CHAPTER-III
NATURE AND COMPOSITION OF ARMY

It has been suggested in the earlier two Chapters that the period beginning with the 8th century is generally marked as a period of intermittent struggles and internecine wars, through which numerous powerful Rajput clannish monarchies, along with their forts and fortresses were trying to establish their superiority in various parts of northern India by practicing chivalry and warfare. As the boundaries of their newly emerged territorial units had not yet been defined and balanced, they felt insecurity from their neighbours. Under such circumstances, the maintenance of an organised army was a prime requisite on their part in order to defend and extend the boundary lines of their respective territories.

Thus, realising the practical importance and an urgent necessity of an efficient armed unit, the Rajput rulers provided great attention on the regular training and physical exercises of the troops, to make them expert and alert for successful fights. The writers of the period under review should be given a due credit for laying down a special emphasis on this aspect, as one of the important duties of the king in the interest of his own army. Attaching great importance to the daily exercises, Kamandaka opines that “by constant exercises one becomes adept in the use of chariots, horses, elephants, boats and a past master in archery.”1 Again, he advises a king not to discontinue the daily drill even when the army is in camp.2 Somadeva Suri, the author of Nitivakyamrita imparts much value to the fitness and training of soldiers for facing the enemy in battle, combining with their bodily strength and valour, rather than their species or races.3 The

1 Nitisara, pub. Khemraj Sri Krishnadas, XV, V.50.
2 Ibid., XVI, V.18.
3 “जातिः कूले वने तत्याचार्य न हसिनं प्रधाने, किंतु शरीरं चलं शौर्यं शिष्या च 1” (Nitivakyamrita, Ch.22, V.4, p.182).
author of *Agni Purana*, too, advises the king to arrange fighting matches among men of equal strength and prowess to train the warriors.\(^4\) It is also stated by Sukra that a king should try to expertise his warriors through the hunts of lions and practice in discharging arrow and wielding *astras* and *sastras*.\(^5\) He further lays upon the king to arrange the daily military parades both in morning and evening for activising his soldiers and troops, "as the untrained, inefficient and raw recruits" are regarded by him like "the bails of cotton".\(^6\) According to him, the soldiers, who had acquired complete training should be awarded full payment, while those under-trained and half trained only half of the former.\(^7\)

There are ample evidences of the keen interest of the kings to mobilise their forces by constant drills and exercises probably on the advice of such writers. Regarding the practical interest of the kings in the training and exercise of their troops, the example of Chalukya king Somesvara may be clearly cited, who felt himself so eager to observe the performance of soldiers that he regularly organised the fights, displaying their expertise in handling different kinds of weapons.\(^8\)

However, the importance of regular drills and exercises to mobilise the army was also recognised by the earlier writers like Kautilya, who states that a feeling of spirit and enthusiasm may also be infused even in the timid by regular training and discipline. Therefore, the king, in his view, should arrange daily exercises of soldiers and also watch and encourage them.\(^9\) The king carefully observed the qualities and behavior of the ranks of army and deployed them to

\(^4\) *Agni Purana*, Ch. CCX, LIX, p.894. 
\(^5\) *Sukraniti*, p.157, VV.79-80. 
\(^6\) Ibid. 
\(^7\) Ibid., p.183, V.9. 
their respective duties. The military campaigns were personally led and directed by him. Good efforts were also made to discipline the soldiers. For this purpose, they were communicated military orders on every eighth day.

The attempts of the Rajputs to organise and train their soldiers are far from suspicion. But, it remains a fact that their cavalrmen were not provided a perfect training in mounted archery and free discharge of weapons in hitting the target in action of rapid mobility like those of the Turkish horse riders and cavalrmen, who received a special training in such skills through a game of Polo.

Again with the arrival of the Turkish invaders in India and bearing the severe blows of their ravaging onslaughts, the Rajputs further tried to improve their capacious forces by emfitting them with some newly introduced technical arms and weapons, so that they could not easily face the defeat at the hand of their powerful adversaries.

The stupendous armed forces of the Rajputs are known for their innumerability and strength. The king usually spent a huge sum of money on the maintenance of such gigantic

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10 *Nitisara*, Ch.20, p.416, V.8.
11 *EI*, I, p.197-98, VV.3-4, 8-10, IA, XVI, p.201, V.3.
12 Soldiers were also ordered to keep their arms, weapons and uniforms quite bright and clean. They could not enter a village without royal permit and were advised not to harass the villagers. According to royal order they were permitted to encamp themselves near the village but outside it. (*Sukraniti*, Ch.IV, section.VII)
13 *Islamic Arms and Armour*, pp.79-82, 86-87).
armies.\(^\text{15}\) Our sources throw a good deal of light on the numerical strength of army. At the time of Vigrahajaja IV's advance against Hammir, the Chahmana army is said to have consisted of 10,00 elephants, 100,000 horsemen, 10,00,000 infantry.\(^\text{16}\) Similarly, Jayapal Shahi opposed Mahmud with 12000 cavalry, 30,000 foot soldiers and 300 elephants.\(^\text{17}\) Unsuri, the court poet of Mahmud described his army as “more numerous than the stars on the sky or the pebbles on the earth”\(^\text{18}\). The army of Prithviraja Chahmana, in the 1st battle of Tarain (AD 1191) is said to have comprised of 200,000 horsemen and 3,000 elephants and uncountable foot soldiers.\(^\text{19}\) While, on the eve of the II battle in the next year (AD 1192), he fought with 3,00,000 horses, 3,000

\(^{15}\) The strength of army differed according to the status of a ruler and his annual income. Sukra states that a nripati with an income of one lakh \textit{karshas} should devote 53\% of his income on the army, by maintaining 100 reserve troops, 300 infantry, 80 horses, 1 chariot, 2 cannons, and 2 elephants. (Ch.IV, Section 7, VV.83-89, Ch.I, VV.183-84). A \textit{mandalika}, with an income of 3 to 10 lakhs is required to possess 300 reserve, 900 infantry, 240 horses, 3 chariots, 6 cannons. A \textit{raja} with income of 10 to 50 lakhs – 1000 reserve troops, 3000 infantry, 800 horses, 10 chariots, 20 cannons and 20 elephants. A \textit{svarat} with an income of 10 to 50 crore – 50,000 reserve, 15000 infantry, 4000 horses, 50 chariots, 100 cannons, and 100 elephants. A \textit{samrat} with income of 50 to 1 crore \textit{karshas} – 10,000 reserve, 30,000 infantry, 8000 horses, 100 chariots, 200 cannons, 2000 elephants. The highest grade of king, according to Sukra, entitled as \textit{virat} with 10 to 50 crore \textit{karshas} should maintain a force consisting of 10,000 reserves, 300,000 infantry, 80,000 horses, 1,000 chariots, 2,000 cannons, 2,000 elephants. (\textit{Sukraniti}, Ch.I, VV.183.).

However, the account appears to be quite exaggerative and highly unreliable. The mention of cannons in the quota of troops and corpses undoubtedly proves that the above account might had been a later addition to the original text. Though, it is worthwhile to assume that a major portion of king’s income was expended on the maintenance of army.

\(^{16}\) Dashrath Sharma, \textit{Early Chauhan Dynasties}, p.213.

\(^{17}\) \textit{Al Utbi’s Tarikh-i-Yamini}, Elliot & Dowson, Vol.II, p.25.


elephants and a considerable number of infantry, as stated by Firishta. Nizamuddin Ahmed writes that in AD 1019, the Chandella king Ganda was ready to face Mahmud with an army comprising of 36,000 horses, 145,000 foot and 390 elephants. The number of troops in the army of Vidyadhara Chandella (AD 1010-1025) is variously ascertained by Firishta comprising of 45,000 infantry, 36,000 cavalry and 64 elephants, by Nizamuddin of 1,45000 infantry, 36,000 cavalry and 340 elephants, by Ibn-al-Asir of 1,44,000 infantry, 56,000 cavalry and 746 elephants and finally by Gardizi of 1,45000 infantry, 36,000 cavalry, and 640 elephants. Al Utbi testifies that the Pratiharas of Kannauj had maintained four gigantic armies according to the four quarters of the wind, each numbering seven to nine lakhs. The Paramara rulers even on the verge of their extinction are said to have possessed 30,000 to 40,000 cavalry and a huge infantry force. Nyayachandra Suri in his Rambhamanjarinatika refers to Jayachandra Gahadawala as dalapangula burdening with his immobile and stupendous forces. According to Kamil-ut Tawarikh, the forces of Jayachandra were consisting of 700 elephants and a million of men. Taj-ul Maasir also informs us that he felt pride on the number of his forces and elephants and


The number of cavalrymen revealed from Kharataragacchapattavali, on this occasion is stated as 70,000 (B.N.S. Yadav, op.cit., p.208).

21 Ibid.


23 Al-Utbi, Elliot and Dowson, Vol.1, p.25.

24 D.C. Ganguly, The History of Paramara Dynasty, p.245, S.K. Bhakari, op.cit., p.34.

25 B.N.S. Yadav, op.cit., p.209, also see Political History of Northern India from Jaina Sources, p.49.

had an army countless as the particles of sand.\textsuperscript{27} In \textit{Prithviraj Raso} too, the army of Jayachandra is referred as so vast that during the march “the van had reached their ground before the rear had moved off”.\textsuperscript{28} Not only this, but several of the Rajput rulers took grandiloquent militaristic titles in order to eulogise themselves as the upholder of extensive armed unit. The Gahadawala king, Govindachandra and his successors adopted the title \textit{asvapati-gajapati-narapati-rajtrayadhipati}, possibly to denote their lordship over cavalry, elephantry and infantry and three distinct worlds.\textsuperscript{29} (earth, heaven and downtrodden world). Though, the very titles can not reveal a clear picture, as they are usually stereotyped and present an exaggerated account. Their validity can be testified by their co-relation with other evidences. Apparently, these gallant Rajputs of our age might had been inspired by the writers, who had stated a great deal about the valuability of army.\textsuperscript{30}

It is a notable fact that such stupendous forces had not been directly maintained by the king. The whole army, instead, was a corpus of a variety of units of distinct characters. The corporeities constituting the Rajput army are generally stated as six in number as borne out from our sources, e.g. (1) \textit{maula} (hereditary troops) (2) \textit{bhrita} (regular forces or mercenaries) (3) \textit{sreni} (troops occasionally supplied by corporations of guilds) (4) \textit{mitra} or \textit{suhrd} (forces of allied

\textsuperscript{27} Elliot & Dowson, Vol.II, p.221.
\textsuperscript{28} Tod, \textit{Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan}, Vol.II, p.936.
\textsuperscript{30} Sukra opines that “the army is the chief means of overpowering the enemy, the king should therefore maintain a formidable force.” In his view “what mind is to human body, the army is to state”. The prosperity of treasury, kingdom and upsurgance of enemy, according to him, depend on army alone. (\textit{Sukraniti}, Ch.I, V.62). Following Sukra, Kamandaka also states that a “king with a strong fighting force rules the earth unhampered and even the forces of a king, possessing an efficient army are turned into friends” (\textit{Nitisara}, Ch.XIII, V.37).
powers) (5) dwisad or ari (soldiers alienated from the enemy camp) (5) atavika (forces of forest tribes like Bhils, Ghakkars etc.) Each of the preceding is said to be more important than the succeeding one.

