CHAPTER XII

(A) TREATMENT OF THE VANQUISHED AND THE PRISONERS OF WAR

(B) MORALE IN BATTLE

(C) WAR-MUSIC
The so-called ethics of war and the humane principles of treating the vanquished appear to have been buried under the debris of the period and the wars had become sanguinary and barbarous by the time the history of warfare entered our period of study. The sword of vengeance fell upon the capital-towns and their inhabitants alike. The imposing mansions were given to the flames, architectural marvels razed to the ground and the high and low relieved of their ancestrol treasures. Bouleversement was the lot of the boulevards and humble thorough-fares, the plough was drawn over them by the donkeys and luckless land became cester and cotton fields.

Kumārapāla when marching on Ajmer, advanced into the borders of hostile Nādola, "Captured Palī in V. 1207 and, out of anger, had ginger sown there, an operation which probably involved the sack of the town and destruction of some of its chief buildings."² We are informed by Meru Tunga that when Bhoja's general Kulachandra sacked Anhilvārā and "sowed shell money at the gate of the clock-tower of the royal palace" he was severely condemned for this mild act as Bhoja felt that he should have instead "sown charcoal."³

Having defeated Bahrām Shāh, Alaud-din a feudatory of the Ghaznawids" entered Ghazni, and for seven nights and days gave it to the flames. Writers record that during these seven

2. Sharma, D. S., Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 53
3. Prabandhacintamāni, p. 46, quoted by D.C. Ganguly, History of the Parmāra Dynasty, p. 116
days the clouds of smoke so darkened the air that day seemed
to be night and the flames so lighted the sky at night that
night looked like day. For these seven days plunder, devastation
and slaughter were continuous..... under the orders of the
conqueror, all the Mahmūdi Kings, with the exception of
Mahamūd, Masūd and Ibrāhīm, were dragged from the graves and
burnt."

The burning and destruction of hostile capitals by
Vigraha-rāja IVth has been praised by Bijolia Inscription, a
composition of a Jain Yeti. So much so that even the places of
worship were not spared destruction at the hands of co-reli-
gionist and their plight at the hands of the adherents of the
rival creeds can be better imagined that described. When
Karna Kalachuri invaded Magadha, a number of sacred Buddhist
establishments were sacked by him. When Kutub-d-din Aibak
sacked Benāras he "destroyed nearly one thousand temples and
raised mosques on their foundations......" The idol of Somnāt
was broken into four pieces, one each was sent to Jami Masjid
of Ghazni, Mecca and Medina, and one was "placed at the entrance
of the royal palace." Besides this, Mahmūd was also credited
with the conversion of a thousand temples into as many a

4. Tabakat-i-Nasiri, (Elliot & Dowson, Susil Gupta, Calcutta),
p. 34
5. Sharma, Dashrath, Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 215
7. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII-3, 1936, p. 471
9. Mihān-e Siraj, Tabakat-i-Nasiri (Elliot & Dowson, Susil
   Gupta, Calcutta), Reprint, 1953, p. 14
mosques. After the sack of Thanesar "The idol Jagsom was sent to Ghazni to be trodden under foot in the streets and decapitated."

When the dead and lifeless objects were reduced to such a pitiable condition and the remorseless indignities, the hand of vengeance must have struck at the human beings with all the venom, ferocity and barbarity of the age. One is perplexed and shudders when one learns as to how cruel and heartless could a man be to a man. Bound in chains lakhs were carried as captives.

"Beautiful women, like Apsaras..... and all the Malwa king's adherent with their feet restrained by iron fetters...." were the first presentations made to Harṣa by Bhandi. In one single expedition Mahmūd took as many as 200,000 prisoners - of war so that Ghazni gave the appearance of an Indian town and a large number of slaves and slave-girls became the property of even an ordinary soldier. Such was the multitude of captives brought from India that a purchaser could not be found for a slave at four shillings and seven pence a head. Such was the unenviable lot of these poor prisoners that men of high and exalted stations in India were sold as slaves of common shopkeepers. Even Jaipāl-Shāhi was auctioned in the slave market of khorāsān for only 80 dirams, after he and his companions had been humiliated with the 'dust

12. *Harṣacarita* of Bana (Cowell and Thomas), p. 225
15. Elliot & Dowson, Vol. II, p. 39
of Kufir' smeared on them and paraded in the street with their hands bound at their backes and "heads hanging down in shame." The Rajpūt Princes are reported to have put their adversaries to even worst indignities by making them sell curd in the market places. This was not all. The journey to doom for the Captives, was at times long, circuitous and torturous.

