collections of government lands two-and-a-half per cent should be set apart as a perquisite for men of this class.  

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1 *Áin-i-Akbari* (Gladwin), I. 306. The Áin-i-Akbari mentions four ways of calculating the state share in an unsurveyed field: (1) to measure the land with the crops standing and make an estimate; (2) to reap the crops, collect the grain in barns, and divide it according to agreement; (3) to divide the field as soon as the seed is sown; and (4) to gather the grain into heaps on the field and divide it there.  

2 The men who, under this 2½ per cent was granted, are referred to in the Mughals as *sudais*. Whatever doubt may attach to the precise meaning of the term *sudai*, it seems clear that it was as village headmen that the *sudais* petitioned for and received this grant. These *sudais* were the heads of villages with whom, as noticed above, the government agent for collecting the revenue dealt, and who, agreeing for the 1746-29.
When the heads of villages laid their own private grievance before government, they also brought to its notice that the Koli and Rajput landowners, whose shares in government villages had been resumed by the crown in A.D. 1545, bad since that time continued in a state of discontent and revolt, and were then causing the ruin of the subjects and a deficiency in the government collections. An inquiry was instituted, and, to satisfy the claims of landowners of this class, it was agreed that, on furnishing good security for their conduct and receiving the government mark on their contingent of cavalry, they should again be put in possession of a one-fourth share of the land of government villages. While the province was managed agreeably to these regulations, says the author of the Mīrāt-i-Aḥmedi, its prosperity continued to increase.¹

Though these measures did much to check internal disorder, Gujarat, for several years after it came under Mughal control, continued disturbed by insurrections among the nobles, and so imperfectly protected from the attacks of foreign enemies that between the years A.D. 1573 and 1600 each of its three richest cities, Ahmadabad, Cambay and Surat, was in turn taken and plundered.² During the rest whole village contribution, themselves carried out the details of allotment and collection from the individual cultivators. In the sharehold villages north of the Nerbada, the headman who would be entitled to this 2½ per cent was the representative of the body of village shareholders. South of the Nerbada, in villages originally colonised by officers of the state, the representatives of those officers would enjoy the 2½ per cent. In south Gujarat the destdor heads of villages also acted as district hereditary revenue officers; but it was not as district hereditary revenue officers, but as heads of villages, that they received, from Akbar this 2½ per cent assignment. In north Gujarat there were destdor who were only district revenue officers. These men would seem to have received no part of Akbar’s grant in 1589-90, for as late as A.D. 1700 the emperor Aurangzeb, having occasion to make inquiries into the position of the destdor, found that hitherto they had been supported by cesses and illegal exactions, and ordered that a stop should be put to all such extortions, and a fixed assignment of 2½ per cent on the revenues of the villages under their charge should be allowed them. It does not appear whether the Surat destdor succeeded in obtaining Aurangzeb’s grant of 2½ per cent as district revenue officers in addition to Akbar’s (A.D. 1649) assignment of 2½ per cent as heads of villages.

¹ Börd’s History of Gujarad, 409.
² Ahmadabad (A.D. 1585) by Muzaffar Shah the last king of Gujarat; Cambay (A.D. 1573) by Muhammad Husain Mirza; and Surat (A.D. 1609) by Malik Amber the famous general of the king of Ahmadnagar. In such unsettled times it is not surprising that the European travellers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, between Ahmadabad and Cambay found native merchants marching in large weekly caravans which rested at night within a space barricaded by carts. (Kerr, IX, 157 and 201.) The English merchants, on their way from one factory to another were accompanied by an escort, and, in spite of their guard, were on more than one occasion attacked by large bands of Rajputs. (Kerr, IX, 157, 157, 201, 203.) As regards the state of the different parts of the province, Nicholas Ossef, who went from Agra to Surat about 1610, describes the north, from Jhafar to Ahmadabad, as throughout the whole way a sandy and woody country, full of thievish beastly men, and savage beasts such as leenas and tigers; from Ahmadabad to Cambay the road was through sands and woods much infested by thieves; from Cambay to Broach it was a woody and dangerous journey; but from Broach to Surat the country was goodly, fertile, and full of villages, abounding in wild date trees. (Kerr, VIII, 303.) Passing from the mouth of the Tirthi to Surat, Mr. Copland (24th Dec. 1618) was delighted to see at the same time the most beautiful spring and harvest he had ever seen. ¹Often of two adjoining fields, one was given as a fine meadow, and the other waving yellow like gold and ready to be cut down, and all along the roads were many goodly villages.” (Kerr, IX, 319.) At that time the state of north-east Gujarat was very different. Terry, 1617 (Voyage, 404), describes the passage of nineteen days from Maha near Dhar to Ahmadabad as short journeys to
of the seventeenth century, though the country was from time to time disturbed by Koli and Rājput risings, and towards the end of the century suffered much from the raids of the Marathās, the viceroyas were, on the whole, able to maintain their authority, repressing the outbreaks of the disorderly classes, and enforcing the imperial claims for tribute on the more independent feudatory chiefs. Throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century the general state of the province seems to have been prosperous. Its cities were the wonder of European travellers. Surat, which only since the transfer of Gujarat to the Mughal empire had risen to hold a place among its chief centres of trade, was, in A.D. 1664, when taken by Shivaji, rich enough to supply him with plunder in treasure and precious stones worth a million sterling; and at that time Cambey is said to have been beyond comparison greater than Surat, and Ahmedābād much richer and more populous than either.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century disorder increased. Unable to rely for support on the imperial court, the viceroyas failed to maintain order among the leading nobles, or to enforce their tribute from the more powerful feudatories. And while the small Koli and Rājput landholders, freed from the control of a strong central power, were destroying the military posts, taking possession of the state share of village lands, and losing dues from their more peaceful neighbours, the burden of the Maratha tribute was year by year growing heavier. During the last ten years of Musalmān rule so entirely did the viceroy’s authority forsake him, that, according to the author of the Mīrāt-ī-Ahmedi, when the great landholders refused to pay their tribute, the viceroy had no power to enforce payment. And so faithless had the great landowners become that the viceroy could not pass the city gate without an escort.

a wilderness where a way had to be cut and made even and the great spaces required for the Mughal’s camp rid and made plain by grubbing up trees and bushes. And between Cambay and Ahmedābād De la Vallee, A.D. 1689 (Travels, Hakluyt Ed. 7. 92), resolved to go with the kaffas since the insecurity of the ways did not allow him to go alone. Still at that time Gujarāt as a whole (see above page 220 note 3) was an exceeding rich province, a description which twenty years later (1688) is borne out by Mandelœuf (Travels, French Edition, 30): No province in India is more fertile, none yields more fruit or victuals. With the least of the author of the Mīrāt-ī-Ahmedi (A.D. 1730) that Gujarāt was the richest province in India compare Khād Khan’s (A.D. 1719) remark (Elliot, VII. 530): This rich province which no other province in India can equal.

4Crèvecoeur’s Historical Fragments, 17.

The following are some of the notices of Ahmedābād and Cambay by the European travellers of the seventeenth century: Cambay, 1598, trade so great that if he had not seen it he would not have believed it possible (Cesar Frederick): 1633, indifferent large with sufficiently spacious suburbs and a great concourse of vessels (De la Vallee, Hakluyt Ed. I. 66-67); 1635, beyond comparison larger than Surat (Mandelœuf, 101-108); 1668-1671, twice as big as Surat (Baldens in Churchill, III. 506). Ahmedābād, 1689, a very great city and populous (Cesar Frederick): 1688, competently large with great suburbs, a goodly and great city; with large fair and straight but sadly dusty streets (De la Vallee, Hakluyt Ed. I. 56); 1627, large and beautiful with many broad and comely streets, a rich and uniform bazar, and shops replete with gums perfumes spices silk and calicoes (Herbert’s Travels, 3rd Ed. 86): 1638, great manufactures, satin and velvet, silk and cotton (Mandelœuf, 80); 1669, the greatest city in India, nothing inferior to Venice for rich silks and gold stuffs (Gemelli Careri in Churchill, IV. 158).

5Bird, 411.
The above summary contains frequent references to three classes of zamindārs: (1) The zamindārs of the self-governed states; (2) The greater zamindārs of the crown districts; and (3) The lesser zamindārs of the crown districts.

In the case of the zamindārs of self-governed states the principle was military service and no tribute. The author of the Mirāt-i-Almedī says that finally the zamindārs of the self-governed states ceased to do service. In spite of this statement it seems probable that some of this class served almost until the complete collapse of the empire, and that tribute was rarely levied from them by an armed force. In the Mirāt-i-Almedī account of the office of sūbahdār or māzīn sūbah the following passage occurs: When occasion arose the māzīnns used to take with their armies the contingents of the Rānās of Udepur Dūngarpur and Bānsvāda, which were always permanently posted outside their official residences (in Almedīsid). This shows that these great zamindārs had official residences at the capital, where probably their contingents were posted under wābls or agents. It, therefore, seems probable that their tribute too would be paid through their representatives at the capital and that a military force was seldom sent against them. Accordingly notices of military expeditions in the tributary sarkārs are rare though they were of constant occurrence in the crown districts.

The position of the zamindārs of the khāls or crown districts was very different from that of the zamindārs of self-governed territories. The khālsa zamindārs had been deprived of the greater portion of their ancestral estates which were administered by the viceroyal revenue establishment. In some instances their capitals had been annexed. Even if not annexed the capital was the seat of a fanjādār who possessed the authority and encroached daily on the rights and privileges of the chieftain. The principal chiefs in this position were those of Rājpīpla and Idar in Gujarāt and the Jām of Navānagar in Kāthiāvāda. Of the three, Rājpīpla had been deprived of his capital Nānked and of all the fertile districts, and was reduced to a barren sovereignty over rocks, hills and Bihās at Rājpīpla. Idar had suffered similar treatment and the capital was the seat of a Muhammadan fanjādār. Navānagar, which had hitherto been a tributary sarkār, was during the reign of Aurangzib made a crown district. But after Aurangzib's death the Jām returned to his capital and again resumed his tributary relations.

The lesser holders, including grādās wāntādārs and others, had suffered similar deprivation of lands and were subject to much encroachment from the government officials. Throughout the empire widespread discontent prevailed among subordinate holders of this description as well as among all the zamindārs of the crown districts, so that the successes of Shivāji in the Deccan found ardent sympathisers even in Gujarāt. When the zamindārs saw that this Hindu rebel was strong enough to pillage Surat they began to hope that a day of deliverance was near. The death of Aurangzib (A.D. 1707) was the signal for these restless spirits to bestir themselves. When the Marāthas began regular inroads they were hailed as deliverers from the yoke
of the Mughal. The Rājpipla chief afforded them shelter and a
passage through his country. The encouragement to anarchy given
by some of the Rājput viceroys who were anxious to emancipate
themselves from the central control further enabled many chieftains
girāsīs and others to absorb large portions of the crown domains,
and even to recover their ancient capitals. Finally disaffected
Muhammadan faujdārs succeeded in building up estates out of the
possessions of the crown and founding the families which most of the
present Muhammadan chieftains of Gujarat represent.

When the imperial power had been usurped by the Marātha
leaders, the chiefs who had just shaken off the more powerful Mughal
yoke were by no means disposed tamely to submit to Marātha
domination. Every chief resisted the levy of tribute and Momin Khān
reconquered Ahmedābād. In this struggle the Marāthas laboured
under the disadvantage of dissensions between the Peshwa and the Gaikwār.
They were also unaware of the actual extent of the old imperial
domain and were ignorant of the amount of tribute formerly levied.
They found that the faujdārs, who, in return for Marātha aid in enabling
them to absorb the crown parganās, had agreed to pay tribute, now
joined the zamīndārs in resisting Marātha demands, while with few
exceptions the desāis and majmudārs either openly allied themselves
with the zamīndārs or were by force or fraud deprived of their records.

So serious were the obstacles to the collection of the Marātha tribute
that, had it not been for the British alliance in a.d. 1802, there seems
little doubt that the Gaikwār would have been unable to enforce his
demands in his more distant possessions. The British alliance checked
the disintegration of the Gaikwār’s power, and the permanent settlement
of the tribute early in this century enabled that chief to collect a large
revenue at a comparatively trifling cost. Not only were rebels like
Malhārṇāo and Kānōji suppressed, but powerful servants like Vithalrāv
Devāji, who without doubt would have asserted their independence,
were confirmed in their allegiance and the rich possessions they had
acquired became part of the Gaikwār’s dominions.

It must not be supposed that while the larger chiefs were busy
absorbing whole parganās the lesser chiefs were more backward.
They too annexed villages and even Mughal posts or thāndās, while
wāntādārs or sharers absorbed the talpat or state portion, and, under
the name of tora godis, daring spirits imposed certain rights over
crown villages once their ancient possessions, or, under the name of pāl
or vōl, enforced from neighbouring villages payments to secure immunity
from pillage. Even in the Baroda district of the thirteen Mughal posts
only ten now belong to the Gaikwār, two having been conquered by
gīrīsās and one having fallen under Broach. In Saurashtra except
Rānpur and Gogha and those in the Amreli district, not a single Mughal
post is in the possession either of the British Government or of the

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1 The usual explanation of tora godis is the word tōda meaning the beam-end
above each house door. The sense being that it was a levy exacted from every house
in the village. A more likely derivation is tōda a heap or money-bag with the sense
of a ready-money levy. Tōda differed from vōl in being exacted from the godis or
land once the property of the latter’s ancestors.
Gáikwár. A reference to the Mughal posts in other parts of Gujarát shows that the same result followed the collapse of Musalmán power.

Since the introduction of Musalmán rule in a.d. 1297 each successive government has been subverted by the ambition of the nobles and the disaffection of the chiefs. It was thus that the Gujarát Sultáns rendered themselves independent of Dehli. It was thus that the Sultán's territories became divided among the nobles, whose dissensions reduced the province to Akbar's authority. It was thus that the chiefs and local governors, conniving at Marátha inroads, subverted Mughal rule. Finally it was thus that the Gáikwár lost his hold of his possessions and was rescued from ruin solely by the power of the British.
CHAPTER I.

EARLY MUSALMÁN GOVERNORS.
A.D. 1297 - 1403.

Excerpt the great expedition of Muhammad Ghaznavi against Somnath in A.D. 1024; the defeat of Muhammad Muiz-ud-din or Shahab-ud-din Ghor by Bhim Dev II. of Anshahulavāda about A.D. 1178; and the avenging sack of Anshahulavāda and defeat of Bhim by Kutb-ud-din Elbak in A.D. 1194, until the reign of Alá-ud-din Khilji in A.D. 1295 - 1316, Gujarat remained free from Muhammadan interference. In A.D. 1297, Ulugh Khán, general of Alá-ud-din and Nasrat Khán Wazir were sent against Anshahulavāda. They took the city expelling Karan Waghela, usually called Ghelo The Mad, who took refuge at Devagudhi with Rámdeva the Yadav sovereign of the north Dakhan. They next seized Khabšt (the modern Cambay), and, after appointing a local governor, returned to Delhi. From this time Gujarat remained under Muhammadan power, and Ulugh Khán, a man of great energy, by repeated expeditions consolidated the conquest and established Muhammadan rule. The Kánsájíra Rása says that he plundered Somnath, and there is no doubt that he conquered Jhálor (the ancient Jahlinda) from the Songara Chohán. After Ulugh Khán had governed Gujarat for about twenty years, at the instigation of Malik Káfir, he was recalled and put to death by the emperor Alá-ud-din.

Ulugh Khán's departure shook Muhammadan power in Gujarat, and Ramál-ud-din, whom Mubarak Khilji sent to quell the disturbances, was slain in battle. Sedition spread till Ain-ul-Mulk Multání arrived.

1 Somnath (north latitude 20° 55'; east longitude 70° 33'), the temple of Mahádev, Lord of the Moon, near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Kathádvāda.
2 Anshahulavāda (north latitude 25° 48'; east longitude 22° 2'), Nerbudda or Patan, on the south bank of the Saraswati river, sixty-five miles north-east of Ahmedabad, was from A.D. 746 to A.D. 1298 the capital of the Rájput dynasties of Gujarat. As a result of Muhammad Ghor's defeat the Tarikh-i-Sunnth (Burges, 112, 113) states that the Turkish Afghans and Mughul prisoners, according to the rule of the Khurán (XXIV, 20) were distributed, the woman to the woman and the good women to the good men. Of the male prisoners the better class after having their heads shaved were enrolled among the Chakwraj and Wadhel tribes of Rájput. The lower class were allotted to the Kolí, Khants, Dabrians, and Mavas. All were allowed to keep their wedding and funeral ceremonies and to remain aloof from other classes.
3 The Mirád-i-Ahméddi gives an account of an expedition by one Ali Khán a noble of Sultan Sanjá's against Anshahulavāda in A.D. 1257. He is said to have built the large stone mosque without the city. Ali Khán returned unsuccessful, but not without levyin tribute.
4 Devagudhi near Daulatabad in the Dakhan, about ten miles north-west of Aurangabad (north latitude 21° 37'; east longitude 75° 18'), is the Mirád-i-Ahméddi has Devagudhi Chandah, which is in the Central Provinces.
5 Jhálor (north latitude 27° 23'; east longitude 72° 40') in the Rájput state of Jodhpur, seventy miles south-west from south from the city of Jodhpur.
6 Bayley (Gujarat, 39 note) shows strong ground for holding that, though Gujarat was conquered by Ulugh Khán a brother of Alá-ud-din, its first governor was not Ulugh Khán but Álp Khán a brother-in-law of Alá-ud-din. According to this account Ulugh Khán died in A.D. 1299 and Alp Khán at Malik Káfir's instigation was killed in A.D. 1313. Zia Barní (Billings, III, 169) supports this account.
with a powerful army, defeated the rebels and restored order. He was succeeded by Zafar Khán, who after completing the subjection of the country was recalled, and his place supplied by Hisám-ud-din Parmáır. This officer, showing treasonable intentions, was imprisoned and succeeded by Malik Wájíd-ud-din Kurnáshi, who was afterwards ennobled by the title of Táj or Sadr-ul-Mulk. Khúsraw Khán Parmáır was then appointed governor, but it is not clear whether he ever joined his appointment. The next governor to whom reference is made is Táj-ul-Mulk, who about A.D. 1320, was, for the second time, chosen as governor by Sultán Ghiás-ud-din Tughlák. He was succeeded by Malik Mukhíl, who held the titles of Khán Jahan and Náíb-i-Mukhtár, and who was appointed by Sultán Muhammad Tughlák, A.D. 1325-1351. Subsequently the same emperor granted the government of Gujarát to Ahmad Ayáz, Malik Mukhíl continuing to act as his deputy. Afterwards when Ahmad Ayáz, who received the title of Khwájah Jahan, proceeded as governor to Gujarát, Malik Mukhíl acted as his minister. And about A.D. 1338, when Khwájah Jahan was sent against the emperor's nephew Karsháp and the Rája of Kámpalí who had sheltered him, Malik Mukhíl succeeded to the post of governor. On one occasion between Baroda and Dabhoi Malik Mukhíl, who was escorting treasure and a caravan of merchants to Délhi, was plundered by some bands of the Amrání Sadah or Captains of hundreds, freebooters, most of them New Musálímás or Mughal converts, and the rest Turk and Afghan adventurers. This success emboldened these banditti and for several years they caused loss and confusion in Gujarát. At last, about A.D. 1346, being joined by certain Muhammadán nobles and Hindu chieftains, they broke into open rebellion and defeated one Aází, who was appointed by the emperor to march against them. In the following year, A.D. 1347, Muhammad Tughlák, advancing in person, defeated the rebels, and sacked the towns of Cambay and Surat. During the same campaign he drove the Gohlí chief Mokherji out of his stronghold on Pirám Island near Gogha on the Gulf of Cambay, and then, landing his forces, after a stubborn conflict, defeated the Gohlí, killing Mokherji and capturing Gogha. Afterwards Muhammad Tughlák left for Daulátabád in the Dákhan, and in his absence the chiefs and nobles under Malik Tughán, a leader of the Amrání Sadah, again rebelled, and, obtaining possession of Pátan, imprisoned Muíz-z-ud-din the viceroy. The insurgents then plundered Cambay, and afterwards laid siege to Broach. Muhammad Tughlák at once marched for Gujarát and relieved Broach. Malik Tughán retreated to Cambay, whither he was followed by Malik Yúsuf, whom the emperor sent in pursuit of him. In the battle that ensued near Cambay, Malik Yúsuf was defeated and slain, and

1 According to Zik Barmi (Eliot, Ill. 213) Hisám-ud-din was the mother's brother, according to others he was the brother of Hasan, afterwards Khusráv Khán Parmáır, the favourite of Mubarak Kháñ. On coming to Gujarát Hisám-ud-din collected his Parmáır kindred and revolted, but the rebels joining against him seized him and sent him to Délhi. To their disgust Mubarak in his irritation for Hisám-ud-din's nephew or brother, after slapping Hisám-ud-din on the face set him at liberty.

2 In the Kámpalí, probably on the Tungabhádhrá near Víjáýnagar, Brigg's Muhammadan Power in India, 1. 428 and 428. Briggs speaks of two Kámpalí ees on the Gauges and the other on the Tungabhádhrá near Bijáámágár.
all the prisoners, both of this engagement and those who had been previously captured, were put to death by Malik Tughán. Among the prisoners was Muizz-ud-din, the governor of Gujarat. Muhammad Tughlak now marched to Cambay in person, whence Malik Tughán retreated to Pátan, pursued by the emperor, who was forced by stress of weather to halt at Asáwal.1 Eventually the emperor came up with Malik Tughán near Kadi and gained a complete victory, Malik Tughán fleeing to Thatha in Sindh. To establish order throughout Gujarat Muhammad Tughlak marched against Girnár,2 reduced the fortress,3 and levied tribute from the chief named Khengár. He then went to Kachh, and after subduing that country returned to Sorath. At Gondal he contracted a fever, and before he was entirely recovered, he advanced through Kachh into Sindh with the view of subduing the Sumra chief of Thatha, who had sheltered Malik Tughán. Before reaching Thatha he succumbed to the fever, and died in the spring of A.D. 1351. Shortly before his death he appointed Nizám-ul-Mulk to the government of Gujarat.

In A.D. 1351, Firúz Tughlak succeeded Muhammad Tughlak on the throne of Delhi. Shortly after his accession the emperor marched to Sindh and sent a force against Malik Tughán. About A.D. 1360 he again advanced to Sindh against Jám Bábáná. From Sindh he proceeded to Gujarat, where he stayed for some months. Next year, on leaving for Sindh for the third time, he bestowed the government of Gujarat on Zafar Kháán in place of Nizám-ul-Mulk. On Zafar Kháán’s death, in A.D. 1373 according to Farishštāh and A.D. 1371 according to the Mirát-ı-Áhmed, he was succeeded by his son Daryá Kháán who appears to have governed by a deputy named Shams-ul-din Anwar Kháán. In A.D. 1376, besides presents of elephants, horses and other valuables, one Shams-ul-din Dámghání offered a considerable advance on the usual collections from Gujarat. As Daryá Kháán would not agree to pay this sum he was displaced and Shams-ul-din Dámghání was appointed governor. Finding himself unable to pay the stipulated amount this officer rebelled and withheld the revenue. Firúz Tughlak sent an army against him, and by the aid of the chieftains and people, whom he had greatly oppressed, Shams-ul-din was slain. The government of the province was then entrusted to Farhat-ul-Mulk Rási Kháán. In about A.D. 1388, a noble named Síkandár Kháán was sent to supersede Farhat-ul-Mulk, but was defeated and slain by him. As the emperor Firúz Tughlak died shortly after no notice was taken of Farhat-ul-Mulk’s conduct and in the short reign of Firúz’s successor Ghís-ud-din Tughlak, no change was made in the government of Gujarat. During the brief rule of Abu Bakr, Farhat-ul-Mulk continued

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1 Asáwal (north latitude 22° 0; east longitude 73° 36’), a town of some size, afterwards, A.D. 1413, made the capital of the Muslim kings of Gujarat and called Ahmedabad.
2 Girnár (north latitude 21° 30’; east longitude 70° 42’), in the Sorath sub-division of the peninsula of Kathiaváda.
3 Both the Mirát-ı-Áhmed and the Tárkh-ı-Firuz Shíki say that the fortress was taken. The Qáparí or citadel of Junágbí, in the plain about two miles west of Mount Girnár, is probably meant.
Chapter I.
Early Musalmán Governors.
Muhammad Tughlak II, Emperor, 1391-1393.

ZAFAR KHÁN
Governor, 1391-1393.

BATTLE OF JITPUR; FARHAT-UL-MULK SLAIN, 1391.

ZAFAR KHÁN
Attackas ÍdáR, 1393.

undisturbed. But in A.D. 1391, on the accession of Násír-ud-din Muhammad Tughlak II., a noble of the name of Zafar Khán was appointed governor of Gujarát, and despatched with an army to recall or, if necessary, expel Farhat-ul-Mulk.

This Zafar Khán was the son of Wajih-ul-Mulk, of the Tánk tribe of Rájpúts who claim to be of Suryavansi descent and together with the Gurjars appear from very early times to have inhabited the plains of the Punjab. Of Wajih-ul-Mulk’s rise to power at the Dehli court the following story is told. Before he sat on the throne of Dehli, Firúz Tughlak, when hunting in the Punjab, lost his way and came to a village near Thánesar, held by chiefstans of the Tánk tribe. He was hospitably entertained by two brothers of the chief’s family named Sáháram and Sádhu, and became enamoured of their beautiful sister. When his hosts learned who the stranger was, they gave him their sister in marriage and followed his fortunes. Afterwards Firúz persuading them to embrace Islám, conferred on Sáháram the title of Wajih-ul-Mulk, and on Sádhu the title of Shamsír Khán. Finally, in A.D. 1351, when Firúz Tughlak ascended the throne, he made Shamsír Khán and Zafar Khán, the son of Wajih-ul-Mulk, his cup-bearers, and raised them to the rank of nobles.

In A.D. 1391, on being appointed viceroy, Zafar Khán marched without delay from Gujarát. In passing Nágor he was met by a deputation from Cambay, complaining of the tyranny of Rástí Khán. Consoling them, he proceeded to Pátan, the seat of government, and thence marched against Rástí Khán. The armies met near the village of Khambhí,8 a dependency of Pátan, and Farhat-ul-Mulk Rástí Khán was slain and his army defeated. To commemorate the victory, Zafar Khán founded a village on the battle-field, which he named Jítpur (the city of victory), and then, starting for Cambay, redressed the grievances of the people.

Zafar Khán’s first warlike expedition was against the Ráv of Ídar,9 who, in A.D. 1393, had refused to pay the customary tribute, and this chief he humbled. The contemporary histories seem to show that the previous governors had recovered tribute from all or most of the chiefs of Gujarát except from the Ráv of Júógadh10 and the Rája of Rájpipála,11 who had retained their independence. Zafar Khán now planned an expedition against the celebrated Hindu shrine of Somnáth, but, hearing that Adíl Khán of Asír-Burhánpúr had invaded Sultánpur and Nandurbar,7 he moved his troops in that direction, and Adíl Khán retired to Asír.12

1 Nágor (north latitude 27° 10'; east longitude 73° 59'), in the Ráthó State of Jodhpur, eighty miles north-east of Jodhpur city.
2 The Tabácát-i-Ákhbar has Khánpur or Kánpur. The place is Kambhí about twenty miles west of Pátan.
3 IdáR is the principal state of the Mahi Kánthá. The town of IdáR is in north latitude 23° 50' and east longitude 73° 3'.
4 Júógadh in the Sádtha sub-division of Káthiáváda. This is Briggs’ Ráj of Jókhwa. Júógadh was formerly called Jirangád, both names meaning ancient fortress.
5 Rájpipála is in the Beva Kánthá division of Gujarát.
6 Sultánpur and Nandurbar now form part of the British district of Khándesh.
7 Asír, now Asír, (north latitude 21° 26'; east longitude 70° 26'), beyond the north-eastern frontier of Khándesh.
In A.D. 1394, he marched against the Râv of Jûnâgadî and exacted tribute. Afterwards, proceeding to Somnâth, he destroyed the temple, built an Assembly Mosque, introduced Islâm, left Musâlmân law officers, and established a thâna or post in the city of Pâtân Somnâth or Devâ Pâtân. He now heard that the Hindus of Mânâdu were oppressing the Muslims, and, accordingly, marching thither, he belaguered that fortress for a year, but failing to take it contented himself with accepting the excuses of the Râja. From Mânâdu he performed a pilgrimage to Ajîr. Here he proceeded against the chiefs of Sâmbhar and Dândwâna, and then attacking the Râjputs of Dêlvâda and Jhâlârvâda, he defeated them, and returned to Pâtân in A.D. 1396. About this time his son Tatâr Khân, leaving his baggage in the fort of Pânîpât, made an attempt on Dehlî. But Ikhâf Khân took the fort of Pânîpât, captured Tatâr Khân’s baggage, and forced him to withdraw to Gujârat. In A.D. 1397, with the view of reducing Idâr, Zafâr Khân besieged the fort, laying waste the neighbouring country. Before he had taken the fort Zafâr Khân received news of Timür’s conquests, and concluding a peace with the Idâr Râja, returned to Pâtân. In A.D. 1398, hearing that the Somnâth people claimed independence, Zafâr Khân led an army against them, defeated them, and established Islâm on a firm footing.

1 Mânâdu (north latitude 22° 30’; east longitude 75° 27’), one of the most famous forts in India, the capital of the Palî dynasty of Mâlwa. A.D. 1401–1501, stands on the site of the Vinâbîyâ about twenty-five miles south of Dîrâr. During a considerable part of the fifth century Mânâdu was either directly or indirectly under Gujârat. An account of Mânâdu is given in the Appendix.

2 Ajîr (north latitude 25° 29’; east longitude 74° 15’), the chief town of the district of the same name to which Sâmbhar and Dândwâna belong.

3 Dêlvâda and Jhâlârvâda are somewhat difficult. The context suggests either Jhâlûr in Mâr水务 or Jhâlârvâda in the extreme south-east of Râjputâna south of Kôtâh. The combination Dêlvâda and Jhâlârvâda seems to favour Kôtâhûrvâda, since there is a Dêlvâda in the south of the peninsula near Dûn and a Jhâlârvâda in the north-east. But the Dêlvâda of the text can hardly be near Dûn. It apparently is Dêlvâda near Katingjil about twenty miles north of Udepur. The account of Ahmad Shah’s expedition to the same place in A.D. 1551 (below page 230) confirms this identification.

4 Pânîpât (north latitude 29° 23’; east longitude 77° 2’), seventy-eight miles north of Dehli.

5 Farîshâb (II, 365) calls the Idâr chief Yâmâîl.
CHAPTER II.

AHMEDABAD KINGS.

A.D. 1403-1573.

The rule of the Ahmedabad kings extends over 170 years and includes the names of fifteen sovereigns. The period may conveniently be divided into two parts. The first, lasting for a little more than a century and a quarter, when, under strong rulers, Gujarat rose to consequence among the kingdoms of Western India; the second, from A.D. 1530 to A.D. 1573, an evil time when the sovereigns were minors and the wealth and supremacy of Gujarat were wasted by the rivalry of its nobles.

The date on which Zafar Khán openly threw off his allegiance to Delhi is doubtful. Farishtah says he had the Friday prayer or khutbah repeated in his name after his successful campaign against Jháláláváda and Delváda in A.D. 1396. According to the Miráti-Sikandari he maintained a nominal allegiance till A.D. 1403 when he formally invested his son Tátár Khán with the sovereignty of Gujarat, under the title of Násir-ud-din Muhammad Sháh.

On ascending the throne in A.D. 1403, Muhammad Sháh made Asáwal his capital, and, after humbling the chief of Nánded or Nádot in Rájpura, marched against Delhi by way of Pántan. On his way to Pántan the king sickened and died. His body was brought back to Pántan, and the expedition against Delhi came to nothing. It seems probable that this is a courtly version of the tale; the fact being that in A.D. 1403 Tátár Khán imprisoned his father at Asáwal, and assumed the title of Muhammad Sháh, and that Tátár Khán’s death was caused by poison administered in the interest, if not at the suggestion, of his father Zafar Khán.1

After the death of Muhammad Sháh, Zafar Khán asked his own younger brother Sháms Khán Dandání to carry on the government, but he refused. Zafar Khán accordingly sent Sháms Khán Dandání to Négor in place of Jhálál Khán Khokhar and, in A.D. 1407-8, at Birpur, at the request of the nobles and chief men of the country, himself formally mounted the throne and assumed the title of Muzaffar Sháh. At this time Álp Khán, son of Diláwar Khán of Málwa, was rumoured to have poisoned his father and ascended the throne with the title of Sultán Hushang Ghorí. On hearing this Muzaffar Sháh marched against

1Compare Farishtah, II, 355-356. After his death Muhammad was known as Khudálígán-i-Shahid, Our Lord the Martyr, according to the custom of the Sultáns of Delhi, all of whom had three names, their family name, their throne name, and their after-death name whose letters contain the date of the monarch's decease. Thus the emperor Akbar’s after-death title is 'Arsh Azam, The Holder of the Heavenly Throne; the emperor Jahángír’s is Alamgir, The Dweller in Heaven; the emperor Sháh Jahan’s is Firúndu Makání, He Whose Home is Paradise; and the emperor Aurangzáb’s is Khuld Makání, The Occupier of the Eternal Residence. Similarly the after-death title of Muzaffar Sháh, Tátár Khán’s father, is Khudálígán-i-Kabir, The Great Lord.
Hushang and besieged him in Dhär. On reducing Dhär Muzaffar handed Hushang to the charge of his brother Shams Khán, on whom he conferred the title of Nasrat Khán. Hushang remained a year in confinement, and Mússá Khán one of his relations usurped his authority. On hearing this, Hushang begged to be released, and Muzaffar Shah not only agreed to his prayer, but sent his grandson Ahmed Khán with an army to re-enstate him. This expedition was successful; the fortress of Mándú was taken and the usurper Mússá Khán was put to flight. Ahmed Khán returned to Gujarát in A.D. 1409-10. Meanwhile Muzaffar advancing towards Delhi to aid Sultan Mahmúd (A.D. 1393-1413), prevented an intended attack on that city by Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpúr. On his return to Gujarát Muzaffar led, or more probably despatched, an unsuccessful expedition against Kambhakot. In the following year (A.D. 1410-11), to quell a rising among the Kolis near Asáwal, Muzaffar placed his grandson Ahmed Khán in command of an army. Ahmed Khán camped outside of Pátná. He convened an assembly of learned men and asked them whether a son was not bound to exact retribution from his father's murderer. The assembly stated in writing that a son was bound to exact retribution. Armed with this decision, Ahmed suddenly entered the city, overpowered his grandfather, and forced him to drink poison. The old Khán said: 'Why so hasty, my boy. A little patience and power would have come to you of itself.' He advised Ahmed to kill the evil counsellors of murder and to drink no wine. Remorse so embittered Ahmed's after-life that he was never known to laugh.

On his grandfather's death, Ahmed succeeded with the title of Nasir-ud-dunya Wad-din Ablf tâfiz Ahmed Sháh. Shortly after Ahmed Sháh's accession, his cousin Móid-ud-din Firúz Khán, governor of Baroda, allying himself with Hisám or Nizám-ul-Mulk Bhamdári and other nobles, collected an army at Nasád in Kaira, and, laying claim to the crown, defeated the king's followers. Jivándás, one of the insurgents, proposed to march upon Pátná, but as the others refused a dispute arose in which Jivándás was slain, and the rest sought and obtained Ahmed Sháh's forgiveness. Móid-ud-din Firúz Khán went to Cambay and was there joined by Masti Khán, son of Muzaffar Sháh, who was governor of Surákat; on the king's advance they fled from Cambay to Broach, to which fort Ahmed Sháh laid siege. As soon as the king arrived, Móid-ud-din's army went over to the king, and Masti Khán also submitted. After a few days Ahmed Sháh sent for and forgave Móid-ud-din, and returned to Asáwal victorious and triumphant.

In the following year (A.D. 1413-14) Ahmed Sháh defeated Asa Bihí, chief of Asáwal, and, finding the site of that town suitable for his capital, he changed its name to Ahmedabad, and busied himself

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1 Dhär (north latitude 29° 30'; east longitude 76° 20'), the capital of the state of Dhär thirty-three miles west of Mhow in Central India.
2 The Tabakát-i-Akbári has Kanthkot a dependency of Bakh. This is probably correct.
3 The date is doubtful: Farrásháh (II, 630) gives A.D. 1413, the Aín-i-Akbári (Blochman's Edition, I, 507) A.D. 1411.
in enlarging and fortifying the city. During this year Moïd-ud-din Firuz Khan and Masti Khan again revolted, and, joining the Idar Raja, took shelter in that fortress. A force under Fateh Khan was despatched against the rebels, and finally Firuz Khan and the Idar Raja were forced to flee by way of Kheralu a town in the district of Kadi. Moïd-ud-din now persuaded Rukan Khan governor of Modasa, fifty miles north of Ahmedabad, to join. They united their forces with those of Badri-ulá, Masti Khan, and Rammal Raja of Idar and encamped at Rangpura an Idar village about five miles from Modasa and began to strengthen Modasa and dig a ditch round it. The Sultan camped before the fort and offered favourable terms. The besieged bent on treachery asked the Sultan to send Nizam-ul-Mulk the minister and certain other great nobles. The Sultan agreed, and the besieged imprisoned the envoys. After a three days' siege Modasa fell. Badri-ulá and Rukan Khan were slain, and Firuz Khan and the Raja of Idar fled. The imprisoned nobles were released unharmed. The Raja seeing that all hope of success was gone, made his peace with the king by surrendering to him the elephants horses and other baggage of Moïd-ud-din Firuz Khan and Masti Khan, who now fled to Nagor, where they were sheltered by Shams Khan Dandi. Ahmed Shah after levying the stipulated tribute departed. Moïd-ud-din Firuz Khan was afterwards slain in the war between Shams Khan and Rana MoKal of Chitor. In A.D. 1414-15 Uthman Ahmed and Sheikh Malik, in command at Patan, and Saleman Aghá called Azam Khan, and Isa Sulár rebelled, and wrote secretly to Sultan Hushang of Malwa, inviting him to invade Gujarát, and promising to send him on the throne and expel Ahmed Shah. They were joined in their rebellion by Jháká Satarsalí of Pátuli and other chiefs of Gujarát. Ahmed Shah despatched Latif Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk against Sheikh Malik and his associates, while he sent Imád-ul-Mulk against Sultan Hushang, who retired, and Imád-ul-Mulk, after plundering Malwa, returned to Gujarát. Latif Khan, pressing in hot pursuit of Satarsal and Sheikh Malik, drove them to Sorath. The king returned with joyful heart to Ahmedabad.

Though, with their first possession of the country, A.D. 1297-1318, the Muhammadans had introduced their faith from Patan to Broach, the rest of the province long remained unconverted. By degrees, through the efforts of the Ahmedabad kings, the power of Islam became more directly felt in all parts of the province. Many districts, till then all but independent, accepted the Musalmán faith at the hands of Ahmed Sháh, and agreed to the payment of a regular tribute. In A.D. 1414 he led an army against the Ráy of Júnagadh and defeated him. The Ráy retired to the hill fortress of Girnár. Ahmed Sháh, though unable to capture the hill, gained the fortified citadel of Júnagadh. Finding further resistance vain, the chief tendered his submission, and Júnagadh was admitted among the tributary states.

² Called in the Tabakat-i-Akbari the Raja of Mandal.
This example was followed by the greater number of the Sorath chiefs, who, for the time, resigned their independence. Sayid Abs Halik and Sayid Kasim were left to collect the tribute, and Ahmed Shah returned to Ahmedabad. Next year he marched against Sidhpur, and in a.d. 1415 advanced from Sidhpur to Diyar in Malwa. At this time the most powerful feudatories were the Ruv of Junagadh, the Raval of Champa, the Raja of Nandol, the Ruv of Idar, and the Raja of Jhalawara. Trimbakdas of Champa, Punja of Idar, Suri of Nandol, and Mandlik of Jhalawara, alarmed at the activity of Ahmed Shah and his zeal for Islam, instigated Sultan Husung of Malwa to invade Gujar. Ahmed Shah promptly marched to Modasa, forced Sultan Husung of Malwa to retire, and broke up the conspiracy, reprouing and pardoning the chiefs concerned. About the same time the Sorath chiefs withheld their tribute, but the patience and unwearied activity of the king overcame all opposition. When at Modasa Ahmed heard that, by the treachery of the son of the governor, Nasir of Asir and Geirat or Chauzi Khan of Malwa had seized the fort of Thalner in Sirpur in Khandas, and, with the aid of the chief of Nandol, were marching against Sultunpur and Nandurbar. Ahmed sent an expedition against Nasir of Asir under Malik Mahmud Barki or Turk. When the Malik reached Nandol he found that Geirat Khan had fled to Malwa and that Nasir had retired to Thalner. The Malik advanced, besieged and took Thalner, capturing Nasir whom Ahmed forgave and dignified with the title of Khan.

After quelling these rebellions Ahmed Shah despatched Nizam-ul-Mulk to punish the Raja of Mandal near Viramgam, and himself marched to Malwa against Sultan Husung, whom he defeated, capturing his treasure and elephants. In a.d. 1418, in accordance with his policy of separately engaging his enemies, Ahmed Shah marched to chastise Trimbakdas of Champa, and though unable to take the fortress he laid waste the surrounding country. In a.d. 1419 he ravaged the lands round Sankhed and built a fort there and a mosque within the fort; he also built a wall round the town of Mangri, and then marched upon Mandu. On the way ambassadors from Sultan Husung met him suing for peace, and Ahmed Shah, returning towards Champa, again laid waste the surrounding country. During the following year (a.d. 1420) he remained in Ahmedabad bringing his own dominions into thorough subjection by establishing fortified posts and by humbling the chiefs and destroying their strongholds. Among other works he built the forts of Dholad on the

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1 Sidhpur (north latitude 22° 30' ; east longitude 72° 20'), on the Sarasvati, fifty-eight miles north of Ahmedabad.
2 Champa (north latitude 22° 30' ; east longitude 73° 30'), in the British district of the Panch Mahals, from A.D. 1483 to A.D. 1566 the chief city of Gujar, now in ruins.
3 Modasa (north latitude 22° 37' ; east longitude 73° 21'), fifty miles north-east of Ahmedabad.
4 Mirak-i-Sikanari Persian Text, 34, 35; Farishta, II, 363, 364.
5 Sankhed is on the left bank of the Or river about twenty miles south-east of Baroda.
6 Mangal Makan or Mank, famous for its witches, eight miles east of Sankhed.
7 Dholad (north latitude 28° 30' ; east longitude 73° 18'), seventy-seven miles north-east of Baroda, now the chief town of the sub-division of the same name in the British district of the Panch Mahals.

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad.

Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Ahmed I.

1411-1441.

Ahmed I.

Quells a Second Revolt.

1416.

Expedition against Malwa, 1417.

Attacks Champa, 1418.
Málwa frontier and of Jitpur in Lönáváda. In A.D. 1421 he repaired the fort in the town of Kahreth, otherwise called Meimún in Lönáváda, which had been built by Ulugh Kán Sanjar in the reign of Sultán Ala-ud-dín (A.D. 1295-1315) and changed the name to Sultánpur. He next advanced against Málwa and took the fort of Mesar. After an unsuccessful siege of Mándu he went to Ujjain. From Ujjain he returned to Mándu, and failing to capture Mándu, he marched against Sárangpùr. Sultán Hushang sent ambassadors and concluded a peace. In spite of the agreement, while Ahmed Sháh was returning to Gujarát, Sultán Hushang made a night attack on his army and caused much havoc. Ahmed Sháh, collecting what men he could, waited till dawn and then fell on and defeated the Málwa troops, who were busy plundering. Sultán Hushang took shelter in the fort of Sárangpùr to which Ahmed Sháh again laid siege. Failing to take the fort Ahmed retreated towards Gujarát, closely followed by Sultán Hushang, who was eager to wipe out his former defeat. On Hushang’s approach, Ahmed Sháh, halting his troops, joined battle and repulsing Hushang returned to Ahmedábád.

In A.D. 1425 Ahmed Sháh led an army against Idar, defeating the force brought to meet him and driving their leader to the hills. Idar was always a troublesome neighbour to the Ahmedábád kings and one difficult to subdue, for when his country was threatened, the chief could retire to his hills, where he could not easily be followed. As a permanent check on his movements, Ahmed Sháh, in A.D. 1427, built the fort of Ahmednagar, on the banks of the Háthmati, eighteen miles south-west of Idar. In the following year the Idar chief, Ráv Pùnja, attacked a foraging party and carried off one of the royal elephants. He was pursued into the hills and brought to bay in a narrow path-way at the edge of a steep ravine. Pùnja was driving back his pursuers when the keeper of the Sultán’s elephant urged his animal against the Ráv’s horse. The horse swerving lost his foothold and rolling down the ravine destroyed himself and his rider.

During the two following years Ahmed Sháh abstained from foreign conquests, devoting himself to improving his dominions and to working out a system of paying his troops. The method he finally adopted was payment half in money and half in land. This arrangement attached the men to the country, and, while keeping them dependent on the state, enabled them to be free from debt. Further to keep his officials in check he arranged that the treasurer should be one of the king’s slaves while the actual paymaster was a native of the particular locality. He also appointed amádis that is subdivisional revenue officers. After Ráv Pùnja’s death Ahmed Sháh marched upon Idar, and did not return until Ráv Pùnja’s son agreed to pay an annual tribute of £300 (Rs. 3000). In the following year, according to Fáríshtáh (II. 369) in spite of the young chief’s promise

1 Jitpur about twelve miles north-east of Bálásinor.
2 Ujjain (north latitude 23° 10’; east longitude 75° 47’), at different times the capital of Málwa.
3 Sárangpùr about fifty miles north-east of Ujjain.
4 Ahmednagar (north latitude 23° 34’; east longitude 73° 11’) in the native state of Idar.
to pay tribute, Ahmed Shah attacked Idar, took the fort, and built an assembly mosque. Fearing that their turn would come next the chief of Jhalavada and Kanhा apparently chief of Dungarpur fled to Nasir Khan of Asir. Nasir Khan gave Kanhा a letter to Ahmed Shah Bahmani, to whose son Alā-ud-din Nasir's daughter was married, and having detached part of his own troops to help Kanhा they plundered and laid waste some villages of Nandurbar and Sultānpur. Sultán Ahmad sent his eldest son Muhammad Khan with Mukarramul Mulk and others to meet the Dakhnāis who were repulsed with considerable loss. On this Sultán Ahmad Bahmani, under Kadr Khan Dakhani, sent his eldest son Alā-ud-din and his second son Khán Jehān against the Gujarātīs. Kadr Khan marched to Daulatābād and joining Nasir Khan and the Gujarāt rebels fought a great battle near the pass of Mānek Pāj, six miles south of Nāndaqan in Nāsīk. The confederates were defeated with great slaughter. The Dakhnāi princes fled to Daulatābād and Kanhà and Nasir Khán to Kālandara near Chāliyaganj in south Khānđesī.

In the same year (a.d. 1429), on the death of Kutub Khán the Gujarāt governor of the island of Māhim, now the north part of the island of Bombay,1 Ahmed Shah Bahmani smiting under his defeats, ordered Hasan Izzat, otherwise called Malik-ut-Tujjár, to the Konkan and by the Malik's activity the North Konkan passed to the Dakhnāis. On the news of this disaster Ahmed, Shāh sent his youngest son Zafar Khán, with an army under Malik Itikhār Khán, to retake Māhim. A fleet, collected from Dīn Gogha and Cambay sailed to the Konkan, attacked Thāna2 by sea and land, captured it, and regained possession of Māhim. In a.d. 1431 Ahmed Shāh advanced upon Chāmpāner, and Ahmed Shāh Bahmani, anxious to retrieve his defeat at Māhim, marched an army into Bāglān3 and laid it waste. This news brought Ahmed Shāh back to Nandurbar. Destroying Nāndod he passed to Tambol, a fast in Bāglān which Ahmed Shāh Bahmani was besieging, defeated the besiegers and relieved the fort. He then went to Thāna, repaired the fort, and returned to Gujarāt by way of Sultānpur and Nandurbar. In a.d. 1432, after contracting his son Fateh Khán in marriage with the daughter of the Rāi of Māhim to the north of Bassein Ahmed Shāh marched towards Nāgor, and exacted tribute and presents from the Rāvāl of Dungarpur.4 From Dungarpur he went to Mewār, enforcing his

1 There are two Māhims on the North Konkan coast, one about twenty-two miles north of Bassein (north latitude 19° 40' ; east longitude 72° 47'), and the other in the northern extremity of the island of Bombay (north latitude 19° 2' ; east longitude 72° 54'). The southern Māhim, to which Farsaṭah (II, 370-371) is careful to apply the term jālūr or island, is the town referred to in the text. The northern Māhim, now known as Kerv Māhim, was, as is noted in the text, the head-quarters of a Hindu chief.

2 Thāna (north latitude 19° 11' ; east longitude 73° 6'), the head-quarters of the British district of that name, about twenty-four miles north-by-east of Bombay, was from the tenth to the sixteenth century A.D. the chief city in the Northern Konkan.

3 Bāglān, now called Satāna, is the northern sub-division of the British district of Nāsīk. In a.d. 1650 the chief commanded 8000 cavalry and 3000 infantry. The country was famous for fruit, Atn-ī-Akhārī (Gladwin), II, 78. The chief, a Rāthod, was converted to Islam by Auranzhīb (a.d. 1666-1707).

4 Dungarpur (north latitude 25° 50' ; east longitude 72° 50') in Rājputana, 150 miles north-west of Mewār.
claims on Bündi and Kota, two Hàśa Rájput states in south-east, Rájputána. He then entered the Delvita country, levelling temples and destroying the palace of Rána Mokalsingh, the chief of Chitor. Thence he invaded Nágor in the country of the Bándhos, who submitted to him. After this he returned to Gujarát, and during the next few years was warring principally in Málwa, where, according to Farishtah, his army suffered greatly from pestilence and famine. Ahmed died in A.D. 1441 in the fifty-third year of his life and the thirty-third of his reign and was buried in the mausoleum in the Mánec Chánk in Ahmadábád. His after-death title is Khúda-aşqán-i-Maghfúr the Forgiven Lord in token that, according to his merciful promise, Allah the pitiful, moved by the prayer of forty believers, had spread his forgiveness over the crime of Ahmed's youth, a crime wrested by a lifelong remorse.

Sultán Ahmed is still a name of power among Gujarát Musalman. He is not more honoured for his bravery, skill, and success as a war leader than for his piety and his justice. His piety showed itself in his respect for three great religious teachers Sheikh Rukn-ud-dín the representative of Sheikh Moi'n-ud-dín the great Khwájah of Ajmír, Sheikh Ahmed Khattu who is buried at Sarkhej five miles west of Ahmadábád, and the Bolkáran Sheikh Búhrán-ud-dín known as Kuthí Alam the father of the more famous Sháh Alam. Of Ahmed's justice two instances are recorded. Sitting in the window of his palace watching the Sábarmati in flood Ahmed saw a large earthen jar float by. The jar was opened and the body of a murdered man was found wrapped in a blanket. The potters were called and one said the jar was his and had been sold to the headman of a neighbouring village. On inquiry the headman was proved to have murdered a grain merchant and was hanged. The second case was the murder of a poor man by Ahmed's son-in-law. The Kázi found the relations of the deceased willing to accept a blood fine and when the fine was paid released the prince. Ahmed hearing of his son-in-law's release said in the case of the rich fine there is no punishment and ordered his son-in-law to be hanged.1

Ahmed Sháh was succeeded by his generous pleasure-loving son Muhammad Sháh, Ghíás-ud-dunya Wad-din, also styled 'Zarbaḵsh the Gold Giver. In A.D. 1446 Muhammad marched against Bir Khá of Ídar, but on that chief agreeing to give him his daughter in marriage, he confirmed him in the possession of his state. His next expedition was against Khána Khá of Dúngarpur, who took refuge in the hills, but afterwards returned, and paying tribute, was given charge of his country. Muhammad married Bibi Mughlí, daughter of Ján Júná of Thatha in Sindh. She bore a son, Fateh Kháán, who was afterwards Sultán Mahmúd Begada. In A.D. 1450, Muhammad marched upon Chámpánér, and took the lower fortress. Gangesdás of Champánér had a strong ally in Sultán Mahmúd Khíli, the ruler of Málwa, and on his approach Muhammad Sháh retired to Godhra,² and Mahmúd

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1 Miráš-i-Skhánbári Persian Text, 45, 46.
2 Godhra (north latitude 25° 45', east longitude 73° 36'), the chief town of the subdivision of that name in the British district of the Panch Mahal. The Miráš-i-Skhanbári (Persian Text, 49) gives, probably rightly, kotra a village of Sàníl or Savil about twenty miles north of Baroda.
Khilji continued his march upon Gujarát at the head of 80,000 horse. Muhammad Sháh was preparing to fly to Diu, when the nobles, disgusted at his cowardice, caused him to be poisoned. Muhammad Sháh's after-death title is Khádím-á-Karim the Gracious Lord.

In A.D. 1451 the nobles placed Muhammad’s son Jalá'l Khán on the throne with the title of Kutb-ud-din. Meanwhile Sultan Mahmúd of Málwa had laid siege to Sultánpur. Malik Ál-ud-din bin Soliráib Kutb-ud-din’s commander surrendered the fort, and was sent with honour to Málwa and appointed governor of Mándu. Sultan Mahmúd, marching to Sarsa-Páli, summoned Broach, then commanded by Sidi Marján on behalf of Gujarát. The Sidi refused, and fearing delay, the Málwa Sultan after plundering Baroda proceeded to Nadiád, whose Bráhmans astonished him by their bravery in killing a mad elephant. Kutb-ud-din Sháh now advancing met Sultan Mahmúd at Kapadvanj, where, after a doubtful fight of some hours, he defeated Sultan Mahmúd, though during the battle that prince was able to penetrate to Kutb-ud-din’s camp and carry off his crown and jewelled girdle. Thé Mirá't-i-Sikandari ascribes Kutb-ud-din’s victory in great measure to the gallantry of certain inhabitants of Dholka3 called Darwáziyyahs. Muzaffar Khán, who is said to have incited the Málwa Sultan to invade Gujarát, was captured and beheaded, and his head was hung up at the gate of Kapadvanj. On his return from Kapadvanj Kutb-ud-din built the magnificent Hauz-i Kutb or Kánkariya Tank about a mile to the south of Ahmedábád. According to the Mirá’t-i-Sikandari (Persian Text, 30-37) this war between Málwa and Gujarát was controlled by the spiritual power of certain holy teachers. The war was brought on by the prayers of Sheikh Kamál Málwi, whose shrine is in Ahmedábád behind Khudáwání Khán’s mosque near Sháh-i-Alam’s tomb, who favoured Málwa. Kutb-ud-din’s cause was aided by the blessing of Kutb-ud-din. At last Kamál produced a writing said to be from heaven giving the victory to Málwa. The young Shah Alam tore this charter to shreds, and, as no evil befell him, Kamál saw that his spiritual power paled before Shah Alam and fell back dead. Shah Alam against his will accompanied Kutb-ud-din some marches on his advance to Kapadvanj. Before leaving the army Shah Alam blessed a mean camp elephant and ordered him to destroy the famous Málwa champion elephant known as the Butcher. He also, against his wish for he knew the future, at the Sultan’s request bound his own sword round Kutb-ud-din’s waist. In the battle the commissariat elephant ripped the Butcher and some years later Kutb-ud-din by accident gashed his knee with his sword’s point and died.

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1. Sultánpur (north latitude 21° 42'; east longitude 74° 40'), in the north of the Sháháda sub-division of the British district of Khudáwánd, till A.D. 1804 a place of consequence and the head-quarters of a large district.
2. Kapadvanj (north latitude 21° 2'; east longitude 73° 9'), the chief town of the sub-division of that name in the British district of Kára.
3. Dholka (north latitude 23° 42'; east longitude 72° 25'), the chief town of the sub-division of that name in the British district of Ahmedábád.
In the same year Sultán Mahmúd Khilji attempted to conquer Nágor then held by Fírúz Khán, a cousin of the Ahmedábád Sultán. Kutb-ud-dín Sháh despatched an army under the command of Sayyad Atáulláh, and, as it drew near Sámbhar, the Málwa Sultán retired and shortly after Fírúz Khán died. Kúmbhá Rána of Chítor now began interfering in the Nágor succession on behalf of Sháms Khán, who had been dispossessed by his brother Muḥáhid Khán, and expelled Muḥáhid. But as Sháms Khán refused to dismantle the fortifications of Nágor, the Chítor chief collected an army to capture Nágor, while Sháms Khán repaired to Kutb-ud-dín Sháh for aid and gave that sovereign his daughter in marriage. Upon this Kutb-ud-dín sent Ráí Anupchand Mának and Malik Gádhí with an army to Nágor to repulse the Rána of Chítor. In a battle near Nágor the Gujarát troops were defeated, and the Rána after laying waste the neighbourhood of that city, returned to Chítor. In A.D. 1455-56, to avenge this raid, Kutb-ud-dín Sháh marched against Chítor. On his way the Devra Rája of Sírohí attended Kutb-ud-dín Sháh’s camp, praying him to restore the fortress of Abu, a part of the ancestral domain of Sírohí, which the Rána of Chítor had wrested from his house. The king ordered one of his generals, Malik Sháhábán, to take possession of Abu and restore it to the Devra chieftain, while he himself continued to advance against Kúmbhámer. Malik Sháhábán was entangled in the defiles near Abu, and defeated with great slaughter, and shortly after Kutb-ud-dín Sháh, making a truce with Chítor, retired to his own country. On his return the Málwa sovereign proposed that they should unite against Chítor, conquer the Rána’s territories, and divide them equally between them. Kutb-ud-dín agreed and in A.D. 1456-57 marched against the Rána by way of Abu, which fortress he captured and handed to the Devra Rája. Next, advancing upon Kúmbhámer, he plundered the country round, and then turned towards Chítor. On his way to Chítor, he was met by the Rána, and a battle was fought, after which the Rána fell back on his capital, and was there besieged by the Gujarát army. The siege was not pressed, and, on the Rána agreeing to pay tribute and not to harass Nágor, Kutb-ud-dín withdrew to Gujarát, where he gave himself up to licentious excess. Meanwhile, the Rána by ceding Mándsor6 to Málwa, came to terms with the Sultán of Mándu, and within three months attacked Nágor. Kutb-ud-dín Sháh, though so overcome with drink as to be unable to sit his horse, mustered his troops and started in a palanquin. As soon as the Rána heard that the Gujarát army was in motion he retired, and the king returned to Ahmedábád. In A.D. 1458, he again led an army by way of Sírohí.

1 Sámbhar (north latitude 26° 53’; east longitude 75° 13’), a town in the province of Ajmúr, about fifty-one miles north-north-east from the city of Ajmúr.
2 Chítor (north latitude 24° 52’; east longitude 74° 4’), for several centuries before A.D. 1567 the capital of the principality of Udepur.
3 Sírohí (north latitude 24° 09’; east longitude 72° 56’), the capital of the principality of the same name in the province of Ajmúr.
4 Abu (north latitude 24° 45’; east longitude 72° 49’), the capital of the same name in the state of Sírohí.
5 The Rája is called Krishna Kishan or Káñh Devra. Abu is still held by the Sírohí Devras.
6 Mándsor (north latitude 24° 4’; east longitude 70° 9’), the chief town of a large district of the same name in the province of Málwa.
and Kumbhalmer against Chitor, and laid waste the country. Soon after his return, according to one account by an accidental sword wound, according to another account poisoned by his wife, Kuth-ud-din died in May A.D. 1459 after a reign of seven years and seven days. He was brave with a sternness of nature, which, under the influence of wine, amounted to fierceness. His after-death title is Sultan-i-Ghazi the Warrior King.

On the death of Kuth-ud-din Shah, the nobles raised to the throne his uncle Daudit, son of Ahmad Shah. But as Daudit appointed low-born men to high offices and committed other foolish acts, he was deposed, and in A.D. 1459 his half-brother Fateh Khân the son of Muhammad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah by Bibi Mughli a daughter of Jâm Juna of Thatha in Sindih, was seated on the throne at the age of little more than thirteen with the title of Mahmud Shah.

The close connection of Fateh Khân with the saintly Shâh Alâm is a favourite topic with Gujarât historians. According to the Mirdi-Sikandari (Persian Text, 85-70) of his two daughters Jâm Juna intended Bibi Mughli the more beautiful for the Saint and Bibi Mirghe the less comely for the Sultan. By bribing the Jâm's envoys the king secured the prettier sister. The enraged Saint was consoled by his father who said: My son, to you will come both the cow and the calf. After Muhammad II.'s death, fear of Kuth-ud-din's designs against the young Fateh Khân forced Bibi Mughli to seek safety with her sister, and on her sister's death she married the Saint. Kuth-ud-din made several attempts to seize Fateh Khân. But by the power of the Saint when Kuth-ud-din attempted to seize him, Fateh Khân in body as well as in dress became a girl. According to one account Kuth-ud-din met his death in an attempt to carry off Fateh Khân. As he rode into the Saint's quarter Death in the form of a mad camel met the king. The king struck at the phantom, and his sword cleaving the air gashed his knee. This was the Saint's sword, which against his will, for he knew it would be the death of the king, Kuth-ud-din forced Shâh Alâm to bind round him before the battle of Kapudvaj.

The death of his uncle, the late Sultan Daudit, who had become a religious devotee, relieved Fateh Khân of one source of danger. Shortly after certain of the nobles including Seiful Mulk, Kahir-ud-din Sultanâi surnamed Akd-ul-Mulk, Burhân-ul-Mulk and Hisân-ul-Mulk represented to the Sultan that the minister Shaibân Imâd-ul-Mulk contemplated treason and wished to set his son on the throne. Having seized and imprisoned the minister in the Bhadra citadel and set five hundred of their trusted retainers as guards over him, the rebels retired to their homes. At nightfall Abdullah, the chief of the elephant stables, going to the young Sultan represented to him that the nobles who had imprisoned Imâd-ul-Mulk were the real traitors and had determined to place Habib Khân, an uncle of the Sultan's, on the throne. The Sultan consulting his mother and some of his faithful friends ordered Abdullah at daybreak to equip all his elephants in full armour and draw them up in the square before the Bhadra. He then seated himself on the throne and in a voice of feigned anger ordered one of the courtiers to bring out Shaibân Imâd-ul-Mulk, that he might wreak his vengeance.
Chapter II.
Ahmedabad
Kings.
A.D. 1465 - 1573.
Mahmud I
(Bahadur).
1459 - 1519.

improves the
soldiery.
1169 - 1191.

helps the
king
of the Dakhan.
1461.

Upon him. As these orders were not obeyed the Sultan rose, and walking up the Bhadra called: "Bring out Shaabán!" The guards brought forth Imad-ul-Mulk, and the Sultan ordered his fetters to be broken. Some of the nobles' retainers made their submission to the Sultan, others fled and hid themselves. In the morning, hearing what had happened, the refractory nobles marched against the Sultan. Many advised the Sultan to cross the Sabarmati by the postern gate and retire from the city, and, after collecting an army, to march against the nobles. Giving no ear to these counsels the young Sultan ordered Abdullah to charge the advancing nobles with his six hundred elephants. The charge dispersed the malcontents; who fled and either hid themselves in the city or betook themselves to the country. Some were killed, some were trampled by the Sultan's orders under the elephants' feet, and one was pardoned. His religious ardour, his love of justice, his bravery, and his wise measures entitle Mahmud to the highest place among the Gujarát kings. One of the measures which the Mirat-i-Sikandari specially notices is his continuance of land grants to the son of the holder, and in cases where there was no male issue of half the grant to the daughter. His firm policy of never ousting the landholder except for proved oppression or exaction was productive of such prosperity that the revenue increased two three and in some cases tenfold. The roads were safe from freebooters and trade was secure. A rule forbidding soldiers to borrow money at interest is favourably noticed. A special officer was appointed to make advances to needy soldiers with the power to recover from their pay in fixed instalments. Mahmud also devoted much attention to the culture of fruit trees. In A.D. 1461, or A.D. 1462 according to Farishtah, Nizam Shah Bahmani (A.D. 1461-1463), king of the Dakhan, whose country had been invaded by Sultan Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, applied for help to the Gujrat king. Mahmud Shah at once started to Nizam Shah's aid, and on his way receiving another equally pressing letter from the Dakhan sovereign, and being joined by the Bahmani general Khwaja Jahan Gawan, he

1 Persian Text, Mirat-i-Sikandari, 75-76.
2 The Portuguese merchant and traveller Barbosa (A.D. 1511-1574) gives the following details of Mahmud Begada's cavalry: The Moors and Gentiles of this kingdom are bold riders, mounted on horses bred in the country, for it has a wonderful quality. They ride on small saddles and use whips. Their arms are very thick round shields edged with silk; each man has two swords, a dagger, and a Turkish bow with very good arrows. Some of them carry maces, and many of them carry off mail, and others tunics quilted with cotton. The horses have housings and steel headpieces, and so they fight very well and are light in their movements. The Moorish horsemen are white and of many countries, Turks and Mamelukes, military slaves from Georgia Circassia and Mingrelia, Arabs Persians Khwarazm Turkmans, men from the great kingdom of Dehli; and others born in the country itself. Their pay is good, and they receive it regularly. They are well dressed with very rich stuffs of gold silk cotton and goat's wool, and all wear caps on their heads, and their clothes long, such as morose shirts and drawers, and hangings to the knee of good thick leather worked with gold knots and embroidery, and their swords richly ornamented with gold and silver are horse in their girdles or in the hilt of their pages. Their women are very white and pretty; also very richly decked out. They live well and spend much money. Stanley's Barboza, 55-56.
3 Mahmud's favorite trees were the mango ambo Mangifera indica, rica Minneoua hexandra, jambos Eugenia jamboziana, piper Ficus gujerata, tamarind cela Tamarindus indica, and the shrubby phyllanthus doni Emblica officinalis.
pushed on with all speed by way of Burhānpur. 1 When Sultan Mahmūd Khīti heard of his approach, he retired to his own country by way of Gondwāna, 2 from thirst and from the attacks of the Gonds, losing 5000 to 6000 men. The king of Gujarāt, after receiving the thanks of the Dakhān sovereign, returned to his own dominions. In A.D. 1462 Sultan Mahmūd Khīti made another incursion into the Dakhān at the head of 90,000 horse, plundering and laying waste the country as far as Dānlabādh. Again the Dakhān sovereign applied for help to Mahmūd Shāh, and on hearing of Mahmūd’s advance the Malwa Sultan retired a second time to his own dominions. 3 Mahmūd Shāh now wrote to the Malwa Sultan to desist from harassing the Dakhān, threatening, in case of refusal, to march at once upon Māndu. His next expedition was against the pirate zamindars of the hill fort of Barūr, and the bandar of Dūn or Dāhā, whose fort he took, and after imposing an annual tribute allowed the chief to continue to hold his hundred villages. 4

Mahmūd Shāh next turned his thoughts to the conquest of the mountain citadel of Gīmrār in central Kathiawār. 5 In A.D. 1467 he made an attack on the fort of Jūnāgadh, and receiving the submission of Rāv Mandlik, the local ruler, returned to his capital. In the following year, hearing that the Jūnāgadh chief continued to visit his idol temple in state with a golden umbrella and other ensigns of royalty, Mahmūd despatched an army to Jūnāgadh, and the chief sent the obnoxious umbrella to the king, accompanied by fitting presents. In A.D. 1469 Mahmūd once more sent an army to ravage Sorath, with the intention of finally conquering both Jūnāgadh and Gīmrār. While Mahmūd was on the march the Rāv Mandlik suddenly joined him, and asking why the Sultan was so bent on his destruction when he had committed no fault, agreed to do whatever Mahmūd might command. The king replied there is no fault like infidelity, and ordered the Rāv to embrace Islām. The chief, now thoroughly alarmed, fled by night and made his way into Gīmrār. In A.D. 1472-73 after a siege of nearly two years, forced by the failure of his stores, he quitted the fort and handing the keys to the king, repeated after him the Muhammadian profession of faith. Though the Rāv’s life was spared Sorath from this date became a crown possession, and was governed by an officer appointed by the king and stationed at Jūnāgadh. At the close of the war Mahmūd Shāh repaired the fort Jehānpurath, the present outer or town wall of Jūnāgadh, and, charmed with the beauty of the neighbourhood, settled sayyads and learned men at Jūnāgadh and other towns.

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1 Burhānpur (north latitude 21° 18’; east longitude 76° 20’), under the Musalmāns the capital of Khānṣed, now within the limits of the Berar.
2 Gondwāna, a large hilly tract lying between north latitude 19° 30’ and 24° 30’ and east longitude 77° 30’ and 82° 30’.
3 The Mīrāt-i-Shāhīndar (Persian Text, page 89) gives the hill fort of Kānīdar. The Persian is a mss written or and the a mistake for w that is Bānanwar or Bānwarah. The seaport Dūn may be Dungri hill six miles from the coast. But Dūn for Dāhā a well-known port in north Thānsa is perhaps more likely. Fārishtāb (Bagga, IV. 51) gives Bāvar for Baru and Dūr for Dūn. Compare Tālakāt-i-Akbar in Sayfey’s Gujarāt, page 178 note 2.
4 Gīmrār the stadal of Kathiawār, See above page 331 note 2.
in Sorath. He induced the nobles to build houses, himself raised a palace and made the new city his capital under the name of Mustafabad and enforced his claims as overlord on all the neighbouring chiefs. It is true that in the times of Ahmed Shah these chieftains, including even the Jumagad Ravi himself, had paid tribute. But Mahmud established Ahmedabad rule so firmly that the duty of collecting the tributo was entrusted to an officer permanently settled in the country. The author of the Mirat-i-Sikandari dilates on the dense woods round Jumagad, full of mango, rini, jambu, gujar, amli, and aonola trees, and notes that this forest-tract was inhabited by a wild race of men called Khants.  

During Mahmud Shah's prolonged absence from his capital, Malik Jamal-ud-din was appointed governor of Ahmedabad, with the title of Mahafiz Khan that is Care-taker. At this time Jaising, son of Gangadas the chief of Champa and, harassed the country round Pavagad. The king appointed Bahad-ul-Mulk, who had the title of Imam-ul-Mulk, to the command of Sankhed; Malik Sarea, Kiwam-ul-Mulk to the command of Godhra; and Taj Khan bin Salar to the command of Norkha and Dakhana on the Mahi. In consequence of these precautions Jaising abstained from rebellion. At this time the Ravi Mandlik received the title of Khan Jahin, and lands were bestowed on him, while the golden idols, which had been taken from the Jumagad temples, were broken and distributed among the soldiers.

Mahmud Shah's next expedition was against the turbulent inhabitants of the confines of Sindh. These were Jedjis, though they are described as Rajputs of the Sura and Sodin tribes. They appear to have readily submitted, and to have voluntarily sent men to Jumagad to be instructed in Islam and to settle in Gujarat. Shortly afterwards they again became troublesome, and the king advancing into Kachchh, completely defeated them. About this time a learned man, Mulla Mahmud Samarkandi, on his way from the Dakhan to Central Asia, complained to the king that he had been robbed by the pirates of Jagat or Dwarka. On hearing of this outrage Mahmud Shah marched to Jagat, took the fort, and destroyed the idol temples. The pirates, in the first instance, retired to the island of Shankhodara or Bet, but from this, too, after a stout resistance they were driven with great slaughter. The king built a mosque at Jagat, entrusted the government to Farhat-ul-Mulk, and himself returned to Jumagad. Before this Dwarka had never been conquered. Bhim, the Raja of Dwarka, was sent to Mahafiz Khan, the governor of Ahmedabad, with orders that he was to be hewn in pieces and a piece fastened to every gate of the city. After settling the affairs of Sorath, the king turned
his face towards Ahmedabad. On the way hearing that a fleet of Malabar craft were annoying the Gujurat ports, he marched to Gogha, equipped a fleet to oppose the pirates, and stopping at Cambay returned to Ahmedabad.

In A.D. 1480, when Mahmud Shah was at Junagadh, Khudawand Khan and others, who were weary of the king's constant warfare, incited his eldest son Ahmed to assume royal power. But Imad-ul-Mulk, by refusing to join, upset their plans, and on the king's return the conspiracy was stamped out. In the previous year (A.D. 1479) Mahmud Shah sent an army to ravage Champañer, which he was determined to conquer. About this time, hearing that the neighbourhood was infested with robbers, he founded the city of Mehmudabad on the banks of the Vatark, about eighteen miles south of Ahmedabad. In A.D. 1482 there was a partial famine in Gujurat, and the Champañer country being exempt from scarcity the commander of Moramli or Rasulabad, a post in the Gakvar's Saxonidistrict on the Champañer frontier, made several forays across the border. In return the chief attacked the commander and defeated him, killing most of his men and capturing two elephants and several horses. On hearing this Mahmud Shah set out for Baroda with a powerful army. When Mahmud reached Baroda the Raval of Champañer, becoming alarmed, sent ambassadors and sued for forgiveness. The king rejected his overtures, saying: 'Except the sword and the dagger no message shall pass between me and you.' The Raval made preparations for a determined resistance, and sent messengers to summon Ghiyas-ud-din Kuli of Malwa to his aid. To prevent this junction Mahmud Shah entrusted the siege to his nobles and marched to Dohad, on which Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din withdrew to Mamin. On his return from Dohad the Sultan began building a Juma Mosque at Champañer to show that he would not leave the place till he had taken the hill-fort of Pavadag. After the siege had lasted more than twenty months (April 1483—December 1484), the Musalmans noticed that for an hour or two in the morning most of the Rjputs were off duty bathing and dressing. A morning assault was planned and the first gate carried. Then Malik Ayaz Sultan finding a practicable breach passed through with some of his men and took the great gate. The Raval* and his Rjputs, throwing their women and children and valuables into a huge fire, rushed out in a fierce but unavailing charge.**

The Raval and his minister Dungarashi fell wounded into the conqueror's hands, and, on refusing to embrace Islam, were put to death. The Raval's son, who was entrusted to Seif-ul-Mulk, and instructed by him in the Muhammadan religion, afterwards, in the reign of Muzaffar Shah (A.D. 1523-1526), was enthroned by the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. On the capture of Pavadag in A.D. 1484, Mahmud Shah built a wall round the town of Champañer, and made it his capital under the name of Muhammedabad. Under Mahmud's orders the neigh-

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1 The Tabakat-i-Akhbar has 'To-morrow the sword of allmank shall answer your message.'
2 Parashah, II. 396-397.
bourhood became stocked with mangoes, pomegranates, figs, grapes, sugarcanes, plantains, oranges, custard apples, *khurirs* or *ruins* (Minns's indices or hexandra), jackfruit, and eucalyptus, as well as with roses, chrysanthemums, jasmine, *champas*, and sweet paunulans. A saqbuli grove near Champaunir is said to have yaul trees large enough to help the Musalmán nobles to build their mansions. At the instance of the Sultán a Khurásání beautified one of the gardens with fountains and cascades. A Gujarátí named Hālūr learning the principle improved on his master's design in a garden about four miles west of Champaunir, which in his honour still bears the name Hālūr.

In Mahmūd's reign an instance is mentioned of the form of compensation known as *vāltār*. Some merchants bringing horses and other goods for sale from Irān and Khurāsān were plundered in Sirohi limits. The king caused them to give in writing the price of their horses and stuffs, and paying them from his own treasury recovered the amount from the Rāja of Sirohi.

In A.D. 1494-95 Mahmūd went against Bahādur Khān Gūlah, a vassal of the Bahmanis, who from Gua and Dābhol had so harassed the Gujarāt harbours that, from the failure of the supply of betel nut, coriander seed had to be eaten with betel leaves. The Bahmanī Sultān, fearing the consequences to himself, marched against Bahādur-Khān, and, capturing him alive, struck off his head, and sent it to the Gujarāt monarch, who returned to his own country. In A.D. 1499-1500, hearing that Nāsir-ul-dīn of Mālwa had killed his father Ghūlās-ul-dīn and seated himself on the throne, the Sultān prepared to advance against him, but was appeased by Nāsir-ul-dīn's humble attitude. The next seven years passed without any warlike expedition. In A.D. 1507, near Dāman on his way to Cheul, Mahmūd heard of the victory gained at Cheul over the Portuguese by the Gujarāt squadron under Malik Ayāz Sultānī, in concert with the Turkish fleet. In A.D. 1508 Mahmūd succeeded in placing his nephew Mirān Muhammad Adil Khān Fārīkī on the throne of Asīr-Burhānpūr. From 1508 Mahmūd remained at his capital till his death in December A.D. 1513 at the age of sixty-seven years and three months, after a reign of fifty-four years and one month. Mahmūd was buried at Sarkhej, and received

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1 Mirāt-i-Sikandāri, 112-114.
2 Dābhol (north latitude 17° 34', east longitude 73° 16'), on the north bank of the river Vashishī (called Halsewāko and Kalsewāko by the early navigators). See Badger's *Varthema*, page 114 note 1); in the British district of Bhavnagīr. About this time, according to Athanasia Nikīlīm (A.D. 1468-1474), Dābhol was the greatest meeting place for all nations living along the coast of Indiya and Ethiopia. In A.D. 1501 it was taken by the Portuguese. Between A.D. 1626 and 1630 an English factory was established here, but by the end of the century trade had left Dābhol and has never returned.
3 Cheul, now Benavatoo (north latitude 18° 33', east longitude 72° 39'), from about A.D. 1500 to 1550 a place of much trade.
4 Mahmūd Begada greatly impressed travellers, whose strange tales of him made the king well-known in Europe. *Varthema* (1503-1508) thus describes his manner of living: *The king has constantly 20,000 horsemen. In the morning when he rises there come to his palace 60 elephants, on each of which a man sits astride, and the said elephants do reverence to the king, and, except this, they have nothing else to do. When the
the after-death title of Khudaiqir-i-Ha'lim or the Mask Lord. Immediately before his death Sultan Mahmud was informed that Shih Ismail Safawi of Persia had sent him a friendly embassy headed by Yadgar Beg Kazis-bash. As the Kazis-bash were known to be Shiah the Sultan, who was a staunch Sunn, prayed that he might not be forced to see a Shiah's face during his last days. His prayer was heard. He died before the Persian embassy entered the city. During the last days of Sultan Mahmud, Sayid Muhammad of Jaunpur, who claimed to be the Mahdi or Messiah, came from Jaunpur and lodged in Tajkhun Sahir's mosque near the Jamai-pur gate of Ahmedabad. His sermons drew crowds, and were so persuasive that he gained a large body of followers, who believed his eloquence to be due to hitl or inspiration. Mahmud's ministers persuaded him not to see the Jaunpur preacher.

King's cats, fifty or sixty kinds of instruments, drums trumpet, bugle, and the elephants again do him reverence. As for the king himself, his mustachios under his nose are so long that he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her tresses, and he has a white beard that reaches to his shoulders. As to his food, every day he eats poison (Hudhessa's Prince whose 'daily food was sap and balsam and toad'), that he fills his stomach with all, but he eats a certain quantity, so that when he wishes to destroy any great person he makes him come before him stripped and naked, and then eats certain fruits which are called jehala (Jehala, musings), like a muscatel nut. He always carries with him called jemalle palms or betel leaf; thus the leaves are removed, and with these he eats time of oyster shells. When he has chewed this well he spits it out on the person he wishes to kill, and so in the space of half an hour the victim falls to the ground dead. The Sultan has also three or four thousand women, and every night that he sleeps with one, she is found dead in the morning. Barroso (a.d.1511) goes further (Stanley's Travels 57), saying that so weak was the king with poison that if a fly settled on his hand it swelled and immediately fell dead. This was the result of his early training. For, as Varthema's companion asked how it was that the king could eat poison in this manner, certain merchants, who were older than the Sultan, answered that his father had fed him upon poison from his childhood. (Badger's 'Varthema, 110.) Of the origin of Mahmud's surname Begada two explanations are given; (1) 'From his mustachios being long and twisted like a hoop's horse, such a hoop being called Begado; (2) that the word is taken from the Quiratul are, two, and gud, a fort, the people giving him this title in honour of his capture of Janagad (a.d.1575) and Champhesh (a.d.1584). (Bird's History of Gujarat, 202; Mirzâ-Ahmed Persian Text, 74.) Varthema's account of the poison-eating is probably an exaggeration of the Sultan's habit of oven-eating which from his infancy he was addicted. The Mirzâ-Sikandar (Persian Text, 755) speaks of the great physical power of Mahmud and of his wonderful appetite. Mahmud's daily food weighed forty sous the set being 16, bhadish a little over half a pound. He used to eat about three pounds (5 sous) of pierced grain to desert. For breakfast, after his morning prayer, Mahmud used to consume a small pie of pure Makkah honey with a second cupful of clarified butter and fifty small plantains called abash hula. At night they set by his bed two plates of soumbahe or minced unbleded semences. In the morning Mahmoud seeing the empty plates used to give thanks; 'Oh Allah,' he said, 'bless thou not given this unworthy slave rule over Gejrat, who could have filled his stomach.' His virile powers were as unusual as his appetite. The only woman who could bear his embraces unharmed was a powerful Ahsailian girl who was his great favourite. Of the wealth and weapons kept in store the Mirzâ-Sikandar gives the following details regarding the great expedition against Janagad (Persian Text, 94): The Sultan ordered the treasurer to send with the army gold coins five kares, 1700 Egyptian Allemandi Morish and Khur stałi swords with black handles weighing 22 to 3 pounds (4-5 sous), 1700 daggers and patachs with gold handles weighing 1 to 1½ pounds (2-3 sous), and 2000 Arab and Turk horses with gold embalmed or decorations. All this treasure of gold and weapons the Sultan spent in presents to his army (Dittmüller, 294-95).
Mahmúd Begada's court was adorned by several pious and high-minded nobles. In life they vied with one another in generous acts; and after death, according to the Persian poet Urfi, they left their traces in the characters and carvings of stone, walls and marble piles. First among these nobles the Mirat-i-Sikandari (Persian Text, 132, 142) mentions Dáwar-ul-Mulk, whose god-fearing administration made his estates so prosperous that they were coveted by princes of the blood. As Thamzdar of Amron in north Kathásvāda, he spread the light of Islam from Morvi to Bhój, and after his death his fame as a spirit-ruling guardian drew hosts of sick and possessed to his shrine near Morvi. The second was Malik Ayáz, governor of Dīu, who built the strong fortress afterwards reconstructed by the Portugese. He also built a tower on an under-water rock, and from the tower drew a massive iron chain across the mouth of the harbour. A substantial bridge over the creek, that runs through the island of Dīu, was afterwards destroyed by the Portugese. The third was Khudáwānd Khán Ālim, the founder of Aīlmpur: a suburb to the south of Ahmedābād, adorned with a mosque of sandstone and marble. He introduced the cultivation of melons, figs and sugarcane into Gujrat from Bījapur. The fourth was Imād-ul-Mulk Asas who founded Iśanpur, a suburb between Shāh Alam's suburb of Iślāmpur and Bātwa, and planted along the road groves of khinās and mangoes. The fifth was Tājkhán Sālār, so loved of his peers that after his death none of them would accept his title. The sixth was Malik Sārang Kiwām-ul-Mulk, a Rājput by birth, the founder of the suburb of Sārangpur and its mosque to the east of Ahmedābād. The seventh and eighth were the Khurâtān brothers Azzām and Moḳẓazam, who built a cistern, a mosque, and a tomb between Ahmedābād and Sarkanjō.

Besides Khalīl Khán, who succeeded him, Mahmūd had three sons: Muhammad Kāla, Apā Khán, and Ahmed Khán. Kāla, son of Rānī Rūp Manjhirī died during his father's lifetime as did his mother, who was buried in Mā陷阱 Chauk in Ahmedābād in the building known as the Rānī's Hazīrah. The second son Apā Khán was caught trespassing in a noble's harim, and was ordered by the Sultan to be poisoned. The third son was the Ahmed Khán whom Khudāwānd Khán sought to raise to the throne during Sultan Mahmūd's lifetime.

Muhammad was succeeded by Khalīl Khán, the son of Rānī Hīrābāi, the daughter of a Rājput chieftain named Nágā Rána who lived on the bank of the Mahī. On ascending the throne, at the age of twenty-seven, Khalīl adopted the title of Muzaffar Shāh. For some time before his father's death, Prince Khalīl Khán had been living at Baroda and shortly after his accession he visited that neighbourhood, and founded a town which he named Daulatābād. In A.D. 1514 Rāv Bhūm, the son of Rāv Bhān of Īlār, defeated Ain-ul-Mulk, governor of Pātān, who was coming to Ahmedābād to pay his respects to the king. This officer had turned aside to punish the Rāv for some disturbance he had created, but failing in his purpose, was himself defeated. On the approach of Muzaffar Shāh, Īlār was abandoned by the Rāv, who made his peace with difficulty and only by agreeing to pay a heavy tribute. Meanwhile the king marched to Godhra, and so to Mālva by way of Dohad, whose fort he caused to be repaired, and soon after went on to Dhar-
After a short stay in Málwa, thinking it mean to take advantage of the distracted condition of Mahmúd of Málwa, who was at war with his nobles, Muzzafar returned to Muhammadábad (Champánir). At this time Ráimal, nephew of the late Ráy Búhím of Ídâr, expelled the Ráy's son Bhármal by the aid of his father-in-law Ráma Sángá of Chitor, and succeeded to the chiefainship of Idar. The king was displeased at the interference of the Ráma, and directed Nizám Kháñ, the governor of Ahmadnagar, to expel Ráimal and reinstate Bhármal. Nizám Kháñ took Idar and gave it to Bhármal. Ráimal betook himself to the hills where Nizám Kháñ incautiously pursuing and engaging him lost many men. When the rains were over the Sultán visited Ídâr. Shortly after, Nizám Kháñ, the governor of Ahmadnagar, fell sick and was called to court. He left Ídâr in charge of Zahir-ul-Mulk at the head of a hundred horse. Ráimal made a sudden raid on Ídâr and killed Zahir-ul-Mulk and twenty-seven of his men. On hearing of this reverse Sultán Muzzafar ordered Nizám Kháñ to destroy Bijâpur. In A.D. 1517, the nobles of Málwa besought Muzzafar's interference, alleging that the Hindu minister Medání Ráy was planning to depose the Málwa Sultán, Mahmúd Khiljí, and usurp the throne. Muzzafar Sháh promised to come to their help, and shortly after Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí, escaping from the surveillance of Medání Ráy, himself sought the aid of the Gujarát monarch. In A.D. 1518 Muzzafar Sháh marched by Godhra into Málwa, and on his arrival at Dhar, that town was evacuated by Medání Ráy. The Gujarát king next besieged Mándú and Medání Ráy summoned the Chitor Ráma to his aid. When the Ráma had reached Sárangpur, Muzzafar Sháh detached a force caused the Ráma to retire, while the Gujarát soldiers exerted themselves so strenuously that they captured Mándú, recovering the girdle which Kútúh-l-dín had lost at the battle of Kapadvanj. This conquest virtually placed Málwa in Muzzafar's power, but he honourably restored the kingdom to Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí, and, withdrawing to Gujarát, proceeded to Muhammadábad. In A.D. 1519, news was received of the defeat and capture of Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí by the Ráma of Chitor. Muzzafar Sháh sent a force to protect Mándú. But the Ráma, who distinguished himself by releasing the Sultán of Málwa and keeping his son in his stead as a hostage, enjoyed continued good fortune. Some time before these events a bhat or bard in the presence of Nizám Kháñ, the governor of Ídâr, boasted that the Ráma of Chitor would never fail to help Ráma Ráimal of Ídâr. The angry governor said 'Whose dog is Ráma Sángá to help Ráimal while we are here.' Nizám Kháñ called a dog Sángá, chained him in the fort, and dared the Ráma to carry him away. His successes enabled Sángá to answer the challenge. In consequence of dissensions at head-quarters Nizám Kháñ withdrew to Ahmadnagar leaving a small garrison in Ídâr. When Ráma Sángá appeared before Ídâr the garrison resisted but were slain to a man. The Ráma advanced to Ahmadnagar and severely defeated Nizám Kháñ who withdrew to Ahmadbád, while the Ráma plundered Vihál Nagar.  

1 Farishtah, II. 492.  
2 Mirá-i-Sikandar, 166-167; Farishtah, II. 411.
Sorath, was sent with a large and carefully equipped force to revenge this inroad. Dissensions between Malik Ayád and the Gujrat nobles prevented this expedition doing more than burn and despoil both Dungarpur and Banevadé. Muzaaffar Sháh, greatly displeased with the result, was preparing to march against Chitor, when he was dissuaded by a submassive embassy from that chief, who sent his son to Ahmedábád with valuable presents for the king. Shortly afterwards, on the death of Malik Ayád, Muzaaffar Sháh confirmed his elder son Malik Is-hák in his father’s rank and possessions. Malik Is-hák remained in Sorath which was confirmed as his fájir. In the following year the Sultan went about his dominions strengthening his frontier posts, especially the fort of Modasa, which he rebuilt. About A.D. 1524 prince Bázádur Khán, ostensibly dissatisfied with the smallness of his estates but really to remove himself from the jealousy of his brother Sikandar who being appointed heir-apparent was seeking his life, left Gujrat and withdrew to Hindustán. King Muzaaffar, after formally appointing his son Sikandar Khán his heir, died at Ahmedábád in A.D. 1526, after a reign of fourteen years and nine months. Muzaaffar was buried in the shrine of Sheikh Ahmed Khatto at Sarkhej near his father’s grave. He was the most learned and one of the most pious of the Ahmedábád Sultans. So extreme an abstainer was he that not only during his whole life did he eschew intoxicating drugs and liquor but he never again rode a favourite horse because the horse was cured by a draught of wine. He was an accomplished musician, a finished horseman, a practised swordsman, and withal so modest and humble in his dress and temper that observing once to a favourite page how simple and yet graceful his own turban was the boy laughed: ‘Ay, if the turbans of Mullahs and Bohoras are graceful, then is your Majesty’s.’ The Sultan said ‘I should have been proud to have my turban likened to a Mullah’s, why compare it with the headdress of a schematic Bohor.’ Muzaaffar was careful never to pain the feelings of those around him. He suspected Khiwám-ul-Mulk who was in charge of his drinking water but contented himself with breathing over the water one of the verses of the Korán which make poison harmless. During his reign cultivation increased so much in Jhálívadá that it became necessary to reserve certain waste land for pasture. In 1526 the rains held off so long that famine began to rage. The Sultan exclaimed, ‘Oh Allah! If thou scourge the country for the sins of its king take his life and spare thy creatures.’ The prayer was heard and the soul of the guardian Sultan passed in a flood of gracious rain.

After Sikandar Sháh had been in power a few months he was murdered by Ímád-ul-Mulk Khush-Kadam, who seated a younger brother of Sikandar’s, named Nádir Khán, on the throne with the title of Muhmúd II. and governed on his behalf. The only event of Sikandar’s reign was the destruction of an army sent against his brother, the

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1 The verse supposed to possess the highest virtue against poison is the last verse of Chap. xvi. of the Korán. Serve the Lord of this House who suppheth them with food against hunger and maketh them free from fear.

2 Miráti-Sikandari (Farsa Manuscript), 174, 175, 194.
“Latif Khan who was helped by Rana Bhim of Mungo. The nobles deserted Imad-ul-Mulk's cause, and prince Bahadur Khan, returning to Gujarat from Hindustan, was joined by many supporters prominent among whom was Taj Khan, proprietor of Dandiuka. Bahadur marched at once on Champamur, captured and executed Imad-ul-Mulk and poisoning Nasir Khan ascended the throne in A.D. 1527 with the title of Bahadur Shah. His brother Latif Khan, aided by Raja Bhim of the Kohistan or hill land of Pali, now asserted his claim to the throne. He was defeated, and fell wounded into the hands of the Gujarati army and died of his wounds and was buried at Halol. Raja Bhim was slain. As Bhim’s successor Ras Singh plundered Dehad, a large force was sent against him, commanded by Taj Khan, who laid waste Ras Singh's country and dismantled his forts. Soon after Bahadur Shah visited Camlay, and found that Malik Is-hak the governor of Sorath had, in the interests of the Portuguese, attempted to seize Diu but had been repulsed by the Gujarati admiral Maumud Aka. The Sultans entrusted Diu to Kiwan-ul-Mulk and Junaghad to Mujahid Khan Bhikan and returned to Ahmedabad. In 1527 he enforced tribute from Idar and the neighbouring country. During one of his numerous expeditions he went to Nandod and received the homage of the Raja. As the Portuguese were endeavouring to establish themselves on the coast of Sorath, and, if possible, to obtain Diu, the king was constantly at Camlay Diu and Gogha to frustrate their attempts, and he now directed the construction of the fortress of Broach. At this time Muhammad Khan, ruler of Asir and Burhanpur, requested Bahadur’s aid on behalf of Imad-ul-Mulk, ruler of Berar. Bahadur Shah started at once and at Nandurbur was joined by Muhammad Khan Asir, and thence proceeded to Burhanpur, where he was met by Imad Shah from Gavalgad. After certain successes he made peace between Burhan Nizam Shah and Imad Shah Gavali, and returned to Gujarat. Jam Firuz the ruler of Tatha in Sindh now sought refuge with Bahadur Shah from the oppression either of the Ghoris or of the

1 Both the Mirat-i-Sikandari (287) and Farishtah (II. 419) place Mungo in Nandurbur-Sultana. The former reference to Rana Bhim of Pal seems to apply to the same man as the Rana Bhim of Mungo. Mungo may then be Mohangad that is Chota Udepur.
2 Mirat-i-Sikandari Persian Text, 322-325; Farishtah, II. 425-426. The Gujarat Muslim historians give a somewhat vague application to the word Pal which means a bank or step downwards to the plain. In the Mirat-i-Ahmed (Pahlavpur Edition, page 169) Palavarah, which is climacterically laid, includes Godhra. All Mohan and Rajpipla that is the rough eastern fringe of the plain land of Gujarat from the Mahi to the Tapti. As the Raja of Nandod or Rajpipla was the leading chief south of Idar Colonel Watsam took references to the Raja of Pal to apply to the Raja of Rajpipla. An examination of the passages in which the same Pal occurs seems to show that the hill country to the east rather than to the south of Pavagad or Champamur is meant. In A.D. 1527 Latif Khan the rival of Bahadur Shah after joining the Raja Bhim in his forays or highlands of Pal when wounded is taken into Halol. The same passage contains a reference to the Raja of Nandod as some one distinct from the Raja of Pal. In A.D. 1531 Balasangh of Pal tried to rescue Maumud Khilji on his way from Mandu in Malwa to Champamur. In A.D. 1561 Nasir Khan fled to Champamur and died in the Pal hills. These references seem to agree in alloting Pal to the hills of Baria and of Mungo or Chota Udepur. This identification is in accord with the local use of Pal, Mr. Pollock, U.S., ILI.D., Political Agent, Rewa Rana, writes 1880: Bhils Kells and trainers all apply the word Pal to the Baria. Pal which besides Baria takes in Sanjeli and the Navanasgar-Sallik uplands in Godhra.
Mughals and was hospitably received. In A.D. 1528 Bahadur made an expedition into the Dakhan which ended in a battle at Danatlahid. The issue of this battle seems to have been unfavourable as hardly any reference to the campaign remains. Next year (A.D. 1529), at the request of Jaafar or Khizr Khan, son of Imad Shah Gavali, who was sent to Gujarat to solicit Bahadur’s help, he again marched for the Dakhan. As he passed through Muler Binarji the Raja of Bglan gave him his daughter in marriage and in return received the title of Bahr Khan. From Bglan Bahr Khan was told off to ravage Cheul which by this time had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese. Bahadur himself advanced to Ahmednagar, took the fort and destroyed many of the buildings. Purandhar also was sacked of its stores of gold. From Ahmednagar Bahadur Shah passed to Burhanpur, and there his general Kaisar Khan gained a victory over the united forces of Nizam Shah, Malik Berid, and Ain-ul-Mulk. After having the public sermon read in his name both in Ahmednagar and in Burhanpur Bahadur returned to Gujarat and for some time refrained from interfering in the affairs of the Dakhan.

Between A.D. 1526 and 1530 certain Turks under one Mufida came to Gujarat; traders according to one account according to another part of a Turkish fleet expected to act against the Portuguese. Din was assigned them as a place of residence and the command of the island was granted to Malik Toghhan, son of Malik Ayaz, the former governor. In A.D. 1530 the king marched to Nagor, and gave an audience both to Prathiraj Raja of Dungarpur and to the ambassadors from Rana Ratan Sing of Chitor. The Rana’s ambassadors complained of encroachments on Chitor by Mahmud of Malwa. Mahmud promised to appear before Bahadur to explain the alleged encroachments. Bahadur waited. At last as Mahmud failed to attend Bahadur said he would go and meet Mahmud. He invested Mandu and received with favour certain deserters from Mahmud’s army. The fortress fell and Sultan Mahmud and his seven sons were captured. The success of the siege was due to Bahadur’s personal prowess. He scaled an almost inaccessible height and sweeping down from it with a handful of men took the fort, a feat which for daring and dash is described as unsurpassed in the history of Musalmân Gujarat. After passing the rainy season at Mandu Bahadur Shah went to Burhanpur to visit his nephew Miran Muhammad Shah. At Burhanpur Bahadur under the influence of the great priest-statesman Shah Tahir, was reconciled with Burhan Nizam and gave him the royal canopy he had taken from Malwa. Bahadur offered Shah Tahir the post of minister. Shah Tahir declined saying he must make a pilgrimage to Makkah. He retired to Ahmednagar and there converted Burhan Nizam Shah to the Shah faith. In the same year, hearing that Munsingji, Raja of

1 Purandhar about twenty miles south by east of Poona, one of the greatest of Dakhan hill forts.
2 Mirat-i-Shahani, 238, 239; Farashtah, II, 430. According to the Mirat-i-Shahani (239) the Sultan enquired on which side was the loftiest height. They told him that in the direction of Sengad-Chitamri the hill was extremely high. These details show that the cliff scaled by Bahadur was in the extreme south-west of Mandu where a high nearly isolated point stretches out from the main plateau. For details see Appendix II, Mandu.
3 Mirat-i-Shahani, 241-243; Farashtah, II, 432.
Halvad, had killed the commandant of Dasada Bahadur despatched Khán Khánán against him. Virangám and Mándal were sent from the Jhálá chieftains, and ever after formed part of the crown dominions. When Sultan Mahmúd Khilji and his sons were being conveyed to the fortress of Chámpánér, Ráisingh, Raja of Pál, endeavoured to rescue them. The attempt failed, and the prisoners were put to death by their guards. In A.D. 1531, on Bahadur's return from Báránhãpur to Dhúr, hearing that Sílehí the Rájput chief of Ráisín in east Málwa kept in captivity certain Muhammadan women who had belonged to the harem of Sultan Násir-ud-din of Málwa, Bahadur marched against him and forced him to surrender and embrace Islám. The chief secretly sent to the Rána of Chítor for aid and delayed handing over Ráisín. On learning this Bahádur despatched a force to keep Chítor in check and pressed the siege. At his own request, Sílehí was sent to persuade the garrison to surrender. But their reproaches sting him so sharply, that, joining with them, and after burning their women and children, they rallied forth sword in hand and were all slain. Ráisín fell into Bahádur's hands, and this district together with those of Bhîlsa and Chánderí were entrusted to the government of Sultan Álam Lodhi. The king now went to Gondvána to hunt elephants, and, after capturing many, employed his army in reducing Gágram and other minor fortresses. In A.D. 1532 he advanced against Chítor, but raised the siege on receiving an enormous ransom. Shortly afterwards his troops took the strong fort of Hántánbhúr. About this time on receipt of news that the Portuâguese were usurping authority the Sultan repaired to Díu. Before he arrived the Portuâguese had taken to flight, leaving behind them an enormous gun which the Sultan ordered to be dragged to Chámpánér.

Before A.D. 1532 was over Bahádur Sháh quarrelled with Humáyún, emperor of Delhi. The original ground of quarrel was that Bahádur Sháh had sheltered Sultan Muhammad Zamán Mirza the grandson of a daughter of the emperor Bábár (A.D. 1482-1530). Humáyún's anger was increased by an insolent answer from the Gujarat king. Without considering that he had provoked a powerful enemy, Bahádur Sháh again laid siege to Chítor, and though he heard that Humáyún had arrived at Gwálior, he would not desist from the siege. In March 1535 Chítor fell into the hands of the Gujarat king but near Mánásâdar his army was shortly afterwards routed by Humáyún. According to one account, the failure of the Gujarat army was due to Bahádur and his nobles being spell-bound by looking at a heap of salt and some cloth soaked in indigo which were mysteriously left before Bahádur's tent by an unknown elephant. The usual and probably true explanation is that Rúmi Khán the Turk, head of the Gujarat artillery, betrayed Bahádur's interest. Still though Rúmi Khán's treachery may have had a share in Bahádur's defeat it seems probable that in valour, discipline, and tactics the Gujarat army was

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1 Halvad is a former capital of the chief of Dheensalhra in Kathárva.
2 Gágram in Central India about seventy miles north-east of Újjain.
3 Hántánbhúr about seventy-five miles south by east of Jaipur.
4 Mír-i-Sháhârdí Parsi, Ñstáhí, 162, 163; Ñstáhí, II, 419.
5 1746-53
in inferior to the Mughals. Bahádur Sháh, unaccustomed to defeat, lost heart and fled to Mándú, which fortress was speedily taken by Humáyún. From Mándú the king fled to Chámpanér, and finally took refuge in Díu. Chámpanér fell to Humáyún, and the whole of Gujarát, except Sorath, came under his rule. At this time Sher Sháh Súr revolted, in Bihár and Jaunpur, and Humáyún returned to Agra to oppose him leaving his brother Hindúl Mirza in Ahmedábád, Kásam Beg in Broach, and Yádgár Násir Mirza in Pátan. As soon as Humáyún departed, the country rose against the Mughals, and his old nobles requested the king to join them. Bahádur joined them, and, defeating the Mughals at Kanij near Mahmúdábád, expelled them from Gujarát. During Humáyún’s time of success Bahádur Sháh, being forced to court the Portuguese, had granted them leave to erect a factory in Díu. Instead of a factory the Portuguese built a fort. When he recovered his kingdom, Bahádur, repenting of his alliance with the Portuguese, went to Sorath to persuade an army of Portuguese, whom he had asked to come to his assistance, to return to Goa. When the Portuguese arrived at Díu five or six thousand strong the Sultán hoping to get rid of them by stratagem, repaired to Díu and endeavoured to get the viceroy into his power. The viceroy excused himself, and in return invited the king to visit his ship. Bahádur agreed, and on his way back was attacked and slain, in the thirty-first year of his life and the eleventh of his reign. According to the author of the Miráṭ-i-Sikandari the reason of Bahádur’s assassination was that a paper from him to the king of the Dakhán, inviting them to join him in an alliance against the Portuguese, was fallen into the hands of the Portuguese viceroy. Whatever may have been the provocation or the intention, the result seems to show that while both sides had treacherous designs neither party was able to carry out his original plan, and the end was unpremeditated, hurried on by mutual suspicions.1 Up to the defeat of Sultán Bahádur by Humáyún, the power of Gujarát was at its height. Cadets of noble Rájput houses, Prithviraj, the nephew of Ráma Súgna of Chitor, and Narsíngh Deva the cousin of the Rája of Gwálíor, were proud to enrol themselves as the Sultán’s vassals. The Rája of Baglán readily gave Bahádur Sháh his daughter, Jám Firúz of Táthia in Síndh and the sons of Bahúl Lodí were suppliants at his court. Májíwa was a dependency of Gujarát and the Nizám Sháh of Ahmednagar and Nasírkhán of Burhánpur acknowledged him as overlord, while the Fárákis of Khándeşh were dependent on Bahádur’s constant help.2

On the death of king Bahádur in a.d. 1536, the nobles of Gujarát invited his sister’s son Muhammad Sháh Asír to succeed him. Muhammad Sháh died shortly after his accession, and the nobles conferred the crown on Mahmúd Khán, son of Latíf Khán, brother of Bahádur Sháh, and he ascended the throne in a.d. 1536, when only eleven years of age. The government of the country was carried on by Dárya Khán and Imád-ul-Mulk, who kept the king under

1 A detailed account of the death of Sultán Bahádur is given in the Appendix.
2 Miráṭ-i-Sikandari Persian Text, 228. Compare Farishta, II, 427.
strict surveillance. Darya Khan resolved to overthrow Imad-ul-Mulk and acquire supreme power. With this object he obtained an order from the king, whom, on the pretense of a hunting expedition, he removed from Ahmadabad, directing Imad-ul-Mulk to retire to his estates in Jhalavada. Six months later, taking the Sultan with him, Darya Khan led an army into Jhalavada, and defeating Imad-ul-Mulk in a battle at Patri, fifty two miles west of Ahmadabad, pursued him to Burhanpur, and there defeated Imad-ul-Mulk's ally the ruler of Khansabad and forced Imad-ul-Mulk to fly to Malwa.

After this success Darya Khan became absorbed in pleasure, and resigned the management of the kingdom to Alam Khan Lodhi. The king, dissembling his dissatisfaction at the way he was treated, pretended to take no interest in affairs of state. Alam Khan Lodhi, seeing the carelessness of Darya Khan, began to entertain ambitious designs, and retiring to his estate of Dhandhuka invited the king to join him. Mahmud Shah, believing him to be in earnest, contrived to escape from surveillance and joined Alam Khan. On discovering the king's flight, Darya Khan raised to the throne a descendant of Ahmad Shah by the title of Muzaffar Shah, and striking coin in his name set out with an army towards Dhandhuka. Alam Khan and the king met him at Dhur in Dholka, and a battle was fought in which Mahmud and Alam Khan were defeated. The king fled to Raper, and thence to Paithan, while Alam Khan fled to Sarda. Darya Khan occupied Dhandhuka; but his men, dissatisfied at being placed in opposition to the king, rapidly deserted, some joining Alam Khan and some Mahmud Shah. Soon after the king joined Alam Khan and marched on Ahmadabad, whither Darya Khan had preceded them. The citizens closed the gates against Darya Khan, but he forced an entry by way of the Burhanpur wicket. Hearing of the king's approach, Darya Khan fled to Mubarak Shah at Burhanpur, leaving his family and treasure in the fortress of Champaener.

The king entered Ahmadabad, and soon after captured Champaener. Alam Khan now obtained the recall of Imad-ul-Mulk, who received a grant of Broach and the port of Surat. Shortly afterwards Mahmud Shah began to show favour to men of low degree, especially to one Chari, a birdatcher, whom he ennobled by the title of Muhafiz Khan. Charij counselled Mahmud to put to death Sultan Alauddin Lodhi and Shujjat Khan, two of the principal nobles; and the king, without consulting his ministers, caused these men to be executed. The nobles joining together besieged Mahmud Shah in his palace, and demanded that Muhafiz Khan should be surrendered to them, but the king refused to give him up. The nobles then demanded an audience, and this the king granted, Muhafiz Khan, though warned of his danger, being foolishly present. On entering the royal presence Alam Khan signalled to his followers to slay Muhafiz, and he was killed in spite of the king's remonstrances. Mahmud then attempted to kill himself, but was prevented and placed under guard, and the chief nobles took it in turn to watch him. Strife soon arose between Alam Khan and Mughul.
Khán and his brother, and the two latter nobles contrived the king’s escape and sacked the houses of Alam Khán and his followers. Alam Khán escaped to Pethúpur in the Mahi Kántha. He then joined Darya Khán, whom he called from the Dakhán, and obtained help in money from Imád-ul-Mulk of Surat and from Alî Khán of Dholka. Imád-ul-Mulk wrote to the Sultán asking forgiveness for the rebels. But before the Sultán, who was mercifully disposed, could grant them pardon, Alam Khán and Darya Khán again committed themselves by acts of open revolt. The Sultán displeased with the part Imád-ul-Mulk had taken in the rising summoned him to Champánér where, with the Sultán’s connivance, his camp was given over to pillage. The Sultán disclaimed all knowledge of this attack and at Imád-ul-Mulk’s request allowed him to go on pilgrimage to Makkah. In A.D. 1545 he was preparing to start for Makkah Imád-ul-Mulk was killed. He was succeeded in Surat by Khudáwán Khán Kúmí, who had held Surat under him, and who, in spite of Portuguese opposition and intrigue, had five years before completed the building of Surat Castle. Meanwhile Alam Khán and Darya Khán were driven from Gujárát and forced to take shelter with the sovereign of Dehli. The king now appointed as his own minister Afszal Khán, the minister of the late Bahádur Shah, and though Afszal Khán lived in retirement, his counsel was taken on measures of importance. Other great nobles were Sayyad Músáírah, Fateh Khán Baloob, and Abdul Karím Khán, who received the title of Itimád Khán, and was so entirely in the Sultán’s confidence that he was admitted to the harem. Mahmúd now consulted Afszal Khán as to the propriety of conquering Málwa. Afszal Khán advised him rather to deprive the Rájput chiefs and proprietors of their waizás or hereditary lands. The attempt to follow this advice stirred to resistance the chief men of Idar, Sirohi, Dungarpur, Bánwáda, Lúmásí, Rájpipla, Dohad, and the banks of the Mahi. The king strengthened his line of outposts, establishing one at Sirohi and another at Idar, besides fresh posts in other places. At the same time he began to persecute the Hindus, allowing them to be killed on the slightest pretence, branding Rájputs and Kolis, forcing them to wear a red rag on the right sleeve, forbidding them to ride in Aḥmedábád, and punishing the celebration of Holi and Diwálí. In A.D. 1554 Burhán, a servant of the king’s, conceived the idea of killing him and reigning in his stead. He accordingly gave his master an intoxicating drug, and when he was overcome with sleep stabbed him to the heart. Then summoning the principal nobles in the king’s name, he put to death Afszal Khán the prime minister and twelve others, and endeavoured to have himself accepted as Sultán. No one aided him; even his

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1 A poet of the time, Mulla Muhammad of Astarbád, enshrined the date II. 947 (A.D. 1540) in the words:

\[
\text{Sád-Diwád Bár Sináh-o-Jání Pirándy Béníín.}
\]

May this fabric press like a pillar on the breast

and the life of the Frank.

2 Mirzát-i-Skandari, Persian Text, 228-27.

\[
\begin{align*}
& S = 60, \quad d = 4, \quad h = 2, \quad w = 6, \\
& d = 4, \quad b = 2, \quad r = 200, \quad z = 60, \quad y = 10, \quad n = 50, \quad h = 5, \quad w = 5, \quad f = 3, \\
& a = 1, \quad n = 50, \quad d = 40, \quad r = 200, \quad n = 50, \quad g = 50, \quad y = 10, \quad a = 1, \quad y = 10, \quad n = 50, \quad b = 2, \quad a = 40, \quad d = 1, \quad y = 10. \quad \text{Total 947.}
\end{align*}
\]
accomplices deserted him. Imád-ul-Mulk Rumi, Ulugh Khan, and others joined to oppose him, and when marching against them he was cut down by Shirwán Khan. Mahmúd’s persecutions had raised such bitter hate among the Hindus, that they regarded Burhán as a saviour, and after Burhán’s death are said to have made a stone image of him and worshipped it. Mahmúd moved his capital from Ahmedábád to Mehmúdábád, eighteen miles south of Ahmedábád where he built a palace and enclosed a deer park. At each corner of the park he raised a palace the stone walls and ceilings of which were ornamented with beautiful and precious gold traceries and arabesques. His strict regard for public morals led him to forbid Muhammadan women visiting saints’ tombs as the practice gave rise to irregularities. He died at the age of twenty-eight after a reign of eighteen years.

On the death of Burhán, the nobles elected as sovereign a descendant of the stock of Ahmad Sháh of the name of Ahmad Khán, and proclaimed him king by the title of Ahmad Sháh II. At the same time they agreed that, as the king was young, Ítimád Khán should carry on the government and they further divided the country among themselves, each one undertaking to protect the frontiers and preserve the public peace. Mubárak Sháh of Khándesh, considering this a good opportunity, preferred a claim to the crown and marched to the frontier. An army led by the chief Gujarát nobles and accompanied by the young king met the invaders at the village of Ránpur Kotri in Broach, the Gujarát army encamping on the north bank and the Khándesh army on the south bank of the Narmada. Násir-ul-Mulk, one of the Gujarát nobles, taking certain of his friends into his confidence, determined to remain neutral till the battle was over and then to fall on the exhausted troops and possess himself of both kingdoms. Sayyad Mubárak, a descendant of the saint Sháhi Alam, who led the van of the Gujarát army, becoming aware of Násir-ul-Mulk’s design opened communications with Mubárak Sháh of Khándesh and induced him to withdraw. Násir-ul-Mulk, who still aspired to supreme power, gaining several nobles to his side near Baroda, surprised and defeated the forces of Ítimád Khán and Sayyad Mubárak. The Sayyad withdrew to his estate of Kapadwanj and he was joined by Ítimád Khán, while Násir-ul-Mulk, taking Súltán Ahmed with him to Ahmedábád, assumed the entire government of the country. After a short time he assembled an army and marched against Sayyad Mubárak and Ítimád Khán encamping at Kamand, the village now called Od Kámod, ten miles north-east of Ahmedábád at the head of 50,000 horse. Ítimád feared to attack so...
strong a force. But Sayad Mubarak, who knew of the defection of Ulugh Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk, surprised Nasir-ul-Mulk's army at night. During the confusion Ulugh Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk, disgusted with the assumption of Nasir-ul-Mulk, deserted him and bringing the young Sultan with them joined Sayad Mubarak and Itimad Khan. Nasir-ul-Mulk was forced to fly, and after a short time died in the mountains of Pal. Ikhtiyvar-ul-Mulk, Fateh KhanBaluch, and Hassan Khan Dakhani now set up another king, a descendant of Ahmed, named Shahtu. A battle was fought near Mehmasibad in which Shahtu and his supporters were defeated and Hassan Khan Dakhani was slain. Before the battle Fateh Khan Baluch had been induced to forsake Shahtu, and Ikhtiyvar-ul-Mulk, taking Shahtu with him, fled. The nobles now divided Gujarat into the following shares:

- Ahmed Shah for private purse
- Itimad Khan and Party
- Sayad Mubarak and Party
- Imad-ul-Mulk Rumi and Party
- Nobles under Itimad Khan

Of these shares Itimad Khan bestowed the country of Sorath on Tattar Khan Ghor, the districts of Radhanpur, Sami, and Muniyapur on Fateh Khan Baluch, Nadhad on Malik-ush-Shark, and some of the dependencies of Jhalavada on Alaf Khan Habshi. Sayad Mubarak conferred the territory of Pata on Musa Khan and Sher Khan Fuladi, Imad-ul-Mulk Rumi bestowed the district of Baroda on Alaf Khan Habshi and the port of Surat on his wife's brother Khudawand Khan Rumi.

About this time (A.D. 1552) Alam Khan returned, and, through the influence of Sayad Mubarak, was allowed to remain. The Sayad gave him and Azam Humayun Chaupar, and Itimad Khan gave Godhra to Ali Khan Khatri, a follower of Alam Khan. Alam Khan and Itimad Khan shortly after expelled Alaf Khan Habshi from Jhalavada, and he fled to Imad-ul-Mulk Rumi at Broach, and at his intercession Alaf Khan received the Bhil district. Alam Khan's success tempted him to try and get rid of Itimad Khan and govern in his stead. Itimad Khan, discovering his intention, made him leave the city and live in his own house in the Asawal suburb. Alam Khan now made overtures to Imad-ul-Mulk Rumi and became very friendly with him. One day Alam Khan proposed to get rid of Itimad Khan;
but seeing that Imad-ul-Mulk Rumi did not take to his proposal, he next endeavoured to ruin Sayad Mubarak. But when the Gujarát army marched against him the Sayad made peace, and Alam Khan’s intrigues being apparent, he was attacked and compelled to fly. He now went to Berar and sought aid of Mubarak Shah, who marched an army towards the Gujarát frontier. The Gujarát nobles, taking Ahmed Shah with them, advanced to oppose him, and he retired. Alam Khan now repaired to Sher Khan Fauladi at Pata, and they together seized Itimad Khan’s district of Kadi, but, through the exertions of Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk, Alam Khan was slain and Sher Khan forced to retire to Pata. Imad-ul-Mulk Rumi and Itimad Khan now carried on the government, but dissension springing up between them, Itimad Khan fled to Mubarak Shah in Khudavad, and induced him to lead an army against Gujarát. The nobles, fearing this combination, made peaceful overtures and it was eventually settled that the lands of Sulhanpur and Nundharb should be given to Mubarak Shah, and that Itimad Khan should be restored to his former position. Since this date the districts of Sulhanpur and Nundharb have been permanently severed from Gujarát and have formed a part of Khudavad, to which province they now belong. Ahmed Shah, finding himself more strictly guarded than ever, contrived to flee to Sayad Mubarak at Sayadpur, who, though vexed at his coming, would not refuse him shelter. At this time Haji Khan, a Dehli noble, on his way from Chitor to help Humayun, passed through Gujarát with a well equipped force, and arrived at Pata. The Gujarát nobles, especially Itimad Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk Rumi, conceiving that he came at the Sayad’s invitation, and that the flight of the king was part of the plot, determined to crush the Sayad ere Haji Khan could join him, and on their march to Sayadpur meeting Sayad Mubarak near Mehmudabad defeated him. The Sayad fell and was buried on the field of battle. His estates were resumed, though eventually Dhokla was restored to his son Sayad Miran.

The army and the two protectors returned to Ahmedabad. Dissensions again sprang up between them, and Imad-ul-Mulk Rumi summoned to his aid his son Chagir Khan from Broach, while Itimad Khan sent for Tattar Khan Ghori from Sorath. Tattar Khan arrived first and Itimad Khan further strengthened by contingents from the Fauladi of Pata and Fateh Khan Baluch from Radhanpur ordered Imad-ul-Mulk Rumi to return to his estate; and he, seeing it would be useless for him to contend against so overwhelming a force, retired to his possessions at Broach. Shortly after, having marched against Surat at the request of the inhabitants who were wearied of the tyranny of Khudawand Khan, he was decoyed by that chief to an entertainment and was there assassinated. His son Chagir Khan marched against Surat to take vengeance for his father’s death, and, finding the fortress too strong for him, summoned to his aid the Portuguese, to whom, as the price of their assistance, he surrendered the districts of Damman and Surjan. The Portuguese, bringing a strong

1 The fort of Damman was taken by the Portuguese in A.D. 1530, and, according to Portuguese accounts (Faria y Souza in Kerr’s Voyages, VI, 413) the country round was
fleth up the Tápti, cut off the supplies, and Khudáwán Khán was forced to surrender, and was slain by Chángíz Khán in revenge for his father's death. Shortly afterwards Chángíz Khán quarrelled with Jhunjhúr Khán Habshi of Baroda because the Habshi had installed his nephew, son of Alíf Khán Habshi, without consulting Chángíz. Jhunjhúr and his nephew being defeated fled to Itimád Khán, who allotted them a grant of land. At this time Fátéh Khán Balúch, the proprietor of Rádhanpur and Sámi, was Itimád Khán's chief supporter, and with his assistance Itimád Khán marched to besiege Chángíz Khán in Broach. Tátárá Khán Góri and other nobles, fearing lest Itimád Khán should become too powerful, endeavoured to make peace. As their efforts failed, Tátárá Khán wrote to the Faúlásids to attack Fátéh Khán Balúch. They did so, and Fátéh Khán, after being defeated near Rádhanpur, took refuge in the fort of Fátéh-kot or Dhužikot, which is close to the town. Itimád Khán raised the siege of Broach and came to Ahmèdábád, where he busied himself in checking the intrigues of king Ahmèd, who was doing all in his power to become independent. Finally, in A.D. 1560-61, at the instigation of Wájíh-ull-Mulk and Rázi-ull-Mulk Itimád Khán caused Ahmèd II to be assassinated. The murder took place in the house of Wájíh-ull-Mulk. The Sultán's body was thrown on the sands of the Sáharmatí and the story circulated that the Sultán had been killed by robbers. Ahmèd's nominal reign had lasted about eight years.

Itimád Khán then raised to the throne a youth, whom he styled Múzaffar Sháh III., and who, he asserted, was a posthumous son of Mámód Sháh, and then marched towards Írán to take his revenge on the Faúlásids for their attack on Fátéh Khán Balúch. The nobles unwilling to crush the Faúlásids, fearing lest their turn might come next, entered into secret correspondence with them, and withdrew when battle was engaged. The nobles were now independent in their respective jígírás, in which according to the Tábánát-i-Akbari they allowed no interference though still owning nominal allegiance to the throne. Itimád Khán, forced to return unsuccessful to Ahmèdábád, with a view of again attacking the Faúlásids, summoned Tátárá Khán Góri from Júnághád. The nobles remained aloof, and even Tátárá

annexed by them in 1558. According to a statement in Bird's History, 128, the districts surrendered by Chángíz Khán contained 700 towns (villages) yielding a yearly revenue of £430,000 (Rs. 4,30,00,000).

Súdán, since known as St John's Head (north latitude 20° 13'; east longitude 72° 47'), between Daman and Bassein, seems to be one of the two Súdáns, the other being in Kachchh, mentioned by the ninth to twelfth century Arab geographers. According to Tábríz (Jaubert's Edition, 172) the mainland Súdán was a great town with a large import and export trade and well populated with rich warlike and industrious inhabitants. Tábríz's (Elliot, I. 85) notice of an island of the same name to the east is perhaps a confused reference to the Kachchh Súdán which is generally supposed to be the Súdán of the Arab geographers. In A.D. 542, Súdán then a city of some size, is mentioned by Al-Bíláduri (Reinaud's Fragments, 216-217) as having been taken by a Musulman name Fátú, son of Mahán, this Fátú is related to have sent an elephant from Súdán to the Khalifat Al Múhammad the Abbásid (A.D. 733) and to have built an Assembly Mosque at Súdán. (Al-Bíláduri in Elliot, I. 129).

1 According to Abú Fátú (Abu-wasáis, III. 404; Elliot, V. 730) Múzaffar was a base-born boy of the name of Náthu.

2 Tábánát-i-Akbari in Elliot's India, V, 329 note 2.
Khán Ghori made excuses, which so exasperated Itimád Khán that he sought to slay him. Túttár Khán escaped to Surath, and there openly sided with the Faúládis. Sayad Mirán also left Ahmedábád for his estate at Dholka, and joining Túttár Khán at Ránpur they both went over to the Faúládis at Pátan. Meanwhile Itimád Khán, again collecting an army, marched once more towards Pátan. He was met by the Faúládis near the village of Jútãmá, about thirty miles south of Pátan, where he was defeated and compelled to return to Ahmedábád. Sayad Mirán now intervened and made peace. Itimád Khán still thirsting for revenge on the Faúládis, invited Chángiz Khán, son of Imúd-ul-Múlk Rúmi, to the capital, and by courteous treatment induced him to join in another expedition against the Faúládis. Like the other nobles Chángiz Khán was lukewarm; and as Músa Khán Faúládi died while Itimád Khán was marching on Pátan, Chángiz Khán assigned this as a reason for not proceeding further, averring that it was not fit to war with people in misfortune. Itimád Khán perforce returned to Ahmedábád.

