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SIR SHAFaat AHMAD KHAN
General Secretary



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RAI BAHADUR BRAJ MOHAN VYAS
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INTRODUCTION

The study of Indian history has had a new birth. It is no longer a mere repetition of something dead and gone, but the product of mighty forces stirred to original creativeness by a sincere and dispassionate admiration for the past. The new school of Indian historical scholarship trained in the scientific methods of the West, and equipped with its technique, aims at an objective analysis of documents and prescribes rigorous principles for the prosecution of historical research. That the need for a complete change in our methods of historical studies was imperatively necessary will be clear to all who have had to study the origins of our political and social life. Myths and fancies jostled incongruously with facts, and the student was constantly involved in a labyrinth of fantastic legends and morbid imagination. How different were the early historians with their solid, concrete, and clear expression, and their force and freshness of actual existence. The fantastic transmutations of a sober, simple and pure style, which was the pride and glory of early historians, had decayed into a truculent bravado, or pined away into pedantic purism. The chiselled phrases and perfect balance of a natural style gave way to the wayward fancies, dwindling vitality and flamboyant style of the middle period. A new spirit has now dawned upon India, and a new method of approach is necessary ; we must go back to the fount of our energy, and assimilate the masterpieces of individual energy and original invention which are stamped on the best product of western historiography. The new school aims at replacing the abstractions of the allegory by concrete fact, and subjecting the data to the canons of historical criticism. It takes out from the cupboard the memories of our greatness which had crumbled and sunk into dusk, dusts them clean and restores them to the family circle.

Even songs and ballads may prove useful to the historian, for the strong vibrations of Kabir's and Guru Nanak's poems, the emotional fervour of Mahratta saints, and the mystical cravings of the Sufis cannot be dismissed by the modern historians as spasms of passionate enthusiasm. To the new school, they are of primary importance, as they measure the boundaries of the wonder land of fancy, bring mystery

within the sphere of definition, and limit the marvellous by reducing it to concrete actualities. Viewed from this point, Indian men and women of the past move in clear sun-light, disenchanted of gloom or glory, and break in upon us with the freshness of a smile or a sunbeam. Paradoxical as it may seem, the deep gulf that yawned between different castes in India did not prevent intellectual contact or cultural solidarity. A Sudra was denied equality of status, but this did not prevent him from enjoying the masterpieces of our Country. On the intellectual plane, there was greater solidarity and *rapport* between the classes and the masses than is generally understood. Indian history exhibits continuous reciprocity of feeling and solidarity of sentiment between the cultured classes and the masses, and Indian historical literature gives us a more complete embodiment of the national spirit than can be shown by any other nation in Asia. The *Mahabharat* and the *Ramayan* are known by heart throughout the length and breadth of this land. Firdausi's *Shahnama*, the sayings of Akbar and Birbal, the history of Ibn Batuta etc. have been eagerly appropriated by the people and this *rapport*, which purifies the tastes and instincts of the aristocracy and the populace, has penetrated and refined the whole nation. The deep social gulf, which has been the bane of medieval and modern India, did not check the vibrations of intellectual intercourse among different classes and castes. The new school takes into account the interplay of myriads of forces which have moulded Indian life and thought, and dissects with perfect impartiality the heroes of the Indian legend, and the foreign conquerors who injected powerful currents of energy in the eighteenth century. The rise of the new school of Indian history is the inevitable result of the resurgence of national spirit, the epic progress of the Indian Renaissance, the liberation of reason in science and conscience in religion, restoring culture to the intellect, and enunciating the principles of political freedom, and economic equality. Indian tradition and statesmanship have now recovered consciousness and the power of self-determination, and the social, political and religious movements in India have worked *pari passu* with a unity which has centralised and diffused energy throughout India. The constituent elements of the modern spirit have acquired separate personalities, and have operated with the swift genius of insight and resource in every sphere of our national activity. Our social and intellectual movements have purified the political

struggle, while the latter has acted with decisive effect in critical crises in our constitutional movement. The work started by Ram Mohan Roy has been extended and developed by a long line of brilliant reformers, who have given a new interpretation and a new orientation to his doctrines. The farsighted statesmanship of the great Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan and the gnomonic wisdom of Mian Sir Fazli Husain are reflected in the solid progress of the great community which they served. In the political field, the Indian National Congress, emerging slowly and painfully from a state of utter rawness, under the advice and guidance of a succession of able men, such as Dadabhai Naoroji, Banerjee, Gokhale and Tilak, soon attained a position of primacy among the political organisations of India. The early leaders of the Congress were men of vision and imagination and were inspired by lofty patriotism. Their intellectual equipment and the breadth, depth, and width of their statesmanship have hardly been surpassed. The Congress policy and programme represented the solid basis of national morality which grounds a policy and a programme firm upon the sympathies, interests and traditions of the people, and is the final outcome of a slow and deliberate accretion in the stages which they had traversed. The Congress advanced in constitutional development but it will be correct to state that till 1920, its supporters marched in single file and not in columns of four. The early pioneers carried on their work in a spirit of tremulous discipleship and paid homage to the genius of the English constitution with a fervour which Blackstone might have envied. However, a new spirit was pulsating the country. It was seething with discontent and had been stirred into vigorous activity by the world situation and the universal depression which necessarily flowed from the Great War.

I cannot deal here with the development of Congress ideology, the growth of political consciousness among other classes and communities and the synthesis of clashing ideas and conflicting desires which tended to weaken the national will. It was a unity of federalised races and communities, organised in the hierarchy of mutually dependent communities and cemented by the bond of a common patriotism.

I have dealt at length with this phenomenon as otherwise the vigour and growth of modern Indian historical scholarship would be inexplicable to us. The progress of historical studies in India has been unusually

rapid and every province is animated by a desire to interpret the lives and explain the policy of its government. For the scientific student of history India was a fallow field, behind which lay buried a civilisation and a culture which were to become the objects alike of admiration and respect. Behind stretched centuries of medievalism with its imperious self-assurance, its free virility and its overflowing vitality though it was destitute of intellectual freedom and civic rights. Amidst so much confusion and turmoil, it is clear that medieval India was living a vehemently active and self-conscious life, acknowledging no principle of stability in its constitution, suppressing with an iron hand all deviations from the norm, and checking the organic vitality of a great people through the discipline of tradition, religion and administration. Historians of medieval India may legitimately be asked whether they have a palate which can taste human history embalmed in perfect parody and presented with a sustained irony which has not been equalled since Swift wrote the "Tale of a Tub". Yet this is precisely the impression which one forms after reading standard histories of the reign of Muhammad Tughlak. The Indian historian must, consequently, reach forth across the gulf of ages, and base his work on the severe framework of abstract truth. His difficulties multiply when he approaches the modern period, for political theories and personal prejudices influence the judgment of the writer. An objective history of modern India is an extremely difficult task and the path of the modern historian of British India is beset by many obstacles. In modern India there are half a dozen political stresses, and most of them overlap into ramifying and interlaced sub-stresses. The greatest problem of modern Indian statesmen as well of Indian historians, is to melt and cast these varied strains into a single, solid ingot. Having dealt with the basic problems of Indian historiography, let me deal with the progress that has so far been made in the realm of historical scholarship. Everyone is acquainted with the pioneering work of the great Sir William Jones in the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and all students know with what sedulous care the great pro-consul Warren Hastings watched the progress of this body. The patronage of the governor-general and the enthusiasm of a few genuine devotees of Oriental learning built up a powerful movement in India for the cultivation of Indian classical languages and the advancement of Indian culture, The

enlightened of the governors-general imparted to the movement a momentum and prestige which were most successful in preserving the clearness and light of the classics of Indian thought. They broke loose from the antique mode of presentation consecrated by devout tradition and familiarised Englishmen with the keenest intentions, the deepest thought, the strongest passion, the subtlest fancy and the loftiest imagination of our ancestors. To these pioneers are due the great strides which Europe and America have taken in the growth of Oriental studies, and the keen interest which they have maintained in the organisation of research. The history of this movement is so well known that it would be superfluous on my part to attempt even a sketch of its main currents. It is sufficient to state that India could not have attained her present level of historical scholarship without the inspiration of their example. The Bengal Asiatic Society has rendered invaluable services to Indian scholarship by the publication of texts of standard histories of India by its numerous monographs, by the sustained energy of its workers, and the solid operative ideas which permeate its investigations. It would, however, be an affectation to deny that it has not kept up energy and youthful vigour, and has undoubtedly slackened its pace of late. The Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society is also languishing, though its champions have collected centralised and diffused intelligence in the past, and have undertaken solid research throughout the Presidency in the days of its prime. It will be true to say that the Societies which had made their mark and established their position nearly a quarter of a century ago have not been able to maintain their old level in face of the vigorous activities of Indian Universities. Provincial Societies have done something. The U. P. Historical Society has made many important contributions, though the Punjab Historical Society has been absorbed by the University of the Punjab. The Behar Research Society did brilliant work in the past under the guidance of the late Dr. P. K. Jayaswal, but his death left a gap which has not yet been filled. The University of Calcutta claims supremacy among Indian Universities for the solid foundation of its ancient Indian History. The quality and quantity of original contributions on this subject, which its scholars have produced so far, bear an eloquent testimony to the vision and foresight of its pioneers. They cut ancient Indian history adrift from its theological moorings, and launched it on the waters of the Renaissance liberty. But Modern

Indian History, and particularly the history of modern and medieval Bengal, has been comparatively neglected, though Calcutta possesses unrebuted facilities for researches in modern history as in it are concentrated the archives of the Bengal Government and the invaluable records of the Imperial Record Office, which have now been transferred to Delhi. However, the university has made considerable progress in the development of a vigorous modern Indian history school, and it is bound to develop into a vigorous body.

At Allahabad, the progress of the school of history has been unusually rapid. It has deliberately tried to avoid overlapping and duplication with other Universities, and has specialised in medieval and modern Indian history. It is not for me to assess the value of its researches, and its influence on the development of studies in the history of India in 1000-1900.

The Madras University has infused new life and vigour into the study of ancient Indian history and the history of Southern India through the influence and ability of Professor Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, whose creative work and disciplined enthusiasm for the study of a subject to which he has devoted the best part of his life have won fame and recognition throughout the world of scholarship. What Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the president of the Indian History Congress, did for the Calcutta University, Dr. Aiyangar has achieved for Madras. Their methods and their ideals were alike simple and objective. They showed how to paint the ancient world as it is seen without fixed prejudices and canned formulae which hide wishes. They, and others, who constitute the new school of scientific historians, had found their subject old, effete and overlaid with myth and legend. They have made it young and vigorous, while they themselves have grown old. They are not opportunists living on a thread of principle but men of lofty principles and inflexible character animated by a single desire to analyse, and anatomise the records of their country. This slight sketch of the chief institutions and personalities may be closed with a brief reference to the work of two other bodies which have given a new orientation to Indian historical scholarship. The first and most important of all, is the *Bharat Itihas Mandal*. The work of the Mandal is known to every child in the Maharashtra, and is part of a noble legacy which the devoted labours of its pioneers such as Rajwade bequeathed to the Mahrattas. The severe discipline of its early founders lifts its

published work above a mass of half-baked history and unbaked sociology in which the crude enthusiasm of mushroom organisations has sometimes expressed itself. We have had examples of movements and institutions in which emotions and feelings abandon sense, and leave the actual world behind to seek their freedom in a region of myth and imagination. This is mythology and not history. The Mahratta pioneers, being gifted with a keen sense of realism, broke loose from luxuriant waywardness of fancy and started their work in a spirit of piety and truth. They combined the scholastically frigid and cool spirit of a student with the keen enthusiasm of pioneers. The life history of these savants makes most interesting reading, and supplies an object lesson to the younger enquirers. I never knew the pervasive influence of this movement until I went to Poona in 1935 to preside over the inaugural session of this Congress. Nationalism and scholarship kissed each other and were fused into one. It was not the crude nationalism of the tub-thumper but the enlightened nationalism of a statesman and it derived its nourishment and vigour from the splendid researches of the *Itihas Bharat Mandal*. Disciplined by the study of the past, and trained alike in council chambers and in courts of law, they survey the records of their past from a higher plane, fortifying their judgments of men and events by a knowledge of the world and purifying their knowledge of the Peshwas with the varied experience of the present day. The early pioneers spared no efforts in collecting the smallest details, topographical, biographical or diplomatic, that may have the greatest value. Of the early pioneers it is sufficient to mention the name of the great Rajwade, whose efforts for the collection of materials in the lovely valleys and rugged hills of the Konkan are known to all. Of the later researches, I need only mention the work of Mr. Sardesai and Professor D. V. Potdar, the two pillars of the Maharashtra movement. Potdar's work in the Deccan is known greatly and admired by all students of history, and to those who have the privilege of his friendship, it is a pleasure to discuss the glories of Maharashtra's past and its brilliant future. He has been a tower of strength to the new movement and has developed and extended the activities of the Mandal in amazing ramifications. The other body to which some reference must be made is the Indian History Congress which was inaugurated by me at Poona, in June 1935. The inaugural session was attended by representatives of British provinces and Indian

States, and was a unique success. Professor Bhuyan came all the way from Shillong to Poona in the torrid heat of June to attend the session. The Government of India and provincial and state governments had also sent their representatives, and the discussions were conducted in an atmosphere of friendliness and good feeling. The second session of the Congress was held in the beginning of October 1938, at Allahabad, and an exhibition of historical paintings, documents and other relics was also held. The session was an unqualified success and was attended by delegates from leading Indian States, Universities, learned societies and provinces. The papers read at the meeting have been incorporated in these Proceedings. Indian history has become highly specialised and every period requires trained experts who have devoted their lives to the investigation of its problems. The Congress was able to enlist the support and cooperation of eminent historians for each section and their names will be found in the beginning of each section. The presidential addresses delivered by sectional presidents are a veritable storehouse of information for historical scholars, as they contain not merely a masterly survey of the period with which they deal but also a critical analysis of the main problems which await solution. It may be said without any exaggeration, that Indian historians met for the first time on a common platform and developed a corporate spirit and organic unity which had been hitherto lacking. Indian history has come to its own, and is no longer the Cinderella of conferences of learned societies. It had hitherto been cut into numerous fragments and divided among numerous bodies. Thus Ancient and Medieval Indian History is dealt with by the Oriental Conference and their bodies, while the Historical Record Commission deals with the history of British India. There was no association of All-India importance which dealt with the problems of Indian History as a whole. Indian history had, however, come to its own. The arrangements connected with the Congress worked with regularity and precision, and the session ended in an atmosphere of hope and expectation. The Calcutta University has invited the Congress to Calcutta, and the next session will be held this year from December 15 onwards. Those who know the character and achievements of Bengal scholars have no doubt whatsoever that the December session of the Congress will be even more brilliant and successful than the last.

I shall now deal briefly with the papers included in these Proceedings. Dr. S. Krishnaswamy has dealt with an extremely important subject with his usual clarity. He starts with the thesis that, on a general view, Indian civilisation might well be said to be in a sense the result of a process of Aryanisation, notwithstanding the fact that large and important contributions have come from other sources, among them the Dravidian civilisation. Other papers by Professor Nilakanta Sastri, Raychaudhari, Altekar, Gulshan Rai and Dr. Rama Shankar Tripathi deserve attention, as they deal with subjects of great importance. Professor Altekar's contention is that the Purda was confined to an infinitesimal section of the ruling classes in ancient India and he opines that the Purda system was practically non-existent in Hindu society down to the beginning of the eleventh century. "Women in ancient India could take a fair part in social life around them. In urban areas, they could go out to public parks for sport and recreation." Dr. Rama Shanker Tripathi states that the Gupta age was essentially one of religious harmony and toleration. Dr. H. C. Seth deals with the question whether Poros won the battle of the Jhelum. Dr. Seth says that in spite of the efforts of European writers to make Alexander a hero and a victor in all his battles, it has been difficult to conceal the fact that his Indian campaign was a disastrous failure. Alexander received his first serious check in the battle of Jhelum. His conclusion is that the outcome of the battle of Jhelum does not appear to be what the traditional version will make us believe. It may be that Poros was the real victor and Alexander was the suppliant for peace, or it may be that the battle was decisively closed and Alexander, who was hard pressed throughout and who knew that the loss of the battle would mean complete annihilation, started negotiations for peace. True to the old Kshtriya tradition Poros did not like to smite a suppliant foe, and peace was made between him and Alexander. He quotes from the Ethiopic Text, edited and translated by E. A. W. Badge, in which Alexander exclaims to Poros, "O Poros, King of India, behold, I perceive and know thy strength and might, and moreover what thou doest lieth hard upon me, and my heart is weary; and I have considered the fatigue whereby we all are perishing."

In the Archæological section, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the Director-General of Archæology, gives a luminous account of the progress of archæological studies in India, His survey of its present

needs and future requirements is masterly. Mr. Dikshit opines that "the hopes entertained a few years ago, that a number of foreign societies, in particular from America, may be able to take up exploration work on a large scale and stimulate Indian societies and organisations, has not been fulfilled. The American expedition under Dr. E. J. H. Mackay, which excavated at Chanhudaro in Sind three years ago, did not return to India, and with the present financial stringencies affecting the Government of India, there is hardly any chance of extended activities on the part of Government in the near future. The interest taken by Indian Universities and societies does not augur an era of prosperity and we shall probably have to wait several years before any improvement can be effected." Khan Bahadur M. Zafar Hasan, Superintendent, Archæological society, Agra, contributes an able paper on an inscription of Mallu Iqbal Khan. The inscription is fixed on the southern bastion of an old Idgah at the village of Kharera near Delhi. The building is situated about a few furlongs to the east of the Delhi-Qutub road beyond the 9th mile-stone from Delhi. Mr. R.V. Poduval, Director of Archæology, Travancore State, contributes an interesting paper on Archæology in Travancore. Travancore is probably the only Indian State which has not been actually conquered by a foreign power. The conservation of ancient monuments in Travancore has received adequate attention from the government. The European monuments are by far the best preserved in the State.

Early Medieval and Rajput History Section.

Dr. S. N. Sen, the learned president of this section, deals comprehensively with the basic problems of this period. He cautions students of the period against accepting the facts recorded in the florid and flamboyant style of Persian historians. "The Hindus had apparently little interest in historical literature, and Sanskrit chronicles and biographies, that have luckily survived to our times, can be counted on our fingers. A Persian poem with a historical theme, may reflect popular feelings of the time, but as historical material it cannot be classed higher than a Hindi or Marathi ballad. The chronicles were mainly, if not solely, interested in the military aristocracy. Some of them deliberately sought the patronage of the ruling Sultan and the principal nobles. The historian should not be influenced by Chauvinism but he should not confuse a chronicle with History.....So far as

they were concerned, the teeming millions might have been altogether non-existent." This is an excellent summary of the difficult problems with which the historian of the medieval period is faced, and it must be confessed that the difficulties have not been removed by the publication of ponderous folios. No praise could be too high for the great work which the Cambridge History of India has done for the advancement of Indian scholarship, and for the scientific and dispassionate analysis of the political history of India. But in its treatment of this period, the general impression is that several most important aspects such as the revival of our spiritual energy, the religious revolution inaugurated by Chaitanya, the growth of Hindi language and literature and the development of Indian music are comparatively neglected. History is served in a tabloid form and the vibrations of our many-sided energy are ignored. I dealt with some of these problems in my inaugural address to the first session of the Indian History Congress in Poona in 1935 and readers who wish to pursue this subject further are referred to it for my criticism of medieval historiography. Here it is sufficient to state that, in medieval India, there are the inevitable alternations of wars and civil strife and it is only with great difficulty that we discern signs of progress. The learned president discusses the question of the origin of the Rajputs and admits that unanimity has not been reached. The erudition of Professor D. R. Bhandarkar has fairly established that the Gahlauts, at least, were not directly descended from the Vedic Aryans. Aryan origin is also commonly denied to Gurjaras. The traditional view of purely Kshatriya origin has been ably defended by Messrs. Gauri Shanker Ojha and C. Y. Vaidya. It is no disparagement of their scholarship or intellectual integrity to say that so far they have not succeeded in carrying conviction to the opposite camp. The late Dr. Cooke probably stated the case fairly when he said, "Some of the nobler Rajput sects are descended from Gurjaras or other foreigners while others are closely connected with the indigenous races."

Interesting papers on this section have been contributed by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya who writes on Dharamaraya and Vir Narsingh Dr. D. C. Ganguly writes on a forgotten Muslim invasion and states that in the "course of a little more than hundred years from A. D. 725 to A. D. 836 the Arabs of Sind made two attempts to establish their sway in Rajputana." On both these occasions, their efforts were

frustrated by the vigilance and energy of rulers." Dr. Dines Chandra Sarcar's paper on Bengal and the Rajputs is of exceptional interest and will be widely studied. "During the early medieval period, when Bengal had to fight with many powers from different parts of India, many adventurers settled in Bengal. The Palas themselves were possibly outsiders. Of other dynasties settled in Bengal during this period, the most important are the Candras of Rohitagiri, the Varmans of Simhapura and the Senas of Karnata. A standstill in the brisk relation of Bengal with the Rajputs followed the Muslim occupation of northern India. The relation was, however, revived at the time of the Moghul Emperors Akbar and Jahangir. Rajput generals like Todarmal and Mansingh were sent to suppress the rebellions in eastern India and Mansingh's struggle with the so-called Bara-Bhunas is still remembered in Bengal." Another paper which will be widely read is the fine analysis of the character and achievements of Rana Sanga of Mewar by Professor Anil Chandra Banerjee. The Rana's vivid personality is portrayed in contemporary chronicles and the great Babur has described his fight against this lion-hearted king in passages of great beauty and feeling. Mr. Santimoy Banerji deals with the Ordeal of Kumarapala before accession, while Mr. Y. M. Kale discusses some theories about the Vakatakas and Mr. R. Subba Rao examines the eastern Ganga Era, its initial year.

The Sultanate period

Professor Sri Ram Sharma's paper on Feroz Shah's regulations contains a learned disquisition, the result of prolonged and fruitful research. Professor Sharma's industry and energy are proverbial, and his recent work on the bibliography of Moghul India is an indication of his sustained interest in the subject. Mr. Gurty Venket Rao, formerly a research scholar and lecturer in the University History department, Allahabad, who is now a lecturer in the Andhra University, contributes a most interesting and original paper on the Bahmani-Vijayanagar relations. He analyses the causes of the conflict and states that besides other causes "there was an economic element in the struggle". He comes to the conclusion that the "Bahmani-Vijayanagar Wars were not crusades, but secular exploits waged for the acquisition of wealth and territory". Dr. Mehdi Hasan's paper on the Rihla of Ibn Battuta is a lucid analysis of one of our primary sources and

supplements his researches on Muhammad Tughlak. He dissects various copies of the MSS of this work, and his comparative study of the MSS with different Arabic Texts is interesting. Mr. Abdul Majeed Siddiqi's paper deals with Feroz Shah as a nation builder of the Deccan; while Shaikh Abdur Rashid of Muslim University, Aligarh, traces the origin of the Khilji Sultans of Delhi. Professor R. V. Oturkar discusses the origin of Gango Bahmani in an attempt to show that the efforts to discredit the Gango Brahmin connection of Hasan Shah and to trace him to the Persian origin are not often as conclusive as they are considered to be by men like Colonel Haig". Mr. S. A. Halim discusses the character of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, while Mr. Ramachandraiya investigates the date of Yusuf Adil Shah's death.

Elliott and Dawson's History of India is a classic and students of Medieval India are under a debt of gratitude to this work for transcripts from rare and valuable histories. The book, however, contained a number of mistakes, due to faulty translation and misreading of the MSS. A new and revised edition of this work is essential for research, and I made this suggestion in my inaugural address to the Indian History Congress at Poona in 1935. Professor Shapurshah Hormaji Hodiwalla has just published his Studies in Indo-Muslim History, containing a critical commentary on Elliott and Dawson's History.

It is a monumental work, and is based on a thorough study of authorities. It supplies a long-felt want, and for students of this period it is essential. Professor Hodiwalla's researches had placed his name among the forefront of Indian historians. His recent work will inspire a number of young Indians to prosecute their studies of the period with renewed vigour.

Moghul India

Professor R. P. Khosla's presidential address on Moghul India is an exceedingly lucid and clear analysis of the chief features of Moghul administration. He points out aspects of the period which await scientific investigation. We have not yet attained scientific precision in these points and intensive investigation of the cultural and social history of the Moghuls is required. "Their standard of life and the mode of living, their festivals and their institutions are not yet fully known to us. We have not yet been admitted into their joys and sorrows. Their daily life is still a

mystery to us. Our knowledge is mostly confined to kings and courts and we hardly know anything about ordinary men and women." Professor Khosla points out that "the Moghul period has special interest for us, as it is both medieval and modern." He contends that the communal problem, which looms so large on our political horizon these days, was dealt with by some of the great Moghul Emperors more rationally and with better results than it has been by the present government and the political leaders of modern India. The problem of north-western frontiers was the same then as it is now. This problem also was better solved by the Moghul Emperors than by the present government. The grip of the great Moghul on the frontier province was as firm as on other parts of his empire." These remarks are marked by an objective analysis and a dispassionate judgment, which are in striking contrast with the partial, incomplete and exaggerated accounts of this period by a section of writers. The Moghul period was preeminently a period of national consolidation and national unity. The spirit of the Moghuls, disciplined by scholarship, reawakened India to a sense of intellectual and political unity. The early Moghuls are popular because the rulers and the ruled reunited on a broader plane the ideas of Indian unity and solidarity. A common standard of taste, feeling and intelligence created a common consciousness. In a country of chronic and passionate dissensions they had a sense of the right limitations of religious and social uniformity. Nature had gifted them with a calm judgment and a refined mind, and their love of order and discipline, their insistence on rigid adherence to rules and regulations, have stamped them as consummate political architects in administration. They have bequeathed to posterity models of individual energy and original invention, which have stamped their personality on the land of their adoption more than any other dynasty in India. In architecture, too, we notice the same tendency. The splendour of the Taj Mahal, the perfect love of a great Emperor for his devoted wife wrought in eloquent marble, fairy-like beneath the moon and the stars, gazing at the silvery waters of the gentle Jumna across an arid plane, the gorgeous domes sharply cut against the clear blue sky of an Indian winter, produce an effect which is unparalleled in the world.

The period of Moghul splendour was of a short duration and we notice a rapid decline in the middle of the 17th century. The history

of the decadent successors of the great Moghuls in the 18th century makes painful reading. We bid adieu to the comparative youth, the light steps, the leaping pulses and dæmonic energy of the early Mughuls, and in the shapely body and fair face, and singular unity of look of Farrukhsiyar and his successors, we realise the miracle of the continued race, but the extinction of that spirit of adventure, enterprise and heroism, which had invariably crowned the Moghul arms with victory. Here is a picture of the emperor Shah Alam culled from Kaye's *Life of Metcalf*. "The emperor Shah Alam, old, blind and infirm, still held the mockery of a court. The victories of the British army on the banks of the Jumna had rescued him from the thralldom of the Mahrattas only to impose upon him another yoke. In our hands he was as helpless, but less miserable. He was at the mercy of men who respected his fallen fortunes and desired that he should enjoy as much of the luxury and pomp of royalty as could be purchased for a certain sum of money to be appropriated to him out of the revenues of our new possessions." It must be admitted that the spirit of their great ancestors had departed from the abodes of the later Mughals. None came to the Mughuls' palace, except a few curious tourists and a host of flunkeys. It was dead; it lacked even the echo of a human voice; and the emperor's room was empty of memories like his life. All the harvest of memories which other men gather in the course of life—the unexpected happenings, the happy or tragic loves, adventurous journeys, all the chances of a free existence, had passed from him. Days, weeks, months, seasons, years were all alike and each succeeded the other with pitiless monotony. The Moghul system, in its decline, degenerated into a Byzantine ceremonialism which was a fit subject of banter among the vigorous, bustling and enterprising officers of the East India Company.

No person can go through the history of this gloom without pain and sorrow over the sordid intrigues and low vices of a succession of degenerate rulers. A race that had started with the dazzling exploits of Babur, ended with weaklings who were part women, part priests and part delicate boys who had never quite grown up. While the later Moghuls arouse only contempt, it is necessary that the chief Moghul institutions should be studied in their actual working in Northern India. Their administration, with all its faults, persisted in essentials throughout the 18th century and Warren Hastings' mistakes in the formulation of

his revenue policy were due to his ignorance of the indigenous system, which he had supplanted. The material on this aspect of Moghul administration, is voluminous, and the reports of Hastings' Committees and other material incorporated in other parliamentary committees, contain a mass of information on the revenue system which is of priceless value to the historian. The Mughal machine worked creakily in the 18th century but the hierarchy of village officials, who were the pivot of the whole system, such as the Qanungo, were too powerful to be dislodged from their fastnesses. It was clear to the meanest intelligence that an entirely new system could not be planted in the country, and so the old Moghul system was shorn of its crudities and readjusted to suit changed times. The controversy over the permanent system yielded a rich harvest to studious investigations. The Moghul judicial system was medieval in outlook, unnecessarily severe in its operation and lacked the elasticity of a progressive administration. It was a relic of medievalism, and the Company wisely adopted a modern Code of Laws, which has served as an example to others. The fragments of Moghul administration were never completely destroyed and the process of assimilation went on for nearly a century after Plassey. Even now, we can detect the incongruous mixture of Moghul and European ceremonies on ceremonial occasions, while some of the pivotal officials of the modern time such as the Kotwal and the Qanungo are exercising their powers in a modified form to the present day.

Having indicated the general features of the Mughul administration, let me now turn to the papers included in this volume. Professor Parmatma Saran gives a brilliant account of the political divisions of Sher Shah's kingdom. Regarding the *Jagir* system, Professor Parmatma Saran says that "the Afghan policy was based on the conception of the kingdom being tribal property. From Bahlol Lodi down to Sher Shah and even Islam Shah, all had to invite their Afghan kinsmen, and, in recognition of their right to a share in the kingdom, to give them some part of its income either in the shape of cash or jagir. Besides, they had to divide almost the whole kingdom among the leading Afghan nobles or chiefs. This system was not in the least modified by Sher Shah....." Professor Saran controverts Professor Qanungo's theory that Sher Shah abolished provinces in his system, and although he had nominally to retain some provinces, he

dispensed with them altogether so far as administrative purposes were concerned. According to this theory the largest political unit into which Sher Shah's kingdom was divided was the Sarkar. Professor Saran terms this theory fantastic and attempts to refute it by citing authorities. The controversy is interesting and I hope workers will come forward and elucidate the point. Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu of Jodhpur quotes the letters exchanged between Aurangzeb and his son Akbar; while Professor T. L. Manghirmalani of Jammu discusses an eighteenth century passport. Dr. Abdulla Chaghtai deals with the claim of Ustad Isa to be the architect of the Taj; and Mr. Rama Shanker Avasthy contributes an original paper on Sher Shah. The brilliant paper by Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena on the Mansabdari system in the reign of Jahangir will be read with keen interest.

The Sikh section

Principal Sita Ram Kohli's presidential address to this section is marked by judicious impartiality and balanced judgment. It reveals alike his genius for interpreting the Sikh movement, and his capacity for a new, clear and dispassionate analysis. Principal Kohli's researches on the army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh initiated a movement for the revival of Sikh history which is now in full swing in the Punjab. I had the privilege of making his acquaintance in Lahore in 1922, when I suggested to him the desirability of his writing a series of articles on the army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the *Journal of Indian History*, which I had founded in that year. His first article on the subject appeared in the first number of the *Journal*, and from that time to the present day, the stream of brilliant contributions, on a subject to which he has devoted his life, has been perennial. He has reconstructed the history of a martial race with a scientific precision and disciplined enthusiasm, which make his writings a model for others, while his conclusions are based on a severe framework of fact. His presidential address contains a masterly analysis of the main stages in the development of the Khalsa. He has traced the rise of the Khalsa with great lucidity, and has given evidence of unwearied industry and pure productiveness. A great movement of political emancipation preceded the establishment of the Khalsa at the end of the eighteenth century and thousands of separate rills of doubt, criticism, protests and skirmishes, which had gathered

volume for nearly a century, suddenly flowed together into a brawling river of revolt. The mailed manhood of this sturdy province, delighting in the glint of armour and the shock of speared warriors, organised a heroic resistance against the unworthy successors of the Great Moghuls. The dry upland air of the Punjab touches the worn fibres of our nerves with fingers that are subtly hypnotic. For a Sikh in the seventeenth century, to live was to spend himself, under the dreadful and despotic gaze of the Punjab sun. Roads are pulverised, rivers and canals dry up, and souls are consumed in burning ardour and sudden outburst and acts of exaltation. This accounts for their glorious propensity for heroism. How different is this from the low-keyed life, the repertory of small and elemental delights which can be stretched out to last throughout one's existence. The Khalsa, agreeable to the temper and traditions of the Punjab Jats, and adapted to the long winters of the rigorous North infused into the new movement a dynamic energy which had been singularly lacking in that period of stagnation and decline. It found its most brilliant leader in Maharaja Ranjit Singh. An intellectual specialist in diplomacy, conquest and conciliation, Ranjit Singh welded a congeries of states, kingdom, Jagirs and feudalities into a solid framework of the Khalsa, which soon became the clearest interpreter of the animating impulse of the new movement. The barometer of Indian Military tradition, which had fallen to ruinous levels of indifference, now rose to an altitude of stable fervour. I may quote here a few passages from my Presidential address, delivered at the Maharaja Ranjit Singh Centenary Celebrations held at Cawnpore on June 27, 1939. "Ranjit was a man of a marvellous variety and range of mental power, and the secret of his success lay in his sympathy with the most diverse forms of life. He was equally at home in the camp, the Council Chamber, and the tournament. The delicate and rare pleasure-seekers knew in him the merry monarch who jostled with the boldest among generals. He passed for a consummate tactician who had led the Khalsa arms to victory, while the pious extolled him as a great King of the Khalsa whose humility and piety had won for him the favour even of the Akalis." It may be said without exaggeration that he was the epitome of the most distinguished qualities of his race, and the rugged vigour of the Khalsa found in him its fullest incarnation. To organise the scattered fragments of his dominion into a compact bloc, to impart the sentiments of unity and solidarity to elements that had been cons-

tantly at war for nearly a century, was the task of a Hercules. The intellectual and moral milieu created by a multitude of self-centered personalities developed a spirit of keen and elastic intelligence which Ranjit Singh displayed in abundance in his negotiations and wars with his adversaries; but it prevented the spontaneous growth of national sentiment among all classes which could act as a barrier to invasion. The different elements of the Punjab were not fused into a unity, and the distinction between the soldier and the civilian made itself felt at every step. His army developed an *esprit de corps* which, however admirable in itself, proved detrimental to the safety and integrity of the Civil power. Ranjit alone could keep his soldiers and pro-consuls in order, and when he departed from the scene of his glory, the Civil Government was disintegrated, and was unable to control the Khalsa arms. Ranjit Singh had succeeded in taming the most powerful Jagirdars and princes into subjection, but he could not succeed in bringing his army under the direct control of Civil power, and the Punjab paid a heavy price for this neglect. It is true that the fervid spiritual energy of the Sikhs was transmuted into a martial spirit, which wrought striking changes in the material world. Feudalism passed by slow and imperceptible stages into a military autocracy, basing its foundation on the willing obedience of virile people and guarding itself with the shrewd instinct of a Jat peasant through a labyrinth of intrigue and confusion. If Ranjit Singh's Empire toppled down like a house of cards immediately after his death, the blame for this must be laid on the shoulders of those who succeeded him. His supreme achievement consisted in the rousing among his followers a spirit, not merely of heroic resistance, but also of aggressive imperialism, which called into play the martial instincts of a rugged peasantry. He evolved a system of administration which served its purpose admirably but it lacked the flexibility and integrity of modern systems of administration, and was adopted haphazard. The Sikhs retained fragments of Mughal administration, which had survived the wreck and ruin of a century, and grafted upon it formulas which had been evolved in the course of their conquests. They were, however, unable to produce a single brilliant administrator of towering personality and gifts. Dewan Sawan Mull was their ablest governor and Fakir Azizuddin showed his consummate ability as a diplomat by his experience and wisdom. In the army, the Khalsa threw up a succession of able generals whose names are a

household word in the Punjab. The reason for this is to be found in the instability and insecurity of those stormy times. They had no breathing space for a definite policy. Ideas, aspirations, and ambitions rent the air, and the process of disintegration of the Sikh empire moved in an orderly fashion from the periphery to the centre. In the Frontier province it put on a clear, aggressive face, well muscled with rhetoric and enthusiasm. In Kashmir, a lovely country with an exhausted, suspicious people who had no confidence in themselves, and passively submitted to alien wills for centuries, the process of secession was natural. Ranjit Singh has been subjected to serious criticism for his failure to achieve the unity and solidarity of the Punjab by annexing the Cis-Sutlej States and achieving for his dominions the natural frontiers of his province. A close study of his methods, and a thorough grasp of the situation in British India will convince every impartial historian that his natural caution and reserve in his dealings with the British were perfectly justified. His authority had not been securely established. The organic unity of his kingdom, to which some historians have referred, is a figment of their imagination for no empire was more varied in its population, its traditions, the temper of its intellect and its economic resources. Many of the discontented princes, who had found refuge in British territories, were pining for the recovery of their lost possessions, and weaving together a network of plots which would have been a source of the greatest difficulty and delicacy in the event of a rapture with the British. Had he risked a war with the Company, all the intrigues of desperate exiles, all the skill of dispossessed princelings and princelets, all the cupidity of subordinate leaders, and all the ingenuity of fanatics, would have been brought simultaneously into play. Ranjit Singh rarely retreated from any position to which he had finally committed himself, and his greatness consists in his precise limitation of his own powers. Like a true political architect, he voluntarily imposed limits on his own activity, refusing to trespass beyond a traced circle of acquisition or to aim at effects unrealisable by the nature of his resources and the character of his subjects. He shrunk instinctively from conquering Sind, as he knew that this would precipitate a crisis. His relations with the Afghans varied with the waning and waxing power of the Afghan monarchy. The history of the Abdali dynasty shows a perpetually recurring process of composition, decomposition, and recomposition in different strains of the scattered

elements of the Afghan Empire. Ranjit Singh's diplomatic and military triumphs, against the Afghans, were the result of his patient and persevering efforts, and he showed consummate craft and supreme courage in exploiting the differences between Dost Mohammad and his brother.

He won over his brother Mohammad, who went over to the Sikhs, and Dost Muhammad fled with precipitate haste in the darkness of the night, after waiting for seventeen days. Ranjit's victory was complete while Dost Mohammad's prestige was shattered and his influence in his own kingdom was seriously undermined.

Having dealt with the general features of the Sikh Administration under Ranjit Singh, let me now deal with the contributions on the subject. The place of honour must be assigned to the paper on Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Sikhs (1748-1765) contributed by Principal Sita Ram Kohli, president of the section. Principal Kohli states, "The prolonged persecution at the hands of the Mughal rulers of the day combined with their faith in the ultimate success of their cause had inured the Khalsa to hardships which would have broken the spirit of many others in similar circumstances. During all these years they had developed new traits of character which now stood them in good stead". He traces the progress of Sikh arms, and shows that dismemberment of the Mughal empire had already started and the Multan Division in the south and the Jullundhur Doab in the North-east broke away from the authority of the widow of Mir Manu. The entire machinery of government had collapsed and "Might was Right." Principal Kohli quotes the *Jangnama*, in his account of Ahmad Shah Abdali's wars with the Sikhs. A recent article in the April number of the Journal of Indian History (1939) gives us detailed information on a few points on Ahmad Shah Abdali's last invasion of India and is useful to students of this period. Sardar Ganda Singh of Khalsa College, Amritsar, discusses contemporary sources of Sikh history with great erudition and judgment; while Dr. H. R. Gupta describes the first Sikh coinage of Lahore in November 1761. The Sikhs performed a thanks-giving service at Amritsar on the occasion of the Diwali festival which fell on October 22, 1761, after their victories over Ahmad Shah Abdali's forces and marched under their chief leader Jassa Singh Ahluwalia upon Lahore in a body. The capture of the capital and the coining of money marked the highest point in 1761 in the evolution of Sikh power. Dr. Gupta's

theory of the minting of the first Sikh coin in 1761 is not accepted by scholars. Professor Pran Nath Khera deals with the development of British political agencies in the Punjab (1803-1849) in a very clear and lucid paper.

Modern India.

This is an extremely popular section and has yielded a rich harvest. The contributions on the subject are marked by considerable originality and deal with most interesting topics. The list is headed by Principal Bal Krishna, whose presidential address to the section contains most useful suggestions for the advancement of research in this period. His paper headed, "Was British Conquest of India accidental?" opens new vistas, and controverts the traditional view, held by a succession of British historians, that the conquest of British India was accidental. "Nothing greater that has been done by Englishmen" says Professor Seeley, "was done so unintentionally, so accidentally as the conquest of India." Dr. Bal Krishna attempts a refutation of this doctrine by pointing to the example of the Portuguese and the Dutch. "The Dutch invested their East India Company with the avowed object of conquest and Colonies, with authority to make peace or war with the Eastern princes, to erect forts, to choose its own governors" etc. He contends that the English were obliged to adopt the same system, and gives examples of the conquest of St. Helena by the English Company in their very first voyage. Other examples cited by him are the capture of Ormuz in 1622, the plans for the conquest of Bombay in 1626, when six English ships laid siege to Bombay, pillaged the town, set all the houses on fire, and returned. Dr. Bal Krishna also refers to the petition of the East India Company to Oliver Cromwell in which suggestions were made for the acquisition of Bombay and Bassein. He cites other examples of the appetite and hunger of the Company for sovereignty in India, and concludes by referring to the secret scheme to conquer Bengal. "By the middle of the eighteenth century they (English) felt themselves strong enough to conquer Bengal from the Muslim forces. A confidential scheme for the conquest of Bengal was sent to the Company by Colonel Scott." "Five hundred troops," declares this eighteenth century Colonel Blimp, "might defend the pass against the whole power of Indostan and secure us from that quarter."

In the gallant Colonel's warm and vivid imagination, an annual supply from Europe of 2,000 men for three years would be sufficient to make the English conquest secure and lasting.

Dr. Bal Krishna's paper will be studied with great interest as it deals with a subject of perennial interest to students of British Indian history. The topic formed the focus of an acute controversy a few years ago, and he has now revived it by stating his views with great ability, lucidity and fairness. I feel, however, that the analogies adduced by him are inapt and inappropriate, for the Portuguese and Dutch empires in the east were built up on different principles and methods. The Portuguese failed in India precisely because they aimed at founding an empire and the reasons for their rapid deterioration are to be found in the curious mixture of piety and imperialism which they imported into the administration of their territories. They were poised midway, so to speak, between heaven and earth, and combined a burning love for the faith with a ruthless desire for domination in proportions which varied from time to time, and constantly disturbed their administrative arrangements. They were never able to make up their minds whether they would elect to rule as crusaders, or prefer to act as imperial and imperious administrators. When they decided to establish the Inquisition at Goa and organised a heresy hunt in their capital, their doom as possible conquerors of fragments of India was sealed. To the English merchants, with their supple minds and shrewd judgment, the Portuguese supplied not only an example, but a warning, and instead of following in their wake, and imitating their methods, the English merchants took particular care to avoid the entanglements which had brought the Portuguese into disrepute. With regard to the Dutch system, the English Company certainly imitated their system of fortified factories, but they did not follow their system of commercial monopoly and conquest. Why? Simply because they were too shrewd not to know that it was much easier to reduce a congeries of petty, insignificant, timid and weak islanders in the South Seas than to array themselves against the organised resources and overwhelming strength of Moghul emperors. They ignored this advice when they launched their war, in a thoughtless moment, against Aurangzeb. Their defeat by the Moghul troops convinced them of the soundness of their original position as mere traders and they subsided into that position until the remorseless logic of

events compelled them to intervene in the affairs of the Carnatic. The projects mentioned by Dr. Bal Krishna did not pass beyond the chrysalis stage, and it would be perfectly easy to pick any number of such examples from the racial garden of humour. They are not of very great importance, for the simple reason that they were not incorporated in the mature and deliberate policy of the East India Company.

On the whole, I am obliged to adhere to the views I propounded nearly seventeen years ago in my *East India Trade in the Seventeenth Century*, and to adopt the traditional account of British policy in India from 1600-1750. Before I discuss the valuable and original papers which are included in the Modern Indian History section, let me refer here to the basic problems with which students of British Indian history are constantly faced. I feel that it is sometimes necessary to cast a glance backward so as to gather the scattered material into one focus and thus get a true perspective of the period as a whole. The difficulties which beset a student of this period can be realised only by those who have waded through a mass of documents and assessed them at their proper value. Compared with the activities and influence of the Dutch East India Company, the English Company started with an incomplete organisation, an insufficient capital and inadequate support. By a process of trial and error they succeeded in consolidating their position in the reign of Charles II and giving to their organisation an element of energy and stability which had hitherto been lacking. Trade was the chief aim of the new enterprise, and it was upon trade that they concentrated from the outset. Men were not wanting, who foresaw trouble and confusion in the Mughal empire, and the great dictator of the Company, Sir Josiah Childe, prophesied this in no uncertain terms. The moral prestige of the Moghul government had been shattered by the brilliance of Shivaji and the national uprising of the Mahratta people though they were not yet strong enough to overthrow a government which had been highly centralised by the resources and character of the Moghuls in the XVII century. I will not discuss the Company's war with Aurangzeb, which ended so disastrously and seriously affected its prestige in India. The seventeenth century has exercised a strange fascination on minds of historians and there is a succession of brilliant men who have devoted their lives to the elucidation of the Company's policy and programme.