*Maulabala* was regarded most loyal and reliable, during military campaigns owing to the close association with the king through generations. Though, the authors of literary texts while referring to the *maula* army do not explain the sense in which this army was regarded hereditary. *Manasollasa* explains *maula* as *vamsakramanugata*, while in *Rajnitiratnakara*, it is termed as *pitrapitamahadikramunagata*. *Adipurana* of Jinasena advises, if a soldier dies in battle, the king should appoint his son or brother in his place. But these implications are far from clarifying the actual position whether the son of a soldier succeeded his father, irrespective of his mental and physical aptitude and in case a single soldier had many sons, whether all of them were recruited for the post of their father or the eldest one? Scholars have a difference of opinion in this regard. Whatever had been the policy regarding the succession, it is quite clear that the king highly relied on such troops. Owing to their unvarying trustworthiness, the king always discussed matters and shared thoughts with them. The former was usually advised to proceed

31 *Nitisara*, p.389, Ch.19, V.4.
33 *JAHS*, p.37.
34 Ibid.
36 "सत्काराप्यथुपानां भुव एवं मृत्युपानां भुव (पुत्र) क्षमार्जश्च ।

निक्षिप्तमितिमितिनिनिन 'मितुर्ज' वालर्यार्ज ॥"

*(Nitisara, p.389, Ch.19, V.4)*
against the enemy king with such troops in distant campaigns and in protracted wars due to their capability of enduring loss and destruction.\textsuperscript{37} The author of \textit{Nitivakyaamrita} also states that the hereditary army surely follows in distress, does not revolt even when punished and can not be run over by the enemy.\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Udaipur inscription} of the Paramaras of Malwa also put special praise on the hereditary (\textit{maula}) warriors of Bhoja for their capability and strength of arms.\textsuperscript{39} Some of the hereditary personages including probably the king's friends and his trustworthy soldiers had such a close attachment with the king that they did not hesitate even to immolate themselves at the death of their master.\textsuperscript{40} Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller (7th century AD) probably meant the \textit{maula} troops of Harsha of Kannauj, while referring to the national guards as the heroes of choice valour, hereditary in profession, who guarded the sovereign's residence in peace and fought valiantly in wartime.\textsuperscript{41}

It was probably owing to great faithfulness of hereditary troops that they enjoyed a high respect and reputation, even under the Muslim Sultans of Delhi. Barani writes that only that person was enrolled as a cavalier, whose forefathers were outstanding horsemen and had never

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{37} \textit{Nitisara}, p.392, Ch.19, VV.11-13.
\item \textsuperscript{38} \textit{Nitivakyaamrita}, op.cit., p.186, V.16.
\item \textsuperscript{39} The whole passage runs as follows, “Seeing the Karnatas, the lord of Lata, the king of Gurjara, the Turshkas, the chief among whom were the lord of Chedi, Indraratha, Toggala and Bhima, conquered by his mercenaries alone, his hereditary warriors (\textit{maula}) thought only of the strength of their arms, not of the number of fighters”.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Abu Zaid, Elliot & Dowson, Vol.I, p.9.
\item \textsuperscript{41} Thomas Watters, \textit{On Yuan Chwang's Travel in India}, II, p.161, S. Beal, \textit{Buddhist Records of the Western World}, II, p.82.
\end{itemize}
been accused of rebellion against the state. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, while imparting a great weightage on the hereditary claims of prospective incumbents for the armed forces states to the large body of troops without hereditary background as equal to two or three hereditary soldiers.

Regarding the position and status of maula army, earlier Arthasastra of Kautilya revealed that it had depended on the king for the maintenance and being constantly drilled received favour from him. While a somewhat contradictory statement is found in Manasollasa, which refers to the king having no direct control over the maula army and being advised by the author himself to maintain friendly relations with the chiefs of that army by making gifts of precious stones, ornaments and garments and to provide their maintenance by granting them two or more villages or by payment in gold. Hence, from the comparison of the evidences of both the texts, it may be concluded that the nature of maula army had been constantly changing. It appears that with the gradual development of feudalism, the place of hereditary troops of Kautilya had been taken by the feudal levies supplied by the feudal lords entitled as rais, rajputras rankas, rautas etc.

There are numerous evidences of the participation of feudatories in wars at the behest of their overlords in contemporary literary and epigraphic sources. As a usual practice, the king, at the time of march against the enemy or facing attack from his side, passed general order to his feudatories to join the state army along with their own independent forces to fight valiantly in war. The origin of this practice of seeking assistance of feudatories at the time of war is to be

42 Ziauddin Barani, in A.A. Rizvi's Khalji Kalin Bharat, p.144.
44 Arthasastra, Kangle, II, p.315.
46 The feudal lords had maintained their own independent armies. Sukra marks a clear distinction between gulmibhuta and agulmibhuta army. The former was the state army, while the latter was directly maintained by the feudal chiefs. (Sukraniti, Ch.IV, p.156, VV.72-76). A special type of expedition is also stated by
traced from Gupta period. However, it gained popularity by the 7th century AD, the period of Harshvardhan of Kanauj which witnessed the full grown feudal structure. *Chachnamah* refers to Rai Dahar, the ruler of Sind, vigourously fighting with the Arabs with 1,000 horsemen most of whom were the *rajputras* probably of the status of feudatories, who proceeded in front of the former during the march. The instances of the actual performance of this important obligation by the feudatory chiefs like *ranakas, rautas, rajaputras, samantas,* and *thakkuras* have already been cited in our second chapter.

Our Epigraphs furnish a much clear picture with particular details than the literary sources regarding the support of feudatory chiefs to their ruling king. In the light of such evidence, Kakka, a feudatory of king Nagabhata is stated to have fought with the army of his

47 Kalidasa in his *Raghuvamsa* refers that one of the obligations of *samanta* to his overlord was to accompany him in the military expeditions. (*Raghuvamsa,* Canto V). Though, the term *samanta* is not found mentioned in *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* of Samudragupta, his policy towards the conquered tribal states and frontier kings, (who gratified the emperor by paying all kinds of taxes, obeying his orders and coming to do homage, after getting their conquered territories back) indicates that some seeds of feudalism had been sown by him in the state (*Allahabad Prasasti, CII, Vol.III, No.1, p.6*).

48 It is evident that Rajyavardhan, the father of Harsha at the time of his campaign against the Hunas was attended by his devoted *samantas* (*EI, VI, No.1*). Bana refers in a picturesque manner how the feudal chiefs arrive at the residence of Harsha, mounting upon female elephants from every side before the march and how the king distributed to them the tokens of his favour, according to their respective position and prestige. (*Harshacharita,* V.S. Agarwal, p.158). It is referred by Bana in *Kadambari* that when Chandrapida began the march against the enemy king, a host of the feudatory kings, with their thousand elephants came to his help (*Kadambari* tr. C.M. Ridding, p.86). *Aihole Inscription,* while referring to the victory of Pulkesin over Harsha, describes the feet of the latter as arrayed with the rays of the jewel of diadems of hosts of feudatories, prosperous with unmeasured might (*EI, VI, p.1*).

49 *Chachnamah* in Elliot & Dowson, Vol.I, pp.461, & 446ff. It is notable that the Arabs even after conquering Sind were not able to discontinue the practice of feudatory troops as they had provided a particular place to the hereditary Sindhian
overlord against the Gaudas at Mudgagiri. Similarly, Bahukadhavala referred in Una plate caused the flight of Dharmapala at the instance of Gurjara-Pratihara ruler Nagabhatta, his master. Gunambodhideva, a feudatory of king Bhoja is referred to have fought from the side of the latter against the Palas. The Kahla plates inform us, how the same person had taken away the fortunes of Gaudas in his successful expeditions. The Kalachuri prince Sodhadeva is also mentioned in one of the inscriptions as a participant in Bengal campaign of Bhoja in capacity of his feudatory chief. Both Kumarapal and Vatsaraj are also known to have accompanied their lord Govindachandra in his military campaigns. Dabhoi inscription refers how Lavanyaprasada of Vaghela dynasty, a feudatory of the Chalukya king Bhima II (AD 1178-1241), fought valiantly against the Turks and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. The Paramara king Jayasimha was also assisted by his feudatory named Manadalika in vanquishing the opposing forces led by Kanha. Likewise, Yasodhavala, the Paramara feudatory of Kumarapal is also referred to have assisted his master in the campaigns against Mallikarjuna, the ruler of Konkan.

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50 EI, XVIII, p.95ff.
52 Kahla plates, EI, VII, 85-93.
53 Ibid.
54 EI, XII, p.15, V.23.
55 EI, IV, p.130-33.
57 EI, XXI, p.47.
58 EI, VIII, p.216.

Buhler points out that the Muslim forces had temporarily occupied Anhilwara in AD 1179. Henceforth, the Gujarati forces under the leadership of Lavanyaprasad defeated and drove them out of the province. (Ramgopal Mishra, Indian Resistance of Early Muslim Invaders upto AD 1206, p.77).
and in the war against the Malwa king.\textsuperscript{59} In \textit{Chatsu inscription of Baladitya}, one of the feudatories of the Pratihara king of Bhoja is referred as the conqueror of the kings of north.\textsuperscript{60} It is also stated in the same line that he also presented horses to his lord, king Bhoja.\textsuperscript{61} The inscription further eulogises the Guhila prince Bhatta for defeating the armies of south, at the behest of his overlord.\textsuperscript{62}

The Muslim historians also took a standing note to such an army managed by the Indian kings in crucial circumstances of war. The Rai of Ranthambhor had advanced against the Turks with 10,000 \textit{rawats}, many of whom were captured after the defeat at the enemy’s hand.\textsuperscript{63} \textit{Malfuzat-i-Timuri} significantly refers that “The Raja of Bhatner, when attacked, prepared himself for a defensive battle with a body of the Rajputs, probably feudatories, who supplied the most renowned soldiers of India.”\textsuperscript{64} Minhaj states that Rai Kolah Pithora, in the battle of Tarain fought against Mahmud, along with the whole of \textit{ranas} of Hind.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{59} \textit{EI, VIII}, p.216.

The contemporary south Indian records also throw a flood of light on the military obligations of the feudatories with the inclusion of the supply of a certain number of troops at the demand or order of his overlord and the participation in his wars. Hence, Narasimha Chalukya, a feudatory of the Rashtrakuta king Indra II had taken a prominent part in the campaigns of the latter against the Pratihara king Mahipala (A.S. Altekar, \textit{Rashtrakutas and their Times}, p.273). Similarly, the Chalukyas of Vengi, the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas are stated to have assisted them in their wars against the Gangas. (I.A., XII, pp.91-94).

\textsuperscript{60} \textit{EI, XII}, pp.12 & 16, V.26.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid.

H.C. Ray is of the opinion that Bhatta was probably the feudatory of Mahipala, who regained his territories by defeating the Rashtrakuta kings of south. (\textit{DHNI, Vol.I}, p.582). There are also such other incontestable evidences to show that king Mahipala recovered his dominions with the help of his feudatories. (Ibid.)

\textsuperscript{63} Elliot & Dowson, Vol.III, Appendix, pp.540-41.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid., p.422.
\textsuperscript{65} \textit{Tabakat-i-Nasiri}, tr. Raverty, p.458.
Regarding the system of payment to these feudatory soldiers much has been said in Chapter II. It remains a fact that they were usually provided with land-grants in lieu of salaries, with the obligation to furnish a certain number of troops, either to the king or to his immediate overlord. Several documents of Lekhapaddhati text directly provide evidences to the prevalence of such a system for paying the feudatory soldiers. There are ample evidences of military grants from other literary and epigraphic sources as well.\(^\text{66}\)

As the king was in no direct contact with the soldiers maintained by his feudatories, the grants made to them did not necessarily pass from the king. Instead, the villages were granted to the army chief, who in turn might had bestowed the lands on individual soldiers.\(^\text{67}\) Lekhapaddhati states to the assignment of fiefs to the higher grade of feudatories, entitled as \textit{ranaka} and their distribution to the immediate subordinates, \textit{rajputras}, at the hand of the former.\(^\text{68}\)

The nature and size of the attributed grants differed either, according to the status of the feudatories or according to the personal favour of the king dispensed on them.\(^\text{69}\) The partial attitude of the king might had also been resulted from the material gain brought to the state by

\(^{66}\) See Chapter II of this thesis.

\(^{67}\) Pratipal Bhatia, op.cit., p.224.

\(^{68}\) Lekhapaddhati, p.20.