Though Itimád Khán had disgusted the nobles, both by causing the assassination of Ahmed Sháh and by his enmity with the Faúládis, as he had charge of Múzaffar Sháh and possession of the capital, the government of the country was in his hands. At this time the Mírzás, who were the sons of Súltán Husain of Khurássán, quarrelling with Jalá-ul-dín Muhammad Akbar, entered Gujarát, and joined Chángiz Khán. Chángiz Khán now proposed to Sher Khán Faúládi that they should expel Itimád Khán and divide Gujarát between them, the capital and the country south of the Sábarmati falling to the share of Chángiz Khán, and that to the north to Sher Khán Faúládi. Sher Khán agreed, and Chángiz Khán joining him they marched on Ahmedábád. Sayad Mirán induced Sher Khán to stay in Kádi. But Chángiz Khán refused to listen to him, and a battle was fought between him, Itimád Khán, and the Sayad on the right bank of the Khán about eight miles south of Ahmedábád. Itimád Khán was defeated, and fled with the king to Modás, while Chángiz Khán took possession of the capital. Sher Khán Faúládi now advanced to the Sábarmati, and, after dividing the province as had been agreed, Sher Khán returned to Kádi. Itimád Khán entreated Mirán Muhammad Sháh, king of Khándesh, to march to his aid, and Chángiz Khán invited Itimád Khán to return. He came to Mehmúdábád, where hearing that Muhammad Sháh had sustained a defeat and retired to his own country, he took Múzaffar Sháh with him and returned through Modás to Dungarpur. Chángiz Khán remained in Ahmedábád, and Sher Khán withdrew to Kádi. After this success all the chief nobles of Gujarát, including the Habshís, joined Chángiz Khán, who was now at the zenith of his power, and began to think of subduing Sher Khán Faúládi.

Chapter II.

Ahmedábád

Kings.

K. 1403-1575.

Mádúr. III-1561-1572.

Itimád Khán and the Faúládis.

The Mírzás,

1671.

They Defeat Itímaíd Khán.

These Mírzás were the great grandsons of a Muhammad Súltán Mírzá, the ruler of Khurássán, who, on being driven out of his dominions, sought refuge in India. This prince and his family on the ground of their common descent from Táhir, were entertained first by Bábár (a.d. 1526-1531), and afterwards by Humán Khán (a.d. 1531-1536). Before this quarrel Akbar had treated the Mírza with great honour. Elliot's History, V., 122.

9 1746-34
who on his part was anxious and fearful. At this time Bijli Khán a Habshi eunuuch who was offended with Changiz Khán, because he had resumed the grant of Cambay, persuaded Alif Khán and Jhujhár Khán Habshi that Changiz Khán had determined to kill them. The Habshi Kháns, resolving to be beforehand, invited Changiz Khán, with whom they were intimate, to play a game of ḍaghán or polo. Changiz agreed and when near the Farhat-ul-Mulk mosque, between the Bhadar and the Three Gates, Alif Khán, after making Jhujhár Khán a signal, attracted Changiz Khán’s notice to the horse on which he was riding saying it was the best of the last batch imported from the Persian Gulf. As Changiz Khán turned to look at the horse, Jhujhár Khán cut him down. The Habshis now plundered Changiz Khán’s house, while the Mírzás, mounting, went south and took possession of Broach, Barewa, and Chámpání, Sher Khán advanced from Kadi, and ordered the Habshis to hand him over Ahmedábád. While treating with him the Habshis secretly summoned Ítimád Khán, who, returning with Múzzafr Sháh, entered the city. It was arranged that Ítimád Khán should take the place of Changiz Khán, and that the division of Gujarát between Changiz Khán and Sher Khán should be maintained. Ítimád Khán found the Habshis so domineering that he withdrew from public affairs. Afterwards Aláf Khán and Jhujhár Khán, quarrelling over the division of Changiz Khán’s property, Aláf Khán left Ahmedábád and joined Sher Khan, who, advancing from Kadi, laid siege to Ahmedábád. Ítimád Khán now sought aid from the Mírzás, and Mírza Báháhím Hussain marched from Broach and harassed Sher Khán’s army with his Mughal archers.

At the same time Ítimád Khán turned for help to the emperor Akbar, who, glad of any pretext for driving the Mírzás from their place of refuge in Gujarát, was not slow in availing himself of Ítimád Khán’s proposal. Early in July 1572 he started for Ahmedábád, and with his arrival in the province, the history of Gujarát as a separate kingdom comes to an end.

1 The modern game of polo. Lane in his translation of the Thémasand and One Nights (I. 76, 1883 Edition) calls it the golf-stick, but the nature of the game described there does not in any way differ from polo. Changíz is the Persian and Ās-ṣaláḥ-lî’s-clá-ʃànū the Arabic name for the game.
CHAPTER III.
MUGHAL VICEEROYS.
A.D. 1573-1578.

To the nobles thus fighting among themselves, news was brought
that the emperor Akbar was at Disa. Ibrahim Husain Mirza returned
to Brouch and the army of the Faúládis dispersed. From Disa the
imperial troops advanced to Pátan and thence to Jhotána thirty miles
south of Pátan. Súltán Muzaffar, who had separated from the Faúládis,
fell into the hands of the emperor, who granted him his life but placed
him under charge of one of his nobles named Karam Ali.1 When the
imperial army reached Kadi, Itimád Khán, Ikhtiyár Khán, Aláf Khán,
and Jihújar Khan met Akbar and Sayyád Hámid also was honoured
with an audience at Hásípur.2 The emperor imprisoned Aláf Khán
and Jihújar Khán Hábiíus and encouraged the other Gujarát nobles.
Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk now fled to Lámáváda, and the emperor, fearing that
others of the Gujarát nobles might follow his example, sent Itimád
Khan to Cambay and placed him under the charge of Shahabúz
Khán Kambo.3 From Ahmedábád Akbar advanced to Cambay. At
this time Ibrahim Mirza held Baroda, Muhammad Husán Mirza
held Surat, and Shah Mirza held Champaín. On leaving Cambay to
expel the Mirzás, Akbar appointed Mirza Ázíz Kokaltash his first
viceoy of Gujarát. At Baroda Akbar heard that Ibrahim Mirza
had treacherously killed Rustam Khán Rúmi, who was Chángíz Khán’s
governor of Brouch. The emperor recalled the detachment he had
sent against Surat, and overtaking the Mirza at Sarmál or Thásra on
the right bank of the Mahi about twenty-three miles north-east of Nadíb,
after a bloody conflict routed him. The Mirza fled by Ahmedábád to
Sirohi, and Akbar rejoined his camp at Baroda. The emperor now
sent a force under Shah Kúli Khán to invest the fort of Surat, and
following in person pitched his camp at Gópí Tákó, a suburb of that
city. After an obstinate defence of one month and seventeen days,
the garrison under Hamzábán, a slave of Humáyún’s who had joined the
Mirzáš, surrendered. Hamzábán was in treaty with the Portugese.
Under his invitation a large party of Portugese came to

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1 The emperor Akbar took Muzaffar Sháh with him to Agra, and settled on him the
districts of Sárangpur and Ujíjain in Málwa with a revenue of Rs. 20,00,000 (50 lakhs
of takaas) (Elliot, V. 323). When Múrân Khán Khán Khánán was going to Bengál, the
emperor made Muzaffar over to him. Múrân Khán gave his daughter Shákáz Khánán
in marriage to Muzaffar, but shortly afterwards having reason to suspect him imprisoned
him, whence Muzaffar finding an opportunity fled to Gujarát in A.D. 1551 (H. 399)
according to Fárishtá (H. 466); 1558 according to the Miráí-Sikandari.
2 Both the Tabákát-i-Akhbar (Elliot, V. 313) and Fárishtá (I. 401) name four other
nobles Mir Áshór Tábar, Sayyád Ahamd lbn Khán, Malik Aashraf, and Wajíh-ul-Mulk.
The Sayyád Ahamd of these two writers is a subpoint for the Sayyád Hámid of the text.
3 Miráí-Sikandari, 415; Tabákát-i-Akhbar in Elliot, V. 243.
Surat during the siege, but seeing the strength of the imperial army, represented themselves as ambassadors and besought the honour of an interview. While at Surat the emperor received from Bihār or Viharji the Raja of Baglāna, Shafuddin Husain Mirza whom the Raja had captured. After the capture of Surat, the emperor ordered the great Suleimānī cannon which had been brought by the Turks with the view of destroying the Portuguese forts and left by them in Surat, to be taken to Agra. Surat was placed in the charge of Kalīj Khān. The emperor now advanced to Ahmedābād, where the mother of Changiz Khān came and demanded justice on Jujihrā Khān for having wantonly slain her son. As her complaint was just, the emperor ordered Jujihrā Khān to be thrown under the feet of an elephant. Muhammad Khān, son of Sher Khān Pawlādi, who had fled to the Idrā hills, now returned and took the city of Pātān, besieging the imperial governor, Sayyad Ahmed Khān Bāhra, in the citadel. At this time Mirza Muhammad Husain was at Rānpūr near Dāndlīka. When Sher Khān Pawlādi, who had taken refuge in Sorath, heard of Muhammad Khān’s return to Pātān, he met Mirza Muhammad Husain, and uniting their forces they joined Muhammad Khān at Pātān. The viceroy Mirza Aziz Kokaltāsh with other nobles marched against them, and after a hard-fought battle, in which several of the imperial nobles were slain, Mirza Aziz Kokaltāsh was victorious. Sher Khān again took refuge in Sorath, and his son fled for safety to the Idrā hills, while the Mirza withdrew to the Khāndesh frontier. As the conquest of Gujarāt was completed, Akbar returned to Agra.

From a.d. 1573, the date of its annexation as a province of the empire, to a.d. 1758, the year of the final capture of Ahmedābād by the Marāthās, Gujarāt remained under the government of officers appointed by the court of Delhi. Like the rule of the Ahmedābād kings, this term of 184 years falls into two periods: the first of 134 years from a.d. 1573 to the death of Aurangzib in a.d. 1707, a time on the whole of public order and strong government; the second from a.d. 1707 to a.d. 1758, fifty-one years of declining power and growing disorder.

SECTION I.—A.D. 1573-1707.

Before leaving Gujarāt Akbar placed the charge of the province in the hands of Mirza Aziz Kokaltāsh. At the same time the emperor rewarded his supporters by grants of land, assigning Ahmedābād with the districts of Pīlālād and several other districts to the viceroy Mirza Aziz, Pātān to the Khān-i-Kalān Mir Muhammad Khān, and Baroda to Nawāb Aurang Khān. Broach was given to Kūb-ud-dīn Muhammad, and Dholka Khānpūr and Sami were confirmed to Sayyad Hāmid and Sayyad Mahmūd Bukhārī. As soon as the emperor was gone Ikhtiyār-"
Mulk and Muhammad Khan, son of Sher Khan, who had taken shelter in the Idar hills, issued forth, and the viceroy marched to Ahmednagar to hold them in check. Mirza Muhammad Husain advancing rapidly from the Nandurbar frontier, took the fort of Broach, and went thence to Cambay which he found abandoned by its governor Husain Khan Karkarsha, while he himself marched to Ahmednagar and Idar against Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk. The viceroy ordered Sayad Hamid Bakhshi, Nawab Naurang Khan, and others to join Kutlud-din Muhammad Khan. They went and laid siege to Cambay, but Mirza Muhammad managed to evacuate the town and join Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk and Muhammad Khan. After several unsuccessful attempts to scatter the enemy the viceroy retired to Ahmedabad, and the rebels laid siege to the city. Kutlud-din Khan, Sayad Miran, and others of the imperial party succeeded in entering the city and joining the garrison. After the siege had lasted two months, Akbar, making his famous 600 mile (100 kos) march in nine days from Agra, arrived before Ahmedabad, and, on once engaging the enemy, totally defeated them with the loss of two of their leaders Mirza Muhammad Husain and Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk.

On the day before the battle Akbar consulting a Hazara Afgan versed in drawing omens from sheep's shoulder-blades, was told that victory was certain, but that it would be won at the cost of the life of one of his nobles. Seif Khan, brother of Zein Khan Koka, coming in prayed that he should be chosen to receive the crown of martyrdom. At the end of the day the only leading noble that was killed was Seif Khan.1

After only eleven days' stay Akbar again entrusting the government of Gujarat to Mirza Aziz Koka, returned to Agra. Mirza Aziz Koka did not long continue viceroy. In A.D. 1575, in consequence of some dispute with the emperor, he retired into private life. On his resignation Akbar conferred the post of viceroy on Mirza Khan, son of Behram Khan, who afterwards rose to the high rank of Khan Khana or chief of the nobles. As this was Mirza Khan's first service, and as he was still a youth, he was ordered to follow the advice of the deputy viceroy, Wazir Khan, in whose hands the administration of the province remained during the two following years. Soon after the insurrection of 1573 was suppressed the emperor sent Raja Toda Mal to make a survey settlement of the province. In A.D. 1575 after the survey was completed Wajih-ul-Mulk Gujardati was appointed diwan or minister. Some historians say that in A.D. 1576 Wazir Khan relieved Mirza Aziz Koka as viceroy, but according to the Mirza-

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1 Tuzki Jehangiri or Jahangir's Memoirs, Pers. Text, Sayed Ahmed Khan's Edition page 9. For Akbar's march compare Tabakat-i-Akbari in Elliot, V. 386 and Biemman's Akbar, I. 325 and note. The Mirz-a-Emami (Pers. Text, 181) records these further details: When starting from his last camp Akbar began to mount his horse on the day of the battle that took place near Ahmedabad. The royal steed unable to bear the weight of the here laden with the spirit of victory sat down. Raja Bhogalaldeh Kachroah ran up to the rather embarrassed emperor and offered him his congratulations saying: This, your Majesty, is the surest sign of victory. There are also two further signs: the wind blows from our back and the kites and vultures accompany our host.
Ahmedi Mirza Khán held office with Wazir Khán as his deputy. One Prágálas, a Hindu, succeeded Wajh-ul-Mulk as diwán. Troops were sent to reduce the Nándol and Iłdar districts, and the fort of Sirohi was captured by Tarsu Khán, the military governor of Pátan. Afterwards, through the intervention of Pahár Khán Jálórí, the Sirohi-Rája, as an interview with Rája Todar Mal, presented £3000 (Rs. 12,000) and other articles and was allowed to serve the provincial governor of Gujarát with 1500 horse.

During Wazir Khán’s administration Muzaffar Husain Mirza, son of Ibrahim Husain Mirza, raised an insurrection in Gujarát. This Mirza Muzaffar was as an infant carried to the Dákhán from Surat shortly before its investment by Akbar. He lived peacefully till under the influence of an ambitious retainer Mihr Ali by name, he gathered an army of adventurers and entered Nándurbáí. Wazir Khán distressing his troops shut himself in a fortress, and wrote to Rája Todar Mal, who was in Pátan settling revenue affairs. The Mirza defeated the imperial forces in Nándurbáí and failing to get possession of Cambay marched straight to Ahmedábáí. On the advance of Rája Todar Mal the Mirza fell back on Dhólika. The Rája and the Khán pursuing defeated him, and he retired to Júnságadhí. The Rája then withdrew, but the Mirza again advanced and besieged him in Ahmedábáí. In an attempt to escallate the city wall Mihr Ali was killed. Muzaffar Mirza withdrew to Khándesh and the insurrection came to an end.

In the end of a.d. 1577, as Wazir Khán’s management was not successful, the post of viceroy was conferred upon Shaháb-ud-dín Ahmed Khán, the governor of Málwa. Shaháb-ud-dín’s first step was to create new military posts and strengthen the old ones. At this time Fáteh Khán Shírvání, the commander of Amin Khán Ghori’s army, quarrelled with his chief, and, coming to Shaháb-ud-dín, offered to capture the fort of Júnágadhí. Shaháb-ud-dín entertained his proposal, and sent his nephew Mirza Khán and 4000 horse with him. When the troops crossed the Sórah frontier, they were met by envoys from Amin Khán, agreeing, in his name, to pay tribute and surrender the country, provided he were permitted to retain the fortress of Júnágadhí and were allotted a sufficient grant of land. Mirza Khán refused these proposals and continued his march against Júnágadhí. Amin Khán made a vigorous resistance and applied for aid to the Jám of Návánagar. At this juncture Fáteh Khán died, and Mirza Khán went and besieged Mángúlí. The Jám’s minister Isá now joined Amin Khán with 4000 horse, and he, quitting Júnágadhí, marched to Mángúlí. On their approach Mirza Khán retired to the town of

1 Tabakat-i-Akbarí in Elliot, V, 408.
2 Mángúlí (north latitude 21° 8’; east longitude 70° 10’); a seaport on the south coast of Káthiávar, about twenty miles west of Sómnath. This town, which is supposed to be the Munaglossum eumjorium of Pliny (A.D. 159) (see Béel, 118), is spelt Mángúlí by the Munáhmadan historians. Barbeau (A.D. 1511-1514), under the name of Súrúmt-mangál, calls it a “very good port where many ships from Malabar touch for horses, wheat, rice, cotton goods, and vegetables.” In a.d. 1531 the city was taken by the Portuguese general Sylvéira with a vast booty and a great number of prisoners (Churchill’s Travels, III, 529). It is incidentally mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbarí (a.d. 1600). In a.d. 1638 Mandelo describes it as famous for its linen cloth, and in a.d. 1700 it is mentioned by Hamilton (New Account, I, 123) as a place of trade.
Kodimá followed by Amin Khán. Here a pitched battle was fought, and Mirza Khán was defeated with the loss of his baggage. Many of his men were slain, and he himself, being wounded, escaped with difficulty to Ahmedábád. Shaháb-ud-din, who had meanwhile been giving his attention to revenue matters, and to the more correct measurement of the lands of the province, was rudely recalled from these peaceful occupations by his nephew's defeat. At the same time news was brought of the escape of the former king, Muzaffar Khán, who, eluding the vigilance of the imperial servants, appeared in Gujarát in A.D. 1583. Muzaffar remained for some time in the Rájpútra country, and thence came to one Lána or Lúmbhá Kháthí, at the village of Khírí in the district of Sardhár in Sórath.

Before he could march against Muzaffar, Shaháb-ud-din was recalled, and in A.D. 1583 or 1584 Itímad Khán Gujarátí was appointed viceroy. At this time a party of 700 or 800 Mughals, called Wazir Khánís, separating from Shaháb-ud-din, remained behind in hope of being entertained by the new viceroy. As Itímad Khán declared that he was unable to take them into his service, they went off in a body and joined Muzaffar at Khírí, and he with them and three or four thousand Kháthí horse marched at once on Ahmedábád. On hearing this Itímad Khán, leaving his son Sher Khán in Ahmedábád, followed Shaháb-ud-din to Kádi, and entreated him to return. Shaháb-ud-din at first affected indifference telling Itímad that as he had given over charge he had no more interest in the province. After two days he consented to return if Itímad stated in writing that the country was on the verge of being lost and that Itímad being unable to hold it was obliged to relinquish charge to Shaháb-ud-din. Itímad Khán made the required statement and Shaháb-ud-din returned with him. Meanwhile Muzaffar Shah reached Ahmedábád, which was weakly defended, and in A.D. 1583, after a brief struggle, took possession of the city. While the siege of Ahmedábád was in progress Shaháb-ud-din and Itímad Khán were returning, and were within a few miles of the city, when news of its capture reached them. They continued their advance, but had barely arrived at Ahmedábád when Muzaffar Shah totally defeated them taking all their baggage. Seeing the issue of the fight, most of their army went over to Muzaffar Shah, and the viceroy and Shaháb-ud-din with a few men fled to Pátan. Kuth-ud-din Muhammad Khán Atkáh, one of the imperial commanders, who was on the Khándekhí frontier, now advanced by forced marches to Baroda. Muzaffar marched against him with a large army, recently strengthened by the union of the army of Sayyad Daulát ruler of Cambay. Kuth-ud-din threw himself into Baroda, and, in spite of the treachery of his troops, defended the city for some time. At last, on Muzaffar's assurance that his life should be spared Kuth-ud-din repaired to the enemies' camp to treat for peace. On his arrival he was treated with respect, but next day was treacherously put to death. The fort of Brouch was also at this

1 This has been rendered by Bird, 363, 'the mountain of Dínár,' as if Koh Dínár.
2 H. 312 (1584 A.D.), according to the Tabakát-i-Akbári (Eliot, V, 428).
time traitorously surrendered to Muzaffar by the slaves of the mother of Naurang Khan, sief-holder of the district.

On learning of the Gujarát insurrection the emperor, at the close of A.D. 1583, conferred the government of the province on Mirza Abdür-Rahim Khan, son of Bhurum Khan, who had formerly (A.D. 1575) acted as viceroy. Muzaffar, who was still at Broach, hearing of the advance of the new viceroy with a large army, returned rapidly to Ahmedábád, and in A.D. 1584 fought a pitched battle with Mirza Abdür-Rahim Khan between Sirkhej and Shah Blikan’s tomb. In this engagement Muzaffar was entirely defeated, and fled to Cambay pursued by Mirza Abdür-Rahim Khan. Muzaffar now hearing that Mirza Abdür-Rahim Khan had been joined by Naurang Khan and other nobles with the imperial army from Málwa, quitted Cambay, and made for his old place of shelter in Rájpiplá. Finding no rest in Rájpiplá, after fighting and losing another battle in the Rájpiplá hills, he fled first to Páthan and then to Ídar, and afterwards again repaired to Lumbha Káthí in Khíri. In reward for these two victories, the emperor bestowed on Mirza Abdür-Rahim Khan the title of Khan Khánán. Broach now submitted, and Muzaffar sought shelter with Amin Khán Ghorí at Júnagadh, by whom he was allotted the waste town of Gondal as a residence. Muzaffar made one more attempt to establish his power. He advanced to Morvi, and thence made a raid on Rádhanpur and plundered that town, but was soon compelled to return to Káthívád and seek safety in flight. Amin Khán, seeing that his cause was hopeless, on pretence of aiding him, induced Muzaffar to leave Gondal for Morvi.

1 Mirzát-I-Isháqí, 346; Farisháth, I, 303; Elliot, V, 434. In honour of this victory the Khan Khánán built, on the site of the battle, a palace and garden enclosing all with a high wall. This which he named Jítpur the City of Victory was one of the chief ornaments of Ahmedábád. In November 1613 the English merchant Wittington writes (Kerr’s Voyages, IX, 127): A long from Sirkhej is a pleasant house with a large garden all round on the banks of the river which Chou-Chin-Naw (Khán Khánán) built in honour of a great victory over the last king of Gujarát. No person inhabits the house. Two years later (1615) another English merchant Dodsworth (Kerr, IX, 503) describes the field of battle as strongly walled all round with brick about 12 miles in circuit and planted with fruit-trees and delightfully watered having a costly house called by a name signifying Victory in which Khán Khánán for some time resided. In 1618, the emperor Jahángír (Memoirs Persian Text, 210-213) on his way to Sirkhej visited the Khan Khánán’s Baghí Fateh or Garden of Victory which he had built at a cost of two lakhs of rupees ornamenting the garden with buildings and surrounding it with a wall. The natives he notices call it Fateh-Wadi. In 1626 the English traveller Herbert (Travels, 66) writes: Two miles nearer Ahmedábád than Sirkhej are the curious gardens and palace of Khan Khánán where he defeated the last of the Cambay kings and in memory built a stately house and spacious gardens the view whereof worthily attracts the traveller. Mandelsohn writing in 1638 is still louder in praise of Tachhéshírg the Garden of Victory. It is the largest and most beautiful garden in all India because of its splendid buildings and abundance of fine fruits. Its site is one of the pleasantest in the world on the border of a great tank having on the water side many pavilions and a high wall on the side of Ahmedábád. The lodge and the caravanserai are worthy of the prince who built them. The garden has many fruit trees oranges, citrons, pomegranates, dates, almonds, mulberries, tamarills, mangoes, and coconuts so closely planted that all walking in the garden is under most pleasing shade (Mandelsohn’s Travels, French Ed., 111-112). When (A.D. 1750) the Mirzát-I-Ahmedí was written several of the buildings and the remains of the summer house were still to be seen (Bird’s History of Gujarát, 377). A few traces of the buildings known as Fateh Badi or Victory Garden remains (1870). (Ahmedábád Gazetteer, 292.)
far to give him about £10,000.

When he had obtained the money, on one pretext or another, Amin Khán withheld the promised aid. The Khán Khánán now marched an army into Sørath against Muzaffar. The Jám of Navánagar and Amin Khán sent their envoys to meet the viceroy, declaring that they had not sheltered Muzaffar, and that he was leading an outlaw's life, entirely unaided by them. The viceroy agreed not to molest them, on condition that they withheld aid and shelter from Muzaffar, and himself marched against him. When he reached Uplets, about fifteen miles north-west of the fortress of Júnígadh, the viceroy heard that Muzaffar had sought shelter in the Barla hills in the south-west corner of the peninsula. Advancing to the hills, he halted his main force outside of the rough country and sent skirmishing parties to examine the hills. Muzaffar had already passed through Navánagar and across Gujarát to Dánta in the Mahi Kántha. Here he was once more defeated by the Parántej garrison, and a third time took refuge in Rájpípla. The viceroy now marched on Navánagar to punish the Jám. The Jám sent in his submission, and the viceroy taking from him, by way of fine, an elephant and some valuable horses, returned to Ahmedábád. He next sent a detachment against Ghazni Khán of Jhál'or who had favoured Muzaffar. Ghazni Khán submitted, and no further steps were taken against him.

In a.d. 1587 the Khán Khánán was recalled and his place supplied by Ismáíl Kuli Khán. Ismáíl's government lasted only for a few months, when he was superseded by Mirzá Azá Kokátázkh, who was a second time appointed viceroy. In a.d. 1591, Muzaffar again returned to Sørath. The viceroy, hearing that he had been joined by the Jám, the Kachh chief, and Daulat Khán Ghori the son of Amin Khán, marched with a large army towards Sørath, and, halting at Virángám, sent forward a detachment under Naurang Khán, Sayyad Kásim, and other officers. Advancing as far as Morvi,1 Naurang Khán entered into negotiations with the Jám, who, however, refused to accede to the demands of the imperial commander. On this the viceroy joined Naurang Khán with the bulk of his army, and after a short delay marched on Navánagar. On his way, at the village of Dhokar near Navánagar, Muzaffar and the Jám opposed him, and an obstinate battle in which the imperialists were nearly worsted, ended in Muzaffar's defeat. The son and minister of the Jám were slain, and Muzaffar, the Jám, and Daulat Khán who was wounded, fled to the fortress of Júnígadh. The viceroy now advanced and plundered Navánagar, and remaining there sent Naurang Khán, Sayyad Kásim, and Gujar Khán against Júnígadh. The day the army arrived before the fortress Daulat Khán died of his wounds. Still the fortress held out, and though the viceroy joined them the siege made little progress as the imperial troops were in great straits for grain. The viceroy returned to Ahmedábád, and after seven or eight months again marched against Júnígadh. The Jám, who was still a fugitive, sent envoys

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1 Two lakh of mahanás. The mahánsáh varied in value from about one-third to one-half of a rupee. See Introduction page 372 note 2.
2 Morvi (north latitude 28° 48', west longitude 70° 30'), a town in Kathiávara, about twenty-two miles south of Kachch.
and promised to aid the viceroy if his country were restored to him. The viceroy assented on condition that, during the operations against Jumagadh, the Jum should furnish his army with grain. The Jum agreed to provide grain, and after a siege of three months the garrison surrendered.

News was next received that Muzaffar had taken refuge at Jagat.\(^1\) The viceroy at once sent Naurang Khan and others with an army in pursuit. On reaching Jagat it was found that Muzaffar had already left for a village owned by a Rajput named Sewa Wadhel. Without halting Naurang Khan started in pursuit, nearly surprising Muzaffar, who escaping on horseback with a few followers, crossed to Kachh. Sewa Wadhel covering Muzaffar’s retreat was surprised before he could put to sea and fought gallantly with the imperial forces till he was slain. Naurang Khan then came to Arimra, a village belonging to Singram Wadhel, Raja of Jagat, and after frustrating a scheme devised by that chief to entrap a body of the troops on board ship under pretence of pursuing Muzaffar’s family, led his men back to Jumagadh. The viceroy, hearing in what direction Muzaffar had fled, marched to Morvi, where the Jum of Navangar came and paid his respects. At the same time the Kachh chief, who is called Khengor by Parsis and in the Mirat-i-Ahmedi and Bhara in the Mirat-i-Sikandri, sent a message that if the viceroy would refrain from invading his country and would give him his ancestral district of Morvi and supply him with a detachment of troops, he would point out where Muzaffar was concealed. The Khan-i-Azam agreed to these terms and the chief captured Muzaffar and handed him to the force sent to secure him. The detachment, strictly guarding the prisoner, were marching rapidly towards Morvi, when, on reaching Dhrol, about thirty miles east of Jumagadh, under pretence of obeying a call of nature, Muzaffar withdrew and cut his throat with a razor, so that he died. This happened in A.D. 1591-92. The viceroy sent Muzaffar’s head to court, and though he was now recalled by the emperor, he delayed on pretence of wishing to humble the Portuguese. His real object was to make a pilgrimage to Makkah, and in A.D. 1592, after obtaining the necessary permission from the Portuguese, he started from Veraval.\(^2\) During this viceroyalty an imperial jamaān ordered that the state share of the produce should be one-half and the other half should be left to the cultivator and further that from each half five per cent should be deducted for the village headmen. All other taxes were declared illegal, and it was provided that when lands or houses were sold, half the government demand should be realized from the seller and half from the buyer.

The emperor, who was much vexed to hear of the departure of the viceroy, appointed prince Sultan Murad Bakhsh in his stead with as his minister Muhammad Sādīk Khan one of the great nobles. In A.D. 1593-94 Mirza Aziz Kokaltash returned from his pilgrimage and

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1 Jagat (north latitude 22°15; east longitude 69°1”), the site of the temple of Dwārakā, at the western extremity of the peninsula of Kathrírā.  
2 Veraval (north latitude 20°56; east longitude 70°21”), on the south-west coast of Kathrírā. On the south-east point of Veraval was the city of Dev or Mungi Patan and within its walls the temple of Somāñatha.
repaired to court, and next year on prince Murād Bakhsh going to the Dakhan, Sūraj Singh was appointed his deputy. In A.D. 1604-05 Bahādur, son of the late Muzaffar Shāh, excited a rebellion, but was defeated by Sūraj Singh. In A.D. 1609, owing to the death of Sultan Murād, Mirza Aziz Kokaltāsh was a third time appointed viceroy of Gujarat, and he sent Shams-ud-din Husain as his deputy to Ahmedābād. Further changes were made in A.D. 1602 when Mirza Aziz sent his eldest son Shāh Mān as deputy; his second son Khurram as governor of Junagadh; and Sayad Bāyāzīd as minister. Khurram was afterwards relieved of the charge of Sorath and Jūnāgadh by his brother Abdullah.

In A.D. 1605 Nūr-ud-din Muhammad Jehāngīr ascended the imperial throne. Shortly after his accession the emperor published a decree remitting certain taxes, and also in cases of robbery fixing the responsibility on the landowners of the place where the robbery was committed. The decree also renewed Akbar’s decree forbidding soldiers billeting themselves forcibly in cultivators’ houses. Finally it directed that dispensaries and hospital wards should be opened in all large towns. In the early days of Jehāngīr’s reign disturbance was caused in the neighbourhood of Ahmedābād by Bahādur a son of Muzaffar Shāh. Jehāngīr despatched Patrdās Rāja Vikramājit as viceroy of Gujarāt to put down the rising. The Rāja’s arrival at Ahmedābād restored order. Some of the rebel officers submitting were reinstated in their commands; the rest fled to the hills. On the Rāja’s return Jehāngīr appointed Kālí Khān to be viceroy of Gujarāt; but Kālí Khān never joined his charge, allowing Mirza Aziz Kokaltāsh to act in his place. In A.D. 1606, on the transfer of Mirza Aziz to the Lāhor viceregalty, Sayad Murtaza Khān Bukhārī, who had recently been ennobled in consequence of crushing the rebellion under Jehāngīr’s son Khurānā, was entrusted with the charge of Gujarāt, Sayad Bāyāzīd being continued as minister. Sayad Murtaza, who is said to have further ingratiated himself with the emperor by the present of a magnificent ruby, appears to have been more of a scholar than a governor. His only notable acts were the repair of the fort of Kali’s and the populating of the Bukhārā quarter of Ahmedābād. During his tenure of power disturbances broke out, and Rāj Gopināth, son of Rāja Todar Mal, with Rāja Sursingh of Jodhpur, were sent to Gujarāt by way of Mālwa Surat and Baroda. They overcame and imprisoned Kahlān, chief of Belpār, but were defeated by the Māndwā chieftain, and withdrew to Ahmedābād. Rāj Gopināth, obtaining reinforcements, returned to Māndwa and succeeded in capturing the chief. He then marched against the rebellious Kolis of the Kānkraj, and took prisoner their
leader, whom, on promising not to stir up future rebellions, he afterwards restored to liberty.

The first connection of the English with Gujarát dates from Sayad Murtaza's viceroyalty. In A.D. 1608 he allowed Captain Hawkins to sell-goods in Surat.

In A.D. 1609 the Khán-i-Azam Mirza Azís Kokaltāsh was for the fourth time appointed viceroy of Gujarát. He was allowed to remain at court and send his son Jehángir Kuli Khán as his deputy with Mohmand Diván and Musód Beg Hamadānī. This was the beginning of government by deputy, a custom which in later times was so injurious to imperial interests.

In 1609 Malik Ambīr, chief minister of Nizám Sháh's court and governor of Daulatabad, invaded Gujarát at the head of 50,000 horse, and after plundering both the Surat and Baroda districts, retired as quickly as he came. To prevent such raids a body of 25,000 men was posted at Ramnagar on the Dakhân frontier, and remained there for four years. The details of the contingents of this force are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Officer</th>
<th>Troops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Viceroy of Ahmedābād</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nobles of his Court</td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chiefs of Sālār and Mulker (Bāglān)</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Son of the Khāsh Chief</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chief of Naşānāger</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chief of Idar</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chief of Dāngarpur; (now under the Dālā Government)</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chief of Bālsārā (Agency, Bālsārā)</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chief of Ramnagar (Dhānrampur)</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chief of Bālpāla</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chief of All (Allāspur under the Bhopāl Government)</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chief of Mohān (a former capital of the state of Chhota Udepur in the Rewa Kāntā)</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In A.D. 1611 Abdulāh Khán Bahādur Firūz Jang was appointed thirteenth viceroy of Gujarát, with Ghūssūd-dīn as his minister, under orders to proceed to the Dakhân to avenge the recent inroads. The viceroy marched to the Dakhân but returned without effecting anything. In A.D. 1616, he was again, in company with prince Sháh

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1 Jehángir's Memoirs, Persian Text, 75.
2 Now belonging to the Rāja of Dharanpur, east of the British district of Surat.
3 In this year (A.D. 1611) the English East India Company sent vessels to trade with Surat. The Portuguese made an armed resistance, but were defeated. The Moghul commander, who was not sorry to see the Portuguese beaten, gave the English a warm reception, and in A.D. 1612-13 a factory was opened in Surat by the English, and in A.D. 1614 a fleet was kept in the Tapti under Captain Downton to protect the factory. In A.D. 1615, Sir Thomas Roe came as ambassador to the emperor Jehángir, and obtained permission to establish factories, not only at Surat, but also at Bereh Cambay and Gogha. The factory at Gogha seems to have been established in A.D. 1612. The emperor Jehángir notes in his memoirs (Persian Text, 108) that Makarrāb Khán, viceroy from A.D. 1616-1618, regardless of cost had bought from the English at Gogha a turkey, a elephant and other curiosities. On his return from Jehángir's camp at Ahmedābād in January 1618 Roe obtained valuable concessions from the viceroy. The governor of Surat was to send ships to the English, the resident English might carry arms, build a house, practise their religion, and settle their disputes. Kerr's Voyages, IX. 263. The Dutch closely followed the English at Surat and were established there in A.D. 1618.
Jehán, directed to move against Ahmednagar. This second expedition was successful. The country was humbled, and, except Malik Ambar, most of the nobles submitted to the emperor. During this viceroy's term of office an imperial decree was issued forbidding nobles on the frontiers and in distant provinces to affix their seals to any communications addressed to imperial servants.

In A.D. 1616 on their return to Delhi, Mukarrab Khán, a surgeon who had risen to notice by curing the emperor Akbar and was ennobled by Jehángir, and who, since A.D. 1608, had been in charge of Surat or of Cambay, was appointed fourteenth viceroy of Gujarát, with Muhammad Saﬁ as his minister. In the following year (A.D. 1617) the emperor Jehángir came to Gujarát to hunt wild elephants in the Dhad forests. But owing to the density of the forest only twelve were captured. Early in A.D. 1618 he visited Cambay which he notes only vessels of small draught could reach and where he ordered a gold and silver tanka twenty times heavier than the gold mohar to be minted. From Cambay after a stay of ten days he went to Ahmedábád and received the Rája of Ídar. As the climate of Ahmedábád disagreed with him Jehángir retired to the banks of the Mahi. Here the Jám of Navánagar came to pay homage, and presented fifty Kaebh horses, a hundred gold mohars, and a hundred rupees, and received a dress of honour. The emperor now returned to Ahmedábád, where he was visited by Rái Bhumá of Kaebh, who presented 100 Kaebh horses 100 askhafs and 2000 rupees. The Rái, who was ninety years of age,  

1 At first Jehángir, who reached Ahmedábád in the hot weather (March A.D. 1618), contended himself with abusing its sandy streets, calling the city the 'abode of dust and miasma'. After an attack of fever his dislike grew stronger, and he was uncertain whether the 'home of the vices' (sarmanisati) the 'place of sickness' (sotratis), the 'thorn plants' (tanahkard) or the 'hills' (jiwánamandal) was his most suitable name. Even the last title did not satisfy his dislike. In decision he adds the verse, 'Oh essence of all goodliness by what name shall I call thee,' Elston's History of India, VI, 363; Jehangir's Memoirs Persian Text, 231. Of the old buildings of Ahmedabad, the emperor (Memoirs, Persian Text, 208-210) speaks of the Kankariya tank and its island garden and of the royal palaces in the Bhashar as having mostly gone to ruin within the last fifty years. He notes that his Baháší had repaired the Kankariya tank and that the viceroy Mukarrab Khán had partly restored the Bhashar palaces against his arrival. The emperor was disappointed with the capital. After the accounts he had heard it seemed rather poor with its narrow streets, its shops with ignoble fronts, and its dust, though to grace the emperor as he came on elephant-back spattering gold the city and its population but put on their holiday dress. The emperor speaks (Persian Text page 211) of having met some of the great men of Gujarát. Chief among these was Sayyid Muhammad Bakhárí the representative of Shah Álam and the son of Shah Wajih ud-dín of Ahmedábád. They came as far as Cambay to meet the emperor. After his arrival in the capital Jehángir with great kindness informally visited the home and gardens of Shikandar Gujaráti the author of the Mírát-i-Shíkandari, to pick some of the author's famous figs off the trees. Jehangir speaks of the historian as a man of a refined literary style well versed in all matters of Gujarát history, who had seven years since had entered his (the imperial) service (Memoirs, 207-211). On the occasion of celebrating Shah Jehán's twenty-seventh birthday at Ahmedábád Jehángir records having granted the territory from Mandu to Cambay as the estate of his son Shah Álam (Princ Khurram). Memoirs, Persian Text, 210-211. Before leaving Gujarát the emperor ordered the expulsion of the Sivadas or Jain priests, because of a prophecy unfavorable to him made by Man Singh Sewála (Memoirs, Persian Text, 207).  

2 This was probably the gold tanka or starph of which Hawkins (1600-1611) says, 'Scribbling Ekkari, which be ten rupees a-piece.' Thomas Chur, Pat. Kings of Delhi, 425.
had never paid his respects to any emperor. Jehangir, much pleased with the greatest of Gujarāt Zamindars, who, in spite of his ninety years was hale and in full possession of all his senses, gave him his own horse, a male and female elephant, a dagger, a sword with diamond-mounted hilt, and four rings of different coloured precious stones. As he still suffered from the climate, the emperor set out to return to Agra, and just at that time (A.D. 1618-19) he heard of the birth of a grandson, afterwards the famous Abdal Muzaffar Muhiyy-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb who was born at Dohad in Gujarāt. In honour of this event Shah Jehan held a great festival at Ujjain.

Before the emperor started for Agra, he appointed prince Shah Jehan fifteenth viceroy of Gujarāt in the place of Mukarrab Khan whose general inefficiency and shrewd treatment of the European traders he did not approve. Muhammad Safi was continued as minister. As Shah Jehan preferred remaining at Ujjain he chose Rustam Khan as his deputy; but the emperor, disapproving of this choice, selected Raja Vikramājīt in Rustam Khan’s stead. Shortly after, in A.D. 1623-24, Shah Jehan rebelled, and in one of the battles which took place Raja Vikramājīt was killed. Shah Jehan, during his viceroyalty, built the Shahi Bagh and the royal baths in the Bhadra at Ahmedabad. After the death of Vikramājīt, his brother succeeded as deputy viceroy. While Shah Jehan was still in rebellion, the emperor appointed Sultān Dawar Baksh the son of prince Khusrao, sixteenth viceroy of Gujarāt, Muhammad Safi being retained in his post of minister. Shah Jehan, who was then at Māndu in Malwa, appointed on his part Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firuz Jung viceroy and a kādjarahāsr or eunuch of Abdullah Khan his minister. Sultān Dawar Baksh, the emperor’s nominee, was accompanied by Khān-i-Azam Mīrza Aziz Kukaltāsh to instruct him in the management of affairs. Prince Shah Jehan had directed his minister to carry away all the treasure; but Muhammad Safi, who appears to have been a man of great ability, at once imprisoned the prince’s partisans in Ahmedabad, and, among others, captured the eunuch of Abdullah Khan. When this news reached the prince at Māndu, he sent Abdullah Khan Bahadur with an army to Gujarāt by way of Baroda. Muhammad Safi Khān met and defeated him, and forced him to fly and rejoin the prince at Māndu. For his gallant conduct Muhammad Safi received the title of Saif Khān, with an increase in his monthly pay from £70 to £300 (Rs. 700-3000) and the command of 3000 horse. Meanwhile Sultān Dawar Baksh, with the Khān-i-Azam, arrived and assumed the charge of the government, but the Khān-i-Azam died soon after in A.D. 1624, and was buried at Sarkhej. Sultān Dawar Baksh was

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1 The peaked masacery: tomb over Aurangzeb’s after-birth with its mosque, enclosure, and intact endowment is one of the curiosities of Dohad. In a letter to his eldest son Muhammad Muazzam then (A.D. 1704) viceroy of Gujarāt the aged Aurangzeb writes: My son of exalted rank, the town of Dohad, one of the dependencies of Gujarāt, is the birth-place of this infidel. Please to consider a regard for the inhabitants of that town shrouded on you, and continue in office its decrepit old Fanjlar... In regard to that old man listen not to the whisperings of those suffering from the disease of self-interest: ‘Verily they have a sickness in their hearts and Allah addeth to their ailments” (Letters of the Emperor Aurangzeb: Persian Text, Cawnpur Edition, Letter 31.)
re-called, and Khán Jehán was appointed deputy viceroy with Yúsuf Khán as his minister. On his arrival at Ahmadábád, prince Sháh Jehán employed Khán Jehán in his own service, and sent him as his ambassador to the emperor. Saif Khán, who acted for him, may be called the seventeenth viceroy, as indeed he had been the governing spirit for the last eight or ten years. He held the post of viceroy of Gujarát until the death of the emperor in A.D. 1627.

On the death of the emperor Jehángir, his son Abú Muzařar Shaháb-ad-dín Sháh Jehán ascended the throne. Remembering Saif Khán’s hostility he at once caused him to be imprisoned, and appointed Sher Khán Túr eighteenth viceroy with Khwájah Hayát as his minister. When the emperor was near Surat, he appointed Mir Shamsuddín to be governor of Surat castle. In A.D. 1627, Sháh Jehán on his way to Duhí visited Ahmadábád and encamped outside of the city near the Káukariya lake. Sher Khán was advanced to the command of 5000 men, and received an increase of salary and other gifts. At the same time Khán Jehán was appointed his minister, and Mirza Isa Tákshán was made viceroy of Thatta in Sindh. In A.D. 1628 Khwájah Abúl Hasan was sent to conquer the country of Násik and Sangamner which he ravaged, and returned after taking the fort of Chándod and laying tribute from the chief of Báglán. In A.D. 1630, Jamal Khán Karwál came to the Gujarát-Kháradesh frontier and captured 130 elephants in the Sultánpur forests, seventy of which valued at a lakh of rupees were sent to Duhí. In A.D. 1631-32 Gujarát was wasted by the famine known as the Satidásio Káli or ’87 famine. So severe was the scarcity that according to the Bódsháh Námá, rank sold for a cake, life was offered for a loaf, the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The emperor opened soup kitchens and alms-houses at Surat and Ahmadábád and ordered Rs. 5000 to be distributed.1

Sher Khán was re-called in A.D. 1632, but died ere he could be relieved by Islám Khán, the nineteenth viceroy of Gujarát, along with whom Khwájah Jehán was chosen minister. Islám Khán’s monthly salary was £400 (Rs. 4000), and his command was raised from 5000 to 6000. In A.D. 1632, Khwájah Jehán went on pilgrimage to Makkáh, and was succeeded as minister by Aghá Afzal with the title of Afzal Khán. Afzal Khán was soon appointed commander of Baroda, and Riáyat Khán succeeded him as minister. The post of viceroy of Gujarát appears to have been granted to whichever of the nobles of the court was in a position to make the most valuable presents to the emperor. Government became lax, the Kolis of the Kánkrej committed excesses, and the Jáms of Naváñagar withheld his tribute. At this time Bakár Khán presented the emperor with golden and jewelled ornaments to the value of Rs. 2,00,000 and was appointed viceroy, Riáyat Khán being continued as minister. In A.D. 1633 Sápábdar Khán was appointed viceroy, and presented the emperor with costly embroidered velvet tents with golden posts worthy to hold the famous Tákhti-Tábas or Peacock Throne which was just completed at a cost of one kror of rupees. Riáyat Khán was continued as minister.

1 Elliot, VII. 24.
In A.D. 1635 Saif Khan was appointed twenty-second viceroy, with Riayat Khan as minister. During Saif Khan's tenure of power Mirza Isa Tarkhan received a grant of the province of Soraat, which had fallen waste through the laxity of its governors. Before he had been in power for more than a year Saif Khan was recalled. As he was preparing to start, he died at Ahmedabad and was buried in Shahi Alam's shrine to which he had added the dome over the tomb and the mosque to the north of the enclosure.

At the end of A.D. 1655 Azam Khan was appointed twenty-third viceroy, with Riayat Khan in the first instance, and afterwards with Mir Muhammad Sahir, as minister. The men who had recently been allowed to act as viceroys had shown themselves unfit to keep in order the rebellious chiefs and predatory tribes of Gujarat. For this reason the emperor's choice fell upon Azam Khan, a man of ability, who perceived the danger of the existing state of affairs, and saw that to restore the province to order, firm, even severe, measures were required. When Azam Khan reached Sidhpur, the merchants complained bitterly of the outrages of one Kanhji, a Chanyalio Koli, who had been especially daring in plundering merchandise and committing highway robberies. Azam Khan, anxious to start with a show of vigour, before proceeding to Ahmedabad, marched against Kanhji, who fled to the village of Bhadir in the Khervan district of Kadi, sixty miles north-east of Ahmedabad. Azam Khan pursued him so hotly that Kanhji surrendered, handed over his plunder, and gave security not only that he would not again commit robberies, but that he would pay an annual tribute of £1000 (Rs. 10,000). Azam Khan then built two fortified posts in the Koli country, naming one Azamshah after himself, and the other Khallilabad after his son. He next marched to Kathiavarda and subdued the Kathiis, who were continually ravaging the country near Dhaudhuka, and to check them erected a fortified post called Shalibour, on the opposite side of the river to Chuda-Banpur. Agla Fuzil known as Fuzil Khan, who had at one time held the post of minister, and had, in A.D. 1636, been appointed governor of Baroda, was now selected to command the special cavalry composing the bodyguard of prince Muhammad Aurangzib. At the same time Sayad Ishah was appointed governor of Surat fort, Isa Tarkhan remaining at Junagad. In A.D. 1637, Mir Muhammad Sahir was chosen minister in place of Riayat Khan, and in A.D. 1638 Muz-ul-Mulk was re-appointed to the command of Surat fort. Shortly after Azam Khan's daughter was sent to Delhi, and espoused to the emperor's son Muhammad Shujah Bahadur. In A.D. 1639, Azam Khan, who for his love of building was known as Udhai or the Whitesant, devoted his attention to establishing fortified posts to check rebellion and robbery in the country of the Kolis and the Kethis. So complete were his arrangements that people could travel safely all over Jhalavada,

1 The words used in the text is koyal. In meaning it does not differ from jangal.

2 This is one of the first mentions in history of peninsula Gujarat as Kathiavarda, or as anything other than Soraat or Farsabada. The district referred to was probably united to the eastern possessions of the Khachar Kethis and Panchal.
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Kâthiáváda, Navânagar, and Kachh. The Jâm, who of late years had been accustomed to do much as he pleased, resented these arrangements, and in A.D. 1640 withheld his tribute, and set up a mint to coin koris. When Azam Khán heard of this, he marched with an army against Navânagar, and, on arriving about three miles from the city, he sent the Jâm a peremptory order to pay the arrears of tribute and to close his mint, ordering him, if any disturbance occurred in that part of the country, at once to send his son to the viceroy to learn his will. He further ordered the Jâm to dismiss to their own countries all refugees from other parts of Gujarát. The Jâm being unable to cope with Azam Khán, acceded to these terms; and Azam Khán, receiving the arrears of tribute, returned to Ahmedábad. As Azam Khán's stern and somewhat rough rule made him unpopular, Sayyád Jâdû Bhukhá, whose estates were being deserted from fear of him brought the matter to the emperor's notice.

In consequence in A.D. 1642 the emperor recalled Azam Khán, and appointed in his place Mirzá Iás Tarkhán, then governor of Sorath, twenty-fourth viceroy of Gujarát. And as it was feared that in anger at being re-called Azam Khán might oppress some of those who had complained against him, this order was written by the emperor with his own hand. Thanks to Azam Khán's firm rule, the new viceroy found the province in good order, and was able to devote his attention to financial reforms, among them the introduction of the share, khágmatá, system of levying land revenue in kind. When Mirzá Iás Tarkhán was raised to be viceroy of Gujarát, he appointed his son Inayat-ulláh to be governor of Júnágádh, and Muiz-zul-Mulk to fill the post of minister. During the viceregalty of Mirzá Sayyád Jâdû Bhukhá, a descendant of Saint Sháhí Alam was appointed to the high post of Sadr-us-Sudur or chief law officer for the whole of India. This was a time of prosperity especially in Suráth, whose port dues which were settled on the Pádsháh Begam had risen from two and a half to five lakhs. Mirzá Iás Tarkhán's term of power was brief. In A.D. 1644 the emperor appointed prince Muhammad Aurangzib to the charge of Gujarát, Muiz-zul-Mulk being ordered by the emperor to continue to act as his minister. An event of interest in the next year (A.D. 1645) is the capture of seventy-three elephants in the forests of Dohad and Chámpánar.4

4 The author of the Mirzâ-i-Ahmell says that in his time, A.D. 1746-1752, these Navânagar koris were current even in Ahmedábad, two koris and two-thirds being equal to one imperial rupee. They were also called jemís. The Mirzâ-i-Ahmell (Version Text, 253) calls them mahmudís. The legend on the reverse was the name of the Gujarát Sultan Musúfár, and on the obverse in Gujarát the name of the Jam. Usually two mahmudís and sometimes three went to the imperial rupee. The author says that in Ahmedábad up to his day (A.D. 1756) the account for ghi, crystallized butter, was made in mahmudís. When the order for melting the mahmudís was passed a mint was established at Júnágádh but was afterwards closed to suit the merchants from Dúsh and other parts who transmitted their specie to Ahmedábad.

5 The traveller Mándale, who was in Ahmedábad in 1638, says: No prince in Europe has so much power as the governor of Gujarát. Of note are the public appearances so magnificent. He never goes out without a great number of gentlemen and guards on foot and horse. Before him march many elephants with housings of brocade and velvet, standards, drums, trumpets, and cymbals. In his palace he is served like a king and suffers no one to appear before him unless he has asked an audience. (Travel, French

1 A 1746-36
Prince Aurangzeb’s rule in Gujarat was marked by religious disputes. In 1644 a quarrel between Hindus and Musalmans ended in the prince ordering a newly built (1638) temple of Chintaman near Saraspur, a suburb of Ahmedabad, above a mile and a half east of the city, to be desecrated by slaughtering a cow in it. He then turned the building into a mosque, but the emperor ordered its restoration to the Hindus. In another case both of the contending parties were Musalmans, the orthodox believers, aided by the military under the prince’s orders, who was enraged at Sayad Rauj, one of his followers joining the heretics, attacking and slaughtering the representatives of the Mahdawiyeh sect in Ahmedabad. Sayad Rauj’s spirit, under the name of Rajj Shabid or Rajj the martyr, is still worshipped as a disease-saring guardian by the Pinjaras and Mansiris and Dadvilas of Ahmedabad. In consequence of the part he had taken in promoting these disturbances, prince Aurangzeb was relieved and Shaistah Khan appointed twenty-sixth viceroy of Gujarat. In the following year Muzuzul-Mulk, who had till then acted as minister, was recalled, and his place supplied by Hafiz Muhammad Nasir. At the same time the governorship of Surat and Cambay was given to Ali Akbar of Lajapad. This Ali Akbar was a Persian horse merchant who brought to Agra seven horses of pure Arabian breed. For six of these Shah Jehan paid Rs. 35,000. The seventh a bay so pleased the emperor that he paid Rs. 15,000 for it, named it the Priceless Kuli, and considered it the gem of the imperial stud. In A.D. 1646 Ali Akbar was assassinated by a Hindu and Muzuzul-Mulk succeeded him as governor of Surat and Cambay. As Shaistah Khan failed to control the Gujarat Kolis, in A.D. 1648 prince Muhammad Daru Shikoh was chosen viceroy, with Gujarai Khan as his deputy and Hafiz Muhammad Nasir as minister, while Shaistah Khan was sent to Mauwa to relieve Shah Nawaz Khan. While Daru Shikoh was viceroy an ambassador landed at Surat from the court of the Turkish Sultan Muhammad IV. (A.D. 1648-1653). In A.D. 1651, Mir Yahya was appointed minister in place of Hafiz Muhammad Nasir, and in A.D. 1652 prince Daru was sent to Kamdarhar. On

Edition, 1861) Of the general system of government he says: The viceroy is absolute. It is true he summons leading lords of the country to deliberate on judgments and important matters. But they are called to ascertain their views, not to adopt them. On the one hand in the king often changes his governors that they may not grow oppressive. On the other hand the governors knowing they may be recalled at any time may not come some from the rich merchants especially from the merchants of Ahmedabad against whom false charges are brought with the view of forcing them to pay. As the governor is both civil and criminal judge if the merchants did not temper their greed they would be ruined beyond remedy. (Dito, 150.) The frequent changes of viceroys in Gujarat is explained by Terry, 1615-17 (Voyage to East Indies, 301). To prevent them from becoming popular the king usually removes his viceroys after one year sending them to a new government remote from the old one. Terry adds a curious note: When the king sends any one to a place of government they never cut their hair till they return into his presence as if they desired not to appear beautiful except in the king’s sight. As soon as he sees them the king bids them cut their hair. (Dito, 301.) It does not seem to have been necessary to keep up fewer horsec than the number named. Terry (Voyage to East Indies, 301) says: He who hath the pay of five or six thousand must always have one thousand or more in readiness according to the king’s need of them, and so in proportion all the rest.

1 Mirzâ-i-Ahmud Persian Text, 11, 46-47. Pinjaras are cotton tenders. Mansiris are Pinjaras who worship Mansur a tenth century (3rd century Hijrih) saint.

2 Mirzâ-i-Ahmud Persian Text, 537.
the transfer of the prince Shásisth Khan became viceroys for the second
time, with Mir Yahyá as minister and Sultan Yár governor of Baroda
with the title of Himmat Khan. Mirza Isá Turkhán was summoned
to court from his charge of Sorath and his son Muhammad Sálih was
appointed his successor. In A.D. 1653 an ill-advised imperial order
reducing the pay of the troopers, as well as of the better class of
horsemen who brought with them a certain number of followers, created
much discontent. During this year several changes of governors were
made. Muhammad Násir was sent to Surat, Himmat Khan to Dholka,
the governor of Dholka to Baroda, Kurb-ud-dín to Júnagadh, Sayyad
Sheikhán son-in-law of Sayyad Diler Khan to Tharíd under Páthán, and
Jagmáí, the holder of Sánand, to Dholka. In the same year Shásisth Khan
made an expedition against the Chumvalí Kollí, who, since
Azam-Káhn’s time (A.D. 1642), had been ravaging Viramgám, Dholka,
and Kadi, and raiding even as far as the villages round Ahmedábád.

In spite of Shásisth Khan’s success in restoring order in the empire in
A.D. 1654 appointed in his place Muhammad Murád Bakhsh
twenty-ninth viceroy of Gujarát. Diánát Khan, and immediately after
him Rehmat Khan, was appointed minister in place of Mir Yahyá.
Murád Khan Jháiórí relieved Mir Sháms-ud-dín as governor of
Páthán and Godhrá was entrusted to Sayyad Hasan, son of Sayyad Diler
Khan, and its revenues assigned to him. Whom prince Murád Bakhsh
reached Jhálus on his way to Ahmedábád, the chief presented him
with £15 000 (Rs. 15,000) as tribute; and when he reached Ahmedábád,
Kánji, the notorious leader of the Chumvalí Kollí, surrendered through
Sayyad Sheikhán, and promised to remain quiet and pay a yearly tribute
of £1000 (Rs. 10,000). Dildar, son of Sárfardz Khan, was appointed
to the charge of the post of Bijápur under Páthán; while Sayyad
Sheikhán was made governor of Sàtra and Pipélí, and Sayyad Ali
paymaster, with the title of Radáwí Khan. Many other changes were
made at the same time, the prince receiving a grant of the district of
Júnagadh. One Pirji, a Bonora, said to have been one of the richest
merchants of Surat, is noted as sending the emperor four Arab horses
and prince Murád as presenting the emperor with eighteen of the famous
Gujarát bullocks. During the viceregalty of Dárá Shikoh sums of
Rs. 1,00,000 to Rs. 2,00,000 used to be spent on articles in demand
in Arabia. The articles were sent under some trustworthy officer and
the proceeds applied to charitable purposes in the sacred cities.

At the end of A.D. 1657, on the receipt of news that Sháh Jehán
was dangerously ill prince Murád Bakhsh proclaimed himself emperor by
the title of Murawwaj-ud-dín and ordered the reading of the Friday
sermon and the striking of coin in his own name. His next step was
to put to death the minister Ali Náki, and direct his men to seize
the fort of Surat then held by his sister the Begam Sahibah and to take
possession of the property of the Begam. He imprisoned Abdul-Latif,
son of Islám Khan, an old servant of the empire. Dárá Shikoh
representing Murád’s conduct to the emperor obtained an order to

1 Jhálus, now under the Bhupáwat Agency.
2 Mirá-í-Hámidí Ferízí Text, 346.
Chapter III.
Mughal Viceroyds.
Shah Jehan Empire, 1627-1638.
Kâsam Khan Thirtieth Viceroy, 1657-1659.
Victory of Murâd and Aurangzib.
transfer him to the governorship of the Berâfs. Murâd Bakhsh borrowing £55,000 (6½ lakh of rupees) from the sons of Sântidâs Jauhari, £4000 (Rs. 40,000) from Ravidâs partner of Sântidâs, and £8800 (Rs. 88,000) from Sâmmal and others, raised an army and arranged to meet his brother prince Aurangzib, and with him march against the Mahârâja Jasvatsingh of Jodhpur and Kâsam Khan, whom Shah Jehân had appointed viceroy of Malwa and Gujarât, and had ordered to meet at Ujjain and march against the princes. Murâd Bakhsh and Aurangzib, uniting their forces early in A.D. 1658, fought an obstinate battle with Jasvatsingh in which they were victorious and entered Ujjain in triumph. From Ujjain prince Murâd Bakhsh wrote Muthâmal Khan his kinsman an order allotting to Mânikchand £15,000 (Rs. 1,50,000) from the revenues of Surat, £10,000 (Rs. 1,00,000) from Cambay, £10,000 (Rs. 1,00,000) from Pîthlâ, £5000 (Rs. 50,000) from Dholka, £5000 (Rs. 50,000) from Broach, £1500 (Rs. 15,000) from Virangam, and £3000 (Rs. 30,000) from the salt works, in all £55,000 (6½ lakh of rupees). Further sums of £4000 (Rs. 40,000) are mentioned as due to Ravidâs partner of Sântidâs, and £8800 (Rs. 88,000) to Sâmmal and others. From Ujjain the princes advanced on Agra. At Dholpâr they fought a still more obstinate battle with the imperial forces commanded by prince Dârâ Shikoh and after a long and doubtful contest were victorious. Prince Dârâ Shikoh fled to Delhi, and the princes advanced and took possession of Agra. After confining his father, Aurangzib marched for Mathura and having no further use of Murâd, he there seized and imprisoned him. From Mathura, Aurangzib went to Delhi from which Dârâ Shikoh had meanwhile retired to Lâhor.

In A.D. 1659, while his father was still alive, Aurangzib assumed the imperial titles and ascended the throne. In A.D. 1659 he appointed Shah Nawâz Khân Salâvî thirty-first viceroy of Gujarât, with Rahmat Khan as minister. On this occasion Sântidâs received a decree directing that the provincial officials should settle his accounts and Kutb-ud-din Khshâbî was appointed to Surat. Shah Nawâz Khân was the father-in-law of both Aurangzib and Murâd Bakhsh. Shortly after his appointment, while Murâd's wife was paying a visit to her father, prince Dârâ Shikoh, leaving Kaffh, where he had been hospitably received by the Râv, made a sudden descent on Gujarât. The viceroy, won over by the entreaties of his daughter who saw in the success of Dârâ a hope of release for her husband, joined the prince who entered Ahmedâbâd. After raising funds from Surat and Ahmedâbâd he collected an army of 22,000 horse and appointing Sayad Ahmed deputy viceroy, marched towards Ajmir, once more to try his chance of empire. He was defeated and fled to Ahmedâbâd, where Sârdâr Khân, who had confined Sayad Ahmed, closed the gates of the city in his face. The unhappy prince retired to Kaffh, but finding no support fled to Sûnât, where he was treacherously seized and handed to his brother by the chief of Jûn. The emperor Aurangzib, forgiving Jasvatsingh his opposition at Ujjain, conferred on him the government of Gujarât, and in the place of Rahmat Khân appointed Makramat Khân to act as minister. Sârdâr
Khân was thanked for his loyal conduct and made governor of Broach. Praise was also given to Sher and Abd of the Bâli family. Presents were bestowed on Kath-n-din, governor of Sorath, and, shortly after, for his refusal to help prince Dârâ, Tamâcheh chief of Kâchh was rewarded. These measures removed all signs of disaffection at the accession of Aurangzîb. A decree was issued directing Rahmat Khân the minister to forbid the cultivation of the blâng plant. Mohâlis or censors were appointed to prevent the drinking of wine or the use of intoxicating drugs and preparations. On the formal installation of Aurangzîb in A.D. 1658-59 the Ahmedâbâd Kâzi was ordered to read the sermon in his name. The Kâzi objected that Shah Juân was alive. Sheikh Abdul Wahhâb, a Sunni Bohra of Pattan, whom on account of his learning and intelligence Aurangzîb had made Kâzi of his camp, contended that the weakness and age of Shah Juân made a successor necessary. The Bohora prevailed and the sermon was read in Aurangzîb’s name.

In A.D. 1662 Jâsvantsinâgha received orders to march to the Dakhan and join prince Muazzam against Shâivâji the Marâatha leader; and Kath-n-din, governor of Sorath, was directed to act for him in his absence. In this year Mahâbat Khân was appointed thirty-third viceroy of Gujârat, and Sardâr Khân, the governor of Broach, was sent to Idar to suppress disturbances. About A.D. 1664 Haumalji or Satarâl Jâm of Navânagar died, leaving by a Râshîd mother a child named Lâkha whom the late chief’s brother Râisinghji with the aid of the Râ of Kâchh and other Jûdéjas, set aside and himself mounted the throne. Malik Isâ, a servant of the family, took Lâkha to Ahmedâbâd and invoked the aid of the viceroy. Kath-n-din marching on Navânagar, defeated and slew Râisingh, took possession of Navânagar, and annexed the territory, changing the name of the city into Islamâbâd. Râisingh’s son, Tamâcheh, then an infant, escaped and was sheltered in Kâchh. In the same year (A.D. 1664) a Balûch personating Dârâ Shikoh, was joined by many Kollis, and disturbed the peace of the Châvâna, now a portion of the Ahmedâbâd collectorate north of Viranâgâm. With the aid of Shekhân Bâli, Mahâbat Khân quelled these disturbances, and established two new military posts, one at Gâjna under Cambay and one at Belpâr under Petîlâd.

In this year an imperial decree was received requiring the discontinuance of the following abuses: The charging of blackmail by executive subordinates; A tax on private individuals on their cutting their own trees; Forced purchases by state servants; The levy by local officers of a tax on persons starting certain crafts; The levy of a tax on laden carts and on cattle for sale; The closing of Hindu shops on the Jain Puja and at the monthly elevenths or Ekâdás; Forced labour; The exclusive purchase of new grain by revenue officers; The exclusive sale by officers of the vegetables and other produce of their gardens; A tax on the slaughter of cattle in addition to that on their sale; Payments to the Ahmedânagar Kolli to prevent Musalmâns praying in the Ahmedânagar mosque; The reopening of certain Hindu temples; The aggressive conduct and obscenity practised during the Holi and Divâlî holidays; The sale by Hindus of toy horses and elephants.
Chapter III

Mughal Viceroy.

Aurangzeb, Emperor, 1658-1707.

Mahārāj Khān, Thirty-third Viceroy, 1662-1668.

Shivāji, Thanares Surat, 1664.

Chap. 3.

Copper Coinage Introduced, 1665.

Khan Jēhān, Thirty-fourth Viceroy, 1668-1671.

During Mūsalmān holidays; the exclusive sale of rice by certain rich Banias; the exclusive purchase by Imperial officers of roses for the manufacture of rosewater; the mixed gatherings of men and women at Mūsalmān shrines; the setting up of mozilla or holy hands and the sitting of harlots on roadsides or in markets; the charging by revenue officers of scarcity rates; the special tax in Parantij, Modasa, Vadnagar, Bissapur, and Harso; on Mūsalmān owners of mango trees; the levy of duty both at Surat and Ahmedābād from English and Dutch merchants.

In the same year (A.D. 1664) Shivāji made a rapid descent on Surat, then undefended by walls, and, by plundering the city, created great alarm over the whole province. The viceroy, Mahābat Khān marched to Surat with the following chiefs and officers: Jagmāl, proprietor of Sārān; the governor of Dholka; Shādinal, chief of Idar; Sayyad Hasan Khān, governor of Idar; Muhammad Abīd with 200 superior landholders of the district of Rāj; the Rāj of Dūngarpur; Sabalsingh Rāj of Wadhwan and other chiefs of Jīlāvād; Ibrāhīm chief of Māndva in the Gaikwār’s dominions near Atarumbā; the chief of Eīl under Ahmēnhār in the Mahā Kānta Agency; Prathirāj of Haldarvāī; and the chief of Belpār. Before the viceroy’s army arrived at Surat Shivāji had carried off his plunder to his head-quarters at Rāygad. After remaining three months at Surat levying tribute from the superior landholders, the viceroy returned to Ahmedābād, and Isayat Khān, the revenue collector of Surat, built a wall round the town for its protection. About this time Kutch-ud-din Khān, governor of Sorath, was sent with an army to aid the Mahārāj Jassvantīng in the Dakhān and Saḍār Khān was appointed in his place. In A.D. 1666 the Marāthās again attacked and plundered Surat, and in the same year the deposed emperor Shah Jēhān died. Aurangzeb attempted to induce the English to supply him with European artillerymen and engineers. The request was evaded. In this year the viceroy, Mahābat Khān, in place of the old iron coins, introduced a copper coinage into Gujarāt. Saḍār Khān, the governor of Jūnagād, was put in charge of Isāmāgar (Navānagar) and 500 additional horsemen were placed under him. Special checks by branding and inspection were introduced to prevent nobles and others keeping less than their proper contingent of horse. In the same year the cultivator who paid the rent was acknowledged to be the owner of the land and a system of strengtheners or takāwī after due security was introduced.

In A.D. 1668, Bahādūr Khān Khan Jēhān, who had formerly been viceroy of Allāhābād, was appointed viceroy of Gujarāt, with Hājī Shāh Khān, and afterwards Khwājah Muhammad Hāshim, as his ministers. Khān Jēhān joined his government in A.D. 1669, and in A.D. 1670 Shivāji again plundered Surat. In A.D. 1670 Shivāji made

1 Mirza-Ahmed, Persian Text, 273, 279.
2 Rāygad (north latitude 18° 14′; east longitude 73° 30′), the name given in A.D. 1662 to Rāri, a hill fortress in the Mahāl subdivision of the Kolāchī collectorate. Shivāji took the place and made it his capital in A.D. 1662.
an attempt on Janjira, the residence and stronghold of the Sidi or Abyssinian admirals of Bijapur. Sidi Yâkût the commander of Janjira applied for aid to the governor of Surat. On his offering to become a vassal of the emperor and place his fleet at the emperor's disposal, Sidi Yâkût received the title of Yâkût Khan, and a yearly subsidy of £15,000 (Rs 1,50,000) payable from the port of Surat. About the same time Sayad Diler Khan, who had accompanied Mahârâja Jâsvant Singh to the Dakhan, was recalled by the viceroy Khân Jehân and appointed governor of Sorath in place of Sârdâr Khân, who was sent to Idar, Sayad Haidar, in charge of the military post of Haidârâbâd, about twenty-four miles south of Ahmedâbâd, reported that he had put down the rebellion but recommended that a small fort should be built. In A.D. 1670 the emperor summoned Diler Khan to discuss Dakhan affairs, and sent him to the seat of war, replacing him in the government of Sorath by Sârdâr Khân.

In A.D. 1671, Bahâdur Khân Khân Jehân was sent as viceroy to the Dakhan. He was relieved by the Mahârâja Jâsvant Singh, who, as viceroy, received an assignment of the districts of Dhanâdhuka and Pitlând. In A.D. 1673 through the intercession of the viceroy, Jâm Tanshâki, the son of Râsinsingh, on condition of serving the viceroy and of keeping order was restored to Navânagar, and twenty-five villages were granted to certain dependent Jâdeja Rajputs. So long as the emperor Aurangzib lived the city of Navânagar (Islâmimagar) remained in the hands of a Musalmân noble, the Jâm residing at Khambhâlîs, a town about thirty miles south-west of the head-quarters of the state. In A.D. 1707, on Aurangzib's death, the Jâm was allowed to return to Navânagar where he built a strong fort. Similarly so long as Aurangzib lived, the Jâm forbore to work the pearl fisheries in the Gulf of Kachch, but afterwards again made use of this source of revenue. Early in 1673 an order issued forbidding the levy from Musalmâns of rajdari or transit dues, of taxes on fish vegetables grass firewood and other forest produce, on Muhammadans artisans, and many other miscellaneous dues. The officer in charge of Morvi, which was then an imperial district, was ordered to strive to increase its population and revenue, and the chief of Porbandar, also an imperial district, on condition of service and of protecting the port was allowed a fourth share of its revenue. Much discontent was caused by enforcing an imperial order confiscating all wazîjâb land, that is all land held on religious tenure by Hindus. About the close of the year A.D. 1674, Mahârâja Jâsvant Singhji was relieved and sent to Kâbul, and Muhammad 'Amîn Khân Umdat-ul-Mulk, who had just been defeated at Kâbul, was appointed thirty-sixth viceroy of Gujerät, receiving an assignment of the districts of Pâtân and Virângâm. Among the military posts mentioned in the Mirjât-i-Ahmedi is that of Sâdra or Shahdârâb the present head-quarters of the Mahi Kûntâ Agency, also called Islâmâbâd, which was under the

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1 Janjira (north latitude 17° 59' to 18° 32') that is Junârak the island, on the western coast, about forty-four miles south of Bombay.
2 Another post of Islamabâd was at Fumâdra in the pargana of Azamabâd on the Wattrak about twenty-one miles east-south-east of Ahmedabâd. Azamabâd was built
command of Sayyad Kamál, son of Sayyad Kamíl. The Bábí family were now rising into importance. Muhammad Muzaffar, son of Sher Khán Bábí, was governor of Kádi, and Muhammad Mubáriz, another son of Sher Bábí, was in charge of one of the posts under Kádi. Kamál Khán Khánulóri, who had been removed from the government of Pánapur and replaced by Muhammad Fatéh, was now restored to his former post. About the same time, at the representation of Mulla Hasan Gujaráti, twenty-one villages were taken from Bijnúr and Kádi and Pátan and formed into the separate division of Vísálnagar.

In a.d. 1676, the fort of Júnágád was put into repair, and Sheikh Nizám-ul-díni Ahdám, minister of Gujaráti, was sent to Málwa, and was succeeded by Muhammad Sharíf. The Kánkroj Kolis were again rebellions, and Muhammad Amin Khán Umdút-ul-Mulk went against them and remained four months in their country, subduing them and enforcing tribute. In the end of a.d. 1678, the viceroy paid his respects to the emperor at Ajmír. The emperor forbade the fining of Musulmán officials as contrary to the Muhammadan law and directed that if guilty of any fault they should be imprisoned or degraded from office, but not fined. An order was also given to change the name of the new Vísálnagar district to Rasúlnagar.

At this time (a.d. 1679) the emperor was doing his utmost to crush both the Rána of Udepur and the Kháds of Márwár. While the emperor was at Chitor, Bémíng the Kháns youngest son raid into Gujaráti plundering Vádnagar and other towns and villages. The chief of ídar, thinking the opportunity favourable for regaining his independence, expelled the Muhammadan garrison from ídar and established himself in his capital. Muhammad Amin Khán sent Muhammad Bahól Khán Shiríwání who with the help of the Kásháát of Párántíj re-took ídar, and the chief pursued by Bahól Khán fled to the hills, where he died in a cave from want of his usual dose of opium to which he was much addicted. His body was found by a woodcutter who brought the head to Bahól Khán. The head was recognized by the chief's widow, who from that day put on mourning. Muhammad Bahól Khán was much praised, and was appointed to the charge of ídar, and at the same time the minister Muhammad Sharíf was succeeded by Abdúllá Latíf.

To this time belongs an imperial decree imposing the jazúlah or head tax on all subjects not professing the Muhammadan faith, and another regulating the levy from Musulmán of the zakát or poor rate. In 1681 a severe famine led to riots in Ahmedábád. As the...
vicecyo Muhammad Amin was returning in state from the Id prayers Abu Bakr an Ahmedabad Sheikh instigated the people to throw stones and dust. The vicecyo’s bodyguard attacked the mob, but owing to the vicecyo’s forbearance no serious results followed. On hearing of the riot the emperor ordered the city to be put under martial law. The more politic vicecyo contented himself by inviting Sheikh Abu Bakr and others to a banquet. After dinner he gave a piece of a poisoned watermelon to Abu Bakr, who died and the riot with him. In a.d. 1683 Muhammad Amin the vicecyo died. According to the Mirat-i-Ahmedi, Muhammad Amin was one of the best of Gujarati governors. The emperor Aurangziib used to say ‘No vicecyo of mine keeps order like Amin Khan.’

Amin Khán was succeeded by Mukhtar Khán as thirty-seventh vicecyo, Abdul Latif continuing to hold the office of minister. Fresh orders were passed forbidding import dues on merchandise, fruit, grass, firewood, and similar produce entering Ahmedabad. In 1682 a decree was received ordering pauper prisoners to be provided with rations and dress at the cost of the state. In 1683 the Sabarmati rose so high that the water reached as far as the Tva Darmat or Triple Gateway in the west of Ahmedabad city. In consequence of disturbances in Surat the vicecyo called on the minister to advance funds for an expedition. The minister refused to make advances without special orders from the emperor. On a reference to court the minister was directed to make advances in emergent cases. In a.d. 1684, at the request of the inhabitants of that city Abdur Rahmann Krori, the governor of Deya Patan, was removed and in his place Muhammad Sayad chose Sardar Khan as governor of Surat. In the following year on the death of Sardar Khán at Thatha in Sind, where he had gone as vicecyo, he was, in the first instance, succeeded in the government of Surat by Sayad Muhammad Khán. Not long after Surat was assigned as a personal estate to the emperor’s second son prince Muhammad Azam Shah Bahadur and during the prince’s absence Shahwardi Khan was sent to manage its affairs. In a.d. 1684 a famine in Gujarat raised the price of grain in Ahmedabad to such a degree that Sheikh Muby-u’d-din, the son of the Kazi and regulator of prices, was mobbed.

On the death of the vicecyo in 1684 prince Muhammad Azam Shah was nominated to succeed him with Kartaial Khán, governor of Surat, as his deputy. Before the prince took charge Kartaial Khán was raised to the post of vicecyo, and Muhammad Tahir appointed minister. In addition to his command as vicecyo of Gujarat, Kartaial Khan was afterwards placed in charge of Jodhpur. In this rearrangement besides his previous personal estate, the district of Petlad was assigned to Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, and Sher Aghan Khan, son of Shahwardi Khan, was appointed governor of Surat. In a.d.
1687, Sher Afghan Khán was relieved by Bahiil Shírvání, but in the following year was restored to his command. In A.D. 1689, on the news of the death of its governor Inázát Khán, Kártalá Khán started to settle the affairs of Jódhpur. As soon as he left Ahmedábád, a rumour spread that a new viceroy was coming, and the troops, with whom as well as with the people of Gujarát Kártalá was most popular, grew mutinous. On hearing of this disturbance Kártalá Khán at once returned to Ahmedábád and quelled the mutiny. His firmness so pleased the emperor that he gave him the title of Shujaát Khán, and placed the governor of Jódhpur under his orders. Shujaát Khán now proceeded to Jódhpur, where Durgádás Ráthod, who had incited prince Abkar to rebellion, and Ajítsíngh, the son of Mahárájá Jasvantsíng, were causing disturbance. Finding that a strong resident governor was required to keep the insurgents in check, Shujaát Khán appointed Kázim Beg Muhammad Ámín, a brave and resolute soldier, to be his deputy and returned to Ahmedábád. During this vicereignty the pay of the leader or jamshísár of a troop of fifty horse was fixed at £10 (Rs. 100) of a do-aspak or two-horse trooper at £5 (Rs. 50) and of an ul-aspak or one-horse trooper at £3 (Rs. 30) a month. An imperial order was also issued directing the levy on merchandise to be taken at the place and time of sale instead of the time and place of purchase. As this change caused loss to the revenue the old system was again adopted. In A.D. 1690 the minister Amámat Khán, with the title of Itmád Khán, was made military governor of Surat, and Sayyad Muhí already chosen minister in his place. To prevent the pecuniary exactions of the places and dyes officials were forbidden to entertain pecuniary payment.

In the following year (A.D. 1691) an attempt on the part of the emperor to suppress a body of Musalmán sectarians led to a somewhat serious insurrection. Sayyad Shaíj was the religious preceptor of the Mátís of Káhándesh and the Moomnás of Gujarát, two classes of converted Hindus closely allied to the Khojas of Káthiávádá, all of them being followers of Sayyad Imám-ul-din an Ísmáníh missionary who came to Gujarát during the reign of Mahmúd Begáda (A.D. 1459-1513). Hearing that his followers paid obeisance to their veiled spiritual guide by kissing his toe, the emperor ordered the guide be sent to court to be examined before the religious doctors. Afraid of the result of this examination, the Sayyad committed suicide and was buried at Káramtah, nine miles south of Ahmedábád. The loss of their leader so enraged his followers that, collecting from all sides, they marched against Bross, seized the fort, and slew the governor. The insurgents held the fort of Bross against the governor of Baroda who was sent to punish them, and for a time successfully resisted the efforts of his successor Nazár Ali Khán. At last, at an unguarded spot, some of the besiegers stole over the city wall and opening the gates admitted their companions. The Moomnás were defeated and almost all slain as they sought death either by the sword or by drowning to merit their saint's favour in the next world.

In A.D. 1692 Shujaát Khán, during his tribute-gathering campaign in Káthiávádá and Soróth, stormed the fort of Thán, the head-quarters
of the plundering Káthís and after destroying the fort returned to Ah méldáhád. Shujá'ádt Khán was one of the ablest of Gujárat viceroys. He gave so much of his attention to the management of Jódhpúr, that he used to spend about six months of every year in Márwár. He beautified Ahmedáhád by building the college and mosque still known by his name near the Láli Gate. In A.D. 1642 two hundred cart-loads of marble were received from the ancient buildings at Pátán and the deputy governor Safídar Khán Bábí wrote that if a thousand cart-loads more were required they could be supplied from the same source. At this time the emperor ordered that Sheikh Akram-ud-dín, the local tax-collector, should levy the head tax from the Hindus of Pálapur and Jháloár. The viceroy depoted Muhammad Mújahirád, son of Kamál Khán Jháloarl, governor of Pálapur, in collecting. As Durgádád Réthód was again stirring tumults and sedition in Márwár, the viceroy went to Jódhpúr, and by confirming their estates to the chief vassals and landholders and guaranteeing other public measures on condition of service, persuaded them to abandon their alliance with Durgádád against whom he sent his deputy Kázím Beg, who expelled him from Márwár. After appointing Káurnár Múliakánzíngb, governor of Mérthá in Márwár, Shujá'ádt Khán returned to Ahmedáhád. In A.D. 1693, at the request of Sher Áfghán Khán, governor of Sórath, the walls of the fort of Jágár were restored. In this year the viceroy went to Jhálkávádá to exact tribute. On his return to Ahmedáhád Safídar Khán Bábí, governor of Pátán, wrote to the viceroy, and at his request the forts of Kambíli and Sámíráh were repaired. The viceroy now went to Jódhpúr and from that returned to Ahmedáhád. A circumstance in connection with a sum of Rs. 7000* spent on the repairs of forts illustrates the close imperial supervision of provincial accounts. The item having come to imperial notice from the provincial disbursement sheets was disallowed as unfair and ordered to be refunded under the rule that such charges were to be met out of their incomes by the local governors and military deputy governors. Imperial officers were also from time to time deputed to collect from the books of the 'desí's' statements of provincial disbursements and receipts for periods of ten years that they might render an independent check. In this year the emperor hearing that Ajísíngb and Durgádád were again contemplating rebellion ordered the viceroy to Jódhpúr. Muhammad Mubáriz Bábí was at the same time appointed deputy governor of Vádnagar, and an order was issued that the revenue of Pátán should be paid to Shujá'ádt Khán instead of as formerly into the imperial treasury. In this year also Safídar Khán Bábí, governor of Pátán, was succeeded by Mubáriz Khán Bábí. Not long afterwards under imperial orders the viceroy directed Muhammad Mubáriz Bábí to destroy the Vádnagar temple of Hataíkhir Mahádev the Nágár Bráhmans' special guardian.

In A.D. 1696, Muhammad Bálol Shírwání, governor of Baróda, died, and his place was supplied by Muhammad Beg Khán. During this year the viceroy again went to Jódhpúr and remained there for some months. In A.D. 1697 Buláki Beg the mace-bearer arrived from the imperial court to settle disputes connected with the Navánagar succes-
sion, and to inquire into complaints made by the inhabitants of Sorath. In 1696 an imperial circular was addressed to all officers in charge of districts ordering them to show no respect or consideration for royalty in their efforts to capture or kill the rebel prince Akbar. About the same time Durgâdâs Râthod, in whose charge were the son and daughter of prince Akbar, made an application to Shujâ‘út Khân, proposing a truce, and saying that he wished personally to hand the children to their grandfather. Shujâ‘út Khân agreed and Durugâdâs restored Akbar’s children to the emperor. Aurangzîb finding the children able to repeat the whole Kurán was much pleased with Durugâdâs, and made peace with him, assigning him as a personal estate the lands of Merta in Jodhpur, and afterwards adding to this the grant of Dhanâûka and other districts of Gujarât. In consequence of a failure of crops the price of grain rose so high that the government share of the produce was brought to Ahmedabad and sold in public to the poor and needy. About this time Muhammad Mubâriz Bâbî was killed by a Koli who shot him with an arrow while he was sacking the village of Samprah. Safdar Khân Bâbî was appointed deputy governor of Pâtan in his stead.

In the same year it was reported to the emperor that the money-changers and capitalists of Ahmedabad in making payments passed money short of weight to poor men, and in receiving charged an exchange of two to three tankâs the rupee. The Sâbân and minister were ordered to stop the currency of rupees more than two sarûks short.

In A.D. 1698, on the death of Itimâd Khân, his son Muhammad Mubâsin was made minister, and he was ordered to hand the district of Merta to Durugâdâs Râthod. Among other changes Muhammad Mumûn was raised to the command of the fort of Jodhpur and Khwâjâsh Abdul Hamid was appointed minister. Owing to a second failure of rain 1698 was a year of much scarcity in Mârwâr and north Gujarât. The accounts of this year notice a petition addressed to the viceroy by a Sîner Brâhma, praying that he might not be seized as a carrier or labourer. In connection with some revenue and civil affairs, a difference of opinion arose between Shujâ‘út Khân and Safdar Khân Bâbî, deputy governor of Pâtan. Safdar Khân resigned, and, until a successor was appointed, Muhammad Bahâlol Shirwâni was directed to administer the Pâtan district. In the same year the emperor bestowed the government of Sorath on Muhammad Beg Khân. In A.D. 1699 Durugâdâs Râthod obtained from the emperor not only a pardon for Ajîtsânh, son of the late Mâharâjâ Jasvantsingh, but procured him

1 This Samprah adjoining to the Mirât-i-Ahmad, Persian Text, II. 127, was a small police post or talas in Farsangâh Bâbyal, twenty miles north-east of Ahmedabad. It is now in the Gâsikâr’s territory. Bahyâl was under Pâtan, so in the text the place is described as under Pâtan.

2 The sarûk or little black-dotted red seed of the Abrus precatorius is called pângâapt in Hindî, and cock’s-eye, abhrâs-i-khâzâ, in Persian. As a weight the seed is known as a ratl 90 going to the tola. It is used in weighing precious stones. Blochmann’s Afr-i-Akbar, I. 16 note 1 and Mirât-i-Ahmad Persian Text, 366.

3 Sîner in Baroda territory on the right bank of the Narmâda about thirty miles south of Baroda.
an assignment of lands in, as well as the official charge of, the districts of Jhálór and Sáchor in Márwár. Mujahíd Khán Jhálórí, who as representing a family of landholders dating as far back as the Gujárát Sultáns, had held Jhálór and Sáchor, now received in their stead the lands in Pálapur and Díss which his descendants still hold. In this year also (a.d. 1699) Amanat Khán, governor of Surat, died, and the Maráthás making a raid into the province, Shujáát Khán sent Nazár Ali Khán to drive them out. About this time an imperial order arrived, addressed to the provincial divábá directing him to purchase 1000 horses for the government at the average rate of £20 (Rs. 200).

In a.d. 1700 on the death of Fírúz Khán Mewátí, deputy governor of Jodhpúr, the viceroy appointed in his place Muhammad Zálí from Virángám. Rája Ajít Singh of Márwár was now ordered to repair to court, and as he delayed, a mukásal or speed fine was imposed upon him in agreement with Shujáát Khán’s directions. About this time an order came to Kamál Khán Jhálórí for the despatch to the emperor of some of the Pálapur chilékás or hunting leopards which are still in demand in other parts of India. In the same year the manager of Dhandhúka on behalf of Durgádás Ráthod, asked the viceroy for aid against the Káthis, who were plundering that district. The viceroy ordered Muhammad Beg, governor of Surat, to march against them. At this time Shujáát Khán despatched Nazár Ali Khán with a large force to join the imperial camp which was then at Panhála in Kóhlápúr. Shujáát Khán, who had so long and ably filled the office of viceroy in a most critical time, died in a.d. 1703. In his place prince Muhammad Aázam Shah, who was then at Dháir in Málwa, was appointed thirty-ninth viceroy of Gujárát, as well as governor of Ajmir and Jodhpur; and until his arrival the minister Khwájah Abdúl Hamíd Khán was ordered to administer the province. Owing to the recall of the late governor’s troops from many of the posts disorders broke out in the Pátán districts and the Kolás plundered the country and made the roads impassable.

On his way from the Dákhan to Ahmédábád, the chief of Jhábúa, a state now under the Bhopáwar Agency, paid his respects to the new viceroy and presented him with a tribute of £1600 (Rs. 16,000). Among other arrangements the prince sent to Jodhpúr Jáfar Kuli, son of Kázm Beg, as deputy governor, and appointed Durgádás Ráthod governor of Pátán. Shortly after, on suspicion of his tampering with the Ráthod Rajputs, an order came from the emperor to summon Durgádás to the prince’s court at Ahmédábád, and there confine him or slay him. Sáfíár Khán Bábí, who, in displeasure with Shujáát Khán, had retired to Málwa, returned and offered to slay or capture Durgádás, who was accordingly invited to the prince’s court at Ahmédábád. Durgádás came and pitched his camp at the village of Báreja on the Sábarmati near Ahmédábád. On the day Durgádás was to present himself, the prince, on presence of a hunt, had ordered the attendance of a strong detachment of the army.

1 Miráṣt-i-Áthmí, Persíán Text, 372.
When all was ready and Safdar Khán Bábí and his sons appeared mailed and gauntletted the prince sent for Durgádási. As this day was an eleventh or aṣāras Durgádási had put off waiting on the prince until the fast was over. Growing suspicions of the number of messengers from the prince, he burned his tents and fled. Safdar Khán Bábí was sent in pursuit. He was overtaking Durgádási when Durgádási’s grandson praying his grandfather to make good his escape, stayed behind with a band of followers, charged the pursuers, and after a gallant combat, he and his Rájpútás were slain. The grandson of Durgádási was killed in a hand-to-hand fight with Salábát Khán, the son of Safdar Khán Bábí. Emerald rings are to this day worn by youths of the Bábí families of North Gujarát in memory of the emerald earrings which adorned the young Rájput and were afterwards worn by Salábát as trophies of this fight. Meanwhile Durgádási had reached Unjáh-Unáwa, forty miles east of Pátan, and from Unjáh made his way to Pátan. From Pátan, taking his family with him, he retired to Thárd, and from that to Márwár, where he was afterwards joined by Ajíteingh of Márwár, whom the emperor opposed on the ground of illegitimacy. The imperial troops followed and took possession of Pátan, putting to death the head of the city police.

In his old age the emperor Aurángzíb became more and more strict in religious matters. In 1702 an imperial order forbid the making of almanacs as contrary to the Muhammadan law. Hindus were also forbidden to keep Muhammadan servants.

About this time (A.D. 1700) news arrived that the Maráthás with a force of 10,000 horse were threatening Surat from the foot of the Kástrá pass and the confines of Sultánpur and Nándúrbádh. The vicerey despatched a body of troops to guard Surat against their incursions. Disputes between the government and the Portuguese were also injuring the trade of the province. In A.D. 1701 the vicerey received an order from Court directing him to destroy the temple of Somnáth beyond possibility of repair. The despatch adds that a similar order had been issued at the beginning of Aurángzíb’s reign. In A.D. 1703, at the request of the merchants of Gujarát, with the view of inducing the Portuguese to let ships from Surat pass unmolested and release some Mussulmáns who had been imprisoned on their way back from Makkah, orders were issued that certain confiscated Portuguese merchandise should be restored to its owners. An imperial order was also received to encourage the art of brocade weaving in Ahmedábád. In A.D. 1704, Safdar Khán Bábí was raised to be governor of Bijáipur, about fifty miles north-east of Ahmedábád. Sarándás Khán was at the same time appointed to Sorath instead of Muhammad Beg Khán, who was placed in charge of the lands round Ahmedábád. As the Maráthás once more threatened Surat, Mustáfa Kuli, governor of Broach, was sent with 1000 horse to defend the city.

Certain passages in Aurángzíb’s letters to prince Aážam when (A.D. 1703-1705) viceroy of Gujarát, show how keen and shrewd an interest the aged emperor maintained in the government of his viceroys. In Letter 19 he writes to prince Aážam: To take the government of Soróth
from Fatih Jang Khan Babi and give it to your chamberlain’s brother is to break a sound glass vessel with your own hands. These Babis have been time out of mind a respected race in Gujarat and are well versed in the arts of war. There is no sense in giving the management of Sorath to anyone but to a Babi. Sorath is a place which commanders of five thousand like Hasan Ali Khan and Safshikan Khan have with difficulty administered. If your officers follow the principles laid down by the late Shujhat Khan, it will be well. If they do not, the province of Gujarat is such that if order is broken in one or two places, it will not soon be restored. For the rest you are your own master. I say not, do this or do that; look that the end is good, and do that which is easiest. In another passage (Letter 37 to the same prince Aazam) Aurangzeb writes: You who are a well intentioned man, why do you not retaliate on oppressors? Over Hajipur Aminpur and other posts, where atrocities occur every day, and at Kapalvanj where the Kolis rob the highways up to the posts, you have made your chamberlain and artillery superintendent your commandant. He entrusted his powers to his carrion-eating and fraudulent relatives. Owing to his influence the oppressed cannot come to you. You ought to give the command to one of the Gujaratis like Safdar Khan Babi or one of the sons of Bahdul Shivrani who have earned reputations during the administration of the late Shujhat Khan and who are popular with the people. Else I tell you plainly that on the Day of Justice we shall be caught for neglecting to punish the oppressions of our servants.

In A.D. 1705, as the climate of Gujarat did not agree with prince Aazam, Ibrahim Khan, viceroy of Kashmir, was appointed fortieth viceroy of Gujarat, and his son Zabardast Khan, viceroy of Lahor, was appointed to the government of Ajmir and Jodhpur. Prince Aazam at once went to Burhampur in Khadish, landing charge of Gujarat to the minister Abdul Hamid Khan until the new viceroy should arrive. Durgadas Rithod now asked for and received pardon. Abdul Hamid Khan was ordered to restore the lands formerly granted to Durgadas, and Durgadas was directed to act under Abdul Hamid’s orders. In A.D. 1705 the emperor learned that Khanji, a successor of Kutb the high priest of the Ismailia Bohoras, had sent out twelve missionaries to win people to his faith, and that his followers had subscribed Rs. 1,14,000 to relieve those of their number who were imprisoned. The emperor ordered that the twelve missionaries should be secured and sent to him and appointed Sunni Mullas to preach in their villages and bring the Bohoras’ children to the Sunni form of faith.

About this time (A.D. 1705) the Marathas, who had long been hovering on the south-east frontiers of the province, bursting into south Gujarat with an army 10,000 strong, under the leadership of Dhanaji JadHAV, defeated the local forces and laid the country waste. Abdul Hamid Khan, who was then in charge of the province, ordered all governors of districts and officers in charge of posts to collect their men and advance to Surat. Between Nazar Ali Khan and Safdar Khan Babu, the officers in command of this
army, an unfortunate jealousy prevailed. Not knowing where the Marathas were to be found, they halted on the Narbada near the Baba Piarah ford. Here they remained for a month and a half, the leaders contenting themselves with sending out spies to search for the enemy. At last, hearing of the approach of the Marathas, they sent to head-quarters asking for artillery and other reinforcements. In reply, Abduł Hamid Khan, a man of hasty temper, upbraided them for their inactivity and for allowing so much time to pass without making their way to Surat. Orders were accordingly at once issued for an advance, and the army next halted at Bhatanpur in Rajpūpla. Here, apparently from the jealousy of the commanders, the different chiefs pitched their camps at some distance from each other. Finding the enemy's forces thus scattered, the Marathas, under the command of Dhanaji Jadhav, lost no time in advancing against them. First attacking the camp of Safdar Khan Bahī, they defeated his troops, killed his son, and took prisoner the chief himself. Only a few of his men, with his nephew Muhammad A בצam, escaped to the camp of Nazar Ali Khan. Next, the Marathas attacked the army under Muhammad Purul Khan Shirwānī; and it also they defeated. Of the Musalman army those who were not slain, drowned in the Narbada, or captured, reached Breach in miserable plight, where they were relieved by Akbar Ali Khan. Nazar Ali Khan burned his tents and surrendered to the Marathas, by whom he was well treated.

The Marathas now heard that Abduł Hamid Khan was coming with an army to oppose them. Thinking he would not risk a battle, they went to the Baba Piarah ford, and there crossed the Narbada. That very day Abduł Hamid Khan, with Muhammad Shér and Muhammad Salat, sons of Safdar Khan Bahī, and others came to the spot where the Marathas were encamped. All night long they were harassed by the Marathas, and next morning found the enemy ready for a general attack. The Mulsans were so weary with watching, dispirited from the defeats of Safdar Khan, and inferior in numbers to their assailants, were repulsed and surrounded. The two sons of Safdar Khan Bahī, and two other nobles, seeing that the day was lost, cut their way through the enemy and escaped, Abduł Hamid Khan, Nazar Ali Khan, and many others were taken prisoners. The Marathas plundered the Mulsan camp, declared their right to tribute, levied sums from the adjacent towns and villages and extorted heavy ransoms which in the case of Abduł Hamid Khan was fixed at as large a sum as £50,000 (Rs. 3 lakhs). The Kolis, seeing the disorganized state of Gujarāt, began ravaging the country, and plundered Baroda for two days. At Ahmedabad Muhammad Beg Khan, who had been appointed governor of Surat, was recalled to defend the capital. When the news of the defeat at Baba Piarah reached Delhi, the emperor despatched prince Muhammad Bidār Bakht with a large army to drive out the invaders. Before this force reached Gujarāt the Marathas had retired.

Prince Muhammad Bidār Bakht arrived in A.D. 1705 as forty-first viceroy and appointed Amānat Khan governor of the ports of Surat and Cambay. News was now received that Ajitsingh of Jodhpur and Verisālji of Rajpūpla were about to rebel, and the prince took
measures to check their plans. About this time the emperor, hearing that an attack had been made on the Muhammadan post at Dwärka, ordered the temple to be levelled to the ground. It seems doubtful whether this order was carried out. Nazar Ali Khán, who had formerly enjoyed a grant of Haidar in Jhálaváda, had been driven out by Chandrasingh, chief of Vánkíner; but, on condition of his expelling Chandrasingh, these lands were again granted to him. Kamál Khán Jhálori, leaving under his son Pirúz Khán at Pálapur a body of men for the defence of his charge, advanced to Ahmedábád to guard the city from Maráthá attack. He petitioned that according to Gujárát custom his troops should receive rations so long as they were employed on imperial service. To this request the emperor agreed and issued orders to the provincial minister. Shortly after Durgádás Ráthod took advantage of the general confusion to rejoin Ajítsingh, and an army was sent to Tharán against them. Ajítsingh was at first forced to retire. Finally he succeeded in defeating Kunwar Múkhamsingh, and marching on Jodhpur recovered it from Jašfár Kuli, son of Kázmír Beg. Durgádás meanwhile had taken shelter with the Kolis. At the head of a band of robbers, meeting Shah Kuli the son of Kázmír Beg on his way to join his appointment as deputy governor of Pátañ, Durgádás attacked and killed him. And soon after at Chumál in the Chunval, laying in wait for Maúsúm Kuli, the governor of Virangálm, he routed his escort, Maúsúm Kuli escaping with difficulty. On condition of being appointed governor of Pátañ Safdar Khán Bábí now offered to kill or capture Durgádás. His offer was accepted, and as from this time Durgádás is no more heard of, it seems probable that Safdar Khán succeeded in killing him. As the disturbed state of the province seemed to require a change of government Ibráhím Khán, who had been appointed viceroy in the previous year, was ordered to join his post. This order he reluctantly obeyed in a.d. 1706.

SECTION II.—Fifty Years of Disorder, 1707–1757.

With the death of the emperor Aurangzúb, early in a.d. 1707, the period of strong government which had latterly from year to year been growing weaker came to an end. As soon as Aurangzúb’s death was known, the Maráthás under Bálájí Vishvanáth burst into east Gujárát, marching by Jhálba and Godhra, where they were ineffectually opposed by the governor Murád Báksh. From Godhra they went on and plundered the town of Mahuda in Káira, and proposed marching on Ahmedábád by way of Naídád. The viceroy prepared to resist them, and, enlisting special troops, camped outside of the city near the Kánkariya lake. Of the warlike population on the north bank of the Sárjumati opposite Ahmedábád nearly eight thousand Musalmán horse and three thousand foot together with four thousand Rájpûts and Kolis in three days gathered at the Kánkariya camp. The viceroy was also joined by Åhád Húdi Pandémal the viceroy’s minister, Åhád Hamid Khán provincial minister, Muhammad Beg Khán, Nazar Ali Khán, Safdar Khán Bábí, and several other deputy governors with their retinues and artillery. Though strong, in numbers the practised eye of the viceroy failed to find in the host that
firmness and unity of purpose which could alone ensure victory over the Maratha hordes. The Marathas did much mischief, plundering as far as Batva, only four-and-a-half miles from the viceroy's camp. The author of the Mirat-i-Ahmedi, whose father was an actor in these scenes, describes the panic in the capital of Gujarat which since its capture by Murza Firuz in a.d. 1583 had been free from the horrors of war. Crowds of scared and terror-stricken men women and children laden with as much of their property as they could carry were pressing from the suburbs into the city. In the city the streets were crowded with squatters. The cries of parents bereft of children, added to the din and turmoil of the soldiery, was like the horror of the Day of Resurrection. The dejected faces of the soldiers beaten in the late engagements added to the general gloom. The viceroy, thoroughly alarmed, concluded a treaty with Bahadur, and on receiving a tribute of £21,000 (Rs. 2,10,000) the Marathas withdrew. Meanwhile, in the contest between the princes for the throne of Dehli, prince Muhammad Nâzam Shah was defeated and slain, and prince Muhammad Muazzam Shah mounted the throne with the title of Bahadur Shah. Hurshin Khan was confirmed in the post of viceroy of Gujarat, but, fearing that the emperor might be displeased at his concession of tribute to the Marathas, he went to Dehli to explain his conduct, and there resigned office.

In a.d. 1708, in consequence of Hurshin Khan's resignation, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang was appointed forty-third viceroy of Gujarat. The leading of the new emperor towards Shahi tenets and his order to insert in the Friday sermon the lawful successor of the Prophet after the name of Ali, the fourth Khalifah, besides giving general dissatisfaction, caused a small disturbance in Ahmedabad. On the first Friday on which the sermon was read the Turans or Turk soldiery publicly called on the preacher to desist on pain of death. The preacher disregarding their threats on the next Friday was pulled down from the pulpit by the Turans and branded with a mace. In the same year (a.d. 1708), hearing that the representative of Shahi Alam had a copy of a Kurian written by the Imam Ali's son of Musa Razâ (a.d. 810-829), the emperor expressed a wish to obtain a sight of it, and the viceroy sent it to him at Mâdina in charge of Sayad Akil and Salâtât Khan Babi. In a.d. 1709, Shariât Khan, brother of Abdul Hamid Khan, was appointed minister in place of his brother, who obtained the office of chief Kazî. Much treasure was sent to the imperial camp by order of the emperor. Ajitsingh of Mârwar now rebelled and recovered Jodhpur. As the emperor wished to visit Ajmir the viceroy of Gujarat was directed to join him with his army. At this time the pay of a horseman is said to have been £3 8s. (Rs. 34) and of a footman 8s. (Rs. 4) a month. During his administration Firuz Jang introduced the practice, which his successors continued, of levying taxes on grain piece-goods and garden produce on his own account, the viceroy's men by degrees getting into their hands the whole power of collecting. In a.d. 1710, when on tour exacting tribute, the viceroy fell ill at Dûnta and was brought to Ahmedabad, where he died. As Firuz Jang had not submitted
satisfactory accounts, his property was confiscated, and in A.D. 1711 Amínát Khán, governor of Surat, was appointed deputy viceroy with the title of Shahámat Khán. When Shahámat Khán was levying tribute from the Kadi and Bijáipur districts, he heard that a Maratha force had advanced to the Bélā Píráh ford on the Narbada. He at once marched to oppose them, summoning Sayyad Ahmad Gilání, governor of Sorath, to his assistance. When he reached Ankleshvar, the Marathás met him, and a battle was fought in which the Marathás were defeated. Shahámat Khán then proceeded to Surat, and, after providing for its safety returned to Ahmedábád. In spite of their reverse at Ankleshvar the Marathás from this time began to make yearly raids into Gujarát.

In A.D. 1712, the emperor died, and was succeeded by his son Abú Fateh Muizz-ud-dín Jahándár Sháh, and Asif-ud-daulah Asad Khán Baládúr was appointed forty-fourth viceroy of Gujarát. As Muhammad Beg Khán, who was then at Kharkot, was a favourite of the new viceroy and through his interest was appointed deputy, he went to Ahmedábád, and Shahámat Khán was transferred to Málwa as viceroy. In the meantime Muhammad Beg Khán was appointed governor of Surat, and Sarbuland Khán Baládúr was sent to Ahmedábád as deputy viceroy. On his way to Gujarát, Sarbuland Khán was robbed in the Ságbára wilds to the east of Rájpúta. On his arrival he promptly marched against the rebellious Kolás of the Chuvál and subdued them. At the end of the year, as Farrukháiyār son of Azím-us-Sháh, second son of the late emperor, was marching with a large army on the capital, Sarbuland Khán returned to Dehlí.

This expedition of Farrukháiyār was successful. He put Jahándár Sháh to death and mounted the throne in A.D. 1713. As he had been raised to the throne mainly by the aid of Sayyád Husain Ali and Abdól Khán, the new emperor fell under the power of these nobles. Husain Ali was sent against Ajísíngh of Márwár, and concluded a treaty with that chief, whereby Ajísíngh engaged to send his son to court and to give his daughter to the emperor in marriage; and the marriage was solemnised in A.D. 1715. In A.D. 1714, shortly after this treaty was concluded, Ajísíngh sent his son Abheysíngh to court, and on him in place of one Sayyad Ahmed Gilání was conferred the post of governor of Sorath. Abheysíngh remained at court and sent his deputy Káñthí Fátelsíngh to Jümágalí. Abdól Hamíd Khán was appointed revenue officer of Surat. After some time he resigned his Surat office and went to court, where on being made superintendent of the shrine of Sheikh Ahmed Khátí, he returned to Ahmedábád. In A.D. 1713 Muhtarim Khán was appointed to succeed him in Surat. Early in A.D. 1714, Shahámat Khán, who had been appointed forty-fifth viceroy of Gujarát, was superseded by Dádú Khán Panni as forty-sixth viceroy. The reckless courage of Dádú Khán Panni was renowned throughout India. His memory survives in the tales and proverbs of the Dákhan. On giving battle he used to show his contempt for his enemies by wearing nothing stronger than a muslin jerkin. So stern was his discipline that none of his Afghan soldiers dared to touch a leaf of the standing crops where they were encamped. When at
Ahmedabad he was either engaged in scattering the Kolis or in coursing with greyhounds. He preferred life under canopy on the Sambarmati sands to the viceregal surroundings of the Bhadar Palace. His civil work he used to trust to Dakhan Brahmins and Pandits. He was much devoted to the use of bhang. Until Daud Khan's arrival Abu Hamid Khan was appointed viceroy and took charge of the province from Shahmat Khan. At this time, on the security of Raja Muhkamsingh of Nagor, a sum of £5000 (Rs. 50,000) was granted to the brother of Durgadas Rathod. In A.D. 1714 in Ahmedabad Hari Ram, the agent of Madan Gopal a successful North Indian banker, who came to Ahmedabad as treasurer with Firuz Jang, while celebrating the Holi with his friends, seized a Musalmân gentleman and handled him with great roughness. Aggrieved with this treatment the Musalmân complained to a preacher of much eloquence and influence, Mulla Muhammad Ali. The preacher took the Muslim to the Assembly Mosque and sent for Mulla Abu Aziz the chief or leading member of the Sunni Bohora community. He answered the call with a strong party of his men, and on his way was joined by numbers of Musalmâns both soldiers and citizens. With cries of 'Din', 'Din' they went to the mosque and carried off the insulted man and the priest and the Bohora leader to the house of the Kazi Khair-ul-lah. The Kazi closed his doors against the crowd who returned alarming him to the Jewellers' quarter pilaging and killing as they went. They next swarmed towards Madan Gopal's Haveli in the Jewellers' quarters. But the Nargarsheth Kapur Chand Bhanasîli closed its strong gates and with his Musalmân soldiers met the swarm with firearms. The viceroy who was camped at the Shahi Bagh sent soldiers and under the influence of the leading citizens of both classes the disturbance was quelled.

When the particulars of the riots were known in the imperial camp the Hindus, clamouring against Mulla Muhammad Ali and Sheikh Abu Aziz Gujarati, struck business and closed their shops. The emperor ordered mace-bearers to proceed to Gujarat and bring the Musalmân ring-leaders together with the Hindu Nargarsheth Kapur Chand Bhanasîli. Some Bohoras at the imperial camp, sending advance news to Ahmedabad, the Mullah and the Bohora Sheth and after him the Bhanasîli started for the imperial camp. On reaching the camp the Mulla, who was very impressive and eloquent, preached a sermon in the Assembly Mosque and his fame reaching the emperor he was called to court and asked to preach. He and the Sheth were now able to explain their case to the emperor and the Bhanasîli was imprisoned. It is said that the Bhanasîli made the Mulla the medium of his release and that he and the Bohora returned to Gujarat while the Mulla remained in honour at court till he died. About the same time a great flood in the Sambarmati did much damage.

Abdul Hamid Khan was now chosen governor of Sorath in place of Abheyasingh, and Memin Khan was appointed from Delhi, governor of Surat, and was at the same time placed in charge of Baroda, Broach, Dhokla, Petlad, and Nadiad. Daud Khan the viceroy now went into Kathiawar and Navanagar to collect tribute, and on his return to Ahmedabad, married the daughter of the chief of Halvd in the
Jháláváda sub-division of Káthiáváda. It is related that this lady, who was with child, on hearing of Dáuí Khán's death cut open her womb and saved the child at the sacrifice of her own life. Dáuí Khán, though an excellent soldier and strict disciplinarian failed to distinguish himself as a civil administrator. He introduced Dákhaní pandits into official posts, who levied a fee called chityáman from landholders and took taxes from the holdings of Sayáds and otherwise made themselves unpopular.

About this time Momin Khán, governor of Surat, arrived in Gujárát, and placing his deputies in Petlá, Dhólka, Baróda, and Nádájád, went himself to Surat in a.d. 1715. Here he was opposed by the commandant of the fort, Zía Khán, who was obliged to give way, his subordinate, Sayád Kásím, being defeated by Físhú-ud-din Khán. At this time much ill feeling was caused by the plunder by Muhammadan troops of the shops of some Hindu merchants in Ahsádábád. On this account, and for other reasons, Dáuí Khán was recalled, and Gházni Khán Jhálári was directed to act in his place until the arrival of a new viceroy. In this year, a.d. 1715, the Mahrájá Ajítsingh was appointed forty-seventh viceroy of Gujárat, and his son Kúmár Abbéysingh was appointed governor of Soráth. Ajítsingh sent Vajeráj Bhamáráí to act as his deputy until his arrival, and Fatélisíngh Káváth was chosen deputy governor of Soráth. Perhaps one of the most remarkable appointments of this time was that of Haidar Kúlí Khán to be minister as well as military commandant of Pároda, Náhídád; Arhar-Mátár in the district of Kára, and of the ports of Suráth and Camby. Haidar Kúlí chose an officer to act for him as minister, and after appointing deputies in his different charges himself went to Suráth.

The Mahrájá Ajítsingh, on reaching Ahsádábád, appointed Gházni Khán Jhálári governor of Pálaúpur and Jawán Mard Khán Bébi governor of Rádhamápur. During this year an imperial order conferred on Haidar Kúlí Khán, Soráth and Gohilyád or south-east Káthiáváda then in charge of Fatélisíngh, the viceroy's deputy. On receiving this order Haidar sent Sayád Aklí as his deputy, and that officer went to Jambosár, and, collecting men, set out to join his appointment. He

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1 Mírkt-i-Ahmédi, Persian Text, 427-434.
2 Mírkt-i-Ahmédi is in the Mírkt-i-Ahmédi (Persian Text, II, 126) the present Kára sub-division of Mátár. The Mírkt-i-Ahmédi places it twenty miles south-west of Ahsádábád. It is four miles south-west of Kára.
3 In the beginning of Ajítsingh's administration the Sacrifice Id of the Muslims was very nearly ended in a riot. An intercourse police officer belonging to the Káthiáváda, hoping to please the Hindú viceroy, by force deprived some of the Sumáli Bhamáráí of that quarter of a cow which they had purchased for the sacrifice. The Bhamáráí in a mass appealed to the Kásl, who not succeeding in his representation to the viceroy was obliged to allay the popular excitement by publicly sacrificing a cow after the Id prayer. Mírkt-i-Ahmédi, Royal Asiatic Society Ms., I, 567-568.
4 This is the first known mention of Gohílábád, the Gohílás, country, as a separate district.
5 During the government of Haidar Kúlí at Suráth the Mírkt-i-Ahmédi (Royal Asiatic Society Ms., I, 567-568) notices the death of Mulla Abdul Ghasír, the founder of the wealthy family of the Mullás of Suráth. Haidar Kúlí confiscated Abdul Ghasír's property representing to the emperor that the Mulla died insolvent. But the Mulla's son Abdal Hyre proceeding to Delhi not only obtained from the emperor an order of restitution of property but the title of chief of merchants, Umdá-tut-Tájjár, and an elephant.
first camped at Loliánah, where the province of Sorath begins, and from Loliánah marched against Pálitána and plundered the town. The viceroy, who was by no means well disposed to Haidar Kúlí Khán, sent a message that if any injury was done in Sorath he would take vengeance on the aggressors; and as neither Ajitsingh nor Haidar Kúlí Khán was of a very compliant temper, civil war was on the point of breaking out. By the help of Salábát Khán Bábí, the deputy in Gohilváda, matters were arranged, and Sayad Ákíl returned from Sorath. Haidar was anxious to send Salábát Khán as deputy to Sorath. But as Salábát demanded too high a salary, Raza Kúlí, brother of the late governor of Baroda, was chosen. When this officer, with his brother Músámí Kúlí, reached Amrei Fatehsingh, the viceroy’s deputy, evacuated Júmágúdh. After this Haidar Kúlí Khán, in company with Kázím Beg, governor of Baroda, marched against and defeated the chief of Munjpúr, now under Rádhánpúr, who had refused to pay the usual tribute. The viceroy went to Sorath to collect the imperial revenue, and, owing to his excessive demands, met with armed resistance from the Ján of Návínagar. Finally, the matter of tribute was settled, and after visiting the shrine of Dwárka, the viceroy returned to Ahmedábád.

In A.D. 1719, while the viceroy was at Dwárka, in consequence of numerous complaints against Ajitsingh and his Márwári followers, the emperor sent Sámsám-ud-dáulá Khán Daurán Nasrát Jáng Básádúr as forty-eighth viceroy of Gujárát. As it was expected that Ajitsingh would not give up his government without a contest, an army was prepared to compel him to leave. On the arrival of the army Ajitsingh marched straight on Ahmedábád and encamped at Sárkhej, but Sáhí Khán persuaded him to retire to Jodhpúr without giving battle. In A.D. 1717, after the departure of Ajitsingh, Haidar Kúlí Khán, who had been appointed deputy viceroy, leaving Súrat set out for Ahmedábád. When Haidar arrived at Pátiálá, some of the Ahmedábád nobles, among whom was Sádádár Khán Bábí, went out to meet him. A dispute arose between one of Haidar’s water carriers and a water-carrier in the army of the Bábí, which increased to a serious affray, which from the camp followers spread to the soldiers and officers, and the Bábí’s baggage was plundered. Sádádár Khán took serious offence, and returning to Ahmedábád collected his kingsmen and followers and marched against Haidar Kúlí Khán. In a battle fought on the following day Sádádár Khán was defeated. The other Bábí escaped to Pálimánpúr, and Sádádár Khán, who in the first instance had fled to Ațarambá, joined his party at Pálimánpúr. Muhammad Pírúz Júsdólí, governor of Pálimánpúr, with the title of Gházmí Khán, afterwards succeeded in reconciling the Bábís and Haidar Kúlí Khán. A.D. 1719 was a year of great famine. Abdúl Hamíd Khán, who had filled so many appointments in Gujárát, went to court, and was made governor of Sorath. Haidar Kúlí Khán now marched against the Málí Kónis. In the meantime news was received of the appointment of a new viceroy, and Gházmí Khán, governor of Pálimánpúr, was ordered to stay at Ahmedábád for the defence of the city.
Early in A.D. 1719, the emperor Farrukhshāyār was deposed and put to death by the Sayads, and a prince named Rafi-ud-Darazāt, a grandson of the emperor, was raised to the throne. Rafi-ud-Darazāt was put to death by the Sayads after a reign of three months, and his brother Rafi-ud-daūlah, who succeeded him, also died after a few days' reign. The Sayads then raised to the throne prince Raushan Akhtār with the title of Muhammad Shāh. After the murder of Farrukhshāyār, the most powerful vassal in the neighbourhood of Delhi was Ajītsingh of Mārwār. To win him to their side the Sayads granted him the viceregalty of Gujarāt, and Mihr Ali Khān was appointed to act for him until his arrival, while Muhammad Bahādur Bahā, son of Sāḥibat Muhammad Khān Bāhā, was placed in charge of the police of the district immediately round Ahmedabad. Shortly after, through the influence of the Maharājā Ajītsingh, Nāhir Khān superseded Mihr Ali Khān as deputy viceroy. Nāhir Khān was also appointed to the charge of Dholka Dohad and Patliād, and made superintendent of customs. About this time, the head tax was repealed, and orders were issued that its levy in Gujarāt should cease.

In the same year, A.D. 1719, Pilājī Gāīkwār marched on Surat with a large army and defeated the imperial troops commanded by Sayad Akitī and Muhammad Pañāh, the latter commander being taken prisoner and forced to pay a heavy ransom. Pilājī, finding Gujarāt an easy prey, made frequent incursions, and taking Songad in the extreme south-east established himself there. Mihr Ali Khān, who had been acting for Nāhir Khān, marched against and subdued the Kolis, who were committing piracy in the Mahi estuary. From this year Mughal rule in Gujarāt was doomed. Pilājī Gāīkwār was established at Songad, and in the anarchy that ensued, the great Gujarāt houses of the Bābis and Jhālors, as well as the newly arrived Momin Khān, turned their thoughts to independence. Ajītsingh so lated Muhmadun rule that he secretly favoured the Marathās, and strove to establish his own authority over such portions of Gujarāt as bordered on Mārwār. In after years, Sarbuland Khān made a vigorous attempt to reassert imperial dominion, but the seeds of dissolution were sown and efforts at recovery were vain.

In A.D. 1720, Ajītsingh the viceroy sent Anopsingh Bhandāri to Gujarāt as his deputy. In this year Nizām-ul-Mulk, viceroy of Ujjain, was superseded by Sayad Dilāwar Khān. While Dilāwar Khān was yet on the Mālwa frontiers the Nizām desirous of possessing himself of the Dakhan and its resources retired to Burhānpur pursued by Sayad Dilāwar Khān, who giving battle was killed, the Nizām retiring to Aurangabād in the Dakhan. Alam Ali Khān, deputy viceroy of the Dakhan, was directed to march against him, while from north Gujarāt Anopsingh Bhandāri was ordered to send 10,000 horse to Surat, and Nāhir Khān, the deputy viceroy, was instructed to proceed thereto in person. The Nizām and Alam Ali Khān met near Bālāpur in the Berāra, and a battle was fought in which the Nizām was successful and Alam Khān was slain. At this time Anopsingh Bhandāri committed many oppressive acts, of which the
chief was the murder of Kapurchand Bhansali, the leading merchant of Ahmedabad. The cause of Kapurchand's murder was that he had hired a number of armed retainers who used to oppose the Bhandari's orders and set free people unjustly imprisoned by him. To remove this meddler from his way the Bhandari got him assassinated. In A.D. 1721, Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed prime minister of the empire, Abdul Hamid Khan was recalled from Sorath, and in his stead Asad Kuli Khan, with the title of Amir-ul-Umara, was appointed governor ofSORATH and sent Muhammad Sharif Khan into Sorath as his deputy.

In A.D. 1721, in conjunction with Muhammad Amin and Sadat Khan, Haidar Kuli Khan freed the emperor from the tyranny of the Sayuds, and was rewarded with the title of Muiz-ul-daulah Haidar Kuli Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang and the vicereignty of Gujarat. He obtained the appointment of minister for his brother Jaafar Kuli Khan. Maqsud Kuli Khan was dignified by the title of Shuja'at Khan Bahadur and appointed deputy viceroy. As soon as this change was notified, the people of Ahmedabad, who were discontented with the rule of Anopsingh, attacked his palace, the Bhandar, and he escaped with difficulty. In consequence of the enmity between Haidar Kuli Khan and the Marwaris, Shuja'at Khan, the deputy viceroy, attacked the house of Nahir Khan who had been Ajit Singh's minister, and forced him to pay £10,600 (Rs. 1 lakh) and leave the city. Shuja'at Khan next interfered with the lands of Sadar Khan Babi, the deputy governor of Godhra, and his brothers. On one of the brothers repairing to Dehli and demonstrating, Haidar Kuli, who, above all things, was a Muhammadan and anxious to strengthen himself with the Muhammadan nobility of Gujarat, restored their lands to the Babas. In consequence of this decision ill-feeling sprung up between Shuja'at Khan and the Babas, and when Shuja'at Khan went to exact tribute he forced Muhammad Khan Babi, governor of Kaira, to pay a special fine of £1000 (Rs. 10,000). Shortly after one of the viceroy's officers, Kasm Ali Khan, while employed against the Kolis of that part of the country, was killed at Pethapur. Shuja'at Khan advanced, and revenged Kasm Ali's death by burning the town. Next, he passed into Sorath, and after exacting tribute, crossed to Kachch. The chief opposed him, and in the fight that followed was beaten and forced to pay about £22,500 (Rs. 24 lakhs). In A.D. 1721, a Sayad was sent to Sorath as deputy governor in place of Muhammad Sharif, and Haidar Kuli was appointed governor of Kadi, the Chumval, and Halvad (called Muhammadnagar), and put in charge of Tharad, Arjanpur, Bhavnari, Pethapur, and Kheralu in place of Vakhat Singh, son of the Mahara'ja Ajit Singh.

Early in A.D. 1722, Nizam-ul-Mulk took up the office of prime minister of the empire, to which he had been appointed in the previous year. Strenuous efforts were made to embroil him with Haidar Kuli

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3 The num is 6,75,000 mahamudi. Like the cheungs (see above page 222 note 2) the mahamudi seems to have varied in value from one-third to one-half of a rupee.
Khán, as the Nizám’s austerity and craft were a source of not less anxiety to the Dehli court than Haidar Khán’s more daring and restless ambition. Haidar Khán, unable to contend with the Nizám, left Dehli and retired to Gujarát. On his way the villagers of Dabháli opposed him: killing one of his chief men named Ali Beg Khán. Haidar burned the village and put all the people to death, a severity which caused such terror that throughout his rule no difficulty was experienced in realizing tribute or in keeping the roads safe. About this time, among other changes, Muhammad Bahádúr, son of Salátst Khán Bábí, was placed in charge of Sádara and Virpur, with the title of Sher Khán. Shortly after his arrival the viceroy marched against and subdued the rebellious Kolis of the Chumvál, appointing Rustam Ali Khán his governor there. Then, returning to Ahmedábád, he took up his residence in the Bhadra. There is little doubt that at this time Haidar Khán aimed at bringing all Gujarát under his rule. He seized the imperial horses which passed through Ahmedábád on their way to Dehli, and confiscated many estates and gave them to his own men. On his way to enforce tribute from the Dungarpúr chiefs, he levied £3000 (Rs. 80,000) from Lámváda. Through the mediation of the Udápír Khán, and as he agreed to pay a tribute of £10,000 (1 lák of rupees), the Rává of Dungarpúr escaped. Haidar Khán next proceeded to Bijápúr, north of Ahmedábád, but hearing that the emperor was displeased at his assumption of the power of giving and changing grants of land, he returned to Ahmedábád and restored several estates which he had confiscated. The court continued to distrust him, and at the close of A.D. 1722 appointed Jumálát-ül-Mulk Nizám-ül-Mulk fifty-first viceroy.