I started my work on the subject nearly 22 years ago and my

interest in it is as fresh now as it was on the day I embarked on this enterprise. The work of Sir George Birdwood, Sir Richard Temple, Hunter, Love, Bruce, Rawlinson, Moreland, above all, Sir William Foster, is known and appreciated throughout the world of scholarship. The published work of Sir William Foster from whom I received my inspiration in 1916 is a noble monument to his industry, his amazing accuracy and precision and his unflagging enthusiasm. The stream of solid research, which has been poured forth in quick succession, embodying the results of a thorough and painstaking investigation into the records preserved in the India Office Records Department has not yet dried up, and the student of the period has now an amount of printed material at his disposal which makes it easy for him to reconstruct the history of the Company's trade in India and its activities in England. The two series initiated by Sir William Foster, the *Court minutes of the East India Company* and the *English Factories in India* are a priceless possession and every student of the period is under a deep debt of gratitude for the services which Sir William Foster has rendered to historical scholarship. The broad lines of the Company's activities in India are now sufficiently clear to the student of the period, as the scholars who have dealt with the period have been singularly free from the virus of partisanship and prejudice. We have objective and dispassionate monographs on almost every aspect of its trade, and the abundance of records makes it easy for a student to check gross errors of fact or their interpretation. Most of them conform to the norm of scholarship which have been so carefully maintained in the West. There are, however, some problems of this period which await investigation. Sir Charles Fawcett published a brilliant work on the first century of British Judiciary in India, and Madras can point to a number of devoted and conscientious scholars who have traced its history in the seventeenth century. Some problems seem however insoluble. Job Charnock's personality baffles and not all the ingenuity and industry of Sir William Hunter and other historians has been successful in unravelling the tangled skein of his policy. Charnock seems to have been one of those eccentric characters whose long residence in the mofussil town makes them moody, queer and peevish. The other masterful personality no less elusive, is Sir Josiah Child who lacks a competent biographer, though the material for a full length biography of this able director is ample. I consulted his letters in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which, will be

found in a volume of the Rawlinson MSS. and found on comparing their style with the official despatches of the Company that they reproduced word for word more of his characteristic expressions and every mood of a strong personality is caught and fixed precisely in his letters and despatches. His masterful personality, his steely persistence and unflagging vigour made him the object alike of adoration and detestation. During the days of his ascendancy, it will be correct to state, that the East India Company was the lengthened shadow of an individual, and he left the impress of his vivid personality on everything he undertook. I will refer to a few other problems of seventeenth century history as briefly as possible. No attempt has yet been made to study the effects of the East India trade on the foreign policy of England. That the influence of the Company on Anglo-Dutch negotiations was considerable will be clear from my article in the Proceedings on "Sir George Downing and the East India Company." The material on the subject is extensive but it has not yet been effectively employed. To take another instance, we need a serious and dispassionate account of the Company's relations with the Parliament in the years 1688-1700. No historian has yet dealt on an ample scale with the mysterious influence which the Company exercised on members of Parliament and in the Court of William III. Macaulay gives a superficial and "cinematic" account of the enquiry into corruption and bribery which the Parliament conducted in 1693, but the need of a scientific survey of the subject, and an objective presentation of facts is imperative. Unfortunately, no English historian has attempted a detailed history of this period of English history since Macaulay's time, and we must perforce rely for significant details on a narrative which is disfigured by his passionate likes and dislikes, and his pathetic belief in the infallibility of Whiggism. To mention another problem, we lack detailed histories of the Company's factories in northern India and western India. Revd. Anderson's account of the English factory at Surat ought to have been followed up by monographs on other factories in upper India. John Marshall, the Company's factor in Patna, has given us a pen picture of Patna from 1668 onwards (See my *John Marshall in India, 1668-1672*). He was the first Englishman who studied the Indian antiquities, and left behind a store of knowledge that will keep his memory fresh and green in the heart of all enquirers into Anglo-Indian

history. His tour through Bengal, which he has described in his inimitable style gives us a graphic account of some of the historic places of that province. We need full length biographies of men like Marshall, who passed the even tenor of their lives in India, in comparative obscurity and dependence. In his account of the famine in Patna, he has painted the sufferings of the people in simple though powerful words.

I attempted a bibliography of seventeenth century British India in my *Sources for the History of British India in the XVII Century* in the leading British Archives published in 1926, but the work was incomplete as the material to be included in a work of this character is enormous. It is my earnest hope that some earnest Indian scholar will take up this work, and fill in the gaps. The India Office Library and Record Department, the British Museum and above all, the Public Record Office contain most valuable data which have not yet been fully utilised by students. Indian students, who pursue their researches in India in any period of British Indian history labour under serious disadvantages. It is impossible for any student to complete his researches without a visit to England and to other European capitals, such as the Hague and Lisbon, where important documents on the History of European Commerce and diplomacy in India are preserved.

I shall now proceed with the examination of some problems of the eighteenth century. In a country of chronic and passionate dissensions, where a handful of bold and masterful adventurers drew the map of India with their boot-heels, it is inevitable that passion, prejudice and interest should exercise a baneful influence on the study of this period. Some of the persons who took part in these revolutions have described the tangled events of a specially drastic period in a language that is at once diffuse and lumbering. There are periods in Indian history which are characterised by an almost monstrous abundance of outstanding leaders, with a small and unruly mass behind them. India of the time of Akbur supplies a parallel with Spain in the sixteenth century, and Greece in the Periclean age. Indeed, there had been moments in her brilliant history when the Indian nation became like an industry which, instead of fixing a standard and turning out human merchandise to perfection, was entirely given over to the production of individual models. It may be argued that this was the real cause of her stability. In the eighteenth century,

this position was completely reversed. India suffered from a serious lack of eminent personality. They were, it is true, Mahadjee Scindia and Nana Farnavis, Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan in the South, but it may be said without exaggeration that the Indian nation was an enormous mass of people on top of which trembled a minute head. Some sort of leadership did exist in parts of India. A few men here and there just rose above grovelling mediocrity; but it was so insignificant in comparison with the vastness of the country and its amorphous reputation that it was never able to saturate the gigantic popular plasma with its organising influence. Our leadership in northern India proved effete, decadent, and the Subehdars of various provinces had lost the very qualities of excellence which had raised their ancestors to the rank of leaders. Hence they could not organise a state with a long stability, nor distil from emotion and intellect a harmonious culture. Again, the fusion of the rulers and the ruled in most provinces was not horizontal but vertical. It would be an interesting speculation to arrange the various races in the order of their historic vitality, and to estimate the relative importance of each race in the building up of New India. Such a task cannot be attempted here, it is sufficient to point to the appalling disintegration and particularism of India in the eighteenth century. The Central Government was torn into fragments; each province and each group revolved about each other like stellar worlds which naturally ignored each other's existence. Society was reduced to its elements, and authority had shrivelled up. The sentiment of patriotism had been converted into a tepid feeling of personal loyalty to the chief, and unity in the times of the later Mughals seems to have operated like the injection of artificial energy, but the magnificent tremors of the Rajput wars in the sixteenth and local rebellions in the seventeenth century had given evidence of the stores of vitality which India had received from the early Mughals and kept intact.

It is not my purpose here to give a complete psychological analysis of the eighteenth century and I will content myself with a brief sketch of the strong personalities that held sway in the Company's headquarters in Bengal. In this period of confusion and disorder, there was no limit to the play of personality in action and we have natures, rich in many capacities and gifted with every kind of sensibility. India of the eighteenth century supplies a parallel to Italy

in the fourteenth and France in the sixteenth century. We are all familiar with the dramatic incident on the battlefield of Plassey, the stormy debates in Warren Hastings' Council Chamber, the fierce energy and ruthless antagonisms of his colleagues and the consummate ability with which this little man, with his determined chin and a somewhat unhappy mouth countered these moves and emerged triumphant after years of persistent criticism. It is a strife of living energies, and the momentum of the intense individualities of Philip Francis and General Clavering took the form and colour of their environments. While Warren Hastings impressed his own personality on the history of India, Philip Francis reflected the light and shade of his malicious nature in the record of his mysterious existence. He hovered like some strange-winged creature on the surface of human activity indulging in sensual pleasures, weaving countless petty intrigues, yielding himself to every impulse, and serving as the glass and mirror of a corrupt faction. The party strife in Hastings' Council, while it disturbed its internal repose, sharpened the intellect and developed the personality of the great proconsul, while a large amount of material has been utilised by a succession of brilliant writers on every aspect of Hastings' administration it cannot be said that all the data have been fully utilised. The Clive MSS., the Orme MSS., the Proceedings of the Bengal Council and Select Committees have not yet been fully utilised. The works of Hill and Long and contemporary tracts, by Holwell, Ives, Caillaud, Scrafton, Verelst, Watts and others abound. On Hastings' administration, a vast mass of literature has grown up, and the interest in his dynamic personality is unabated. Books on the subject have recently multiplied and the movement initiated by Sir George Forrest has been carried on by a select band of his admirers with great energy and exemplary industry. I will not discuss these works as this will take me too far afield. It is sufficient to refer here to the works of MM. Montgomery Martin, Marshman, Dodwell and Keene. I will content myself with a few general remarks on the nature of the material, and the persons who were engaged in this Drama. The pamphlets and other contemporary material are a most unsafe guide as they were written at a time of intense excitement and reveal not the dispassionate judgment and balanced views of scientific historians, but the warm partisanship of prejudiced authors, who had been engaged in the

conflicts which they describe with gusto. We are on safer ground when we deal with James Mill and the earlier historians. Mill is cold, pedantic, precise and logical and applies his Benthamite scissors with a curious compound of impartiality, prejudice and metaphysics which lift his history above the commonplace. Secluded from the warm air of the Indian sun and protected from the virus of superiority complex and "racial biology", he wrote with a detachment and balance, which have yielded a clear though crabbed analysis of the movements and personalities of the period. Mill's book suffers from an obvious drawback. He could not study the documents scattered in the different libraries and archives in England. His cold, pedantic and dull account lacks light and colour, while his pedestrian style meanders through a wilderness of chaotic details. Governments rise and fall during the period with the velocity of the Atlantic cyclones, but the fundamental Benthamism which permeates these massive and forbidding volumes remains as solidly fixed as the submarine gold vault of the *Banque de France*. His low-temperature philosophy, adapted to the rigours of a northern climate, seems inappropriate in its dissection of the vivid and intense life of an Indian camp, or the sombre realities of Hastings' Council Chamber. His History lacks studies of separate characters, and picture galleries of pages in which Hyder Ali, Tippu Sultan, Mrs. Warren Hastings breathe and move. While these defects are flagrant and palpable it must be admitted that the early historians, headed by Mill and followed by Marshman, Beveridge, Sir John Kaye and others, were more impartial and dispassionate in their judgment, and the simple, unvarnished accounts of some of them, such as Orme, have the flavour of a Herodotus. Later works by historians of British India were tinged by the prevailing theories of imperialism, and in some cases they tended to become purely propagandist publications in which everything done by their heroes was justified on the ground of differences in the latitude and longitude of the two countries. Their questionable dealings are explained away on the principle of relativity of ethics, and a successful coup of a dashing adventurer is invariably applauded. The deification of Warren Hastings' administration and policy became the fashion after the elaborate apologia of Sir George Forrest, and luminaries of greater and lesser brilliance descended upon us with a zeal which outran their learning and discretion. The subtle, penetrative and elastic spirit of

Hastings would have laughed at this attempt by a gregarious band of organisers. Really, Hastings' achievement in the United Provinces—Benares, Lucknow, Fyzabad, and Rohilkhand are as worthy of praise and admiration as the soil of Dacca is fit for the cultivation of pine-apples. Modern works on Hastings are enormous and interest in the mysterious personality and secret arrangements of the great pro-consul shows no signs of abatement. Besides Hickey's gossip and the accounts of a host of travellers, we have standard works by Beveridge, Busted, Lawson, Monckton Jones, P. E. Roberts, Stephen Weitzman, Strachey, Grier, etc.

While Hastings' career and achievements have attracted a number of brilliant writers, Edmund Burke's noble work for the Indian people is dismissed as a classical example of his futility and vanity. The intellectual and moral milieu created by the brilliance and splendour of Burke's genius was the motive force in the growth of English conservatism. It is however forgotten that Burke was the first great Englishman who broke loose from the fetters of tradition and prejudice, and devoted 7 years of his noble life to the defence of a country which he had never visited, of a people whose ancient traditions and heroic valour had roused his warm imagination and keen sensibility to a height of unwonted enthusiasm. Though the despair of thwarted efforts was writ large and Burke knew that failure was certain, yet the rugged old man went on like a wild boar at bay. The verdict of the Lords shattered his hopes and the lonely old man worn out by incessant toil took shelter in the rural solitude of Beaconsfield. The quiet dignity and sustained energy of his modest account in his Letter to a Noble Lord reveals his failure in a language of concentrated force and power. Burke remained a passionate fighter till the end of his life, and did not mellow in that soft autumn light in which a man of sixty looks back upon twenty five. Though the material on Burke's life is immense, no detailed account of the last seven years of his struggle has yet been published. Morley, Prior, P. E. Roberts and others have discussed the trial and impeachment of Warren Hastings. But the subject is generally dismissed in a few pages. Roberts' analysis of the trial is marked by thorough study and dispassionate judgment. Sir Philip Magnus' recent work on Burke fills numerous gaps in our knowledge of this period, and his delineation of Burke's character and achievement is remarkable for its vigour and impartiality. The most urgent need of his nature was

always some great cause to serve, some monstrous injustice to repair. The appalling abandon with which he flung himself into such causes led him to surrender no inconsiderable part of his magnificent integrity of purpose. But the impression which is left in the mind by Burke's career is not one of futility and vanity; it is rather an impression of wonder at the prodigality of his great gifts, of pity and awe for the manner in which those gifts were sometimes displayed, of pride in the mysterious and terrible potentialities of that human nature of which we all form a part, and which seems in many cases to be the more noble for being shared with him".

A healthy reaction has set in against the tendencies inherent in histories composed in the halcyon days of imperialism, and as the recent work of Dr. Davies on Clive, the History of India by Garrett and Thompson, the trained judgment and dispassionate analysis of Dodwell and P. E. Roberts, we see the beginnings of a school of history which is destined to leaven the mass. The works of Dodwell and Roberts have maintained the sound traditions of British historiography, and have inspired a number of Indian students with a noble resolve to pursue their studies in a spirit of impartiality and equity. Davies gives Clive credit for vigour, enterprise, confidence and enumerates his vices, which may be summed up as unrestrained egotism, producing voracity for wealth, power and position," "the like of which has seldom been seen in English history". Hastings, however, remains an enigmatic figure in Indian history. While Clive's character throws an organic unity and a massive simplicity, which a historian can analyse and study with facility, Warren Hastings' protean character has not yet been satisfactorily analysed. Like fossils in geological strata, the names of Nandkumar, Munni Begum and Wheeler survive long after the stormy proceedings of his Council have been forgotten to perplex and confuse a student in search of fresh avenues of approach. On the whole, it must be confessed that the entire administration of Hastings down to the minutest details bears the attributes of personality. With the stones of criticism and the sling of rhetoric, this David went up against the Goliath of his council and one by one he slew or subdued the Philistines. If we compare and contrast the mental capacities of the two great protagonists, we find that Hastings had a comprehensive mind and the intensity of its energy in one restricted sphere is less remarkable than its suitability for all. He was sustained by the consciousness

of young and potent energy within him, Burke's intellect was of a specific quality and was essentially plastic, and concentrated itself over one specific issue with appalling intensity and directness. I have dealt with the character and administration of the great Empire builders of the 18th century at considerable length as their work is still seen through spectacles made in London in 1910. The researches of Roberts have restored English historiography to the position it occupied in the first half of the 19th century.

The 19th century need not detain us long. In the first place, it is impossible to pursue systematic research on the post mutiny period, as most of the documents are not accessible to the student. In the second place it is very difficult for a student to maintain a scientific spirit in the handling of a problem which may have been the focus of an acute controversy. Passion, racial prejudice, sectional views and ideological differences make it impossible for the most impartial scholar to maintain his balance and discuss a contemporary event with complete detachment. These remarks are confined to the post mutiny period, and the student who prosecutes his enquiry into the years 1786-1856 will gather a rich harvest. Cornwallis' correspondence is not a substitute for a full length biography and this is a great desideratum. Ross' Life is jejune and scanty, and a new biography is essential. Roberts' Life of Wellesley is an able analysis of Wellesley's policy but the material for the study of his administration is enormous, and we lack finished studies on his conquest of Marhattas, and parts of United Provinces. Reference may be made here to the creation of the Civil Service of India by the pioneers of British rule in Bengal. Warren Hastings, Clive and Wellesley must be given credit for organising a corps of Civil servants, when discipline took the place of the mutual repulsions, attractions and intrigues which had presided over the growth of the Company's influence in Bengal in the eighteenth century. Of the eighteenth century, as a whole, we may conclude that it would be wise to cast a pall over a period in which personality was too exacting to admit of hesitation where instinct and appetite were concerned.

On the nineteenth century the work of the first Lord Minto in India should be chronicled in a detailed biography, while Lord Hastings, a man of singularly calm and shrewd judgment, who rarely failed to achieve anything on which he had set his heart

has formed the subject of a few monographs. Prinsep's history, Grant Duff, Malcolm etc. are known to every student. Kaye and Thompson's *Lives of Metcalfe* give us a pen picture of that great administrator which brings into one focus a tangled web of negotiations and alliances which defies analysis. In India, the impulse to the free play of individuality which her confused and disorganised state in the years 1756-1856 communicated was enormous, and in contest of ability and character, the picked athletes came to the front. Metcalfe was one of them, and he justified his rise by refusing to listen to the hint and suggestions of Hastings over the sordid business of Palmer and Co. While Hastings' reputation was besmirched by this affair, Metcalfe emerged from it with an unsullied character and untarnished name. Curiously enough, no detailed study of Bentinck's exists though his administration offers unlimited scope for solid research into the social history of India. Auckland's disastrous regime and Ellenborough's bizarre personality have been rightly exposed to severe criticism, but a detailed study of these governors-general is imperatively needed. Sir John Kaye's services to Indian historical scholarship have not yet been appreciated by historians of India. The more one studies his classical works on the first Afghan war and the Indian mutiny the greater is one's impression that it is instinct with criticism and vital with experience. Kaye surveys his subject from a lofty vantage point, fortifies his historical researches by practical knowledge, and purifies his judgment of events with the philosophy of experience. Sind needs a comprehensive history and though Burton, Burnes, Outram, Pottinger and other have dealt with the pre-British period and the Ellenborough papers in India Office are a mine of information on the subject, the history of that outpost in the intervening period is little known. Sindhi scholars should wipe out this blot on their fair province and throw light on the relation of Sind with Persia, Afghanistan, the British and the Sikhs. Hardinge's campaigns against the Sikhs have been discussed in excellent monographs and the literature on the period is substantial. Innes, Griffin, Smythes, Cunningham, the Lawrences and others have dealt with the subject. The post-mutiny period cannot be dealt with here, as the events that occurred then are too recent to enable even the most impartial student to prepare an objective history of these times. The era of peaceful progress, which India has enjoyed since 1858 has been traced in

numerous Parliamentary papers and biographies. Northbrooke and Elgin, Dufferin and Lansdowne succeeded each other in an atmosphere of frigid tranquility and bucolic self-sufficiency. India, too, was marching with rapid strides and had assimilated the new thought of the West with amazing keenness and virility. She who had been the first among the nations was now the last. Disunited and disorganised she lay prostrate at the sacred gate she had unlocked. But her communities, classes, provinces, and states have memories of successful administration and imperious originality which blend with the impulse of a new and powerful life in an uninterrupted sequence of national consciousness and organic unity. She has achieved her indestructible unity under the aegis of the British Crown and has started her career of unimpeded progress in a spirit of virile self assurance. I cannot deal with contemporary India as it will entangle me in political controversies.

I will now discuss very briefly some of the papers on Modern India. The paper by Nawabzada Abdul Ali on Mirza Najaf Khan incorporates considerable original research, and is a most valuable edition to our knowledge of the period; Professor C. S. Srinivasachari has now securely established his position in India as a historian, and his paper on the Karnatic and Nasir Jung is a very good example of his methods of research. It is lucid, original and solid, and will be read with great interest by students of Anglo-French struggle in southern India. Mr. Ram Chandra Dikshitar's paper on political conditions in Southern India supplies fresh facts and material, while Dr. N. K. Sinha's able review of Hyder Ali's relations with the British Government claims our attention. Mr. W. S. Desai traces the origins of the Indo British residency in Burma, while Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad's luminous interpretation of Mayo's resolution of 14th December, 1870, throws fresh light on an extremely important document. Dr. Krishna deals with the memoirs of Hyder Ali based on a MSS. purchased in London by Sardar Balaraj Urs of Mysore. Dr. Nandlal Chatterji, a former research scholar of the History Department, Allahabad, discusses the first English expedition to Nepal in an able paper while Dr. A. L. Srivastava's solid contribution to the interpretation of the treaties of Allahabad 1765 will be generally acknowledged. Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar, a lecturer in the History Department, Allahabad, gives us a very clear account of the causes that led to the revocation of Lord Heytesbury's appointment and Prof. J.

N. Sircar deals with the Salt Petre trade of India in the 17th century, Mr. Shanti Prasad Verma's paper on an early chapter in the history of modern Indian Renaissance will be read with great interest.

Maratha Section

Every one will miss the brilliant Presidential Address of professor D. V. Potdar to this section. We found it impossible to include it in the proceedings as we could not delay its publication. Potdar was, as usual, exceedingly busy with other work. There are some good papers in this section too such as the paper on Ganesh Sambhaji, and a vindication of Venkaji Bhonsle. The paper by Mr. W. S. Desai on the relations of Bombay with the Mahrattas during the Compay's war with Aurangzeb 1685-1690 will be read with the greatest interest, while mention may be made of an able paper by Mr. V. K. Bhave on the progress of Maharashtra under the Peshwas.

Conclusion

This concludes the survey of the proceedings of the Congress. A glance at the list will show the great progress which the new school of Indian historiography has made in recent times and the bright future which awaits it. The Indian History Congress was unique, as it forged indissoluble bonds among historians of different periods of Indian history. Indian History in its integrity and totality has acquired indestructible unity. Let us redeem the promise of brilliant youth, develop the Congress and organise a comprehensive history of India on scientific lines which will be a source of pride to Indian scholars.

It remains to add that every arrangement connected with the work of the Congress worked with mechanical precision and there was no hitch of any kind. The Exhibition was a remarkable success, and the thanks of the organisers are due to the numerous workers who devoted several weeks to the organisation of the Congress. Exigencies of space have obliged us to condense many papers, as otherwise the size of the book would have grown to about 2,000 pages, and the cost of printing would have been enormous. Most of the papers included here have been carefully studied by the sectional presidents, and their advice has been followed in the selection and summarisation of these papers.

I should like to thank the hundreds of workers and subscribers who responded to our appeal for help with the greatest alacrity and encouraged us with their help and advice. The United Provinces rose to the occasion, and showed that it is worthy of the great historical position which it justly enjoys.

The work of preparing the papers for the press, correcting the proofs, and applying the scissors to the long list of articles has fallen upon my two colleagues, Doctors Bisheshwar Prasad and Banarsi Prasad Saxena, and those who know their devoted work for the October session of the Indian History Congress at Allahabad, will not be surprised to hear that their energy and zeal were conspicuous in this, the most dreary part of their duties, as in the varied work which the session necessitated last October. The thanks of all scholars are due to them for their selfless work. I must also refer here to the devotion and interest which Rai Bahadur Pandit Brijmohan Vyas and Mr Ramchandra Tandan displayed in the organisation of the Indian History Congress. Its remarkable success was due to their strenuous work. The volunteers worked with great energy and enthusiasm, and deserve the warmest thanks of the organisers of the Indian History Congress. It is our earnest prayer that the third session of the Congress, which is going to be held under the auspices of the Calcutta University on December 15, 1939 be attended with the same success.

SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN.

31, STANLEY ROAD,
Allahabad,
September 1, 1939.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

Preliminary preparations—The first session of the All India Modern Indian History Congress was held at Poona in June 1935. The scope of the Congress was then enlarged so as to include all the periods of Indian History. It was further resolved that the Congress should meet next at Allahabad. In furtherance of this resolution a number of historical scholars met at Allahabad and proposed to hold the Congress in October 1938. A Working Committee was also formed with Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Vice-Chancellor, University of Allahabad, as its Chairman. Pandit Gurtu took long leave and had to leave Allahabad. The burden of organising the session fell on Sir Digby Livingstone Drake-Brockman, Kt., C. S. I., C. I. E., Chairman, Public Service Commission, United Provinces, who was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee.

The Working Committee addressed circulars and bulletins to the Universities, degree Colleges, Provincial Governments, Indian States, historical societies and individual scholars throughout India. The response was very encouraging. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments of Bombay, Orissa and Punjab nominated their representatives. As expected the Indian Universities welcomed the proposal and cooperated by appointing their representatives to attend the session and read papers. Except the University of Delhi, the other 17 Universities and the Gurukul University of Kangri were represented at the Congress. Twenty-five degree Colleges, fourteen learned societies and six Indian States also nominated their representatives. A large number of other scholars also promised to attend and take part in the deliberations. The appeal for contributions met with no less encouraging a response. Long before the session, more than hundred papers were received.

Financial Support—The difficult problem of meeting the expenditure on the session, entertainment of the guests and printing of the papers etc. was made easy by the financial support promised by the University of Allahabad and the Government of the United Provinces to whom our thanks are due. Appeal for help brought forth generous donations from some of the Maharajas, Taluquaders and leading Advocates of the United Provinces. Besides donors, we had members of the Reception Committee. The Delegates also paid a fee of Rs. 5

each. Lists of the members and the Delegates are printed at the end.

The Presidents—The Working Committee elected Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M. A., Ph. D., the great savant of Ancient Indian History to act as the President of the Congress. The learned Doctor very generously consented to preside and conduct the proceedings of the general session. It was further resolved to divide the work of the Congress into eight sections, each presided over by a sectional President. The following were the various sections with their respective Presidents.

1. *Ancient Indian History*—Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar, M. A., Ph. D., Madras.
2. *Archaeology*—Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M. A., Director-General of Archaeology. Government of India.
3. *Early Medieval History*—Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, M. A., Ph. D., Ashutosh Professor of Indian History, Calcutta University.
4. *Sultanate History*—Prof. Mohammed Habib, M. A., Aligarh University.
5. *Mughal History*—Principal R. P. Khosla, M. A., Lahore.
6. *Modern Indian History*—Dr. Balkrishna, M. A., Ph. D., Principal Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
7. *Sikh History*—Principal Sita Ram Kohli, M. A., Hoshiarpur.
8. *Maratha History*—Professor D. V. Potdar. Poona.

The President and the sectional Presidents deserve our grateful thanks for their willing cooperation and wise guidance to which alone the success of the session is to be attributed.

The Opening session—The session was inaugurated by His Highness Maharaja Sir Aditya Pratap Singh, G.C.S.I., Maharaja of Benares on 8th October 1938 at 11 A. M. in the Senate Hall of the University of Allahabad before a distinguished gathering of scholars, from various parts of India, members of the Reception Committee and a large body of leading citizens, officials and non-officials, of Allahabad. The Honourable B. Sampurnanand, Minister of Education, United Provinces, was also present. The President and H. H. the Maharaja were received by the Chairman and members of the Working Committee at the gate and taken in a procession to the dais. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sir Digby L. Drake-Brockman welcoming the delegates requested His Highness to inaugurate the session. His

Highness then read his inaugural address and declared the session open. Thereupon Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, General Secretary, read the messages received. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit then proposed the name of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar for Presidentship, which was seconded by Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhari and Dr. Tara Chand. The President amid thunderous cheers then took the chair and was garlanded by the Chairman, Reception Committee. The opening session came to an end after the Presidential address was over.

Sectional meetings—On the 8th of October in the evening and on the two subsequent days, meetings of the different sections were held in the History Department, Allahabad University. The attendance at various sectional meetings was very large and comprised, besides delegates, leading citizens of Allahabad and members of the University. The work began with the address of the respective Sectional Presidents, after which various delegates read their papers and discussion ensued thereon. The discussion was generally lively and criticism learned. The Presidential addresses and the papers read are printed in the body of the present volume.

The Closing Session—At 2 p. m. on 10th October, the last day of the session, when the sectional meetings had concluded their work, to plenary session of the Congress was held in the Viziaagram Hall to consider the draft constitution submitted by the Sub-Committee appointed at Poona in 1935, and other proposals sent in by the delegates. A copy of the constitution as approved and of the Resolutions as adopted is printed herewith. Mention may here be made of two resolutions which are of special significance, one calling attention of the Government of India, Provincial Governments and Indian States to the need of well-equipped Record Offices open for the bonafide students of Indian history and the other appointing a Committee of distinguished historians to consider the feasibility of writing a scientific and comprehensive History of India and to formulate a scheme for the same to be placed before the next Congress. Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, Vice Chancellor, Calcutta University, then invited the Indian History Congress to hold its third session at Calcutta in 1939 which proposal was accepted with great eclat. The session closed with a hearty vote of thanks to the President and delegates who had made the Congress successful by their presence.

Lectures—Opportunity was taken of the presence of distinguished scholars to arrange a few lectures for the general public and the members of the Congress. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to the undermentioned learned lecturers for so readily responding to our request, and enlightening the people of Allahabad on subjects of their special study. The lectures drew large audiences, which could with difficulty be contained by the spacious halls of the University. The following were the lecturers :

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.

Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari.

Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad.

Mr. Ram Chand Manchanda.

Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal.

Excursions—Allahabad has in its neighbourhood a number of places of antiquity and historical interest. Kausambi and Bhita have a long history behind them and have now acquired special interest owing to the excavations by the Archaeological Department. Excursions were organised for the two places on 6th and 7th October. The trips were greatly enjoyed by the delegates who availed of the facilities in large numbers.

Entertainment—The members of the Congress were entertained to dinner on the 8th by L. Beni Madho, Publisher and Rais of Allahabad, and to Tea on the 9th by the Directors of the Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad. Our thanks are due to the generous hosts whose hospitality was greatly welcome. The Working Committee was at home to the President and the delegates on the closing day.

Exhibition—Along with the session of the Congress, the Working Committee decided to organise an Exhibition of paintings, sculptures, terracotta, manuscripts and historical documents. The Exhibition was organised by Rai Bahadur Pandit Brij Mohan Vyas and Sri Ram Chandra Tandan, the indefatigable secretaries. It was opened by the Hon'ble Babu Sampurnanand, Minister for Education, United Provinces. It included some of the rare collections from the museums, and palaces of the Indian Princes and Taluqdars. The Exhibition was greatly appreciated by the delegates and citizens of Allahabad who visited it in large numbers. The list of exhibits and other details about the Exhibition are printed at the end of the volume of Proceedings.

Volunteers—No account of the proceedings of the session can be complete without a mention of the arduous work which was discharged so creditably and cheerfully by the small band of volunteers and their leader Mr. Jamuna Prasad who was assisted by Mr. Rama Shankar Awasthy. They are deserving of the thanks of the Working Committee.

We also gratefully acknowledge the generous assistance rendered by Mr. Sarju Prasad, Deputy Librarian of the University and Mr. T. A. K. Raman, Superintendent, Accountant General's Office, who audited the accounts.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PLENARY SESSION ON 10th OCTOBER 1938.

The Indian History Congress met in the Vizianagram Hall at 2 p. m. with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the chair.

1. The proceedings commenced with the following condolence resolution moved from the chair: The Indian History Congress, Allahabad, places on record its deep sense of grief at the sad demise of the following scholars and historians and conveys its heartfelt condolences to their bereaved families.

- (1) Mr. W. H. Moreland
- (1) Sir Wolseley Haig
- (3) Dr. K. P. Jaiswal
- (4) Mr. C. V. Vaid
- (5) Dr. Hira Lal

2. Prof. D. V. Potdar, General Secretary of the Poona session, then presented the Report of the last session, which was recorded.

3. Professor Sri Ram Sharma presented the report of the Constitution Committee and proposed that it be adopted. It was seconded by Prof. Potdar, Dr. Sen and Dr. Krishnaswami Ayengar. Various amendments were then moved, and after discussion the following constitution was unanimously accepted by the Congress :

(1) The object of the Indian History Congress shall be the promotion and encouragement of scientific study of Indian History.

(2) The membership of the Congress shall be open to all interested in the study of Indian History and the annual fee for membership shall be Rupees five only.

(3) The following shall be the office bearers of the Congress :—A

President, two Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, a Joint (Local) Secretary and a Treasurer.

(4) The office bearers together with seven other members elected along with the office bearers by the Congress shall form the Executive Committee till the end of the next session.

(5) The Executive Committee shall have full power to transact all business including admission of new members, the framing of Rules of Business, and in case of emergency to deal with all other matters not herein specified, provided that nothing is done which is inconsistent with the constitution or the Rules of Business.

(6) In the event of any vacancy or vacancies occurring among the office bearers and members of the Executive Committee of the Congress, such vacancies shall be filled by the Executive Committee.

(7) There shall be a Local Committee of which the Joint Secretary of the Congress shall be the General Secretary.

(8) The following shall be the procedure for amending the constitution of the Congress :

The proposals for additions to, or alterations in, the constitution shall be addressed to the General Secretary two months before the meeting of the Congress. He shall place them before the Executive Committee for its consideration and making such recommendations to the Congress as it considers necessary.

4. On the motion of Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayengar, seconded by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhary, the Congress passed the following resolution :

That a committee be appointed, consisting of the following, with powers to coopt, to examine the feasibility of preparing a scientific and comprehensive History of India with instruction to report at the next session of the Congress.

1. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar
2. Sir Jadunath Sarkar
3. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayengar
4. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit
5. Prof. Mohammad Habib
6. Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari
7. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri
8. Prof. D. V. Potdar

9. Dr. M. H. Krishna
10. Dr. Surendra Nath Sen
11. Dr. Balkrishna
12. Sri Jayachandra Vidyalankar
13. Prof. Sri Ram Sharma
14. Mr. R. V. Poduval
15. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao
16. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan

5. The Congress next passed the following resolution moved by Dr. Balkrishna and seconded by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

The Indian History Congress is strongly of the opinion that well-equipped Record Offices should be established by all the Provincial Governments and Indian States at an early date to facilitate historical research. The Congress considers it essential that adequate facilities should be afforded to all bonafide scholars of history in such offices.

6. On the motion of Dr. Tara Chand seconded by Pandit Brij Mohan Vyas, the Congress endorsed the Peace-Pact inaugurated by Dr. Nicholas Roerich.

“Resolved that the Second Indian History Congress, held at Allahabad, approves of the International Pact for the protection of artistic and scientific institutions, historic monuments, missions, and collections originated by Nicholas Roerich and records its support of the three articles detailed below :

ARTICLE I. The historic monuments, museums, scientific, artistic, educational and cultural institutions shall be considered as neutral and as such respected and protected by belligerents. The same respect and protection shall be due to the personnel of the institutions mentioned above. The same respect and protection shall be accorded to the historic monuments, museums, scientific, artistic, educational and cultural institutions in time of peace as well as in war.

ARTICLE II. The neutrality of and the protection and respect due to, the monuments and institutions mentioned in the preceding article, shall be recognized in the entire expanse of the territories subject to the sovereignty of each of the signatory and acceding States, without any discrimination as to the State allegiance of the said monuments and institutions. The respective Governments agree to adopt the measures of internal legislation necessary to ensure the said protection and respect.

ARTICLE III. In order to identify the monuments and institutions

mentioned in Article I, use may be made of a distinctive flag (red circle with a triple red sphere in the circle on a white background).

7. The following proposal of Dr Balkrishna as amended by Dr. Tara Chand was accepted by the Congress:—

The Copyright Law should be so amended as to enable the Government to acquire copies of every book, pamphlet, newspaper or periodical published in India, for preservation in India in public libraries at the Capital of India and at the capitals of the Provinces.

8. The Congress passed the following resolution moved by Dr. Balkrishna and seconded by Dr. Surendra Nath Sen:

This Congress strongly urges the Central and Provincial Governments to consider the paramount necessity of evolving a practical plan to secure photos or typescripts of the records which relate to India that are now in England, France, Holland and Portugal, and to locate these in the Imperial library at Delhi and at the provincial capitals concerned.

9. The following office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee were elected for the year:

President—Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar

Vice-President—Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayenger.

Prof. D. V. Potdar.

General Secretary—Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan

Treasurer—Prof. Sri Ram Sharma

Joint Secretary—Dr. S. N. Sen

Members—Dr. R. C. Majumdar

Prof. Mohammad Habib

Principal Sita Ram Kohli

Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari

Rev. Father H. Heras

Prof. S. V. Puntambekar

Prof. H. K. Sherwani

10. Hon'ble Mr. Azizul Haque, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University invited the Congress to hold its next session at Calcutta. It was resolved gratefully to accept it. (The dates of the Calcutta session are 15, 16, 17 December 1939).

11. The President thanked the organisers and delegates in his concluding remarks. The Chairman Reception Committee and the

General Secretary then thanked the President and delegates on behalf of the Reception Committee and expressed their gratefulness to the volunteers for their selfless work. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari and the Hon'ble Mr. Azizul Haque expressed their thankfulness on behalf of the delegates to the Reception Committee and the volunteers. The session then concluded.

BISHESHWAR PRASAD
Asstt. Secretary.

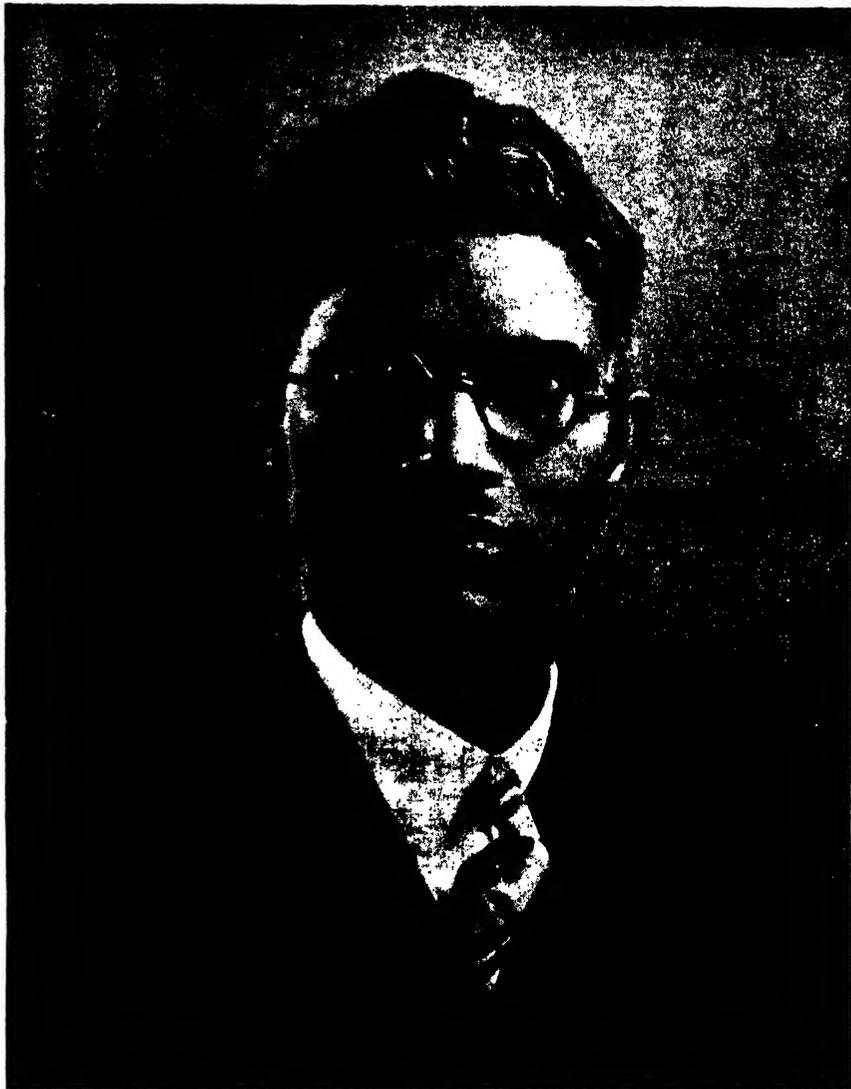
Statement of the Accounts of the Indian History Congress, 1938 (up to March 31, 1939).

Serial No.	Income.	Rs. a. p.	Remarks.	Serial No.	Expenditure.	Rs. a. p.	Remarks.
	By:--				To		
1.	Donations.	1,160 0 0		1.	Office:--	150 8 6	
2.	Allahabad University Grant...	500 0 0			Salary and allowances		
3.	U.P. Government Grant	500 0 0			Hire of typewriter and typing charges.	17 6 0	
4.	Reception Committee Subscriptions	1,697 14 0			Stationery.	10 11 0	
5.	Delegate's fee	665 4 0			Postage.	216 9 0	
6.	Return of Electricity Deposit	119 9 6		2.	Conveyance.	21 13 9	
7.	Excursions	193 14 0			Miscellaneous.	3 5 0	420 5 3
8.	Sale of Allahabad guide	2 13 0			Reception:--		
9.	The Indian Press Ltd., for 'At Home'	110 13 0			Conveyance.	82 9 6	
10.	Special subscription for Working Committee 'At Home'	40 0 0			Hire of Furniture.	107 9 0	
					Electricity charges.	210 5 0	
					Volunteers.	27 4 0	
					Accommodation.	158 2 0	
					Entertainment.	289 8 6	
					Miscellaneous.	268 4 0	1,143 10 0
					Meetings:--		
					Furniture and cartage.	197 12 6	
					Wages to labourers.	5 15 0	
					Decorations etc.	102 13 0	306 8 6
					Printing of leaflets, bulletins etc.	414 4 0	414 4 0
					Excursions.	301 11 6	301 11 6
					Collections.	61 2 6	61 2 6
					Exhibition:--		
					Securing of Exhibits.	85 2 6	
					Electricity.	124 2 0	
					Furniture	87 0 0	
					Office.	716 11 9	
					Miscellaneous.	65 0 0	1,078 0 3
					Bank Commission.	4 12 0	4 12 0
					Advance to the Dikshit Press for the printing of proceedings	350 0 0	350 0 0
					Total Rs	4,080 6 0	4,080 6 0
					Balance		
					In the Bank as per statement of March '39.	864 6 6	
					Cash in Hand.	45 6 0	909 12 6
					Total	4,990 2 6	4,990 2 6

B. P. SAKSENA,
Assistant Secretary.



Dr. BANARSI PRASAD SAKSENA
Assistant Secretary



Dr. BISHESHWAR PRASAD
Assistant Secretary

LIST No. 1

Representatives of the Universities

(1) Calcutta University

1. Hon'ble Mr. Azizul Haque, Vice-Chancellor.
2. Dr. Hem Chandra Raychaudhary M. A., Ph. D.

(2) Madras University

1. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M. A., Ph. D.
2. Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M. A.

(3) Bombay University

1. Prof. N. L. Ahmad, M. A., B. Litt.

(4) Punjab University

1. Prof. Sri Ram Sharma

(5) Andhra University

1. Mr. G. Venkat Rao, M. A.
2. Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M. A., Ph. D.
3. Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A.
4. Mr. G. S. Dikshit, M. A.

(6) Benares Hindu University

1. Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, M. A.
2. Prof. S. N. Bhattacharya, M. A.
3. Prof. K. Bhattacharya, M. A.
4. Dr. P. Saran, M. A., Ph. D.
5. Dr. A. S. Altekar, M. A., D. Litt.
6. Dr. R. S. Tripathy, M. A., Ph. D.
7. Dr. R. B. Pandey, M. A., D. Litt.

(7) Dacca University

1. Dr. K. R. Qanungo, M. A., Ph. D.
2. Dr. M. I. Borah M. A., Ph. D.
3. Dr. D. C. Ganguly, M. A., Ph. D.

(8) Nagpur University

1. Dr. H. C. Seth, M. A., Ph. D.

(9) Patna University

1. Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., Ph. D.

(10) Rangoon University

1. Mr. W. S. Desai, M. A.

(11) Osmania University

1. Mr. Abdul Majid Siddiqi, M. A.

(12) Lucknow University

1. Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerji, M. A., Ph. D.
2. Dr. Sukumar Bannerji, M. A., Ph. D.
3. Dr. N. L. Chatterji, M. A., Ph. D.
4. Mr. C. D. Chatterji, M. A.
5. Miss K. C. Seethamma, M. A.

(13) Agra University

1. Prof. J. C. Taluqdar, M. A.
2. Dr. B. R. Chatterji, M. A., D. Litt
3. Prof. Govind Ram Seth, M. A.
4. Prof. Karam Gani Khan, M. A.
5. Mr. M. N. Kaul, M. A.
6. Prof. R. N. Sanyal, M. A.

(14) Aligarh Muslim University

1. Prof. Mohammad Habib

(15) Travancore University

1. Mr. T. M. Krishnamachari, M. A.

(16) Mysore University

1. Dr. M. H. Krishna, M. A., D. Litt.

(17) Annamalai University

1. Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M. A.
2. Mr. R. Satianath Aiyar, M. A.

(18) Gurukul University, Kangri

1. Prof. Ved Vrat Vidyalkar

LIST No. 2.
Representatives of the Learned Societies**(1) Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay**

1. Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.
2. Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M. A., Ph. D.
3. Prof. D. V. Potdar, B. A.

(2) The Indian Research Institute, Calcutta

1. Dr. Dines Chandra Sarkar, M. A., Ph. D.

(3) Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry

1. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, M. A., B. L.
2. Mr. C. Atmaram, B. A., B. L.
3. Prof. R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.