When prince Bairam defeated Seifud-deen Ghori, the later was seated on a bullock with his face blakened and turned towards the tail. He was taken round the city and exposed to public insults and jeers before he was tortured to death and his head dispatched to Sultan Sunjur Sooljookey. In 1035 A.D. Masood dispatched Tilok, the son of Jye Sain, who was in command of the entire Hindu Troops of Ghazni, against Ahmad. Thousands of Ahmad's soldiers were taken prisoners and their noses and ears cut off by their Captors. The Prabandha Cintāmani of Merutunga, (pp. 34-35) records that Parmāra Vākapati II (Munja) had defeated Chaulukya Tailapa six times before he himself was humbled by him and taken prisoner. Tied with a rope, and put in a wooden cage, he was locked up in the Karnāta jail. There, he fell into love with Mrñālavati, a sister of Tailapa, who had been detailed to look after him in his Captivity. In a moment of weakness he confided to her the plans of his rescue by his men with a request to

17. Dwivedi, H.B., Dilli ka Tomar (Hindi), p. 245
19. Ibid., p. 63
elope with him. The lady betrayed his trust and revealed the plot to her brother. Infuriated Tailapa ordered his royal prisoner to be bound with ropes and made to beg his meals from door to door. The Lord of Avanti, who once possessed fourteen hundred and seventy six elephants, who treasured glory and gold, was reduced to most abject and sorrowful state through his own indiscretion. With his begging-bowl in hand he wept and cried aloud, reassurin g him self:

"Do not be distressed, O monkey, That I was,
Ruined by her;
Who has not been ruined by women,
Rāma, Rāvana, Mnūja and others?"

His miseries continued for a number of days in the winding streets of the Chālukyan Capital when he was finally brought to the place of execution. Even the cruel axe of the executioner did not end Mnūja Vakapati II's travails. "They severed his head from his body, moistened it with thick sour milk, and fixed it on a stake in the courtyard of the royal palace."20

Comparing their lot with those just described, fortunate were those prisoners of war who were put to death in cold blood and not made to suffer incalculable indignities and tortures. No less numerous was this category of people. Thousands were put to death by Muhammad Kasim,21 and the sword of Muhammad Ghori was no less sharper in making barbarous executions after

20. D.J. Ganguel, History of the Parmara Dynasty, pp. 58-60
the second battle of Tarain, before the gates of Ajmer. When Nagārjuna fled from the fortress of Guḍpura, the remnants of his forces including his mother and the queen fell into the hands of Prithvirāja III who had a garland made of their heads and hung it up in the fort of Ajmer, not a few of them were his own kith and kin.

It may be mentioned that this marcellus treatment and butchery of the Captives of War, was no exception to India and her adjacent neighbours. It was a peculiar feature of the Age. In May 633 A.D. Khalīd had vowed that if he won the battle of Allis, he would make "the blood of his foes——-flow as in a crimson stream." When the Persians were defeated, he ordered the prisoners to be brought and of whom a great multitude gathered in the Camp. "Then the butchery commenced in the dry bed of a canal, but the earth drank up the blood. Company after company was beheaded and still the gory flux remained. At last, by advice of an Arab Chief, Khalīd had flood gates opened and the blood red tide redeemed his vow——— for three days corn for the army was ground by the reddened flood," with the help of four mills which were near at hand.

Talking about the prisoners of war to be beheaded, Fakhr-ud-Dīn Mubdbir advises that their mouths should be sealed to prevent

22. Elphinstone, History of India, p. 364
23. Prithvirāja Vilāja, X, 88. XII 8-38; Extracts translated and reproduced by Harbilas Sarda in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1913, p. 279 and Dachrya Sharma, Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 74, 215 respectively
24. Sharma, Dāhrat, p. 215
26. Ibid., pp. 55-56
27. Ibid.
28. Adabul Harb Vashijat, Athar Abbas Rizvi, p. 265
mutinous acts caused through desperate and dejected talking amongst the condemned.