Haidar Khán, finding himself no match for the Nizám, was induced to retire quietly, and accordingly left Gujarát by way of Dungarpúr. Shujáát Khán and Rustam Ali Khán accompanied him as far as Dungarpúr, and then returned to Ahmedábád. In the meantime the Nizám had reached Ujáin, and then directed Safdar Khán Bábí to carry on the government till he should arrive, appointing at the same time his uncle Hámid Kháán as deputy viceroy and Fidwi Kháán as minister. Subsequently the Nizám came to Gujarát and chose officers of his own for places of trust, the chief of whom was Momín Kháán, who was appointed governor of Surat. The Nizám then returned to Dehli, but, after a short time, disquieted with his treatment at court, he retired to the Daḵán, where, making Haidarabad his capital, he gradually began to act as an independent ruler. Meanwhile in Gujarát dissensions sprang up between Hámid Kháán and other officers, but matters were arranged without any outbreak of hostility. Tributes were exacted from the chiefs on the banks of the Vátrak and from Modhura an unruly Kolí village was burned down, and garrisons were placed in the Kolí country. In A.D. 1723 Rustam Ali Khán and Shujáát Kháán were ordered from Dehli to march on Jodhpúr, which they captured and plundered, and then returned to Ahmedábád.

In A.D. 1723 Pilálí Jámkvar, who had been long hovering on the frontier, marched on Surat and was opposed by Momín Kháán, whom he defeated. After levying contributions from the surrounding country,
he returned to his head-quarters at Songad, and from this everran a considerable portion of the Surat territory, building several forts in the Rupjúpla country. At the same time Kántaji Kadám Bánde, invading Gujarát from the side of Dohad, began to levy fixed contributions. Though before this occasional demands had often been made, a.d. 1723 was the first year in which the Maráthas imposed a regular tribute on Gujarát. Mumín Khán was now appointed provincial minister, and Rustam Ali Khán succeeded him as revenue officer of Surat, and, as the Nizám had gone to the Dákhan without the emperor's leave, Mubáríz-ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khán Bahádur Díláwar Jang was appointed fifty-second viceroy of Gujarát. He selected Shujaát Khán as his deputy, and made other arrangements for the government of the province. Hámid Khán, uncle and deputy of the Nizám, prepared to oppose Shujaát Khán, but through the intervention of Bábí Salábat Khán, Sáfílár Khán, and Jawán Mard Khán, Hámid Khán evacuated the Bihadra, and withdrew to Dohad. Shujaát Khán now went to collect tribute, leaving Ibráhím Kúli Khán at Ahmedábád, while Rámrál was posted at Muhmdín in Kairá, with orders to watch the movements of Hámid Khán. As the viceroy was in need of money, he farmed to one Jívan Jugal the districts of Jambique, Makkúbálad or Ámd about twenty-two miles north of Bhrach, Dholka, and Bhrach. In a.d. 1724, he came to Ahmedábád with Ali Múammad Khán, father of the author of the Míráta-ul-Áhmedí, as his private minister.

Rustam Ali, governor of Surat, having succeeded twice or thrice in defeating the Maráthas under Píkíjí Gáikwár, now offered, in conjunction with his brother Shujaát Khán, that if 20,000 men were placed under their orders, they would march against the Nizám. The emperor accepted this offer, allowing Rustam Ali to draw on the Surat treasury to the extent of £20,000 (Rs. 2 lakhs). Rustam Ali accordingly, with the aid of Áhmed Kúli his brother's son, equipped an army. In the meantime the Nizám was not idle. He promised to Kántaji Kadám Bánde a one-fourth share of the revenue of Gujarát, provided he should be able, in concert with Hámid Khán, to re-conquer the province from Mubáríz-ul-Mulk. Shujaát Khán, who was now at Kadi, instead of following the advice of his minister and carefully watching Hámid Khán's movements from Kápadvání, went to a distant part of the province. Hámid Khán seeing his opportunity, united his forces with those of Kántaji Kadám, and marched to Kápadvání. Shujaát Khán hearing of this, advanced towards Ahmedábád and encamped at Dábhora under Báhyál, eighteen miles east of Ahmedábád and thence proceeded to Mota Mídra, about six miles east of the capital. When he came so near Ahmedábád, many of his soldiers went without leave into the city to visit their families. The Maráthas attacked his rear guard, and his men giving way took to flight. Hámid Khán seeing that Shujaát Khán had but a small force, marched between him and the capital. A battle was fought, in which Shujaát Khán was slain, and his two sons Hasán Kúli and Mustáfa Kúli were taken prisoners. Shujaát Khán's head was cut off and sent to Sáfílár Khán Bábí, to be sent to Ibráhím Kúli his son, who was doing duty as commandant at Ahmedábád. Hámid Khán took up his quarters in
the Sháhi Bág, and got possession of all Ahmedábád except the city. Hámid Khán now sent a message to the emperor, that the Maráthás had been successful in defeating Shújáát Khán and conquering Gujrat, but that he had defended Ahmedábád against them. The emperor sent him a dress of honour, but after a few days discovered that Hámid’s message was false. The Maráthás now marched through the country, collecting their chaúth or one-fourth and their sardeshwákhi or one-tenth shares of the revenue. Kántájí went to Víramgám and besieged the town, but on the promise of one of the chief inhabitants to raise a sum of £36,000 (Rs. 3½ lákhs) the Maráthás retired. Hámid Khán who was now independent began to bestow lands and districts many of which remained with the grantees and were never recovered by future governors. Ibráhím Kúli, son of Shújáát Khán, in revenge for his father’s death, determined to assassinate Hámid Khán. The attempt failed. Hámid Khán escaped and Ibráhím Kúli was slain.

Rustam Ali Khán, governor of Surát, in the hope of being revenged on Hámid Khán, invited the aid of Pilájí Gáikwár, and it was agreed that they should meet on the north bank of the Nárabád. Pilájí promised to aid Rustam Khán, and the allied armies, crossing the Mahi, encamped at Áras in the plain between Anand and the Mahi. Hámid Khán, accompanied by Mír Nathu, Muhammád Salábát Rohila, and Kántájí Kadam, marched to oppose Rustam Khán. Hámid Khán also entered into secret negotiations with Pilájí Gáikwár, who resolved to remain neutral and side with the conqueror. A battle was fought, in which, though Pilájí took no part, Hámid Khán was defeated and put to flight, and Mír Nathu was killed. After the fight Rustam Ali remained on the field of battle and liberated his nephews, plundering Hámid Khán’s camp. Pilájí plundered Rustam Ali’s camp and then moved off, while Kántájí carried away what was left in the camp of Hámid Khán. Hámid Khán reproached Kántájí for his inactivity; but he pleaded in excuse that he was watching the mode of warfare amongst Muhammádans, and promised to attack Rustam Ali shortly. Now, as the Maráthás really desired to ruin Rustam Ali, who was their bitter foe, they after a few days surrounded him and cut off his supplies. Rustam Ali stood a blockade of eight days, and then forced his way through his enemies and went to Nápaíd, about fourteen miles west of the Vásad railway station in the Anand sub-division of the Kaira district, and thence through Kálamár to Nápa or Nába under Petlád. The Maráthás still pursuing Rustam Ali retired to Vásu under Petlád, ten miles east of Nájaíd and about twenty-five miles south of Ahmedábád, where he gave battle, and by a furious charge broke the Máratha line. The Maráthás rallied, and Rustam Ali and his men were defeated, Rustam Ali being slain and his nephews again taken prisoners. Rustam was buried on the field of battle and his head sent to Ahmedábád.

Hámid Khán returned to Ahmedábád with the Maráthás, who saw that their only means of effecting a permanent footing in the province was by supporting him. Hámid Khán then assigned a one-fourth share of the revenue of the territory north of the Mahi to Kántájí, and to Pilájí a corresponding interest in the territory south of the Mahi,
including Surat and Baroda. After this Hámíd Kháán acted tyrannically. He extorted large sums from the rich, and poisoned the two sons of Shāhjáhán Kháán. When the news of Fánsájí’s and Tílái’s success reached the Dakhán, Trimbákkríw Dúbáide, son of Khánder Kháán Sénápatí, came with a large army and laid siege to Cumbay. While the siege was being pressed a quarrel among the Maráthás leaders culminated in strife and bloodshed, Trimbákkríw Sénápatí was wounded and the Maráthás army had to disperse and retire. 1 Salábat Kháán, leaving Ahmedábád, went to Viramágam, and after some time, placing his nephew at Viramágam, he went into Ghulváda. When the news of the defeat and death of Rustam Kháí arrived in Delhi, the emperor ordered Múbratez-ul-Mulk to take a strong army and proceed in person to Gujarát and expel Hámíd Kháán and the Maráthás. Múbratez-ul-Mulk marched on Gujarát with a large army, assisted by Márájá Aláhere Singh of Jodhpur, Chattaríng Khája of Náwar in Bándelbáñ, Gádáraíng and the Márájá of Udaipûr. 2 On his arrival at Ajmír Múbratez-ul-Mulk was received by his private minister Ali Muhammad Kháán, who afterwards joined Jawaín Mard Kháán Bábí in Rádlámnapur, and united their troops with those under Múbratez-ul-Mulk. At that time Salábat Kháán was removed from his government, and Salábat Kháán Bábí died. In obedience to the imperial order, Múbratez-ul-Mulk marched from Ajmír and came to the Gujarát frontier. On his approach Hámíd Kháán returned to Ahmedábád. He placed Rúpasíngh and Sádár Muhammad Kháí in charge of the city and himself withdrew to Móhmúdábád. Múbratez-ul-Mulk now sent Shékh Aályár in advance with an army against Ahmedábád. When Shékh Aályár arrived before the city, Muhammad Kháí, who was dissatisfied with Hámíd Kháán for bringing in the Maráthás, persuaded Rúpasíngh to join in. In the meantime Múbratez-ul-Mulk with his main body of troops reached Sádhpur. Hámíd Kháán, accompanied by a detachment of Maráthás horse, now returned to Ahmedábád; but Muhammad Kháí closed the gates, and would not suffer him to enter the city. Múbratez-ul-Mulk marched to Mésáím. About this time Ali Muhammad Kháán, the father of the author of the Míráí,-Aámmá, who was now with Múbratez-ul-Mulk at Mésáím, advised him to conciliate the influential Muhammadan family of Bábí. Under his advice Salábat Muhammad Kháán Bábí was appointed governor of Viramágam, and Jawaín Mard Kháán governor of Pátan. Shortly afterwards Múrdhábas, the Gujarátí minister of Hámíd Kháán, deserted his master’s declining cause. When Fánsájí heard that Múbratez-ul-Mulk had arrived at Páthápur, only eighteen miles from Ahmedábád, he retired to Móhmúdábád. Before the close of A.D. 1728, Múbratez-ul-Mulk reached Ahmedábád, where he was well received by the officials and merchants.

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1 See note 1 page 312. The author of the Míráí,-Aámmá (Persian Text, Royal Asiatic Society’s Library Edition, I, 328) says Trimbákkríw was slain. This seems an oversight as in another passage (ibid., 738-739, see below page 312) he states that Trimbákkríw was killed in 1731. The latter statement is in agreement with Grant Duff (History of the Maráthás, I, 364).
Hámíd Khán and Kántáji, who had by this time reached the banks of the Mahi, were now joined by Pilájí Gáikwár. The Maráthás, seeing that the only way to preserve their footing in the province was to espouse the cause of Hámíd Khán, united their forces with his, and prepared to march on Ahmedábád. Múbáríz-úl-Mulk deputed his son Khánmahád Khán with an army to oppose them, and made several appointments, among other changes raising 'Alí Muhammad Khán to the post of minister. Khánmahád Khán met the Maráthás near Sojíta, about ten miles north-west of Péljád, and defeated them, pursuing them as far as the Mahi. Then, returning, he was reinforced by his brother Sháh Náwá Khán, and marched against the Maráthás, who were encamped at Kapádvínj. Another battle was fought, and the Maráthás were again defeated and pursued as far as the hills of 'Alí-Mháqí, now Chota Údopur in the extreme east of the province. Khánmahád Khán now appointed Hasan-ud-din governor of Báróda, Broách, Jambúsr, and Makbuláshád. Meanwhile Antájí Bháskár, a Marátha noble, entering Gujárat from the side of Ídár, laid siege to the town of Vudnágáí, which according to the old Gujárat proverb, with Umreth in the Kaira district, are the two golden feathers of the kingdom of Gujárat. Vudnágáí was inhabited by wealthy Brahmans of the Nágár caste who prayed Múbáríz-úl-Mulk to march to their relief; but as both his sons were in pursuit of the other Marátha bands defeated at Kapádvínj, the viceroy had no troops to spare from the Ahmedábád garrison. The Nágars accordingly, seeing no prospect of help, paid a sum of £40,000 (Rs. 4 lakhs) and Antájí Bháskár retired. Kántáji and Pilájí, encouraged by this raid of Antájí’s, entered Gujárat from different quarters. Kántáji again laid siege to Vudnágáí. The Nágars, unable to pay the contribution demanded, leaving their property fled and Kántáji in his attempts to unearth the buried treasure burned down the town. Shortly afterwards Umreth in the Kaira district suffered a similar fate at the hands of Kántáji. In one of his raids Pilájí Gáikwár advancing as far as Báróda was met by Khánmahád Khán, the son of the viceroy. Distrusting the issue of a battle Pilájí fled to Cambay, and from Cambay withdrew to Sónath. For these services the emperor raised Khánmahád Khán to the rank of a noble, with the title Ghálib Jáng. About this time 'Alí Muhammad Khán was dismissed from the post of minister, and in his stead first Muhammad Sayád Beg and afterwards Muhammad Suláimag were appointed. Not long afterwards 'Alí Muhammad Khán was again entrusted with a command and raised to be governor of Dóbóla.

The Maráthás retired to the Dákhan, but, returning in A.D. 1726, compelled Múbáríz-úl-Mulk to confirm his predecessor’s grants in their favour. The emperor refused to acknowledge any cessions of revenue to the Maráthás; and the viceroy, hard pressed for money, unable to obtain support from the court, receiving little help from his impoverished districts, was forced to impose fresh taxes on the citizens of Ahmedábád, and at the same time to send an army to collect their tribute from the Mahi chiefs. As part of the agreement between Múbáríz-úl-Mulk and the Marátha chiefs Pilájí was to receive a share in the
Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroyalties.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor.
1722-1748.

SARBULAND
Khan
Fifty-second
Vicerey,
1722-1729.

Alliance with
the Peshwa,
1727.

Pilaji Gaikwar
obtains Baroda
and Dabhoi,
1727.

Capture of
Champaran by
the Marathas,
1728.

revenue of the districts south of the Mahi. But Peshwa Bajirao
Babai, to whom, as agent of his rival Kishanrav Dadha, Pilaji was
obnoxious, sent Udaji Pavar to drive Pilaji away. In this Udaji
was successful, and defeating Pilaji forced him to seek the aid of
Kantaji. Kantaji, perceiving that if the Peshwa became supreme
his own independence would suffer, joined Pilaji, and marching
together upon Baroda they endeavoured, but without success, to
prevent the Musalmân governor Salur-ul-din Khan from entering
the city. About this time want of funds forced Mubarak-ul-Mulk
to sell the greater part of the Dholka district to different
landholders.

In the following year, A.D. 1727, Bajirao Peshwa began to negotiate
with Mubarak-ul-Mulk, undertaking that if the one-fourth and
ten shares in the revenue of the province were guaranteed to him,
he would protect Gujarat from other invaders. Though he did not
consent to these proposals, the vicerey so far accepted the alliance
of the Peshwa as to allow the governor of Baroda to aid Udaji Pavar
against Pilaji. Pilaji and Kantaji outmanoeuvred Udaji and prevented
him from effecting a junction with the governor of Baroda, who in
the end was forced to abandon both that city and the stronghold
of Dabhoi, while Udaji retired to Malwa. Pilaji Gaikwar now obtained
possession of Baroda. Mubarak-ul-Mulk, still sorely pressed for
funds, marched into Sorath to exact tribute. On reaching Virangam,
Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi, on behalf of the Jam of
Navanagar, presented the vicerey with 10,000 (Rs. 1 lakh), and
for this service was rewarded with the gift of an elephant. Mubarak-
ul-Mulk then marched against Chhaya, the capital of the chief of
Ferkandar in the south-west of Kathiawar. This chief, by putting to
sea, hoped to escape the payment of tribute. But on hearing that
the vicerey proposed to annex his territory and appoint an officer
to govern it, he returned and agreed to pay a tribute of 40,000
(Rs. 40,000). On his way back to Ahmedabad, Mubarak-ul-Mulk
passed through Halvad in Jhalawar, and there married the daughter of
Jhala Pratapsingh, the chief of that district, whom he accordingly
exempted from the payment of tribute. About this time the vicerey
received orders from the emperor to restore certain land which he had
confiscated, and as he neglected to obey, certain estates of his in the
Panjab were resumed. In the meantime Krishnaji, foster son of
Kantaji, made a sudden attack upon Champaran and captured that
fortress, and from that time Kantaji's agents remained permanently
in Gujarat to collect his share of the tribute.

In A.D. 1728 the minister Momin Khan died, and in his place
the emperor selected Momin Khan's brother Abd-ul-Ghani Khan. About
this time Asad Ali, governor of Junagadh, also died, and on his death-
bed appointed Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi deputy governor of that
fortress. Salabat Muhammad Khan sent his son Sher Khan Babi
to act on his behalf. When the emperor heard of the death of Asad
Ali, he appointed Gulam Muhy-ul-din Khan, son of the late Asad
Ali, governor. Gulam Muhy-ul-din did not proceed to Junagadh
but continued Sher Khan Babi as his deputy. Mubarak-ul-Mulk, now

1 The amount was 1,25,000 mohsindar.
perceiving that neither Pişājī nor Kántājī afforded any protection to Gujarāt, but rather pillaged it, closed with the offers of Bājīzīv Peshwa, and in a.d. 1729 formally granted to him the one-fourth and one-tenth shares of the revenue of the province. The Peshwa accordingly sent his brother Chimmājirīv to collect the tribute. Chimmājī plundered Dholka and the country near Chāmpānā, while Mulāzīr-ud-Mulk exacted tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Vātrāk. Kántājī now entered Gujarāt and prepared for war in case Chimmājī and the viceroy should unite against him. His movements were not interfered with, and after collecting his share of the tribute, he retired to Surath. The viceroy now marched against the Kolīs, and after destroying many of them together with their wives and children, returned to Ahmadābād by way of Madasā and Ahmadnagar. Ghulām Mulāh-ud-dīn Khān, governor of Jūnīgadh, who had not yet proceeded to his command, appointed a second deputy. Through the influence of the viceroy this appointment was not confirmed, and instead Sher Khān Bābī, son of Salāḥī Muhammad Khān, was placed in charge of that fortress.

In Surath the year a.d. 1729 was marked by a severe flood in the Tāptī and by a somewhat serious local disturbance. The chief cause of the disturbance was Mulla Muhammad Ali, a rich Musalīm trader of Surath. This man who, as Ŭmsa-tut-tujjār or chief of the merchants, had already a special rank in the city, was tempted to take advantage of the disorders of the time to raise himself to the position of an independent ruler. With this object he chose as his head-quarters the island of Pīram in the Gulf of Cambay, near the port of Gogha, and there spent considerable sums in strengthening the island and tempting settlers to place themselves under his protection. As Pīram was not popular Mulla Muhammad fixed on the village of Athva, on the left bank of the Tāptī, about twelve miles from its mouth. Here he began to build a fort, but was ordered to desist by Sōhrāb Khān, the governor of Surath, from which city the proposed stronghold was only three miles distant. Mulla Muhammad so far from obeying, persuaded Beglar-Beg Khān the commander of the fort of Surath to side with him. Accordingly, next day, Beglar-Beg Khān bombarded the governor Sōhrāb Khān’s residence, proclaiming that his own brother Tegh beg Khān was appointed governor of Surath. In the end Mulla Muhammad Ali induced the chief merchant of the city to pray for the removal of Sōhrāb who pending receipt of orders from the emperor was made to hand over his official residence in the city to Teg-Beg Khān.

In the same year, a.d. 1729, Jawān Mard Khān Bābī was chosen governor of Pēltād, Ali Muhammad Khān was made collector of Ahmadābād, and Ali Muhammad’s son, the author of the Mīrāt-i-Ahmedi and his brother were appointed governor and superintendent of the customs of that district. Ali Muhammad Khān shortly resigned and was succeeded by Rū'-in Khān. At this time Jawān Mard Khān Bābī, while punishing the Kolīs of Bālor, probably Bhātōd about fifteen miles east of Broach, was killed by a man of that tribe, and in revenge for his death the town of Bālor was plundered. On the death of Jawān Mard Khān, at the request of Salāḥī Muhammad Khān Bābī, his eldest son Kamāl-ud-dīn Khān Bābī received the districts of
Sami and Munjpur and the title of Jawân Marāl Khān. At the same time the second son, Muhammad Anwar, with the title of Safdar Khān, was appointed to the government of Rādhānpor. The viceroy next went to Nadīād, where Rāi Kishanādās, agent of Jawān Marāl Khān, received the district of Petlād in farm. From Nadīād Muhārīz-ul-Mulk went to collect tribute from Sardārsingh; the chief of Bhādāraya in the Rewa Kānta about fifteen miles north of Baroda, on the banks of the Mulī, who, after some fighting, agreed to pay a sum of £2000 (Rs. 20,000). On his way back to Ahmedābād the viceroy levied tribute from the chief of Umēta, fifteen miles west of Baroda. As Rāi Kishanādās failed to pay the sum agreed on for the farm of Petlād, an order was issued for his imprisonment. To save himself from the indignity he committed suicide.

When Kāntājī returned from Surat he camped at Sāmanāla and his advanced guard carried off some of the viceroy’s elephants which were grazing there. Men were sent in pursuit, but in vain, and the Marāthīs escaped. Meanwhile, at Surat, Mulī Muhammad Ali continued to build the fort at Athva. At last his accomplices, Beglar-Beg Khān the commander of the Surat fort, began to perceive that if the Athva fort were completed the Mulī would be in a position to obstruct the trade of the port of Surat. He consequently ordered him to stop building. In spite of this the Mulī succeeded in persuading Sohrāb Khān to allow him to go on with his fort promise, in return to get him confirmed as governor of Surat. Sohrāb Khān agreed and the fort was completed, and Sohrāb Khān was duly appointed governor. As the fort was immediately below Surat the revenue of Surat was greatly diminished, and Sohrāb Khān, when it was too late, saw his mistake.

In A.D. 1730 Muhārīz-ul-Mulk went into Gohilvāda in south-east Kāthūvāda and levied tribute from Bhāsīsingh, chief of Sihor; thence he proceeded to Mādhpur, a town under Porbandar, and laid it waste. While engaged at Mādhpur, Momin Khān, son-in-law of the late Momin Khān, owing to some misunderstanding with the viceroy suddenly set out for Ahmedābād and from Ahmedābād proceeded to Gīra. The viceroy now marched in direction of Kachh and refusing the offer of a yearly tribute of about £33,000 (10,00,000 μάνιδις), advanced against Bihāj. He experienced great difficulty in crossing the Ban, and as the Rāo had cut off all supplies, and as at the same time news arrived of disturbances in Ahmedābād, he was obliged, after a month and a half, to retire to Rādhanpur. The author of the Mirāt-ī-Ahmedī was ordered to suppress the Ahmedābād riots, which had arisen out of the levy of some fresh taxes, and was invested with the title of Hasan Muhammad Khān. In this year Udālkaran, Desai of Viramgam, was murdered by a Kashātī of that town named Ali, and Salābāt Muhammad Khān Bābā, who was sent to investigate that murder, died on his way at Pāḍi, a village on the right bank of the Sāharmati opposite to Ahmedābād.

News was now (A.D. 1730) received that Muhārījā Aḥhāyśingh of Jodhpur had been appointed viceroy and had reached Pālānpur.

Kashātīs are the descendants of the Mūsalmān garrisons of some towns of north Gujārāt. The Kashātīs of Viramgam were originally Tānk Bājāpis.
The friends of order endeavoured to arrange a peaceable transfer between the Maharaja and the late viceroy, but Mubāriz-ul-Mulk determined to try the chances of war, and prepared for resistance. At this time Mir Ismail, deputy of Gulkūn Muhī-ud-dīn Khān, arrived and took charge of the government of Junāgadh from Šer Khān Bābī, Maharājā Abheysingh, after making various appointments, set out with his brother Vakhatsingh and 20,000 men to take over the government of Gujarāt. When he reached Pālānpur and saw that Mubāriz-ul-Mulk was determined on resistance, he sent an order to Sādār Muhammad Ghērānī appointing him his minister and directing him to take possession of the city of Āhmedābād and drive out the late viceroy. As Sādār Muhammad was not strong enough to carry out these orders he awaited the Maharājā’s arrival. When the Maharājā reached Sīhpur he was joined by Sādār Khān Bābī and Jawān Mard Khān Bābī from Rādhaunpur. They then advanced together to Ādālāj, distant only about eight miles from the capital, their army increasing daily. Mubāriz-ul-Mulk was already encamped between Ādālāj and the city, and on the approach of the Maharājā a battle was fought in which the Maharājā was defeated. Abheysingh changed his position, and another and bloodier engagement took place, in which both sides tried to kill the opposing commander. But as both Mubāriz-ul-Mulk and the Maharājā fought disguised as common soldiers, neither party succeeded. At first the Maharājā who had the advantage in position repulsed the enemy, but Mubāriz-ul-Mulk fought so desperately in the river-bed that the Rāthods gave way. They rallied and made one more desperate charge, but were met, repulsed, and finally pursued as far as Sarkhej. The Maharājā, who had not expected so determined an opposition, now sent Momin Khān and Amarsingh to negotiate with Mubāriz-ul-Mulk, who was still determined to resist to the uttermost. It was finally agreed that Mubāriz-ul-Mulk should receive a sum of £10,000 (Rs. 1,00,000) and should surrender Āhmedābād to the Maharājā. Mubāriz-ul-Mulk accordingly quitted the city and left for Āgra by way of Udepar.

The Maharājā entering Āhmedābād, appointed Ratan Singh Bhandārī his deputy, and placed Fīdā-ud-dīn Khān, cousin of Momin Khān, in charge of the city police. Shortly afterwards Kārimdād Khān Jhālōn, governor of Pālānpur, who had accompanied the Maharājā into Gujarāt, died. After the death of Šahbāz Muhammad Khān Bābī, his son, Šer Khān Bābī, was dismissed from the government of Junāgadh. He retired to his estate of Gogha, and when the Maharājā arrived in Āhmedābād he paid his respects, presenting the viceroy with an elephant and some horses. The Maharājā confirmed the lands assigned to his father, and reported his action to the emperor. Momin Khān was made ruler of Cambay, and Fīdā-ud-dīn Khān, his cousin, was made governor of the lands near that city, the revenue of which had been assigned to the Maharājā. So great was the fear of the Marāthas, that Mūstafīd Khān, the governor elect of Surat, instead of proceeding direct by land, went to Cambay. From Cambay he moved to Broach, and from Broach entered into negotiations with Pīlājī Gāīkwār, promising, if allowed to retain
Chapter III.
Mughal Viceroy.
Muhammad Shah, Emperor, 1721-1748. 
Maharaja Anhért Singh, Fity-thir Viceroy, 1733-1736.

The Peshwa and Viceroy against Pillaji Gaikwâr, 1733.

The Peshwa Withdraws.
Defeats his Opponents.

Abdallah Beg appointed the Nizam's Deputy at Broach.

possession of Surat, to pay Pillaji the one-fourth share of its revenues. Pillaji agreed, but Sohrâb Khán, who was still in possession of Surat, refused to hand it over to Mustafîd Khán. In this year also Vakhatsingh, brother of the Maharaja Abheysingh, was appointed governor of Pûtan, and sent a deputy to act for him. About the same time Mir Fakhr-ud-dîn, a follower of the late viceroy Mubâriz-ul-Mulk, leaving him secretly, came to Ahmedâbâd, and in an interview with the Maharaja obtained for himself the post of deputy governor of Jûmâgâdh. When he proceeded to take up his appointment he was opposed by Mir Ismâîl, and was killed in a battle fought near Amreli in central Kâthiâvâda. Muhammad Pahâr, son of Karimâd Khán Jhâlori, was appointed governor of Pâlanpûr in succession to his father, and Jâwân Mard Khân was sent to Vadmâgar.

In the following year, a.d. 1731, Bâjîrâv Peshwa, entering Gujarât at the head of an army, advanced against Baroda, then in the possession of Pillaji Gaikwâr. Afterwards, at the invitation of the Maharaja, he visited Ahmedâbâd and had a meeting with the viceroy in the Shâhí Bâgh. At this meeting it was agreed that Bâjîrâv should assist Azmâtullâh, the governor of Baroda, in taking possession of that town and in expelling Pillaji Gaikwâr. By this arrangement the viceroy hoped by playing off the Peshwa against Pillaji, to succeed in getting rid of the latter, while the Peshwa intended that if Pillaji was forced to give up Baroda he himself should gain possession of that city. Accordingly the Peshwa, together with an army from the viceroy, marched on Baroda. They had scarcely laid siege to the city when the Peshwa heard that Nizâm-ul-Mulk was advancing on Gujarât against him. Abandoning all operations against Baroda, the Peshwa withdrew, with all speed, to the Dakhan. On his way he encountered the army of Trimbakrâv Senâpâti, who, together with Pillaji Kântâjî and Udâjî Pavâr, had united to resist the pretensions of the Peshwa in Gujarât, and were also secretly league with the Nizâm. An engagement was fought in which the Peshwa was victorious and Trimbakrâv was slain. The Peshwa at once pressed on to the Dakhan, contriving to avoid the Nizâm, though his baggage was plundered by that chief, who had camped at Ghâla Kâmarj, on the river Tâpti, about ten miles above Surat.

During these changes the city of Breach, which on account of the strength of its fort the Marâthâs had failed to take, was governed by Abdallah Beg, an officer originally appointed to that command by Mubâriz-ul-Mulk. Dissatisfied that the government of Gujarât should be in the hands of Abheysingh, Abdallah Beg, in a.d. 1731, entered into negotiations with the Nizâm, offering to hold Broach as the Nizâm's deputy. Nizâm-ul-Mulk agreed, appointed Abdallah his deputy, and ennobled him with the title of Nek Alâm Khán. About the same time Vakhatsingh, brother of the viceroy, withdrew to his chiefship of Nâgör in Jodhpur, and Azmat-ullâh went to Agra. After his safe arrival in the Dakhan Bâjîrâv Peshwa entered into an agreement.

1 See note on page 306.
with the Nizám under the terms of which the grants of Dholka, Broach, Jambusar, and Makhlábd were continued to the Nizám. Momin Khán received the farm of Petlád, and Kántájí was confirmed in the share he had acquired of the revenues of Gujurát. In A.D. 1732 the paymaster, Amámatdár Khán, died, and was succeeded by Ghulám Hasan Khán, who sent Mujahid-ud-din Khán to act as his deputy. Through the influence of Mulla Muhammad Ali, Sohrab Ali was now confirmed as governor of Surat, and Mustafíd Khán was obliged to return to Ahmedábád.

Pilái Gáikwâr as the agent of the deceased Khanderáv Dábhiádá Senápatí, as the owner of the fort of Songaú, and as the ally of the Bâils and Koís, was naturally a thorn in the side of the viceroy Abheysingh. The recent acquisition of the town of Baroda, and of the strong fortress of Dábhoi had made Pilái still more formidable. Under these circumstances, Abheysingh, who had long wished to recover Baroda and Dábhoi determined to assassinate Pilái, and this was effected by a Márvádí at the holy village of Dákor. The Maráthás slew the assassin and withdrew across the Mahi, burning the body of Pilái at the village of Sánoli or Sawnil, fourteen miles north of Baroda. They then evacuated the district of Baroda, retiring to the fortress of Dábhoi. On hearing of the death of Pilái the viceroy immediately advanced against the Maráthás, and, after taking possession of Bareá, laid siege to Dábhoi. He failed to capture this fortress, and as the rainy season had set in and provisions were scarce, he was obliged to retire. He then went to Baroda, and after placing Shér Khán Bábí in charge of the city, returned to Ahmedábád. In this year, A.D. 1732, Gujurát was wasted by famine.

Meanwhile at Surat Mulla Muhammad Ali of Athva was again the cause of disturbance. Resisting with force the demand of a sum of £10,000 (Rs. 1 lakhs) by Sohráb Khán, the governor of Surat, he succeeded in driving Sohráb Khán out of the city, and the government of Surat was then usurped by Teghbeg Khán, a brother of Beglar-Bég Khán. The success of the Mulla against Sohráb Khán made him so forgetful of his position that he arrogated to himself all the emblems of the governor’s office and wrote to the emperor asking a patent of the governorship of Surat in the name of his son Mulla Fákhur-ud-din. The messengers bearing these communications were intercepted at Broach by the partisans of Teghbeg, who determined to remove this powerful cause of anxiety. Teghbeg Khán, inviting Muhammad Ali to an entertainment, placed him in confinement, and after keeping him in prison for two years, in A.D. 1734 put him to death. Teghbeg also took possession of the fort of Athva, and plundered it. Sohráb Khán, seeing that he could not recover Surat, went with Sayyd Wali to Gogha, where his relatives lived, and from that, proceeding to Bhavnagar settled there. When the emperor heard what had happened, he appointed Momin Khán to Surat and Teghbeg Khán to Cambay. Momin Khán sent Sayyd Núrulláh to act for him, but he was defeated by Teghbeg Khán, who afterwards contrived, in A.D. 1733, to be formally appointed governor of Surat with the title of Básídár.
When Umábájí, widow of Khandéráv Senápáti, heard of the assassination of Piłájí Gáikwád, she determined to avenge his death. Collecting an army and taking with her Kántájí Kudám and Dámai Gáikwád, son of Piłájí, she marched upon Ahmedábád. As the Maráthás failed to do more than stay a Rájput leader named Jívárají they came to terms. In the end it was agreed that in addition to the one-fourth and the one-tenth shares of the revenue a sum of £8000 (Rs. 80,000) should be paid from the Ahmedábád treasury, Jawaún Mard Kháñ being kept as a hostage till the payments were made. For his services on this occasion Jawaún Mard Kháñ was made governor of Virámágám. During this year an imperial order appointed Khusálahár Sheth, son of Sántídás, Nagar Sheth or chief merchant of Ahmedábád. The Maráthás plundered Rasulábád a mile south of Ahmedábád and its excellent library was pillaged. Umábájí now marched upon Baroda, and the governor, Sher Kháñ Bábí, prepared to oppose the Maráthás. But Umábájí, sending a message to Sher Kháñ, explained that she had just concluded a peace with the Mahárájá, and was suffered to pass unmolested. The emperor, satisfied with the arrangements made by the Mahárájá, presented him with a dress of honour. In this year the Mahárájá went to court by way of Jodhpur, and appointed Rátsán Singh Bándári as his deputy, and the author of the Mirá j-i-Ahmedi as news recorder. In the same year, A.D. 1738, Ghulám Muha-y-ad-dín Kháñ, governor of Jumágálí, died, and his son Mir Hazáhir Kháñ was selected to fill his place.

Meanwhile as the Maráthás had not received their rights, Jádojí Dábhádi, son of Umábájí, returned to Gujarát. Peace was concluded on the former basis, and Jádojí marched into Soraí to exact tribute. In this year the Koli of the Chúnval and Kânkrej committed many excesses, and a Rájput noble was robbed in the Patan district. In the meantime Sóhráb Kháñ, the former governor of Surat, who had been kindly received by Bhávsinghji the chief of Sihor, began to raise a following and was appointed collector of arrears in Soraí. He chose Sayad Nírrúlláh as his deputy, and sent him to recover the revenue for the current year.

On the death of Salábát Kháñ Bábí, though the Mahárájá had endeavoured to get Sher Kháñ Bábí appointed in place of his father, Gogha had been granted to Búrhán-úl-Mulk, who chose Sóhráb Kháñ as his deputy. At this time Sher Kháñ Bábí was at Baroda, and his younger brother, though he resisted, was compelled to leave Gogha. The deputy governor of Soraí complained to the governor of the oppressive conduct of Sóhráb Kháñ. But Búrhán-úl-Mulk supported Sóhráb and having obtained for himself the government of Soraí, sent Sóhráb Kháñ as his deputy to Jumágálí. In A.D. 1734, Rátsán Singh Bándári, the deputy viceroy, who held in hatred Bhávsingh, son of Udájkuran, the hereditary officer of Virámágám, persuaded Jawaún Mard Kháñ to imprison him and send him to Ahmedábád. Jawaún Mard Kháñ went so far as to arrest Bhávsingh, but was forced by his supporters to release him.

In this year Sher Kháñ Bábí, governor of Baroda, went to visit his lands at Báléjínor, leaving Muhammad Sarhájí in command at Baroda,
Máhadáji Gáikwád, brother of Píláji, who then held Jambúsar, sending to Sengad to Dámáji for aid, marched on Baroda with a strong force. The garrison made a brave defence, and Sher Khán hearing of the attack at Bálásínor, called for aid from Ratansingh Bhandári, the deputy viceroy, who directed Momín Khán, the governor of Cambay, to join Sher Khán and drive back the Maráthás. Sher Khán started at once for Baroda. But Máhadáji leaving a sufficient force before the town pushed on with the bulk of his army to meet Sher Khán; and, though he and his men fought bravely, defeated him, and then returned to Baroda, Sher Khán retiring to Bálásínor. Momín Khán, who arrived after Sher Khán’s defeat, did not deem it prudent to engage the Maráthás, and retired to Cambay. In the meantime the garrison of Baroda, hopeless of succour, surrendered the town, and since that day Baroda has continued to be the head-quarters of the Gáikwár family.

Since Jawán Mard Khán’s capture of Bhásvingh of Vírangám he had become much disliked. For this reason Ratansingh Bhandári, the deputy viceroy, transferred him to Kádi and Bijáipur, and in his place appointed Sher Khán Bábí, whose father Muhammad Salábát Khán Bábí had been a popular governor of Vírangám. At this time Dhanrúp Bhandári, governor of Petlád, died, and the farm of the districts of Núhád, Añhar-Mátrar, Petlád, and Mahúdha was given to Momín Khán. Mulla Muhammad Afl was managed to write letters from his confinement at Surat to the Nizám; and as that chief was now not far from Surat, he wrote urgently to Teghbeg Khán to release him. Teghbeg Khán put the Mulla to death, and bribing the Nizám’s messenger, gave out that he had died of joy at his release. Kirushálehand, the chief of the merchants of Ahmedábád, having had a difference with Ratansingh, was forced to leave the city, and sought shelter at Cambay and afterwards at Júnagádh. Jawán Mard Khán, who was of an ambitious temperament, now conceived the design of conquering Ídar from Anand singh and Ráisingh, brothers of the Mahárája Abhay Singh. He accordingly marched upon Ídar, taking with him as allies Aghráji Koli of Katrasan and Koli Amra of Elol Kannán. In this strait Anand singh and Ráisingh sought the aid of Mahárájá Holkár and Ránjóji Sindhi, who were at this time in Málwa. The Maráthás chiefs at once marched to the help of Ídar, and Jawán Mard Khán, disbelieving the report of Maráthás aid, continued to advance until he found himself opposed by an overwhelming force. Negotiations were entered into, and Jawán Mard Khán agreed to pay a sum of £17,500 (Rs. 1,75,000). Of the total amount £2500 (Rs. 25,000) were paid at once, and Zoríwar Khán, brother of Jawán Mard Khán, and Ajahsingh, agent of Aghráji Koli, were kept as hostages until the balance should be paid. In this year Teghbeg Khán of Surat caused a wealthy merchant named Ahmed Chaláblí to be assassinated, and confiscated his property. He also caused a fanatic named Sayid Aflí to be put to death by certain Afgáns, as he considered that he might excite sedition.

In the following year (A.D. 1735) Dholka was assigned to Ratansingh Bhandári, and through the influence of Búrán-ul-Mulk, Sáhráb
Khán was appointed governor of Viramgám. Ratansingh resented this, and eventually Viramgám was conferred on the Mahārájá Abheysingh. When this order reached Sohráb Khán, he forwarded it to Burhán-ul-Mulk, and in consequence of Burhán-ul-Mulk's remonstrances, the arrangements were changed and Sohráb Khán appointed governor. Upon this Sohráb Khán, leaving Sádak Ali as his deputy in Junágāh, marched for Viramgám; while Ratansingh Bhandári, hearing of Sohráb Khán's approach, summoned Momin Khán and others to his assistance, and with his own army proceeded to Dholka and plundered Koth. From Koth he advanced and pitched at Haraláh, about ten miles from Sohráb Khán's camp, and here he was joined by Momin Khán and others whom he had summoned to support him. After the union of these forces he marched to Dholi, six miles from Dhandhuka, at which place Sohráb Khán was then encamped. Ratansingh Bhandári now proposed that peace should be concluded, and that Sohráb Khán should enjoy Viramgám until final orders were passed by the emperor. Safdar Khán Bábí and others went to Sohráb Khán and endeavoured to bring him to consent to these terms; but he would not listen, and on both sides preparations were made for battle. During the following night Ratansingh Bhandári planned an attack on Sohráb Khán's camp. The surprise was complete. Sohráb Khán's troops fled, and himself, mortally wounded, shortly afterwards died. By the death of Sohráb Khán the family of Kázím Beg Khán became extinct. He was buried at Síhor in Káthiávárdá.

After this success a single horseman attacked and wounded Ratansingh Bhandári in two places. The horseman was at once slain, but no one was able to recognize him. Ratansingh, who in two months had recovered from his injuries, now determined to attack Momin Khán, as that officer in the recent struggle had taken part with Sohráb Khán. Momin Khán hearing of Ratansingh's intentions, withdrew to Cambay. In the course of this year, on the expiry of the period of the farm of Mahudía, Arbar-Mótár, and Naídú, these districts were transferred from Momin Khán to Safdar Khán Bábí. Káláinchand, a man of low origin, was appointed to Viramgám in place of Sher Khán Bábí, and instead of Sohráb Khán, Muhúsín Khán Khálvi was made deputy governor of Sorath.

About this time Dámájí Gáikwár, who had been chosen by Umadevi as her representative in Gujarát, appointed Rangoji to act as his agent. Kántájí being dissatisfied with this arrangement, in which his rights were ignored, marched into Gujarát. Rangoji met him, and a battle was fought at Anand-Mogri, twenty-five miles south-east of Káira, in which Kántájí was defeated and his son killed. In consequence of this reverse Kántájí retired to Petlád. Momin Khán, who with his army was drawn up near Petlád to oppose Rangoji, was compelled to retire to Cambay, where peace was concluded on condition that Dámájí should receive the one-fourth share of the revenues of the country north of the Mahí. As the districts where these battles were fought were held in farm by Safdar Khán Bábí, he suffered much loss, and consequently retired to Radhanpur. Rangoji was joined by Dámájí Gáikwár, and these two leaders went together to Dholka. While they
were there, Bhāvīsingh of Virangām invited them to that town, both on account of the annoyance he suffered from the Mārvādis and that he might take vengeance on the Kāshātīs for the murder of his father Udaikaran. He accordingly treacherously admitted the Marāthās and slew Daulāt Muhammad Tāṅk, brother of the murderer of his father, and expelled the rest of the Kāshātīs, while Kaliān, the Mārvādi administrator, was permitted to go to Ahmedābād. Leaving Rangoji at Virangām, Dāmājī marched into Sorath to levy tribute from the chiefs, and after collecting a portion of his dues, returned to the Dakhan. In the following year (A.D. 1736) Rangoji advanced as far as Bāvla near Dholka wasting the country. Ratansingh Bhandāri, the deputy viceroy, marched against him, and forced him to retire to Virangām. Ratansingh pursued the Marāthās to Virangām, attacked and defeated them capturing their baggage, but failed to prevent them taking shelter in the town. About this time some Marātha horse who were at Sarnāl, otherwise called Thāsara, joined the Kolis of those parts, advanced with them against Kapadyanj and without any serious resistance succeeded in capturing the town. Meanwhile though Ratansingh had summoned Momin Khān to his aid, he delayed coming, as he began to scheme independence at Cambay.

Ratansingh Bhandāri heard that Pratāprāy, brother of Dāmājī, and Devājī Tāṅkpar were advancing on Ahmedābād with 10,000 horse. At first he thought this a device to draw him from Virangām, to whose walls his mines had reached. On ascertaining from trusty spies that the report was true, he raised the siege of Virangām, returned rapidly to Ahmedābād, and pushing forward to meet Pratāprāy, exacted tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Vātrak. As Pratāprāy drew near, the governor of the Bhil district retired before him, and he continuing his advance, passed through Valad and Pethāpār, and so by way of Chhālā reached Dholka. Here, through Muhammad Ismā'īl, the governor of Dholka, he demanded from the Bhandāri his share of the revenue. Afterwards, leaving 2000 horse in Dholka, he went to Dhandhūka. In the meantime Kāntājī, who was a follower of Bājnirī Feshwa, joining with Malhārāv Holkar, advanced upon Idar, and coming against Dānta, plundered that town. Some Nāgār Brāhmans of the town of Vadnagar, who were settled in Dānta, tried to escape to the hills, but were intercepted and pillaged. The Marāthās then proceeded to Vadnagar and plundered the town. From Vadnagar they went as far as Pālanpur, where Pahār Khān Jhālōrī, being unable to oppose them, agreed to pay a tribute of £10,000 (Rs. 1 līkha). Kāntājī and Malhārāv Holkar then marched into Mārwār, while Pratāprāy and Rangoji crossed over from Dhandhūka into Kāthīṇāvada and Gohilvāda. About this time Muhammad Pahār Khān Jhālōrī was appointed deputy governor of Pātan on behalf of Vakhatsingh. As no settlement of his demands on the revenues of Dholka had yet been made, Pratāprāy returned to that town and sent Narhar Pandit to receive the tribute due to him. Afterwards proceeding to Baroda with Rangoji they were summoned to Sorath by Dāmājī to assist him. Sher Khān Bābī, who up to his time had been at Kaira, now came to Ahmedābād, and as the deputy viceroy
was displeased with Momin Khán’s conduct when Virungán was besieged, he appointed Sher Khán his own deputy at Patład, Arhar-Mátar, and Náhiád. Afterwards on Momin Khán’s remonstrance Subháchánd Márvádí was appointed to examine the accounts and receive the revenue in place of Sher Khán. In A.D. 1737 Dámaji’s brother Pratápápráv, returning to his country after exacting tribute from the chiefs of Sonth, died of small-pox at Kátkár near Dholka. Momin Khán seeing that Sher Khán had not yet left Káira, collected some men and came to Patład, while Sher Khán went to Deháam and awaited the departure of Rangojí. Ratansingh Bhandári made preparations to help Sher Khán and Momin Khán returned to Cambay.

At this time as the Mahárájá Abhésingh was not in favour at court, Momin Khán was appointed fifty-fourth viceroy. As he was unable to effect anything by himself he persuaded Jawán Mard Khán Bábí to join him by a promise of the government of Pátañ and directed him to proceed and take up that appointment. Now the Jhálóris were allies of the Ráthôdas, and Páhar Khán Jhálóri, then in command of Pátañ, opposed Jawán Mard Khán, but was finally obliged to vacate Pátañ. Momin Khán, who had not hitherto produced the order appointing him viceroy, now made it public and began to act as viceroy with the title of Najm-ud-dauláh Momin Khán Bahádur Fírúz Jáng, and in A.D. 1737 sent a copy of this order to Aaldu Husain Khán, the deputy minister, and to Mustañíd Khán, who held the office of Kári.

Sher Khán Bábí, wishing to remain neutral, retired to Balásinor and Momin Khán summoned Rangojí, who was in the neighbourhood of Cambay, to his assistance. Rangojí agreed to aid him in expelling the Márvádís, on condition that, if successful, he should be granted one-half of the produce of Gujarát except the city of Ahmedábád, the lands in the neighbourhood of the city, and the port of Cambay. This disastrous alliance with the Maráthás gave the last blow to Mughal power in Gujarát, which otherwise might have lingered for at least a quarter of a century. Momin Khán lived to repent his conduct.

When Ratansingh Bhandári heard of the appointment of Momin Khán to be viceroy he wrote to Mahárájá Abhésingh for orders. Meanwhile he sent Muhammadan officials to Cambay to persuade Momin Khán to take no further steps until a reply should be received to the reference Momin Khán had made to Agra. The reply of the Mahárájá was that Ratansingh should resist Momin Khán if he could. Ratansingh prepared to defend Ahmedábád while Momin Khán collecting an army, camped at the Náransar lake.

From the Náransar lake where Momin Khán remained encamped for one and a half months collecting his partisans he advanced to Sojítíra, where he was joined by Jawán Mard Khán Bábí; and proceeding together they came to Vasu under Patład, about twenty-six miles from Ahmedábád, and from Vasu to Káira, about eighteen miles from the capital. At Káira they encamped on the banks of the Vátrak, where, owing to the incessant rain, they were forced to remain for about a month. When the rain abated and the rivers were fordable, Momin Khán, moving to Ahmedábád, encamped in front of the city.
on the Kánkariya tank and prepared for a siege. About the same time Momin Khán's manager, Vajerám, whom he had sent to Songad to solicit Dámáji to march in person to his assistance, arrived and informed him that Dámáji would join him shortly. Zorawar Khán, who had been left at the Maráthá camp as security for the payment of the tribute, was recalled, and instead the district of Parántij was formally assigned to the Maráthás in payment of their demands. Some of the Mahárájá's guns, which were being sent to Ahmedábád by his agents at Surat through Cambay for facility of transit, were about this time captured by a party of Momin Khán's men. When Ratansingh Bhandári wrote to the Mahárájá of Momin Khán's advance on Ahmedábád, the Mahárájá was much displeased, and went from the emperor's presence in anger. The nobles fearing the consequences, recalled him, and persuaded the emperor to re-appoint him viceroy of Gujarát.

Momin Khán was secretly enjoined to disregard the Mahárájá's appointment and persevere in expelling the Ráthós, and was assured of the emperor's approbation of this line of conduct. He therefore continued to prosecute the siege with vigour. In the meantime another order was received from the imperial court, confirming the reappointment of the Mahárájá and appointing Fidá-ud-din Khán to guard the city with 500 men, directing also that Momin Khán should return to Cambay. It was further stated that, as Ratansingh Bhandári had acted oppressively, some other person should be appointed deputy to fill his place, and that in the meantime a Rajput noble, named Abhaikaran, was to carry on the government. Shortly before this Muhammad Bákir Khán, son of Mu'ámatid Khán, joined Momin Khán from Surat, while Sádik Ali Khán and his nephew reinforced him from Junágadh. When Momin Khán was informed of the purport of the imperial order he agreed to return to Cambay, provided Ratansingh Bhandári would quit the city, hand over charge to Abhaikaran, and admit Fidá-ud-din Khán and his men into the city.

Ratansingh Bhandári determined not to leave the city, and prepared to defend himself to the last. Dámáji Gáikwár now joined Momin Khán from Songad. Momin Khán met Dámáji at Í'sanpur, three miles from Ahmedábád, and made great show of friendship, calling him his brother. When Ratansingh Bhandári heard of the arrangements made between Dámáji and Momin Khán, he sent a message to Dámáji saying, 'Momin Khán has promised Rangoji half of the revenues of Gujarát excepting the city of Ahmedábád, the lands immediately round it, and Cambay. If you will join me, I will give you half of everything not excepting the city nor Cambay, and will send to your camp some of my chief landholders as security if you agree.' Dámáji showed this to Momin Khán, and asked him what he proposed to do. Momin Khán now perforce agreed to do the same; but instead of Cambay offered to make over to the Maráthás the whole district of Viramgóm. Dámáji, accepting these terms, ceased to negotiate with Ratansingh. He then went on pilgrimage to Dúdésar, and returning in the same year, A.D. 1738, he and Rangoji began active operations against Ahmedábád. Their bombardment did so much
damage to the city that Momín Khán repented having called them to his aid, and foresaw that if the Marathás once gained any portion of the city it would be no easy matter to drive them out. Momín Khán now sent the writer of the Miràt-i-Ahmedi to Ratansingh Bhandári, in hopes that he might withdraw peaceably, but Ratansingh refused to listen to any terms. After some time the Múslímns under Kázmír Ali Khán and others, and the Marathás under Bábáuráv endeavoured to take the city by storm, but after a bloody contest were forced to retire. Next day Ratansingh, seeing that he could not long hold the city, entered into a negotiation with Momín Khán, and, on a receiving a sum of money for his expenses, and on being allowed to retire with the honours of war, left the city.

Momín Khán entered Ahmadábád. On the capture of the city, in accordance with Momín Khán’s engagement, half of it was handed to the Marathás. Momín Khán sent news of what had taken place to the emperor, and appointed Fidá-ud-dín Khán his deputy. Dámájí, who in the meantime had been to Sorath, now returned and was met by Rangóji, who accompanied him as far as the banks of the Mühi, whence Rangóji proceeded to Dholka. After spending a few days at Dholka, Rangóji returned to Ahmadábád and took charge of his share of the city, which comprised the Ráikhar, Khánjáhán, and Jamálpur quarters as far as the Astoria and Haípur gates. The city was thus equally divided, and the Astoria and Haípur gates were guarded by the Marathás. At that time the inhabitants of Ahmadábád were chiefly Muhammadans, and the Marathás, accustomed to extortion, attempting to oppress them, they rose against the strangers, and after a severe affray expelled the greater part of them from the city. Momín Khán, though secretly pleased, affected ignorance and sent Fidá-ud-dín Khán to reassure Rangóji. This with some difficulty he succeeded in doing and Rangóji remained in the city. Jawán Márí Khán was sent to Páran, and, instead of Parántij, the district of Khorálu was granted to Zoráwar Khán Bábí.

With the cessation of Maráth oppression, Ahmadábád began to recover its splendour and opulence. The emperor was much pleased with Momín Khán, and, raising his rank, presented him with a dress of honour, a sword, and other articles of value. At the close of the rainy season Momín Khán went to levy tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Sábarmati, and Rangóji was asked to accompany him. They marched to Adálaí, whence Fidá-ud-dín Khán, the deputy vicerey, returned to the city accompanied by Rámaújí as deputy of Rangóji. Jawán Márí Khán and Sher Khán Bábí now joined the vicerey’s camp, and, about the same time Hathisingh, chief of Pethápur, paid a visit to the vicerey and settled his tribute. From Adálaí they advanced to Máná, and were met by the Máná chief. From Máná they proceeded to Kádi, and from Kádi to Bújápur. After Momín Khán left the people of Ahmadábád were badly treated, and Rangóji, leaving his brother Akói in camp, returned to the capital, whence he marched towards Víraángám and Sorath. Momín Khán went from Bújápur to Idár, and there levied tribute from the chiefs of Mohanpur and Ránásán.
When Momin Khan arrived at Idar, Anandaisingh and Raisingh, brothers of Maharaja Ahheysingh, went to him and paid the tribute of Mohanpur and Hanasan as being within the limits of the Idar territory. The matter was amicably settled, and the two brothers accompanied the viceroy as far as the Idar frontier, when Anandasingh returned to Idar, and Raisingh, at Momin Khan’s request, remained with him. Momin Khan undertaking to pay the expenses of his men. Prathiraj, the chief of Manosa, agreed to pay £2300 (Rs. 23,000) and the chief of Varsoda £10.00 (Rs. 10,000) as tribute. At this time Sher Muhammad Khan Babi was appointed to succeed Mir Dost Ali as deputy governor of Sorath. The Marathas, who had attempted to deprive some of the Rasulabad and Batwa Sayads of their land, were attacked by the Muhammadan population, and a few men were wounded on either side. Momin Khan, receiving tribute from various chiefs, had now reached Palanpur, and Pahar Khan Jhalori, the governor of that place, was introduced to the viceroy by Sher Khan Babi. As news was now received that Devaji Tukpar was advancing through the Baroda districts, Momin Khan marched towards Ahmedabad, dismissing Pahar Khan Jhalori on the Palanpur frontier. Jawan Mard Khan Babi, appointing his brother Safdar Khan Babi as his deputy at Patan, pushed forward in advance for Ahmedabad. Mamur Khan, who had been chosen by Mir Huzabe Ali as his deputy in Sorath, now arrived and complained to Momin Khan regarding Sher Khan Babi’s appointment. Momin Khan said that, as neither had assumed charge of their duties, they should await final orders from the emperor. He then advanced to Hajipur, and thence encamped on the side of the city near Bahrampur and occupied himself in strengthening the city defences. From that camp he proceeded to Isanpur four miles south of Ahmedabad on his way to levy tribute from the Koli chiefs of the banks of the Vatrak. After this he proceeded to Kulej on the Vatrak and levied tribute from the Koli chiefs of that neighbourhood. Hearing that Damaji had left Songad, and crossing the Mahi had gone to Aras, Momin Khan struck his camp and returned to the city, while Damaji going to Dholka marched from that to Sorath. Momin Khan now permitted Sher Khan to return to his lands in Gogha, whence he proceeded to Junagadh and took charge of the office of deputy governor.

In A.D. 1738, Mir Huzabe Khan, the governor of Sorath, died, and as Sher Khan had occupied Junagadh, and taken into his employ all the troops of Mir Dost Ali, Mamur Khan was obliged to resign his pretensions and return. The emperor now appointed Himmat Ali Khan, nephew of Momin Khan, governor of Sorath, and he wrote to his uncle to choose a fitting deputy. Momin Khan, as the Maratha incursions into Sorath increased yearly, and as Sher Khan Babi was a man able to hold his own with them, suffered him to remain as deputy. When Damaji returned to Virangjam, after levying tribute from the chiefs of Sorath, he was obliged to march against Kanji Koli, the chief of Uhanur in the Chinval. As he could not prevail against them he was forced to call on Momin Khan for aid. Momin Khan sent Fidau-din Khan at the head of a well-equipped army. On their approach the
Chapter III.

Mughal Viceroys.

Muhammad Buna Emperor, 1721-1748.

Mauri Khan Fifty-sixth Viceroy, 1738-1743.

The Deputy Viceroy collects Tribute, 1739.

Kolis fled, and the village was burned, and Fidá-ud-din Khán returned to the capital. Dámájí, leaving Rangoji as his deputy, returned to Songad. In this year, a.d. 1738, Hindustán was invaded by the great Persian Nádir Sháh, Dehlí sacked, and the emperor made prisoner. Except that coin was struck in Nádir's name, the collapse of Mughal power caused little change in Gujrat.

In a.d. 1739 Fidá-ud-din Khán was sent to levy tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Sábarmattí, and, accompanied by Jawán Mard Khán Bábí and Rája Raisingh of Ídar, marched to Chhárárah. As the village of Pánmul under Biþápur had been assigned to the author of the Mírát-i-Ahmédi, he accompanied Fidá-ud-din Khán, who marched to Ahmednagar and demanded tribute from Jitsingh of Mohanpur and Ranásan. Jitsingh resisted and a doubtful battle was fought. Next day Fidá-ud-din Khán changed his position and again attacked Jitsingh, who being defeated agreed to pay 10,000 (Rs. 10,000). They then went to Ídar, where they were hospitably received by Rája Raisingh, who presented the leaders with horses. From Ídar they proceeded to Vadnagar, which was under Jawán Mard Khán, who also received them courteously and presented horses. The army then marched to Vaisalnagar. On the arrival of the troops at Vaisalnagar, Jawán Mard Khán requested Fidá-ud-din Khán to subdue Jámájí the Kolí chief of Thara-Jámpur in the Kánkrek, who was then at Bálísama under Páta and who was continually plundering the country. Fidá-ud-din Khán marched to Bálísama, but Jámájí fled to Thara-Jámpur without risking a battle and the Muhummadans plundered Thara-Jámpur. From Bálísama Fidá-ud-din Khán marched to Kadi, and allowing Jawán Mard Khán to return to Páta proceeded to Ahmedabád.

At Ahmedabád disputes between Rangoji and Momín Khán regarding the government of the city were frequent. In one serious disturbance Momín Khán was worsted and forced to sue for peace and grant Rangoji his half share both in the government and revenue, which, since the affluent in a.d. 1738, Momín Khán had withheld. A formal agreement was drawn up but did not long remain in force. About this time Momín Khán's nephew Muhammad Momín Khán Bakhsí received a patent granting him the title of Nazar Ali Khán. The year a.d. 1739 was marked by a disastrous flood in the Sábarmattí. In this year also the Maráthás under Chúmhájí Ápa achieved the memorable success of taking the fort of Bassein from the Portuguese.

In a.d. 1740 on his return from Sorath, Dámájí Gúákwr took Rangoji to the Dákhan and appointed Málháráray Khúni his deputy at Ahmedabád. Fidá-ud-din Khán met the new deputy at Isanpur and escorted him to the city. Shortly after Fidá-ud-din Khán and Nazar Ali Khán started to collect tribute, and Jawán Mard Khán sent his brother Zájwar Khán Bábí to accompany them. They advanced against Dábhorá under Bahyal eighteen miles east of Ahmedabád in the Bhíl district and fought with the chief, who agreed to pay tribute. Thence they went to Atassumla, where the Kolís after a vain attempt to carry off their cannon agreed to pay tribute. The force then proceeded to Mándva and levied a contribution from the Mándva chief. They next went to Kapadvanj, and passing
through Bálásínor reached Virpur under Lunáváda. Here, from Sultańsingh, agent of the Lunáváda chief, they received two horses and £300 (Rs. 3000) as tribute. While at Lunáváda an order of recall came from Momin Khán, who intimated that Malhárráv Khúní had laid up large stores of grain and contemplated war. Fídá-ud-dín Khán at once pushed forward through Bálásínor and Kápadvanj, advancing rapidly towards the capital. On the way he received a second despatch from Momin Khán saying that, as the risk of war had for the present passed, they should advance to Petlând, where they would find Malhárráv Khúní and settle with him about the revenue accounts. They continued their march, and in two days reached Kaira, being joined on the way by Muhammad Kúli Khán, who was charged with messages from Momin Khán. At Kaira they found Muhammad Husain, nephew of Fídá-ud-dín Khán who had been sent with a force to Mahudha. As Malhárráv Khúní was at Pinj near Kaira, Fídá-ud-dín Khán expressed a wish to meet him, and it was agreed that both sides should go to the Petlând district and there settle the disputed collections. Shortly after they met and arrangements were in progress when the Kohis of the Búl district rebelled and Abdúl Husain Khán and Vajerám were sent against them. After burning two or three villages this detachment rejoined the main body, and not long after all returned to Ahmedábád. During a.d. 1740 Bájiráv Peshwa died.

In a.d. 1741 Momin Khán went to Cambay, and while residing at Ghiáspur near that city received information that Dámájí had again appointed Rangoji his deputy in place of Malhárráv Khúní, and shortly after Rangoji arrived at Petlánd. At this time Momin Khán turned his attention to the falling off in the customs revenue of Cambay and appointed Ismáil Muhammad collector of customs. As he was anxious to clear some misunderstanding between Rangoji and himself, Momin Khán set out to visit Rangoji and assure him of his good wishes. At this time Bhávsingh of Viramgám, who found the Maráthás even more troublesome than the Muhammadans, as soon as he heard of Malhárráv's recall, suddenly attacked the fort of Viramgám and with the aid of some Arabis and Rohillás expelled the Marátha garrison and prepared to hold the fort on his own account. Shortly after Rangoji demanded that a tower in Ahmedábád, which had been raised a story by Momin Khán so as to command the residence of the Marátha deputy at the Jamálpur gate, should be reduced to its original height. At the same time he suggested that Momin Khán and he, uniting their forces, should advance and expel Bhávsingh from Viramgám. Momin Khán agreed to both proposals. The addition to the tower was pulled down, and Momin Khán and Rangoji, marching against Viramgám, laid siege to the town. Bhávsingh made a gallant defence, and Momin Khán, who was not sorry to see the Maráthás in difficulties, after a time left them and marched to Kadi and Bújápur to levy tribute. Rangoji continued the siege, and as Bhávsingh saw that even without Momin Khán the Marátha army was sufficient to reduce the place, he agreed to surrender Viramgám, provided the fort of Pátí and its dependent villages were granted to him. He then went to the Rájá of Cambay to receive the tribute, and the Momin Khán went to Jálópur to receive it from the Kadi. The Viceroy at Cambay, 1741.
Chapter III.

Mughal Viceroy,

Muhammad Shah Emperor, 1721-1748.

Momin Khan Fifty-sixth Viceroy, 1738-1743.

Siege of Broach by the Marathas, 1741.

Battle of Dholka, Defeat of the Marathas, 1741.

Contests between the Muvahums and Marathas.

to him. Rangoji agreed, and thus the Marathas again obtained possession of Yirangam, while Bhavasheh acquired Patdi, a property which his descendants hold to this day.

When Momin Khan arrived at Mansa, about twenty-six miles north-west of Ahmedabad, hearing that Damaji had crossed the Mali with 10,000 men, he at once returned to the capital. Damaji arrived at Mansa and besieged it. The chiefs and Kolis defended the place bravely for about a month, when it fell into Damaji's hands, who not only cleared the prickly-pear stockade which surrounded it, but also burned the town. From Mansa Damaji marched to Surath. On his return he laid siege to Broach, a fort which, from its natural strength as well as from its favourable position on the Narbada, it had been the constant ambition both of Damaji and of his father, Pilaji, to capture. On the approach of Damaji, Nek Alam Khan, who held the place in the interests of the Nizam, prepared to defend the fort, and wrote to the Nizam for aid. In reply the Nizam warned Damaji not to attack his possessions. On receiving this letter Damaji raised the siege and returned to Sonagd. It seems probable that concessions were made to tempt Damaji to retire from Broach, and that the Guikwars' share in the Broach customs dates from this siege.

In A.D. 1741, in a battle between Kaim Kuli Khân, governor of Dholka, and Rangoji's deputy, the Marathas were defeated. Momin Khan, at the request of Rangoji, made peace between them, Fidá-ud-din Khan, who had recently been raised in rank with the title of Bahadur, starting to collect tribute burned down the refractory Koli village of Dubhora, and placing a post there, passed to Sátumba, Belásinor, and Thásara. After the battle at Dholka, the building by Rangoji of the fort of Borsad, caused renewed fighting between the Muhmadan and Marathas of Dholka. At the request of Muhmad Hâdi Khan, governor of Dholka, Fidá-ud-din Khân, passing through Mahudha to Pettâd pushed forward to help him. In the meantime a battle was fought, in which the Marathas under Mahârâj attacked Muhammad Hâdi Khan, and after a short contest withdrew. Next day the Muhmadans, strengthened by the arrival of Fidá-ud-din Khân, besieged Sojitra. A letter was written to Rangoji, asking the meaning of the attack, and he replied excusing himself and attributing it to the ignorance of Mahârâj. Muhammad Hâdi Khan and the author of the Mirât-i-Ahmedi eventually met Rangoji at Borsad, and settled that he and Fidá-ud-din Khân should come together and arrange matters. But Rangoji in his heart intended to fight and wrote to his deputy Râmâji at Ahmedabad to be ready for war. Mahârâj now joined Rangoji at Borsad. At this time many misunderstandings and several fights between the Marathas and the Muhmadans were appeased by Momin Khan and Rangoji, who, in spite of the ill-feeling among their subordinates and a certain distrust of each other's designs, appear throughout to have maintained a warm.

1 Patdi (north latitude 23° 10'; east longitude 71° 44'), at the south-east angle of the Ran of Cutch, fifty-two miles west of Ahmedabad.
MUSALMAN PERIOD.

mutual regard. Dámájí from his stronghold at Songad was too much occupied in Dakhan politics to give much attention to Gujarát. Rangoji, on the other hand, gained so much influence with the Gujarát chiefs, that at one time he succeeded in engaging Sajansingh Hazârî in his service, and also induced Râja Raisingh of Idar to join him. But Momín Khán detached Raisingh from this alliance, by placing him in charge of the post of Amâtâra and granting him the districts of Modâsa, Meghrej, Ahmednagar, Parantij, and Harsol. Moreover the customary Gujarát sum at first sent daily by Rangoji to Râja Raisingh for the expenses of his troops had begun to fall into arrears. Râja Raisingh made his peace with Momín Khán through the mediation of Nazar Ali Khan, Momín Khán's nephew, who appears to have been one of the leading spirits of the time.

In A.D. 1742 in another fight between the Marâthás and Muhammedans in Ahmednâzâd, the Muhammedans gained a slight advantage. After this Rangoji left the city, appointing as before Namâjí as his deputy, and joining Jagjiwan Pawâr went to Borsad, where he had built a fort. At this time one Jivandas came with authority from the Nizâm to act as collector of Dholka, part of the lands assigned to the Nizâm as a personal grant, but failed to enforce his position. Shortly after this Râja Anândsingh of Idar was killed, and his brother Raisingh, taking leave, went to Idar to settle matters. Momín Khán had his payent increased to the personal rank of commander of 6000 with a contingent of 6000 cavalry. He received a dress of honour, a jewelled turban, a plume, six pieces of cloth, an elephant, the order of Mâhl-mârâtîb, and the title of Najm-ud-daulah Momín Khán Bahâdur Dilâwâr Jang. Differencés again broke out between Momín Khán and Rangoji, and again matters were settled by a friendly meeting between the two chiefs at Borsad, where Rangoji had taken up his residence. Momín Khán now went to Petlâd, and from that to Cambay, where he was taken ill, but after six weeks came to Vasu, where Rangoji visited him. Here though again unwell he went to Dholka, and shortly afterwards he and Rangoji marched upon Lîmbdi, which at this time is mentioned as under Virangâm. While before Lîmbdi, Rangoji was summoned by Dámâjí to help him against Bâpu Nâîk, and at once started to his assistance. Momín Khán now marched into Gohilvâda, and proceeded by Loliâna to Gogha, then under the charge of a resident deputy of Sher Khán Bâbhî. Here he received tribute from the chief of Silhor, and from that, marching into Hâlâr, went against Navânagar. The Jâm resisted for twenty days, and eventually, on his agreeing to pay £5000 (Rs. 50,000) as tribute, Momín Khán returned to Ahmednâzâd. During his absence in spite of stubborn resistance Nazar Ali Khán and Vajerâm had collected tribute from the Koli chiefs. Rangoji, who had now left Dámâjí, joined battle with Bâpu Nâîk ere he crossed the Mahi, and Bâpu Nâîk turned back. Rangoji therefore remained at Borsad, but hearing that Momín Khán's illness had become serious, he went once or twice to Ahmednâzâd to visit him.

3 The Mâhl-mârâtîb was a banner having the likeness of a fish at its top.
In A.D. 1743 Momin Khán died. His wife, fearing lest Fidá-ud-dín Khán and Muftakhir Khán, Momin Khan's son, would deprive her of her estate, sought the protection of Rangoji. In the meantime Fidá-ud-dín Khán and Muftakhir Khán received an imperial order to carry on the government until a new viceroy should be appointed. At this time a man named Anandrám, who had been disgraced by Momin Khán, went over to Rangoji and invited him to murder Fidá-ud-dín Khán and Muftakhir Khán. Rangoji with this intention invited them both to his house, but his heart failed him, and shortly afterwards Fidá-ud-dín Khán went to Cambay. Rangoji now determined at all hazards to assassinate Muftakhir Khán. With this object he took Muftakhir Khán's associates, Vajérám and Kálím Kálí Khán, into his confidence. Muftakhir Khán accidentally heard of his designs, and remained on his guard. As Rangoji had failed to carry out his promise to raise Sher Khán Bábí to the post of deputy viceroy, Sher Khán advanced to Dholka and began plundering some Cambay villages. Rangoji, after another futile attempt to assassinate Muftakhir Khán, sent for his deputy Rámájí, who was then in the neighbourhood, and prepared to fight. Muftakhir Khán, on his part, summoned Fidá-ud-dín Khán from Cambay, and in a few days they succeeded in uniting their forces. Sher Khán Bábí deserting the cause of Rangoji, the Marathás were worsted and Rangoji's house was besieged. Rangoji, being hard pressed, agreed to give up Anandrám and to surrender both Borsad and Viramgám, Sher Khán Bábí becoming his security. In this way Fidá-ud-dín Khán became sole master of Gujarát.

Shortly after Rámájí Gaikwar returned from Sátára and came to Cambay. In the meantime Rangoji, who had been living with Sher Khán Bábí, his security, contrived, with the connivance of Sher Khán, to escape together with his family. Fidá-ud-dín Khán was so greatly enraged with Sher Khán for this treachery, that Sher Khán leaving Ahmedábád on pretence of hunting, escaped to Bálásíner, where his wife joined him. Fidá-ud-dín Khán put Anandrám to death, while Rangoji through the aid of Sher Khán Bábí's wife, made good his escape to Borsad. Fidá-ud-dín Khán had set out to collect tribute, when news arrived that Khandéráv Gaikwar, brother of Rámájí, had crossed the Malí and joining Rangoji had laid siege to Petlák. On hearing this, Fidá-ud-dín at once returned to Ahmedábád, and sent Valábhdás Kotwál to Khandéráv to complain of the misconduct of Rangoji.

After the death of Momin Khán, Jawán Mard Khán Bábí was the greatest noble in Gujarát. He began to aspire to power, and Fidá-ud-dín, who was not good in the field, had thoughts of appointing him as a deputy. While matters were in this state, and Jawán Mard Khán was already laying claim to the revenue of the district round Ahmedábád, an order was received appointing Abdúl Azíz Khán the commander of Jummar, near Poona, to be viceroy of Gujarát. This order was forged by Abdúl Azíz Khán in Jawán Mard Khán's interests, whom he appointed his deputy. Though Fidá-ud-dín Khán doubted the genuineness of the order, he was not powerful enough to remove Jawán Mard Khán, who accordingly proclaimed himself deputy viceroy. At this time the troops, clamorous on account of arrears,
placed both Fidá-ud-dín Khán and Muftahkír Khán under confinement. Jawán Mard Khán assumed charge of the city and stationed his own meron guard. While Fidá-ud-dín Khán and Muftahkír Khán were in confinement, Khañderáv Gáikwárd sent them a message that if they would cause the fort of Petlád to be surrendered to him, he would help them. To this they returned no answer. Fidá-ud-dín Khán now entreated Jawán Mard Khán to interfere between him and his troops. Jawán Mard Khán accordingly persuaded the mutineers to release Fidá-ud-dín Khán, who eventually escaped from the city and went to Agra.

Meanwhile Rangojí continued to press the siege of Petlád and the commander, Ághá Muhammad Husán, after in vain appealing for help to Jawán Mard Khán, was forced to surrender. Rangojí demolished the fort of Petlád and marched upon Ahmedábád. As he approached the city Jawán Mard Khán sent the writer of the Miráıt-i-Ahmedi and Ajábsingh to negotiate with Rangojí, who demanded all his former rights and possessions.

News had now reached Dehli that a false viceroy was governing Gujárat, and accordingly Muftahkír Khán was chosen fifty-seventh viceroy, the order explaining that Abdár Ázíz had never been appointed viceroy, and directing Jawán Mard Khán to withdraw from the conduct of affairs. Muftahkír Khán was perplexed how to act. He succeeded in persuading his troops that he would be able to pay them their arrears, and he sent a copy of the order to Jawán Mard Khán; and, as he dared not dispise him, he informed Jawán Mard Khán that he had appointed him as his deputy, and that he himself would shortly leave Ahmedábád. Jawán Mard Khán, so far from obeying, ordered Muftahkír Khán's house to be surrounded. Eventually Muftahkír Khán, leaving the city, joined Rangojí, and then retired to Cambay.

Khañderáv Gáikwárd returned, and, with the view of enforcing his claims, uniting with Rangojí, marched to Banjar, about five miles south of Ahmedábád. Jawán Mard Khán issuing from the city camped near the Kánkariya lake. Náhar Pandit and Krishnájí on behalf of the Maráthás leaders were sent to Jawán Mard Khán to demand their former rights and possessions. Jawán at first refused, but in the end gave way and the Maráthás appointed Dádu Morár deputy of the city. Shér Khán Bábá now returned to Bálásonor. Khañderáv and Krishnájí then went to Dholka, Rangojí to Petlád, and Khañderáv Gáikwárd to Sorath. Fidá-ud-dín Khán requested Rangojí to help Muftahkír Khán; he replied that he was willing to help him, but had no money. Rangojí then accompanied Fidá-ud-dín Khán to Cambay, where Muftahkír Khán was. Negotiations were entered into, and the Khán tried to collect £10,000 (Rs. 1 lókk) which Rangojí asked for to enable him to make military preparations to aid them. They raised £8000 (Rs. 80,000) with great difficulty and admitted Rangojí’s Náli to a share in the administration. Rangojí withdrew to Borsad with the £8000 (Rs. 80,000) under the pretext that when the remaining £2000 (Rs. 20,000) were paid he would take action. Fidá-ud-dín Khán, annoyed at Rangojí’s conduct, went to reside at Dhowan, a village belonging to Jálám Jálía Koli.
Chapter III.

Mughal Viceroyals.

Muhammad Shāh, Emperor.
1722–1748.

Mughal
Fifty-seventh
Viceroy.
1744–47.

Battle of Kānepur.
Defeat and
Death of
Sādhar Khān.
1744.

Jawān Mard Khān Bābī, Deputy Viceroy.

In A.D. 1744 Jawān Mard Khān, after appointing one of his brothers, Zorawar Khān, his deputy at Pātan, and keeping his other brother Sādhar Khān at Ahmedabad, advanced from the city to Kadi to collect tribute. His next step was to invite Abul Aziz Khān, the commander of Junnar, near Poona, to join him in Gujrat. Abul Aziz accordingly set out from Junnar, taking with him Fatehyāb Khān, commander of the fort of Mulher in Baglan and Rustamrāv Maratha. Directing his march in the first instance to Surat, he was there watched in the interests of Dāmājī Gāṅkārā, by Devājī Tēkpar, the lieutenant of that chief, who, seeing that on leaving Surat, Abul Aziz continued to advance to Ahmedabad, pursued him to Kīm Kathodra, about fifteen miles north-west of Surat, and there attacked him. In the engagement Devājī Tēkpar, who had gained over Rustamrāv Marathā, one of the leading men in Abul Aziz’s army, was victorious. Abul Aziz Khān retired, but was so closely followed by the Marathās, that at Pānoli he was forced to leave his elephant, and, mounting a horse, fled with all speed towards Broach. On reaching the Nārbada he failed to find any boats, and, as his pursuers were close upon him, he fell in the mud, his horse at the water, he tried to swim the river; but, sticking fast in the mud, he was overtaken and slain by the Marathās.

On hearing of the death of Abul Aziz, Jawān Mard Khān thought of joining Muftakīr Khān. Ero he could carry this plan into effect, the emperor receiving, it is said, a present of £20,000 (Rs. 2 lakhs) for the nomination, appointed Fakhr-ud-daulah Fakhr-ud-dīn Khān Shujāū Jāng Bahādūr fifty-eighth viceroy of Gujrat. The new viceroy forwarded a blank paper to a banker of his acquaintance named Siťāram, asking him to enter in it the name of a fitting deputy. Siťāram filled in the name of Jawān Mard Khān, and Fakhr-ud-daulah was proclaimed viceroy. About this time Sādhar Khān Bābī, after levying tribute from the Sabarmati chiefs, returned to Ahmedabad, and Khandareūv Gāṅkārā, as he passed from Surath to Songād, appointed Rangojī his deputy. On being appointed deputy, Rangojī sent Krishnājī instead of Morār Nāīk as his deputy to Ahmedabad, and himself proceeded to Arhar-Māṭar on the Vāatrak, and from that moved to Kāra to visit Jawān Mard Khān, with whom he established friendly relations. In the same year Ali Muhammad Khān, superintendent of customs, died, and in his place the author of the Mirāt-i-Āhmedī was appointed. In this year, too, Fahlār Khān Shāhārīr died, and his uncle, Muhammad Bahādūr, was appointed governor of Pālanpur in his stead.

About this time Umātās, widow of Khandareūv Dālkhār, summoned Khandareūv Gāṅkārā to help her in her attempt to lessen the power of the Peshwa. As Dāmājī Gāṅkārā could not be spared from the Dakhan, Khandareūv was appointed his deputy in Gujrat, and he chose one Rāmchandra to represent him at Ahmedabad. When Fakhr-ud-daulah advanced to join his appointment as viceroy he was received at Bālaśimīr with much respect by Sher Khān Bābī. Jawān Mard Khān Bābī, on the other hand, determining to resist Fakhr-ud-daulah to the utmost of his power, summoned Gangādhar with a body of Maratha horse from Petlād, and posting them at Jānapur, about ten miles south-west of the city, himself leaving the fortifications of Ahmedabad, encamped at
Astreea, about a mile and a half from the walls. During his progress towards the capital the new viceroy was joined by Raisinghji of Idar at Kapadvanj, and, advancing together, they arrived at Buljpur, eighteen miles east of Ahmedabad. On their approach Jawan Mard Khan sent Safdar Khan and Gangadar to oppose them, and the two armies met about six miles from the capital. After some fighting Fakhrud-daulah succeeded in forcing his way to the suburb of Rajpur, and next day, continuing to drive back the enemy occupied the suburb of Bahrampura and began the actual siege of the city. At this point affairs took a turn. Fakhrud-daulah was wounded and returned to his camp, while Jawan Mard Khan succeeded in winning over to his side Sher Khan Babi and Raisinghji of Idar, two of the viceroy’s chief supporters. The Mirat-‘al-Humadi especially notes that Raja Raisingh asked for money to pay his troops but Fakhrud-daulah, not knowing that this rule had long been a dead letter, said that as he held a district on service tenure, it was not proper for him to ask for a money aid when on imperial service. Next day Fakhrud-daulah was surrounded by Safdar Khan Babi and the Marathas, and himself one wife and some children were taken prisoners, while another of his wives and his son, who had managed to escape to Sidhpur, were captured and brought back to Ahmedabad.

After this Khanderav Gaikwad returned to Gujarat to receive his share of the spoil taken from Fakhruddaulah. Reaching Borsad, he took Rangoji with him as far as Ahmedabad, where he met Jawan Mard Khan, and obtained from Rangoji his share of the tribute. Khanderav was not satisfied with Rangoji’s accounts, and appointing a fresh deputy, he attached Rangoji’s property, and before leaving Ahmedabad for Sorath, put him in confinement at Borsad. He also confined Fakhruddaulah in the Ghunsur outpost on the bank of the river Mulji. Meanwhile in consequence of some misunderstanding between Jawan Mard Khan Babi and his brother Safdar Khan, the latter retired to Udaspur, and Jawan Mard Khan went to Visalnagar then in the hands of his brother Zorawar Khan. From Visalnagar, Jawan Mard Khan proceeded to Kādhānpur, and meeting his brother Safdar Khan, they became reconciled, and returned together to Ahmedabad. Khanderav Gaikwad, who had in the meantime returned from Sorath, encamping at Dhulka appointed Trimbakrav Pandit as his deputy at Ahmedabad in place of Moro Pandit. On hearing that Rangoji had been thrown into confinement, Umābāi sent for him, and he along with Khanderav Gaikwad repaired to the Dakhan.

Shortly afterwards Punaji Vithal, in concert with Trimbak Pandit, being dissatisfied with Jawan Mard Khan, began to intrigue with Fakhruddaulah. In the meantime Umābāi had appointed Rangoji as her deputy, and, as he was a staunch friend of Jawan Mard Khan, he expelled Trimbakrav from Ahmedabad, and himself collected the Maratha share of the city revenues. Upon this Punaji Vithal sent Mirdásar and Krishnájí with an army, and they, expelling the Muhammadan officers from the districts from which the Marathas levied the one-fourth share of the revenue, took the management of them into their own hands. Rangoji now asked Sher Khan Babi to help him. Sher
Khán agreed; but as he had not funds to pay his troops, he delayed, and afterwards plundered Mahudha and Naíd. As Rangoji failed to join him, Sher Khán proceeded by himself to Kapadvanj, and from Kapadvanj marched against the Marátha camp, with which Fakhr-ud-daulah was then associated. On the night after his arrival, the Maráthás made an attack on Sher Khán’s camp, in which many men on both sides were slain. Next morning the battle was renewed, but on Sher Khán suggesting certain terms the fighting ceased. That very night hearing that Rangoji had reached Bálásimor, Sher Khán stole off towards Kapadvanj. Punjái and Fakhr-ud-daulah followed in pursuit but failed to prevent Rangoji and Sher Khán from joining their forces.

In A.D. 1746 a battle was fought in the neighbourhood of the town of Kapadvanj in which Sher Khán was wounded. He was forced to take shelter with Rangoji in Kapadvanj, while Fakhr-ud-daulah, Gangádhur, and Krishnájí laid siege to that town. At this time the Láma-váda chief asked Malhárráv Holkar on his way back from his yearly raid into Máwa, to join him in attacking Virpur. Holkar agreed and Virpur was plundered. Rangoji, hearing of the arrival of Holkar, begged him to come to his aid, and on promise of receiving a sum of £30,000 (Rs. 2,00,000) and two elephants, Holkar consented. Gangádhur, Krishnájí, and Fakhr-ud-daulah, hearing of the approach of Holkar, raised the siege of Kapadvanj, and marching to Dhókla expelled the governor of that district. Shortly afterwards on a summons from Dámání and Khandéráv Gáikwár Rangoji retired to Baroda. Meanwhile Fakhr-ud-daulah, Krishnájí, and Gangádhur advanced to Jétalpur in the Dáskri sub-division of Ahmedábád and, taking possession of it, expelled Amlár Hábshi, the deputy of Jawaí Mard Khán. Dámání and Khandéráv Gáikwár passed from Baroda to Vasú, where they were met by Krishnájí and Gangádhur, whom Dámání censured for aiding Fakhr-ud-daulah. On this occasion Dámání bestowed the districts of Baroda Naíd and Borsad on his brother Khandéráv, an action which for ever removed any ill feeling on the part of Khandéráv. Then, proceeding to Gokléj, Dámání had an interview with Jawaí Mard Khán. From Gokléj he sent Káñjí Tákpar with Fakhr-ud-daulah to Sorath, and himself returned to Songád. As Borsad had been given to Khandéráv, Rangoji fixed on Umreth as his residence.

In this year, A.D. 1746, Tégábhég Khán, governor of Surát, died, and was succeeded by his brother Safdar Muhammad Khán, who, in acknowledgment of a present of seven horses, received from the emperor the title of Bahádur. At this time Talib Ali Khán died, and the writer of the Miráj-i-Ahmedí was appointed minister by the emperor. In A.D. 1747 Rangoji returned to Ahmedábád, and Jawaí Mard Khán had an interview with him a few miles from the city. Shortly after this the Kolís of Mehmúdábád and Mahudha rebelled, but the revolt was speedily crushed by Sháhábzád Rohilla.

During this year Najím Khán, governor of Cambay, died. Muftákhir Khán, son of Najím-ud-daulah Momin Khán I., who had also received the title of Momin Khán, informed the emperor of Najím
Khán’s death, and himself assumed the office of governor in which in A.D. 1748 he was confirmed. On hearing of the death of Najm Khán, on pretexto of condoling with the family of the late governor, Fidá-ud- din Khán marched to Cambay, but as he was not allowed to enter the town he retired. He afterwards went to Umrath and lived with Rangojí, Kánojí Tákpar, who had gone with Fakhír-ud-daúnáh into Sorath, now laid siege to and took the town of Vanthálí. As it was nearly time for the Maráthás to return to their country, Kánojí and Fakhír-ud-daúnáh, retiring to Dholka, expelled Muhammad Jánbáz, the deputy governor. Rangojí, who had at this time a dispute with Jwán Mard Khán regarding his share of tribute, now came and joined them, and their combined forces marched upon Sánand, where, after plundering the town, they encamped. It was now time for Kánojí to withdraw to the Dakkan. Rangojí and Fakhír-ud-daúnáh, remaining behind to collect tribute from the neighbouring districts, marched to Isánpur, where they were opposed by Jwán Mard Khán. On this occasion both Jwán Mard Khán and Fakhír-ud-daúnáh sought the alliance of Rája Káisingh of Ídar. But, as he offered more favourable terms, Rája Káisingh determined to join Fakhír-ud-daúnáh. Sher Khán Báá also joined Fakhír-ud-daúnáh, who, thus reinforced, laid siege to Ahmedábád. While these events were passing at Ahmedábád, Hariba, an adopted son of Khanderáv Gáikwár, at that time in possession of the fort of Borsad, began to plunder Rangojí’s villages under Pétíd, and, attacking his deputy, defeated and killed him. On this Rangojí withdrew from Ahmedábád, attacked and captured the fort of Borsad, and forced Hariba to leave the country. Jwán Mard Khán now sent for Jamárdhán Pandít, Khanderáv’s deputy at Na’dírád, and, in place of Rangojí’s representative, appointed him to manage the Maráthás share of Ahmedábád.

During these years important changes had taken place in the government of Surat. In A.D. 1734, when Mulla Muhammad Ali, the chief of the merchants and builder of the Athva fort, was killed in prison by Tégheb Khán, the Nizám sent Sayad Miththán to revenge his death. Sayad Miththán was forced to return unsuccessful. After Tégheb Khán’s death Sayad Miththán again came to Surat and lived there with his brother Sayad Achchan, who held the office of paymaster. Sayad Miththán tried to get the government of the town into his hands, but, again failing, committed suicide. His brother Sayad Achchan then attacked and took the citadel, expelling the commander; and for several days war was waged between him and the governor Saftdr Muhammad Khán with doubtful success. At last Sayad Achchan called to his aid Malhárráv, the deputy at Baroda, and their combined forces took possession of the whole city. During the sack of the city Malhárráv was killed and the entire management of affairs fell into the hands of Sayad Achchan. Saftdr Muhammad Khán, the late governor, though obliged to leave the city, was determined not to give up Surat without a struggle, and raising some men opened fire on the fort. Sayad Achchan now begged the Arab Turk English Dutch and Portuguese merchants to aid him. A deed addressed to the emperor and the Nizám, begging that Sayad Achchan should be appointed
governor, was signed by all the merchants except by Mr. Lamb the English chief, and though he at first refused, he was in the end persuaded by the other merchants to sign. The merchants then assisted Sayad Achechan, and Sàddar Muhammad Khân retired to Sindh.

Meanwhile, on account of some enmity between Mulla Fakhru-ud-din, the son of Mulla Muhammad Ali, chief of the merchants, and Sayad Achechan, the Mullas was thrown into prison. Mr. Lamb went to Sayad Achechan, and remonstrating with him suggested that the Mulla should be sent for. Sayad Achechan agreed, but on the way Mr. Lamb carried off Mulla Fakhru-ud-din to the English factory, and afterwards sent him to Bombay in disguise. In the meantime Kedarji Gâikwâr, a cousin of Dâmaji’s, whom, with Mahârrav, Sayad Achechan had asked to his help, arrived at Surât, and though Sayad Achechan had been successful without his aid, Kedarji demanded the £30,000 (Rs. 3 lakhs) which had been promised him. As the Sayad was not in a position to resist Kedarji’s demands, and as he had no ready money to give him, he made over to him a third of the revenues of Surat until the amount should be paid. As before this another third of the revenues of Surat had been assigned to Hâfiz Mastâkh Khan, the deputy of Yakut Khan of Jaunjira, the envoys of the governor of Surat were reduced to one-third of the entire revenue and this was divided between the Mutasaddi and Bakshi.

In this year (A.D. 1747, S. 1803) there was a severe shock of earthquake and a great famine which caused many deaths. In the following year Jawâr Mard Khân endeavoured to recapture Jetsalpur, but failed. About the same time Umahâr died, and Dâmaji’s brother Khanderâv, who was on good terms with Ambika wife of Bâhurâv Senapati, the guardian of Umahâr’s son, procured his own appointment as deputy of his brother Dâmaji in Gujarât. On being appointed deputy Khanderâv at once marched against Rangojî to recover Borisad, which, as above mentioned, Rangojî had taken from Hariba. Their forces were joined by two detachments, one from Mumîn Khân under the command of Aggh Muhammad Hussain, the other from Jawâr Mard Khân commanded by Jâmârân Pandit. The combined army besieged Borisad. After a five months’ siege Borisad was taken, and Rangojî was imprisoned by Khanderâv. On the fall of Borisad Sher Khân Bâbâ and Râjâ Râisingh of Idar, who were allies of Rangojî, returned to Bâhânîn and Icâr: Pakhru-daunah was sent to Petlâd and Fidâ-ud-dín Khân, leaving Ùroth, took shelter with Jotha, the chief of Atasutka.

In this year the emperor Muhammad Shâh died and was succeeded by his son Ahmad Shâh (A.D. 1748-1754). Shortly after Ahmad’s accession Mahârâjâ Vakhâtsingh, brother of Mahârâjâ Abheysingh, was appointed fifty-ninth viceroy of Gujarât. When he learned what was the state of the province, he pleaded that his presence would be more useful in his own dominions, and never took up his appointment of viceroy. Vakhâtsingh was the last viceroy of Gujarât nominated by the imperial court, for although by the aid of the Marâthâs Fakhru-ud-dunah was of importance in the province, he had never been able
to establish himself as viceroy. In this year also occurred the death of Khushalchand Sheth, the chief merchant of Ahmedabad.

Khanderav Gāwkār appointed Rāghavshankar his deputy at Ahmedābād, and Saīdar Khān Bābī issued from Ahmedābād with an army to levy tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Sābarmati. When Fakhir-ul-dunhā, the former viceroy, heard of the appointment of Mahārājā Vakhatāsingh, seeing no chance of any benefit from a longer stay in Gujarāt, he retired to Dehli. In a.d. 1748 Asīf Jah, Nizām-ul-Mulk, died at an advanced age, leaving six sons and a disputed succession.

About the same time Bāljījirāv Peshwa, who was jealous of the power of the Gāwkār, sent a body of troops, and freed Rāngoji from the hands of Khanderav Gāwkār. During these years adventurists, in different parts of the country, taking advantage of the decay of the central power, endeavoured to establish themselves in independence. Of these attempts the most formidable was the revolt of one of the Pātān Kashtiś who established his power so firmly in Pātān that Jawān Mard Khān found it necessary to proceed in person to reduce him. Shortly afterwards Jawān Mard Khān deemed it advisable to recall his brothers Saīdar Khān and Zorāwār Khān, who were then at Unja under Pātān, and took them with him to Ahmedābād. Fidas-ul-din Khān who had been residing at Atarsumba now asked permission to return to Ahmedābād, but as Jawān Mard Khān did not approve of this suggestion, Fidas-ul-din departed to Broach and there took up his residence. Janārdhan Fandit marched to Kairn and the Bhil district to levy tribute, and Khanderav appointed Shivrām his deputy.

In the meantime at Surat, Sayyad Achehan endeavoured to consolidate his rule, and with this view tried to expel Hāfiz Mstānd Hāshī, and prevent him again entering the city. But his plans failed, and he was obliged to make excuses for his conduct. Sayyad Achehan then oppressed other influential persons, until eventually the Hāshed and others joining, attacked him in the citadel. Except Mr. Lamb, who considered himself bound by the deed signed in a.d. 1747 in favour of Sayyad Achehan, all the merchants of Surat joined the assailants. Among the chief opponents of Sayyad Achehan were the Dutch, who sending ships brought back Saīdar Muhammad Khān from Thatta, and established him as governor of Surat. The English factory was next besieged, and, though a stout resistance was made, the guards were bribed, and the factory plundered. In a.d. 1750 Sayyad Achehan, surrendering the citadel to the Hāshed, withdrew first to Bombay and then to Poona, to Bāljījirāv Peshwa. Shortly afterwards, in consequence of the censure passed upon him by the Bombay Government for his support of Sayyad Achehan, Mr. Lamb committed suicide. Weared by these continual contests for power, the merchants of Surat asked Rāja Raghunāthdās, minister to the Nizām, to choose them a governor. Rāja Raghunāthdās accordingly nominated his own nephew, Rāja Harprasād, to be governor, and the writer of the Mirāt-i-Ahmēd to be his deputy. But before Rāja Harprasād could join his appointment at Surat, both he and his father were slain in battle.
In the same year, A.D. 1750, occurred the deaths of Rája Hāningsh of Idar, of Sañdar Khán Bābi of Bālasinor, and of Fuld-ud-dīn Khán, who had for some time been settled at Broach. Jawān Mard Khán, who, seeing that they were inclined to become permanent residents in Gujarat, was always opposed to the Gāikwār's power, now entered into negotiations with Bālabir Peshwa. He chose Patel Sukhdev to collect the Marātha revenue and asked the Peshwa to help him in expelling Dāmāji's agents. The Peshwa, being now engaged in war in the Dakhan with Salabat Jang Bahādur, son of the late Nizām, was unable to send Jawān Mard Khán any assistance. Towards the close of the year Jawān Mard Khán started from Ahmedābād to collect tribute from the Sābarmaṭi chiefs. Returning early in A.D. 1751, at the request of Jetha Patel a subordinate of Bhāsingsh Desā, he proceeded to Baned or Vaned under Viramgām and reduced the village. Ali Muhammad Khán, the author of the Mirāt-i-Ahmādi, who about this time was raised in rank with the title of Bahādur, states that owing to the Marātha inroads most of the districts had passed entirely into their possession; in others according to agreements with Jawān Mard Khán they held a half share. Consequently in spite of new taxes, the entire remaining income of the province was only four lakhs of rupees, and it was impossible to maintain the military posts or control the rebellious Kolīs.

It was in this year (A.D. 1751) that the Peshwa, decoying Dāmāji into his power, imprisoned him and forced him to surrender half of his rights and conquests in Gujarat. Taking advantage of the absence of the Gāikwār and his army in the Dakhan, Jawān Mard Khán marched into Sorath. He first visited Gogha, and then levying tribute in Gohilvāḍa, advanced into Kathiavāḍa and marched against Navānagar, and, after collecting a contribution from the Jām, returned to Ahmedābād. In the following year (A.D. 1752), as soon as the news reached Gujarāt that the Marāthās' share in the province had been divided between the Peshwa and Gāikwār, Momin Khán, who was always quarrelling with the Gāikwār's agent, sending Vanjilal his steward to Bālabir Peshwa begged him to include Cambay in his share and send his agent in place of the Gāikwār's agent. Bālabir agreed, and from that time an agent of the Peshwa was established at Cambay. In the same year Raghunāthāv, brother of the Peshwa, entering Gujarāt took possession of the Rewa and Mahā Kāntha districts and marched on Surat. Shīajh Dhangar was appointed in Slavakārya's place as Dāmāji's deputy, and Krishnah came to collect the Peshwa's share.

Up to this time the city of Broach had remained part of the Nizām's personal estate, managed by Abdūl lālah Beg, whom, with the title of Nek Alam Khán, Asif Jāh the late Nizām-ul-Mulk had chosen his deputy. On the death of Abdūl lālah Beg in A.D. 1752 the emperor appointed his son to succeed him with the same title as his father, while he gave to another son, named Mughal Beg, the title of Khertulab Khán. During the contests for succession that followed upon the death of the Nizām in A.D. 1752, no attempt was made to enforce the Nizām's claims on the lands of Broach; and for the future, except for the share of the revenue paid to the Marāthaš, the governors of Broach were practically independent.
The Peshwa now sent Pándurang Pandit to levy tribute from his share of Gujarát, and that officer crossing the Mahi marched upon Cambay. Momin Khán prepared to oppose him, but the Pandit made friendly overtures, and eventually Momin Khán not only paid the sum of £700 (Rs. 7000) for grass and grain for the Pandit’s troops, but also lent him four small cannon. Pándurang Pandit then marched upon Ahmedábád, and encamping near the Kankariya lake laid siege to the city which was defended by Jâwân Mard Khán. During the siege Pándurang Pandit, sending some troops, ravaged Nikol, part of the lands of Ali Muhammad Khán Bahádur, the author of the Miráti-i-Ahmedi. Meanwhile, as the operations against Ahmedábád made no progress, Pándurang Pandit made offers of peace. These Jâwân Mard Khán accepted, and on receiving from Jâwân Mard Khán the present of a mare and a small sum of money under the name of entertainment, the Maráthá leader withdrew to Sorath.

About this time the Peshwa released Dámájí Gái-kwâr on his promise to help the Peshwa’s brother Raghunáthrâv, who was shortly afterwards despatched with an army to complete the conquest of Gujarát. Meanwhile Jâwân Mard Khán’s anxiety regarding the Maráthás was for a time removed by the departure of Pándurang Pandit. And, as the harvest season had arrived, he with his brother Zoráwar Khán Bábi, leaving Muhammad Muháriz Sheñwáni behind as his deputy, set out from Ahmedábád to levy tribute from the chiefs of the Sábar Kántha. Certain well informed persons, who had heard of Raghunáthrâv’s preparations for invading Gujarát, begged Jâwân Mard Khán not to leave the city but to depute his brother Zoráwar Khán Bábi to collect the tribute. Jâwân Mard Khán, not believing their reports, said that he would not go more than from forty-five to sixty miles from the city, and that, should the necessity of any more distant excursion arise, he would entrust it to his brother. Jâwân Mard Khán then marched from the city, levying tribute until he arrived on the Pálanpur frontier about seventy-five miles north of Ahmedábád. Here meeting Muhammad Bahádur Jhâlorí, the governor of Pálanpur, Jâwân Mard Khán was foolishly induced to join him in plundering the fertile districts of Sirohi, till at last he was not less than 150 miles from his head-quarters. Meanwhile Raghunáthrâv, joining Dámájí Gái-kwâr, entered suddenly by an unusual route into Gujarát, and news reached Ahmedábád that the Maráthás had crossed the Narbada. On this the townspeople sent messenger after messenger to recall Jâwân Mard Khán, and building up the gateways prepared for defence, while the inhabitants of the suburbs, leaving their houses, crowded with their families into the city for protection. Raghunáthrâv, hearing that Jâwân Mard Khán and his army were absent from the city, pressed on by forced marches, and crossing the river Mahi despatched an advance corps under Víthal Sukhdeev. Kosájí, proprietor of Nadiâd, at Dámájí Gái-kwâr’s invitation also marched towards Ahmedábád, plundering Mehmúdábád Khokhrí, only three miles from the city. In the meantime Víthal Sukhdeev reached Kaira, and taking with him the chief man of that place, Muhammad Daurán, son of Muhammad Bábi, continued his march. He was shortly joined by Raghunáthrâv, and the combined forces now proceeded to Ahmedábád and encamped by the Kánkariya.
After leaving Sirichi Jawán Mard Kháñ had gone westwards to Tharád and Váv, so that the first messengers failed to find him. One of the later messengers, Mándan by name, who had not left Ahmadábád until the arrival of Rághunáthráv at the Kánkariyá lake, made his way to Váv and Tharád, and told Jawán Mard Kháñ what had happened. Jawán Mard Kháñ set out by forced marches for Rádhanpur, and leaving his family and the bulk of his army at Pátán, he pushed on with 200 picked horsemen to Kádi and from that to Ahmadábád, contriving to enter the city by night. The presence of Jawán Mard Kháñ raised the spirits of the besieged, and the defence was conducted with ardour. In spite of their watchfulness, a party of about 700 Maráthis under cover of night succeeded in scaling the walls and entering the city. Yet they could do no mischief they were discovered and driven out of the town with much slaughter. The bulk of the besieging army, which had advanced in hopes that this party would succeed in opening one of the city gates, were forced to retire disappointed. Rághunáthráv now made proposals for peace, but Jawán Mard Kháñ did not think it consistent with his honour to accept them. On his refusal, the Marátha general redoubled his efforts and sprang several mines, but owing to the thickness of the city walls no practicable breach was effected. Jawán Mard Kháñ now expelled the Marátha deputies, and continuing to defend the city with much gallantry contrived at night to introduce into the town by detachments a great portion of his army from Pátán. At length, embarrassed by want of provisions and the clamour of his troops for pay, he extorted £5000 (Rs. 50,000) from the official classes. As Jawán Mard was known to have an ample supply of money of his own this untimely meanness caused great discontent. The official classes who were the

1 Of the death at the age of nine years of this son of Saint Shahí-dálam the Mírát-i-Ahmed (Printed Persian Text, II. 20) gives the following details: Malik Sefí-ad-din, the daughter's son of Sultan Ahmad I., had a son who he believed was born to him by the prayer of Saint Shahí-dálam. This boy was about nine years old. Malik Sefí-ad-din ran to Shahí-dálam, who used them to live at Anuwal, two or three miles east of Ahmadábád, and in a transport of grief and rage said to the Saint: 'Is this the way you deceive people? Surely you obtained me the gift of that boy to live and not to die? This I suppose is how you will keep your promise of mediating for our sinful souls before Allah also.' The Saint could give no reply and retired to his inner apartments. The stricken father went to the Saint's son Shahí-dálam, who, going in to his father, entreated him to restore the Malik's boy to life. The Saint asked his son: 'Are you prepared to die for the boy?' Shahí-dálam said: 'I am ready.' The Saint, going into an inner room, spread his skirts before Allah crying: 'Rájánu, the pet name by which the Saint used to address Allah, meaning Dear King or Lord, Rájánu, here is a goat for a goat; take this one and return the other.' Lamentations in the Saint's harem showed that half of the prayer was granted and the Malik on returning to his house found the other half fulfilled.
repository of all real power murmured against his rule and openly advocated the surrender of the city, and Jawán Mard Khán, much against his will, was forced to enter into negotiations with Raghunáthrav.

Raghunáthrav was so little hopeful of taking Ahmedábád that he had determined, should the siege last a month longer, to depart on condition of receiving the one-fourth share of the revenue and a safe conduct. Had Jawán Mard Khán only disbursed his own money to pay the troops, and encouraged instead of disheartening the official class, he need never have lost the city. At last to Raghunáthrav’s relief, Jawán Mard Khán was reduced to treat for peace through Vithal Sukhdev. It was arranged that the Maráthás should give Jawán Mard Khán the sum of 210,000 (Rs. 1 láksh) to pay his troops, besides presenting him with an elephant and other articles of value. It was at the same time agreed that the garrison should leave the city with all the honours of war. And that, for himself and his brothers, Jawán Mard Khán should receive, free from any Marátha claim, the districts of Pátan, Vadnagar, Sámi, Munjpur, Visalnagar, Tharát, Kheralu, and Rádhánpur with Tíravada and Bijnúpur. It was further agreed that one of Jawán Mard Khán’s brothers should always serve the Maráthás with 300 horse and 500 foot, the expenses of the force being paid by the Maráthás. It was also stipulated that neither the Peshwa’s army nor his deputy’s, nor that of any commander should enter Jawán Mard Khán’s territory, and that in Ahmedábád no Marátha official should put up at any of the Khán Bahádúr’s mansions, new or old, or at any of those belonging to his brothers, fellows or servants. Finally that the estates of other members of the family, namely Kaírás, Kasa Mátár and Bánsa Mahádúa, which belonged to Muhammad Khán, Khán Daurán, and Abd Khán were not to be meddled with, nor were encroachments to be allowed on the lands of Káyám Kúlí Khán or of Zúrúwar Khán. This agreement was signed and sealed by Raghunáthrav, with Dámáji Gákwrír (half sharer), Mallákhár Taká Mákár, Jye Ápa Síndhás, Rámámadár Vithal Sukhdev, Sakhárám Bhágvát, and Múdhadvárv Gopálir as securities. The treaty was then delivered to Jawán Mard Khán, and he and his garrison, marching out with the honours of war, the Maráthás took possession of Ahmedábád on April 2nd, 1753.

On leaving Ahmedábád Jawán Mard Khán retired to Pátan. At Ahmedábád Raghunáthrav, with Dámáji arranged for the government of the city, appointing Shrípatrav his deputy. He then marched into Jhálahála to levy tribute from the Lúmdí and Wadhán chiefs; and was so far successful that Harbhámjí of Lúmdí agreed to pay an annual tribute of 8,000 (Rs. 40,000). As the rainy season was drawing near Raghunáthrav returned to Dholka, while Páthel Vithal Sukhdev forced Muhammad Bahádúr, the governor of Pálampur, to consent to a payment of 11,500 (Rs. 1,15,000). From Dholka Raghunáthrav went to Tárípura, about twelve miles north of Cambay, and compelled Momin Khán to submit to an annual payment of 1,000 (Rs. 10,000). At the same time Ali Muhammad Khán Bahádúr, the author of the Miráti Khán, was appointed collector of customs, and his former grants were confirmed and he was allowed to retain
his villages of Sayadpur and Kujâh close to Ahmedâbâd, as well as the village of Pámâl in Bijâpûr. Dâmâjî Gâikwâr, after levying tribute in the Vâtrak Kântâ, went to Kapâdvànâj, which he took from Sher Khân Bâbî. From Kapâdvànâj he passed to Naâjsâd and appointed Shevakârî to collect his half share of the revenue of Gujârat. In the Ahmedâbâd mint, coin ceased to be struck in the emperor’s name and the suburbs of the city which had been deserted during the siege were not again inhabited. The Kolis commenced a system of depredation, and their outrages were so serious that women and children were sometimes carried off and sold as slaves. After the rains were over (A.D. 1754) Shetâži, commander of the Ahmedâbâd garrison, and Shânkari, governor of Vîrâmgîm, were sent to collect tribute from Sorath. Though the imperial power was sunk so low, the emperor was allowed to confer the post of Kâzî of the city on Kâzî Bûkn-ul-Hâk Khân who arrived at Ahmedâbâd and assumed office. At the close of the year Shriprâtrâv, who was anxious to acquire Cambay, marched against Momîn Khân. After two doubtful battles in which the Marâthâs gained an advantage, it was agreed that Momîn Khân should pay a sum of £700 (Rs. 7000), and Shriprâtrâv departed from Ahmedâbâd early in A.D. 1754.

When the Kolis heard of the ill success of the Marâthâs at Cambay, they revolted and Râghoshankar was sent to subdue them. In an engagement near Luhâ in Bahvâl in His Highness the Gâikwâr’s territory about eighteen miles east of Ahmedâbâd, Râghoshankar scuttled the Kolis, but they again collected and forced the Marâthâs to retire. At this time Shetâži and Shânkari returned from Sorath, where they had performed the pilgrimage to Dwârâkâ. Shetâži was sent to the Bhîl district against the Kolis. He was unsuccessful, and was so ashamed of his failure that he returned to the Dakhan and Dandu. Dâtâtî was appointed in his place.

In this year died Nek Alâm Khân II, governor of Broach. He was succeeded by his brother Khertalab Khân who expelled his nephew Hâmîd Beg, son of Nek Alâm Khân. Hâmîd Beg took refuge in Surât. At Bâlásînor a dispute arose between Sher Khân Bâbî and a body of Arab mercenaries who took possession of a hill, but in the end came to terms. With the Peshwâ’s permission his deputy Bhagvantrâv marched on Cambay. But Varâjâl, Momîn Khân’s steward, who was then at Poona, sent word to his master, who prepared himself against any emergency. When Bhagvantrâv arrived at Cambay he showed no hostile intentions and was well received by Momîn Khân. Subsequently a letter from Bhagvantrâv to Sâlim Jamâdâr at Ahmedâbâd ordering him to march against Cambay fell into Momîn Khân’s hands. He at once surrounded Bhagvantrâv’s house and made him prisoner. When the Peshwâ heard that Bhagvantrâv had been captured, he ordered Ganesh Apa, governor of Jambusar, as well as the governors of Vîrâmgîm, Dhandhuka, and other places to march at once upon Cambay. They went and besieged the town for three months, but without success. Eventually Shriprâtrâv, the Peshwâ’s deputy, sent the author of the Mîrât-i-Almâdi to negotiate, and it was agreed that Bhagvantrâv should be released and that no alteration should be made in the position of Momîn Khân. Shortly afterwards Shriprâtrâv was recalled by the Peshwâ and his place supplied by an
officer of the name of Rágho. About this time Khertalab Khán, governor of Broach, died, and quarrels arose regarding the succession. Ultimately Hamíd Beg, nephew of Khertalab Khán, obtained the post, and he afterwards received an imperial order confirming him as governor, and bestowing on him the title of NeÎnám Khán Bahádur.

At Delhi, during AD 1754, the emperor Ahmad Sháh was deposed, and Azíz-ud-din, son of Jahándár Sháh, was raised to the throne with the title of Alamgír II. After his release Bhagvantrav established himself in the Cambay fort of Náprád, and not long after began to attack Mómín Khán’s villages. After several doubtful engagements peace was concluded on Mómín Khán paying £1000 (Rs. 10,000) on account of the usual share of the Maráthás which he had withheld. This arrangement was made through the mediation of Tukáji, the steward of Sadáshiv Dámódar, who had come to Gujárat with an army and orders to help Bhagvantrav. As Mómín Khán had no ready money Tukáji offered himself as security and Bhagvantrav and Tukáji withdrew to the Dákhan. Mómín Khán’s soldiery now clamoured for pay. As he was not in a position to meet their demands he sent a body of men against some villages to the west belonging to Limbádi and plundered them, dividing the booty among his troops. In the following year, AD 1755, Mómín Khán went to Gogha, a port which, though at one time subordinate to Cambay, had fallen into the hands of Shér Khán Bihá, and was now in the possession of the Pesháwa’s officers. Gogha fell and leaving a garrison of 100 Arabs under Ibáirim Kúli Khán, Mómín Khán returned to Cambay, levying tribute. He then sent the bulk of his army under the command of Muhammad Zamán Khán, son of rival-ud-din Khán, and Varájáli his own steward, to plunder and collect money in Goháváda and Kátháváda. Here they remained until their arrears were paid off, and then returned to Cambay. After this Mómín Khán plundered several Petlád villages and finally, in concert with the Kolis of Dhowan, attacked Jambasar and carried off much booty. Mómín Khán next marched against Boraíd, and was on the point of taking the fort when Sayájí, son of Dámájí Gáikwár, who lived at Baroda, hearing of Mómín Khán’s success, came rapidly with a small body of men to the relief of the fort and surprised the besiegers. The Muhammadan troops soon recovered from the effects of the surprise, and Sayájí fearimg to engage them with so small a force retired. On Sayájí’s departure Mómín Khán raised the siege of Boraíd and returned to Cambay.

In the year AD 1756 the rains were very heavy, and the walls of Ahmedábád fell in many places. Mómín Khán, hearing of this as well as of the discontent of the inhabitants, resolved to capture the city. He sent spies to ascertain the strength of the garrison and set about making allies of the chief men in the province and enticing troops. About this time Rághoji, the Maráthás deputy, was assassinated by a Rohlíllá. As soon as Mómín Khán heard of Rághoji’s death he sent his nephew, Muhammad Zamán Khán, with some men in advance, and afterwards himself at the close of the year, AD 1756, marched from Cambay and camped on the Vatrák. From this camp they moved to Kaira, and from Kaira to Ahmedábád. After one or two fights in
the suburbs, the Muhammadans, finding their way through the breaches in the walls, opened the gates and entered the town. The Kolis commenced plundering, and a hand-to-hand fight ensued, in which the Marathas were worsted and were eventually expelled from the city. The Kolis attempted to plunder the Dutch factory, but met with a spirited resistance, and when Shambhuram, a Nagra Brahman, one of Momins Khan's chief supporters, heard it he ordered the Kolis to cease attacking the factory and consolde the Dutch.

In the meantime Jawan Mard Khan, who had been invited by the Marathas to their assistance, set out from Patan, and when he arrived at Vellapur and Manasa he heard of the capture of Ahmedabad. On reaching Kalol he was joined by Harbhram, governor of Kadi. They resolved to send Zarwar Khan Bahri to recall Sadashiv Damodar, and to await his arrival at Virangam. Shevakram, the Gakwar's deputy, had taken refuge at Dholka. Momin Khan himself now advanced, and entering Ahmedabad on the 17th October 1756, appointed Shambhuram his deputy. Sadashiv Damodar now joined Jawan Mard Khan at Virangam, and at Jawan Mard Khan's advice it was resolved, before taking further steps, to write to the Peshwa for aid. Jawan Mard Khan, although he held large service estates, charged the Marathas 150 (Rs. 1500) a day for his troops. Jawan Mard Khan and the Marathas then advanced to Sambhur and Jitalpur, and thence marched towards Cambay. On their way they were met, and, after several combats, defeated by a detachment of Momin Khan's army. Momin Khan sent troops to overrun Kadi, but Harbhram, the governor of Kadi, defeated the force, and captured their guns. When the emperor heard of the capture of Gogha, he sent a sword as a present to Momin Khan; and when the news of the capture of Ahmedabad reached Agra, Momin Khan received many compliments. Balaji Rao Peshwa on the other hand was greatly enraged at these reverses. He at once sent off Sadashiv Ramchandra to Gujarat as his deputy, and Damaaji and Khanderi Gakwar also accompanied him with their forces. Momin Khan refusing to give up Ahmedabad, prepared for defence. Sadashiv Ramchandra, Damaaji and Khanderi Gakwar advanced, and, crossing the Mahi, reached Kaira. Here they were met by Jawan Mard Khan and the rest of the Maratha forces in Gujarat, and the combined army advancing against the capital camped by the Kankariya lake.

The Marathas now regularly invested the city, but Momin Khan, aided by Shambhuram, made a vigorous defence. Up to this time Jawan Mard Khan was receiving 150 (Rs. 1500) daily for the pay of his own and his brother's troops. Sadashiv Ramchandra, considering the number of the troops too small for so large a payment, reduced the amount and retained the men in his own service. After a month's siege, Momin Khan's troops began to clamour for pay, but Shambhuram, by collecting the sum of 10,000 (Rs. 1 lakh) from the inhabitants of the town managed for the time to appease their demands. When they again became urgent for pay, Shambhuram diverts their thoughts by a general sally from all the gates at night. On this occasion many men were slain on both sides, and many of the inhabitants deserted the town. The copper vessels of such of the townspeople as had fled
were melted and coined into money and given to the soldiery. In this state of affairs an order arrived from the imperial court bestowing on Momin Khan a dress of honour and the title of Bahadur. Although the imperial power had for years been merely a name Momin Khan asked and obtained permission from the besiegers to leave the city and meet the bearers of the order. The Marathas redoubled their efforts. Still though the besiegers were successful in intercepting supplies of grain the garrison fought gallantly in defence of the town.

At this juncture, in A.D. 1757, Raja Shivsingh of Idar, son of the late Anand Singh, who was friendly to Momin Khan, sent Sajansingh Hazari with a force to assist the besieged. On their way to Ahmedabad, Harbhamrān with a body of Marathas attacked this detachment, while Momin Khan sent to their aid Muhammad Lal Rohilla and others, and a doubtful battle was fought. Shortly afterwards Sadashiv Ramehmandar made an attempt on the fort of Kalikut. The fort was successfully defended by Jamādar Nūr Muhammad, and the Marathas were repulsed. The Marathas endeavoured in vain to persuade Shamshirām to desert Momin Khan, and though the garrison were often endangered by the faithlessness of the Kolis and other causes, they remained staunch. Momin Khan, though frequently in difficulties owing to want of funds to pay his soldiery, continued to defend the town. The Marathas next tried to induce some of Momin Khan's officers, but in this they also failed, and in a sally Shamshirām attacked the camp of Sadashiv Ramehmandar, and burning his tents all but captured the chief himself.

When the siege was at this stage, Hassan Kuli Khan Bahadur, viceroy of Oudh, relinquishing worldly affairs and dividing his property among his nephews, set out to perform a pilgrimage to Makkah. Before he started Shurja-ud-daullah, the Nawab of Lucknow, requested him on his way to visit Bālājī, and endeavoured to come to some settlement of Ahmedshāh affairs. Accordingly, adopting the name of Shah Nūr, and assuming the dress of an ascetic, Hassan Kuli made his way to Poona, and appearing before the Peshwa offered to make peace at Ahmedabad. Shah Nūr with much difficulty persuaded the Peshwa to allow Momin Khan to retain Cambay and Godha without any Maratha share, and to grant him a lākха of rupees for the payment of his troops, on condition that he should surrender Ahmedshād. He obtained letters from the Peshwa addressed to Sadashiv Ramehundra to this effect, and set out with them for Ahmedabad. When he arrived Sadashiv Ramehundra was unwilling to accede to the terms, as the Ahmedshād garrison were reduced to great straits. Shah Nūr persuaded him at last to agree, provided Momin Khan would surrender without delay. Accordingly Shah Nūr entered the city and endeavoured to persuade Momin Khan. Momin Khan demanded in addition a few Petlād villages, and to this the Marathas refused their consent. Shah Nūr left in disgust. Before many days Momin Khan was forced to make overtures for peace. After discussions with Dānāji Gālkwār, it was agreed that Momin Khan should surrender the city, receive £40,000 (Rs. 1 lākха) to pay his soldiery, and be allowed to retain Cambay as heretofore, that is to say that the Peshwa should, as
formerly, enjoy half the revenues. In addition to this Momin Khân had to promise to pay the Marathas a yearly tribute of £1000 (Rs. 10,000) and to give up all claims on the town of Gogha and land over Shambhurâm to the Marathas. It was also arranged that the £3500 (Rs. 35,000) worth of ashrâfs which he had taken through Jamâdar Salâm should be deducted from the £10,000 (Rs. 1 lâkha). Momin Khân surrendered the town on February 27th, 1758.

Sadhâshiv Râmchandar and Dâmâji Gaîkwâr entered the city and undertook its management on behalf of the Marathas. Of the other chiefs who were engaged in prosecuting the siege, Sadhâshiv Dâmodar returned to the Dakhan and Jawân Mard Khân receiving some presents from Sadhâshiv Râmchandar departed for Pâtân after having had a meeting with Dâmâji Gaîkwâr at a village a few miles from the capital, Shambhurâm, the Nâgar Brâhman, who had so zealously supported Momin Khân, when he saw that further assistance was useless, tried to escape, but was taken prisoner and sent in chains to Baroda. Sadhâshiv Râmchandar, on taking charge of the city, had interviews with the principal officials, among whom was the author of the Mirât-i-Ahmédî, and, receiving them graciously, confirmed most of them in their offices. Then, after choosing Nâro Pandit, brother of Pândurang Pandit, to be his deputy in Ahmedâbâd, he started on an expedition to collect tribute in Jîndâvâda and Sorath. On receiving the government of the city the Marathas generals ordered new coin bearing the mark of an elephant good to be struck in the Ahmedâbâd mint. Sayâjirâv Gaîkwâr remained in Ahmedâbâd on behalf of his father Dâmâji, and shortly afterwards went towards Kapadvânj to collect tribute. Thence at his father’s request he proceeded to Sorath to arrange for the payment of the Gaîkwâr’s share of the revenues of that district. On his return to Cambay Momin Khân was much harassed by his troops for arrears of pay. The timely arrival of his steward Varajîl with the Peshwa’s contribution of £10,000 (Rs. 1 lâkha) enabled him to satisfy their demands.

Momin Khân now began to oppress and extort money from his own followers, and is said to have instigated the murder of his steward Varajîl. Sadhâshiv Râmchandar went from Pêrbandar to Jînâgâdh, where he was joined by Sayâjirâv Gaîkwâr. At Jînâgâdh Sher Khân Bâbi presented Sadhâshiv Râmchandra and Sivâjirâv with horses and they spoke of the necessity of admitting a Maratha deputy into Jînâgâdh. Nothing was settled as the Marathas were forced to return to Ahmedâbâd. In accordance with orders from the Peshwa, Shambhurâm and his sons, who were still in confinement, were sent to Poona. Dâmâji Gaîkwâr was also summoned to Poona, but he did not go. In this year Râo Lakhpat of Kachh presented Kachh horses and Gujarât bullocks to the emperor, and in return received the title of Mirza Râja.