- (3) **Rajwade Sanshodhak Mandal, Dhulia**
1. Mr. B. R. Kulkarni
- (4) **The Karnataka Historical Research Society, Dharwar**
1. Dr. M. H. Krishna, M. A., D. Litt.
- (5) **Andhra Itihasa Samsodhak Mandal, Guntur**
1. Dr. M. Rama Rao, M. A., Ph. D.
- (6) **Greater India Society, Calcutta**
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Pt. Bisheshwar Nath Reu

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(7) Travancore State

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(8) Gwalior State

Director, Archaeological Survey

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5. Mr. Pandurang Pissurleimicar, Nova Goa
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22. Pt. Girwar Shankar Dikshit, Kanyakubja College, Lucknow
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62. P. L. Manchandram, Jammu
63. Mr. N. S. Nārasimha Iyenger, Trivandrum

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2. The University of Allahabad	... 500
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5. The Maharaja of Mahmudabad	... 200
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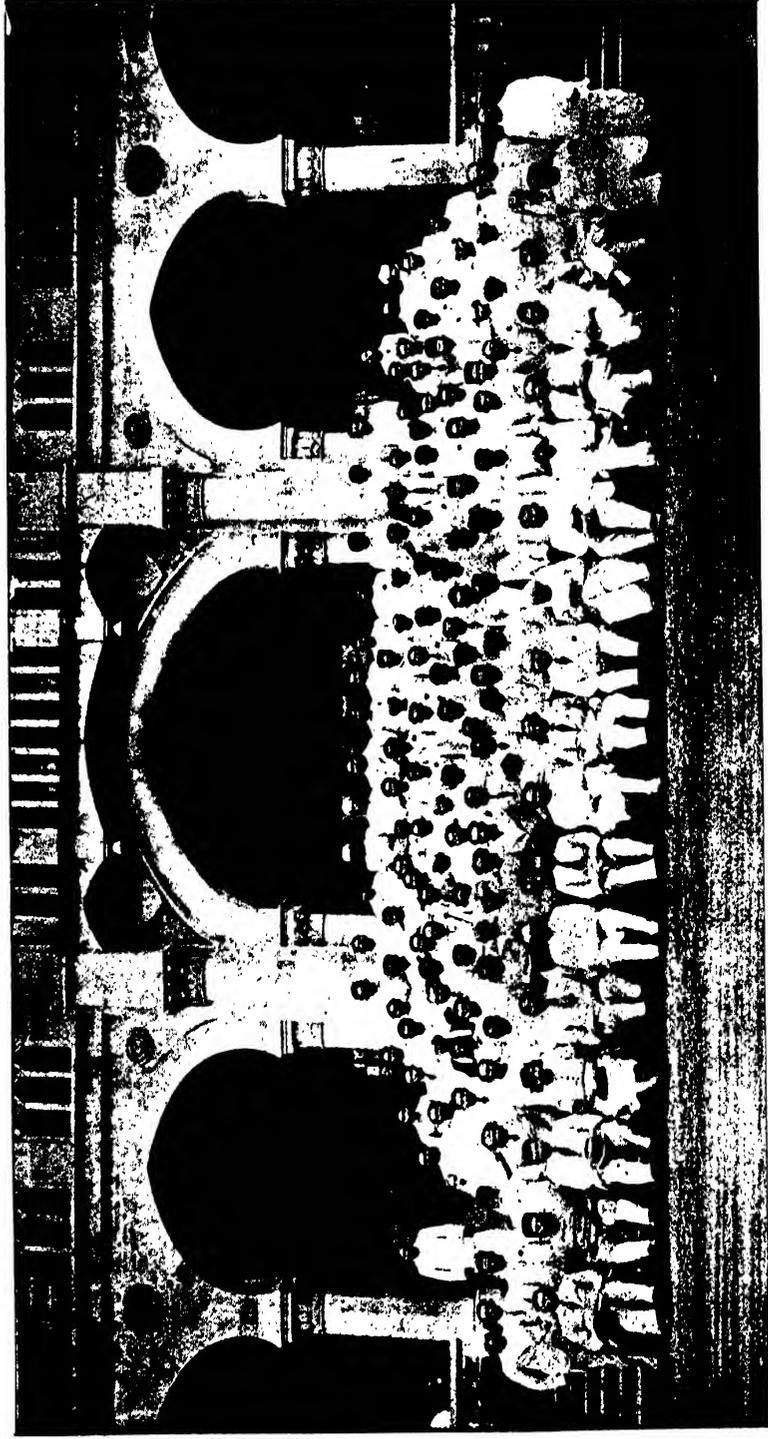
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149. Mr. Narendra Singh, Park Road, Allahabad
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152. Mr. R. C. Tandan, Hindustani Academy, Allahabad
153. Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh, Rae Bareilly
154. Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar, Allahabad University

Indian History Congress, Allahabad 1938



Front row:—(1) Principal Sita Ram Kohli, (2) Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, (3) Dr. H. Goetz, (4) Mrs. Goetz; (5) Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan (General Secretary), (6) Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, (7) Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, (8) Hon'ble Azizul Haque, (9) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (President), (10) Sir Digby L. Drake-Brockmann (Chairman), (11) Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy; Iyengar (12) Professor Amaranatha Jha, (Vice-Chancellor) (13) Dr. Balkrishna, (14) Mr. R. P. Khosla; (15) Professor D. V. Potdar, (16) Dr. S. N. Sen, (17) Dr. H. C. Raychoudhary.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SECOND INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS,
ALLAHABAD. 1938.

—♦—
WELCOME ADDRESS.

Sir Digby Livingstone Drake-Brockmann, Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Chairman, Reception Committee.

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the Second All-India History Congress I tender you a cordial welcome to Allahabad.

It is a source of great gratification to us, and I am sure it will be to you, that His Highness the Maharaja of Benares has consented to come today to open the Congress. No appeal for the advancement of worthy ends is ever made to His Highness in vain; and the present case was no exception to the rule. For he was one of the first to extend to us his support. So I am sure you will agree that it is only fitting that he should open our proceedings. We had hoped that the Hon'ble the Premier would be able to snatch a few hours from a busy life to honour us with his presence; but I regret to say that he found himself unable to spare the time. We have, however, with us the Hon'ble Minister for Education, who has been good enough to open the small exhibition of objects of historical interest which we have been able to collect for your edification, and we are more than grateful to him that he should have consented to spare the time from his onerous duties to give us this encouragement. On behalf of the Committee I tender them both our sincerest thanks. Then there are all those who have prepared papers to be read or discussed and who have come in some cases long distance to be present. On behalf of the Committee and my own behalf I thank them all for the sacrifices they have made in time and money. We hope that before they leave again they will be convinced that the cause was not unworthy of the sacrifice. Lastly there are all those who have shewn their interest in our proceedings by generously contributing towards our expenses. Without their help and encouragement, we would

not have been able to achieve anything ; and while we regret the absence of those who have been unable to come we desire to express our most grateful thanks to them all.

This ancient place which was a site of Hindu pilgrimage long before it became a place of political importance under Mughal rule and got its present name, is a not unworthy centre for such a function as the present one. Though it can no longer claim to be the political capital of the United Provinces, Allahabad does claim, and not without justification, to be the intellectual capital of the province. For it is the seat of one of the oldest established, largest and best equipped Universities in India ; and has a tradition of historical learning which is second to that of no other place with the possible exception of Calcutta. The History Department, started in 1916 with Mr. Rushbrook Williams as its first Professor, was amalgamated with the University in 1920, Doctor, now Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan (happily still with us), succeeding as Professor. Though the department specialises in the history of the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughals, this by no means covers the whole field of its activities. It has a large staff of able and distinguished scholars who are in the front line of research and authorship in all branches of the subject.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I cannot myself claim to be an expert in Indian History. I can only claim to have always been interested in it ; and at one time to have done some research work in odd corners of the province on subjects of interest to its past. But the gradually increasing pressure of official duties left, I found, little time for such matters ; and though my interest remained, my ability to do anything concrete decreased till it reached vanishing point ; and now, when I find myself with some occasional leisure, I feel—alas—that it is too late to begin again. In the circumstances it may appear presumptuous in me to stand here today among so many distinguished scholars as Chairman of the Working Committee of such a Conference ; but it was impossible to refuse the honour implied in the generous invitation of friends to replace Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu, our late Vice-Chancellor, who finally found himself unable to be Chairman of the Working Committee ; and so it comes about that I am here welcoming you today. I am afraid my experience has been that of many other Englishmen who have come to India in service and I think you will agree with me that it is a great misfortune that it should be so. For Europeans were in some respects the pioneers in the work of unravelling the past history of India and disclosing not

only to Indians themselves but the world the greatness of its culture and civilization. At the present day the number of Europeans who have made a contribution to the subject of Indian History can be counted almost on the fingers of one hand, though there are still some in England. I can only hope that some at least of the younger generation will turn again to these pursuits, without a study of which the peoples of the land of their adoption cannot be fully understood; and that future meetings of this Congress will find more Europeans participating in them. Apart from this, these conferences are common ground on which persons of all castes and creeds and nationalities can meet for the advancement of learning and for the encouragement of the spirit of research; and their value as a unifying influence, especially in a country where more than the usual number of cleavages of opinion exist, is not to be despised.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not think that more is now called for from me. The delegates will doubtless be anxious to proceed to the real business of the Congress, the reading of papers and discussions thereon. But I have to draw attention to one point. The All-India History Congress is still young and has not yet determined its constitution. A sub-committee was appointed at the first session at Poona to report on the subject and to place its report before the next Congress at Allahabad. This report remains to be discussed. Something in the nature of a permanent organization for history such as exists for oriental studies, economics, philosophy, science and so forth appears to be required. It is hoped that an attempt will be made on the occasion of this Congress to devise means of uniting the scattered forces working all over India and forming a representative association for the study and for students of history. It is also proposed to discuss problems relating to conditions of work and facilities for historical research. Suggestions and proposals and recommendations have been invited on these points; and will come under consideration. Before concluding, I wish to thank both on your behalf and my own all those members of the Working Committee on whom has fallen the burden of making the necessary arrangements for both the exhibition and the Congress. They have ungrudgingly sacrificed much time and spared no pains to make your temporary sojourn here comfortable and your time interesting. Their only reward will be your grateful thanks, which I now offer them both on my own behalf and yours. Extending once more to you all a hearty welcome, I will now ask His Highness to open the Congress,

INAUGURAL ADDRESS :

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I thank you very much for the honour you have done me by asking me to inaugurate this second session of the Indian History Congress. At first I felt rather diffident about accepting your kind offer knowing that there were available so many eminent historians and learned men from among whom a choice could be made of a person much better fitted than I for performing the inauguration ceremony. But at the same time I felt that it would be very ungrateful on my part to refuse the offer and that in view of my being the representative of a Ruling House which has played its part, however small, on the stage of Indian History it was perhaps not quite unbecoming that I should associate myself in this way with the activities of the Indian History Congress. It is no doubt in the fitness of things that Allahabad, which is the ancient Prayag and which is so rich in historical associations both ancient and modern, should be the *venue* of the second session of the All-India History Congress.

Members of the Congress—It is not for me to deliver a learned discourse on the need and value of historical study and research but even to a casual observer like myself it is apparent that India provides a vast and rich field for historical research. Its history has been a long and varied one, but who can say that it has yet been fully explored and recorded. India has produced some eminent historians who have dealt with the various periods of its history but there still remain periods which are quite obscure. Leaving alone the ancient and mediæval periods and coming to modern times, do we really know enough, for instance, about the history of the country during the eighteenth century when the Moghul Empire was breaking up and when, besides the struggle for supremacy between the different European powers, bold adventurers and soldiers of fortune came to the front and had their day? Of late, archæology has made great strides and laid bare to some extent the story of, the buried past. The science of numismatics

is another handmaid of history while Government official records sometimes supply valuable historical material. A good deal of historical information also lies hidden in old manuscripts, local chronicles and even in country ballads and folklore. The keen historian cannot afford to despise any of these or other sources of information and it is for him to sift, sort and reconstruct what he can gather.

There is also urgent need of a deep and critical study of Indian History at the present day, when India stands on the threshold of momentous changes in its political history. Present day politics cannot be divorced from a study of history. It is but a truism to say that the present is the outcome of the past and that it will in its turn shape the future. One broad fact stands out on a reading of Indian history. From the days of Asoka and Chandragupta down to comparatively recent times, whenever the Central Authority broke down or weakened, chaos and anarchy were the almost invariable result. Let us bear this lesson of history in mind and let us all hope that this Congress will lead to a better knowledge and understanding of the history of our great country.

Ladies and gentlemen, I shall not detain you any longer. I have much pleasure in declaring the second session of the Indian History Congress open and I wish it all success in its deliberations.

MESSAGES.

1. *Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy* :—

His Excellency is very much interested to hear that the Indian History Congress will presently enter upon their second session, and he takes this opportunity of wishing the Congress every success. He feels sure that their labours will contribute to the advancement of the science of history in India.

2. *His Excellency the Governor, A. P.* :—

It is most fitting that the historic city of Allahabad, the meeting place of the great rivers of Hindustan with the legendary goddess of learning, has been chosen as the centre for the meeting of the second Indian History Congress, and that we in these United Provinces have the opportunity to welcome here the many distinguished scholars who

are expected to participate in it. These Provinces, at all periods of history, from the earliest days upto now, have been intimately connected with the most significant events and movements of thought in this vast country, and are thus perhaps peculiarly fitted for promoting the coordination of thought and knowledge about the history of India. There was a time when Indian history seemed to consist of isolated events and disconnected periods. I take it that the progress of modern study is a progress towards a more complete and more comprehensive view of the various aspects of Indian history, and I trust that this meeting here at Allahabad will give an impetus to that process. Of recent years historical scholarship and research have been making notable advances. Our knowledge of early Indian history is being greatly enriched by materials supplied by archaeological discoveries. I hope that the work now in progress at Kausambi, to which a visit has been arranged for the Conference, will add substantially to the knowledge of the history of this region and of the great kingdom of Kosala. The lessons of history and the study of origins are an indispensable foundation to the proper understanding of many of our present-day problems, and I feel sure that the work of this Conference will provide a valuable stimulus to the further growth of authoritative, independent and comprehensive learning on every aspect of Indian history.

3. *His Excellency the Governor, Punjab :-*

I am pleased to hear that a second session of the Indian History Congress is to be held at Allahabad. Indian history affords one of the most fruitful fields of research, and I trust that the collaboration of historical scholars from all parts of the country will lead both to a positive increase of human knowledge and to an enhancement of India's reputation in the world of letters and learning. I notice with interest that Mr. Sita Ram Kohli, who has done valuable work on the Government records at Lahore, is to be one of the Sectional Presidents, and that the present Keeper of our Records and his Assistant are to attend as representatives of the Punjab Government. I send my best wishes for the success of the Congress.

4. *The Hon'ble the Premier, U. P.*

Regret inability attend History Congress session. Government have sanctioned grant of Rupees five hundred for expenses.

5. *Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore :—*

I regret very much that it will not be possible for me to attend the Congress on account of my pressing engagements here. I shall, therefore, content myself with conveying my greetings and good wishes to the Congress for a very successful and useful session.

6. *Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Benares Hindu University :—*

Thanks invitation. Regret inability attend. Wish the Congress success in its objects.

7. *Raja Sahib of Bhor :—*

I very much appreciate the labours of eminent historians like your ownself in the interests of Indian History, the need in connection with which of all well-known Historians coming together and collaborating to achieve the same end can never be too much emphasized. I wish the Historical Congress every and full success.

8. *The President, Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland :—*

The President and Committee of the Kern Institute send greetings to the Congress of Indian History assembled at Allahabad with their best wishes for the success of the proceedings and discussions.

9. *Pandit Jybal Narayan Datta, Vice-Chancellor (on leave), Allahabad University :—*

Regret inability to attend. Please convey to delegates assembled my cordial greetings. Wishing Conference every success.

10. *Professor P. C. Roberts, Worcester College, Oxford :—*

I am very sorry that I am unable to be present, partly owing to my duties at Oxford, next term beginning on October 5th, partly for reasons of health which would prevent me making the journey.

Any message from me to the Congress I think ought mainly to be one of gratitude. I feel that Indians have always been extremely kind and generous to the little work I have been able to do in the field of Indian history. Their criticisms have been most helpful and kindly and their appreciation warm and sympathetic.

Apart from this, I think that the rapidly increasing output of historical work in India is of the highest value and importance. I welcome the great enthusiasm in all the Indian Universities for historical studies, and the sound scientific methods of research, which you yourself

Sir, if I may say so, have done so much to promote. I believe that researchers have made and are making important discoveries which will revise many of the old verdicts of history, or if they do not modify them, will establish those verdicts on a firmer basis of proof.

I wish every success to the Congress, and a fruitful issue to its labours. I do not doubt that this second session will prove a still further incentive to Indian Scholars and writers to carry on the fine work they have already achieved in that fascinating field of study—the marvellously varied history of India and her peoples.

11. *Professor H. A. R. Gibb, St. John's College, Oxford:—*

I have to thank you very cordially for your invitation to attend the Indian History Congress at Allahabad, and not only for the invitation, but also for the very kind terms in which it is expressed. It would have been indeed a pleasure to take advantage of the Congress to realize a long-cherished hope, to meet again the many friends whom I am privileged to number in India, and to make the personal acquaintance of many others whose work is well known to me. I trust that before long fortune will grant me the opportunity that has been withheld so far. But though I am unable to join personally in your meetings next month, will you please convey to the President and members my warm wishes for the success of the Congress in stimulating the valuable work which is being done in India for the scientific study of Indian History?

12. *Nawab Captain Jamshed Ali Khan, M. B. E., of Bagpat Estate, Meerut:—*

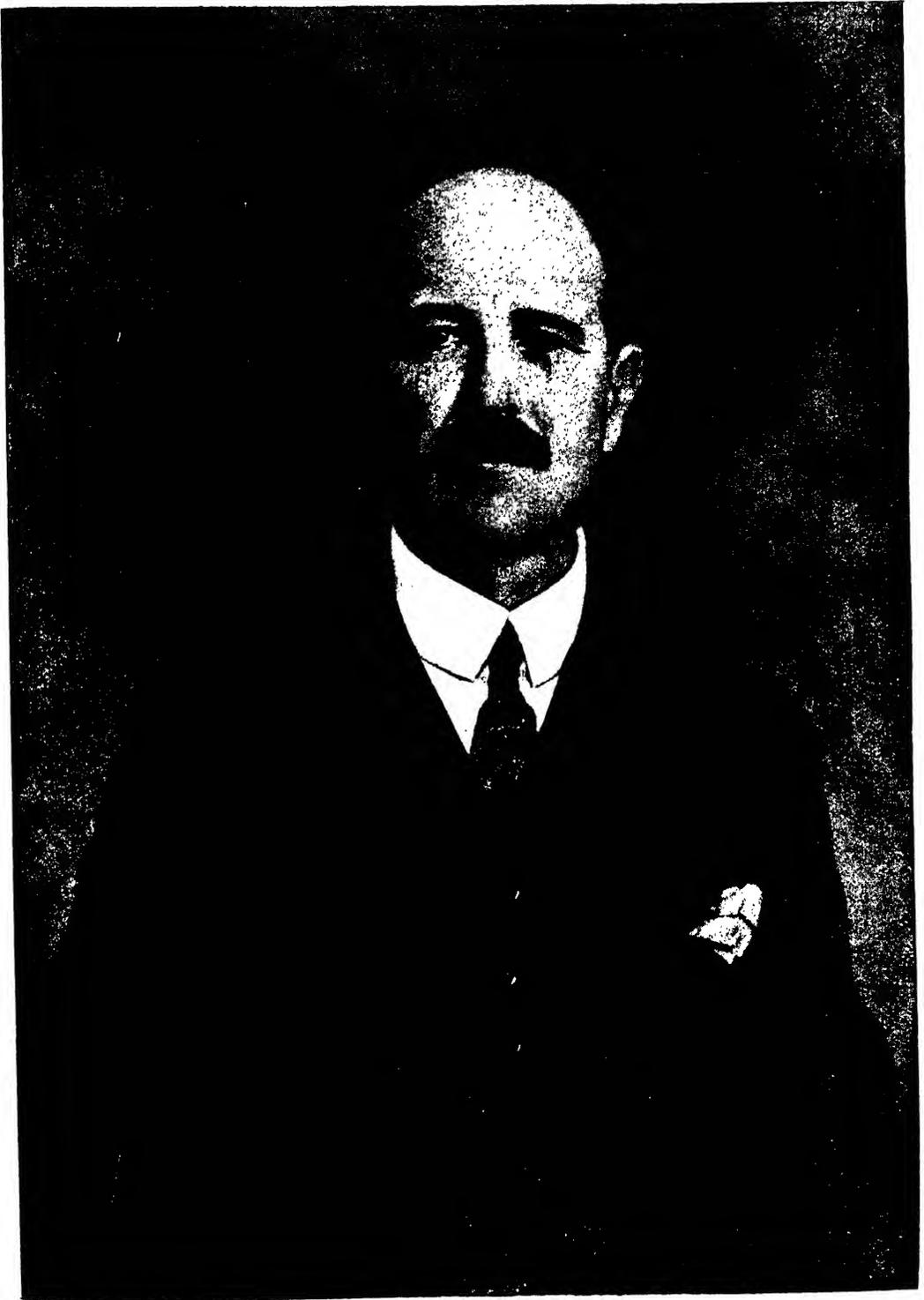
We are lucky in having this session of the Congress in our Province. Such literary gatherings are of great value. I am sure it will be a unique occasion for the students of the Indian History. It is the past History which plays a most important part in forming the character of young India.

The Reception Committee and its Chairman deserve congratulations for the venture.

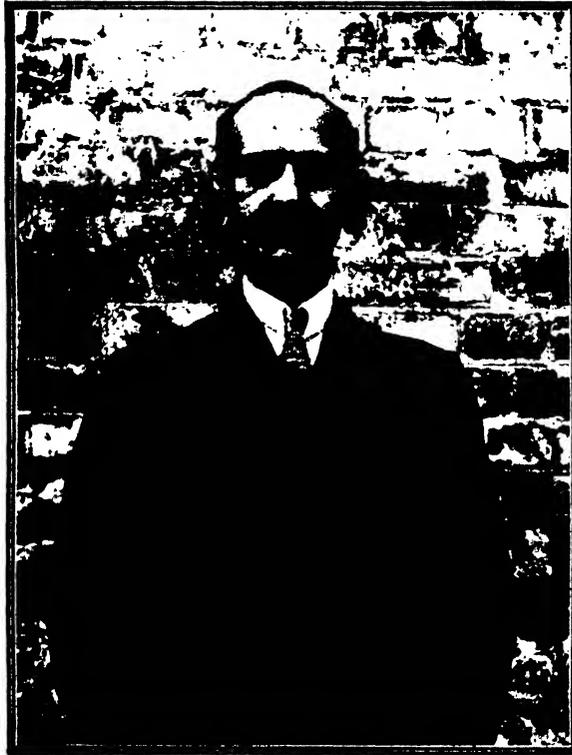
Wishing every success to the Congress.

13. *Seth Padampat Singhania, M. L. E., Cawnpore:—*

Under the patronage of His Highness the Maharajah of Benares and co-operation of eminent scholars of our country, it is bound to be a unique success, and you have my best wishes for the same. Your ideals are very praiseworthy and need all support from our country-men.



SIR DIGBY L. DRAKE-BROCKMANN
Chairman Reception Committee



Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR M. A., PH. D.
President

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M. A., Ph. D.

The President of a Conference generally commences his address by saying how unfit he is for the heavy burden thrown upon his slender shoulders and devoutly wishing that the choice of the Working Committee might have fallen upon a much abler person. I hope I shall be pardoned for opening this address by congratulating myself on being the President, not of the 'All India Modern History Congress', but rather of 'The Indian History Congress'. My predecessor, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, sang the 'Praśasti' of the people of Mahārāshṭra when he admired the wonderful manner in which intellect and character are 'happily blended and poised' in them. I do not know how far those people deserve this encomium. As you may perhaps be aware, this Congress was originated by the 'Itihāsa-samśodhak Mandal' of Poona and principally with the unflagging and disinterested efforts of Prof. D. V. Potdar; and we can never be too grateful to them. Nevertheless I, a native of Mahārāshṭra, can never praise too much the Knight-Bachelor of Rohilkhand, and, above all, the University of Allahabad to which he belongs, for having changed the name of this Congress, and christened it afresh. We cannot cut up history into little bits, and say: this is ancient history, that is modern history. The central doctrine of the great Oxford Professor Freeman's teaching was the Unity of History. He rightly pointed out that from early Greece to the Roman Empire, from Imperial Rome to mediæval and modern Europe, there was no break. And he rendered immense service to historical thinking and teaching by his emphasis on this continuity. For the same reason we cannot divide the History of India, as we do, into the three water-tight compartments, namely, the Hindu Period, the Muhammadan Period and the British Period. Nothing can be more absurd. In the first place, they should be either Hindu, Muhammadan and Christian, or Ancient, Mediæval and Modern. The first is a communal division of Indian History and should be banished from all history books for ever. The second classification may be resorted to for convenience of study, especially for the study of culture. But it should invariably be borne in mind that although in the world of thought there may be a temporary division of history for the sake of specialisation, in the world of action History ought to be treated as having a continuous sequence. This is,

in fact, the basic idea of History, as any student of historiography will tell us. We may thus have the All-India Oriental Conference for the study of the culture of Ancient India. We may similarly hold any number of sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission for a separate and detailed study of the progress of political movements and the conflict of principles that are moulding and have moulded Modern India. But if we are going to have any History Conference for India at all, let us have, not 'The All India Ancient or Modern History Congress', but simply 'Indian History Congress' so as to acknowledge and vouchsafe the continuous flow of history.

Ladies and Gentlemen, when I agreed to preside over this Congress, the address of my predecessor was not before me. It came to hand two months after. When I read it, I found I do not know, whether to my regret or to my joy, that he had left practically nothing to his successor to say about the Mediæval or the Modern Period of Indian History. On the other hand, I find that the sphere of this History has been extended so as to include Ancient India. So, in a way, whether I like it or not, I am compelled to fall upon Ancient India. Far be it from me, however, to tread upon the heels of either Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar who has dispelled the illusion that "North India and North India alone has been the most potent factor in the growth and expansion of Indian Culture" in all its varied manifestations or Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit whose all-sided activity in the Archæological Department gives a clear promise of his proving to be the most worthy successor of Sir John Marshall, father of scientific Archæology in India. A scholar gypsy that I am, I will make every endeavour to steer clear of both Scylla and Charybdis—the Dewan Bahadur and the Rao Bahadur.

I am told that the President of a Congress like this is expected to give a resume of the work done during the last three years in the various sections of the history of India. But even here I find that there is hardly anything left for me to do, because it was only in December last that first a meeting was held of the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Lahore; and, later, the ninth session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Trivandrum. About the beginning of January following came off the Jubilee celebration of the Science Congress at Calcutta, in connection wherewith Rao Bahadur Dikshit described the "Progress of Archæology in India during the past twenty-five years."

A full account of the research carried out by the workers in the different fields of History will thus be published in the Proceedings of these Congresses. And certainly the President of this august body is not expected to indulge in what the Sanskrit Pandits call *charvita-charvana*, 'chewing what has already been chewed.' Of course, some further progress must have been achieved between December 1937 and October 1938. But this is just what the Presidents of the different Sections of this Congress are expected to pass in review. And it is not perhaps the legitimate duty of the General President to trespass on the domains of his more learned colleagues. I am also told that the President of such a Congress should mention at least the names of those scholars and historians who in his opinion have done excellent work. I am afraid what happened to the President of the History Section of the twenty-first session of the Bangiya-Sahitya-sammilana held the other day at Krishnanagar will happen to me, and this humble address of mine will be threatened with a formidable encumbrance of addenda and corrigenda. I shall therefore turn to an entirely different subject, where I shall cause no heart-burning, and indulge in no overlapping and duplication of statement.

More than fifty years ago the history of Ancient India was practically a blank. Even the dry bones of this history could not be traced. And our friends in the opposite camp often quoted against us the carping criticism of Alberuni, the contemporary and protege of Mahmud of Ghazna. "Unfortunately", says this Arab Sanskritist and scholar in one place, "the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings, and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-tellings." Perhaps these remarks of Alberuni had some justification when he was in India and when the culture and civilisation of this country were almost at their lowest ebb. But to say or to imply that prior to the mediæval period the Indians never had any historic sense whatsoever is the height of absurdity, opposed to all fact. In ancient times both Itihāsa and Purāṇa denoted history. How the two were differentiated exactly one from the other we do not know. Certain it is that both Itihāsa and Purāṇa are mentioned together in passages from the Vedic literature, sometimes in two separate words and sometimes in one compound word, but almost always associated with Gathas, Naraśamsts,

Vidyās, Vākovākyas and even Upanishads which were all subjects of serious study at that ancient period. In the later part of this period, the importance of Itihāsa preponderated over that of Purāṇa. We thus find emerging a school of Aitihāsikas or Historians who are placed on the same footing as the Nairuktas or Etymologists, the Vaiyākaraṇas or Grammarians and even the Parivrājakas or Wanderers, as anybody who has studied Yāska's Nirukta knows. But here the question arises : What does Itihāsa mean and how is it distinguished from the Purāṇa ? Of course, the significations given by the Amarakośa of these terms have been generally accepted. Thus Itihāsa has been explained by 'purāvṛitta,' 'a record of past events,' in other words 'history'. Purāṇa is similarly explained as 'possessed of five characteristics,' namely, 'sarga' 'original creation,' 'pratisarga' 'dissolution' and recreation,' 'vamśa' 'divine genealogies,' manvantara' 'Ages of Manus,' and 'bhūmyādes samsthānam' 'world geography.' This is how Purāṇa was understood when Amarasimha compiled his lexicon, that is in the fifth century A. D. Then Purāṇa was suppressing and preponderating over Itihāsa. This may be seen from the fact that one component of Purāṇa then was 'vamśa' which originally signified genealogies of gods only but now included those of kings also and thus formed an essential feature of Itihāsa. If any proof is at all required in support of this proposition, one has only to wade through the genealogical lists set forth in Purāṇas. The compilers of these works are not always sure of their own grounds and often refer to the original authorities themselves. Thus in regard to the Paurava-vamśa or dynasty we meet with the statement $\text{atr}=\text{ānuvamśa-śloka}=\text{yam gīto vipraīḥ puravidaiḥ}$, showing clearly that the class of men who composed the genealogies were called Puravid and that to such a Puravid or Historian was indebted the writer who inserted the account of the Paurava family in the Purāṇas. It further seems that this element of royal 'vamśa' was not originally germane to Purāṇa, but was adopted from Itihāsa or the work of the Puravids, just as some features of Political Science were in the fifth century A. D. incorporated into Dharma from Arthaśāstra. The halcyon days, however, for Itihāsa or History were those from the time of Yāska to Kauṭalya. We have already pointed out that the school of history, or Aitihāsikas, had already sprung up in the time of Yāska. And we may now note that the domain of Itihāsa had become both extensive and compact in the time of Kauṭalya. Thus in regard to the education of

a prince, he shall listen, says Kauṭalya, to the lectures on Itihāsa every afternoon. But what is this Itihāsa ? It includes, we are expressly told, six different subjects, namely, Purāṇa, Itivṛitta, Akhyāyikā, Udāharaṇa, Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra. Of these we have seen what Purāṇa is. It originally dealt with cosmogony, cosmology and divine pedigrees. Itivṛitta most probably denoted dynastic chronicles. In fact, both Itivṛitta and Purāṇa have been recommended by Kauṭalya in one place to a minister as the means by which he should bring back a misguided king to the right path. This brings us to the fourth component of Itihāsa, namely Udāharaṇa, which are instances of rulers coming to grief through inebriation, infatuation or overconfiding nature. These instances have been cited not only by Kauṭalya in his Arthaśāstra and Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtra but also by Bāṇa in his Harshacharita ; and for these instances they must have drawn freely upon Itivṛitta and Purāṇa. This view ascribes to history at best the function of teaching rulers and statesmen by analogy, at worst the duty of moral edification. In fact, this Udāharaṇa which forms an important section of history according to Kauṭalya reminds us of what Thucydides and Polybius held, namely, that history might be a guide for good conduct, as containing examples and warnings for statesmen. And history, in fact, was generally held in Greece and at Rome as a store-house of concrete instances to illustrate political and ethical maxims. "Cicero called history in this sense *Magistra Vitae* and Dionysius designated it 'Philosophy by examples.'" But this is not all, because according to Kauṭalya, the most important components of history are Dharmaśāstra or law and Arthaśāstra or Political Science. Law, Political Science, or both are so frequently associated with History in the curriculum of modern Universities that we are surprised that Kauṭalya should have made these subjects an integral part of a course of study prescribed for a student-prince. If there is any kind of patriotic bias in this interpretation of Kauṭalya's view, let some critical scholar come forward and point out to us what Kauṭalya meant when he insisted upon the study of Dharma and Arthaśāstra for a critical and thorough mastery of History. Common-sense also tells us that this curriculum for history laid down for the prince is just what is required to make him an intelligent and efficient ruler. He cannot possibly do without Dharma or Arthaśāstra. "Politics" says Sir John Seeley, "are vulgar when they are not liberalised by history, and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to

practical politics." Nay, "the science of politics," says Lord Acton "is the one science that is deposited by the stream of history, like grains of gold in the sand of a river..." It is therefore perfectly intelligible why so much stress should be laid upon the inclusion of Law and Political Science in the syllabus of history recommended for the education of a student-prince.

When such was the high conception of History in the third century B. C., all the studies ancillary to it must have always been kept alive and developed, as we can easily infer from a critical examination of epigraphic and other records. We have thus pedigree and successions which have evidently been a national characteristic for many centuries. The paṭṭāvalis or successions of pontiffs are too well-known among the Jainas to require any mention. As regards the Vamśāvalis, we trace a clear and distinct use of them in the records of the Eastern Gāngas of Kalinga, which give details about these kings from about A. D. 890, and two of which give even coronation dates for two of these rulers. The same is the case with the grants of the Eastern Chālukyas, the introductory passages of which name the successive kings, beginning with the founder of the line who reigned three centuries prior and putting forward the length of the reign of each of them. Vamśāvalis were thus current at all times from one end of the country to the other. But there must have been more ample materials in Ancient India than these pedigrees and succession lists. With the advance towards civilisation which India had made even in the fourth century B. C., with the almost elaborate routine of modern times which she had then devised, as is evident from a critical study of Arthaśāstra, there must have been, from early times, a fairly extensive system of official records. Notes on all important political, feudal, administrative and revenue matters must have been preserved in some form or other, in all the various offices. In all likelihood, they were kept in the shape of general day-books, not unlike the Diaries of the Peshwas. How else can we account for the manner in which even the regnal days have been specified in certain inscriptions? Thus we have a record which cites the 124th and 143rd day of the 24th year of the reign of the Chola king Rājarāja I. ruling at Tanjavur; and another dated Śaka 1045 which cites the 340th day of the 5th regnal year of his descendant Vikrama Chōladeva. Nay, there is evidence that dynastic archives and chronicles were also in existence. Here we shall give one instance only, namely, the Chālukyas of the

Deccan. There were two royal families of this name. The earlier, the Chālukyas of Vātapi, ruled from A. D. 550 to 755, and the later, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, from A. D. 973 to 1189. They were separated by an interval of more than two centuries, during which an extraneous dynasty, namely the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakheta, possessed sovereignty. Now there is a copper-plate charter found at Kauṭhem and dated Śaka 930 = A. D. 1009, which sets forth the genealogy not only of the later but also of the earlier Chālukyas and further describes the conquests standing to the credit of every king showing that it could not have used mere succession lists. Above all, this Kauṭhem charter speaks of Maṅgalīśa who was a ruler of the earlier line and not even in the direct line of descent. It speaks not only of his capturing Revatīdvīpa and vanquishing the Kalachūris, but, what is of greater importance, in a way seeks to explain away his attempt to usurp the Chālukya throne by representing him as simply a regent during the minority of his elder brother's son, Pulakeśin II, to whom, it says, he ultimately had to restore the throne. The question that now arises is : how could the officer who drafted the Kauṭhem charter know about the military achievements of the earlier Chālukyas separated from him by upwards of two hundred years, and, above all, refer to the attempt of Maṅgalīśa to break the direct and rightful succession—an event which must have taken place nearly four hundred years prior to the date of the grant. The Kauṭhem Plates are not the only grant of this kind. There are others such e. g. as the Khārepātan Plates of the Śilāhāra Raṭṭarāja of Southern Konkan, dated A. D. 1008 in the reign of the later Chālukya Irvabedaṅga Satyaśraya, which distinctly indicate the compilation and survival of dynastic chronicles not only of any ruling family and its earlier branches but also of the paramount dynasties to whom they owed fealty. The pity of it is that no such dynastic chronicle has survived to the present times. But that such chronicles were drawn up originally is certain, as has been just pointed out. It is also certain that these chronicles were utilised to draw up the history, not merely of any province but of the greater portion of India as any body can convince himself by a critical study of the dynastic lists comprised in the earlier Purāṇas. There we find lists of successive kings, of both indigenous and foreign origin, whose rule was not confined merely to North India but also spread over South India. But here also the pity of it is that the Puranic lists come to a dead stop with the advent of the Guptas to power, because

from this time onwards the Purāṇas became completely sectarian in character. Whether at any time we can light upon old dynastic chronicles of undoubted historic veracity or upon any history of India based upon them is more than we can say at present. The dramas of Bhāsa and the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya had for a long time remained hidden from modern eyes until they were discovered not many years ago. Let us hope that not before long the discovery of some of them will be announced from the domicile of Agasti.

It is not however true that no history at all is known to us based upon the utilisation of dynastic archives and chronicles. There is hardly any body in this august Hall of learning who has not heard of Kalhaṇa and his Rājataranṅiṇi, just recently but critically translated by Mr. R. S. Pandit so as to suit the modern age where new facts have become available and old facts interpreted anew. It is true that this is a chronicle for Kāshmir only, not for India as a whole. Nevertheless, it is a history in the true sense of the term. Now just consider what Kalhaṇa says about the previous works that he consulted on the subject. "Eleven works of former scholars", says he, "containing the chronicles of the kings have I scrutinised as well as views of the sage Nīla." But he never treats them as "āpta-vākya", but brings his critical faculty to bear upon them. Thus about Suvrata he says that though his abridgment of the royal chronicles of Kāshmir has obtained celebrity, his exposition of the subject-matter has been impaired through the fault of pedantry. Similar remarks he passes about the works of his predecessors. Above all, "by the examination of the charters of the former kings," continues Kalhaṇa, "relating to the consecration of temples, the laudatory tablets and (*the colophons*) of works, all depression of spirit arising from errors has been set at rest." Kalhaṇa thus utilised not only the chronicles but also copperplates and inscriptions like a modern archeologist in the reconstruction of the history of Kāshmir. We thus see much to our chagrin that the reconstruction of the history of Ancient India began, not with R. G. Bhandarkar and J. F. Fleet in the nineteenth century, but with the Kāshmiri pandit, Kalhaṇa, in the twelfth. Again, in the introductory portion of his work there are two or three verses which are of supreme importance even to the historian of the modern age. "Who else are capable," says Kalhaṇa, "of making the bygone age vivid to the eye, barring the poets resembling Prajāpatis, (both) being adepts in lovely

creations? If the poet with his genius did not see (mentally) the existences which he is about to reveal to all (men), what other indication would there be of the divine perception of the poet?" In other words, the historian must be a poet-seer, if he is to discharge his duty faithfully. This reminds us of what Prof. J. P. Mahaffy said years ago: "Sober men then made the mistake which sober men do now; they imagined that if we could only ascertain the bare facts, we should have before us the true history of the past. Such a notion is chimerical; unless we have living men reproduced with their passions and the logic of their feeling, we have no real human history. The historical novel gives a far closer approximation to the whole truth than the chronological table." Let us now briefly consider the standard which Kalhaṇa has set to himself. I translate the verse in the inimitable language of Mr. Pandit: "That man of merit, alone, deserves praise whose language, like, that of a judge, in recounting the events of the past has discarded bias as well as prejudice." How far Kalhaṇa has fulfilled the sacred duty of the historian, let Sir Aurel Stein, who is a non-Indian, speak: "He (Kalhaṇa) does not hide from us the errors and weaknesses of the king under whom he wrote. The undisguised manner in which he often chastises the conduct of those holding influential positions in his own time, makes us occasionally wonder whether he could ever have intended to give full publicity to his narrative in his own days.... We have seen that Kalhaṇa had personally good reason to feel grateful to his ruler (Harsha) whose favour had raised his family to high office and influence. Yet he dwells at length on all those evil qualities and acts of the king which had made his reign so baneful for the land...." Can the tribute of any non-Indian savant be greater and more genuine to the impartial and independent character of Kalhaṇa as a historian? Can we say the same thing in regard to any one of the chroniclers and narrators of the mediæval period? We have no doubt a galaxy of historians, such as Nizām-ud-Din Aḥmad, Minhaj-i-Siraj Juzjāni, Abul Fazl and so forth. But are they not court historians who exalted their patrons to a degree beyond all recognition? This point has already been so beautifully dilated upon by Sir Shafaat in his address that I need say nothing further on it. Still it must be said to the credit of the Muhammadan historians that they first conceived and executed the idea of writing out the detailed history of the whole of India. What would have been our knowledge of the mediæval period

of India if we had not before us such excellent histories as *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, *Tarikh-i-Farishta* and *Maasir-i-Rahimi*? There was also one historian amongst them noted for his impartiality and intrepidity, namely *Ziya-ud-Din Barni*, author of *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*. But it cannot be denied that the historiography of the mediæval period has as a whole been disfigured by adulation, and that consequently the royal memoirs afford a most welcome relief. Not obliged to court any men's favour, the emperors speak fearlessly about a contemporaneous event or even about their own fault or that of their ancestor. As has been remarked by Beveridge, "the royal authors of the East had more blood in them than those kings whose works have been catalogued by Horace Walpole."

It will thus be seen that the historic sense had always been germane to the Indian mind. And if it did not manifest itself at any particular period by all sections of the people, it was not on account of the extinction of that faculty in them. It always remained dormant in them and exhibited itself when there was a suitable opportunity. The case is not unlike the womanhood in India. I have dwelt upon this subject elsewhere. Women of South India always and actively participated in the politics of their province in the Ancient period. Somehow, the women of North India did not cut a prominent figure in the political sphere. Things were, however, different in Kashmir. The queens of Kashmir, Kalhana tells us, were sprinkled with the sacred waters of the coronation side by side with their consorts. They "had separate funds, their own treasurers and councillors and were actively interested in the government of the country. They received the homage of the feudatory chiefs when they held open court." Things, however, changed completely, when the indigenous rule disappeared and the natives of Kashmir emigrated in all directions. Now that with the new India Act some measure of self-government has been conferred upon India, we suddenly find a Kashmiri lady not only being returned to the Assembly in spite of a formidable rival but actually holding the portfolio of a minister in the U. P. Government. Similarly, why need we wonder if with the advent of the modern renaissance we find Indians from all parts of the country carrying on research work in the domain of History in all its branches which is in no way inferior to that done in Europe and America? There was a time when the Madras Presidency used to be called the benighted Presidency of India. But thanks to Prof. Nilkanta Sastri, a School of History has been consolidated in the Madras

University which it is well-nigh impossible for any Indian University to surpass. There is hardly any period of Indian History where valuable research work has not been done here. And, to crown the whole, it has the unique feature of Sarasvati incarnating herself as Minākshi but becoming a worthy disciple of Nīlakantha. Thus we have now before us a band of such enthusiastic, painstaking and critical workers in the field of History that the question arises: Why the Indian scholars themselves should not now write a history of their own country? At the beginning of this address I have referred to the idea of the unity of history which has now passed into a commonplace. We cannot understand the present without the help of the past. And if we cannot separate the past from the present, how can we exclude the future from the contemplation of the historian? As early as 1882 the great European savant, Max Müller, delivered a course of lectures before the Cambridge University. And what was the main topic of his first Lecture? He there enquires: "why do we want to know history? Why does history form a recognised part of our liberal education?" Simply because, he replies, all of us, and every one of us, ought to know how we have come to be what we are. What history has to teach us before all and everything, says Max Müller, is "our own antecedents, our own ancestors, our own descent." He must tell us everything about what blood courses through our veins, what bones form the rafters of our skulls, and what brain and nerves we have inherited from our forbears. If we put this question to an educated Englishman, he will as a rule be able to tell us what debt he owes to his intellectual ancestors, whether in Greece, Rome, Germany or Palestine. But if we interpellate an Indian, he as a rule knows almost nothing about his own ancestry. It is therefore absolutely necessary that we should bring our own history mainly written by the Indians so as clearly to keep this end in view, namely, the unfolding of our physical, intellectual and spiritual ancestry. That we are not incapable of discharging such a task may be seen from the fact that not long ago the Ramkrishna Mission published "The Cultural Heritage of India" in three volumes comprising articles of a century of scholar-celebrities of India and running into nearly two millenium pages. I hope I am not exaggerating when I say that this work compares very favourably with that executed by any University or learned Society in Europe or America. A similar venture has been undertaken by the Dacca University. It owed its inception to the

happy conjunction of the triad of historians, Mr. A. F. Rahman who was then the Vice-Chancellor, Prof. R. C. Majumdar, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, whose address before the Historical Association of the University, they say, created a great stir. But the actual sinews of war were furnished in the first instance by Mr. Rahman himself with a donation of Rs. 1000,—an example followed later on by Dr. Sir P. C. Ray, then by the Government of Bengal and lastly the University of Dacca, with the result that one Volume of this series is nearing completion. Though this History of Bengal looks like History of Bengal by Bengalis and thus smacks, they say, of clannishness, it nevertheless gives promise of turning out to be a meritorious production as two of the best Indian historians are connected with it, namely, Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Dr. R. C. Majumdar who luckily for us is at present the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University. They are to Bengal what Rao Saheb Sardesai and Prof. Potdar are to Maharashtra. We have no doubt that all the knotty points connected with this History will be impartially dealt with in the spirit of Kalhana, such e. g. as the raid of Bakhtiar Khalji against Lakshmana Sena on the one hand and the Black Hole of Calcutta on the other. Our objective however should be the History of India written mostly by Indian scholars so that attention may be focussed on the tracing of our physical, intellectual and spiritual ancestry. At a meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Gwalior in December 1929, it was suggested that a history of India should be organised by scholars in India which should deal comprehensively and on sound lines with its manifold aspects, especially literary, social and economic. It was Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, I understand, who took the initiative in the matter and cast his tentative suggestions to the celebrities of India. Although they do not seem to be sent to me, being doubtless a non-celebrity, the scheme adumbrated by him deserves the serious consideration of all scholars and historians. In 1922 when Volume I of the Cambridge History of India was published which contained not a single article written by any Indian scholar, it naturally obtruded itself on the attention of the great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who enquired of me whether it was not possible for the Calcutta University itself to publish a History of India mainly by Indian historians and on modern scientific lines. I informed him that years prior to this our talk, the late Mon Mohan Chakravarti and I had a long discussion on this subject and had

jointly drawn up a scheme. At his express desire the same scheme was brought up-to-date and submitted to him for his consideration. He was giving his serious attention to the scheme and was taking every step to give effect to it inspite of his retirement from the High Court and pre-occupation with the Dumraon Case when there was a bolt from the blue causing the 'Parinirvāṇa' of the great soul. However, let us take things as they are and thoroughly thresh out, before we disperse from here, the scheme originally framed by the Head of the History Department of the University. The most difficult question, of course, is finance. But it cannot prove to be an insuperable obstacle in a province studded with such gentry as the solvent and benevolent Taluqdars and such literates as the Kāshmirī Pandits and the Kāyasthas piloted by two High Priests, the Jhas of Darbhanga. If only Dr. Rajesvar Bali, Maharaja Patesvari Prasad Singh and Raja Bahadur Suraj Baksh Singh of Kasmanda join, hand to hand, foot to foot and breast to breast, with the votaries of learning, this Prayāga will be a meeting place not only of the Ganges and the Jamna but also of Lakshmi and Sarasvati.