\(^{69}\) There were various categories of grants, including \textit{desya} (grant of a principality – \textit{rashtra}), \textit{karaja} (grant of usufruct over of a principality – \textit{rashtra}) \textit{gramaja} (grant of a village) \textit{sasana} (permanent assignments), (B.N.S. Yadav, op.cit., p.143). It is notable that regarding the nature of lands possessed by these chiefs, Laxmidhara in his \textit{Krityakalpataru} explains the term \textit{despati} as warrior. (Ibid., p.143). Sometimes, the feudatories also reunited the lordship of \textit{visaya}, \textit{mandala} and group of villages in remuneration of their services. The titles like \textit{desathakkura mandalika}, \textit{mahamandalika}, \textit{mandalesavara}, probably denote to such type of lordship.
some of the feudatories. The practice of granting land in lieu of the military service continued till 
a very late date.\textsuperscript{70} As said in earlier chapter, in some rare cases the cash allowances were also 
provided to the feudatories for the maintenance of troops, offered by them to their overlords.\textsuperscript{71} 
Sometimes, the king also distributed horses, precious jewels, gold and money to feudatory 
soldiers, as a reward of their bravery in a delighted mood.\textsuperscript{72} 

It may undoubtedly be claimed on the basis of the available data that the \textit{maulas} were 
the great commanders of the Rajput forces The Arab traveller, Merchant Sulaiman (9th century 
AD) most probably refers to such levies, while writing about the troops of Indian kings, who 
“came out to fight for their king, though they received no pay from him”\textsuperscript{73} 

\textit{Bhrita} troops, who were regarded next to \textit{maulas} in order of preference and recruited 
from various quarters and distant lands were in direct service of the king.\textsuperscript{74} Being in regular 

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\textsuperscript{70} One of the charters of the 18th century, collected by Tod, records the grant of a 
patta of a pargana by maharaja Jagat Singh to rawat Lal Singh on the condition 
of the performance of military service with 200 horses and 200 foot, whenever 
required. (Tod, \textit{Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan}, Vol.1, Appendix, grant No. V, 
p.234). A similar grant was made by maharana Sangram Singh of Mewar to his 
nephew prince Madho Singh, who was required to perform service with 1,000 
horse and 2000 foot, during six months annually and with 3000 foot and 3000 
horse, when foreign service was required. (Ibid., Grant VI, p.235). It is also found 
mentioned that the lands will be retained by the vassals so long as they would 
perform their services. One of the records refers to the warranting order of a chief 
of Bijolli to his subordinate chief to serve him by one good horse and one 
matchlock, with other appurtenances at home and abroad (Ibid., pp.234-35). 
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\textsuperscript{71} Lekhapaddhati, p.10. 
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\textsuperscript{72} The great king Prithviraja Chauhan usually rewarded his vassals with precious 
gifts, including jewels, gold, horses, elephants etc. to encourage them for further 
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\textsuperscript{73} Elliot & Dowson, Vol. I, p.7. 
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\textsuperscript{74} There are references in Pala and Sena inscriptions to the recruitment of such 
troops from Malava, Khasa, Huna, Kulika, Karnata and Lat countries (B.P. 
Mazumdar, op.cit., p.47). Kalhana refers to the recruitment of mercenaries from 
Rajputana, Sind and Rajgriha in Magadha. (\textit{Rajtarangini}, VII, 979, 1302, VIII, 
2007, VII, 1149, 1501, 1868). Chandesvara specially refers to the soldiers from 
Kurukshetra, Matsya, Panchal, Sursena and speaks them to be placed at the 

service such troops were always found ready in service of the king, in return to which they were regularly paid by him in cash, unlike the maula troops.\(^75\)

Our sources also provide information regarding the salary paid to the regular soldiers. Manasollasa refers that the king should pay regularly and without delay the salaries to the hired soldiers. The salaries were to be paid daily, three monthly, half yearly or yearly in accordance with their work.\(^76\) Medhatihi makes mention that the soldiers under the feudatory chiefs did not fight like their masters for their own interest but received regular wages for their services (bhritiparikritas).\(^77\) Agni Purana also advises the king to make regular payment to the troops as it could be a contributory factor in enhancing the strength of army.\(^78\) Kamandaka states that a force, which is paid without any delay fight with greater enthusiasm, than that, which is not vanguard of the army owing to their bravery. (Rajnitratnakar, p.36, Cf. B.P. Mazumdar, op.cit., p.47). The North-Indian Rajput rulers might had recruited their troops probably on such a pattern.

Literary sources of our period may well prove the fact that the salaries to these troops were provided in cash instead of kind. Both Sankhalikhita quoted alike in Krityakalpataru (Rajdharma Kanda, pp.82ff.) and Rajnitiprakash. (p.252, Cf. K.K. Gopal, “Feudal Composition of Army”, op.cit., Vol.28, pp.30-31) lay down that a soldier should be paid monthly by two suvarnas (gold coins). Ganitissarsamgraaha, a mathematical text provides rules about the calculations of cash salaries, received by mounted soldiers (arohaka), (Ibid.) Chaturvimsatiprabandha also reveals a story of three Rajputs, coming to the service of the Chalukya king Virdhavala, who even on being pleased with their bravery and address denied to admit them, for they demanded a lakh coins (drammas) as their salaries (Kathavate’s Introd. to the 1st ed. of Kirtikaumudi, pp.56-57). Rasmala too in connection of a story refers that once prince Jugdev, son of the Paramara king Udayajit joined the services of a Solunkee king Sidhraj Jayasinhg owing to a family dispute, demanding an amount of 1,000 crowns per day. But the king, surprisingly, ordered to pay him 2000 crowns, per day from the royal treasury. After sometime, testing the fidelity of this Rajput, the king decided to increase the salary to 100,000 everyday (Rasmala, Vol.I, p.140). However, the amount mentioned herein seems to be exaggerated there is no doubt on the sincerity of Indian kings to pay their soldiers.

\(^75\) Manasollasa, Vol.I, Vimsati II, 6, 568-70.


\(^77\) Agni Purana, Cf. P.B. Udgaonkar, op.cit., p.140.
properly paid.\textsuperscript{79} Merchant Sulaiman also speaks of the mode of regular payment by Balharas in such a manner. He states, "The Balahara is the most eminent of the princes of India and the Indians acknowledge his superiority. Every prince in India is master in his own state but all pay homage to the supremacy of the Balahara..."\textsuperscript{80} "He gives regular pay to his troops, as the practice is among the Arabs."\textsuperscript{81}

In addition to the regular wages the soldiers were provided with remunerations including presents (dana), reward (paritosika) for service, valour etc.\textsuperscript{82} There was also a provision of pensions and other concessions for the sons and the dependents of soldiers, who sacrificed their lives during the course of their duties.\textsuperscript{83}

Though, the reliability of these troops was often a matter of suspicion. Kautilya\textsuperscript{84} while praising them for their readiness to march at any time on the order of the king suspects their vulnerability by stating that such troops rallied round the banner of the king, expecting for the gain of a large amount of booty.\textsuperscript{85} He further states that having no hereditary attachment with the king, they feel no hesitation even in deserting the cause of their master, in case the fortunes turned against him.\textsuperscript{86} Following Kautilya, Kamandaka, not imparting a high reliance on the service of bhrita troops advises the king to employ them in nearby campaigns of short duration, which are not likely to involve heavy losses or destruction, when his forces are most united, so much so that the enemy could not be successful to create disaffection among them and when the

\textsuperscript{79} \textit{Nitisara}, XIII.
\textsuperscript{80} Elliot & Dowson, Vol.I, p.3.
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{82} \textit{Sukraniti}, p.181, V.85, p.183 (V.8).
\textsuperscript{83} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{84} \textit{Arthasastra}, IX, Chapter II.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid.
king does not possess sufficient equipment of war.\textsuperscript{87} \textit{Rajnitiratnakar} also refers that these troops had the tendency to fight for their wages and therefore in case of danger of their lives, there is every likelihood of their desertion.\textsuperscript{88}

It appears that the \textit{mitra} troops were usefully employed by the sovereign kings to bring about the defeat or humiliation of a common enemy to themselves and the allied powers. The Rajput policy was based on clan hierarchy. The summons were usually issued by the kings to the kings of other Rajput clans, with whom the friendly relations were maintained, to assist militarily. In other words, several Rajput clans had the tradition to face the enemy unitedly. Thus, in order to face the invasion of Mahmud, both Jaipal and Anandpal issued orders to invite the assistance of the \textit{rajas} of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kannauj, Delhi, Ajmer and Kalanjar. It is known that these kings entered into a confederacy and collecting their forces advanced towards Punjab with a huge army.\textsuperscript{89} The Gahadawala king Jayachandra is said to have allied with the Chandella king Parmardi and helped him in his wars against Prithviraja.\textsuperscript{90} The Chandella king Kirtivarman is also known to have entered into an alliance with the Chalukyas, Paramaras and Palas in order to defeat a common enemy, named Jayasimha of Chalukya dynasty.\textsuperscript{91} But the kings were most dependent on the strength of \textit{maula} troops. R.S. Sharma seems to be right in suggesting that the

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{87} \textit{Nitisar}, p.393, Ch.19, VV.15-17.
\textsuperscript{88} \textit{Rajnitiratnakar}, I, p.80, VV.568-70.
\textsuperscript{90} \textit{Prithvirajraso}, op.cit.
\textsuperscript{91} Pratipal Bhatia, op.cit., p.224.
\end{flushright}

Though, the authenticity of \textit{Raso}, as a historical source is questionable. Dashrath Sharma had tried to prove it reliable on the point of hostility between Jayachandra and Prithviraja in a number of articles.
kings during this period relied more on the troops supplied by the feudatories than their own standing forces.⁹²

Srenibala was incorporated either from the tribal bands of mercenaries or from the corporations of soldiers or the economic guilds, which maintained their own independent armies in order to protect their wealth, property, centres and caravans from the ravages of frequent wars and foreign invasions.⁹³ Arthasastra refers to srenis, who resorted to trade and industry in addition to the practice of arms as a means of livelihood.⁹⁴ The source prescribes some significance to srenibala by exposing that such troops belonged to the king’s land and had the same expectations of loss and gain.⁹⁵ While, Manasollasa states to the maula, bhritya and mitra troops as the only three good armies and to the sreni troops as unreliable.⁹⁶ The unreliability of srenibala is further commented by Chandeswar, a fourteenth century statesman, that such troops were paid for their services but flee from the battlefield, whenever they find their lives in danger.⁹⁷ Sukra had neglected these troops perhaps on account of their questionable fidelity or loyalty, while mentioning to the other categories of troops.⁹⁸ It appears that the sreni troops were credited for their trustworthiness during the time of Kautilya. But during our period, the constant

⁹³ Shamasasya regards srenibala to mean the corporation of soldiers. (Arthasastra, tr. Shamasasya, Bk.IX, Ch.II) D.R. Bhandarkar thinks it to be tribal band of mercenaries (P.C. Chakravarti, op.cit., p.5). While, according to R.C. Majumdar, it meant a class of guilds, which followed some industrial occupation but maintained military force, probably for their own protection (R.C. Majumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India, pp.30-31).
⁹⁴ Arthasastra, Bk.IX, Ch.II.
⁹⁵ Ibid., p.316.
⁹⁸ Sukraniti, Ch.IV, op.cit., p.156.
decline of trade and commerce as a consequence of feudalism resulted in the gradual decrease of such troops in the composition of armies. However, some rural people engaged in other occupations were recruited in the royal army in times of emergency.\textsuperscript{99}

It was usual for the Indian kings to have alliances against the common enemy. For example, the Chahmana king Prithviraja III got assistance of Chandraraja, the governor of Delhi, who was the son of Govindaraja, the Chahmana king of some other line.\textsuperscript{100} Once Bhoja Paramara, Gangeyadeva Kalachuri and Rajendra Chola, also formed a confederacy to fight against Jayasimha of Chalukya dynasty.\textsuperscript{101} Earlier, the king of Gujarat, Pulkesin and the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga are known to have joining hands in order to repulse the Arab invasion in AD 738.\textsuperscript{102}

Kamandaka declaring mitras, as superior to aribala advises their employment in the situation of common interest of the ally and the king in different campaigns of shorter duration in diplomatic wars without any consideration to place and time.\textsuperscript{103} However, the unreliability of these troops is being proved from many instances during our period.\textsuperscript{104}