About this time the Râo of Kachh, who planned an expedition against Sindh, solicited aid both from Dâmâji Gaîkwâr and Sadhâshiv Râmchandar to enable him to conquer Thatta, and, as he agreed to pay expenses, Sadhâshiv sent Ranchordâs, and Dâmâji sent Shervârâm to help him. In this year also Neknâm Khân, governor of Brosch, received the title of Bahâdur and other honours. In A.D. 1758, Sadhâshiv Râmchandar advanced to Kaira and after settling accounts
with Dámáji’s agent proceeded against Cambay. Momín Khán, who was about to visit the Peshwa at Poona, remained to defend the town, but was forced to pay arrears of tribute amounting to £2000 (Rs. 20,000). In this year Sher Khán Bábí died at Junágadh, and the nobles of his court seated his son Muhammad Mahátí Bábí in his place.

Shortly after at the invitation of the Peshwa, Dámáji Gaíkwar went to Poona, and sent his son Sayájíraj into Sorath. After his success at Cambay Sadáshiv Rámchandra levied tribute from the chiefs of Umeta, and then returned. On his way back, on account of the opposition caused by Sardár Muhammad Khán son of Sher Khán Bábí, the chief of Bálásímar, Sadáshiv Rámchandar besieged Bálásímar and forced the chief to pay £3000 (Rs. 30,000). Next marching against Lúnáváda, he compelled the chief Dípsingh to pay £5000 (Rs. 50,000). Sadáshiv then went to Visánnagar and so to Pálandpur, where Muhammad Khán Bahádur Jhálori resisted him; but after a month’s siege he agreed to pay a tribute of £3500 (Rs. 35,000). Passing south from Pálandpur, Sadáshiv went to Unjá-Únáva, and from thence to Kátosan where he levied £1000 (Rs. 10,000) from the chief Shuja, and then proceeded to Límbádi.

During a.d. 1758 important changes took place in Surat. In the early part of the year Sayád Muín-ud-din, otherwise called Sayád Acheñán, visited the Peshwa at Poona, and received from him the appointment of governor of Surat. Sayád Acheñán then set out for his charge, and as he was aided by a body of Marátha troops under the command of Muzaífar Khán Gárdí and had also secured the support of Neknám Khán, the governor of Broach, he succeeded after some resistance in expelling Ali Nawáz Khán, son of the late Safdar Muhammad Khán, and establishing himself in the government. During the recent troubles, the English factory had been plundered and two of their clerks murdered by Ahmad Khán Habshi, commandant of the fort. The English therefore determined to drive out the Habshi and themselves assume the government of the castle. With this object men-of-war were despatched from Bombay to the help of Mr. Spencer, the chief of the English factory, and the castle was taken in March a.d. 1759, and Mr. Spencer appointed governor. The Peshwa appears to have consented to this conquest. The Marátha troops aided and made a demonstration without the city, and a Marátha man-of-war which had been stationed at Bassen, came to assist the English. A Mr. Glass appears to have been appointed kíledár under Governor Spencer.

Shortly afterwards Momín Khán, by the advice of Sayád Hussain, an agent of the Peshwa, contracted friendship with the English through Mr. Erskine, the chief of the English factory at Cambay. Momín Khán then asked Mr. Erskine to obtain permission for him to go to Poona by Bombay. Leave being granted, Momín Khán set out for Surat, and was there received by Mr. Spencer. From Surat he sailed for Bombay, where the governor, Mr. Bourchier, treating him with much courtesy, informed the Peshwa of his arrival. The Peshwa sending permission for his further advance to Poona, Momín Khán took leave of Mr. Bourchier and proceeded to Poona.
From Limbu, to which point his tribute tour has been traced, Sadasiv Ramchandra advanced against Dhirangadhra, when the chief who was at Halvad sent an army against him. The Marathas, informed of the chief's design, detaching a force, attacked Halvad at night, and breaching the walls forced open the gates. The chief retired to his palace, which was fortified, and there defended himself, but was at last forced to surrender, and was detained a prisoner until he should pay a sum of £12,000 (Rs. 1,20,000). The neighbouring chiefs, impressed with the fate of Halvad, paid tribute without opposition. Sadasiv Ramchandra now went to Junagadh, but ere he could commence operations against the fortress, the rainy season drew near, and returning to Ahmedabad he prepared to depart for Poona. Sayaji Gaikwar, who was also in Sorath collecting tribute, amongst other places besieged Kundla, and levying from that town a tribute of £7,500 (Rs. 75,000) returned to the capital. During this time Khanderiv Gaikwar had been levying tribute from the Kolis, and after visiting the Bhil district went to Bijapur, Idar, Kadi, Bhelka, and Nadiad. The chief of Halvad on paying his £12,000 (Rs. 1,20,000) was allowed to depart, and Dipsingh of Lunavada, who was also a prisoner, was sent to Lunavada and there released after paying his tribute. On receiving the news of the capture of the Surat fort by the English the emperor issued an order, in the name of the governor of Bombay, confirming the command of the fort to the English instead of to the Habshis of Janjira, appointing the Honourable East India Company admirals of the imperial fleet, and at the same time discontinuing the yearly payment of £2,000 (Rs. 20,000) formerly made to the Habshi on this account. When in the course of the following year, A.D. 1760, this imperial order reached Surat, Mr. Spencer and other chief men of the city went outside of the walls to meet and escort the bearers of the despatch. Sadasiv Ramchandra was appointed viceroy of Ahmedabad on behalf of the Peshwa. Bhagyvantrao now conquered Balasinor from Sardar Muhammad Khan Babi, and then marching to Sorath, collected the Peshwa's share of the tribute of that province, according to the scale of the previous year. Sayaji Gaikwar, when Bhagyvantrao had returned, set out to Sorath to levy the Gaikwar's share of the tribute. He was accompanied by Harbhamrao whom Daminji Gaikwar had specially sent from his own court to act as Kamlar to Sayaji. When Sadasiv Ramchandra reported to the Peshwa the conquest of Balasinor by Bhagyvantrao he was highly pleased, and gave Bhagyvantrao a dress of honour and allowed him to keep the elephant which he had captured at Lunavada; and passed a patent bestowing Balasinor upon him. Momun Khan, after making firm promises to the Peshwa never to depart from the terms of the treaty he had made with the Marathas, left Poona and came to Bombay, where he was courteously entertained by the Governor, and despatched by boat to Surat. From Surat he passed to Cambay by land through Broach. Sayaji Gaikwar had returned to Ahmedabad from Sorath in bad health, and his uncle Khanderiv Gaikwar, who had been vainly endeavouring to subdue the Kolis of Luhara, came to Ahmedabad and took Sayaji Gaikwar to Nadiad. In 1761 Sadasiv Ramchandra was displaced as viceroy of Gujarat by
Apa Ganesh. This officer acted in a friendly manner to Momin Khán, and marching to Cambay, he fixed the Marátha share of the revenues of that place for that year at £8400 (Rs. 84,000), and then went to Ahmedábád by way of Dákor. Narbherám collected this year the Gáikwár's share of the tribute of Sorath and Sayáji Gáikwár went to Baroda. On his return to Ahmedábád at the end of the year, Sayáji sacked and burned the Kol village of Lóhára in Bahyal about eighteen miles east of Ahmedábád. Jawán Mard Khán now issued from Páthan and levied small contributions from the holdings in Vágad, as far as Anjár in Kuchch. From Vágad he proceeded to Sorath, and in concert with Muhammad Mahábat Khán of Júnágadh and Muhammad Muzaffar Khán Bábí, between whom he made peace, he levied tribute in Sorath as far as Loliyám, and returned to Páthan.

While their power and plunderings were thus prospering in Gujarát the crushing ruin of Pánipat (A.D. 1761) fell on the Maráthás. Taking advantage of the confusion that followed, the Dehi court despatched instructions to the chief Musalmán nobles of Gujarát, directing Momín Khán, Jawán Mard Khán, and the governor of Breach to join in driving the Maráthás out of the province. In consequence of this despatch Sádár Muhammad Khán Bábí, defeating the Marátha garrison, regained Balásínor, while the governor of Breach, with the aid of Momín Khán, succeeded in winning back Jambú-sar. Apa Ganesh, the Peshwa's vicerey, remonstrated with Momín Khán for this breach of faith. In reply his envoy was shown the despatch received from Dehi, and was made the bearer of a message, that before it was too late, it would be wisdom for the Maráthás to abandon Gujarát. Things were in this state when Dámají Gáikwár, wisely forgetting his quarrels with the Peshwa, marched to the aid of Sádár Shív with a large army. Advancing against Cambay he attacked and defeated Momín Khán, plundering one of his villages. But the Maráthás were too weak to follow up this success, or exact severer punishment from the Musalmán confederates. Apa Ganesh invited Sádár Muhammad Khán Bábí to Kaira, and on condition of the payment of tribute, agreed to allow him to keep possession of Balásínor. Subsequently Dámají's energy enabled him to enlarge the power and possessions of the Gáikwár's house, besides acquisitions from other chiefs, recovering the districts of Visalnagar, Kherálu, Vadinagar, Bijápur, and Páthan from Jawán Mard Khán. After the death of the great Dámají, the importance of the Gáikwár's power sensibly diminished. Had it not been for their alliance with the British, the feeble hands of Sayájiirkír I. (A.D. 1771-1778) would probably have been the last to hold the emblem of Gáikwár rule. If in the zenith of Gáikwár power Momín Khán could reconquer, and for so long successfully defend Ahmedábád, what might not have been possible in its decline?
APPENDIX I.

The Death of Sulta'n Bahá'dur, A.D. 1526-1536.

Colonel Briggs (Muhammadan Power in India, IV. 132) gives the following summary of the events which led to the fatal meeting of Sulta'n Bahá'dur and the Portugese viceroy Nono da Cunha in the beginning of 1536-37:

When in 1529 Nono da Cunha came as viceroy to India he held instructions to make himself master of the island of Din. In the following year a great expedition, consisting of 400 vessels and 15,000 men, met in Bombay and sailed to the Kathiavara coast. After vigorous assaults it was repulsed off Din on the 17th February 1531. From that day the Portugese made ceaseless efforts to obtain a footing on the island of Din. In 1531 besides harrying the sea trade of Gujerat the Portugese sacked the towns of Tarapur, Balsar, and Surat, and, to give colour to their pretensions, received under their protection Chand Khan an illegitimate brother of Bahá'dur. In 1532, under James de Silveira, the Portugese burned the south Kathiavara ports of Pattan-Somnath, Mangul, Talaja, and Muzaffarabad, killing many of the people and carrying off 4000 as slaves. Shortly after the Portugese took and destroyed Bassein in Thana obtaining 400 cannon and much ammunition. They also burned Damau, Thana, and Bombay. "All this," says the Portugese historian "they did to straiten Din and to oblige the king of Gujerat to consent to their raising a fort on the island of Din." When Bahá'dur was engaged with the Mughals (A.D. 1532-1534) the Portugese Governor General deputed an embassy to wait on Humayun to endeavour to obtain from him the cession of Din, hoping by this action to work indirectly on the fears of Bahá'dur. At last in 1534 Bahá'dur consented to a peace by which he agreed to cede the town of Bassein to Portugal; not to construct ships of war in his ports; and not to combine with Turkish fleets against Portugal.

Permission was also given to the Portugese to build in Din. In consideration of these terms the Portugese agreed to furnish Bahá'dur with 500 Europeans of whom fifty were men of note. According to the Portugese historian it was solely because of this Portugese help that Bahá'dur succeeded in driving the Mughals out of Gujerat. Bahá'dur's cession of land in Din to the Portugese was for the purpose of building a mercantile factory. From the moment Bahá'dur discovered they had raised formidable fortifications, especially when by the withdrawal of the Mughals he no longer had any motive for keeping on terms with them, he resolved to wrest the fort out of the hands of the Portugese. On the plea of separating the natives from the Europeans, Bahá'dur instructed his governor of Din to build a wall with a rampart capable of being mounted with guns. But as this created much dispute and ill-will the rampart was given up. Bahá'dur next attempted to seize Emanuel de Souza the captain of Din fort. With this object he invited De Souza to his camp. De Souza was warned but determined to accept Bahá'dur's invitation. He went attended by only one servant, an act of courage which

1 See above page 356. The Portugese details have been obtained through the kindness of Dr. Gerino Da Cunha,
Bāhādur so greatly admired that he treated him with honour and allowed him to return in safety. Bāhādur next schemed to secure DeSouza in the fort by surprise. With this end he began to pay the Portuguese officers visits at all hours. But DeSouza was always on his guard and Bāhādur's surprise visits failed to give him an opportunity. In 1536 DeSouza wrote to the viceroy complaining of the bad feeling of the Gujarāt Moors towards the Portuguese in Din and of the efforts of the king to drive them out of the fort. In consequence of DeSouza's letter Nono daCunha the viceroy arrived at Din early in 1536-7. Bāhādur went to visit the viceroy on board the viceroy's ship. On his return he was attacked and leaping into the water was killed by a blow on the head and sunk.

Of the unplanned and confused circumstances in which the brave Bāhādur met his death four Musalmān and four Portuguese versions remain. The author of the Mirāt-i-Sikandar (Persian Text, 280-281) states that the Portuguese, who offered their help to Bāhādur in the days of his defeat by the emperor Humāyūn, obtained from him the grant of land at Din, and on this land built a fort. After the re-establishment of his power the Sultan, who had no longer any need of their help, kept constantly planning some means of ousting the Portuguese from Din. With this object Bāhādur came to Din and opened negotiations with the Portuguese viceroy, hoping in the end to get the viceroy into his power. The viceroy knowing that Bāhādur regretted the concessions he had made to them was too wary to place himself in Bāhādur's hands. To inspire confidence Bāhādur, with five or six of his nobles all unarmed, paid the viceroy a visit on board his ship. Suspecting foul play from the behaviour of the Portuguese the king rose to retire, but the Portuguese pressed upon him on all sides. He had nearly reached his boat when one of the Portuguese struck him a blow with a sword, killed him, and threw his body overboard.

The same author gives a second version which he says is more generally received and is probably more accurate. According to this account the Portuguese had come to know that Bāhādur had invited the Sultāns of the Dakhan to co-operate with him in driving the Portuguese from the Gujarāt, Konkan, and Dakhan ports. That the Portuguese viceroy had come with 150 ships and had anchored at Din off the chain bastion. That Sultān Bāhādur not suspecting that the Portuguese were aware of his insincerity went in a barge to see the fleet, and when he got in the midst of their ships, the Portuguese surrounded his barge and killed him with lances.

According to Farishtah (II, 442, 443, Pers. Text) on the invasion of Gujarāt by the emperor Humāyūn, Sultān Bāhādur had asked help of the Portuguese. When his power was re-established, Bāhādur, hearing of the arrival of between five and six thousand Portuguese at Din, feared they would take possession of that port. He therefore hastened to Din from Jūnāgaūd. The Portuguese who were aware that Humāyūn had withdrawn and that Bāhādur had re-established his power, preferred to attempt to gain Din by stratagem rather than by force. Bāhādur asked the viceroy to visit him. The viceroy feigned sickness and Bāhādur with the object of proving his goodwill offered to visit the viceroy on board his ship. On leaving the viceroy's ship to enter his own barge the Portuguese suddenly moved their vessel and Bāhādur fell overboard. While in the water a Portuguese struck the king with a lance and killed him.
Abul Fazl's account A.D. 1590 (Akbarnâmah in Elliot, VI. 18) seems more natural and in better keeping with Bahâdur's impetuous vigour and bravery than either the Gujarât or Farishâh's narratives. The Portuguese chief was apprehensive that as the Sultân was no longer in want of assistance he meditated treachery. So he sent to inform the Sultân that he had come as requested, but that he was ill and unable to go on shore, so that the interview must be deferred till he got better. The Sultân, quitting the royal road of safety, embarked on the 12th February 1536 (3rd Ramazan H. 943) with a small escort to visit the viceroy on board the viceroy's ship. As soon as Bahâdur reached the vessel he found the viceroy's sickness was a pretence and regretted that he had come. He at once sought to return. But the Portuguese were unwilling that such a prey should escape them and hoped that by keeping him prisoner they might get more ports. The viceroy came forward and asked the Sultân to stay a little and examine some curiosities he had to present. The Sultân replied that the curiosities might be sent after him and turned quickly towards his own boat. A European kâri or priest placed himself in the Sultân's way and bade him stop. The Sultân, in exasperation, drew his sword and cleft the priest in twain. He then leaped into his own boat. The Portuguese vessels drew round the Sultân's boat and a fight began. The Sultân and Râmi Khân threw themselves into the water. A friend among the Portuguese stretched a hand to Râm Khân and saved him; the Sultân was drowned in the waves.

Of the four Portuguese versions of Bahâdur's death the first appears in Correia's (A.D. 1512-1550) Lendas Da Asia, A.D. 1497 to 1550; the second in DeBarros' (died A.D. 1570) Décadas, A.D. 1497 to 1539; the third in Do Couto's (died A.D. 1600?) continuation of DeBarros, A.D. 1529 to 1600; and the fourth in Faria-c-Souza's (died A.D. 1650) Portuguesa Asiâ to A.D. 1640. A fifth reference to Bahâdur's death will be found in Castaneda's Historia which extends to A.D. 1588.

As Correia was in India from A.D. 1532 till his death in Goa in A.D. 1550, and as his narrative was never published till A.D. 1856-64 has the highest reputation for accuracy of detail his version carries special weight. According to Correia (Lendas Da Asia, Vol. III. Chap. XCVI.) during the monsoon of 1536, Nuno deCunha the viceroy received by land a letter from Manoel deSouza the captain of Din fort, telling him of the discontent of the Gujarât Moors with king Bahâdur for allowing the Portuguese to build a fort at Din. In consequence of this information early in the fair season Nuno deCunha sailed from Goa in his own galleon accompanied by about ten small vessels justas and kafura under the command of Antonio deSylveira. Nuno reached Din about the end of December. King Bahâdur was glad that the viceroy should come to Din almost alone since it seemed to show he was not aware of Bahâdur's designs against the Portuguese. When Bahâdur arrived at Din he sent a message to the viceroy inviting him to some ashore to meet him as he had important business to transact. The king's messenger found the viceroy ill in bed, and brought back a message that the viceroy would come ashore to meet the king in the evening. Immediately after the king's messenger left, Manoel deSouza, the captain of Din fort, came on board to see the viceroy. The viceroy told Manoel to go and thank the king and to return his visit. The king expressed his grief at the viceroy's illness and proposed to start at once to see him. He went to his barge and rowed straight to the viceroy's
HISTORY OF GUJARAT.

Appendix I.

THE DEATH OF SULTAN BAHÄDUR. A.D. 1529-1530.

The king had with him, besides the interpreter St. Jago, seven men and two pages, one carrying a sword and the other a bow. The captain of the fort and some other officers in their own barges followed the king. Bahadur, who was the first to arrive, came so speedily that the viceroy had hardly time to make preparations to receive him. He put on heavy clothes to show he was suffering from ague and ordered all the officers to be well armed. When Bahadur came on board he saw the men busy with their weapons but showed no signs that he suspected foul play. He went straight to the viceroy's cabin. The viceroy tried to get up but Bahadur prevented him, asked how he was, and returned at once to the deck. As Bahadur stood on the deck the captain of the fort boarded the galley, and, as he passed to the cabin to see the viceroy, Bahadur laughingly upbraided him with being behind time. Then without taking leave of the viceroy Bahadur went to his barge. When the viceroy learned that the king had left he told the captain to follow the king and to take him to the fort and keep him there till the viceroy saw him. The captain rowed after the king who was already well ahead. He called to the king asking him to wait. The king waited. When the captain came close to the king's barge he asked the king to come into his vessel. But the interpreter without referring to the king replied that the captain should come into the king's barge. DeSouza ordered his boat alongside. His barge struck the king's barge and DeSouza who was standing on the poop tripped and fell into the water. The rowers of the royal barge picked him out and placed him near the king who laughed at his wet clothes. Other Portuguese barges whose officers thought the Moors were fighting with the captain began to gather. The first to arrive was Antonio Cardosa. When Cardosa came up the interpreter told the king to make for land with all speed as the Portuguese seemed to be coming to seize and kill him. The king gave the order to make for the shore. He also told the page to shoot the hollow arrow whose whistling noise was a danger signal. When the Moors in the king's barge heard the whistle they attacked Manoel deSouza, who fell dead into the sea. Then Diogo de Mesquita, D'Almeida, and Antonio Correa forced their way on to the king's barge. When the king saw them he unsheathed his sword and the page shot an arrow and killed Antonio Cardosa, who fell overboard and was drowned. D'Almeida was killed by a sword-cut from a Moor called Tiger and Tiger was killed by Correa. At that moment Diogo de Mesquita gave the king a slight sword-cut and the king jumped into the sea. After the king, the interpreter and Rumi Khan, two Moors, and all the rowers leapt into the water. The Portuguese barges surrounded them and the men struck at the three swimmers with lances and oars. The king twice cried aloud 'I am Sultan Bahadur' hoping that some one would help him. A man who did not know that he was the king struck Bahadur on the head with a club. The blow was fatal and Bahadur sank. The second version is given by Barros (A.D. 1560) in his Decadas da Asia, Vol. V, page 357 of the 1707 edition. The third version by Do Couto (A.D. 1600) in his continuation of Barros' Decadas, and the fourth by Faria-e-Souza (A.D. 1650) in his Portuguese Asia are in the main taken from De Barros. The following details are from Steere's (A.D. 1697) translation of Faria given in Briggs' Muhammadan Power in India, IV, 133-138.

Bahadur king of Cambay, who had recovered his kingdom solely by the assistance of the Portuguese, now studied their ruin, and repenting of the leave he had granted to build a fort at Diu endeavoured to
take it and to kill the commander and the garrison. Nono da Cunha the Portuguese vicerey understood his designs and prepared to prevent them. Emanuel deSouza who commanded at Diu was warned by a Moor that the king would send for him by a certain Moor and kill him. DeSouza determined to go, and, when sent for, appeared with only one servant. Admiring DeSouza's courage the king treated him honourably and allowed him to return in safety. The king's mother tried to disuade her son from plotting against DeSouza but to no effect. To remove suspicion Bahadur began to pay the Portuguese officers visits at unseasonable hours, but was never received by DeSouza on his guard. Meanwhile, on the 9th January 1536, Nono daCunha the Portuguese vicerey set out from Goa for Diu with 300 sail. When he put in at Chaul he found Nizam-ul-Mulk who pretended he had come to divert his women by sea but really with designs on that place. When Nono reached Diu the king was hunting in the mountains and Nono apprised him of his arrival. The king sent for him by a Portuguese apostate of the name of John de St. Jago called Firangi Khan, but Nono daCunha pleaded illness. The king pretending great friendship came to Diu accompanied by Emanuel deSouza, who had brought the last message from DaCunha. At Diu the king went on board the vicerey's ship and for a time they discoursed. The king was troubled at a page whispering something to DaCunha, but as DaCunha took no notice his suspicions were allayed. The message was from DeSouza, stating that the captains whom he had summoned were awaiting orders to secure or kill the king. DaCunha thought it strange that DeSouza had not killed the king while he was in his power in the fort; and DeSouza thought it strange that DaCunha did not now seize the king when he was in his power in the ship. DaCunha directed all the officers to escort the king to the palace and then accompany DeSouza to the fort, where DaCunha intended to seize the king when he came to visit him. The king on his part had resolved to seize DaCunha at a dinner to which he had invited him and send him in a cage to the Great Turk. DeSouza who was going to invite the king to the fort after DaCunha had entered it, came up with the king's barge and delivered his invitation through Rumi Khan. Rumi Khan warned the king not to accept it. The king disregarding this warning invited DeSouza into his barge. While stepping into the king's barge DeSouza fell overboard, but was picked up by officers who carried him to the king. At this time three Portu-
guese barges came up and some of the officers seeing DeSouza hastily enter the king's barge drew close to the king's barge. The king remem-
bering Rumi Khan's warning ordered Emanuel deSouza to be killed. James deMesquita understanding the order flew at and wounded the king. An affray followed and four Portuguese and seven of the king's men were killed. The king tried to get away in a boat but a cannon shot killed three of his rowers and he was stopped. He next attempted to escape by swimming, but being in danger of drowning discovered himself by crying for help. A Portuguese held out an ear to him; but others struck him fatal blows, so that he sank.

The conclusion to be drawn from these four Mulsamán and four
Portuguese versions is that on either side the leader hoped by some
future treachery to seize the person of the other; and that mutual
suspicion turned into a fatal affray a meeting which both parties inten-
ded should pass peacefully and lull the other into a false and favourable
security.

* 1716-45.
APPENDIX II.

THE HILL FORT OF MANDU.

PART I.—DESCRIPTION.

Mandu, about twenty-three miles south of Dhar in Central India, is a
wide waving hill-top, part of the great wall of the Vindhyan range. The
hill-top is three to four miles from north to south and four to five miles
from east to west. On the north, the east, and the west, Mandu is islanded
from the main plateau of Malwa by valleys and ravines that circle round
to its southern face, which stands 1200 feet out of the Nimar plain. The
area of the hill-top is over 12,000 English acres, and has broken its out-
line, that the encircling wall is said to have a length of between thirty-seven
and thirty-eight miles. Its height, 1950 feet above the sea, secures for
the hill-top at all seasons the boon of fresh and cool air.

About twenty miles south of Dhar the level cultivated plateau breaks
into woody glades and uplands. Two miles further is the plain is left by
two great ravines, which from their deeper and broader southern months
700 to 800 feet below the Dhar plateau, as they wind northwards, narrow
and rise, till, to the north of Mandu hill, they shallow into a woody dip or
valley about 300 yards broad and 200 feet below the south crest of
Malwa. From the south crest of the Malwa plateau, across the steep tops
of this wild valley, stand the cliffs of the island Mandu, their crests
crowned by the great Dehli gateway and its long lofty line of flanking
walls. At the foot of the sudden dip into the valley the Alamgir or
World-Guarding Gate stands sentinel. Beyond the gateway, among wild
reaches of rock and forest, a noble causeway with high domed tents
on either hand fills the lowest dip of the valley. From the south end of
the causeway the road winds up to a second gateway, and beyond the
second gateway between side walls climbs till at the crest of the slope it
passes through the ruined but still lofty and beautiful Dehli or northern
gateway, one of the earliest works of Dilawar Khan (A.D. 1400), the
founder of Musalmán Mandu.

Close inside of the Dehli gate, on the right or west, stands the handsome, Hindola Palace. The name Hindola, which is probably the title of the
builder, is explained by the people as the Swingcot palace, because;
like the sides of the cage of a swinging cot, the walls of the hall bulge

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1 The following Persian verses are carved on the Alamgir gateway:

In the time of 'Alamgir Aurangzeb (A.D. 1658-1707), the
ruler of the World,
This gate resembling the skies in altitude was built anew.
In the year A.H. 1079 (A.D. 1668) the work of renewal
was begun and completed.
By the endeavour of the exalted Khan Muhammad Beg
Khan.
From the accession of this Emperor of the World, Aurangzeb,
This was the eleventh year by way of writing and history.
below and narrow towards the top. Its great baronial hall and hanging windows give the Hindola palace a special merit and interest, and an air of lordly wealth and luxury still clings to the tree-covered ruins which stretch west to large underground cisterns and hot-weather retreats. About a quarter of a mile south stand the notable group of the Jaház Mehel or Ship palace on the west, and the Tapela Mehel or Caldron palace on the south, with their rows of lofty pointed arches below deep stone caves, their heavy windowless upper stories, and their massive arched and domed roof chambers. These palaces are not more handsomely built than finely set. The massive ship-like length of the Jaház Mehel lies between two large tree-girl ponds, and the Tapela, across a beautiful foreground of water and ruin, looks east into the mass of tangled bush and tree which once formed part of the 130 acres of the Lal Bagh or Royal Gardens.

The flat palace roofs command the whole 12,000 acres of Mándu hill, north to the knolls and broken uplands beyond the great ravine-must and south across the waving hill-top with its miles of glades and ridges, its scattered villages hamlets and tombs, and its gleaming groves of mangoes, khirmas, banyans, mukhwas and pipals. In the middle distance, cut from the tree-tops, stand the lofty domes of Hoshang's tomb and of the great Jámá mosque. Further south lies the tree-girl hollow of the Ságar Taláy or Sea Lake, and beyond the Ságar lake a woody plateau rises about 200 feet to the southern crest, where, clear against the sky, stand the airy cupolas of the pavilion of Rúp Mati, the beautiful wife of Báz Bahádur (A.D. 1551-1561), the last Sultan of Málwa. Finally to the west, from the end of the Rúp Mati heights, rise even higher the bare nearly isolated shoulder of Sonagud, the citadel or inner fort of Mándu, the scene of the Gujarát Bahádur's (A.D. 1531) daring and successful surprise. This fair hill-top, beautiful from its tangled wildness and scattered ruins, is a strange contrast to Mándu, the capital of a warlike independent dynasty. During the palmy days of the fifteenth century, of the 12,000 acres of the Mándu hill-top, 560 were fields, 370 were gardens, 200 were wells, 780 were lakes and ponds, 100 were bazar roads, 1500 were dwellings, 200 were rest-houses, 260 were baths, 470 were mosques, and 334 were palaces. These allotments crowded out the wild to a narrow pinantage of 1560 acres of knolls and ridges.

From the Jaház Mehel the road winds through fields and woods, gemmed with peacock and droll with monkeys, among scattered palaces mosques and tombs, some shapely some in heaps, about a mile south to the walled enclosure of the lofty domed tomb of the establisher of Mándu's greatness, Hoshang Sháh Ghori (A.D. 1405-1432). Though the badly-fitted joinings of the marble slabs of the tomb walls are a notable contrast to the finish of the later Mughal buildings, Hoshang's tomb, in its massive simplicity and dim-lighted roughness, is a solemn and suitable resting-place for a great Pathan warrior. Along the west of the tomb enclosure runs a handsome flat-roofed colonnade. The pillars, which near the base are four-sided, pass through an eight-sided and a sixteen-sided belt into a round upper shaft. The round shaft ends in a square under-capital, each face of which is filled by a group of leafage in outline the same as the favourite Hindu Singh-málk or harned face. Over the entwined leafy horns of this moulding, stone brackets support heavy stone beams, all Hindu in pattern.1 Close to the east of Hoshang's tomb is Hoshang's

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1 Mr. Ferguson (Indian Architecture, page 543) says: "The pillars appear to have been taken from a Jain building." But the refinement on the square capital of each pillar of the Hindu Singh-málk or harned face into a group of leaves of the same...
Appendix II.
THE HILL FORT OF MANDU.

Description:

Jama Masjid or Great Mosque, built of blocks of red limestone. Hoshang's mosque is approached from the east through a massive domed gateway, and across a quadrangle enclosed on the east north and south by wrecked colonnades of pointed arches. The west is filled by the great pointed arches of the mosque in fair repair. On the roof of the mosque from a thick undergrowth of domeltes rise three lofty domes.

In front of the gateway of the Great Mosque, in the centre of a masonry plinth about three feet high, stands an iron pillar about a foot in diameter at the base and twenty feet high. Close to the east of the gateway is the site of Mehmud's (A.D. 1412) Tower of Victory, traces of which remained as late as A.D. 1840. About fifty yards further east are the ruins of a great building called the Ashrafi Mahal, said to have been a Musalmán college. To the northeast a banner marks a temple and the local state offices. South the road passes between the two lines of small houses and huts that make modern Mándu. Beyond the village, among ruins and huge swollen boobab stems, the road winds south along a downward slope to the richly-wooded lowland, where stretches to the west the wide coolness of the Súgar Taláv or Sea lake. Its broad surface covering 600 acres is green with fanlike lotus leaves, reeds, and water-grasses. Its banks are rough with bracken of tangled bulk from which, in uncrammed stateliness, rise lofty mhamuras, mangoes, kirnis, and pípals. To the east round a smaller tank, whose banks are crowned by splendid mangoes and tamarinds, stand the domes of several handsome tombs. Of some

outline shows that the pillars were specially carved for use in a Muslim building. The porch on the north side of the tomb enclosure is described (Ditto, page 543) as composed of pillars avowedly re-erected from a Jain building. This note of Mr. Ferguson's must have gone astray, as the north porch of Hoshang's tomb enclosure is in the plain massive pointed arch and square-shafted style of the tomb and of the great mosque. Mr. Ferguson's note apparently belongs to the second and smaller Jama Masjid, about a hundred yards east of the Sea or Súgar lake, the pillars of whose colonnade and porch are still enshrined by rows of the lucky face of the Hindu old horse.

1 Hoshang's great mosque has the following much damaged Persian inscription:

The mosque of exalted construction, the temple of heaven-

by altitude,

Whose every think pillar is a copy of the (pillars of the)
Sacred Temple (the Temple of Makkah),
On account of the greatness of its dignity, like the pigeons
of the Temple of Makkah,
Sacred angels of high degree are always engaged in hover-
ing around it,
The result of the events born of the merciless revolution of
the skies,
When the sun of his life came as far as the balcony (i.e. was ready to set),
A'asam Humayun (that is Malik Mughal) said...
The administration of the country, the construction of
buildings, and the driving back of enemies
Are things which I leave you (the son of A'asam Huma-

yún) as parting advice with great earnestness.
The personification of the kindness of Providence, the
Sultan Ala'ud-din (Mehmúd I, A.D. 1430-1469), who is
The outcome of the refuge of the Faith, and the satis-

fier of the wants of the people,
In the year A.H. 658 (A.D. 1454),
In the words of the above parting advice, finished the
construction of this building.
of these domes the black masses are brightened by belts of brilliant pale and deep-blue enamel. To the north of this overflow-pool a long black wall is the back of the smaller Jâma or congregation mosque, badly ruined, but of special interest, as each of its numerous pillars shows the uninjured Hindu Sîlah-ea'â or horned face. By a rough piece of constructive skill the original cross corners of the end cupolas have been worked into vaulted Musalmân domes.\footnote{This Jâma Mosque has the following Persian inscription dated H. 835 (A.D. 1131) :}

\begin{quote}
With good omens, at a happy time, and in a lucky and well-started year,

On the 4th of the month of Allah (Ramazan) on the great day of Friday.

In the year 835 and six months from the Hijrah (A.D. 1431).

Counted according to the revolution of the moon in the Arabian manner.

This Islamic mosque was founded in this world.

The top of whose dome rubs its head against the green canopy of Heavens.

The construction of this high mosque was due to Mughîs-ud-dîn-wad-dunya (Malik Mughî's), the father of Mehmûd I. of Malwa (A.D. 1430-1469), the redresser of temporal and spiritual wrongs.

Ulugh (brave), A'azâm (great), Humphîn (august), the Khan of the seven climes and the nine countries.

By the hands of his enterprise this so great mosque was founded,

That some call it the House of Peace, others style it the Kasbah.

This good building was completed on the last of the month of Shawa'âl (A.H. 835, A.D. 1431).

May the merits of this good act be inserted in the scroll of the Khan's actions!

In this centre may the praises of the sermon read (in the name) of Mehmûd Shah

Be everlasting, so long as mountains stand on the earth

And stars in the firmament.
\end{quote}

\footnote{The following Persian inscription carved on the entrance arch shows that though it may have been repaired by Eiz Bahadûr, the building of the palace was fifty years earlier (II. 914, A.D. 1508) :}

"In the time of the Sultan of Nations, the most just and great, and the most knowing and munificent Khâkâ'n Na'îsir Shah Khilji (A.D. 1500-1512). Written by Yû'sîf, the year (II. 914) (A.D. 1508)."

\footnote{With the completion of the dome of the mosque and the execution of the water-clock, the construction of the palace began. It was begun by Eiz Bahadûr, and was carried on by Shah Shâh Shâh, so that the whole work was completed by Mehmûd Shah.}

Appendix II.

The Hill Fort of Mânu. Description.
To the south of Bāz Bahādur’s Palace a winding path climbs the steep slope of the southern rim of Māndū. to the massive pillared cupolas of Bāp Mattī’s palace, which, clear against the sky, are the most notable ornament of the hill-top. From a ground floor of heavy masonry walls and arched gateways stairs lead to a flat masonry terrace. At the north and south ends of the terrace stand massive heavy-saved pavilions, whose square pillars and pointed arches support lofty deep-grooved domes. The south pavilion on the crest of the Vindhyān cliff commands a long stretch of the south face of Māndū with its guardian wall crowning the heights and hollows of the hill-top. Twelve hundred feet below spreads the dim hazy Nimār plain brightened eastwards by the gleaming coil of the Narbuda. The north pavilion, through the clear fresh air of the hill-top, looks over the entire stretch of Māndū from the high shoulder of Songad in the extreme south-west across rolling tree-brightened fields, past the domes, the tangle bush, and the broad gray of the Sea Lake, to the five-domed cluster of Hoshang’s mosque and tomb, on, across a sea of green tree tops, to the domed roof-chambers of the Jāhāz and Tapels palaces, through the Dehlī gateway, and, beyond the deep cleft of the northern ravine, to the bare level and the low ranges of the Mālwa plain.

From the Rewa Pool a path, along the foot of the southern height among noble solitary mahaus and kharīs, across fields and past small clusters of huts, guides to a flight of steps which lead down to a deep shady rock-cut cell where a Muhammadan chamber with great open arched front looks out across a fountained courtyard and sloping scalloped water table to the wild western slopes of Māndū. This is Nilkanth, where the emperor Akbar lodged in A.D. 1574, and which Jahangir visited in A.D. 1617.1

From the top of the steps that lead to the cell the hill stretches west bare and stony to the Songad or Tārāpur gateway on the narrow neck beyond which rises the broad shoulder of Songad, the lofty south-west limit of the Māndū hill-top.2

PART II.—HISTORY3

The history of Māndū belongs to two main sections, before and after the overthrow by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1563 of the independent power of the Sultāns of Mālwa.

SECTION I.—THE MĀLWA SULTĀNS, A.D. 1490-1570.

Of early Hindu Māndū, which is said to date from A.D. 313, nothing is known.4 Hind spire stones are built into the Hindola palace walls; and the pillars of the lesser Jāmā mosque, about a hundred yards from the east end of the sea or Sāgar Lake, are Hindu apparently Jain. Of these local Hind chiefs almost nothing is known except that their fort was

1 Translations of its two much-admired Persian inscriptions are given below pages 370-371.
2 On the Tārāpur gateway a Persian inscription of the reign of the emperor Akbar (A.D. 1566-1605) states that the royal road that passed through this gateway was repaired by Tahir Muhammad Hasan Inīsī-ul-dīn.
3 The Persian references and extracts in this section are contributed by Khan Sīhēb Fāzi-ul-lāh Lutfullāh Yarīl of Surat.
4 Sir John Malcolm in Eastwick’s Handbook of the Punjab, 119. This reference has not been traced. Parīshah (Elliot, VI, 563) says Māndū was built by Anand Dév of the Bais tribe, who was a contemporary of Khurram Pārīsh the Sasanian (A.D. 591-631).
taken and their power brought to an end by Sultan Shams-ud-din Altamash about A.D. 1234. 1 Dhâr, not Mându, was at that time the capital. It seems doubtful whether Mându ever enjoyed the position of a capital till the end of the fourteenth century. In A.D. 1401, in the ruin that followed Timur's (A.D. 1398-1400) conquest of Northern India, a Pathan from the country of Ghor, Dilawar Khan Ghorî (A.D. 1357-1406), at the suggestion of his son Alp Khan, assumed the white canopy and scarlet pavilion of royalty. 7 Though Dhâr was Dilawar's head-quarters he sometimes stayed for months at a time at Mându, 7 strengthening the defences and adorning the hill with buildings, as he always entertained the desire of making Mându his capital. Three available inscriptions of Dilawar

1 The date is uncertain. Compare Elphinstone's History, 323; Briggs' Farishtah, I. 210-211; Tahâkât-i-Mansûr in Elliot, II. 399. The conquest of Mându in A.D. 1237 is not Mându in Malwa as Elphinstone and Briggs supposed, but Mândur in the Sivalik Hills. See Elliot, Vol. II, page 376 Note I. The Persian text of Farishtah (I. 110), though by mistake calling it Mându (not Mândur), notes that it was the Mândur in the Sivalik Hills. The Persian text also terms it Bilâli-Sâvâlî or the Sâvâlî countries. The date of the conquest of the Sivalik Mândur by Alph Khan is given by Farishtah (Digit) as A.D. 634 (A.D. 1237). The conquest of Malwa by Alph Khan, the taking by him of Bhiisah and Bijnor, and the destruction of the temple of Mahâ Kâli, and the stars, or image of Sikramuji, are given as occurring in A.D. 631 (A.D. 1234). The Mirât-i-Shahâristân.-Farishtah (Persian Text, II) notices an expedition made in A.D. 1235 by Zafar Khan (Mansûr I. of Gujarât) against a Hindu chief of Mându, who, it was reported, was opposing the Musulmâns. A siege of more than twelve months failed to capture the fort.

2 Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 108. According to the Wâkât-i-Mushâabi (Elliot, IV, 533) Dilawar Khan, or as the writer calls him Amin Shâh, through the good offices of a merchant whom he had refrained from plundering obtained the grant of Mândur, which was entirely desolate. The king sent a robe and a horse, and Amin gave up walking and took to riding. He made his friends ride, elected horsemen, and promoted the cultivation of the country (Elliot, IV, 552). Farishtah (Pers. Text, II. 450-61) states that when Sultan Muhammad, the son of Firuz Tughlak, made Khwaja Sarwar his chief minister with the title of Khwaja Jehan, and gave Zafar Khan the vice-royalty of Gujarât and Khwâjâ Khân that of Multân, he sent Dilawar Khan to be governor of Malwa. In another passage Farishtah (II. 461) states that one of Dilawar's grandfathers, Sultan Shahâshâh-ud-din, came from Ghor and took service in the court of the Delhi Sultanâns. His son rose to be an Amir, and his grandson Dilawar Khan, in the time of Sultan Firuz, became a leading nobleman, and in the reign of Muhammad, son of Firuz, obtained Malwa in fee. When the power of the Tughlaks went to ruin Dilawar assumed the royal emblems of the umbrella and the red-lent.

3 Dilawar Khan Ghorî, whose original name was Hashín, was one of the grandsons of Sultan Shahâshâh-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam. He was one of the nobles of Muhammad, the son of Firuz Tughlak, who after the death of that monarch, settled in and asserted his power over Malwa. (Pers. Text Farishtah, II. 460). The emperor Jehangîr (who calls him Anîsh Shâh Ghorî) attributes to him the construction of the fort of Dhâr. He says (Memoirs Pers. Text, 201-202). Dhâr is one of the oldest cities of India. Râja Bhoj, one of the famous ancient Hindu kings, lived in this city. From his time up to this a thousand years have passed. Dhâr was also the capital of the Muhammadan rulers of Malwa. When Sultan Muhammad Tughlak (A.D. 1325) was on his way to the conquest of the Dakhan he built a cut stone fort on a raised site. Its outline is very elegant and beautiful, but the space inside is empty of buildings. Anîsh Shâh Ghorî, king of Dhâr and Dilawar Khan, who in the days of Sultan Muhammad the son of Sultan Firuz, king of Delhi, had the independent rule of Malwa, built on this fort an assembly mosque, which has in front of it fixed in the ground a four-cornered iron column about four feet round. When Sultan Bahâdur of Gujarât took Malwa (A.D. 1530-31) he wished to carry this column to Gujarât. In digging it up the pillar fell and broke in two, one piece measuring twenty-two feet the other thirteen feet. As it was lying here uncared-for I (Jehangîr) ordered the big piece to be carried to Agra to be put up in the courtyard of the shrine of him whose abode is the heavenly throne (Akbar), to be utilised as an lamp post. The mosque has two gates. In
Khán (A.D. 1387-1406) seem to show that he built an assembly mosque near the Ship Palace, a mosque near the Dehli Gate, and a gate at the entrance to Songdha, the south-west corner and citadel of Mándu, afterwards known as the Tarâpur Gate.

In A.D. 1398 Alp Khán, son of Diláwar Khán, anointed with his father for entertaining as his overlord at Dhrá Mehrmúd Taghlak, the refugee monarch of Dehli, withdrew to Mándu. He stayed in Mándu for three years, laying, according to Farishtah, the foundation of the famous fortress of solid masonry which was the strongest fortification in that part of the world.1 On his father's death in A.D. 1405 Alp Khán took the title of Sultan Hoshang, and moved the capital to Mándu. The rumour that Hoshang had poisoned his father gave Diláwar's brother in arms, Muzaffar Sháh of Gujarát (A.D. 1399-1411), an excuse for an expedition against Hoshang.2 Hoshang was defeated at Dhrá, made prisoner, and carried to Gujarát, and Muzaffar's brother Nasrat was appointed in his place. Nasrat failed to gain the good will either of the people or of the army of Málwa, and was forced to retire from Dhrá and take refuge in Mándu. In consequence of this failure in A.D. 1408, at Hoshang's request Muzaffar set Hoshang free after a year's confinement, and deputed his grandson Ahmed to take Hoshang to Málwa and establish Hoshang's power.3 With Ahmed's help Hoshang took Dhrá and shortly after secured the fort of Mándu. Hoshang (A.D. 1405-1431) made Mándu his capital and spread his power on all sides except towards Gujarát.4 Shortly after the death of Muzaffar I. and the accession of Ahmed, when (A.D. 1444) Ahmed was quelling the disturbances raised by his cousins, Hoshang, instead of helping Ahmed as requested, marched towards Gujarát and created a diversion in favour of the rebels by sending two of his nobles to attack Broach. They were soon expelled by Ahmed Sháh. Shortly after Hoshang marched to the help of the chief of Jháláváda in Káthuáváda.

front of the arch of one gate they have fixed a stone tablet engraved with a prose passage to the effect that Ahmed Sháh Ghorí in the year H. 898 (A.D. 1405) laid the foundation of this mosque. On the other arch they have written a poetic inscription of which the following verses are a part:

The siege lord of the world.
The star of the sphere of glory.
The stay of the people.
The sun of the zenith of perfection.
The bulwark of the law of the Prophet, Amín Sháh Dávíd.
The possessor of amiable qualities, the pride of Ghor.
Diláwar Khán, the helper and defender of the Prophet's faith.
The chosen instrument of the exalted Lord, who in the city of Dhrá constructed the assembly mosque.

In a happy and auspicious moment on a day of lucky omen.
Of the date 608 years have passed (A.D. 1405)
When this fabric of Hope was completed.

1 Briggs' Farishtah, IV, 160.
2 When fellow-nobles in the court of the Taghlak Sultan, Zafar Khán (Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarát) and Diláwar Khán bound themselves under an oath to be brothers in arms, Farishtah, Pers. Text II. 462.
3 Briggs' Farishtah, IV, 173; Elphinston's History, 678.
4 Though their temples were turned into mosques the Jains continued to prosper under the Ghoris. At Deogarh in Jalípurá in Jhañá in the North-West Provinces an inscription of Samvat 1381, that is of A.D. 1424, records the dedication of two Jaina images by a Jain priest named Holi during the reign of Sháh Alamshákh of Mandapura, that is of Sháh Alp Khán of Mándu, that is Sultan Hoshang Ghorí. Archaeological Survey of India, New Series, II. 720.
and ravaged eastern and central Gujarat. To punish Hoshang for these acts of ingratitude, between a.d. 1418 and 1432, Ahmad twice besieged Mándu, and though he failed to take the fort, his retirement had to be purchased, and both as regards success and fair-dealing the honours of the campaign remained with Ahmad. In a.d. 1421 Hoshang went disguised as a horse-dealer to Jáyñagar (now Jāypur) in Cuttaek in Ocrissa. He took with him a number of cream-coloured horses, of which he had heard the Rája was very fond. His object was to barter these horses and other goods for the famous war elephants of Jáyñagar. An accident in the camp of the disguised merchants led to a fight, in which the Rája was taken prisoner and Hoshang was able to secure 150 elephants to fight the Gujarát Sultan. During Hoshang’s absence at Jáyñagar Ahmad pressed the siege of Mándu so hard that the garrison would have surrendered had Hoshang not succeeded in finding his way into the fort through the south or Tárâpur Gate. For ten years after the Gujarát campaign, by the help of his minister Malik Mughis of the Khilji family and of his minister’s son Mehmúd Khán, Málwa prospered and Hoshang’s power was extended. Hoshang enriched his capital with buildings, among them the Great Mosque and his own tomb, both of which he left unfinished. Hoshang’s minister Malik Mughis (who received the title of Ulugh Aánum Hamáyún Khán) appears to have built the assembly mosque near the Ságár Lake in Hoshang’s life-time, a.d. 1431. Another of his buildings must have been a mint, as copper coins remain bearing Hoshang’s name, and Mándu Shádiáábád as the place of mintage. In a.d. 1432, at Hoshangábád, on the left bank of the Narbás, about 120 miles east of Mándu, Hoshang, who was suffering from diabetes, took greatly to heart the fall of a ruby out of his crown. He said: A few days before the death of Pirúx Tughlak a jewel dropped from his crown. Hoshang ordered that he should be taken to Mándu. Before he had gone many miles the king died. His nobles carried the body, to the Madrasah or college in Shádiáábád or Mándu, and buried him in the college on the ninth day of Zil Hajjah, the twelfth month of a.d. 838 = a.d. 1434. The year of Hoshang’s death is to be found in the letters Ah Shah Hoshang na mund. Also, Shih Hoshang stayet ne. On Hoshang’s death his son Ghañzi Khán, with the title of Sultan Muhammad Ghori, succeeded. Malik Mughis, his father’s minister, and the minister’s son Mehmúd were maintained in power. In three years

2 Briggs’ Farishtháh, IV. 178, 179, 180, 181, 183.
4 Briggs’ Farishtháh, IV. 180.
5 Farishtáh, Pers. Text II. 488: The fort of Mándu is built on the top of a mountain, and the site of its fortification is about twenty-eight miles in length. In place of a moat it is surrounded by a deep chasm, so that it is impossible to take missiles against it. Within the fort water and provisions are abundant and it includes land enough to grow grain for the garrison. The extent of its walls makes it impossible for an army to invest it. Most of the villages near it are too small to furnish supplies to a besieging force. The south or Tárâpur gate is exceedingly difficult of access. A horseman can hardly approach it. From whichever side the fort may be attempted, most difficult heights have to be scaled. The long distances and intervening hills prevent the watchers of the besieging force communicating with each other. The gate on the side of Delhi is off easier access than the other gates.
6 It follows that Farishtáh (Briggs, IV. 196) is mistaken in stating that Hoshang’s son Muhammad gave Mándu the name of Shádiáábád, the Abode of Joy.
7 Farishtáh, Pers. Text II. 473-475. It seems to follow that from the first monument to Hoshang in Hoshangábád was an empty tomb. Compare Briggs’ Farishtháh, IV. 190-191.
Appendix II.  
THE HILL FORT OF MANMA.  
HISTORY.  
The Māla Sultanis.  
A.D. 1400-1570.

(His. 1433-1440), as Sultan Muhammad procured dissipated cruel and suspicious, Mehmud, the minister's son, procured his death by poison. Mehmud Kihli then asked his father to accept the succession, but his father declined, saying that Mehmud was fitter to be king. In A.D. 1436 Mehmud was accordingly crowned with the royal tiara of Hoshang. He conferred on his father the honour of being attended by mace-bearers carrying gold and silver sticks, who, when the Khan mounted or went out, had, like the mace-bearers of independent monarchs, the privilege of repeating the Bismillah. In the name of the compassionate and merciful Allah. He gave his father royal honours, the white canopy and the silver quiver, and to his title of Malik Ashraf Khan Jehan he added among others Amir-ul-Umara and Azam Hammayun. Mehmud quelled a revolt among his nobles. An outbreak of plague in the Gujarati camp relieved him from a contest with Ahmed Shah. In A.D. 1439 Mehmud repaired the palace of Sultan Hoshang and opened the mosque built in commemoration of that monarch which Farishta describes as a splendid edifice with 208 columns. About the same time Mehmud completed Hoshang's tomb which Hoshang had left unfinished. On the completion of this building Hoshang's remains seem to have been moved into it from their first resting-place in the college. In A.D. 1441 Mehmud built a

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1 The following, more detailed, but also more confused, story is told in the Wakili-Mushaki (Ellis, IV, 533-54): A man named Mehmud, son of Mughis Kihli, came to Hoshang and entered his service. He was a treacherous man, who secretly applied to the throne. He became minister, and gave his daughter in marriage to the king. Farishta, Pers. Text II, 174, says: "Malik Mughis gave his daughter (Mehmud's sister), in marriage, not to Hoshang, but to Hoshang's son Muhammad Shah." His father Malik Mughis, coming to know of his son's ambitious designs, informed the king of them. Heratuyun Mehmud feared illness, and to deceive the king's physicians shut himself in a dark room and drank the blood of a newly killed goat. When the physicians came Mehmud rose hastily, threw up the blood into a basin, and tossing back his head rolled on the floor as if in pain. The physicians called for a light. When they saw that what Mehmud had spat up was blood they were satisfied of his sickness, and told the king that Mehmud had not long to live. The king refrained from killing a flying man. This strange story seems to be an embellishment of a passage in Farishta (Pers. Text, II, 477). When Khan Jehan, that is Malik Mughis the father of Mehmud, was taken (as a hostage) by Sultan Muhammad to take the field against the rebel nobles of Nadir (Hadi), many of the old nobles of Malwa went with him. In their absence the party hostile to the Kihlija represented to Sultan Muhammad that Mehmud Kihlija was plotting his death. On hearing that the Kihlija was enraged against him Mehmud escaped, from the court on pretence of illness. At the same time he worked secretly and bribed Sultan Muhammad's cup-bearer to poison his master. On the death of Sultan Muhammad the party of nobles opposed to Mehmud, concealing the fact of Muhammad's death, sent word that Muhammad had ordered him immediately to the palace, as he wanted to send him on an embassy to Gujat. Mehmud, who knew that the Sultan was dead, returned word to the nobles that he had vowed a life-long seclusion as the seer of the shrine of his patron Sultan Hoshang, but that if the nobles came to him he would convince his that the good of his country depended on his going to Gujar at he was ready to go and see Sultan Muhammad. The nobles were caught in their own trap. They went to Mehmud and were secured and imprisoned by him.

2 Farishta, Pers. Text II, 480.

2 Briggs, Farishta, IV, 196. These titles mean: The Chief of Nobles, the Great, the August.

4 It is related that one of the pious men in the camp of Sultan Ahmed of Gujrat had a warning dream, in which the Prophet (on whom be peace) appeared to him and said: "The calamity of (spiritual) pestilence is coming down from the skies. Tell Sultan Ahmed to leave this country." This warning was told to Sultan Ahmed, but he disregarded it, and within three days pestilence raged in his camp. Farishta, Pers. Text II, 484.

5 Briggs, Farishta, IV, 260, gives 200 minarets and 300 arches. This must have been an addition in the text used by Briggs. These details do not apply to the building. The Persian text of Farishta, II, 485, mentions 208 columns or pillars (dasteh hohat wawawani). No reference is made either to minarets or to arches.
garden with a dome and palaces\(^1\) and a mosque at Naâlughah about three miles north of the Delhi Gate of Mândû, a pleasing well-watered spot where the plateau of Mâlwâ breaks into glades and knolls.\(^2\) In A.D. 1443 in honour of his victory over Râma Êëmbîla of Chitori, Mohâmmîd built a beautiful column of victory,\(^3\) seven storeys high, and a college in front of the mosque of Hoshang Ghîor. Facing the east entrance to the Great Mosque stands a paved ramp crowned by a confused ruin. As late as A.D. 1843 this ruin is described as a square marble chamber. Each face of the chamber had three arches, the centre arch in two of the faces being a door. Above the arch the wall was of yellow stone faced with marble. Inside the chamber the square corners were cut off by arches. No roof or other trace of superstructure remained.\(^4\) This chamber seems to be the basement of the column of victory which was raised in A.D. 1439 by Mohâmmîd I. (A.D. 1432-1469) in honour of his victory over Râma Êëmbîla of Chitori.\(^5\) Mohâmmîd's column has the special interest of being, if not the original, at least the cause of the building of Êëmbîla Râma's still unfinished Victory Pillar, which was completed in A.D. 1454 at a cost of 2300,000 in honour of his defeat of Mohâmmîd.\(^6\) That the Mândû Column of Victory was a famous work is shown by Abîl Fâzîl's reference to it in A.D. 1590 as an eight-storeyed minaret.\(^7\) Farâstâbâd, about twenty years later (A.D. 1610), calls it a beautiful Victory Pillar seven storeys high.\(^8\) The emperor Jehangîr (A.D. 1605-1627) gives the following account of Mohâmmîd's Tower of Victory: This day, the 29th of the month Tebrûz, corresponding to July-August of A.D. 1617, about the close of the day, with the ladies of the palace, I went out to see the Hozi Masâb or Seven Storeys, literally Seven Prospecta. This building is one of the structures of the old rulers of Mâlwâ, that is of Sultan Mohâmmîd Khâtîjî. It has seven storeys, and on each storey there are four porticoes, and in each portico are four windows. The height of this tower is about 163 feet and its circumference 150 feet. From the surface of the ground to the top of the seventh storey there are one hundred and seventy-one steps.\(^9\) Sir Thomas Herbert, the traveller, in A.D. 1626 describes it from hearsay, or at least at second-hand, as a tower 170 steps high, supported by massive pillars and adorned with gates and windows very observable. It was built, he adds, by Khân Jehân, who there lies buried.\(^10\)

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1 Farâstâbâd, Pers. Text II, 487.
2 Beigz' Farâstâbâd, IV, 267. Malcolm's Central India, I, 37. In A.D. 1817 Sir John Malcolm (Central India, I, 32) notes that on one of Mohâmmîd's palaces as a hot-water residence.
3 Of the siege of Êëmbîla a curious incident is recorded by Farâstâbâd (Pers. Text II, 484). He says that a temple outside the town destroyed by Mohâmmîd had a marble idol in the form of a goat. The Sultan ordered the idol to be ground into fine and sold to the Râjputs as breakfast tea, so that the Hindus might eat their gods. The idol was perhaps a ram, not a goat. The temple would then have been a Sun-temple and the ram, the carrier of the Sun, would have occupied in the poem a position similar to that held by the bull in a Mâlâmed temple.
4 Ruins of Mânû, 15.
5 In the end of A.D. 846 (A.D. 1442) Mohâmmîd built a seven-storeyed tower and a college opposite the Jami Mosque of Hoshang Shah. Beigz' Farâstâbâd, IV, 210; Persian Text II, 488.
6 Compare Beigz' Farâstâbâd, IV, 323.
7 Gladwin's Akbâr, II, 41.
8 Beigz' Farâstâbâd, IV, 210; Farâstâbâd, Persian Text II, 488.
10 Herbert's Khân Jehân is doubtless Mohâmmîd's father the minister Malik Mughîs, Khân Jehân Akhûm Rumâyân. It cannot be Khân Jehân Pîr Muhammad, Akhûr's general, who after only a few months' residence was slain in Mânû in A.D. 1651; nor can it be Jehangîr's great Afghan general, Khân Jehân Loli (A.D. 1690-1693), as he
Two years later (A.D. 1445) Mehmūd built at Māndū, and endowed with the revenues of several villages a large Shi'ā Khānqah or Hospital, with wards and attendants for all classes and separate apartments for manics. He placed in charge of it his own physician Maulāna Fazullāh. He also built a college to the east of the Jāmā mosque, of which traces remain.  

In A.D. 1453, though defeated, Mehmūd brought back from Gujarāt the jewelled waistbelt of Gujarāt, which in a daring charge he had taken from the tent of the Gujarāt king Kūb-ul-dīn Shāh. In A.D. 1441 Mehmūd’s father died at Mandīsr. Mehmūd felt the loss so keenly that he tore his hair like one bereft of reason. After his father’s death Mehmūd made his son Ghiyās-ul-dīn minister, and conferred the command of the army and the title of Aʿzām Humāyūn on his kinman Tāj Khān. In A.D. 1469, after a reign of thirty-four years (A.D. 1436-1469) of untiring energy and activity Mehmūd died. Fārisṭah says of him: His tent was his home: the field of battle his resting-place. He was polite, brave, just, and learned. His Hindu and Muslim subjects were happy and friendly. He guarded his lands from invaders. He made good his loss to any one who suffered from robbery in his dominions, recovering the amount from the village in whose lands the robbery had taken place, a system which worked so well that theft and robbery became almost unknown. Finally, by a systematic effort he freed the country from the dread of wild beasts.  

In A.D. 1469 Mehmūd was succeeded by his son and minister Ghiyās-ul-dīn, to whose skill as a soldier much of Mehmūd’s success had been due. On his accession Ghiyās-ul-dīn made his son Abdul-Kudr Prime Minister and heir-apparent, and gave him the title of Nāṣir-ul-dīn. He called his nobles, and in their presence handed his sword to Nāṣir-ul-dīn, saying: I have passed thirty-four years in ceaseless fighting. I now devote my life to rest and enjoyment. Ghiyās-ul-dīn, who never left Māndū during the whole thirty years of his reign (A.D. 1469-1499), is said to have completed the Jahāz Muhel or Ship-Palace, and the widespread buildings was not in Māndū until A.D. 1528, that is more than a year after Herbert left India. Compare Herbert’s Travels, 167-118; Elliot, VI. 249-259; VII. 5, 8, and 23; and Bichara’s Mināl-Akbār, 503-508.

1 Briggs’ Fārisṭah, IV. 214.
2 Bihishtī’s Mānū, 13. Fārisṭah has three mentions of colleges. One (Pers. Text. II. 473) as the place where the body of Ḥišābghān was carried, probably that prayers might be said over it. In another passage in the reign of Mehmūd I (Pers. Text. II. 480) he states that Mehmūd built colleges in his territories which became the envy of Shīʿah and Fārsīkand. In a third passage he mentions a college (page 488) near the Victory Tower.
3 Briggs’ Fārisṭah, IV. 217. A different but almost incredible account of the capture of the royal belt is given in the Mirāb-i-Fakhrī, Pers. Text. 160. When Sultan Kūb-ul-dīn, son of Sultan Muḥammad, defeated Sultan Muḥammad Khāji at the battle of Kapadvanj, there was such a slaughter as could not be exceeded. By chance, in the heat of the fray, which resembled the Day of Judgment, the war-dreiser of Sultan Kūb-ul-dīn, in whose charge was the jewelled belt, was by the readiness of his horse carried into the ranks of the enemy. The animal there became so violent that the war-dreiser fell off and was captured by the enemy, and the jewelled belt was taken from him and given to Sultan Muḥammad of Māndū. The author adds: This jewelled waistband was in the Mīrāb treasury at the time the fortress of Māndū was taken by the strength of the arm of Sultan Musafar (A.D. 1531). Sultan Musafar sent this belt togethewr with a silver sword and horse to Sultan Musafar by the hands of his son.
4 Briggs’ Fārisṭah, IV. 209.
5 Briggs’ Fārisṭah, IV. 234-235; Pers. Text. II. 503.
6 Briggs’ Fārisṭah, IV. 236.  
7 Notes of Mānū, 6.
which surround it. It seems probable that the Tapela Palace close to the
south-east of the Ship palace and the lake and royal gardens immediately
to the north and north-east of the Tapela palace were part of Ghiaś-ud-
dīn’s pleasure-houses and grounds. The scale of the ruins behind the
Hindola or Swingcot palace to the north, and their connection with the
out-buildings to the west of the Jahn Mahal, suggest that they also
belonged to the palaces and women’s quarters of the pleasure-loving
Ghiaś-ud-dīn.

Of the surprising size and fantastic arrangements of Ghiaś-ud-dīn’s
pleasure city, the true Mānḍu Shāhīlād or Abode of Joy, curious details
have been preserved. This Abode of Pleasure was a city not a palace. It
contained 15,000 inhabitants, all of them women, none either old or plain-
featured, and each trained to some profession or craft. Among them
were the whole officers of a court besides courtiers, teachers, musicians,
dancers, prayer-readers, embroiderers, and followers of all crafts and
callings. Whenever the king heard of a beautiful girl he never rested
until he obtained her. This city of women had its two regiments of guards,
the Archers and the Carabiners, each 500 strong, its soldiers dressed like
men in a distinguishing uniform. The archers were beautiful young
Tucki damsels, all armed with bows and arrows; the carabiners were
Abyssinian maidens, each carrying a carbine. Attached to the palace
and city was a deer park, where the Lord of Leisure used to hunt with his
favourites. Each dweller in the city of women received her daily dole of
grain and copper, and besides the women were many pensioners, mice
parrots and pigeons, who also received the same dole as their owners. So
evenly just was Ghiaś-ud-dīn in the matter of his allowances, that the
poorest of his favourites received the same allowance as the roughest
archers.¹

The Lord of the City of Pleasure was deeply religious. Whenever he
was amusing himself two of his companions held in front of him a cloth
to remind him of his shroud. A thousand Ḥājiraba, that is women who
knew the Kurān by heart, constantly repeated its holy verses, and, under
the orders of the king, whenever he changed his raiment the Ḥājiraba
blew on his body from head to foot with their prayer-hallowed breath.²
None of the five daily prayers passed unprayed. If at any of the hours
of prayer the king was asleep he was sprinkled with water, and when water
failed to arouse him, he was dragged out of bed. Even when dragged out of
bed by his servants the king never uttered an improper or querulous word.

So keen was his sense of justice that when one of his courtiers pretending
he had purchased her, brought to him a maiden of ideal beauty, and her
relations, not knowing she had been given to the king, came to complain,
though they gladly resigned her, the king grieved over his unconscious
wrong. Besides paying compensation he mourned long and truly, and
ordered that no more inmates should be brought to his palace.³ So great was
the king’s charity that every night below his pillow he placed a bag con-
taining some thousand gold-mohurs, and before evening all were distributed
to the deserving. So religious was the king that he paid 50,000
tankaś for each of the four feet of the ass of Christ. A man came bring-
ing a fifth hoof, and one of the courtiers said: “My Lord, an ass has
four feet. I never heard that it had five, unless perhaps the ass of
Christ had five.” “Who knows?” the king replied, “it may be that this

¹ Farishtah Pers. Text, II, 304-505.
² Farishtah Pers. Text, II, 305.
last man has told the truth, and one of the others was wrong. See that he is paid." So sober was the king that he would neither look upon nor hear of intoxicants or stimulants. A potion that had cost 100,000 tankas was brought to him. Among the 300 ingredients one was ratnagiri. The king directed the potion to be thrown into a drain. His favourite horse fell sick. The king ordered it to have medicine, and the horse recovered. "What medicine was given the horse?" asked the king.

"The medicine ordered by the physicians," replied his servants. Fearing that in this medicine there might be an intoxicant, the king commanded that the horse should be taken out of the stables and turned loose into the forest.

The king's spirit of peace steeped the land, which, like its ruler, after thirty years of fighting yearned for rest. For fourteen years neither inward malcontent nor foreign foe broke the quiet. In A.D.1492 Bahool Lodí advanced from Delhi to subdue Málwa. The talk of Mánúla was Bahool's approach, but no whisper of it passed into the charmed City of Women. At last the son-minister forced his way into the king's presence. At the news of pressing danger his soldier-spirit awoke in Ghías-ud-dín. His orders for meeting the invaders were so prompt and well-planned that the king of Delhi paid a ransom and withdrew. A second rest of fifteen years ended in the son-minister once more forcing his way into the Presence. In A.D.1500 the son presented his father, now an aged man of eighty, with a cup of sherbet and told him to drink. The king, whose armlet of bezar stone had already twice made poison harmless, drew the stone from his arm. He thanked the Almighty for granting him, unworthy, the happiest life that had ever fallen to the lot of man. He prayed that the sin of his death might not be laid to his son's charge, drink the poison, and die.

Ghías-ud-dín can hardly have shut himself off so completely from state affairs as the story-tellers make out. He seems to have been the first of the Málwa kings who minted gold. He also introduced new titles and ornaments, which implies an interest in his coinage.1 Farishtáh says that

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1 Wákít-i-Musháki in Elliot, IV, 354-356. Probably these are stock tales. The Gujarát historians give Mázáfkar and Mubarrad the credit for the horse assaults. See Mirát-i-Sikandári Pers. Text, 178.
2 Briggs' Farishtáh, IV, 236-239; Wákít-i-Jahangírí in Elliot, VI, 249-250; Wákít-i-Musháki in Elliot, IV, 551-552; Malcolm's Central India, I, 35-36. The Mirát-i-Sikandári (Pers. Text, 160) has the following notice of Ghías-ud-dín: The Sultán of Málwa had reached such a pitch of luxury and ease that it is impossible to imagine aught exceeding it. Among them Sultán Ghías-ud-dín was so famous for his luxurious habits that at present (A.D.1611) if any one exceeds in luxury and pleasure, they say he is a second Ghías-ud-dín. The orders of the Sultán were so great an event of a painful nature or one in which there was any touch of sadness should be related to him. They say that during his entire reign news of a sad nature was only twice conveyed to him: once when his son in-law died and once when his daughter was brought before him clothed in white. On this occasion the Sultán is said to have simply said: "Perhaps her husband is dead." This he said because the custom of the people of India is that when the husband of a woman dies she gives up wearing coloured clothes. The second occasion was when the army of Sultán Bahool Lodí plundered several of the districts of Chánderí. Though it was necessary to report this to the Sultán, his ministers were unable to communicate it to him. They therefore asked a band of actors (bánsula) to assume the dress of Afghánas, and making the districts to represent them as being pillaged and laid waste, Sultán Ghías-ud-dín exclaimed in surprise: "But if the governor of Chánderí die that he does not avenge upon the Afghánas the ruin of his country!"

3 Compare Catalogue of Indian Coins, The Mahomedan States, pages IIV, IV, and 118-121.
Ghiás-ud-din used to come out every day for an hour from his harim, sit on the throne and receive the salutations of his nobles and subjects, and give orders in all weighty matters of state. He used to entrust all minor affairs to his ministers; but in all grave matters he was so anxious not to shirk his responsibility as a ruler, that he had given strict orders that all such communications should be made to him at whatever time they came through a particular female officer appointed to receive his orders.  

According to most accounts Násir-ud-din was led to poison his father by an attempt of his younger brother Shujá Khán, supported if not organised by some of Ghiás-ud-din's favourite wives to cast Násir-ud-din from the succession. In the struggle Násir-ud-din triumphed and was crowned at Mándu in A.H. 1500. The new king left Mándu to put down a revolt. On his return to Mándu he devoted himself to debauchery and to hunting down and murdering his brother's adherents. He subjected his mother Khursád Rání to great indignities and torture to force from her information regarding his father's concealed treasures. In a fit of drunkenness he fell into a reservoir. He was pulled out by four of his female slaves. He awoke with a headache, and discovering what his slaves had done put them to death with his own hand. Some time after in A.D. 1512, he again fell into the reservoir, and there he was left till he was dead. Násir-ud-din was fond of building. His palace at Akbápur in the Nimar plain about twenty miles south of Mándu was splendid and greatly admired. And at Mándu besides his sepulchre which the emperor Jehangir (A.D. 1617) mentions, an

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1 Faridshah Pers. Text. II. 507.
2 Faridshah Pers. Text. II. 509, detailing how Násir-ud-din came to power, says: There was a difference between Násir-ud-din and his brother Alá-ud-din. The mother of these princes, Khursád Rání, who was the daughter of the Hindu chief of Bángána, had taken Alá-ud-din the younger brother's side. After killing his father's father Násir-ud-din ordered his mother to be dragged out of the harim and Alá-ud-din and his children to be slaughtered like lambs.
3 Briggs' Faridshah. IV. 238-250. Faridshah holds that Násir-ud-din's murder of his father is not proved. He adds (Pers. Text, II. 515) that Násir-ud-din was at Dibrá where he had gone to quell the rebellion of the nobles when the news of Ghiás-ud-din's death reached him. He argues that as a patricide cannot flourish more than a year after his father's murder, and as Násir-ud-din ruled for years after that event, he could not have killed his father.
4 Faridshah Pers. Text. II. 516.
5 Belgas' Faridshah. IV. 243. The emperor Jehangir (Memoirs Pers. Text. 181) says that Násir-ud-din had a disease which made him feel so hot that he used to sit for hours in water.
6 Wákhs-í-Jehangir in Elliot. VI. 330. Faridshah (Pers. Text. II. 517-18) says that Násir-ud-din died of a burning-fever he had contracted by hard drinking and other evil habits, that he showed from pontience before his death, and besmeared his kingdom to his third son Mehmed. The emperor Jehangir (Memoirs Pers. Text. 181) confirms the account of the Wákhs as to the manner of Násir-ud-din's death.
7 Briggs' Faridshah. IV. 243.
8 The emperor Jehangir thus describes (Memoirs Pers. Text. 181) his visit to Násir-ud-din's grave: It is related that when during his reign Shér Khán Afsánik (A.D. 1540-1555) visited Násir-ud-din's grave he ordered his attendants to flagellate the peregrine's tomb: When I visited the sepulchre I kicked his grave and ordered those with me to do the same. Not satisfied with this I ordered his bones to be dug out and burned and the ashes to be thrown into the Narinda.
9 Wákhs-í-Jehangir in Elliot. VI. 330. The emperor Jehangir (Memoirs Pers. Text. 202) refers to the well-known bridge and water-palace about three miles north of Ujjain as the site of the king's grave. He says: On Sunday I reached Nadulpur near Ujjain. In this village is a river house with a bridge on which are arches both built by Násir-ud-din and Khulji (A.D. 1590-1618). Though the bridge is not specially praiseworthy the water-courses and clitteries connected with it have a certain merit.
inscription shows that the palace now known by the name of Bāb Bahādur was built by Nāsir-ud-din.

Nāsir-ud-din was succeeded by his younger son (Mehmūd A.D. 1512-1530), who, with the title of Mehmūd the Second, was crowned with great pomp at Māndū. Seven hundred elephants in gold-embroidered velvet housings adorned the procession. Shortly after his accession Mehmūd II. was driven out of Māndū by the revolt of the commandant Muhātī Khān; but was restored by the skill and courage of Mehdī Rāi his Rājput commander-in-chief. A still more dangerous combination by Mūzaffar II. (A.D. 1511-1526) of Gujarāt and Sikandar Shah Lodi (A.D. 1488-1516) of Dehli, was baffled by the foresight and energy of the same Rājput general. Mehmūd, feeling that his power had passed to the Hindus, tried to dissuade the Rājputs and assassinate Mehdī Rāi. Failing in both attempts Mehmūd fled from Māndū to Gujarāt, where he was well received by Sultān Mūzaffar (A.D. 1511-1526). They advanced together against Māndū, and in A.D. 1519, after a close siege of several months, took the fort by assault. The Rājput garrison, who are said to have lost 12,000 men, fought to the last, concentrating the close of their defence by a general javelin or fire-sacrifice. Sultān Mehmūd entered Māndū close after the storming party, and while Mehmūd established his authority in Māndū, Mūzaffar withdrew to Dīhr. When order was restored Mehmūd sent this message to Mūzaffar at Dīhr: "Māndū is a splendid fort. You should come and see it." "May Māndū," Mūzaffar replied, "bring good fortune to Sultān Mehmūd. He is the master of the fort. For the sake of the Lord I came to his help. On Friday I will go to the fortress, and having had the sermon read in Mehmūd's name will return." On Mūzaffar's arrival in Māndū Mehmūd gave a great entertainment; and Mūzaffar

1 Briggs: Farishtah, IV. 248.
3 The Mūzaffarī (Pers. Text, 184) gives the following details of Mehmūd's flight: Sultān Mehmūd, on pretence of hunting left Māndū and remained hunting for several days. The Hindus, whom Mehdī Rāi had placed on guard over him, slept after the fatigue of the chase. Only some of the more trusted guards remained. Among them was a Rājput named Krishna, a Malwā zamīndār who was attached to the Sultān. Mehmūd said to Krishna: "Can you send me two horses and show me the way to Gujarāt that I may get aid from Sultān Mūzaffar to punish these rascals? If you can, do so at once, and, Allāh willing, you shall be bountiously rewarded." Krishna brought two horses from the Sultān's stables. Mehmūd rode on one and seated his dearest of wives, Rām Kamāna Kaur, on the other. Krishna marched in front. In half the night and one day they reached the Gujarāt frontier.
4 Tarikh-i-Shar Shāh in Elliot. IV. 386. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī (Pers. Text, 160) gives the following details of the banquet: Sultān Mehmūd showed great hospitality and humility. After the banquet as he led the Sultān over the palace, they came to a mansion in the centre of which was a four-corned building like the Kaaliān, varnished and gilded, and round it were many apartments. When Sultān Mūzaffar placed his foot within the threshold of that building the thousand beauties of Sultān Mehmūd's harem, magnificently appareled and jewelled, all at once opened the doors of their chambers and burst into view like hares and fairies. When Mūzaffar's eyes fell on their charms he bowed his head and said: "To see other than such own hares is sinful." Sultān Mehmūd replied: "These are mine, and therefore yours, seeing that I am the slave purchased by your Majesty's kindness." Mūzaffar said: "They are more desirable for you. May you have joy in them. Let them retire." At a signal from Sultān Mehmūd the ladies vanished,
retired to Gujarāt, leaving a force of 3000 Gujarātis to help to guard the hill.\(^1\) Immediately after Muzaffar’s departure, as Sūltān Mehmūd was anxious to recover Chanderi and Gāgarm, which still remained in the possession of Medānī Rāl and his supporters, he marched against them. Rāmā Sāngā of Chitor came to Medānī’s aid and a great battle was fought.\(^3\) Mehmūd’s hastiness led him to attack when his men were weary and the Rājputas were fresh. In spite of the greatest bravery on the part of himself and of his officers the Musalmān army was defeated, and Mehmūd, weakened by loss of blood, was made prisoner. Rāmā Sāngā had Mehmūd’s wounds dressed, sent him to Chitor, and on his recovery released him.\(^3\)

In a.d. 1526, by giving protection to his outlawed brother Chānd Khān and to Rāz-ī-Mulk, a refugee Gujarāt noble, Mehmūd brought on himself the wrath of Bahādūr Shāh of Gujarāt (a.d. 1526 - 1536). The offended Bahādūr did not act hastily. He wrote to Mehmūd asking him to come to his camp and settle their quarrels. He waited on the Gujarāt frontier at Karji Ghat, east of Bānawara, until at last satisfied that Mehmūd did not wish for a peaceful settlement he advanced on Māndū. Meanwhile Mehmūd had repaired the walls of Māndū, which soon after was invested by Bahādūr. The siege was proceeding in regular course by mines and batteries, and the garrison, though overtaxed, were still loyal and in heart, when in the dim light of morning Mehmūd suddenly found the Gujarāt flag waving on the battlements. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandar\(^4\) Bahādūr annoyed by the slow progress of the siege asked his spies where was the highest ground near Māndū. The spies said: Towards Songad-Chitor the hill is extremely high. With a few followers the Sūltān scaled Songad, and rushing down the slope burst through the wall and took the fort (May 20th, 1526).\(^5\) Mehmūd surrendered. Near Dohad, on his way to his prison at Chāmpānī, an attempt was made to rescue Mehmūd, and to prevent their escape he and some of his sons were slain and buried on the bank of the Dohad tank.\(^6\) Bahādūr spent the rainy season (June-October 1526) in Māndū, and Mālwa was incorporated with Gujarāt.

Māndū remained under Gujarāt, till in a.d. 1534, after Bahādūr’s defeat by Humāyūn at Mandasor, Bahādūr retired to Māndū. Humāyūn followed. At night 200 of Humāyūn’s soldiers went to the back of the fortress, according to Farishtah the south-west height of Songad\(^7\) by which Bahādūr had surprised Mehmūd’s garrison, scaled the walls by ladders and ropes, opened the gate, and let others in. Mālū Khān, the commandant of the batteries, a native of Mālwa, who afterwards gained the title of Kādir Shāh, went to Bahādūr and wakened him. Bahādūr rushed out with four or five attendants. He was joined by about twenty more, and reaching the gate at the top of the mandū, apparently the Tāsūpūr gate by which Humāyūn’s men had entered, cut through 200 of Humāyūn’s troops and went off with Mālū Khān to the fort of Songad.

\(^1\) Briggs’ Farishtah, IV, 260-262.
\(^3\) Briggs’ Farishtah, IV, 262-263.
\(^5\) Briggs’ Farishtah, IV, 267-68. Sūltān Bahādūr apparently surprised the party in charge of the Tāsūpūr or Southern Gate.
\(^6\) Briggs’ Farishtah, IV, 269; Mirāt-i-Ahmed, Persian Text, 70.
\(^7\) Briggs’ Farishtah, II, 77.
the citadel of Manda. While two of Bahadur's chiefs, Sadr Khan and Sultan Alauddin Lodi, threw themselves into Songad, Bahadur himself let his horses down the cliff by ropes and after a thousand difficulties made his way to Champaquir. 1 On the day after Bahadur's escape Sadr Khan and Sultan Alauddin Lodi came out of Songad and surrendered to Humayan. 2

In the following year (A.D. 1535) the combined forces of Sher Shah's revolt in Bengal, and of the defeat of his officers at Broach and Cambay, forced Humayan to retire from Gujarat. As he preferred its climate he withdrew, not to Agra but to Manda. 3 From Manda, as fortune was against him in Bengal, Humayan went (A.D. 1535-36) to Agra.

On Humayan's departure three chiefs attempted to establish themselves at Manda: Bhupat Rai, the ruler of Bijapur, sixty miles south of Manda; Mallu Khan or Kadir Shah, a former commandant of Manda; and Miran Muhammad Farrukh from Burhanpur. 4 Of these three Mallu Khan was successful. In A.D. 1536, when Humayan fled from Sher Shah to Persia, Mallu spread his power from Manda to Ujjain Sargapur and Rantamboor, assumed the title of Kadir Shah Malwi, and made Manda his capital. Some time after Sher Shah, who was now supreme, wrote to Mallu Kadir Shah ordering him to co-operate in expelling the Mughals. Kadir Shah resenting this assumption of overlordship, addressed Sher Shah as an inferior. When Sher Shah received Mallu's order he folded it and placed it in the scabbard of his pomander to keep the indignity fresh in his mind. Allah willing, he said, we shall ask an explanation for this in person. 5 In A.D. 1542 (II, 949) as Kadir Shah failed to act with Kutb Khan, who had been sent to establish Sher Shah's overlordship in Malwa, Sher Shah advanced from Gwalior towards Manda with the object of punishing Kadir Shah. 6 As he knew he could not stand against Sher Shah Kadir Shah went to Sargapur to do homage. Though on arrival Kadir Shah was well received, his kingdom was given to Shujaat Khan, one of Sher Shah's chief followers, and himself placed in Shujaat Khan's keeping. 7 Suspicions of what might be in store for

1 Abul Fazl's Akbar Namah in Elliot, VI, 14; Briggs' Faraishah, II, 77.
2 Abul Fazl's Akbar Namah in Elliot, V, 192.
3 Abul Fazl's Akbar Namah in Elliot, VI, 16; Briggs' Faraishah, II, 80-81.
4 Abul Fazl's Akbar Namah in Elliot, VI, 18. According to Faraishah (Pers. Text, II, 532) Mallu, the son of Mallu, was a native of Malwa and a Khilji slave noble. Mallu received his title of Kadir Shah from Sultan Mehmed III, of Gujarat (A.D. 1536-1544) at the recommendation of his minister Imam-ul-Mulk who was a great friend of Mallu. Mirat-I-Sikandari, Persian Text, 295.
5 Faraishah Pers. Text, II, 332.
6 Faraishah (Pers. Text, 533-34) refers to the following circumstance as the cause of Kadir Shah's suspicions. On his way to Sher Shah's darbar at Ujjain Kadir saw some Mughal prisoners in chains making a road. One of the prisoners seeing him began to sing:

Mard mi, his darja ashoul, a fird akhshiee u tum?
In this plight then seek me today,
This my curse is not far away.

When Kadir Shah escaped, Sher Shah on hearing of his flight exclaimed:

Hab mi, oon iba bhul
Mallu, Ghulam-e-Mallu.
Thus he treats us with scorn,
Mallu the slave born.

To this one of Sher Shah's men replied:

Kad-i-kudhi har hak
Ji khon e alif.
The words of the Prophet are true,
No good man a slave ever do.
him Kádir Sháh fled to Gujarát. Sher Sháh was so much annoyed at Shujádat Khán’s remissness in not preventing Kádir Sháh’s escape that he transferred the command to Dhar and Mándu from Shujádat Khán to Hájí Khán and Junáid Khán. Shortly after Kádir Sháh brought a force from Gujarát and attacked Mándu. Shujádat Khán came to Hájí Khán’s help and routed Kádir Sháh under the walls of Mándu. In reward Sher Sháh made him ruler of the whole country of Mándu. Shujádat Khán established his head-quarters at Mándu with 10,000 horse and 7000 matchlockmen.

During the reign of Sher Sháh’s successor Salim Sháh (A.D. 1545-1553), Shujádat was forced to leave Málwa and seek shelter in Dúngarpúr. Salim pardoned Shujádat, but divided Málwa among other nobles. Salim remained in Hindústán till in A.D. 1553, on the accession of Salim’s successor, Adíli, he recovered Málwa, and in A.D. 1554, on the decay of Adíli’s power, assumed independence. He died almost immediately after, and was succeeded by his eldest son Malik Báyázíd. Shujádat Khán was a great builder. Besides his chief works at Shujávalpúr near Ujjain, he left many monuments in different parts of Málwa. So far none of the remains at Mándu are known to have been erected during the rule of Shujádat Khán.

On the death of his father Malik Báyázíd killed his brother Daulá Khán, and was crowned in A.D. 1556 with the title of Bás Bahádúr. He attacked the Gonds, but met with so crushing a defeat that he forewarned fighting. He gave himself to enjoyment and became famous as a musician, and for his poetic love of Ráp Maní or Ráp Matí, who according to one account was a wise and beautiful courtezan of Saharánpúr in Northern India, and according to another was the daughter of a Nímar Rájput, the master of the town of Dharampuri. In A.D. 1560 Pir Muhammad, a general of Akbar’s, afterwards ennobled as Khán Jehán, defeated Bás Bahádúr, drove him out of Mándu, and made the hill his own head-quarters. In the following year (A.D. 1561), by the help of the Berár chief, Pir Muhammad was slain and Bás Bahádúr reinstated. On news of this defeat (A.D. 1562) Akbar sent Abdullah Khán Uatrak with almost unlimited power to reconquer the province. Abdullah was successful, but, as he showed signs of assuming independence, Akbar moved against him and he fled to Gujarát. Akbar remained in Mándu during the greater part of the following rains (A.D. 1563), examining with interest the buildings erected by the Khilji kings. At Mándu Akbar married the daughter of Mirín Mubárák Khán of Khánís. When Akbar left (August 1564) he appointed Kárn Bahádúr Khán governor of Mándu and returned to Agra. In A.D. 1568 the Mirzá, Akbar’s cousins, flying from Gujarát attacked

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1 Tarikh-i-Sher Sháh in Elliot, IV, 397.
2 Tarikh-i-Ali in Elliot, V, 168, 402-403.
3 Tarikh-i-Ali in Elliot, V, 168.
4 Briggs’ Farishtah, IV, 276.
5 When Bás Bahádúr attacked the Gonds their chief was dead, and his widow, Rání Dargázvátí, was ruling in his place. The Rání led the Gonds against the invaders, and humbling them in one of the passes, inflicted on them such a defeat that Bás Bahádúr fled from the field leaving his baggage and camp in their hands. Farishtah Pers. Text, II, 338.
6 According to Farishtah (Pros. Text, II, 338) Bás Bahádúr was already an adept in music.
7 Malcom’s Central India, I, 39; Ruins of Mándu, 36.
9 Blockman’s An-i-Akbari, 321.
10 Briggs’ Farishtah, IV, 231.
11 Briggs’ Farishtah, IV, 216.
12 Talabat-i-Akbari in Elliot, V, 294.
Appendix II.

THE HILL FORT OF MÁNDU.

HISTORY.
The Mughals, A.D. 1570-1720.

Ujjain. From Ujjain they retreated to Mándu and failing to make any impression on the fort withdrew to Gujarát. The Mírzas' failure was due to the ability of Akbar's general, Haji Muhammed Khán, to whom Akbar granted the province of Mándu. At the same time (A.D. 1568) the command of Mándu hill was entrusted to Sháh Buda'gh Khán, who continued commandant of the fort till his death many years later. During his command, in a picturesque spot overlooking a well-watered ravine in the south of Mándu, between the Ságar Lake and the Tárápír Gateway, Buda'gh Khán built a pleasure-house, which he named, or rather perhaps which he continued to call Nilkanth or Blue Throat. This lodge is interesting from the following inscriptions, which show that the emperor Akbar more than once rested within its walls.

The inscription on the small north arch of Nilkanth, dated A.D. 1574, runs:

(Call it not waste) to spend your life in water and earth (i.e. in building).
If perchance a man of mind for a moment makes your house his lodging,
Written by Sháh Buda'gh Khán in the year A.H. 962-87.8

The inscription on the great southern arch of Nilkanth, dated A.D. 1574, runs:

This pleasant building was completed in the reign of the great Sulá'n, the most munificent and just Khán, the Lord of the countries of Arabia and Persia, the shadow of God on the two earths, the ruler of the sea and of the land, the exalter of the standards of those who war on the side of God, Ábrúá Fátah Jálá'í-íd-dí'n Muhammed Akbar, the warrior king, may his dominion and his kingdom be everlasting.
Written by Fá'dú'n Husain, son of Ha'tim-al-Wardí, in the year A.H. 962.8

The inscription on the right wall of Nilkanth, dated A.D. 1591-92, runs:

In the year A.H. 1000, when on his way to the conquest of the Dákhán, the slaves of the Exalted Lord of the Earth, the holder of the sky-like Throne, the shadow of Alláh (the Emperor Akbar), passed by this place.
That time wastes your home cease, Soul, to complain,
Who will not scorn a complainer so vain.
From the story of others this wisdom derive,
Ere naught of thyself but stories survive.

The inscription on the left wall of Nilkanth, dated A.D. 1600, runs:

The (Lord of the mighty Presence) shadow of Alláh, the Emperor Akbar, after the conquest of the Dákhán and

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1 Tahákát-i-Akhári in Elliot, V. 530-31.
2 Blochmann's Ai'n-i-Akhári, 375.
3 The emperor Jéhángir thus describes (Memoire Pers. Text. 372) a visit to this building: On the third day of Amardal (July 1617) with the palace ladies. I set out to see Nilkanth, which is one of the pleasantest places in Mándu fort. Sháh Buda'gh Khán, who was one of the trusted nobles of my august father, built this very pleasing and joy-giving lodge during the time he held this province in def (a.d. 1579-1577). I remained at Nilkanth till about an hour after nightfall and then returned to my state quarters.
4 An officer who distinguished himself under Hamúyáín, one of Akbar's commanders of Three Thousand, long governor of Mándu, where he died, Blochmann's Ai'n-i-Akhári, 372.
5 When opposed to Árab the word Ájam signifies all countries except Arabia, and in a narrow sense, Persia. The meaning of the word Ájam is dumbness, the Arabs so glorying in the richness of their own tongue as to hold all other countries and nations dumb.
6 The stones on which this inscription is carved have been wrongly arranged by some restorer. Those with the latter portion of the inscription come first and those with the beginning come last, Mándu Abúr Rahmán of Dihár.
Dandes (Kha‘ndesh) in the year A.H. 1009 set out for Hind (Northern India). May the name of the writer last for ever!

At dawn and at eve I have watched an owl sitting
On the lofty wall-top of Shirwan Shah’s Tomb.

The owl’s plaintive hooting convey’d me this warning
" Here pomp, wealth, and greatness lie dumb."

In A.D. 1573, with the rest of Mawlana Akbar, handed Mându to Muzaffar III. the de-throned ruler of Gujrat. It seems doubtful if Muzaffar ever visited his new territory. On his second defeat in A.D. 1562 Báz Bahádúr retired to Gondwâna, where he remained, his power gradually waning, till in A.D. 1570 he paid homage to the emperor and received the command of 2000 horse. His decoration of the Rewa Pool, of the palace close by, which though built by Násir-ud-din Khîlji (A.D. 1500-1512) was probably repaired by Báz Bahádúr, and of Rüp Matî’s pavilion on the crest of the southern ridge make Báz Bahádúr one of the chief beautifiers of Mându. According to Farahshah (Pers. Text. II. 338-39) in 1562, when Báz Bahádúr went out to meet Akbar’s general, Adham Khán Atkah, he placed Rüp Matî and his other singers in Sârangpûr under a party of his men with orders to kill the women in case of a reverse. On hearing of Báz Bahádúr’s defeat the soldiers hastily salved as many of the women as they could and fled. Among the women left for dead was Rüp Matî, who, though dangerously wounded, was not killed. When Adham Atkah entered Sârangpûr his first care was to enquire what had become of Rüp Matî. On hearing of her condition he had her wound attended to by the best surgeons, promising her, as a help to her cure, a speedy union with her beloved. On her recovery Rüp Matî claimed the general’s promise. He prevaricated and pressed his own suit. Rüp Matî temporized. One night the impatient Turk sent her a message asking her to come to him. Rüp Matî to gain time invited him to her own pavilion which she said was specially adorned to be the abode of love. Next night the Atkah went to her house in disguise. Her women directed him to Rüp Matî’s coach. Adham found her robed and garlanded, but cold in death. Rüp Matî was buried on an island in a lake at Ujjaín, and there, according to the Ain-i-Akbari, Báz Bahádúr when he died was laid beside her.

Section II.—Mughals (A.D. 1570-1729) and Marâthâs (A.D. 1720-1820).

About A.D. 1590 Akbar’s historian, the great Abul Fazl, described Mându as a large city whose fortress is twenty-four miles (twelve leas) in circuit. He notices that besides in the centre of the hill where stands an eight-storeyed minaret, the city had many monuments of ancient magnificence, among them the tombs of the Khîlji Sultans. And that from the dome which is over the sepulchre of Sultan Mehmûd, the son of Hoshang (this should be the sepulchre of Hoshang built by his successor Sultan Mehmûd) water drops in the height of summer to the astonishment of the ignorant. But, he adds, men of understanding know how to account for the water-drops. Abul Fazl further notices that on Mându Hill is found a species of tamarind whose fruit is as big as the cocoanut, the pulp of

1 The maternal uncle of Naushirvân (A.D. 586-635) the Sassanian, Shirwan Shah was ruler of a district on Mount Camæna. Al Masudi, Arabic Text, Franchois d’Or, II 4, and Haukat-us-Safa, Persian Text, I. 239.
2 Blochmann’s Ain-i-Akbari, 393.
3 Briggs’ Farahshah, IV. 279.
4 Blochmann’s Ain-i-Akbari, 429.
5 Gladwin’s Ain-i-Akbari, II. 41.
Appendix II.  
THE HILL FORT OF MANDU.  
HISTORY.  
The Mughals.  
A.D. 1570-1729.  
which is very white. This is the African baobab or Adansonia digitata, known in Hindustani as goramli or white tamarind, whose great fruit is about the size of a cocoanut. Its monster baobabs are still a feature of Mându. Some among them look old enough to have been yielding fruit 300 years ago. Finally Abul Füzul refers to Mându as one of twenty-eight towns where Akbar’s copper coins were struck.1 About twenty years later (A.D. 1610) the historian Farišta2 thus describes the hill. The fort of Mându is a work of solid masonry deemed to be one of the strongest fortifications in that part of the world. It is built on an insulated mountain thirty-eight miles in circumference.3 The place of a ditch round the fortification is supplied by a natural ravine so deep that it seems impossible to take the fort by regular approaches. Within the fort is abundance of water and forage, but the area is not large enough to grow a sufficient store of grain. The hill cannot be invested. The easiest access is from the north by the Dehli Gate. The south road with an entrance by the Tharakpúr Gate is so steep that cavalry can with difficulty be led up. Like Abul Füzul Farišta notices that, except during the rains, water constantly comes from between the chinks in the masonry of the dome of Sultan Hoschhang’s tomb. He says the natives of India attribute this dropping to universal veneration for Sultan Hoschhang, for whose death, they say, the very stones shed tears.

Except that copper coins continued to be minted and that it was nominally one of the four capitals of the empire, during the emperor Akbar’s reign Mându was practically deserted. The only traces of Akbar’s presence on the hill are in two of the five inscriptions already quoted from the Nilkanth pleasure-house, dated A.D. 1591 and A.D. 1600.

After about fifty years of almost complete neglect the emperor Jehángir, during a few months in A.D. 1617, enabled Mându once more to justify its title of Shâdibâd, the Abode of Joy. Early in March A.D. 1617, in the eleventh year of his reign, the emperor Jehángir after spending four months in traversing the 189 miles from Aamir by way of Ujjain, arrived at Naâchah on the main land close to the north of Mându. The emperor notices that most of the forty-six marches into which the 189 miles were divided ended on the bank of some lake stream or great river in green grass and woody landscape, brightened by poppy fields. We came, he writes, enjoying the beauty of the country and shooting, never weary, as if we were moving from one garden to another.

Of the country round Naâchah Jehángir says:4 What can be written worthy of the beauty and the pleasantness of Naâchah. The neighbourhood is full of mango trees. The whole country is one unbroken and restful evergreen. Owing to its beauty I remained there three days. I granted the place to Kamál Khán, taking it from Keshava Márú, and I changed its name to Kamálpur. I had frequent meetings with some of the wise men of the jógis, many of whom had assembled here. Naâchah is one of the best places in Mâîwa. It has an extensive growth of vines, and among its mango groves and vineyards wander streamlets of water. I arrived at a time when, contrary to the northern climates, the vines were in blossom and fruit, and so great was the vintage that the meanest boor could eat grapes to his fill. The poppy was also in flower, and its fields delighted the eye with their many-coloured beauty.

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1 Bleicher’s A’in-i-Akbari, 31.  
2 Briggs’ Farišta, IV, 169, 181, 199.  
3 Nineteen fo, taking the fo to be two miles.  
Of the emperor’s entrance into Mándu the Memoirs have the following note: On Monday the 23rd of Ispandad, the last month of the Persian year, that is according to Sir Thomas Roe's account on the 6th of March 1617, when one quarter of the day had passed, I mounted my elephant, and, in good fortune and under kindly influences, made my happy entry into the fort of Mándu. About an hour (three ghadrí) later I entered the quarters which had been prepared to receive me. During my passage across the hill-top I scattered Rs. 1500. Before my arrival Abd ál Karim the engineer had been sent by me to repair the buildings of the former kings of Mándu. While my fortunate standards were at Ajmir Abdul Karim repaired such of the old Mándu buildings as were fit to be repaired and built others anew. On the whole he had provided quarters for me, the like of which have probably never been built in any other place. Three tuckás of rupees were spent on these repairs and buildings. I wish it had been possible to construct buildings like these in all cities likely to be visited by royalty. This fortress, he continues, stands on the top of a hill about thirty-six miles (18 kos) in circumference. They say that before the days of Rája Bikramáj a king was reigning over these parts who name was Jaisingh Deva. In his time a man went to the forest to cut grass. When he brought the grass back he found that the blade of his sickle had turned yellow. The grasscutter in his surprise went to Mándan, an ironsmith. Mándan knew that the sickle was gold. He had heard that in those parts was to be found the philosopher’s stone, whose touch turns iron and copper into gold. He told the grasscutter to lead him to the place where the sickle had turned yellow, and there he found the philosopher’s stone. The smith presented this treasure to his king. The king amassed untold wealth, part of which he spent in building Mándu fortress which he completed in twelve years. At the request of the smith on most of the stones in the walls a mark was cut in the form of an anvil. Towards the close of his life, when king Jaisingh Deva withdrew his heart from the world, he called many Bráhmans together on the bank of the Narhada close to Mándu. He gave each Bráhman a share of his wealth. And to the Bráhman in whom he had the greatest faith he gave the philosopher’s stone. Enraged at the gift of a paltry stone the Bráhman threw it into the Narhada, and there the philosopher’s stone still lies. The emperor continues: On the 20th of Farwardin, five weeks after my arrival (11th April 1617) in reward for his services in repairing the buildings of Mándu, I conferred on my engineer Abdul Karim the command of 1200 horse, with the title of Maámúr Khán.

Mándu had for the emperor the strong attraction of abundance of game. Among numerous entries of sujatí or blue-bull shooting the following occur: On the 4th of the first month of Farwardin (16th) March the watchmen of the chase brought word that they had marked down a lion near the Ságar Lake, which is a construction of the ancient rulers of Mándu. I mounted and proceeded towards the lake. When the lion broke cover he attacked and wounded ten or twelve of the Akádís and other men of my retinue. In the end I brought him down with three gun shots and saved God’s creatures from his evil. On the 22nd of the same month (April 3rd, 1617) the watchmen brought news of a tiger. I mounted forthwith and despatched him with three bullets. On the 7th of Ardhi Bihisht (April 18th, 1617) the watchmen brought word that they had marked down four tigers. At one in the afternoon I started for the

1 Literally single-men. The Akádís were a corps of men who stood immediately under the emperor’s orders. Blochman’s Asš-i-Akbar, 20 note 1.
place with Nür Jehân Begam. Nür Jehân asked my leave to shoot the
tigers with her gun. I said 'Be it so!' In a trice she killed these four
tigers with six bullets. I had never seen such shooting. To shoot from
the back of an elephant from within a closed howdah and bring down
with six bullets four wild beasts without giving them an opportunity of moving
or springing is wonderful. In acknowledgment of this capital marks-
manship I ordered a thousand ashrâfs (Rs. 4500) to be scattered over
Nür Jehân and granted her a pair of ruby wristlets worth a lâkh of
rupees. ¹

Of the mangoes of Mûndu Jehân says: In these days many mangoes
have come into my fruit stores from the Dakhan, Burhânpur, Gujarat,
and the districts of Mâlwa. This country is famous for its mangoes.
There are few places the mangoes of which can rival those of this country
in richness of flavour, in sweetness, in freedom from fibre, and in size. ²

The rains set in with unusual severity. Rain fell for forty days con-
tinuously. With the rain were severe thunderstorms accompanied by
lightning which injured some of the old buildings. ³ His account of the
beauty of the hill in July, when clear sunshine followed the forty days of
rain, is one of the pleasantest passages in Jehân's Memoirs: What
words of mine can describe the beauty of the grass and of the wild
flowers? They clothe each hill and dale, each slope and plain. I know
of no place so pleasant in climate and so pretty in scenery as Mûndu in
the rainy season. This month of July which is one of the months of the
hot season, the sun being in Leo, one cannot sleep within the house witho-
out a coverlet, and during the day there is no need for a fan. What I
have noticed is but a small part of the many beauties of Mûndu. Two
things I have seen here which I had seen nowhere in India. One of them
is the tree of the wild plantain which grows all over the hill top, the other
is the crest of the manulath or wagtail. Till now no bird-catcher could
tell its nest. It so happened that in the building where I lodged we
found a wagtail's nest with two young ones.

The following additional entries in the Memoirs belong to Jehân's
stay at Mûndu. Among the presents submitted by Mahâbbat Khân, who
received the honour of kissing the ground at Mûndu, Jehân describes
a ruby weighing eleven misâl. ⁴ He says: This ruby was brought to
Aqmîr last year by a Frankish jeweller who wanted two lâkh of rupees
for it. Mahâbbat Khân bought it at Burhânpur for one lâkh of rupees. ⁵

On the 1st of Tir, the fourth month of the Persian year (15th
May, 1617), the Hindu chiefs of the neighbourhood came to pay their

¹ This scattering of gold or silver or copper coin, called in Arabic and Persian misâr, is a
common form of offering. The influence of the evil eye or other harmful influence is
believed to be transferred from the person over whom the coin is scattered to the coin
and through the coin to him who takes it.

² This feat of Nür Jehân's drew from one of the Court poets the couplet:

Nür Jehân par ehib he mîrât ansâd
Dar ehib Mâshâh zum ehib aftânanat.
Nür Jehân the tiger-slayer's woman
Ranks with men as the tiger-slaying woman.

Shâruskan, that is tiger-slayer, was the title of Nür Jehân's first husband Ali-Kull
Istâliân.

⁴ Turânâ-i-Jehânîr Pers. Text, 189.
⁵ The misâl which was used in weighing gold was equal in weight to ninety-six
⁶ Turânâ-i-Jehânîr Pers. Text, 186.
respects and present their tribute. The Hindu chief of Jîtpûr in the neighbourhood of Mândû, through his evil fortune, did not come to kiss the threshold. For this reason I ordered Fidâûkhán to pillage the Jîtpûr country at the head of thirteen officers and four or five hundred matchlockmen. On the approach of Fidâûkhán the chief fled. He is now reported to regret his past conduct and to intend to come to Court and make his submission. On the 8th of Yûr, the sixth month of the Persian calendar (late July, A.D. 1617), I heard that while raiding the lands of the chief of Jîtpûr, Rûh-ul-lâh, the brother of Fidâûkhán, was slain with a lance in the village where the chief's wives and children were in hiding. The village was burned, and the women and daughters of the rebel chief were taken captives.

The beautiful surroundings of the Sâgar lake offered to the elegant taste of Nûr Jehân a fitting opportunity for honouring the Shab-i-Barât or Night of Jubilee with special illuminations. The emperor describes the result in these words: On the evening of Thursday the 12th of Asarbâdâd, the fifth month of the Persian year (early July, A.D. 1617), I went with the ladies of the palace to see the buildings and palaces on the Sâgar lake which were built by the old kings of Mândû. The 26th of Asarbâdâd (about mid-July) was the Shab-i-Barât holiday. I ordered a jubilee or assembly of joy to be held on the occasion in one of the palaces occupied by Nûr Jehân Begam in the midst of the big lake. The nobles and others were invited to attend this party which was organized by the Begam, and I ordered the cup and other intoxicants with various fruits and minced meats to be given to all who wished them. It was a wonderful gathering. As evening set in the lanterns and lamps gleaming along the banks of the lake made an illumination such as never had been seen. The countless lights with which the palaces and buildings were ablaze shining on the lake made the whole surface of the water appear to be on fire.

The Memoirs continue: On Sunday the 9th of Yûr, the sixth Persian month (late July), I went with the ladies of the palace to the quarters of Asaf Khán, Nûr Jehân's brother, the second son of Mirza Ghias Beg. I found Asaf Khán lodged in a glen of great beauty surrounded by other little vales and dellis with waterfalls and running streamlets and green and shady mango groves. In one of these dellis were from two to three hundred sweet pavannas or kowda trees. I passed a very happy day in this spot and got up a wine party with some of my lords-in-waiting, giving them bumpers of wine. Two months later (early September) Jehângir has the following entry regarding a visit from his eldest son and heir prince Khurram, afterwards the emperor Shah Jehân, who had lately brought the war in the Dakhân to a successful close. On the 8th of the month of Mîsh (H. 1026; according to Roe September 2nd, 1617), my son of exalted name obtained the good fortune of waiting upon me in the fort of Mândû after three-quarters and one ghâdî of the day had passed, that is about half an hour after sunrise. He had been absent fifteen months and eleven days. After he had performed the ceremonies of kissing the ground and the kharatâk or prostration, I called him up to my bay window or jaârakâh. In a transport of affection I could not restrain myself from getting up and taking him into my arms. The more
I increased the measure of affection and honours the more humility and respect did he show. I called him near me and made him sit by me. He submitted a thousand askrafs (= Rs. 4500) and a thousand rupees as a gift or suwar and the same amount as sacrifice or sahir. As there was not time for me to inspect all his presents he produced the elephant Sarnak, the best of the elephants of Adil Khan of Bijapur. He also gave me a case full of the rarest precious stones. I ordered the military paymasters to make presents to his nobles according to their rank. The first to come was Khan Jehan, whom I allowed the honour of kissing my feet. For his victory over the Kama of Chitor I had before granted to my fortunate child Kuran the rank of a commander of 20,000 with 10,000 horses. Now for his service in the Dakhan I made him a commander of 30,000 and 20,000 horse with the title of Shah Jehan. I also ordered that henceforward he should enjoy the privilege of sitting on a stool near my throne, an honour which did not exist and is the first of its kind granted to anyone in my family. I further granted him a special dress. To do him honour I came down from the window and with my own hand scattered over his head as sacrifice a trayful of precious stones as well as a large trayful of gold.

Jahangir’s last Mándu entry is this: On the night of Friday in the month of Aban (October 24th, 1617) in all happiness and good fortune I marched from Mándu and halted on the bank of the lake at Nâlchah.

Jahangir’s stay at Mándu is referred to by more than one English traveller. In March 1617, the Rev. Edward Terry, chaplain to the Right Honourable Sir T. Roe Lord Ambassador to the Great Mughal, came to Mándu from Burhánpur in east Khândesh. Terry crossed a broad river, the Narbada, at a great town called Anchabarpur (Achkarpur) in the Nimâr plain not far south of Mándu hill. The way up, probably by the Bhirav, pass a few miles east of Mándu, seemed to Terry exceeding long. The ascent was very difficult, taking the carriages, apparently meaning coaches and wagons, two whole days. Terry found the hill of Mándu studded round with far trees that kept their distance so, one from and below the other, that there was much delight in beholding them from either the bottom or the top of the hill. From one side only was the ascent not very high and steep. The top was flat plain and spacious with vast and

1 A Voyage to East India, 181. Terry gives April 1616, but Roe seems correct in saying March 1617. Compare Wâhiât-i-Jahangiri in Elliot, VI. 351.
2 Achkarpur lies between Dharampuri and Waisar. Malcolm’s Central India, I. 84 note.
3 Carriages may have the old meaning of things carried, that is baggage. The time taken favours the view that wagons or carts were forced up the hill. For the early seventeenth century use of carriages in its modern sense compare Terry (Voyage, 1616). Of our wagons drawn with oxen, and other carriages we made a ring every night; also Dodsworth (1618), who describes a land of hâjâts near Baroda cutting off two of his carriages (Kerr’s Voyages, IX. 205); and Roe (1616), who journeyed from Ajmir to Mándu with twenty camels, four carts and two horses (Kerr, IX. 308). Terry’s carriages seem to be Roe’s coaches, to which Della Valle (c. 1623) Hakluyt’s Edition, I. 271 refers as much like the Indian chariots described by Strabo (v. 25, 54) covered with crimson silk fringed with yellow about the roof and the curtains. Compare Idrisi (c. 1100-1150, but probably from Al Istakhri, c. 960: Elliot, I. 87). In all Nâshâr was no north Gujarât the only mode of carrying either passengers or goods is in carriages drawn by oxen with harness and traces under the control of a driver. When in 1616 Jahangir left Ajmir for Mándu the English carriage presented to him by the English ambassador Sir Thomas Roe was allotted to the Sultanah Nûr Jehan Begam. It was driven by an English coachman. Jahangir followed in the coach—his own men had made in imitation of the English coach. Corryat (1613, Crudities III., Letters from India, unpaged) calls the English chariot a gallon-coach of 100 pounds price.
far-stretching woods in which were lions, tigers and other beasts of prey and many wild elephants. Terry passed through Mându a few days' march across a plain and level country, apparently towards Dhar, where he met the Lord Ambassador Sir Thomas Roe, who had summoned Terry from Surat to be his chaplain. Sir Thomas Roe was then marching from Ajmir to Mându with the Court of the emperor Jehângir, whom Terry calls the Great King.

On the 3rd of March, says Roe, the Mughal was to have entered Mându. But all had to wait for the good hour fixed by the astrologers. From the 6th of March, when he entered Mându, till the 24th of October, the emperor Jehângir, with Sir Thomas Roe in attendance, remained at Mându. According to Roe before the Mughal visited Mându the hill was not much inhabited, having more ruins by far than standing houses. But the moving city that accompanied the emperor soon overflowed the hill-top. According to Roe Jehângir's own encampment was walled round half a mile in circuit in the form of a fortress, with high screens or curtains of coarse stuff, somewhat like Arab hangings, red on the outside, the inside divided into compartments with a variety of figures. This enclosure had a handsome gateway and the circuit was formed into various coins and bulwarks. The posts that supported the curtains were all surmounted with brass tops. Besides the emperor's encampment were the noblemen's quarters, each at an appointed distance from the king's tents, very handsome, some having their tents green, others white, others of mixed colours. The whole composed the most curious and magnificent sight Roe had ever beheld.

The hour taken by Jehângir in passing from the Dehli Gate to his own quarters, the two English miles from Roe's lodge which was not far from the Dehli Gate to Jehângir's palace, and other reasons noted below make it almost certain that the Mughal's encampment and the camps of the leading nobles were on the open slopes to the south of the Sea Lake between Bâz Bahâdur's palace on the east and Sonagad on the west. And that the palace at Mându from which Jehângir wrote was the building now known as Bâz Bahâdur's palace. A few months before it reached Mându the imperial camp had turned the whole valley of Ajmir into a magnificent city, and a few weeks before reaching Mându at Thoda, about fifty miles south-east of Ajmir, the camp formed a settlement not less in circuit than twenty English miles, equaling in size almost any town in Europe. In the middle of the encampment were all sorts of shops so regularly disposed that all persons knew where to go for everything.

The demands of so great a city outtaxed the powers of the deserted Mându. The scarcity of water soon became so pressing that the poor were commanded to leave and all horses and cattle were ordered off the hill. Of the scarcity of water the English traveller Corryat, who was then a guest of Sir Thomas Roe, writes: On the first day one of my Lord's people, Master Herbert, brother to Sir Edward Herbert, found a fountain which, if he had not done, he would have had to send ten cours

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1 Kerr's Voyages, IX, 335; Wâjkât-i-Jehângirî in Elliot, VI, 377.
2 Roe writing from Ajmir in the previous year (29th August 1616) describes Mându as a castle on a hill, where there is no town and no buildings. Kerr, IX, 267.
3 Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX, 313.
4 Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX, 314.
5 Compare Wâjkât-i-Jehângirî in Elliot, VI, 377.
6 Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX, 314.
7 Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX, 321.
(kos) every day for water to a river called Narbada that fell into the Bay of Cambay near Broach. The custom being such that whatsoever fountain or tank is found by any great man in time of drought he shall keep it proper to his without interruption. The day after one of the king’s Hadis (Ahadis) finding the same and striving for it was taken by my Lord’s people and bound. Corryat adds: During the time of the great drought two Moor nobles daily sent ten camels to the Narbada and distributed the water to the poor, which was so dear they sold a little skin for 8 pice (one penny).

Terry notices that among the piles of buildings that held their heads above ruin were not a few unfrequented mosques or Muhammadan churches. Though the people who attended the king were marvelously straitened for room to put their most excellent horses, none would use the churches as stables, even though they were forsaken and out of use. This abstinence seems to have been voluntary, as Roe’s servants, who were sent in advance, took possession of a fair court with walled enclosure in which was a goodly temple and a tomb. It was the best in the whole circuit of Mânda, the only drawback being that it was two miles from the king’s house. The air was wholesome and the prospect was pleasant, as it was on the edge of the hill. The emperor, perhaps referring to the south of the hill, which from the elaborate building and repairs carried out in advance by Abdul Karim seems to have been called the New City, gives a less deserted impression of Mânda. He writes (24th March 1617): Many buildings and relics of the old kings are still standing, as yet decay has not fallen upon the city. On the 24th I rode to see the royal edifices. First I visited the Jâma Mâjaâ built by Sultan Husâinpâshâ Ghori. It is a very lofty building and erected entirely of hewn stone. Although it has been standing 180 years it looks as if built to-day. Then I visited the sepulchres of the kings and rulers of the Khilji dynasty, among which is the sepulchre of the eternally cursed Nâsir-ud-dîn. Sher Shâh to show his horror of Nâsir-ud-dîn, the father-slaver, ordered his people to boat Nâsir-ud-dîn’s tomb with sticks. Jehângir also kicked the grave. Then he ordered the tomb to be opened and the remains to be taken out and burnt. Finally, fearing the remains might pollute the eternal light, he ordered the ashes to be thrown into the Narbada.

The pleasant outlying position of Roe’s lodge proved to be open to the objection that out of the vast wilderness wild beasts often came, seldom returning without a sheep, a goat, or a kid. One evening a great lion leapt over the stone wall that encompassed the yard and snapt up the Lord Ambassador’s little white nest shock, that is as Roe explains a small Irish mastiff, which ran out barking at the lion. Out of the ruins of the mosque and tomb Roe built a lodge, and here he passed the rains with his “family,” including besides his secretary, chaplain, and cook twenty-three Englishmen and about sixty native servants, and during part of the time the sturdy half-crazed traveller Tom Corryate or Corryat. They had
their flock of sheep and goats, all necessaries belonging to the kitchen and everything else required for bodily use including bedding and all things pertaining thereto. Among the necessaries were tables and chairs, since the Ambassador refused to adopt the Mughal practice of sitting cross-legged on mats "like tailors on their workboards." Roe’s diet was dressed by an English and an Indian cook and was served on plates by waiters in red taffata cloaks guarded with green taffata. The chaplain wore a long black cassock, and the Lord Ambassador wore English habita made as light and cool as possible.

On the 12th of March, a few days after they were settled at Mándu, came the festival of the Persian New Year. Jéhángír held a great reception seated on a throne of gold bespangled with rubies emeralds and turquoises. The hall was adorned with pictures of the King and Queen of England, the Princess Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Smith and others, with beautiful Persian hangings. On one side, on a little stage, was a couple of women singers. The king commanded that Sir T. Roe should come up and stand beside him on the steps of the throne where stood on one side the Persian Ambassador and on the other the old king of Kandahár with whom Sir T. Roe ranked. The king called the Persian Ambassador and gave him some stones and a young elephant. The Ambassador knelt and knocked his head against the steps of the throne to thank him. From time to time during Terrý’s stay at Mándu, the Mughal, with his stony humor Persian and Tartarian horsemen and some grandees, went out to take young wild elephants in the great woods that environed Mándu. The elephants were caught in strong toils prepared for the purpose and were maimed and made fit for service. In these hunts the king and his men also pursued lions and other wild beasts on horseback, killing some of them with their bows carthines and lances.

The first of September was Jéhángír’s birthday. The king, says Corryat, was forty-five years old, of middle height, corpulent, of a sombre composition of body, and of an olive coloured skin. Roe went to pay his respects and was conducted apparently to Báz Bahásír’s Gardens to the east of the Rewa Pool. This tangled orchard was then a beautiful garden with a great square pond or tank set all round with trees and flowers and in the middle of the garden a pavilion or pleasure-house under which hung the scales in which the king was to be weighed. The scales were of beaten gold set with many small stones as rubies and turquoises. They were hung by chains of gold, large and massive, but strengthened by silken ropes. The beam and tresses from which the scales hung were covered with thin plates of gold. All round were the nobles of the court seated on rich carpets waiting for the king. He came laden with diamonds rubies pearls and other precious vanities, making a great and glorious show. His swords targets and throne were corresponding in riches and splendour. His head neck breast and arms above the elbows and at the wrist were decked with chains of precious stones, and every finger had two or three rich rings. His legs were as it were fettered with chains of diamonds and rubies as large as walnuts and amazing pearls. He got into the scales crouching or sitting on his legs like a woman. To counterpoise his weight bags said to contain Rupees 9000 in

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1 Terry’s Voyage, 193.
2 Terry’s Voyage, 190, 198.
3 Terry’s Voyage, 198, 205.
4 Roe in Kerr’s Voyages, IX, 333; Pinkerton’s Voyages, VIII, 35.
5 Terry’s Voyage, 103.
6 Corryat’s Crudities, III, Letter 2, Extracts unpages.
7 Roe in Kerr’s Voyages, IX, 343.
silver were changed six times. After this he was weighed against bags containing gold jewels and precious stones. Then against cloth of gold, silk stuffs, cotton goods, spices, and all commodities. Last of all against meal, butter, and corn. Except the silver, which was reserved for the poor, all was said to be distributed to Baniashee (that is Brahman). 1
After he was weighed Jehangir ascended the throne and had basons of nuts almonds and spices of all sorts given him. These the king threw about, and his great men scrambled prostrate on their bellies. Roe thought it not decent that he should scramble. And the king seeing that he stood aloof reached him a bason almost full and poured the contents into his cloak. 2 Terry adds: The physicians noted the king's weight and spoke flatteringly of it. Then the Mughal drank to his nobles in his royal wine and the nobles pledged his health. The king drank also to the Lord Ambassador, whom he always treated with special consideration, and presented him with the cup of gold curiously enamelled and encrusted with rubies, turquoises and emeralds. 3

Of prince Khurram's visit Roe writes: A month later (October 2nd) the proud prince Khurram, afterwards the emperor Shah Jehan (1629-1666), returned from his glorious success in the Dakhsh, accompanied by all the great men, in wondrous triumph. 4 A week later (October 9th), hearing that the emperor was to pass near his lodging on his way to take the air at the Narnabah, in accordance with the rule that the masters of all houses near which the king passes must make him a present, Roe took horse to meet the king. He offered the king an Atlas gently bound, saying he presented the king with the whole world. The king was pleased. In return he praised Roe's lodge, which he had built out of the ruins of the temple and the ancient tomb, and which was one of the best lodges in the camp. 5 Jehangir left Mandu on the 24th October. On the 30th when Roe started the hill was entirely deserted. 6

Terry mentions only two buildings at Mandu. One was the house of the Mughal, apparently Bza Bahadur's palace, which he describes as large and stately, built of excellent stone, well squared and put together, taking up a large compass of ground. He adds: We could never see how it was contrived within, as the king's wives and women were there. 7 The only other building to which Terry refers, he calls "The Grot." Of the grot, which is almost certainly the pleasure-house Nilkanth, whose Persian inscriptions have been quoted above, Terry gives the following details: To the Mughal's house, at a small distance from it, belonged a very curious grot. In the building of the grot a way was made into a

1 Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX, 340-343.
2 Terry's Voyage, 377. Terry's details seem not to agree with Roe's who states (Kerr's Voyages, IX, 344 and Plakinerton's Voyages, VIII, 37): I was invited to the drinking, but desired to be excused because there was no avoiding drinking, and their liquors are so hot that they burn out a man's very bowels. Perhaps the invitation Roe declined was to a private drinking party after the public weighing was over.
3 Roe in Kerr's Voyages, IX, 347; Elphinston's History, 494. Kerr (IX, 347) gives September 2 but October 2 is right. Compare Elphinston's Voyages, VIII, 39.
4 Ruins of Mandu, 57. As the emperor must have passed out by the Dehli Gate, and as Roe's lodge was two miles from Bza Bahadur's palace, the lodge cannot have been far from the Dehli Gate. It is disappointing that, of his many genial gossip entries Jehangir does not devote one to Roe. The only reference to Roe's visit is the indirect entry (Wakil-1-Jehangir in Elliot, VI, 447) that Jehangir gave one of his nobles a coach, apparently a copy of the English coach, with which, to Jehangir's delight, Roe had presented him.
5 Terry's Voyage, 180.
firm rock which showed itself on the side of the hill canopied over with part of that rock. It was a place that had much beauty in it by reason of the curious workmanship bestowed on it and much pleasure by reason of its coolness. Besides the fountain this grot has still one of the charmingly cool and murmuring scalloped rillstones where, as Terry says, water runs down a broad stone table with many hollows like to scallop shells, in its passage over the hollows making so pretty a murmur as helps to tire the senses with the bonds of sleep.