SECTION 1

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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CULTURE TRENDS IN ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY.

Ancient Indian History: Aryanisation of India or Indianisation of the Aryans :

The ancient History of India is a study which was initiated by the Europeans who came to India as early as the seventeenth century, and has since been continually receiving additional stimuli to make it now a living subject of study both among the Indians themselves and Europeans. The systematic study of this subject may, however, be said to have begun with the rising interest which really created what is now the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the mother of all Asiatic societies, by a band of officials and others interested in the subject. Beginning as it did with a study of the Sanskrit language, ostensibly with a view to understanding the civilisation of India, it has assumed the form dominantly of the study of Sanskrit language specially, and Sanskritic culture generally. From the commencement of these studies Indian History came to be looked upon, in the broader aspects of it, certainly as a process of Aryanisation of the vast continent, bringing into the fold of Aryan culture and civilization, the various races and peoples who had perhaps been long in the land before the Aryan advent. Taking it to be as yet undemonstrated that the Aryans were indigenous to India in any strict sense of the term, and, assuming therefore the coming of the Aryans, there was undoubtedly an expansion of Aryan civilization in two directions eminently ; from the north-west frontier eastwards towards the Gangetic valley and past the Ganges across to the farther end of Hindustan more or less. Similarly in a south-eastern direction this expansion flowed past the combined Vindhya-Narmada barrier, through the Dakhan and the forests of Dandaka, right down almost to Cape Comorin in the course of centuries. That was just the aspect of Indian history which could have appealed when the studies began as they did with Sanskrit, naturally. Since then our knowledge has advanced very much, and

more recent studies, among them the most recent, the discovery of the Indus Valley civilization or Harapa culture, as it is now proposed to be called, seems to call for a revolution in our outlook. Enthusiasts are not wanting already who would reverse the process and study Indian History as a process of Indianisation of the Aryan civilization, and even language. Some enthusiasts have already advanced a considerable way in the identification of the Indus Valley civilization with the so-called Dravidian, and would draw very important and far reaching conclusions therefrom. One might wait till the serious study of the problems involved got much more attention than has so far been given to them to bear the great burden of these far-reaching conclusions.¹

Aryan Culture the Leaven:

In any study of the conflict of civilizations which, in fact is the essence of the study of history of various regions of the earth's surface, the name given to the compounded civilization is generally derived from the one which really supplied the leaven that set up the process culminating in the compound civilization that followed. This question would involve a study, in the completest detail, of the various elements composing the ancient civilization and the contribution that each such element could well be said to have made to the production of the complex-compound going by the name Hindu civilization. It is not a matter of mere labelling, nor one of such easy assessment, and the studies have just begun and have to be carried on earnestly, unflinchingly and in complete fulness of detail, before any sustainable historical conclusions could be hazarded. Taking, however, a general view, Indian civilization might well be said to be, in a sense, the result of a process of Aryanisation, notwithstanding the fact that large and important contributions have come from other sources, among them Dravidian civilization. We could do hardly more now than to trace the general trend of this process and see how far a general study like that throws any light upon the problem.

The Aryan Varnasrama Dharma:

It will be remembered at the outset that India is, if anything, much nearer a continent than a country in its general features. It would be difficult to assert that it was anything else at any time within the limits of history. A process of unification, even of the externals of civilization, must be a complicated process and could not have been

brought about to any thorough-going degree of uniformity, not to speak of unity. Taking the structure of the society generally, and the bond of unity that has actually contributed to make that degree of unification possible, we have first of all to understand something of the community of people called Aryan so far as the Indo-Aryans are concerned. We may take it that it is satisfactorily proved that it was a community which had an organisation of its own. It had attained to the stage of settled life to be described as an agricultural community, yet retaining a considerable amount of the characteristics of the cattle-rearing stage of life preceding it, as well. They must have been a comparatively small body of people as it would be readily admitted, and they should have already advanced sufficiently while yet in the Punjab—perhaps even earlier—to have their society arranged in divisions according to the functions in social life, each group being prominently associated with a particular group of occupations, so that what is now-a-days understood by the term *Varnasrama Dharma* may be regarded as the characteristic feature of Aryan society. The changes that a society so constituted underwent in itself, and the influence that was exercised on the peoples with whom a society thus constituted came into contact, would be interesting studies by themselves. It is a process like this that affected not merely the central core of Aryan society, but also the expanded group of people amidst whom this social organisation had to grow and flourish.

Further Expansion of Aryans, a process of Indianization :

This group of Aryan settlers in the Punjab expanded gradually eastwards to make the region of Hindustan up to the Ganges in the east, and a considerable way towards the Vindhya mountains on the south, the centre of their activity and the further development of their life. Even in the course of this expansion they must have come into contact with other peoples native to the land, and must have fought against them and overpowered them in some cases, and found peaceful settlements perhaps among others, so that one way and another they gradually occupied the region sufficiently to regard it as a region practically their own. This must have been a slow process taking a considerable length of time to carry it on to completion. A considerable amount of change in organisation must have taken place already, and even large kingdoms could have been formed in the region which came

to be subsequently known *Brahmarsidesa* narrowly, and Aryavartta broadly speaking. It is in the expansion further onwards that they came into contact with more powerfully organised peoples, amidst whom they effected settlements in perhaps smaller number than the inhabitants which naturally affected their position very considerably. It is perhaps while they were in this region that we gain something like a knowledge of the difficulties involved in effecting peaceful settlements and pursuing a peaceful life. A passage in the Mahabharata relating the story of the Emperor Mandhata, one of the earliest Indian Emperors, throws a considerable amount of light upon the character of the Aryan expansion in regions where there were already people in large numbers, with a civilization of their own which, either because of their number or of their power, perhaps more often as the combined result of the two, did not admit of extirpation. As a matter of fact the story has relation, as it is put in the Mahabharata, to Mandhata having extended his imperial heritage by fresh conquests which brought in people of other cultures altogether into the fold of the empire, including some beyond the borders of India on the north-west. He was exercised as to the maintenance of the *dharma*, the *dharma* he was familiar with in Aryan society, among people whose *dharma* struck him as so entirely different that, on the face of it, it was impossible to bring about any union by the ordinary process of assimilation. It was then that he went to consult Indra as to what exactly he should do in regard to the establishment of *dharma* among these new subjects of his. Indra found the problem too much for him to solve and thought of Vishnu, who came into him and enlightened the human emperor as to what he should do. The answer given by Indra, really Vishnu in the person of Indra, was that Mandhata should remain content to let his new subjects pursue their own customs and habits as before, only persuading them to give up that which seemed utterly incompatible with the *dharma* as he understood it among his own subjects, the Aryan folk. That seems to have been the general principle upon which the expanding Aryans acted in their onward progress into regions farther away from this particular block of Aryan India. New peoples in various degrees of civilization had to be brought into the Aryan fold, and any peaceful government of them should have proved impossible except on the principle of compromise suggested to Mandhata himself; and, as far as we could gain any glimpse into the character of this further expansion of the

Indian Aryans, we seem to find justification for the idea that that was exactly what had been adopted. In the nature of the case therefore it must have been felt, as early as this, that to beat all these various peoples into one uniform mould would have been a feat impossible of achievement. It was a long process therefore from this to go on assimilating various peoples that composed Indian society, and bringing them into the fold of a united Indian society, certainly not a united Aryan Society in the narrower sense of the term. The process must have been long and painful, and must have involved compromises of various kinds, the fundamental principle of which has been laid down so clearly for Mandhata. It would be easy for us to understand the various steps which ultimately led to the inclusion of the whole mass of the Indian population into the fold of what might be regarded as one society, not by any strict rule of uniformity imposed by threat of punishment, but by a gradual process of compromise and assimilation which made the various peoples fall in gradually into some kind of an understanding which enabled them to live in peace and act perhaps on occasions when such action was called for, as one people.

The Aryan Vedic Organisation Expands into the Indian Caste System :

During the period which might for convenience be described as the period of Vedic culture covering a large number of generations, and, taking into it the whole literature of the Veda comprising the Vedas themselves, the Brahmanas, the Upanishads and the Sutra literature, without excluding the Itihasas and the earlier Puranas in certain reaches, we may regard Aryan society as composed of the four groups, mis-called castes, of the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra, and admitting of the other division involved, merely a division of life suited to the convenience of this group: the life of the student, of the householder, and retirement from social life, and ultimately a life of renunciation. These four orders were apparently, from the very beginning, meant for the elect and not for all. This social organisation must have obtained prominently before the period of Aryan expansion till they reached almost the last stages of it when, in comparatively small bodies, they went and settled down in distant localities amidst communities for larger than their own in point of numbers, and already well provided with an organisation and other appurtenances of life in ample measure. In the course of this expansion in its later stages, it must have become

necessary to bring more or less self-contained communities into the fold of the Indian-Aryan society of the time, and that was apparently done without much violence, and along lines of the least resistance, so that we find, as time advanced and the Aryan sphere of active influence extended, community after community fell in easily and each was allotted its position in society without any great ado. This could be illustrated from the evidence of ancient Tamil literature, where the comparatively small body of Aryan settlers, perhaps principally Brahmans only, found a society already organised with its own divisions, perhaps in some respects remotely assimilable to that of their own divisions; and in the process of assimilation, indicated by what is laid down in the standard classic Tol-Kappiyam, we find that one group had to do duty for two or three of the Aryan grouping. The Brahman was there undoubtedly, the next class was wanting, and the next one was there which included in it a considerable bulk of the one above and the one below. This last class would correspond to the Vis or the Vaisya of the Aryan community, the ruling members of which got assimilated to the Kshatriya, the land-owning and the trading communities of the Vaisyas proper or the proprietors of land, etc., and of the last group the Sudra. That they went about more or less in this fashion is clear when they get to describe the relation between the sexes in society, and they describe the marital relations almost in this manner of imperfect assimilation. One could hardly expect anything else, and it must be in the course of this process that the caste system proper of India must have arisen. It is indeed a process of expansion and assimilation altogether of the system of Aryan grouping primarily on the principle of division of labour in the earlier stages, but as they advanced, resting more or less on the principle of division of races or community. It has often been spoken of by those who have dealt with this subject primarily, that the class Sudra was primarily composed of the conquered or enslaved. This description of that class can hardly be accepted as even a comparatively small Aryan community settling down in a part of the country as a society entirely dependent upon agriculture for its maintenance, could hardly be one in which everybody was a land owner. There must have been some who had to earn their existence by the work that they could do, in other words, of labour, and that class it is that seems indicated as the Sudra class. The definition of later law-givers that they had to maintain themselves by rendering service to the classes above, though

it does not mean that they were serfs or slaves, shows much rather that they engaged themselves in work for which they got paid either as agriculturists or other labourers, as we have the analogous classes in Tamil Society among agriculturists of those who got their lands cultivated, and those engaged in agriculture directly.

The Varna classification is not caste system :

The existence of these classes is vouched for in Vedic literature in a certain number of passages later in point of time, and these have been interpreted in ways which makes the classification jejune, if not absurd. In interpreting the passages bearing on the Virat-Purusha, the passage has been rendered a little too literally, and it is for Vedic scholars to consider whether these are not merely descriptive passages picturing society figuratively, as a human being, as in the well-known cases of the Vedapurusha, Jotishapurusha, etc. The terms *āseth* and *ajāyata* seem to be used in these passages more or less synonymously, and seem to lend colour to this interpretation that what is attempted there is nothing more than a figurative description of human society or humanity as a Purusha, the Virat Purusha, as in the case of the other imaginary Purushas, the Veda-Purusha and Jotisha-Purusha, so that what is really meant is not to lay the emphasis upon the differences of birth as indeed of differences of function. The caste system as it obtains now becomes much more intelligible on this basis rather than that of the Varnasramadharma literally extended to take in the whole population of India. Considered this wise one would rather feel inclined to admire the skill in the adaptation that could bring about so much unity in the multitudinous variety, from out of which this unity had to be brought about, rather than hurl recrimination upon those who were responsible for the social order of India. The latest Indian writer on this subject labours very painfully under this mis-impression, and feels it almost impossible to explain the position satisfactorily, while his European confreres seem really better placed to understand the system, and exhibit perhaps even more understanding in the explanation of the caste system. In fact we have a great deal of work to do to understand even the Veda, which has received so much study and attention from the very beginning of European interest in these subjects. This is indicated in the recent work above referred to, the *Legacy of India*, published last year. 'Rig Veda is an old book, an old book in somewhat hieratic language, and

very difficult of interpretation. In respect of verbal translation a fairly advanced position has now been reached. But the point of many allusions to legend and mythology and the psychological "value" of many observations still escapes. In this regard much remains to be dug out of the texts.' A great deal more of work would perhaps be required to understand the Veda as a whole and consequently much that depends upon it, and derivable from it. This further study perhaps would reveal that the Varnasramadharma and the caste-system are not identical, notwithstanding conscious effort at assimilating the one with the other to the extent possible.

A further study and a dispassionate examination of the texts concerned would go a long way to confirm that the *Varna* division was Vedic in point of character and is not based on the colour of the individual, but on more or less an artificial arrangement for purposes of distinction. This distinction of colour artificially set up seems somehow or other to have caught the fancy of these early people and they carried it through in many of their divisions. They deliberately give this colour distinction to the *Yugas* which are deliberately said to be regulated by the prevalence of *dharma* in full measure or in smaller degrees, the reduction being by a quarter so as to give as it were four degrees of prevalence of *dharma* giving rise to the four *Yugas* so-called. The newly discovered dramatist Bhasa gives expression to this in the following *sloka*, which is quite graphic :—

Sankha Kshīra vapuḥ purā Kṛtayugè nāmnātu Nārāyaṇiḥ
 Trētāyām tripadārpita tribhuvanāḥ Vishnūḥ suvarṇaprabhaḥ
 Dūrvāśyāma nibhas sa Rāvaṇa vadhè Rāmo Yugè Dvāparè
 Nityam Yoanjana sannibhaḥ Kali Yugè vaḥ pātu Dāmodaraḥ.

This is not dependent upon the date of Bhasa, which as yet is not an agreed question, but the same idea is repeated time and again in various forms in various classics of literature, among them, even Tamil literature datable in the early centuries of the Christian era. That idea seems to be given expression to in the *sloka* of Manu which is found, with but slight variation in the Mahabharata, where the definition of the sudra is attempted to be given as one with whom it is only possible to expect the minimum performance of duties describable as *dharma*.

Vṛsho hi Bhagavān Dharmastasya Yaḥ Kurutè *ivalam*
 Vṛshalam tam Vidur Dēvāstasunād Dharmanam na lopayèt.

Vṛsho hi Bhagavān Dharmo Kurutē *layam*

Vṛshalam tam vidur Dēvāstasmād Dharmam na lopayēt.

—M. Bh. XII. 90. 16.

That perhaps again throws but imperfect light upon the distinction of these *varnas* lying more or less in the discharge of the duties described generically as *Dharma*, and not on birth as in the case of the caste, as it is accepted in modern times. The colours therefore, white, red or orange, green and dark, seem to have caught the fancy of these Aryans, and they are used to describe institutions and persons for a variety of purposes, and hence obviously meant to apply only to the *Varna* distinction, and not what is understood by caste distinction. If the Aryan society therefore at the outset of its expansion started with the *varna* division, and as it spread incorporated community after community into the Aryan fold on the tolerant principle taught to Māndhātā, it is easy to understand the readiness with which the multitudinous communities of India accepted the position allotted to them which seems so natural, and gradually assimilated themselves to what they regarded as a really more reasonable, or more convenient, or in general terms superior, system. Through the work of centuries therefore this position had been attained, so that as late as the seventeenth century a Śūdra could describe himself with as much pride as the bluest-blooded Kshatriya, or even the punctilious Brahman, as belonging to the fourth *varna*, or, as they quaintly put it, to the fourth *gotra*. The brand of inferiority which we find tirelessly dinned into our ears as an artificial distinction imposed upon them seems quite ill-founded. The inferiority and the inconvenient position in society find their explanation in economic organisation rather than in the social. This way of looking at the system would really explain much that seems to us inexplicable, and about which we sometimes get badly impatient; nor would it be difficult to explain the large number. As distance increased and the state of communication remained not fully developed, another tendency would add to this process, and would result in a further addition to the number of castes by the simple process of disintegration of the larger castes each one of which might break up into a number of smaller sections by a process of disintegration, the cause of which, or the reason for which, would be distance, geographical milieu, and various other circumstances which promote a tendency to spread as it were. It thus becomes clear that there

are fundamental divisions and there are less fundamental castes that would explain the division and even the mere adventitious circumstances which bring about the division, all of which go to make up the caste system as it obtains to-day. It is the transformation of the *varna* division into the caste system that changes the Vedic-Brahmanism into the Hindu Dharma (Society).

Caste, an Institution of Gradual Growth :

The question would then arise whether, in the circumstances of our history extending over at least thousand years, we could not have devised a system making for a unification. One might answer with fair certainty, that, in the circumstances of the time, any other system would seem to be fairly impossible ; and this, with all its imperfections and shortcomings, admirably fulfilled the purpose that it was intended to serve, the more so, as it was not an artificial system imposed upon society by an external authority ready-made, but one that grew from the exigencies of the times and the necessities of the position in more ways than one. While one may very well justify the existence of the caste system and the services that it actually did render to society and religion in times when factors of an anarchical character were there in plenty to disintegrate society and break it up to destruction, it would be nothing strange if in certain respects we have outgrown the system and find that it is inconvenient in a number of particulars. It may well be so, and the way to remedy it is not by wholesale destructive acts of legislation, but by the slow process, certainly the more permanent process, of evolution which would give time to things to adjust themselves, and not bring about an unnecessary revolution causing a needless amount of upsetting for which the only justification is the efforts of enthusiasts to carry into the long established Indian society foreign principles which have not yet attained to even a recognised vogue in the land where they were promulgated—doctrines like the equality of man and revolutionary slogans of that kind. It would be well to consider if “*Ātmavat Sarvabhūtāni Yaḥ paśyati sa paśyati*” is not a better principle than that of equality as ordinarily understood. To build on foundations that have stood the test of time would certainly be a more natural way of building than pulling up foundations by the roots, and making an effort to build anew altogether on untried and as yet uncertain foundations.

Growth of Religious Ideas and Practice Corresponding :

Corresponding to this expansion comes in also the development in the other vital feature of Indian society, a development in religion. The religion of the Indo-Aryan is generally described as the worship of the elements in nature by offering prayers and other things regarded as pleasing to the Gods, and thus propitiating them and gaining their favour with a view to the benefits that would arise therefrom as a necessary consequence, or with a desire to attain particular benefits directly sought. Such a description is not altogether unacceptable even to Indian tradition. It is also generally accepted that in the process of development of this Vedic religion, in the course of the expanding process of Aryanisation, there was perhaps not that unanimity in the completely saving character of this way of worship; and there must have been those who were perhaps ready to call some of these into question. This would naturally provoke two kinds of reaction, an attempt to explain that which was being done actually, so that the meaning may be understood. Along with this, there would also be an effort to probe a little further into the real meaning of these, and whether really there was any *ultimate purpose* to be served by these. Such would naturally lead on to enquiries into the fundamentals of religion and the modes of worships popularly adopted therefor, just with a view to satisfying oneself, and others that may be of an enquiring spirit, whether these serve the higher purposes that religion is intended to serve. There would therefore be much thought and enquiry naturally among those of an independent way of thinking, and this would as naturally lead to differences of opinion in regard to particular matters and perhaps ultimately in regard to the whole outlook. We need not therefore feel surprised, in a stage of development of thought like this, there were differences of view, and vital differences even upon the utility of some of these. Differences therefore of view will arise both in religious theory and in the mode of worship. There seems to have been an early cleavage and that must have been the direct result of Aryan expansion into a wider sphere. The difference between those who worship through the medium of fire, offering their prayers and the food, etc., through fire, and others who do not. This worship through fire became a peculiar feature of the Brahmanic cult. It is conceivable that, at the same time, some among them considered it hardly necessary to offer worship in this particular form, and might even have objected to certain

details of this worship, eminently those that involved immolation of victim in the performance of sacrifices. There is already an early passage in the Mahabharata in which a difference of opinion comes out prominently whether in the larger sacrifices a live victim should necessarily be sacrificed, or whether a grain substitute was not intended. The question raised is really more fundamentally other than this, and the actual question was whether the victim originally intended was an animal or merely grain, the Sanskrit word "*aja*" meaning both alike. This perhaps represents a difference of view already forming and advancing to the formation of fundamentally differing opinions on the matter which resulted ordinarily in the formation of different sects. The answer given by the umpire chosen, Uparichara Vasu, raised to the position of Indra by acts of merit performed by him, proved unsatisfactory and the decision come to therefore was not final; but the distinction of parties persisted nevertheless.

Dissentients in Religion—the Bhāgavatas :

It will be remembered that one of the main points of objection to Brahmanism among the Jains as well as the Buddhists consists in the offering of the sacrifices, and the immolation of victims with the ostensible object of attaining to the highest ends of existence. The Buddhists laughed at this as not merely useless but even perverse. The Jain similarly thought it was a false doctrine, and went against the rest of the Jain teaching. But more earnest perhaps than both of these were the Bhāgavatas to whom this was equally objectionable, and they regarded offerings earnestly and sincerely made with flowers, leaves and water, really more acceptable to the divinity than any of these; and this cult of the Bhāgavatas is among those that figure in early Buddhist literature. The Bhāgavatas figure among the sixty or sixty-one teachers of various systems enumerated by the Buddha as sectaries and dissenters given to fruitless and vociferous discussions on points of religion. Their catechism of teaching is recognised as the Bhagavatgīta, and we find again in the Tamil country the earliest schools of Bhakti incorporating the totality of this teaching in their own. The Bhāgavata teaching is almost the same as the teaching of the Ājvārs, the earliest of them being datable in the early centuries of the Christian era. One among them actually refers to the Gīta as such, and describes it as teaching given to Arjuna, by Kṛṣṇa from the driver's seat on the

field of the Great War. Although the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar put forward an earnest plea in favour of this position it has not received general acceptance as far as we know. Looking at it from the point of view of philosophy and philosophic development only, Professor S. N. Das Gupta lays it down emphatically that "the Gita which I believe can be shown to be of pre-Buddhist origin is a metrical interpretation of the instructions of the Upanishads in their bearing on social life". Discussions, bordering on the quarrelsome, condemned by the Buddha seem to be condemned equally by Krishna in the Bhagavat-Gita almost at the outset of his discussions with Arjuna.

Yāmimām pushpitām Vācham pravadantyavipaśchitaḥ
Vēdavādarathāḥ Pārtha ! nānyadastīti vādinaḥ.....(42)

Kāmātmānaḥ Svargaparā janma Karma phalapradām
Kriyā viśeshabahuḷām bhogaiśvarya-gatim prati.....(43)

Bhogaiśvarya prasaktānām tayāpahṛta chētasām
Vyavasyātmikā buddhiḥ samādhau na vidhīyathē.....(44)

Bh. Gita. II.

The Bhagavat Gita and the exaltation of Vishṇu as the supreme is not the only form of Bhāgavatāik teaching. It seems in fact accepted that the whole Āgamāik teaching is of that kind, and the Āgamas, Śivaik and Vaishṇava both alike lay down similar principles and practices except that the Supreme is according to one school Vishṇu Para Vāsudeva and according to the other Mahēśvara—Sādākhyā Sadāśiva. We see the whole of this Āgamāik teaching full-fledged in both schools of early Tamil literature, referable to the early centuries of the Christian era, and long anterior to the teaching of the famous Āchāryas of the South, Śankara and Rāmānuja alike. It is worth noting that the latest European view still persists in making Śankarāchārya and Rāmānuja "founders of modern orthodox Hinduism." Codrington in the chapter on Indian Art and Archæology in the work already quoted, the Legacy of India, states his opinion "it would not be untrue to say that, when Rāmānuja followed Śankarāchārya, modern orthodox Hinduism *was created*." The emphasis is ours. These Achāryas certainly expounded modern Hinduism as we know it in practice to-day; but they were anything but the creators of the systems. Rāmānuja is certainly acknowledgedly expounding the old teaching, the Upanishads, the Bhagavat-Gita and the Tamil Prabhandhas, including the Vaidic teaching and the Āgamas, these constituting the sources from which he

draws. It therefore seems clear that it is a mis-conception to make modern Hinduism such a late creation as that. Of course, it follows necessarily from the mere one-sided study, from the point of view of art, of the learned author quoted above. He arrives at this after a study of the image at Elephanta which he describes as "the great trinity, the Trimūrti, or rather Maheśvaramūrti, in which the qualities of Barhma, the creator, Viṣṇu the preserver, are portrayed as being absorbed by and comprehended in the dominating personality of Śiva, Lingeśvara". First of all, we must say, with due reference to the high authority of the author, that it would be wrong to describe the figure at Elephanta as Trimūrti. A close study of the features of the three faces would show clearly that, at any rate, the face to the right of the centre can hardly be described, by any stretch of the imagination, as the figure of Brahma. Brahma is always allotted the right place wherever the Trimūrtis are exhibited either in a composite single form, or in separate figures. Brahma is always exhibited with a beard, with matted locks done up as in the case of Rishis, with the orthodox *Karna Kundalas*. But the figure that is actually represented in the Elephanta cave is a representation of, what one would call perhaps an imperfect representation of Maheśvara or Sadāśiva rather the latter than the former, which is described as a Mūrti with five faces, four facing the directions of the compass and the fifth dominating the rest. Sadyojātam, is the western face of this figure, Vama Devam north, Isānam east, Āghoram south. The latter three are exhibited here. The top face which is also called Isāna is not exhibited in this. According to the Kamika Āgama, the figure of Sadāśiva with five faces as the Sadāśivamūrti, sometimes also called Panchadehamūrti can, according to the Āgama teaching, be represented either with a single face, or with three faces. We shall have to take it that this is a concession that the Āgama makes for, it may be, structural convenience. According to the description in the Ling Purāṇa Maheśvaramūrti or Sadāśivamūrti is one plane above the Trimūrti, and must be accepted as a combination of the three and surpassing them all. But that is not our purpose for the moment. What we are really concerned with is that the the Āgamāik teaching is but a continuation, or it may be merely a parallel teaching, of the Bhāgavata school of thought, and this teaching it is, when it reached the south in whatever manner, what did give rise at once to the early Bhakti schools, and the whole literature which is the outpouring of the

feelings of devotion of the Bhaktas which certainly had been fully utilised by the Āchāryas when they actually gave shape and formulated their systems of teaching. So, for the origin of this teaching, we shall have to go 1500 years before Rāmānuja, and this teaching of the Bhakti schools existed along side of Jainism and Buddhism all through, and is a direct outcome of the theistic teaching for which authority is not wanting either in the Upanishads or in the early books of the Vedas themselves. It is worth studying Vedic literature again with a view to discovering this trend of religious thought in the whole of that literature. It is when the Bhakti school formulated its teaching almost along side of, and not altogether in opposition to, the Vedic teaching proper that modern Hinduism sprang into being. It is the rise of the Bhakti school of Hinduism in the early centuries of the Christian era in the south and its spread elsewhere rapidly that transforms the Brahmanism, or the Vaidic system of religion, into the modern Hinduism of to-day. Like the Varna system expanding out into the caste system by an imperfect process of assimilation, the Vaidic system of religion expanded into the Hinduism of modern times.

Hindu Social System Still Elastic :

A society evolving through the centuries and gaining its modern shape more or less at the beginning of the second millenium after Christ, could not have been an inelastic system from the very nature of the case ; nor could it have been intended in fact to be that as it was not a system formulated by an individual lawgiver and put into practice. It had all through the period of its growth to react to influences of various kinds and of varying strength, and readjust itself. The same capacity for reaction to varying influences remains in the system. Circumstances following the period of Rāmānuja contributed largely to the hardening of the system ; and, in the course of the centuries following and through the multitudinous changes, some of them of an anarchic character even, modern Hindu Society has acquired the character of a hardened and fixed-looking system admitting of no change whatever. This would be quite a false way of looking at it. Hindu society was never static, and, even from the very outset, was not intended to be that ; and all through the Hindu period it was flexible and developed, according to circumstances, reacting to influences of various kinds. Quite modern circumstances made for a hardening

of the system, and perhaps it is this that saved it from the anarchy and dissolution that would have swallowed this as much else and left a chaos instead of the seemingly inflexible cosmos that is with us. It is for those interested in the system to study it carefully and understand its structure and genius, and bring about readjustments without hurting in the slightest degree the vital principle of growth in it. That position becomes clear even to those who made but a partial study of it from even some one side or another, not to speak of those who, by the width as well as by the depth of their studies, gain a comprehensive notion of the character of the system as a whole. Anything like an elaborate study of the various influences that come to bear upon it and the way that Hindu Indian society reacted to these various influences is a study of the greatest interest to students of modern Indian History, the history of India from the fourteenth or the fifteenth century onwards down to the present times. I might conclude this comparatively slight survey by quoting a passage from a serious student of Indian music, who happens to be in the country studying the Indian system. Possessed of systematic first-hand knowledge of Western music and studying Indian music in comparison thereto, this scholar, Dr. Arnold Bake, a Research Fellow from Oxford, makes the following remarks:—

“Harmonised Western music baffles and spoils the Indian ear, trained on melody alone. Indian orchestras, even if composed out of fifty different instruments, never would play anything like a Western harmony. If Indian music wants to develop polyphony, it must do so *along its own lines* and not by adopting *imported and imposed methods* foreign to its very nature.”

It need hardly be added that what applies to music would apply, with much greater force, to the social system much more complicated than music.

Conclusion :

A study of Indian History, a study both wide and deep, seems urgently called for now more than ever before. India and Indian civilization generally are subjected to a stress and strain, the like of which they had never experienced before. The influences brought to bear upon her are some of them so strong and violent that wellwishers of India on the one side feel really that Indian society is well on the way to collapse. We have at the same time serious students of Indian

History and culture (*e.g.*) Garratt, in the *Legacy of India*, tell us plainly that all this impact of modern civilization with India has failed to produce a compound civilization composed of the West and East fondly hoped for by them. It need hardly be said that neither of the extreme views is correct as in fact the Rt. Hon'ble the Marquess of Zetland in the preface to the same work says. It cannot be said that India does not react to the strong influences beating upon her, nor can it be said that India proves false to her history and is hurrying towards destruction. As in the varied past, so for the present, India stands like her great Himalayas seemingly unshaken and unmoved, but subtle forces are working still unobserved, and wisely guided one may hope that India will not belie her history. Wisely guided and cautiously led even Indian society will transform itself into something really more solid and strong though on lines of her own, and unlike what enthusiasts wish, and would emerge from this great strain stronger and healthier with the elements of further development unimpaired in capacity for adaptation and further growth. Our efforts should be to make Indian History, a really true History of India, in all its erudite detail better known, more fully known, and known in unalloyed truth both to those within and those without. It is hoped that time will prove that our achievement is, if not as good as our aspiration, at least substantially so.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA PĀṆDYA AND THE KĀKATĪYAS.

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It is well known that the inscriptions of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya state that he killed Gaṇḍagopāla, occupied Kāncipuram and defeated Gaṇapati, the Kākatīya king, before he performed a vīrābhiṣeka at Nellore. Some undated Tamil verses engraved on the walls of the Cidambaram temple also seem to celebrate this northern campaign of Sundara, and in these verses he is said to have won a hard contested battle against the Telingas. The statement in para 18 of Part II of the Epigraphy Report for 1914 that the allies of the Telungas, the Āryas, were pursued up to the banks of the Pōrāṟu, *i. e.* Kṛṣṇā, seems to be due to a misunderstanding of one of these verses which runs :*

Kār ēṟṟa taṇḍalaik-kāviri nāḍanaik-kānūlavun-
dōr-ēṟṟi viṭṭa śeḷundamiḷt-tennavan śeṇḍedirndu
tār-ēṟṟa vembāḍai-yāriyar taṇḍu paḍat-taniyē
pōrēṟṟu ninṟa peruvārttai yinnum puduvārttaiyē.

In this verse the Pāṇḍya who drove the Cōḷa out into the forest is said to have met the Āryas in battle and defeated their forces single-handed. As this verse follows another which describes in vigorous terms a victory won by the same king against Telugu forces, it may be plausibly suggested that the Āryas were the allies of the Telingar. But there is no mention of Pōrāṟu anywhere, and 'porēṟṟa' in the beginning of the last line seems to have been misread as 'pōrāṟṟu'.

As it is, therefore, Nellore is the northernmost point reached by Sundara Pāṇḍya and there he celebrated a vīrābhiṣeka. The Kākatīya king Gaṇapati or his forces must have been met in battle in that neighbourhood, which is quite possible. And Sundara Pāṇḍya's success against Gaṇapati is attested by an interesting coin figured by Sir T. Desikachari in his South Indian Coins, plate iii Nos. 58 and 59. Here is his description of the coin :

"Fig. 58. AE. *Obverse*.—Boar facing the right on a pedestal with the sun and the crescent moon above.

"Fig. 59. Reverse of Fig. 58.—Two fishes separated by a sceptre with legend in Tamil. (Sundara Pāṇḍiyan)."

At the time he described the coin, it was not possible to explain it fully, and his comments on it, shrewd and instructive as they are, rightly left the main question open. Thus: "We next have to deal with a series, in which

* I did not notice this before, and adopted the version of the Report in my *Pandyan Kingdom* p. 168.

the place of the fish on the obverse is taken by the Chālukyan emblem of the boar. The legend on the reverse is usually 'Sundara Pāṇḍya.' The boar, from which all gold coins have got the name of *vardha*, was a favourite emblem with more than one dynasty, and a familiar instance of this is the appearance of the emblem on the Vijayanagara coins of Tirumalarāya. The Pāṇḍyan coins, with the boar obverse, have always the legend "Sundara" on their reverse; there is no clue whereby we can attribute them to any particular reign. The boar emblem was probably assumed on an intermarriage between the Chālukyan and Pāṇḍya kings or on a conquest of the Chālukyas by the Pāṇḍyas.* If the last sentence is cancelled, the comments are not only admirable in themselves, but clearly point the way to the right solution, for they leave it to be decided who the Sundara Pāṇḍya was and which the dynasty whose boar emblem was adopted by him. It will be seen readily that Sundara of these coins was the most famous mediaeval Pāṇḍyan ruler, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (acc. 1251 A. D.), that the dynasty from which he took the boar emblem was the Kākatīya dynasty, and that the occasion for it arose from a victory of the Pāṇḍya over the equally celebrated ruler of the Kākatīya line—Gaṇapati.

THE GUPTAS IN THE LAND OF KUNTALA.

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One of the most famous provinces in ancient India was Kuntala, a territory whose position is indicated by the fact that it was "moistened by the stream of the far-famed Kṛshṇave (r) ṇṇā" (*vikhyāta-Kṛshṇaverṇṇa-taila-sneh-ṅpalabdhasaralatoah*)¹ and stretched southwards as far as Gaṅgavāḍī in the upper valley of the Kāveri². It included within its boundaries the famous sites of Tērdāḷ³ (belonging to the Sāṅḷī State in the southern Marāṭhā country), Teragal⁴ (a small state subject to Kolhāpur near which flowed the river Malaprahāri), Puligere or Lakshmeshwar, an outlying town of the senior Miraj State,⁵ Nargund in the Dhārwaḍ District,⁶ Hampe and Kurgoḍ in the Bellary District,⁷ Banavāsi in North Kanara as well as Balagāṛve and Harihar in Mysore.⁸

*Desikachari:—*South Indian Coins*, pp. 161-2.

(1) *I. A.*, VIII. 17. (2) *Ep. Carnatica*, IV, Hunsur Taluk No. 137. (3) *I. A.*, XIV 16. (4) *I. A.*, XII 97. (5) *E. I.*, XIII. 178 : *Ibid.*, XVI 47. (6) *I. A.*, XII 47. (7) *E. I.*, XIV 271. (8) *Fleet, Kanarese Districts*, 431.

It will be seen that the province described above practically embraced the whole of Karnāṭa, that is to say, the Kanarese speaking areas of Bombay, Madras and Mysore, with a considerable portion of the Southern Marāṭhā country. In the *Vikramāṅkadeva-Charita Kuntalendu* and *Kuntalendra* occur as epithets of *Karṇāṭendu* Vikrama who ruled at Kalyāṇa,⁹ which is the modern Kalyāṇi in the Nizam's dominions.

The historic land whose limits are defined above was the seat of many of the most powerful empires of the Deccan, and was also the scene of the activities of several imperial families of the north, beginning with the Mauryas of the third century B. C. That the Maurya emperors ruled over the whole, or at least a considerable portion of Kuntala including the Chitaldroog District of Mysore and the districts of the Madras presidency and the Nizam's dominions lying to its north, is well known to students of Indian antiquities. That their Gupta successors, too, had intimate political relations with the land is not so well known. Nevertheless it is a fact that princes belonging to the Gupta family (*Gupt-ānvaya-bhūkdānta*) and claiming descent from Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya, governed the "Banavāsi twelve thousand province" in the twelfth century A. D. The Sanjam Plates¹⁰ of Amoghavarsha I, the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch, who dominated the Kuntala country in the ninth century A. D., refers to the fame of the *Gupt-ānvaya*. Evidence of an earlier connection of the Guptas with the country watered by the Kṛṣṇā and its affluents, a considerable portion of which was, as we have seen, included within Kuntala, is furnished by a find of 1395 coins in the Satara District, made about the middle of the last century, 1100 of which were of the Garuḍa type of Kumāra Gupta I." The presence of such a large hoard cannot be explained by the existence of commercial intercourse alone.

The association of the Guptas with the Kuntala region did not however begin with Kumāra Gupta I. The Gupta rulers of the Banavāsi country trace back their origin, not to Kumāra, but to his father Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya.¹² Attention may also be invited in this connection to the Halsi grant of the Kadamba *Yuvarāja* Kākusthavarman dated "in the eightieth year of his vitcory" (*sva-vaijyāyike arṣtitame samvatsare*).¹³ In spite of the phraseology used it is obvious that the year 80 cannot refer to an era of Kākustha's own institution. Fleet surmises¹⁴ that the year in question must be the eightieth year from the *pattabandha* of Mayūraśarman, the founder of Kākustha's line. If this view is correct it is surprising that no other Kadamba record is dated in Mayūra's era, and all the epigraphs of the dynasty, with the exception of the Halsi grant mentioned above, are dated only in regnal years.

(9) *Bk. IX* 41-42. (10) *E. I.*, XVIII 248. (11) Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, p. CXXX. (12) Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 500. (13) *J. A.*, VI 23. (14) *Kanarese Districts*, 291. †

It may be surmised from this that the early Kadambas had probably no era of their own. Nor was an era ever instituted by the Imperial Pallavas whose supremacy was acknowledged by several members of Mayūrasarman's family. The only imperial line that did establish an era, and is known to have come into intimate contact with Kākusthavarman of the Halsi record, is the Gupta. As early as 1894 B. Lewis Rice discovered an inscription on a pillar at Tālagunda in Mysore which records that Kākusthavarman gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings.

*Gupt-ādi-pārthiva-kul-āmburuha-athalāni
snēh-ādara-praṇaya-sambhrama-kṛsarāṇi
śrīmanty-anṛka-nṛpa-śatpada-sēvitāni
yō-bodhayad dhuhitri-dīdhitibhir-nṛp-ārkkah*

“The sun of a king by means of his rays—his daughters—caused to expand the splendid lotus-groups—the royal families of the Gupta and others, the filaments of which were attachment, respect, love and reverence (for him), and which were cherished by many bees—the kings (who served them)”.¹⁵

If the year 80 of the Halsi grant is referred to the Gupta era it places the Yuvarāja Kākusthavarman in or about A. D. 400 and makes him a contemporary of the emperor Chandra Gupta II. The result accords with the chronological scheme based on references to the Kadambas in the inscriptions of the early Chalukyas of Vātāpi. The use of the Gupta era at Halsi is by no means improbable in view of the fact that Kumāra's coins have been found in large number at Satara, and the name of his father, who was ruling in the years 61 to 93 of the Gupta era, figures prominently in inscriptions of the Dhārwad District as the progenitor of a line that governed the Banavāsi country in the twelfth century A. D. Attention may also be invited in this connection to a passage in the *Gāthāsaptasatī*,¹⁶ attributed to an early king of Kuntala, which shows familiarity with the deeds of Vikaramāditya.

If the Halsi record of the year 80 is really dated in the Gupta era it may afford a clue to the identity of the Gupta ruler who accepted the hand of Kākustha's daughter. Rice identified the Gupta king of the Tālagunda inscription with Samudra Gupta.¹⁷ That great emperor no doubt penetrated deep into southern India and received presents of maidens (*kanyopāyana-dāna*) from several kings. But amongst these potentates the Kadambas of Halsi are conspicuous by their absence. Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil's suggestion¹⁸ that the king referred to is Narendrasena, grandson of a daughter of Chandra Gupta II, is not plausible. There is no apparent reason why Narendrasena, a Vākāṭaka king, should be referred to as a Gupta *pārthiva*. In a mutilated

(15) Kielhorn in *R. I.*, VIII 33-36. (16) V. 64. (17) *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, 23. (18) *A. H. D.*, pp. 75, 100.

inscription¹⁹ of Skanda Gupta discovered at Bihār there is apparently a reference to Kumāra Gupta's marriage with the sister of a person who had won fame by his efforts (*Khyātaḥ sva-krityā*) and who was apparently the son of another individual described as a very moon of a man (*nri-chandra*), equal in prowess to the god Vishnu (*Indrānuja-tulya-viryya*). It is clear that Kumāra married the daughter of a great warrior who is compared to the moon, and the sister of a renowned person, the fame of whose deeds had spread to Magadha. It is interesting to note in this connection that Kākustha who gave his daughter in marriage to a Gupta king, receives in the Tālagunda inscription the epithet *senāni-bṛihad-anvaya-vyoma-chandramā*,²⁰ 'a moon in the firmament of a great line of generals.' One of his sons, Kṛṣṇavarman I, won great renown by his military exploits (*aneka-samara-samkaṭ-opalabdha-vijayakṛttih*).²¹

It has, however, to be admitted that the hints in the Bihār inscription are of too dubious a character to enable us to identify the Kadamba Kākustha-varman and his son with the personages mentioned as the father and brother of Kumāra Gupta's wife. The mutilated character of the inscription makes it impossible to find out whether more recognizable epithets were used in reference to these mysterious individuals. There is, however, one passage in the Devagere plates²² of the Kadamba Yuvarāja Devavarman which may be taken to suggest that his father *Mahārāja Śrī* Kṛṣṇavarman (regarded by scholars as a son of Kākustha) was possibly a contemporary of Prabhāvatī Guptā, the Vākātaka queen, who was step-sister of Kumāra Gupta I. The Devagere plates represent Kṛṣṇavarman as "enjoying his heritage after attacking persons born of a Nāga or Nāgas" (*Nāgajān-ākramyady-ānubhūta*).²³ Some scholars find here a reference to the petty Nāga chiefs of Northern Mysore. But it is impossible to believe that they were a serious menace to the heritage of the Kadambas during this period. Epigraphic evidence indicates that the power that constituted a real danger to Kuntala in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. was the Vākātaka. Pṛthvishena I Vākātaka vanquished the king of Kuntala. His daughter-in-law Prabhāvatī, as is well known, was a daughter of Kuveranāgā who was born of the Nāga family (*Nāga-kul-utpannā*) by Chandra Gupta II, and is described as *ubhayakulālakṣārabhūtā*, "an ornament of both the families" (Gupta and Nāga).²⁴ She presided over the destinies of considerable portions of the Deccan plateau, first as the chief queen (*agramahishi*) of Rudrasena II Vākātaka, son of Pṛthvishena I, and then as regent on behalf of her sons Divākara and Dāmodara. She is never credited with any victorious exploits in Kuntala. She must have lost whatever preponderance her father-in-

(19) *C. I. I.* III 49. (20) *E. I.*, VIII 31. (21) Bannahalli Plate, *E. I.* VI. 18. (22) *I. A.* VII 33-34. (23) Some of the letters in the text are no doubt difficult to read. But Fleet prefers the reading given above. (24) *Mohārājadhīrāja Śrī Chandraguptasya dubhītā Dhāraṇa sagotrā Nāgakulōtpannāyām Kuberanāgadevyāmutpannā ubhaya kulālakṣārabhūtā* J. A. S. B. 1924, 58.

law had won over that country, and the Kadambas must have "regained their heritage", probably under Kṛshṇavarman I who is said to have celebrated the horse sacrifice and possessed the *ekātaṣṭra* or sole umbrella indicative of universal sovereignty. We have here possibly a clue to the interpretation of the passage of the Devagere Plates quoted above—a passage that puzzled Fleet, the editor of the record, the latter found no apparent reason why persons of Nāga descent should be referred to here.

The evidence to which we have invited attention is not clear in all cases. Nevertheless the mention of the Gupta *Pārthiva-kula* in the Tālagunda inscription, the find of a large hoard of Kumāra's coins at Satara and the references to Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya possibly in the Gāthā Saptasāti and the records of the Rāshtrakūṭas and certainly in the epigraphs of the Gupta rulers of Banavāsi tell their own tale. They leave no room for doubt that the imperial Guptas, particularly Chandra Gupta II and Kumāra Gupta I, had intimate relations, social, commercial and political with the land of the Kuntalas in the fifth century A. D.

THE PURDA SYSTEM.

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Considerable discussion is going on as to whether the Purda system was prevalent in ancient India or not. There is a divergence of opinion on the point. Some hold that it was quite unknown in the pre-Muslim days. Others maintain that Hindu ladies were accustomed to wear veils even before the advent of the Mohammads. The available evidence on the point is of a dubious nature and can be manipulated to support either view. It therefore requires a very careful scrutiny.