\textsuperscript{99} S.P. Narang, \textit{Dvasrayakavya, A Literary and Cultural Study}, pp.177-78.
\textsuperscript{100} R.C. Majumdar, \textit{Struggle for Empire}, pp.109-110.
\textsuperscript{101} Pratipal Bhatia, op.cit., p.224.
\textsuperscript{103} \textit{Nitisara}, p.394, Ch.19, V.20.
\textsuperscript{104} It is a well known fact that soon after the death of Bhoja Paramara, the allied powers separated themselves by withdrawing their support. (see Pratipal Bhatia, op.cit., Ch.VII). Both Merutunga and Hemchandra refer to an intense feud between the Chalukya king Bhima and the Kalachuri king Karna. According to him the feeling between the allies ran so high, after the fall of Dhara, that once the ambassador of Bhima entered the royal pavilion in a great fury with thirty-two foot soldiers and took Karna prisoner, when he was asleep in the middle of the day (H.C. Ray, \textit{DHNI}, II, pp.950-51, also see B.P. Mazumdar, p.46). Similarly, the Paramara kings Bhoja and Gangeyadeva were the friends of Vidyadhara Chandella but a few years later, Gangeyadeva was known to have attacked the Chandella kingdom (N.S. Bose, \textit{History of the Chandellas}, p.144). Kirtivarman, one of the Chandella kings is also referred to had formed a confederacy with the Chalukyas, Paramaras and Palas in order
The next in order of preference was aribala. These troops were somehow related to the enemy king and therefore they must have naturally been the subject of great suspicion with regard to their own reliability and faithfulness. Even then, their employment is laid down by the lawgivers of our period. Sukra states that a king should include the ablest persons abandoned by the enemy in his own army by paying them to his best. But, he makes the king alert that such an army subdued by a king are the weakest and can not perform any task independently. Kamandaka advises the king to employ them, if under complete domination and sufficient strength in plundering the enemy’s territory and in weeding out the thorns (obstacles and difficulties) in the forest-forts of frontier stations. Chandesvara observes that a king accepts such troops only with a view to enfeeble the power of the enemy and as such no confidence should be placed on them, in his view. However, the practical use of these troops is reflected from some of our sources. Chachnamah states that at the time of the Arab invasion of Sind, Rai Dahar, the ruler of Sind had five hundred Arab troops in his service. Similarly, king Harsha of

105 Manasollasa considers amitra or arī troops consisting of soldiers, who once belonged to an enemy king but taken captive and made slaves after his defeat (Vol.I, Vismsati II, 6.557-60). Rajnitiratnakar (ed. Jayaswal, p.35) defines arībala as troops, which came to a king after leaving his enemy.

106 Sukraniti, op.cit., p.156.
107 Nitisara, p.395, V.22.
108 Rajnitiratnakara, ed. Jayaswal, p.35.
Kashmir is also known to have incorporated a number of Turushka soldiers in his army.\textsuperscript{110} Possibly, some of the Rajput rulers following such examples might had included some such troops in their armies, either for the operation of technical weapons like war machines (variously termed as manjaniqs, arra'das, maghrabis etc.), to which the Hindus were not so much familiar. Mohd. Habib seems to be correct in assuming that such siege engines were originally constructed by skilled Musalmans in the service of Hindu rais.\textsuperscript{111}

The practice of the recruitment of enemy soldiers was also adopted by the Turks. \textit{Rehla} informs us that a large number of Hindu swordsmen were recruited in the state army and very often in the private levies of rebel princes.\textsuperscript{112} It is also stated that the honour provided to them was so great that they were allowed to keep drums and flags.\textsuperscript{113} The army of Mahmud of Ghazna also included the Hindus as soldiers and is said to have been commanded by a Hindu general at one stage.\textsuperscript{114} Razia recruited several Hindu soldiers in her army.\textsuperscript{115} It is, then, evident that the army of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq was also comprised of different racial and tribal elements including the Hindus. Isami informs us that when the news of Mongol invasion reached to him, he sent an army commanded by some Hindu and Muslim officers.\textsuperscript{116}

\textsuperscript{110} \textit{Rajtarangini}, VII, 1149.
\textsuperscript{111} Elliot & Dowson, Vol.II, Introd., p.47.
\textsuperscript{112} \textit{Rehla} tr. Mahdi Husain, Introduction.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., tr. p.8.
\textsuperscript{114} Mohd. Habib, \textit{Sultan Mahmood of Ghaznin}, p.35.
\textsuperscript{115} \textit{Futuh-us-Salatin}, Vol.II, p.259.
\textsuperscript{116} Mahdi Husain, \textit{Tughlaq Dynasty}, p.73.
Bin Tughlaq is also stated to have composed of Turks, Khitamis, Persians and Indians.\textsuperscript{117} The incorporation of the Hindus in the Turkish army during the times of Nasiruddin Khusrau increased to such an extent that the army in itself was regarded as "half Muslim and half Hindu".\textsuperscript{118}

These Hindus serving the Muslims were undoubtedly those subdued rais and ranas, who after accepting the suzerainty of the Muslims, had got the status of tributary chiefs.\textsuperscript{119} Sometimes, such tributary chiefs helped the Sultans by making arrangement of provisions for their armies.\textsuperscript{120}


Praising the liberality of Sultan Muhammad-bin Tughlaq for conferring upon high posts to lowborn Hindus, Barani states that he assigned the post of \textit{diwan-i-wizarat} to Pera Mali (the gardener) (\textit{Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi}, Hindi tr. A.A. Rizvi, \textit{Tughlaq Kalin Bharat}, Part I, p.68) \textit{Rehla} also informs us that the high posts were held by the Hindus under Muh. Bin Tughlaq. It also refers to one Ratan, who was appointed as the governor of Sind with the title of Azim-us-Sind (\textit{Rehla}, tr. p.8.).

\textsuperscript{118} \textit{Tughlaqnamah} tr. A.A. Rizvi, \textit{Khalji Kalin Bharat}, p. 190.

\textsuperscript{119} \textit{Chachnamah} presents a list of several ranas of Sind as tributaries to Multan in the days of Nasiruddin Qubacha. (\textit{Chachnamah}, op.cit., also see H.C. Ray, \textit{DHNI}, I, p.37). Tod is his \textit{Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan} refers to some princes of Rajasthan, who surrendered themselves to the Muslims and in return received gifts and mansabs, offering their presence to Sultan, whenever required (Vol.I, p.177). Barani states that when Malik Chajju raised the banner of revolt against Firuz Shah "The rawats and paiks of Hindustan flocked around him like ants and locusts and the most noted of them received betel from him and promised to fight against the standards of Sultan". (Elliot & Dowson, III, p.138). Hasan Nizami states that the son of Rai Pithora, after the death of his father also received the same status (\textit{DHNI}, II, p.1091). There are numerous other examples of this type in the contemporary history.

\textsuperscript{120} For details see \textit{Tarikh-i-Firishta}, tr. Briggs, Vol.I, p.212, which refers to Rai Ramdev for providing all facilities to the army of Malik Kafur, while at march towards Warangal and \textit{Tabakat-i-Nasiri} mentioning about the order of the Rai of Kamrud for the provision of grains to the army of Malik Yuz Bak, when he was trapped at Kamrud. (tr. Raverty, Vol.II, p.765).
The forest troops (atavikas) composed of the wild tribesmen and forest dwellers were regarded as worst type. *Nitisara* condemning them as dishonest, greedy, uncultured and faithless;\(^\text{121}\) entrusts them in weeding out the thorns (*kantakasodhana*) in fortified areas of enemy's dominion like those of enemy troops.\(^\text{122}\) While, at one place, the author of the above text advises the king to place them wisely at the forefront while entering the enemy's territory.\(^\text{123}\) The king sought his assistance in critical circumstances or when their own archers appeared unable to hold the situation. *Kiratarjuniya* of Vatsaraj denotes that the existence of the high notion of chivalrous ideals led to the restricted incorporation of forest troops in the army.\(^\text{124}\) However, they performed well in some critical circumstances as formidable archers and warriors. It is stated by Firishta in commendable terms, how Mahmud of Ghazna, while fighting against Anandpala, the king of Lahore was opposed by Ghakkars, "The archers were opposed by the Gukkurs, who inspite of the king's efforts and presence repulsed his light troops and followed them so closely that no less than 30,000 Gukkars with their heads and feet bare and armed with various weapons penetrated into the Mohmedan lines, where a dreadful battle ensued and 5,000 Mohmedans in a few minutes were slain."\(^\text{125}\) *Rasmala* also refers that when Sidhraj Jay Singh Solunkee prepared to go to Ujjain with his army, some Bhil chieftains with their followers joined him in order to fight from his side.\(^\text{126}\) They also played laudable roles during night attacks

\(^{121}\) *Nitisara*, op.cit., Ch.19, p.390, VV.6-8.  
\(^{122}\) Ibid., Ch.19, p.395, V.22.  
\(^{123}\) Ibid.  
\(^{124}\) B.N.S. Yadav, op.cit., p.207.  
(nisavaskandin) and deceitful warfare (chala or maya).\textsuperscript{127} It is again evident that the Chalukya king, Kumarapala of Gujarat, while marching against the Chahmana king, was assisted by the forest tribes and mountaineers clad in the skins of deer.\textsuperscript{128}

Besides the above mentioned six-fold composite units of army, several subsidiary corps, consisting of labourers, fullers, washers, miners, sapers etc. were also accompanied with the main army. Nitisara of Kamandaka refers to labour force \textit{(visti)} entrusted with the task of purification or repair, rebuilding etc. of pits and marshes (on the track), construction of roads, pitching up of tents and performing other miscellaneous duties\textsuperscript{129} whatever they could possibly do. Rajdharmakanda, a section of Krityakalpataru of Laxmidhara, quoting a verse from Mahabharata refers to the employment of labour forces \textit{(visti)} in the army.\textsuperscript{130} Kamhadadeprabandha makes reference to men, carrying pick-axes \textit{(kudala)}, at some distance ahead of army to make the route passable.\textsuperscript{131} Rajtarangini mentions that the Kashmir forces were also accompanied by numerous camp followers such as cooks, washermen, sweepers, watermen, cartsmen etc.\textsuperscript{132} Prabandhcintamani, too, refers to the commissariat department in the army of

\textsuperscript{127} They attacked the back portion of army in the guise of a Brahmana or saint. Sometimes, underground mines or pits were dug to solve the object or to equip the arms and weapons or other material used in war. (S.P. Narang, opcit., pp.177-78).

\textsuperscript{128} Rasmala, Vol I, p.185.

\textsuperscript{129} “शोधने कूपपीत्यानां महार्षियों शिविरलर्य च।

येवसादि च पतंजलिनद्रद्विजों विश्वकर्मणं तिष्ठति (विश्वकर्मणं)।।

(Nitisara, Ch.20, p.415, V.32).

Kautilya also refers to the employment of labour forces for clearing out the camps, roads, waterworks, mills and ponds, carrying machines, weapons, armour, implements, food and removing out weapons, armour and wounded men from the battlefield (Arthasastra, Kangale II, p.444).


\textsuperscript{131} Kanhadadeprabandh, p.5.

\textsuperscript{132} Rajtarangini, V.11, 1457, VIII, 808 etc.
Prithviraja Chauhan whereas, in Sisupalvadh and Tilakmanjari, together, we get the mention of private merchants in the army.

References are also there to the availability of ambulance corps including the physicians, surgeons, nurses etc. along with the main army. Special appointments were made to garrison the experienced physicians with surgical instruments, apparatus, medicines, oils and bandages etc. near the battlefield, so that they might tend the sick and wounded.

An analytical study of the above components justifiably alludes that the armies were mainly composed of feudal levies as a resultant of a developed feudal system, characterised by increasing number of land-grants together with an impoverished economy, which led to the dependency of king on feudatories for the providence of military and other services. But there were also certain basic disadvantages of this system. First of all, the king became too heavily dependent on the forces of his feudatories that he could not undertook even a single minor military campaign without their personal attendance and assistance. The position of the king was again miserable, in case his discontented feudatories were not ready to assist him in wars. There are numerous instances of the outrageous attitude of discontented vassals, owing to the weak

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133 Prabandhcintamani, tr. Tawney, p.190.
134 Sisupalvadh, XII, V.26.
136 See Mahabharata, Santiparva, XCV.13, 12, also see V.R.R. Dikshitar, op.cit., p.186.