Sháh Jehán seems to have been pleased with Mándu. He returned in A.D. 1621 and stayed at Mándu till he marched north against his father in A.D. 1622. In March A.D. 1623, Sháh Jehán came out of Mándu with 20,000 horse, many elephants, and powerful artillery, intending to fight his brother Sháh Parvíz. After the failure of this expedition Sháh Jehán retired to Mándu. At this time (A.D. 1623) the Italian traveller Délá Válle ranks Mándu with Agra Láhor and Ahmedábád, as the four capitals, each endowed with an imperial palace and court. Five years later the great general Khán Jehán Lodi besieged Mándu, but apparently without success. Khán Jehán Lodi’s siege of Mándu is interesting in connection with a description of Mándu in Herbert’s Travels. Herbert, who was in Gujarát in A.D. 1626, says Mándu is seated at the side of a declining hill (apparently Herbert refers to the slope from the southern crest northwards to Ságár Lake and the Grot or Nikánthu) in which both for ornament and defence it is a castle which is strong being encompassed with a defensive wall of nearly five miles (probably six that is ten miles) the whole, he adds, heretofore had fifteen miles circuit. But the city, later built is of less time yet fresher beauty, whether you behold the temples (in one of which are entombed four kings), palaces or fortresses, especially that tower which is elevated 170 steps, supported by massive pillars and adorned with gates and windows very observable. It was built by Khán Jehán, who there lies buried. The confusion of these details shows that Herbert obtained them second-hand, probably from Corryat’s Master Herbert on Sir T. Roe’s staff. The new city of fresher

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1 Terry’s Voyage, 161.
2 Wákšt-i-Jehángirí in Elliot, VI, 383.
5 Elphinston’s History, 507.
6 Herbert’s Travels, 84. Corryat’s Master Herbert was as already noticed named like the traveller Thomas. The two Thomases were distant relations, both being fourth in descent from Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrooke, who lived about the middle of the fifteenth century. A further connection between the two families is the copy of complimentary verses “To my cousin Sir Thomas Herbert,” signed Uh. Herbert, in the 1634 and 1665 editions of Herbert’s Travels, which are naturally, though somewhat doubtfully, ascribed to Charles Herbert, a brother of our Master Thomas. It is therefore probable that after his return to England Sir Thomas Herbert obtained the Mándu details from Master Thomas who was himself a writer, the author of several poems and pamphlets. Corryat’s tale how, duping the water-famine at Mándu, Master Herbert annexed a spring or cistern, and then bound a servant of the Great King who attempted to share in its use, shows admirable courage and resolution on the part of Master Thomas, when a youth of twenty years. The details of Thomas in his brother Lord Herbert’s autobiographical give additional interest to the hero of Corryat’s tale of a Tank. Master Thomas was born in A.D. 1597. In 1610, when a page to Sir Edward Cecil and a boy of thirteen, in the German War especially in the siege of Jullús fifteen miles north-east of Alys-la-Chapelle, Master Thomas showed such forwardness as no man in that great army surpassed. On his voyage to India in 1617, in a fight with a great Portuguese carrack,
bounty is probably a reference to the buildings raised and repaired by Abdul Karim against Jehangir’s coming, among which the chief seems to have been the palace now known by the name of Bâz Bahâdur. The tower of 170 stops is Mehmûd Khilji’s Tower of Victory, erected in A.D. 1443, the Khan Jehân being Mehmûd’s father, the great minister Khan Jehân Azam Humâyûn.

In A.D. 1658 a Râja Shivrâj was commander of Mându. No reference has been traced to any imperial visit to Mându during Aurangzib’s reign. But that great monarch has left an example of his watchful care in the rebuilding of the Alâmgir or Aurangzib Gate, which guards the approach to the stone-crossing of the great northern ravine and bears an inscription of A.D. 1665, the eleventh year of Alâmgir’s reign. In spite of this additional safeguard thirty years later (A.D. 1696) Mându was taken and the standard of Udâji Pavâr was planted on the battlements. The Marâthâs soon withdrew and Mâlwa again passed under an imperial governor. In A.D. 1708 the Shâh-loving emperor Bahâdur Shâh I. (A.D. 1707–1712) visited Mându, and there received from Ahmadshâh a copy of the Kânûn written by Ismâ’l ‘Ali Tâki, son of Ismâ’l Mâsâ Râza (A.D. 890–892), seventh in descent from ‘Ali, the famous son-in-law of the Prophet, the first of Musalmân mystics. In A.D. 1717 Isâfahânul-Mulk was appointed governor of Mâlwa and continued to manage the province by deputy till A.D. 1721. In A.D. 1722 Râja Girdhar Bahâdur, a Nâgrâ Bahâman, was made governor and remained in charge till in A.D. 1724 he was attacked and defeated by Chimnâji Pandit. In A.D. 1723 the Marâthâs took the province under the command of the chief Malhârâ Kâkâ Lombokar led an army up the Bahrâv pass, a few miles east of Mându, and at Tirellah, between Jâmpura and Dâhr, defeated and slew Dâhr. As neither the next governor Muhammad Khan Bangash nor his successor Râja Jai Singh of Jaipur were able to oust the Marâthâs, their success was admitted in A.D. 1734 by the appointment of Peshwa Bâtia (A.D. 1729–1740) to be governor of Mâlwa. On his appointment (A.D. 1734) the Peshwa chose Anand Rao Pâvâr as his deputy. Anand Râo shortly after settled at Dâhr, and since A.D. 1734 Mându has continued part of the territory of the Pavârs of Dâhr. In A.D. 1805 Mându sheltered the heroic Mina Bâi during the birth-time of her son Râmchundrâ Râo Pâvâr, whose state was saved from the clutches of

Captain Joseph, in command of Herbert’s ship Globe, was killed. Thomas took Joseph’s place, forced the eunuch aground, and so finished him with the shot that she never floated again. To his brother’s visit to India Lord Herbert refers as a year spent with the merchants who went from Surat to the Great Mughal. After his return to England Master Thomas distinguished himself at Algiers, capturing a vessel worth £1800. In 1622, when Master Thomas was in command of one of the ships sent to fetch Prince Charles (afterwards King Charles I.) from Spain, during the return voyage certain low Countrymen and Dunkirkers, that is Dutch and Spanish vessels, offered the Prince’s dignity by fighting in his presence without his leave. The Prince ordered the fighting ships to be separated; whereupon Master Thomas, with some other ships got between the fighters on either side, and shot so long that both low Countrymen and Dunkirkers were glad to desist. Afterwards at divers times Thomas fought with great renown and success with divers men in single fight, sometimes capturing and sometimes driving him away. The end of Master Thomas was sad. Finding his proofs of himself undervalued he retired into a private and melancholy life, and after living in this sullen humour for many years, he died about 1642 and was buried in London in St. Martin’s near Charing Cross.

1 Khân Khân in Elliot, VII. 218. 2 Malcolm’s Central India, I. 61. 3 Malcolm’s Central India, I. 78. 4 Malcolm’s Central India, I. 100.
Holkar and Sindbhy by the establishment of British overlordship in A.D. 1817.1

In A.D. 1820 Sir John Malcolm2 describes the hill-top as a place of religious resort occupied by some mendicants. The holy places on the hill are the shrine of Hosang-Ghori, whose guardian spirit still scarce barrenness and other diseases fiends3 and the Reewa or Narhuda Pool, whose holy water, according to common belief, prevents the dreaded return of the spirit of the Hindu whose ashes are strewn on its surface, or, in the refined phrase of the Brahman, enables the dead to lose self in the ocean of being.4 In A.D. 1820 the Jumna Mosque, Hosang’s tomb, and the palaces of Bax Bahádur were still fine remains, though surrounded with jungle and fast crumbling to pieces.5 In A.D. 1827 Colonel Briggs says: Perhaps no part of India so abounds with tigers as the neighbourhood of the once famous city of Mándu. The capital now deserted by man is overgrown by forest and from being the seat of luxury, elegance, and wealth, it has become the abode of wild beasts and is resorted to by the few Europeans in that quarter for the pleasure of destroying them. Instances have been known of tigers being so bold as to carry off troopers riding in the ranks of their regiments. Twelve years later (A.D. 1830) Mr. Ferguson6 found the hill a vast uninhabited jungle, the rank vegetation tending the buildings of the city to pieces and obscuring them so that they could hardly be seen.7 Between A.D. 1842 and 1852 tigers are described as prowling among the royal rooms, the half-savage marauding Bhil as eating his meat and feeding his cattle in the cloisters of its sanctuaries and the insidious pipol as levelling to the earth the magnificent remains.8 So favourite a tiger retreat was the Jalá Lakes Palace that it was dangerous to venture into it unattended. Close to the very huts of the poor, central village, near the Jamá Mosque, cattle were frequently seized by tigers. In the south tigers came nightly to drink at the Ságár lake. Huge bonfires had to be burnt to prevent them attacking the horses.9 In A.D. 1883 Captain Eastwick wrote: At Mándu the traveller will require some armed men, as tigers are very numerous and dangerous. He will do well not to have any dogs with him, as the panthers will take them even from under his bed.10 If this was true of Mándu in A.D. 1883—and is not as seems likely, the repetition of an old-world tale—the last ten years have wrought notable changes. Through the interest His Highness Sir Anand Ráo Pávár, K.C.S.I., C.I.E, the present Mahárája of Dháír takes in the old capital of his state, travelling in Mándu is now as safe and easier than in many, perhaps than in most, outlying districts. A photon can drive across the northern ravine-most through the three gateways and along the hill-top, at least as far south as the Sea Lake. Large stretches of the level are cleared and tilled, and herds of cattle graze free from the dread of wild beasts. The leading buildings have been saved from their ruinous tree-growth, the underwood has been cleared, the marauding Bhil has settled to tillage, the tiger, even the panther, is nearly

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1 Malcolm’s Central India, I. 106. 2 Central India, II. 503.
3 Ruins of Mándu, 43; March 1852, page 34. 4 Ruins of Mándu, 46; March 1852, page 34. 5 Malcolm’s Central India, II. 503.
6 Briggs’ Parseháli, IV. 225 note 1. 7 Indian Architecture, 541.
8 Briggs’ Parseháli, 49. 9 Ruins of Mándu, 9.
10 Ruins of Mándu, 13, 23, 35. Some of these extracts seem to belong to a Bombay Subaltern, who was at Mándu about A.D. 1847, and some to Captain Claudius Harris, who visited the hill in April 1852. Compare Ruins of Mándu, 34.
11 Murray’s Handbook of the Punjáb, 115.
Appendix II.

The Hill Fort of Mándu,

History.

Notice, A.D. 1820 - 1835.

as rare as the wild elephant, and finally its old wholesomeness has returned to the air of the hill-top.

This sketch notices only the main events and the main buildings. Even about the main buildings much is still doubtful. Many inscriptions, some in the puzzling interlaced Tughra character, have still to be read. They may bring to light traces of the Mándu kings and of the Mughal emperors, whose connection with Mándu, so far as the buildings are concerned, is still a blank. The ruins are so many and so widespread that weeks are wanted to ensure their complete examination. It may be hoped that at no distant date Major Delasensau, the Political Agent of Dhar, whose opportunities are not more special than his knowledge, may be able to prepare a complete description of the hill and of its many ruins and writings.
MARÁTHA HISTORY

OF

GUJARÁT:

A.D. 1760-1819.

BY

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[CONTRIBUTED IN 1879.]
HISTORY OF GUJARAT.

MARÁTHA PERIOD.
A.D. 1760-1819.

It will be evident from what has been related in the Musalmán portion of this history that long before 1760, the Maráthás had a firm foothold in Gujarát, and were able to dictate to the local chiefs the policy of the Dakhan Court. Long before 1819 too, Marátha influence was on the wane before the rising fortunes of the British. Between these two dates however is comprised the whole or nearly the whole of the period during which the Maráthás were virtually paramount in Gujarát. From each of these two dates the political history took a new departure, and on this account they serve respectively to denote the starting point and terminus of Marátha supremacy. Most of what took place before 1760 is so interwoven with the interests and intrigues of the Muhammadan delegates of the court of Dehli that it has been fully described in the history of the Musalmán Period. It is however necessary, in order to trace the growth of Marátha power, to briefly set forth in a continuous narrative the events in which this race was principally concerned, adding such as transpired independently of Musalmán politics. This task is rendered easier by the very nature of Marátha policy, which has left little to be recorded of its action in Gujarát beyond the deeds and fortunes of its initiators and their adherents.

The connection of the Maráthás with Gujarát can be divided by the chronicler into the following periods. First, the time of predatory inroads from 1664 to 1748, before the leaders of these expeditions had permanently established themselves within the province. Secondly, what may be termed the mercenary period, when the Maráthás partly by independent action, but far more by a course of judicious interference in the quarrels of the Muhammadan officials and by loans of troops, had acquired considerable territorial advantages. Towards the end of this period, as has been already seen, their aid was usually sufficient to ensure the success of the side which had managed to secure it, and at last the capital itself was claimed and held by them. Then came the time of domination, from 1760 to 1801, during which period the Gaikwár influence was occasionally greater than that of the Peshwa. From 1802, internal dissensions at the courts of Poona and Baroda weakened the hold the Maráthás had on the province, and the paramount power had to all intents and purposes passed over to the British long before the downfall of Bájráv Peshwa and the final annexation of his rights and territory in 1819.
Shortly after, when the Gáikwád made over to the British the work of collecting the tribute from Káthiáváda, Marátha supremacy came to an end.

The first Marátha force that made its appearance in Gujarát was led there early in 1661 by Sívájí. This leader was at the time engaged in a warfare with the Mughals, which, however desultory, required him to keep up a much larger force than could be supported out of the revenues of his dominions. He therefore looked to plunder to supply the deficiency, and Surat, then the richest town of Western India, was marked down by him as an easy prey. His mode of attack was cautious. He first sent one Bahirji Náik to spy out the country and report the chances of a rich booty, whilst he himself moved a force up to Jumna on pretence of visiting some forts in that direction recently acquired by one of his subordinates. On receiving a favourable report from Bahirji, Sívájí gave out that he was going to perform religious ceremonies at Násik, and taking with him 4000 picked horsemen, he marched suddenly down the Ghats and through the Dáng jungles, and appeared before Surat. There he found an insignificant garrison, so he rested outside the city six days whilst his men plundered at their leisure. On hearing of the tardy approach of a relieving force sent by the governor of Ahmedábád, Sívájí beat a retreat with all his booty to the stronghold of Báygád. By the time the reinforcement reached Surat, the only trace of the invaders was the emptied coffers of the inhabitants. About the same time, or shortly after, the fleet which Sívájí had equipped at Álibág about two years before came up to the mouth of the gulf of Cambay and carried off one or two Mughal ships which were conveying to Makka large numbers of pilgrims with their rich oblations.¹

This insult to the Muhammadan religion was enough to incense the bigoted Aurangzéb, apart from the additional offences of the sack of Surat and the assumption in 1665 of royal insignia by Sívájí. He therefore sent an expedition to the Dakhan strong enough to keep the Maráthás for some time away from Gujarát. One of Sívájí's officers, however, seems to have attacked a part of the Surat district in 1666, and to have got off safely with his spoils. In 1670, Sívájí again descended upon that city with about 15,000 men. The only serious resistance he experienced was, as before, from the English factors. He plundered the town for three days, and only left on receiving some information about the Mughals' movements in the Dakhan, which made him fear lest he should be intercepted on his way back to the country about the Ghats.

Sívájí left a claim for twelve lákhs of rupees to be paid as a guarantee against future expeditions. It is possible, however, that as he does not appear to have taken any immediate steps to recover this sum, the demand was made only in accordance with Marátha policy.

¹ Surat was known as Báb-ul-makkah or the Gate of Makka on account of its being the starting place of the ships annually conveying the Muhammadan pilgrims of India to the shrine of their Prophet.
which looked upon a country once overrun as tributary, and assumed a right to exercise paramount authority over it by virtue of the completed act of a successful invasion. In 1671 the Maratha fleet was ordered to sail up the gulf and plunder Broach, and it is probable that Siváji intended at the same time to levy tribute from Surat, but the whole expedition was countermanded before the ships sailed.

The conduct of the military authorities in Gujarát with regard to this expedition of 1670 was such as to render it highly probable that the Mughal leaders were in complicity with the Maráthás in order to gain the favour and support of their leader. Shortly before Siváji's arrival there had been a large garrison in Surat, apparently kept there by the governor, who suspected that some attempt on the town would soon be made. This garrison was withdrawn before Siváji's attack, and almost immediately after his departure 5000 men were sent back again. The commanders of the Mughal army in the Dakhan were Jásvant Singh the Ráhtor chief of Jodhpur and prince Muazzam. Jásvant Singh had been viceroy of Gujarát from A.D. 1659 to 1662, and in A.D. 1671 shortly after Siváji's second expedition was re-appointed to that post for three years. He had, moreover, been accused of taking bribes from Siváji during the operations in the Dakhan. Prince Muazzam, again, had every reason for wishing to secure to himself so powerful an ally as Siváji in the struggle for the imperial crown that took place, as a rule, at every succession. Aurangzéb, reasoning from his own experiences as a son, refused to allow a possible heir to his throne to become powerful at court; and accordingly sent him against Siváji with an army quite inadequate for such operations. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that if there had not been some previous understanding between Siváji and the Mughal leaders, the troops that were known to be within easy reach of Surat would have been found strong enough to have repulsed him altogether or at least to have prevented the three days' sack of the city.

In A.D. 1672 Siváji took some of the small forts to the south of Surat, such as Párnera and Bagváda, now in the Párdi sub-division of the Surat district, whilst Moro Trimal got possession of the large fort of Sáler in Báglán, which guarded one of the most frequented passes from the Dakhan into Gujarát. The Maráthás were thus able to command the routes along which their expeditions could most conveniently be despatched.

No further incursion was made till 1675, in which year a Marátha force first crossed the Narbada. On the resumption of hostilities between Siváji and the Mughals, Hasáji Mohite, who had been made Senápati, with the title of Hamburráv, marched up the North Konkan, and divided his army into two forces near Surat. One portion plundered towards Burhánpur, the other commanded by himself plundered the Broach district. Ten years later a successful expedition was made against Broach itself, either preconcerted or
actually led by a younger son of Aurangzeb, who had taken refuge with the Marathás. Breach was plundered, and the booty safely carried off before the local force could get near the invaders. Gujarát was now left free from inroad for some fourteen years, probably because the attention of the Maratha leaders was concentrated on their quarrels in the Dakhan.

In A.D. 1699 Rám Rája appointed one of his most trusted officers, Khanderáv Dábháde, to collect in Bálán the chauth and sarasch-mukhi imposts which had by that time become regularly instituted. This chief, whose name was afterwards so intimately connected with Gujarát, not only collected all that was due to his master from the village officers in Bálán, but also made an incursion into the Surat districts on his own account. Between 1700 and 1704 Khanderáv attempted two expeditions, but was foiled by the vigilance of the Mughal authorities. In 1705, however, he made a raid on a large scale and got safely across the Narbada, where he defeated two Muhammadan detachments sent against him, and got back to Sáler with his booty. Khanderáv now kept bodies of troops constantly hovering on the outskirts of Gujarát and along the road to Burhánpur. He himself led several expeditions into the Ahmedábád territory, and is said to have once got as far as Sorath in the peninsula, where however he was repelled by the Musulmán governor. In 1711, again he was severely defeated by the Mughals near Anklesvar in the Breach district, and had to withdraw to the borders of Khánsedh.

In 1713 some treasure was being conveyed from Surat to Aurangábád escorted by a large force under Muhammad Tabrízí. The party was attacked in the jungles east of Surat and the treasure carried off. Just before this, Sáuburlád Kháín, the deputy viceroy, on his way to take up his office at Ahmedábád, was attacked and robbed in thea in the Rájpipla territory, it is probably to him or to his subordinates that these raids are to be attributed. He managed by a system of outposts to cut off communication between Surat and Burhánpur, except for those who had paid him a fee for safe conduct. If this charge was evaded or resisted, he appropriated one-fourth of the property that the traveller was conveying up country.

As the Burhánpur road was one of those most frequented by both pilgrims and merchants, the Dehlí authorities were obliged, in 1716, to organize an expedition against Dábháde. The leader of the force was one Zulfiqar Beg, an officer inexperienced in Maráthá warfare. Dábháde found little difficulty in decoying him into a mountainous country, and there completely defeated him with the usual Maráthá accompaniment of plunder.

1 Saradkánchhí or ten per cent on the revenue. The chauth was nominally one-fourth, but both these claims were fluctuating in their proportions to the total revenue.
2 Now the capital of the Rája of Rájpipla.
Finding himself once more in the Dakhan, Khandeरáv Dábháde took the opportunity of rejoining the court at Sátára, from which he had long been absent. He was lucky enough to arrive just as the Senápati Manáji Morár had failed on an important expedition and was consequently in disgrace. Rája Sháahu, pleased with Khandeरáv’s recent success against the Delhi troops, divested Manáji of the title of Senápati, and bestowed it upon the more fortunate leader.

Khandeरáv remained away from Gujarát for three years, accompanying, meanwhile, Báláji Vishvanáth the Peshwa to Delhi, where the latter was engaged in negotiations for the confirmation of the Marátha rights to chaútá and other tribute from certain districts in the Dakhan.

It is evident that at this time there was no definite claim to tribute from Gujarát on the part of the Marátha government; for in spite of the intrigues of Báláji and the weakness of the court party at Delhi no concessions were obtained with regard to it, although the Marátha dues from other parts of the country were fully ratified. The grounds on which Báláji demanded the tribute from Gujarát were that Sháahu would thereby gain the right to restrain the excesses of Marátha freebooters from the frontier and would guarantee the whole country against irregular pillage. The argument was a curious one, considering that the most troublesome and notorious freebooter of the whole tribe was at the elbow of the envoy, who was so strenuously pleading for the right to suppress him. It is probable that Báláji foreseen that Khandeरáv’s newly acquired rank would take him for a time from Báglán to the court, so that meanwhile an arrangement could be made to prevent the growth of any powerful chief in the Gujarát direction who might interfere with the plans of the central government. The Marátha statesman was as anxious to secure the subordination of distant feudatories as the Mughals to secure the freedom of the Ghát roads to the coast.

In the redistribution of authority carried out about this time by Báláji Vishvanáth, the responsibility of collecting the Marátha dues from Gujarát and Báglán was assigned to Khandeरáv as Senápati or commander-in-chief; but as these dues were not yet settled, at least as regards the country below the Ghát, Khandeरáv seems to have remained with the Peshwa in the field.

At the battle of Bálpur, fought against the Nizám-ul-Mulk, one of the officers of Khandeरáv, by name Dámáji Gáikwád, so distinguished himself that the Senápati brought his conduct prominently to the notice of Rája Sháahu. The latter promoted Dámáji to be second in command to Khandeरáv with the title of Shamsheर Bahádur, which had been formerly borne by one of the Atóle family in 1892. This is the first mention of the present ruling family of Baroda. Before many months both Khandeरáv and Dámáji died. The former was succeeded by his son Trimbakráv, on whom his father’s title was conferred. Pítáji, nephew of Dámáji, was confirmed in his uncle’s

1 Chanáth and Sardévaskhí as settled in 1892.
honours and retired to Gujarát. As soon as he could collect a sufficiently strong force, he attacked the Surat district and defeated the Múslím commander close to the city itself. After extorting from him a handsome sum as ransom, Pilájí returned eastwards. He selected Songad, a fort about fifty miles east of Surat, as his headquarters, and from thence made continual excursions against the neighbouring towns. He once attacked Surat, but although he defeated the Mughal leader, he seems to have contented himself with contributions levied from the adjacent country, and not to have entered the town. Pilájí soon obtained possession of some strongholds in the Rájpipla country between Nándod and Ságbára, which he fortified, as Khunderáv Dábháde had formerly done. Here he resided as representative of the Senápatí, whose family had removed for a while to the Dakhan. The tribute collected from Bágán and Gujarát was supposed to be transmitted by Pilájí to the royal treasury through the Peshwa; but there is no record of these dues having been levied with any regularity or even fixed at any special amount. Whilst Trimbakráv was taking an active part in the affairs of his royal patron in the Dakhan, Pilájí occupied himself in sedulously cultivating the goodwill of the border tribes surrounding his residence in Gujarát.

The year 1723 is noteworthy as being the date of the first imposition of the regular Marátha demand of one-fourth, chaúth, and one-tenth, sardëshmukhi, of the revenue of Gujarát. Whilst Pilájí was directing his attacks against Surat and the south of the province another of Rája Sháhu's officers, who had been sent up towards Málwa, entered Gujarát by the north-east, and after ravaging the country round Dohad, settled a fixed tribute on the district.

This officer, Kantájí Kadam Bánde, was soon after engaged by one of the parties struggling for the viceroyalty of Ahmedábád to bring his cavalry into the province and take part in the civil war. The leader of the opposite party, Rústam Ali, enlisted the services of Pilájí Gáikwár. The Nizám-ul-Mulk, whose influence in the Dakhan was very great, managed to detach Pilájí from Rústam Ali's side. This was the easier, as Rústam had already defeated Pilájí more than once in attacks by the latter against Surat, of which district Rústam was governor. There are two different accounts of what took place when the rival forces came into action, but both show clearly that the Marátha leaders acted on both sides with utter disregard of their agreements and looked only to plundering the Muhammadan camps whilst the soldiers were engaged in battle. After the defeat of Rústam, the two Marátha chiefs joined forces and proceeded to levy chaúth, of which the Mughal deputy had granted Pilájí a share equal to that of his first ally Kantájí.

This division led to quarrels and at last to an open rupture between the two Marátha leaders, which was only patched up by the

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1 On the western skirts of the Dáng forests.
2 Now in the British districts of the Panch Maháls.
3 The Muhammadan account is given in the Múslím portion of this history. Grant Duff's description differs considerably.
grant of the chaunt north of the Mahi river to Kantaji and of that to the south to Pilaji. The chief ground of quarrel seems to have been the relative position of the Gaikwars as agent for the Senapatis, who had a right to collect all dues from Gujarats, and of Kantaji, who claimed superior rank as holding his commission direct from Raja Shahu. On hearing of this dispute and the consequent partition of the Maratha tribute, Trimbakrav Dabhade himself hastened up to Cambay with an army, but effected nothing, and seems to have retired, leaving Pilaji to look after his interests at Ahmedabad. Both the latter, however, and Kantaji soon after withdrew from Gujarats, but were within a short period encouraged to return by the success of a raid made by another leader, Antaji Bhaskar, on the north-east district. They both joined Hamid Khan in his resistance to the new viceroy, but received several checks from the Muhammadan army, and after plundering again returned to their strongholds for the rainy season.

Next year they returned for the tribute and plundered as usual. The Peshwa Bavirav then opened for the first time direct negotiations with the viceroy of Gujarats. The rapid increase of the authority of the Brahman ministers at the Raja’s court in the Dakhan had aroused the jealousy of the Maratha nobles, amongst whom Trimbakrav Dabhade was one of the most influential. Bavirav, being fully aware of the fact, and having by this time acquired from the Raja the power of acting with foreign powers independently of the throne, determined to undermine Trimbakrav’s authority in Gujarats by aiming at the rights said to have been formally granted to him by Hamid Khan over the country south of the Mahi. He therefore applied to the viceroy for a confirmation of the right to levy chaunt and sardeshmukhi over the whole country, on condition that he would protect it from the inroads of Kantaji, Pilaji, and other irresponsible freebooters. The viceroy had still some reserves left at his disposal and was in hopes that his repeated applications to Delhi for assistance would soon meet with a favourable answer. He declined therefore to accede to Bavirav’s proposals at once, on the grounds that the court at Delhi had repudiated the concessions made to Pilaji and Kantaji by his predecessor’s deputy. As however the depredations on the frontier caused serious injury both to the revenues and the people, he allowed the Peshwa to send a feudatory, Udaji Pavar, chief of Dhars, through the Mughal territories to operate against Pilaji. The latter, who was fully aware of these negotiations, persuaded Kantaji to join him in expelling the agents of the Peshwa party, as it was clear that if Pilaji’s forces were scattered the way would be open for Udaji to attack Kantaji himself. The two then proceeded to Baroda and after a while drove back Udaji, and occupied Baroda and Dabhoi. Here Pilaji remained, and next year Kantaji succeeded in taking Champaanar, thus advancing his posts nearer the centre of the province. With such an advantage gained these two chiefs instituted raids still more frequently than before. In these straits, and finding himself utterly neglected by the emperor, the viceroy re-opened negotiations with the Peshwa, who lost no time in sending his
THE MARATHAS, a.d. 1769-1818.

Cession of Tribute, 1728.

brother Chimmaji Appa with an army through Gujarat. Petitad and Dhokla were plundered, but Kantaji was left undisturbed, so he took this opportunity of marching to Surat, where he remained for some time extorting tribute. The viceroy agreed formally to cede the sardesnukhi of the whole revenue, land and customs (with the exception of the port of Surat and the districts attached to it) and the chausth of the same district, with five per cent on the revenue from the city of Ahmedabad. Special clauses were inserted in the grant of chausth to suit the convenience of both the Peshwa and the viceroy. The latter stipulated that as few collectors as possible should be kept by the Marathas in the districts under tribute, and that no extra demands beyond the one-fourth should be made. He also insisted that the percentage should be calculated on the actual collections and not on the kamal or highest sum recorded as having been collected. The Marathas were also to support the imperial authority and to keep up a body of horse. The Peshwa agreed (probably at his own request) to prevent all Maratha subjects from joining disaffected chiefs, or other turbulent characters, thus receiving the right to suppress Kantaji and Pilaaji, as well as the Buits and Kolis with whom the latter was on such friendly terms.

After this agreement was executed, Bajirao made over part of the sardesnukhi to the Dabhade, as well as the mahasa or three-fourths of the savraj as settled by Balaji Vishvanath. The consideration as set forth in the preamble of this agreement was the great improvement effected by the Maratha rulers as regards the wealth and tranquillity of the Dakhani provinces. This was inserted either to give the transaction the appearance of having been executed on the part of the emperor (for otherwise the viceroy had no concern in the state of the Dakhani), or simply as an expression of gratitude on the part of this special viceroy towards the Marathas who had just brought to terms the Nizam-ul-Mulk, his former rival and enemy. It is even probable that it was merely intended, as usual with such preambles, to veil the forced nature of the treaty.

The hostile movements of the Pratinidhi in the Southern Maratha Country induced the Peshwa to return to the Dakhani. Kantaji returned from Surat to Champaonar, plundering part of the viceroy’s camp on his way. Trimbakrao Dabhade, jealous of the interference of the Peshwa in the affairs of Gujarat, began to intrigue with other chiefs to overturn the power of the Brahman ministers.

As soon as Nizam-ul-Mulk became aware of this discontent on the part of Trimbakrao, of whose power he was well informed, he proposed to assist him by an attack on the Peshwa from the east, whilst the Marathas operated in another direction. Trimbakrao was successful in his overtures with Pilaaji Galkwai, the Bunde, the Pavars, and a few other chiefs resident in Khandshe or the north Dakhani. The troops sent by them to join his standard soon amounted

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1 The Maratha practice was to base their demands on the standard or tankha assessment (which was seldom if ever collected), so that by this means they evaded all possibility of claims against them for over-collections.
to 35,000 men, who were collected in Gujarat. He then gave out that he was bent on rescuing the Maratha Raja from the thralldom in which he was being kept by the Brahmanas. The Peshwa, who had discovered the intercourse between Trimbakrav and the Nizam, proclaimed this treason on the part of the Dabhade as a royal officer, and stated that the malcontents were only planning the partition of the inheritance of Shivaji between the Raja of Kolkapur and themselves. As soon as he found the Nizam's troops were on the march, he collected his picked men and advanced on the Dabhade in Gujarat.

The Peshwa's army was inferior in numbers but consisted of better trained men. He closed at once with the allies near Dabhoi, and easily defeated the undisciplined forces of the Pavars and Bande. The Dabhade's army, however, had more experience of regular warfare and made a stand. But a stray shot killed Trimbakrav, as he was endeavouring to rally the forces of his allies, and as usual in such engagements, the loss of the leader disheartened the army. Utter confusion ensued, in which many of the nobles fell, others ran away, and the Peshwa, without the necessity of pushing further his advantage, made good his retreat to the Dakhan. The Nizam, who was in pursuit, only managed to capture some of the baggage with the rear guard as it was crossing the Tapti near Surat.¹

Safe again in the Dakhan, the Peshwa at once began negotiations with both the Nizam and the adherents of Trimbakrav Dabhade. He recognized the rights of the former to some possessions in Gujarat independent of the viceroy of Ahmedabad, and agreed to further his designs of severing the Dakhan from the possessions of the emperor. He reconciled the Dabhade family by establishing at Poona an annual distribution of food and presents to Brahmanas such as had formerly been the practice in the native village of Khandarav.² This institution was known as Dakshina.

Bajirav acquiesced also in the general tendency amongst Marathas of all offices to become hereditary, and conferred the title of Senapati on Yeshvantrav the minor son of the deceased Trimbakrav. The widow Umabai became guardian, and Pilaji Gaikwar deputy or mutaliq in Gujarat. This latter appointment seems to have been made by the Peshwa and not by the Dabhade, for Pilaji received at the same time a new title, namely that of Sena Khas Khael or commander of the special band or perhaps the household brigade. He was also bound on behalf of the Senapati to respect the Peshwa's rights in Maval and Gujarat, and to pay half the collections from the territory he administered to the royal treasury through the minister. A provision was also inserted with regard to future acquisitions. This reciprocal agreement was executed at the special command of the Maratha Raja Shahu, who had not yet quite abrogated his authority in favour of the Peshwa. Pilaji after these negotiations retired to Gujarat.

¹ At Gaia about twelve miles above Surat in the territory of the Gai kwar.
² Talasguan in the north-west of Poona, now a station on the railway to Bombay.
³ 1746-51
His influence amongst the Bhils and other troublesome races dwelling in the wild parts of the eastern frontier made Pilaji an object of hatred and fear to the Mughal viceroy, who had him assassinated by one of his adherents whilst the latter was pretending to whisper some important and confidential news in Pilaji's ear. This event took place at Dakor in the Kuira district. The followers of the Gaikwad slew the assassin and retired south of the Mahi. They were driven by the Mughals out of Baroda, but continued to hold Dabhodi. Damaji Gaikwad, son of Pilaji, was at this time prowling round Surat watching for an opportunity of interfering in the disturbed affairs of that town. One of the candidates for the governorship had offered him one-fourth the revenue of the city for his assistance, but the expedition was deferred on account of the appointment of a rival by the emperor. Damaji therefore was preparing to act on his own account independently of his ally. The news of his father's assassination, however, took him northwards. He found that the Desai of Padora near Baroda had stirred up the Bhils and Kolis to revolt, in order to give the relations of Pilaji a chance of striking a blow at the murderers of their deceased leader. Umabai Dabhado, too, bent on the same errand, moved down the Ghats with an army. The Marathas were bought off, however, by the vicecy and peace was restored for a while.

In this year also Jadoji, a younger son of Trimbakrav, made an expedition to collect tribute through Gujarat as far as Sorath. Next year Malkhanrav Gaikwad, brother of Pilaji, obtained possession of Baroda during the absence of Sher Khan Babi the governor. Since that date this town has been the capital of the Gaikwad family. Sindia and Holkar soon afterwards joined the chief of Idar against the Musalmun deputy, and extorted from the latter a considerable sum as ransom.

Umabai had recognized Damaji as her agent in succession to Pilaji; but as she required Damaji in the Dakhan the latter had been obliged to leave in his turn a locum tenens in Gujarat. There ensued quarrels between this deputy, named Rangoji, and Kantaji Kadam which brought Damaji back again, and after obtaining from the Muhammadan viceroy, who had espoused the cause of Kantaji, a grant of one-fourth the revenues of the country north of the Mahi he went as usual to Sorath. Kantaji Kadam, who as a partizan of the Peshwa was hostile to the Senapati, harassed the country within reach of his frontier. Damaji, meanwhile, had again proceeded to the Dakhan, where Umabai was intriguing against the Peshwa and required all the help she could obtain to further the ambitious schemes she was devising in the name of her half-witted son. His deputy Rangoji, by demanding a heavy price for his aid at a time when an aspirant to the vicerealty of Ahmedabad was in distress, managed to secure for the Marathas half the revenue of Gujarat with certain exceptions.

Damaji then moved into Gujarat again, and on his way to join Rangoji extorted Rs. 7000 from the English at Surat as a
guarantee against plundering them. The events of this year have been detailed in full in the history of the Musalmán Period. After getting possession of a great part of the city of Ahmedabád the Maráthás, by their oppressive rule, excited a rising amongst the Musalmán inhabitants. Similar quarrels and subsequent reconciliations took place between 1739 and 1741, the Musalmán distrusting the Maráthás, yet not daring to attempt to oust them. Dámáji, on his way back from one of his Scáth expeditions, laid siege to Broach, which was held by a Muhammadan officer direct from the viceroy of the Dakhán. As the latter personage was still regarded by the Marátha chiefs as a possible ally against the Peshwa, Dámáji at once obeyed the request of the Nizám to raise the siege, but probably obtained a promise of future concessions such as he had acquired at Surat.

Rangoji in the absence of Dámáji took up his residence in Borsád. There he fell into several disputes with the Muhammadan officials, in the course of one of which he was taken prisoner, but escaped the next year (1743). Meanwhile Dámáji had joined with Rákhoji Bhonsál in attacking the Peshwa. Whilst Rákhoji was preparing his army in the east, Dámáji made a feint against Máwa, which had the desired effect of withdrawing a large portion of the ministerial army. The Gáikwár’s troops retreated without giving battle, but to prevent any future junction between Dámáji and the Bhonsál party in Berá, Báláji Peshwa confirmed the Pavár family in their claims to Duár, which had never been acknowledged as their territory, since the defection of the Pavárs to the Dáabhád party in 1731. It is worth remarking that though the rank of Senápati had apparently been made hereditary in the Dábhád family (for the owner of the title was quite unfit for the command of an army), the Ghórpé family applied at this time to have it restored to them on the ground that it once had been held by one of their house. The Peshwa, however, managed to secure their alliance by a grant of land, and their claims to the chief command of the army seem to have been waived.

For the next two years the Marátha force in Gujárat, under Rangoji and Deváji Takpar was employed by the Musalmáns in their quarrels regarding the viceroyalty. The Marátha practice of appointing deputies gives rise to some confusion as to the negotiations that took place about this time between the Gáikwár’s party and the rival candidates for the office of subhedár. For instance, Umábáí Dábháde had appointed the Gáikwár family as her agents-in-chief, but the principal members of that house were absent in the Dakhán. Dámáji Gáikwár had appointed Rangoji, who in his turn left one Krishnájáí in charge of the Marátha share of the city of Ahmedábád. On the departure, however, of Dámáji from Gujárat, Umábáí left Rámájáí as her agent. Rámájáí, who seems to have

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1 Broach was constituted part of the Nizám’s personal estate on his resigning the viceroyalty in 1722.
been employed previously by Dâmáji, followed the example of his predecessors and placed one Râmechandra in charge at Ahmedâbâd. There does not appear to have been any direct agent of the Peshwa in Gujarât at this time.

On Khandéraj Gâikwâr’s return from the Dakhan he demanded the accounts of the tribute from Rangoji, and not being satisfied with this agent confined him in Borsad and appointed one Trimbakrâv in his place. Umâbâi caused Rangoji to be set at liberty and sent to her in the Dakhan, after which she reappointed him her agent. He expelled Trimbakrâv from Ahmedâbâd, but was attacked by Krîshnâji and Gangâdhar, two other late deputies. Dâmáji and Khandéraj were obliged at last to come to Gujarât and summon all these deputies to their presence. A private arrangement was concluded under which Khandéraj was allowed by Dâmáji to keep Nadiâd and Borsad as a private estate and to act as the Gâikwâr’s deputy at Baroda. Rangoji was to live at Umreth when not on active service. Gangâdhar and Krîshnâji were censured and forbidden to engage in any independent alliances with the Muhammadan leaders.

After this Dâmáji sent a general named Kânoji Tâkpar to collect the Sôrath tribute whilst he himself retired to Songad.

Rangoji returned to Ahmedâbâd, and not long after began to quarrel with the viceroy about the Marâthâ share in the revenue of the city ceded in 1728.

In a.d. 1747 Kedârjî Gâikwâr, cousin of Dâmáji, was asked by Syed Achhian, an aspirant to the governorship of Surat, to assist him in maintaining possession of that city. Before Kedârjî could reach Surat the disputes as to the succession had been settled by negotiations, and the aid of Marâthâ troops was no longer required. Kedârjî, however, finding himself in a position to dictate terms, demanded three lakhs of rupees for the aid that he was prepared to give, and as the Surat treasury could not afford to pay this sum in cash, one-third of the revenues of Surat was promised to the Gâikwâr.

Rangoji meanwhile attacked Harîbâ, an adopted son of Khanderây Gâikwâr, and recovered from him the town and fort of Borsad, which had been seized during the time that Rangoji had been occupied with his disputes in Ahmedâbâd. Khanderây and Dâmáji both turned against him and captured the fort after a long siege. Rangoji was then again imprisoned, and not released until the next year when the Peshwa sent a body of troops into Gujarât. In 1748 Umâbâi, widow of Trimbakrâv Dâbhâde, died, leaving one Bâhanrâv guardian of Yeshvântrâv her son. Partly through the solicitations of Khanderây, who had private influence with the Dâbhâdes, partly from the fact of previous possession, Dâmáji was confirmed as deputy of the Marâthâs in Gujarât. He there began to collect an army as quickly as possible, in order to co-operate with Râghunâth Bhonsâli against the Peshwa, in answer to an appeal by Sakvârbâi, widow of Shâkhâ, to support the throne against the ministers, and to secure the
succession of Śambhāji to the Sātāra kingdom. The Peshwa, aware of Dāmāji's ill-will towards himself, did his best to foment disturbances in Gujarāt and to extend his own influence there so as to keep Dāmāji away from the Dakhan.

The Peshwa accordingly entered into some negotiations with Jawān Mard Kháń, then in power at Ahmedbād, but was unable to lend substantial aid in Gujarāt against Dāmāji's agents, as the whole Marātha power was required in the Dakhan to operate against the son of the late Nizám-ul-Mulk.

Next year Dāmāji, at the request of Tārābāi, guardian of Rām Rāja, ascended the Sālpī ghāt with a strong force, defeated the Peshwa's army, and advanced as far as Sātāra. From this position he was forced to retire, and whilst in treaty with the Peshwa was treacherously seized by the latter and put into prison. Bāḷāji at once demanded arrears of tribute, but Dāmāji declined to agree to any payment, on the ground that he was no independent chief but only the agent of the Senāpāti. He therefore refused to bind his principal or himself on account of what was due from his principal. Bāḷāji then imprisoned all the members of the Gāikwār and Dābhāde family that were at that time in the Dakhan.

The state of Surat was at this time such as to afford a good opportunity to the Peshwa to obtain a footing there independently of the English or of Dāmāji. He had recently had dealings with the former in the expeditions against Angria of Kolhat, and as the merchants had found him one of the most stable and powerful rulers of the country, they were willing to treat with him for the future security of their buildings and goods in Surat. Taking advantage of Dāmāji's confinement, Bāḷāji sent Rāguṇāthráv to Gujarāt. This leader, afterwards so well known as Rāghoba, took possession of a few tālūkas in the north-east of the province, but was recalled to the Dakhan before he could approach Surat. Jawān Mard Kháń also took advantage of Dāmāji's absence to make an expedition into Sorath and Kāthiāvāda where the Gāikwār family had now established themselves permanently.

The news of these two expeditions made Dāmāji very eager to return to his province; and as he had full information as to Bāḷāji's plans with regard to Gujarāt, he bribed freely, and in order to regain his liberty consented to much harsher terms than he would otherwise have done. He agreed to maintain an army for defence and collection purposes in Gujarāt, as well as to furnish a contingent to the Peshwa's army in the Dakhan, and to contribute towards the support of the Rāja, now in reality a state-prisoner dependent upon the wishes of his minister. The Gāikwār was also to furnish the tribute due on account of the Dābhāde family, whom the Peshwa was apparently trying to oust from the administration altogether. After deducting the necessary expenses of collection and defence, half the surplus revenue was to be handed over to the Peshwa. Even after according to all these proposals, the Gāikwār was not at once released. The Peshwa protracted the negotiations, as he had
to contend against a factional court party in whose counsels he knew Dāmājī would play a leading part when once set at liberty. At last, however, after agreeing to a final request that he would assist Raghunāthráv against Surat, Dāmājī was allowed to go. There was at this time one Pāndurang Pant levying tribute on behalf of the Peshwa in Cambay and Ahmedábād. The Nawáb of Cambay, not having any reason to like or trust his neighbour the Gaikwār, had persuaded the Peshwa at the time the partition of the Marāṭha rights over Gujarāt was being settled at Poona, to take Cambay into his share of the province. The Nawáb bough't off the agent of his ally with a present of guns and cash. The ruler of Ahmedábād also came to terms with the Marāṭhās, so Pāndurang was at liberty to go and see if he could find equal good fortune in Sorath.

Dāmājī now came back with a fresh army, which was soon reinforced by Raghunāthráv. They marched towards Ahmedábād, and Jawān Mard Khān was too late to intercept them before they invested the capital. He managed, however, by a bold movement to enter the town, but after a long siege was obliged to capitulate and march out with the honours of war. The Marāṭhās conferred on him an estate in the north-west of Gujarāt, which, however, was recovered by them some time afterwards.

After taking possession of Ahmedábād in April 1753, Raghunāthráv went to Sorath, and on his return exacted a large sum as tribute from the Nawáb of Cambay. He left a deputy in Ahmedábād, who marched against the same chief again in 1754, but on this occasion he could levy no tribute. As the Nawáb had firmly established himself and considerably enlarged his dominions, the Peshwa’s deputy marched against him in person a second time, but was defeated and taken prisoner. The nominee of Raghunāthráv procured his release, and the Peshwa’s deputy continued to demand arrears of tribute for his master till he obtained an agreement to pay at a future date. He then retired to the Dakhan, and the Nawáb, taking advantage of the lull to strengthen his army, captured Ahmedábād from the Marāṭhā garrison and established himself in the city. After a while Dāmājī and Khanderáv Gaikwār, with an agent sent direct by the Peshwa, arrived before the town and commenced a siege. It was not until April 1757 that the Marāṭhās again entered the city. The Nawáb surrendered after the Marāṭhās had fully ratified the conditions he himself had proposed.

Sayājiráv, son of Dāmājī, remained in Ahmedábād on behalf of his father, and the Peshwa’s agent Sadāshiv put in a deputy in his turn and went himself to Surat. Here he was soon joined by Sayājī, who had to arrange the shares of the tribute in accordance with the partition treaty of 1751. Next year a body of Marāṭhā troops was sent to the aid of the Rāv of Kachh, who was engaged in an expedition against Thatta in Sind. Sadāshiv sent the Nawáb of Cambay some money on the part of the Peshwa to enable him to liquidate the arrears of pay due to his army, but a year afterwards the Marāṭhā army appeared at the town gates with a demand for
two years' arrears of tribute in full, amounting to Rs. 20,000. The Nawāb managed to raise this sum, and the Marāthās moved south. Dāmājī was at this time in Poona.

The Peshwa had supported Syed Aḥṣan of Surat with the view of putting him under an obligation so as to secure some future advantages, and this year lent him some troops as a bodyguard. The Nawāb of Cambay, who was also indebted to the ministerial party, left his dominions to pay a visit to the Peshwa at Poona: Khandērāv meanwhile plundered Lunāvāda and Ídar, whilst Sayājirāv was similarly engaged in Sorath.

Dāmājī Gāikwār accompanied the Peshwa to Delhi, and was one of the few Marātha leaders that escaped after the defeat at Panipat. On his return to Gujarāt he successfully opposed an expedition by the Nawāb of Cambay against Bālāsinor and re-took the estates of Jawān Mard Khān. He also strengthened his position in Sorath and Kābhīvada against the Peshwa's party.

The Peshwa, being hard pressed by his rival the Nizām, began in this year to make overtures to the East India Company's officers in Bombay, with a view to getting the aid of European artillery and gunners. He at first offered to give up a valuable tract of land in Jāmbūsar. But the English would accept no territory but the island of Sālsetto, the town of Bassin, and the small islands in the harbour of Bombay. These the Marātha government declined to give up, so negotiations were broken off.

Next year Raghunāthráv, as guardian of the son of Bālājī, named Mādhavráv, who was still a minor, conferred the title of Senāpāti on one of the Jādav family who had formerly borne it. The administration of Gujarāt, however, which had always accompanied the title when held by the Dābhāde family, was left practically in the hands of Dāmājī, and no mention of any transfer of it was made at the time Jādav was appointed commander-in-chief. Discontented with the empty honour thus conferred, Rāmchandra, the new Senāpāti, joined the Nizām's party, and on account of this defection the Peshwa, two years afterwards, cancelled the appointment and restored the office to the Ghorpade family, one of whose members had held it long before. This put an end to the connection of Gujarāt with the chief military dignity of the Marātha state.

After Mādhavráv Bālājī came of age he had constantly to be on this guard against the plots of his uncle Raghunāthráv, who had refused to accept the share in the government offered him by the young Peshwa. Raghunāthráv, perhaps instigated by his wife, had no doubt great hopes of obtaining a share in the whole power of the administration, and suspecting Mādhavráv to be aware of his designs, looked upon all the overtures made by the latter as intended in some way or other to entrap him. He therefore collected an army of some 15,000 men in Bāgālan and Nāsīk, and hoping to be joined on his way by Jānōji Bhonsāl, advanced towards Poona. In his army was Govindráv, son of Dāmājī Gāikwār, with a detachment of his father's troops. The Peshwa, without giving Jānōji time to effect
a junction with Raghunáthrás, even if he had been prepared to do so, defeated his uncle's army at Dhorap, a fort in the Ajunta range, and carried off Rághobá and Govindráv to Poona, where they were placed in confinement.

Not long after this action Dámáji died. He had brought the fortunes of the Gaikwárd house to the highest pitch they ever reached and not long after his death, the family influence began to decline. It was his personal authority alone that was able to counteract the usual tendency of quasi-independent Marátha states towards disintegration, especially when they are at a distance from the central power. Khandeáv and Sayájiráv had shown frequent signs of insubordination (as for instance in their espousal of the cause of Rangojí) and a desire to establish themselves in an independent position, but the sagacity of Dámáji foreshadowed the advantage such a partition would give an enemy like the Peshwa, and his tact enabled him to preserve unity in his family, at least in resistance to what he showed them to be their common foe.

The quarrel for the succession that arose on Dámáji's death was the first step towards the breaking up of the Gaikwárd power. Dámáji had three wives. By the first he had Govindráv, who however was born after Sayájiráv, the son by the second wife. His sons by the third wife were Mánáji and Fatesingh. Govindráv was in confinement at Poona near the court, and therefore in a position to offer conditions for the confirmation of his rights without loss of time.

In the Hindu law current amongst Maráthás, there are to be found precedents in favour of the heirship of either Govindráv or Sayájiráv. Some authorities support the rights of the son of the first wife whether he be the eldest or not, others again regard simply the age of the claimants, deciding in favour of the first born, of whatever wife he may be the son. Rámuráv Shástri, the celebrated adviser of Mádhavráv Peshwa, is said to have expressed an opinion in favour of the rights of Sayájiráv. Govindráv, however, was on the spot where his influence could be used most extensively. Sayájí, moreover, was an idiot and a puppet in the hands of his half brother Fatesingh, Govindráv applied at once for investiture with the title of Sená-Khas-Khel. A payment of 50½ lakhs of rupees to the Peshwa on account of arrears of tribute and a fine for his conduct in taking part with Rághobá was a strong argument in his favour, and when he agreed to a tribute previously demanded from his father of Rs. 7,79,000 yearly and to maintain a peace contingent at Poona of 3000 horse, to be increased by a thousand more in time of war, there could be little doubt as to the legitimacy of his claim, and he was duly invested with his father's title and estate.

For reasons not apparent Sayájí's claims were not brought forward till nearly two years later. Govindráv had never been allowed to join his charge in Gujarát, so that he could exercise no interference in that direction, and the court affairs in the Dakhán left perhaps little time for the disposal of Sayájírás's application, even if it had been made. Sayájí had entrusted his interests to Fatesingh, a man
of considerable ability, who came at once to Poona to get a reversal of the recognition of Govindráy. The Peshwa was glad to have this opportunity of undoing so much of Dáni's work and dividing the Gaikwár family against itself, so using the verdict of Ráj Shástrí as his weapon, he cancelled the former grant in favour of Govindráy, and appointed Savájírav with Fatesingh as his muñdik or deputy. The latter, by agreeing to pay an extra sum of 64 lákhs of rupees annually, got permission to retain the Poona contingent of Gaikwár horse in Gujarát, on the pretext that Govindráy would probably attack his brothers on the earliest opportunity. Thus, whatever happened, all went to the profit of the Peshwa's party and to the injury of the tax-paying Gujarát ryot.

Fatesingh retired in triumph to Baroda, and opened negotiations with the English in Surat, as he had been endeavouring to do for a year past without success. In January 1773, however, he succeeded in getting an agreement from the Chief for Affairs of the British Nation in Surat, that his share in the revenues of the town of Broach, which had been taken by storm in 1772 by the English, should not be affected by the change of masters. In the same year Náarkyanáv Peshwa was murdered, and Rághobá was invested by the titular king at Sátára with the ministerial robe of honour. Govindráy Gaikwár, still in Poona, reminded the new Peshwa of the good offices of the Gaikwár family at Dhorap and elsewhere, and found means of getting reinstated as Sená-Khás-Khel. In 1774 he set out for Gujarát, and collecting a fair number of adherents on his way, he attacked Fatesingh. After various engagements of little importance, the latter found himself shut into the city of Baroda, which was invested by Govindráy in January 1775.

In the meantime Rághobá had been driven from power by the intrigues of Bráhmans of a different class from that to which he belonged, headed by the afterwards well-known Nána Phadnis. The ex-Peshwa first betook himself towards Málwa, where he hoped to be joined or at least assisted by Holkar and Sindia. As soon however as he got together some scattered forces he marched down the Tápti and opened negotiations with the English through Mr. Gambier, the chief at Surat. The Bombay Government at once demanded the cession of Bassain, Sálséte, and the adjacent islands. Rághobá refused, partly, in all probability, on account of the pride felt by the Marátha soldiery in their achievements before Bassain at the time of the great siege. He however offered valuable territory in Gujarát, yielding a revenue of about eleven lákhs, and to pay six lákhs down and 11 lákhs monthly for the maintenance of a European contingent with artillery. The English at Bombay were debating whether this offer should not be accepted when news reached them that the Portuguese were about to organise an expedition to re-take Bassain. Negotiations with Rághobá were hastily broken off and a small force sent to forestall the rival Europeans. Before the end of 1774, both Thána and Versova fort in Sálséte had been taken.

Rághobá now heard that Sindia and Holkar had been bought over by the ministerial party and would not come to his assistance.
Quickly moving his force down the river he reached Baroda in January 1775 with 10,000 horse and 400 foot. He joined Govindrāv in investing that town, but sent meanwhile an agent to re-open the discussion of his proposals in the Bombay Council. This agent was captured by a party of Fatesingh’s horse, whilst he was out on an expedition near Pārnera on behalf of Govindrāv. On his release he repaired to Surat and took steps to get a treaty of alliance signed as soon as possible.

The ministerial army of 30,000 men under Haripant Phalku entered Gujarāt and obliged Govindrāv and Rāghobā to raise the siege of Baroda and to return towards the Multi. Fatesingh’s force then joined Haripant. An attack on all sides was made (Feb. 17th). Rāghobā, who was in the centre, was first charged, and before Govindrāv and Khanderāv Gāikwār could come to his assistance his best officers were wounded, some of his Arab mercenaries refused to fight as large arrears of pay were due to them, and he was defeated on both flanks. He fled to Cambay with only 1000 horse; whilst the two Gāikwārs and Manaji Sindh (Phalku) led the rest of the scattered army to Kapadvanj, where it was again set in order. The Nawab of Cambay, fearing lest the Marāṭha army should come in pursuit, shut the town gates on the fugitive and refused to give him shelter.

Mr. Malet, chief of the English residents, who had been informed of the negotiations in progress between his Government and Rāghobā, contrived to get the ex-Peshwa conveyed privately to Bhāvnagar and from thence by boat to Surat. Here he arrived on February 23rd.

The stipulations of the treaty negotiated by Narotamdas, agent of Rāghobā, and the Bombay Government were: The English to provide a force of 3000 men, of which 800 were to be Europeans and 1700 natives, together with a due proportion of artillery. In return for this Rāghobā, still recognized as Peshwa, was to cede in perpetuity. Sālsette, Bassein and the islands, Jambusar, and Olpād. He also made over an assignment of Rs. 75,000 out of the revenues of Anklesvar, the remaining portion of which district, together with Amod, Hānsot, and Balsār was placed under British management as security for the monthly contribution of 5 lākhs for the support of the troops in his service. He also promised to procure the cession of the Gāikwār’s share in the revenues of Broach. Summary other provisions (dealing with different parts of the Marāṭha dominions) were inserted, Rāghobā being treated throughout as the representative of the Marāṭha kingdom. This treaty was signed on March 6th, 1775, at Surat, but on the previous day there had been a debate in the Council at Bombay as to the propriety of continuing to support Rāghobā, as the news from Gujarāt made the British authorities doubtful whether the contingent they had already sent to Surat was enough to ensure success.

Just before the treaty was drawn up, at the end of February Lieut.-Colonel Keating had been despatched in command of 350 European infantry 800 sepoys 80 European artillerymen and 60 gun lancers with others, in all about 1,500 men, ready for active service. This force landed at Surat four days after Rāghobā had arrived from Bhāvnagar.
Before receiving this token of the intention of the British to support Rághobá, the Nawáb had treated the latter simply as a fugitive, but upon finding that the Bombay Government had determined to make the ex-Peshwa their ally, he paid the customary visits and offered presents as to a superior.

When the news reached Surat that Govindrá's troops and the rest had been reorganized at Kapadvanj, it was determined to effect a junction with them by landing Colonel Keating's detachment at Cambay and from thence marching north.

Considerable delay occurred in carrying out the first part of this proposal. First of all Rághobá detained the army at Dumas whilst he paid a visit of ceremony to the frequented temple of Bhirmpor in the neighbourhood. Then again, the convoy met with contrary winds the whole way up the gulf, and it was not till March 17th that the contingent landed. The Nawáb, accompanied by the British Resident, paid a visit of ceremony and presented mazarínás to Rághobá as a sort of atonement for his previous discourtesy and neglect. The Marathás, however, knowing that this change of tone was entirely due to the presence and alliance of the Europeans, paid much more attention to the latter than to the Muhammadans.

The British contingent encamped at a place called Náráyan-Sarovar, just north of the town. Here they waited until the reinforcement from Bombay arrived, bringing the whole force up to the complement stipulated for in the treaty. Rághobá's army under Govindrá Gaikwár was reported to be moving southwards, and Colonel Keating agreed to let it pass the Sábarmati river before joining it. Meanwhile the enemy, said to number 40,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, marched north to intercept Govindrá. The latter, however, by forced marches succeeded in crossing the Sábarmati before the arrival of the ministerial army, and encamped a few miles north-east of Cambay at a place called Darmaj or Dara. Here Colonel Keating joined him about the middle of April.

Govindrá's army consisted of about 8000 fighting men and nearly 18,000 camp followers. These latter were chiefly Pindháris who used to attach themselves to the camp of one of the Maráthá chiefs, on condition of surrendering to him half their plunder. Each chief had his separate encampment, where he exercised independent authority over his own troops, although bound to general obedience to the commander-in-chief of the whole army. The confusion of this arrangement is described by an eye-witness as utterly destructive of all military discipline. To add to the unwisdom of such an expedition, most of the Pindháris brought their wives and children with them, the cooking pots and plunder being carried on bullocks and ponies, of which there were altogether nearly 200,000 attached to the troops. In every camp there was a regular

1 At the mouth of the Tápti, now belonging to the little Muhammadan state of Bóchí.
bazar, where cash payment or barter passed equally current, so that a premium was thus placed on the pilfering of small articles by the Pindhāris, whose stipulations as to plunder were confined neither to friend nor enemy.

When all needful preparations had been made, the army, accompanied by a battery of ten guns, besides mortars and howitzers, all of which were manned by Europeans, moved out against the enemy. The latter slowly retreated, burning the crops and forage and destroying the water-supply on its way. On the 29th April the first engagement took place at Usāuli, resulting in the repulse of the ministerial troops. On May 1st a similar skirmish on the banks of the Vātrāk drove the ministerialists into Kaira. From this post they were driven after a series of slight engagements with the army of Rāghobā, which crossed the river at Mātar. Fatesingh now received a reinforcement of 10,000 horse under Khanderāv Gaṅkār, but to counterbalance this aid, Siindia and Holkar from some unexplained cause, connected probably with intrigues at Poona, withdrew from further co-operation with him. Colonel Keating was unable to follow up the advantages he had gained owing to the large proportion of cavalry in the enemy's army. He therefore continued his march southwards, after persuading Rāghobā to spend the monsoon in Poona, where he would be on the spot to counteract intrigues, instead of at Ahmedābād, as had been at first proposed.

On May 8th the army reached Nādiād, after repulsing on the road two attacks by the enemy's cavalry. This result was obtained chiefly by means of the European light artillery. Nādiād belonged at this time to Khanderāv Gaṅkār, and to punish his defection to Fatesingh, Rāghobā inflicted a fine of 60,000 rupees on the town. The amount was assessed on the several castes in proportion to their reputed means of payment. The Bhātās, a peculiar people of whom more hereafter, objected to being assessed, and the other public, so that the guilt of their blood might fall on the oppressor. The Brāhmans, who also claimed exemption from all taxation, more astutely brought two old women of their caste into the market place and there murdered them. Having made this pretext, both castes paid their contributions. Rāghobā judiciously wasted seven days over the collection of this fine, and in the end only levied 40,000 rupees.

On May 14th the march was resumed, under the usual skirmishing onslaughts of the ministerial party. At Aara, where Rāghobā had been defeated shortly before, he was in imminent danger of a second and still more serious discomfiture. An order mistaken by a British company, and the want of discipline on the part of Rāghobā's cavalry nearly led to a total defeat with great slaughter. The European infantry and artillery, however, turned the fortunes of the day. The troops of Fatesingh were allowed to approach in pursuit to within a few yards of the batteries, all the guns of which then opened on them with grape, the infantry meanwhile plying their small arms along the whole line. Fatesingh was obliged to withdraw his diminished forces and the army of Rāghobā received no further molesta-
tions from him on its way to the Mahi. Colonel Keating then ordered a general move to Broach, where he arrived safely on 27th May, after a troublesome march through the robber-infested country between the Dhadhar river and Amod.

Here they remained until June 8th, when Colonel Keating was about to move south again. Luckily, as it turned out for him, the nearest ford was impassable and he had to march to one higher up at a place variously called Bāba Piāra or Bāva Pir. On his way thither he heard that Haripant, the ministerial commander-in-chief, was halting on the north bank by the ford; he therefore pushed on to make an attack on the rear, but owing partly to timely information received and partly to the confusion caused by the irrepressibility of Rāghobā's cavalry, Haripant had time to withdraw all his force except some baggage and ammunition, which, with a few guns, he was forced in the hurry of his passage across the river to leave behind. Colonel Keating then marched fourteen miles north from the ford and halted before proceeding to Dabhoi, a town belonging to Fatesingh. The general ignorance of tactics and want of discipline in the native-army had determined Colonel Keating not to lead his force as far as Poona, but to spend the monsoon near Baroda.

Rāghobā detached one of his generals, Amir Khān, in pursuit of Ganeshpant, whom Hari Pant had left as his deputy in Gujarāt. Ganeshpant with a detachment of the ministerial army had separated from Hari at the Bāba Piāra ford and found his way through the wild country on the north of the Tāpū towards Aḥmedābād. He was finally caught by Amir Khān.

Dabhoi was at this time in charge of a Brāhman governor, who submitted on the approach of Rāghobā’s army. Colonel Keating quartered his force in the town, but Rāghobā, after exacting a levy of three lākhs of rupees, encamped at Bīlāpar on the Dhadhar, ten miles from Dabhoi. Here he began to negotiate with Fatesingh in Baroda through the mediation of Colonel Keating. Fatesingh was all the more ready to come to definite terms of agreement, as he knew that Govindrāv was on the watch to recover Baroda.

It is not certain what the terms proposed and agreed to really were. The only record of them is a copy sent in 1802 to the Resident at Poona by Governor Duncan. According to this document Govindrāv was to lose his pension and to occupy the same position as before the accession of Rāghobā. Khanderāv was to revert to the situation in which he had been placed by Dāmāji. The provision of the treaty of the 6th March regarding the Gāikwār’s claims on Broach was ratified, and as a reward for the mediation of the Bombay Government, the Gāikwār ceded to the British in perpetuity the sub-divisions of Chikhli and Varāv near Surat and Koral on the Narbada. Before this treaty could be concluded, Colonel Keating received orders to withdraw his contingent into British territory and to leave Rāghobā to manage for himself. This change of policy was due to the disapproval by the Supreme Government of the treaty of 6th March, which they alleged had been
made inconsistently with the negotiations then being carried on with the ruling powers at Poona as well as with the authority of the Calcutta Government. The treaty was therefore declared to be invalid and the troops in the field were ordered by the Supreme Government to be withdrawn at once into British garrisons. A special envoy, Colonel Upton, was sent from Bengal to negotiate a treaty with the Ministers in accordance with the views current in Calcutta.

As soon as the roads were open Colonel Keating moved towards Surat, but at the solicitation of Rághobá he disobeyed his orders so far as to encamp at Kadod, about twenty miles east of Surat, but not in British territory. Here he awaited the results of the overtures of Colonel Upton. This envoy remained at Poona from the 28th December 1775 till the 1st March 1776, on which date he signed the treaty of Porandhar, in which the office only and not the name of the Peshwa is mentioned. By this compact the Peshwa ceded all claims on the revenue of Broach together with land in the neighbourhood of that town to the British. He also paid twelve lakhs of rupees in compensation for the expenses of the war. Sálsotta was to be either retained by the English or restored in exchange for territory yielding three lakhs of rupees annually. The cessions made by Fateesingh Gaikwar were to be restored to him if the Peshwa's Government could prove that he had no right to make them without due authorization from Poona. The treaty of the 6th March was declared null and void. Rághobá was to disband his army and take a pension. If he resisted, the English were to give him no assistance. If he agreed to the terms proposed, he was to live at Kopargaon on the Godávari with an ample pension. When he received information as to the terms of the new treaty, he at once declined to accept the pension, and, as he could not understand the position of the Bombay Government with regard to that at Calcutta, he proceeded to offer still more favourable terms for further assistance.

Rághobá was at Mándvi on the Táptí when he was finally given to understand that the British could no longer aid him. He thereupon took refuge in Surat with two hundred followers. The rest of his army which had been ordered to disperse, gathered round Surat, on pretence of waiting for the payment of the arrears due to them. As their attitude was suspicious, and there were rumours of an expedition having started from Poona under Haripant to subdue them, the Bombay Government garrisoned Surat and Broach with all the forces it could spare.

Colonel Upton meanwhile offered Rághobá, on behalf of the ministers, a larger pension with liberty of residing at Benáres. This also was declined, and the ex-Peshwa fled to Bombay, where he lived on a monthly pension allotted him by the Government.

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1. Now in the Ahmednagar district.
2. In the Surat district; one thirty miles east of the city.
On 20th August 1776, a despatch of the Court of Directors arrived confirming the treaty of the 6th March 1775. At first the Bombay Government were inclined to take this as authorising the retention of all the territory ceded, but on further deliberation it was decided that as the treaty of Purandhar had been ratified by the Supreme Government subsequent to the signing of the despatch, which was dated 5th April 1776, it was evident that the Court of Directors did not mean to uphold the previous engagement more than temporarily, or until the final treaty had been concluded.

At the end of 1776, a Bombay officer was sent in place of Colonel Upton to be a resident envoy at Poona for the carrying out of the provisions of the treaty. Mr. Mostyn was the person selected, and he arrived in Poona in March 1777. He soon found that the ministers had little intention of adhering to the treaty, so he at once took up the question that he thought it most important to the Bombay Government to have settled, namely the relations of the Peshwa’s Court with Fatesingh Gáikwár as regards the cessions of territory. The ministers asserted that the Gáikwars merely administered Gujrat on the part of the Peshwa and were entirely dependent upon the Poona government, so that they could conclude no agreement with foreign states except with its approbation. Fatesingh did not deny the dependence, but evaded the question of his right to make direct treaties and claimed the restitution of the cessions on the ground that Raghunáthrav had failed to perform his part of the stipulations. The point was discussed for some time, and at last the question of dependence seems to have been let drop, for in February 1778 Fatesingh paid up the arrears of tribute, made the usual presents to the ministers and their favourites, and was again invested with the title of Sená-Khás-Khel.

In October a despatch from the Court of Directors reached the Governments of Bengal and Bombay, disapproving of the treaty of Purandhar, but ratifying it on the principle of factum valet. It was suggested, however, that in case of evasion on the part of the ministers, a fresh treaty should be concluded with Rághobá on the lines of that of 1775.

In November 1778 it was rumoured that the ministers in Poona were intriguing with the French, so the Bombay Government took this opportunity of entering into a treaty with Rághobá, who was still in Bombay. He confirmed the grants of 1775, and as security for the pay of the British contingent that was to help in placing him on the Peshwa’s throne in Poona, he agreed to assign the revenues of Balsír and the remainder of Anklesvar, as he had done before. He stipulated, however, that his own agents should collect the dues from these districts, and that the British should take charge of them only in case of the full sum due not being paid and then merely as a temporary measure.

On the 22nd November 1778 the force moved out of Bombay, and by dint of mismanagement and internal dissension the campaign was brought to an end by the convention of the 16th January 1779.
Under this agreement all possessions in Gujarát acquired since the time of Mádhavrāv Peshwa were to be restored by the British, together with Sásette, Uran, and other islands. Rághohá was to be made over to Sindia's charge, and a separate treaty assigned to Sindia the sovereignty of Broach.

The Council at Bombay disavowed the convention and were inclined to adhere only to the clause allotting Broach to Sindia. Mr. Hornby proposed to the Supreme Government an alliance with Fatesingh, engaging to free him from dependence on the Pooma Government and to reconcile the disputants within the Gaikwar family itself. After the arrival of General Goddard with reinforcements from Bengal the Governor General approved of the alliance proposed with Fatesingh as head of the Baroda state, but specially declined to admit any participation or support in the family disputes. The British were to conquer for themselves the Peshwa's share of Gujarát, if they were able to do so.

Rághohá, meanwhile, who had been given over to Sindia to be conveyed to Bundelkhand, escaped with the connivance of his custodian and fled to Broach. This was evidently a move calculated by Sindia to bring on hostilities between Nána Phadnis, the head of the ministerial party, and the English. General Goddard, who was conducting the negotiations with Pooma on the part both of the Supreme Government and of the Government of Bombay, received Rághohá on June 12th, but evaded any proposals for a direct alliance. At the end of the rains of the same year, information was received by the English that a coalition against them had been formed by the Maráthás, the Nizám, and Hyder Ali of Mysor. The rumour was partially confirmed by the demand by Nána Phadnis for the cession of Sásette and the person of Rághohá as preliminaries to any treaty. No answer was given, but reinforcements were called for and the overtures with Fatesingh pushed forward. This chief prevaricated about the terms of the treaty and evidently did not like to enter into any special engagement that might perhaps bring down upon him the Pooma army. General Goddard therefore advanced on 1st January 1780 against Dabhoi, which was garrisoned by the Peshwa's troops from the Dakhan, whilst the English in Broach expelled the Marátha officers from their posts and re-took possession of Anklesvar, Hánisot, and Amod. On January 26th Dabhoi was evacuated by the Maráthás and occupied by General Goddard. Fatesingh now showed himself willing to enter into the proposed treaty, and on the 26th January 1780 signed an offensive and defensive alliance.

In the re-opening of hostilities there was no mention of Rághohá, but the ground given was simply the non-fulfilment on the part of the Peshwa of his treaty engagement. Rághohá remained under English supervision in the enjoyment of a large allowance. Dabhoi was occupied by an English civil officer with a detachment of irregulars, and General Goddard moved towards Ahmadábád.
By the treaty of 1780 the Peshwa was to be excluded from Gujarát. To avoid confusion in collection, the district north of the Mahi was to belong entirely to the share of the Gáikwár. The English were to enjoy the whole district south of the Tápti, together with the Gáikwár’s share in the revenue of Surat. In return for the support the English were to give him in withholding tribute from the Peshwa, Fatesing ceded Sinor on the Narbada and the Gáikwár’s villages round Broach. These cessions, however, were not to have effect until Fatesingh was in possession of Ahmedábád. The contingent of 3000 horse was to be still furnished by the Gáikwár government.

As soon as these conditions were agreed upon, General Goddard went with his own army and the contingent furnished by Fatesingh to Ahmedábád. After encamping before it for five days, he took the city by storm on 15th February 1780.

Sindia and Holkar had combined their forces against the English and were marching up Gujarát, plundering on their way. They were opposed by General Goddard, who marched across the Mahi early in March. The allies turned off towards Chámpánér without risking a pitched battle on the plain. Sindia at once opened negotiations with the view of wasting time during the fair season. His first proposal was that Rághobá should be sent to Jhánsí, where Sindia had allotted him an estate, and that Bájírav, Rághobá’s son, should be appointed diVá or manager of the Peshwa Madhávráv, who was a minor. Bájírav himself was under age, so Sindia was, of course, to assume temporarily the reins of government.

Goddard at once refused to force Rághobá to take any course other than the one he should select of his own free will; for Sindia did not appear to be aware that the English were now at war with the ministers on their own account and not as allies of an ex-Peshwa. Negotiations were broken off and Sindia and Holkar dislodged from place after place without any decisive engagement being fought. General Goddard was preparing monsoon quarters for his army, when he heard that a division of a Maráthá force which had been plundering the Konkan in order to cut off supplies from Bombay had attacked parts of the Surat Athávisí. He detached some troops under Lieut. Welsh and sent them to the south, whilst he remained himself on the Narbada. Lieut. Welsh drove back the marauders and took possession of the forts of Párner, Indárgad, and Bagváda.

After the monsoon of 1780, General Goddard went to besiege Basseín, leaving Major Forbes in charge of the Gujarát army. This officer posted one body of troops at Ahmedábád for the protection of Fatesingh, another at Surat, and a third at Broach. Two battalions of Bengal infantry were sent to Sinor and some few men to Dahboo.

An attack was made by Sindia on the newly acquired district of Sinor, but Major Forbes successfully resisted it and Sindia’s position with regard to his own dominions was now such as to prevent him from sending more expeditions against Gujarát.

The military necessities of other parts of India were such as to induce General Goddard to apply to Fatesingh for an increase to
his contingent, in accordance with the treaty of 1780. After some personal communications with this Chief in Gujarát, General Goddard was able to arrange with the Gaikwär for the defence of part of that province and thus set free some European troops for service elsewhere.

No further attack was made in this direction during the continuance of the war which came to an end on 17th May 1782. The treaty of Sálbai between an envoy of the Governor General on one side and Mahádaji Sindia as pleni potentiary for the Peshwa and minister of Poona on the other, replaced the Maráthá territory in Gujarát exactly where it was on the outbreak of hostilities against Rághóbá in 1775. It was, however, specially stipulated that no demand for arrears of tribute during the late hostilities should be made against the Gaikwär, a clause that led to misunderstandings many years later. The town of Broach was given over to Sindia in accordance with the secret negotiation of 1779 and the votes of the Bengal and Bombay Councils. The territory round Broach yielding a revenue of three lakhs of rupees, ceded by the Peshwa, was likewise returned. Rághóbá was granted a pension of 25,000 rupees a month and allowed to select his own place of residence. He went to Kopar-gaon and there died a few months after the conclusion of the treaty of Sálbai. Thus came to an end one of the chief sources of disturbance to the Poona government. For the next six years no event of any political importance took place in Gujarát, which province was left almost entirely to the administration of the Gaikwär family.

In 1789, however, Fáteseíngh died, leaving Savájiráv without a guardian. Mánájí, a younger brother, at once seized the reins of government and began the usual sort of negotiations to secure his recognition by the Poona government. He paid a nazara of 3,13,000 rupees and agreed to pay up thirty-six lakhs of rupees as arrears, though it is not clear on what account, unless that sum had accrued since the treaty of Sálbai, or was part of the long standing account left open by Dámdá ji in 1758. Mánájí, however, was not allowed to succeed to the post of guardian without opposition. Govindráv Gaikwár was living at Poona, and, though he had himself little influence with the Peshwa's immediate adherents, he had managed to secure the then powerful Sindia on his side. This chief, since his recognition as pleni potentiary at the treaty of Sálbai, had been gradually making good his position with the Peshwa and his favourites as well as with the leading Maráthá nobles, so as to be able to successfully oppose Nána Phadmí when the time came for a coalition of the outlying chiefs against the ministerial party. Govindráv offered his son Anandráv as husband for the daughter of Sindia, a proposal which it is not probable that he ever intended to carry out. A grant of three lakhs of rupees was also promised, in return for which Sindia allowed his garrison in Broach to assist Govindráv's illegitimate son Kánhoji to reach Baroda. Mánájí applied to the Bombay Government on the grounds that the steps taken by Govindráv were contrary to the provisions of the treaty of 1780. As however this treaty had been abrogated by the later agreement at Sálbai, the Bombay Government declined to interfere, Mánájí's agents at Poona
contrived to get Nána Phadnis to propose a compromise, to which however Govindráv, at the instigation probably of Sindia, declined to accede. Before any decision was reached Mánáji died.

Nána detained Govindráv in Poona till he had agreed to hold by former stipulations and to cede to the Peshwa the Gáikwárd’s share in the districts south of the Tápti together with his share of the Suráí customs. To this the Government of Bombay demurred as an infraction of the provision of the Salbai treaty whereby the integrity of the Gáikwárd’s possessions was assured. Nána Phadnis at once withdrew his proposals. Govindráv at last joined his brother at Baroda on 19th December, and took up the office of regent.

For two years Gujarát remained quiet. In 1796 Bájiráv, son of Rághohád, succeeded to the Peshwa’s dignity and at once appointed his younger brother, ten years of age, governor of Gujarát. In accordance with Maráthá custom a deputy was sent to take charge of the province, one Aba Shálkárd, and he too seems to have administered vicariously, for next year (1797) we find him amongst those taken prisoners with Nána Phadnis when that minister was treacherously seized by Daulátrávd Sindia in the Dakhán. Aba was released on promising to pay ten lákhs of rupees as ransom. He then joined his appointment as subhdárd in order to take measures to get together the money he required.

Bájiráv Peshwa was anxious to embroil Aba with Govindráv, whom he knew to be favourable to Nána Phadnis and too powerful to be allowed to acquire influence beyond the reach of head-quarter supervision. A cause of quarrel soon arose. Daulátrávd pressed Aba for part payment of the above ten lákhs, and the latter being unable to squeeze enough out of his own territory, forced contributions from some of the villages administered by the Gáikwárd. Govindráv at once took up arms against him and applied for aid to the English Agent at Suráí. In this city Governor Jonathan Duncan had just assumed chief authority in accordance with an agreement between the English and the Nawáb. Duncan was anxious to secure for his government the land round Suráí and the Gáikwárd’s share in the chaúth of the town and district. Govindráv, when this demand was made, referred the Governor to Poona, knowing that under the treaty of Salbai the British Government had no more right to acquire a share of the Gáikwárd territory than the Poona authorities had when they made a somewhat similar demand in 1793, which was withdrawn as stated above. Before the reference could be made, Aba was penned up by Govindráv’s own army in Ahmedábád and forced to surrender that city. He was kept in confinement for more than seven years.

In the same year (1799) the Peshwa, apparently without formally revoking the appointment of his brother Chimnáji as Subhdárd, gave Govindráv a farm for five years of his whole rights in Gujarát, at the rate of five lákhs of rupees a year. These rights included shares in the Káthiávárd and Soráth tribute, the revenue of Petlád, Nápdád, Rampur, Dhandhuka, and Gogha, together with rights to certain customs duties in Cambay and a share in the revenue of the city of Ahmedábád.
Govindrao unfortunately died a month before this farm was formally made over by the Peshwa.

As had happened at the death of Damaaji, so again now, the heir Anandrao was all but an idiot and quite incapable of managing his affairs. The disputes as to the guardianship again set the whole state in confusion. Kanhoji, a son of Govindrao by a Baijutmi princess of Dharampur, who had been the first agent of his father in Baroda in 1793, had been put in prison for refusing to give place to Govindrao when the latter at length joined him at Baroda. At the death of Govindrao, Kanhooji managed to obtain his liberty and to secure the ascendency in the counsels of his weak-minded elder-brother. He assumed, in fact, the whole government. His arrogant conduct in this new position excited the Arab guard against him and he was again thrown into confinement. His mother Gajrabai, who was a refugee in Surat, endeavoured to get assistance from the English there, and at the same time made overtures to Malhar, son of Khanderao, Gaikwad, who had formerly been one of Govindrao’s bitterest opponents.

Meanwhile the administration of the Gaikwad’s affairs passed into the hands of Ravji and Babaji Appa, two brothers who had been brought to Baroda in 1793 by Govindrao himself. Ravji took charge of the civil work, whilst Babaji undertook the military duties, which at that time consisted in great measure in collecting the revenue by show of force. These two ministers, on hearing of the proceedings of Gajrabai, outbid her for the aid of the Bombay Government. In addition to the cessions formerly offered by Govindrao, they were willing to give up Chikhli also. Matters were precipitated by the successes of Malhar in the field. Ravji offered to subsidize five European battalions, and Governor Duncan took upon himself the responsibility of sending an auxiliary force of 1600 men under Major Walker to act with the troops of Ravji and Babaji north of Ahmedabad. Reinforcements were afterwards sent up, but the campaign was not closed till April 1802, when the fort of Kadi had been taken by storm. Malhar surrendered and a residence in Nadir, was assigned him with a liberal pension out of the revenues of that subdivision. The fort of Sankheeda, which had been held by Ganpatrao Gaikwad for his cousin Malhar, was soon after this reduced and the country for a time pacified.

In March Ravji had an interview at Cambay with Governor Duncan, which was followed on June 6th by a definite treaty, of which the groundwork had been previously sketched in anticipation of the reduction of the revolted Gaikwars. Two thousand men, besides artillery, were to be subsidised and a jaidar or assignment for their payment was made on the revenue of Dholka and the part of Nadir not assigned to Malhar. Chikhli was given to the British in reward for their aid in storming Kadi, and Residents were to be appointed reciprocally. A large sum of money was borrowed by Ravji, partly from Bombay partly from Baroda bankers, to pay off the arrears due to about 7000 Arab mercenaries, who had usurped a great deal of objectionable influence in civil affairs at the Gaikwar’s
capital. Major Walker was appointed Resident and proceeded to Baroda on 8th June.

On the same day was signed a secret compact assuring Rávji of the support of the British Government and awarding him a village out of the territory ceded by the treaty of June 6th. It was deemed advisable by the British Government to have at the Baroda court some leading personage who might, in the present state of the relations between Bombay and Poona, further the designs of the former government in preventing a recurrence of the coalition of Maratha powers. Rávji was sure of his reward if he served British interests, whilst in case of the reorganization of a Maratha confederacy the state he was administering would probably play but a very subordinate part in subsequent events.

The treaty of June 8th was disapproved by the Court of Directors as being in direct contravention of the treaty of Sálbai. Before, however, any orders had been issued by the Home authorities to restore to the Gáikwár the territory he had ceded, the Peshwa, out of regard for whom the treaty had been disavowed, was a fugitive before the army of Holkar, and by December had ratified these very concessions at the treaty of Bassein. By this treaty the Peshwa virtually placed his independence in the hands of the British. He ceded his share of Surat, thus giving them sole control over that district. In payment of the subsidiary force required he handed over territory in Gujarát, the revenue of which amounted to 12,28,000 rupees, and finally he constituted the British Government arbiter in the disputes between his government and that of Baroda. The grants made by the Gáikwár for the support of the subsidiary force amounted in 1802 to 7,80,000 rupees.

Major Walker attempted to negotiate with the Arab guard, but the greater part of them flew to arms and released Kánhoji Gáikwár. The latter then tried to collect an army near Baroda, and succeeded in obtaining possession of the person of Anandráv the titular ruler. The British force then took Baroda by storm, after which most of the Arabs submitted, except a few who joined Kánhoji. The rest took the arrears due to them and left the country. Kánhoji was not subdued till February 1803. Malhárráv meanwhile had broken out in rebellion in Kathíaváda and was plundering the Maratha possessions there. Bábáji Appáji and a young officer named Vithal Deváji (or Divánji) led the operations against him; and to the latter belongs the honour of having captured this troublesome member of the ruling family. The estate of Nájád, which had been assigned to Malhárráv by Govindráv, was resumed by Rávji Appáji and made over in its entirety to the British Government. A treaty, supplementary to that of 1802, was drawn up guaranteeing this cession as well as the index or free gift of the fort and district of Kaira, "out of gratitude for the support given in the recent troubles to the Gáikwár's honour and for assistance in securing the good of the State."
THE MARĀThĀS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Contingent
Strengthened,
1803.

Death of Rāvji,
1803.

War with Sindia.

The Revenue
Collecting
Force.

Very soon after this agreement Rāvji applied for an addition to the subsidiary force, in payment of which he assigned Mātār Mahu-
dīha and the customs of Kim-Kathodra, a station about seventeen
miles north of Surat. His reason for strengthening the subsidiary
force appears to have been that owing to the reduction of the Arabs,
his own force was not enough to guard even the frontier, and that a
great part of that duty fell on the European contingent, which was
numerically insufficient for service on so extended a scale. This
was the last public act of note on the part of Rāvji Appāji, who died
in July 1803, after adopting one Sitārām to succeed to his estate.

Whilst these arrangements were being carried out at Baroda,
Bājirāv Peshwa, chafing at the dependence to which his straits of
the previous winter had reduced him with regard to the English, was
actively propagating dissension between Sindia and the Calcutta
Government. Not long after, the war that had been some time
imminent broke out, and a contingent of 7352 men from Gujarāt
was ordered to the field. In August or September Broach and
Pāvagād1 both fell to the British.

Under the treaty of Sirjō Anjangles in December 1803, both Pāvagād
and Dohad were restored to Sindia, but Broach remained British.
By this means one of the rising Marātha powers was extruded from
the centre to the outlying portion of the province. The employment
of all the British contingent against Sindia’s possessions in Gujurāt
precluded Major Walker from furnishing any portion of the army
that was annually sent to collect the tribute in Kāthiāvād. Rāvji
Appāji had expressly stipulated that some part of the contingent
might be so used when it could be spared from its main duties. The
Supreme Government agreed to the proposal when made by Gover-
nor Duncan, on the grounds of the advantage both to the Gāikwār
and the tributaries of employing on this disagreeable duty a strong
and well-disciplined force. Already some of the tributaries had
made overtures to Major Walker with a view to obtaining British
protection against powerful neighbours. Governor Duncan was in
favour of accepting the duty of protection and also of helping the
Gāikwār’s commander in his expeditions through the peninsula on
these grounds. Firstly, the officer in command could exercise a
certain supervision over the collections in which the British as part
assignees had a direct interest. Secondly, a way could thus be
opened for the acquisition of a port on the coast from which the
intrigues, supposed to be carried on by agents from the Isle of France,
could be watched and counteracted. From such a point, too, the
views of the Bombay Government as regards Kachh could be
promoted. Thirdly, the commandant could take steps to improve
the system of forcible collections, and towards abolishing the bar-
barous features of this rude method of levying tribute. He could
also, perhaps, suggest some system by which the advantages of all
three parties concerned would be better secured than by reliance on
the uncertainty of temporary expeditions. The fourth and last

1 A celebrated hill fort south of Chāmpācor in the Panch Mahāls district.
reason given savours strongly of the Maratha policy of the time, of which the leading maxim was *Divide et impera*. It was represented that Bābāji, who had successfully collected the tribute during 1802-03 and whose subordinate and companion Vithal Devaji was a person of similar energy and capability, might possibly acquire too great influence if left in a quasi-independent command at such a distance from the Court. It was politic, then, to join with the force under his command a strong foreign body, thus dividing both the power and the responsibility. The war with Sindlu caused these proposals to fall into abeyance for some time.

Meanwhile the Resident at Poona was doing his best to secure for the Gāikwār a further lease for ten years of the farm of the Peshwa's dominions in Gujarāt, so that the inconveniences of dual government might be avoided. In October 1804 a ten years' farm was granted in the name of Bhagvāntrāj Gāikwār at an annual rate of 4½ lākhs of rupees.

This grant led to the consolidation of all previous engagements into a single treaty, which was signed in April 1805. Previous agreements were confirmed and the whole brought into consonance with the treaty of Bassein. Districts yielding 11,70,000 rupees per annum were made over for the support of the subsidiary force, and arrangements were also made for the repayment of the cash loan advanced by the British Government in 1802, when the liquidation of the arrears due to the Arabs was a matter of urgent political necessity. The British contingent was to be available in part for service in Kāthiāvāda, whenever the British Government thought such an employment of it advisable.

Finally, the British Government was constituted arbiter in all disputes of the Gāikwār, not alone with foreign powers, but also in the adjustment of his financial transactions with the Peshwa his paramount power. These transactions, which ranged back from the capture of Dāmāji in 1751, had never been the subject of a formal investigation, and were by this time complicated by the numerous engagements with third parties into which both governments had been obliged to enter at their various moments of distress. Bājirāv, who was apparently intriguing for a Maratha coalition against his new protectors, was careful not to bring before the notice of the chiefs, whose esteem he wished to gain, a provision which exhibited him as in any way dependent upon the arbitration of a foreign power. He therefore granted the farm for ten years to the Gāikwār, as much by way of remanding for a time the proposed inquiries and settlement of their respective claims as for the purpose of diverting the attention of the British to the administration of this new appanage, whilst leaving him free scope for his intrigues in the Dakhan. He used, moreover, every pretext to defer the consideration of the Gāikwār question until he could make use of his claims to further his own designs. His success in preventing a discussion of these transactions is apparent by the fact that in the financial statement of the Gāikwār's affairs made by Colonel Walker in 1804, no mention of the Poona demand is to be found.
No important event took place during the next year or two. Bābjī relinquished the command of the force in Kāthiāvāda in favour of Vīthalrāv Devājī, whilst he himself took part in the civil administration at Baroda. The Resident, too, seems to have been likewise engaged in internal matters and in securing the country against an invasion by Kānhoji, now a fugitive at the court of Hokkar.

In 1807 the Resident made over Aba Shelukar, late Sar Subhedar of the Peshwa, to the British Government, by whom he could be prevented from engaging in fresh conspiracies. After this Colonel Walker was at last enabled to leave Baroda in order to assist in the settlement of the Kāthiāvāda tribute question, an object he had long had in view, but which the necessity for his continuous presence at the Gāikwar's capital had hitherto prevented him from undertaking.

The changes with regard to the collection of the tribute from the chiefs of Kāthiāvāda that were carried out in 1807 deserve a special description. Firstly, they placed the relations of the tributary to the paramount power on quite a new basis. Secondly, by them the British influence over both parties concerned was much increased and the connection between the governments of Bombay and Baroda drawn closer. Thirdly, they were subsequently, as will be seen hereafter, the subject of much discussion and delay in the settlement of the questions at issue between the Peshwa and the Gāikwar. And lastly, their effect was most beneficial to both the chiefs and their subjects in removing the uncertainty that had hitherto prevailed in the whole revenue administration of Kāthiāvāda.

Before entering on the details of the settlement itself, some description is necessary of the social and political state of the peninsula at the time the changes were introduced.

The greater part of the population of Kāthiāvāda consisted of two classes, chiefs and cultivators, called Bhumiās and ryots. The power of the chief ranged from the headship of a single village up to absolute jurisdiction over several score. The ryots were usually tenants long resident in the province. The chiefs were in almost every case foreigners, invaders from the north and north-east; Muhammadan adventurers from the court of Ahmadābād; Kāthis animated by the love of plunder and cattle-lifting; and Miānās and Vāghelās who had settled on the coast on account of the facilities it afforded for their favourite pursuits of wrecking and piracy. More numerous than any others were the Rajputs, driven south by the disturbed state of their native kingdoms or by the restless spirit of military adventure to be found in a class where one profession alone is honourable. There is a certain uniformity in the building up of all these chieftainships. A powerful leader, with a sufficient band of followers, oppressed his weaker neighbours till they were glad to come to terms and place themselves under his protection, so as both to escape themselves and to take their chance of sharing in the plunder of others. It frequently happened in the growth of one of these states that the bhāyād or relations of the chief (who are sure to be numerous in a polygamous society) were influential enough to assume, in their turn, a partial independence and to claim recogni-
tion as a separate state. As a rule, however, they continued to unite with the head of the family against external foes, and only disagreed as to domestic administration. It is also noticeable that though so addicted to the profession of arms, the Rajputs cannot be called a military race; they possess few of the true military virtues; hence the slowness of their advance, and their failure in competition with perhaps less courageous though more compact and pliable races. In Kathiavada fortified strongholds, formidable enough to an army moving rapidly without siege trains, arose in all directions, and even villages were surrounded by a high mud wall as a protection against cattle-lifters.

The groundwork of these states being itself so unstable, their relations with each other were conducted on no principle but the law of the stronger. General distrust reigned throughout. Each chief well knew that his neighbours had won their position as he had won his own by the gradual absorption of the weaker, and that they were ready enough whenever opportunity offered to subject his dominions to the same process. The administration of his territory consisted merely in levying, within certain limits sanctioned by long usage, as much revenue as would suffice to maintain himself and his forces in their position with regard to the surrounding states. When a foreign enemy appeared there was no co-operation amongst the local chiefs in resistance. It was a point of honour not to yield except to a superior force. Each chief, therefore, resisted the demands made upon him until he considered that he had done enough to satisfy the family conscience and then, agreeing to the terms proposed, he allowed the wave of extortion to pass on and deluge the domains of his neighbour. It should be remembered that the peninsula had never been subjugated, though overrun times innumerable. The evil of invasion was thus transitory. To a chief the mere payment of tribute tended in no wise to derogate from his independence. In his capacity of military freebooter he acknowledged the principle as just. His country had been won by the sword and was retained by the sword and not by acquiescence in the payment of tribute, so that if he could avoid this extortion he was justified in doing so. If he weakened his state in resisting foreigners, he knew that his neighbours would certainly take advantage of the favourable juncture and annex his territory. It was his policy therefore, after resistance up to a certain point, to succumb.

Owing to this local peculiarity and to the general want of union in the province, both the Mughals and Marathas found it advantageous to follow a system of successive expeditions rather than to incur the expense of permanently occupying the peninsula with an army which would necessarily have to be a large one. There is every reason to believe that in adopting the raid system the Musalmans were only pursuing the practice of their predecessors, who used to take tribute from Jodhpur to Dwärka.

Some of the subheads of Ahmedábád divided their tributary districts into three circuits of collection and personally undertook the
charge of one each year. This was the mulakgiri Land-raiding system. Besides this chief expedition, there was the smaller one of the Babi of Junagadh and the still more minute operations of the Raval of Bhavnagar against some of his weaker neighbours. The great Ahmedabad expedition had long been an annual grievance and was conducted with some show of system and under special rules called the Raj-ul-Mulak. Three of these rules are of importance, and seem to have been generally acquiesced in before the great incursions of Bahlunji and Vithalrav at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first was that the paramount power (by which was meant the foreign government which was strong enough to enforce tribute from all the chiefs) had authority to interfere in cases of dismemberment, or in proceedings tending to the depreciation of the revenue or to the dismemberment of any tributary state. It was again an acknowledged rule that whilst the mulakgiri expedition of the paramount power was in motion no other army should be in the field throughout the whole province. The third provision was not so well established, but it appears to have been understood that the tribute from each state should be regulated by some standard of former date. In practice, however, the measure of the Maratha demand was simply the power to enforce payment.

It is worthy of remark that about the beginning of this century the resistance to the collection of tribute was stronger towards the west than in the east and south of the province. In the Mahi Kautha the lawlessness of the Koli chiefs, who had established themselves in the ravines and on the hills, necessitated the employment of a military force for collections. In the neighbourhood of Bijapur and Kadi, the chiefs would not pay tribute except under the compulsion of a siege or raid, but the mulakgiri system only reached its full development west of Dholka.

From these explanatory remarks the system and practice of the Marathas can be clearly understood.

The Marathas found their way to Sorath very early in their Gujrat career. The first raid probably took place about 1711, when the Muhammadans were occupied near Ahmedabad. After this incursions were frequent, and under Damaji Gaikwad became, as has been seen above, annual. This leader did more. He took to wife a daughter of the Gohil chief of the small state of Lathe in east central Kathiawada, whose dowry in land gave him the standpoint he sought in the heart of the peninsula. He managed also to secure his position in what are known as the Amreli Mahals, probably under the force of circumstances similar to those which caused the weaker Rajputs to gravitate towards the stronger of their own tribe. His expedition through the peninsula, generally as near the time of harvest as possible, was made regularly every year as soon as he had amassed a sufficient number of troops on the mainland to admit of a force being detached for mulakgiri. The object of these inroads was plunder, not conquest; the leaders would readily have entered into negotiations for the payment of the tribute had the chieftains been disposed to treat otherwise than after defeat. The expenses
of such an army were heavy, and the more so as the time during which it would be in the field was quite indefinite, and dependent entirely upon the amount of resistance offered. In more than one instance the Maratha leaders, who usually had no artillery for a siege, were obliged to regularly besiege a town. Early in this century the town of Mália successfully defended itself against a remarkably well equipped force under Bábájí, and the Junágarh state was usually avoided by the Marathás as much as possible on account of the time it would take to reduce its army to terms.

It is not on record that the mulakgiri force habitually devastated the country over which it passed, or caused much greater hardships to the ryots than are inseparable from the passage of an army in the field. There are, however, well authenticated stories of the depredations and damage committed during these expeditions. A village is said to have been deserted by order of the bhámin in order that the timber of its houses might furnish fuel for the Maratha army on its march. Tortures were doubtless inflicted on men supposed to be well off, who were suspected to have hidden their property. A Maratha army was usually, if not always, ill disciplined, as is proved by the testimony of Mr. Forbes, an eye witness of the campaigns of 1775. From the same writer it is learned what an immense proportion the camp followers bore to the actual combatants. If this were the case in a real campaign against a formidable and active enemy, it is likely that the irresponsible element was still larger in an expedition like this of mulakgiri, where the enemy was insignificant and the country at the mercy of the invaders. It is probable therefore that the troops have been credited with misconduct that should in point of fact be attributed to these Pindháris. In after years, when the expeditions were conducted systematically, villages on the line of march were always allowed the alternative of entertaining a pioneer or two as a sort of guarantee. If no bandhári of this sort were accepted, the army occupied the place. In many cases the demands for supplies made by these pioneers were so exorbitant that the villagers preferred to compound in turn with them also for their absence. Another method by which a chieftain might avoid the necessity of the army’s passing through his territories was by sending to the commander of the expedition an envoy empowered to treat for the amount of tribute and to execute a provisional guarantee for its future liquidation. This deed was destroyed on the subsequent confirmation by the chief himself of the agreement for the sum fixed.

Securities.

This habit of taking securities in all engagements was so prevalent in all parts of the province, and played so prominent a part in the financial administration of the Gáikwár’s home and tributary domains, that its main features are worth describing.

It is a well known characteristic of Hindu dealings that no transaction is carried on by two parties alone if a third can possibly be dragged in. This practice no doubt originated in the former insecure

1 Oriental Memoirs.
state of society when no man considered himself safe in person or property from government on the one hand and his neighbour on the other. With classes like Kolis and predatory Rajputs, the feeling is intelligible enough, and from these it spread into other branches of the society. To such a pitch was distrust carried in the early part of the nineteenth century, that the Gaikwar himself could find no one to enter into a contract with him without the guarantee of one of his own subjects. The consequences of this practice and the power it threw into the hands of the Arab mercenaries, who were the principal securities for the public debts, are matters that touch the history of the Baroda State rather than that of the province. The chiefs in their dealings employed a special sort of security which owed its validity not to political consideration like that of the Arab Jamádárs but entirely to its religious and traditional character.

A society of the military type like the Rajput has a tendency towards caste and privilege. Without a leader the warlike instincts of the tribe would not carry them beyond petty robberies; whilst with a leader they can achieve greater exploits of valour and destruction. The successful chief then is idolized, and after a certain stage the privileges of the chieftainship become hereditary. Once this system is established, the celebration of ancestors follows, and when circumstances are favourable to the perpetuation of the hereditary position, the genealogy of the chief is a matter of the highest importance, and the person entrusted with the record of this is vested with peculiar sanctity. It is the genealogist's duty to enter in the record, not only the direct line but the names of the more distant relations of the chief by whom he is retained, and also to be the continual chanter of the glorious deeds of their common ancestors. He is therefore a referee of the highest authority in questions of pedigree or of the partition of inheritance. An injury to his person might entail the loss of the pedigree of the ruling family (especially as many of the bards kept no written record) and thus produce a misfortune which would be felt by the whole tribe. The chief, being a warrior, must take his chance in the field with the rest, but the person of the genealogist was sacred and inviolable. Amongst the Rajputs the greatest reverence was paid to purity of pedigree, and each principal family had its Bháta to record births and deaths amongst its members and to stimulate pride in their lineage by the recital of the wars and exploits of their ancestors.

These Bháta necessarily multiplied beyond the number of the families that could entertain them, so that many took to banking and some to cultivation. Surrounded as they were by the social system of the Hindus, it was not long before they became differentiated into a distinct caste, and the inviolability of their persons, formerly due only to respect for the pedigree, was now extended to the whole tribe, even though a large proportion of it performed none of the duties of genealogists. Similar to the Bháta in many respects, notably in that of sacredness of person, were the Chárans, numerous in Káthiáváda, where they had founded villages and lived as ordinary
cultivators. This tribe also claimed divine origin like the race whose annals they had the privilege of recording. It is said that Rāja Todar Mal, the celebrated minister of the Delhi empire, was the first to introduce the practice of taking these Bhāts as securities for the Rajputs. The assertion is possibly true, but rests merely on tradition, and after ages usually find some great man as a sponsor for all such innovations. "It is clear, however, that for many years before 1807 no dealings of Kolis or Rajputs with the state or with each other took place without the security of a Bhāt being taken. This practice seems to have been as prevalent on the mainland as in the peninsula, the Kolis having doubtless borrowed it from their Rajput neighbours after the Bhāts had become a separate caste.

Under this system the Bhāts acquired considerable wealth, as they usually demanded a percentage on the amount for which they became security. There are instances in which they presumed upon the strength of their engagements and sacred character to bully or dictate to their employer. Such was the case of the Rāval of Bhāvnagar in 1808, which is also interesting in another way, as showing how the spirit of industry and commerce tends to sap the old observances which have their roots in superstition. This chief engaged in trade, fostered merchants, and increased his revenue. When his security, a Bhāt, got troublesome and interfering, he applied to the power to whom he paid tribute to have the old security bond cancelled and a fresh one taken on his own personal responsibility. In doing this he seems to have been prompted by nothing but his appreciation of the modern code of commercial honour.

To return to the mulakgiri. The tribute for which preliminary security had been taken seems to have fluctuated from year to year, but always with reference to a fixed standard. It was one of the Marāṭha rules never to recede from a former demand lest they should be thereby setting up a precedent for future years. They preferred to secure a year or two's arrears at the full rate to the payment of all the arrears due at a reduced rate.

In spite of this fiction of a settled jāma or tribute, the Marāṭhās, when they had a sufficient force at their back, invariably demanded a larger sum, the excess being called khārā-jāt or extra distinct from the actual tribute. This ingenious plan of increasing the collections originated, it is said, with Shivrām Gārdi, and was carried out scrupulously by both Bābāji and Vithalrāv in their tours. In fact during the last few years of the old system Vithalrāv had so good a force with him that the extra demand formed a large proportion of the whole tribute collected and had been paid only under strong protest. The British had not long been established in Rānpur, Gogha, and Dhandhuka before a few petty chiefs of Gohilvād and Sorath applied to the Resident at Baroda for protection against the mulakgiri of the Nawāb of Jānāghād and the Rāval of Bhāvnagar, offering to cede the sovereignty of their states to the British on condition that certain rights and privileges were preserved to the chiefs and their families. The conditions they named were not such as were likely to meet with the approval of the British Government, and do
not seem to have received much consideration. The proposals had, however, the effect of drawing the attention of the Bombay Government towards the state of Kathiawar, and permission to aid the Mulakgiri of the Gaikwar by detaching a few companies of British troops was accorded by the Supreme Government. The outbreak of hostilities with Sindia led to the whole question as to the best means of collecting the tribute being for a time deferred. The internal disputes of some of the more turbulent states, a few years afterwards, gave the Resident an opportunity of sending an envoy to one or two courts to see how matters stood, and to open a way for a settlement in conjunction with the Gaikwar. Affairs at Baroda, as mentioned above (page 410), detained the Resident there till 1807, in which year he joined Vithalrav's army with a British contingent, at a place in the Morvi state.

Before treating directly with the chiefs a circular was sent round to all of them both by the Gaikwar's agent and by Colonel Walker the Resident, containing the basis of the proposals with regard to the tribute about to be submitted to them. The position of the British Government throughout this negotiation is not clearly defined. Vithalrav in his circular mentions indeed that a British force was with his own, but urges the chiefs to come to a settlement entirely with the government he represented. Colonel Walker's note was longer, more explicit, and conciliatory, but at the same time assumed a tone of protection and superiority. The replies of the chiefs were various, and, as a rule, seem to show that they regarded the British Government as the chief mover in these negotiations. They were probably aware of the position in which the engagements of the Gaikwar had placed him with reference to the British, and for some years had had the latter as their neighbours in the east of the peninsula. They were therefore not able at once to take in the whole scope of the action of the British Government in the tribute question.

Many seemed to take the note as a preliminary to a mulakgiri on the part of the East India Company. The Raja of Malia, who had just been causing disturbances in the dominions of all his neighbours, had repulsed Bahaj and permitted the self-immolation of a Bhakt rather than fulfil an engagement, openly proposed a joint expedition across the Rann to plunder Kachch and Sind. From the inquiries made by the Resident and from information gathered from the Gaikwar's accounts, it was anticipated that separate engagements need only be entered into with the twenty-nine chiefs to whom the circular invitation had been issued, provided that the rights and interests of subordinate members of the Bhayad were clearly defined in the agreement. When, however, these rights came to be investigated in the light of the peculiar rules of Rajput inheritance, it was found that no less than one hundred and fifty-three persons had a claim to settle independently of each other for their tribute. This greatly prolonged the settlement, but at last the agreements were all framed on one principle. The amount settled was determined by a close scrutiny of the collections of past years, and Colonel Walker found it advisable to make great
reductions in the item of extras or kharáját, for which the later Gáikwár collectors had such predilection. The engagements were of the following nature.

First, the chief bound himself his heirs and successors to pay at Baroda each year the tribute fixed in perpetuity in 1807. He also procured a counter security for this payment who engaged himself in this capacity for ten years. The Honourable Company’s government had then to become security on the part of the Gáikwár for the duty of the tribute demanded. This participation of the British in the engagement was insisted upon by the chiefs, and in all probability Colonel Walker was not averse from admitting it. Having thus arranged for the payment of the tribute and guaranteed the amount to be demanded, it was proposed to take measures to prevent internal quarrels between the chiefs themselves. The object of a fixed settlement was simply to remove the necessity for overrunning the country from time to time with an irregular army and to protect the chiefs against extortion. It was found that if the army of the paramount power were removed, all means of keeping order in the province would be lost, and the internecine feuds of the chiefs would soon destroy the good effects of the permanent settlement by materially altering the then existing position of the weaker feudatories and rendering them unable to pay the tribute. It was also the wish of the British Government to bring about such a state of things in Káthiáváda that the presence of an army to control the chiefs would be wholly uncalled-for and that the chiefs themselves would co-operate to keep order and maintain the permanent settlement.

A second agreement therefore was called for from each signatory state of the nature of a security for good and peaceful conduct. The counter security to this was usually that of another chief. This bond was perpetual. On the execution of both these engagements the chief received a paredua or guarantee that the Gáikwár government would not take from him more than the tribute agreed upon, and to this deed the countersignature of the Resident on behalf of the British Government was affixed. This guarantee, like the promise of the chief himself, was apparently given in perpetuity. It will be noted that the amount of tribute was fixed permanently, but that it was considered advisable to renew the security every ten years. It is also remarkable that, except in the Jairáqémí or bond for good behaviour, the name of the Peshwa’s government, the rights of which over the tribute had only been temporarily alienated, does not appear. The total amount of the tribute thus settled was Rs. 9,79,882.

By means of these engagements the relations of the tributaries to their paramount power were made a matter of contract, instead of as heretofore a series of uncertain and arbitrary exactions dependent upon the respective means of coercion and resistance.

Seven years of the lease granted to the Gáikwár in 1804 by the Peshwa still remained unexpired and during at least six of these
the arrangements that had been made about the Kāthiāvāda tribute do not seem to have been officially communicated to the Peshwa's government. It was not until 1815, when the Resident at Poona was trying to procure the renewal of the lease for the Gāikwār, that an account of the settlement was drawn up in a draft agreement which the Resident submitted to Bājurāv. In this draft the curious mistake was made of mentioning the settlement instead of only the security bond as decennial. The Peshwa, whose policy was to protract negotiations, submitted in his turn a second draft which he said he was willing to sign. In this he seized at once on the supposition that the tribute was fixed only for ten years and stipulated for an increase at the expiration of that period. He also demanded that certain extra collections should be refunded by the Gāikwār, and assumed the British Government to have become security for the tribute owed by the chiefs to his own government.

It was evident that no accord would be reached on the lines of either of these draft agreements as they stood. Before others were prepared, Gangādhār Shāstrī had been murdered and the treaty of June 1817 was a completed act, leaving further negotiations unnecessary.

Meanwhile the tribute since the expiry of the farm of 1804 had been collected by a joint British and Gāikwār expedition, for it was found that partly from their own disputes and partly owing to the instigation of the agents of Bājurāv, the chiefs were little disposed to act up to the engagements of 1807, either with respect to tribute or good conduct. The Peshwa, whose interference in the affairs of the peninsula had been constantly discouraged, declined to trouble himself to collect the tribute, the responsibility of which he asserted rested entirely upon the British and Gāikwār governments. He subsequently ceded the tribute to the British Government on account of military expenses. After his fall in 1819 his territories, including the rights in Gujarāt, fell to the British Government, and in 1820 the Gāikwār arranged that the whole of the Kāthiāvāda tribute, except that due from the districts directly subordinate to Baroda, should be collected by the agency of the British.

Turning to the events on the mainland, we find that soon after Colonel Walker's return from the Kāthiāvāda expedition, he introduced the Kāthiāvāda tribute system into the Mahi Kāntha, in spite of the opposition of Sitārām Rāvji and the anti-English party in the Darbār.

The territory ceded for the payment of the British contingent in 1805 was found to yield less revenue than had been anticipated, so in 1808 a treaty supplementary to the consolidating one of 1805 was drawn up, allotting additional assignments amounting to about 1,76,168 rupees to the British. This revenue was derived partly from alienated villages in Nadiād, Mahudha, Dholka, Mātar, and near the Ranjar Ghāt. The ghāsadāna or tribute of Bhāvarnagar was also made over by this agreement. With regard to this latter
acquisition, it is to be noticed that the agreement is drawn up in the name of the Honourable Company alone, and not in that of the British Government on account of Anandrāv Gāikwār. It also differs from other engagements of a similar nature in containing a proviso against the contingency of future irregular demands being made by the Peshwa's army. The reason for this distinction is evidently that the Bhāvnagar contribution was not part of the Kāthiāvāḍa revenue farmed to the Gāikwār by Bājurāv, and was thus not divisible on the expiration of the lease. The right to this tribute rested with the British by virtue of the previous cession of Gogha, of which sub-division the fifty nine villages of the Bhāvnagar Bhāyād formed part.

Next year the Okhāmandal chiefs, who had not come under the settlement of 1807, were driven to engage not to continue their piratical depredations along the coast, and to admit one Sandarji Shivji as Resident on behalf of the British Government. The Gāikwār government then, too, seems to have become their counter security, an arrangement which led to misunderstandings a short while afterwards.

In 1811, some disturbances in Navānagar and Junagadh and symptoms of discontent in Okhāmandal took the Resident from Baroda into the peninsula with part of the British contingent.

The Jām of Navānagar had got involved in pecuniary transactions with the Rāv of Kachh, and the British Government had mediated with a view of arranging for the repayment by gradual instalments. The Jām, however, repudiated all the engagements of 1807 both as regards the debt and the tribute, ejected the Gāikwār's agent from his dominions, and prepared for war. He also began to incite the neighbouring chiefs to join in sweeping out the paramount power from the whole of Kāthiāvāḍa. It was not till after a considerable show of force that he laid down his arms and came to terms. Captain Carnac, the Resident, got him to submit the Kachh claims to the arbitration of the English Government, and after fixing them at Rs. 4,33,830, Captain Carnac made an arrangement similar to that originally intended.

There remained the question of a disputed succession in Junagadh. Bahādur Khān, son of a slave girl, was put forward in opposition to a younger aspirant, Salābat Khān, reputed to be the son of a lady of the Rādhānpur house. The Baroda government with the concurrence of the Resident had admitted the claims of the latter. On a report, however, by the Assistant Resident in Kāthiāvāḍa, Captain Carnac was induced to alter his opinion and to support Bahādur Khān, on the grounds that Salābat Khān was a spurious child, and that Bahādur was ready to make concessions of value to the Gāikwār government. The Bombay Council, however, disavowed all countenance of the claims of Bahādur Khān, and the matter was let drop.

In the year 1812 the Gāikwār had paid off the pecuniary loan borrowed in 1803 from the British Government, but there still
remained the debts for which that government had become bāṇḍārī or security in place of the ejected ānjādrīs of the Arab force. These claims could not be paid off for at least two years longer, so that for that period the Resident was ordered to maintain the same close supervision of Baroda affairs as heretofore.

The next two years were spent chiefly in discussions with the Poona government about the old claims by the Peshwa on the Gāikwār's estate. There is no doubt that at the time of his death, Dāñjā had not paid up nearly all that he had bound himself in 1753 to pay. On the other hand there had been at least six intermediate compacts between the Peshwa and various members of the Gāikwār family. Amongst others was that of 1768 fixing the arrears of the previous three years, that of 1778 and of 1781, by the tenth clause of which Fatehsingh was excused payment of arrears for the time during which he was engaged in hostilities against Rāghobā. Then came the agreement with Govindrāv in 1797, to which a sort of debit and credit account is appended.

The Peshwa had been content, for reasons that have been shown above, to let these claims lie dormant during the currency of the ten years' farm. But, as the question of the renewal of this agreement became imminent, he gradually opened more frequent communications with the Baroda council, using these claims as a pretext for sounding the disposition of the chief officials and ascertaining their feelings especially towards the British Government. When the negotiations for the settlement of these claims were fairly set on foot, he used every possible means to protract them till he had finally decided what he should do in 1814, when the Ahmedābād farm expired.

It was easy for Bājirāv to discover who were the malcontents at the Baroda Court. Sitārām, the adopted son of Rāv in Appāji, having been found both incompetent and untrustworthy in the management of affairs, had been practically removed from any post of influence in the council, and was moreover chafing at the refusal of the British Government to recognize him in the same way as they had done his father. He had also been superseded as Suba of Kāthiāvāda by Vīthalrāv Devāji. Under these circumstances, and finding that he had the support of a large number of the older court party against the authority of the Resident and of his native agent, he either himself opened communications with Bājirāv or readily listened to the counsels sent to him direct from Poona. Before long, agents were sent to the Peshwa's Court by Takhblī, wife of Anandrāv, with instructions, it is supposed, to thwart all the proposals and designs of Gangāśhar Shāstrī, who had been recently sent as envoy by the Gāikwār council of administration. The chief obstacle to the settlement of the Peshwa's claims was the counter-demand made by the Baroda government on account of Breach, which had been disposed of without the Gāikwār's consent, and also on account of the damage caused by the inroads of Ata Shelukar, when accredited agent of Bājirāv in Gujārāt.

There is no need to detail here the events that took place in Poona during these negotiations. On the expiration of the farm in 1814,
Bájrav appointed Trimbakji Dengle Sarsuba of Ahmedábád. The latter, however, did not leave Poona, where his presence was indispensable to his master, but sent agents with instructions rather of a political than of a fiscal nature. He himself undertook the task of disposing of Gangádhar Shástri, whom he caused to be assassinated at Paudharpur in July 1815.

Meanwhile the Jám of Navánagar had died leaving a disputed succession. The chief's Khavás or family slaves, instigated probably by agents from Ahmedábád, began to usurp the government, and the whole question was submitted by the Darbár to the Peshwa as being lord paramount. The Ahmedábád commander sent a body of two hundred cavalry to Navánagar, but before they could arrive, the Khavás' revolt had been quelled by a British force detached from the contingent. They therefore dispersed through the province inciting discontent and revolt amongst the Játas and Káthis. In Kaira they instigated a tribe of Kolis to attack the British lines by night. Sitárám Rávji's adherents also collected a force at Dhár, a state well-known for lending itself for such purposes, and kept the frontier in confusion. Severe measures at Poona and Baroda soon put an end to this state of things, and at last Trimbakji Dengle was surrendered to the British Government to answer for his share in the murder of Gangádhar Shástri. The discussion of the Gákwrá's debts, however, was carried on all through the year at Poona, whilst Bájrav was maturing his then vacillating plans for extirpating the British from the west of India.

In 1816 the chiefs of Okhmándal again betook themselves to piracy. Their territory was occupied by a British force. It will be remembered that in 1809 the Gákwrá's government had become counter security for these chiefs, but owing to the distance of the district from a military post, the Baroda authorities found themselves unable to spare troops enough to put a check on the misconduct of their tributaries. In A.D. 1816, at the time of occupation, the Bombay Government informed the Baroda administration that they had no wish to permanently establish themselves at so distant a spot, which contained, moreover, a much frequented shrine of Hindu worship, and that they were willing to put the Gákwrá in possession if he would engage to keep up a sufficient force in the district to protect the neighbouring ports and shores from the pirates and wreckers that infested the island of Dwarká and the adjoining mainland. The Bombay Government made a point of asserting on this occasion, in opposition apparently to some proposal by the Baroda Darbár, that they could not admit that the mere fact of having become security or counter-security gave any preferential right to the possession of the country. Finally, the Gákwrá government agreed to the condition proposed, and the district was made over to them.

In the same year (A.D. 1816) British aid was invoked by the Nawáb of Junágadh who was oppressed by a too powerful minister, backed by the Arab mercenaries. After a settlement of this dispute had been satisfactorily brought about, the Nawáb, in gratitude, waived his rights to tribute over the territories recently ceded to
the British in the peninsula, where his family had formerly great influence and considerable property. The escape of Trimbakji Denge from Thána, and the subsequent attempts of the Peshwa to prevent the re-capture of his favourite and to re-unite the Maráthá confederacy, led to the execution of a fresh treaty on June 13th, 1817, in accordance with the orders of the Supreme Government.

It was intended to bind the Peshwa in such a way that he could never again enjoy the ascendancy amongst the Maráthá chiefs to which he aspired. The Resident at Poona took this opportunity of also putting an end to the discussions about the mutual claims on each other by the Poona and Baroda governments. The Peshwa agreed to abandon all claims on any territory in possession of the Gáikwárd and to accept an annual payment of four lakhs of rupees in satisfaction of all previous debts. The farm of Gujarát was made perpetual to the Gáikwárd on the payment of four and a half lakhs annually, but the Kathiáváda tribute was made over to the British Government in liquidation of military expenses. The latter Government, by this treaty, also entered into possession of the Peshwa’s revenue in Gujarát, except that of Ulpad, which had been assigned to a favourite officer. All the Peshwa's rights north of the Nárbéda were also ceded.

These conditions necessitated a readjustment of the agreements with the Gáikwárd. On November 1817, a definitive treaty, afterwards supplemented by one of November 1818, was executed between the Baroda and British Governments. The force furnished by the former state was found inefficient and the employment of a larger body of British troops was therefore necessary. To pay for these the Gáikwárd ceded his share in the fort of Ahmedabad and the districts immediately surrounding that city. He also made over some districts near Surat, and the town of Umreth in Kaira with the whole of the rights acquired by the perpetual farm of Ahmedábád. The British remitted the maghlá or dues taken by the Nawáb of Surat on the Gáikwárd’s possessions near that city, Okhámándal having now been pacified, was also given up to the Gáikwárd, but revolted four months afterwards and was not again subdued for a considerable time.

At the final settlement of the dominions of the late Peshwa in 1819, the whole of his rights in Gujarát passed in sovereignty to the British, who remitted the four lakhs due from the Gáikwárd in composition of arrears claimed by Bájiráv. The next year a special inquiry was made into the respective shares of the Peshwa and Baroda governments in the Kathiáváda tribute and in the extra allowance levied by the Gáikwárd called gháj-dána allowance. In the course of this inquiry so many abuses of power and instances of extortion on the part of the Gáikwárd’s officers were brought to light, that the Bombay Government on these grounds, and on account also of the general deterioration in the province since the

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1 Known as Daakroi.
Gáikwár’s troops were stationed there, prevailed upon Sayájiráv, who had now succeeded to the throne, to let the duty of collection be undertaken and superintended by a British officer stationed in Káthiaváda, who should, however, employ the Gáikwár’s troops on occasions of necessity. A similar arrangement was made with regard to the Mahi Ká nthá, where the effects of the settlement of 1811 had been much weakened by the disorderly conduct of the Gáikwár’s troops stationed there. The administration of nearly the whole of the province passed into the hands of the British and the period of Marátha ascendancy came to an end.

It remains to review generally the nature and characteristics of the Marátha connection with Gujárat, the chief events in which have been chronicled above. The most prominent feature has already been indicated at the beginning of this section and is apparent throughout the whole narrative. It is, in fact, the small space in history occupied during this period by the people, compared with the share appropriated to the actions of the government and its delegates. The reasons for this are as easily seen as the fact itself. From first to last the Marátha interests in Gujárat were, except at one or two special junctures, simply pecuniary ones. In comparison with other countries within reach of Marátha arms, Gujárat has always had a very large proportion of inhabitants engaged in commerce and manufacturing industries. It was the object of Sívájí to get as much booty as he could and carry it away then and there; hence the commercial classes and manufacturers presented the most favourable opportunities for pillage, and the agriculturists were at first only mulcted in forage and provisions. Rapidity of action was another of Sívájí’s aims, so not only were his visits short and their effects transitory, but all his booty consisted of property that could be carried away by his horsemen. No women or followers accompanied his expeditions, no prisoners were made excepting the few who could afford to pay a heavy ransom. Torture was resorted to only when the captive was suspected of having concealed his treasure. Cows women and cultivators were, according to Sívájí’s system, exempted from capture. Assignments on revenue were seldom made by him for fear of weakening his own authority. Subsequently the Marátha demands became more regular and assumed the form of a certain proportion of the revenue. The sar-deshmukhi and chautúth were supposed to be calculated on the standard assessment so as to avoid subsequent claims as tribute or over-collection. In reality, however, they consisted of a fixed share in actual collections together with whatever extras the officer in charge could manage to extort, and which were, of course, kept undefined in any agreement. The expeditions, too, moved more leisurely and in greater force. The passes and roads in their rear were protected by their own comrades, so that the booty could be brought to the Dakhan in carts, and more bulky property therefore was removed than in former times. The times, too, when the demands were likely to be made were known to the headmen of the district and village, so that the cultivators could be pressed beforehand to furnish their share of the
contributions. The extortion by this means passed from the commercial classes down to the agriculturists, the latter having also the burden of supporting a larger and more cumbrous army for a longer period.

When the power of the Dabhade and his deputy the Galkwar was fairly established, a regular system of administration was introduced. It will be remembered that by the treaty of 1729 as few Maratha officers were to be employed as possible, beyond those necessary to collect the Dabhade's share of the revenue. In consequence, however, of the internal struggles of the Muhammadan chiefs, this minimum quota grew to be a large establishment, with the usual accompaniment of alienations and assignments for the support of the officers and their religious institutions which the weakness of the central power had allowed to become customary. The Dabhade himself was non-resident and his deputy usually being too valuable an assistant to be spared from the arena of Dakhan politics, the collection was left to sub-deputies and their subordinates, who in turn delegated a great part of their duties to village officers and even to strangers. The Dabhades, who were throughout more interested in the Dakhan than in Gujaràt, had, no doubt, an idea of raising up a power in the latter province in opposition to the administration of the Peshwa, which was conducted purely by Brahman agency. It was soon evident, however, that all that could be done politically with Gujaràt was to make it a treasury for the support of schemes that had to be carried out in the Dakhan.