There is no doubt whatever that the Purda system was quite unknown down to the beginning of the Christian era. In Indo-Iranian times women could move quite freely in society, and manage the family farms if necessary¹. The same was the case in the Vedic age. We also know already that girls were often educated along with boys, as is clear, for instance, from the education of Lava and Kuśa along with Ātreya. It would appear that co-education was not unknown even in the 8th century A. D. for, in his *Mālatīmādhava*, Bhavabhūti represents Kāmandakī as being educated along with Bhūrivasu and Devaīāta (अपि किं न वेत्सि यदेकत्र नो विद्यापरिग्रहाय नानादिगन्तवासिनां नो साहचर्यभासीत्, Act I). There is also ample evidence to show that love marriages were taking

(1) Dowson, *The Ethical Religion of Zoroaster*, p. 153.

place not infrequently ; youths could approach their sweethearts to win their love. Youths and maidens would often go together to see shows and sports. All this would not have been possible if the Purdah system had been observed in society by maidens.

Nor did the things change after the marriage. The Vedic marriage hymn requires the bride to be shown to all the assembled guests (*R. V.*, X, 85, 33). The hope was further expressed that the bride should be able to speak with composure in public assemblies down to her old age¹. The presence of ladies in social and public gatherings was a normal feature in the Vedic age². It was quite welcome to society. Whenever anything charming or graceful is to be described, Vedic poets usually think of the gaily attired lady going out for a function, as the standard object of comparison. (*R. V.*, IV, 58, 7; X, 168, 2; etc.). From *Nirukta*, (c. 500 B. C.), we learn that ladies used to go out to public courts of law to establish their claims of inheritance (III, 5). There is no reference to any Purda arrangement being made for their attendance. Nor does *R. V.*, I, 167, 3 contain any reference to the Purda system³. The ladle, now being dipped into the ghee pot and now being taken out and brought forward to pour its contents into the sacrificial fire is compared in this verse to a lady, now remaining in the privacy of her house and now coming out in public to attend a meeting.

The earliest reference to the Purda system is to be seen in the present version of the epics. There we see that some kind of Purda was observed in certain royal families, which felt probably on account of a notion of prestige, that royal ladies should not come within the gaze of vulgar eyes. At the time when Sitā set out with her husband for the forest through the public thoroughfares of Ayodhyā, a regret is expressed in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that a lady who had so far not been seen even by the spirits of the sky, should now become the object of public gaze⁴. A similar observation occurs in the *Mahābhārata* also (*Āśramavāsika parva*, 16, 13). The *Rāmāyaṇa* further observes that there is no objection if women come out in public on the occasions of marriages, *Svayamvaras*, sacrifices and public calamities.⁵ It would follow from this that they were normally expected to remain in Purda.

(1) वाहीमी स्वं विदधमाबदासि । *R. V.*, X, 85, 26,

अथ जिमिर्विदधमाबदासि । *A. V.*, XIV, 1, 21.

(2) जुष्टा नरेषु समनेषु वरुगुः । *A. V.*, II, 36, 1

(3) मिम्यद्द येषु सुचिता घृताची हिरभ्यनिर्विशुपरा न ऋद्धिः ।

गुहा चरन्ती मनुषो न योषा समानती विदध्येन ॥ सं वाक् ॥

(4) या न शक्या पुरा द्रष्टुं भूतैराकाशगैरपि । तामद्य सीतां पश्यन्ति राजमार्गगता जनाः ॥

II, 33, 8

(5) व्यसनेषु च कृच्छ्रेषु नी युवे नो स्वयंवरे । न ऋतौ न विवाहेषु दर्शनं दुष्यति स्त्रियः ॥

VI, 116, 28

It would appear that all the three passages above referred to are interpolations of a later age, when the Purda system was introduced in a few royal families. For the other data in the epics themselves go against the prevalence of the Purda. Thus when Kausalyā, Kaikeyī and Sumitrā go out to Chitrakūta to induce Rāma to return to Ayodhyā, they move in public without any veil. Sitā herself feels no embarrassment of a Purda lady, when she is going out through the streets of Ayodhyā. In the forest too, she is moving about without any veil. So the poet's observation that she had not been seen even by the spirits of the sky is nothing but a poetic exaggeration to heighten the pathos of her banishment to the forest. Draupadi's public appearance in the gambling hall pre-supposes an entire absence of the Purda. Neither Kunti nor Gāndhārī are seen to be observing it. In the story of king Poshya narrated in the Mahābhārata (I, 1-3) we find the student Uttanka proceeding straight to the queen to her harem in order to beg her ear-rings for presenting them to his teacher's wife. This would not have been possible if there were Purda in the king's palace. Apart from the two verses referred to in the last paragraph, the epics show no acquaintance with the Purda system. They are therefore likely to be later additions, made with the desire to heighten the pathos of the departure to the forest of Sitā and the Kaurava ladies.

It would however appear that soon after the beginning of the Christian era a section of society began to advocate a greater seclusion of women. This was more particularly the case with royal families, where the notion began to prevail that royal ladies should not come within the public gaze. The earliest evidence of this view is to be found in the dramas of Bhāsa (c. 200 A. D.). In his *Pratimā* we find Sitā coming on the stage with a veil, though it is subsequently removed by her at the instance of her husband, who wanted to afford to the weeping citizens of Ayodhyā a parting and perhaps the last glance of the princess, whom they adored so much. The widowed queens of Daśaratha are also seen in this drama to be wearing a veil, when they wanted to go out to see the gallery of royal statues in the capital. This prevents even Bharata from recognising them. In the *Svapnavasavadattā*, princess Padmāvati does not observe any Purda before her marriage; but after her marriage she does not like that her husband should have received the ambassador—from Ujjayini in her presence. The king however overrules her objection, pointing out that the elite of society would feel offended if the Purda was observed by the queen in their presence¹.

It would therefore appear that by about 300 A. D. some royal families were beginning to think it desirable that their ladies should be seen only by

(1) राजा—कर्तुमदर्शनार्थं जनं कर्तुमदर्शनात्परिहरतीनि बहुदोषमुत्पादयन्ति । तस्मादास्पताम् ॥

the select few; otherwise they should put on a veil. The royal example was being imitated by a few families in the richer and more fashionable sections in society; in the *Mrichchhakatikam* we find the courtesan Vasantasenā being offered a veil, when she was raised to the status of a respectable lady.

This view was however confined to a small section of society and perhaps to one part of India. It began to appear as irrational to ladies in general, who began to oppose it with all their might. From the *Lalitavistāra* we learn that when Gopā, the bride elect of the Buddha, was betrothed to him formally, she was advised to wear a veil. She refused to follow the course, observing that the pure in thought require no such artificial protection¹.

This rational opposition, which the Purda system was receiving from spirited ladies, resulted in the system not becoming popular for several centuries. It was perhaps prevailing in a few royal families, but their number was not very large. They were probably confined to a corner of northern India. Sculptures and paintings of ancient India do not anywhere show any veils over ladies' faces. From the sculptures at Sanchi in Central India, it clearly appears that ladies in the 2nd Century B. C. could see a procession from the balcony of their houses without covering their faces with veils². The same was the case in the Deccan during the 5th and 6th centuries as may be clearly seen from several paintings at Ajanta³. They supply further and more significant evidence to show that the Purda was altogether unknown in the Deccan at this time. We find queen Māyādevī seated in the open court by her husband's side without any veil, when she is listening to the prophesy about her new born babe⁴. The wise minister Vidhura Pandita delivers his sermon to royal ladies none of whom cares to veil her face before him⁵. Both at Sanchi and Ajanta we come across mixed throngs of men and women moving together in streets; ladies there are not however to be seen wearing any veils⁶. To show a veil round the face may be rather difficult for the sculptor but not surely for the painter. If therefore, we see even married ladies moving about in the public without any Purda, the conclusion becomes irresistible that it was hardly much in vogue even in the higher and fashionable sections of Hindu society.

In Sanskrit dramas, we come across no traces of the Purda system. The plots of the *Sakuntalā*, *Mrichchhakatika* and *Mālati-mādhava* for example would

(1) गोपा शाक्यकन्या न कंचन द्रष्टुं वदनं छादयतिस्मि । Her argument was ये काव संवृता गुप्तेन्द्रियाः सुनिवृत्तारश्च मनः प्रसन्ना किं तादृशानां वदनं छादयित्वा ।

(2) Cunningham, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. XXXIV

(3) Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part II, Pl. XXIV

(4) *Ibid*, Pl. XX

(5) *Ibid*, Plates XXXIV and XXXIX

(6) *Ibid*, Pl. XXIV, XXV; Cunningham, Pl. XXVII

not have been possible in the Purda ridden society. In the first Act of the *Śakuntalā* the maidens do not cover their faces with veils the moment they see Dushyanta. In the fifth Act *Śakuntalā* no doubt appears with a veil, but that is because she had donned it as a protection against the dust and weather during her journey. It was not doffed of by her for some time owing to her sense of bashfulness and embarrassment at her first public appearance before her husband. Her veil in the fifth Act therefore does not prove the existence of the Purda system. The plot of the *Mālatīmādhava* would not have been possible in a Purda society.

Rājyaśrī, the widowed sister of Harsha, used to come out without a veil in her brother's court. The *Rājatarangīni* gives an intimate picture of the life in Kashmir court and palace during the period 700—1150 A. D.; but we can nowhere get any references to the Purda in it. Abu Zaid, an Arabic traveller of the early 10th century, has noted that in most of the courts in India queens appeared in public without any veils. (Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 11). It is therefore clear that the Purda was confined to an infinitesimal section of the ruling classes.

Though there was nothing like the modern Purda system in existence in Hindu society as a whole, there were certain restrictions on the movements of ladies. They could visit their friends and relations, but decorum required that they should not stay at their houses for the night, or when their business was over (Manu, IX, 13). They were to observe a certain amount of reserve in the presence of strangers. They could speak with merchants and doctors and transact the necessary business, but they were to be circumspect while dealing with unknown persons¹. They could receive male guests, but they were relieved of this duty, if there were qualified male members of the family to discharge it. There were here and there some jealous husbands, who would not allow their wives to go out without their permission to see shows and amusements (*Arthasastra*, III, 3), but they were the exception and not the rule.

Though there was no Purda system ladies who felt themselves to be in a rather helpless condition, would often not choose to go out in public. Such was the case of widows and maidens without proper guardians, and of married women, whose husbands had gone out on journeys. If it was necessary for them to work for their bread, Kautilya lays down that the Superintendent of the Weaving Department should make arrangements to send cotton to their homes for being spun into thread. They were not required to go to his office unless they chose to do so (II, 23). When they moved out or had to converse with strangers they used to put on a veil. When their guardians returned, they used to discard it.

(1) न पपुनवामनिभापेत अन्यत्र वशिक्रमजितवेद्येभ्यः ।

Sankha in Apararka or Yaj. I, 83.

To conclude we find that even in pre-Muslim times there was a section in society from c 200 A. D., which advocated the use of the veil for royal ladies with a view to increase their prestige. There is however no evidence to prove that even five per cent of royal families observed this custom during the Hindu period. Women of richer classes led a more sheltered life than what would be welcomed by the educated ladies today. This is shown by the term *antahpuram* 'inner apartment' used to denote the female apartments. Strangers were not expected to enter it. Ladies themselves would often retire into seclusion, when they found that their natural guardians were not with them. With the return of their guardians, they would again begin to move in public, of course with due regard to decorum and propriety.

Even in the *Kathāsaritsāgar*, written towards the end of the 11th century A. D., there are hardly any traces of the Purda. In the story of Arthalobha (III, 286) we find a lady participating in mercantile business. Polygamous kings occasionally attempted to introduce some seclusion in their harems but they were strongly and successfully opposed by their queens. Thus in the story of Ratnaprabhā, we find the heroine protesting to her husband against his order prohibiting his friends from entering her apartments. 'I consider' says she, 'that the strict seclusion of women is a folly produced by jealousy. It is of no use whatsoever. Women of good family are guarded by their own virtue.'¹

There are absolutely no traces of any Purda observed within the family in the Hindu period. It was the regular duty of a daughter-in-law to pay her respects to elderly relations by bowing at their feet. There is nothing whatsoever in our tradition or literature to suggest that the father-in-law or the elder brother-in-law could not see the face of the daughter-in-law or the younger sister-in-law.

The general adoption of the Purda system by the ruling and aristocratic families of the Hindu society is subsequent to the advent of the Muslim rule. It was accepted by the Hindu society partly in imitation of the manners of the conquerors and partly as an additional protection for the women folk. In the Muslim ruling families the Purda was so strict that a message had to pass through three intermediaries before it could reach the desired person in the zenana (J. A. S. B., 1935, p. 246). The Hindu chiefs and nobles followed the example of their overlords in their own harems. This happened almost universally in northern India, where the Muslim rule and culture were dominant for a long time. In the Deccan, the Muslim influence was superficial, and so the Purda system did not victimatise the Hindu society there. It was however introduced

(1) आर्यपुत्रप्रसंगेन वदामि तवतच्छुणु । रक्षा चान्तःपुरेष्वीहृक् नैवमेतन्मते मम ॥
नीतिमात्रमहं मन्ये स्त्रीणां रक्षानियन्त्रयम् ॥

by the Maratha ruling families with a desire to render themselves as respectable as the Muslim rulers, whom they had supplanted.

There were some further causes to facilitate the general adoption of the custom at about 1200 A. D. As a rule Hindu women at this time were illiterate and inexperienced. The times were unsettled. There was a general feeling of uncertainty and Hindu life and honour did not count for much in the eyes of the conquerors. The Purda afforded some additional protection to inexperienced ladies while out on journey from the covetous eyes of an unscrupulous soldiery. It was therefore welcomed by Hindu women. They did not protest against it as Ratnaprabhā had done before.

The Purda system became quite common among rich Hindu families of Bengal and United Provinces in the 15th and the 16th centuries. Both Vidyapati and Chaitanya refer to it. When the wives of Raja Rudra Pratap Singh of Puri came to see Chaitanya, they travelled in covered litters. In Rajputana the custom became universal in Rajput ruling families. It was regarded as an inseparable insignia of respectability and high breeding. The vast majority of peasant and working class women could of course not afford to remain in seclusion, they had to move out for their daily work. They used to move the lapel of their faces when a stranger passed by them.

The above survey of the history of the Purda system would show that the system was practically non-existent in Hindu society down to the beginning of the 11th century A. D. Women in ancient India could take a fair part in social life around them. They could move about with a fair degree of freedom in the earlier period. They could go to temples and monasteries to listen to religious discourses. They could go to see shows in the company of their friends and lovers. These visits afforded convenient opportunities to young people to settle their marriages. In urban areas they could go out to public parks for sport and recreation. A fifth century inscription describes the parks of the city of Mandsores in Central India as full of young ladies singing gleefully. In the Ramayana we are told that when peace and order prevail in society, maidens go out in the evening to gardens for play and recreation (II, 67, 17). Ladies in fashionable circles could even take part in dramas that were to be shown to a limited audience. The situation gradually changed with the lowering of the marriage age. Inexperienced and uneducated wives became incapable of taking part in many of the activities mentioned above. Soon husbands began to claim and exercise a greater control over their wives, which proved detrimental to their participation in the social life and activities outside their families. Jealous husbands with narrow outlook would not allow their wives to mix freely with the outside world. This created an atmosphere favourable for the spread of the theory that women should lead a life of seclusion. During the period

however the theory found acceptance only in a small number of ruling families. With the advent of the Muslim rule, it gained a powerful impetus owing to the culture and example of the conquerors. Women were at this time ill-fitted to fight for their earlier freedom on account of their inexperience and ignorance and submitted to the new order.

TWO PARIKSHITAS AND THREE JANAMEJAYAS IN THE PAURAVA DYNASTY.

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According to the Indian tradition Pururava, the founder of the Chandrabansi rule in India, established his kingdom at Pratishthana, not far from Prayag, modern Allahabad. On his death his kingdom was divided into three parts, that of Kashi in the East, of Prathishthana in the centre, and Kanyakubja or Kanauj in the north. The great-grandson of Pururava, Yayati, is supposed to be a great king. His kingdom is supposed to have extended from the Vindhya-chals in the south, to the Saraswati in the north. He divided his kingdom among his five sons. The eldest Yadu obtained the territory in between the Chambal and the Nerbudda, the second son Turvasu was given Bundelkhand and Rewah, the youngest Puru got the original ancestral territories of Pratishthana, the third, Druhyu was allotted the lands in between the Jumna and the Aravalli Hills, and Anu the fourth son received the territories round about Cawnpore. At Pratishthana, Puru was succeeded by his son Janamejaya. In the Puranas we find that after Puru there was a regular succession of kings for 13 generations at Pratishthana. But it seems in the meantime the kingdom established by Yadu in Malwa had become more important. Some 12 or 13 generations after Puru, his Paurava kingdom at Pratishthana seems to have been conquered by the Yadavas. It appears the Pauravas took refuge with their kinsmen, the Turvasas, in the hilly regions of Bundelkhand. Some 15 generations after the overthrow of the Paurava kingdom at Pratishthana, it appears the kingdom of Kanauj also collapsed, and fell under the sway of the Yadavas. In the meantime the Druhyus were driven from Eastern Rajputana, and they now established themselves in Afghanistan, and the Anus too were forced to leave the upper Gangetic Doab, and establish themselves in the Punjab and Sind. Thus the Yadavas became quite supreme in Malwa, Rajputana, Gujrat-Kathiawar and the Gangetic Doab, and they also spread into the Deccan. After this, their only serious rivals were Ayodhya, Kahsi, Videha, and Vaisali, in the east. It was a struggle for

supremacy mainly between the Chandravanshis and the Suryavanshis. But it appears the victories of Sagar, the great king of Ayodhya, turned the tide, and the Yadavas were eventually defeated and repulsed. We are told that Sagar drove the Yadavas and their offshoot the Haihayas right upto the banks of the Nerbudda. After this the Yadavas were not able to re-establish their power in the Doab. On the withdrawal of the Yadavas, the Pauravas again obtained the opportunity of being restored to power at Pratishtana. The first Paurava king to re-establish himself at Pratishtana was Dushyanta, the husband of the well known Sakuntala. Bharata the son of Dushyanta is supposed to have made many conquests, and his descendants were hereafter known by the name of the Bharatas, just as the descendants of Puru were called the Pauravas. We have now again a regular succession of kings for about 10 generations in the line of Bharata. They seem to have become master of the entire Gangetic Doab, from the Vindhya-chals right upto the banks of the Saraswati in the north. It was towards the end of this period that king Hastin founded Hastinapur in the present Meerut district. The kingdom of Hastin seems to have been divided into four parts. One was probably in Kumaon, the second in Rohilkhand (Uttara Panchala), the third in Meerut and Ambala Divisions, known by the name of the kingdom of Hastinapur, and the fourth in the mid-Gangetic Doab, more or less in the present Agra Division east of the Jumna (known by the name of South Panchala). But it appears the Hastinapur kingdom was soon eclipsed after the death of Ajamidha, son of Hastin. For about 20 generations after the death of Hastin it appears the most important of these four Bharata kingdoms was that of the North Panchalas. During these many generations very few kings of the Hastinapur kingdom are known. But towards the end of this period we find that King Sudasa of the North Panchalas in his Dasha-Rajya Sangram, war of ten kings, defeats king Samvarana of Hastinapur, and drives him out of his kingdom. We are told that Samvarana after this, takes refuge in Sind, and lives for many years on the banks of the Indus. In Mahabharata, Adi Parva, Chapter 94, verses 35—40, we are told "O king, it has been heard by us that when Samvarana, the son of Riksha, was ruling the earth, there occurred a great loss of people on account of famine, plague, draught, and disease. The Bharata princes were defeated by the armies of their enemies; and the Panchalas, set out with their four kinds of troops, to conquer the earth. They soon brought the whole earth under their sway, and with their ten *Akshuhinis* of soldiers the king of the Panchalas defeated the princes of Bharatas. Samvarana then fled in fear with his wife and ministers, sons and relatives. He took shelter in the forest on the banks of the river Sindhu which extended upto the foot of the mountain". A little further on, the Mahabharata tells us that with the assistance of Vasistha, the Paurava or Bharata king Samvarana regained his kingdom. It appears after the death of Sudasa the kingdom of Panchala began to decline, and

it was probably in the time of Somaka, the grandson of Sudasa, that the Pauravas regained Hastinapur. This Samvarana had a son, named Kuru, and it was after his name that Amballa Division began to be called Kurukshetra. Since the kingdom was re-established by Kuru, his descendants were known by the name of the Kauravas. From this time onward right up to the time of the Mahabharata War they are called Kauravas. From Kuru right upto Arjuna, the great Pandava hero, there are counted some 20 generations. The immediate successor of Kuru on the throne of Hastinapur was Parikshita. More than 20 generations after that there is said to be another Parikshita, son of Abhimanyu, and grandson of Arjuna. Then again Parikshita, son of Kuru, has a son named Janamejaya, and we are told that Parikshita son of Abhimanyu has also a son named Janamejaya. Doubts have been raised as to whether in this Paurava dynasty after Kuru there has been only one Parikshita and one Janamejaya, and not two. A question also arises as to whether both of these Parikshitas and Janamejayas were historical personages, or only one, and if the latter is the case which are historical, the earlier ones or the later ones? Now let us take the Parikshita, who was the son of Kuru, and his son Janamejaya. In Rigveda Mandal VII, Sukta 18, verse 12 we are told that the famous and the old Rishi Kavasha was drowned in the Parushni (or Ravi) in the ten King's War of Sudas. Now this Kavasha Rishi was the author of Rigvedic Hymns 30, 31, 32, 33, and 34 of Mandal X. From these Hymns it appears that he was the family priest of Trasadasyu, son of Parukutsa, and also of Kurushrava, a descendant of Trasadasyu. We know that Trasadasyu was a contemporary of Divodasa Atithigwa, a king of Panchala.

This Trasadasyu is also a Rigvedic Rishi of Sukta 42 Mandala IV. His contemporary Divodasa was five generations above Sudasa who was an elder contemporary of the Paurava king, Samvarana. Tura Kavasheya was therefore a priest of Janamejaya, the grandson of Kuru, and not of Janamejaya the grandson of Abhimanyu. The priest of the latter was Indrota Daivapi Saunaka, who was son of Devapi the brother of Sanatanu, the great grandfather of Arjuna. In the Satapatha Brahmana Kanda XIII, Adhyaya V and Brahmana IV, the first Sloka refers to Janamejaya, the son Parikshita II, and grandson of Abhimanyu. In the 2nd and 3rd Slokas of the same Brahmana the author refers to Janamejaya II, son of Parikshita I and grandson of Kuru. In the 4th Sloka reference is made to Para the son of Atnara a king of Koshala (Sravasti). In the 5th Sloka, reference is made to king Purukutsa of Ayodhya. In this way different kings are mentioned in the different slokas of the Brahmana.

Take the Aitareya Brahmana. In Book IV, Soma Sacrifice, Tura Kavasheya is mentioned as the priest of Janamejaya. This must be Janamejaya II son of Parikshita I. Then again in Book VII, Rajasuya Sacrifice, Chapter V,

three kings are mentioned in connection with three priests. Vishwantara son of Susadmana is mentioned in connection with Rama Margaveya of the Cyapernas. King Janamejaya, son of Parikshita, is mentioned in connection with the Asita-Mrigas of the Kashyapas. We are told that Dhaumya, the family priest of the Pandavas, was of the Kashyapa clan. So this Janamejaya must be Janamejaya III, son of Parikshita II, or grandson of Abhimanyu. Lastly Tura Kavasheya is mentioned in connection with Janamejaya, the son of Parikshita. This second Janamejaya was, I submit, Janamejaya II, son of Parikshita I, or grandson of Kuru. In this Brahmana, several other kings are mentioned in connection with their family priests, but we are not concerned with them just at present. Lastly in Book VIII of Aitareya Brahmamana, Rajasuya, Chapter IV Mahabhisheka of Kings, we are told that Tura Kavasheya anointed king Janamejaya, son of Parikshita, with Aindra Mahabhisheka. It was on this occasion that at Asandivant, the sacrificial horse was bound. The same incident is mentioned in Satapatha Brahmana Kanda XIII, Adhyaya V, Brahmana IV, verse 2, cited above. So this Janamejaya must be Janamejaya II, son of Parikshita I, or grandson of Kuru. Here also several other kings are mentioned in connection with their family priests, but we are not concerned with them now.

In the Atharva Veda Book XX, Sukta 127, a Parikshita Kauravya is mentioned. He is certainly Parikshita I, son of Kuru. In the Atharva Veda Hymn we are told that "mounting his throne, Parikshita, best of all, hath given us peace and rest." Now this could not be said about Parikshita, son of Abhimanyu, because it was not he who had given to the country, peace and rest, but his grandfather, Arjuna, the Pandava hero.

In Gopatha Brahmana Purvardha, 2 (5), it is the earlier Janamejaya who is mentioned, and in Uttarardha 6 (12) it is again Parikshita, the son of Kuru who is mentioned.

In the same way in the Sankhyayana Sruta Sutra, XII, 17, it is Parikshita, son of Kuru, who is mentioned, and not Parikshita, son of Abhimanyu.

It seems in the whole range of Vedic literature, Parikshita II, son of Abhimanyu, is mentioned only once in Satapatha Brahmana, Kanda XIII, Adhyaya 5, Brahmana IV, verse 1, and Janamejaya III, son of Parikshita II, is also mentioned once in the Aitareya Brahmana, Book VII, Rajasuya Sacrifice, Chapter V. All other references to Parikshita in the Vedic literature are to the earlier Parikshita I, son of Kuru, and all other references to Janamejaya in this literature are to the earlier Janamejaya II, grandson of Kuru.

It seems the confusion has arisen out of the statements that we find in the Vishnu Purana IV 21 (1), in the Bhagwata Purana 16 (2), and in Mahabharata Adi Parva, Chapter 3. Vishnu Purana tells us "I shall now give you an account of the future kings. He who is the sovereign now shall have

four sons, namely, Janamejaya, Srutasena, Ugrasena, and Bhimasena." Bhagwata Purana tells us "Parikshita married Iravati, the daughter of Uttara, and by her had four sons, Janamejaya and others. But if we consult other Puranas, we do not find any mention of the brothers of king Janamejaya, grandson of Abhimanyu. Garuda Purana tells us "and Abhimanyu was the father of Parikshita, whose son was Janamejaya." (Chapter 160). In the Matsya Purana, we find "Parikshita, the conqueror of enemies, towns, was the son of Abhimanyu, and became the father of Janamejaya, the pious." (Chapter 50 (57)). In the Agni Purana it is stated, that "Arjuna begot Abhimanyu on Subhadra, while Parikshita was son of Abhimanyu." It does not mention Janamejaya. (Chapter 278 (39).) In the Vayu Purana it is written, that "Rathi Partha's (Arjuna's) son from Subhadra was Abhimanyu. Abhimanyu's son from Uttara, the daughter of Virata, was Parikshita. From Parikshita was descended Janamejaya. (Chapter 90 (249-50).)" In the Harivansha, we find, "When the sacrifice was finished, Parikshita's son Janamejaya, collected material for the celebration of a horse sacrifice."

In the Mahabharata, there are given two dynastic accounts of the kings of Paurava dynasty, one in Chapter 94 and the other in Chapter 95 of the Adi Parva. In Chapter 94 we find the following statement:—"As Kuru was greatly virtuous, he was installed as the king by all the people. It is after his name that Kurujangala has become so famous in the world. That great ascetic made Kurukshetra famous by his asceticism, there. We have heard that *Avikshita*, *Abhishyat*, *Chaitraratha*, *Muni*, and famous *Janamejaya*, were the five sons begot by him on his highly intelligent wife, *Vahini*. *Avikshita* begot *Parikshita*, powerful *Savalashwa*, *Adiraja*, *Viraja*, greatly strong *Salmali*, *Uchaisrava*, *Bhangakara*, and the eighth *Jitari*. In the race of these eight heroes were born, as the fruits of their many virtuous acts, seven greatly powerful car-warriors, *Janamejaya*, being at the head. *Parikshita* had sons who were all learned in *Dharma* and *Artha*. They were *Kakshasena*, *Ugrasena*, and greatly effulgent *Chitrasena*, *Indrasena*, *Sushena*, and *Bhimasena*. Here in this account *Ugrasena*, *Susena*, and *Bhimasena*, are shown to be the brothers of *Janamejaya*, and grandsons of *Kuru*. The first account in Chapter 94 ends with *Sanatanu*, great grandfather of *Arjuna*. It does not mention *Parikshita* as son of *Abhimanyu*, or as grandson of *Arjuna*. Now let us take the account given in Chapter 95. Here we are told "*Samvarana* married *Tapti*, the daughter of *Vivaswata*, and she gave birth to a son, named *Kuru*. *Kuru* married *Subhangi*, the princess of *Dasaratha*, and she gave birth to a son, named *Viduratha*. *Viduratha* married *Sungpriya*, the daughter of *Madhava*, and she gave birth to a son, named *Anaswa*. *Anaswa* married *Amrita*, the daughter of the *Mahavas*, and she gave birth to a son, named *Parikshita*. *Parikshita* married *Sujasa*, the daughter of *Vahuda*, and she gave birth to a son, named *Bhimasena* (37-41). Continuing this account,

the Mahabharata tells us "These were the 11 sons, begot by the Pandavas. Amongst them Abhimanyu was the perpetuator of the dynasty. He married Uttara, the daughter of the king of Virata. She gave birth to a dead child, whom Pritha (Kunti) took up on her lap at the command of Krishna, who said, "I will revive this child of six months." Though born before time, having been burnt by the fire of the weapon hurled by Ashwathama, though deprived of life, strength, and energy, he was revived by Vasudeva and was given strength, energy, and prowess. After thus making him alive, Vasudeva said, "As this child is born in an extinct race, let him be called Parikshita". Parikshita married Madravati, your mother, and she gave birth to you, Janamejaya. You have begotten two sons on your wife Vapustama, named Satanika, and Sankakarna". It will be noticed that in Chapter 95 no brothers of Janamejaya are mentioned. But apart from these two dynastic accounts, Parikshita and Janamejaya are mentioned in other parts of the Mahabharata also. Take for example Chapter 3 of Adi Parva. If we look into this account carefully, we will find that it can be split into two separate accounts. The first part of the account is given in verses 1—22. Here we are told that "The son of Parikshita, Janamejaya, with his brothers was attending his long sacrifice in the field of Kurukshetra. His brothers were three, Sutasena, Ugrasena, and Bhimasena" (1-2) This account agrees with what we are told in Chapter 94. This Janamejaya is said to have appointed Somashrava, son of Sutasrava, as his family priest. He is also supposed to have conquered Takshashila. It appears there is a sudden break in the account after verse 22. In order to connect the account given in verses 1-22 with what appears later, verse 23 says "About this time there was also a Rishi, named Ayuda-Dhaumya. He had three disciples, namely, Upamanyu, Aruni, and Veda." Now Dhaumya was the family priest of the Pandavas, and his son, Ayuda was the priest of Janamejaya, son of Parikshita, and grandson of Abhimanyu. Uttanka, who induced Janamejaya III to perform the Sarpa-Satra, was a pupil of Veda, who was a pupil of Ayuda-Dhaumya. At the conclusion of this part of the account we are told that "The good Brahmana's son (Uttanka) reached Hastinapur. Uttanka then went to see king Janamejaya, who had only recently returned victorious from Takshashila. He saw him seated surrounded by his ministers". Both these parts of the account are given by Souti. It appears that it was Janamejaya II who went to conquer Takshashila, and it was within this account of the conquest of Takshashila that the account about the later Janamejaya and his family priest Veda, the pupil of Ayuda-Dhaumya was introduced by Souti, who must be a person later than Vaishampayana, the original reciter of the Mahabharata,³ before Janamejaya III. I am persuaded to think that these two portions of the account given in Chapter 3 of Adi Parva are separate and distinct. The result has been that Janamejaya II and Janamejaya III

have been mixed up. This account is certainly contradictory to what is stated in Chapters 94 and 95 of the same Parva. Then again take Chapter 49 of Adi Parva. In verses 17-18 of this Chapter it is written "Your father ruled over his subjects for 60 years. When he died, all the people were extremely sorry. After him, O best of men, you have acquired this hereditary kingdom of the Kurus, who have been ruling over it for the last thousand years. O protector of every creature, you were installed when you were a child". The word used is Bala. If by the time Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu, ascends the throne of Hastinapur, the Kurukula, or the descendants of Kuru, have been ruling in the kingdom for a thousand years, surely this Janamejaya cannot be the same Janamejaya who was grandson of Kuru himself. Here again this statement in Chapter 49 is contradictory to what is stated in Chapter 3, unless of course, as suggested by me we separate this account given in verses 1-22 from the rest of the account in the Chapter. Janamejaya, son of Parikshita, is mentioned in another place of the Mahabharata also. Take Chapters 150-152 of Shanti Parva. In these Chapters we are given the story of a Janamejaya, son of Parikshita, who was guilty of Brahmanicide, seeking the assistance of Indrota, son of Shunaka. This Indrota is said to have assisted Janamejaya in the performance of a horse sacrifice, whereby he was purged of the sin in killing a Brahmana. Let it be marked that this Indrota is the son of Shunaka, and he is not called Devapi's son. In fact this story appears in a discourse given by Bhishma to Yudhishtira, soon after the battle of Kurukshetra. At that time Parikshita, the grandson of Arjuna was a mere baby, and Janamejaya who performed a horse sacrifice with the assistance of Indrota Daivapi Shaunak was not even born. So this story of Janamejaya relates to Janamejaya II, son of Parikshita I, and grandson of Kuru, and we must take Indrota Shaunaka to be a different person from Indrota Daivapi Shaunaka. From all this it appears that it was Janamejaya II, grandson of Kuru, who had three brothers Srutasena, Bhimasena, and Ugrasena. Janamejaya III, grandson of Abhimanyu, had no brothers. In fact when his father Parikshita died he was a mere child. Later on when he is asked to take his revenge against Takshaka, and his Naga followers, he does not even know that his father Parikshita II had died at the hands of Takshaka. This becomes quite clear from Devi Bhagwata Purana. In Skanda II Chapter XI, it is written "Seeing the king dead, and considering that his son was a mere child who was unable to perform public duties, the ministers began to cry. They put the scorched body of the king on the funeral pyre of Chandana wood, on the banks of the Ganges. Having died a violent death, the purohits first performed his *Durdhvadehaka* karma by means of mantras. The Brahmanas were given gold and cows and many kinds of food stuffs and clothes in charity. They then put the child prince on the throne at an auspicious time. The people of Puru Desh acknowledged this child prince

as their king. He was given the name of Janamejaya as he was endowed with all kingly qualifications. Dhaya had given him education in all kingly duties. He then began to grow and become wise. In the 11th year the purohita taught him all branches of knowledge and he learnt them well. Kripacharya taught him archery, just as Drona had taught this subject to Arjuna, and Parusharama had taught it to Karna. He learnt this subject and became a powerful king and became a scholar of the Vedas. He knew very well the meaning of the Dharmasastras. He began to rule with truth and virtue like Dharmaputra." (1-11). A little later in the same Chapter Devi Bhagwata Purana tells us in connection with the interview of Uttanka Muni with Janamejaya "Uttanka said, O king, your father was killed by the evil minded Takshaka. Send for your ministers and learn from them how your father died. Suta said, having heard this the king enquired from his ministers. They said on account of the curse of the Brahmana, he was bitten by Takshaka, and died. Janamejaya said that then the curse of the Brahmana was the real cause of his death. Tell me O best of the Munis, how was Takshaka at fault in this? Uttanka said, that Kashyapa who had come to cure the king was bribed by Takshaka and turned back. O king then why is not he enemy on account of having killed your father? He might have bitten the king, but why did he dissuade the Brahmana from curing him?" (21—25). If uptill the arrival of Uttanka Muni, Janamejaya did not know how his father Parikshita died, then surely we can draw the inference that at the time of his accession to the throne of Hastinapur he was a mere child, or rather a baby, and therefore he had no brothers. The Janamejaya who had brothers was not the Pandava Janamejaya, who was born after the battle of Kurukshetra, but a much earlier Janamejaya, who was the grandson of Kuru, some 20 generations before. There is one other reference I would like to notice. In Brhadaranyaka Upanishada, Chapter 3, Brahmana 3, Bhujyu Lahyani asks Yajnavalkya as to "what had become of the Parikshitas"? He replied "they had gone where the performers of Ashwamedha Sacrifice go". From this question and answer, it is inferred that the Parikshitas had become extinct, or that some calamity had befallen them. Now we must remember that Yajnavalkya had been appointed by Janamejaya III as his priest, and that he was also in charge of the education of his son king Satanika. In the time of Yajnavalkya no calamity had befallen the descendants of Parikshita, who was son of Abhimanyu. The Puranas tell us that Kuru had three sons, Sudhanvana, Jahnu, and Parikshita. The Pandava Parikshita was a descendant of Jahnu, and the Magadha and Chedi lines were derived from Sudhanvana. The line of Janamejaya II, son of Parikshita I, had become extinct, and when Janamejaya II on being cursed for Brahmanicide, left the kingdom, the succession passed on to Jahnu and his descendants. In these circumstances then, Yajnavalkya

in answering the question of Bhujyu Lahyani, refers to the descendants of Parikshita I, and not Parikshita II. If we take all these references into consideration, we must come to the conclusion that there were in the Vedic period two Parikshitas, and at least two Janamejayas. Both these Parikshitas and also both these Janamejayas must be taken to be historical persons. But the first Parikshita and his son Janamejaya, lived some 20 generations before the second Parikshita and his son Janamejaya, the pious, as he is called. The earlier Janamejaya was cursed for Brahmanicide, and he and his descendants lost the throne. The later Janamejaya no doubt displeased Vaishampayana, but he took into favour Yajnavalkya. The curse of Vaishampayana was to the effect that the innovations introduced by king Janamejaya would not last beyond the life time of this king. He is nowhere stated to have been guilty of Brahmanicide. Rather on the other hand he is given in the Puranas the title of "the pious." The last point I would like to touch in this connection is the interval between the two Janamejayas. If we count the number of kings from Parikshita I to Parikshita II, given in the genealogical lists of the Puranas, we find that there are in this period more than 20 kings of Hastinapur. They are Parikshita I, Janamejaya II, Jahnu, Suratha, Viduratha, Sarvabhauma Jayatsena, Aradhin, Mahabhauma, Ayutayus, Akrodhana, Devatithi, Riksha II, Bhimasena, Dilipa, Pratipa, Sanatanu, Bhishma, Vichitravirya, Pandu, Yudhishtira, Abhimanyu, Parikshita II, and Janamejaya III. There is some little confusion in connection with this list. In Chapter 95 of Adi Parva of the Mahabharata, the eight kings from Sarvabhauma to Riksha II, are put high up in the list even long before Kuru. The Brahma, Agni, and Harivansha omit these kings altogether. But the other Puranas put these kings in the position where I have put them. Thus Mahabharata statement is clearly wrong, because some of the kings out of these eight are stated to have married the daughters of kings who at this early period had not been born at all. So we must consider the list as given above correct. Then again we must make an allowance for the fact that in these long lists comparatively unimportant kings are apt to be left out. The actual succession list therefore of kings of Hastinapur from Kuru to Janamejaya III, must be longer than 25. If the list extends to 30 or 35, then the statement in the Mahabharata to the effect that up to the accession to the throne of Janamejaya III, the Kauravas had been ruling in Hastinapur for 1,000 years cannot be far from true. This puts the establishment of Kuru 1,000 years before the Mahabharata events. What is now necessary is to fill up this gap of a thousand years in the history of India, before the battle of Kurukshetra.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION UNDER THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

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The period of the Imperial Guptas has often been regarded as the golden epoch of Hindu history. It comprised the reigns of a number of long-lived and versatile sovereigns, who brought about the political unification of Northern India and ushered in an era of orderly Government and progress. Both inland and foreign trade flourished under their vigorous rule, and the wealth of the country multiplied to an enormous extent. In consequence of this material prosperity and internal security, there followed a tremendous development and promotion of religion, literature, art, and science. Here my object is not to discuss the various aspects and manifestations of this all-round activity due to the limitations of space and time; I would simply collect and collate the available data, in the main epigraphic, showing that the religious policy of the Imperial Guptas allowed people complete liberty in the choice of faith and outward forms of worship, although the monarchs themselves were staunch in their personal beliefs and practices. The first noteworthy feature of the Gupta age is that Brahmanism gradually rose into ascendancy. This was largely because it now occupied the position of the religion of the Royalty, but its wonderful elasticity and powers of assimilation and recuperation were no less important factors in its ultimate triumph. Whatever be the causes, the revival of Brahmanism appears to have begun under the Bhāraśiva or Nāga rulers, and Samudragupta gave it a further fillip when he solemnly performed the *Asvamedha* (horse-sacrifice), described in the epigraphs of his successors as 'cirotsanna'¹.

The Allahabad *prasasti*, which records his military exploits and attainments in the softer arts of music and poetry, calls him 'the master of the real truth of the scriptures'² and 'the building of the pale of religion'³. Personally he seems to have been a devotee of the god Viṣṇu, whose consort Lakṣmī figures on his coins. Support for this conclusion may also be found in the fact that Samudragupta had a marked attachment towards the emblem of Garuḍa the *vahana* (vehicle) of Viṣṇu, as is evident from the 'Garuḍadhvaja, on the standard type of his coins and the representation of the bird in relief on

1. The expression 'cirotsanna' is generally taken to mean 'long in abeyance'. *Asvamedhas* were, no doubt, celebrated by the Bhāraśivas, Vākāṭaka Pravarasena I, and other kings not very long before the time of Samudragupta, but the authors of the inscriptions may not have been aware of them. See, however, Dr. Krisnaswami Aiyangar (*Studies in Gupta history*, p p. 44-45) for a different interpretation of the word.
2. Cf. 'Śāstra-tattv-ārttha-bharttuh'; *O. I. I.*, III, No. 1, 1. 5, pp. 6, 11.
3. Cf. 'Dharma-prācira-bandhab'; *Ibid.*, 1, 15, pp. 6, 12.

the Gaya copper plate¹. Indeed, the term 'garutmad-añka', occurring in the Allahabad pillar inscription,² would even indicate that the symbol of Garuḍa was adopted by Samudragupta on his official seal. His allegiance to a particular deity did not, however, mean any lack of broad-minded sympathies. We learn, for instance, from a Chinese source³ that during the reign of his Ceylonese contemporary, Siri Meghavanna (Śrī Meghavarna, A. D. 352-79), certain Buddhist *Bhiksus* went on a pilgrimage to Bodhgaya, where they met with little courtesy, and were hard put to it in securing a convenient lodging-place. On return home, they reported the matter to their king. Accordingly, he despatched a mission with costly presents to Samudragupta, seeking his permission to construct a *Vihāra* and a rest-house, near the famous Bodhi Tree, for the accommodation of monks and visitors from the island kingdom. The latter readily complied with the request, and thus showed his solicitude for the comforts or welfare of the votaries of other faiths.⁴

This benevolent attitude was maintained by his son, Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, who is the hero of many a popular song and legend as a doughty warrior and a patron of learning. Himself a 'paramabhāgavata' or 'a profound worshipper of Bhagavat (Viṣṇu)' according to the uniform testimony of inscriptions and coins, Chandragupta II afforded full freedom and protection to his subjects of all creeds in their religious pursuits and benefactions. That this policy was actually followed is also borne out by the recorded instances of the dedications of the images of the various gods. To begin with the Mathura pillar inscription⁵, which yields us the earliest date for him, viz., G. E. 61=A. D. 380-81, it mentions the installation of a couple of Śaiva *liṅgas*, styled Kapileśvara and Upamiteśvara after the names of two previous teachers, by an individual Uditācārya in a hall containing other statues. Secondly, the Udayagiri cave inscription⁶ of G.E. 82=A. D. 401-02, referring to the religious gift (dayadharmā) of a Sanakanika chief Mahārāja.....ḍhala (?), a vassal of Chandragupta II, appears to have been engraved in honour of two groups of figures—a four-armed Viṣṇu and a twelve-armed goddess (perhaps a variant form of Lakṣmī). The third document⁷ from the same place (Udaygiri), without date, records the excavation of a cave to serve as a sanctuary of the deity Śiva, here called Sambhu, under the orders of one Śāba, otherwise named Vīrasena, belonging to the Kautsa *gotra*. He hailed from Pāṭaliputra, and was Chandragupta II's

1. *Ibid.*, p. 254 f. The genuineness of this document is sometimes doubted.

2. *Ibid.*, I. 24, pp. 8, 14.

3. Sylvain Levi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 406, 411; V. A. Smith, 1902, pp. 192-97.

4. Politically, this exchange of communications led to the establishment of friendly relations between the Gupta Empire and Ceylon.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 1-9.

6. *G. I. I.*, III. No. 3, pp. 21-25.

7. *Ibid.*, No. 6, pp. 34-36.

Minister of peace and war by virtue of his hereditary descent (Cf. 'anvaya-prāpta-sācivyo vyāprita-sandhi-vigrahaḥ'). This is, no doubt, important information, and we ought to consider it along with another epigraph discovered at Sanchi and bearing the Gupta date 93=A. D. 412-13¹. It tells us of the grant of twenty-five *dināras* and the village (or allotment) of Īśvaravasaka by Āmrakārdava, the son of Undāna, to the Ārya-saṅgha *i. e.*, the community of the *Bhiksus* of the great *vihāra* of Kākanādaboṭa (Sanchi). The object was to provide means for the feeding of a number of Buddhist monks and the burning of a lamp in the jewel-house (*ratnagṛiha*) for the increase of his own merit and that of Candragupta II. In the concluding lines, this Buddhist record says that anybody, who disturbs the endowment, will be invested with the guilt of 'the slaughter of a cow or of a Brahman', besides incurring other sins. Does not such an imprecation imply that the Buddhists and the Brahmans had now come closer together in mutual esteem and concord? Next, it is significant that, despite his Buddhist predilections, Āmrakārdava enjoyed an exalted military rank under Candragupta II, since the former is said to have 'acquired banners of victory and fame in many battles' (Cf. 'aneka-samar-āvāpta-vijaya-yaśas-patākah'). Thus, if the cases of Virasena Śāba, the Śaiva minister, and of Āmrakārdava, the Buddhist general, furnish two typical examples, we may reasonably suppose that Candragupta II did not make the profession of any particular religion the passport for state service, but one could aspire for, and hold, the highest offices in the realm without subscribing to the king's conscience.