Rajtarangini also makes references to an ambulance corp which was responsible for carrying the dead and wounded to a place of safety, dispensing the dead and treating the wounded (op.cit., VIII, 740-41). This might had also been true of the other armies of northern India. The Turkish army also consisted of such corps. Adab-ul-Harb-Wa-Shujjat has mentioned the existence of doctors, physicians etc. in the armies of the Turks (A.A. Rizvi, Adi Turk Kalin Bharat, p.264).
position of the king. Sometimes, in case of weak kings, the feudatories raised the banner of revolt and took back their allegiance. Agni Purana also speaks of such rebellious and discontented vassals. Medhatithi, vehemently, discusses the policy that should be pursued by a lonely and helpless king, whose feudatories had went against him and who was incapable of taking stand against them. But, surprisingly none of the supporters of royalty in northern India had taken any interest to advice the king for lessening the amount of dependence on feudatory forces.

The appeasement of feudatories by the king or the overlord before marching for the military campaigns had been a general practice of those times. Manasollasa counseled the king to convene an assembly of the princes, feudatories, rulers of mandalas and soldiers, on the day preceding the date of laying out on an expedition and to satisfy them with the presents of gold, dresses and ornaments and encourage them by singing their praises. Sukranitisara also lays

137 Dashrath Sharma states that “even the most well laid out plans of the Chauhans, sometimes, miscarried, because feudal levies were after all feudal levies quick to muster, quick at times also to strike but incapable of sustained and concerted action for any long period” (Early Chauhan Dynasties, p.215). Such circumstances might had been faced by the Chauhan kings of post-Prithviraja period, due to their weak position.

138 Eventually, the feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihara, Bhoja and Mahendrapala were under control, while those of Rambhadra, whose position was weak, had taken over their allegiance from him. (B.N. Puri, op. cit., p.106). Similarly, in the dispelled reign of Mahipala, the Paramaras of Malwa had tried to become independent. (Dashrath Sharma, Rajasthan Through the Ages, p.356).

139 Agni Purana, Ch.CCXLI, op.cit., p.865.

140 Medhatithi on Manu, VII, p.106.

141 The two south Indian statesmen, Baddena and Prataprudrdeva of Kakatiya kingdom of Warangal pioneered in this direction, providing some attention to this matter. Baddena advises the king to maintain his independent strong military force and not to inculcate any of his feudatories in it. Likewisely, Prataprudrdeva also urges the king to assign only small villages to samantas, reserving the big ones for the replenishment of treasury and the maintenance of his personal army. (Yazdani, Early History of the Deccan, Vol.II, p.668).

down that a king should make peace with his own feudatories before going out to conquer his enemies.\textsuperscript{143} In \textit{Agni Purana}, too, the king is advised to attain the favour of the leader of his own army, the warriors, the rural population (\textit{janapadadikas}), \textit{samantas} and forest people, who are not well disposed towards him by means of the gifts of money.\textsuperscript{144} \textit{Prabandhacintamani} refers that king Mularaja before marching for the conquest of Sapadlaksha issued summons to his \textit{samantas} and foot soldiers and bestowed honour to them by making presents.\textsuperscript{145}

The second major weakness was that the army composed of a number of feudatories was not unitary but heterogeneous in nature. They are often found indulged in private wars. Thus, Dammanapala of Khadi \textit{mandala} made his neighbouring \textit{samantas} of Sundarban helpless after waging war against them.\textsuperscript{146} Kirtipala, a brother of Kelhana of Naddula and a feudatory of the Chalukyas, both are known to had fought against the feudatory Paramara line of Jalor and deprived them of their territories.\textsuperscript{147} Further, the \textit{Rajim stone inscription} informs us that the \textit{mandalesvaras} of Maryurika and Savanta were terrorised by Jagapala, a feudatory of Jajalladeva I of Kalachuri family of Ratanpur. It is also mentioned in the same inscription that owing to this

\textsuperscript{143} \textit{Sukraniti}, Ch.IV, Sect.VII.

\textsuperscript{144} \textit{Agni Purana}, op.cit., Ch.CCXLI, p.870.

\textsuperscript{145} \textit{Prabandhacintamani}, S.J.G., p.17.

\textsuperscript{146} \textit{IHQ}, X, p.326.

\textsuperscript{147} \textit{DHNI}, II, pp.919 & 925.
terror, the *mandalesvaras* of Savanta had to flee to the mountains.\(^{148}\) The period of the Gurjara-Pratiharas, which was characterised with greater political stability than those of their successors was, too, engulfed with the mutual rivalries of the feudatories. Thus, Avanivarmana II, a feudatory of Gurjara-Pratihara king, Nagabhatta and the great grandson of Bahukadhavala had intermittent struggle with the feudatories named Dharanivaraha and Yakshadasa.\(^{149}\) Similarly, the feudatories of Mahendrapala I, Undabhatta and Gunaraja I are noted for an instant fight between them. The feudatories coming from different regions were not guided by patriotism but by mutual rivalries among themselves. Owing to such rivalries and internecine feuds they did never try to create a unitary strength of their own, but cared only for their personal gains and benefits.\(^{150}\)

The loyalties of the soldiers of such heterogeneous forces were never ensued with certainty, as they were interested in their personal gains and just welcomed the ambitious designs of a powerful king because they had to be appeased with land and weapons before going out for campaigns. The loyalty from such soldiers could hardly be expected. The disloyalty of such feudatory forces to their master may certainly be proved from the accounts of contemporary literary sources. Medhatithi extolls the ideal of personal loyalty for a soldier and states that one, who deserts his master in battle goes to hell, while one valiantly fighting for his lord, attains heaven.\(^{151}\) *Sisupalvadh* also lays down a code of morality for a soldier by stating that a warrior should not give up his life in a battle unless he is paid of his obligation by his loyalty.\(^{152}\)

\(^{148}\) *IA*, XVI, p.135 ff.

\(^{149}\) B.N. Puri, op.cit., p.109.


\(^{151}\) *Medhatithi on Manu*, VII, p.89.

\(^{152}\) *Sisupalvadh*, XIX, VV.38, 57.
In actual practice, too, the ideal of loyalty to the overlord was weak and sacrificed to a great extent. Numerous cases of defection have already been cited in Chapter II. We find in *Tilakmanjari* that the turbulent feudal chiefs were forced by the orders of the overlord to join him, while unwilling to fight.\(^{153}\) The disloyalty of the feudatories to their masters on the battlefield had become such a common practice that Jayanaka in his *Prithvirajavijaya* views it as one of the natural effects of *kali* age.\(^{154}\) The kings often acquired victory over their neighbours by winning over their feudatories.\(^{155}\) It is also evident that Kumarapal had to face a great trouble owing to the defection of his feudatory, the Paramara chief of Chandravati against the Chahmana king Arnoraja.\(^{156}\) Again, the minister of king Kumarapala is known to have betrayed by a feudatory ruler of Godraha at a critical juncture during his operation against the king of Bharoch.\(^{157}\) *Hammirmahakavya* also presents the cases of military leader, who deserted their masters by turning to the sides of the enemies and participating in treacherous plans with them against their masters.\(^{158}\) *Rajtarangini* also refers to numerous such cases of disloyalty, treachery and desertion of the feudatory and military chiefs.\(^{159}\) In such an atmosphere, the individual soldiers, too, did not feel themselves personally attached to their master. The ideal of loyalty was regarded as supreme in theory but not followed in practice. The soldiers had no hesitation in running away from the battlefield. Hemachandra in his *Prakrit Vyakarana* took specific notice to the fear of a wife, supposing the fleeing of her husband from the battleground, which could bring

\(^{153}\) *Tilakmanjari*, pp.82, 114


\(^{155}\) *Agni Purana* also advises the invading king to weaken his adversary by bringing about a quarrel among his sons and feudatories. (op.cit., CCXXVI, p.809).

\(^{156}\) IA, 1925 (supplement), p.23.

\(^{157}\) Ibid.

\(^{158}\) *Hammirmahakavya*, XII.

\(^{159}\) *Rajtarangini*, VIII, VV.923, 927, 2816ff., 2822ff.
an unbearable shame and infame to her.\textsuperscript{160} The individualistic approach of the soldiers, in general, may also not be ignored. Undoubtedly, they provided much attention in maintaining their personal valour, rather than arising the spirit of unity and loyalty among their fellowmen. The disloyalty of them in the army had increased to such an extent that, often, they did not regard themselves as inferior to the commander and disobeyed him relishly. \textit{Tripurdaha} of Vatsaraja refers that the fighting chiefs outrageously coveted the honour of the commander, as they were jealous of his position.\textsuperscript{161}

Apart from the above drawbacks of the armies of our period, the clannish rivalries and dissentions were no less responsible for the disintegration of forces. The vanity of the clan and family among the Kshatriya chiefs of this time is strictly criticised by Kshemendra in his \textit{Darpadalana}.\textsuperscript{162} It was owing to a false sense of pride that they always tried to maintain their separate entity, which further led to the feeling of jealousy and intermittent struggles among themselves. We learn from \textit{Hammirmadmardana} that it was owing to baneful effect of the all-pervasive and ruinous discord among the Kshatriyas that ruling families of India vanished.\textsuperscript{163}

The individuality of soldiers of our age is also indicated to a great deal in \textit{Agni Purana}, the author of which advises to the commander to call them in the battle-array by their personal name and to remind them the glory of the heroic traditions of their respective clans or families, so that they could feel excited to fight the battle.\textsuperscript{164}

In some cases, the members belonging to the king's own clans obstructed him to organise an effective army. Medhatithi refers that some of the members of the royal family, who desired

\textsuperscript{160} B.N.S. Yadav, op.cit., p.214.
\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., p.208.
\textsuperscript{162} K.K. Gopal, \textit{JAHRS}, XXVIII, p.48.
\textsuperscript{163} B.N.S. Yadav, op.cit., p.206
\textsuperscript{164} \textit{Agni Purana}, CCXXXVI, p.846, VV.49-51.
to obtain the kingdom, alleviated themselves from him and began to act enemically.\textsuperscript{165}  

\textit{Puratanaprabandhasangraha} also informs us that Pratapsimha, a relative of Prithviraja conspired with the Muslims against him.\textsuperscript{166}  Bilhana also remarks that the members of royal families do not realise the position of the king as ordained by fate, to be enjoyed by only one of them but greedy of having it for themselves, they destroy the family itself.\textsuperscript{167}

The supervision, scrutiny, management and the arrangement of armed contingents and forces had not been possible without the existence of some higher grade of military officials like, \textit{mahasenadhipati} (the chief military officer), \textit{senapati},\textsuperscript{168} \textit{senadhipa} (suprintendent of infantry under the Chahmanas), \textit{baladhikrita}\textsuperscript{169} (commandant), \textit{baladhyaksha} (superintendent of forces), \textit{dandanayaka}\textsuperscript{170} (chief Judge), \textit{mahasadhivigarahika}\textsuperscript{171} (minister of peace and war). In order to

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\item\textsuperscript{165} K.K. Gopal, \textit{JAHRS}, p.49.
\item\textsuperscript{166} \textit{Puratanaprabandhasangraha}, SJG No.2, see \textit{Prithvirajprabandh}.
\item\textsuperscript{167} Cf. K.K. Gopal, \textit{JAHRS}, XXVIII, p.49.
\item\textsuperscript{168} According to Laxmidhara, a man of good family, valiant, hardy, conversant in the use of different weapons and possessing some knowledge of elephants and other animals used in war, well versed in military strategy and formations of the army should be appointed as \textit{senapati} (\textit{Rajdharmakanda}, p.23). Sukra also prescribes the same qualification for a \textit{senapati} (\textit{Sukraniti}, Ch.IV, Sec.VII). The main duties of this important officer of war were to organise the fighting forces and to maintain their efficiency (see the use of the term in Gahadawala and Paramara records, \textit{EI}, IV, p.21, IA, XXV, pp.205-8).
\item\textsuperscript{169} In \textit{Harshacharita}; \textit{Baladhikrita} is referred as different from Senapati and very much his junior (\textit{Harsacharita}, V.S. Agarwal, pp.140-141). Upamitibhavaprapanchakaha mentioned him in the sense of a military officer (Dashrath Sharma, \textit{Rajasthan through the Ages}, p.333,34. Antaroli \textit{Charali Copperplate of Karkka II} refers him next to the \textit{senapati} (Ibid., p.333). The title had been in common use in the records of the Chauhans, Malvakas and Kalachuris of Apranta area as an officer of army (Ibid.).
\item\textsuperscript{170} \textit{EI}, VI, p.92, \textit{CII}, Vol.III, p.10.
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assist these officials, there were some others, lower in rank. These may be counted as *pattipala* (incharge of five or six foot soldiers), *gaulmika* (an Incharge of 30 foot soldiers), *satanika* (head of 100 foot soldiers) *sahasrika* and *ayuktika* (incharge of a thousand and ten thousand foot soldiers respectively) *vahinipatin*, *asvapati* (superintendent of cavalry), *mahasadhanika* (cavalry officer working under *asvapati*), *gajapati* (superintendent of

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174 *Satanika* was expected to be well-versed in field-warfare and tactical methods. The duties like the training of soldiers and the supervision of military parades were assigned to him (*Sukraniti*. Ch.II, op. cit., p.43, V.42).