The fertility of the soil and the facilities the country afforded for commerce and manufactures both tended to make it unlikely to become a field for recruiting. The inhabitants of the towns had fixed and lucrative occupations; the cultivators were mostly of a class which on account of the fertility of their land neither Muhammadan nor Maratha had been able to impoverish. The Marathas had still to seek for soldiers in the rugged and barren country on the Ghats and in the Konkan, where the people could only look for a hand-to-mouth existence if they remained at home. The warlike tribes of Gujaràt were, as has been already seen, too proud by birth and position to engage themselves to fight for any but their own race and interest. The aboriginal races were not likely to prove effective allies even if they had been willing to move from their own woods and fortresses. None of the Maratha governors of Gujaràt seem to have consistently attempted to weld the various interests subordinate to them into a cohesion and unity that they might have made politically useful against the Poona influence. All that they endeavoured to do was to draw from their charge as much revenue as possible and to keep out interlopers. To the taxpayer the result was the same, whether his district was invaded by Kuntaji or Piraji. If one anticipated the other in carrying off the harvest, the ryot still had to pay the latter for ejecting the intruder. The only resistance to be feared by the Marathas was that, not of the cultivators, but of their own race or of the Rajput Girilàsias. These latter were treated in all districts as mere robbers, probably because the class which bears that name near Rájpipla,
where the Marathás first came in contact with it subsists usually on blackmail. In the north, however, the Girásís were landowners of great influence and fixed residence, not likely to be conciliated by the knowledge that the invaders of their country classed them along with Bhils and Kolás as mohussás or outlaws.

In order to relieve the chief officials of direct responsibility for the revenue, the Gáikwár towards the last quarter of the eighteenth century if not before, introduced the system of letting out each revenue sub-division in farm for from one to five years at a fixed annual rate. The farmer was as often as not an absentee, but the supervision and administration were never entrusted to any one but a Marátha Bráhman. The revenue for the year was settled by an inspection of the accounts of previous years and the crops of each village. The amount was taken in kind, but the actual distribution of the whole on individual cultivators was left to the headman, who was in most cases made responsible for the assessment imposed on his village.

The frequent passages of hostile armies and other causes had left much cultivable land a desert. In order to restore the population and induce colonists to settle and cultivate in such spots, leases on favourable terms were granted to désaís, who administered the land as they pleased, and were directly responsible to the head revenue authority of the sub-division for the annual rent. The patels and other village officials also made use of their position with reference to the foreign supervisors in appropriating large tracts of waste land to their own uses. The kamávidádár or farmer for the time being was interested only in recouping himself for the amount he had agreed to pay the Marátha government, together with a margin for bribes paid to underlings at head-quarters for good offices with regard to the farm. He was ready, therefore, to make use of any agency in collecting his revenue that he found effective, and which saved the cost of a personal establishment. In many parts of the country there were hereditary village headmen accustomed to the duty of extorting money from unwilling ryots. In other places, such for instance as Dholka, it had been customary for certain Muhammadans called Kasáús, to become responsible for the revenue of certain villages in return for a discount on the jama or amount collected (manotí). These manotídáres were found so useful by the Marátha officials that they gradually acquired an hereditary position and claimed proprietary rights in the villages for which they had been formerly mere agents for collection. They also acted as désaís or colonists, and succeeded in getting their leases of certain tracts renewed long after they had ceased to actively improve the land, which had in fact been all brought under regular cultivation.

Such was the agency employed in administering the revenue. The kamávidádár was also the dispenser of justice both civil and criminal. As his object was to make money and not to improve the condition of his charge, his punishments consisted chiefly in fines, and most offences could be paid for. No record of trials was
kept except a memorandum of the amount passed at each decision to
the credit of the farmer. In civil suits sometimes one-fourth of
the amount in dispute was assigned as costs and appropriated by
the court. The Girásiás in their own territory exercised somewhat
similar jurisdiction, but grave crimes with violence were apparently
left to the party injured or his relations to decide after the manner
of the offence. Arbitration, too, was a frequent mode of deciding
differences of both civil and criminal nature, but the kamárisídar
or girásiá usually managed that the State should not be a loser by
such a method of settlement.

The whole system indicates clearly enough the slight hold the
Maráthás had on the province and their desire to make the most
out of it for the furtherance of court intrigues or political ends
above the Gháts. There is nothing to show that they contemplated
a permanent colonization of the country until the British Govern-
ment undertook the task of dividing the Marátha nation by the
establishment of a powerful and independent court at Baroda.

The home of the Maráthás was always the Dakhan, and for many
years after they had effected a lodgment in Gujarát, their army regu-
larly returned for the rainy season to the country from whence
they originally came. Their leaders were encouraged to be as
much as possible near the court by the Dábháde, or the regent on
the one side and by the Peshwa on the other: the former on
account of their weight with the army and the Marátha chiefs, the
latter in order that their influence in a distant dependency might
not grow beyond what prudence recommended or might be counter-
acted if its tendency to increase became manifest. For similar
reasons no force was allowed to be maintained in Gujarát sufficient
to consolidate the Marátha acquisitions there into a manageable
whole. Dámagí Gaikwár, had he lived, would undoubtedly have
done much towards this end by means of his personal influence;
but, as it happened, the thin crust of Marátha domination rapidly
disappeared before it either was assimilated into the system of the
province or hardened over it. A military occupation of a large and
civilised district at a distance from the mother-country, and pre-
vented by the jealousy of the central authority and the short-sight-
edness of those in charge of its exploitation, from either confor-
ming itself to the elements it found already established, or absorbing
the vital forces of the government it dispossessed, a system with-
out the breath of life, without elasticity, without the capacity of
self-direction, imposed bodily upon a foreign people, without even
the care of preparing a foundation, such seems to have been the
Marátha government, containing within itself all that was neces-
sary to ensure a precarious, but while it lasted, an oppressive
existence.
GUJARÁT DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

BY

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[CONTRIBUTED MAY 1880.]
GUJARÁT DISTURBANCES, 1857-1859.

Very soon after the outbreak of the mutinies in the North-West of India in May 1857, an uneasy feeling began to prevail in the Bombay Presidency, especially in Gujarát. The story of the greased cartridges had been industriously repeated and found credulous listeners in every village. A similar incident occurred in Gujarát. A consignment of salt from the Ran of Kachch having been carried in bags which had previously held red ochre (siindur) had become discoloured. This was observed at Sādra in the Mahī Kānhā as the salt was in transit to Rajputāna, and a report was at once spread that the salt had been defiled with cow’s blood. It was believed in Ahmedābād and throughout Gujarát that this was a device of the British Government to destroy the caste of the people as a preliminary to their forcible conversion to Christianity.

About the time that the cakes or chopping were being circulated throughout the North-West of India, a common pariah dog was passed from village to village in the Panch Mahāls and eastern Gujarát. It was never ascertained who first set the dog in motion, but it came from the Central India frontier with a basket of food which was given to the village dogs, and a similar supply with the dog was forwarded to the next village. When pestilence or other calamity threatens an Indian village, it is the custom to take a goat or a buffalo to the boundary and drive it into the lands of the adjoining village, in the hope that it will avert evil from the community. A similar belief prevailed among the Jews. There is no reason to suppose that this movement of the dog in Gujarát was a signal of revolt or had any deeper political significance than a vague feeling that troublous times were approaching. Still it was by many regarded as an evil omen and created considerable alarm.¹

¹The rite of passing cakes from village to village or of passing a dog from village to village is in such complete accord with magical and religious rites practised all over India that it seems hardly possible to accept either as meaningless or as accidental the passing of cakes or of a dog from one part of the country to another on the heels of the Mutinies. Knowing how suitable such a rite is to the state of feeling as-well as to the phase of belief prevalent among the plotters of rebellion in Northern India it seems difficult to suppose that the passing of the cakes and the passing of the dog were not both sacramental; that is designed to spread over the country a spirit which had by religious or magical rites been housed in the dog and in the cakes. The cake-spirit, like the sugar-spirit of the Thangs, was doubtless Kāli, the fierce longing for unbridled energy, which worked on the partaker of the Thang sugar with such power that he entered with zest and without remorse on any scheme however cowardly and cruel. Like the Thangs those who ate the Mutiny cakes would by partaking become of one spirit, the spirit of the indwelling Kāli, and, in that spirit would be ready to support and to take part in any scheme of blood which the leaders of Mutiny might devise and start. Similarly by religious rites the Central India dog, possibly the dog of Bāna Kūl of Gwader (See Text page 437), had been made the home of some fierce war-spirit, apparently of the dog-formed Kānlakas the Marāthn̄a Second God and Dog of War. The inspired dog and the inspired dogs-meat were passed through the land in the confidence that through them the spirit of unrest would pervade every village of Gujarát. Since the Mutinies, by the
Although Gujarát was apparently tranquil in the hot season of 1857, those who were most familiar with native opinion were aware of the existence of very serious discontent, and indications of the storm which lowered on the horizon were not wanting. When disturbances are impending natives invariably convert their savings into gold, because gold is more portable and more easily concealed than silver. A sudden and unusual demand for gold in the markets, especially by the native troops, had been observed. This fall of the political barometer should never be disregarded. It indicates the approach of a storm with great certainty.

The native press, which had been merely disloyal, now assumed an attitude of decided hostility. Every paper contained the most exaggerated accounts of the massacre of Europeans in the North-West Provinces, and absurd rumours were circulated of the approach of a combined Russian and Persian army, which, it was said, had reached Attok and would shortly invade Hindustán. It is much to be regretted that the measures which were found necessary in 1859 for the suppression of seditious publications were not enforced in 1857. Had this been done much evil would have been averted. The native mind would not have become familiar with the spectacle of the British Government held up to the execration and contempt of its subjects and the vilest motives attributed to every public measure.

The native press was not the only source of sedition. The fall of the British Government was openly predicted in every mosque, and in Ahmedábād a Maulvi named Sarjúl-din became especially prominent by preaching a jehād in the Jāma Masjīd to audiences of native officers and audàrs of the Gujarát Horse and troops from the

magic of letters, Kālī has passed from the water into the buffet, and the paid political propagandist has taken the place of Khansbābā's patrol dog.

* The correctness of the view suggested above is supported if not established by certain passages in Kaye's Sepoy War, I. 632-642. Chami says: "The circulating of cakes was supposed to foretell disturbances and to imply an invitation to the people to unite for some secret purpose." According to the king of Delhi's physician (page 636) some charms attached to the cakes. The people thought they were made by some adept in the secret arts to keep unpolluted the religion of the country. Another authority (page 657) says: "The first circulation of the cakes was on the authority of a pandit who said the people would rise in rebellion if cakes were sent round and that the person in whose name the cakes were sent would rule Isfīlī." The secret comes out in Sitaram Bāwā's evidence (pages 646-648): "The cakes in question were a charm or jehād which originated with Dāna Bāwā the guru or teacher of Nāma Sāheb. Dāna told Nāma Sāheb he would make a charm and as far as the magic cakes should be carried so far should the people be on his side. He then took butterscotch called nakhkna and made an idol of it. He reduced the idol to very small pills and leaving made an immense number of cakes he put a pillow in each and said that as far as the cakes were carried so far would the people determine to throw off the Company's yoke." With this making of a cake as a sacramental home or Durgo or Kālī compare the Buddhist of Tibet offering in a human skull to the Māhārāj or Queen, that is to Durgo or Kālī, a sacramental cake made of black-gries's fat, wine, dough, and butter, (Waddell's Buddhism in Tibet, 365). As to the effect of sharing in Durgo's mystical cakes compare the statement of the Thag Farisg (Sleeman's Ramayana, page 216): The sugar sacrament, pur-tapari, changes our nature. Let a man once taste the sacramental sugar and he will remain a Thag however skilful a craftsman, however well-to-do. The Urdu proverb says Tapawal-khi-dhaunika pur jāna khayaal ma' līnil and Who eats the sugar of the sacramental Vase as he is so he remains. The Thags are tools in the hand of the god they have eaten. (Compare Ramayana, 70.) — J. M. G.
PERIOD OF DISORDER.

Ahmedabad cantonment. The Maruts was expelled from Ahmedabad and found his way to Baroda, where he was afterwards arrested; but the impunity he so long enjoyed brought great discredit upon Government, for it was very naturally supposed that a government which tamely submitted to be publicly reviled was too weak to resist the indignity. Oriental races are so accustomed to violent measures that they seldom appreciate moderation or forbearance. The generation that had known and suffered from the anarchy of the Peshwa had passed away. The seditious language of the native press and the masjid was addressed to a population too ignorant to understand the latent power of the British Government.

In 1857 the immense continent of Hindustan was governed by what appeared to the people to be a few Englishmen unsupported by troops, for they knew that the native army was not to be depended on, and the European troops were so few that they were only seen in the larger military cantonments. It must have seemed an easy task to dispose of such a handful of men, and it probably never occurred to those who took part in the insurrection that the overthrow of the British Government would involve more serious operations than the capture or murder of the Europeans who governed the country so easily. They could not perceive that England would never submit to a defeat, and that the handful of men who ruled India were supported by the whole power of the nation. The plotters had no very definite ideas for the future. The Musalmans regarded the subversion of a government of Kafirs as a triumph of Islam, and both Muslims and Hindus looked forward to a period of anarchy during which they might indulge that appetite for plunder which had been restrained for so many years. The descendants of the feudal aristocracy of the Peshwa are an ignorant and improvident race deeply involved in debt. They could not fail to see that under the operation of our laws their estates were rapidly passing into the possession of the more intelligent mercantile classes, and they hoped to recover their position in the revolution that was about to ensue.

A great change had taken place in the character of the administration. The civilians of the school of Duncan, Malcolm, and Mountstuart Elphinstone, though not deeply learned in the law, were accomplished earnest men, sufficiently acquainted with the unalterable principles of right and wrong to administer substantial justice to a simple people who had not yet learnt the art of lying. The people asked for justice rather than law. They were satisfied with the justice they obtained from the able and upright men who ruled this country during the first half of this century. The writings and official reports of the officers of that period indicate a knowledge of native customs and feelings and a sympathy with the people that is unknown in the present day, for knowledge and sympathy cannot be acquired except by a long and familiar residence amongst the people which is now becoming every year more impossible. When the overland route rendered communication with England more easy and frequent, a reaction set in against patriarchal administration. Concupiscence with native women, which had been common, was now declared vulgar, if not immoral; and the
relations between Europeans and Natives soon became less cordial than they had been during the early period of British rule. About this time a considerable immigration of lawyers appeared in India. These briefless gentlemen, envious of the official monopoly of the Civil Service, raised an outcry that justice was being administered by men who had not acquired that knowledge of law which the formality of eating a certain number of dinners at the Temple was supposed to guarantee. They worked the press so industriously to this cry, that in the course of a few years they had succeeded in impressing their views on the Court of Directors in London and on the less intelligent members of the Civil Service in India.

Unfortunately the Sadar Court was then presided over by a succession of feeble old gentlemen who had not sufficient force of character to resist this selfish agitation, and by way of refuting the charge of ignorance of law devoted themselves to the study of these petty technicalities which have so often brought the administration of justice into contempt, and which the progress of law reform has not even now removed from the law of England. In 1827, Mountstuart Elphinstone had enacted a Civil and Criminal Code which was still the substantive law of the land. It was simple and admirably suited to the people, but justice was administered according to the spirit rather than the letter of the law. A district officer would have incurred severe censure if his decisions were found to be inequitable, however they might have been supported by the letter of the law. The national character for even-handed justice had made the English name respected throughout India and far across the steppes of Central Asia. But the demoralizing example of the Sadar Ahtlaat soon extended to the lower grades of the service. The Civil Service was afflicted with the foolishness which we are told preceded ruin. Its members diligently searched their law-books for precedents and cases, and rejoiced exceedingly if they could show their knowledge of law by reversing the decision of a lower Court and some long-forgotten ruling of the Courts of Westminster. The first effect of this evil was to fill the courts with corrupt and unprincipled vakils who perverted the course of justice by perjury, forgery, and fraud of every description. Litigation increased enormously, no cause was too rotten, no claim too fraudulent to deprive it of the chance of success. The grossest injustice was committed in the name of the law, and though the Civil Service was above all suspicion of corruption, the evil could hardly have been greater if the Judges had been corrupt. This state of affairs gave rise to great discontent, for the administration of justice fell almost entirely into the hands of the vakils. When men quarrelled they no longer said, "I'll beat or I'll kill you," but "I'll pay a vakil Rs. 50 to ruin you," and too often this was no mere idle threat.

The operations of the Inam Commission and of the Survey Department were also a fruitful cause of alarm and discontent. Many of the estates of the more influential Jāghirdārs had been acquired by fraud or violence during the period of anarchy which preceded the fall of the Peshwa. The Patels and Deshmukhs had also appropriated large areas of lands and had made grants of villages to temples and assignments of revenue to Brāhmans, religious mendicants, and dancing
girls. The Peshwa had never recognized these alienations as any limitation of his rights, for he farmed his revenues, and so long as a large sum was paid into his treasury by the farmers it was immaterial to him how much land was alienated. But when the Survey Department revealed the fact that nearly a fourth part of the fertile province of Gujarát was unauthorizedly enjoyed by these parasites; and that in other districts the proportion of alienations was nearly equally large, a due regard for the public interests demanded that there should be an investigation into the title on which the lands were held rent-free. It became the duty of the Inám Commission to make this inquiry, and though a very small portion of land was resumed or rather assessed to the land revenue and the rates for the continuation of cash allowances were extremely liberal, they could hardly be expected to give satisfaction to those who had so long enjoyed immunity from any share of the public burdens. The Brâhmins and the priesthood of every sect deeply resented the scrutiny of the Inám Commission and excited an intensely fanatical spirit by representing the inquiry as a sacrilegious attack on their religious endowments and a departure from the principle of neutrality and toleration which had been the policy of Government from a very early period.

Notwithstanding all these elements of danger there would, probably have been no revolt if the army had remained loyal. Fortunately the Bombay army was composed of a great variety of races, Musalmâns of the Shia and Sunni sects, Marâthas of the Dakhân and Konkan, Pârvâris, Pârdeshis, and a few Jews and Christians. Little community of sentiment could exist in so heterogeneous a force, and to this circumstance we may trace the failure of each mutinous outbreak in the regiments of the Bombay army. Many of its regiments had, however, recruited extensively in the North-West Provinces which were then the centre of the political cyclone, and it was soon discovered that seditious overtures were being made to them not only by their brethren in the regiments which had already mutinied, but by discontented persons of higher rank. The most important of these was a clever woman known as the Bâíza Bái. She was the daughter of a Dakhân Sardâr named Sirji Râo Ghâtkâ, and had been married in early life to His Highness Dowlat Râo Sindia the Mahârâja of Gwâloor. On his death she had been allowed to adopt Jânkoji Râo as heir to the gândi, and during his minority she had been appointed by the British Government Regent of the Gwalior state. In this position the Bái had accumulated great wealth. She had deposited £370,000 (57 lakhs of rupees) for safe custody in the treasury at Benares, and it was known that she had other resources at Gwalior. Her avarice and ambition were insatiable. She sent emissaries to all the Marâthâ chiefs and Thâkors in Western India calling on them to take up arms and restore the empire of Shiva jó. She appealed to the troops, urging them to emulate the deeds of their comrades in the Bengal army who had already nearly exterminated the Europeans in the North-West, and warned them that if they did not now strike in defence of their religion they would shortly be converted to Christianity and made to drink the blood of the sacred cow.

In May and June 1857 our troops were fighting before Delhi, only just holding their own, and making little impression on the walls...
of the city which were strongly held by the mutineous regiments. Gujarát was still tranquil. It is true there had been a riot in Broach originating in a long-standing feud between the Parsis and Musalmans of that town, but it had no political significance and had been promptly suppressed. The ringleaders were arrested, tried, and sentenced to be hanged for the murder of a Parsi, but there is no reason to suppose that this disturbance had any immediate connection with the outbreak in the North-West. It was probably only a coincidence, but the violence of the rioters was no doubt encouraged by the weakness of our position in Gujarát, and the exaggerated rumours which reached them of the massacre of our countrymen.

On July 1st, 1857, the 33rd Bengal Native Infantry and the 1st Bengal Cavalry stationed at Mhow mutinied and murdered Colonel Platt, Captain Fagan, Captain Harris, and a number of European subordinates of the Telegraph Department. The troops of His Highness Holkar fraternized with the mutineers, attacked the Residency, and after a desultory fight drove out Colonel Durand the Resident, who took refuge in Bhopal with the surviving Europeans of Indor. Information of the mutiny at Mhow soon reached Ahmedábád, and reasonable negotiations were at once opened for a simultaneous rising of the Gujarát Horse and of the troops in the cantonment; but they could not agree to combined operations. The Maráthás hoped for the restoration of the dynasty of the Peshwa, while the Pardeshís looked towards Dehli where their brethren were already in arms, without any very definite comprehension of what they were fighting for, but with some vague idea that they would establish a Musalman Ráj on the throne of the Great Mughal.

On July 9th, 1857, seven sávárs of the Gujarát Horse raised a green flag in their regimental lines in Ahmedábád and attempted to seize the quarter guard in which the ammunition was stored; but the guard made some slight show of resistance, and finding the regiment did not join them the mutineers left the lines in the direction of Sarkhej. They were followed by the Adjutant, Lieutenant Pym, with twelve sávárs, and Captain Taylor, the commandant, joined them soon after with three men of the Koli Corps, whom he had met on the Dholka road. The sávárs were overtaken near the village of Téjpor, and having taken up a strong position between three survey boundary-marks opened fire on their officers and the Koli the sávárs standing aloof. After many shots had been exchanged without result, Captain Taylor advanced to parley, and while endeavouring to reason with his men was shot through the body. The Koli now re-opened fire and having shot two of the sávárs the rest laid down their arms. They were tried under Act X1V. of 1857 and hanged. The sávárs who followed Lieutenant Pym passively declined to act against their comrades, and if the Koli had not been present the mutineers would have escaped. Captain Taylor’s wound was severe; the bullet passed through his body, but he eventually recovered. The execution of the sávárs had a good effect on the troops, but it became evident that a serious struggle was impending, and Lord Elphinstone, who was then at the head of the Bombay Government, took all the precautions that were possible under the circumstances.
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Mr. Ashburner, Assistant Magistrate of Kaira, was ordered to raise a force of 200 Foot and 30 Horse for the protection of his districts, and Husain Khan Battiangi, a Musalmán gentleman of Ahmedabad, was authorized to enlist 2000 of the dangerous classes. It was not expected that this Ahmedabad force would add to our fighting strength, but the employment of the rabble of Ahmedabad on good pay kept them out of mischief till the crisis was passed. Mr. Ashburner’s small force was composed of Rajputs, Makrnis, and Kolis. They were a very useful body of men and were afterwards drafted into the Kaira Police of which they formed the nucleus. It was this force that suppressed the rising of the Thakors on the Mahi, which will be described below.

General Roberts, a very able soldier, commanded the Northern Division at this time. He fully realized the critical position of affairs in Gujarát. He was aware that the troops were on the verge of mutiny, that the Thakors were sharpening their swords and enlisting men, and that no relief could be expected till after the rains. But he was not the man to despond or to shirk the responsibility now thrown upon him. He proved equal to the occasion and met each emergency as it arose with the calm determination of a brave man.

When the troops at Mhow mutinied, the Rája of Amjera took up arms and attacked Captain Hutchinson the Political Agent of Bhopáwar. He fled and was sheltered by the Rája of Jábwa. At the same time (July 1857) the Musalmán Kanungus or accountants and Zamindárs of the Panch Mahálas revolted, laid siege to the fort of Dohad, and threatened the Kaira district. Captain Buckle, the Political Agent, Rewa Kántha, marched from Baroda with two guns under Captain Sheppée, R. A., and two companies of the 8th Regiment Native Infantry, to relieve Dohad, while Major Andrews, with a wing of the 7th Regiment, two guns under Captain Sanlig, R. A., and 100 Sabres of the Gujarát Horse, marched on Thásra to support Mr. Ashburner and act generally under his orders. On the approach of Captain Buckle’s force the insurgents abandoned the siege, and Captain Hutchinson soon after re-established his authority in Bhopáwar by the aid of the Málwa Bhil Corps which remained loyal. He arrested the Rája of Amjera and hanged him.

On the 6th August the Jodhpur Legion stationed at Abu mutinied. They made a feeble attack on the barracks of H. M. 33rd Regiment and Captain Hall’s bungalow, into which they fired a volley of musketry, but were repulsed, leaving one of their men on the ground badly wounded. The fog was so dense that it was impossible to use firearms effectively. Mr. Lawrence of the Civil Service was the only person wounded. A party of the 17th Bombay Native Infantry who were on duty at Abu, were suspected of complicity with the Jodhpur Legion and were disarmed. The head-quarters of the Legion mutinied at Erinpur on the same day as the attack at Abu; they made the Adjutant, Lieutenant Conolly, prisoner and plundered the treasury.
An incident occurred early in September which had an important influence on events. The two Native regiments quartered at Ahmedabad were the 2nd Regiment of Grenadiers and the 7th Native Infantry. The Grenadiers were chiefly Parsis from Oudh, while the majority of the 7th Regiment were Marathás. As is often the case, an enmity sprang up between the two regiments. One night Captain Muter of the 2nd Grenadiers was visiting the guards as officer of the day. On approaching the quarter guard of the 7th Regiment, the sentry demanded the password which Captain Muter could not give. The sentry very properly refused to let him pass. Captain Muter returned to his lines, called out a party of Grenadiers, and made the sentry a prisoner. Next morning General Roberts put Captain Muter under arrest and released the sentry. This incident intensified the ill-feeling between the two regiments, and prevented their combination when the Grenadiers mutinied a few days later. It had been arranged that the two Native Regiments and the Golanduz artillery should mutiny at the same time, but there was mutual distrust between them, and the Native officers of the artillery had stipulated that they should make a show of resistance in order to let it appear that they had been overpowered by a superior force. About midnight on the 14th September 1857 the Grenadiers turned-out and fell in on their parade ground armed and loaded. The guns were also brought out and loaded on their own parade ground. A Native officer of the Grenadiers was sent with a party to take possession of the guns in accordance with the preconcerted agreement, but the Subshedār of the Artillery threatened to fire on them, and the Native officer expecting that the guns would be given up without resistance, the night he had been betrayed, and retreated with his party, who threw away their arms as they ran across the parade ground. The Grenadiers were under arms on the parade waiting for the guns, when seeing the disorder in which the party was retreating from the Artillery lines, they also were seized with a panic and broke up in confusion. Then for the first time the Native officers reported to Colonel Grimes that there had been a slight disturbance in the lines. The mere accident that the Native officer detached to take the guns had not been informed of the show of resistance he was to expect from the Artillery, probably averted the massacre of every European in Gujarát. Twenty-one loaded muskets were found on the parade ground, and though the whole regiment was guilty it was decided to try the owners of those muskets by court martial. They were sentenced to death. As it was doubtful if the Native troops would permit the execution it was considered prudent to await the arrival of the 89th Regiment under Colonel Ferryman and Captain Hatch's battery of Artillery. They had been landed at Gogha during the monsoon with great difficulty, and were compelled to make a wide detour to the north owing to the flooded state of the country. On their arrival the executions were carried out; five of the mutineers were blown from guns, three were shot with musketry, and the rest were hanged in the presence of the whole of the troops. They
met their death with a gentlemanly calmness which won the respect of all who were present.

The example thus made, together with the presence of the European troops in Gujarát, restored our prestige and gave us time to attend to affairs on our frontier. The whole country was in a very disturbed state. On the fall of Delhi on September 28th, 1857, a treasonable correspondence was found between the Nawáb of Rádhaunpur in Gujarát and the Emperor of Delhi, which deeply implicated the Nawáb. He and his ministers had forwarded nátránis of gold mohars to Delhi and asked for orders from the Emperor, offering to attack the British cantonments at Disa and Ahmedábád. The Nawáb had been on the most friendly terms with Captain Black the Political Agent, and had been considered perfectly loyal. Preparations were made to depose him for this treacherous conduct. We were then so strong in Gujarát that his estate could have been seized without the least difficulty, but he was considered too contemptible an enemy and his treason was pardoned.

Lieutenant Alban, with a party of Gujarát Horse, was now sent to settle affairs in Suth, a petty state in the Rewa Kánth. Mustapha Khán, at the head of a turbulent body of Arabs, had made the Rája a prisoner in his own palace with a view to extort arrears of pay and other claims. Lieutenant Alban's orders were to disarm the Arabs. After some negotiations Mustapha Khán waited on Lieutenant Alban. He was attended by the whole of his armed followers with the matches of their matchlocks alight, thinking no doubt to intimidate Lieutenant Alban. On entering the tent Lieutenant Alban disarmed him, but imprudently placed his sword on the table. While they were conversing Mustapha Khán seized his sword and Lieutenant Alban immediately shot him with a revolver. The Arabs who crowded round the tent now opened fire on Alban and his men, but they were soon overpowered. Mustapha Khán, four Arabs, and one sazár of the Gujarát Horse were killed.

Lieutenant Alban, with a party of the 7th Native Infantry under Lieutenant Cunningham then proceeded to Páli. A few months before one Surajmal, a claimant of the Lújáráda gádi, had attacked the Rája of Lújáráda, but was repulsed with severe loss and had since been harried in the village of Páli. On the approach of Alban's force, it was attacked by Surajmal's Rájputs and the village was accordingly burnt. Order was then restored in the Panch Mahála, and it was not again disturbed till Tátia Topí entered the Mahála.

In October 1857 a conspiracy was discovered between the Thákor of Sámda near Disa and some Native officers of the 2nd Cavalry and 12th Regiment Native Infantry to attack and plunder the camp at Disa and to murder the officers; but the evidence was not very clear, and before the trial could take place the amnesty had been published under which the suspected men were released. The peace of Northern Gujarát was much disturbed at this time by the Thákor of Róva, who plundered the Pálanpur and Sirohi
villages at the head of 500 men, and the Thákór of Mandeta was also in arms but was held in check by a detachment of the 89th Regiment and a squadron of cavalry at Ahmednagar near Idar.¹ The two Thákors were acting in concert with some influential conspirators at Baroda of whom Malhár Ráo Gáikwár *alias* Dada Sáheb was the chief. It was this man who afterwards became Gáikwár of Baroda and was deposed for the attempt to murder Colonel Phayre by poison.

It is very remarkable that the sepoy war did not produce one man who showed any capacity for command. Every native regiment was in a state of mutiny and a large proportion of the civil population was ripe for revolt. If only one honest man had been found who could have secured the confidence and support of his fellow-countrymen, the fertile province of Gujarát would have been at his mercy; but amongst natives conflicting interests and mutual distrust make combination most difficult. In India a conspirator's first impulse is to betray his associates lest they should anticipate him. The failure of every mutinous outbreak in Gujarát was due to this moral defect. This trait may be traced throughout the history of the war and should be studied by those who advocate the independence of India, and the capacity of the native for self-government. It is an apt illustration of native inability to organize combined operations that the most formidable conspiracy for the subversion of our power should have been delayed till October 1857. By this time the arrival of Her Majesty's 89th Regiment and a battery of European artillery at Ahmedábád had rendered a successful revolt impossible. The mutinies of the Gujarát Horse and Grenadiers had been promptly suppressed and severely punished. The termination of the monsoon had opened the ports and reinforcements were daily expected. Had the outbreak occurred simultaneously with the mutiny of the Gujarát Horse, the Artillery, and the Second Grenadiers, Gujarát must have been lost for a time and every European would have been murdered.

For many years Govindráo *alias* Bápú Gáikwár, a half brother of His Highness the Gáikwár, had resided near the Sháhábáig at Ahmedábád. He had been deported from Baroda for intriguing against his brother and had been treated as a political refugee. This man with Malhárráo, another brother of His Highness the Gáikwár, Bháu Sáheb Pawár, and a Sádár who called himself the Bhonsla Rája, also related to His Highness by marriage, conceived the design to murder the Europeans in Baroda Ahmedábád and Kairà and establish a government in the name of the Rája of Sáthara. To Bápú Gáikwár was entrusted the task of tampering with the troops in Ahmedábád, and frequent meetings of the Native officers were held at his house every night. The Bhonsla Rája, with a man named Jhaverí Nándchand, was deputed to the Kaíra district to secure the aid of the Thákors of Umeta, Bhádárva, Kéra, and Dájina, and of the Patels of Anand and Parábpur.

¹ Béra in the south-east corner of Sirohi; Mandeta in Idar in the Mahí Kánta. P. Fitzgerald Esq. Political Agent Mahí Kánta.
PERIOD OF DISORDER.

These landholders assured Bāpu of their support and the Thákors of Umeta mounted some iron guns and put his fort in a state of defence. An agent named Maganlāl was sent into the Gāikwār’s Kadi Pargana, where he enlisted a body of 2000 foot and 150 horse, which he encamped near the village of Lodra. The followers of the Kaira Thákors assembled in the strong country on the banks of the Mahi near the village of Partābpur with a detachment and advanced to the Chauk Taláv within five miles of Baroda. The massacre at Baroda was fixed for the night of October 16th. The native troops in Baroda had been tampered with and had promised in the event of their being called out that they would fire blank ammunition only.

The Thákors had been encamped at Partābpur for several days, but owing partly to the sympathy of the people and partly to the terror which they inspired, no report was made to any British officers till the 15th October, when Mr. Ashburner, who was encamped at Thásra, marched to attack them with his new levies and a party of the Kaira police. There was, as usual, disunion in the ranks of the insurgents; they had no leaders they could depend upon, and they dispersed on hearing of the approach of Ashburner’s force without firing a shot. Ninety-nine men who had taken refuge in the ravines of the Mahi were captured and a commission under Act XIV. of 1857 was issued to Mr. Ashburner and Captain Buckle, the Political Agent in the Rewa Kántha, to try them. Ten of the ringleaders were found guilty of treason and blown from guns at Kanvār, nine were transported for life, and the remainder were pardoned. The turbulent villages of Partābpur and Angar in Kaira were destroyed and the inhabitants removed to more accessible ground in the open country. Their strong position in the ravines of the Mahi river had on several occasions enabled the people of Partābpur and Angar to set Government at defiance, and this was considered a favourable opportunity of making an example of them and breaking up their stronghold.

In the meantime information of the gathering at Lodra had reached Major Agar, the Superintendent of Police, Ahmedábād. He marched to attack them with the Koli Corps and a squadron of the Gujarāt Horse. Maganlāl fled to the north after a slight skirmish in which two men were killed and four wounded, and was captured a few days afterwards by the Thámār of Samru with eleven followers. They were tried by General Roberts and Mr. Hadow, the Collector of Ahmedábād, under Act XIV. of 1857. Three of them were blown from guns at Waizāpur, three were hanged, and the rest were transported for life.

It is much to be regretted that Malhárra Gāikwār and the Bhonsla Rājā were allowed to escape punishment. There was very clear evidence of the guilt of the Bhonsla Rājā, but His Highness the Gāikwār interceded for him, and Sir Richmond Shakespeare, the Resident, weakly consented that his life should be spared on condition that he should be imprisoned for life at Baroda, a sentence which, it is hardly necessary to say, was never carried out.
On the suppression of this abortive insurrection it was determined to disarm Gujarát, and in January 1858 strong detachments of the 72nd Highlanders and of Her Majesty's 88th Regiment with the 8th Regiment Native Infantry, two guns under Captain Conybere, and a squadron of Gujarát Horse were placed at the disposal of Mr. Ashburner to carry out this measure. His Highness the Gaikwár had consented to a simultaneous disarmament of his country, but he evaded the performance of his promise. In the Kaira district and in the Jambusar taluka of Broach the disarmament was very strictly enforced; every male adult of the fighting classes was required to produce an arm of some kind. The town of Ahmedábâd was relieved of 20,000 arms in the first two days, but the Highlanders and 86th Regiment were required for operations in Rajputána, and after their departure from Gujarát it was deemed prudent to postpone this very unpopular measure.

After these events Gujarát remained tranquil for nearly a year till, in October 1858, the Náikda Bhils of Nárakot revolted under Rupa and Keval Náiks, and a few months later Tátia Topi's scattered force being hard-pressed by Colonel Park's column, plundered several villages of the Panch Maháls during its rapid march through that district.

In 1858, after his defeat at Gwâlior, at the close of the mutinies in Northern India, Tátia Topi moved rapidly towards the Dakhan. The chiefs of Jamkhandi and Nárgund had been in treacherous correspondence with the rebel chiefs in the North-West and had invoked their aid. It is more than probable that if Tátia Topi had entered the Dakhan in force, there would have been a general insurrection of the Marátha population. Tátia's march to the Dakhan soon assumed the character of a flight. He was closely pressed by two columns under Generals Somerset and Mitchell, and a very compact and enterprising little field force commanded by Colonel Park. Colonel Park's own regiment, the 72nd Highlanders, many of the men mounted on camels, formed the main fighting power of this force. His indefatigable energy in the pursuit of the enemy allowed them no rest, and eventually brought them to bay at Chhota Udepur. Fearing to face the open country of Berár with such an uncompromising enemy in pursuit, Tátia recrossed the Narbada at Chikalda and marched towards Baroda. He had, by means of an agent named Ganptrao, for some time been in communication with the Bhûj Sâheb Pávár, a brother-in-law of His Highness the Gaikwár, and had been led to expect aid from the Baroda Sardâra and the Thákors of the Kaira and Rewa Kâ nthá districts. Immediately it became known that Tátia had crossed the Narbada, troops were put in motion from Kaira, Ahmedábâd, and Disa for the protection of the eastern frontier of Gujarát. Captain Thatcher, who had succeeded to the command of the irregular levies raised by Mr. Ashburner in Kaira, was ordered to hold Sankhedá with the irregulars and two of the Gaikwár's guns. He was afterwards reinforced by Captain Collier's detachment of the 7th Regiment N. I., which fell back from Chhota Udepur on the approach of the enemy.
PERIOD OF DISORDER.

Tátia Topi at this time commanded a formidable force composed of fragments of many mutinous Bengal regiments. He had also been joined by a mixed rabble of Villâyatis, Rohillâs, and Rajputs, who followed his fortune in hopes of plunder. Ferozsha Nawab of Kamora and a Marâthis Sardar who was known as the Râo Sâheb, held subordinate commands. Each fighting man was followed by one or more ponies laden with plunder which greatly impeded their movements. It was chiefly owing to this that Colonel Park was enabled to overtake the rebels and to force them into action. On reaching Chhota Udepur the troops of the Râja fraternised with the enemy, and Captain Collier having evacuated the town, Tátia Topi was allowed to occupy it without opposition. He had intended to halt at Chhota Udepur to recruit his men and to develop his intrigues with the Baroda Sardar, but Park gave him no respite. On the 1st December 1858, he fell upon Tátia's rebel force and defeated it with great slaughter, his own loss being trifling. After this defeat there was great confusion in the ranks of the insurgents. Tátia Topi abandoned his army and did not rejoin it till it had reached the forest lands of Pârona. Discipline which had always been lax, was now entirely thrown aside. The muster roll of one of Tátia's cavalry regiments was picked up and showed that out of a strength of 300 sabres only sixteen were present for duty. The rebel force separated into two bodies, one doubled back and plundered Park's baggage which had fallen far to the rear, the other under Ferozsha entered the Panch Mahâls and looted Bâriya, Jhâlod, Limdi, and other villages; Godhra being covered by Muter's force was not attacked. Park's force was so disabled by the plunder of its baggage and by long continued forced marches, that it was compelled to halt at Chhota Udepur, but General Somerset took up the pursuit and rapidly drove Tátia from the Panch Mahâls. He fled in the direction of Salumbar. The Thâkor of that place was in arms, and Tátia no doubt expected support from him, but the Thâkor was too cautious to join what was then evidently a hopeless cause. On reaching Nargud on the 20th February 1859, Ferozsha made overtures of surrender, and a week later 300 cavalry and a mixed force of 1500 men under Zâhur Ali and the Maulvi Vazir Khân laid down their arms to General Mitchell. They were admitted to the benefit of the amnesty. The remnant of Tátia's force fled to the north-east.

In October 1858, instigated by the intrigues of the Bhân Sâheb Pavâr, the Sankheda Naâkdâs, a very wild forest tribe, took up arms under Rupa and Koval Naâks, and after having plundered the outpost, thána, at Nârukot, attacked a detachment of the 8th Regiment N. I. under Captain Bates at Jâmboughoda. They were repulsed with considerable loss after a desultory fight during the greater part of two days. On the arrest of Ganpatráo, the Bhân Sâheb's agent, this troublesome insurrection would probably have collapsed, but the Naâkdâs were joined by a number of Villâyatis, matchlock-men, the fragments of Tátia's broken force, who encouraged them to hold out. They occupied the very strong country between Châmpâner and Nârukot, and kept up a harassing warfare, plundering the villages as far north as Godhra.
A field force commanded by the Political Agent of the Rewa Kántha, Colonel Wallace, was employed against the Náïkdás during the cold weather of 1858, and in one of the frequent skirmishes with the insurgents Captain Hayward of the 17th Regiment N. I. was severely wounded by a matchlock bullet on the 28th January 1859. The only success obtained by the Náïkdás was the surprise of Hassan Ali's company of Hussein Khán's levy. The Subhedár had been ordered to protect the labourers who were employed in opening the pass near the village of Sivrajpur, but the duty was very distasteful to him, and his son deserted with twenty-four men on the march to Sivrajpur. They were suddenly attacked by a mixed force of Makránis and Náïkdás. Seven men including the Subhedár were killed and eleven wounded without any loss to the enemy. The Subhedár neglected to protect his camp by the most ordinary precautions and his men appear to have behaved badly. They fled without firing a shot directly they were attacked. But little progress had been made in pacifying the Náïkdás till Captain Richard Bonner was employed to raise and organize a corps composed chiefly of Bhils with their head-quarters at Dohad in the Panch Maháils. Captain Bonner's untiring energy and moral influence soon reduced the Náïkdás to submission. Rupa Náik laid down his arms and accepted the amnesty of the 10th March 1859, and Koval Náik followed his example soon after.

In July 1859 the Wághers of Okhámandal, a mahl in Káthiáváda belonging to His Highness the Gáikwár, suddenly seized and plundered Dwárka, Barvála, and Bet. They were led by a Wágher chief named Toda Manik, who alleged that he had been compelled to take up arms by the oppression of the Gáikwár's kántídis; but it is probable that he was encouraged to throw off allegiance by the weakness of the Baroda administration and the belief that he would have to deal with the troops of the Darbár only. He soon found he was in error. Major Christie with 200 sabres of the Gujarát Horse and a wing of the 17th Regiment Native Infantry from Rájkot marched to Maudána on the Ran to cut off the communication between Okhámandal and the Káthiáváda peninsula. The cantonment of Rájkot was reinforced from Ahmedábád by six guns of Ayton's battery, a wing of the 33rd Regiment and a detachment of the 14th Regiment Native Infantry under Captain Hall, and a naval and military force was at the same time prepared in Bombay for the recovery of Bet and Dwárka as soon as the close of the monsoon should render naval operations on the western coast possible.

On the 29th September 1859, the following force embarked in the transports South Raimilies and Empress of India, towed by Her Majesty's steam-ships Zenobia and Victoria, and followed by the frigate Fíros, the gunboat Clyde, and the schooner Constance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Her Majesty's 28th Regiment</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her Majesty's 8th Regiment Native Infantry</td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marine Battalion</td>
<td>800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Artillery</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sappers and Miners</td>
<td>90</td>
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The expedition was under the command of Colonel Donovan.
of Her Majesty’s 28th Regiment, but it was intended that on arrival at Bet, Colonel Scobie should command the combined naval and military force. Colonel Scobie marched from Rajkot early in October with the wings of Her Majesty’s 33rd Regiment and 17th Native Infantry, the 13th Light Field Battery and detachments of the 14th Native Infantry and Gujarát Horse. Had Colonel Donovan waited for this force he might have effectually invested the fort of Bet, which is situated on an island, and exterminated the rebels; but he was too anxious to distinguish himself before he could be relieved of command. He arrived off Bet on the 4th October 1859, and at sunrise that morning the steam-ships Firez, Zeobie, Clyde, and Constabie took up their positions off the fort of Bet and opened fire with shot and shell at 850 yards. The fort replied feebly with a few small guns. Shells effectually scorched the fort and temples occupied by the enemy, but the shot made little impression on the wall which was here thirty feet thick. The bombardment continued throughout the day and at intervals during the night. Next morning Dewa Chhabasi, the Wágher chief in command of the fort, opened negotiations for surrender, but he would not consent to the unconditional surrender which was demanded, and after an interval of half an hour the artillery fire was resumed and preparations were made to disembark the troops. They landed under a heavy musketry fire from the fort and adjacent buildings, and an attempt was made to escalade. The ladders were placed against the wall but the storming party of Her Majesty’s 28th Regiment and 8th Regiment Native Infantry were repulsed with heavy loss. Captain McCormack of Her Majesty’s 28th Regiment, Ensign Willaume of the 8th Regiment, and ten European soldiers were killed; and Captain Glasspoole, Lieutenant Grant of the 8th Native Infantry, and thirty-seven men of the 28th Regiment were wounded, many of them severely. One sepoy of the Marine Battalion was killed and five wounded.

During the night which succeeded this disastrous attack the Wágthers evacuated the fort. They reached the mainland, taking with them their women, the children and the plunder of the temple, but Dewa Chhabasi, the Wágher chief, had been killed the previous day. Considering the large and well-equipped force at Colonel Donovan’s disposal and the facilities which the insular position of Bet afforded to a blockading force, the escape of the Wágthers almost with impunity, encumbered with women and plunder, did not enhance Colonel Donovan’s military reputation. Captain D. Nasmyth, R. E., Field Engineer of the Okhámandal Force, was directed to destroy the fort of Bet and carried out his instructions most effectually. Some of the Hindu temples nearest the walls were severely shaken by the explosion of the mines, and a great outcry was raised of the desecration of the temples; but if Hindus will convert their temples into fortified enclosures, they must take the consequence when they are occupied by the enemies of the British Government.

Lieutenant Charles Goodfellow, R. E., greatly distinguished himself on this occasion. He earned the Victoria Cross by carrying
off a wounded man of Her Majesty's 28th Regiment under a very heavy fire. Treasure valued at 3½ lakhs of rupees was taken on board the Firaz for safe custody. It was eventually restored to the Pujâris of the temples, but most of the temples had been carefully plundered by the Wâghers before the entry of the British force.

Many of the fugitives from Bet took refuge in Dwârka, and Colonel Donovan's force having re-embarked proceeded to Dwârka to await the arrival of Colonel Scobie's small brigade. Scobie's force did not reach Dwârka till October 20th. The Naval Brigade under Lieutenant Sedley with sixteen officers and 110 men had already landed under very heavy matchlock fire, and thrown up a slight breastwork of loose stone within 150 yards of the walls. A field-piece from the Zenobia and afterwards a thirty-two pounder were placed in position in this work. The successful result of the siege was mainly due to the determined bravery of this small naval force. They repulsed repeated sorties from the fort and inflicted severe losses on the enemy. As soon as the stores and ammunition could be landed, Colonel Donovan took up a position to the north-east of the fort, Colonel Scobie to the south-east, and Captain Hall occupied an intermediate position with detachments of Her Majesty's 33rd Regiment, the 14th Native Infantry, and Gujarât Horse under Lieutenant Pym. The garrison made several determined attempts to break through Captain Hall's position, but they were on each occasion driven back with loss.

The first battery opened fire on the northern face of the fort on October 28th, while the Zenobia and the Firaz poured a well-directed fire of shells on the houses and temples which sheltered the enemy towards the sea. The shells did immense execution and relieved the attack on the Naval Brigade which continued to hold its position with the greatest gallantry though several times surrounded by the enemy. On the night of the 31st October the garrison evacuated the fort and cut its way through a picket of Her Majesty's 28th Regiment, wounding Ensign Hunter and four men. A detachment under Colonel Christie followed the fugitives next morning and overtook them near Vasatri. A skirmish ensued, but they escaped without much loss and took refuge in the Bards hill. They continued to disturb the peace of Kâthiâvâda for several years. In one of the desultory skirmishes which followed, Lieutenants LaToche and Hebbert were killed.

While these events were in progress, Karranjî Hâtî the Râna of Nagar Pârkar on the Sindh frontier of Gujarât, took up arms at the head of a band of Sodhâs, plundered the treasury and telegraph office at Nagar Pârkar, and released the prisoners in the jail. Colonel Evans commanded the field force which was employed against him for many months without any very definite results. The country is a desert and the Sodhâs avoided a collision with the troops. The Râna eventually submitted and peace was restored.
APPENDIX III.

BHINMAL.

BHINMAL, North Latitude 24° 42', East Longitude 72° 4', the historical city, the capital of the Gurjars from about the sixth to the ninth century, lies about fifty miles west of Abu hill. The site of the city is in a wide plain about fifteen miles west of the last outlier of the Abu range. To the east, between the hills and Bhinmal, except a few widely-separated village sites, the plain is chiefly a grazing ground with brakes of thorn and cassia bushes overtopped by standards of the camel-loved pitu Salvadoras. To the south, the west, and the north the plain is smooth and bare passing westwards into sand. From the level of the plain stand out a few isolated blocks of hill, 500 to 800 feet high, of which one peak, about a mile west of the city, is crowned by the shrine of Chaumunda, the Sri or Lunk of Bhinmal. From a distance the present Bhinmal shows few traces of being the site of an ancient capital. Its 1500 houses cover the gentle slope of an artificial mound, the level of their roofs broken by the spires of four Jain temples and by the ruined state office at the south end of the mound. Closer at hand the number and size of the old stone-striped tank and fortification mounds and the large areas honeycombed by diggers for bricks show that the site of the present Bhinmal was once the centre of a great and widespread city. Of its fortifications, which, as late as A.D. 1811, the English merchant Nicholas Ufflet, in a journey from Jhalor to Ahmedabad, describes as enclosing a circuit of thirty-six miles (24 li) containing many fine tanks going to ruin, almost no trace remains. The names of some of the old gates are remembered, Surya in the north-east, Sri Lakshmi in the south-east, Sanchar in the west, and Jhalor in the north. Sites are pointed out.

1 The translations of the inscriptions and the bulk of the history are the work of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson of the Indian Civil Service.
2 Finch in Kerr's Voyages, VIII, 301. Thirty years later the traveller Tavernier (Ball's Edition, H, 87) has Bargam (Wagam in Jodhpur) to Bimal 16 li; Bimal to Madra 18 li. Of Jhalor Ufflet has left the following description. Jhalor is a castle on the top of a steep mountain three li to ascend, by a fair stone casemay broad enough for two men. At the end of the first li is a gate and a place of guard where the casemay is enclosed on both sides with walls. At the end of the second li is a double gate strongly fortified, and at the third li is the castle which is entered by three successive gates. The first is very strongly plated with iron, the second not so strong with places above for throwing down melted lead or boiling oil, and the third is thickly beat with iron spikes. Between each of these gates are spacious places of arms and at the inner gate is a strong portcullis. A bowshot within the castle is a splendid pagoda, built by the founders of the castle and ancestors of Ghazi (Ghazn) Khan who were Gentiles. He turned Muhammadan and deprived his elder brother of this castle by the following stratagem. Having invited him and his women to a banquet which his brother required for a similar entertainment he substituted chosen soldiers well armed instead of women, sending them two and two in a chulak or litter who, getting in by this device gained possession of the gates and held the place for the Great Mogul to whom it now (A.D. 1661) appertains being one of the strongest situated forts in the world. About half a li within the gate is a goodly square tank cut out of the solid rock and to be fifty fathoms deep and full of excellent water. Quoted by Finch in Kerr's Voyages, VIII, 300-301.
as old gateways five to six miles to the east and south-east of the present town, and, though their distance and isolation make it hard to believe that these ruined mounds were more than outworks, Ullett's testimony seems to establish the correctness of the local memory. Besides these outlying gateways traces remain round the foot of the present Bhimnál mound of a smaller and later wall. To the east and south the line of fortification has been so cleared of masonry and is so confused with the lines of tank banks, which perhaps were worked into the scheme of defence, that all accurate local knowledge of their position has passed. The Gujarát gate in the south of the town though ruined in well marked. From the Gujarát gateway a line of mounds may be traced south and then west to the ruins of Pipaldurua perhaps the western gateway. The wall seems then to have turned east crossing the watercourse and passing inside that is along the east bank of the watercourse north to the south-west corner of the Jaiкоп or Yaksá lake. From this corner it ran east along the south bank of Jaiкоп to the Jhálor or north gate which still remains in fair preservation its pointed arch showing it to be of Musalmán or late (16th-16th century) Raítor construction. From the Jhálor gate the foundations of the wall may be traced east to the Kanaksa or Karáda tank. The area to the east of the town from the Karáda tank to the Gujarát gate has been so quarried for brick to build the present Bhimnál that no sign remains of a line of fortifications running from the Karáda tank in the east to the Gujarát gate in the south.

The site of the present town the probable centre of the old city, is a mound stretching for about three-quarters of a mile north and south and swelling twenty to thirty feet out of the plain. On almost all sides its outskirts are protected by well made thorn fences enclosing either garden land or the pâns and folds of Rahára and Bhils. The streets are narrow and winding. The dwellings are of three classes, the flat mud-roofed houses of the Mahájas or traders and of the better-to-do Bráhmans and craftsmen with canopied doors and fronts plastered with white clay; Second the tiled sloping-roofed sheds of the bulk of the craftsmen and gardeners and of the better-off Rahára and Bhils; and Third the thatched bee-hive huts of the bulk of the Karáda and Bhils and of some of the poorer craftsmen and husbandmen. Especially to the north-west and west the houses are skirted by a broad belt of garden land. In other parts patches of watered crops are separated by the bare banks of old tanks or by stretches of plain covered with thorn and cassia bushes or roughened by the heaps of old buildings honey-combed by shafís sunk by searchers for bricks. Besides the four spired temples to Páranáth the only outstanding building is the old koskí or state office a mass of ruins which tops the steep south end of the city mound.

Of the 1400 inhabited houses of Bhimnál the details are: Mahájas 475; chiefly Oswáil-Vánís of many subdivisions; Shrimáli Bráhmans, 240; Shavákas 35, Maga Bráhmans worshippers of the sun and priests to Oswáí; Sonás 30; Bándhás or Calico-printers, 35; Kásíras or Brass-smiths 4, Ghánchís or Oil-pressers, 30; Mála or Gardeners, 25; Káthiás or Woodworkers, 12; Bhát 120 including 80 Gunas or Grain-carriers.

1 The names of these gateways are Surajpúl about six miles (4 km) east of Bhimnál near Rájkýpur at the site of a temple of Mahádev; Sarvá about six miles (4 km) to the south near a temple of Hanumán; Dharránáth near Vándar about six miles (4 km) west of Bhimnál at the site of a large well; Kántí about six miles (4 km) to the north near Nártán at the site of a large well and stones. Rattu, Lal Pandit,
and 40 Rajbhata or Brahmin Bhats, Genealogists; Kumbhara or Potters, 32; Musalmán Potters, 4; Rehlíars or Herdsmen, 70; Sháhíks Baggaras, 10; Shámia Aliko Beggars, 10; Kotwál and Panjára Musalmáns, 16; Lohars or Blacksmiths, 6; Darjia or Tailors, 12; Nais or Barbers, 7; Bhunāties that are Solanki Jágirdárs, 13; Kaváś Bhunáitis servants, 12; Jats Cultivators, 2; Deshunias or Saturday Oilbeggars, 1; Acháryas or Funeral Brahmands, 1; Dhómi Drambeaters, 12; Pátriás or Professionals that is Dancing Girls, 30; Turki Voharas that is Memons, 2; Vishayatí Musalmán Pakhóck-makers, 1; Ranjors or Dyers, 2; Moohi or Shoemakers, 30; Karías or Salávatas that is Masons, 6; Churigars Musalmán Ivory bangle-makers, 2; Jatiyas* or Tamurers, 12; Khátikis or Butchers working as tamurers, 1; Sarguras, Bihl messengers, 1; Bulás, 120; Tirgars or Arrow-makers, 5; Gorhadas priests to Bumbias leather-workers, 2; Bombias literally Weavers now Leather-workers, 40; Wághiria Casterors, 1; Mirásia Musalmán Drummers, 8; Ahsírs or Sweepers, 1.

Inside of the town the objects of interest are few. The four: temples of Páramásith are either modern or altered by modern repairs. A rest-house to the south of a temple of Barági or Varáha the Bear in the east of the town has white marble pillars with inscriptions of the eleventh and eleventh centuries which show that the pillars have been brought from the ruined temple of the sun or Jag Svámi. Lord of the World on the mound about eighty yards east of the south or modern Gujarat gate. In the west of the town, close to the wall of the enclosure of the old Mahálsamhá temple, is a portion of a white marble pillar with an

*The Shirmál Brahmin Bhats are of the following subdivisions: Dhondaleshwar, Há, Hera, Loh, Prosbal, Pitalá, and Varing. They say shrimal is their original home.

The local explanation of Bhari is out of the way. Their subdivisions are: Al, Barod, Bugaro, Dárgala, Gansor, Guggala, Kukro, Karamthe, Nanga, Pann, Pratá, Roj. All are strong dark full-bearded men.

The importance of Bhumál as a centre of population is shown not only by the Shirmál Brahmands and Váins who are spread all over Gujarát, but by the Parsáus a class of Váins now unrepresented in their native town who are said to have taken their name from a suburb of Bhumál. Osodí, almost all of whom are Shirmál Brahmands in their religious beliefs, have coexisted friendly with the Shirmál Brahmands and have standardised the language and the literature of the Shirmál Brahmands. The Osodí are said to be the original Rajputs of several castes including Váins and many indicating the importance of the Shirmál Brahmands as a centre of population.

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The local story is that the Solanki were called to help the people of Shirmál to resist the Sángará Rajput of Jajkor who took Bhumál about a.d. 1290. Before that the Shirmál Brahmands and Solanki were enemies. This tradition of hostility is interesting as it may go back to a.d. 740 when Mahárásá Solanki transferred the seat of power from Bhumál to Anhálvarsá Patan. (See below page 409.) A class who trace to Bhumál are the Pitals or Káhis of Mávar (Marvar Castors, 41). They claim descent from Rajput and Brahman women. Support of the tradition the Váins still keep separate neither eating with nor using the same vessels as their husbands.

The dancing girls hold land. They are said to have been brought by the Sángará Rajput, who according to the local account retreating from Ala-ud-dín Khılı (a.d. 1600) took Bhumál from the Shirmál Brahmands.

The Jatiyas all Hindus of the three subdivisions Raletta, Sunkari, and Talvaria came from Mánda near Dhar in Central India. The name is locally derived from játévarta a skin.
inscription dated S. 1342 (A.D. 1286) which apparently has been brought from the same ruined sun temple. In the 

Bhikari ruins at the south-end of the mound the only object of interest is a small shrine to Mata with two snakes supporting her seat and above in modern characters the words Nagné the akshara or tribe guardian of the 

Rātāyās.

The chief object of interest at Bhimnāl is the ruined temple of the Sun on a mound close to the south of the town. Of this temple and its inscriptions details are given below. About fifty yards west of the Sun temple are the remains of a gateway known as the Gujarat gateway. This modern name and the presence near it of blocks of the white quartz-marl of the Sun temple make it probable that the gateway is not older than Musalmān or eighteenth century Rātāyān times. Close to the west of the gate is Khari Bāva the Salt Well an old step and water-

bag well with many old stones mixed with brick work. About a hundred yards south of the Gujarat gate, in a brick-walled enclosure about sixteen yards by sight and nine feet high topped by a shield parapet, is the shrine of Mahādeva Naubākheshvar. An inscription dated S. 1690 (A.D. 1744) states that the enclosure marks the site of an old temple to Naubākheshvar. About fifty yards east of the Naubākheshvar shrine is a large brick enclosure about seventy-five yards square with walls about twelve feet high and a pointed-arched gateway in the Muslim wavedged style. On entering to the left is a plinth with a large Hanuman and further to the left in domed shrines are a Gaujati and a Mām. A few paces south is Brahma's Pool or Brahmkund with steep steps on the west and north, a rough stone and brick wall to the east, and a circular well to the south. The pool walls and steps have been repaired by stones taken from Hindu temples or from former decorations of the pool on some of which are old figures of Matā in good repair. The story is that Som, according to one account the builder of the Sun temple according to another account a restorer of Shirmāl, wandering in search of a cure for leprosy, came to the north gate of Shirmāl. Som's dog which was suffering from mange disappeared and soon after appeared sound and clean. The king traced the dog's footmarks to the Brahmkund, bathed in it, and was cured. As a thank-offering he surrounded the pool with masonry walls. To the south of the pool, to the right, are an underground śākāiya sacred to Pataleshvar the lord of the Under World and south of the śākāiya a small domed shrine of Chandī Dēvī. To the left, at the east side of a small brick enclosure, is a snake-canopied śākāiya known as Chandeshwar hung about with strings of rudraksh Elaeocarpus ganitrus beads.⁴ In front of Chandeshwar's shrine is a small inscribed stone with at its top a cow and calf recording a land grant to Shirmāl Brahmana. About forty yards north-east of the Brahmkund a large straggling heap of brick and earth, now known as Lakhamitala or Lukshmi's settlement, is said to be the site of a temple to Lakshmi built, according to the local

⁴ According to a local story there was a hermitage of Jagannatha near the temple of Jogandeva, the sun-God and hermitage of Bnarāta near Chandeshwar's shrine. In a fight between the rival ascetics many were slain and the knowledge where their treasure was stored passed away. When repairs were made in A.D. 1834 (S. 1870) the Brahrati hermitage was cleared. Two large earthen pots were found, one of which still stands at the door of Chandeshwar's temple. These pots contained the treasure of the Brahrati. In A.D. 1844 nothing but white dust was found. Most of the dust was thrown away till a Jain ascetic came and examined the white dust. The ascetic called for an iron rod, heated the rod, sprinkled it with the white dust, and the iron became good.
legend, by a Brāhmana to whom in return for his devotedness Lakshmi had given great wealth. The hollow to the south-east is known as the Khāndālin pool. About fifty yards south-east at the end of a small enclosure is a shrine and cistern of Jagreshwar, said to be called after a certain Jag who in return for the gift of a son built the temple. Several old carved and dressed stones are built into the walls of this temple. About seventy-five yards further south-east a large area rough with heaps of brick is said to be the site of an old Vidyā-Sāla or Sanskrit College. This college is mentioned in the local Mahāmya as a famous place of learning the resort of scholars from distant lands. The local account states that, as the Bhils grow too powerful the Brāhmans were unable to live in the college and retired to Dholka in north Gujarat.

The slope and skirts of the town beyond the thorn-fenced enclosures of Bhils and Rabaris lie in heaps honeycombed with holes hollowed by searchers for bricks. Beyond this fringe of fenced enclosures from a half to a whole mile from the city are the bare white banks of pools and tanks some for size worthy to be called lakes. Of these, working from the south northwards, the three chief are the Nimbāli or Narmukharsāvar, the Gini or Gayakund, and the Talbi or Trimbaksarvar. The Nimbāli tank, about 300 yards south-east of the college site, is a large area opening eastwards whence it draws its supply of water and enclosed with high bare banks scattered with bricks along the south-west and north. The lake is said to be named Nimbali after a Vāni to whom Mahādeva granted a son and for whom Mahādeva formed the hollow of the lake by ploughing it with his thunderbolt. About half a mile north-east of Nimbali a horseshoe bank fifteen to thirty feet high, except to the open east, is the remains of the Goni lake. Lines of stone along the foot of the north-west and north-east banks show that portions at least of these sides were once lined with masonry. A trace of steps remains at a place known as the Gau Ghāt or Cowgate. The lake is said to have been named Goni after a Brāhman whose parents being eaten by a Rākshas went to hell! For their benefit Goni devoted his life to the worship of Vishnu and built a temple and lake. In reward Vishnu gave to the water of the lake the merit or cleansing virtue of the water of Gāyā. In the foreground a row of small chaitras or pavilions marks the burying ground of the Mahajan or high Hindu community of Bhināmil. Behind the pavilions are the bare banks of the Talbi lake. At the west end is the Bombāro well and near the south-west is the shrine of Trimbaksarvar Mahādev. This lake is said to have been made in connection with a great sacrifice or yajñ, that is yajnas, held by Brāhmans to induce or to compel the god Trimbaksarvar to slay the demon Triparāsa. Beginning close to the south of Talbi lake and stretching north-west towards the city is the Karāḍa Sarvar or Karāḍa lake said to have been built by Kanaksei or Kanishka the great founder of the Skṣyota era (a.d. 78). On the western bank of the lake stands an open air  śīh of Karītneshwar.6 At the south end of the Karāḍa

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1 According to Alboum (a.d. 1030) the Brahmadhāndā was composed by Brahmanupras the son of Vishnu from the town of Bhīllamala between Mālkā and Achiwara. Sachau's Translation, I. 153. Another light of the college was the Sanskrit poet Magha, the son of Shrimati parents, who is said to have lived in the time of Bhil Raja of Ujain (a.d. 1010-1040). Marwār Castes, 68.

2 The local account explains the origin of the name Kanak which also means gold by the story of a Bhil who was drowned on the waxing fifth of Bhādara. The Bhil's wife who was with him falling to drown herself prepared a funeral pyre. Mahādeva pleased with the woman's devotion restored her husband to life and made his body shine like gold. As a thank-offering the Bhil enlarged the tank and built a shrine to Kīrti Mahādeva.
Object.

Surroundings.

lake, which stretches close to the fenced enclosures round the city, are the remains of a modern bastion and of a wall which runs north-west to the Jhalar gate. Beyond the side of the bastion is an enclosure and shrine of Maheshwar Muladev. To the north and north-west of the Karait sea lie four large tanks. Of these the most eastern, about 800 yards north-west of Karad, is Drahmasvar or a large area fed from the north and with high broken banks. Next, about 500 yards north-west, lies the far-stretching Vankund or Forest Pool open to the north-east. About 800 yards west is Gautam’s tank which holds water throughout the year. The banks of brick and kanthar form nearly a complete circle except at the feeding channels in the east and south. In the centre of the lake is an island on which are the white-stone foundations (18’ x 32’) of Gautam’s hermitage. On the bank above the east feeding-channel is an image of Hammán and on the east side of the southern channel at the foot of the bank is a white inscribed stone with letters, so worn that nothing but the date S.1106 (A.D. 1049) has been made out. Of the balls of kanthar or nodular limestone which are piled into the bank of the tank those which are pierced with holes are lucky and are kept to guard wooden partitions against the attacks of insects. The east and west most of the north row of tanks is the Jaykop properly Jakhkop that is the Yaksha’s Pool about 600 yards south-west of the Gautam tank and close to the north-west of the town. This tank holds water throughout the year and supplies most of the town’s demand. Along the south bank of the Jakhkop, where are tombs a shrine to Bhairav and a ruined mosque, the line of the later city walls used to run. At the south-east corner of the tank are three square masonry plinths each with a headstone carved with the figure of a man or woman. One of the plinths which is adorned with a pillared canopy has a stone carved with a man on horseback and a standing woman in memory of a Tehsildar of Bhinmal of recent date (S.1869; A.D. 1812) whose wife became Satī. About 200 yards south-east is a row of white pili lying memorial slabs of which the third from the south end of the row is dated S.1245 (A.D. 1188). On the south-east bank is the shrine of Nimghoria Bhairav at which Shrivaks as well as other Hindu worship. In the centre of the shrine is a leaning pillar about five feet high with four fronts, Hammán, on the east, a standing Snake on the south, a Sakti on the west, and Bhairav on the north. To the south of the pillar, about a foot out of the ground rises a five-faced ling or pillar-horne of the god one facing each quarter of the heaven and one uncalled facing the sky. Close to a well within, the circuit of the lake near the south-east corner is a stone inscribed with letters which are too worn to be read. At the east end of the north bank under a pila Salvador’s persic tree is a massive seated figure still worshipped and still dignified though the features have been broken off, and the left lower arm and leg and both feet have disappeared. This is believed to be the image of the Yaksha king who made the tank. Details are given Below pages 456-458. To the west of the seated statue are the marks of the foundations of a temple, shrine hall and outer hall, which is believed to have originally been the shrine of Yaksh. About a hundred yards west, under a pillared canopy of white quartz, are two Musalman

1 The local explanation of the name Yaksha’s Pool is that Rávana went to Alaka the city of the great Yaksha Kuvra, god of wealth and stole Pushpak. Kuvra’s wives or carriers, Kuvra in sorrow asked his father what he should do to recover his carrier. The father said Worship in Shrimati, Kuvra came to Shrimati and worshipped Brahma who appeared to him and said: When Ráma chanda destroys Rávana he will bring back Pushpak.
graves in honour of Ghazni Khan and Hamal Khan who were killed about 400 years ago at Jhalor fighting for Shirmal. In obedience to their dying request their Bhais brought the champions' bodies to Yaksh's tank. The white quartz, the shape of the pillars, and an inscription on one of them dated S. 1383 (A.D. 1276), go to show that the stones have been brought from the Sun temple to the south of the town. To the north of the canopy is a large step-well the Dadeli Well separated into an outer and an inner section by a row of Hindu pillars supporting flat architraves. Some of the stones have figures of goddesses and in a niche is an old goddess' image. The upper part of the well and the parapet are of recent brick work. On a low mound about 150 yards to the north is the shrine of Nilkant Mahaider, with, about a hundred paces to the south-east, a fine old step-well. The lake was fed from the south-west corner where is a silt trap, built of stones in many cases taken from old temples and carved with the chaitya or horse-shoe ornament. Some of the stones have apparently been brought from the great white quartz Sun temple. Several of them have a few letters of the fourteenth century character apparently the names of masons or carvers. Some of the blocks are of a rich red sandstone which is said to be found only in the Rupe quarries eight miles south of Bhinmal.

On the right, about half a mile south of the south-west corner of the Jaikop lake, is a ruined heap hid among trees called the Pipal Duara or Gateway perhaps the remains of the western Gateway which may have formed part of the later line of fortifications which can be traced running south along the inner bank of the Jaikop feeding channel. About a mile south of the Pipal Duara are the bare banks of the large lake Bansanvarar the Desert Sea. To the north-west and north-east its great earthen banks remain stripped of their masonry gradually sloping to the west and south the direction of its supply of water. The island in the centre in Lakhara. This lake was made by Girir or Parvati when she came from Sunda hill to slay the female demon Uttamivara. When Parvati killed the demon she piled over her body Shri's hill which she had brought with her to form a burial mound. At the same time Parvati scooped the tank, and crowned Shri's hill with a tower-like temple. This hill, where lives the Sri or Luck of Shirmal, rises 50 feet out of the plain about a mile west of the town. It is approached from the south by a flight of unhewn stones roughly laid as steps. The hill-top is smoothed into a level pavement of brick and cement. The pavement is supported on the east side by a lofty bastion-like wall. It is surrounded by a parapet about two feet high. On the platform two shrines face eastwards. To the left or south is the main temple of Lakshmi and to the right or north the smaller shrine of Sunda Mata. The main shrine has a porch with pillars and shield frieze of white quartz limestone apparently spoils of the great Sun Temple. Three or four bolls hang from the roof of the porch and some loose white stones apparently also from the Sun temple are scattered about. In the west wall of the main shrine facing east is the image of the Guardian of Bhinmal covered with red paint and gold leaf. The only trace of ornament on the outside of Lakshmi's shrine is in the north face portion of a belt of the horse-shoe or chaitya pattern and a disc perhaps the disc of the Sun. The smaller shrine of Sunda Mata to the right or north is square and flat-roofed. The ceiling is partly made of carved stones apparently prepared for, perhaps formerly the centre slabs of domes. The door posts and lintels are of white quartz marble. On the right door post are two short inscriptions of A.D. 1612 and 1664 (S. 1669 and 1691). A second pillar bears the date A.D. 1543.
Appendix III.

Bhinmal.

Objects.

Surroundings.

(S. 1600). The roof is supported by four square central pillars which with eight wall pilasters form four shallow domes with lotus carved roof-stones from some other or some older temple. In a recess in the west wall is a stone carved in the chaitya or horse-shoe pattern, is the Trident or Trisula of Sunda Mata the only object of worship.

From the hill-top the mound of Bhinmal hardly seems to stand out of the general level. The mound seems hidden in trees. Only in the south gleam the white pillars of the Sun Temple and to the north rise the high mound of the old offices, and still further north the spires of the four temples of Parasnath. Beyond the town to the south and west spread green gardens fenced with dry thorn hedges. Outside of the garden enclosures to the south-east and south-west run the lofty banked banks of dry lakes confused in places with the lines of old fortifications. To the north-west and north shine the waters of the Jaikop and Gantam tank. Westwards the plain, dark with thorn brake and green with saccas, stretches to the horizon. On other sides the sea-like level of the plain is broken by groups of hills the Borta range along the north and north-east and to the east the handsome Ratnagar, Thar, and Ram Suri rising southwards to the lofty clear-cut ranges of Doda and Sundar.

Only two objects of interest in Bhinmal require special description, the massive broken statue of the Jakan or Yaksha on the north bank of the Jaikop lake, and the temple to Jagavami the Sun at the south-east entrance to the city.

On the north bank of the Jaikop, or Yaksha Lake, leaning against the stem of a milk or jali Salvadora persica tree, is a massive stone about 4 feet high by 2 feet broad and 1 foot thick. The block is carved with considerable skill into the seated figure of a king. The figure is greatly damaged by the blooms of a mare. The nose and mouth are broken off, half of the right hand and the whole of the left hand and leg are gone, and the feet and almost the whole of the seat or throne have disappeared. The figure is seated on a narrow lion supported throne or sthakan the right hand resting on the right knee and holding a round ball of stone about six inches in diameter. The left foot was drawn back like the right foot and the left hand apparently lay on the left knee, but as no trace remains except the fracture on the side of the stone the position of the left hand and of the left leg is uncertain. The head is massive. The hair falls about

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1 No local tradition throws light on the reason why this figure is called a Yaksha. The holding a head in his hand suggests that he may have been a guardian Bhalay in some Buddhist temple and so remembered as a guardian or Yaksha. Or, may have been supposed to be a statue of the builder of the temple and so have been called a Yaksha since that word was used for a race of skilled architects and craftsmen. Troyer's Rajatarangini, I, 392. In the Vrijji temples in Tirnath which Buddhist account makes older than Buddhism the objects of worship were ancestral spirits who were called Yakshas. If the Buddhist legends of Jaka settlements in Tirnath during Gautama's lifetime (A.D. 540) have any historical value these Vrijji were Sakas. As (J. As. Ser., VI. Tom. II. page 310) Yakha is a Mongol form of Sakha the ancestral guardians would be Sakas. Compare in Eastern Siberia the Turki tribe called Yaksha by the Russians and Sakhas by themselves. Ency. Brit. XXIV, 729. This would explain why the mythic Yaksha was a guardian, a builder, and a white horseman. It would explain why the name Yaksha was given to the Baktrian Greeks who built stupas and conquered India for Aksaka (J. As. Ser. VII, Vol. VI, page 179). Hessey in Indian Antiquity, IV, 191. It further explains how the name came to be applied to the Yuneel or Kushanas who like the Yavanas were guardians white horsemen and builders. In Sinnh and Kashmir the word Yaksha seems to belong to the white Syrian horsemen who formed the strength of Mahommad Kasim's army, A.D. 725. (Toda's Western India, 197; Reaseld's Fragments, 191; Briggs' Varahmah, IV, 405-406).
two feet from the crown of the head in four long lines of curls on to the shoulders, and, over the curls, or what seems more likely, the curled wig, is a diadem or mukut with a central spike and two upright side ornaments connected by two round bands. The face is broken flat. It seems to have been clean shaved or at least beardless. A heavy ring hangs from each ear. A stiff collar-like band encircles the neck and strings of beads or plates hang on the chest too worn to be distinguished. On both arms are upper armlets, a centre lion-face still showing clear on the left armlet. On the right hand is a bracelet composed of two outer bands and a central row of beads. A light belt encircles the waist. Lower down are the kamora or hip girdle and the kopel or shotar knot. In spite of its featureless face and its broken hands and feet the figure has considerable dignity. The head is well set and the curls and diadem are an effective ornament. The chest and the full rounded belly are carved with skill. The main fault in proportion, the overshortened lower arm and leg and the narrowness of the throne, are due to the want of depth in the stone. The chief details of interest are the figure’s head-dress and the ball of stone in its right hand. The head-dress seems to be a wig with a row of crisp round curls across the brow and four lines of long curls hanging down to the shoulders and crisp curls on the top of the head. The mukut or diadem has three upright faces, a front face over the nose and side faces over the ears joined together by two rounded bands. At first sight the stone ball in the right hand seems a coconut which the king might hold in dedicating the lake. Examination shows on the left side of the ball an outstanding semicircle very like a human ear. Also that above the ear are three rolls as if turban folds. And that the right ear may be hid either by the end of the turban drawn under the chin or by the fingers of the half-closed hand. That the front of the ball has been willfully smashed further supports the view that it was its human features that drew upon it the Muslim name. The local Brahmans contend that the ball is either a round sweetmeat, or a handful of mud held in the right hand of the king during the dedication service. But Tappa a Brahm-Bhatt, a man of curiously correct information, was urgent that the stone ball is a human head. Tappa gives the following tale to explain why the king should hold a human head in his hand. An evil spirit called Satka had been wasting the Brahmans by carrying off the head of each bridegroom so soon as a wedding ceremony was completed. The king vowed that by the help of his goddess Chamunda he would put a stop to this evil. The marriage of a hundred Brahman couples was arranged for one night. The king sat by. So long as the king remained awake the demon dared not appear. When the hundredth marriage was being performed the king gave way to sleep. Satka dashed in and carried off the last bridegroom’s head. The girl-bride awoke the king and said I will curse you. You watched for the others, for me you did not watch. The king said to his Luck Chamunda. What shall I do. Chamunda said Ride after Satka. The king rode after Satka. He overtook her fourteen miles out of Shrimul and killed her. But before her

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*The measurements are: Height 4; head round the brow to behind the ear the back of the head not being cut free, 2 3/4; height of head-dress, 3; length of face, 10; length of rings or wig curls from the crown of the head, 2; breadth of face, 9; across the shoulders, 2 3/4; throat to waistband, 1; waistband to loose hip-belt or kamora, 1 1/4; right shoulder to elbow, 1; elbow to wrist, 9; head in the right hand 8; high 7; across top; hip to broken knee, 1; knee to ankle, 1 3/4; foot broken off. Left shoulder to broken upper arm, 8; left leg broken off leaving a fracture which shows it was drawn back like the right leg.*

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*1716—59*
death. Satka had eaten the bridegroom’s head. What is to be done? the king asked Chamunda. Trust me, said her guardian. The king rode back to Shival. As he was entering the city the goddess pointed out to him a gardener or Māli and said Off with his head. The king obeyed. The goddess caught the falling head, stuck it to the bridegroom’s neck, and the bridegroom came to life. Thus ends the tale, the local Brahmins are known as Shrimālis that is men with gardeners’ heads. This meaning-making puns and the likeness of the stone-ball to a human head may be the origin of this story. On the other hand the story may be older than the image and may be the reason why the king is shown holding a human head in his hand. On the whole it seems likely that the story was made to explain the image and that the image is a Brahmin holding the head of a human sacrifice and acting as gatekeeper or guardian of some Buddhist or Sun-worshipping temple. The appearance of the figure, its massive well-proportioned and dignified pose, and the long wiglike curls, like the bag wig on the figure of Chau’nd on the southwest or marriage compartment of the great Elephants’ Cave, make it probable that this statue is the oldest relic of Shrimāl, belonging like the Elephants’ wiggled figures to the sixth or early seventh century the probable date of the founding or refounding of the city by the Gaurjaras. According to the local story the image stands about twenty paces east of the temple where it was originally enshrined and worshipped. The lie of the ground and traces of foundations seem to show about fifty paces west of the present image the site of an entrance porch, a central hall commandap, and a western shrine. The surface of what seemed the site of the shrine was dug about two feet deep on the chance that the base of the throne might still be in situ. Nothing was found but loose brickwork. Mutilated as he is the Yaksha is still worshipped. His high day is the Ashadha (April-August) fullmoon when an incense-burner between them and Indra the villagers lay in front of him gu’pti that is wheat boiled in water and milk, butter, flour, molasses, and sugar.

1 The Jains call the guardian figures at Sanchi Bhairavas. Massey’s Sanchi, pages 7 and 25. Bhairava is revered as a guardian by the Buddhists of Nalanda and Tibet. Compare Burgess’ Rudhika Rock Temple, page 8. A connection between Bhairava and the Sun is shown by the practice among Ajmys or war-women of wearing round the neck a medal of Bhairava before marriage and of the Sun after marriage.

2 The Egyptian Rosetta and Ptolemais are the three chief wig-wearers. Some of the Persian kings (A.D. 230-4 A.D. 240) had elaborate hair like poodles and frizzed beards. In Trajan’s time (A.D. 118) fashions changed so quickly that Roman statues were bald and; provided with wigs. Goldsmith Histoire Des Peres, II, 330. Compare Wagner’s Manners, 69. The number of wigs in the Elephants’ sculptures, probably of the sixth or early seventh century, is notable. In the panel at Siva and Parnavi in Kailas are several figures with curly wigs. Burgess’ Elephants, page 23; in the marriage panel our figure has his hair curled like a barber’s wig. Ditto 83; in the Ardhanariswara panel one figure has the hair of a barber’s wig. Ditto 24; the dwarf demon on which one of the guardians of the Trimurti has a wig. Ditto 14-15; finally in the west wing wiggled figures uphold the throne. Ditto 47. Gaudharvas in the Brahmanic Ravan cave at Elura probably of the seventh century have early wigs. Ferguson and Burgess, 345. Wiggled images also occur in some of the Elura Buddhist caves of the sixth or seventh centuries. Ditto, 379-371. In Ajanta caves I, II, and XXXIV of the sixth and seventh centuries are figures and sculptures with large wigs. Among the Bāhāc carvings and paintings of the sixth or seventh centuries are a king with long hair if not a wig and a small human head with full wigs: MS. Notes. Finally at the Chandil Siva temple in Jam of about the seventh century the pictures and other images have large full-bodied wigs curled all over. Indian Ant. for Aug., 176, 240-241. On the other hand except the curly haired or Astrakan-capped music boys in Sanchi no traces of wigs seem to occur in the Silla Buddhist or Bharat sculptures between the third century after the Christian era. Compare Cunningham’s Bharat and Billes, Massey’s Sanchi; Ferguson’s Tree and Serpent Worship.
BHINMAL (SRIMAL)

WEST

SOUTH

NORTH

CIRCUIT

ENTRANCE

EAST

HALL

SHRINE

TEMPLE OF JAG SVAMI
THE SUN
(Ruined)

Scale of Feet
The second and main object of interest is the ruined Sun temple in the south of the town on a brick mound about eighty yards east of the remains of the Gujarat gateway. The brick mound which is crowned by the white marble pillars and the massive latersite ruins of the temple of Jagadnath Lord of the World has been so dug into that its true form and size cannot be determined. The size of many of the bricks 1' 10" x 1' 8" x 3' suggests that the mound is older even than the massive latersite masonry of the shrine. And that here as at Multan about the sixth century during the supremacy of the sun-worshipping White Hônas a temple of the Sun was raised on the ruins of a Buddhist temple or relic mound. Still except the doubtful evidence of the size of the bricks nothing has been found to support the theory that the Sun temple stands on an earlier Buddhist ruin. The apparent present dimensions of the mound are 45' broad 60' long and 20' high. Of the temple the north side and north-west corner are fairly complete. The east entrance to the hall, the south pillars of the hall, and with them the half dome and the outer wall of the temple round the south and west of the shrine have disappeared. A confused heap of bricks on the top of the shrine and of the entrance from the hall to the shrine is all that is left of the spire and upper buildings. The materials used are of three kinds. The pillars of the hall are of a white quartz-like marble; the masonry of the shrine walls and of the passage round the north of the shrine is of a reddish yellow latersite, and the interior of the spire and apparently some other roof buildings are of brick. Beginning from the original east entrance the ground has been cut away so close to the temple and so many of the pillars have fallen that almost no trace of the entrance is left. The first masonry, entering from the east, are the two eastern pillars of the half dome and to the north, of this central pair the pillar that supported the north-eastern corner of the dome. Except the lowest rim, on the east side, all trace of the dome and of the roof over the dome are gone. The centre of the hall is open to the sky. The south side is even more ruined than the east side. The whole outer wall has fallen and been removed. The south-east corner the two south pillars of the dome and the south-west corner pillars are gone. The north side is better preserved. The masonry that rounds off the corners from which the dome sprang remains and along the rim of the north face runs a belt of finely carved female figures. The north-east corner pillar, the two north pillars of the dome, and the north-west corner pillar all remain. Outside of the pillars runs a passage about four feet broad and eleven feet high, and beyond the passage, stands the north wall of the temple with an outstanding deep-ovend window balcony with white marble seats and backs and massive pillars whose six feet shafts are in three sections square eight-sided and round and on whose double-disc capitals rest brackets which support a shallow cross-cornered dome. At its west and the north passage is ornamented with a rich gokha or recess 3 feet broad with side pillars 3 feet high. On the west side of the dome the central pair of dome pillars and as has been noticed the north corner pillar remain. About three feet west of the west pair of dome pillars a second pair support the domed entrance to the shrine. The richly carved side pillars, a goddess with flap-bearers, and the lintel of the shrine door remain, but the bare square chamber of the shrine is open to the sky. To the south of the shrine the entire base of the south side of the spire, the outer circling or pradaksina passage and the outer wall of the temple have disappeared. The north side is much less ruinous. There remain
the massive blocks of yellow and red trap which formed the basis of the spire built in horizontal bands of deep-cut cushions and in the centre of the north wall a niche with outstanding pillared frame, the circling passage with walls of plain trap and roof of single slabs laid across and the outer wall of the temple with bracket capitaled pillars and a central deep-splayed and pillared hanging window of white marble. The circling passage and the outer wall of the temple end at the north-west corner. Of the western outer wall all trace is gone. The pillars of the temple are massive and handsome with pleasantly broken outline, a pedestal, a square, an eight-sided band, a sixteen-sided band, a round belt, a narrow band of horned faces, the capital a pair of discs, and above the discs outstanding brackets each ending in a crouching four-armed male or female human figure upholding the roof. The six central dome pillars resemble the rest except that instead of the sixteen-sided hand the inner face is carved into an arm from whose mouth overhang rich leafy festoons and which stand on a roll of cloth or a ring of cane such as women set between the head and the waterpot. On the roof piles of bricks show that besides the spire some building rose over the central dome and eastern entrance but of its structure nothing can now be traced.

According to a local legend this temple of the Sun was built by Yayati the son of king Nahush of the Chandravansi or Moon stock. Yayati came to Shrimal accompanied by his two queens Sharmisha and Devyasi, and began to perform severe austerities at one of the places sacred to Surya the Sun. Surya was so pleased by the fervour of Yayati's devotion that he appeared before him and asked Yayati to name a boon. Yayati said May I with god-like vision see thee in thy true form. The Sun granted this wish and told Yayati to name a second boon. Yayati said I am weary of ruling and of the pleasures of life. My one wish is that for the good of Shrimalpur you may be present here in your true form. The Sun agreed. An image was set up in the Sun's true form (apparently meaning in a human form) and a Hariya Brahman was set over it. The God said Call me Jagat-Svami the Lord of the World for I am its only protector. According to a local Brahman account the original image of the Sun was of wood and is still preserved in Lakshmi's temple at Pátan in North Gujarat. Another account makes the builder of the temple Shripur or Jagam. According to one legend Jagam's true name was Kanak who came from Kashmir. According to the Brahmin Bhit Tappa Jagam was a king of Kashmir of the Jamálval tribe who established himself in Bhinml about 500 years before Kumarapála. As Kumarapála's date is A.D. 1186, Jagam's date would be A.D. 680.

1 The ten feet of the pillars are thus divided: pedestal 2’, square block 2’, eight-sided belt 1½, sixteen-sided belt 1½, round band 2’, horned face belt 6’, double disc capital 6’.

2 This according to another account is Násík town.

3 Haryya Brahman is said to mean a descendant of Hariyají, a well known Brahman of Shrimal, so rich that he gave every member of his caste a present of brass vessels.

4 This tradition seems correct. In the temple of Lakšmi near the Tripolia or Triple gateway in Pátan are two standing images of Jagat Svámi. Michelle champaca wears one a man: the other a woman black and dressed. The male image which is about three feet high and thirteen inches across the shoulders is of the Sun Jagat Shím that is Jagat Svámi the World Lord: the female image, about 2½’ high and 9’ across the shoulders is Kamadevi or Ransel the Sun's wife. Neither image has any writing. They are believed to be about 1000 years old and to have been secretly brought from Bhinml by Shrimá Brahman about A.D. 1400. Rāj Bahadur Hinsátá Dharaíal. Compare (Rajputana Gazetteer, II. 292) in the temple of Bálrikh at Bālmer about a hundred miles south-west of Jodhpur a wooden image of the sun.

History.
According to the common local story Jaggan was tormented by the presence of a live snake in his belly. When Jaggan halted at the south gate of Bhinmal in the course of a pilgrimage from Kashmir to Dwarka, he fell asleep and the snake came out of his mouth. At the same time a snake issued from a hole close to the city gate and said to the king’s belly snake: ‘You should depart and cease to afflict the king.’ ‘There is a fine treasure in your hole,’ said the belly snake. ‘How would you like to leave it? Why then ask me to leave my home?’ The gate snake said: ‘If any servant of the king is near let him hearken. If some leaves of the Anaphylla tree are plucked and mixed with the flowers of a creeper that grows under it and boiled and given to the king, the snake inside him will be killed.’ ‘If any servant of the king is near,’ retorted the king’s snake, ‘let him hearken. If boiling oil is poured down the hole of the gate-snake the snake will perish and great treasure will be found.’ A clever Kayasth of the king’s retinue was near and took notes. He found the Anaphylla tree and the creeper growing under it, he prepared the medicine and gave it to the king. The writhing of the snake caused the king so much agony that he ordered the Kayasth to be killed. Presently the king became sick and the dead snake was thrown up through the king’s mouth. The king mourned for the dead Kayasth. So clever a man he said, must have made other good notes. They examined the Kayasth’s note book, poured the boiling oil down the hole, killed the gate-snake, and found the treasure. To appease the Kayasths and the two snakes lakshas were spent in feeding Brahmins. With the rest a magnificent temple was built to the Sun and an image daily washed. Nine upper stories were afterwards added by Vishvakarma.

The legends of Bhinmal are collected in the Shrimal Mahatmya of the Skanda Purana a work supposed to be about 400 years old. According to the Mahatmya the city has been known by a different name in each of the chief cycles or Yugas. In the Satyayug it was Shrimal, in the Tretaayug Rasamal, in the Dwaparyug Pushparamal, and in the Kaliyug Bhinmal. In the Satyayug Shrimal or Shrinar had 84 Chandas; 336 Khetrapals; 72 Varahas; 101 Suryas; 51 Mates; 21 Nrehsipatis; 100 to 1,000 Liungs; 88,000 Ruhsas; 999 Wells and Tanks; and 31 kros of Abris or holy places. At first the plain of Bhinmal was sea and Bhragurishali called on Surya and the sun dried the water and made it land. Then Braghu started a hermitage and the saints Kashyap, Atri, Barudwaj, Gautam, Jamadagni, Vishvantra, and Vashista came from Aku to interview Braghu. Gautam was pleased with the land to the north of Braghu’s hermitage and prayed Trimbakshwar that the place might combine the holiness of all holy places and that he and his wife Ahilya might live there in happiness. The God granted the sage’s prayer. A lake was formed and in the centre an island was raised on which Gautam built his hermitage the foundations of which may still be seen. The channel which feeds Gautam’s lake from the north-east was cut by an ascetic Brahman named Yajnasena and in the channel a stone is set with writing none of which but the date S. 1117 (A.D. 1060) is legible. Some years after Gautam had settled at Shrimal a daughter named Laxmi was born in the house of the sage Braghu. When the girl came of age Braghu consulted Naradhi about a husband. When Naradhi saw Laxmi, he said: ‘This girl can be the wife of no one but of Vishnu. Naradhi went to Vishnu and said that in consequence of the curse of Duryodas/aksh Lakhmi could not be born anywhere except in Braghu’s house and that Vishnu ought to marry her.' Vishnu agreed. After the
marriage the bride and bridegroom bathed together in the holy Trimbak 
pand about half a mile east of Gautama's island. The holy water cleared 
the veil of forgetfulness and Lakshmi remembered her former life. The 
deities or guardians came to worship her. They asked her what she 
would wish. Lakshmi replied; May the country be decked with the 
houses of Brahmans as the sky is decked with their carriages the stars. 
Bhagwan that is Vishnu, pleased with this wish, sent messengers to fetch 
Brahmans and called Vishvakarma the divine architect to build a town. 
Vishvakarma built the town. He received golden bangles and a 
garland of gold lotus flowers and the promise that his work would meet 
with the praise of men and that his descendants would rule the art of 
building. This town said the gods has been decked as it were with the 
garlands or mala of Sri or Lakshmi. So it shall be called Shrimāl. 
When the houses were ready Brahmans began to gather from all parts.1 
When the Brahmans were gathered Lakshmi asked Vishnu to which 
among the Brahmans worship was first due. The Brahmans agreed 
that Gautam's claim was the highest. The Brahmans from Sindh 
objected and withdrew in anger. Then Vishnu and Lakshmi made 
presents of clothes money and jewels to the Brahmans and they, because 
they had settled in the town of Shrimāl, came to be known as Shrimālī 
Brahmāns.

The angry Sindh Brahmans in their own country worshipped the Sea. 
And at their request Samudra sent the demon Sarika to ruin Shrimāl. 
Sarika carried off the marriageable Brahmān girls. And the Brahmans 
finding no one to protect them withdrew to Abu. Shrimāl became waste 
and the dwellings rains.2 When Shrimāl had long lain waste a king 
named Shripunj, according to one account suffering from worms according 
to another account stricken with leprosy, came to the Brahmakund 
to the south of the city and was cleansed.2 Thankful at heart Shripunj 
collected Brahmans and restored Shrimāl and at the Brahmakund 
built a temple of Chandidah Mahādev. When they heard that the Shrimāl 
Brahmāns had returned to their old city and were prospering the

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1 The details are: From Kaniska 300, from the Gangas 10,000, from Gaya 500, from 
Kallinjar 700, from Mahendra 300, from Kamadel 1000, from Vessi 500, from Suryakrā 
859, from Gokari 1000, from Gadavari 198, from Prabhā 123, from the hill Ujayan 
or Gomā 135, from the Sarvās 110, from Gumeti 75, and from Kandivān 144.
2 According to one account (Māraṇ Caste, 88) these Sindh Brahmāns are represented 
by the present Pushkar Brahmanas. In proof the Pushkars are said to worship Sarika as 
Ustaderi riding on a camel. This must be a mistake. The Pushkars are almost cer 
tainly Gujar. 
3 Details are given above under Objects. The local legends confuse Shripunj and 
Jagrom. It seems probable that Jagrom was not the name of a king but is a 
contraction of Jagatkant the title of the Sun. This Shripunj, or at least the restorer 
or founder of Shrimāl, is also called Kanak, who according to some accounts came from 
the east and according to others came from Kashmir. Kanak is said also to have 
founded a town Kanabhat near the site of the present village of Chākhda about eleven 
miles (7 km) east of Shrimāl. This reoccupation of Kanak or Kanakauen is perhaps a trace 
of the possession of Māraṇ and north Gujarāt by the generals or successors of the great 
Kushān or Saka emperor Kanak or Kanakadesha, the founder of the Saka era of A.D. 75. 
According to the local Bhasa this Kanak was of the Janakrāhal caste and the Pradīya 
branch. This caste is said still to hold 300 villages in Kashmir. According to local 
accounts the Shrimāl, Brahmāns, and the Dewa and Derva Rajput all came from Kashmir with Kanak. Tod (Western India, 213) notices that the Annals of Mewar all 
trace to Kanakuen of the Sun race whose invasion is put at A.D. 100. As the Shrimālins 
and most of the present Rajput chiefs are of the Gujar stock which entered India about 
A.D. 450 this tracing to Kanakues is a case of the Hindu law that the conqueror assimilates 
the traditions of the conquered that with the tradition he may bind to his own 
family the Sri or Luck of his predecessors.
Bráhmans of Sindh once more sent Saríka to carry away their marriageable daughters. One girl as she was being hauled away called on her house-goddess and Saríka was spill-bounded to the spot. King Śrīpūrja came up and was about to slay Saríka with an arrow when Saríka said Do not kill me. Make some provision for my food and I will henceforth guard your Bráhmans. The king asked her what she required. Saríka said Let your Bráhmans at their weddings give a dinner in my honour and let them also marry their daughters in unwashed clothes. If they follow these two rules I will protect them. The king agreed and gave Saríka leave to go. Saríka could not move. While the king wondered the house-goddess of the maiden appeared and told the king she had stopped the fiend. Truly said the king you are the rightful guardian. But Saríka is not ill disposed let her go. On this Saríka fled to Sindh. And in her honour the people both of Shrimála and of Jolhur still marry their daughters in unwashed clothes. The Bráhmans whose Saríka had carried off had been placed in charge of the snake Kankal lord of the under world. The Bráhmans found this out and Kankal agreed to restore the girls if the Bráhmans would worship snakes or nágas at the beginning of their śrādha or after-death ceremonies. Since that time the Shrimálas set up the image of a Nág when they perform death rites. Other legends relating to the building of the Jagāyavati; or Sun temple, to the temple of Chandídh Mahádev near the Brahmakund, and to the making of the Jākōp lake are given above. The dates preserved by local tradition are S. 222 (A.D. 106) the building of the first temple of the Sun; S. 265 (A.D. 209) a destructive attack on the city; S. 494 (A.D. 438) a second sack by a Rákshas; S. 700 (A.D. 644) a re-building; S. 900 (A.D. 844) a third destruction; S. 985 (A.D. 890) a new restoration followed by a period of prosperity which lasted till the beginning of the fourteenth century.

That Shrimála was once the capital of the Gurjáras seems to explain the local saying that Jagātśen the son of the builder of the Sun temple gave Shrimála to Gujarát Bráhmans whose Gujarát is a natural alteration of the forgotten Gurjáras or Gurjára Bráhmans. That Shrimála was once a centre of population is shown by the Shrimála subdivisions of the Bráhman and Váni castes who are widely scattered over north Gujarát and Kathíavála. Most Shrimála-Vánis are Shrávaks. It seems probable that their history closely resembles the history of the Ośváll Shrávaks or Jains who take their name from the ancient city of Ośvála about fifteen miles south of Jolhur to which they still go to pay vows. The bulk of these Ośváll Vánis, who are Jains by religion, were Solanki Rajputa before their change of faith which according to Jain records took place about A.D. 743 (S. 800). The present Bhimála

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1 According to a local tradition the people in despair at the ravages of Saríka turned for help to Devi. The goddess said: Kill buffaloes, eat their flesh, and wear their hides and Saríka will not touch you. The people obeyed and were saved. Since then a buffaloes has taken the place of the flesh of the bleating kid. Another version sounds like a reminiscence of the Tarior origin of śrāvaks. The goddess Kshamangil persuaded the Lord Kristha to celebrate his marriage glads in the raw hides of cows. In the present era unwashed cloth has taken the place of leather. MS. Note from Mr. Shri Lall Pandit.

2 The tradition recorded by Tod (Western India, 600) that the Gurjáras are descended from the Solaris of Anahívavada, taken with the evidence noted in the section on History that the Chavás or Chásas and the Puríhás are also Gurjáras makes it probable that the Ośválls are of the same origin and therefore that the whole of the Aghnikas were northern conquerors who adopting Hinduism were given a place among Rajputs or Rákshatriyas.

3 Epigraphia Indica, II. 40-41.
bards claim the Oswál as originally people of Shrimál. Lakshmi they say when she was being married to Vaisnú at Shrimál looked into her bosom and the Jartya goldsmiths came forth; she looked north and the Oswál appeared east and from her look were born the Porwals. From her lucky necklace of flowers sprang the Shrimál Bráhmans. According to other accounts the Shrimál Bráhmans and Vanís were of Kashmir origin of the Jamawál caste and were brought to south Márwár by Jag Som by which name apparently Kanaksen that is the Kushán or Kshatrýapa dynasty is meant. They say that in S. 759 (A.D. 703) Bugar an Arab laid the country waste and that from fear of him the Shrimál Bráhmans and Vanís fled south. Another account giving the date A.D. 744 (S. 800) says the assailants were Songara Rajputa. The Shrimál were brought back to Bhimál by Abhai Singh Káhtor when vicerey of Gujarát in A.D. 1694 (S. 1750).

The memory of the Gurjírasa, who they say are descended from Garab Rishi, lingers among the Bháts or bards of Shrimál. They say the Gurjírasa moved from Shrimál to Pushkar about ten miles north-west of Ajmír and there dug the great lake. They are aware that Gurjírasa have a very sacred burning ground at Pushkar or Pokar and also that the Savitri or wife of Bráhma at Pokar was a Gurjíra maiden.

But as the leading Gurjírasa have dropped their tribe name in becoming Kshatriya or Rajputa the bards naturally do not know of the Gurjírasa as a ruling race. The ordinary Gurjírasa they say is the same as the Rebhári; the Bad or High Gujjura to whom Krishna belonged are Rajputa. The bards further say that the Sompurás who live near Pushkar (Pokar north of Ajmír) and are the best builders who alone know the names of all ornamental patterns are of Gurjírasa descent and of Shrimál origin. They do not admit that the Chávdás were Gurjírasa. In their opinion Chávdás are the same as Bhárods and came north into Márwár from Danta in Jhálaváda in north-east Káthiaváda. The Chohánas they say came from Sambhar to Ajmír, from Ajmír to Delhi, from Delhi to Nágór north of Jodhpur, from Nágór to Jodhpur, from Jodhpur to Bhadraon thirty miles south of Bhimál, and from Bhadraon to Siroki. According to a local Jaggirdár of the Devra caste the Chohánas original seat was at Jhálor forty miles north of Shrimál. They say that in the eighteenth century the Sohásas came north from Pátan in north Gujarát to Hiyú in Pálanpur where they have still a settlement, and that from Hiyú they went to Bhimál.

In connection with the Sun temple and the traces of sun worship among the Jaina, whose grás or religious guides have a sun face which they say was given them by the Bána of Chitor, the existence in Bhimál of so many (thirty-five) houses of Shevaks is interesting. These Shevaks are the religious dependents of the Oswál Sháváks. They are strange high-nosed hatchet-faced men with long lank hair and long beards and whiskers. They were originally Magha Bráhmans and still are Vaishnavas worshipping the sun. They know that their story is told in the Námagranth of the Surya Puráṇa. The Bhimál Shevakas know of sixteen

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1 According to Katta, a Bráhma-Bhát of remarkable intelligence, the Oswál include Rajputa of a large number of tribes, Aslas, Bhitáis, Beñás, Barús, Chóvánas, Gerhías, Golás, Jadhás, Makránás, Moólas, Patna, Ráhás, Shálas, Tílapa. They are said to have been converted to the Jaina religion in Osánagar in Sáhívrá H. Vára 23 that is in A.D. 265.
branches or sects but remember the names of ten only: Abeti, Bhimmalia, Devira, Hingula, Kavara, Lallar, Mahatriya, Mundara, Saparwala, and Shinaela. The story of these Mahlas in the Surya and Bhayishya Purânas, how they were brought by Garuda from the land of the Sakas and were fire and sun worshippers, gives these Shevaks a special interest. The Devalas are believed to have come from Kashmir with Jeg Śvami who is said to have been a Yaksh of the Râkhâs division of Pardiârajputa. The other division of Pardiâras were gîvâkṣas of Abu who in virtue of the fire baptism of the Agnikund became Kalmôtriyas. The Devalas are supposed to get their name because they built Jag Som's temple at Bhinmal. The Deva Rajputa whose head is the Sirohi chief, and who according to the bards are of Chokhâ descent, came at the same time and marry with the Devala. With this origin from Kausiean it is natural to associate the Devras and Devalas with the Devapatras of the Saunadrâpata (A.D. 370-395) inscription. Of Hûsa or of Jâvla, the tribe name of the great Hûsa conquerors Toromans and Mîhârakula (A.D. 450-530), few signs have been traced. The Jaghirdâr of Devala knows the name Hûsa. They are a Râkhâs people he says. He mentions Honota or Somota who may be a trace of Hûsa, and Hûndâ in Kasthâwada and a Hunji subdivision among the Kunid Meurâr. Jâvla he does not know as a caste name.

The historical interest of Shrimal centres in the fact that it was long the capital of the main branch of the great northern race of Gurjjaras. It is well known that many mentions of the Gurjjaras and their country in inscriptions and historical works refer to the Chanukya or Solanki kingdom of Anahilavada (A.D. 961-1342) or to its successor the Vaghelliprincipality (A.D. 1212-1304). But the name Gurjjarar occurs also in many documents older than the tenth century and has been most variously and inconsistently explained. Some take the name to denote the Châvâlîâ of Anahilavada (A.D. 746-942), some the Gurjjaras of Broach (A.D. 580-908) and some, among them Dr. Bhagyâlal Indrajit, even the Valabhis (A.D. 609-766), but not one of these identifications can be made to apply to all cases. As regards the Valabhis even if they were of Gurjjar origin they are not known to have at any time called themselves Gurjjaras or to have been known by that name to their neighbours. The identification with the Gurjjaras of Broach is at first sight more plausible, as they admitted their Gurjjar origin as late as the middle of the seventh century, but there are strong reasons against the identification of the Broach branch as the leading family of Gurjjaras. Pulakośi Ṛā in his Athol inscription of A.D. 634 (S. 556) claims to have subdued by his prowess the Lâta Malavas and Gurjjaras, which shows that the land of the Gurjjaras was distinct from Lâta, the province in which Broach stood. Similarly Hiuen Tsêang (c. 640 A.D.) speaks of the kingdom of Broach by the name of the city and not as Gurjjar or the Gurjjar country. In the following century the historians of the Arab raids notice Barns (Broach) separately from Jura or Gurjjar, and the Châlukya grant of 490 that is of A.D. 738-739 mentions the Gurjjaras after the Châvotakas (Châvâladja) and the Mârnavas (or Chitor) as the last of the kingdoms attacked by the Arab army. Later instances occur of a distinction between Lâta and Gurjjar, but it seems unnecessary to quote them as the Gurjjar kingdom of Broach probably did not survive the Châvotakas conquest of south Gujarât (A.D. 750-760).

The evidence that the name Gurjjar was not confined to the Châvâladja

1 Indian Antiquary, VIII, 337.
2 Elliot, I, 432.
is not less abundant. It will not be disputed that references of earlier date than the foundation of Anahilaśā (a.d. 740) cannot apply to the Chāvadvā kingdom, and further we find the Chāduka grant of a.d. 738-739 expressly distinguishing between the Chāvadvās and the Gurjaras and calling the former by their tribal name Chāvadvā. It might be supposed that as the power of the Chāvadvās increased, they became known as the rulers of the Gurjaras country; and if it be admitted that some of the references to Gurjaras in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants are vague enough to apply to the Chāvadvās, still, if it can be shown that others of these references cannot possibly apply to the Chāvadvās, and if we assume, as we must, that the name of Gurjaras was used with the slightest consistency, it will follow that the ninth and tenth century references to the Gurjaras do not apply to the Chāvadvā kingdom of Anahilaśā.

The Van-Dindori and Rādhāmāpur plates of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III.1 state that Govinda's father Bhūra (c. 780-800 a.d.) "quickly caused Vatassarāja, intoxicated with the goddess of the sovereignty of Gauda, that he had acquired with ease, to enter upon the path of misfortune in the centre of Māru" and took away from him the two umbrellas of Gauda. A comparison of this statement with that in the Baroda grant of Karka II.2 which is dated a.d. 812-813, to the effect that Karka made his arm "the door-bar of the country of the lord of Gauda, who had become evilly inflamed by conquering the lord of Gauda and the lord of Vanga" makes it highly probable that Vatassarāja was king of the Gurjaras at the end of the eighth century. As no such name occurs in the Chāvadvā lists, it follows that the Gurjaras referred to in the inscriptions of about a.d. 800 were not Chāvadvās.

It is also possible to show that more than a century later the Chāvadvās were distinct from the Gurjaras. The Kannadese poet Punyā, writing in a.d. 941,3 states that the father of his patron Arikṣesāi vanquished Mahipāla, king of the Gurjaras, who may be identified with the Mahipāla who is named as overlord in the grant of Dharuvaraśa of Wadhavān,4 dated a.d. 914. As no Mahipāla occurs in the Chāvadvā lists, the Gurjaras kingdom must be sought elsewhere than at Anahilaśā. Since the Gurjaras of the eighth and ninth century inscriptions cannot be identified either with the Valabhis, the Broach Gurjaras, or the Anahilaśā Chāvadvās, they must represent some other family of rulers. A suitable dynasty seems to be supplied by Hiun Tsun's kingdom of Khū-ché-lo or Gurjaras, the capital of which he calls Pi-lo-wo-lo.5 The French translators took Pi-lo-wo-lo to be Rālim in Rajpiūna. But Dr. Bühler following the late Colonel Watson, identifies it; no doubt rightly, with Bhīmāl or Bhūmāl.6

1 Indian Antiquity, XI, 756 and VI, 20. 2 Indian Antiquity, XII, 196. 3 Jain, R. A. S. XIV, 197. 4 Indian Antiquity, XII, 190 and XVIII, 91. 5 Beal's Buddhist Records, II, 270. 6 Indian Antiquity, VI, 63. That the name Bhīmāl should have come into use while the Gurjaras were still in the height of their power is strange. The explanation may perhaps be that Bhīmāl may mean the Gurjaras's town; the name Bhīl or bowman being given to the Gurjaras on account of their skill as archers. So Chau, the original name of the Chāvadvās is Sanskritised into Chaupākis, the strong bowman. So also, perhaps, the Chāpa or Chaura who gave its name to Chāpār or Champa was according to the local story a Bhūl. Several tribes of Mewār Hills are well enough made to suggest that in their case Bhūl may mean Gurjaras. This is specially the case with the Lārukā B irresistible power, the finest of the race, whose name farther suggests an origin in the Gurjaras division of Loṅ. Compare Malcolm's Trans. Bombay As. Soc. I, 71.
A short sketch of the history of the Gurjaras, so far as it can be pieced together from contemporary sources, may help to show the probability of these identifications. The Gurjaras apparently entered India in the fifth century a.d. The earliest notice of them occurs in the Sri Harshacharita, a work of the early seventh century, in which during the early years of the seventh century Prahladavardhana, the father of Sri Harsha of Magadha (A.D. 606-641) is said to have conquered the king of Gandhara, the Hinnas, the king of Sindh, the Gurjaras, the Litas, and the king of Malava. The date of their settlement at Bhimnául is unknown, but as their king was recognized as a Kalatira in Huen Tsang's time (c. 640 A.D.) it probably was not later than A.D. 650. Towards the end of the sixth century (c. 586) they seem to have conquered northern Gujarát and Broach and to have forced the Valaba (A.D. 599-608) to acknowledge their supremacy. (See Above, page 455.) They took very kindly to Indian culture, for in A.D. 638 the astronomer Brahmagupta wrote his Siddhánta at Bhimnául under king Vyaghramukha, who, he states, belonged to the Sri Chāpa dynasty. This valuable statement not only gives the name of the Gurjaras royal house but at the same time proves the Gurjaras origin of the Chāpākulas or Chārākulas, that is the Chāvādas of later times. This Vyaghramukha is probably the same as the Gurjaras king whom in his inscription of S. 556 (A.D. 634) Pulakesi II. claims to have subdued. A few years later (c. 640 A.D.) Huen Tsang describes the king (probably Vyaghramukha’s successor) as a devout Buddhist and just twenty years of age. The country was populous and wealthy, but Buddhists were few and unbelievers many. The Gurjaras did not long retain their southern conquests. In Huen Tsang’s time both Kaira (Kischa) and Vadinagar (Anandapura) belonged to Malava, while the Broach chiefs probably submitted to the Chalukyas. No further reference to the Bhimnául kingdom has been traced until after the Arab conquest of Sindh when (A.D. 724-750) the Khalifa’s governor Jumial sent his plundering bands into all the neighboring countries and attacked among other places Māwāl (Māwar), Malīta (Malva), Bārak (Broach), Ujain (Ujjain), Al Baidamn (Bhimnául?), and Jāra (Gurjaras). As noticed above the contemporary chalukya plate of A.D. 735-762 mentions Gurjaras as one of the kingdoms attacked. After these events the Arabs seem to have confined themselves to raiding the coast towns of Kāthiāwāda without attacking inland states such as Bhimnául. Immediately after the Arab raids the Gurjaras had to meet a new enemy the Rashtakutas who after supplanting the Chalukyas in the Dakhán turned their attention northwards. Dantidurgas in his Samangrd grant of A.D. 783-4 speaks of plundering the banks of the Mahi and the Hara (Nahada), and in his Elura inscription of conquering among other countries Malava Lāta and Tanka. A few years later (A.D. 757-58) a branch of the main Rashtakuta line established its independence in Lāta in the person of Kakka.

1 The Madhujaan Grant: Epigraphia Indica, I, 67.
2 Binaish, Mémorial Sur l’Inde, 337, in quoting this reference through Alberuni.
3 A.D. 1031 writes Pohmáil between Maluá and Anbalwares.
4 Indian Antiquary, VIII, 257.
5 Elliot, I. 440-41.
6 Indian Antiquary, XI. 103.
7 Arch. Surv. West. India, X, 91.
8 Tanku may be the northern half of the Broach District. Traces of the name seem to remain in the two Tankarás, one Sīrapa Tankarás in north Broach and the other in Amol. The name seems also to survive in the better known Tankarí the port of Jambudwír on the Dúbbar. This Tankarí is the second port in the district of Broach and was formerly the emporium for the trade with Maláva. Bombay Gazeteer, II, 412-50.
The next notice of the Gurrjars occurs in the Radhanpur and Varn-Dindari grants of Govinda III., who states that his father Dhruva (c. 780-800 a.d.) caused “Vatsaraja... intoxicated with the goddess of the sovereignty of Gauḍa...” and took from him the two white umbrellas of Gauḍa. As already stated, a comparison with the Baroda grant of Karka II.* shows that this Vatsaraja was a Gurrjara king and that he had made extensive conquests in Upper Gauḍa as far east as Bengal. Now it is notable that the genealogies of two of the most important Agnikula races, the Paramārā and the Chauhāna, go back to this very time (c. 800 a.d.). Taking this fact in connection with the prevalence of the surnames Parāvā and Chavān among Gurrjara in such remote provinces as the Panjāb and Khāndesh, it seems obvious that these two tribes and therefore also the races of the Agnikula race, the Parāvā and Chauhāna are, if not of Gurrjara origin, at all events members of the great horde of northern invaders whom the Gurrjara led. The agreement between this theory and the Agnikula legends of Abū need only be pointed out to be admitted. The origin of the modern Rajput races has always been one of the puzzles of Indian history. This suggestion seems to offer at least a partial solution.

The Radhanpur grant (a.d. 807-8) further states that when the Gurrjara saw Govinda III. approaching, he fled in fear to some unknown hiding-place. This probably means no more than that Vatsaraja did not oppose Govinda in his march to the Vindhyā. The next reference is in the Baroda grant of Karka II. of Gujarāt who boasts that his father Indra (c. 810 a.d.) alone caused the leader of the Gurrjara lords to flee. Karka adds that he himself, for the purpose of protecting Mālava, “who had been struck down,” made his land the door-keeper of the country of Gurrjaraśvām, who “had become evilly inflamed” by the conquest of Gauḍa and Vanga. It is difficult to avoid supposing that we have here a reference to the Paramārā conquest of Mālava and that Karka checked the southward march of the victorious army. For some years no further mention has been traced of the Gurrjara. But in a.d. 851 the Arab merchant Sulaimān states that the king of Juvār was one of the kings “around” the Bollara, that is the Raṣṭrakūtas, and that he was very hostile to the Musulmāṇa, which is not surprising, considering how his kingdom was exposed to the Arab raids from Sindh. Dhruva III. of Brouch, in his Bagumār grant of a.d. 867 speaks of “the host of the powerful Gurrjara” as one of the dangerous enemies he had to fear. About a.d. 890 a Gurrjara chief named Alakhāna ceded Takkakasa in the Panjāb to Sankaraśvarumman of Kāshmir. But as Alakhāna was a vassal of Ialiya, the Sāl of Ohind near Swat, this event did not affect the Bhimāl empire. To about a.d. 900 belongs the notice of the Raṣṭrakūta Krishna II. in the Deoli and Nāvārī grants where he is stated to have frightened the Gurrjara, destroyed the pride of Ialiya, and deprived the east people of sleep. His fights with the Gurrjara are compared to the storms of the rainy season, implying that while the relations of the two empires continued hostile, neither was able to gain any decisive advantage over the other. To this same period belongs Ibn Khurdāb’s (a.d. 912) statement that the king of Juwar was the fourth

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1 Indian Antiquary, VI, 59 and XI, 196.  
2 Indian Antiquary, XII, 156.  
3 See the Baroda prasasti in Ep. Ind. I and the Harsha Inscription in uttra.  
4 See the Baroda grant of A.D. 867-8. Indian Antiquary, XII, 156.  
5 Elliot, L. I.  
6 Indian Antiquary, XII, 179.  
7 Rajatarangini, 149.  
9 Elliot, L. 13.
in rank of the kings of India and that the Tātariya dirhams were used in his country. In connection with the latter point it is worth noting that the pattikuli of the Upakṣegachāla gives a story which distinctly connects the origin of the Gadhis coinage with Bhīmāla. The grant of Dharmacīvra, the Chāpa chief of Vadhvan, dated a.d. 914 gives us the name of his overlord Mahipala, who, as already pointed out, must be identified with the Mahipala who was defeated by the Karnātak king Narasīṁha. The fact that Vadhvan was a Chāpa dependency implies that Anahilavāda was also. We may in fact conclude that throughout the Chavāḷā period Anahilavāda was a mere feudatory of Bhīmāla, a fact which would account for the obscurities and contradictions of Chavāḷā history.

The Deoli stone inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūta Kṛishṇa III, which is dated a.d. 940 describes the king's victories in the south as causing the hope of Kālānjar and Chītrākūṭa to drop away from the heart of the Gurjara. At this time Kalinjar belonged to the Kālaśāra of Central India and Chītrākūṭa or Chittof to the Godhs of Mewād and the phrase used by Kṛishṇa implies that the Gurjara chief had his eye on these two famous fortresses and had perhaps already besieged them unsuccessfully. In either case this notice is evidence of the great and far-reaching power of the Gurjara. Musul (a.d. 963) notices that the king of Jūzr was frequently at war with the Balhara (Rāṣṭrakūta) and that he had a large army and many horses and camels.

A Chandol stone inscription from Khajurāho describes Yavvanmarka and Lakṣahavarman as successful in war against Gandhar, Khaśa, Kralas, Ksāmīras, Maithīla, Mālaya, Cheula, Kuru, and Gurjara. And soon after about a.d. 953 during the reign of Bhīmasena a migration of 18,000 Gurjaras from Bhīmāla is recorded. The memory of this movement remains in the traditions of the Gujar of Khāndesh into which they passed with their carts in large numbers by way of Mālwa. An important result of this abandonment of Bhīmāla was the transfer of overlordship from Bhīmāla to Anahilavāda whose first Chālukya or Solākṣi king Mūlarjīa (a.d. 981-986) is, about a.d. 990, described as being accompanied by the chief of Bhīmāla as a subordinate ally in his war with Grahampur (see Above, page 151). The Gurjara or Bhīmāla empire seems to have broken into several sections of which the three leading portions were the Chauhāns of Sambhar, the Paramārās of Mālwa, and the Solākṣis of Anahilavāda.

The inscriptions which follow throw a certain amount of light on the history of Bhīmāla during and after the Solākṣi period. The two earliest

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1. Indian Antiquary, XIX. 333.
2. According to Chandahāra (Ancient Geography, 313) the coins called Tātariya dirhams stretch from the fifth and sixth to the eleventh century. They are frequently found in Kāñkōl probably of the ninth century. In the tenth century Ibrahim Haika (a.d. 977) found them current in Gandharā and the Panjāb where the Boar coin has since ousted them. They are rare in Central India east of the Aravalli range. They are not uncommon in Rajasthāna or Gujārat and were once so plentiful in Sindh that in a.d. 736 the Sindh treasury had eighteen million Tātariya dirhams. (See Dower in Elliot's History, I. 3). They are the rude silver pieces generally known as Indo-Sassanān because they combine Indian figures with Sassanān types. A worn temple is the supposed Aśv-head which has given rise to the name Gālīya Pālā or Aś money.
3. Indian Antiquary, XII, 130 and XVIII, 91.
7. Details given in Khāndesh Gazetteer, XII, 29.
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in date (Nos. 1 and 2) which are probably of the tenth century, give no historical details. Nos. 3 and 4 show that between a.d. 1057 and 1067 Bhinmal was ruled by the Mahārājādhirāja Krishnārāja of the Parmāra race. This is a valuable confirmation of Rajput tradition, according to which the Parmāra Rāja of Abu was followed by the prince of Scimāla, when he added Mahārāja against Bhrāharipū (c. 990 A.D.) and the Parmāras remained paramount in this region until the beginning of the thirteenth century. The title of Mahārājādhirāja meant much less at this period than it meant before the Valabhi kings had cheapened it. Still it shows that Krishnārāja's rank was considerably higher than that of a mere feudatory chieftain. Inscription No. 5 gives the names of Krishnārāja's father Dhanādhana and of his grandfather Devirāja. The first of these two names occurs in the main line of Abu as the successor of Dhanādhana, the first Parmāra sovereign. According to Rajput tradition the Parmāras were at one time supreme in Marathāl and held all the nine castles of the last. But in the historical period their chief possessions in Mārwār lay about Abu and Chandādevi, though we have a glimpse of another branch maintaining itself at Kerūl near Bādmer. The Parmāra chiefs of Abu are constantly referred to in the Solāhki annals, and during the golden age of the Solāhki monarchy (a.d. 1094-1174) they were the vassals of that power, and their Bhinmal branch, if it was ever a distinct chieftship, probably followed the fortunes of the main line, through the Bhinmal inscriptions give us no facts for this long period. The next item of information is given by Inscription 6, which is dated in the Simhāvat year 1239 (a.d. 1183) in the reign of the Mahārān Śri Jayatatasimha-deva. This name is of special interest, as it can hardly be doubted that we have here to do with that "Jaitāi Parmār" of Abu whose daughter's beauty caused the fatal feud between "Bhima Solāhki" of Anāhāyānca and Prithiraj Chohān of Delhi. The title of Mahārān is to be noted as indicating the decline of the dynasty from the great days of Krishnārāja.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century the old world was falling to pieces, and the Parmāras lost one after another nearly all their ancient possessions to the Chohāns of Nādol. Bhinmal must have fallen about a.d. 1200 or a few years before, for Inscription No. 6 is dated Simhāvat 1202 (a.d. 1206) in the reign of the Mahārājādhirāja Śri Udayaśiṁhadvāsa, who, as we learn from Inscription 12, was the son of the Mahārān Śri Sāmanśiṁhdeva, of the Chohān race. The sudden rise of the son to greatness is implied in the difference of title: and it may be inferred that Udayaśiṁhāna himself was the conqueror of Bhinmal, though the capture of Abu is ascribed by Forbes to a chief named Lāmāna.