We may, however, admit to the credit of the sanguinary princes of our age that where political exigencies so demanded they could be wise enough to be mild and benigntowards the conquered. Kautilya, being a shrewd pragmatist very emphatically stressed the need for kind treatment to the vanquished and their princes by the promises of security of their herds of cattle and villages and reinstatement of those who were "possessed of good treasury and army." 29 Sukra went a step forward and laid down even the salaries and allowances for the defeated princes and their dependents, or even could leave them off by fixing tribute to be paid by them. "As a milkman milches a cow without exhausting the supply in, or cutting away her teats, so a king shall justly tap the resources of an enemy's country brought under his sway, without draining it dry or carrying fire and sword through its entire length." 32 Therefore, instances are not lacking when we find that "where submission was proffered, quarter was readily given; the people of the country were permitted the exercise of their own creeds and laws, and natives were some times placed in responsible situations of the government." 33

29. Arthasastra, Bk. VII, Ch. XVI
30. Oppert, p. 139
31. Ibid., p. 114
32. Garuda-Purana (Eng Tr) by M.N. Dutt Sastrī, p. 328
33. Elliot & Dowson, Vol. I, p. 433
However as mentioned earlier, these acts of large-hearted benevolence and tolerance were dictated by the political needs of the time and were not the results of or love for and mercy on the vanquished races. "Small number of the invading force, as well as....... ignorance of civil institutions" were the real underlying causes for this uncommon behaviour. 34

Besides the merciless and sanguinary treatment meted out to the vanquished people as detailed in earlier paragraphs Dr. K.S. Saxena on the authority of Kalhana cites numerous other practices which were not very harsh or inhuman i.e. hair styles and dresses, such as which were imposed by Lalitaditya Muktapida of Kashmir upon the vanquished people. "The Turushkas were made to shave off half their heads and the people inhabiting the South forced to put on a dress (loin-cloth) which touched the ground like the tail of an animals." 34A This was not any innovation introduced by the kings of Kashmir but was well known in the earlier period. Sakas had been forced to shave off half of their heads and the yavanas were ordered to remove all hair from their heads.

It may be of interest to also note the treatment meted out to those prisoners-of-war who escaped from their captors and trekked back to their homes. We have it on the authority of Alberuni that they were required to "fast by way of expiation, they bury them in the dung, stale and milk of cows for a

34. Ibid., and also Taju-1 Ma-Asir, Elliot & Dowson (Susil Gupta, Calcutta), p. 36
34A. Saxena, K.S., Political History of Kashmir, p. 83
34B. Harivamsa, XIV, 1-19; Wilson, H.H., Hindu History of Kashmir, Calcutta, 1960, p. 46 fn; quoted Saxena, p. 83
certain number of days, till they get into a state of fermentation. Then they drag them out of the dirt and give them similar dirt to eat, and more of the like.\textsuperscript{35}

That this was so, was not accepted by the Brāhmaṇs from whom Alberuni enquired. They informed him that a returned prisoner-of-war was "never allowed to return into those conditions of life in which he was before he was carried off as a prisoner. And how should that be possible?" Exclaims the learned Traveller because, "If a Brāhmaṇ eats in the house of a āudra for sundry days, he is expelled from his caste and can never regain it."\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{35} Sachau, \textit{Alberuni's India}, Ch. LXXI, p. 163
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid.
"It has always been a military axiom, that a man's will to fight is the ultimate arbiter of battles. ... It is not the number of soldiers, but their will to win which decides battles." 37 Because, tactical manoeuvring is of no avail and the best of battle-plans would crash, if the morale of the men is low and they are not willing to fight. 38 Of all the machines of war, man is the most complicated and complex machine, 39 and as it is, war being "a desperately muddled confusing, and chaotic business," 40 it can not be fought successfully unless the men are motivated to fight it. Napoleon estimated that morale was three times more important than the numbers. 41

The question, then naturally arises as to what is morale? It is difficult to define it but it includes willing following of leaders even under adversities, and, severe stresses and strains. 42 "It is a quality of mind and spirit which combines courage, self-discipline, and endurance.... it is seen as an individual's readiness to accept his fate willingly even to the point of death, and to refuse all roads that lead to safety at the price of conscience." 43 Webster's dictionary defines

38. Baynes, Morale, p. 93
39. Psychology for the Armed Services, Edited by Edwin, T. Boring, p. 312
40. Baynes, p. 93
41. Valentine, C.W., The Human Factor in the Army, p. 60
42. Ibid.
43. Baynes, p. 108
morale as "a confident, resolute, willing, often self-sacrificing and courageous attitude of an individual to the tasks allotted to him." According to Field Marshal Slim "Morale is a state of mind. It is that intangible force which will move a whole group of men to give their last ounce to achieve something without counting the cost to themselves; that makes them feel they are part of something greater than themselves."  