175 Ibid., V.41.

176 Ibid.

177 R.C. Majumdar takes it to mean the commander of armies, while in *Tilakmanjari*, the designations of *dandadhipati*, *mahadandadhipati* and *vahinipati* are referred of one and the same officer (D. Sharma, *Rajasthan through the Ages*, p. 331).

178 *Kuvalayamala*, p.23.

179 *Tilakamanjari*, op.cit., also see *EI*, XXXII, p.152.

elephants), *dussadhyas* or *dussadhandhanikas*\(^{181}\) (cavalry commander under *senapati*), *mahayuddhapati*\(^{182}\) (officer incharge of armoury), *maryadadhurya*\(^{183}\) (warden of marches) etc.

These generals and officials were mostly paid through the landgrants.\(^{184}\) Besides, the land endowments, the soldiers and officials were also provided with honorariums and gifts, on special occasions, in accordance with the nature of their deeds. Emphasising the importance of this point, Sukra lays down that the army well rewarded by gifts and honours and well supplied with war provisions leads to victory and remains loyal even to an unrighteous and low born king.\(^{185}\)

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\(^{183}\) *Bailabhattaswamin inscription* (line 2, *EI*, I, 154). Dashrath Sharma compared his duties with modern *antapala* and suggests that he might had been operating his function from a frontier fort (*Rajasthan Through the Ages*, p.336). The important duties assigned to him were to watch over the frontier and to prevent undesirable or hostile persons to enter the kingdom. He was closely co-operated by the superintendent of forts (Ibid.). Sometimes, the two officials were found combined in one and the same person (Ibid).

\(^{184}\) Land-grants of officials is a most distinguished feature of a developed feudal age. In the 7th century, Yuan Chwang refers to Harsha's ministers and officials, maintaining themselves by the lands assigned to them from state. (Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Bk.II, p.88). The epigraphic evidences of our age, too, clearly refer to the prevalence of this practice. Thus, *Icchawar grant of the Chandella king Parmardideva* refers to the grant of a village by the king in Nandakanan *visaya* to his General Madanapalasarma. (*IA*, XXV, p. 205). Likewise, a rock inscription of the period of Bhojavarma informs us of an endowment of the grant of village to one Maheshwara, who was appointed as the commander of Kalanjar fort by the Chandella king Kirttivarma (*EI*, I, p.336). A commander of the Chandella king, Trailokyavarman is also referred to have received the revenue of the village probably as its lord. There is no evidence to a cash salary provided to him by the king himself. (*EI*, I, p.337). Similarly, *thakkura* Jajjuka of the Vastavya Kayastha family, who was appointed to superintend at all times, all the affairs of the state during the reign of Ganda was granted a fief of the village of Dugauda by the latter, possibly in remuneration of his service (*EI*, I, pp.330-36, V.9). There are many other instances of such payment in the landgrants of our period.

\(^{185}\) *Sukraniti*, Ch.IV, Sect.VII.
Kamandaka also states that the soldiers should be rewarded after their success in the ventures.\(^\text{186}\) Rajatarangini refers that the soldiers and officials were given special allowances on the eve of the military expedition.\(^\text{187}\) The statement of Kalhana is being substantiated by Sukra, who recommends an increase of 24% in pay on the eve of expedition.\(^\text{188}\) Though, the epigraph of our period do not appear to present any such evidence, it appears that such a practice of sanctioning higher emoluments during an expedition might had been followed by the Rajput rulers of our period.

The role of dutas (envoys or emissaries), who were quite active in observing the proper and improper happenings in his own estate and in that of his enemy’s, secretly in the guise of merchants, physicians, astrologer, religious mendicants etc. was also not less important and valuable.\(^\text{189}\) Owing to their significant secret services offered to the king, they were regarded as a sort of second sight for him.\(^\text{190}\) The king was expected to look after through their eyes as well, otherwise there were chances of his being tumbled down.\(^\text{191}\) They are also compared by the Smriti writers to the sun in the energy and the wind in the movements\(^\text{192}\) According to Sukra a king disregarding the services of a spy was a Mleccha, while one who remained unmindful towards them was inimical to intelligence and one’s own destroyer.\(^\text{193}\) Owing to their important

\(^{186}\) Cf. Udgaonkar, op. cit., p. 141.
\(^{187}\) Rajatarangini, VII, 1457, VIII, V. 808 etc.
\(^{188}\) “वानेस्वारुपभृत्नातुत्स्व भूमध्यवर्यप्नः: ।”
(Sukraniti, Ch. IV, Sect. VII, op. cit., p. 180, V. 72).
\(^{189}\) Agni Purana op. cit., pp. 790-91.
\(^{190}\) Ibid., also see K.K. Handiqui, op. cit., p. 109.
\(^{191}\) Nitivakyamrita, Ch. 14, V. 1, p. 118, also see Nitisara of Kamandaka.
\(^{192}\) V.B. Mishra, The Gurjara - Pratiharas and their Times, p. 78.
\(^{193}\) Sukraniti, Ch. I, VV. 29-30, 33, op. cit., p. 12.
position in the state, some of the spies had raised their powers in the presence of weak kings. 

*Nitisara* refers to such an extent that some of them were powerful enough to take the important decisions of war and peace.\(^{194}\) Though, during our period the services of spies were often suspected, as some of them were not sincere and conveyed false reports to the kings. *Lalitvigraraharajanataka* informs us that a long awaited spy of the Chahmana prince came back with an almost nil report regarding the army of the enemy.\(^{195}\)

However, there are some instances of the important role of spies also. For instance, the spy of Hammir, in the guise of a beggar is known to have conveyed detailed reports of the army to the king, with the specific number of troops, prepared for fight.\(^{196}\) In another instance, king Vastupala of Gujarat is also known to have gained a supreme advantage over the neighbouring kings through an effective and efficient espionage.\(^{197}\) Kalhana writes that the spies in the Kashmir army were such firebrands that they often destroyed the fortified enemies by means of weapons, poisons and other things.\(^{198}\)

It was owing to the real importance of this institution that the Turks were also remained quite attentive to maintain the trained and efficient spies and scouts, as secret agents.\(^{199}\) However, the Rajput rulers of our period totally failed to maintain such agents in their armies.

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197 Ibid.
198 *Rajtarangini*, VIII, V.2200.
199 Scouts called *talaya* or *muqaddam-i-paish* instigated for relevant informations, warring much ahead of the army. *Fakhr-i-Mudabbir* after praising them for their intelligence and experience, states that they warred in groups and in condition of conveying any information to the commander-in-chief, only one of them returned to the camp, while others kept themselves engaged in their duties. (*Adab-ul-Harb*, in A.A. Rizvi, *Adi Turk Kalin Bharat*, p.260). It was the force of scouts, which conveyed the useful information regarding the disunity between the Pandyan
Women’s participation in war is also evident from our sources though the instances of such participation are few.\textsuperscript{200} The role of queens, though was certainly quite significant as an aide of the king. In some cases she might be regarded as a source of inspiration to her husband, while in some have specifically shown their awesome fighting spirit and real courage lied in the Kshatriya blood. The instances are not lacking in the latter case. Chachnamah states that after the death of king Dahar, his queen took a bold step to resist the enemy and made preparations for war in the fort of Raor with the assistance of some princes.\textsuperscript{201} There are also references to Kashmir ladies such as Chudda and Silla, who fought as the heads of their armies.\textsuperscript{202} Prabandhacintamani also refers that after the accession of Muharaja II, his mother Naiki fought at Gadadarghatta and conquered the king of Mlecchas by the aid of the mass of rain clouds that came out of season attacked by her virtue\textsuperscript{203} Mingled with a patriotic feeling and the instinct of bravery and courage the Rajput queen Karmadavi also fought against Qutbuddin Aibek.\textsuperscript{204}

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\item[200] Bana refers to the high born ladies, including the women of king’s harem, wives, mistresses of nobles and feudatories etc., accompanying the army (Harsacharita, tr. Ch.VII, pp.199-200). While, Sisupalvadh describes the prostitutes as camp followers (Sisupalvadh, Ch.XII, V.27). Further, Tilakmanjari of Dhanapala referring their presence states that the villagers in general felt entertained by the sight of courtesans on elephants in marching army (Tilakmanjari, Cf. Rajasthan through the Ages, p.337). Dvasrayakavya informs us that women’s of aboriginal tribes went in the battlefield (S.P. Narang op.cit., p.176). However, the purpose of carrying on most of these women might had been nothing more than the mere luxury and luster.

\item[201] Chachnamah, p.153.
\item[202] Great Women of India, Cf. B.P. Mazumdar, op.cit., p.139.
\item[204] B.P. Mazumdar, op.cit., p.139.
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The recruitment of soldiers and officials in the army was never bounded by caste rules.\textsuperscript{205} The qualification as well as the hereditary background of the person might had been a sole factor in the recruitment of the army-men. The lawgivers of our period also do not pay any importance to the caste in this sphere.\textsuperscript{206}

The adoption of military service by castes other than the Kshatriya has also been proved from the epigraphic evidences of the contemporary age. Inscriptions of the Chandellas,

\textsuperscript{205} Even in Vedic period, there are references to Vaishyas recruited as foot soldiers, while the bulk of the army was formed of Kshatriya leaders (P.C. Chakravarti, op.cit., p.76). The epic literature on the other hand refers to Brahman warriors. (B.P. Mazumdar, op.cit., p.43). The training of a Brahman lad in archery has also been a subject of a \textit{Jataka} story. (B.K. Majumdar, op.cit., p.29). The statement of Kautilya that the Brahmana and Kshatriya soldiers were superior than those who were recruited from two lower castes, is a clear indication of the inclusion of Vaishyas and Sudras, in the army as soldiers (\textit{Arthasastra}, Bk.IX, Ch.2). Epigraphic records of the Gupta and post Gupta period also reveal the names of Brahmana generals (see B.P Mazumdar, p.43). However, in those days a person belonging the mixed caste could also be appointed on the post of army general. (\textit{Tipperah copper plate of Lokanath} (AD 650) (\textit{EI}, Vol.X, No.15, p.72).

Similar references of caste unconsciousness in the recruitment also noticed in earlier South Indian records. (G.P. Sinha, op.cit., p. 138).