Inscriptions Nos. 6 to 8 being dated in the reign of Udayaśiṁhāna, show that he lived to at least the year a.d. 1249 and therefore reigned at least forty-three years. He is also referred to in the Inscription No. 10, dated a.d. 1274, but in a way that does not necessarily imply that he was still alive, as the record only speaks of an endowment for his spiritual benefit, made by a person who was perhaps an old retainer. His name also occurs in the genealogy in No. 12. His reign was apparently a prosperous one but no historical facts beyond those already noted are known about him.

1 Ras Math, 44. 2 Ras Math, 210ff. 3 Ras Math, 211. 4 Śrī Bidunagār Prāk. 1. No. 30 of the list of Sanskrit Inscriptions dated Sātim, 1218. 5 Śrī Ras Math, 161ff. 6 Ras Math, 211.
Inscription No. 12 shows that Udayasurtha had a son named Vāhul-
hasimha, who, as he is given no royal title, probably died before his
father. Udayasurtha's successor, or at all events the next king in
whose reign grants are dated, was Cāciga, who is given the title of
Mahāraul in Inscriptions 11 (A.D. 1277) and 12 (A.D. 1278). His
relationship to Udayasurtha does not clearly appear, but he was probably
either an elder brother or an uncle of the Cāmuna for whose benefit
the gift recorded in Inscription 12 was made and who seems to be a
grandson of Udayasurtha. Cāciga appears to be the Mahāmandakasvāra
Cāciga of Inscription 15 in the Bhāvanagar State Collection (Bhān. Prā. 1,
list page 5) which is stated to bear the date Sāvatā 1332 (A.D. 1276)
and to be engraved on a pillar in the temple of Pārvvanātha at Ratnapur
near Jodhpur. It is clear that he was tributary to some greater power
though it is not easy to say who his suzerain was. At this period
Mārvār was in a state of chaos under the increasing pressure of the
Rāthods. Only five years after Cāciga's last date (A.D. 1275) we meet
with the name of a new ruler, the Mahāraul or Sāmvanātha. He is
mentioned in Inscriptions 13 (A.D. 1283) 14 (A. D. 1286) and 15 (A.D.
1289) and also in 44 of the Bhāvanagar Collection (A.D. 1286 Bhān.
Prā. 1, list page 13) from a Jain temple at Junā. He is not stated to
have belonged to the same family as the previous rulers, but he bears
the family title of Mahāraul, and it may be inferred with probability
that he was a son of Cāciga. He reigned for at least thirteen years
(A.D. 1283-1296). He must have been about A.D. 1300 or a little later,
that the Chāhans were deprived of Bhīmāl by the Rāthods and the
line of Udayasurthā died out.2

The Jagavāmi temple has the honour of supplying fifteen of eighteen
unnamed inscriptions found at Bhīmāl. Of the fifteen inscriptions
belonging to Jagavāmi's temple nine are in place and six have been
removed to other buildings. Of the six which have been moved five
are in Bānji's rest-house in the east and one is in the enclosure of Mahā-
raulkamā's temple in the south of the town. Of the three remaining
inscriptions of one (No. 3) the date S. 1106 (A.D. 1043) is alone legible.
Of the letters on the two others, one in the bed and the other on the
north bank of the Jaikrup lake, no portion can be read. Arranged
according to date the sixteenth inscriptions of which any portion has been
read come in the following order:

I.—(S. 950-1050; A.D. 900-1000. No. 1 of Plan.) On the left hand
side of the eastern face of the broken architrave of the porch of the
shrine of Jagavāmi. The letters show the inscription to be of about the
ten century:

Sūr Jagavāmajavāmanā vahare
on the day of Sūr Jagavāmān.1

II.—(S. 950-1050; A.D. 900-1000. No. 2 of Plan.) On the south
face of the eight-sided section of the northern pillar of the shrine porch in the
temple of Jagavāmi. Wrongly described in Bhāvanagar prachi-
śodhasangraha I. under No. 46 of the State Collection, as referring to
a man called Vasavadatta and dated Vi. S. 1330. As the letters show,
the inscription is of about the tenth century. It consists of a single

1 Inscriptions 9 and 10 are not dated in any king's reign.
2 Compare Tod's Rajasthan, I.
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Inscriptions.

Complete verse:

1. Vasundharikarti-
2. tān ḍrāśu sthābhyo ṣ-
3. tān munāḥaṃ-
4. svapnāḥaṃ Sanātaka-
5. sārthā stūtāṃ-
6. punyaśyādcāyaḥ ś

These two lovely pillars Vasundharikarti built made for her father
Sanātaka's sake for increments of merit for ever.

III.—(S. 1106; a.d. 1049. Not on Plan.) On the east side of the
southern water channel into Gantama's lake three-quarters of a mile north of
the town. Except the date nothing can be deciphered.

IV.—(S. 1117; a.d. 1060. Not on Plan.) On the lower part of a
pillar in the dharmaśāla east of the temple of Bārāji on the east of the
town. Read:

1. Om Nāmaḥ śūryaḥ | yasyādyāsannamayamamahanta-
2. sūkṣma-kamalaḥ s pi | karunā śa jhān Trinetraṁ ma jayati
3. Śūryaḥ | Saptaka 1117 (a.d. 1067) Mahā rudrī ṛṣi Bārāju
4. Śūryaḥ Maḥārājāḥ brāhmanāḥ śrī śrī Dhamadhana-
5. ja-puṇḍarikaḥ tamsu kahīḥ rījayaḥ | vartanām-varhā-
6. jāli-Kirāṭālayā Jāla-sūlaś āśeśā Ṛavīśā saśā Ṛavīśā
7. maṇḍapāḥ sutas tathā Thākkālā-jāti Dharmavādālāḥ Sa-
8. muśittrubhāḥ tathā Vahyāna Dharkūta-jātiyā Dharmaśāla-
9. ja-marjanaḥ śrēva-guru-ṛahmaṇa-sūtraśā pasṛṇaṃ Hri-
10. viṣhṇaḥ samādhyāśayamantāḥ rūṣahyā rājāno rājasya-
11. bhajana-pavāṁśa tathā lokāṃ Saṅga-dharma pravarttiṃya
12. suṣ-trci-nāṭhyā Śrī Jagatavāmi-devaśaya deva-bhavana-
13. kāṛāpaṁ dhammaśaṇya pari sāraṇa-kalasaṃ ṛahmaṇapara (ma-sūta)-
14. rūmukṣaḥ Jēśākūśa niḍa-drāṣcya kāmyam itī Śaṅkū
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Translated.

1-3. Oft be reverent to the Sun! Victorious is that sun, the storehouse of brightness, at whose rising and setting, the three-eyed (Siva), even though (his own) lotus feet are touched by the diadems of the gods, folds his hands (in adoration).

3-5. On Sunday the 6th of the light half of Māgha, the year 1113, at holy Śrīmāna the Mahārājābhīrāja Śrī Kṣiprapraja son of Śrī Dhanḍhuka and grandson of the glorious Devaraja, of the Paramāra race—in his victorious reign.

6-7. Kirtiḥditya, Jēla's son, of the Dārkutā family, (being an officer-holder) in his turn for the current year, Dada Hari son of Mādhus, Dānändhaka son of Dharanacāyā, and Dharanāditya son of Sṛvđeva of the Thākutā race.

8-12. By these four and by the Vāni (?) Dhanḍhuka son of Jēla of the Dārkutā race, the ornament of his family, strict in obedience to the gods, to his teachers and to Brāhmaṇas, and full of devotion to the feet of Nāyi (the Sun), observing the perils and slumber of this world, and urging kings Kahaṇy Brāhmaṇas merchants and town folk to worship the sun, repairs were done to the temple of the god Śrī Jagadēkamī, the everlasting store of light.

13. The kalāṇa of gold above the temple the very righteous Brāhmaṇa Jējāka had made at his own charge. In the year 1...

15. on Monday the 8th of the light half of Jyāśtha, in the 25th pala of the 3rd ghaṭikā of night—at this moment.

18. all the work being finished the kalāṇa and banner were set up (?)

17. and after the ancient manner by the king Śrī Kṛṣṇarāja of this complaint...

18. a village in the Sṛt...

19. In Sīcālyā village a field

20. But from the king's slave (of the crop) a drōga...

21. by order was caused to be made by Cāṇḍana... and

22. written...

23. kyā.

V.—(S. 1123, A.D. 1066, No. 3 of Plan.) On the north face of the upper square section of the more northerly of the two pillars that support the eastern side of the dome of the temple of Jagevāmi. Entirely in prose:

1. Oṁ. Śaṅvāmat 1123, Jyāśtha Vadi 12 Śaṅkā a bāloka Śrī Śrīmāna Mahārājābhīrāja Śrī Kṛṣṇarāja...

2. Gāgā naṁ... lokaḥ ra śa... mālāḥ bhūtāva...

3. by order was caused to be made by Cāṇḍana...

4. Gūgaśa vārā... lokaḥ ra śa... mālāḥ bhūtāva...

5. Kamaṇa Vāhaṇa...

6-13. Badly damaged; only a few letters legible here and there.
Appendix III.

BHINMAL.

Inscriptions.

Translation.

1-2. On Saturday the 12th of the dark half of Jyestha Sudi 1183—on this day at holy Śrīmāla, in the reign of the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Kṛṣṇarāja—the 5th of Śrī Jāvala, the servant of the office of religion to the god Śrī Cāmpalāś Āghāḍā, the supreme teacher of the Pāñcatantra.

2. The godslain Jasanārāja, the 4th Caṇḍana, Kriṣṇādiya, Śhāh, Jayaćaṇḍaka the office-holder in turn for the current year.

3. Gugā, and in the world being of one mind.

4. By Vāhuṇa the Śrīvaṃ Śrīrāmaṇa Śrī Cauḍāṭhā

VI.—(S. 1239; A.D. 1183. No. 4 of Plan.) On the upper face of the north side of the fallen pillar on the south side of the dome of the temple of Jagravāni. Entirely in prose:

1. Śrīmāna 1239 Āśvina Vaśi 10 Vasāhā
2. Adyākā Śrī Śrīmāla Mahārāja-
3. -putra Śrī Jayastha-dvāra-rājya
4. Gubhā Pramaṇādānta Trāṇa arava-
5. sākha Vahiyāna Vāhuṇa-dvāra
6. draśva draśva. I tatiśā. bāṅyā Māhuṇānē
7. jī kṛṣṇā draśva. 1 yē kāpī pa. ati bhava
8. mē tēshāk pātākā vi pē labhyā yahośa
9. pē catura-pāḷī bhavai tena varāha
10. -varāha ni dānā dātāvyatā

Translation:

1. In the year 1239 (1183 A.D.) on Wednesday the tenth of the dark half of Āśvina

2. On this day here in holy Śrīmāla in the reign of his majesty Śrī Jayastha the Mahāraja,

3. Aravaśaka Vahiyana the Gubhā, the Trāṇa, Āśvaśaka (gave) to Vāhuṇa-dvāra one draśva in cash.

7. And (his) wife Māhāna-dvē ṛg (gave) one draśva

Whenever are, by them for each draśva one and is to be received. Whenever

9. is the rumor by him every

10. year on the day it is to be given to the god.

* Evidently the name of his office, but the abbreviation is not intelligible.

VII.—(S. 1262; A.D. 1206. No. 5 of Plan.) On the upper face of the lower square section of the fallen pillar which is one of the pair of three dome pillars. Prosa:

1. * On Śrī Naṁha Śrīryāna Śrī Vyavahārstamayā suramakuta-nilipri
2. śrī-bhrāja-kamaśopanā kuruṭā śrījali (ph) tirnā (b) seyāvali-dharmādhi (b) sāryābāj
3. Sāta 1262 varāha adyākā Śrī Śrīmāla Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Uña-
4. -vāsita-dvē samaśa-vijaya-rājya maha Āśvaṇca-prabha-
pitā-puchana-kulā
5. pratpattān śrī-Kāyastha-jātyna-Vālmīkavayās maha Vaś-
pādaśrayo Śrīvarṇī (e?)
6. -taka-Vilhākōna Śrī Jayavatī-dvēma-bhāmādārā kho-pita
draśva ni 40 cauvarā.
7. Śat Áśvina māsā yātrātāsāvāt? Áśvina śudi 15 ... 
1 Āgni caṭyā.
8. Mālāya yasparṇām dra. 4 agurn dra. 
9. -dr. 4 pramādā kuñaya dra. 1 śāvī dra. 12 dvādāsa-draṣṭām ācāḍādrāṣṭām pratiyāvānaḥ dvēna kūroṣpa
10. nīyā tathā vṛtyārtham Madrākṣama(n)? dēva bhūmijāgām kahīṣita dra. 33 padreṣṭāda drmaṇm Māgha-
11. vadi 8 dināh balināsahāthi(n)? gōdāhina sā 2 pākā pṛthī paṭi 9 naśvedya 32 aṁga-
12. bhopā pratiyāvānaṃ ācāḍādrāṣṭām yāvat dvēna karauṣyaḥ... dinā Āḥaṇāvai-
13. mi-sahālaḥ/ Bhaḍraśvāmi-sahālaḥ/ Ācāḍādrāṣṭā ṭapa-
14. ṣya(m) līkhitaḥ pāṭ Bhaḍralvada sa(n)te-
15. na Cāṇḍapākāṃ taksahāram adhikāksharāḥ pratish-

Translation,

1 - 2. Oṁ, Reverence to the Sun! Victorious is that Sun, the store-
house of brightness, at whose rising and setting the three-
eyed (Śiva) folds his hands (in adoration), even though his feet are touched by the diadems of the gods.
3 - 5. In the Saniṃvat year 1282 (1906 A.D.), on this day here
in holy Śrīmālā, in the prosperous and victorious reign of
his majesty the Mahārājāhīdhipī Śrī Udāyasūrī, in the
term of office of the paṇch (consisting of) Āṭrapadī &c.
5 - 7. For the (spiritual) benefit of Yasipāla in the Vālamya
family of the Kātyātha caste, dra. 40, forty dṛmaṇmas were
deposited by Viśhaka, the Veṭaka (or Cēṭaka) in the
treasury of the god Śrī Jayasvāmī.
7. At the yātra festival in the month of Āṭvina, on the 18th of
the light half of Āṭvina, ... at the building of the
fire-pit,

8. ... for flowers for the garland dra. 4, alownood dra...
9. 4 dṛmaṇmas, for the hand of singing women one dṛmaṇma: 
thus dra. 12, twelve dṛmaṇmas (in all) are to be applied
yearly by the god so long as sun and moon endure.
10. So also the dra. 15, fifteen dṛmaṇmas deposited in the	
	treasury of the god by Madrakṣam for (spiritual) benefit.
11 - 12. On the sixth of the dark half of Māgha in the fixed
ritual of the āṅgū, what one er..., gōi nine pāṭi, the
neśādyā ... 32, the magaḥkāstā is to be performed yearly
by the god so long as sun and moon endure.
12 - 13. On the ... day the sāḍḍa of Āḥaṇāvāmi and the
sahāda of Bhaḍrasvāmi is to be given so long as sun
and moon endure.
13 - 14. Written by the pāṭ Cāṇḍapākā son of Bhaḍralvada.

* The letter less or the letter more ... ... of authority.

"i.e. "Errors excepted.

VIII.—(S. 1274; A.D. 1218. Not in Plan.) In Bāraṭi's rest-house on
the west face of the third right hand pillar. Prose:

1. Saniṃvat 1274 varṇā Bhaḍraśvada śudi 9 Śukrē dyēha Śrī-
Śrīmālā.
2. Mahārājāhīdhipī Śrī Udāya-simha-dāra-kalyāṇa-vijaya-
raṣṭā Sa.
3. Dēyālaprabhūṭi-paṇčakula pratiṣṭhātā
Appendix III.

BHINMAL.

Inscriptions.

4. Śrī. Udayasāha ... Śrīdēva Jagasvāmī

5. ... dinā ... nityādaya la 2 dya

6. Illegible.

Translation:

1. In the Śailavat year 1274 (1218 A.D.) on Friday the 9th of the bright half of Bhūḍrapada—on this day here in holy Śrīmāla,

2. in the prosperous and victorious reign of his majesty the *Mahārājaḥirāja Śrī Udayaśāha, in

3. the term of office of the pahā (consisting of) Sa Dēpāla and others...

4. Śrī Udayasāha ... in the nāśēdaya of Śrīdēva Jagarāmi...

5. ... day ... to be given regularly 2 two la (?).

IX.—(S. 1305; a.n. 1249. Nāṭ in Plan.) On the south face of the fifth right pillar on the right hand of Bāraji's rest-house. Proceed:

1. Oṁ Namah Sūryāyaḥ ... yasyataḥyaya...mā

2. saḥaśāra...śri mukta...nirvishita...arṣa...mā

3. kāmala la pi kuru...śri jāmala Trīvala sa

4. jayati dhūmātī...ōśhah Śrī Bāla Sāha 1305 va

5. rāhi adyāha Śrī Śrīmāla Mahārājaḥirāja Śrī (Uda)

6. ya-la-dēva-kalyāya-vijaya-rajjya maha* tajau(sk)

7. ha-prabhāṭī pāṭhina (kula-pataippattā)

8. vāha ... Śrī Jagasvāmīyaḥ bhūpālaṁgaḥ kahēpita dva. 50

9. pāmā (śuddhakamā 3)

10. Śrīna-yākaṇā Śāvinaśāla (4) dinā dhaun-bal

11. dīnma sa la 2 ... ghpita ka 8 ... muga pa la 2 ghpita ka 2

12. Illegible.

Translation:

1-4. Oṁ. Reverence to the Sun! Victorious is that sun, the storehouse of brightness, at whose rising and setting the three-eyed (Śiva) folds his hands (in adoration), even though his feet are touched by the diadems of the gods.

4-7. In the year Śaṅkha 1305 (1249 A.D.), on this day here in holy Śrīmāla in the prosperous and victorious reign of his majesty the Mahārājaḥirāja Śrī Udayaśāha, in the term of office of the pahā (consisting of) Mahā* Gajasāha and others ...

8. Vāha ... dva. 50 fifty dravesas deposited in the treasury of the god Śrī Jagasvāmī.

9. At the Śāvina festival on the 4th day of the light half of Śāvina the day's half.

10. Illegible.
BHINMĀL.

11. Whāt aer 2... ghih kārānas (8) . . . . . many pā 3, ghih kārānas 2.

12-15. Illegible.

X.—(S. 1320; a.o. 1264. No. 6 of Plan.) On the east face of the lower square section of the more northerly of the east pair of dome pillars of Jagasvāmi's temple. First thirteen lines in verse, the rest in prose. No. 49 of the Bhāmnagar State Collection (Bhān. Prā. 1.)

1.OMB māma Vīgāmarāṣā māma mātāyā bhalbate | māma 2 mātā-sva-

2. ētēya Ḥursaṃ Cakrapātāyā | māmā ŚivāyaSomāyā namāb

3. mā-Vrahanātā | lī paśhrnimmakārāh sarvāpāpapradiñ-

4. ga-mānānāh sarvā-sukhya-pratākāh | sarvārāhā-

5. tā mē bṛjjā sarvālā | lī jantur japon nityam nityam

6. sūta dānānām dānānām uṣānā | mē | lī dhītya-

7. Kāyastha nalūcānāvāyā | Bhīrā uṣaṃ purā Sādhunādamā-

8. Śirikrisna-Kṛṣṇā Govindā-pranāhānā | Panta-

9. n Sādhuna Valanāṅgājā | Sādvāva datāś-śaṅk्तāmā-

10. Ahāra-prasauro yasya pūṣṭā pūśānāvyāh | puropakāra-

11. vadharmāvāśānāh | yēna jannātānāmānakāh ślokuvāda-

12. dharmātāmā satā viśadānānāh | ārākṣa vāraṇa Śrīkumā Subhato 2 bhūti tadasūrābhūḥ |

13. Cāgnyās tasya Kēāra-pukā Kānāhā 3 bhavat | Mahā-

14. akṣām Śaśātārāma Kānāhā yaśasvāŚaśā | Sam 1330 va-

15. cāhā Māgaka Śo dī 9 navāmnāmā padāvarahā bilini-

16. sūla-bhāṁgārā kahēyita drā. 60 paścādān ābhāmā | kāli-

17. ghrīta kā 8 niśāvedyā | mā k mūgā mā k ghrīta kā 2

18. Vṛṣa kā 2 pāṣāpacānākāru-mūliyā drā. 2 pātra-pāga-

19. drā. 1 Ēvām ārāhāvahā dēvākhyabinārā kād ābhāmā |

20. pyaṃ | Iyān prāharāś Mahaś Subhāśā khaśāta | Dhrivas-

21. akṣa likhitā | sūtra Gōgā Suta-Bhidārāhānātātra | Ṛṣṣi

Translation.

1. "Osh, Reverence to the lord of obstacles (Gāruḍa), reverence to the brilliant god (the Sun), reverence to him of everlasting nature.

2. To Hari, worshiper of the discus. Reverence to Śiva (and) to Sūna, reverence.
Appendix III

BHNMAL.

Inscriptions.

3-5. to the highest Brahma. May these five reverences which 
destroy all sin, the most auspicious of all auspicious 
(sayings), which grant all happiness, attended with the 
accomplishment of all objects, be ever in my heart."

5-6. The creature that constantly murmurs (these words) 
resorts to everlasting happiness. Therefore may I for 
ever take pleasure in this holy murmurs.

6-7. There was formerly in the Naugam family a Kányatha, 
Rishi son of Sáli, the delight of the good, whose mind 
was solely intent upon (the above) meditation.

7-9. (He was) devoted to meditation on (the names) Sri Kri-
shna, Ráma, and Górihí. To him was born a grandson, 
the glorious Sádhu, son of Vañára, who constantly 
satisfied numerous Brahmánas with gifts of sweet food,

10. whose hand was not stretched out to steal, who was the 
hence of Lakshmi for the followers of the Vaišñava 
religion, who are vowed to doing good to others,

11-12. who adorned his life with the discussions of saints.
From him there was the glorious Suhásta, the very 
righreous, whose mind was ever clear, and to whom 
Dést granted a boon. Born of his body

13-14. was Cárna. His (grandson) was Kánya, son of 
Kátyára or Mahádeva and his (Káhada) two brothers 
were Ráma and Ása.

14-18. By this Kánya, son of Kátyára, for his own benefit, fifty 
drums, err. 50, were deposited in the treasury of Sri 
Jayatákñánta for a yearly báli, on the ninth (9) of the 
light half of Margha, in the Sánuvat year 1330 (1264 A.D.)

15-18. In the báli endowment wheat 1 shála, ghl 6 kuráhá, 
in the sútta endowment 1 measure, many 1 measure, 
ghl 6 kuráhá, Ábhai (7) 4 drums, Bhañá 16 (17), for 
the price of flowers, turmeric and also wood one drumma, 
for the price of leaves and betelnut one drumma, for 
the hand of singing women one drumma.

19. So let six drummas be expended every year by the god 
from his treasury.

20-21. This púrñosati was spoken (composed) by the Mahá-
(liturar?) Suhásta. It was written by Déstákñá, son of 
Nágvala the Díruva. It is engraved by the carpenter 
Bhunamána son of Góghá.

XI.—(S. 1330; A.D. 1264. No. 7 of Plân.) On the south face of the 
lower square section of the western side of the north pair of dome pillars. 
First 11½ lines and lines 21, 22 and half of 23 in verse, the rest in prose. 
No. 47 of the Bhunagar State Collection. (Bháu. Prá. I. list page 14):

1. Námáh Śrī Vighnaráñya namo dēváya bhávasté namo...

2. Paramánuñjí, dādáyiné rakrapáyé | Kányatha-váñjá prah-

3. Śrī Sádha-námá párunñáh puráñah | Basi...

4. 

5. } Damaged and illegible.

6. 

7. dharmártha ... vigáha.

8. -máno ñarúñdaksára ... 3 janahá sa

9. náb Suhásta ... saubhágya-sampal-halsú.
Translation,

1-2. Reversion to the Lord of Obstacles (Gaya). Reversion to the shining god. Reversion... to (Vishnu) the holder of the divine who bestows supreme happiness.

2-3. There was formerly an ancient man named Śrī Sūjha born of the Kāyastha race. Bahl... Illegible.

7-9. For righteousness... entering... giving pleasure... there was born a son Subhaṭa—

9-10. (a wife) Lalita by name, rich in excellence... the summing-up of the three objects of human effort (religious merit, wealth, and pleasure) in the form of a son... the chief of the virtuous—

11. By that Śrī Subhaṭa for the spiritual benefit of the king of kings his majesty Udayanatha in the treasury of the god... deposited...

12-15. By that name Maha' Subhaṭa for his own (spiritual) benefit in the Sārvat year 1330 (1374 A.D.) on the fourth day of the bright half of Āśvina, for the day's bali, worship and darśana... fifty dresses... were deposited in the treasury of the god Śrī Jayavāmi.

16-17. And he serves (propitiated?); the presents consisting of Maha' Gajadha and the rest at Śrī Karṣṇa. On the bali day the four (4) dresses given for the bali endowment are to paid every year by the presents from their own...
18. 20. In the hall endowments wherewith lost 2, ghit hāt(rāvah) 3, mung, one measure, cēkā ḍ measure, ghit hāt(rāvah) 4, the Bhāt’s dome 1, the Abīt’s dome 1, turmeric and alloewood ḍra. 2, flowers ḍra. 2, leaves and betelnut ḍra. 2, the hand of eking woman ḍra. 2: so is this to be given yearly by the god so long as sun and moon endure.

21. 23. Satnaṭ, the officer of Sri Satyapura Rāmaśakra and Lāja-hrada, the chief set over the peoples of the Śṛmāla country, who was taught by Čaṇḍa-Hari the purāṇik, best of the learned, composed the prastāra.

24. Written by Dēkaka the Dhrūva and engraved by Gōkalasna the carpenter.

XII.—(S. 1833; A.D. 1277. Not in Plan.) On the north bank of Jaikop lake on a fallen pillar to the west of Ghāni Kān’s tomb. Lines 1-4 and half of line 5 and lines 18-22 (and perhaps 23 and 24) in verse, the rest in prose. No. 52 of the Bhānnagar State Collection (Bhānu. Prā. I. list pages 15-16):

1. Yaḥ parātama mahāśaktā Śrīmālā susamārgaḥ sa deva(h) Śrī
2. Mahāśya . . . . bhayutrā (?!) prayāṇa.
3. Yaḥ śrāṇati gataḥ taśya Vīrajarājasraya prajārathān sthenaṁ navasām āvatām 2 Pa-
4. Ṛtapaddha-mahāgurukū ṛuṣya-puṣya-svaḥbhāvān(?) Śrī Ṛṣaṃamiiśra-śeṣa-
5. Ṛṣa prasāhī līkhyatā yathā svatī Saṃvat 1333 varāṭ Āviv-
8. u su. di 14 Sūrā adyāha Śrī Śrīmaṭā Mahārājakula Śrī Cū(?)
7. cīga-dēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājye tanniyakta-maha Gajasna-
8. pratiyupa-paścakula-pratipatū Śrī śṛmāla-dēva-vahikā-
9. Nalgaṃavaya-kāyaṣṭha-mahāttama-Sobhaṭṭaśa tathāve(?) oṣṭaka Karmadhā-
10. ma aśvaśrīyauṭ śrīmaṇḍyaya-yātra-mahātvarā śrīṣna śu. di 14 ca-
11. kuracīt-dhē Śrī Mahātrādeva paśivaraham paścāt-paścāt paścāt-jānavi-
12. taśa śrīkāṇḍyaspahakāsūna sēlahatha-ghast marapāla-
13. dhya-talpa-dēhala-sahajj-pada-ma ... hala-sahajj
14. da 5 saaptaviśpakopē paścāt-dramām sam dēhathā-
15. bhayē śthā
drā. ma dra. 8 asthānān dramāna: oḥhayauḥ saaptaviśpakopē
drānaḥ trayōcana dra- 16. maḥ asmucālāra ṛkṣakānā ṛvadāyā kārāptāḥ: varṣamāna-
17. ritama-sēlahathāna dēvadāy kṛtām śāruva ṛcārāyasa paśantyauh
18. Yeṣūn paścakulā sarvā maṇṭvam iṣṭa sarvā śa taṣyā tasya tadā śrīyo
19. Yeṣaṃ yaṣṭaṃ yathā pad sakṣaḥ: śrīṣṭiṣta-yathā-praṇa-
20. mā-sūna-paścāt-paścātpaścāt dhurāṇgāḥ va uyāṇa Čaṇḍaḥarjūd-
Translation.

1. The god Sri Mahavira who formerly came into this great town Srimala... in whom the wise protected from fear take refuge—a new ordnance is written as follows for the people’s sake through the favour of that Virn, chief of the Jinas by Sri Parshvananda Sthri, whose nature is most holy.

13-9. Good luck! In the Sashvat year 1333 (1777 A.D.), on Monday the 14th of the light half of Ashvin—in this day here in holy Srimala in the prosperous and victorious reign of his majesty Sri Cangiga the Maharan, in the term of office of the priest (consisting of) Maha’ Gajaatha and others, appointed by him.

13-11. By Subhasta the leading Sasyatha, of the Naigama family, the officer in authority over the Vaikas of the Srimala country, and by Karsatitha the Cacaka (servant) or Cacaka, for their own (spiritual) benefit, at the great festival of the jatra of the month of Ashvin on the fourteenth day 14 of the light half of Ashvin, for the worship (consisting of) the five services yearly to the god Sri Mahavira.

13-11. [These four lines seem to be made up chiefly of Paharp words which I am unable to translate. They specify two sums, one of 8 and the other of 8 dramsas.]

13-17. Both, with the twenty-seventh asapone (7), the 13 drcmas have been given in religious endowment. This which has been made as a religious endowment, is to be maintained by the priests and by the Bhikuta (7) officiating (from time to time) for their own (spiritual) benefit.

13-19. Because every passer-by always to be honoured, the benefit (of maintaining the endowment) belongs to whomsoever at any time (holds) the office.

13-22. Subhasta, the officer of Sristyapura Ratnapura and Lalpurada, the chief set over the nakthas of the Srimala country, who was taught by Cangihari the parak, the best of the learned, composed the prastuti. The series of letters of this grant was engraved by the wise carpenter Bhimathah the son of Canga.

13-25. This grant was written by that wise one... at the time... in the term of office of the Abbot Mahudza and the committee man Aradihara (7) who causes to speak... Good luck! Bless for ever! May it be auspicious...

XIII.—(8, 1334; a.d. 1278. No. 8 in Plan.) On the north face of the lower square section of the eastern part of the north pair of dome pillars.

All in prosa:

1. Oho namah Suryah... yasyodaatamay... suramukta-saapta-nisprakhya-granta.
Appendix III.

Bhinmal.

Inscriptions.

2. kamalo 3 pi hurte 3 nollu this tri-wara sahayati dhāmna(m) náthi(b) ohyā || [Sastra 1394].

3. Varah Ásvina va 8 adhyā S'it Sṛṭā Mahārājākula-Śrt-Cālica-Kalyāna-rija.

4. -ya-rājay ānuyuktu-munā(4) (śīha-prabhīpita-paścikula- pratipattan ēvaśi kālā pravarttamanā)

5. Cāhumānākṣayā Mahārāja[kula Śrt Samaradhānmaja- Mahārājādhiraja-Śrt Udaya]]

6. Shudhābhāga-Śrt Vāmāssakaḥ ... Śrt Cānuma-rāja-dvīravīrāga maha

7. Dēḷākṣa ... Śrt Jagavāmīdaya bhāgajagāre ... hall ... .

8. ... dra, 100 śatasi dravma śīkaṇjita Ásvina-yātrāy(āh) Ásvina vadi 8 aṭhaṃt-dinā divasa-hall ta-

9. ... tata arghakār ... prākāraṇika ... śītāvāṇa- bhalāi/kārāmat kārāpanta hall-nilambha

10. godūma sē 3 ghrita ka 1 (ulivāyē) ... cīṭādh(ā) mūt 2, muga sē 4 ghrita ka 4 yāsanaśrāpa 1 Ahōṭā.

11. -nirāpa 1 kunākūṃgar-mūḍī(ā) dra, 2 tathā purpanā- mūḍī(ā) dra, 2 pramadā-kalā mūḍī(ā) dra, 2 6-.


13. samārāka-yāvat tathā ... hit kārāpanta śīr-devaṇa kārāpanta pari kēndāra na karatā.

14. -ya likhiṣati dura, Nāgama-suta Dēḷākṣa ... Mahākṣaraṃ adhikāktaranā va sarvasā pramāṇa-

15. -mi sī maṅgilaśaśa śīrh ... udara-devāḥraṃ? Nāgama-suta Dēṛāla Sām 33 varahā Cātra va di 15 ... saha.

16. Mahāśāstra (9) ... ||

Translation,

1-2. Ōūt. Reverence to the Sun! Victorious is that sun, the storehouse of brightness, at whose rising and setting the three-eyed (Śīva), even though (his own) lotus feet are touched by the diadems of the gods, folds his hands (in adoration).

2-4. In the Sakaera year 1384 (1278 A.D.) on the 8th of the dark half of Ásvina—on this day here in holy Śrīmāla in the prosperous and victorious reign of his majesty the Mahāraja Śrt Cālica, in the term of office of the presa (consisting of) the Maha... Śīha and the rest, appointed by him—at this time

5-6. for the (spiritual) benefit of his majesty Śrt Cānuma-rāja ... (son of) Śrt-Vāmāsakaḥ the son of his majesty Śrt Udayaśaha, the Mahārajaśēśhī, (who was) the son of his majesty, the Mahāraja Śrt Samadāśi in the Cāhumānā race

7. By the Maha” Dēḷāka ... in the treasury of the god Śrt Jagavāmī ... hall ... .

8. dra, 100, one hundred dramanas, were deposited. At the Ásvina yātrā the day’s hall on the eighth 8 of the dark half of Ásvina.
and the sangadehga...karuna... to be expected from the treasury of the god. In the endowment of the Bhat's dole 1, the Abdit's dole 1, for buying turmeric and aloe wood drav. 2, and for buying flowers drav. 2 (?), and for buying leaves and betel drav. 2, for the band of singing women drav. 2.

Thus this for the Bhat's, Abdit's, Committee, band of singing women &c. every year so long as sun and moon (nūma) is so... to be expended, is to be expended by the god. Interception (?) is to be made by no one.

Written by Dēḻakā son of Nāgula the ṭhērani... the letter less or the letter more—all is of (no?) authority.

Good luck! Illies for ever. By the carpenter Dēḻakā son of Nāgula, on the 16th of the dark half of Čaitra in the year 53...

By Maṭasana (?).

XIV. (S. 1339; A.D. 1283. Not on Plan.) In Bāraji's rest-house on the south face of the first right pillar. Prose No. 51 of the Bhārnagar State Collection (Bhān. Prā. I. list page 5):

1. Ōṁ namaḥ śūryaḥ... yasyādityātmaṇasyā sudamaṁukta-nāmaḥ-sārāt

2. -cakalā pi | kurulē tujalaś triṇātra sā jayaś śākānā niḥśiś śūryā... satva

3. t. 1339 varṇō Āravī śa di | śākā śākā śāt Śrī Śrīmaṇī Mahārāja kula-Śrīnivasa

4. -tāthā-deva-kalyāṇa-vījaya-rajaś tāttvānukta-mahā... śaḥ prabhūtrī-pāñcakula-

5. pratipattau Śrī Jávālipurāt ātṛayāta-Guhilō

-Buṇā

-dānpā-sasti-sthāḥ Śahajapālāna ātmakāryaśā pithūmātīKEN-yaśe balī-puja-pā

7. aṅga bhūga pratīyā dịgham ātma Jayaśāmī-ātṛayā Śrī Śrīmaṇī Śrī Śrīmaṇī bhallādāgāre (k)shēpītra dra. 20 sīṭh

8. suti dramām śvāya Jayaśāmīśātraḥ... Bhārnagāra

-samte Kathara-pāna

9. abhūtānā-kēśēra | śka praśattakā | ātṛayā Śrī Śrīmaṇī Śrī Śrīmaṇī dinē pōṭā nimiṇā) aṁ Śaṅgī Śaṅgī

10. -ja-pālā-bhātyā ātma-ātmaśā yātā-pitāmā-bhātyā (k)shēpītra-pā

11. dra. 10 daṇa-dramām... dramām śrivijā

12. -nāyātṛayāṃ Śrīvīśa- śvāya Śrī Śrīmaṇī Śrī Śrīmaṇī bhallādāgāra (k)shēpītra

13. -na kāśikāṃya | vaippūnālī śvāya sā 2 | gūṭha ka 2 naśvāyē vāsbāh(ā) pā 2 mān

14. -gā | gūṭha ka 2 aṅgābhojīgī... patra-puṇga

15. pratīyāṃ (gaṇā) dra. Śvāya śvāya... pāṭal-uṭrāṃ | praśada-kula dra. 2 ātāt amūrva ŚrīŚrīvīśa...
16. kṣaṇa dra. ................. pramadākulema
   Śivaśtras-Śaṅkara yāva

17. śrīyāpanṭyaṁ 1 kārāpanṭyaṁ,
   nāgula-sutraṁ mahaśo Dā-

18. dākṣina .................. | GahlīŚaṅa Śrīrāmāla-suta-
   śūlaḥ Haridāna (Śrīdē-

19. viya-sthitaka 1 dra. 4 Sahasaśāša-suta-sā
   sthitā-


Translation.

1–2. Oh! Reverence to the Sun! Victorious is that sun, the storehouse of brightness, at whose rising and setting the three-eyed (Śiva), even though (his own) lotus feet are touched by the dilated eyes of the gods, folds his hands (in adoration).

3–5. On Saturday the first of the light half of Āśvin is the year 1259 (1888 A.D.) on this day here in holy Śrīmālā, in the prosperous and victorious reign of his majesty the Mahārājā Śrī Sānctwāla, in the term of office of the prime (consisting of) the mahaśita and the rest, appointed by him.

5–8. Dra. 20, twenty drāmas, were deposited in the treasury for the son-god Śrī Jagannātha by Śaṅkara Śaṅkara-gaṅga son of Rāṇagālā the Gahla, who came here from Śrī Jāvālpura, for every part of the half, the worship, and the auspiciousness, for his own (spiritual) benefit and for the benefit of his father and mother.

5–9. near the Rūdrā road 1 one field was given called Kārṇa-yāna.

9–11. To the god on 1, day for worship, the wife of Śaṅkara Śaṅkara for her own benefit and for the benefit of her father and mother, deposited 10, ten drāmas.

11–12. Drāmas in the Āśvin Tīrthī on the first day of the light half of Āśvin are to be expended by the god from the treasury (for) the day’s half, worship.

13–17. In the half endowment wheat of 2, phī ko(raka) 8: in the śrīdāma cēya on 2 mung phī ko(raka) 4: in the cinākhīmān for every part of the leaves and betel drāna, the Bhat’s dole (the Śrīrāmāla’s dole 1, the half of singing women drāna 2; all this the god’s treasury drāna, by the half of singing women so long as sun and moon endure is to be dated out, is to be expended.

17–20. By the Mahaśo Dēkka son of Nāgula
   By Śaṅkara Haridāna son of Śaṅkara Śrīrāmāla the Gahla,
   four sthitaka drāmas of the god. By Śaṅkara son of Śaṅkara
   sthitaka drāmas 1.


XV.—(S. 1342; A.D. 1886. Not in Plun.) In the ground close to the wall on the right in entering the enclosure of old Mahālakshmī’s temple. Prose. No. 50 of the Bhāmāgar State Collection (Bhāṅ, Prā. I. page 15.)
Gazetteer.

BHINMAL.

1. On. Namah Sāryaḥ | Tasyo'dayastamasya sura-ma-
2. -kuḷa-niprājya-carana kumala pā kurute ś małiha trīnītra sa-
3. -yati śānūmahi nāhīḥ sāryaḥ || Snmvat 1342 (1236 A.D.)
   Āśvina vadi 10 Ra-
4. -vāṇyāyita Śrī Śrīmatī Mahārājakula Śrī Śānvatasthā dé-
5. -va-kalyāṇa-vījaya-rājye tamānyakta-maha Pāṇḍya-prabhūti-
6. -patīcena kula pratipattāni Śānāksharāni prayaga-jatra yathā | Rātho-
7. -da-jaṭīya-Ūtiṣvāthu-pātina Vāgasaunta Śīla Śrīmahaa-
8. -na Śrīmatī-mātā-pitrā śrīyasa śrīrāyasa Śrī Jagadānāmī-śe-
9. -vāya Śrīvīṇa yātrāyāṁ dālamālinī divasa-lail-añjā prá-
10. -lokaśākādi aṁga-bhoga-nimāyita śālaṁ śālataḥbhāhāvya-
11. -t Śrī kārāplī āsāmlīrāyāvat pradatta dra dra-
12. śrīkētya-kētye-
13. Āsāmākhaśaṁ yaḥ kopi Śālataḥ bhavaṁ teva varśaṁ varśāṁ prati pā-
14. -anīyam ca | valūnār vasūḥ bhūkta rājubhi Nāgarābhibhi
15. -vasya yadā bhūmīṁ tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ || 1. Āśvina vadi 10
16. -tena bhūdāṁ bhūmāṁ sa gṛhita ca 12 malayā
cāhāṁ paraph 4
17. -mugā sa 1 gṛhita ca 3 Vyaśanārāpa 1 Abottārāpa
1 kunkuma
18. -kastīr-pratyaśi(gaṁ) dra 4. pushpa-pratyaśi(gaṁ) 4
   pramanākha-pratyaśi(gaṁ) dra 4. patha-pa-
19. -ga-pratyaśi(gaṁ)dra 4 śatā satvaṁ varśāṁ 2 prati Śrī-
   devīya bhākṣīya-gākṛut
20. -vānīpaka kārya-pratyaśi(ṣa) (maṇiṣaṁ sahastha) || ilibhitāṁ
   Durva

Translation.

1 - 3. On. Reverence to the Sun! Victorious is that sun, the storehouse of brightness, at whose rising and setting the three-eyed (Śiva), even though (his own) lotus feet are touched by the diadema of the gods, folds his hands (in adoration).
4 - 6. Śnīvat 1342 on Sunday the 10th of the dark half of Āśvina, on this day here in holy Śrīmāla, in the prosperous and victorious reign of his majesty the Mahārāja Śrī Śānvatasthā-deva, in the term of office of the poet (consisting of) Maha Pāṇḍya and the rest, appointed by him, he sets forth the writing of the grant as follows.
6 - 11. By Śīla Śrīmahaa son of Vāgasa and grandson of Ūti-
   svāthāna of the Rāṭhāja race, for the benefit of his own mother and father and for his own benefit, 44 dānaṁs (were) given to the god Śrī Jagavāmī, for the day of the aṁga-bhoga, the worship, the dānaṁs aṁga-bhoga, and the aṁga-bhoga on the 10th day at the Āśvina yātrā, so long as sun and moon (endure).
12 - 14. The god's treasure house . . . . . . . . whosoever is Śālataḥ, by him every year it is to be maintained also.
Appendix III.

BHINMAL.

14 - 15. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, beginning with Sugru. Whosoever the earth is at any time, he is also the fruit thereof.

15 - 16. In the endowment of the kṣat for the 10th of the dark half of Āṣvinī wheat of... ghi ka[rcana] 12 in the mātradya čākha pāl 4.

17 - 19. Muñi sat 1, ghi ke 3, the Bhāt's deśa 1, the Ābhīṭṭ's deśa 1, for turning and mum each deśa 4, for flowers each deśa 4, for the hand of singing women each deśa 4, for leaves and betel each deśa 4.

19 - 21. All this is to be expended yearly from the god's treasury... Good luck! Envis for ever. Written by Dīnā Dēḍāka son of Dhrna Nāγula. Engraved by Bhānta the carpenter.

XVI.—(S. 1343; a.d. 1289, No. 9 of Plun.) On the south face of the lower-square section of the north-east corner pillar of the domes. The first thirteen lines are in verse, the rest in prose. No. 48 of the Bhānagār State Collection (Bhān. Prā. I. list page 14):

1. Svarga-pavargamahādañi paraṃañiṣṭa-pañi dhāsayati yaśi... saṅkṛitiḥ sa-saṃ-

2. -vadāya tasmiḥ anna-jañabitiṣya sarāsmāraṁśā-saṅkṛitiya- 

mākṣa-caritāya

3. namaḥ Śrīyā 1; Sāghyāḥ satam saṅkṛiti satam mānūḥ maha-

3. -tām-gandhi Śambhāḥ sa eva | yaśeṣa jagatragayuram giriya-

-dhānatāḥ devaḥ

4. namasyati natō 5 madhāmahē 2 Sēmē 2 ni nāma nātī-

mattāra-kāravē.

5. -shu punya-prabhāna-sraṣṭa sthitim aprītalau ṭasmāh... 

mahālāhāv.

7. tirē Śrī Sēmaṇātha iti śuddhigataṁ smarantāṁ | 3 Putumā Prabhānāti-itdātālān

8. -na-kaslamā-śāpa-pre-nīcama-rubāsthiti-vinācandhāyaḥ | śi-

ātim Ku-

9. -pari-krīta-nāt-tithibhiḥ prathānāśi tirēhāīr alāṁ kṛitaṁ 

idān hindayān mamātaṁ | 10. 4 Pārṣva punya-payāna jalaśrīs tattvāya Sārvasvā-nīva-

lasyata.

11. Da' | Ohi namaḥ Śrīyāḥ Saṭāṣṭi jajāṭāt prasārati durām ṭaṅka 

kṣāya ni-

12. -tyan | yaśāmāṅkātanā sarakhaluher khā yāe pāneḥ payodho 

| sarvyayātmā svagati-

13. -sramāḥ | dīvākara-maṅalamigā śinghā | drīṣṭā-śrīyā 

nava(ha) si bhaṣaṇār sarvayātyayuktaṁ-

14. -roṣi s Śamāvē 195 varse Māgha Vadi 2 Sōnō 5 dyēla Śrī 2 

mālā mahārājā-

15. -kula-Śrī Śāmara-śinghā-dāva-kalāśa-vijaya-rajya- 

taniyukta-maha" chāndhā

16. -prabhātipēmākula-pratipāta evamākā pravarttamāne 

Śrī-Jādvāpurāvastava-

17. Puskarajālāṅkāya-jajur-vōda pātikā Śrī | Padamâyagō- 

trāya | Vṛṣṇāma nā-

18. -vagbhaya-usaṃstapanādhīyavaḥ Vālikāprītra | Jyōti Śrī 

Mā 

dhāva-pratikāhūtā Jyō}

[Bombay]
Translation.

1. 3. Revere unto that Siva! the benefactor of those who bow to him, whose actions are praised by the leaders of gods and demons, who gives the happiness of heaven and of salvation, whose form is the supreme soul, whose wise ever lay hold upon in (their) hearts.

2. 5. Oh Mahadeva, whatsoever bowing daily does reverence to the god who is guru of the three worlds, the lord of the mountain's daughter (Parvati), that man is worthy of praise from the righteous, fortunate, wise, to be honoured for most excellent virtues, a true hero.

5. 7. Oh Lord thou art the moon among the bending lotuses that have found their place in the holy pool of Prabhāsa; therefore I make mention of (thee) famous by the name of Śomānātha on the seashore...

7. 9. May this heart of mine be adorned by these holy chief-strātas, Prabhāsa, the moon's ornament, the Lotus (pool), the Release from Sin, the Release from Debt and Suffering etc., whose lucky days have been fixed by Kapardi (Siva).

10. Of this pool of pure water and... of Samavati...

11. O! O! Revere to the Sun, whose light ever reaches far for the work of mankind, at the mention of whose name all air goes beyond the ocean: the soul of all, whose path and whose car are good, a lim to the trumpeting elephants (of darkness). When the Lord Sun is seen in the sky, he makes the last... of all,
14-16. On Monday the second of the dark half of Māgha in the Sāvatvat year 1345 (1299 A.D.), on this day here in holy Śrīmāla, in the prosperous and victorious reign of his majesty the Mahārāja Śrī Sāvatvat Śūṅghe, in the term of office of the pāndu (consisting of) the Maha’ Čākhā and the rest, appointed by him,

16-21. At this time to [read by] Vāgrada the Bṛāhmaṇa son of Śoḍhala and grandson of Adhyāya Vālha, of the Nava-ghana family; of the Pālamāla gōtra, student of the Yajurveda, of the town of PASKARIN and living in Śrī Jāvālpura, son of his mother Pānala, and daughter's son of Tilaka the Jōhit, and granddaughter's son of Mādhaba the Jōhit—recognizing the impermanence of this world, a golden āktaka was set up on the palace ... of the Śun Janaśāndi.

21-24. (By him) worshipping the god in faith, before the world of the gods and the world of Braham, for the purpose (7) of saving his ancestors in both lines, and himself; to gain the favour of the Sun so long as sun and moon (endure), (for) worship every year, 200 Pūṣkapati drāmasa in gold were deposited in the treasury of the god Śrī Janaśāndi.

24-25. Out of the interest of these āgaman, in the endowment of the day’s bali and the kalpabojjha on the 11th of the dark half of Āśvina at the Āśvina festival, wheat ad 4, ght kā[s]raha] 10: in the Nārādya ādha measure 4, mung pd. 14, ght kā[s]raha] 3, for pānāpoći leaves 8, betel 2; for the Aṅgulāṅgā several ādha 4, for flowers several ādha 6, for leaves and betel several ādha 4: in the endowment of the Bhāt’s dolo and the Abāt’s dolo, ādha ad 3, mung pd. 3, ght kā[s]raha] 1, dakahāṅā 3, the band of singing women ādha 4.

29-32. All this is to be separated and expended from the treasury of the god every year so long as sun and moon (endure). May it always be auspicious. Written by Dākha son of Kāva Nāgula for Āśakrātīya son of Jōhi Sāgada. Engraved by Dēpāla son of Nāh the carpenter. Good luck! Bliss for ever!
APPENDIX IV.

JAVA AND CAMBODIA.

An incident redeems the early history of Gujarat from provincial narrowness and raises its ruling tribes to a place among the greater conquerors and colonisers. This incident is the tradition that during the sixth and seventh centuries fleets from the coasts of Sindh and Gujarat formed settlements in Java and in Cambodia. The Java legend is that about A.D. 603 Hindus led by Bhruvijaya Savelachala the son of Kasamachitra or Baliya Achā king of Kuñār or Gujarāt settled on the west coast of the island.1 The details of the settlement recorded by Sir Stamford Raffles2 are that Kasamachitra, ruler of Gujarāt, the tenth in descent from Arjun, was warned of the coming destruction of his kingdom. He accordingly started his son Bhruvijaya Savelachala with 6000 followers, among whom were cultivators, artisans, warriors, physicians, and writers, in six large and a hundred small vessels for Java. After a voyage of four months the fleet touched at an island they took to be Java. Finding their mistake the pilots put to sea and finally reached Matarem in the island of Java. The prince built the town of Mendoang Krumal. He sent to his father for more men. A reinforcement of 3000 arrived among them carvers in stone and in brass. An extensive commerce sprang up with Gujarāt and other countries. The bay of Matarem was filled with stranger vessels and temples were built both at the capital, afterwards known as Bambanam, and, during the reign of Bhruvijaya’s grandson Arddivijaya that is about A.D. 600, at Boru Budhor in Kedu.3 The remark that an ancestor of the immigrant prince had changed the name of his kingdom to Gujarāt is held by Lassen to prove that the tradition is modern. Instead of telling against the truth of the tradition this note is a strong argument in its favour. One of the earliest mentions of the name Gujarāt for south Mārvār is Hiten Tisang’s (A.D. 630) Kiu-che-lo or Gurjara. As when Hiten Tiang wrote the Gurjara chief of Bhīnmāl, fifty miles west of Abu, already ranked as a Kāhatriya his family, had probably been for some time established perhaps as far back as A.D. 490 at date by which the Mihira or Gurjara conquest of Valabhi and north Gujarāt was completed.4 The

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1 Sir Stamford Raffles’ Java, II, 83. From Java Hindus passed to near Banjar Masah in Borneo probably the most eastern of Hindu settlements (Jour. R. A. Soc. IV, 189). Temples of superior workmanship with Hindu figures also occur at Washoe 400 miles from the coast. Dalhou’s Diak of Borneo Jour. Asiaticque (N, S.) VII, 183. An instance may be quoted from the extreme west of Hindu influence. In 1873 an Indian architect was found building a palace at Gondar in Abyssinia. Keith Johnson’s Africa, 289.
2 Raffles’ Java, II, 65-66. Compare Lassen’s Indische Alterthumskunde, II, 10, 40; IV, 460.
3 Raffles’ Java, II, 87.
4 Compare Tod’s Annals of Rajastan (Third Reprint), I, 87. The thirty-nine Chōhān successions, working back from about A.D. 1200 with an average reign of eighteen years, lead to A.D. 498.

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details of the help received from Gujarat after the prince's arrival show that the parent state had weathered the storm which threatened to destroy it. This agrees with the position of the Bhinnmal Gurjars at the opening of the seventh century, when in spite of their defeat by Prabhakaragardhanas (A.D. 600-606) the father of Sri Harshana (A.D. 606-641) of Magadha, they maintained their power at Broach and at Valabhi as well as at Bhinnmal. The close relations between the Gurjars and the great warring Mihars or Meds make it likely that the captains and pilots who guided the fleets to Java belonged to the Med tribe. Perhaps it was in their honour that the new Java capital received the name Mambai, as, at a later period it was called Bramhavaram or the town of Beals. The fact that the Gurjars of Broach were sun-worshippers and the Buddhists cause no difficulty since the Bhinnmal Gurjars whom Hiren Tsang visited in A.D. 650 were Buddhists and since at Valabhi Buddhism Shalvanism and sun-worship seem to have secured the equal patronage of the state.

Besides of Gujarat and its king the traditions of both Java and Cambodia contain references to Hastinapura or Hastinapura, to Taxila, and to Rumadesa. With regard to these names and also with regard to Gandhara

1 Compare Note on Bhinnmal page 467.

2 According to Cunningham (Ancient Geography, 43 and Peru's Buddhas Records, I. 167 note 99), the site of Hastinapura is the right tributary to the Swat river eight miles north of Peshawar. In fact and early Mahabharata times Hastinapura was the capital of Gandhara. (Hewitt Journ. Roy. As. Soc. XXII, 217). In the seventh century it was called Pushkalavati (Beal's Buddhists Records, I. 169). Taxila, the capital of the country east of the Indus, was situated about forty miles east of Attak near Shabaher near Kabul (Cunningham's Ancient Geography, 266). According to Cunningham (O. 109). Taxila continued a great city from the time of Alexander till the fifth century after Christ. It was then last waste apparently by the great White Huns conquest Mihara (A.D. 500-550). A hundred years later when Hiren Tsang visited it the country was under Kshatrya, the royal family were extinct, and the nobles were struggling for power (Beal's Buddhists Records, I. 186). Rumadesa, reference to Rumadesa is in the traditions of Siam and Cambodia as well as those of Java. Fleets of Rums were noted in the traditions of Bengal and Orissa as attacking the coast (Ferguson's Architecture, III. 640). Compiling the mention of Rum with the tradition that the Cambodian temples were the work of Alexander the Great Colonial Vale (Hany Brit. Article Cambodia) takes Rums in his Musulman sense of Greeks or Asian Minor. The variety of references suggests to Ferguson (Architecture, III. 640) that these exploits are a vague memory of Roman commerce in the Bay of Bengal. But the Roman rule was that no fleet should pass east of Ceylon (Rehaut Journ. As. Soc. VI, Tom. I, page 432). This rule may occasionally have been departed from as in A.D. 106 when the emperor Marcus Aurelius sent an embassy by sea to China. Still it seems unlikely that Roman commerce in the Bay of Bengal was ever active enough to gain a place as settler and coloniser in the traditions of Java and Cambodia. It was with the west not with the east that the relations of Rome were close and important. From the time of Mark Antony to the time of Justinian, that is from about A.D. 30 to A.D. 600, their political importance as allies against the Parthians and Sasanians and their commercial importance as controllers of one of the main trade routes between the east and the west made the friendship of the Kushans or Sakas who held the Indo-Parthian and Bactria a matter of the highest importance to Rome. How close was the friendship is shown in A.D. 60 by the Roman General Corbulo escorting the Hyksankian ambassadors up the Indus and through the territories of the Kushans or Indo-Parthians on their return from their embassy to Rome. (Compare Rawlinson's Parthia, 271). The close connection is shown by the accurate details of the Indo valley and Bactria recorded by Ptolemy (A.D. 160) and about a hundred years later (A.D. 247) by the author of the Periplus and by the special value of the gifts which the Periplus notices were set apart for the rulers of Sindhu. One result of this long continued alliance was the gaining by the Kushans and other rulers of Bactria and the Parthians a knowledge of Roman coinage astronomy and architecture. Certain Afghan or Baktrian coins bear the word Rgum apparently the name of some Afghan city. In spite of this there seems no
and to Cambodia, all of which places are in the north-west of India, the question arises whether the occurrence of these names implies an historical connection with Kābul Peshāwar and the west Panjāb or whether they are mere local applications and assumptions by foreign settlers and converts of names known in the Brahmaṇ and Buddhist writings of India. That elaborate applications of names mentioned in the Mahābhārata to places in Java have been made in the Java version of the Mahābhārata is shown by Raffles. Still it is to be noticed that the places mentioned above, Kamboja or Kābul, Gandhāra or Peshāwar, Taxila or the west Panjāb, and Rummades or the south Panjāb are not, like Ayodhya, the capital of Siám or like Intha-paṭha-paṭi that is Indraprastha or Dēhil the later capital of Cambodia, the names of places which either by their special fame or by their geographical position would naturally be chosen as their original home by settlers or converts in Java and Cambodia. Fair ground can therefore be claimed for the presumption that the leading position given to Kamboja, Gandhāra, Taxila, and Rummades in Javan and Cambodian legends and place-names is a trace of an actual and direct historical connection between the north-west of India and the Malay Archipelago. This presumption gains probability by the argument from the architectural remains of the three countries which in certain peculiar features show so marked a resemblance both in design and in detail as in the judgment of Mr. Ferguson to establish a strong and direct connection. A third argument in favour of a Gujarāt strain in Java are the traditions of settlements and expeditions by the rulers of Mālwa which are still current in south Mārvār. Further a proverb

reason to suppose that Rome attempted to overtop the north-west of India still less that any local ruler was permitted to make use of the great name of Rome. It seems possible that certain notices of the states of Bāni in the Bay of Bengal refer to the ports of the Arab Al-Rai that is Lāmbu or north-west Sumatra apparently the Romania of the Chaldān breviary of the Mahābhārat. (Yule in Enc. Brit. Cambodia, note and Marco Polo, III. 243.)

1 Compare Ferguson's Architecture, III. 640; Yule in Encyc. Brit. Cambodia.
2 Java, I. 411; Compare Ferguson's Architecture, III. 643.
4 Of the Java remains Mr. Ferguson writes (Architecture, III. 644-648): "The style and arrangement of the temple of the great temple of Borobudur are nearly identical with those of the later caves of Ajanta, on the Western Ghātras, and in Sālah. The resemblance in style is almost equally close with the buildings of Takhti-ī-Bald in Gandhāra (Dīto, 647). Again (page 637) he says: 'The Hindu immigrants into Java came from the west coast of India. They came from the valley of the Indus not from the valley of the Ganges. Once more, in describing No. XXVI of the Ajantā caves Movers, Ferguson and Burgess (Rock-cut Temples, 346 note) write: 'The execution of these figures is so nearly the same as in the Borobudur temple in Java that both must have been the work of the same artists during the latter half of the seventh century or somewhat later. The Buddhists were not in Java in the fifth century. They must have begun to go soon after since there is a considerable local element in the Borobudur.'

Traditions of expeditions by sea to Java remain in Mārvār. In April 1895 a band at Bihāmāl related how Bhujraj of Ujjain in anger with his son Chandrāvata drove him away. The son went to a Gujarāt or Kāthārāt port obtained ships and sailed to Java. He took with him as his Brahmaṇ the son of a Māgha Panḍita. A second tale tells how Vikramā the redness of evils in a dream saw a Javanese woman weeping, because by an enemy's curse her son had been turned into stone. Vikramā sailed to Java found the woman and removed the curse. According to a third legend Chandrávata the grandson of Vice Pandra saw a beautiful woman in a dream. He travelled everywhere in search of her. At last he nis told him the girl lived in Java. He started by sea and after many dangers and wonders found the dream-girl in Java. The people of Bihāmāl are familiar with the Gujarāt proverb referred to below. Who goes to Java comes not back. MS. Notes, March 1895.
Once more the connection with Gujurat is supported by the detail in the Java account which makes Lant Mira the starting point for the colonising fleet. This Sir S. Raikes supposed to be the Red Sea but the Mihirap or Mota sea may be suggested as it seems to correspond to the somewhat doubtful Arab name Bahamrad (sea of the Mota?) for a town in western India sucked by Jumnaid. Against this evidence two considerations have been urged: (a) The great length of the voyage from Gujurat to Java compared with the passage to Java from the east coast of India; (b) That no people in India have known enough of navigation to send a fleet fit to make a conquest. As regards the length of the voyage it is to be remembered that though Sumatra is more favourably placed for being colonised from Bengal Orissa and the mouths of the Godavari and Krishna, in the case either of Java or of Cambodia the distance from the Sindh and Kathiavada ports is not much greater and the navigation is in some respects both safer and simpler than from the coasts of Orissa and Bengal. In reply to the second objection that no class of Hindus have shown sufficient skill and enterprise at sea to justify the belief that they could transport armies of settlers from Gujurat to Java, the answer is that the assumption is erroneous. Though the bulk of Hindus have at all times been averse from a seafaring life yet there are notable exceptions. During the last two thousand years the record of the Gujurat coast shows a genius for seafaring fit to ensure the successful planting of north-west India in the Malay Archipelago.

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1 Another version is: Je re Juma to dashi ma dans Je pharé dul to purpa purpa shhowe Kala them dawo.
Who go to Java stay for rye.
If they return they feast and play
Such stuff of wealth their risks repay.


3 The following details summarize the available evidence of Gujurat Hindu enterprise by sea. According to the Greek writers, though it is difficult to accept their statements as free from exaggeration, when in B.C. 323, Alexander passed down the Indus the river showed no trace of any trade by sea. If at that time sea trade at the mouth of the Indus was so scanty as to escape notice it seems fair to suppose that Alexander's ship-building and fleet gave a start to deep-sea sailing which the constant succession of strong and vigorous northern tribes which entered and ruled Western India during the centuries before and after the Christian era continued to develop. According to Vincent (Periplus I. 25, 26, 254) in the time of Amathardine (B.C. 200) the ports of Aralda and Ceylon were entirely in the hands of the people of Gujurat. During the second century after Christ, when, under the great Parapalas (A.D. 133-158), the Sinh or Katapata dynasty of Kathiavada was at the height of its power, Indians of Kathiavada, that is Sindhis, brought presents by sea to China (Journal Royal Asiatic Society for January 1896 page 2). In A.D. 166 (perhaps the same as the preceding) the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius sent by sea to China ambassadors with ivory rhinoceros horns and other articles apparently the produce of Western India (De Guignes' Histoire Critique et Littéraire I. 322). In the third century A.D. 247 the Periplus (McCulloch L. 32, 94, 98, 109)

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* Alexander built his own boats on the Indus. (McCulloch's Alexander, 77.) He sailed (pages 91 and 104) these boats to the Hydaspes on the Jumna (186 note 1) where he found some country boats he built a fort of gallows with thirty men; he made docks (pages 126, 127): his cruise were to the Sinus, to Ceylon, to Katar and to Egypt.
The Hindu settlement of Sumatra was almost entirely from the

coasts the Bedhas Kerks and Mea and along the shores of Kachchh and Kathiawar on the closely connected Mea and Gujjaras. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Gujjaras, chiefly of the Chapa or Chava clan, both in Deccan and Somanth and also in Ceylon, row to power, a change which, as already noticed, may explain the efforts of the Jesuits to settle among the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. About A.D. 740 the Chapa or Chava, who had for a century and a half been in command at Deccan and Somanth, established themselves at Anambalada Pathaam. According to their tradition, Kavargata (A.D. 980) and his successor Yogarajya (A.D. 980-1011) made great efforts to put down piracy. Kavargata's sons plundered some Bengali or Bot ships which attended the stormy forecast on Veraval. The king said: 'My sons with labour we were raising ourselves to be Chavadas of prudence rank.' Your great threat no back on our old inhabitants of Chas or thieves. Yogarajya refused to be comforted and mounted the funeral pyre. Dr. Bhugonšhal's History, 164. This tale seems to be a parody. Yogarajya's efforts to put down piracy seem to have driven large hosts of Jats from the Gujarati coasts. In a.D. 984-85, according to Ibn Alakhris (324), a fleet manned by Djatb and Jats made a descent on the Tigris. The whole strength of the Klikat had to be set in motion to stop them. Those who fell into the hands of the Muslims were sent to Anambalada on the borders of the Greek empire (Behnam's Fragmenta, 261-2). As in the regard, the Chavada king's sons, that is the Chas or Gujaratas proved more dangerous than the Jats, whom they had driven out. About fifty years later, in A.D. 988, Al-Balhiashi describes as pirates who sacked the sea the Jats and the people of Surauchata that is the Deccan or Somanth were Chas or Gujaratas. Al-Balhiashi (Behnam Suri L'Inde, 169) further mentions that the Jats and other Indus had formed a single state of settlement in Persia which is the Persians and Arabs had formed in India. During the ninth and tenth centuries the Gujarati kingdom which had been established in Java went at the height of its power (Dhala, Albasola, confervi). Early in the tenth century, A.D. 914-930, Mausol (Yule's Mausoleum, 116) describes Sorkot as a noted haunt of the Indian corsairs called Baris, upon which class Arab ships bound for India and China. The merchant fleets of the early Turkish century were Arab alone. The Chas of Anambalada sent back to Indus and China (Mausol, L'i, 11). Nor were they Chas and Chas the only pirates. Towards the end of the tenth century, A.D. 990, Grahari the Cambasansa, known in story as Gravisuji the Ahr of Surauch and Gisde, so passed and bypassed the ocean that no one was safe (Dhala, L'I). In the eleventh century (A.D. 1012), Alberuni (Saccha, 111) reports that the Bawāri, who take their name from their locusts called bakeb or bakes, were Med. South-facing people of Kachchh and of Somanth and a place of call for merchants trading between Sufala in East Africa and Chlas. About the same time (A.D. 1025) when they displeased of wishing Mahommed of Ghur and the defenders of Somanth prepared to escape by sea, and after his victory Mahommed is said to have planned an expedition by sea to conquer Ceylon (Toa's Raasahis, l, 103). In the twelfth century, A.D. 1100, Alberuni notes that Sutariya dirhams, that is the Grafs (A.D. 319-320) and White, (490-580) coinage of Sutari and Gujjarat, were in use both in Madagoras and in the Malay isles (Toa's Memoires, 220), and that the merchants of Java could understand the people of Magaratas (Dhala, Albasola, confervi). With the decline of the power of Anambalada (A.D. 1250-1300) its fleet ceased to keep order at sea. In A.D. 1290 Marco Polo (Yule's Ed. II, 383, 328, 343) found the people of Gujarat the most despicable.
pirates in existence. More than a hundred corsair vessels went forth every year taking their wives and children with them and staying out the whole summer. They joined in fleets of twenty to thirty and made a sea cordon five or six miles apart. Solon was inflicted by multitudes of Hindu pirates who encamped there and put up their plunder to sale. Ibn Batuta (in Elliot, I. 344–345) fifty years later made the same complaint. Muslim had subordinated all during Hindu chiefs to the coast and turned them into pirates. The most notable admixture was the Golch who under Makkheraji Golch, from his castle on Piram island, ruled the sea till his power was broken by Muhammad Tughlak in A.D. 1353 (Hash Mala, I. 315). Before their overthrow by the Muhammadans who larger vessels the Rajput sailors of Gujarat managed is shown by Fr., Olearis, who about A.D. 1621 (Stevenson in Kerr's Voyages, XVIII, 324) crossed the Indian ocean in a ship that carried 200 people. How far the Rajputs went is shown by the mention in A.D. 1270 (Yule's Cathay, 51 in Hoskote's Mongols, I. 257) of ships sailing between Siamma or Sumatra and China. Till the arrival of the Portuguese (A.D. 1500-1508) the Ahmadabad sailors maintained their position as lords of the sea.* In the fifteenth century Java appears in the state list of foreign bardsans which paid tribute (Hindu's Tenggara). It is possible being a race or ship-building race made by the Gujratis in the South Sea returned for the protection of the royal navy.† In South Africa, in A.D. 1498 (J. Am. Soc. of Bengal, V, 528) Viscom da Gama found sailers from Cambay and other parts of India who guided themselves by the help of the stars in the north and south, and had only such instruments of their own. In A.D. 1619 Albuquerque found a strong Hindu element in Java and Malacca, Sumatra, ruled by Pandhuram, a Hindu whose son by a Chinese mother was called Rajput (Commentaries, 11, 63; 111, 75-79). After the rule of the sea had passed to the Europeans, Gujurat Hindus continued to show marked courage and skill as merchant seamen and pirates. In the seventeenth century the French traveller Moullé (A.D. 1665, Voyage, 101, 105) found Ache on the coast. The centre of trade with Gujurat. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Sumarnas and Sanger Rajputs of Mandvi in Kutch and of Novarugga in north Kathiawad were much dreaded. In A.D. 1750 Gross describes the small cruisers of the Sangeras troubling boats going to the Persian Gulf, though they seldom attacked large ships. Between A.D. 1850 and 1865 (Low's Indian Navy, 1, 274) pirates from Calicut established themselves in the ruined temple at Somnot. In 1850, when the English took Calicut and2 Kollam from the French, among the pirates besides Vichela were Budhala a branch of Kaldora, Hattia, Kharwara, Lokban, Makwan, Kalibore, and Wagharia. A trace of the Charn was found and 1 neighbourhood of Aarama.† Nor had the old love of seafaring deserted the Kathiawar chiefs. In the beginning of the present century (A.D. 1823) Tod (Western India, 452) compares the Mandvi (I. 245) tells how with Bid Singh of Bhavnagar his port was his grand hobby and shipbuilding his chief interest and pleasure; also how his ship of Kachch (A.D. 1765-1770) was built equipped and manned a ship at Mandvi which without European or other outside assistance made the voyage to England and back to the Masurin Coast where arriving during the south-west monsoon the vessel seems to have been wrecked.‡

1 Crawford (A.D. 1820) held that all Hindu influence in Java came from Kalinga or north-east Madras. Ferguson (Ind. Arch., Vol. 1870) says: The splendid remains at Anuradhapura show that from the mouths of the Krishna and Godavari the Buddhist of north and north-west India colonised Ceylon, Cambay, and eventually the Island of Java. Compare Tavernier (A.D. 1666: Dal's Translation, I. 174). Maniupatam is the

* Where a.D. 1652 he secured Radh's splendid jewelled bell Hunnam said these are the sounds of the lord of the sea. Bayley's Gujurat, 336.

† Compare in Bombay Public Dairy, 12, pages 257-257; 37, 37, Bombay Handbook for Bombay with entries of two per cent on all goods imported and exported from either of these places by traders under the Honourable Company's protection.

‡ These Bafalists were seen by Hamilton's (A.D. 1770) Voyages of China (New South, 1: 181). The Charn is in Chark near Dacca apparently the place from which the Khudra get their Baitch name of Charkia. Towards the close of the eighteenth century Khudras from Chark came to have formed a pirate settlement near Jubbah on the Red Sea, and from Pratia Moulla of a Field Officer) 325 pages (A.D. 1770-1800) on the customary mode with which in travelling from Surat to Bombay by land they passed Dacca through the Charnie jungle the district of a piratical community of that part.

‡ According to Mr. A. Braccini (M. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. 1872, 27, 28) the special skill of the people of Kachch in navigation and ship-building was due to a young Rajput of Kachch, Kandave Bhat. He about a century earlier had gone to Holland and learned these arts. See Bombay Gazetteer, 116 note 2.
Reasons have been given in support of the settlement in Java of large bodies of men from the north-west coasts of India and evidence has been offered to show that the objections taken to such a migration have little practical force. It remains to consider the time and the conditions of the Gujarsat conquest and settlement of Java and Cambodin. The Javan date S. 325 that is a.p. 603 may be accepted as marking some central event in a process which continued for at least half a century before and after the beginning of the seventh century. Reasons have been given for holding that neither the commercial nor the political ascendancy of Rome makes it probable that to Rome the Rûm of the legends refers. The notable Roman element in the architecture of Java and Cambodia may suggest that the memory of great Roman builders kept for Rome a place in the local legends. But the Roman element seems not to have come direct into the buildings of Java or Cambodia; as at Amráyati at the Krishna mouth, the classic characteristics came by way of the Panjâb (Tâhâ) only, in the case of Java, not by the personal taste and study of a prince, but as an incident of conquest and settlement. Who then was the ruler of Rûm near Taxila, who led a great settlement of Hindus from the Panjâb to Java. Names in appearance like Rome, occur in north-west India. None are of enough importance to explain the prince’s title. There remains the word wheel or rose applied to salt-land in the south Panjâb, in Mâvar, and in north Sindh. The great battle of Kârur, about sixty miles south-east of Multân, in which apparently about a.p. 630 Yasodharmarâma of Multâa defeated the famous White Hûnas conqueror Mihirâkula (a.p. 500-530) is described as fought in the land of Rûm. This great White Hûnas defeat is apparently the origin of the legend of the prince of Rûm who retired by sea to Java. At the time of the battle of Kârur the south Panjâb, together with the north of Sindh, was under the Sâhrân of Aror in north Sindh, whose coins show that they have been not only White Hûnas, but of the same Jâvâl family which the great conquerors Toramânas.
and Mibiakula adorned. So close a connection with Mibiakula makes it probable that the chief in charge of the north of the Aror dominions shared in the defeat and disgrace of Kâcor. Seeing that the power of the Sâhârâs of Aror spread as far south as the Káthiâvâda ports of Somnâth and Din, and probably also of Din at the Indus mouth, if the defeated chief of the south Panjab was unable or unwilling to remain as a vassal to his conqueror, no serious difficulty would stand in the way of his passage to the seaboard of Aror or of his finding in Din and other Sindh and Gujarât ports sufficient transport to convey him and his followers by sea to Java. This then may be the chief whom the Cambodian story names Phra Tong or Thom apparently Great Lord that is Mahârâja.

The success of the Javan enterprise would tempt others to follow especially as during the latter half of the sixth and almost the whole of the seventh centuries, the state of Nord India favoured migration. Their defeat by Sassanians and Turks between a.d. 550 and 600 would close to the White Hûnas the way of retreat northwards by either the Indus or the Kâbûl valleys. If hard pressed, the alternative was a retreat to Kashmir or an advance south or east to the sea. Whom, in the early years of the seventh century (a.d. 600-606), Prabhâkâra-varadhâna the father of Sri Hûraja of Magadha (a.d. 616-642) defeated the king of Gandhâra, the Hûna, the king of Sindh, the Gurjaras, the Lâtâs, and the king of Malava, and when, about twenty years later, further defeats were inflicted by Sri Hûraja himself numbers of refugees would gather to the Gujarât ports eager to escape further attack and to share the prosperity of Java. It is worthy of note that the details of Prabhâkâra-varadhâna's conquests explain how Gandhâra and Lâta are both mentioned in the Java legends; how northeners from the Panjab were able to pass to the coast; how the Mârvâr stories give the king of Malava a share in the migrations; how the fleets may have started from any Sindh or Gujarât port; and how with emigrants may have sailed artists and sculptors acquainted both with the monasteries and stupas of the Kâbûl valley and Pahâvâr and with the excavations of the Ajanta caves. During the second half of the seventh century the advance of the Turks from the north mid. of the Arabs both by sea (a.d. 637) and through Persia (a.d. 630-660), the conquering progress of a Chinese army from Magadha to Râmânu in a.d. 645-650; the overthrow (a.d. 642) of

1 Jour. As. Soc. B.I. VII, (Plate I, 238); Barnes' Bokhâra, III, 76; Elliot's History, I, 405, Din, which is specially mentioned as a Sâhârâ port was during the seventh and eighth centuries a place of call for China ships. Yule's Cathay, I, 233.

2 Pras can be called merely because he ruled the lands of Alexandria's Portus. We may be to the favourite Portham name Piratas. But no instance of the name Piratas is noted among White Hûnas and the use of Pras as in Then Bot or Lord Buddha seems ground for holding that the Pras Thong of the Cambodian legend means Great Lord.

3 Epigraphia Indica, I, 67.


5 The passage of a Chinese army from Magadha to the Gandhâra river about a.d. 650 seems beyond question. The emperor sent an ambassador Ouang-h-wuente to Sri-Hûraja. Before Ouang-h-wuente arrived Sri Hûraja was dead (died a.d. 642), and his place taken by an usurping minister (Seon-fen-li) Alans-hum. The emperor drove off the envoy, who retired to Tibet, and then under the great Sung-haien, with help from Tibet and from the Reja of Nepal Ouang returned, defeated Alans, and pursued him to the Gandhâra river (Shih-mo-w) The passage was forced, the army captured, the king's sons were led prisoners to China, and 560 cities surrendered, the magistrates proclaimed the victory in the temple of the ancients and the emperor raised Ouang to the rank of Râjâ-uen-ta-fere. Journal Asiatique, t748-84.
the Buddhist Sāharāsī by their usurping Brahmānīst minister Čāchchh and his persecution of the Jāts must have resulted in a fairly constant movement of northern Indians southwards from the ports of Sindh and Gujarāt. In the leading migrations though fear may have moved the followers, enterprise and tidings of Java's prosperity would stir the leaders. The same longing that tempted Alexander to put to sea from the Indus mouth; Trajan (A.D. 115) from the mouth of the Tigris; and Mahāmōd of Ghazni from Sūnāthrā must have drawn Saka Hōna and Gurjara chiefs to lead their men south to the land of rubies and of gold. Of the appearance and condition of the Hindus who settled in Java during the seventh and eighth centuries the Arab travellers Sulaimān a.d. 800 and Muṣṭafī a.d. 915 have left the following details. The people near the volcanoes have white skins pierced ears and shaved heads; their religion is both Brahmānīst and Buddhist; their trade is in the costliest articles camphor aloe cloves and sandalwood.

CAMBODIA.

The close connection between Java and Cambodia, the alternate supremacy of Cambodia in Java and of Java in Cambodia, the likelihood of settlers passing from Java to Cambodia explain, to a considerable extent, why the traditions and the buildings of Java and Cambodia should point to a common origin in north-west India. The question remains: Do the people and buildings of Cambodia contain a distinct north Hindu element which worked its way south and east not by sea but by land across the Himalayas and Tibet and down the valley of the Yang-tse-kiang to Yunnan and Angkor? Whether the name Cambodia proves an actual race or historical connection with Kamboja or the Kābul valley is a point

IV. Tom. X. pages 81-121. The translator thinks the whole war was in the east of India and that the mention of the Ganges river is a mistake. The correctness of this view is doubtful. It is to be remembered that this was a time of the widest spread of Chinese power. They held Bahl and probably Baman. Yule's Cathey, T. Ixvii. Compare Julian in Jour. As, Soc., Ser. IV. Tom. X. 289-291.

1 Regarding these disturbances see Beau's Life of Hsin Tsang, 156; Max Müller's India. 286. The Arab writers (A.D. 713) notice to what a degraded state Chack had reduced the Jatta. In comparing the relative importance of the western and eastern Indian strains in Java it is to be remembered that the western element has been overlaid by a late Bengal and Kalinga layer of fugitives from the Tibetan conquest of Bengal in the eighth century, the Babu with the Gurkha at his heels, and during the ninth and later centuries by bands of Buddhists withdrawing from a land where their religion was no longer honoured.

2 In A.D. 116 after the capture of Babylon and Ctesiphon Hadrian sailed down the Tigris and the Persian Gulf, embarked on the waters of the South Sea, made inquiries about India and regretted he was too old to get there. Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies, VI. 313.

3 Ibn Kaddā'ī's Abulfeza, once.

4 The origin of the name Kamboja seems to be Kāmbojparā an old name of Kābul preserved almost in its present form in Ptolemy's (A.D. 150) Kābolā. The word is doubtfully connected with the Aramūnian Kambiyas (n.c. 629-631) the Kambiyas of the Beidistan inscription. In the fifth of the Aśoka edicts (n.c. 240) Kambōja holds the middle distance between Gandhāra or Peshawar and Yona or Baktia. According to Yāsaka, whose uncertain date varies from n.c. 500 to n.c. 200, the Kambojas spoke Sanskrit (Moit's Sanskrit Texts. II. 325 note 145). In the last battle of the Mahakharata, A.D. 100 to 300 (Jl. Boy. As, Soc. VI. 139-140), apparently from near Baman the Kambojas ranked as Mlecchās with Sākhas Dwaddas and Hītās. One account (Percy Brown, III. 666) places the original site of the Kambojas in the country round Taxila east of the Indus. This is probably incorrect. A trace of the Kambojas in their original seat seems to remain in the Kambojas of the Hindu Kaul,
on which authorities disagree. Sir H. Yule held that the connection was purely literary and that as in the case of Indraprastha (Delhi) the later capital of Cambodia and of Ayodhya or Oudh the capital of Assam no connection existed beyond the application to a new settlement of ancient worshipful Indian place-names. The objection to applying this rule to Cambodia is that except to immigrants from the Kâbul valley the name is of too distant and also of too scanty a reputation to be chosen in preference to places in the nearer and holier lands of Tibet and Magadha. For this reason, and because the view is supported by the notable connection between the two styles of architecture, it seems advisable to accept Mr. Ferguson's decision that the name Cambodia was given to a portion of Cochin-China by immigrants from Kambuja that is from the Kâbul valley. Traces remain of more than one migration from India to Indo-China. The earliest is the mythic account of the conversion of Indo-China to Buddhism before the time of Asoke (B.C. 240). A migration in the first century B.C. of Yavanas or Sakas, from Taxila or Taxavar in the Punjab, is in agreement with the large number of Indian place-names recorded by Ptolemy (A.D. 160). Of this migration Hiuen Tsang's name Yavana (Yen-mo-nan) for Cambodia may be a trace. A Saka invasion further explains Panamamas (A.D. 170) name Sakas for Cochin-China and his description of the people as Skythians mixed with Indians. During the fifth and sixth centuries a fresh migration seems to have set in. Cambodia was divided into shore and inland and the name Cambosse applied to both. Chinese records notice an embassy from the king of Cambodia in A.D. 617. Among the deciphered Cambodian inscriptions a considerable share belong to a Brahmanic dynasty whose local initial date is in the early years of the seventh century, and one of whose kings Somasarka (A.D. 610) is recorded to have held daily Mahâbharata readings in the temples. Of a fresh wave of Buddhists, who seem to have belonged to the northern branch, the earliest deciphered inscription is A.D. 953 (S. 873) that is about 350 years later. Meanwhile, though, so far as information goes, the new capital of Angkor on the north bank of lake Tale Sap about 200 miles up the Mekong river was not founded till A.D. 1078 (S. 1000). The neighbourhood of the holy lake was already sacred and the sites of temples of which the Nakhon Wat or Nâga's Shrine is one of the latest and finest examples, was begun at least as early as A.D. 825 (S. 750), and

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1 See Hunter's Oria, I, 319.
2 Yavana to the south-west of Siam. Bell's Life of Hiuen Tsang, xxxii.
3 Quoted in Banbury's Ancient Geography, II, 659. Banbury suggests that Panamamas may have gained his information from Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 166) ambassador to China.
4 Jour, Bengal Soc., VII. (L.) 317.
5 Recueil Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques, I, 77 in Jour. Asiatique Series, VI, Tom. XIX. page 130 note 1; Ferguson's Architecture, III, 678.
6 Barth in Journal Asiatique Ser. VI, Tom. XIX. page 150.
7 Barth in Journal Asiatique, X. 57.
8 Barth in Jour. As. Ser. VI, Tom. XIX. page 190; Journal Royal Asiatique Society, XIV. (1892) ed.
9 Barth in Journal Asiatique Ser. VI, Tom. XIX. pages 181, 182.
10 Mr. Ferguson (Architecture page 660) and Colonel Yule (Ency. Brit. Cambodia) accept the local Buddhist rendering of Nakhon Wat as the City Settlement. Against this is to be set (Ditto ditto) the native city corruptly locally into Angkor; Naga therefore can hardly also be the origin of the local Nakhon. Further as the local Buddhists claim the temple for Buddha they were bound to find in Nakhon some source other than its original meaning of Snake. The change finds a close parallel in the Naga that is snake or Skythians now Nâga or city Brahman of Gujarât.
Nakhonwat itself seems to have been completed and was being embellished in A.D. 550 (S. 675). During the ninth and tenth centuries by conquest and otherwise considerable interchange took place between Java and Cambodia. As many of the inscriptions are written in two Indian characters, a northern and a southern, two migrations by sea seem to have taken place one from the Orissa and Mysore-Patnam coasts and the other, with the same legend of the prince of Rām, land from the ports of Sindh and Gujarat. The question remains how far there is trace of such a distinct migration as would explain the close resemblance noted by Ferguson between the architecture of Kashmir and Cambodia as well as the northern element which Ferguson recognizes in the religion and art of Cambodia. The people by whom this Punjab and Kashmir influence may have been introduced from the north are the people who still call themselves Khmers to whose skill as builders the magnificence of Cambodian temples, lakes and bridges is apparently due. Of these people, who, by the beginning of the eleventh century had already given their name to the whole of Cambodia, Alberuni (A.D. 1031) says: ‘The Khmers are the wisest of short stature and Turk-like build. They follow the religion of the Hindus and have the practice of piercing their ears. It will be noticed that so far as information is available the apparent holiness of the neighbourhood of Angkor had lasted for at least 250 years before A.D. 1073 when it was chosen as a capital. This point is in agreement with Mr. Ferguson’s view that the details of Nakhonwat and other temples of that series are that the builders came neither by sea nor down the Ganges valley but by way of Kashmir and the back of the Himalayas. Though the evidence is incomplete and to some extent speculative the following considerations suggest a route and a medium through which the Roman and Greek elements in the early (A.D. 100-500) architecture of the Kabul valley and Peshawar may have been carried inland to Cambodia. It may perhaps be accepted that the Ephthalites or White Huns and a share of the Kedarites, that is of the later Little Yuezhi from Gandhara the Peshawar country, retreated to Kashmir before the father of Sri Harsha (A.D. 590-600) and afterwards (A.D. 606-642) before Sri Harsha himself. Further it seems fair to assume that from

1 Barth in Journal Asiatique Ser. VI. Tom. XIX. 190.
2 Yule’s Marco Polo, II. 105: Reimand’s Abulfeda, edxv.
4 Mr. Ferguson at first suggested the fourth century as the period of migration to Cambodia. He afterwards came to the conclusion that the settlers must have been much the same as the Gujerat conquerors of Java. Architecture, III. 663-678.
5 Ferguson’s Architecture, 665. Compare Trees and Serpent Worship, 49, 50. ‘The people of Cambodia seem Indian serpent worshippers; they seem to have come from Tibet.’
6 The name Khmer has been adopted as the technical term for the early literature and art of the peninsula. Compare Barth J. As. Ser. VI. Tom. XIX. 193: Remys in diction. page 75 note 3 and Ser. VII. Tom. VIII. page 65: Yule in Encyclopaedia Britannica. Art. Cambodia. The resemblance of Cambodian and Kabul valley work recalls the praise by Chinese writers of the Han (B.C. 206 - A.D. 24) and Wei (A.D. 220-554) dynasties of the craftsmen of Kipan, that is Kophene or Kambah the Kabul valley, whose skill was not less remarkable in sculpturing and chiselling than in working gold silver copper and tin into vases and other articles. Specht in Journal Asiatique, II. (1883), 333 and note 3. A ninth century inscription mentions the architect Achyuta son of Huna of Kambuja. Epigraphia Indiae, I. 243.
7 Reimand’s Abulfeda, edxv: Sachau’s Alberuni, I. 210.
8 Ferguson’s Architecture, III. 666.
9 See J. P. Jackson, Kedarite Ephthalite rule in Kashmir see Cunningham’s Ninth Oriental Congress, I. 251-5. The names of the people, if not an identity of rulers, shows how close was the union between the Ephthalites and the Kedarites. The code preserves one difference depicting the Yuezhi or Kedarite ruler with bushy and the White Huns or Ephthalite ruler with cropped hair.
Kashmir they moved into Tibet and were the western Turks by whose aid in the second half of the seventh century Srongtsan-gambo (a.d. 640-682), the founder of Tibetan power and civilization, overran the Tarim valley and western China. During the first years of the eighth century (a.d. 703) a revolt in Nepal and the country of the Bshahs was crushed by Srongtsan’s successor Domsrong, and the supremacy of Tibet was so firmly established in Bengal that, for over 200 years, the Bay of Bengal was known as the sea of Tibet. In a.d. 709 a Chinese advance across the Pamirs is said to have been checked by the great Arab soldier Kadija the commander of Muhammad Ka’im of Sind; but according to Chinese records this reverse was wiped out in a.d. 713 by the defeat of the joint Arab and Tibet armies. In the following years, aided by disorders in China, Tibet conquered east to Hsiu on the upper Hoangho and in a.d. 729 ceased to acknowledge the overlordship of China. Though about a.d. 760 he was for a time crippled by China’s allies the Shado Turks, the chief of Tibet spread his power so far down the Yangtsekiang valley that in a.d. 787 the emperor of China, the king of Yunnan to the east of Burma, certain Indian chiefs, and the Arabs joined in a treaty against Tibet. As under the great Thsrong (a.d. 843-845) and his successor Ths-iong-tsi (a.d. 875-901) the power of Tibet increased it seems probable that during the ninth century they overran and settled in Yunnan. That among the Tibetans who passed south-east into Yunnan were Kedarites and White Hinas is supported by the fact that about a.d. 1290, according both to Marco Polo and to Rashid-ud-din, the common name of Yunnan was Kārājang whose capital was Yachi and whose people spoke a special language. The name Kārājang was Mongol meaning Black People and was used to distinguish the mass of the inhabitants from certain fair tribes who were known as Chagsanjiang or Whites. That the ruler of Kārājang was of Hindu origin is shown by his title Mahara or Mahārāja. That the Hindu element came from the Kābul valley is shown by its Hindu name of Kamlhar that is Gandhāra or Pushar, a name still in use as Gand-śāra (Gandharā-rāṣṭra) the Burens for Yunnan. The strange confusion which Rashid-ud-din makes between the surroundings of Yunnan and of Pushar is perhaps due to the fact that in his time the connection between the two places was still known and admitted. A further trace

1 About a.d. 700 Urumtul Kasgar Khulan and Kanche in the Tarim valley became Tibetans for a few years. Parker’s ‘Thousand Years of the Tartars,’ 245. In a.d. 691 the western Turks who for some years had been declining and divided were broken by the great eastern Turk conqueror Mercho. The following passage from Mardari (Parker P’Er, I, 289) supports the establishment of White Hina or Mihira power in Tibet. The sons of Anur (a general phrase for Turks) mixed with the people of India. They founded a kingdom in Tibet the capital of which they called Med. Encyclopaedia Britannica Articles Tibet and Turkestan.

2 Both Ibn Haukal and Al Istakhiri (a.d. 880) call the Bay of Bengal the sea of Tibet. Compare Belamc’s Abulfeda, eccviii.; Encyclopaedia Britannica Article Tibet page 545.

3 Yule’s Cathay, I, 111.


5 Thsrong besides including the power of Tibet (he was important enough to join with Manoch the son of the great Harmur-ṣaṣ-kha (a.d. 762-709) in a league against the Hindus) brought many learned Hindus into Tibet, had Sanskrit books translated, settled Lamuism, and built many temples. It is remarkable that so far as inscriptions are read the series of Nakhoswar temples was begun during Thsrong’s reign (a.d. 703-845).


7 Yule’s Jour. R. A. Soc. (N. S.), I, 336.

8 Compare Yule in Jour. R. A. S. (N. S.), I, 356. Kandahar in south-west Afghanistan is another example of the Kedarite or Little Yurchi fondness for giving to their colonies the name of their parent country.
JAVA AND CAMBODIA.

Appendix IV.

CAMBODIA.

of stranger whites like the Changanjang of Yunnan occurs south-east in the Anin or Honli whose name suggests the Húnas and whose fondness for silver ornaments at once distinguishes them from their neighbours and connects them with India. Even though these traces may be accepted as confirming a possible migration of Húnas and Kedáras to Yunnan and Anin a considerable gap remains between Anin and Angkor. Three local Cambodian considerations go some way to fill this gap. The first is that unlike the Siamese and Cochín Chinese the Khmers are a strong well made race with very little trace of the Mongolid, with a language devoid of the intonations of other Indo-Chinese dialects, and with the hair worn cropped except the top-knot. The second point is that the Khmers claim a northern origin; and the third that important architectural remains similar to Nakhonwát are found within Siam limits about sixty miles north of Angkor. One further point has to be considered: How far is an origin from White Húnas and Kedáras in agreement with the Nágá phase of Cambodian worship. Húten Tsiang's details of the Tarim Oxus and Swáit valleys contain nothing so remarkable as the apparent increase of Dragon worship. In those countries dragons are rarely mentioned by Fa Hian in A.D. 400; dragons seem to have had somewhat more importance in the eyes of Sung-Yun in A.D. 620; and to Húten Tsiang, the champion of the Mahâyána or Broadway dragons are everywhere explaining all misfortunes earthquakes storms and diseases. Buddhism may be the state religion but the secret of luck lies in pleasing the Dragon.

1 Compare Yule's Marco Polo, II. 82-84.
3 Fa Hian (A.D. 400) about fifty miles north-west of Kuanj found a dragon chapel (Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 40) of which a white eared dragon was the patron. The dragon, he notes, gives seasonal showers and keeps off all plagues and calamities. At the end of the rains the dragon turns into a little white-eared serpent and the priests feed him. At the deserted Kaplavastu in Turkestan Fa Hian was shown a tank and in it a dragon who, he says, constantly guards and protects a tower to Buddha and worships there night and morning (Ditto, I. 26).

Sung-Yun (A.D. 519) notices (Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 63) in Swáit (Udýana) a tank and a temple with fifty priests called the temple of the Nágá Rája because the Nágá supplies it with funds. In another passage (Ditto, 93) he notes that on a narrow land on the border of Po se (Parsa) a dragon had taken his residence and was stopping the rain and piling the snow. Húten Tsiang (Ditto, I. 20) notes that in Kucha, north of the Tarim river east of the Boler mountains, the bull horses are half dragon horses and the Shen men half-dragon men. In Aksu, 180 miles west of Kucha, there are dragons meet travellers with storms of flying sand and gravel (Ditto, 35); the hot lake on Jolab, 100 miles north-east of Aksu, is jointly inhabited by dragons and fish, easily monsters rise to the surface and travellers pray to them (Ditto, 29). An Arbat (page 63) prays that he may become a Nágarája. He becomes a Nágarája, kills the real Nágarája, takes his palace, attaches the Nágarája to him, and raises winds and tempests; Kanishka comes against him and the Arbat takes the form of a Brahman and knocks down Kanishka's towers. A great many fierce bulls arise from Kanishka's shoulders and the Brahman Nágarája apologises. His evil and passionate spirit, the fruit of evil deeds in a former birth, had made the Arbat pray to be a Nágarája. If clouds gathered the monks knew that the Nágarája meant mischief. The corns grew but the Nágarája pacified (or scared) Ditto, 64-65. Nágás were powerful brutes, cloud-riding wind-driving water-walking brutes, quite like horses. The account of the Nágá or dragon of Juslábéd (in Khmer) is excellent. In Buddha's time the dragon had been Budhá's milkman. He lost his temper, laid flowers at the Dragon's cave, prayed he might become a dragon, and leaped over the cliff. He laid the country waste and did so much harm that Tathágatas (or Budhás) converted him. The Nágá asked Buddha to take his case. Budhá said No. I will leave my shadow. If you get angry look at my shadow and it will quiet you (Ditto,
This apparent increased importance of dragon or Nag worship in north-west India during the fifth and sixth centuries may have been due partly to the decline of the earlier Buddhism partly to the genial worship-loving temper of Himu Tsang. Still so marked an increase makes it probable that with some of the great fifth and sixth century conquerors of Baktisia Kabul and the Panjab, of whom a trace may remain in the snake- #91. Another typical dragon is Apallala of the Swat river (Ditto, 68). In the time of Kadapa Buddha Apallala was a weaver of spells named Gangi, Gangi's spells kept the dragons quiet and saved the crops. But the people were thankless and paid no tithe. May I be born a dragon, cursed Gangi, poisons and ruinous. He was born the dragon of the Swat valley, Apallala, who blessed forth a salt stream and burned the crops. The ruin of the fair and pious valley of Swat reached Sakya's (Buddha's) ears. He passed to Mangala and beat the mountain side with Indra's mace. Apallala came forth and lectured and converted. He agreed to do no more mischief on condition that once in twelve years he might ruin the crops. (Ditto, 123). In a lake about seven miles west of Takakahila, a spot dear to the exiled Kambhojan, lived Blapatra the Nagara, a Bhikshu an ascetic who in a former life had destroyed a tree. When the crops were ruined in a heavy rain, the Shmans or medicine-men led the people to pray on Kambhojan's tank (page 137). In Kashmir, perhaps the place of birth of the Kambhojan in his compostes eastwards, in old times the country was a dragon lake. Madhyamaka drove out the waters but left one small part as a house for the Nagara and the dragon. (120). What sense have these tales? In a hilly land where the people live in valleys the river is at once the most whimsical and the most dangerous force. Few seasons pass in which the river does not either damage with its floods or with its failure and at times glaciers and landslips stop the entire flow and the valley is ruined. So great and so strange an evil as the complete drying of a river must be the result of some one's will, of some one's temper. The Dragon is angry he wants a sacrifice. Again the river ponds into a lake, the lake tops the earth bank and rushes in a flood waste as only a dragon can waste. For generations after so awful a proof of power all doubts regarding dragons are dead, (Compare Dewar's Cashmere and Jumnao 414-421). In India the Chinese dragon turns into a cobra. In China the cobra is unknown; in India the cobra no power is more dreaded. How can the mighty unwieldy dragon be the same as the silent cobra. How not in India. The cobra worships him. (Compare the Chinese). If he is unable to change his shape, To the spirit not to the form is worship due. Again the worshipped dragon becomes the guardian. The great earth Bodhisattva transmutes himself into a Nagara and dwells in lake Anavatapta whose flow of cool water enriches the world (Buddhist Records II. 11). In a fame in Swat Buddha takes the form of a dragon and the people live on him (123). A postiche wanted Swat, Buddha becomes the serpent Soma, all who taste his flesh are healed of the plague (126). A Naga maiden, who for her sins has been born in serpent shape and lives in a pool, loves Buddha who was then a Sakya chief. Buddha's merit reconcile for the girl her lost human form. He goes into the pool slays the girl's snake kin and marries her. Not even by marriage with the Sakya is her serpent spirit driven out of the maiden. At night from her head issues a nine-crooked Nagas. Sakya strikes off the nine crests and ever since that day the royal family has suffered from headaches (122). This last tale shows how Buddhists works on the coarser and fiercer tribes who accept its teaching. The conversion to be met though a snake head may peep out to show that all of the old leaven is dead. In other stories Buddha as the sacramental snake shows the moral advance in Buddhism from lend to guardian worship. The rest of the tales illustrate the corresponding intellectual progress from force worship to man, that is mind, worship. The water force sometimes kindly and enriching sometimes fierce and wasting becomes a Bodhisattva always kindly though he god's will may have to give way to the rage of evil powers. So Brahmanism turns Narayana the sea into Siva or Somnath the sea ruler. In this as in other phases religion passes from the worship of the forces of Nature to which in his beginnings man has to bow to the worship of Man or conscious Mind whose growth in skill and in knowledge has made him the Lord of the forces. These higher ideals are to a great extent a veneer. The Buddhist evangelist may dry the lake; he is careful to leave a pool for the Nagara. In times of trouble among the fierce struggles of princes and settlers the spirit of Buddha withdraws and leaves the empty shrine to the earlier and the more immortal spirit of Force, the Nagara who has lived on in the pool which for the sake of peace Buddha refrained from drying.
worshipping Nāga and Taklua of the Kanonon and Gerwral hills, the Dragon was the chief object of worship. Temple remains show that the seventh and eighth century rulers of Kashmir, with a knowledge of classic architecture probably brought from beyond the Indus, were Nāga worshippers. The fact that the ninth century revision of religion in Tibet came mainly from Kashmir and that among the eighteen chief gods of the reformed faith the great Serpent had a place favours the view that through Tibet passed the scheme and the classic details of the Kashmir Nāga temples which in greater wealth and splendour are repeated in the Nākhonwat of Angkōr in Cambodē. It is true that the dedication of the great temple to Nāga worship before the Siamese priests filled it with statues of Buddha is questioned both by Lieut. Garnier and by Sir H. Yule. In spite of this objection and though some of the series have been Buddhist from the first, it is difficult to refuse acceptance to Mr. Fergusson’s conclusions that in the great Nākhon, all traces of Buddhism are additions. The local conditions and the worshipful Tale Sap lake favour this conclusion. What holier dragon site can be imagined than the great lake Tale Sap, 100 miles by 30, joined to the river Mekong by a huge natural channel which of itself empties the lake in the dry season and refills it during the monsoon giving a water harvest of unhoused soil as a land harvest of grain. What more typical work of the dragon as guardian water lord. Again not far off between Angkōr and Yunnan was the head-quarters of the dragon as the unquenched flood. In Carnavan ten days west of the city of Yachi Marco Polo (A.D. 1230) found a land of snakes and great serpents ten paces in length with very great heads, eyes bigger than a loaf of bread, mouths garnished with pointed teeth able to swallow a man whole, two fore-legs with claws for feet and bodies equal in bulk to a great cask. He adds: these serpents devour the cult of lions and bears without the size and dam being able to prevent it. Indeed if they catch the big ones they devour them too: no one can make any resistance. Every man and beast stands in fear and trembling of themselves in these three dragons was the sacramental guardian element. The gall from their inside heated the hue of a mad dog, delivered a woman in hard labour, and cured itch or it might be worse. Moreover, he concludes, the flesh of these serpents is excellent eating and toothsome.

1 Mr. Fergusson (Architecture, 219) places the Kashmir temples between A.D. 600 and 1200 and allots Māranda the greatest to about A.D. 700. The classical element, he says, cannot be mistaken. The shafts are fitted Greek Doric probably taken from the Gaudiara monasteries of the fourth and fifth centuries. Fergusson was satisfied (Ditto, 269) that the religion of the builders of the Kashmir temples was Nāga worship. In Cambodia the Brahmanic remains were like those of Java (Ditto, 667). But the connection between the Nākhonwat series and the Kashmir temples was unmistakable. (Ditto, 267, 665). Nāga worship was the object of both (Ditto, 677-679). Imperfect information forced Fergusson to date the Nākhonwat not earlier than the thirteenth century (Ditto, 666, 676). The evidence of the inscriptions which J. As. Etr. VI. Tom. XIX. page 190 brings back the date of this the latest of a long series of temples to the ninth and tenth centuries adds greatly to the probability of some direct connection between the builders of the Māranda shrine in Kashmir and of the great Nākhonwat temple at Angkōr.

2 Yule’s Marco Polo, II. 46, 47.

3 Invey, Brit. Art, Cambodē, 544.

APPENDIX V.

ARAB REFERENCES.

The earliest Arab reference to Gujarat is by the merchant Sulaimàn (A.D. 851 (A.H. 237)). Other Arab accounts follow up to A.D. 1263, a period of over four centuries. Sulaimàn describes Umr (or Gujarat) as bordering on the kingdom of the Balbâr (A.D. 743-974) and as forming a tongue of land, rich in horses and camels and said to have "mines of gold and silver, exchanges being carried on by means of these metals in dust."

Al Bilâdî (A.D. 899) states that the first Islamic expedition to India was the one despatched against Tâsû' (Thâna) by Usmân, son of Abî Askl, the Thakafl, who in the fifteenth year of the Hijrah (A.D. 636) was appointed governor of Bahrain and Usmàn (the Persian Gulf) by the second Khalifah Umar, the son of Khattâb. On the return of the expedition, in reply to his governor's despatch, the Khalifah Umar is said to have written: "Oh brother of Thakiff, thou hast placed the worm in the wood, but by Allah, had any of my men been slain, I would have taken an equal number from thy tribe." In spite of this threat Usmân's brother Hakam, who was deputed by the governor to the charge of Bahrain, despatched a force to Barûg (Brahch). Al Bilâdî does not record the result of this expedition, but

1 Contributed by Khan Sahib Fazlullah Luftullah Fakhil of Surt.
2 This account which is in two parts is named Silâhât-ul-Tawârîkh, that is the Chain of History. The first part was written in A.D. 881-82 by Sulaimàn and has the advantage of being the work of a traveller who himself knew the countries he describes. The second part was written by Abu Zâlî-al-Hassan of Siraf on the Persian Gulf about sixty years after Sulaimàn's account. Though Abu Zâlî never visited India, he made it his business to read and question travellers who had been in India. Abu Hassan al-Masûlî (A.D. 915-943) who met him at Baerath is said to have imparted to and derived much information from Abu Zâlî. Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 2.
3 Ahmad bin Yahya, succumbed Abu Jâfar and called Bilâdî or Bilârû from his address to the account of the Malacca bean (bilâdâr 32) or anacardium, lived about the middle of the ninth century of the Christian era at the court of Al-Mutawakkil the Abbasî, as an instructor of one of the royal princesses. He died A.H. 327 (A.D. 932-93). His work is styled the Futûh-al-Balbân. The Conquest of Countries. He did not visit Sînd, but was in personal communication with men who had travelled far and wide.
4 Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 115-118.
5 The reason of Umar's dislike for India is described by Al Masûlî (Murûj Arabic Text, Cairo Edition, III. 166-171), to have originated from the description of the country by a philosopher to whom Umar had referred on the first spread of Islam in his reign. The philosopher said: India is a distant and remote land peopled by rebellious infidels, immediately after the battle of Kâzîshâh (A.D. 636) when sending out Uthâb, his first governor to the newly-founded camp-town of Baerath Umar is reported to have said: I am sending thee to the land of Al-Hind (India) as governor. Remember it is a field of the battle of the enemy. The third Khalifah Usmân (A.D. 643-655) ordered his governor of Irâk to appoint a special officer to visit India and seek upon the Khalifah to report his opinion of that country. His report of India was not encouraging. He said: Its water is scarce, its fruits are poor, and its robbers bold. If the troops sent there are few they will be slain; if many they will starve. (Al-Bilâdî in Elliot, I. 116.)
6 Sir H. Elliot's History of India, I. 116.
7 Sir H. Elliot's History of India, I. 116.
8 Sir H. Elliot's History of India, I. 116.
9 Sir H. Elliot's History of India, I. 116.
10 Sir H. Elliot's History of India, I. 116.
ARAB REFERENCES.

Appendix V.

ARAB REFERENCES.
A.D. 531 - 1350.

mentions a more successful one to Debal at the mouth of the Indus sent by Hājaam under the command of his brother Mughāir. On the death of his uncle Al-Hajjāj (A.D. 714; H. 95) Muhammad the son of Ka'īm the Arab conqueror of Sindh, is said to have made peace with the inhabitants of Surat or Kathiawar with whom he states the people of Bātis that is Bet to the north of Dwārka were then at war. Al Bilādūrī describes the Bātis men as Meṣa sahafras and pirater. In the reign of Hīdām (A.D. 724) Jumājīd, son of Abūr Baha Muhammad Al Murri, who was appointed to the frontier of Sindh is stated to have conquered Jura (Gujarat) and Bārūs (Braoj). A more permanent result followed a great expedition from Musulmān in Sindh. This result was the overthrow, from which it never recovered, of the great seaport and capital of Vah or Valabhi. Al Bilādūrī's next mention of Gujarāt is in connection with the conquest of Sindh by Khokhān in Khach, and the founding there of a Jamā mosque by Fadl, son of Mahān in the reign of the Abbāsī Khalīfah Al Māmūn. (A.D. 813-833) the son of the famous Hārin-m-Rashid. After Fadl's death his son Muhammad sailed with sixty vessels against the Meṣa of Hind, captured Māli apparently Māla in north Kathiawar after a great slaughter of the Meṣa and returned to Sindh.

The disension between Muhammad and his brother Mahān, who in Muhammad's absence had usurped his authority at Sindh, re-established the power of the Hindus. The Hindus, however, adds Al Bilādūrī, spared the assembly mosque in which for long the Musulmāns used to offer their Friday prayers. Ibti Khurābkhah (A.D. 912; H. 500) erroneously enumerates Bārūs and Sindh (Braoj and Sindh) as cities of Sindh. The king of Jura he describes as the fourth Indian sovereign. According to Al Masudi (A.D. 915) the country of the Balhāras or Rashtrakutas (A.D. 745-974), which is also called the country of Kumkār (Konkan), is open on one side to the attacks of the king of Jura (Gujarat) a prince owning many horses and camels and troopers who does not think any king on earth equal to him except the king of Bābal (Babylon). He prides himself and holds himself high above all other kings and owns many elephants, but hates Musulmān. His country is on a tongue of land, and there are gold and silver mines in it, in which trade is carried on. Al Ikshāqī (H. 840; A.D. 951) gives an itinerary in which he shows the distance between

1 Sir H. Elliot (Hist. of India) transliterates this as Bātis. But neither Reina nor his other supposition (Note 4 Ditto) Bātān seem to have any sense. The original is probably Baṭās, a form in which other Arab historians and geographers also allude to Bātis, the residence of the notorious Bātisirī who are referred to a little farther on as sahafras and pirates. Ditto. I, 123.

2 This important expedition extended to Ujjain. Details above page 150 and also under Bhīmāl. Both by sea from Sindh, were repeated in a.d. 758, 790, 793, and perhaps a.d. 830. Reinaudi's Erasmia, 212. See Above Bhagyābhiri's Early History page 96 note 3.

3 Details above pages 94-96.

4 Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 128.

5 Sir Henry Elliot (History of India, I, 129) calls it Kattari though (Ditto note 3) he says the text has Māli.

6 Sir H. Elliot's History of India, I. 125.

7 Ibti Khurābkhah a Musulmān of Magīan descent as his name signifies, died H. 920 (A.D. 915). He held high office under the Abbāsī Khalīfah at Baghdad (Elliot's History of India, I, 128).

8 Abū Hassān Al Masudi, a native of Baghdad, who visited India about a.d. 816 and wrote his "Meadows of Gold" (Mardj-az-zahab) about a.d. 950-51 and died a.d. 956 in Egypt. (Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 25-26.)

9 Abū Išāq Al Dīshārī, a native (as his cognomen signifies) of Perspolis who flourished about the middle of the tenth century and wrote his Book of Climes (Kitāb Akālim) about a.d. 940 (A.D. 951), Elliot's History of India, I, 25.
Mansurah and Kāmhāl (Anhilwāra) to be eight days' journey; from Kāmhāl to Cambay (Cambay) four days; from Cambay to the sea about two farsāng or farsāng (that is between seven and eight miles); from Cambay to Surābāya perhaps Surahārā the Surat river mouth which is half a farsāng (between 1.5 and two miles) from the sea, about four days; He places five days between Surabāya (Surat) and Sindān (St. John near Damān) and a like distance between Sindān and Saimur (Chowal or Cheln) thirty miles south of Bombay. Ibn Haukal enumerates (Fāmhal) (Anhilwāra), Kambāya (Cambay), Surbhārō (Surat), Sindān (Daman), and Saimur (Cheln) as cities of Al Hind (India), as opposed to Al Sind or the Indus valley. From Kambāya to Saimur, he writes, is the land of the Balhām, which is in the possession of several kings. Ibn Haukal describes the land between Kāmhāl (Anhilwāra) and Kambāya (Cambay), and Bāris three days' journey from Mansurah as desert, and between Kambāya and Saimur as thickly covered with villages. Al Biruni, in his famous Indica about A.D. 1030-31 writes: From Kanauj, travelling south-west you come to Aśī, a distance of eighteen farsākhs that is of seventy-two miles; to Sāhīwa 17 farsāks or sixty-eight miles; to Chandra 18 farsāks or seventy-two miles; to Rajsīri fifteen farsāks or sixty miles; and to Nārānā (near Jaipur) the former capital of Gujarāt, 18 farsāks or seventy-two miles. Nārānā he adds was destroyed and the capital transferred to another town on the frontier. From Nārānā at a distance of 60 farsāks or 240 miles, south-west lies Anhilwāra, and thence to Somnāth on the sea is fifty farsāks or 200 miles. From Anhilwāra, passing south is Lārdes with its capitals Bihār (Deor), and Bahānjur (Bandir) forty-two farsāks (168)

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1 See Appendix A. Volume I. Sir Henry Elliot's History of India.
2 Elliot's History of India, 394, where Sir Henry Elliot calculates a parasang or farsāng (Arabian farsāk) to be 56 miles. Al Biruni, however, counts four farsāgs or miles to a farsāg, Sachau's Al Biruni Arabic Text, chapter 18 page 97.
3 Sir Henry Elliot (History of India, I. 402) locates Surahārā somewhere near Surat, the mound of the Tapti is still known in Surat as the Bārzā.
4 Ibn Haukal (Bk. 6 and Abul Kaisim) a native of Baghdad, left that city in H. 381 (A.D. 991), returned to it H. 399 (A.D. 1009), and finished his work about H. 406 (A.D. 1016). Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 31.
5 Elliot, I. 34.
6 Sir Henry Elliot (History of India, I. 363) correctly takes Fāmhal to be a misreading for Anhilwāra. Al Biruni (A.D. 970-1033) uses the name Anhilwāra without any Arabic peculiarity of transliteration or pronunciation. Sachau's Arabic Text, 100, Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) styles Anhilwāra
7 "Nahrwāra" (Elliot, I. 34) an equally well known name.
8 Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 34.
9 M. Schlemm's Latin translation of Ibn Haukal's Anhilwāl of Elliot (Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 39).
10 Abul Bhārā Al Biruni was a native of Balkh in Central Asia. He accompanied Mahmud of Gomtī to India in his expeditious and acquired an accurate knowledge of Sanskrit. His acquaintance with this language and Greek and his love of inquiry and research together with his fairness and impartiality, make his Indica a most valuable contribution to our information on India in the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries. He finished his work after the death of his patron in A.D. 1030-31.
11 See Sachau's Preface to the Arabic Text of the Indica, I.
12 Al Biruni makes his farsāg of four miles. Sachau's Arabic Text, 97.
13 Sir Henry Elliot's translation and transliteration of Bahānjur (History of India, I. 61) are, be it said with all respect to the memory of that great scholar, inaccurate. He cannot make anything of the word (note 3) while in the Arabic Text of Sachau (pp. 108) the first letter is a plain ' and not, \alpha =d. From the context also the ancient town of Bandir seems to be meant. It is plainly written (or Bandhir) in Bahānjur and is very likely the copyist's mistake for the very similar form.
miles). These he states are on the shore of the sea to the east of Tana (the modern Thana). After describing the coast of Makran till its reaches Debal (Karachi or Thatta) Abu Bilian comes to the coast of Kachh and Somnath, the population of which he calls the Bawari because, he says, they commit their practical depredations in boats called Baira. He gives the distance between Debal (Karachi or Thatta) and Kachh the country that yields mukh (gum or myrrh) and badis (talm) as six farashe (24 miles); to Somnath (from Debal) fourteen (56 miles); to Kambaya thirty (120 miles); to Assowal the site of Ahmadabad (from Cambay) two days' journey; to Balurj (Broach) (from Debal) thirty, to Sindan or St. John (from Debal) fifty; to Subara (Sopara) from Sindan six; to Tana (from Sopara) five. Ruhuld-ud-din in his translation (A.D. 1810) of Al Biruni (A.D. 970-1031) states that beyond Gujarāt are Konkan and Tana. He calls Tana the chief town of the Konkans and mentions the forest of the Dāna as the habitat of the Sheera an animal resembling the buffalo, but larger than a rhinoceros, with a small trunk and two big horns with which it attacks and destroys the elephant. Al Idrisī, writing about the end of the eleventh century but with tenth century materials, places in the seventh section of the second climate, the Gujarāt towns of Mānhul (Anhilvāra), Kambaya (Cambay), Subara (apparently Surubara or Surat), Sindan (Sanjan in Thana), and Saimūr (Chewal or Chaul). He adds, probably quoting from Al Jauhari (A.D. 950), that Nahrwāra is governed by a great prince who bears the title of Ballhāra who owns the whole country from Nahrwāra to Saimūr. He ranks the king of Jux fourth among Indian potentates. The country from Debal to Kambaya (Karachi to Cambay) he describes as "nothing but a marine strand without habitations and almost without water; and impassable for travellers." The situation of Mānhul (Anhilvāra) he gives as between Sindh and Hind. He notices the Meda as Manda grazing their flocks to within a short distance of

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2. Eplhinstone's History of India, Book V, Chapter I, 363 Note 23 (John Murray's 1841 Edition) on the authority of Captain MacMurdie and Captain Alexander Borneo inclines to the opinion that Debal was somewhere near the site of the modern Karachi.
4. Al Ricāfuri uses the word Barija for a strong built war vessel. Sir Henry Elliot derives the word from the Arabic and gives an interesting note on the subject in his Appendix, I, 558. The word is still used in Hindustani as bāra (بنار) to signify a boat or bark.
5. According to Richardson (Arabic Dictionary, voce جل) myrrh though rendered gum by all translators. According to the Mahākha the word mukh (Uru guphā) is Balsamodendron and Badis the corruption of Borers (Uru biwas) is balsam or bower.
7. After giving the distances in days or journeys the Text does not particularly the distances of the places that follow in journeys or farashe.
8. Elliot's History of India, I, 67.
9. Abu Abdullah Muhammad Al Idrisī, a native of Córdoba in Spain and descended from the royal family of the Idrisīs of that country, settled at the court of Roger II of Sicily, where and at whose desire he wrote his book The Nuzhat-al-Mishār, or The Traveler's Delight. Elliot's History of India, I, 74. Almost all Al Idrisī's special information regarding Sind and Western India is from Al Jauhari governor of Khursān (A.D. 825-903), whose knowledge of Sind and the Indus valley is unusually complete and accurate. Compare Reinhard's AbooFseda, I, 83.
10. Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 77.
12. Elliot's History of India, I, 72.
Mámhal (Anhilwār). He speaks of Mámhal, Kambayā, Subāra (probably Surabārā or Surat), Sindān, and Saimūr as countries of Hind (India) touching upon Sindh.\(^1\) He describes Mámhal as a frontier town, numbered by some among the cities of Sindh, and he classifies Aubkīn, Mánd, Kulāmmal (Quilon),\(^2\) and Sindān (Sandian in Kachī) as maritime islands. Among the numerous towns of India are Mámhal (Anhilwār),\(^3\) Kambayā (Camby), Subāra, Ashwal (Ahmedabad), Janwāl (Chunval), Sindān, Saimūr, Jandīr\(^4\) (Rândir), Sandur (apparently a repetition of Rândir), and Rāmāla (perhaps the south Panjāb).\(^5\) He speaks of Kalīna, Angaśī, Nahrwār (Anhilwār), and Lahawar (Lahorī Bandar) as in the desert\(^6\) of Kambayā. Of the three Subāra (Surabārā or Surat), Sindān (the Thāna Saimūr), and Saimūr (Cheni), he says Saimūr alone belongs to the Bahārā, whose kingdom, he adds, is large, well-peopled, commercial, and fertile. Near Subārā (apparently Surabārā) he locates small islands which he styles Bārā where, he adds, coconuts and the costus grow.\(^7\) East of Sindān, due to a confusion between Sandān in Kachī and Śaṁjān in Thāna, he places another island bearing the same name as the port and under the same government as the mainland, highly cultivated and producing the cocoa palm the bamboo and the cane. Five miles by sea from Kulāmmal lies another island called Mālī, an elevated plateau, but not hilly, and covered with vegetation. The mention of the pepper vine suggests that Al Idrīsī has wandered to the Malabar Coast. In the eighth section of the second clime Al Idrīsī places Bārūh (Brouche), Saitdhār (apparently Goa), Tāna (Thāna), Kandārīna (Gandhār, north of Brouche), Jirbātan a town mentioned by Al Idrīsī as the nearest in a voyage from Ceylon to the continent of India on that continent. It is described as a populous town on a river supplying rice and grain to Ceylon, Kalkāyan, Lumawa, Kanja, and Sainandirān, and in the interior Dulaka (Dholka), Jantwāl (Chunval or Virangām), and Nahrwār (Anhilwār).\(^8\) Opposite the sea-port of Bārūh (Brouche), Al Idrīsī places an island called Mullān, producing large quantities of pepper. Al Idrīsī describes the port of Bārūh (Brouche) as accessible to ships from China and Sindh. The distance from Bārūh to Saimūr he puts at two days journey, and that between Bārūh and Nahrwār (Anhilwār) at eight days through a flat country travelled over in wheeled carriages drawn by oxen, which he adds furnished the only mode for the conveyance also of merchandise. He locates the towns of Dulaka and Hanawal.

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\(^{1}\) Elliot’s History of India, I, 84.

\(^{2}\) The details of Kulāmmal given by Al Kauwīnī (a.d. 1203 - 1275) seem to show it is Quilon on the Malabar Coast. When a ruler died his successor was always chosen from China.

\(^{3}\) Elliot (I, 363-364) on the authority of Al Istakhri thinks that all the names Anbal, Fəndal, Kənlal, and Mənhal are faulty readings of Anbal (Anhilwār) owing to irregularity in the position or absence of diacritical points.

\(^{4}\) This is probably Rândir, a very natural Arab corruption. Instance Al Biruni’s Ranhjir. See page 307 note 11 and page 330.

\(^{5}\) Kumala is mentioned at page 14, 57, 22 and 93 volume I. of Elliot. It is first mentioned (page 14) by Ibn Khuldna (a.d. 912) as one of the countries of Sindh. It is next mentioned by Al Idrīsī (end of the fourteenth century according to Elliot, I, 74) as one of the places of the eighth section describing the coast of India, but is mentioned along with Nahrwār, Kandār, and Kalīna (?). At page 22 (Dicto) the same writer (Idrīsī) says that Kalīna and Rāmala are on the borders of the desert which separates Mālikan from Sijīnām. Again at page 93 (Dicto) Idrīsī gives the distance between Kalīna and Kumula as a distance of three days.

\(^{6}\) Elliot’s History of India, I, 84.

\(^{7}\) Elliot, I, 90 - 93.

\(^{8}\) Elliot’s History of India, I, 89.
Appendix V.

ARAB REFERENCES.
A.D. 891-1358.

or Jāmivālā (Chunwāl or Jhalāwār) with Asāwāl (Ahmedībād) between Bārāth and Nahawār. He represents all three of these towns to be centres of a considerable trade, and among their products mentions the bamboo and the eecoonut. From Bārāth to Sandībār (that is Goa), a commercial town with fine houses and rich bazaars situated on a great gulf where ships cast anchor, the distance along the coast given by Al Idrizī is four days. Al Kazwīnī writes about the middle of the thirteenth century (A.D. 1263-1275), but mainly from information of the tenth century notes Sāmūr (Chenāl) “a city of Hind near the confines of Sindh” with its handsome people of Turkish extraction worshippers of fire having their own fire-temples. Al Kazwīnī (A.D. 1230) dwells at length on the wonders of Somnāth and its temple. He calls it a celebrated city of India situated on the shores of the sea and washed by its waves. Among its wonders is Somnāth, an idol hung in space resting on nothing. In Somnāth he says Hindus assemble by the ten thousand at lunar eclipses, believing that the souls of men meet there after separation from the body and that at the will of the idol they are born into other animals. The two centuries since its destruction by the idol-breaker of Ghaznavī had restored Somnāth to its ancient prosperity. He concludes his account of Somnāth by telling how Māhmūd ascertained that the chief idol was of iron and its canopy a leaden bow and bow by removing one of the walls the idol fell to the ground.