Morale in simple words means the 'will to fight'. It is that indomitable will of the soldier to get at the enemy which remains unshaken in the face of all the vicissitudes, privations and discomfits of the prolonged war. Men with the lowest morale have been known to run like dogs hiding their daggers as if it were their tails and seen trembling from fear even when a leaf shook. They had "their bowls moved, put their fingers into their mouth to protect themselves, as if they were cattle and dropped their weapons in terror." The whole army is known to have "abandoned its stores, threw away the treasure, left its valuables and dropped its arms, thinking of nothing but flight...... In the river Madhumati, the linen cloths abandoned by the men appeared like the rows of geese, their shields like multitudes of lotuses, the heaps of swords like water plants, their horses like rocks, their golden

44. Ibid.
45. Defeat into Victory, p. 155
46. Kalhana, Ratangini, VIII 324
47. Ibid.; 463-64
48. Ibid., VII 85-86
vessels like ruddy geese and those of silver like foam." 49
It had happened as a result of heavy rain when Harsa (1089-
1101 A.D.) was besieging Dugdhaghāṭa. And again, when there
was unseasonal rain fall, "The soldiers, pained by the cold-
wind and sinking in the slough of the fields, at once abandoned
their horses, swords, armour and other (equipment) 50 and ran
for shelter to the fort.

On the contrary, we find when in high spirits and morale,
the soldiers had victory licking their feet. When Harṣavardhana
set out to avenge the death of his brother and arriving at the
camp, he overheard the princes singing praises of the heroes
of the bygone age Mandhāta, Raghu, Arjuna and so on. Their
accomplishments were in no way below the expectations raised
and sentiments expressed.

The foundations of morale, according to Field Marshal
Viscount Slim, 52 are spiritual, intellectual and material.
"Spiritual first, because only spiritual foundations can stand
real strain. Next intellectual, because men are swayed by
reason as well as feeling. Material last important, but last
because the very highest kinds of morale are often met when
material conditions are lowest."

Religion has always played a major role in the building
of morale and it could "arouse in men a blaze of contempt for
death." 53 It was with this purpose in view that in India a

49. Ibid., 1189-94
50. Ibid., 1373-74
51. Harsacarita of Bāna, (Thomas & Cowell), pp. 210-11
52. Defeat into Victory, p. 155
53. Ibid., p. 156
prince had to undergo detailed and manifold religious ceremonies. The king was ordained to fast and remain in his chariot along with his weapons on the day preceding the battle. Reciting mantras of the Atharvaveda he was to offer oblations to the fire and pray for victory and attainment of heaven for those who would fall dead in the battle-field. Besides, he was to place himself at the behest of the Brāhmaṇas, obviously for the performance of other rituals.

The royal priests and the court bards had a very important role to play. The auspicious aspects of the theological performance by the priests were widely spread by his followers. Bards, devoted themselves in eulogising the histories of the family-heroes of the princes and the Knights. The biographies of the epic heroes came very handy. They proclaimed "heaven as the goal for the brave and hell for the timid." Even before the battle when the troops were drawn up in a battle array and during the intervals, the priests and the bards delivered inspiring sermons. Elaborating the characteristic traits of the Rajputs H.G. Rawlinson says: "the ballads give a vivid picture of the warriors passing the night before the battle, listening to recitations from the Mahābhārata, longing for the morning as a lonely wife longs for her husband, and asking when will the night pass away: when will the