With regard to the position of Buddhism during the time of Candragupta II, Fa-hian's account² also throws some welcome light. Unfortunately, the pilgrim saw everything through Buddhist glasses, and his version may, therefore, be here and there coloured or exaggerated. Indeed, he was so engrossed in his studies and visits to Buddhist holy sites that he has even omitted to mention the name of the great Gupta potentate, in whose dominions he travelled for about six years (C. 405—11 A. D.). Fa-hian speaks enthusiastically about Buddhism and the ramifications of the *Samgha*. His narrative leaves the impression that the faith was 'flourishing' in the Punjab and Bengal, both Candragupta II's possessions, and it was gradually gaining ground in Mathura, where the pilgrim noticed twenty establishments. But in the *Madhyadesa* it did not widely prevail owing to the renaissance of Brahmanism. He observed just one or two monasteries only in each of its principal towns, and sometimes even none. In Pataliputra, the capital of Candragupta II, there existed two *Sanghārāmas* one of Hīnyāna and the other of Mahāyāna, tenanted by six or seven hundred monks, whose learned expositions of the law attracted seekers

1. *O. I. I.*, III, No. 5, pp. 29-34.

2. *Beal, The Travels of Fa-hian (Fa-hsuan-chi)*, p. LV, f.

after knowledge from all parts of India. Fa-hian further gives a vivid description of the magnificent processions of the decorated images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas organised every year in the Metropolis on the eighth day of the second moon. On the whole, the pilgrim adds with admiration, the inhabitants of Magadha 'vied with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness.' The picture we get is generally pleasing, for all traces of any kind of persecution are absent, and the Buddhists confidently lived their own lives under the rule of a Vaiṣṇava emperor. His treatment of the Jains must have been equally liberal, although no definite evidence for this assumption is yet forthcoming. At any rate, subsequent inscriptions testify to their prosperous existence.

Candragupta II was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya in or about the year 414 A. D., the earliest known date of the latter being G. E. 96 = A. D. 415 - 16. His object of adoration appears to have been Kārtikeya rather than Viṣṇu. This view may be supported by the fact that Kumāragupta issued certain gold coins with himself feeding a pea-cock on the obverse and Kārtikeya riding on his *Vāhana* (pea-cock) on the reverse. Again, it is noteworthy that on the new silver coinage, which Kumāragupta I extended and introduced to the central parts of his empire, the usual Garuḍa of the reverse is replaced by a pea-cock. That the worship of Kārtikeya was then current is also attested by the Bilsad (Etah district, U. P.) stone pillar inscription of G. E. 96 = 415 - 16 A. D.¹. It states that in the 'augmenting victorious reign' of Kumāragupta I, a person named Dhruvaśarman constructed at the shrine of Kārtikeya, here called Svāmī Mahāsenā, a gateway with a flight of steps (*pratoli*) and established a *sattra* or hall for the distribution of charity. But Kumāragupta I did not seek to impose his religious convictions on the people. He continued the tolerant policy of his predecessors, and dedications or gifts were freely made during his reign to the different deities. This can be substantiated by a number of epigraphic documents. First, the Gangadhar (Jhālāvaḍ State) stone inscription (2) records that in the year 480 of the *Kṛita* (Mālava) era = 423 - 24 A. D. Mayūrākṣaka, the *Mantrin* (counsellor) or Viśvavarman, who was probably a feudatory of Kumāragupta I, caused to be built by his sons, Viṣṇubhaṭṭa and Hāribhaṭṭa, a lofty temple of the god Viṣṇu. The reference to the divine Mothers later in the same inscription suggests that there were also adherents of Tāntricism or Śaktism. Another Vaiṣṇava inscription is the newly discovered copper plate at Baigram (Bogra district, Bengal), dated G. E. 128 = 447 - 48 A. D., which mentions certain transactions by two brothers, Bhojila and Bhāskara, for giving a donation to meet the expenses of worship in the temple of

(1) *O. I. I.*, III, No. 104 pp. 42 - 45.

(2) *Ibid.*, No. 17 pp. 72 - 73.

Govindasvāmin, evidently a name of Viṣṇu¹. Passing on to the Mandasor, (Dasor, Western Malwa) stone inscription², we learn that in the Mālava year 493 = 437 - 38 A. D., while Kumāragupta I 'was reigning over the earth' (cf. 'Kumāragupta prithivīm praśāsati') and Bandhuvarman was governor at Daśapura, a guild of silk-weavers erected a noble edifice of the Sun-god. Originally they belonged to Lāṭa (Southern Gujarat), and had migrated to Daśapura in the interests of their business. The next important epigraph, found at Karamdanda in the Fyzabad district, U. P., is incised on a stone *liṅga* and contains the date G. E. 117 = 436 - 37 A. D.³. It represents that Prithvisena, son of the Brahman Śikharasvāmin who was a *mantrin* (minister) and *Kumārāmātya* of Candragupta II, enjoyed the same titles under Kumāragupta I, and was subsequently promoted by his masters to the position of *Mahābalādhikṛita* (commander-in-chief). The point to remember is that Prithvisena made gifts to some Brahmans of Ayodhyā for the god Mahādeva, here known as Prithviśvara after the name of the donor. This rather long list of inscriptions surely reveals to us the popularity of certain forms of Brahmanism. Let us now take up the evidence for other faiths like Jainism and Buddhism. The earliest Jain inscription of the Gupta period seems to be the one incised at Udayagiri⁴. It is dated G. E. 106=425 - 26 A. D. in 'the augmenting reign of the family of the best of kings, belonging to the Gupta lineage (Cf. 'Guptānvayānāṁ nṛipa-sattamānāṁ rājye'), who is doubtless identical with Kumāragupta I. We are told that a person named Śaṅkara, born in the region of the north and a disciple of the Ācārya Gośarman, set up at the mouth of a cave the image of the Jina Pārśva, the penultimate *Tīrthamkara* of the Jains. He lived, according to tradition, about two and a half centuries before Vardhamāna Mahāvīra. Similarly, another document⁵ registers that in the Gupta year 113 = 432 - 33 A. D. Sāmādhya, a lady, installed a Jain statue at Mathura, which was once a centre of Jainism in the Kushan times. These epigraphs as well as the following two prove that both Jainism and Buddhism were still living factors, and their followers did not suffer from any hindrance in their religious activities. Thus, the Mankuwar (Allahabad district, U. P.) inscription⁶, engraved on a stone pedestal, records the dedication, in order to ward off all evil, of an image of the Buddha, the enlightened one, by the *Bhikṣu* Buddhamitra in the Gupta

(1) *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 53 etc. It may be added that the Damodarpur copper plates of Kumāragupta I's time refer to the performance of Agnihotras and panca-mahāyajnas by the Brahmans.

(2) *O. I. I.*, III, No. 18, pp. 79. 88.

(3) *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 70 f.

(4) *O. I. I.*, III, No. 61, pp. 258-60.

(5) *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 210.

(6) *O. I. I.*, III, No. 11, pp. 45-47.

year 129 = 448 - 49 A. D. The second inscription from Sanchi, dated G. E. 131 = 450 - 51 A. D.¹, informs us that an Upāsikā, Harisvāminī, wife of the Upāsaka Sanasiddha, gave twelve *dīnāras* as a permanent endowment (akṣaya-nivī) to the *Arya-saṅgha* of the great *vihāra* of Kākanādaboṭa (Sanchi) for daily feeding one *Bhikṣu*, new to the orders, out of the interest of the investment. It further mentions minor gifts for keeping the lamps lit in the *ratna griha* and the *Catur-Buddh-āsanas* (seats of the four Buddhas).

After Kumāragupta I's death, his son Skandagupta Kramāditya acceded to the throne, and he also wisely conformed to the established line of religious policy. As usual, the inscriptions of his time belong to diverse creeds, thereby indicating that a spirit of catholicity and amity was then abroad. Personally Skandagupta was a devotee of the god Viṣṇu, whose image, according to the Bhitari (Ghazipur district, U. P.) stone pillar inscription², he installed under the name Śārngin and allotted to it a village 'in order to increase the religious merit of (his father). The Junagadh (Kāṭhiāwāḍ) rock inscription³ is likewise a Vaiṣṇava record. Beginning with an invocation to Viṣṇu, it says that in the Gupta year 138 = 457-58 A. D. Cakrapālita, the governor of Girinagara, restored the embankments of the Sudarśana lake and erected a temple of the same god under the name Cakrabhrit. We get two other appellations of Viṣṇu—Anantasvāmin and Citrakūṭasvāmin—from the Gadhwā inscription of G. E. 148 = 467-68 A. D.⁴. Next, the Bihar stone pillar inscription⁵ alludes to the worship of Skanda⁶ or Kārtikeya and the divine Mothers. Besides the Gangadhar record, this document, too, bears testimony to the development and prevalence of Śākticism or Tāntricism. Another Brahmanical epigraph of Skandagupta's reign was found at Indrapura or Indor (Bulandshahr district, U. P.)⁷. It is dated G. E. 146=465-66 A. D., and its purpose is to commemorate a perpetual endowment made with the guild of oilmen (tailika-śreṇī) by a Brahman named Devaviṣṇu to maintain daily out of its interest a lamp for the shrine of the Sun. But what is most striking is that Madra, who, according to the Kahaum (Gorakhpur district, U. P.) stone pillar inscription⁸, set up five images—apparently those on the niches of the column—of the *Ādikartṛis* or Jain *Tīrthamkaras*, representing Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśva, and Mahāvīra, describes himself as 'full of

(1) *C. I. I.*, No. 62, pp. 260-62.

(2) *C. I. I.*, III, No. 13, pp. 62-66.

(3) *Ibid.*, No. 14, pp. 66-66.

(4) *Ibid.*, No. 66, pp. 267-69.

(5) *Ibid.*, No. 12, pp. 47-52.

(6) It is curious the first component of each of the names, Kumārgupta and Skandagupta, is synonymous with Kārtikeya.

(7) *Ibid.*, No. 16, pp. 64-72.

(8) *C. I. I.*, III, No. 16, pp. 65-68.

affection for Brahmans and ascetics' (cf 'dvija-guru-yatiṣu prāyaśaḥ pritimān yah'). The respect, that Madra bore towards Brahmans and others, notwithstanding his Jainism, furnishes an excellent illustration of the liberal outlook of the age, and how even ordinary folk were animated by it.

Not much is known of the successors of Skandgupta, but the few extant epigraphs fairly prove that toleration of all sects continued to be their guiding rule. The Bhitari seal inscription of Kumāragupta II¹, which mentions between him and Kumāragupta I only two other rulers, Puragupta and Narsimhagupta, dropping out Skandagupta altogether, has got the figure of Garuḍa on its upper portion, and it may, therefore, be safely presumed that they were inclined towards Vaiṣṇavism. However, the Mandasor inscription² refers to the worship of the Sun-god. We have already noted that this temple was first constructed at Daśapura (Dasor, Gwalior State) in the time of Kumāragupta I; it fell into disrepair afterwards and was then renovated in Mālava era 529=473—74 A. D. by the old guild of silk-weavers. Next, a Buddhist record, unearthed at Sarnath³, of Kumāragupta II's reign registers that 'after the lapse of 154 years of the Guptas' the ascetic (yati) Abhayamitra erected an image of the Lord Śāsta (Buddha). Three years after this date, in G. E. 157=476—77 A. D. when Budhagupta was king, the same monk Abhayamitra installed at Śarnath the image of the Buddha, 'to whom the gods were like sons' (devaputratvato)⁴. But another inscription of Budhagupta's time, incised on a stone pillar at Eran (Sagar district, C. P.)⁵, is a Vaiṣṇava record. For, it says that in the Gupta year 165=484—85 A. D., when Suraśmicandra was governing the land between Kālindī (Jamna) and the Narmadā as a vassal of Budhagupta, a Mahārāja Mātriviṣṇu and his younger brother Dhānyaviṣṇu raised the 'dhvajastambha' (flagstaff) of Viṣṇu under the name of Janārdana. This god is also called Sveta-varāhasvāmin in the Damodarapur copperplates of G. E. 224=543—44 A. D. Lastly, we may take note of the Paharpur (Rajshahi district, Bengal) inscription⁶, dated G. E. 159=478—79 A. D. It refers to the gift of some land by a Brahman couple for carrying on the daily worship in a *vihāra* of Nirgrantha (Jain) ascetics, presided over by Guhanandin, at the village of Vaṭa-Gohali. The Kahaum inscription, mentioned above, speaks of a Jain worthy entertaining great respect for the Brahmans, and now we find from the Paharpur epigraph that the latter, too, did not lag behind in

(1) *J. A. S. B.*, 1889, p. 84 f.

(2) *O. I. I.*, III, No. 18, pp. 79—88.

(3) *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1914—16, pp. 124—25.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *O. I. I.*, III, No. 19, pp. 88—90.

(6) *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 59 f.

demonstrating their goodwill towards the Jains. All this sympathy and understanding among the various sects must have indeed contributed substantially to the material and spiritual growth and happiness of the people.

It would be clear from our survey of the epigraphic evidence that the Gupta age was essentially one of religious harmony and toleration. Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism were the three principal religions, which flourished side by side, though the influence of each varied. Brahmanism was, of course, predominant, and its most popular phase was Vaiṣṇavism. Barring one or two exceptions, the Gupta monarchs themselves were devotees of Viṣṇu, who is called, apart from the names already given, Vāsudeva (Fleet's No. 25), Nārāyaṇa (No. 36), Govinda (No. 14), Gadādhara (No. 17) etc. Other forms of Brahmanism were the worship of Śiva (or Sambhu, Bhūtapati, Śūlapāṇi, Mahādeva, Pinākin, Hara, etc.); Sun (Sūrya); Kārtikeya (or Skanda, Svāmi-Mahāsenā); the divine Mothers (Bhagavatī etc.); goddess Lakṣmī; and a host of other deities, both male and female. Brahmanism was also marked by sacrifices, such as Aśvamedha, Agniṣṭoma, Āptoryāma, Atirātra, Vājapeya, Puṇḍarīka, and Pañca-mahā-yajña. Kings and pious men gave gifts to Brahmans in the shape of *agrahāra* (land or village) for their subsistence, and as measures of charity free boarding houses, *sattras*, were also established¹. Other benefactions included the building of temples, upkeep of lamps therein, and the installation of images. Similarly, the Buddhists and the Jains erected images of the Buddha and *Tirthankaras* respectively. The Buddhists further made endowments for the maintenance of *Bhiksus* in monasteries or *Vihāras*. All these systems of faith, no doubt, differed considerably from one another in philosophy and practice, but their divergence was not so great as exists—say between modern Hinduism and Christianity or Islam. Accordingly, it would be interesting, though idle and profitless, to speculate what would have been the attitude of the Gupta kings or their subjects if such diversity in beliefs and observance had then existed. The Gupta conception of toleration was thus a limited one; nevertheless the fundamental moral it points out is that the votaries of the different creeds, princes, priests and peasants alike, owe an obligation towards one another to live in peace and concord.

(1) C. I. I. III. Nos. 7, 8, 9, 36-41.

THE CUTU-SĀTAKARNI OR THE ĀNDRABHRTYA DYNASTY OF VANAVASA AND THE RISE OF THE PALLAVAS.

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The history of the Āndhrabhṛtyas or the Cuṭu-Sātakarni dynasty of Vanavāsa is intimately connected with the origin and rise of the Pallavas. The Cuṭu-Sātakarnis were the Nāgas and they acquired that appellation because they were worshippers of serpents. They were a subordinate family, a branch of the Imperial Satavahanas¹. The terms Cuṭu and Cuṭu-kula have been properly explained only recently. *Chutu* is the same as the Sanskrit word *chunt* 'to become small'. It survives in the name Chota Nagapur, which means 'minor Nagpur' or 'smaller Nagpur' as compared with the 'bigger Nagpur' in the Central Provinces. The word survives in the modern Hindi language as *chhota* 'a younger brother'. The terms *Cutu* and *Cutu-kula* may, therefore, be interpreted as meaning the 'Younger Branch'. The Nāgas who called themselves Chutus or Chutu-kula were therefore the Younger branch of the Imperial Andhras. The 'Younger Branch' or the *Cutu-kula* bore the Imperial Satavahana title Satakarni like the parent dynasty.² The kingdom of the Cutu-Satakarnis was known as Vanavasa and extended from the Thana district or Aparanta in the north of the Bombay Presidency to Mysore in the south and included the districts of Bellary and Anantapur and perhaps also Chittor and Chengalput in the extreme south.³

The genealogy of the Nāga kings or the Cuṭu-kula Sātakarnis has been carefully reconstructed by Prof. E. J. Rapson on the basis of the three inscriptions of the dynasty.⁴ He has tabulated the information thus :

Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda—

Cuṭukul-ānanda

Sātakarni.

|

Mahabhoji

d.—Mahārāṭhini Mahābhoji Nāgamūlanikā *m.* Jivaputa (?)

|

Hārītiputra-Mānavya Dharmamahārājādhirāja

Sivaskandavarman, Vaijayantipati.

(1) Jouveau-Dubreuil : *Ancient History of the Deccan.*

(2) Jayaswal : *Hist. of India*, p. 165.

(3) Rapson : *O. A. D.* Introd. p. XIII, section 55, p. 55 n. 1.

(4) *Ibid.* pp. liii LV. (Introduction).

A fresh examination of these inscriptions seems to yield some more information. Accordingly we get two more generations of the Nāga dynasty. The chronology and the little known history of this powerful family is furnished by three or probably four inscriptions of the family that come from Banavāsi in North Kanara, Kanhēri (Krishnagiri) in the Thāna district in Bombay Presidency and Mālavalli in Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district, Mysore. All

1. Sources for the history of the Cuṭuśatakarni dynasty.

these inscriptions are in Prakrit and, therefore, may be allotted to the third century A. D. At Mālavalli on a stone pillar standing in front of the temple of Kalleśvara there are two inscriptions one below the other. Of these two inscriptions the first one, or more properly speaking the earlier one, mentions the name of the king, Vaijayanti-purārāja Mānavyasa-gotto Hārītiputto Viṇhukaḍḍa Cuṭu-kulānanda Satakarni, (Viṣṇu-skanda Śātakarni, the Joy of the Cuṭu-kula, a Hārītiputra of the *gotra* of Mānavya, king of Vaijayanti.)¹ It records the grant of a group of villages headed by Sahalāṭavi for the enjoyment of the god Śiva called Maṭṭapatidēva as a *dēvabhōga* with freedom from taxes, from disturbances by royal officers, from entry by regular armed soldiers, and other customary privileges. The *dēvabhōga* was placed in the hands of Koṇḍamāna, son of Takiñci, a Brahmana of the Kaunḍinya *gōtra* and a Hārītiputra. The edict was addressed to the provincial governor called Rajjuka, the Mahāvallaḥha. The record contains the date as the second fortnight of the hot season, the first day of the first year, apparently of the victorious reign.² We shall revert to the second inscription on the stone pillar engraved underneath the above a little later.

The Banavāsi inscription which seems to come next in point of chronological order leads us further.³ It is engraved on a pillar in the courtyard of the great temple at Banavāsi. It is carved on a slab beneath the representation of a five-hooded cobra or a Nāga. The inscription mentions the lady the *Mahārājābalika*, 'daughter of the Mahārāja', Mahābhoji, the wife of the Mahārathi Jivaputa (Jivaputra) and mother of the prince Śivaskanda Nāgaśri (Śivakhaṁdanākasiri) who constructed a tank and a *vihāra* (monastery) and also placed the image of a Nāga at that place.⁴ The work of the supervision of the charity, it is stated, was carried out by the Prime Minister Skandasvāti

(1) E. C. Vol. VIII, Shikarpur No 263.

(2) Ibid. 'bīṭiya gimba-pakham padama divasam padama-sammachoharam'.

(3) A. S. W. I. (Buhler) Vol. I, p. 100, No. 10 and Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV p. 313f.

(4) *Mahābhoji* may be the feminine form of the title *Mahābhōja*. Note the prevailing practice of the ladies of the royal family of calling themselves merely as *Mahārājābalika* as in the Nāgarjunakonda inscriptions. There seems to be a doubt also as to the name of the husband of this lady. The term *Jivaputra* from the context may as well mean "who had a son who was alive" at that time. The practice of calling themselves as mothers of sons was also prevalent in Andhradesa. See also the Inscriptions of Cāntamula Śiri at Nāgarjunakonda. (E. I. Vol. XX, pp. 16ff.)

(Khaṁdasati). The gift was dedicated in the twelfth year of the century¹ on the first day of the seventh fortnight of the winter season in the reign of the king Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi. It also appears from the inscription that the donor, her lord and her son were Nāga worshippers and, therefore, possibly were Nāgas. The foundress of this charity was evidently the daughter of the Mahārāja Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi, the king of Vaijayanti mentioned in the first record on the Mālavalli stone pillar, referred to above.

The third inscription of the family is found in one of the Kanheri Buddhist caves.² The donor is described in this record as in the previous one as *Mahārājabalika* as the wife of a *Mahābhōja* and the mother of prince Khaṁdanāga-sataka (Skandanāga Śātakarṇi.) There can be no doubt that this princess was the same as the donatrix of the preceding inscription at the temple of Banavāsi. Her name is now mentioned as Nāgamūlanikā. She was presumably the daughter of the king Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi, whose name must have stood originally in the inscription. The inscription seems to mention also prince Dheṇaseṇa, evidently a brother of the princess Nāgamūlanikā. It also mentions the year nine (vasa 9), which denotes the regnal year of king Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda.

It appears from the foregoing that Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi was the first member of his family to assume independence though he was not probably the founder of his dynasty on the throne of Vanavasa. He and his ancestors were probably feudatories of the Imperial Andhras. His title Cuṭu-kulānanda Śātakarṇi, 'Śātakarṇi, the joy of the Cuṭu family' seems to suggest that the Cuṭu family were the Āndhrabhṛtyas and also the *Āndhra-jātyas* and, therefore, were the subordinate Andhras mentioned in the Puranas. The Myakadoni stone inscription of the reign of king Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Pulumāvi II mentions a certain Mahāsēnāpati Skanda Nāga (Khaṁdanāga), ruler of the Sātavāhanihara under the imperial power³. It is probable that the province of Sātavāhanihara formed part of the territory which was governed from Vaijayanti and comprised or included the modern districts of Bellary and Kurnool. If this conjecture is correct, *Mahāsēnāpati* Skanda Nāga may possibly have been the ancestor of king Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi of Vanavas.

(1) The expression *vasa-sataya* (of the century ?) in the date portion has been the subject of controversy and disputed interpretation. See *JRAS* 1905, p. 304.

(2) J. B. Br. R. A. S., Vol. VI, p. 10, No. 40 and plate. The inscription has not been read. See Rapson : *C. A. D. Introd.* p. LIII, No. 24, and Bühler ; *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V. p. 86, No. 29.

(3) *E. I.* Vol. XIV, p. 143 f.

The Banavāsi stone pillar and the Kanheri Cave inscriptions mention the names of the daughter Mahābhoji Nāgamūlanikā and the son Dheṇasēna of the king Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda Śātakarṇi of the Cuṭu dynasty. Now the second inscription on the Mālavalli pillar seems to take us further down to one more generation. It is inscribed on the same six-sided stone pillar which contains the earlier record of Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda and is directly underneath it.¹ This record is that of the Kadamba king Śivaskandavarman of the Mānavya gōtra who is described as a Hārītiputra and as *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* 'the rightful supreme king' of Vaijayanti. It appears from the record that the earlier gift was resumed by a subsequent government or dynasty that came into power immediately on the death of Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭu Śātakarṇi or his successor. It seems to relate further that the former ownership of the estate having been abandoned for some reasons not mentioned specifically in the grant but apparently on account of some usurpation of the sovereignty of Vanavāsa, the Kadamba king Dharmamahārājādhirāja Śivaskandavarman, having come to know of it after he became the lord of Vaijayanti (*Vaijayanti-pati*), renewed the gift with a glad mind (*parituḥhena mīnasāpi*) for a second time, giving it to the 'Brahman Śrī Nāgadatta of the Kauṇḍinya gōtra, who was a Kauśikiputra and "ornament of the Kondamana family". It is noteworthy that the present donee is referred to not merely as the descendant of the former donee Koṇḍamāna but also as the maternal uncle of the king. This would mean that the mother of the Kadamba king Śivaskandavarman was also a descendant of the Brahmana chief Koṇḍamāna of the Kauṇḍinya gōtra. It is possible to infer from this that Koṇḍamān who was probably a Hārītiputra and king Viṣṇuskanda who was a Hārītiputra were closely related to each other though the precise nature of their kinship cannot however be determined for the present. The second grant by Śivaskandavarman, the Kadamba king, covered the entire old property of Sahalāṭavi with an additional estate of twelve villages all specified by name. The gift was once more publicly registered on the stone pillar in the fourth year of the victorious reign in the first fortnight of the autumn season on the second day under the first asterism Rohiṇi.

In the opinion of Lewis Rice the interval between the earlier grant and the later re-grant recorded on the stone—Mālavalli pillar may be roughly a century. He allots the earlier one to about 150 A. D. and the latter to about 250 A. D.² But this seems to be too long an interval to be good for the course of political events of the south. As the language of the records is

(1) E. C. Vol. VII, Shikarpur No. 264; Translations p. 142. See Fleet in *JRAS* 1905, p. 305.

(2) E. C. Vol. VII, Shikarpur No. 264, Translation p. 142.

Prakrit and the donor of the earlier grant could not have assumed independence before the downfall of the Imperial Andhras, the two inscriptions may be reasonably assigned to the early part of the third century. The interval between the first record and the second charter may not be more than three or four decades at the most. The palæography of the characters of the first inscription also supports this view. The alphabet appears to be definitely later than the script of the inscriptions of the Emperor Gautamīputra Śrī Yaña Śātakarṇi (c. 158—186 A. D.)¹. Moreover there seem to be hardly more than one or two generations intervening the original donee Koṇḍamāna of the first record and his descendant Śrī Nāgadatta the donee of the second grant. As indicated above it appears that there was an interruption, probably for a short period, of the sovereignty of the Cuṭu dynasty. Accordingly the first inscription may be allotted to c. 210 A. D. in the first decade of the third century and the second one to c. 245 A. D.

The second inscription on the Mālavalli stone pillar seems to read entirely like a Kadamba document : it in fact refers to the prosperity of the Kadambas who must have been the rulers of the kingdom of Vanavāsa at that time. It is dated in the fourth year of the Kadamba king (Kadambānām rājā Śivakhamdavamma) Śivaskandavarman, the lord of Vaijayanti.² The king was a descendant of the Manavyasa gōtra and of the Kadamba family ; and was evidently the first Kadamba king on the throne of Vaijayanti, though not the founder of the dynasty. He was evidently the son of the princess, *Mahārjabālika-Mahārathinti-Mahābhōji* Nāgamūlanika, the daughter of king Hāritiputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭu Śātakarṇi, and identical with Śivaskanda Nāga Śrī of the Bānavasi record. He was therefore the descendant of the Nāga family or the Cuṭu Śātakarṇis. After he became the lord of Vaijayanti Śivaskandavarman at once restored the grant formerly made by his maternal grandfather and

(1) This is according to the Chronology of the Śātavāhanas, which I have discussed and adopted elsewhere: A History of Early Dynasties of Anomadeśa 200-625 A. D.

(2) Dr. Fleet correctly reads the names of Śivaskandavarman as a Kadamba king. (*JRAS*, 1905, p. 305). But Prof. Rapson (*C. A. D.*, *Intro.* p. LIV) assumes Śivaskandavarman to be the last of the Cuṭu kings and then suggests that the Kadamba conquest of Vanavāsa followed Śivaskandavarman's death. He thinks that the Kadamba king is unnamed. Dr. Jayaswal falls into a similar error. (*Hist. of Ind.* pp. 168-69). He interprets the record in order to suit his new theory. He says that he has carefully read the record in the plate and that he can make out the name of Mayurasarman. He complains that the reading as given by Lewis Rice cannot be seen in the plate. The reading given by Lewis Rice was revised by Dr. J. F. Fleet in *J. R. A. S.* 1905, p. 305 ; and there seems to be no warrant for reading as Dr. Jayaswal does, save the name of Śivaskandavarman after the words Kadambānām-raja (line 1) in the plate. I have also carefully examined the plate and find myself unable to see anything like the name of Mayurasarman as Dr. Jayaswal does. The name is clearly Śivakhamdavamma. There are seven letters in the name portion ; and if they are read as Mayurasarman two letters will be superfluous.

even enlarged the estate with a glad mind as the grantee, who was his own maternal uncle, happened to be a descendant of the original donee Koṇḍamāna.

The date of the second Mālavalli record and that of the accession of king Sivaskandavarman of the Kadamba family may be determined precisely with the help of the astronomical details mentioned in the inscription itself. The details of the date are : *samvaccaram padama saradapakham bitiya-divasam padama-nakhatam Rohinyam*, "in the 4th year, in the first fortnight of the autumn (Sarada) season, on the second day under the first asterism Rohini." The manner in which the date is recorded is indeed unique, and this is the earliest Prakrit inscription which mentions, in addition to the *nakṣatra*, a detail which helps the calculation of the equivalent of the date in the Christian era. The mention of the Sarada season is also peculiar, for that indicates the introduction of the year into six seasons and the gradual suppression of the earlier three-fold division into *grīshma*, *varṣā* and *hēmanta* seasons of the Imperial Andhra Epoch. The six-fold division of the year apparently involves also the division of the season into four and sometimes but rarely into five *pakṣas* or fortnights.

Accordingly the grant was made on the *second* day in the *first pakṣa* of the *S'arada* season when the moon was in *Rohini* nakṣatra which was also the *first* asterism for the season. Herein lies the clue for the determination of the proper equivalent of the date in years of the Christian era. Here there is no reference to the division of the year into twelve luni-solar months arranged according to the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* systems of reckoning. Presumably, therefore, the year seems to have been divided into twelve months each month commencing with the *samkrānti* moment or the sun's entry into the zodiacal sign. The *śārada* season, therefore, which is the fourth in the order of seasons, corresponds to *Tulā* and *Vṛścika* months, which do not exactly, but often roughly synchronise with the luni-solar months *Aśvayuja* and *Kārttika*. It will be seen that in both the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* systems of arrangement of fortnights, there will never be the *nakṣatra* *Rohini* as the first asterism on the second day in the first *pakṣa* in the luni-solar month *Aśvayuja*. In the *amānta* *Aśvayuja* *Rohini* enters only in the second *pakṣa* or fortnight, after the fullmoon day of *Aśvayuja*, that is when the moon will be in the *nakṣatra* *Aśvini*. In the same manner in the *pūrṇimānta* *Aśvayuja* *Rohini* occurs after the fullmoon day of *Aśvayuja*, that is, in the first fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* *Mārgasira* which will be third *pakṣa* of the *Sārada* season. Thus the only possibility for the occurrence of *Rohini* as the first *nakṣatra* of the *Sārada* season even on the *second date* as a rare case is in the month *Tulā*; but even then the *Tulā-māsa* must commence after the fullmoon day after *Aśvayuja*, which means that the *Tulā samkrānti* moment should occur a few days after the fullmoon day of *Aśvayuja*.

We have therefore to look for a suitable date in the solar month Tulā for a coincidence of the details in the first half of the third century A. D. to which the inscription has been assigned on palæographical grounds. During this period between 200 and 250 A. D. there were only two occasions when the Tulā *samkrānti* took place a few days after the fullmoon day of Āsvayuja. The earliest date according to such coincidence was the 20th September, 224 A. D. The Āsvayuja fullmoon day fell in that year on the 16th September and the Tulā *samkrānti* moment was at 52 *ghaṭikas* 48 *palas* after sunrise on the 18th September; and therefore, the *Samkrānti* or the civil day of Tulā month was reckoned from the 19th September 224 A. D. If the 19th September was the first civil day the next following day, the 20th would be the second day in the śārada season. But on the 19th September, the *nakṣatra* Rohiṇi ended and Mṛgaśirā commenced at 14 *ghaṭikas* 29 *palas* after sunrise, *i. e.* about 11 hours 30 minutes in the morning. On the 20th September, therefore, which was the second day, there was no Rohiṇi the first *nakṣatra* of the season but Mṛgaśirā the second one. Thus this date cannot therefore be the correct equivalent of the date of the second charter on the Mālavalli stone pillar. The second date was Wednesday, 20th September 243 A. D. In this year the fullmoon day of Āsvayuja fell on the 16th September; and the Tulā *samkrānti* took place on the 19th September, the *samkrānti* moment being at 47 *ghaṭikas* 13 *palas* after sunrise. That day the 19th September, therefore, was the day of Tula *samkrānti*; and it was also the first civil day of the month. It was accordingly the first day of the first *pakṣa* of the śārada season. On that date the moon entered Rohiṇi about 26 *ghaṭikas* after sunrise and lasted till the evening of the next following day; the ending moment of Rohiṇi on the next following day, the 20th September, was at 27 *ghaṭikas* 14 *palas* after sunrise. Thus Rohiṇi was the first *nakṣatra* in the śārada season of that year and it happened to be also the asterism on the second civil day. The details of the record thus exactly correspond to Wednesday, the 20th September, 243 A. D. There seems to be no doubt that this date was the proper equivalent of the date of the second Mālavalli record.¹ Accordingly, if Wednesday the 20th September 243 A. D. fell in the fourth year of reign, Śivaskandavarman's accession or more probably the date of his coronation would seem to have taken place sometime during 240 A. D. This date is also in proper agreement with the course of political events of the period as we shall presently see. Śivaskandavarman would appear to have conquered the kingdom of Vaijayanti long after the death of his maternal grandfather king Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭukulānanda S'ātakarṇi which might be placed about c. 225 A. D. The interval plainly

1. These dates have been calculated with the help of L. D. S. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*.

covered the periods of Dhenasena's reign and the usurpation of some unknown power to the complete exclusion of the Kadamba king S'ivaskandavarman.¹

There are no materials for determining the date or rather the tenure of king Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭukulānanda S'ātakarṇi on the throne of Vanavasa. Nevertheless his succession or more properly his commencement of reign as an independent king may be placed with approximate certainty about 210 A. D. towards the end of the first decade of the third century though he may have ascended the throne sometime earlier. It was about this period or perhaps sometime after that the Ikṣvāku king Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Sāntamula the Great *destroyed* the last of the S'ātavahanas,—perhaps Pulumavi IV,—and assumed independence. The Banavasi record of the *Mahārājabālikā-Mahārathini-Mahābhōj* Nāgamūlanikā dated apparently in the twelfth year of the reign of her father Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda mentions the date as *vasasatāya 12 hēmantana pakha 7 divasa 1*, "the first day of the seventh fortnight of the winter season in the augmenting 12th year of the prosperous reign". There is no doubt that the year 12 denotes the regnal year of the king, and, as Dr. Fleet points out, the details of the date seem to suggest the anniversary of the accession day or the coronation date of Viṣṇuskanda.² Apart from this date, however, it is probable that the king had enjoyed a normal period of at least fifteen or twenty years. To him, therefore, a reign of fifteen years as a paramount sovereign from *circa* 210 to 225 A. D. may reasonably be allotted. King Viṣṇuskanda was the first member of his family to desire independence against the declining Imperial Āndhra dynasty; and in this he would appear to have been considerably assisted by the powerful Ikṣvāku monarch of Āndhradēśa.

The Kanheri Buddhist cave inscription of the ninth year of Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda mentions Mahābhōja Dhenasena who is said to be a brother of the princess Mahārājabālikā Nāgamūlanikā.³ It is probable that this prince was the son and successor of Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭukulānanda S'ātakarṇi. Dhenasena's reign would seem to have lasted for about a decade, because on his death the

King Dhenasena c. 225
A. D.—232 A. D. Wars of
succession.

(1) A recent writer [Mr. M. Govinda Rai in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIII, part 2] discussing the 'Genealogy and Chronology of the Early Kadambas of Vanavasi,' refers to the date of this second Mālavalli record and calculates the equivalent of the details as Monday, the 18th October 213 A. D. His date and conclusion are open to serious objection. His theory of the date is untenable. According to him the *purnimānta* system of arranging the fortnights was in vogue at that time. According to the *Purnimānta* system the date 18th October falls in the *Purnimānta* Mārgaśira which commenced on the 17th October. And the month *purnimānta* Mārgaśira was the *second* month and not the *first* in the śārada season even according to him. The śārada season comprised of two months Āsvayuja and never Kārtika and Mārgaśira or Mārgaśira and Pusa.

(2) *JRAS.* 1905 p. 305 f.

(3) *Bābler: A, S, W. I.* Vol. V. p. 86f. Luder's List No. 1021.

sovereignty of the Cuṭu-Nāga dynasty was interrupted by some hostile power. The Nāga or the Cuṭu or the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty of Vanavāsa came to an end apparently with the death of Dheṇasena. Thereafter it would appear that a dispute arose for the succession between the two rival claimants to the throne. The struggle was a protracted one; victory swaying from one side to the other. One of the claimants was prince Hārītiputra S'ivaskandavarman of the Mānavayasa-gotra, of the Kadamba family. He was the daughter's son of Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda, and therefore, he claimed to be the rightful heir to the throne of Vanavāsa. He assumed evidently for the reason after he ascended the throne the title *Dharmamāhārajādhirāja Vaijayantīpati*, 'the rightful supreme king of kings, Lord of Vaijayanti.' The title is beyond doubt a significant one. The other claimant was probably the power or the dynasty that usurped the throne of Vanavāsa and interrupted the accession of the Kadamba king S'ivaskandavarman according to the Mālavalli inscription.

The power that prevented the Kadamba prince S'ivaskandavarman from seizing the crown of Vanavāsa would seem to be the Pallavas, who were fast emerging into prominence.¹ The Pallava prince also claimed the throne probably on account of his being the son-in-law of the Nāga or the Cuṭu king of Vanavāsa. The Pallava prince was Virakūrca of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, son of Cuṭapallava, who, according to the Vēlūrpalayam plates, married the daughter of the Nāga king and quickly grasped the insignia of royalty.² The Nāga king might in all probability be king Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭukulānanda S'ātakarni. Virakūrca-Pallava would appear to have succeeded in the dynastic struggle in the beginning and held the throne for sometime successfully to the exclusion of his Kadamba rival S'ivaskandavarman. But it would seem that the Pallava prince was at least overpowered and conquered by S'ivaskandavarman. And in this task the latter would seem to have been assisted by the Ikṣvāku Emperor Mātharīputra S'rī Virapurūṣadatta of Āndhradēśa. The first thing that this Kadamba monarch did as soon as he became the undisputed lord of Vanavāsa, was to restore the grant made by his maternal grandfather Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda to the Kadamba chief who was the descendant of the original donee and who was his own maternal uncle, enlarge the estate and once more publicly register the gift at the same spot where the original charity was recorded. Prince Virakūrca the Pallava had apparently destroyed the charity and resumed the estate granted by his father-in-law to the Kadamba family as soon as he became the king of Vanavāsa. And that was the manner evidently which the enjoyment of the charity by Koṇḍamāna and his descendants was obstructed by the Pallava usurper.

1. This is also the view of Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, but his conclusion is based upon a reasoning which I cannot accept. There is a slight difference in the interpretation of the history of the period, which the reader can easily grasp. (*History of India*, p. 169)

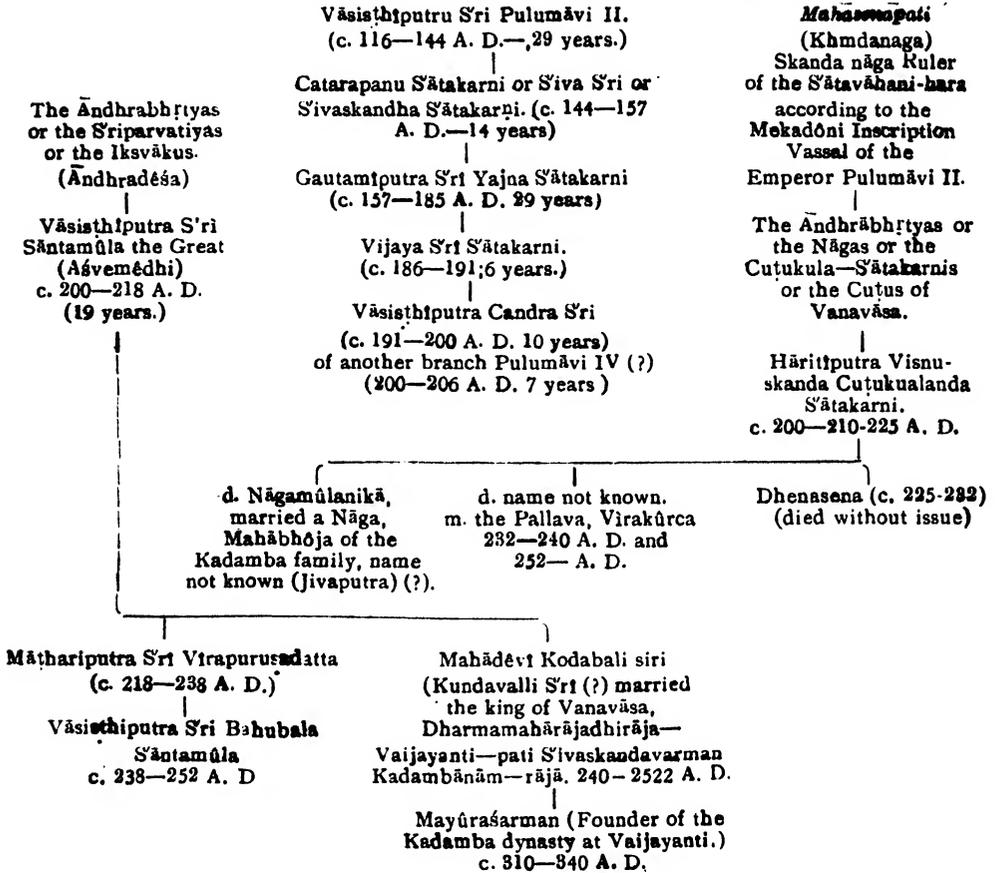
2. *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part V. p. 601f. verse 6.

A chronological chart showing the Imperial Āndhras and their successors.

(c 100 A. D.—275 A. D.)

The Imperial Āndhras or S'ātavāhanas.

(According to the succession and periods given in the Puranas.)



The above chronological charter will easily give an idea of the political condition of the Deccan about the middle of the third century A. D. and the rival parties that struggled for sovereignty in Vanavāsa on the one hand and in the South on the other. When the struggle for dynastic succession broke out in Vanavāsa on the death of Dhenasēna, Virakūrca gained the upper hand, and then S'ivaskandavarman the Kadamba turned to Āndhradēśa for help, presumably on account of nearness of his relationship to the Emperor S'ri Virapurusaḍatta. The Ikṣvāku monarch would seem to have declared war against the Pallava usurper on behalf of his Kadamba protege with the object of placing him on the throne of Vanavāsa; but did not apparently survive to see the success of his arms. This inference is suggested by two facts: firstly an inscription of the eleventh year of the Emperor Vāsisthīputra S'ri Bahubala-S'āntamūla at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa mentions the Mahadevi Koḍabalīsiri as the

daughter of Śrī Virapurūṣadatta and the queen of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa.¹ The king of Vanavāsa (*Vanavāsaka-mahārāja*) is not mentioned by name in the record, but there is no doubt that he was identical with Śivaskandavarman the Kadamba. According to the period allotted to king Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla (c. 238—252 A.D.) the date of Mahadevi Kodabali Siri's inscription would fall in or about 249 A. D., and in that year the Kadamba king Śivaskandavarman, according to the chronological chart above given, was reigning as the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa. It is, therefore, clear that Mahadevi Kodabali Siri was the queen of the Kadamba king Śivaskandavarman. Secondly, three inscriptions dated the 15th and 18th years of Śrī Virapurūṣadatta mention that the Ikṣvāku princess *Mahasenapatni-Mahatalavari Śāntimūla Siri* of the Pūgiya family, who was a paternal aunt and mother-in-law of the emperor, made noble and pious benefactions to the Buddhist Church of Śripārvata for securing victory and long life (*vejayike āyuvadhanike*) of her son-in-law.² This passage *Ikhḍkunām sāmī siri Viripurisadatasa āyuvadhā-āyuvadhanike vejayike* which occurs in the inscriptions of two or more successive years indicates that the Ikṣvāku monarch was in all probability engaged in a great war against a powerful enemy and that consequently his mother-in-law was most anxious for his welfare and success. The 15th year of Śrī Virapurūṣadatta's reign would roughly correspond to 234-35 A. D.; and that was the year about which king Dheṇasēna died and the war of succession between the rival claimants broke out. If this inference is accepted as probable, it would then appear that Dheṇasēna's death occurred about 232-235 A. D. The death of Dheṇasēna was therefore the occasion for the usurpation of the crown by the Pallava prince Virakūrca, who would appear to have held it till about 240 A. D., the date of accession of the Kadamba king *Dharmamahārājadhīrāja* Śivaskandavarman, fixed from a calculation of the details of the date of the Mālavalli record.

Śivaskandavarman reigned for a short time, roughly from about 240 to 252 A. D. He must have been a middle aged man at the time of his accession, for he was mentioned in the Banavāsi inscription of his grandfather's time as a youthful prince. Being a Hārītiputra-Mānavaya-Kadamba by birth, Śivaskandavarman was also a Nāga and a Cuṭu by adoption. He was a Nāga being a descendant of a Nāga family on his mother's side. Like king Hārītiputra Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi, Śivaskandavarman too belonged to the same Mānavaya *gōtra*.³ He was a student of the Veda to which he belonged; and

Śivaskandavarman, the Kadamba king; 240-252 c. A. D.

1. *E. I.*, Vol. XX, p. 24. No. H.

2. *Ibid.* Vol. XXI, p. 65, Insc. Nos. M series; Vol. XX, p. 21, No. F.

(3) *E. C.* Vol. VII. Sk. 263.

the Malavalli record of his time describes him as *saujjhāyi carcaparo (svādhyāyi carcaparah)*.¹ His maternal uncle Śrī Nāgadatta and mother Nāgamūlanika were born in the Brāhmaṇa caste, and therefore he must have been also a Brāhmaṇa. The Vanavāsi record calls him Sivakhada nāgasiri (Śivaskanda Nāga Śrī) and the Kanheri inscription gives him also the title Śātakarṇi. His maternal uncle Śrī Nāgadatta was a descendant of Koṇdamāna who was a Hāritputra of the Mānavyasa *gōtra*. Śivaskandavarman was a great and powerful monarch, as the title *Dharmamahārājadhirdja* 'the rightful supreme king of great king' denotes. He conquered the vast kingdom of Vanavāsa which would seem to have extended from the sea on the west to the sea on the east and from Nasika or Govardhana on the north to the Cauveri in the south. He was assisted in this great task by the Ikṣvāku emperors of Āndhradēśa. It is, therefore, probable that he married the Ikṣvāku princess Kodabalisiri, the only daughter of the Emperor Śrī Virapurūṣadatta.