Regarding the rivers and streams of Gujarsāl the Arab writers are almost completely silent. The first reference to rivers is in Al Masā享受到t (A.D. 944) who in an oddly puzzled passage says:2 “On the Lārwi Sea (Cambay and Chenāl) great rivers run from the south whilst all the rivers of the world except the Nile of Egypt, the Mehrān (Indus) of Sindh, and a few others flow from the north.” Al Birūnī (A.D. 970-1030) states that between the drainage areas of the Sārvent and the Ganges is the valley of the river Naravās which comes from the eastern mountains and flows south-west till it falls into the sea near Bāhrūch about 180 miles (60 gojaas) east of Somnāth. Another river the Sārvent (Sarasvati) he rightly describes as falling into the sea an arrow-shot to the east of Somnāth.3 He further mentions the Tāpī (Tapī) from the Vindūra or Vindhyā hills and the Tāmbra Barani or copper-coloured, apparently also the Tāpī, as coming from Malwa. In addition he refers to the Māhīndri or Mahā and the Sārvasa apparently

1 Zākariya Buṭr Muslimād Al Kazwīnī, a native of Kazwīn (Kashmir) in Persia, wrote his Asār Al-Bīlād or “Signs or Monuments of Countries” about A.H. 961 (A.D. 1258) compiling it chiefly from the writings of Al Istākahih (A.D. 961) and Ibn Hanbāl (A.D. 970). He also frequently quotes Mīhr bin Mūḥabbī, a traveller who (A.D. 942) visited India and China. Sir Henry Elliot’s History of India, I. 94.

2 Barthes De Maza’s Text of Al Masā享受到t’s Les Prairies D’Or, I. 382.

3 Sir Henry Elliot’s travel book Travels for Al Birūnī’s Arabic form of Naravās. He says: It comes from the city of Tammūz and the eastern hills; it has a south-easterly course till it falls into the sea near Bāhrūch about 60 gojaas to the east of Somnāth. The literal translation of the text of Al Birūnī (see Sachān’s Al Birūnī’s India, 130) is that given above. It is hard to believe that the accurate Al Birūnī while in one place (see Sachān’s Text, 139) giving the name of the Narbada faultless, should in another place fall into the error of tracing it from Tāpī a city of Central Asia. A comparison of Elliot’s version with the text sets the difficulty at rest. Compare Sir Henry Elliot’s History of India, I. 49, and note 3 ditto and Sachān’s Arabic Text of Al Birūnī, 130 chapter 25.

4 Compare Sachān’s Al Birūnī with Sir Henry Elliot, I. 49, who is silent as to the distance.
Samavati perhaps meant for the Sihmati. Al Idrisi (A.D. 1100) is the only other Arab writer who names any of the Gujarát rivers. As usual he is confused, describing Dulka (Dholka) as standing on the bank of a river flowing into the sea which forms an estuary or gulf on the east of which stands the town of Barah (Borah).

The Arab writers record the following details of twenty-two leading towns:

Anahalvida (Amhal, Fámhal, Kámhal, Kámhul, Mámhul, Naühlwala, Naülwala). Al Istakhrî (A.D. 951) mentions Amhal Fámhal and Kámhal, Ibn Haukal (A.D. 976) Fámhal Kámhal and Kámhul, and Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) Mámhul. That these are perversions of one name and that this town stood on the border of 'Hind' or Gujarát (in contradiction to Sindh) the position given to each by the Arab geographers places beyond question. Al Istakhrî (A.D. 951) alone calls the place by the name of Amhal which he mentions as one of the chief cities of 'Hind.' Later he gives the name of Fámhal to a place forming the northern border of 'Hind,' as all beyond it as far as Makrân belongs to Sindh. Again a little later he describes Kámhul as a town eight days from Mánüsrah and four days from Kambíya, thus making Kámhal the first Gujarát town on the road from Mánüsrah about seventy miles north of Haidarshâd in Sindh to Gujarát, Ibn Haukal (A.D. 968-976) in his Ašškall-ul-Bilâd gives Fámhal in his text and Kámhal in his map and again while referring to the desert between Makrân and Fámhal as the home of the Meda, he styles it Kámhal. Once more he refers to Fámhal as a strong and great city, containing a Jámâ or Assembly Mosque; a little later he calls it Kámhul and places it eight days from Mánüsrah and four from Kambíya. He afterwards contradicts himself by making Mánüsrah two days journey from 'Kámhul,' but this is an obvious error. Al Birûnî (A.D. 970-1039) notices Ámmâhlívâl and does not recognize any other form. Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) adopts no form but Mâmâhl referring to it as one of the towns of the second climate on the confines of a desert between Sindh and 'Hind' (India or Gujarát) the home of the sheep-grazing and horse and camel-breeding Meda, as a place numbered by some among the cities of Hind (Gujarát) by others as one of the cities of Sindh situated at the extremity of the desert which stretches between Kambíya, Débal, and Bâlân. Again he describes Mâmâhl as a town of moderate importance on the route from Sindh to India, a place of little trade, producing small quantities of fruit but numerous flocks, nine days from Mánüsrah through Bâlân and five from Kambíya. Al Idrisi (quoting from tenth century

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1 See Ahmadâbâd Gazetteer, IV, 335; also Elliot's History of India, I. 356-357.
2 See Appendix Elliot's History of India, I. 393.
3 Al Istakhrî in Elliot (History of India), I. 27.
4 Al Istakhrî in Elliot (History of India), I. 30.
5 Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 32-34.
6 Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 54-55.
7 Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 55.
8 Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 40.
9 Al Birûnî in Elliot (History of India), I. 63.
10 Al Idrisi in Elliot (History of India), I. 77.
11 Al Idrisi in Elliot (History of India), I. 79.
12 Bâlân seems to be a copyist's error for Bâzîna or Nârîsanâ. The distances agree and the fact that to this day the neighbourhood of Jaipur is noted for its flocks of sheep bears additional testimony to the correctness of the supposition.
13 Al Idrisi in Elliot's History of India, I. 84.
materials) also notices Nahrwara as eight days' journey from Bori (Breach) across a flat country a place governed by a prince having the title of the Balhars, a prince with numerous troops and elephants, a place frequented by large numbers of Musalmans who go there on business.  

It is remarkable that though Yamasajja (A.D. 720-780 B.C.) founded Anhilwara as early as about A.D. 750 no Arab geographer refers to the capital under any of the many forms into which its name was twisted before Al Istaraki in A.D. 951. At first Anhilwara may have been a small place but before the tenth century it ought to have been large enough to attract the notice of Iimi Khwajadah (A.D. 912) and Al Masudi (A.D. 956). In the eleventh century the Musalmans historians of Mahmod's reign are profuse in their references to Anhilwara. According to Warisah after the capture of Anhilwara and the destruction of Somnath (A.D. 1025) Mahmud was anxious to make Anhilwara his capital especially as it had mines of gold and as Singalid (Ceylon) rich in rubies was one of its dependencies. Mahmud was dissuaded from the project by his ministers. But two mosques in the town of Patan remain to show Mahomud's fondness for the city. The next Muhammadan reference to Anhilwara is by Nur-ad-din Muhammad Ufi, who lived in the reign of Shams-ad-din Altamash (A.D. 1211). In his Romance of History Ufi refers to Anhilwara as the capital of that Jan Raj, who on receiving the complaint of a poor Musalm man prescher of Cambay, whose mosque the Hindus instigated the fire-worshippers of the place to destroy, left the capital alone on a fleet dromedary and returning after personal enquiry at Cambay summoned the complainant and ordered the chief men of the infidels to be punished and the Musalm mosque to be rebuilt at their expense.

The Jami-ul-Hikayat of Muhammad Ufi alludes to the defeat of Sultan Shahab-ad-din or Mahommad bin Sam, usually styled Muhammad Ghori at the hands of Mulla jagajji, II. of Anshulwada in A.D. 1178. And the Tajul Masir describes how in A.D. 1297 the Musalmans under Kuth-ad-din Albak retrieved the honour of their arms by the defeat of Karan and his flight from Anhilwara. This account refers to Gujarat as "a country full of rivers and a separate region of the world." It also notices that Sultan Naim-ad-din Karbailah (A.D. 1245-1246) deputed his general Khakhana from Debal to attack Nahrwala and that Khakhana brought back many captives and much spoil. After the conquest of Gujarat, in A.D. 1300 Sultan Al-ad-din Khilji despatched Ulughchan (that is the Great Khan commonly styled Alakhun) to destroy the idol-temple of Somnath. This was done and the largest idol was sent to Al-ad-din.

Asawal. Abul Rihan Al Biruni is the first (A.D. 970-1039) of Arab geographers to mention Asawal the site of Ahmedabad which he correctly
places two days journey from Cambay. The next notice is along with Khalićin (probably Kávi on the left mouth of the Mách) and near Hanúwal or Jánáwal, apparently Chúnvál or Víranság, by Al Idrísi (end of the eleventh century) as a town, populous, commercial, rich, industrious, and productive of useful articles. His likens Asával "both in size and condition", to Dhuská both being places of good trade. In the early fourteenth century (A.D. 1325) Záud-dín Bání refers to Asával as the place where Sultán Muhammad Tánglibák (A.D. 1325-1351) bull to pass a month in the height of the rains owing to the evil condition to which his horses were reduced in marching and countermarching in pursuit of the rebel Tęghl. In the beginning of the fifteenth century (A.D. 1408-14) the Tárikh-i-Mühárásh Sháhí notices Asával as the place where Tádársh the son of Zafarkhán had basely seized and confined his own father. The Mírás-i-Sikandarí also speaks of Asával (A.D. 1403) but with the more courteously remark that it was the place where Zafarkhán the grandfather of Sultán Ahmad the founder of Ahmedábád, retired into private life after placing his son Tádársh on the throne. The Mírás-i-Sikandarí states that the city of Ahmedábád was built in the immediate vicinity of Asával. The present village of Asárwa is, under a slightly changed name, probably what remains of the old town.

Barda. See Vaharh.

Broach (Báhru', Bámibh, Bámü'). One of the places first attacked by the Muslim Arabs. In the fifth year of the Hijrah (A.D. 636) the Khalífah Úmar appointed Usmán son of Abdur Así to Bahrein. Osman sent Hakam to Bahrein and Hakam despatched a fleet to Báhru' (or Broach). Al Bísdhí (A.D. 892-93) speaks of Jumnaí the son of Abdur Rahmán Úmar on his appointment to the frontier of Sindh in the Khiláfát of Hisám bin Abdal Malik (A.D. 724-743) sending an expedition by land against Báhru' (Broach) and overrunning Jura (Gujarát). Ibn Khúrdádhish (A.D. 912) enumerates Báhru' among the countries of Sindh. Broach is next noticed by Al Bírínl (A.D. 970-1039) as standing near the estuary of the river Návás, as 120 miles (93 parasanges) from Debal, and as being with Ráshír (Ránder) the capital of Lárdès. In describing the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean Al Masúdí (A.D. 915-944) speaks of Broach as adding from which come the famous lace shalts called Ráží. Al Idrísi (A.D. 1100) mentions Báhru' as a large town well-built of brick and plaster, the inhabitants rich, engaged in trade and ready to enter upon speculations and distant expeditions, a port for vessels coming from China and Sínd, being two days' journey from Sámidhir (Chenal) and eight days from Náhrúa and Anubírá Patán. In the fourteenth century (A.D. 1325) Broach is described as in the flames of the insurrection.
caused by the foreign enmity or nobles of the hot-tempered and impolitic Muhammad bin Tughlak (a.d. 1326-1351) who visited it in person to quell their revolt. Zainuddin Buri the famous annalist of his reign and the author of the Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi speaks of his depredations to Bosnia by Malik Kabir the future Sultan Firuz Shahi with a letter to the Sultan.  

Cambay (KAMBAYA, KAMBAHY, KAMBAYHA, KIAMBAHT) According to Al Istakhrî (a.d. 931) Kambaya formed the northern boundary of the land of the Balharas. Al Istakhrî describes it as four days from Kambal (Anhilwara) sixteen miles (4 farmansa) from the sea and four days from Surabaya probably Surabah or the mouth of the Tapti a term which is still in use. Al Masuli (a.d. 915) in speaking of the ebb and flow of the ocean mentions Kambaya. He notices that Kambaya was famous in Bagdad, as it still is famous in Gujarat, for its shells. These shells, he says, were made in Kambaya and the towns about it like Sindan (Sanjan in Thana) and Sufarar (Supara). He notices that when he visited Kambaya in H. 933 (a.d. 1533-1534) the city was ruled by a Brahman of the name of Bibi, on behalf of the Balbar, lord of Makkir (Malkhit). He states that this Bibi was kind to and held friendly discussions with strangers Muslims and people of other faiths. He gives a pleasing picture of Cambay, on a gulf far broader than the estuaries of the Nile, the Euphrates, or the Tigris whose shores were covered with villages, estates, and gardens wooded and stocked with palm and date groves full of parrots and other Indian birds. Between Kambaya and the sea from which this gulf branches was two days' journey. When, says Al Masuli, the waters ebb from the gulf stretches of sand come to view. One day I saw a dog on one of these desert-like stretches of sand The tide began to pour up the gulf and the dog, hearing it ran for his life to the shore, but the rush was too rapid. The waters overtook and drowned him. Al Masuli speaks of an emerald known as the Makkah emerald being carried from Kambaya by Aden to Makkah where it found a market. Ibn Haukal (a.d. 968-995) names Kambaya among the cities of Hind. In his time there were Jamas or assembly mosques in Kambaya, where the precepts of Islam were openly taught. Among the productions of Kambaya he gives mangoes, coconuts, lemons and rice in great plenty, and some honey but no date trees. He makes Kambaya four miles (one faransa) from the sea and four (that is four days' journey) from Surabah apparently Surabah that is Surat. The distance to Kambal or Anhilwara by some mistake is shown as four faransas instead of four days' journey. Al Biruni (a.d. 970-1031) places Kambaya within the large country of Gujarat (120 miles) (30 faransas) from Dabul (Kasich). He says the men of Kambaya receive tribute from the chiefs of the island of Kish or Kish (probably Kich-Makran). Al Idri'i (a.d. 1100) places Kambaya with other Gujarat cities in the second

1 Elliot's History of India, III. 255, 260.  
2 Al Istakhrî in Elliot (History of India), I. 27.  
3 Al Istakhrî in Elliot (History of India), I. 30.  
4 Pradîres D'Or (Barbier Desmoyard's Arabic Text), I. 233-241.  
5 Pradîres D'Or (Arabic Text), III. 47.  
6 Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 34.  
7 Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 35.  
8 Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 38.  
9 Raschid-ul-Din from Al Biruni in Elliot's History of India, I. 66 and Sachau's Arabic Text, chapter 18 pages 90-102.  
10 Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 67.
climates. He says it is a pretty and well-known naval station, second among the towns of Gujarat. It stands at the end of a bay three miles from the sea where vessels can enter and cast anchor. It is well supplied with water and has a fine fortress built by the Government to prevent the inroads of the pirates of Kish (Makran). From Kambay to the island of Aubkin (Piran) is two and a half days' sail and from Aubkin to Dehral (or Karachi) two days more. The country is fertile in wheat and rice and its mountains yield the bamboo. Its inhabitants are idolaters. In his Tarjih-all-Amsa'ir, Abdullah Wassaf in a.d. 1200 (n. 699) writes: "Gujarat which is commonly called Kambayat contains 70,000 villages and towns all populous and the people abounding in wealth and luxuries. In the course of the four seasons seventy different species of beautiful flowers bloom. The purity of the air is so great that the picture of an animal drawn with the pen is lifelike. Many plants and herbs grow wild. Even in winter the ground is full of tulips (poppies). The air is healthy, the climate a perpetual spring. The moisture of the dew of itself suffices for the cold season crops. Then comes the summer harvest, which is dependent on the rain. The vineyards bring forth blue grapes twice a year."

The trade in horses from the Persian isles and coast and from Katif, Lakh, Bahrain, and Hormuz was so great that during the reign of Atabak Abu Bakr (a.d. 1154-1189) 10,000 horses worth 2,00,000 dinars (Rs. 1,600,000) were imported into Cambay and the ports of Malabar. These enormous sums were not paid out of the government treasuries but from the endowments of Hindu temples and from taxes on the courtiers attached to them. The same author mentions the conquest of Gujarat and the plunder of Kambayat by Malik Murtuza-din (called by Farishtah Alf and by Barni Ulugh meaning the great Khan). The Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī states that Nasrāt Khan and not Ulugh Khan took and plundered Cambay and notices that in Cambay Nasrat Khan purchased Kāfūr Hasrār Dīnār (the thousand Dinār Kāfūr), the future favourite minister and famous general of Aḥmad-i-Dhu. About fifty years later, the hot-headed Muhammad bin Tughlak (a.d. 1325-1351) was in Cambay quelling an insurrection and collecting the arrears of Cambay revenue.  

1 Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 77.
2 Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 94.
3 Tarjih-all-Amsa'ir in Elliot, III, 55.
4 Shadi's pater mentioned by him in the Garden of Roses.
5 The word dinar is from the Latin denarius, a silver coin worth 10 ans of bronze through the Greek drachma. It is a Karanda word, the ancient Arabic equivalent being جهد, which is the dinar sequin or dins of varied value in different times. In Abu Hamiš's (the greatest of the four Sami Leighs) time (a.d. 749) its value ranged from 10 to 12 dinars. From 20 to 25 dinars or drachmas. As a weight it represented a drachma and a half. Though generally fluctuating, its value may be assessed at Rs. 10 to 15 francs, or 10 francs to half a sovereign. For an elaborate article on the Dinar see Yule's Cathay, II, 439; Burton's Afs. Lelah, I, 13. The word Dinars is used in Arabic in the sense of silver. (valp. silver) the Greek drachma and the drachma of Plataia. This silver piece was 77 grs and as a weight 865 grains. Sir Henry Elliot does not speak more at length of the dinar and the drachma than to say (History of India, I, 48) that they were introduced in Sind in the reign of Aḥmad Malik (a.d. 855) and Elliot, VIII, 32, that the dinar was a Rūm and the drachma a Persian coin of the value of the drachma in modern Indian currency may be said to be Rs. 5 and that of the dinar nearly annas 4.
6 Wassaf gives the date of this event as a.d. 1298, but the Tārīkh-i-Amani of Aḥmad Khurasani places it as a.d. 1300. See Elliot's History of India, III, 43 and 74.
7 Elliot's History of India, III, 264-57.
Cheul (Saimūr).—Al Masudi (A.D. 943) is the first Arab geographer to mention Saimūr. He says: On the coast as in Saimūr Subāra and Thana the Lezīriyāṛ language is spoken. In describing Saimū Al Masudi states that at the time of his visit (p. 304: A.D. 914) the ruler on behalf of the Balbāra was Jhānja (this is the fifth Silahara A.D. 910). Nearly ten thousand Musalmāns were settled in Saimū including some (called Bayāsinār) born in the land of Arab parents and others from Sīrāj, and Persian Gulf, Bahrāb, Baghāhad, and other towns. A certain Mishī bin Is-hāk was appointed Rās or ruler by the Balbāra or Valabbi, that is the reigning Rāṣṭrākūta Indra Nityanandrasena to adjudicate Muhammadan disputes according to Musalmān law and customs. He describes at length the ceremony of self-destruction by a hārū youth (a Hindu by religion) to gain a better state in his future life, his sculpting himself and putting fire on his head, his cutting out a piece of his heart and sending it to a friend as a souvenir.

Al Is̄hākī (A.D. 961) mentions Saimūr as one of the cities of Hind, makes it the southern end of the Balbāra kingdom with Kambha as the northern, and places it at a distance of five days from Sindān (the Tihāna Sainān) and fifteen days from Surasādīr or Ceylon. Ibn Haukall (A.D. 968) notices Saimū as one of the cities of Hind known to him and mentions the sea of Fars (or the Indian Ocean) stretching from Saimūr on the east to Tīz or Makrān. He states that the country between Saimūr and Tīmāh (Anbulawār) belongs to Hind. He makes the distance between Subāra (probably Surasādīr or Swat), Sindān, and Saimūr five days each and between Saimūr and Surasādīr (Ceylon) fifteen days. Al Birūnī (A.D. 1020) says: Then you enter the land of Līkrān in which is Saimūr also called Jarmūr or Chāmūr. Al Īdrīsī (end of the eleventh century) mentions Saimūr as one of the towns of the second climate. He describes it as large and well-built, five days from Sindān and among its products notes coconut trees in abundance, henna (Lawsonia inermis), and on its mountains many aromatic plants. His remark that Saimūr formed a part of the vast, fertile, well-peopled and commercial kingdom of the Balbāra must be taken from the work of Al-Juḥairī (A.D. 960).

Al Kāsīfī (A.D. 1236) quoting Mishār bin Muḥālīl (A.D. 942) describes Saimūr as one of the cities of Hind near the confines of Sind, whose people born of Turkish and Indian parents are very beautiful. It was a flourishing trade centre with a mixed population of Jews, Firewor-
shipper, Christian, and Muslim. The merchandise of the Turks (probably of the Indo-Afghani frontier) was conveyed thither and the rest of Asia was exported and called Saimur after its name. The temple of Saimur was on an eminence with idols of turquoises and bādājādār or ruby. In the city were many mosques, churches, synagogues, and fire-temples.

Dholka (Dūlaka). Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) places Dūlaka and another town he calls Hanšwal that is Chamwal or Junawal perhaps Jhalawār between Bārth (Bosch) and Nāhīwāra. He describes Dūlaka as on the banks of a river (the Sābarmati) which flows into the sea, which forms an estuary or gulf on the west (cast) of which stands the town of Bārth. Both these towns, he adds, stand at the foot of a chain of mountains which lie to the north and which are called Undoras apparently Vindhyā. The kana (bamboo) grows here as well as a few coconut trees.

Goa. See Sindşur.

Gondal (Kondal). Zād-ud-dīn Bāmi in his Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhī states that Sultan Muhīammad Tughlak spent (A.D. 1349) his third rainy season in Gujarāt in Kondal (Gondal). Here the Sultan assembled his forces before starting on his fatal march to Sindh.

Kachch. Al Birni (A.D. 970-1031) is the only Arab writer who refers to Kachch. He calls Kachch with Senmāth the head-quarters of the country of the Bawāri or Medhi pirates. Speaking of the Indus he notices that one of its branches which reaches the borders of Kachch is known as Sind Sāgar. In a third passage he refers to Kachch as the land of the naik or bāhāmededun (ball) and of bādraid (badshah). It was twenty-four miles (6 furswage) from Debal (Karachi). According to the Tārikh-i-Maṣṣūmī when (A.D. 1889) the sovereignty of Sindh passed from the descendants of Māhmūd of Ghazni to the Sū trauma, Shigar, the grandson of Sūrma (A.D. 1263) extended his sway from Kachch to Nasarājī near Sindh Haidarābād and Khaffi the son of Shigar consolidated his power and made Kachch a Sū trauma dependency. Dōdā the grandson of Khaffi quelled a threatened Sū trauma rising by proceeding to Kachch and chastising the Sū trauma. On the fall of the Sū trauma the Chams became masters of Kachch from whose hands the country passed to those of the Sū trauma. Ground down under the iron sway of the Sū trauma a number of Sū trauma fled from Sindh and entered Kachch, where they were kindly received by the Chams who gave them land to cultivate. After acquainting themselves with the country and the resources of its rulers the Sū trauma immigrants who seem to have increased in numbers and strengthened themselves by union, obtained possession by stratagem but not without hazard of the chief fortress of Kachch. This fort now in ruins

1 Though Al Kāzīmī wrote in the thirteenth century, he derives his information of India from Misār bin Muhālīl, who visited India about A.D. 942. Elliot (History of India), I. 94.
2 Al Idrisi in Elliot (History of India), I. 87.
3 Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhī by Zād Bāmi (Elliot's History of India), III. 304-365.
4 Hashād-ud-dīn (A.D. 1310) from Al Birni in Elliot's History of India, I. 65.
5 Hashād-ud-dīn (A.D. 1310) from Al Birni in Elliot's History of India, I. 409.
6 Hashād-ud-dīn (A.D. 1310) from Al Birni in Elliot's History of India, I. 65.
7 Wūrīnum A.D. 1000 (Elliot, I. 213).
8 Tārikh-i-Maṣṣūmī in Elliot, I. 16.
9 Tārikh-i-Maṣṣūmī in Elliot, I. 218.
10 Tārikh-i-Tāhirī (Elliot's History of India), I. 267-268.
was the fort of Gúntir. The Tarikh-i-Táhirí states that up to the time the history was written (A.D. 1623) the country was in the possession of the Sannas, both the Háís Bhára and Jám Síhán of great and little Kachh in his time being of Sannas descent.

**Káira (Karná).** One mention of Káría apparently Káira or Khedí occurs in Zhāndítun Bází's account of Muhammad Taghínk's (A.D. 1325) pursuit of his rebellious Gujrát noble Tághí. He speaks of Muhammad's detestation for a month at Asawál during the rains and his overburdening and dispersing Tághí's forces at Káira. From Káira the rebels fled in disorder to Nahrwára (Anhúwára). Several of Tághí's supporters sought and were refused shelter by the Rána of Mándal that is Patrí near Visangám.

**Kábírún.** Al Ídriší (end of the eleventh century) mentions Kábírún and Asawál as towns of the same "section" both of them populous, commercial, rich, and producing useful articles. He adds that at the time he wrote the Mussálmáns had made their way into the greater portion of these countries and conquered them. Kábírún like the Akabarun of the Periáplus (A.D. 240) is perhaps a town on the Káverí river in south Gujárát.

**Kambaj. See KAMBAJ.**

**Kanauj. Al Masúdí (A.D. 956) is the first Arab traveller who gives an account of Kanauj. He says: The kingdom of the Badání king of Cannaj extends about a hundred and twenty square paránsa of Sindú, each paránsa being equal to eight miles of this country. This king has four armies according to the four quarters of the world. Each of them numbers 7,00,000 or 9,00,000. The army of the north marches against the prince of Múnán and with his Mussalíman subjects on the frontier. The army of the south fights against the Balláhá king of Mándír. The other two armies march to meet enemies in every direction. Ibn Hánbal (A.D. 908-976) says that from the sea of Fárá to the country of Kanauj is three months journey. Hisháí-nídín from Al Bírúní (A.D. 970-1039) places Kanauj south of the Hindúkúš and states that the Jamáa falls into the Gráng below Kanauj which is situated on the west of the river (Gangá). The chief portion of Hind included in the "second climate" is called the central land or Madhyá Desh. He adds that the Persians call it Kanauj. It was the capital of the great, haughty, and proud despoits of India. He praises the former magnificence of Kanauj, which he says being now deserted by its ruler has fallen into neglect and rain, and the city of Bái, three days' journey from Kanauj on the eastern

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2. Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, L 268.
3. Tarikh-i-Firás Stáhil in Elliot, 11, 260.
4. In his Arabic Text of the Murq (Frazirs D'Or, Cairo Edition) Al Masúdí writes the name of the Kanauj king as Farwarz. (If the F stands for F and the w for w, as is quite possible in Arab writing, then this can be Parwarz, the Arab plural for Parmár.) At volume I, page 240 the word Farwarz is twice used. Once: "And the king of Kanauj of the kings of Sindú (India) is Farwarz." Again at the same page (240): "And Farwarz, he who is king of Kanauj is opposed to Balláhá." Then at page 241: Farwarz is again used in the beginning of the account quoted by Elliot in L 23.
5. Elliot's History of India, L 23. In the Cairo Edition of the Arabic Text of Al Masúdí's Murq (Frazirs D'Or) vol. I, page 241 is the original of this account.
6. Elliot's History of India, L 33.
7. Elliot's History of India, L 49.
side of the Ganges being now the capital. Kanauj was celebrated for its descendants of the Pandavas as Mahan (Mathra) is on account of Bād Dev (Krishna). Al Idrisi, end of the eleventh century, speaks of Kanauj in connection with a river port town of the name of Samandar "a large town, commercial and rich, where there are large profits to be made and which is dependent" on the rule of the Kanauj king. Samandar, he says, stands on a river coming from Kashmir. To the north of Samandar at seven days is, he says, the city of Inner Kashmir under the rule of Kanauj. The Chōch Nāmāh (an Arabic history of great antiquity written before A.D. 753, translated into Persian in the time of Sultan Nasiruddin Khājāh) (A.D. 1216) says that when Chōch (A.D. 631-670) advanced against Akham Lohānā of Brahmanbād that the Lohānā wrote to ask the help of "the king of Hindustān," that is Kanauj, at that time Sattābūn son of Rāma, but that Akham died before his answer came.

Kol. Ibn Khurdābī (A.D. 912) has Kol seventy-two miles (18 farakhs) from Samān in Kachch. And the Taj-ul-Masir relates how in A.D. 1194 Kutbuddin advanced to Kol and took the fort.

Mālkhet (Mānīk). Al Masudi (A.D. 943) is the first Arab writer to mention Mānīk that is Mānīkhet now Mālkhet about sixty miles southeast of Sholāpur. In relating the extinction of the great Brahmin-dominated dynasty of India Al Masudi states that at the time the city of Mānīk, the great centre of India, submitted to the kings called the Balḍārav who in his time were still ruling at Mānīk.

Al Masudi correctly describes the position of Mālkhet as eighty Sindh or eight-mile farakhs that is six hundred and forty miles from the sea in a mountainous country. Again he notices that the language spoken in Mānīk was Kiriya, called from Kari in Oman the district where it was spoken. The current coin was the Tartariyath dirham (each weighing a dirham and a half) on which was impressed the date of the ruler's reign. He describes the country of the Balḍārav as stretching from the Kānib (or Konkān) in the south or south-west north to the frontiers of the king of Jīr (Jīr, "a monarch rich in men horses and camels.") Al Istakhri (A.D. 951) describes Mānīk as the dwelling of the wide-ruling Balḍārav. Ibn Haukal (A.D. 268-976) repeats almost to the letter the information given by Al Istakhri. The destruction of Mālkhet (Mānīk Kheta) by the western Chālukya king Tailappa in A.D. 972 explains why none of the writers after Ibn Haukal mentions Mānīk.

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1 Elliot, I. 90.
2 "Elliot's History of India, I. 147.
3 Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 15.
4 Taj-ul-Masir in Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, II. 222. "After a long time at Delhi he (Kutb-ud-din) marched in A.D. 1194 (66, 592) towards Kol and Kanasar passing the Jumna which from its exceeding purity resembled a mirror. It would seem to place Kol near Banaras.
5 Al Masudi's Priaries D'Or (Arabic Text), I. 166.
6 Al Masudi in Elliot (History of India), I. 19, 20, 21 and Priaries D'Or, I. 178.
7 Al Masudi Arabic Text. Priaries D'Or, I. 381; Al Masudi in Elliot (History of India), I. 24.

That is an Arab dirham and a half. Al Istakhri in Elliot (History of India), I. 27. These Tārtāriyyah dirhams are mentioned by almost all Arab writers. Al Idrisi says they were current in Mānīk and in the Malay archipelago. See Elliot, I. 3 note 4. According to Salimada (A.D. 691) the Tartariya dirham weighed "a dirham and a half of the coinage of the king." Elliot, I. 3. Al Masudi (Priaries D'Or, I. 382) calls these "Tārtāriyyah" dirhams, giving them the same weight as that given by Salimada to the Tartariya dirhams. Ibn Haukal calls it the Tārtāriyyah and makes its weight equal to: "a dirham and a third." (Elliot, I. 83).
Ma'ndal. Ibin Khurdadasbāb (a.d. 912) enumerates Ma'ndal (in Viramgam) with Rāmsī, Kuli, and Barūth as countries of Sindī. During the Khilafat of Hishām the son of Abūd Malik (a.d. 724-733) Jumā received as the frontier of Sindī. According to Al Bīlādūrī (a.d. 892) Jumā sent his officers to Ma'ndal,2 Duhajh perhaps Kamelj, and Būhurā (Broach).

Na'rā'ī. In his Indica Al Birūnī (a.d. 970-1031) notices Na'rā'ī near Jaipur as the ancient capital of Gujarāt. He says that its correct name is Bāzinī but that “it is known to our people (the Arabs) as Na'rā'ī.” He places it eighty miles (20 farsakhs) south-west of Karsajj, and adds that when it was destroyed the inhabitants removed to and founded another city.3 Abū Rihān makes Na'rā'ī the starting point of three itineraries to the south-south-west and the west. Al Birūnī's details suffice to place this centre in the neighbourhood of the modern Jaipur and to identify it with Na'rā'ī, the capital of Bahrīst of Matya which according to Farishta4 Mahmūd of Ghazni took in a.d. 1022 (H. 412).

Rānder. (Rāhanjī or Rāhanjī's). Al Birūnī (a.d. 1031) gives5 Rāhanjī and Bālūrtī (Broach) as the capitals of Lāc Da'sh or south Gujarāt. Elliot (Note S. I. 61) writes the word Da'nahīr or Da'nahīr but the reading given by Sachau in his Arabic text of Al Birūnī (page 100 chapter 15) is plainly Rāhanjī (171+23) and the place intended is without doubt Rānder on the right bank of the Tāptī opposite Surat. In his list of Indian towns Al Iṣrā'īl (end of the eleventh century) seems to refer6 to it under the forms Jandār and Sundār.

Sanjān (Sindār). The two Sanjāns, one in Kachh the other in Thāna, complicate the references to Sindār. Sindān in Kachh was one of the earliest gains of Islām in India. Al Bīlādūrī7 (a.d. 892) speaks of Sa'ī, the son of Māhān, in the reign of the greatest of the Abbāsī Khalīfahs Al-Māmūn (a.d. 813-833), taking Sindān and sending Al Māmūn the rare present of “an elephant and the longest and largest sīj or turban or teak wood ever seen.” Sa'ī built an assembly mosque that was spared by the Hindus on their recapture of the town. Ibin Khurdadasbāb (a.d. 912) implies this Kachh Sindān with Broach and other places in Gujarāt among the cities of Sindī. In his itinerary starting from Rakkar, he places Sindān seventy-two miles8 (18 farsakhs) from Kol. Al Manṣūdī (a.d. 915-943) states that Indian emeralds from (the Kachh) Sindān and the neighbourhood of Kambriyāt (Cambay) approached those of the first water in the intensity of their green and in brilliancy. As they found a market in Makkah they were called Makkhān emeralds.9 Al Iṣtakhiri (a.d. 961) under cities of Hind places the Kunkān Sindān five days from Surbātāq (Surbārā or Surat) and as many from Sa'īdīs.10

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1 Kullāh is rauwān salt land. There is a Rām near Kurrāb about sixty miles southeast of Multān. Al Iṣrā'īl (a.d. 1120) has a Kullāh three days from Kallīsan the salt range. Elliot, I, 92.
2 Probably Oktāmandāl. See Appendix vol. I, page 399 Elliot's History of India.
3 Sachau's Arabic Text of Al Birūnī's Indica., 29.
5 Sachau's Arabic Text of Al Birūnī, 100.
6 Elliot's History of India, I, 54.
7 Al Bīlādūrī in Elliot (History of India), I, 129. The word sīj in the Arabic text means besides a teak-spar (which seems to be an improbable present to be sent to a Khalīfah), a large black or green turban or eash.
8 Ibin Khurdadasbāb is Elliot (History of India), I, 14 and 15.
9 Bānīyāzār's Arabic Text of Persian D'or, III, 47-48.
10 Al Iṣtakhiri in Elliot (History of India), I, 67 and 90.
ARAB REFERENCES.

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Appendix V.

(Chewal). Ibn Haukal (A.D. 968) mentions (the Kachh) Sindán among the cities of Hind, which have a large Musalmán population and a Jāmā Masjid 1 or assembly mosque. Al Biruni (A.D. 970-1031) 2 in his itinm of Debal in Sind places the Kokan 200 miles (50 farsakhs) from that port and between Brosch and Supāra. At the end of the eleventh century probably the Kachh Sindán was a large commercial town rich both in exports and imports with an intelligent and warlike, industrious, and rich population. Al Idrisi gives the situation of the Konkan Sindán as a mile and a half from the sea and five days from Saimur (Cheval). 3 Apparently Abul Fida 4 (A.D. 1324) confused Sindán with Sindabūr or Goa which Ibn Batuta (A.D. 1340) rightly describes as an island. 5

Sinda'bur or Sinda'pur. Al Masūdi (A.D. 943) places Sindapur he writes it Sindābura or Goa in the country of the Bughars (Balhara) in India. 6 Al Biruni (A.D. 1021) places Sindāpur or Sindabūr that is Goa as the first of coast towns in Malabār the next being Fāknūr. 7 Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) describes Sindabūr as a commercial town with fine buildings and rich bazaars in a great gulf where ships cast anchor, four days along the coast from Thana.

Soma'ath. Al Biruni (A.D. 970-1031) is the first of the Arab writers to notice Somnath. He calls Somnath and Kachh the capital of the Bawārij pirates who commit their depredations in boats called baira. 8 He places Somnath (14 farsakhs) fifty-six miles from Debal or Karachi 200 miles (50 farsakhs) from Anhilwāra and 180 miles (60 goj'has) from Brosch. He notes that the river Sarasāt falls into the sea from an arrow-shot from the town. He speaks of Somnath as an important place of Hindu worship and as a centre of pilgrimage from all parts of India. He tells of votaries and pilgrims performing the last stage of their journey crawling on their sides or on their ankles, never touching the sacred ground with the soles of their feet, even progressing on their heels. 9 Al Biruni gives 10 the legendary origin of the Somnath idol: how the moon loved the daughters of Prajāpati; how his surpassing love for one of them the fair Rohini kindled the jealousy of her elHghted sisters; how their angry ire punished the partiality of the moon by pronouncing a curse which caused the paller of leprosy to overspread his face; how the penitent moon sued for forgiveness to the saint and how the saint unable to recall his curse showed him the way of salvation by the worship of the Lākyān; how he set up and called the Moon-Lord a stone which 11 for ages had lain on the sea shore less than three miles to the west of the month of the Saravati, and to the east of the site of the golden castle of Bārat (Versāval) the residence of Bāsūdeo and near the scene of his death and of the destruction of his people the Yādavas. The waxing and the waning of the moon caused the flood that hid the Lākyān and the cib that showed it and proved that the Moon was its servant who bathed it regularly. Al Biruni notices 12 that in his time the castellated walls and other fortifications round the temple were not more than a hundred

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1 Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I, 34 and 38.
2 Al Biruni in Elliot, I, 66.
3 Al Idrisi in Elliot (History of India), I, 21.
4 Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 493 Appendix.
5 Lee's Ibn Batuta, 105.
6 Al Masūdi in Elliot (History of India), I, 21.
7 Rashid al-dīn from Al Biruni in Elliot, I, 68.
8 Al Idrisi in Elliot, I, 99.
9 Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 66.; Sachau's Arabic Text of Al Biruni, 192.
10 Elliot's History of India, I, 67.
11 Sachau's Text of Al Biruni, 353.
12 Sachau's Arabic Text, 253.
13 1746-67
years old. Al Biruni represents the upper part of the Līgānas as hung with massive and jewelled gold chains. These chains together with the upper half of the idol were, he observes, carried away by the Emir Mahmūd to Ghazna, where a part of the idol was used to form one of the steps of the Assembly Mosque and the other part was left to lie with Chahar Suvar, the Thānesar idol, in the maidāna or hippodrome of Mahmūd’s capital. Somnath, says Al Biruni, was the greatest of the Līgānas worshipped in India where in the countries to the south-west of Sindh the worship of these emblems abounds. A jar of Gangas water and a basket of Kashmir flowers were brought daily to Somnath. Its worshippers believed the stone to possess the power of curing all diseases, and the mariners and the wanderers over the deep between Sefālā and China addressed their prayers to it as their patron deity.  

Ibn Asir (A.D. 1121) gives a detailed account of the temple of Somnath and its ancient grandeur. He says Somnath was the greatest of all the idols of Hind. Pilgrims by the hundred thousand met at the temple especially at the times of eclipses and believed that the ebb and flow of the tide was the homage paid by the sea to the god. Everything of the most precious was brought to Somnath and the temple was endowed with more than 10,000 villages. Jewels of incalculable value were stored in the temple and to wash the idol water from the sacred stream of the Ganga was brought every day over a distance of two hundred jāranja (1200 miles). A thousand Brahmans were on duty every day in the temple, three hundred and fifty singers and dancers performed before the image, and three hundred barbers shaved the pilgrims who intended to pay their devotions at the shrine. Every one of these servants had a settled allowance. The temple of Somnath was built upon fifty pillars of teakwood covered with lead. The idol, which did not appear to be sculptured, stood three cubits out of the ground and had a girth of three cubits. The idol was by itself in a dark chamber lighted by most exquisitely jewelled chandeliers. Near the idol was a chain of gold to which bells were hung weighing 200 metric. The chain was shaken at certain intervals during the night that the bells might rouse fresh parties of worshipping Brahmans. The treasury containing many gold and silver idols, with doors hung with curtains set with valuable jewels, was near the chamber of the idol. The worth of what was found in the temple exceeded two millions of disāra (Rs. 1,00,00,000). According to Ibn Asir Mahmūd reached Somnath on a Thursday in the middle of Zhikāda H. 414 (A.D. December 1023). On the approach of Mahmūd Bhīm the ruler of Anhilvād fled abandoning his capital and took refuge in a fort to prepare for war. From Anhilvād Mahmūd started for Somnath taking several forts with images which, Ibn Asir says, were the heralds

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1 It appears that at the time of his expedition to Somnath Mahmūd had not adopted the title of Sultan.

2 Bachani’s Arabic Text, 253 chapter 58.  

3 Sachani’s Text, 253 chapter 58.

4 The Tarikhi-i-Kamīl, Ibn Asir (A.D. 1119-1239) is a voluminous and reliable historian. Ibn Khallikān, the author of the famous biographical dictionary, knew and respected Asir always alluding to him as “our Sheikh.” See Elliot, II, 345.

5 From the term sculptured it would seem the idol was of stone. It is curious how Ibn Asir states a little further that a part of the idol was “burned by Mahmūd.” See Elliot, II, 471. The Tarikhi-i-Alī says (Elliot, II, 471) that the idol was cut of solid stone. It however represents it as hollow and containing jewels, in repeating the somewhat hackneyed words of Mahmūd when breaking the idol regardless of the handsome offer of the Brahmans, and finding it full of jewels.
or chamberlains of Somnath. Resuming his march he crossed a desert with little water. Here he was encountered by an army of 20,000 fighting men under chiefs who had determined not to submit to the invader. These forces were defeated and put to flight by a detachment sent against them by Mahmud. Mahmud himself marched to Dalalvarha and placed the army under the command of his cousin, Ibn Asir, who was to lead the invasion from Somnath. When he reached Somnath, Mahmud beheld a strong fortress whose base was washed by the waves of the sea. The assault began on the next day Friday. During nearly two days of hard fighting the invaders seemed doomed to defeat. On the third the Muslims drove the Hindus from the town to the temple. A terrible carnage took place at the temple-gate. Those of the defenders that survived took themselves to the sea in boats but were overtaken and some slain and the rest drowned.1

**Supāra (Sūpārī, Supāra, or Sūpārān).** The references to Supāra are doubtful as some seem to belong to Subhabhar the Tapti mouth and others to Supāra six miles north of Bassein. The first Arab reference to Subhabhar belongs to Supāra. Al Masudi’s (a.d. 915)2 reference is that in Sai'mos (Charvāl), Subhabhar (Supāra), and Thāna (Thāna) the people speak the Lāriyā language, so called from the sea which washes the coast. On this coast Al Istakhri (a.d. 951)3 refers to Subhabhar that is apparently to Subhabhar or Surat a city of Hind. four days from Kambiyāh (Gandhāray).4

Ibn Haukal (a.d. 968-976) mentions Subhabhar apparently the Tapti mouth or Surat as one of the cities of Hind four days’ journey from Kambiyāh and two miles (half farukh) from the sea. From Subhabhar to Sivadān, perhaps the Kachh Sanjān, he makes ten days. Al Biruni (a.d. 970-1031) makes Subhabhar perhaps the Thāna Supāra. The Supāra task day’s journey from Debāl5 (perhaps Dīn). Al Idrīsī (a.d. 1100) mentions Supāra apparently Supāra as a town in the second climate, a mile and a half from the sea and five days (an excessive allowance) from Sindān. It was a populous busy town, one of the entrepôts of India and a pearl fishery. Near Subhabhar he places Bārā, a small island with a growth of cactus and coconut trees.6

**Surabāra.** See Supāra.

**Thāna (Tāna).** That Thāna was known to the Arabs in pro-Islām times is shown by one of the first Muslīm expeditions to the coast of India being directed against it. As early as the reign of the second Kalīfah Umar Ibnāl Khattāb (a.d. 634-643; H.13-23) mention is made7 of Uṣmān, Umar’s governor of Umān (the Persian Gulf) and Bahrein.

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1 The Rauzat-us-Safa (Lithgul, Edition, IV, 48) speaks of Mahmūd’s project of making Somnath his capital and not Anhilwāra as stated by Farishtah (I. 57, Original Persian Text). The Rauzat-us-Safa says that when Mahmūd had conquered Somnath he wished to fix his residence there for some years as the country was very large and had a great many advantages including mines of pure gold and rubies brought from Surūn and Ceylon which he represents as a dependency of Gujarāt. At last he yielded to his minister’s advice and agreed to return to Khurriān.

2 Prairies D’Oe (Dobson’s Arabic Text, I, 381); also Al Masudi in Elliot (History of India, I, 34).

3 Al Istakhri in Elliot (History of India), I, 27.

4 Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I, 39.

5 Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I, 34: 39.

6 Thus in Sir John’s Arabic Text, p. 108, but Elliot (I, 66) spells the word Subhara in his translation; it might have assumed that form in coming from the Arabic through Rashid-ed-Dīn’s Persian version from which Sir Henry Elliot derives his account.

7 Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I, 77 and 88.

8 Al Biśārí in Elliot, I, 116.
sending a successful expedition against Thâna. Al Mas'udi (a.d. 943) refers to Thâna on the shore of the Lârwi-us or Indian Ocean, as one of the coast towns in which the Lârwi language is spoken. Al Birûni (a.d. 970-1031) gives the distance from Makarat Dosh (the Maratha country) to the Konkan, "with its capital Thâna on the sea-shore", as 100 miles (25 фааrâbâh) and locates the Lâr Dosh (south Gujarât) capitals of Râkshây and Râkhây (Broach and Rander) to the east of Thâna. He places Thâna with Soughâth Konkâ and Kambây in Gujarât and notices that from Thâna the Lâr country begins. Al Irdrisi (end of the eleventh century) describes Thâna as a pretty town upon a great gulf where vessels anchor and from where they set sail. He gives the distance from Sindâbur (or Goa) to Thâna as four days' sail. From the neighborhood of Thâna he says the kum or bamboo and the tabâshir or bamboo pith are transported to the east and west.

Bara'da (Porbandar).—Of the Arab attacks on the great sea-port Vala or Valabhi, twenty miles west of Bhâvânagar, during the eighth and ninth centuries details are given above pages 94-96. The manner of writing the name of the city attacked leaves it doubtful whether Balaba that is Valabhi or Barada near Porbandar is meant. But the importance of the town destroyed and the agreement in dates with other accounts leaves little doubt that the reference is to Valabhi.

In the fourth year of his reign about a.d. 758 the Khalifah Ja'far-al-Mansûr (a.d. 754-775) the second ruler of the house of Abu's appointed Häshâm governor of Sindh. Häshâm despatched a fleet to the coast of Baraduah, which may generally be read Balabha, under the command of Amrû bin Jâmâl Taghlâbi. Tabari (a.d. 838-922) and Ibn Asîr (a.d. 1160-1232) state that another expedition was sent to this coast in a.d. 160 (a.d. 776) in which though the Arabs succeeded in taking the town, disease thinned the ranks of the party stationed to garrison the port, a thousand of them died, and the remaining troops while returning to their country were shipwrecked on the coast of Persia. This he adds deterred

1 Barbier De Meynard's Text of Masudi's Prairies D'Or, I 350 and 387.
2 Saebani's Arabic Text of Ali Biruni, chapters 18, 96, 102 and Elliot's History of India, L 86-61, 66-67.
3 Al Irdrisi in Elliot, I 89.
4 Al Irdrisi says the real tabâshir is extracted from the root of the reed called shakal. Sardar is Gujarât for reed. It is generally applied to the reeds growing on river banks used by the poor for thatching their cottages. Tabâshir is a drug obtained from the pith of the bamboo and prescribed by Indian physicians as a cooling drink for fevers.
5 The name Baraduah باردابه in Arabic orthography bears a close resemblance to Baradah, Baralabuh, Barabah, Barlabah, Barlabh, all three being the forms or nearly the forms in which the word نَارَش Nârash or نَارِش Nârash or نَارَش Nârash would be written by an Arab, supposing the diacritical points to be, as they often are, omitted. Besides as Baradah the word has been read and miswritten Nârash or Nârash and نَارَش Nârash or Nârash or Nârash, in the shadow or broken hand نَارَش Nârash or Nârash it would closely resemble بَارَدَان بَارَدَان Baradabah or Baradubah. Al Bâdari in Elliot's History of India I 127, writes the word Nârash or Nârash. Sir Henry Elliot (History, I 444) reads the word Barads and would identify the place with the Barada hills inland from Porbandar in south-west Kathiâva. The objection to this is that the word used by the Arab writers was the name of a town as well as of a coast tract, while the name of Barads is applied solely to a range of hills. On the other hand Balaba the coast and town meets the requirements.
6 Reigned a.d. 794-795.
7 Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, II 246 and Frug. Arabes 3, 120, 212; Weil's Geschichte der Califener, II 116.
Al Mahdi (A.D. 775-786) the succeeding Khalifah from extending the eastern limits of his empire. Besides against Balahq the Sindi-Arabs sent a fleet against Kandhär apparently, though somewhat doubtfully, the town of that name to the north of Broach where they destroyed a temple or built and built a mosque. Al Biruni (A.D. 1030) writing of the Valabhi era describes the city of Balahq (Ambalas, Ambalas) that is ninety miles to the south of Ambilvāra. In another passage he describes how the Bāna Rākha set for and obtained the aid of an Arab fleet from the Arab lord of Mansūrah (built A.D. 750) for the destruction of Balahq. A land grant by a Valabhi chief remains as late as A.D. 766. For this reason and as the invaders of that expedition fled panic-struck by sickness, Valabhi seems to have continued as a place of consequence if the expedition of A.D. 830 against Bala king of the east refers to the final attack on Valabhi an identification which is supported by a Jain authority which places the final overthrow of Valabhi at 888 Samvat that is A.D. 830.

Of the rulers of Gujarāt between A.D. 830 and A.D. 1250 the only dynasty which impressed the Arabs was the Ballāras of Mālkhet or Manyakhet (A.D. 630-973) sixty miles south-east of Sholāpur. From about A.D. 736 to about A.D. 978, at first through a more or less independent local branch and afterwards (A.D. 914) direct the Rāshtrakūtas continued overlords of most of Gujarāt. The Arabs knew the Rāshtrakūtas by their title Vullabha or Beloved in the case of Govind III. (A.D. 803-814), Prithvivallabha Beloved by the Earth, and of his successor the long beloved Amoghavarsha Vallabhakanda, the Beloved of Siva. Al Masūdī (A.D. 915-941) said: Balārā is a name which he who follows takes. So entirely did the Arabs believe in the overlordship of the Rāshtrakūtas in Gujarāt that Al Idrīsī (A.D. 1100, but probably quoting Al Jāhāri A.D. 950) describes Nehrwalla as the capital of the Ballāras. Until Dr. Bhāndākar discovered its origin in Vallabha, the case with which meanings could be tortured out of the word and in Gujarāt its apparent connection with the Valabhi kings (A.D. 590-770) made the word Balārā a cause of matchless confusion.

The merchant Sulaimān (A.D. 851) ranks the Ballāras, the lord of Mānkin, as the fourth of the great rulers of the world. Every prince in India even in his own land paid him homage. He was the owner of many elephants and of great wealth. He refrained from wine and paid his troops and servants regularly. Their favour to Arabs was famous. Abu Zaid (A.D. 913) says that though the Indian kings acknowledge the supremacy of no one, yet the Ballāras or Rāshtrakūtas by virtue of the title Ballāra are kings of kings. Ibn Khurdābdīsh (A.D. 912) describes the Ballāras as the greatest of Indian kings being as the name imports the king of kings. Al Masūdī (A.D. 915) described Balārā as a dynastic name which he who followed took. Though he introduces two other potentates the king of Jurs and the Bahra or Parmār king of Kanauj fighting with each other and with the Ballāra he makes the Ballāra, the lord of the Mānkin or the great centre, the greatest king.

Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 444.
Eib Henry Elliot (History of India, I. 445) identifies Kandhar with Kandahar in north-west Kāshmir.
Sachau's Original Text, 205.
Sachau's Original Text, 17 - 94.
Details Above in Dr. Bhāνravandī's History, note 3.
Eilott's History of India, I. 7.
of India to whom the kings of India bow in their prayers and whose emissaries they honour. He notices that the Balhārā favours and honours Musalmāns and allows them to have mosques and assembly mosques. When Al Masādī was in Cambay the town was ruled by Bānū, the deputy of the Balhārā. Al Isakhrī (A.D. 951) describes the land from Kambarah to Saimir (Cheull) as the land of the Balhārā of Mānkī. In the Konkan were many Musalmāns over whom the Balhārā appointed no but a Musalman to rule. Ibn Haukāl (A.D. 970) describes the Balhārā as holding away over a land in which are several Indian kings. Al Idrīsī (A.D. 1100 but quoting Al Jauhari A.D. 930) agrees with Ibn Khurdādbeh that Balhārā is a title meaning King of Kings. He says the title is hereditary in this country, where when a king ascends the throne he takes the name of his predecessor and transmits it to his heirs.

That the Arabs found the Rāṣhtakūtas kind and liberal rulers there is ample evidence. In their territories property was secure, theft or robbery was unknown, commerce was encouraged, foreigners were treated with consideration and respect. The Arabs especially were honoured not only with a marked and delicate regard, but magistrates from among themselves were appointed to adjudicate their disputes according to the Musalman law.

The ruler next in importance to the Balhārā was the Jurr that is the Gurjara king. It is remarkable, though natural, that the Arabs should preserve the true name of the rulers of Anhilvāda which the three tribe or dynastic names Chāpa or Chaunra (A.D. 720-950), Solaun and Čānljukya (A.D. 961-1242), and Vāghela (A.D. 1240-1290) should so long have concealed. Sulaimān (A.D. 851) notices that the Jurr king hated Musalmāns while the Balhārā king loved Musalmāns. He may not have known what excellent reasons the Gurjara had for hating the Arab raiders from sea and from Sindh. Nor would it strike him that the main reason why the Balhārā fostered the Moslem was the hope of Arab help in his struggles with the Gurjara.

According to the merchant Sulaimān (A.D. 851) the kingdom next after the Balhārā's was that of Jurr the Gurjara king whose territories "consisted of a tongue of land." The king of Jurr maintained a large force: his cavalry was the best in India. He was unfriendly to the Arabs. His territories were very rich and abounded in horses and camels. In his realms exchanges were carried on in silver and gold dust of which metals mines were said to be worked.

The king of Jurr was at war with the Balhārās as well as with the neighbouring kingdom of Tāfak or the Panjāb. The details given under Bhūmāl page 468 show that Sulaimān's tongue of land, by which he apparently meant either Kāshāwāl or Gujarat was an imperfect idea of the extent of Gurjara rule. At the beginning of the tenth century A.D. 916 Sulaimān's editor Abu Zaid describes Kānanj as a large country

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1 Elliot's History of India, I. 22, 24, 25. 2 Elliot's History of India, I. 34.
3 Elliot's History of India, I. 10.
4 Al Masādī Les Pierres D'Or, II, chapter 13 page 82.
5 Giving an account of the diviners and jugglers of India Abu Zaid says: These observations are especially applicable to Kānanj, a large country forming the empire of Jurr. Abu Zaid in Elliot's History of India, I. 10. References given in the History of Bhūmāl show that the Gurjara power spread not only to Kānanj but to Bengal.
forming the empire of Juzr, a description which the Gurijara Vatsara’s success in Bengal about a century before shows not to be impossible. Ibn Khurdadhbeh (a.d. 912) ranks the king of Juzr as fourth in importance among Indian kings. According to him “the Tathriya dirhama were in use in the Juzr kingdom.” Al Masudi (a.d. 943) speaks of the Konkan country of the Balhara as on one side exposed to the attacks of the king of Juzr a monarch rich in men horses and camels. He speaks of the Juzr kingdom bordering on Tafan apparently the Panjab and Tafsir as bounded by Rahmat apparently Burma and Sumatra. Ibn Haukal (a.d. 963-976) notices that several kingdoms existed, including the domain of the Selahars of the north Konkan within the land of the Balhara between Kumbayab and Salma. Al Biruni (a.d. 973-1031) uses not Juzr, but Gujarat. Beyond that is to the south of Gujarat he places Konkan and Tams. In Al Biruni’s time Naryan near Jaipur, the former capital of Gujarat, had been taken and the inhabitants removed to a town on the frontier. Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century really from tenth century materials) ranks the king of Juzr as the fourth and the king of Sifan or Tafan as the second in greatness to the Balhara. In another passage in a list of titular sovereigns Al Idrisi enters the names of Sufir (Tafan) Hazr (Juzr-Jur) and Dumi (Rahmat). By the side of Juzr was Tafak (doubtfully the Panjab) a small state producing the whitest and most beautiful women in India; the king having few soldiers; living at peace with his neighbours and like the Balhara highly esteeming the Arabs. Ibn Khurdadhbeh (a.d. 912) calls Tafan the king next in eminence to the Balhara. Al Masudi (a.d. 943) calls Tafak the ruler of a mountainous country like Kashmir with small forces living on friendly terms with neighbouring sovereigns and well disposed to the Moslim. Al Idrisi (end of eleventh century but materials of the tenth century) notices Sifan (Tafan) as the principality that ranks next to the Konkan that is to the Rashtarkus.

Rahma or Rahmi, according to the merchant Sulaiman (a.d. 851) borders the land of the Balhara, the Juzr, and Tafan. The king who was not much respected was at war both with the Juzr and the Balhara. He had the most numerous army in India and a following of 50,000 elephants when he took the field. Sulaiman notices a cotton fabric made in Rahma so delicate that a dress of it could pass through a signet ring. The medium of exchange was copper Cypriae monetae shell money. The country produced gold silver and aloes and the whisk of the aravana or yakk Bos poipapha the bushy-tailed ox. Ibn Khurdadhbeh (a.d. 912) places Rahmi as the sixth kingdom. He apparently identified it with Al Rahmi or north Sumatra as he notes that between it and the other kingdoms communication is kept up by ships. He notices that the ruler had five thousand elephants and that cotton cloth and aloes probably the well-known Kumari

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1 Ibn Khurdadhbeh in Elliot’s History of India, I. 13.
2 Al Masudi in Elliot’s History of India, I. 25.
3 Ibn Haukal in Elliot’s History of India, I. 31.
4 Al Biruni in Elliot’s History of India, I. 67.
5 Al Biruni in Elliot’s History of India, I. 59.
6 Al Idrisi in Elliot’s History of India, I. 76.
7 Al Idrisi in Elliot’s History of India, I. 86.
8 The Merchant Sulaiman (851 a.d.) in Elliot’s History of India, I. 5.
9 Ibn Khurdadhbeh in Elliot’s History of India, I. 12.
10 Al Masudi in Elliot’s History of India, I. 29.
11 Al Masudi in Elliot’s History of India, I. 25.
12 Ibn Khurdadhbeh in Elliot’s History of India, I. 14.
or Cambodian aloes, were the staple produce. Al Mas'udi (a.d. 943) after stating that former accounts of Rahma's elephants troops and horses were probably exaggerated, adds that the kingdom of Rahma extends both along the sea and the continent and that it is bounded by an inland state called Káman (probably Kámarup that is Assam). He describes the inhabitants as fair and handsome and notices that both men and women had their ears pierced. This description of the people still more the extension of the country both along the sea and along the continent suggests that Mas'udi's Al Rahma is a combination of Burma which by dropping the B he has mixed with Al Rahma. Lane identifies Rahma with Sumára on the authority of an Account of India and China by two Muhammadan Travellers of the Ninth Century. This identification is supported by Al Mas'udi's mention of Bâmi as one of the islands of the Java group, the kingdom of the Indian Milhrj. The absence of reference to Bengal in these accounts agrees with the view that during the ninth century Bengal was under Tibet.

In the middle of the ninth century mines of gold and silver are said to be worked in Gujarát. Abu Za'id (a.d. 916) represents pearls as in great demand. The Tārtāriyih, or according to Al Mas'udi the Tāthriyih diwār of Sindh, fluctuates in price from one and a half to three and a fraction of the Baghdad diwār, were the current coin in the Gujarát ports. Emeralds also were imported from Egypt mounted as seals.

Ibn Khuršad Bahâ' (a.d. 912) mentions teakwood and the bamboo as products of Sindân that is the Konkan Sanjân. Al Mas'udi (a.d. 943) notes that at the great fair of Maltán the people of Sindân and Hind offered Kumar that is Cambodian aloes-wood of the purest quality worth twenty diwār a moon. Among other articles of trade he mentions an inferior emerald exported from Cambay and Saimûr to Makkah, the laces sluffah of Beash, the shoes of Cambay, and the white and handsome maidens of Tâfân, who were in great demand in Arab countries. Ibn Hankal (a.d. 968-976) states that the country comprising Fāmâl, Sindân, Saimûr, and Kambâyâh produced mangoes, cocoanuts, lemons and rice in abundance. That honey could be had in great quantities, but no date palms were to be found.

Al Birûnî (a.d. 1031) notices that its import of horses from Mekran and the islands of the Persian Gulf was a leading portion of Cambay trade. According to Al Idrisi (a.d. 1100) the people of Mâmbâh (Amhîwârâ) had many horses and camels. One of the peculiarities of

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1 Al Mas'udi in History of India by Sir Henry Elliot, I. 23.
2 Lane's Notes on his Translation of the Alif Lailah, Ill. 80.
3 Al Mas'udi's Marîj (Arabic Text Cairo Edition, I. 221).
4 The merchant Sulaimân (Elliot's History of India), I. 4 and 5.
5 See page 199 note 8.
6 Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 11.
7 Ibn Khuršad Bahâ' in Elliot's History of India, I. 14.
8 Ibn Khuršad Bahâ' in Elliot's History of India, I. 16.
9 Al Mas'udi (Elliot's History of India), I. 59.
10 Barbier De Meynard's Arabic Text of Les Prairies D'Or, III. 47-48.
11 Barbier De Meynard's Arabic Text of Les Prairies D'Or, I. 239.
12 Barbier De Meynard's Arabic Text of Les Prairies D'Or, I. 233.
13 Barbier De Meynard's Arabic Text of Les Prairies D'Or, I. 334.
14 Ibn Hankal (Ashkâl-ul-Balad) and Elliot's History of India, I. 59.
15 Elliot's History of India, III. 33.
16 Mâmbâh is by some numbered among the cities of India. Al Idrisi in Elliot, I. 91.
17 Al Idrisi in Elliot, I. 79.
the Nahrwala country was that all journeys were made and all merchandise was carried in bullock waggons. Kambayah was rich in wheat and rice and its mountains yielded the Indian jadu or bamboo. At Suhara (Soparia) they fished for pearls and Bora a small island close to Suhara produced the coconut and the casuar. Sind was, according to Al Idrisi, produced the cocoa palm, the rafaa, and the bamboo. Saimur had many cocoa palms, much henna (Lawsonia Inermia), and a number of aromatic plants. The hills of Thana yielded the bamboo and tabakher or bamboo pitch. From Saimur according to Al Kausini (A.D. 1250, but from tenth century materials) came aloes. Rashid-ud-din (A.D. 1310) states that in Kambayah, Surat, Kankan, and Tana the vines yield twice a year and such is the strength of the soil that cotton-plants grow like willow or plane trees and yield produce for ten years. He refers to the betel leaf, to which he and other Arab writers and physicians ascribe strange virtues as the produce of the whole country of Malabar. The exports from the Gujarát coast are said to be sugar (the staple product of Malwa), linseed that is bescor, and indigo that is turmeric.

According to Ibn Haukal (A.D. 770) from Kambayah to Saimur the villages lay close to one another and much land was under cultivation. At the end of the eleventh century trade was brisk merchandise from every country finding its way to the ports of Gujarát whose local products were in turn exported all over the world. The Rashtrakūṭa dominion was vast, well-peopled, commercial, and fertile. The people lived mostly on a vegetable diet, rice, peas-beans, haricots and lentils being their daily food. Al Idrisi speaks of certain Hindos eating animals whose deaths had been caused by falls or by being gored, but Al Masidi states that the higher classes who wore the "baldrick like yellow thread" (the Janoi) abstained from flesh. According to Ibn Haukal (A.D. 968-970) the ordinary dress of the kings of Hind was trousers and a tunic. He also notices that between Kambayah and Saimur the Moslems and Hindus wear the same cool fine muslin dress and let their beards grow in the same fashion. During the tenth century, on high days the Balhars wore a crown of gold and a dress of rich stuff. The attendants wore richly clad, wearing rings of gold and silver upon their feet and hands and having their hair in curls. At the close of the Hindu period (A.D. 1300) Rashid-ud-din describes Gujarát as a flourishing country with no less than 50,000 villages and hamlets the people happy the soil rich growing in the four seasons seventy varieties of flowers. Two harvests repay the husbandman; the earlier crop refreshed by the dew of the cold season the late crop enriched by a certain rainfall.

In their intercourse with Western India nothing struck the Arabs more than the toleration shown to their religion both by chief and peoples.
This was specially marked in the Raḥṣṭaḵūta towns, where besides free use of mosques and Jāma mosques Mussalmān magistrates or kārs were appointed to settle disputes among Mussalmāns according to their own laws. Toleration was not peculiar to the Bahlārs. Al Birūnī records that in the ninth century (A.D. 861), when the Hindus recovered Sindān (Sanjāj in Kachh) they spared the assembly mosque, which long after the Faithful congregated on Fridays praying for their Khilafah without hindrance. In the Bahlār country so strongly did the people believe in the power of Islām which is perhaps more likely so courtiers were they that they said that our king enjoys a long life and long reign is solely due to the favour shown by him to the Mussalmāns. So far as the merchant Sulaimān saw in the ninth century the chief religion in Gujarāt was Buddhism. He notices that the principles of the religion of China were brought from India and that the Chinese ascribe to the Indians the introduction of Buddhā into their country. Of religious beliefs metempsychoses or re-birth and of religious practices widow-burning or sutti and self-torture seem to have struck him most. As a rule the dead were burned. Sulaimān represents the people of Gujarāt as steady abstemious and sober abstaining from wine as well as from vinegar, "not from religious motives but from their disdain of it." Among their sovereigns the desire of conquest was seldom the cause of war. Abu Zaid (A.D. 916) describes the Brāhmans as Hindus devoted to religion and science. Among Brāhmans were poets who lived at kings’ courts, astronomers, philosophers, diviners and drawers of omens from the flight of crows. He adds: So sure are the people that after death they shall return to life upon the earth, that when a person grows old he begins some one of his family to throw him into the fire or to drown him. In Abu Zaid’s time (A.D. 916) the Hindus did not exclude their women. Even the wives of the kings used to mix freely with men and attend courts and places of public resort unveiled. According to Ibn Khurdābdīšah (A.D. 912) India has forty-two religious sects “part of whom believe in God and his Prophet (on whom be peace) and part who deny his mission.” Ibn Khurdābdīšah (A.D. 912) describes the Hindus as divided into seven classes. Of these the first are Thākūrīs or Thākurs men of high caste from whom kings are chosen and to whom men of the other classes render homage, the second are the Burāhmas who abstain from wine and fermented liquors; the third are the Kataria or Kāhatrias who drink not more than three cups of wine; the fourth are the Sudarśa or Shudras husbandmen by profession: the fifth are the Baisura or Vaiṣya artificers and domestics: the sixth Sandalas or Chandāla mendicants; and the seventh the ‘Lahūḥ,’ whose women adorn themselves and whose men are fond of amusements and games of skill. Both among the people and the kings of Gujarāt wine

1 Ibn Haukal in Elliot’s History of India, I, 34–38, also Al-Kazwīnī, I, 37.
2 Sir Henry Elliot’s History of India, I, 29.
3 The merchant Sulaimān in Elliot’s History of India, I, 7.
4 The merchant Sulaimān in Elliot’s History of India, I, 6.
5 The merchant Sulaimān in Elliot’s History of India, I, 7.
6 Abu Zaid in Elliot’s History of India, I, 10.
7 Abu Zaid in Elliot’s History of India, I, 9–10.
8 Abu Zaid in Elliot’s History of India, I, 11.
9 Ibn Khurdābdīšah in Elliot, I, 17.
10 See Elliot, I, 76, where Al-Birūnī calls the first class ‘Ṣikṣārāt’ the word being a transliteration of the Arabic Thūkkāryah or Thākūrī.
11 The Arabic plural of the word Brāhman.
12 Ibn Khurdābdīšah in Elliot’s History of India, I, 13–17.
was "unlawful and lawful" that is it was not used though no religious rule forbid its use. According to Al Masulli (A.D. 243) a general opinion prevailed that India was the earliest home of order and wisdom. The Indians chose as their king the great Brahma who ruled them for 336 years. His descendants retain the name of Brahma and are honoured as the most illustrious caste. They abstain from the flesh of animals, Hindu kings cannot succeed before the age of forty nor do they appear in public except on certain occasions for the conduct of state affairs. Royalty and all the high offices of state are limited to the descendants of one family. The Hindus strongly disapprove of the use of wine both in themselves and in others not from any religious objection but on account of its intoxicating and reason-clouding qualities. Al Biruni (A.D. 970-1031) quoted by Rashid-ul-Din (A.D. 1316) states that the people of Gujarat are idolators and notices the great penance-pilgrimages to Somath details of which have already been given. Al Idriwi (end of the eleventh century) closely follows Ibn Khurdadhbih's (A.D. 912) division of the people of India. The chief exception is that he represents the second class, the Brahmans, as wearing the skins of tigers and going about in small bands making crowds and from morn till eve proclaiming to their hearers the glory and power of God. He makes out that the Kastriias or Kshatriyas are able to drink three røt (a røt being one pound Troy) of wine and are allowed to marry Brahman women. The Saldalits or Ghandal women, he says, are noted for beauty. Of the forty-two sects he enumerates worshipers of trees and adorers of serpents, which they keep in stables and feed as well as they can, deeming it to be a meritorious work. He says that the inhabitants of Kambay are Buddhists (adilators) and that the Balbair also worship the idol Buddha. The Indians, says Al Idriwi (end of the eleventh century) are naturally inclined to justice and in their actions never depart from it. Their reputation for good faith, honesty, and fidelity to their engagements brings strangers flocking to their country and aids its prosperity. In illustration of the peaceable disposition of the Hindus, he quotes the ancient practice of dalati or conjuring in the name of the king, a rite which is still in vogue in some native states. When a man has a rightful claim he draws a circle on the ground and asks his debtor to step into the circle in the name of the king. The debtor never fails to step in nor does he ever leave the circle without paying his debts. Al Idriwi describes the people of Nahrwara as having so high a respect for oxen that when an ox dies they bury it. "When enfeebled by age or if unable to work they provide their oxen with food without exacting any return."

1 Text: Les Prairies D'Or, I. 149-151 and Elliot's History of India, I. 19.
2 Arabic Text: Les Prairies D'Or, I. 149-134, and Elliot's History of India, I. 39.
3 Al Masulli's Prairies D'Or, I. 169, and Elliot's History of India, I. 29.
4 Rashid-ul-Din from Al Biruni in Elliot's History of India, I. 67-69.
5 Al Idriwi in Elliot (History of India), I. 76.
6 Al Idriwi in Elliot (History of India), I. 85.
7 Al Idriwi in Elliot (History of India), I. 87.
8 Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 88.
APPENDIX VI.

WESTERN INDIA AS KNOWN TO THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.

Herodotos and Hekataios, the earliest Greek writers who make mention of India, give no information in regard to Western India in particular.

Kte'sias (c. 400 B.C.) learnt in Persia that a race of Pygmies lived in India in the neighbourhood of the silver mines, which Lassen places near Udaipur (Mewar). From the description of these Pygmies (Photios, Bibl. LXXII. 11-12) it is evident that they represent the Bhils. Ktesias also mentions (Photios Bibl. LXXII. 8) that there is a place in an uninhabited region fifteen days from Mount Satulicus, where they venerate the sun and moon and where for thirty-five days in each year the sun reminds its heat for the comfort of its worshippers. This place must apparently have been somewhere in Marwar, and perhaps Mount Abu is the place referred to.

Alexander (c. 326-25) did not reach Gujarāt, and his companions have nothing to tell of this part of the country. It is otherwise with Megasthenes's (c. 300 B.C.) who resided with Chandragupta as the ambassador of Seleukos Nikator and wrote an account of India in four books, of which considerable fragments are preserved, chiefly by Strabo, Pliny, and Arrian. His general account of the manners of the Indians relates chiefly to those of northern India, of whom he had personal knowledge. But he also gave a geographical description of India, for Arrian informs us (Ind. VII) that he gave the total number of Indian tribes as 118, and Pliny (VI. 17ff) does in fact enumerate about 90, to whom may be added some seven or eight more mentioned by Arrian. It is true that Pliny does not distinctly state that he takes his geographical details from Megasthenes, and that he quotes Seneca as having written a book on India. But Seneca also (Pliny, VI. 17) gave the number of the tribes as 118 in which he must have followed Megasthenes. Further, Pliny says (iolid) that accounts of the military forces of each nation were given by writers such as Megasthenes and Dionysius who stayed with Indian kings; and as he does not mention Dionysius in his list of authorities for his Book VI, it follows that it was from Megasthenes that he drew his account of the forces of the Gangaridae, Medogaliga, Andhars, Prais, Megallua, Aamagi, Orao, Suncatarata, Autoula, Charrma, and Pandae (VI. 19), names which, as will be shown below, betray a knowledge of all parts of India. It is a fair inference that the remaining names mentioned by Pliny were taken by him from Megasthenes, perhaps through the medium of Seneca's work. The corruption of Pliny's text

1 Contributed by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, M.A., I.C.S.
and the fact that Megasthenes learnt the tribal names in their Prakrit forms, make it extremely difficult to identify many of the races referred to.

That part of Pliny's account of India, which may with some certainty be traced back to Megasthenes begins with a statement of the stages of the royal road from the Hyspasia (Bías) to Paliobothra (Pátanā) (Nat. Hist. VI. 17). The next chapter gives an account of the Ganges and its tributaries and mentions the Gangaridáe of Kalínga with their capital Páralíças as the most distant nation on its banks. In the 19th chapter, after an account of the forests of the Gangaridáe, Pliny gives a list of thirteen tribes, of which the only ones that can be said to be satisfactorily identified are Mólogalinga (the three Calingas; Caldwell, Dray. Gr.), Molpítus (compare Mount Málindya of Vášála Míhira Br. S. XIV.), and Thañáras (McGrindle makes Talnicas and identifies with the Tamraliptakas of Tátaułuk on the lower Ganges). He next mentions the Abdara (Andhara of Telingana) with thirty cities, 100,000 foot 2900 horses and 1000 elephants. He then digresses to speak of the Dardas (Dárdas of the Upper Indus) as rich in gold and the Sésa (of Mâvar, Lassen) in silver, and next introduces the Prasí (Práyás) of Paliobothra (Pátaliputra) as the most judicious and powerful of all the tribes, having 600,000 foot 30,000 horses and 8000 elephants. Inland from these he names the Mónasédas (Munda of Singhbhum) and Snári (Savara of Central India) among whom is Mount Malén (Mahendrás March?). Then after some account of the Iománas (Yamnas) running between Mélthar (Mathura) and Chilas (McGrindle reads Carisobora, Arrian Ind. VII. 13, Kleisobora = Krishnapura?) he turns to the Indus, of whose nineteen tributaries he gives some account in chapter 20. He then digresses to give an account of the coast of India, starting from the mouth of the Ganges, whence to Point Calingon (Point Godavari) and the city of Dápfávula (Cunningham's Bāja Mahendri, but more probably the Dhanakátyaka or Dhemukákata of the Western caves, inscriptions) he reckon 625 miles. The distance thence to Tropias (Trincomalee near Cochin according to Berges) is 1255 miles. Next at a distance of 750 miles is the cape of Perníla, where is the most famous mart of Indus. Further on in the same chapter is mentioned a city named Autumula on the sea shore among the Arundas (or Salabagora and Oratma, McGrindle) a noble mart where five rivers together flow into the sea. There can hardly be a doubt that the two places are the same, the two names being taken from different authorities, and that the place meant is Chinnula or Cenl (Ptolémey's Simulha) the five rivers being those that flow into Bombay Harbour northwest of Cenl. The distance from Perníla to the Island of Patala in the Indus is 820 miles. Pliny next enumerates as hill tribes between the Indus and Jarna, shut in a ring of mountains and deserts for a space of 625 miles, the Cesi (the Kekkit of Arj. Ind. IV. and Kekayas of the Páurás, about the head waters of the Satlúj), the Ctebroibo of the woods (Vāna?), the Mégalla (Mékálas) with 500 elephants and unknown numbers of horse and foot, the Chryáli (Kuriku) Parasanga (Parasáya, corrupted by the Bihars of its first three syllables to the word Pářásáya), the Assagí (Asmaka of Vášála Míhira) with 30,000 foot 300 elephants and 800 horse. These are shut in by the Indus and surrounded by a circle of mountains and deserts for 825 miles. Next come the Dári and Surna and then deserts again for 187 miles. Whether these are or are not correctly identified with the Dáras and Sours of Síndhi, they must be placed somewhere to the north of the Ran. Below them come five kingless tribes living in the hills along the sea-
coast—the Maltecora, Singhas, Murshoe, Barunbe, and Murrum—none of whom are satisfactorily identified, but who may be placed in Kaarkh. Next follow the Naraxa enclosed by Mount Capitallis (Adam) the highest mountain in India, on the other side of which are mines of gold and silver. The identification of Capitallis with Abun is probable enough, but the name given to the mountain must be connected with the Kapishthala of the Persians, who have given their name to one of the descans of the Yajur Veda, though Kaithal, their modern representative, lies far away from Abun in the Karnal district of the Panjab, and Arrian places his Kapihesta (Iml. IV) about the head waters of the Hydramides (Ravi). After Capitallis and the Naraxa come the Oratbe with but ten elephants but numerous infantry. These must be the Aparantakas of the inscriptions and parvas, Megasthenes having learnt the name in a Prakrit form (Avavita, Ovatia). The name of the next tribe, who have no elephants but horse and foot only, is commonly read Suntarata (Nobbe) but the preferable reading is Vardata (McCulditch) which when, corrected to Vardata represents Varalata, the sixth of the seven Konkans in the puranic lists (Wilson As. Res. XV, 147), which occupied the centre of the Thaam district and the country of the wild tribe of the Vardas. Next are the Odanborees whose name is connected with the salubrious Ficus glomerata tree, and who are not the Autumbari Sالures of Padma (IV, i. 173) but must be placed in Southern Thana. Next come the Arabastras Oratbe (so read for Arabaster Thorace of Nobbe, and Salarastas Harata of McCulditch) or Arabastra division of the Oratbe or Konkanis. Arabastras may be connected with the Arava of Vardha-Mihira's South-Western Division (Rs. S. XIV, 17) where they are mentioned along with Babarae (the seventh or northernmost Konkan). This tribe had a fine city in a marsh infested by crocodiles and also the great port of Autumana (Chani) at the confluence of five rivers, and the king had 1000 elephants 150,000 foot and 5000 horses. and must therefore have held a large part of the Dakhan as well as of the sea coast. Next to this kingdom is that of the Chamarh, whose forces are small, and next to them the Pandus (Pandya of Travancor) with 30 cities 150,000 foot and 500 elephants. Next follow a list of thirteen tribes, some of which St. Martin has identified with modern Rajput tribes about the Indus, because the last name of the thirteen is Oratbrae, "who reach to the island of Patan" and may be confidently identified with the Saktarakas of Ksthikbala. We must however assume that Megasthenes after naming the tribes of the west coast enumerates the inland tribes of the Dakhan until he arrives at the point from which he started. But the only identification that seems plausible is that of the Derangae with the Telingas or Telugas. Next to the Oratbea follows a list of tribes on the east of the Indus from south to north—the Mathas (compare Matthausa, a Bahika town Pān. IV. ii. 117), Halinga (Bhānlinga), a Salwa tribe Pān. IV, i. 178), Gallitaluma (perhaps a corruption of Tālakhal, another Saiv tribe, 4th. Dimur, Megari, Ardbaba, Moma (Mātayasa of Jālpirf), Abi, Suri, (v. I. Abbis, Uru), Sisai, and then deserts for 250 miles. Next comes three more tribes and then again deserts, then four or five (according to the reading) more tribes, and the Astāri whose capital is Busephala (Jaladevpur) (Cunningham Am. Geog. 177). Megasthenes then gives two mountain tribes and ten beyond the Indus including the Orse (Urasi) Taxia (Takshatiras) and Tancolos (people of Pachkhāvati). Of the work of Dūmaches, who went on an embassy to Allitrahdalis (Bhundin) son of Candragupta, nothing is known except that it was in two books and was reckoned the most untrustworthy of all accounts of India (Strabo, II, i. 35).
Ptolemy II. Philadelphos (died 247 B.C.) interested himself in the trade with India and opened a caravan road from Koptos on the Nile to Beraukte on the Red Sea (Strabo, XVII. ii. 45) and for centuries the Indian trade resumed either to this port or to the neighbouring Myos Hormos. He also sent to India (apparently to Asoka) an envoy named Dionysius, who is said by Pliny (VI. 177) to have written an account of things Indian of which no certain fragments appear to remain. But we know from the fragments of

Agatharchides (born c. 250 B.C.) who wrote in old age an account of the Red Sea of which we have considerable extracts in Diodorus (III. 12-48) and Ptolemy (Müller's Geogr. Gr. Min. I. 111 ff.), states that in his time the Indian trade with Potamia (Patala) was in the hands of the Sabaeans of Yemen. (Müller, I. 191.) In fact it was not until the voyages of Eudoxus (see below) that any direct trade sprang up between India and Egypt. The mention of Patala as the port resorted to by the Arabs shows that we are still in Pliny's first period (see below).

The Baktrian Greeks extended their power into India after the fall of the Mauryan empire (c. 180 B.C.) their leader being Demetrios son of Euthydemos, whose conquests are referred to by Justin (XLI. 6) and Strabo (XI. ii. 1). But the most extensive conquests to the east and south were made by Menandros (c. 110 B.C.) who advanced to the Jumna and conquered the whole coast from Patala (lower Sind) to the kingdoms of Sarasotra (Surashtra) and Sigiria (Patala's Sigirna(?)) (Strabo, XI. ii. 1). These statements of Strabo are confirmed by the author of the Periplos (c. 250 B.C.) who says that in his time drehmaat with Greek inscriptions of Menandros and Apollodotos were still current at Barygaza (Per. 47). Apollodotos is now generally thought to have been the successor of Menandros (c. 100 B.C.) (Brit. Museum Cat. of Baktrian Coins page 276, 91). Plutarch (Reip. Graec. Fr. 204) tells us that Menandros' rule was so mild, that on his death his towns disputed the possession of his ashes and finally divided them.

Eudoxos of Cyzicus (c. 117 B.C.) made in company with others two very successful voyages to India, in the first of which the company were guided by an Indian who had been shipwrecked on the Egyptian coast. Strabo (II. ii. 4), in quoting the story of his doings from Posidonius, lays more stress upon his attempt to circumnavigate Africa than upon these two Indian voyages, but they are of very great importance as the beginnings of the direct trade with India.

The Geographers down to Ptolemy drew their knowledge of India almost entirely from the works of Megasthenes and of the companions of Alexander. Among them Eratosthenes (c. 275-194 B.C.), the founder of scientific geography, deserves mention as having first given wide currency to the notion that the width of India from west to east was greater than its length from north to south, an error which lies at the root of Ptolemy's distortion of the map. Eratosthenes' critic Hipparkhos (c. 130 B.C.) on this point followed the more correct account of Megasthenes, and is otherwise notable as the first to make use of astronomy for the determination of the geographical position of places.

Strabo (c. 63 B.C. - 23 A.D.) drew his knowledge of India, like his predecessors, chiefly from Megasthenes and from Alexander's followers, but adds (XV. i. 72) on the authority of Nicolaus of Damascus (tutor to the children of Antony and Cleopatra, and envoy of Herod) an account of three Indian envoys from a certain king Ptolemaeus to Augustus (69 A.D. 14),
who brought presents consisting of an armless man, snakes, a huge
turtle and a large partridge, with a letter in Greek written on parchment
offering free passage and traffic through his dominions to the emperor’s
subjects. With these gifts came a certain Zarambokchus (Seaman-k
barya, Lassen) from Bagrose (Breoch, the earliest mention of the name) who
afterwards burnt himself at Athens, "according to the ancestral custom
of the Indians:” The fact that the embassy came from Breoch and passed
through Antioch shows that they took the route by the Persian Gulf,
which long remained one of the chief lines of trade (Per. chap. 36). If
the embassy was not a purely commercial speculator on the part of mer chant
of Breoch, it is hard to see how king Pöros, who had 600 under-kings, can
be other than the Indo-Skythian Kosolakadphes, who held Pöros’ old
r
dom in the Red Sea as well as much other territory in North-West India. This
iff
correct would show that as early as the beginning of our era the Indo-Sky
thian power reached as far south as Breoch. The fact that the embassy
took the Persian Gulf route and that their object was to open commercial
relations with the Roman empire seems to show that at this period there
was no direct trade between Breoch and the “Egyptian ports” of the Red
Sea. Strabo however mentions that in his time Arabian and Indian
wrecks were carried on camels from Myos Hormos (near Rāḍ Ruṣiā Sornī)
on the Red Sea to Koptes on the Nile (XVII. 4. 45 and XVI. 4. 24) and
dilates upon the increase of the Indian trade since the days of the
Ptolemy when not so many as twenty ships dared pass through the
Red Sea “to peer out of the Straits,” whereas in his time whole fleets of
as many as 120 vessels voyaged to India and the headlands of Ethiopia from
Myos Hormos (II. v. 12 and XV. v. 13). It would seem that we have here
to do with Pliny’s second period of Indian trade, when Sigerus (probably
Janjira) was the goal of the Egyptian shipmasters (see below). Strabo
learnt these particulars during his stay in Egypt with Aelius Gallinus, but
they were unknown to his contemporary Dio Chrysor who drew his account
of India entirely from Megasthenes (Diod. II. 31-42) and had no knowledge
of the East beyond the stories told by Jambulos, a person of uncertain date
of an island in the Indian Archipelago (Ball, according to Lassen) (Diod.
II. 57-60). Pomponius Mela (A.D. 43) also had no recent information as
regards India.

Pliny (A.D. 23-79) who published his Natural History in A.D. 77 gives a
fairly full account of India, chiefly drawn from Megasthenes (see above).
He also gives two valuable pieces of contemporary information:

(i) An account of Ceylon (Taprobane) to which a friend of Anius
Ploceamus, farmer of the Red Sea tribute, was carried by stress of weather in the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54). On his return the king
sent to the emperor four envoys, headed by one Racchia (VI. 22).

(ii) An account of the voyage from Alexandria to India, by a course
which had only lately been made known (VI. 23). Pliny divides the
history of navigation from the time of Nearchus to his own age into three
periods:

(a) the period of sailing from Syagrus (Rāḍ Fartak) in Arabia to
Fatah (Indus delta) by the south-west wind called Hippalus, 1323 miles;
(b) the period of sailing from Syagrus (Rāḍ Fartak) to Sigerus (Pol.
Milazigya, Peripl. Moluzigara, probably Janjira, and perhaps the same
as Strabo’s Sigeris);
(c) the modern period, when traffic went on from Alexandria to Koptes
up the Nile, and thence by camels across the desert to Berenice (in
Foul Bay), 257 miles. Thence the merchants start in the middle of
summer before the rising of the dogstar and in thirty days reach Okelia (Ghalla) or Cane (Bian Ghorab), the former port being most frequented by the Indian trade. From Okelia it is a forty days' voyage to Muziris (Muviriy, Krangaunur) which is dangerous on account of the neighbouring pirates of Nitrias (Mangalore) and inconvenient by reason of the distance of the roads from the shore. Another better port is Becare (Kallada, Yule) belonging to the tribe Nemcyon (Podi, Melkynna, Periyl, Nelkynna) of the kingdom of Pandion (Pandja) whose capital is Modura (Madura). Here pepper is brought in canoes from Cottoman (Katattanada). The ships return to the Red Sea in December or January.

It is clear that the modern improvement in navigation on which Pliny lays so much stress consisted, not in making use of the monsoon wind, but in striking straight across the Indian ocean to the Malabar coast. The fact that the ships which took this course carried a guard of archers in Pliny's time, but not in that of the Periplus, is another indication that the direct route to Malabar was new and unfamiliar in the first century a.D. The name "Hippalna" given to the monsoon wind will be discussed below in dealing with the Periplus.

Dionysios Periegetes who has lately been proved to have written under Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) (Christ's Griech. Litteratur Gesch, page 507) gives a very superficial description of India but has a valuable notice of the Southern Skythians who live along the river Indus to the east of the Gedrosi (l. 1037-83).

Klaudios Ptolemaios of Alexandria lived, according to Suidas under Marcus Aurelius Antoninios (A.D. 181-180). He compiled his account of India as part of a geographical description of the then known world, and drew much of his materials from Marinus of Tyre, whose work is lost, but who must have written about A.D. 130. Ptolemy (or Marinus before him) had a very wide knowledge of India, drawn partly from the relations of shipmasters and traders and partly from Indian lists similar to those of the Pardhas but drawn up in Prakrit. He seems to have made little if any use of Megasthenes and the companions of Alexander. But his map of India is distorted by the erroneous idea, which he took from Eustathiums, that the width of India from west to east greatly exceeded its length from north to south. Ptolemy begins his description of India with the first chapter of his seventh book, which deals with India within the Ganges. He gives first the names of rivers, countries, towns, and capes along the whole coast of India from the westernmost mouth of the Indus to the easternmost mouth of the Ganges. He next mentions in detail the mountains and the rivers with their tributaries, and then proceeds to enumerate the various nations of India and the cities belonging to each, beginning with the north-west and working southwards; and he finally gives a list of the islands lying off the coast. In dealing with his account of western India it will be convenient to notice together the cities of each nation which he mentions separately under the heads of coast and inland towns.

He gives the name of Indo-Skythis to the whole country on both sides of the lower course of the Indus, from its junction with the Kosa (Kahil river), and gives its three divisions as Patalané (lower Sindh) Ahbria (read Sabria, that is Sauvira or upper Sindh and Multan) and Surastra (Surashtri or Kathiavada). We have seen that Dionysios knew the southern Skythians of the Indus, and we shall meet with them again in the Periplus (chapter 38).
He enumerates seven months of the Indus, but the river is so constantly changing its course that it is hopeless to expect to identify all the names given by him (Sagapa, Sinthôn, Kharipron, Sapara, Sahulissa, and Lûnillare) with the existing channels. Only it may be noted that Sinthôn preserves the Indian name of the river (Sindu) and that the easternmost month (Lûnillare) probably represents both the present Kori or Luni and the Luni river of Máwrâ, a fact which goes some way to explain why Ptolemy had no idea of the existence of Kachch, though he knows the Rann as the gulf of Kanti. Hence he misplaces Surastreṇa (Surântira or Káthiâvâda) in the Indus delta instead of south of the Rann. Ptolemy enumerates a group of five towns in the north-western part of Indosthythia (Kokat, Bahna, and Dera Islâm Khân) of which Cunningham (Anc. Geog. pages 84ff) has identified Banagara with Banu, and Anurâpana with Darabán, while the sites of Aricarta, Sahana, and Kudran are unknown. Ptolemy next gives a list of twelve towns along the western bank of the Indus to the sea. Of these Embolim has been identified by Cunningham (Anc. Geog. page 52) with Amby sixty miles above Attab, and Pesaepela is identified by St. Martin with the Beemaid of the Arab geographers and placed near Mithankot at the junction of the Chenab with the Indus. Sussâkana, which comes next in the list to Pesaepela, is generally thought to be a corruption of Muniñkana, and is placed by the latest authority (General Haig, The Indus Delta Country, page 130) in Halmalpur, though Cunningham (Anc. Geog. page 257) puts it at Alor, which is somewhat more in accordance with Ptolemy’s distances. Kôlakâ is the most southerly town of the list; cannot well be the Krókâla of Arrian (Karâchi) as McCrindle supposes, for Ptolemy puts it nearly a degree north of the western mouth of the Indus.

The two great towns of the delta which Ptolemy next mentions, are placed by General Haig, Patala at a point thirty-five miles south-east of Haidarsâb (op. cit. page 119) and Barbarâi near Shah Bandar (op. cit. page 31). Barbarâi is mentioned again in the Periplus (chapter 38) under the name of Barbarikon. Ptolemy gives the names of nine towns on the left bank of the Indus from the confluence to the sea, but very few of them can be satisfactorily identified. Pânasa can only be Osmanpur (St. Martin) on Muslim’s principles. Boudaia must represent the Budiya of the Arabs, though it is on the wrong side of the river (see Haig, op. cit page 57ff); Nâgaramas may with Yule be placed at Naushahro. Kâmpur cannot be Aec (McCrindle), if that place represents Sussâkana. Birgara is commonly thought to be a corrupt reading of Minnagar (compare Periplus chapter 38). Haig (op. cit. page 32 note 47) refers to the Tuhfaat al Kirâm as mentioning a Minnagar in the pargana Shâhâdpur (north-east of Haidarsâb). Parsâli, Sydros, and Epitana have not been identified, but must be looked for either in Haidarsâb or in Thar and Pârkâr. Xama may with Yule be identified with Siwana in the bend of the Lûnî and gives another indication that Ptolemy confounded the Lûnî with the eastern mouth of the Indus.

On the coast of Surastreṇa (Kâthiâvâda) Ptolemy mentions first, the island of Barakê (Dvârákâ 804); then the city Bardarîâna which must be Portandar (Yule), in front of the Barada hills; then the village of Surâstra, which perhaps represents Väral, though it is placed too far north. Surastre cannot well be Junâgad (Lasen) which is not on the coast and in Ptolemy’s time was not a village, but a city, though it is certainly strange that Ptolemy does not anywhere mention it. Further south Ptolemy places the mart of Monoglôsson (Mangrol). The eastern
boundary of the coast of Indo-Skythia seems to have been the mouth of the Mōphia (Mahī). Ptolemy's account of Indo-Skythia may be completed by mentioning the list of places which he puts to the east of the Indus (i.e. the Līmīn) and at some distance from it.

These are: Xodrakē, which has not been identified, but which must be placed somewhere in Mewār, perhaps at the old city of Pūr, seventy-two miles north-east of Udaipur, or possibly at the old city of Ahar, two miles from Udaipur itself (Tod's Rājasthān, I. 677-78).

Sarbana, which is marked on Ptolemy's map at the head-waters of the Mahī in the Apokopa mountains (Arunālīsa), must be identified with Sarwan about ten miles north-west of Ratlam. There is also a place called Sarwānī close to Nimach, which Ptolemy may have confused with Sarwan.

Auxasim, which St. Martin identifies with Sāmi, and Yule with Ajmir, but neither place suits the distance and direction from Sarwan. If Ptolemy, as above suggested, confused Sarwan and Sarwānī, Auxasim may be Ahar near Udaipur. Pūr being then Xodrakē: otherwise Auxasim may be Idar. The question can only be settled by more exact knowledge of the age of Ahar and of Idar. Ochadaron may provisionally be placed at Ahar.

Aśindā must be looked for near Sidhpour, though it cannot with St. Martin be identified with that place. Perhaps Vadnagar (formerly Anandapura and a very old town) may be its modern representative.

Theophila may be Devallyā (Yule) or Thān (Burgess) in north-east Kāthīāvāḍa.

Astakapara is admitted to be Hastakavapra or Hāthab near Bhāvnagar (Bhuller).

Lārīkē is described by Ptolemy next after Indo-Skythia on his way down the West Coast. The northern limit of its coast was the mouth of the river Mōphia (Mahī). Its name is the Lāta of periptēs and inscriptions. Ptolemy mentions as on its coast the village of Pakidārē, which may be a misreading for Kāpīdrē and represent Kāvī (Kāpīkās of inscriptions) a holy place just south of the Mahī. Next comes Cape Mālēc, which Ptolemy both in his text and in his map includes in Lārīkē, though there is no prominent headland in a suitable position on the east side of the Gulf of Cambay. As he puts it 24 degrees west of Broach, it may probably be identified with Gōmath Point in Kāthīāvāḍa on the other side of the gulf (the Pakiē of the Periplus), his name for it surviving in the neighbouring shoals known as the Mahī banks. It is also in agreement with this that Ptolemy puts the mouth of the river Nāmadās (Narmādā) to the north of Cape Mālēc. South of the river is Kamanē which may be identified with the Kamanījā or Karmanēya of inscriptions, that is, with Kārnel on the Tapāt above Surāt. It has been supposed to be the Kārnāmūnī of the Periplus (chapter 49), which was the village opposite to the reef called Hérōnē on the right (east) of the gulf of Barygaz: but it is perhaps best to separate the two and to identify Kārnāmūnī with Kīm, north of Oplād. The next town mentioned is Nūsāripa, which should probably be read Nūsāripa, being the Nayyāsāripā of inscriptions and the modern Nāsāripa. The most southerly town of Lārīkē is Pōnīlōnā, which has been identified with Pūulpādā or old Surāt, but is too far south. Bīlimora is perhaps the most likely position for it, though the names do not correspond (unless Pōnnī is the Dravidian Pōli or petī = a tiger, afterwards replaced by Bīli = a cat). Ptolemy begins his list of the inland cities of Lārīkē with Agrināgar, which may with Yale be identified with...
Ågar, thirty-five miles north-east of Ujjain, and the Ákara of inscriptions. The next town is Siripallu, which has not been identified, but should be looked for about thirty miles to the south-east of Ågar, not far from Shāh Pahānpur. The modern name would probably be Shiroi. Bammougoura must be identified, not with Pawanagad (Yule), but with Hinu Telang’s “city of the Brāhmaṇa” (Beal, Si-yun-kê, II. 262), 200 li (about 33 miles) to the north-west of the capital of Mālava in his time. The distance and direction bring us nearly to Jaora. Sasanium and Zerogerei have not been satisfactorily identified but may provisionally be placed at Ratlam and Budhanwur respectively, or Zerogerei may be Dhur as Yule suggested. Osene the capital of Tiavanâš is Ujjain the capital of the Kshatriya Čaśṭana who reigned c. 130 A.D. His kingdom included Western Mālava, West Khandesh, and the whole of Gujarāt south of the Mahi. His grandson Budhradham (A.D. 150) tells us in his Gīvār inscription (I.A.VII, 259) that his own kingdom included also Mārvār Sindh and the lower Panjāb. Next to Ujjain Ptolemy mentions Minnagara, which must have been somewhere near Mānpur. Then we come to Tiavanour or Chándou (Yule) on the ridge which separates Khandesh from the valley of the Gokāvari, and finally on that river itself Nasik the modern Nāsik. It is very doubtful whether Nāsik at any time formed part of the dominions of Gokāvari, and we know from the inscriptions in the Nāsik caves that the Kshatriyas were driven out of that part of the country by Gantanimputa Sātakarul, the father of Ptolemy’s contemporary Pulumāy. Ptolemy probably found Nāsik mentioned in one of his lists as on a road leading from Ujjain southwards and he concluded that they belonged to the same kingdom.

Arikkē of the Sadinou included the coast of the Konkan as far south as Baltipatna (near Mahād) and the Deccan between the Gokāvari and the Krishna. The name occurs in Varāha Mihira’s Bṛhat Samhitā XIV, in the form Aṛyaka. The trival name Sadinou is less easy to explain. The suggested connection with the word Sadhama as meaning an agent (Lassen) and its application to the Kshatriyas of Gujarāt, are not tenable. The only authority for this meaning of Sadhama is Wilson’s Sanskrit Dictionary, and at this time it is certain that Arikkē belonged to the Kshatriyas of Gujarāt, but to the Sātakarnis of Paithan on the Gokāvari. Bhāndārkar’s identification of the Sadinou with Varāha Mihira’s Sāntikas seems somewhat unsatisfactory. Ptolemy’s name may possibly be a corruption of Sātakarni or Sātavāhana. The coast towns of this region were Sulpura (Supārā near Bassein), South of which Ptolemy places the river Tournée (Vaitarani), Donga (perhaps Duqad) ten miles north of Bhivnud) south of which is the Benda river (Bhivnud Creek), Simyala, a mart and a cape, the Automna and Perimula of Pliny and the modern Chénî (Chemul); Mīlizygiris an island, the same as the Melizygara of the Periplus and (probably) as the Signum of Pliny and the modern Janjira; Hippokoura, either Ghodegon or Kudā (Yule) in Kolāb district; Baltipatna, probably the Palaipatmā of the Periplus and the same as Pāl near Mahād.

The inland dominions of the Sadinou were much more extensive than their coast line. Ptolemy gives two lists of cities, one of those lying to the west (i.e. north) of the Benda, whose course in the Deccan represents the Bhīmā river, and the other of those between the Benda and the Pseustomos (here the Mālprabhā and Krīshñā or possibly the Tungabhadra with its tributaries). The most easterly towns in the first list, Malippalā and Sāriasābā, are not satisfactorily identified, but must be looked for in the Nishām’s country to the south-east of Haidārābād. Next comes Tagara mentioned in the Periplus (chapter 51) as ten days east from Paithan, and
therefore about the latitudes of Kalbarga, with which it is identified by Yule. The distance and direction make its identification with Desigar (Wilford and others), Jumnar (Bhāṛgavanāl), or Kohāpur (Fleet) impossible. The best suggestion hitherto made is that it is Dārur or Dāhrur (Bhāndārkār), but Dārur in the Bāhr district is too far north, so Dāhrur fifty miles west of Haidarābād must be taken as the most likely site. Next to Tagara Ptolemy mentions Baithana, which is the Paithana of the Periplus and the modern Paithan on the Godāvari. It is called by our author the capital of Siroptolemais, who is the Śri-Pulmāyē of the Nāṭik cave inscriptions. Next to Baithana comes Deopali, which may safely be identified with the modern Deoli in the suburbs of Ahmadnapur, Gamalīla, the next stage, must be placed somewhere on the line between Ahmadnapur and Jumnar, which latter ancient town is to be identified with Ptolemy's Omēnagora, although this name is not easy to explain.

The second list of towns in Ariākh begins with Nagarjuris (Nagarampur) which probably represents Pooma which even then must have been a place of importance, being at the head of the great road down the Bhorghar. Tabasa (cōmpare Varāha Mūrika’s Tāpasaśrāmāḥ and Ptolemy’s own Tabasa) may be the holy city of Pandharpur, Inde has retained its ancient name (Indi in the north of the Bijapur district) Next follow Tīrungalīla (Tikota in the Kurundwād State?) and then Hippokoura, the capital of Paleokuros. Dr. Bhāndārkār has identified this king with the Vīḷākāryakūra of coins found in the Kohāpur state. His capital may possibly be Hippargi in the Sindgi taluka of the Bijapur district. Sonboutton, the next town on Ptolemy’s list, is not identifiable, but the name which follows, Sīramāla, must be Sīnāl in the Bijapur taluka of the same district.

Kălligeris may be identified not with Kānhagiri (McCandlish) but with Galgali at the crossing of the Krishna, and Modogoalla is not Mūdgala (McCandlish) but Mudhol on the Ghāṭprabhā. Petīragala should probably read Penengala, and would then represent the old town of Panangala or Hongal in the Dāhrvād district. The last name on the list is Bānaumāsi, which is Vanavāsi, about ten miles from Sīnā in Kanara, a very old town where a separate branch of the Sātakarnis once ruled.

The Pirate Coast is the next division of Western India described by Ptolemy, who mentions five sea-ports but only two inland cities. It is clear that the pirates were hemmed in on the land side by the dominions of the Sātakarnis, and that they held but little territory above the ghāṭas, though their capital Mūsopāllē was in that region. The places on the coast from north to south were Mandagara, the Mandagara of the Periplus (chapter 53) which has been satisfactorily identified with Mandangad to the south of the Bānkot creek.

Byzantion, which, as Dr. Bhāndārkār first pointed out, is the Vaijayantis of inscriptions may be placed either at Chipuln or at Dabhol at the mouth of the Vāsiāthi river. Chipuln is the only town of great antiquity in this part of the Kōtkan, and if it is not Vaijayantis Ptolemy has passed over it altogether. The similarity of the names has suggested the identification of Byzantion with Jaygd (Bhāndārkār) or Vijjadurg (Vincent), but both these places are comparatively modern. There are indeed no very ancient towns in the Kōtkan between Saṅgamālaya and the Sāvāntvādī border.

Kheronēsos is generally admitted to be the peninsula of Goa.
Armagara is placed a little to the north of the river Nanaguma and may be represented by Cape Ramsis in Portuguese territory.

The river Nanaguma here is generally supposed to be the Kālīnadi, though in its upper course it seems to represent the Tapti, and a confusion with the Nāmā pass led Ptolemy to bring it into connection with the rivers Gosir and Bēnda (Campbell).

Nitra, the southernmost mart on the pirate coast, is the Nitzias of Pliny, and has been satisfactorily identified by Yule with Mangalore on the Nētravati.

The inland cities of the Pirates are Olokhoira and Mounopallē the capital, both of which must be sought for in the rugged country about the sources of the Krishna and may provisionally be identified with the ancient towns of Karīd and Karīcē (Kolhāpur) respectively. To complete Ptolemy's account of this coast it is only necessary to mention the islands of Heptaneōs (Burnt Islands) Trikālīs and Peperīs. We are not here concerned with his account of the rest of India.

Bardēsanskē met at Babylon certain envoys sent from India to the emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 154-161) and received from Damānanda and Sandanēs, who were of their number, accounts of the customs of the Brāhmans and of a rock temple containing a statue of Śiva in the Ardhanarī form. Iassan (III. 62 and 348) connects Sandanēs with the Sadacu and places the temple in Western India, but neither of these conclusions is necessary. The object of the embassy is unknown.

The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, formerly though wrongly attributed to Arrian (150 A.D.), is an account of the Egyptian trade with East Africa and India, written by a merchant of Alexandria for the use of his fellows. It is preserved in a single manuscript in which in some places is very corrupt. The age of this work has been much disputed; the chief views as to this matter are,

(i) that the Periplus was written before Pliny and made use of by him (Vincent, Schwanbeck, and (Glaser). The arguments of Vincent and Schwanbeck are refuted by Müller (Geogr. Gr. Min. I. xcvi.), (ii) that the Malikh of the Periplus is Malches III. of Nābathēa (A.D. 49-71), that the Periplus knows Μερώς as capital of Ethiopia, while at the time of Nero's expedition to East Africa (A.D. 68), it had almost vanished, and lastly that the author of the Periplus is Bāsila or Bāsλēs, whom Pliny names as an authority for his Book VI. It may be replied that Malikh is the title Malik and may have been applied to any Arab Sheik (Reinaud); that the Periplus does not with certainty mention Μερώς at all; and that Bāsila whether or not a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadephōs was at any rate earlier than Agathaskeus (c. 200 A.D.), who quotes him (Geogr. Gr. Min. I. 156);

(ii) that the Periplus was written at the same time as Pliny's work, but neither used the other (Salmasius). This view is refuted by Müller (op. cit. page 165);

(iii) that the Periplus was written after 161 A.D. (Dodwell); Müller has shown (ibid.) that Dodwell's arguments are inconclusive;

(iv) the received view that the Periplus was written between A.D. 80 and A.D. 89 (Müller);

(v) that the Periplus was written about the middle of the third century (Reinaud Mem. de lÆ. des Insæ. XXIV. Pt. ii. translated in T.A. VIII. pages 330ff).
The only choice lies between the view of Müller and that of Reinand. Müller argues for a date between A.D. 60 and A.D. 89, because the Periplus knows no more than Pliny of India beyond the Ganges, whereas Ptolemy's knowledge is much greater; because the Periplus calls Ceylon Palaimoundou, which is to Ptolemy (VII. iv. 1) an old name; because the Nabataean kingdom, which was destroyed A.D. 106, was still in existence at the time of the Periplus; because the Periplus account of Hippalus shows it to be later than Pliny; and because the Periplus mentions king Zoskalle, who must be the Za Hakaţ of the Abyssinian lists who reigned A.D. 77-95. It may be replied that the Periplus is not a geography of Eastern Asia, but a guide book for traders with certain ports only; that Ptolemy must have found in his lists three names for Ceylon, Taprobane, Palaimoundou, and Salikë, and that he has wrongly separated Palai from Simundou, taking it to mean “formerly” and therefore entered Simundou as the old and Salikë as the modern name, whereas all three names were in use together; that the Nabataean king Malikhas was simply the Sheikh of the tribe (Reinand); and points to no definite date: that the Periplus' account of Hippalus is certainly later than Pliny; and that the Zoskalle of the Periplus is the Za Sagal or Za Asgal of the Abyssinian lists, who reigned A.D. 246-47 (Reinand).

It follows that Reinand's date for the Periplus (A.D. 250) is the only one consistent with the facts, and especially with the Indian facts. As will appear below, the growth of the Hippalus legend since Pliny's time, the rival Parthians in Sindh, the mention of Mamhuros and the supplanting of Osewed by Minnagar as his capital since Ptolemy's time, the independence of Baktria, and the notices of Suranana and Sasananas, are all points strongly in favour of Reinand's date.

In the time of the Periplus the ships carrying on the Indian trade started from Myos Hormos (near Ras Abu Somer) or Berenike (in Polu Bay) and sailed down the Red Sea to Mena (Musa twenty-five miles north of Mokhia), and thence to the watering place Ocklia (Bhalla) at the Straits. They then followed the Arabian coast as far as Kan (Ham Gharib in Hadramaut) passing on the way Kudaiman Arabus (Aden), once a great mart for Indian traders, but lately destroyed by king Eliban (Müller's conjecture for RMAF of the MS.). From Kan the routes to India diverge, some ships sailing to the Indus and on to Barygaza, and others direct to the ports of Lemyrke (Malabar Coast). There was also another route to Lemyrke, starting from Aden. In all three voyages the ships made use of the monsoon, starting from Egypt in July. The monsoon was called Hippalus, according to the Periplus (chapter 57), after the navigator who first discovered the direct course across the sea, and it has been inferred from Pliny's words (VI. 22) that this pilot lived in the middle of the first century A.D. But Pliny's own account shows that, as we should expect, the progress from a coasting to a direct voyage was a gradual one, with several intermediate stages, in all of which the monsoon was more or less made use of. There was therefore no reason for naming the wind from the pilot who merely made the last step. Further though Pliny knows Hippalus as the local name of the monsoon wind in the eastern seas, he says nothing of its having been the name of the inventor of the direct course. The inference seems to be that Hippalus the pilot is the child of a seaman's yarn arising out of the local name of

*We learn from Pliny (VI. 22) that Palaimoundou was the name of a town and a river in Ceylon, whereas the name was extended to the whole island.
the monsoon wind, and that his presence in the Periplus and not in Piny shows that the former writer is much later than the latter.

The merchant bound for Skythia (Sindh) before he reaches land, which lies low to the northward, meets the white water from the river Sintosa (Indus) and water snakes (chapter 38). The river has seven months, small and marshy all but the middle one, on which is the port of Barbarikon (Shahbandar, Haig, page 31) whence the merchants' wares are carried up by river to the capital Minnagar, (near Sharnadpur, Haig, page 32), which is ruled by Parthians who constantly expelled another (chapter 38). These contending Parthians must have been the remnant of the Karan Pahlava who joined with the Kushtis to attack Ardešir Pāpakān (Journ. As. [1866] VII. 134). The imports are clothing, flowered cottons, topazes, coral, storax, frankincense, glass vessels, silver plate, specie, and wine: and the exports costus (spice), bellowium (gun), yellow dye, spikenard, emeralds, sapphires, furs from Tibet, cotton, silk thread, and indigo. The list of imports shows that the people of Skythia were a civilised race and by no means wild nomads.

The Periplus next (chapter 40) gives an accurate account of the Ran (Burinn) which in those days was probably below sea level (Haig, page 22, Burns' Travels into Bokhara, II. 309ff), and was already divided into the Great and the Little. Both were marshy shallows even out of sight of land and therefore dangerous to navigators. The Ran was then as now bounded to south and west by seven islands, and the headland Barakē (Dvārakā) a place of special danger of whose neighbourhood ships were warned by meeting with great black water-snares.

The next chapter (41) describes the gulf of Barygaza (gulf of Cambay) and the adjoining land, but the passage has been much mangled by the copist of our only MS. and more still by the guessess of editors. According to the simplest correction of our MS. our author says that next after Barakē (Dvārakā) follows the gulf of Barygaza and the country towards Ariakē, being the beginning of the kingdom of Mambares and of all India. Mambares may possibly be a corruption of Makkharaupos or some similar Greek form of Mahākārāpura, the title of the so-called "Sāh Kings" who ruled here at this period (A.D. 250). According to the reading of the MS. the author goes on to say that "the inland part of this country bordering on the Ichmē (read Sabir = Saurura) district of Skythia is called . . . . . . (the name, perhaps Marc, has dropped out of the text), and the sea-coast Syrastrēnē (Surāstrāra)." The country abounded then as now in cattle, corn, rice, cotton and coarse cotton cloth, and the people were tall and dark. The capital of the country was Minnagaras whose cotton was brought down to Barygaza. This Minnagaras is perhaps the city of that name placed by Ptolemy near Mānpur in the Vindhya, but it has with more probability been identified with Junagad (Bhayānāl) which was once called Manipura (Kath. Gaz. 487). Our author states that in this part of the country were to be found old temples, ruined camps and large wells, relics (he says) of Alexander's march, but more probably the work of Menandros and Apollodotos. This statement certainly points to Kāṭhāvādā rather than to Mānpur. The voyage along this coast from Barbarikon to the headland of Pārikē (Gomnāth) near Astakapra (Hathab) and opposite to Barygaza (Breach) was one of 3000 stadia or 300 miles, which is roughly correct. The next chapter (42) describes the northern part of the gulf of Cambay as 300 stadia wide and running northward to the river Maia (Māli). Ships bound for Barygaza steer first northward past the island.
EARLY GREEKS AND ROMANS.

Baliônes (Peram) and then eastward towards the mouth of the Namnadios (Narmada) the river of Broach. The navigation (chapter 48) is difficult by reason of rocks and shoals such as Herône (perhaps named from some wreck) opposite the village of Kamnûni (Kim) on the eastern shore and by reason of the current on the western near Pâplîke (perhaps a sailor’s name meaning Unlucky). Hence the government sends out fishermen in long boats called Trappâgra or Kötumba (Kota) to meet the ships (chapter 44) and pilot them into Barygaza. 300 stadia up the river, by towing and taking advantage of the tides. In this connection our author gives a graphic description of the Bore in the Narbadâ (chapter 45) and of the dangers to which strange ships are exposed thereby (chapter 46).

Inland from Barygaza (that is, from the whole kingdom, which, as we have seen, bordered on Sauvira or Malhâ), lay (chapter 47) the Aratrioi (Aratta of the Mahâbharata and Purânas, who lived in the Panjab), the Arakhósioi (people of eastern Afghanistan), Gandhârai (Gandhara of N.-W. Panjab), Prokhaîa (near Pusâvak), and beyond them the Baktrianoi (of Balkh) a most warlike race, governed by their own independent sovereigns. These last are probably the Kushâns who, when the Parthian empire fell to pieces in the second quarter of the third century, joined the Kâriân Pahlâvis in attacking Ardashir. It was from these parts, says our author, that Alexander marched into India as far as the Ganges—an interesting glimpse of the growth of the Alexander legend since the days of Arrian (A.D. 159). Our author found old drakheis of Mennâdros and Apollodotos still current in Barygaza.

Eastward in the same kingdom (chapter 48) is the city of Okeû, which was formerly the capital, whence onyxes, porcelain, muslins, and cottons are brought to Barygaza. From the country beyond Prokhaîa came costus, bdellium, and spikenard of three kinds, the Katybourina, the Patropapige, and the Kabalitlc (this last from Kibul).

We learn incidentally that besides the regular Egyptian trade Barygaza had commercial relations with Mônsa in Arabia (chapter 21) with the East African coast (chapter 14) and with Apolôgos (Obollass) at the head of the Persian Gulf and with Omâna on its eastern shore (chapter 36). The imports of Barygaza were wine, bronze, tin and lead, coral and gold stone (topaz?), cloth of all sorts, variegated sashes (like the horrible Berlin wool comforters of modern days), storax, sweet clover, white glass, gum sandarse, abrinum for the eyes, and gold and silver coin, and unguents. Besides, there were imported for the king costly silver plates, musical instruments (musical boxes are still favoured by Indian royalty), handsome girls for the harem (these are the famous Yavani handmaids of the Indian drama), high-class wine, apparel and choice unguents, a list which shows that these monarchs lived in considerable luxury. The exports of Barygaza were spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, onyxes, porcelain, box-thorn, cottons, silk, silk thread, long pepper (chillies), and other wares from the coast ports.

From Barygaza our author rightly says (chapter 50) that the coast trends southward and the country is called Dakhinâbâdas (Dakhinâpatha); much of the inland country is waste and infested by wild beasts, while populous tribes inhabit other regions as far as the Ganges. The chief towns in Dakhinâbâdas (chapter 51) are Paithâna (Paithan) twenty days journey south of Barygaza and Tagara (Dhârûr) a very large city ten days east of Paithâna. From Paithâna come onyxes, and from Tagara cottons muslins, and other local wares from the (east) coast.

Appendix VI.

EARLY GREEKS

AND ROMANS.

Paithâna.
Appendix VI.

EARLY GREEKS AND ROMANS.

Periplous.

The smaller ports south of Barygaza are Akalarou (perhaps the Khabirun of Mahomedan writers and the modern Kavari the river of Nārārī) Sourpasa (Sarpā near Bassein) and Kalhuma, which was made a mart by the elder Saraganes, but much injured when Saraganea became his master, for from his time Greek vessels visiting the port are sent under guard to Barygaza. This interesting statement is one of the clearest indications of the date of the Periplous. At Bāndārakar has shown, the elder Saraganes implies also a younger, who can be no other than Yajunari Satakur (A.D. 140), and the Periplous must be later than his time. The Sarangane of the text must have been a raider of Gbārast and may be identified with the Kalastrapa Sanghadānī (A.D. 224).

South of Kallima (chapter 53) were Sūmylla (Chaul) Manusagara (Mandangoal) Palipatna (Pal near Mahād) Melisigara (probably Janjira) and Byzantium (Chipla). The words which follow probably give another name of Byzantium "which was formerly also called Tarascombos," the name Toparos being a misunderstanding (Müller, Geogr. Gr. Min. I. 290). South of this are the islands of Sāsa Kuralagā (Burnt Island) Aigidiō (Augudiya), Kainalai (Island of St. George) near the Kharmanās (Goa), and Λευκό (Leccidives) all pirate haunts. Next comes Luniycikhe (the Tamil country) the first marls of which are Krōna (Canmanor or Telicherry, rather than Hanavari, which is too far north) and Tyndias (Kadalurdi near Beypur) and south of these Muziris (Krāngārama) and Neokunya (Kailada). Tyndias and Muziris were subject to Kēpōbrōras (Keralaputra that is the Cera king) and Neokunya to Pausan (the Pāndya king of Madura). Muziris was a very prosperous mart trading with Arisakē (North Konkan) as well as Ektē. Neokunya was up a river 120 stadia from the sea, ships taking in cargo at the village of Bakar at the mouth of the river. Our author gives an interesting account of the trade at these ports and further south as well as on the east coast, but we are not concerned with this part of his work.

Markianos of Harakleia about the year 400 A.D. is the leading geographer of the period following Ptolemy, but his work consisted chiefly in corrections of Ptolemy's distances taken from an obscure geographer named Prokagorea. He adds no new facts to Ptolemy's account of western India.

Stephanos of Byzantium wrote about 450 A.D. (or at any rate later than Markianos, whom he quotes) a large geographical dictionary of which we have an epitome by one Harmhas. The Indian names he gives are chiefly taken from Ḥakatais, Arranis, and especially from a poem called Bāsrīkara on the exploits of Dīnyasa, by a certain Dīnyasa. But his geography is far from accurate; he calls Barakē (Dvārakā) an island, and Barygaza (Breach) a city, of Gedeśia. Among the cities he names are Azangō (quoted from Ḥakatais), Barygaza (Breach), Boukephala (Jalāpur), Byzantium (Chipla), Ėrēnē, Gorgippa, Darwaza famous for woven cloths, Dīnyasa (Nyāsa?), Kathia (Mallia?), Kaaspurya and Kaspēiros (Ksalmir), Mārāga, Māssāka (in Swāt), Nyāsa, Palimbūru (Pāltiputra), Panaigura near the Indus, Patāla (thirty-five miles south-east of Haidarābād, Sind), Ṛhūrō, Ṛhūn in Gantakō, Sāna, Scānlōnd, Sinūm on the great gulf (perhaps Ptolemy's Aasinda, Vadnagar), Sālīuna, and Taxila. He also names a number of tribes, of whom none but the Orbital (Maktān) the Pundā (Pāndya), Bōlinga (Ballungī Basvās) and possibily the Sālanga (Sālānkāyana) belong to the western coast.
Kosmas Indikopleustes, shipman and monk, who wrote his Topographia Christiana between A.D. 580 and 630, is the last of the ancient writers who shows independent knowledge of India. He says that Sindu (Sind), is where India begins, the Indus being the boundary between it and Persia. The chief ports of India are Sindu (Dubai), which exports musk and nard; Orchotna (Surashtra that is Veraval) which had a king of its own; Kalliana (Kalyan) a great port exporting brass, and siam (blackwood) logs and cloth having a king of its own and a community of Christians under a Persian Bishop; Sibor which also had a king of its own and therefore cannot be Suparia, which is too close to Kalliana, but must be Goa, the Sindabar of the Arabs, Parti, Mangaruth (Mangalore), Salopatama, Nalopatama, and Padopatama which are the five ports of Malé the popper country (Malabar), where also there are many Christians. Five days' sail south of Malay Salediba or Taprobane (Ceylon), divided into two kingdoms, in one of which is found the hyacinth-stone. The island has many temples, and a church of Persian Christians, and is much resorted to by ships from India Persia and Ethiopia dealing in silk, aloewood, cloves, sandalwood, &c. On the east coast of India is Marallo (Mirava opposite Ceylon) whence conch-shells are exported: Then Kober (Kaveripatam or Pegu). Yule's Cathay Introd. p. 638., which exports Alabandman; further on is the clove country and furthest of all Tsinista (China) which produces the silk. In India further up the country, that is further north, are the White Onoi or Hunas who have a king named Gollas (Mihirakula of inscriptions) who goes forth to war with 1000 elephants and many horsemen and tyrannises over India, exacting tribute from the people. His army is said to be so vast as once to have drank dry the ditch surrounding a besieged city and marched in dryshod.

In his book XI. Kosmas gives some account of the wild beasts of India, but this part of his work does not require notice here.

This is the last glimpse we get of India before the Arabs cut off the old line of communication with the Empire by the conquest of Egypt A.D. 641-2).
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