54. Arthaśāstra, Bk. X, Ch. III
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid; A.L.Basham, The Wonder that was India, pp. 135-36
morning come the time of battle?" The role of religion and its representative priests was faithfully portrayed by the later works on Indian polity. It was the banner of religion that had carried the Muslim arms in almost whole of Europe and Asia. The ambition of becoming a Ghāzi was the motivating factor which inspired the followers of Islām to lay their bodies in the service of their newly acquired religion. We have numerous instances when Mahmūd prostrated right in the battle-field to receive blessings of Allah. There was not a battle of consequence in which he "did not kneel down in prayer and implore the blessings of God upon his arms." When opposed tooth and nail by the troops of Bessajy Ray and unable to make dent into his defences, "Mahmood, turning his face towards Mecca, Prostrated himself in sight of his troops, and implored the aid of the prophet, 'Advance, advance', cried the king 'our prayers have found favour with God.' As today, so in the past, it is the Capacity and skill to lead people that is most needed in the army. It is the leader who not only issues orders but inspires faith in the practicability of those orders and motivates his command to implement those orders in the face of all the dangers, disorders and fears of war. It is the commander who can make or mar the morale of the force by virtue of his unique position. "His men can be hungry, cold, tired, worried.... and can still have good

58. India, A Short Cultural History, p. 202
60. Elphinstone, The History of India, p. 335
61. Ibid., p. 345
63. Boring, Psychology for the Armed Services, p. 410
Only if they have been trained to undergo hardships and have full faith in their leaders. 64

There could perhaps be no worst examples of bad morale caused by poor leadership and complete lack of training to put up with difficult living conditions than the ones already cited from the history of Kashmir earlier, where the troops have been known to run away from the field by the untimely fall of rain. Again, when Lalitāditya undertook an expedition to the desert and was misled by a local guide to a place where no drinking water was available, "Hearing this, the whole army was deprived of all vigour, resembling a rice-field, on which the corn has been destroyed by a hailstorm, and only the stalks remain." 65

Jayapida's soldiers deserted him in large numbers just because he failed to inspire confidence in himself. Jayasinha's (1128-49 A.D.) troops led by incompetent commanders when fleeing after abandoning the siege of Lohāra, were way-laid by Sujji's troops, relieved of their belongings even without raising a finger of protest, leave aside drawing a sword to protect the soldiers or themselves. They vied with each other in demonstrating their skill to flee, "Some who were scaling the rocks in leaps and displaying their crimson under clothings, showed (such) skill in their flight as (if they had been) red-buttocked monkeys.......

There was not a single minister there, who did not fling away courage and flee like a beast, "Laksmaka, the chamberlain was seen "hurrying to escape in confusion, carried on the shoulders of a servant." 67

64. Ibid.
65. Rājatarangini, IV 295
66. Ibid., 411
67. Ibid., VIII 1879-87
army led most poorly and consequently with no will, whatsoever, to defend itself against not very strong opponents?

One of the means and a very effective one, normally adopted by the commanders to boost morale, was to address the troops with inspiring appeals and speeches and set a personal example of valour and courage. When the fort of Brāhmanābād had been besieged by Muhammad Kāsim and the resistance of the besieged was almost floundering, Laddī, the widow of Dāhir rose up and said, "It is necessary that we should stop here, overcome the enemy, preserve our homes and dwellings." 68 King Sussala (1121-28 A.D.) when in difficult position in the battle of Šrinagar thus spoke: "I wish to do today what Bhijja, that proud grand father......did for his country's sake in the battle with Hammīra......Is there any person holding a place among self-respecting men, who would abandon his country at the end without having wetted it with the blood of his body, just as the tiger (does not leave) his skin (without having wetted it with his blood)." Saying this, he rushed forward flashing his sword, but was stopped by one of his feudal Lords Kamaliya who dissuaded him saying, "While there are servants it is not fitted for kings to proceed in front." 69

Mahmūd had done the same a number of times and "cheered his troops with such energy, that, ashamed to abandon a king under whom they so often fought and bled, they with one accord, gave a loud shout and rushed forward with an impetuosity, which could no

68. Chach Nāma (Elliot & Dowson), Vol. I. p. 181
69. Rājatarangini, VIII 1183-94
longer be withstood." Ferishta also records an instance where in "Mahmood, addressing his troops, said, he should in person lead to conquest or to death." The place of a leader in the ancient armies will be well realized when we recall that the soldiers owed their allegiance only to the Commander-in-chief who was in most cases the king himself and broke loose when he was dead. He then, was a great rallying force. When Śāmarvarman (A.D. 983-902 A.D.) was killed by a Śvaśāka with the help of an arrow, Sukhrāja and his other ministers kept his death a closely guarded secret till the army had crossed over the enemy's territory. They made use "of cords, which made his head bend down and rise like that of a puppet and they caused him to return the greetings of the feudatories who had come (to do homage)."