\textsuperscript{206} Sukra regards to caste not as a determinant factor to judge the quality or ability of a soldier. He considers that the Sudras, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Mlecchas and the persons of mixed castes, should be incorporated in the army on the condition of their bravery, self-discipline, good physique and sincerity to the master and hatredness towards the enemy. He also states that the Brahmana, who fights bravely in this world gets fame, for the virtue of Kshatriya is also derived from a Brahmana (\textit{Sukraniti}, Ch.II, VV.137-39). Both \textit{Agni} and \textit{Matsya Puranas} lay down that even the commander-in-chief must be selected either from Kshatriya or Brahmana caste (B.P. Mazumdar, op.cit., pp.43-44). \textit{Agni Purana} specifically reserves the military profession for Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and for a Sudra, only in times of peril or while in case he had acquired a proficiency in the art of warfare by regular training and practice (\textit{Agni Purana}, Ch.CCXLIX, p.894). The same work invites the people of mixed castes to help the sovereign by serving as soldiers in times of war (Ibid.). Sukra, on the other hand states that a valiant Kshatriya should be preferred as a commander-in-chief or \textit{senapati}, but in condition of the non availability of him, a valiant Brahmana could be appointed. The Vaishyas and the Sudras are totally disregarded by him to get entry on this post.\textit{(Sukraniti}, Ch.IV, Section VII).
Kalachuris and the Chalukyas refer to the Brahmanas as military officers. Pala epigraphs refer to the cases of Brahmana ministers, who fought valiantly for their masters.

The literary sources, too, contemplate such references. Thus, the credit of the expansion of the Chahmana dynasty is given to Nagara Brahmana named Skanda, in a work entitled as Viruddhaviddhamsa. Hemchandra refers to the army of raja Ana of Sapadalaksha, led by a Brahmana general, Raka. The Brahmanas also took an active part in war as feudatory lords or as the assignees of the large number of grants. The names of a number of Brahmana soldiers are also noticed in the contemporary records of South India.

Sometimes, the Kayasthas were also found entrusted with military services. The Chandella records reveal the example of two brothers, Jaunadhara and Maladhara, belonging to

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207 See senapati Kilhana and his son senapati Ajayapala in Semra pl. (EI, IV, p.158) and senapati Madanpalasarmana in Ichchavar grant under Chandella king Parmardi (IA, XXV, 205ff.). For other’s see the epigraphic evidence in IHQ, 1928, p.35, lines 44-45 and Dvasrayakavya, XVI, Cf. B.P. Mazumdar, op.cit., pp.85-86.

208 Vaidyadeva, a Brahman minister of the Pala king Kumarapaladeva is known to have won two battles for his master, one in the east and another in the southern part of Vanga (EI, I, p.348). Similarly, in one of the inscriptions a Brahman minister of Narayanapala named Gauravasimha is referred to have shown his bravery in battlefield for his master (EI, II, p.106).

209 B.P. Mazumdar, op.cit., p.86.

210 Ibid, p.44.

211 A Brahmana named Ganaramma is said to have laid down his life valiantly, while defending his village under the Rashtrakuta king, Krishna III (EI, XIII, p.334). Further, the two Brahmana generals named Ravidasa Dixit and Visottara Dixit, are glorified for their achievements in Kalas inscription of Rashtrakuta king Govinda IV (Ibid., XIII, p.189). A Brahman general Mandapika Vanapati of Ganga king, Raja-Raja is also described to have led an expedition against the Chola king Rajendra Chola and winning over the latter. (Ibid., IV, p.314). Khalisvar, a Brahmana minister and general of Yadava king Singhana is also known for humbling the Gurjaras and Malavas and destroying the race of Abhira king. (ASIWC, III, p.86). The commander in chief of the Chola kings, Rajaraja and Rajendra, named Krishna is evidently referred as a Brahmana. (South Indian Inscriptions, II, pt.1, p.139).
the Vastavya Kayastha family, as illustrious administrators and warriors.\textsuperscript{212} Further, the *Ajayagadh inscription of Chandella Bhoja*, provides clear testimony of the Kayasthas, being well versed in the use of weapons.\textsuperscript{213}

Some of the Vaishyas are also assessed as good generals. One Randeva, a courtier of Prithviraja III is counted as an efficient wrestler.\textsuperscript{214}

In spite of such an indiscriminate mode of recruitment in army, the rigidity of caste system probably reflected in the personal relation of the soldiers on the battlefield. One of the modern scholars commenting on such a rigidity writes, “the rigidity of caste system did not allow the soldiers of a single army to have their food together. They could not be readily refreshed with food and drink in the battlefront. If the battle continued till late in the afternoon, the Hindu soldiers were often found to be famishing for food”.\textsuperscript{215}

Now, we pass on to the outward formation of Rajput armies, which applaudably, composed of the four wings i.e. infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots. The two important wings i.e. elephantry and cavalry have been dealt in Chapters Nos. IV & V.

Infantry formed the bulk of Indian armies. Yuan Chwang put special praise on infantrymen for their special contribution to defense by quick movements as well as for their courage and strength.\textsuperscript{216} Bhoja also writes that the foot soldiers are the main source of strength

\textsuperscript{212} S.K. Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, p.160.
\textsuperscript{214} Dashrath Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p.247, also see the article of the same author on *Kharatargacchhapattavali* of Jinapala in *IHQ*, 1950, p.223ff.
\textsuperscript{215} B.P. Mazumdar, op.cit., p.49.
\textsuperscript{216} Beal, *BK.II*, p.83.
on all occasions.\textsuperscript{217} Indeed, the role of infantry had been of uncountable value, owing to its manifold functions. Kautilya speaks of them as able to bear arms in all places and seasons.\textsuperscript{218}

It was undoubtedly best suited for the close combat and contesting battles in the regions, intersected by marshy hills, rivers, swamps and canals.\textsuperscript{219} It was the only arm to reduce the strategic hill positions and to defend the hill fortresses, while the cavalry and elephantry was of no avail in such situations. "They surrounded the forts, plugged the routes of enemy ingress and egress and reduced the besieged garrison to unlimited extremities."\textsuperscript{220} The fact that this wing of army was most suitable in rugged and hilly terrain is also rightly acclaimed by the Indian writers on polity.\textsuperscript{221} and the practical example of which is being put forward by Al Masudi, who writes that the troops of "Balhara sovereign of the city of Mankir were mostly infantry, because the seat of his government is among the mountains."\textsuperscript{222}

Apart from it, the effectiveness of these troops can not be questioned even in field-war. The Indian heavy archers were unmatchable in pitched battles and many of them fired their arms from the back of elephants.\textsuperscript{223} They are noted for neutralising the target before the general assault, helping river crossings, breaking up the phalanxes of the enemy’s army by terrible fire and blinding the enemy’s horses and elephants.\textsuperscript{224} Besides this, the foot soldiers might had also been of great utility in performing the tasks of digging entrenchments and securing the men and material of war as well as in operating the technical weapons and machines like \textit{munjaniqs},

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\textsuperscript{217} \textit{Yuktikalpataru}, p.7.
\textsuperscript{218} \textit{Arthasastra}, Kangle, II, Bk.X, Ch.IV, p.442.
\textsuperscript{219} Elliot & Dowson, \textit{Vol.I}, p.435.
\textsuperscript{220} S.K. Bhakari, \textit{op.cit.}, p.72.
\textsuperscript{221} \textit{Arthasastra}, Bk.X, Ch.IV.
\textsuperscript{222} Elliot & Dowson, \textit{Vol.I}, p.21.
\textsuperscript{223} S.K. Bhakari, p.72.
\textsuperscript{224} Ibid., also see \textit{Journal of Indian History}, Golden Jubilee, 1973, p.464.
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catapults etc. However, it is surprising that in spite of such a deft performance of infantry, the ancient Indian literary writers did never highlight its significance in their theoretical writings. Rather, they prescribe such unimportant and subsidiary roles for it, like, carrying away the dead and wounded from the field to a place of safety, procuring water for the use of the army and carrying arms and weapons to the fighting line, protecting the granaries, arsenals and treasuries etc.\textsuperscript{226}

The use of chariots which was the important apparatus of war during early times, had already become obsolete during the 7th century AD. Though, these are continued to be mentioned in literature as a traditional component of army without no practical purpose. The story of its befalling importance had already started in Gupta period, probably with the increased use of mobile cavalry forces.\textsuperscript{227} Both Beal and Watters in the translation to Yuan Chwang’s testimony, while referring to the armed troops of Harsha, did not make any mention of chariots except the infantry, cavalry and elephantry.\textsuperscript{228} Bana, too, omits the employment of war chariots in various campaigns of Harsha.\textsuperscript{229} Again, he narrates that Harsha inspected his troops riding on

\textsuperscript{225} Agni Purana, op.cit., II, pp.845-46.
\textsuperscript{226} “कोशागाव युद्धाभावायाणागारिकायत।
गुह्यप्रकारकर्यं प्रतिकर्मप्रचारं।”

\textit{(Nitiprakasika ed. Gustav Oppert, p.61, Ch.VI, VV.66-67).}

\textsuperscript{227} The Gaya copper plate (7th century AD) of Samudragupta and Deobarnak inscription of Jevitagupta II refer to foot soldiers (pattih), cavalry (asva), elephants (hasti), camels (ostra) and navy (naw) as the arms of war but are silent on the use of chariots. (R.N. Saletore, Life in Gupta Age, 1943, p.262).


\textsuperscript{229} Harshacharita.
an elephant and not on a chariot, which was otherwise specifically used for this purpose. The disappearance of chariots as an army wing is also testified by *Madhuban copper plate of Harsha*, which refers to the foot soldiers, cavalry and elephants but makes no reference to chariots. Similar evidences for the exclusion of chariots are available in post Harsha period. *Gaudavaho* of Vakpati, which provides interesting details about the military organisation of Yasovarman, remains silent of his war chariots. *Chachnamah*, too, does not make any mention to chariots in the army of the Hindus of those times. Further, the absence of chariots has also been confirmed during early medieval period. *Manasollasa* (12th century) does not mention it as a constituent of war. That the Paramaras of Malwa provided no place to such a wing in their army is evident from *Anjuvarman's inscription*, which provides the information to the presence of only three important wings. The Muslim historians too left a graphic account of the kings of Hindustan, fighting from the back of elephants and not from over chariots. This decline of chariotry did not limit to northern India only. In south India, too, there are evidences of it declination.

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230 Ibid., Ch.VII, V.S. Agarwal, pp.164 etc.
232 *Gaudavaho*, op.cit.
233 *Chachnamah*, op.cit.
234 B.P. Mazumdar, op.cit., p.53.

The author of the theoretical texts like Sukra also advises the king to maintain the lowest number of chariots (1/21/2 of the whole army), in comparison to the other wings (*Sukraniti*, p.157, V.84).

236 *Samnad copper plate grant of Dantidurga* (AD 753) which refers to the conquest of this Rashtrakuta ruler over Karnataka army with a force of chariots and horses, claims to the former kind of troops as unquerable. It shows that the use of chariots in south India was not a general practice owing to their
However, the existence of an important official designated as *gaulmika*, who was traditionally an incharge of a military squadron called *gulma*, which consisted of 9 elephants, 9 chariots, 27 horses and 45 foot soldiers, remains notable and unexplainable.\(^{237}\) Some of the illustrations of chariots and fighting warriors in *Paharpur plate* are further striking.\(^{238}\) Though, it appears that during our age, the functionary character of *gaulmika* might have not been quite traditional but somewhat renewed or modified. The illustrious representation, too, may highly be regarded as imaginative and unrealistic, based on the traditions of past.

The factors responsible for the disappearance of chariots as a wing of army may be counted as numerous. First of all, the efficient use of cavalry as an imitation of the *Scythian* tribes, who were expert horsemen, discharged the functions of chariots to a considerable extent in Gupta period. Secondly, the elements of decentralisation persisted in post Gupta age paved the way for the rise of several petty states with strong forts and strongholds as embodiment of their powers. With the appearance of forts and fortresses, the use of chariots automatically diminished as these were of no use in fortral warfare. Besides, the chariots can hardly be used in the pitched battles and static wars, which the Hindus had fought against the highly mobile Turkish forces. The Indian rulers of our age fighting from chariots could be of no match to the mounted Turkish horsemen. It was possibly owing to the realisation and actual capacity of their horses, in

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comparison to those of the Turks that they used elephant as a leading animal in war, thinking that by this way they could be able to create fear in the hearts of their adversaries and to lead their armies in a best manner.