On the death of Śivaskandavarman the kingdom of Vanavāsa passed once more from the Kadambas into the hands of the Pallava king Virakūcavarman who would appear to have seized it by a *coup de main* superseding his Kadamba rivals. Virakūca became king of Vanavāsa for a second time about 252 A. D. He was biding his time, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon Vijayanti and seize the kingdom. The opportunity came on the death of the great king Śivaskandavarman. The date of Śivaskandavarman's death and the occupation of the throne of Vanavāsa for a second time by the Pallava prince may be placed about 252 A. D. on two grounds. Firstly, the date seems to be a good and probable date for the events of the period. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of Mahadevi Kodabalisiri which mentions the eleventh year of her brother Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūli has been equated to about 249-50 A. D. and, therefore, Śivaskandavarman's reign must have come to an end only after that year. The Ikṣvākus, too, would appear to have declined after this date, for there are no records of the family thereafter. Secondly, the Pallavas emerge into power about the middle of the third century A. D. The Mayidavolu grant of *Yuvamahārāja* Śivaskandavarman of the Pallava dynasty of Kanci records a grant of land in Viṇipāra in Āndhrapatha during the reign of his father Bappasvāmin, the king. The record shows that by the date of that charity the Ikṣvāku power had been superseded and that the Pallava had conquered the Southern Andhra country. The Ikṣvāku sovereignty of Āndhradēśa and along with it the shortlived Kadamba glory in Vanavāsa would seem to have come to an end shortly after the eleventh year of Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūli, which would fall about 250 A. D. Thus the date 252 A. D. for the fall of Śivaskandavarman would seem to be a

(1) The exact meaning of the term *svādhyāyi carcaparah* was not clearly known to western scholars like Lewis Rice and others. It seems to mean 'one who is versed in the views of the Veda which he has studied.'

very good date for it. The *Purāṇa* account, that the Āndhrabhṛtyas and the Śrīparvatiyas would endure for about fifty years each after the fall of the Imperial Āndhras, strongly supports this view. With the death of the Kadamba king Śivaskandavarman, the formidable coalition of the Imperial Ikṣvākus, the Mahākṣātrapas and the Kadambas rapidly declined. The descendants of the Kadamba king were weak, and therefore were soon overpowered and destroyed. The Mahākṣātrapas themselves were too busy with their own internal troubles to come to the rescue of their southern allies in Āndhradēśa and Vanavāsa. Virakūrca Pallava, therefore, would appear to have quickly seized the opportunity, crushed the weak successors of Śivaskandavarman and fell upon the Ikṣhvāku monarch who was probably unprepared for the rapid turn of events and sudden attack. Virakūrca abandoned Vaijayanti on this occasion, for he had conquered a vast empire and needed a convenient place to govern it. He, therefore, made Kancipura on the east the seat of his sovereignty, which was acquired after a great fight for a second time. He was probably the founder of the new city on the banks of the Vegavati, or at any rate occupied it and raised it to the dignity of an imperial capital in a short period. Vaijayanti was deserted by the Pallava king, also for another reason; namely, that Kadamba family who had still powerful supporters in that region might overthrow his sovereignty at any time.

According to the Vēlūrpalāyam plates of Vijayanandivarman III, which seem to record truly the traditional family history of the Pallavas, king Virakūrca, son of Cuṭapallava married the daughter of the chief of the serpents, meaning the Nāga king, and thus acquired the sovereignty of the kingdom. It has been shown above that Virakūrca married a daughter of king Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi and not of Śivaskandavarman as Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil supposed, and on the death of his wife's brother king Dhēṇasena, seized the kingdom of Vanavāsa by a *coup de main* and reigned for about a decade (c. 232—33—240 A. D.). King Virakūrca's claim to the throne of Vanavāsa rested on the nearness of his kinship to the Cuṭu monarch Viṣṇuskanda and the latter's son Dhēṇasena. That seems to be the only possible and reasonable interpretation that can be put on the statement contained in the verse 6 of the inscription on the Vēlūrpalāyam plates. The verse states: "From his son Cuṭapallva was produced Virakūrca of celebrated fame, who simultaneously with the hand of the daughter of the Chief of the Serpents grasped also the insignia of royalty and became famous."

The above inference and interpretation are further supported by another fact which is recorded in the family tradition of the Pallavas. Virakūrca's father was Cuṭapallava. The names of both the father and the son do not seem to be real and personal names of the princes. They appear to be either titles or epithets by which they became celebrated in the realm. Virakūrca

is a compound of two words *vīra* and *kūrcha*, and means "abundle or mass of heroism". Indeed it would appear that prince Virakūrca was a great warrior, an embodiment of great power and courage. On two occasions, by means of his intrepid daring and heroism he gained the sovereignty of Vanavāsa. There is no doubt, that he acquired the appellation Virakūrca which soon superseded his personal name so completely in the course of time that his descendants remembered him only by that title. Virakūrca's personal name will be discussed on another occasion. The name Cuṭapallava is similarly a title or an epithet, and, indeed, a peculiar and interesting one. It is probable that Cuṭapallava may have been connected with the term Cuṭu-kula. It seems likely that Cuṭapallava may have been the Sanskritised form of Cuṭu-pallava which in later times when the significance and the history of the origin of that compound as well as of the family name came to be forgotten completely, came to be altered as Cuṭa-pallava by the writers of the *prasasti* in the formal preambles of the family charters. Thus the compound Cuṭa-pallava becomes quite intelligible. And it sheds light on the origin of the Pallavas when restored as Cuṭu-pallava: it suggests the connection or relationship between the Pallavas and the Cuṭu or the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty. As the Cuṭus were to the Imperial Āndhras so the Pallavas were to the Cuṭus of Vanavāsa and hence they became Cuṭu-pallavas. The Cuṭu-pallavas, who became the Imperial Pallavas of Kanchi later, adopted the royal insignia and the bull emblem of the Cuṭus.¹ They adopted the Imperial title *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* like the Kadamba king Śivaskandavarman, to proclaim probably that they were as much entitled to succeed to the sovereignty of the Cuṭus as the Kadambas were. That the ancestors of the prince Cuṭupallava or Cuṭapallava, a descendant of the Cuṭu family belonging to the Bhāradvāja gōtra, was long associated with the government of Vanavāsa under king Hārītiputra Viṣṇuskanda and his son Dhensēna and perhaps their predecessors, seems to be well supported by the statement of the Vēlūrpalayam plates which record that "the descendants of Pallava, whose bar-like arms were skilled in rendering assistance to the lord of serpents, who was fatigued by the labour of carrying on his head the burden of the earth." (Verse 4). This passage suggests plainly that the Cuṭapallava and his son Virakūrca were related to the royal house of the Cuṭus of Vanavāsa.

(1) The inscription on the Vēlūrpalayam plates suggests that Virakūrca seized "the complete insignia of royalty" of the Nāga king. Some unascrbed lead square coins (Rapson: C. A. D., pp. 54-55, p. 1, plate VIII, Nos. 217-233) and of the feudatories of the Āndhra dynasty (Opi. Cit.) pp. 57ff.) contain the figure of a bull (vṛsabha) standing to the right often surmounted by a *nandipada*.

WAS POROS THE VICTOR OF THE BATTLE OF JHELUM ?**H. C. Seth, M. A., Ph. D. (London), Nagpur University.**

Unfortunately there is no Indian account of Alexander's invasion which could have supplied the corrective for the one-sided accounts of it left to us by early European chroniclers. Besides various fragmentary allusions in the European literature, we have five consecutive narratives of Alexander's life, those of Arrian, Diodoros, Plutarch Curtius and Justin. "Unluckily", as Professor Freeman remarked, "among all the five there is not a single contemporary chronicler.....Unluckily again, among all the five, one only (Arrian) has any claim to the name of a critic.....Diodoros we believe to be perfectly honest, but he is at the same time, impenetrably stupid. Plutarch, as he himself tells us, does not write history, but lives, his object is rather to gather anecdotes, to point a moral, than to give a formal narrative of political and military events. Justin is a feeble and careless epitomizer. Quintus Curtius is in our eyes, little better than a romance writer".¹ In spite of the efforts of the European writers to make Alexander a hero and a victor in all his battles, it has been difficult to conceal the fact that his Indian campaign was a disastrous failure. He received his first set back in the battle of Jhelum.

Even prior to the battle of Jhelum Alexander met a determined opposition and had to undertake prolonged and hard fighting in the north-west frontier of India. It is doubtful if this territory was properly consolidated before he launched his campaign east of the Indus. His crossing of the Indus was facilitated by the alliance he had already formed with Ambhi, King of Taksasila. The cause for this ignoble and unpatriotic conduct on the part of Ambhi was his jealousy of his powerful neighbour, Poros, who, even before Alexander came to India, had started in alliance with the King of Abhisar on a career of conquest. It appears that Abhisar was a little undecided whether to cast his lot with Alexander or his old friend and ally Poros. He was already in alliance with his neighbours Asvakas west of the Indus. He had sent them help against Alexander and also received fugitives from the west of the Indus. When Alexander crossed the Indus he sent him some presents. But he kept back his envoy and was getting ready to join Poros. Alexander got the scent of the double game Abhisar was playing, and before the latter could take his forces to join that of Poros, Alexander and Ambhi moved hurriedly and confronted Poros on the bank of the Jhelum.

Thus left alone Poros' forces were several times outnumbered by that of Alexander, who as Plutarch informs us, entered into India with no less than

(1) *Historical Essays*. 2nd Series (3rd Ed.) p. 183 f.

120,000 foot and 15,000 horses. A great part of it was perhaps present in the battle of Jhelum ; moreover in this battle Alexander had with him the forces of Taksasila also. Plutarch gives the army led by Poros as 20,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry. But Poros was a mighty foe. From the beginning Alexander found the battle of Jhelum a difficult affair. The crossing of the river in face of the well arranged forces of the enemy itself became a difficult task. As Curtius informs us a party led by Symmachus and Nicanor which crossed to an island in the middle of the river was "surrounded by men who had unperceived swum over to the island, and were overthrown by discharges of missiles. Such as escaped the enemy were either swept away by the force of the current or swallowed up in the eddies. This fight exalted the confidence of Poros, who had witnessed from the bank all its vicissitudes"¹.

Arrian gives the following account of Alexander's preliminary skirmish with the son of Poros. When after several days of waiting Alexander managed to cross the river one night under the cover of darkness, "Alexander himself was wounded by the Indian prince, and his favourite horse Boukephalas was killed, having been wounded like his master, by the son of Poros".² Justin gives a slightly different version of the opening scene of the battle. "When Alexander lost no time in joining battle, but his horse being wounded at first charge, he fell headlong to the ground, and was saved by his attendants who hastened up to his assistance".³

As regards the incidents of the main battle we are informed of its being prolonged almost to the end of the day and also of the great destruction of the Macedonian army caused by the elephants of Poros. As Curtius remarks, "The most dismal of all sights was when the elephants would, with their trunks, grasp the men, arms and all, and hoisting them above their heads, deliver them over into the hands of their drivers. Thus the battle was doubtful, the Macedonians sometimes pursuing and sometimes fleeing from the elephants, so that the struggle was prolonged till the day was far spent".⁴ Diodoros also informs us that "the elephants, applying to good use their prodigious size and strength, killed some of the enemy by trampling them under their feet, and crushing their armour and their bones, while upon others they inflicted a terrible death, for they first lifted them aloft with their trunks, which they had twined round their bodies, and then dashed them down with great violence to the ground. Many others they deprived in a moment of life by goring them through and through with their tusks".⁵ Arrian also tells us that "the huge beasts charged the ranks of the infantry, and wherever they turned went

(1) MCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander*. (2nd Ed.) p. 205.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 101.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 322. f.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 311.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 275.

crushing through the Macedonian phalanx though in close formation"¹. Curiously enough after these accounts of the destruction caused by the elephants, leaving aside the terrific fight given by the other arms of Poros' forces, we are told by Arrian, the most sober of Alexander's historian, that in the battle of Jhelum on Macedonian side there fell only about 80 of the infantry, 10 of the horse archers, 20 of the companion cavalry, and 200 of the other cavalry². This shows the nature of Alexander's romance out of which history was created. The authors of the Cambridge Ancient History correctly observe that Alexander's losses in the battle of Jhelum were carefully concealed³.

It seems that not only the losses of Alexander in the battle of Jhelum were concealed, but even the final result of that battle was not truly reported. The report, that Poros lost the battle of Jhelum, as his elephants when attacked and wounded turned against his own forces whom they trampled under their feet and were eventually driven from the field of battle like a flock of sheep,⁴ appears to be a fiction. If the terror and the flight of the elephants causing incalculable damage to their own side and thus betraying their essential weakness as an arm of fighting forces was a fact, then these beasts could never have been idolised by Seleucus and the other contemporary Macedonian and Greek Captains who fought for Asiatic supremacy after Alexander's death. The authors of the Cambridge Ancient History shrewdly observe, "There is a conclusive proof of the desperate nature of the battle with the elephants—its effect on the minds of the generals (as seen later) and especially on that of Seleucus, who had actually fought with them; when king, he ceded whole provinces in order to obtain

(1) Ibid. p. 106.

(2) Ibid. p. 107. On the Indian side according to Arrian 20,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry were killed and all the chariots were broken to pieces.

Diodoros informs us that "of the Macedonians, there fell 280 horsemen and more than 700 foot soldiers" Ibid. 276.

(3) Cam. Ancient History Vol. VI. p. 408.

(4) Compare the following remarks of Curtius, "The elephants, being at last spent with wounds, spread havoc among their own ranks, and threw their drivers to the ground, who were then trampled to death by their own beasts. They were therefore driven from the field of the battle like a flock of sheep, as they were maddened with terror rather than vicious". MCrindles. Invasion of India by Alexander. p. 211.

Diodoros also informs us that when Macedonians "assailed the animals themselves with a storm of javelins, thus piercing them with numerous wounds, which so tortured them that the Indians mounted on their backs lacked sufficient strength to control their movements, for the animals on heading to their own ranks bore against them with an impetuosity not to be repressed, and trampled their own friends under their feet". Ibid p. 275.

Compare the following remark of Arrian, "Of the elephants themselves some had been wounded, while others, both from exhaustion and the loss of their mahouts, no longer kept to their own side in the conflict, but, as if driven frantic by their sufferings, attacked friend and foe quite indiscriminately, pushed them, trampled them down, and killed them in all manner of ways..... When the elephants, however, became quite exhausted, and their attacks were no longer made with vigour, they fell back like ships backing water, and merely kept trumpeting as they retreated with their faces to the enemy". (Ibid p. 106)

war elephants, and they became the special arm and symbol of his dynasty"¹. Even if at one time in the battle of Jhelum the elephants were thrown into confusion we are informed that a considerable number of them soon rallied round Porus himself who led them on causing very great destruction of the army of the enemy. As Diodoros remarks "Porus who was mounted on the most powerful of all his elephants, on seeing what has happened, gathered around him forty of the animals that were still under control, and falling upon the enemy with all the weight of the elephants, made a great slaughter"².

The following Ethiopic version of the battle between Poros and Alexander has perhaps preserved the truth that Alexander failed to beat the forces of Poros. "Poros continued to fight with Alexander for twenty days, and many of Alexander's horsemen were slain and by reason of this there was such great sorrow among them that they wept and howled like dogs, and they wished to throw down the arms which were in their hands and to forsake Alexander and go over to the enemy. When Alexander saw this he drew nigh into their midst, being himself in great tribulation, and he wished to stop the fight. And having commanded the soldiers to cease fighting, he cried out saying, "O Poros, King of India, behold, I perceive and know thy strength and might, and moreover what thou doest lieth hard upon me, and my heart is aweary; and I have considered the fatigue whereby we all are perishing. Now although I may wish to destroy my own life, I would not that all these men (who are with me) should perish, for it is I who have brought them nigh unto death here, and it is not a right thing for a king to deliver his soldiers unto death"³. In the Ethiopic text, which also makes a great hero of Alexander, instead of the fiction of the elephants stampeding their own army, and thus making Poros lose the battle, we have the fiction that after Alexander could not beat the force of Poros a duel was agreed upon between the two in which Poros was lain.

The account, that some of the classical writers give of the efforts of Alexander towards the close of the battle of Jhelum to reconcile Poros, also seem to bear out the Ethiopic version given above that it was Alexander who sought peace. We gather from Arrian that Alexander first sent king of Taksasila with the message of peace. But Poros would have killed the traitor and his old enemy had he not escaped by a speedy flight⁴. According to Curtius it was not the king of Taksasila, but his brother who was sent to Poros, and Poros⁵ actually killed him⁵. After this unsuccessful attempt

(1) Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. VI. p. 408-409.

(2) MCrindle's. Invasion of India by Alexander p. 275.

(3) The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great (From Ethiopic Text) Edited and Translated by E. A. W. Badge P. 123.

(4) MCrindle's Invasion of India by Alexander p. 108.

(5) Ibid p. 212.

to reconcile Poros, as Arrian informs us, Alexander "sent to him messenger after messenger, and last of all Meroes, an Indian, as he had learned that Poros and this Meroes were old friends"¹. This significant passage of Arrian seems to tell a different tale than that it was the defeated, wounded, and dying Poros that Alexander was so keen to reconcile. Like-wise the remark of Plutarch that "the battle with Poros depressed the spirits of the Macedonians"² signifies much more than that Alexander and his army received a good shaking in the battle of Jhelum.

Thus, the outcome of the battle of Jhelum does not appear to be what the official version preserved for us will make us believe. May be that Poros was the real victor, and, as we learn from the Ethiopic text referred to above, Alexander was the suppliant for peace. Or may be that before the battle was decisively closed, Alexander, who was hard pressed throughout and who knew that the loss of battle would have meant complete annihilation, started negotiations for peace. True to the old Kshatriya tradition Poros did not like to smite a suppliant foe, and peace was made between him and Alexander.

The fact that Poros had extended his protection to Alexander is also obvious from the fact that on his way back from the bank of the Beas he was safe so long as he was in Poros' territory, which towards the south extended upto the confluence of the Ravi and the Chenab, and as soon as he crossed Poros' territory he met with most stubborn opposition. He was almost hacked to pieces in a battle against the Mallois, and more than once he had to risk his life to keep his forces together. The report of Alexander's failure to beat Poros, perhaps, also encouraged the risings against him in the north-west. We know that not long after the battle of Jhelum when Alexander was campaigning along the Punjab rivers, Asvakas rose against him and killed his satrap Nicanor. Elsewhere³ we have suggested that this revolt was never suppressed and it was the real cause of Alexander's sudden retirement from the bank of the Beas and his flight through the Sindh and the Makran desert where most of his army was destroyed. We have also surmised that the leader of this revolt was Sasigupta, who is perhaps identical with Chandragupta, the great founder of the Maurya dynasty.

It seems that in the official reports of Alexander's Indian campaign attempts were made to cover the discomfiture of the Macedonians in the battle of Jhelum by the fiction that struck by the valour of Poros, Alexander befriended him and offered back his kingdom. Alexander was most ungenerous towards his opponents. One easily recalls his brutal treatment of Bessus,

(1) *Ibid* p. 108.

(2) *Ibid* p. 310.

(3) Was Alexander routed in India? *Indian Review*. June 1937.

Persian Satrap of Bactria, who so nobly fought till the end for the cause of Persian liberty. As Arrian reports, after his arrest, when brought to Alexander, the latter ordered his being scourged, his nose and ears to be cut off, and put to death¹. Other Persian Satraps too, who fought the national cause, received no better treatment. One may also recall his treatment of Calisthenes, the nephew of his preceptor Aristotle, who because of his protest against Alexander's foolish aping of the despotic manners of the Great Persian Emperors, was carried bound by fetters and later on stretched upon the rack and hanged². It has been difficult to exonerate Alexander of his brutal murder with his own hands of Cleitus for recalling the achievements of his own father, Philip. Cleitus was the brother of his nurse, whom he (Alexander) adored like his mother, and Cleitus had also saved his life in the battle of Granicus. The murder of his father's trusted general, Parmenion, is a deep stain on Alexander's character. One may also recall his cold blooded massacre under cover of night of the Indian soldiers who were allowed to retire from Massaga, or his massacre of the harmless community of exiles from Branchidae. His whole whirlwind campaign is full of destruction of prosperous cities, massacre of women, children, and all, as during the whole of his campaign in Sindh. If racial prejudices do not enter into the study of history Alexander will appear to be one of the most ferocious and barbarous figures world has ever seen. His brief life is full of orgies of bloodshed, foul murders, and ignoble revenges, unrelieved by any act of real chivalry, unless we believe in the fiction of his generosity towards Poros.

We are asked to believe that Alexander's generosity towards Poros did not stop with his restoring back his liberty and kingdom, but Alexander "added to his original territory another of still greater extent"³, which lay to the east of his old domains. This again appears to be a part of the fiction. It will be stupid to believe that the gift of this new territory was made on the battle field of Jhelum, as it was not then conquered. Subsequent to the battle of Jhelum the question of gift does not arise, as we know that it was won after hard fight jointly undertaken by Poros and Alexander. The truth appears to be that after the battle of Jhelum Poros used Alexander as a tool for his conquest eastward, just as Ambhi tried to use him to crush Poros. Poros succeeded in his game, whereas Ambhi failed.

Poros was a powerful and ambitious monarch. Even before Alexander had appeared on Indian horizon he in alliance with Abhisara had marched against the independent tribes to the east of his domains. But the following remark of Arrian suggests that they met only with partial success: "shortly

1. *The Anabasis of Alexander* (Chinnock's Translation). P. 185 ff.

2. *Ibid*, P. 218.

3. *Arrian. McCrindle's Invasion of India by Alexander*. P. 109.

before this time Poros and Abisares had marched against them with their armies, and had besides stirred up many of the independent Indians against them, they were obliged, as it turned out, to retreat without accomplishing anything at all adequate to the scale of their preparations"¹ May be that the appearance of Alexander made Poros retire to his kingdom leaving the conquest of the tribes to the east unfinished. After the battle of Jhelum he accomplished to the full what he had only partially done before it, his dominions now extended right upto the banks of the Beas. Elsewhere² we have suggested that Poros of the Greek historians is identical with Parvateshwar of the drama Mudraraksasa. In the light of this identification we clearly see that the great design of Poros was to conquer towards the east even the kingdom of the Nandas, which later on he successfully did in alliance with Chandragupta. But, if we believe in the historicity of the traditions preserved in the drama, in the hour of victory he was made to quit the world to make room for the glorious Maurya youth, whom Kautalya found a more deserving sovereign head of a united India.

POPULARISATION OF CLASSICAL SANSKRIT AND THE AGE OF SANSKRIT DRAMAS.

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The most favourite theory with the nineteenth century Sanskritists was that of Maxmüller that the golden age of Classical Sanskrit literature was the sixth century A. D. when flourished king Vikramāditya of Ujjain and his 'nine gems' including Kālidāsa. This sixth century Vikramāditya was found in king Yaśodharman of the Mandasore inscription. The unsoundness of this theory was afterwards proved by Bühler who examined a number of inscriptions including the Nasik Prakrit record (c. 150 A. D.) of Gautamī Balaśrī, the Junagarh Sanskrit record (150 A. D.), of Rudradāman and many inscriptions of the Gupta period, and proved the flourishing state of classical poetry, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, at the court of Indian princes as early as the second century A. D. It was also shown that Yaśodharman was neither a Vikramāditya, nor a Śakāri, nor even had he his capital at Ujjain, and that the so-called 'nine gems' are not

(1) Ibid. p. 116.

(2) In a paper "Identification of Poros and Parvataka", read before the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference.

known to have lived in the same century. Other theories ascribing later dates to Kālidāsa, the best classical Sanskrit writer, were proved to be untenable by the discovery of the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II, dated Śaka 556=634—35 A.D. This record mentions Kālidāsa and Bhāravi as already very famous. The introductory verses of the *Harsacarita* by Bāṇa, a contemporary of Harṣavardhana (606—647 A. D.) also mention Kālidāsa in a list of authors, quite famous in his time. It is now generally believed that Śakāri Vikramāditya of the legends is the Gupta king Candragupta II (c. 375—414 A. D.) and that, of the 'nine gems', at least Kālidāsa lived about the fifth century A.D.

Now, however, we have got to look at the question from a different point of view. I have recently noticed attempts to ascribe the thirteen Trivandrum plays to the time of Candragupta Maurya, *i. e.*, to the fourth century B. C., and the authorship of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* to Simuka, founder of the Śātavāhana family, who is generally placed in the second (but sometimes also in the first) century B. C. We have now to see if there is any evidence of the existence of a developed *kāvya* style and of the popularity of classical metres and of *samskr̥ta* or the refined language in centuries B.C.

The first question is regarding the development and popularisation of Classical Sanskrit. It evidently owes its development to the efforts of early grammarians like Śākaṭāyana, Śākalya, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Patañjali, Sarbavarman and others. The most important and the earliest extant Classical Sanskrit grammar is that of Pāṇini who however seems to have been preceded by a number of writers on the subject. But Pāṇini's date is disputed, though he should be placed earlier than the third century B. C. It is generally believed that *samskr̥ta* is the refined form of the popular speech of the Madhyadeśa which seems to have originally signified the upper valley of the Ganges and the Jumna. But it is interesting to note that Pāṇini is traditionally connected with Śālātura in the Gandhāra region in north-western India. Kātyāyana is to be placed between Pāṇini and Patañjali. Patañjali is generally believed to have been a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (c. 185—49 B. C.) on the strength of the *Māhabhāṣya* passages like *iha puṣyamitraṃ yājñamaḥ*. But there is reason to believe that these are *mūrdh-abhiṣikta udāharaṇa* or stock instances, and that they do not prove Patañjali's contemporaneity with the Śuṅga king. According to tradition, Patañjali was a native of Gonarda which was situated between Ujjain and Vidiśā (Besnagar near Bhilsa in Jubbulpore District.)¹ If a tradition recorded in Kalhaṇa's *Rajatarangini* is to be believed, he cannot possibly be placed, later than the first century A. D. Sarbavarman lived at the court of a Śālivāhana (*i. e.*, Śātavāhana) king possibly of Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithan in Aurangabad District); he therefore seems to have lived not later than the beginning of the third century A. D. It must be noticed here that according to

1. See *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, IX, January, 1935, p. 1 ff.

scholars, Sanskrit was not a spoken language at the time of Pāṇini and that, even amongst the cultured classes, it was not in colloquial usage, but was confined to the grammatical schools (*Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 281).

Now, inspite of the efforts of grammarians, it is clear from the evidence of epigraphy that Sanskrit was not popular as late as the first century A. D. Almost all records whether of kings or private persons, belonging to a period prior to that time are written in Prakrit. In western India, Prakrit began to be ousted by Sanskrit from the field of epigraphy about the second century A. D., but in southern India it lingered on upto the first half of the fourth century A. D.¹ Inscriptions also suggest that the cradle of Sanskrit was possibly the north-western part of India, the land of Pāṇini, whence its influence seems to have spread eastwards and southwards. The inscriptional Prakrit generally avoids the use of conjuncts; but they are in general use in those Prakrit records which are linguistically and chronologically nearer the Sanskrit records. It is however very interesting to note that the Girnar (Kathiawar), Shahbazgarhi (Peshawar Dist.) and Manshera (Hazara Dist.) versions of Aśoka's Rock Edicts—especially the last two—exhibit a tendency to use conjuncts. The language of these versions is definitely nearer Sanskrit in comparison with that of the other versions of Aśoka's Rock Edicts. In place of the passage *devānaṃ piyasa piyadasine lajine* of the Kalsi, Dhauli and Jaugada versions, we have *devānaṃ priyasa priyadasino raño* (Girnar), *devana priasa priadra'sisa raño* (Shahbazgarhi) and *devana priyasa priyadra'sino rajine* (Manshera), and in place of *mige no dhuve*, we have *mrugo no dhruvaṃ* (Shahbazgarhi) and *mrige no dhruvaṃ* (Manshera).² And it is interesting that Sanskrit was first used in the records of kings who ruled in the country with Kathiawar in the south and Ayodhyā in the east. It was popularised in northern India by foreigners like the Scythians who came through north-western India, the land of Pāṇini. Inscriptions like those of the Scythian princes, which are written in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit, prove to be a land-mark in the popularisation of Sanskrit in northern India. Now, these facts possibly go to show that, unless we have proofs of a very positive character, no classical Sanskrit *kāvya* especially *dr̥śya-kāvya* which is meant for the enjoyment of the public can be safely given a date prior to the birth of Christ.³

1. See my *Early Pallavas*, Lahore, 1935, p. 18 ff.

2. Inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhi have generally no long vowels.

3. The popular epic literature seems to have been originally in Prakrit; cf. the case of the Jātaka literature especially *Dasaratha-Jātaka* which gives an early version of the *Ramayana*. The *Ramayana*, a saga of the eastern Madhyadeśa, is believed to have been sung by bards before public gatherings. It could not therefore have been originally composed in Sanskrit which was not understood by the ordinary people. The same appears to have been the case with the *Mahabharata*, a saga of the Kuru-Pancāla country. It is however possible that some portion of the original *Mahabharata* was composed in northwestern India.

Now we may take up the question of the development of Classical poetry. Not to speak of a developed *kāvya* style, even figurative expressions and long compounds (*ojo-guṇa*, i. e., *samāsa-bhūyastva*, which is the very life of Classical prose) are conspicuous by their absence in early epigraphic records. The Nanaghat record of Simuka's daughter-in-law Nāganikā, which is evidently a *prastiti* of her dead husband, gives an only instance of figurative expression in the passage *sāgara-girivara-valayāya pathaviya pathamā-vira*. Epigraphy therefore does not support any hypothesis that a developed *kāvya* literature existed in the pre-Christian centuries.

A consideration of the question of development and popularity of Classical metres also tells the same story. Classical metres like Mālatī, Pramitākṣarā, Prahārṣiṇī and Vasantatilakā are no doubt found in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, but as we have already remarked, it is not at all certain if Patañjali lived in the second century B. C. and not more than a century later. The Junagarh record of Rudradāman appears to refer to the king's proficiency in composing *gadya* and *padya kāvya*s adorned with *śabda* and *artha alaṅkaras*. In inscriptions, Classical metres are found to be used only about the period of the Guptas. These facts appear to prove that such metres were at least not popular before the birth of Christ.

The above facts have led me to believe that no Sanskrit work in a developed *kāvya* style can be much earlier than the second century A. D. But the date of a drama or *drśya-kāvya* can be looked at from a new point of view. The determining factor in this case may be the language and style of the Prakrit portions of a drama which should be compared with the language and style of Prakrit inscriptions. Like royal edicts dramas were no doubt meant to be intelligible and enjoyable to the public. At least the Prakrits used in the drama are theoretically in imitation of popular speech. A comparison of the Prakrit portions of the extant dramas with their *ojo-guṇa* with Prakrit records shows that none of the former can be much earlier than the second century A. D., because before that period *samāsa-bhūyastva* was almost unknown in Indian epigraphy. Any attempt at identifying the author of the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* with the founder of the Śātavāhana family would appear impossible, if only we compare the Prakrit portions of this drama with the language of the Nanaghat inscription of Nāganikā. It would appear even absurd if we remember the traditions regarding the ignorance of Sanskrit ascribed to the Śātavāhana patron of Sarbavarman who could not distinguish between *m=odaka* (no water) and *modaka* (sweets), the Śātavāhana of Kuntala who according to the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* ordered exclusive use of Prakrit in his harem and the Śātavāhana king Hāla credited with the authorship of the Prakrit poem *Gāthā-saptaśatī*. The above facts together with the evidence of the inscriptions of the family which are all written in Prakrit appear to prove that the Śātavāhanas of the

a theory ascribing the authorship of the *Mṛcchakatika* to Simuka must be rejected unless it is supported by evidence of a very definite character.¹ Similarly, a comparison of the style of the thirteen Trivandrum plays with that of the inscriptions of Aśoka proves the absurd nature of the theory ascribing the plays to the fourth century B. C.² The theory however appears to be based on the verse *navam sārāvam salilasya pūrṇam*, etc., supposed to be quoted from the *Pratijñā-yaug andharā yaṇa* in the *Arthasāstra*, ascribed to Kauṭalya who is generally supposed to have lived in the fourth century B. C. at the court of Candragupta Maurya. But whatever be the age of Kauṭalya, the present day *Arthasāstra* is undoubtedly a later work. The *Arthasāstra* (II, vi) refers to the system of specifying dates in terms of *rāja-varṣa* (regnal year), *māsa* (month), *pakṣa* (bright or dark fortnight) and *divasa* (day). Inscriptions prove that this system was becoming popular only about the beginning of the second century A. D. The system of dating known to Aśoka in the third century B. C. is found in such passages of his edicts as *devānam priyapriyadasi-rāja evaṃ āha : dvōdasa-vās-abhisitena mayā idaṃ ānapitaṃ*. A record of king Bhāgabhadra (second century B. C.) is dated *vāsena catudasena rājena vadhamānasa* (Luders, List, No. 669). A little later system referred to the regnal year, *pakṣa* of the season, and day e. g., in passages, like *asvaghōṣasya catarise savachare hemanta-pakhe prathamē divase dasame* (ib., No. 922). Early dates referring to this system show that the year was originally divided into three seasons (*griṣma*, *varṣā* and *hemanta*) of eight fortnights each; cf. *siri-virapurisadatasa samvachara 20 vās-pakham 8 divasaṃ 10* (ib., No. 1202). *Sarat* was added to the list of seasons which had now six fortnights each; cf. *savcharam Paḍāman sarada-pakham bittiyam divasam paḍamam nakkhattam rohinyam* (ib., 1196). This system of dating lingered long in southern India. Mention of the names of months is found only in records of about the first century A. D. The system popular in north-western India

1. The *Mṛcchakatika* (Act xi) which represents the judge (*adhikarnika*) in a court of law accompanied by a *sresthin* and a *kayastha* can hardly be a pre-Gupta work. The earliest mention of *sresthin* and *kayastha* as officials or semi-officials are in records of the Gupta period. See Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, 4th ed., p. 473 n.

2. The Trivandrum plays may be assigned to the Gupta period on the strength of the celebrated verse *imam sagara-paryantam himavad-vindhya-kundalam, mahim=ekatapairantam rajasimham prasatu nah*. The verse refers to a king of northern India whose kingdom lay between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas and between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. Prof. Raychaudhuri may not be wrong in identifying this Rājasimha with Candragupta II Vikramāditya (*Political History* 4th ed., p. 442n). If Bhāsa is the author of the Trivandrum plays, he was an older contemporary of Kālidāsa or he died not much earlier than Kālidāsa's rise. As regards *ojoguna* in the Prakrit portions of the Trivandrum plays we may quote a passage from a maid servant's speech in the *Svapna-varadalam iam bhattidaria ukharida-kanna-culiena vaama-sanjada-sodabindu-vittidena parisanta-ramania-damsanena muhena Kanduena Kilandi ido obva aacchadi* (act II) *iam ointa-sunna-hiaa nihara-padhada-candaleha via amandida-bhaddaam vesam dharaandi paingu silapattas uvavithila* (act III). We should compare this highly artificial speech given in the mouth of a maid servant with the royal speech in Aśoka's edicts.

Deccan hardly patronised Sanskrit literature. At least under these circumstances during this period, was to refer generally to months of the Yavana Calendar and also to Indian months and to the day without reference to *pakṣa*, e. g., *kaṇiṣkasya saṁvatsare ekādāse 11 daiṣiṅkasya masasya divase aṭhavise 28*, or *saṁ 11 aṣaḍhasa masasa di 20 utara-phagune*, or *saṁ 18 karti yasa majhe divase 20*, etc. It is interesting to note that dates of records belonging to the Kuṣana period and found in the Mathurā region show a compromise between the old Indian custom of referring to season and *pakṣa* and the Yavana custom of referring to month; e. g., *saṁ 5 he 4 di 20* (*ib.*, No. 20). The reference to the twentieth day proves that *he 4* means the fourth month of *hemanta*, not its fourth *pakṣa*. This is proved by other instances like *kaṇiṣkasya rājya saṁvatsare navame 9 vāsa-māse pratha 1 divase 5*, or *savatsare pācavise hemanta-māse tṛtiye divase vīse*, or *soḍāsasa savatsare 72 hemanta-māse 2 divase 9* (*ib.*, Nos. 22, 32 and 59). This system which possibly owes its origin to the Yavana custom seems to have been followed by the system that referred to both *māsa* and *pakṣa*, e. g., *vase 41 kātika-sudhe panarasa* (*ib.*, No. 1133) or *rudradāmno varse avisaptatitame 72 mārgasīrṣa-bahula-pratipadi*. It is very interesting to note that like Sanskrit this system of dating was also popularised by foreigners who came through north-western India, and that Kauṭalya like Pāṇini is traditionally connected with the Taxila or Gandhāra region in north-western India. Kauṭalya may have been the teacher of an Arthaśāstra school and the author of the kernel of the *Arthaśāstra*, which in that case may have been originally composed in the form of a Dharmaśāstra work, but some portion of the treatise and its form as we find it today are surely not much earlier than the beginning of the second century A. D.

I am inclined to think that the earliest known writer of the classical *kāvya* (including *dr̥ṣya-kāvya*) is Aśvaghoṣa who is traditionally known to have lived at the court of the Kuṣana king Kaṇiṣka at Puruṣapura (modern Peshawar). It must be noted that like Pāṇini and Kauṭalya Aśvaghoṣa too is connected with the north-western part of India and with foreigners who favoured Sanskrit. Aśvaghoṣa lived in the last quarter of the first or the first half of the second century A. D. There is no proof that Classical Sanskrit was popular in other parts of India in his time. It is however not impossible that his was not the first attempt to write Classical *kāvya*s and that in north-western India, there existed some work in Classical Sanskrit even before Aśvaghoṣa. Theatrical performances however appear to have existed long before our first known dramatist; but they were probably like the eighteenth-nineteenth century Bengali *yātrā* (half-written and half-unwritten) and the Bengali *bhāṣān yātrā* and *gājir gān* (unwritten) of the present day. The age of Sanskrit dramas must have been preceded by centuries of unwritten plays and possibly by an age of Prakrit dramas which are now lost.

A NOTE ON A SOUTH INDIAN DOCUMENT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA.

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The Keralolpatti belonging to Malabar (written in the Malayali language) is a book which is not very well-known in northern India. It is alleged to be written by Sri Samkaracharya, though scholars put its date much later, *i.e.*, the Portuguese period of India in History (14th Century A. D.). It is first noticed by Captain Duncan in the Asiatic Researches Vol. V. An imperfect translation of it exists in Col. Mackenzie's descriptive Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts Vol. II. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1828.)

This book gives an account of Malabar and its origin in the legendary fashion—how Parasurāma brought the land into existence out of the sea—how it was first peopled—the administrative arrangements made—the election of a king—accounts of various kings—and the last king's (Cheraman Perumal) conversion to Islam. Now as a historical document giving relevant facts of history it is quite useless. In this respect it is absurd, inconsistent and full of contradictory statements. To name only one example king Krishna Rāyar (Ānakandi of Vijaynagar who is known to have flourished in the 16th Century A. D.) is alleged in this book to have sent one of his nominees as king of Kerala in 428 A. D.

However valueless the book may be as a historical document yet it contains a great deal of very ancient traditions, some of which specially those concerning administrative and cultural history are very useful and informative. A most interesting thing in the Keralolpatti is the account of the government of the land. In the literature of the north we have many descriptions of the elective origin of monarchy, but in the south, I think, Keralolpatti records one of the very few accounts of such a thing. It, at the same time, gives such a full account of limited monarchy as we have perhaps nowhere in Indian literature. Secondly it also gives a very interesting account of oligarchic government.

The document describes the evolution of a government in a country from the very first stage. The land, as described in the book was at first totally uninhabited, because Parasurāma reclaimed it from the sea. The latter established a colony of Brahmans on it and it is the gradual evolution of governmental ideas amongst them that is described in this book.

At first the government was an oligarchy. Of the 64 grāmanas that composed the country there were four which established a position of predominance

over the rest.....“in order that nothing might obstruct or interrupt the daily business.....each of the four grāmams should have a house in the village of Kodangular (the capital)...the 64 grāmams assembled thus ordered that the four Talayadrimar should be unanimous and protect and punish”. Thus there were four men (one from each of the four villages) who conducted the government. They formed the executive government ; in order to help them in their deliberations there were two assemblies or courts (Nalkullakams) the first of which was perhaps composed of the Brahman inhabitants of the four favoured villages. The second consisted of a series of four Varna Kullakars or assemblies of the representatives of the four castes. The people of Kerala were fully alive to the danger that the four men they had appointed to govern may one day become kings and establish the regime of hereditary monarchy in the land. So they ordained that “no married person was to be employed in the office.”

However the oligarchic form of government, did not last long. In paragraphs 43 and 67 of Mackenzie’s translation we have that when the 64 villages had been ruling for some time dispute arose and injustice followed. So the 60 villages assembled and considered as follows:—“which is the best way for us to preserve the Rājyam—thus they considered—the 64 grāmams then assembled, resolved—‘we should appoint a Protector amongst us’, which they did accordingly and appointed that the person they elected should reside at Teruwanji Kollam to govern the 64 grāmams and that after three years pass the 64 gramams should assemble again at Teruwanji Kollam and change the person and appoint another in his place for other three years and thus they ordained” (Mackenzie para 67). Another thing to note here is that it was the executive government which is changed, the two assemblies remained as usual because there is no mention of any change in that direction. Here again we find expression of that old fear that the ruler may become permanent and hereditary. So it is a temporary king that was appointed with provision for the appointment of another person after the expiry of a certain term. Thus the king was here no more than a mere office-holder. From the accounts of the various kings that is given in the Keralolpatti it is evident that the kings who followed were all elected by the people—and by only one class of it, the Brahmans. The kings brought by them from the different countries ruled by agreement for a few years and the privileges enjoyed by them were limited by the agreement. Thus one king named Keralan brought from Choyamandalam (Logan, Malabar I p. 226) who ruled for 12 years had his terms of privilege described thus—battle wager, sea and land customs, certain kinds of animals, accretions from the sea, tax on head loads, the revenue and charge of all Kerala. In the case of another king, *i.e.*, Cheraman Perumal—“the Brahman of 64 grāmams gave him an Ānāyatittee (a kind of writ) to rule Kerala the land of 160 Kālām (leagues) in length and authorised him to rule as sole emperor, giving him flower and water.” From

the accounts given it seems that the Brahman settlers looked upon kingship with suspicion and the book is full of account of actions taken by the Brahmans to prevent the kings from becoming tyrannical in any way possible. They not only appointed the kings by agreement, they also often put checks upon him by putting assemblies and councils around him. Thus, in Mackenzie Para 68 we read that "for a considerable time when they found they (the kings) had no truth, the 64 grāmams assembled and decided to place four persons, one from each of the four favoured villages, along with the Raksha Purusham in the management of state affairs." This state of affairs apparently continued for a long time for in Logan's Malabar p. 229, we read that Indra Perumal reigned aided by councillors, it is said, of the four representative villages, for a period of 12 years ; Ārya Perumal reigned with their aid for five years.

The terms made by the Brahmans (when appointing the king) as regards their own position are also noteworthy. Thus in one place (Mackenzie p. 88) we have, "when the Brahmans had brought the Raja and were installing him they held his hand and made the following agreement—"That which we cannot do you must perform and protect us. The Raja must not object to the interference of the Brahmans in the management of the State, nor judge of any complaint of which they may judge, or in which they are parties. At least not in Kerala, in other countries the Raja will settle everything." Another instance of the check put on the king is given on p. 89 of Mackenzie's Catalogue—"the Brahmans) considered how to prevent the Raja getting too much strength and so they.....(laid it down that) the Raja-Karyam were to be conducted by an assembly and council and without consulting them the Raja was not to determine at his pleasure. Therefore, the 64 grāmams assembled, consulted, and besides the aftermentioned 4 Kullakams they appointed three other Kullakams inferior to the 4 grāmams in order to transact the Nitya-Karyam along with the Raja." "The Kodangular-grāmam should be the residence of the Raja and near that place four toly (or houses) for the residence of the chief of the 4 Councils erected."

The two facts which deserve our consideration in Keralolopatti are: - (1) in the first place the great influence exercised by Brahmans on the government of the country and secondly the close similarity which the constitutional features just described bear to similar traditions of the north.

We find the Brahmans of Parasurama establishing a kind of a republic of a military caste. Even after the establishment of monarchy the republican form is resumed or revived by them from time to time. Now this republican constitution bears a close similarity to the Ayudhajivi samgha of Panini and the Sastropjivins of the Arthasastra. Mr. Jayaswal in his Hindu Polity (p. 36). rightly puts emphasis on the verb upjiva and explains the Ayudhajivi Samgha

as a republic in which the members observed the practice of military art. These samghas were not purely military because their constitution also required the citizens to devote attention to industry and agriculture (varttasastropajivinah). This interpretation of the Ayudhajivins fits in well with the constitution of the Kerala Brahmins; for in one place we read 'after the death of Kulasekhara Perumal' "eight and a half of the grāmams took up arms and were subsequently joined by two others." These armed Brahmins or protectors, it is said, had four chief things to attend to, one of which alone was to assemble to consult about government affairs. A very important thing which attracts our attention in this connection is the necessary modification which we have to make of Mr. Jayswal's analysis of the nature of a samgha. After mentioning the samghas in Panini he comes to the conclusion that 'Samgha is contrasted with monarchy and that a Samgha or a Hindu republic had Brahman members, Kshatriya members and other castes i.e., the personnel of the Samghas was not composed of one caste or tribe.' But the Kerala Brahman Samgha as it appears from the Keralolpatti was composed of Brahmins alone. The second assembly had some representatives of the three other castes but real power was concentrated in the hands of the Brahmins and nowhere in this book we find members of the other castes performing any important function. Thus the Keralolpatti proves that a Hindu Samgha can be an organisation of one caste alone.