Having put to death Grahavarman, the king of Mālwa was supposed to be planning an invasion of his territories "deeming the army leaderless," so was the intelligence report given to Harsavarman. The army of Chaulukya Mūrāja I (941-997 A.D.), on receipt of information about the invasion by Vakapati II, became terrified out of fear, and when fielded in the action "was miserably worsted in the resultant battle." Mūlarāja fled and his armies bereft of a leader and guide, knowing not what to do sought refuge with the Rāstrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikūndī.

70. Elphinstone, The History of India, p. 335
72. Rājatarangini, IV 330-31
73. Ibid., V 223-24
74. Harsacarita (Thomas & Cowell), p. 173
75. Ganguly, D.C., History of the Parmāra Dynasty, pp. 53-54
Another means of building morale was the employment of soothsayers and spies to declare and spread the belief that the conjunctions of stars, the existing omens and the condition of enemy troops were such that own troops, were bound to win and the enemy forces were doomed to come to a grief. In 1043 A.D. when the confederacy of the Hindu princes under the king of Delhi having retaken Hansi, and Thanesar from the lieutenants of Madood had been besieging Nagarkot for good four months, the Raja of Delhi, "pretended to have seen a vision, in which the great idol of Nagarkot had appeared and told him that, having now revenged himself upon Ghizney, he would meet him at Nagarkote in his former temple. The story was propagated by Brahmans, it gained credence among the superstitious, by which means the Raja was joined by Zealots from all parts, and soon saw himself at the head of a numerous host." The fort fell soon after and the king craftily replaced the old idol with the one exactly similar to the previous one.

The spreading of rumours are also known to have been used for what is termed these days, as the psychological-warfare, which is aimed at creating that state of mind of the enemy's troops and civilians which could "make it possible to defeat them with a minimal expenditure of man-power, time and material."

While king Harsa had besieged Prithvigiri, the rumour was spread.

76. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. X, Ch. III
79. *Baring, Psychology for the Armed Services*, pp. 486-87
that the Turuśkas were coming. Hearing this the king "raised his camp and marched off in fright, leaving his whole treasures, and stores on the road."80

The material factors contributed no less for the maintenance of morale during our period. Conferring of honours and distribution of rewards were time-honoured means to boost morale. Both Kaṇṭilya81 and Šukra82 prescribed their institution. When Jayasimha (1123-49 A.D.) returned after reducing Sirahśila, the king received the army with "gifts, honours, kind addresses and looks."83 Before him, Harṣa (1089-1101 A.D.) had honoured Kandarpa, who returned after a successful expedition to Rājapuri, by going to meet him and by conferring upon him other marks of respect. According to Chakravarty, amongst the numerous honours conferred upon the heroes of the battle-field, besides high sounding titles, was the privilege to go to the public places with the bands "playing Pancamas- hāśābdha (because it was produced by the five primary musical instruments)."85 It was like the Roman heroes holding triumphant marches in Rome.86 At times the gallant were offered betel-leaf at the hands of the king.

Besides, honours and distinctions, land-grants were also conferred on military commanders in recognition of their

80. Rājatarangini, VIII 1159
81. Arthaśāstra: Bk. X, Ch. III
82. Oppert, p. 112
83. Rājatarangini, VIII 2642-43
84. Ibid., VII 992
85. The Art of War in Ancient India, p. 92
86. Montgomery, p. 122
87. Chakravarty, p. 92
valour and deeds of daring in the face of the enemy. For providing a further stimulus special allowances were sanctioned on the eve of setting out for expeditions. Increments in pay and rations or special monetary-grants were other means of infusing high spirits in the common soldiery. Special cash awards for killing enemy high-ranking officer, elephants and horses were announced and well publicized before the commencement of the action. The special marks of conferring honours amongst the Samanis of Sind at the time of their conquest by Muhammad Kāsim consisted of "Granting a seal, and investing with a garment of silk and tying a turban round the head." After the fall of the fort of Mūltān Muhammad Kāsim distributed amongst his soldiers "silver to the weight of sixty thousand dirams...... and every horseman got a share of four hundred dirams weight." Ladi the widow of Dāhir is also reported to have distributed amongst warriors "all her wealth and treasures." According to Montgomery the Romans had instituted graded system of awards. A man, first in climbing the enemy walls was awarded corona vallaris and corona-aurea was awarded to a centurion for an act of gallantry on the field of battle. Other awards for officers included the presentation of silver-spear-head or a silver-standard of a miniature size and for