The use of camels and oxen as loading animals for transporting the material and the provisions of war is also being attested during our age. Sisupalvadh of Magh specifically refers to such use of camels. Prabandhcintamani of Merutunga, notifying the presence of this animal in the Chahmana army states that while it was on march, the officer in charge of kitchen pleaded Prithviraja III to allot him more she camels, as only 700 camels already allotted to him were not sufficient enough for carrying on the kitchen services upto the battlefield. Prithvirajvijaya also describes them in the army of Prithviraja III, while he marched against Gudapura. Kanhadade Prabandha also refers to she camels with pack saddles used for loading the tents, canopies, pavillions, enclosures, armorial devices and paraphernalia of army. The Arab geographer Al Masudi also offers a special praise to the ruler of Juzr (Gujarat) for having numerous camels in his army, probably for loading purposes. Sukra’s suggestion to the king to possess camels, 1/8 of the whole army is also important to note regarding their utility. Thus, camels had practically proved their excellence as a loading animal. Its use as a transporting vehicle in the desert areas of Rajasthan remained as unparalleled. Probably the breed of camel used for this purpose by the

240 Prabandhacintamani tr. Tawney, p.190.
242 Kanhadade Prabandha, p.4.
244 Sukraniti, p.157, V.84.
Rajputs was a single humped dromedary as the animal with double hump was useless for such tasks.\(^\text{245}\)

The region of Sind in India was probably a breeding ground for such pedigree of camels.\(^\text{246}\) The Indian camels are generally regarded as exceptional on account of their immense capacity of loading and travelling. Its usefulness in desert lies in its special quality of storing water in paunch, that could be used by the riders, too, in a waterless area.\(^\text{247}\) The warriors used to drink water from the camel’s paunch during the time of emergency, either by killing the animal or thrusting a stick down into the throat to make it vomit water. It is said that if the animal has been watered within a day or two, the water remained tolerable to drink.\(^\text{248}\)

The Turkish invaders of India also realised the importance of camels as reflected in Persian sources. \textit{Fakhr-i Mudabbir} suggests their inclusion in forces for loading purpose.\(^\text{249}\) Ibn-al Asir accounts that Mahmud of Ghazna, when started for his campaign to Anahilwad, loaded 30,000 camels with water and corn,\(^\text{250}\) as the road from Multan to Gujarat Passed through a barren desert. Firishta also narrates that Mohd. Ghori, after his conquest of Benares, carried thousands of camels for loading the spoils of war.\(^\text{251}\) Minhaj writes that during the course of a

\(^{245}\) The dromedary made its first presence in India only in the 7th century AD, as mentioned by Yuan Chwang, who says that “the camels are small in size and have only on hump”. The archaeological data leads to conclude that this breed of camel was domesticated in central Asia in late Neolithic times. It was tamed and bred in Arabia at that time or even before it from a different specie of wild camel. Ancient Mesopotamians were familiar with dromedary for desert traffic around 7th century B.C. (R.J. Forbes, \textit{Studies in Indian Technology}, Vol.II, p.208).


\(^{249}\) \textit{Adab-ul-Harb-wa-Shujja 'at}, in \textit{Adi Turk Kalin Bharat}, p.259.

\(^{250}\) Elliot and Dowson, II, p.475.

battle between the Sultans of ghor and Ghazni, when the former was routed by Sultan Muizuddin’s men, Qutubuddin saved his master riding on the back of a camel.252 The Arabs also realised the vulnerability of camels. It was the camel that gave the Arab armies their maneuverability which was strategic rather than tactical.253 Chachnamah reveals that at once Hajjaj said in a letter to Mohd-bin-Qasim, “Let every four horsemen take one camel with them. I give you strong loading camels to carry (each) a heavy load (of provisions)”.254 Al Umari writes that the camels owing to their smallness in number could be possessed by rich persons like khans, amirs, vazirs, and other high officials, who lived with the Sultan or assisted him.255

Like camels, oxen were also used as a means of transportation and the carriers of men and material of war to the battleground. Bana in context to the march of Harsha’s army provides a picturesque description of oxen laden with utensils.256 He also refers to the poor and unattended nobles, marching on fainting oxen supplied by the village householders.257 Sisupalvadh of Magha refers to oxen tired with the burden of the supply of war.258 Sukra also provides a graphic account of the qualities and features of a good oxen259 and advises the king to their maintenance in a good number.260 Alberuni praises them for their capacity to bear a heavy burden over them.261 Sometimes, the use of mules had also been prevalent for such purposes.262

253 Islamic Arms and Armour, p.163.
254 Chachnamah, op.cit., p.76.
256 Harshacharita Ch. VII, tr. Cowell and Thomas, p.201.
257 Ibid., Ch.VII, p.207.
258 Sisupalvadh, op.cit., p. 216.
259 According to Sukra, one who can travel for 30 yajanas a day, should be regarded as a good oxen (Sukraniti, p.165).
260 The number of both bulls and oxen in the army is suggested by him as 1/5th of the whole armed contingent (Ibid., p.157).
Besides, these living beasts, the use of carts as a means of transporting the material of war is found mentioned in *Harshacharita*. Sukra regarded them the best means to the transference of loading in the rainy season.

The utility of boats and ships to carry out men and material through waterways can never be underestimated. That the Mauryas had built and commanded a navy is testified by Megasthenes's references to the board of admiralty, though we do not find any reference to naval warfare during this age. The Gupta and the post-Gupta rulers too, might have maintained good navy. The writers like Manu and Kautilya freely prescribe its use. Kamandaka, too,

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261 Alberuni writes, "The Hindus frequently estimate the burden an ox could bear at 2000 and 3000 mana" (*Alberuni’s India*, p.199).

262 *Sisupalavadh* refers to the use of mules in the army as carriages (p.453, V.24). Bana also refers to them as ridden by throngs of boys in the marching army of Harsha. (*Harshacharita*, tr. Cowell and Thomas, p.201 (Ch.VII).

263 *Harshacharita*, V.S. Agarwal, p.145.


265 Boats and ships are known in India since the times of Vedic Aryans. (B.K. Majumdar, op. cit., p.21, Also see Dikshitar, *War in Ancient India*, pp. 191, 278. *Jatakas* refers to the use of ships for carrying on the trading voyages. (Bavery Jataka (No.339), Valahasa Jat (No.196), Sankha Jat (No.422), Mahajanaka Jat (No.539), Cf. B.K. Majumdar, op. cit., p.20).

266 The conquest of Samudragupta over the dwellers of all Islands and Simhala would not have been possible without the maintenance of a strong naval force by him (*CII*, Vol.III, No.1, p.6). Kalidasa also mentions to the naval force of the country, while referring to Rahgu’s conquest of the Vanga chiefs (Cf. G.P. Sinha, op.cit., p.148). The use of ships is further referred in *Gunaighar copper plate inscription* as a part of the army of Vainyagupta (AD 507) (*Select inscriptions* No.37, p.331). Again, *Deobarnak Inscription* refers to the presence of navy in the victorious camp of the later Gupta ruler, Jivitgupta. (*CII*, Vol.III, No.46, p.217). A ship building harbour is also known from a copper plate grant of Dharmani (AD 531), without its exact location. (*IA*, XIX, p.198). In *Apsad Inscription of Adityasena*, a naval victory of Mahasenagupta over the king of Kamarupa named Sushisthavarman is referred (P.C. Chakravarti, op.cit., p.60).

indirectly alludes to naval warfare, while stating that through regular use of boats one becomes adept in fighting from chariots, elephants, horses and boats. It is evident that the rais of Sind in the 8th century had made an apparent use of the boats for carrying a large number of men and instruments of war and weapons by small rivers. Upamitibhava prapanchakaha, significantly refers to the ships belonging to a royal prince, loaded with a huge quantity of material including his treasures, stores etc.; at the time of his migration to some other country. The great Paramara king Bhoja had attached so much importance to the maintenance of boats, that he states, “a king who has boats wins the war and the king who through ignorance does not keep boats loses his prestige, vigour and treasury”. Dhanapala vividly, describes the sea voyage of a rajaputra Samaraketu in context to his conquest over the people of some Island, who defied the royal authority by the non-payment of tax at regular intervals. However, despite all the metaphysical references, it is not very much clear that the naval fleet utilised by the Paramaras was their own possession or of some of their allies. One of the modern scholars views that they

Madhuban copper plate inscription of Harsha significantly refers to his great navy and other army corps. (EI, Vol.I, No.11, pp.63-68). Similarly, Nidhanpur copper plate inscription of Bhaskarvarmana (AD 600) while, referring about his splendid camp at Karnasurvarna took note of his mighty ships. (Ibid., Vol.XII, No. 13, p.76) directly alludes to naval warfare, while stating that through regular practice becomes adept in fighting from chariots, elephants, horses and boats (Nitisara).

267 Manu advises the king to wage war in water with manned boats. (Manusmriti, tr. M.M. Gahganath Jha, Ch.VII, Section 185).

268 Kautilya regards the use of boats in army to cross over the high waters (Kangle, II, p.436).

269 Nitisara.

270 Chachnamah, p.117.

271 Upamitibhavaprapanchakaha, Introd., p.IXXVII, text, p.901.

272 Yuktikalpataru, p.228, VV.30-31.

273 Tilakmanjari, pp.131-141, 223.
did not possess any such fleet of their own, instead of it they temporarily borrowed it from the friendly Silaharas, while in need.\textsuperscript{274}

The early Turkish invaders like their Rajput adversaries also made an extensive use of boats. Mahmud of Ghazna in his incursions against Jats of Jud hills mobilised a naval fleet of 1400 boats, each having 20 archers.\textsuperscript{275} However, the veteran troops of Mahmud were more effective on land than on water, but they successfully overturned the boats of their adversaries, with the projected spikes of their own boats.\textsuperscript{276}

Besides, the subsidiary armed contingents, the exact proportion of the three fundamental wings i.e., infantry, cavalry and elephantry in the Rajput armies is not known with certainty. However, the ancient literary accounts reveal that the organisation of different constituents in proportionate order was based on a unitary division.\textsuperscript{277} We see that the number of troops in each unit underwent a change with a gradual advancement of time.\textsuperscript{278} There might had been a

\textsuperscript{274} Pratipal Bhatia, op.cit., p.225.
\textsuperscript{275} Elliot & Dowson, II, p.483.
\textsuperscript{276} Muhammad Nazim, \textit{Life and Times of Sultan Mahmood of Ghazna}, pp.121, 122 fn.2.
\textsuperscript{277} \textit{Mahabharata} informs that each unit had its commander with a corresponding rank. The lowest unit was \textit{patti} which, primarily consisted of 1 chariot, 1 elephant, 3 horses and five infantry men. (See \textit{Shantiparva} and \textit{Adiparva of Mahabharata}. Also see \textit{Arthasastra}, Bk.X, Ch.VI).
\textsuperscript{278} \textit{Nitiprakasika} (10th century) states the strength and imposition of each unit in extremely high figures. According to it an \textit{akshauni} should consist of 21,870 Chariots, 218,700 elephants, 21,870,000 horses and 21,187,000,000 foot soldiers.(Oppert Gustav, \textit{On Weapons, Army Organisation etc}, pp.5-6). The account, though undoubtedly seems quite exaggerative and untrustworthy. Sukra refers to the aggregate strength of an armed unit as including 5 chariots, 10 elephants, 40 camels, 64 bulls, 320 horses, 1,280 men (\textit{Sukraniti}, p.157, VV.83-84, 86). Emphasising on the necessity of division for the proper organisation of army Alberuni states that a \textit{ratha} comprehends, besides one elephant, three riders and five footmen. Giving further details Alberuni proceeds:

\begin{itemize}
  \item [\textit{Anikini}] 10
  \item [\textit{Chamu}] 3
  \item [\textit{Pritana}] 3
\end{itemize}
noticeable change in the strength and composition of armed units during early medieval period, owing to the disappearance of chariots as the fighting arm in practical warfare. We get some indications of the evaporation of the ancient system of unitary division in both Alberuni's account and Kalhana's Rajtarangini.279

279 Ibid.

280 Rajitarangini, Ch.V, VV.140,141,143.