88. *Epigraphia Indica*, V, 134; XX, 132
89. *Śiśupālavāda*, XIX, 57; *Rajatarangini* VII 1457; VIII 808 etc
90. *Nītprakāśika VI*, 92; *Kānasollāsa*, pp. 134-5, VV 1163-67; Chakravarty, p. 91
91. *Arthasarāstra*, Bk. X, Ch. III
the privates bracelets, necklaces and embossed-discs.

Another most important means of maintaining high-morale in the army was the discipline. "The sterner the discipline, the better the soldier, the better the army." The aim of all discipline was to produce staunchness in battle and to keep order within an army. The only remedy against the danger of disorder was strong discipline and it is stern discipline which could produce collective heroism. It is why Kautilya deemed it as one of the essential duties of the commander-in-chief to be ever watchful about the discipline of his command "not merely in camping and marching but in the thick of battle."

This was so because "An undisciplined and inefficient line is (weak) like a cotton; a wise man should always apply it to all other purposes but fighting." No wonder, therefore that heavy punishments were prescribed for the disciplinary lapses. Disobedience of orders, desertion, loss of weapons, treachery, failure to fight the enemy and leakage of vital information to the enemy, were to be punished with instantaneous death. The Sukraniti provides for promulgation of standing orders once every eighth day. The men were strictly enjoined not to make friends with enemy soldiers and enter villages without necessary permits to do so and were prohibited all credit transactions with the village folks. They were

95. *A History of Warfare*, p. 123
97. Ibid.
98. Arthasastra, Bk. II, Ch. XXXIII
99. Oppert, p. 103
100. *Nitiprakasika*, VII, 60-63
personally responsible for the security and serviceability of their weapons at all times.¹⁰¹

III

WAR MUSIC

The history of martial music in India can be traced back to the days of the Rgveda where the dundubhi or the war-drums has been eulogised. "Send forth thy voice loud through earth and heaven, and let the world in all its breadth regard thee, O Drum, accordant with Gods and Indra, drive thou afar, yea, very afar, our foemen ...."¹⁰² Kautilya equates musicians with accountants, writers and trained soldiers as far as their pay and allowances were concerned except trumpeters who, because of their special importance, were to get double the salary.¹⁰³ Strict regulations for the care, maintenance and use of musical instruments existed and their violation was deemed to be a penal offence.¹⁰⁴

It was specifically enjoined that battle formations were to be ordered with the help of trumpet sounds.¹⁰⁵ Besides this, numerous were the uses of the military music. It accompanied the army on the march, announced the commencement of action and the fall of the chieftains and the heroes.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁷ Dikshitar classifies martial musical instruments into

¹⁰¹ Sukvaniti, Ch.IV, Sec.vii, II 763-778;
¹⁰² Rgveda, VI, 47, 29-31
¹⁰³ Arthasastra, Bk.V, Ch.III
¹⁰⁴ Ibid., Bk.IV, Ch.I, Bk. I, Ch. XXI
¹⁰⁵ Ibid., Bk.X, Ch. VI
¹⁰⁶ Chakravarty, p. 122
¹⁰⁷ War in Ancient India, pp. 379-80
drums, horns and trumpets. In the first category fall Dundubhi, (Kettle drum) and earth-drum, made by covering a hole in the ground with a dry hide, bakura, bherī, mahābherī, panava, kaka-cha, puskara and pataha. The second class comprised of horn-instruments or Śaṅkhas of sorts, which were known by various names like Pāñchajanya, Paundra, Devedatta, Sughoṣa and Manipuspaka. The trumpets included gomukha and tūrya. Besides these there were lyre (vīnā) and tambourine. The war-music has been referred to in Harsācarita the Śisupāla-Vadha. Devībhāgavata Purāṇa and Mānasollāsa. A large number of musical instruments have been mentioned by Somadevasūrī e.g. śaṅkha, kāhala, dundubhi, puskara, dhakka, anaka, bhambhā, karatā, trivila, damruka, rumia, javaghanta, venu, vīnā and jhallāri.

When Muhammad Kāsim besieged the fort of Rawar, the Indian Garrison "began to beat drums and sound clarions" and of course hurled stones, arrows and javelins on the enemy. In the year 835 A.D. the Jāt Captives of Ajif had their trumpets with them and were reported to have blown their horns aboard the ships on which they had been imprisoned and were awaiting their doom.

108. Ibid.
109. Chakravarty, p. 122
110. Śisupālavadha XVII, 20, 32, 34 (Hindi Tr) by R.P. Tripathi, pp. 457-461, etc.
111. Devībhāgavat Purāṇ I (Hindi Tr) by S.R. Sharma Acharya, pp. 360, 61 and 65
112. Mānas, V. 1203, p. 157; Chakravarty, p. 123
113. Gleanings from: Yasastilaka Campu, V. Raghavan, p. 379
114. Chach Nāmā (Elliot & Dowson), Vol. I, p. 172
115. Ibn-Asir, Kamilut Twarikh (Elliot & Dowson), Vol. I, pp. 103-4
Kalhana records that during the reign of Abhimanyu (958-972 A.D.) when there was a rising against Didda and the royal troops (Ekaṅgas) were in a difficult position, there appeared at that moment, "Rajkulabhatta, scattering the enemy's force by the sound of his martial music and delighting his own (side)."\(^{116}\) In his surprise attack, referred to earlier Sujji announced his attack on the royal troops by the beats of the drum.\(^{117}\) This appears to be a common custom and has been mentioned by Kalhana\(^ {118}\) else where also. The drums were also beaten to facilitate night-watchers in forts as well as the Camps.\(^ {119}\) When king Sussala (1121-28 A.D.) had been besieged in Srinagar by Bhiksucara, one of his accomplices Prithvihara on hearing war music, out of curiosity started counting the musical instruments and found at least 1200 small drums like the ones possessed by Svāpakas besides kettle-drums, tūrya and other big instruments.\(^ {120}\)

We have it on the authority of Adab-ul Muluk,\(^ {121}\) that the Shahis used to blow the conch-shells and do Saṅkhanāḍa at the commencement of the battle. The Parmāras used "Jharjharas" and 'Dāmaras' as war drums.\(^ {122}\) According to chändbardai, the noise created by the Hindu army when they put on their armour, "became ten-fold stronger when the kettle-drums resounded against the enemy."\(^ {123}\) As mentioned in the Hammira-Mahākāvyā

\(^{116}\) Rājatarangini, VI 1246-47
\(^{117}\) Ibid., VIII 1879
\(^{118}\) Ibid., 2942
\(^{119}\) Ibid., 2563
\(^{120}\) Ibid., 1081-82
\(^{121}\) Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1927, p. 491
\(^{122}\) Ganguly, D.C., History of the Parmara Dynasty, p. 245
Muhammad Ghori, in his second battle of Tarain, was able to buy over Prithvirāja's musicians and the master of the stables. Accordingly, when he mounted his pet horse 'Natyārambha', the musicians played a tune hearing which the mount started dancing. The king "being attracted by the music, forgot the grave task he was to perform." The enemies, exploiting this callousness and indifference of the king, launched a fierce attack, routed the Indian army and took Prithvirāja III as Captive. It may, however, be stated here that this incident finds mention only in the work quoted here and nowhere else.

It may also be of interest to mention that the troops used to be well conversant with and recognised the peculiar sounds of the conches and the drums of their lords as well as those of the leading enemy-commanders.

When Anandpāla, under orders of his father Jaipāla arrived in the battle field to chastise Bharat, the patricide ruler of Lahore, "......his soldiers beat the drum which was beaten only when Jaipāla himself was present. The followers of Bharat, therefore, thought that Jaipāla himself was present..... This drum was called the Śankhnād which means 'The lion's roar'. At the sound of this drum, the fresh recruits in the army of Bharat took to flight...." Disheartened the regular troops also followed suit.125

124. The Struggle for Empire, Edited by R.C. Majumdar, (foot note), p. 115