Secondly even when a king is appointed he is more like the president of a republic than a monarch ruling by his own right. He is appointed for a stated number of years.....he rules by an agreement—his duty is specified (protection)—his privileges are strictly limited and enumerated in the agreement, he receives $\frac{1}{6}$ of the produce for the support of himself and his subordinates—he is deposed whenever the Brahmins wanted. These things remind us clearly of similar early northern traditions. We have in the Dharmasutra (Gautama Ch. X, Baudhayana Ch. XVI,¹ Vasistha Ch. I²) various statements made to the effect that the king was to protect with the sixth part as his wages. Regarding the deposition of kings by Brahmins we have in the epics the cases of Parikṣita and Srinjaya Dastaritu both of whom lost their positions owing to the hostility of the Brahmins (also the cases of Arjun Kartavirya of Aila and of king Dambhodhava). Regarding the elective nature of monarchy we know from northern traditions the part played by the Purohita in abhisehka ceremonies. In fact the Brahmin is made free of royal control in one place where it is stated that Soma was the king of the Brahmins. The extremely limited form of monarchy prevailing in Southern

1. षड्भागभृतो राजा रक्षेत प्रजाम् । (Baudhayana Ch. XVI)

2. राजा तु धर्मेनानुशसन् षड्भगं लभेव् धनस्य । (Vasistha I)

India leads us to draw either of two inferences. First that it was not monarchy at all, but the presidentship of a republic and secondly, which is more probable, that constitutional monarchy survived in a truer form in Hindu South India on account of the South's isolated position and its immunity from foreign invasions.

However from the evidence supplied by various sources we can place some reliance on the tradition recorded in the Keralaolpatti that the Brahmans of Kerala came from the north. The close similarity between the constitutional history of Kerala and that of Northern India, just noticed by us, goes a long way in supporting the tradition and we are further backed by very appropriate anthropological data. Now in south western India the Nambudri Brahmans are universally regarded as Brahmins of Parasuram and various competent authorities have asserted with great emphasis that the Nambudri Brahmans of Kerala have a northern origin. Thus the Census Commissioner for Travancore (of 1921) in a bulletin on the people of Malabar says, "if anthropometry as far as it has gone, may be trusted to enlighten us on this subject, they (the Nambudri or Nambutiri) are the truest Aryans in South India". The Census Commissioner of Travancore for 1931, says in page 361 of T. C. R. Vol. I "the Nambutiri Brahman is the best available representative of the Aryan tribe," and on page 363, "the early Aryan immigrants to Kerala belonged to the priestly class now represented by the Nambutiris". Thurston, in his *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* asserts, "It is certain that the Nambutiris came from the north.....The Nambutiris call themselves Aryan Brahmans. Theirs is by far the purest form of the Vedic Brahman to be met with in Southern India." Lastly L. K. Anantakrishnan Iyer, another great authority on Indian Anthropology writes in his book, '*Cochin Tribes and Castes*,' Vol II, p. 170, 'they are the Vedic Brahmans of the purest Aryan type.' These generalisations are further confirmed by the anthropometric measurements given in Vol III of the Census of Report of India, 1931.

	St.	C. I.	N. I.	Skin Colour	Eye Colour
Nambudri Brahman	1676	71. 78	60. 71	14	7
Sikh	1767	73. 87	67. 80	14	3
U. P. Brahman	1765	71. 07	64. 41	15	7
Tamil ..	1601	75. 51	72. 92	15	3
Telegu ..	1621	76. 19	73. 08	15	1
Chitpavan .. (Marathi)	1611	74. 24	69. 09	13	7

Thus here we find the Nambudri Brahman placed together with the Sikhs and the U.P. Brahmans in one place and the great similarity in the somatic features of these three groups is very clear. Among the South Indian groups that have been mentioned here the Nambudri is singled out as having the close

affinity with the northern peoples. "Individually the Nambudri is closely related with the U. P. Brahman." "In the colour of the skin the proportion of the light brown is the greatest (291) among the Nambudris who show also a very much smaller percentage of dark people." In the colour of the eye they alone of South Indian people have a small percentage of clear light brown. The Nambudri is again stated to have a high prominent nose, 16% of which are convex. The face is longish among the Nambudri. "The long-headed people of the north (*i.e.*, of the Aryan type) is differentiated by similar people of the south (the Dravidian) by, not only in stature, in the absolute length and height of the cranial vault, but also in the form and proportion of the face and the nose." In this respect the Nambudri alone among the South Indian castes and tribes bear the closest resemblance with the northern people. In fact except in stature, in other somatic features they can hardly be distinguished from northerners. The difference in stature can be ascribed to climate and the vegetarian diet of the Nambudris.

I give all these anthropological details in order to show that the Nambudri Brahmans are really northerners. My point is that the Nambudris at a remote past (the exact date of which can no longer be ascertained) came somewhere from the Punjab to Malabar with the Āyudhajivin constitution and established a republic which later on was converted into a limited monarchy. Above I have tried to show that almost all the features of Kerala constitution have counterparts in North Indian institutions. Lastly our inference is further confirmed by a fact mentioned by Thurston who speaks of an amusement of the present-day Nambudris named Yatrakali (most probably a distortion of Sastrakali). It is a ceremony full of songs devoted to Siva and Parvati (with exercism and skill in swordsmanship). It is performed before the King of Travancore who receives the Brahmans in state before the begining of the performance. This may be relic of the old time martial practice of the Nambudri Brahmans who at one time observed the use of weapons as a principal part of their life when they lived under a republican constitution similar to the Ayudhajivin Samgha of Panini.

ORIGIN OF THE BHATIAS

Sadananda K. Dikshit, M. A.

In his 'Coins of Ancient India' p. 66 Cunningham has said, 'The name of Odumbara or Audumbara is derived from the Udumbara fig tree (*Ficus Glomerata*). According to Pāṇini, any country possessing these trees may be called Audumbara. There is a country of this name called Kachh, where Pliny places a people named Odonboeres.

Thus, Cunningham here throws out a suggestion that Kachh possessed the Udumbara fig trees and was consequently known as an Audumbara country. But in the whole of indigenous literature we never find Audumbara as a name of Kachh or any part to the SW. of the Madhya-deśa. In fact the *Kūrmavibhāga* fo the *Brihat-Saṁhitā* includes it in the Madhya-deśa along with *Kāpiṣṭhala* (or *Kaithal*) and *Gājāhvaya* (or *Hastinapura*),¹ while the *Sabhā-parva* Ch. LII refers to them with the *Pāradas* and the *Bāhlikas*.² In another place also, the *Brihat-Saṁhitā* mentions them with the people of *Kāpiṣṭhala*. Cunningham, informs that "the *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa* does the same, while the *Viṣṇupurāna* couples it with the *Traigartas* and the *Kunindas*."³ He rightly adds that "the country of the Audumbaras must therefore be looked near *Kāngra* and the *Kunet* districts;" and that "there the name still exists in the rich tracts between the *Rāvi* and *Bias* Rivers, comprising the forts of *Pathankot* and *Nūrpur*." In fact all the Audumbara coins found by Cunningham hailed from 'the Northern Punjab, beyond Lahore.' The furthest Southern boundary of their region may at best be marked by the fact that they are included among the *Sālvāvayavas* by the *Kāśikā*, along with the *Tilakhalas*, *Bhūliṅgas* etc.

Thus I cannot accept Cunningham's statement that Pliny's *Odomboeroe* placed near about Kachh are the Audumbaras of indigenous literature. But Cunningham is almost certainly right in identifying these 'Odomboeroe' with the 'Otiempochilo or A-tien-po-chi-lo' of Yuan Chwang. The name 'O-tien-po-chi-lo' has been variously transcribed, but as Dr. V. A. Smith points out in his *E. H. I.* p. 366 (4th ed.), the proper Indian equivalent of 'Otiempochilo' is 'not known with any approach to certainty.' Thus Julien renders it as *Adhyavakila* or *Autyavakela*,—a name unknown to any of the *Purāṇas* or even to the *Brihat Saṁhitā*. According to Watters the "sound of the characters gives us rather a word like *Ādinava-chila*, which is a Sankrit compound" (Watters II. 256).

1 औदुम्बर-कापिष्ठल-गजाह्वया इति मज्जिमिदम् ।

2 औदुम्बराः दुर्धिभागाः पारदाः बाह्लिकैः सह ।

3 'Coins of Ancient India' p. 66.

I confess that I have never come across such a Sanskrit compound, although Ādinava is not unfamiliar. Besides, it cannot be the name of a tribe, or even an adequate trans-cription of 'Odomboeroe' of Pliny; for as told above, the Odomboeroe were almost certainly identical with the O-tien-po-chi-lo.

Cunningham therefore transcribes the latter name as Audumba-tira or Audumbara; but Odomboeroe can hardly be transcribed as Audumba-tira, or O-tien-po-chlo as Audumbara. Cunningham would suggest that Audumba-tira is only a short form of Audumbara-tira; but even then, the latter cannot be the name of a country. We can perhaps understand Samudra-tira or Abdhi-Kūla as the name of a small province stretching beside the sea, but we cannot understand Audumbara-tira.

I therefore transcribe 'O-tien-po-chi-lo as Uttama-bhadra, a tribe well known to epigraphists from the Nasik Cave Inscription which informs that they were besieged by the Mālayas in a rainy season. Ushavadāta marched against the Mālayas, but at the sound of his drums the Mālayas fled away and were made the subjects of the Uttama-bhadras. Thence (=Tato *i.e.* from the country of the Uttama-bhadras) Ushavadāta went to Poshkarāṇi and there performed ablutions giving 3000 cows and a village.

This inscription would thus show that the country of the Uttama-bhadras corresponded to the region assigned to O-tien-po-chi-lo by Yuan Chwang, which according to the pilgrim was 'above 5000 li in circuit.' (Watters II. 256) "It was away in the west on the Sin-tu (Indus) and near the sea.....The country had latterly been without a sovereign and was under Sindh" (ibid).

Thus we determine the position also of the Odomboeroe of Pliny, and the equation Uttama-bhadra=Otien-po-chi-lo=Odomboeroe may be accepted without any hesitation. If so, it was a great tribe which occupied the same territory throughout the first seven centuries of the Christian Era as it finds mention not only in Pliny and the Nasik Inscription, but also in Yuan Chwang. But then, we don't find their mention in the Purāṇas or the Brihat-Sāmhita, which are expected to note down all the important tribes. Even in the Mahābhārata, it is only in a solitary passage in the Bhishmaparva, that we find the Uttamas, if not the Uttama-bhadras mentioned [उत्तमाश्च दशार्थाश्च मेकसाश्चोत्कलैः सह]. This non-mention would be indeed surprising. I, therefore, conjecture that those works mention the tribe under the short form Bhadra, who are associated in the Vāyu Purāṇa with the 'Sindhu-Sauviras [cf. गन्धारा : यवना श्वैव सिन्धुसौवीरभद्रका : ।] The same line finds mention in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa but with a slight change viz., Bhadrakas into Madrakas, evidently a copyist's mistake, since it is improbable that the Madrakas should be associated with the Sindhu-Sauviras The Brihat-Sāmhita refers to the Bhadrakas, in one place along with Kachchha in the SW. and in another place with the Medas, Māṇḍavyas (of Māṇḍor or

Māṇḍavyapura) etc. in the Madhya-deśa. This would mean that we have to place the Bhadrās in the region between Kachchha on the one hand and the Sindhu-Sanvīras on the other, while the Medas and the Māṇḍavyas were not far from them. It may be noted in this connection that most scholars, *e. g.*, Smith, Watters, S. N. Mujumdar etc., agree in placing the O-tien-po-chi-lo in the Sind delta, *i. e.*, just below the country of the Sindhu-Sanvīras and not far from Kachchha.

This great tribe of the Bhadrās is mentioned in the Nāsik Ins. of Uśavadāta under two forms *viz.* Uttama-bhadraka and Uttama-bhādra, thus showing that probably both the forms Bhādra and Bhadra were in vogue. I therefore identify these Bhādrās with Bhāṭias, who, according to the 'Glossary of the tribes and caste of the Punjab and N. W. F. Province' (compiled by H. A. Rose Vol. II. p. 90) "are numerous in Sind and Guzerat". The same authority informs that "They are often supposed to be Khatris", a fact corroborated by the Nasik Ins. They "are strict Hindus,—far more so than the other trading classes of the Western Punjab—eschewing meat and liquor. They do not practice widow marriage". (ibid. p. 90) That is perhaps the reason why they called themselves Uttamāḥ or Uttama bhadrāḥ.

The 'Glossary' however regards the Bhāṭias hailing "originally from the country round Delhi, but more recently from Bhaṭner and the Rajputana desert and claiming to be Rajputs of Yaduvanśi race, one branch of which became rulers of Jaisalmir." The truth is that the tribe of the Bhadrās had spread far and wide, some minor branches occupying portions of Madhyadeśa where they are once referred to by the Bṛihat Saṁhitā. The Karṇadig-vijayaparva of the Mahābhārata also seems to refer them to the Central Region by mentioning them with the Rohitakas (*i. e.*, the people of Rohtak *i. e.*, the Yandheyas), the Āgneyas and the Mālavas (or the Āgneya¹). Similarly, both the Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas refer to Bhadrakāras along with the Sūrasenas, Bodhas and Satapātheśvaras in the middle country,² though it is not altogether improbable that we have to differentiate between the Bhadrās and the Bhadrakāras.

We can thus explain how the "Bhātia is found side by side with the Khatri in Sialkot, Gujrat and Shahpur" (Glossary of the tribes and castes of Punjab and N. W. F. Province. Vol. II. p. 507) and also in Bahawalpur (Ibid. p. 540). It is not impossible to connect them with the Sravaṇā bhadrās mentioned in no less than two inscriptions,—as is suggested to me by my father Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT.

I should conclude this brief article by pointing out that the author of the 'Glossary' connects the Bhāṭias, with another well known tribe *viz.*, the Bhaṭṭis

¹ भद्रान्द्रोहितकांश्चैव आग्नेयान्मालवानपि ।

² शूरसेना : भद्रकारा : बोधा : शतपथेश्वरा : ॥

and that their legends bear out his conclusions [Vide pages 102, 104, 105, 540 etc.]. But before concluding I have to put a query before the learned scholars. The port of Debal was "situated on the Indus. All our authorities agree in stating that it was on the west of the Mihran" (Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 342). Cunningham informs us that "Diwal or Debal means simply a temple." Now the capital of Otienpochilo which "was away in the west on the Sintu (Indus) and near the sea" had, according to Yuan Chwang "a large handsomely ornamented Mahesvara temple, the image in which had supernatural powers (Watters II, 256). Is it therefore impossible that Debal was the capital of Otienpochilo ?

INDIAN RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY AS KNOWN TO EARLY GREEK HISTORIANS.

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The Greek historians¹ mentioned a few of the important deities, the chief among them being Dionysius (Siva) and Herakles (Krishna). Though the accounts about them as presented by Megasthenes appear to be absurd and formed a charge of mendacity against Megasthenes, nevertheless the essence in his account concerning these two deities is much akin to the features assigned to these gods in Sanskrit literature. He garbed these Indian deities with Greek mythology and historical traditions. Megasthenes account of Dionysius as over running, followed by a wandering army of revellers, garlanded with wine and joy to the accompaniment of drums and symbols was a Greek tradition and mythology but in essence it represented the destroying Sakti of Siva who is mentioned in Rig Veda² as Rudra. His revellers must be his ganas referred to as ganas in Indian literature as his most obedient servants. Thus Megasthenes mentioned the destroying power of God Siva.

Heracles according to Arrian³ was worshipped especially by the Soursenoi (Surasenas) an independent people who possessed two great cities Methora

1. Megasthenes-Indika Frag. XLVI—Strabo XV. 1. 6-8.
2. Rig Veda 1. 143. 2.
3. Indika Frag VIII.

(Mathura) and Cleisbora (Krishapur probably Brindaban) and a navigable river Jobanes (Jumna) flowed through their country. Here it is a true representation of Lord Krishna whose janmabhumi or mother land was Mathura and who according to Srimad Bhagvat was associated with Mathura and Brindaban.

The other Indian Gods worshipped by the Indians were Zensombrios, the Ganges and the indigenous deities of the country.¹ The zensombrios must be God Indra as suggested by all the scholars who set down from the clouds the fertilising rains without which the crops would fade, the cattle would perish and all nature die. Ganges even to this day holds a predominant place among the Hindus as the purifier of all sins.

There is no mention of other deities by the Greek historians.

Another important fact to be considered in connection with the Indian gods is the supremacy of Siva and Krishna, as they are the only two gods mentioned by Megasthenes? This is due to the fact that from the period of the later Vedic literature parallel to the developement of the philosophy of Maya, Karma, transmigration of soul and Mukti, there was also in progress the movement which led to the emergence of Indra and Visnu (identical with Siva and Krishna) as great Indian gods. Prajapati was yielding to Rudra, figuring as a popular deity in the Yajur Veda, and the growing position of Vishnu, indicated by his identification with sacrifice was a sign that he counted much in Vedic. This must have led to the origin and development of the two schools of Saivism and Vaishnavism. This is evident from the fact that Megasthenes has mentioned particular tribes as ardent worshippers of Siva or Vishnu.

The Greek historians failed to notice the distinction between Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. They of course noticed certain austeric practices which the ascetics observed. Herodotus² was the first to mention a certain practice which appears to be a Jain one. He referred to a class of people which neither killed anything that had life nor sow anything nor did they have houses. But they lived upon herbs and a grain that sprung out spontaneously. This they gathered and after boiling it ate it. This practice is applicable more to Jainism than Buddhism.

If this practice then is taken to be Jain then Greek sources also testify that Jainism spread earlier than Buddhism and in fifth century B. C., when Herodotus wrote, it had reached the extreme North-western borders of India.

1. Strabo Geography XV. 1. 69.

2. Herodotus 'Historica III 100.'

Megasthenes¹ mentioned two kinds of ascetics Brachmans and Garmanes. The Brachmans as is clear must be Brahmins while Garmanes seem to be a mistake for Sanskrit Sramana and Pali Samana who are mentioned by Asoka² in his inscriptions as people worthy of respect from all classes. The philosophers as Megasthenes has pointed out resided in a grove in front of the city within a moderate sized enclosure. They lived in simple style and lay on pallets of straw and deer skins. They abstained from animal food and sexual pleasures and occupied their time in listening to serious discourses and imparting knowledge to willing hearers. The Brahmins did not practise asceticism for life but to a certain period after which they entered into worldly life and married but they took care not to communicate the knowledge of philosophy to their wives lest they should desert them.

Of the Sramanas those who were held in most honour were Hylobioi³—the ascetics of the wood. They lived in forests, subsisted on leaves and wild fruits, wore garments from the bark of trees and abstained from wine and commerce with women. They practised asceticism at greater length and underwent active toil by enduring suffering. They remained motionless for the whole day in one posture. This strict penance and suffering was also mentioned by Aristobolus.⁴ He had referred to two sages practising asceticism—one by enduring the rains which were falling and the other standing on one foot by holding up in both the hands a beam of wood about three cubits long, and when the leg became fatigued, supported himself on the other and continued for the whole day. Onesikritus⁵ had also related that he found at a distance twenty stadia from the city fifteen men standing in different postures, standing or lying down naked and did not move from the positions till late in the evening.

The above account thus shows different kinds of ascetics belonging to Brahmanic and Buddhistic orders. There is no mention of any particular kind of ascetic order but from the account we infer that there were two classes of ascetics the settled and the unsettled ones. The settled one's lived in hermitage situated in silence and solitude; the renowned ascetics gathered round them a band of disciples who lived with them on simple food of raw roots and fruits gathered in the forest, engaging themselves in meditation, in sacrificial rites (Yajnas) and the practice of penance (tapah) in learning from the teachers the tenets and texts of Sutras or Sastras.⁶ Megasthenes⁶ referred to probably this class of

1. Megasthenes Indika XLVI Strabo XV. 1. 68.

2. Rock Edict III and XIII.

3. Megasthenes Indika XLI Strabo XV. 1. 60.

4. Strabo Geography XV. 1. 61.

5. Strabo Geography XV. 1. 63.

6. Indika Frag. XLI Strabo XV. 1. 59.

ascetics in one passage while he also referred to another class of ascetics, the wanderers who never settled anywhere. Coming in contact with each other occasionally they must hold discourses which drew large audiences.

Indian texts also testify to the existence of a large number of ascetic orders.¹ The Brahmjāla² Sutra mentions as many as 62 Systems of doctrines held by Sramanas and the Brahmans while Jain works³ mention their number to be 363.

Megasthenes⁴ mentioned the Brahmans turning most frequently on death. They regarded this life as the time so to speak when the child within the womb became matured and death as a birth into a real and happy life for the votaries of philosophy. On this account they underwent much discipline as a preparation for death. They considered nothing that befell men to be either good or bad for otherwise some persons would not be affected with sorrow and others with joy by the very same things, their motions being as insane as dreams. This account represents the doctrine of Karma, Transmigration of soul and Maya or illusion.

The Greek historians well realised in the Indian philosophy what is known as 'Avagaman' coming and going. Death is only a means to an end and not an end in itself. The end is the next life which should be free. The study of the philosophy of life was not confined to men alone but women also participated but then they abstained from the pleasures of married life.

The Greek historians also mentioned⁵ that the world was created and liable to destruction. It was a spheroidal figure and the deity who made and governed it had his powers diffused through all its composites. Water was principally employed in the formation of the world and in addition to the four elements there was the fifth element-nature from which heaven and stars were produced and the earth was situated in the centre of the universe.

Pilgrimage was mentioned for the first and the last time by Ktesias⁶ who mentioned a place where people went on pilgrimage and it took fifteen days to reach that place. The sun cooled down because of the spirit of devotion. But the fact seems to be that it was only a change of phenomenon, and nothing more. About the location of the place, it is not certain; but it seems that it must have been a mountaneous region where they experienced this change.

1. Indika Frag. XLII Strabo XV. 1. 60.

2. Mukerjee Hindu Civilisation p. 220.

3. Sutra Kritanga II. 2. 79.

4. Indika Frag. XLI-Strabo XV. 1. 59.

5. Strabo Geography XV. 1. 59.

6. Bibliotheca Frag 8.

SUMMARIES OF OTHER PAPERS

1. SANKETHAMS IN SOUTH KERALA.

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There is a persistent tradition in Malabar corroborated even by inscriptions as old as the 11th Century A. D. that the West Coast was recovered from the sea by Parasurama, an avatar of Vishnu and the extirpator of the Kshatriyas, and peopled with the Brahmans whom he got from various parts of Bharata Varsha. While the accounts that describe his exploit differ from one another in many respects, they agree in regard to the main point that, as the result of his guidance and support, the Brahmans came to occupy a dominant position in the whole of Kerala. The Malayalam traditional account given in Keralolpatti credits him with a residence in Malabar extending over 50,000 years. These traditions are valueless for history except to indicate that the West Coast land was claimed from the sea and some time later a community of Brahmans under some unknown leader entered Malabar and gradually super-imposed their power on the people living in the land. Historically we are not in a position to assign a definite date for their advent. It is by some supposed to have been posterior to the advent of Jainism and Buddhism into the South and probably between the first and the fourth centuries of the Christian era while others with less justification will go earlier or later.

These Brahmans came to be called Nambudris. From what part of India they came is yet a moot question. Abichatra in the north, the Narmada and Krishna valleys and the region of the Cauvery delta have been regarded as their original home.

Whatever that may have been, it is beyond question that they came to identify themselves completely with the land of their adoption losing all sense of a pre-home; and established themselves, by their rigid caste observances (acharans) and socio-political organisation, as a powerful sacerdotal class taking residence according to tradition in sixty-four gramams which extended from Canara to Central Travancore. Under their aegis, numerous temples sprang up everywhere, the worship of Aryan and non-Aryan deities being installed. They are said to have endowed many of these in course of time with large areas of either their own lands or the lands received by them as grants from secular donors. Many other temples were enriched with the endowments made by local chieftains, private persons or bodies and communities. These endowments were swelled by the large number of small land-owners surrendering their plots to them on wordly motives *viz.*, ensuring their safety in troublous times.

The more important of these temples or Devaswoms were close religious corporations known as Samkethams possessing large estates which often comprised many villages. The presiding deity of each of these temples was conceived of as a sovereign and on His behalf, His properties were administered by a number of human agencies. The Ooralers or trustees had a general control. There was another body called the Yogam which elected the Koil Adhikari, from the class of Samantha Kshatriyas. He looked after the executive duties and was in command of military forces.

Most of the Samkethams enjoyed absolute independence and possessed sovereign rights. The people living on their properties were absolutely their subjects owing them loyalty and unconditional obedience. The Samketham authorities within their jurisdiction levied land, house, profession and other taxes, kept registers of land transfers, summoned offenders, inquired into their cases and awarded sentences extending to capital punishment which was executed periodically. Even secular rulers had to respect their sovereignty and make good the losses caused to them by their acts. The Samkethams also served as sanctuaries or asylums of refuge for those in distress or danger of life and none dared to enter their premises without permission lest they be condemned as having violated their sanctity.

The Samkethams did not enjoy their sovereign position very long. Situations gradually developed in which their own unaided strength proved unequal to the task of preserving intact their property and jurisdiction. They had to invite secular rulers to assume a general supervision over their fortunes in order to assure them of security and safety. The unique position of the Samketham is attested not only by the grantha varees (temple archives) of important temples like those at Trivandrum, Vaikom and Elangunnappuzha but also by the observations of Portuguese and Dutch writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Chengannur which was perhaps one of the most important Samkethams of Kerala is referred to by the Portuguese writer Gouvea as the place which Archbishop Menezis during his visitation found to be the property of the local temple whose authorities wielded 'sovereign powers. Ward and Conner adverting to that period of past history allude to the numerous 'Sunkaidoms' through which Brahman corporations exercised sway over large parts of the country.

We may note a close resemblance between the medieval conditions of Europe and South Kerala. Amidst the prevalence of features admittedly feudal in social and economic life, in both of them, religious corporations lived, for the space of many centuries a vigorous and self-contained life holding large immovable properties which were continually augmented by the endowments of the prince and the peasant, the saint and the sinner. In the generally

increasing disorders of those times they kept steady and served as asylums to the weak and the distressed, as centres of social and cultural life and as the never-failing providers of education, recreation and employment. The general sentiment of the age which was devoutly religious constituted their main bulwark. When that sentiment came to be undermined by the assertion of worldly ambition and materialistic ideals of life, opposition came to be set up against social privilege; and secular power visualising a more comprehensive polity made its emergence. They therefore gradually sank to the position of mere centres of worship losing their political aspect.

The importance of these Samkethams in the history of the evolution of South Indian history and polity can scarcely be overrated. A study of their fortunes will prove very profitable to students of history and any research into their origin and development cannot but prove invaluable as it might throw light on the great problem of the precise steps in the emergence of the State from the Community in India.

2. INDIAN POLITICAL CONCEPTS AND WESTERN POLITICAL CONCEPTS

Diwan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Retired Judge, Madras,

Greek political concepts form the foundation of modern western political ideas and institutions. But Greek democracy had many limitations and drawbacks. There are, however, many points of similarity between Greek political speculation and modern political speculation. Both call the good life and regard the State as the most powerful and efficient means of securing the good life.

We find in the Hindu political theories the most advanced political concepts such as the theory of divine right of Kings, the Social Contract theory, the theory of *Danda*, the theory of the State as an organism, etc. But none of the theories is overdone. The king may be a master of the people but he is the servant of Dharma. It was recognized that the State is based not on force but on consent. *Danda* was declared to be only the limb of Dharma. In the organic theory of the State it was recognized that its heart was Dharma.

The Hindu political concepts will be found helpful even to-day and will aid the world to solve the tangled problems of modern life. The most powerful political concept to-day is the concept of Socialism in its many forms. In its extreme form of communism it is against private property. In its extremest form of anarchism, it is against even the State. In its form of syndicalism it is for direct action and class war. In the forms

of Facism and Nazism it may not be recognized, but even there the dictatorship is only a functionary of the State in the interests of all by dominating individual action. All these political concepts are topsided and have to be moralised and harmonised. It is here that Hindu political ideas will be found very useful. They give full scope to individual freedom while controlling it in the interests of general welfare by means of Socialism. Unregulated individual freedom in the domains of property, contract etc. is undesirable. Equally undesirable is straight laced regimentation. The existence of a stable and sufficient society on the basis of a proper combination of order and progress depends on a happy combination of freedom of individual action and State Socialism.

3. SOME TRACES OF THE ARCTIC HOME IN THE PRESENT DAY HINDU LIFE.

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The Arctic Home theory is based on mythology and supported by geology. Vedas and other Sanskrit works contain similar references. My contention is that there are many customs etc. current in the Hindu Life which disclose the Arctic as their original place.

(1) Night of six months.

There is a legend that the Ellora caves were carved by Gods during this night.

There is a song that contains the mention of this night. They sing it in the Festival of Kanbai, the festival is linked with the Ranadevi. It is a festival of the Polar sun rise like that of Thor and Zeus.

(2) Panchaka.

A rite that discloses the postponement of a funeral. A similar custom in Scandenavia. The dead body stands decomposition in icy colds. The mention of a similar incidence in Avesta. The changes in the time measure of the Panchaka period.

Conclusion.

Such traces strengthen the Arctic Home Theory.

4. SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF JAINISM IN SOUTH INDIA.

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Preoccupation of most scholars with the problems of North Indian history and other aspects of South Indian history, to the comparative neglect of Jain history in the South, is the justification for this paper. It seeks to discuss (1) the antiquity, (2) extent of expansion, (3) permeation among the masses, (4) cultural results of Jainism in South India—including the Deccan. In doing so, it briefly recapitulates the ground already familiar to scholars, as well as, raises and discusses problems arising out of a fresh examination of old and new material.

The conclusions it suggests are that, with our present evidence, the antiquity of Jainism in the South cannot be pressed beyond Chandragupta Maurya and Bhadrabahu I. The validity of the Sravana Belgola inscription is sought to be confirmed with reference to parallel tradition about Chanakya, and the history of the Great Schism between the Svetambaras and Digambaras. A comparison between their *Pattavalis* is suggested.

Asoka inscriptions are examined with a view to ascertain the light they throw on the state of Jainism in the South. Continuity of Jain history in the South is suggested by reference to traditions about Samprati, Suhastin, and Kalakacharya. The identity of persons referred to therein is also indicated. Next, light is sought from the Tamil *Kural*, an attempt being made to assess the influence of Jainism on Tiruvalluvar. Likewise, the *Manimekhalai* and *Silappadikaram* are examined from the same point of view. The Jain inclinations of the early Chera kings are evidenced. Other South Indian rulers (including those of the Deccan, Karnatak, and Tamil dynasties) are classified as Patrons of Jainism or Converts to that faith; death by *sallekhana* being taken as evidence of the deepest homage to Jainism. Huen-Tsang's testimony is cited for the widespread existence of Digambers in South India, in the seventh century. The existence of nearly half the total Jain population of India in the South, despite active persecution by revivalist Hindu sects like Lingayet, is also taken as supporting the conclusions suggested above. Archæological corroboration is also amply available.

Passing over the purely literary and artistic aspects of Jain history, the paper concludes with a few comments upon the cultural and social results of Jainism in South India. Literary and epigraphic evidence is cited to illustrate how non-theistical Jainism was transformed in the South to the creed and practices of popular Hindu theistic cults; how casteless Jainism became caste-ridden; and how South Indian women created a sisterhood of Digambar nuns defying traditions.

5. DIVISIONS OF INDIAN HISTORY.

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Authors of Indian History books divide the history of India into different periods beginning with different dates and there is no unanimity of opinion about the divisions into which Indian history can be divided as we find in the histories of other countries on the earth.

Some scholars divide Indian history into two parts only, the ancient from the earliest times to the 4th century B. C. and modern from the 4th century B. C. to the present day. Some divide it into three parts—the ancient from the earliest times to 12th century A. D., mediæval from 12th century A.D. to the middle of the 18th century A.D. and modern from that time onwards. Some scholars who accept this threefold division push back the mediæval period to the 7th century A.D. while there are others whose ancient period runs from the earliest times to the 7th century B.C. Mediæval from the 7th century B.C. to 12th century A.D. and modern from the 12th century A.D. onwards to the present day. One more class of scholars divides it thus—pre historic from the earliest times to 3000 B.C. the Vedic 3000-1500 B.C. the Epic 1500-700 B.C., the Buddhist 700 B.C. to 300 A.D., the Hindu 300 to 700 A.D., the Rajput 700-1200 AD., the Muhammedan 1200 to 1700 AD. and the British onwards.

In this article the main divisions are shown thus—

1. Pre-historic period from about 5000 B. C. to 3000 B. C.
2. Traditional period from 3000 B. C. to 700 B. C.
3. Ancient period from 700 B. C. to 1200 A. D.
4. Mediæval period from 1200 A. D. to 1818 A. D.
5. Modern period from 1818 A. D.

The sources of history, the political revolutions and the condition of the society in its social, religious and various other aspects are the distinguishing features of each period.

The sources for the history of the first period are extremely scanty and vague and we cannot form any idea of the Indian society of the period in its political, religious, social and other aspects. The period may be sub-divided into Paleolithic, Neolithic and pre-Aryan sections.

The Traditional period may be sub-divided into the Vedic and Epic sections. From the Vedic and mythological literature which are the only sources of this period we know of a particular civilization of the Aryans, which is the foundation of the present Indian civilization. But the history of this period is wholly undated.

The ancient period comprises the rule of the several dynasties that ruled in India from the time of Buddha to the rise of the Muhammadan power in

India. The sources of history of this period are mainly Archæological supplemented by the Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit literature. Dated history begins with this period though it is often wanting in definiteness and precision. There was a change in the religious ideas of the people who were regulated before only by the teachings of the Vedas. There was a change in the society which absorbed the foreign tribes that invaded India from time to time. Structural activities of people—secular as well as the religious and the latter in Brahmanical, Buddhist as well as Jain aspects—grew enormously during this period, nothing being known of the previous period. The division of this period into Buddhist, Hindu or Rajput according to some scholars is not correct, similarly the shifting of the time limits from 700 B.C. to 700 A.D.

The Muhammadan conquests of India marks a distinct epoch in the history of India. There was a complete change in the ideas of the people in its political, religious and social aspects due to the introduction of an altogether different culture and different race of people who refused to be assimilated with them. The sources of history for this period which are mainly in Arabic and Persian, are different. It is therefore in the fitness of things that the period beginning with the Muhammadan conquest should be a distinct one from the preceding and be called the mediæval period. It is for this reason wrong to include in this period as has been done by some scholars the so-called Rajput period beginning with the death of Harsha, and ending with the Muhammadan conquest.

The Marathā rule deserves to be given an independent place along with that of Muhammadans in the mediæval period of Indian history, since they did rule as an imperial power over a considerable portion of India, owing allegiance from most of the principalities in India and framing their destinies for nearly a century and since they changed considerably the political map of India of the time of the Mughals.

It is wrong to begin the modern period with the Muhammadan conquest since the word modern carries with it an idea of things which you see acted in some form or other before your eyes. The Marathas and to some extent the Sikhs had already destroyed the awe and the political structure raised by the Muhammadan rulers and every body therefore thinks the doings of the Muhammadan rulers were things of remote past.

The conquest of India by the British marks another distinct epoch in the history of India as there is a distinct change in all subjects introduced by the British. They have also considerably changed the political map of India of their predecessors, and the various institutions we see in India and according to which the Indian society is controlled have been introduced by the British rule. The modern period of Indian history therefore begins with their rule.

VIKRAMANKA DEVA-CHARITA IN ITS HISTORICAL SETTING.**Y. Venkataramana, M.A., B.Ed., P. R. College, Cocanada.**

Vikramanka Deva-Charita is one of the rare works of its kind, in ancient India, namely, contemporary accounts of the country. Excepting Kalhana's Rajatarangini and Bana's Harsha-Charita (to an extent) there is no other contemporary work in ancient India that ranks with it either in historical accuracy or biographical treatment. It not only gives an account of its hero, Vikramanka Deva (Someswara VI of Kalyan) but also gives us a clue to the traditional origin of the Chalukyas and a description of the Political condition of Southern India and the Deccan at that time.

1. The origin of the Chalukyas.

2. The political map of India as described in the work and the extent of each of the various states in existence then.

3. The biography of Vikramanka Deva—His early life—Struggle for power—matrimony (the Chola-Chalukyan alliance)—His glorious reign—His statesmanship.

4. The struggle for supremacy in the Deccan (the Cholas and the Chalukyans), Bilhana's account and other evidences compared. A discussion of Dr. Fleet's view.

An estimate of Vikramanka Deva's Charita as a source of Someswara's history and his times. [Dr. S. K. Aiyengar's estimate 'that apart from a little glozing in favour of his patron and a certain *want* (?) of chronological sequence, the narration of events is in the main true', seems to be judicious.]

SECTION II
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology.

It is a matter of satisfaction to see that Archaeology has been included within the purview of the Indian History Congress, the first session of which was devoted only to modern history. It has been a wise decision to recognise that Indian history is one continuous whole, and it cannot be arbitrarily divided at any point, however convenient, without distorting or ignoring certain aspects or the history of entire regions on the face of this sub-continent. I particularly rejoice at the overwhelming recognition given to ancient history and archaeology at this congress by the selection of a distinguished orientalist as the General President and by having two closely allied Sections dealing with ancient history and archaeology respectively. My task has been lightened by the fact that the two distinguished scholars, who have created schools in Indian Ancient History around them at Calcutta and Madras, have adequately dealt with the general and wider aspects of ancient Indian history. I crave the indulgence of scholars if I restrict myself to considerations of archaeology without its wider aspect bearing on history.

The present state of archaeological studies in India is the result of awakening of some of the Indian Universities to this branch of studies in which the initiative was for a long time in the hands of European scholars, both in the Archaeological Department and outside it. The part played by the Indian Archaeological Department in the progress of Indian archaeology has been exhaustively dealt with by me in my contribution to the volume on the Progress of Science in India during the past twentyfive years published in connection with the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Indian Science Congress. The Universities derived their inspiration from the work of Sir John Marshall and his associates, one of whom, the learned President of this Congress, was selected by the late Sir Asutosh Mukherji to the first chair of Ancient Indian History and Culture in this country. The lead taken by the University of Calcutta in organizing these studies continues to the present day, and the output and quality of work in the various branches of ancient Indian history from Calcutta far exceeds that of other centres of study. The work

done in Madras has found adequate mention in the President's speech. Thanks to the lead of the University Professor. Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, and his learned successor, Professor Nilakanth Shastri, a large number of valuable publications dealing with the various aspects of Indian, particularly South Indian, art, archaeology and architecture, have been published. I would, in particular, refer to the brilliant work of a promising lady, Dr. C. Minakshi, who has thrown new light on the historical panels in the Vaikunthaperumal temple at Conjeeveram. The volumes on the Economic conditions of South India by Dr. A. Appadorai and Mr. C. V. Narayana Aiyar 'Origin and history of South Indian Saivism' especially deserve to be mentioned. In the University of Dacca the learned Vice-Chancellor, Professor Dr. R. C. Majumdar, has made the study of Indo-Javanese civilization especially his own, and under his direction other scholars, notably Mr. H. B. Sirkar, have published old Javanese inscriptions. Another scholar, who has made distinct contributions to the history of the Gupta period and the Paramaras, is Dr. D. C. Gangoly. The work of Dr. N. K. Bhattasali of the Dacca Museum in the field of iconography and numismatics is too well-known. In the Benares Hindu University Dr. A. S. Altekar, Professor of Ancient Indian History, has been the author of several books on education and the position of women in ancient India as also on the period of the Rashtrakutas. Dr. Tripathi of the same University has also published an important work on the history of Kanauj. At Lucknow the work of Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji, the Head of the Department of Indian History, in the various aspects of ancient Indian history is too well-known to need mention. Unfortunately, the University of Allahabad under whose auspices we meet has not yet been able to organize an ancient Indian history Department, but the work of its Professors and scholars in the field of ancient architecture, history and linguistics stands high. I may mention in particular the voluminous work of Dr. P. K. Acharya, who has for the first time given us a complete account of Indian architecture in the "Manasara" and the work of Professor Chattopadhyaya, a keen scholar of Vedic antiquities. It is hoped that under its distinguished head, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, ancient history will soon be an established branch of studies in the Allahabad University. The stimulus given by the establishment of a museum at Allahabad and the excavations at Kosam and Bhita will, it is hoped, further the pace.

of this development. In the University of Bombay Revd. Heras of the St. Xavier's College has founded a school of Indian history at the Indian Historical Research Institute. A large number of monographs have been produced by students under his direction, and the history of the Kadambas, Chalukyas, Hoysalas, the Portuguese and other powers in Western India have been dealt with by Dr. Heras's devoted band of pupils. It is unfortunate that the University of Bombay is indifferent to such studies and in this respect stands alone among the older Universities of India. At Nagpur Professor V. V. Mirashi, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, has during the last few years made a name for himself as one of the foremost workers in Indian epigraphy. He has been entrusted with the work of preparing a volume on the history and the inscriptions of the Kalachuris which will be looked forward with interest by Indian archaeologists. Professor H. C. Seth of the same University has lately written a number of papers bearing on the Mauryan period and Chandragupta.

Now turning to the work done by Societies I notice that in proportion to the advance made by the Universities of India, the Societies which had the entire field to themselves 20 years ago, have comparatively lagged behind and their activity is not so evident as before. The Asiatic Society of Bengal, the premier Society of India, has had so many sister institutions in the field that it is becoming increasingly difficult for it to hold its premier position. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay is no longer a very active body in the field of historical and scientific researches. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona has the magnificent Mahabharat work in the forefront of its programme. The United Provinces Historical Society maintains a precarious existence, and the Punjab University has taken over the Punjab Historical Society. The genius of the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal kept up the activities of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, but its future is uncertain. The Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi made an excellent beginning with beautiful Museum building and its excellent collection of sculptures to its credit, but its further growth is arrested by lack of interest. The Kamarup Anusandhan Samiti of Gauhati brings out a journal and maintains the nucleus of a Museum, the only one of its kind in Assam. The Andhra Historical Research Society is able to carry on, as it can draw upon a number of research workers throughout Andhradesa. The Karnatak Historical

Research Society at Dharwar and the Mahakoshal Historical Society in Chattisgarh are maintaining their existence owing to the enthusiasm of a handful of workers. The Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal at Poona continues to do good work in modern history, although occasionally epigraphy and iconography are brought within its scope. The Sharada Ashram at Yeotmal and the Rajwade Samshodhak Mandal at Dhulia are other institutions working in Maratha history and ancient literature, but they have hardly much scope for work in the more ancient periods. It is with satisfaction that I note the formation of a Sind Historical Society at Karachi, which is regularly publishing a journal and run by a few devoted Parsi scholars, but there is little evidence of Sindhis taking kindly to this branch of studies.

One relieving feature of the situation is the increase of interest in historical and archaeological matters in Indian States. The work in Hyderabad, Mysore and Gwalior States stands foremost, and Baroda and Jaipur have during the last three years done a good deal of exploration and research. In Jodhpur and Travancore much work has been done in all branches of archaeology. In Bhopal, Mayurbhanj and Idar States considerable archaeological activity is in evidence. Among the more recent reports of work in Indian States may be mentioned the excavations at Kasrawad in Indore State, the important epigraphical discoveries in Kotah State and the latest finds in Rewa State, all of which throw a flood of light on ancient history. The amount of work still to be done in Indian States is enormous, and much might be achieved if the rulers of Indian States were to take a keener interest in the proper organization of historical studies and researches within their States.

The hope entertained a few years ago that a number of foreign societies, in particular from America, may be able to take up exploration work on a large scale and stimulate Indian societies and organizations, has not been fulfilled. The American expedition under Dr. E. J. H. Mackay, which excavated at Chanhudaro in Sind three years ago, did not return to India, and with the present financial stringencies affecting the Government of India, there is hardly any chance of extended activities on the part of Government in the near future. The limited interest taken by Indian Universities and Societies does not augur in an era of prosperity, and we shall probably have to wait several years before any improvement can be effected.

What has been noticed in other branches of archæological activity also holds good about Museums in India. The Committee of the Museums Association of Great Britain made a survey of India's Museums, and the results were embodied in a volume which has done a great deal to stimulate interest in the deplorable condition of a large number of Museums in India. The Government of India called a conference of Curators of Museums last December, but there has been no further development owing to the want of response on the part of authorities responsible for the maintenance of Museums. It was also expected that the Museums in India will be organized into a Museums Association, but this consummation has not been fulfilled. In the present state of educational ferment in India, it would be a pity if the place of Museums in the educational system of the country is not recognised, and the existing Museums are left aloof in the midst of proposed change.

In the somewhat gloomy picture of the present state of archæology in India, the only ray of hope lies in the future which depends upon the efforts of the rising generation. The extension of education in the masses will undoubtedly have the effect of interesting them in their past, which is as glorious as any country on the face of this earth has been blessed with. What is possible in other advanced countries is not possible in India at present owing to the poverty and ignorance of the Indian masses. If every county in England has one or more historical and archæological societies, the members of which engage in field work and research, there is no reason why in India, every one of whose 200 Districts, besides large areas under Indian States, which is full of historical material, should not have similar organizations, provided the general standard of life and intelligence is sufficiently high. For the task of providing the masses with proper knowledge it is necessary that a historical literature in the language of the people should attract the attention of young scholars. The works of ancient palæography and history of Rajputana by Mahamahopadhyaya Gauri Shankar Ojha, the Nagari Pracharini Sabha and similar publications in Indian languages have probably given a large and growing number of Indian students insights into the methods of research and the problems of Indian history. An awakening in the general public to the value of history and historical material is bound to follow in the wake of the reorganization of education in the country and we then hope for the dawning of a new era.

AN INSCRIPTION OF MALLU IQBAL KHAN

Khan Bahadur M. Zafar Hasan, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Agra.

The inscription which forms the subject of this paper is fixed on the southern bastion of an old 'Idgah at the village of Kharera near Delhi. The building stands in the midst of cultivated fields about a furlong to the east of the Delhi-Qutb road beyond the 9th mile-stone from Delhi. It consists of a rubble masonry wall, battlemented and containing 11 *mihrab* recesses, with a courtyard laid with lime concrete on the east. Originally the wall terminated with a circular bastion at the north and south ends, but the northern bastion has now disappeared. Immediately to the north of the central *mihrab* is a high masonry *mimbar* (pulpit) reached by a flight of 13 steps, and having under it an arched opening leading out to the back of the mosque. The back doorway is a characteristic feature of old 'Idgahs. It was intended to provide a free passage to the kings and the *Imams* for leaving the buildings, particularly on the occasion of 'Idu-z-Zuha festival to perform *Qurbani* (animal sacrifice) immediately after the 'Id prayer was over. Animals to be sacrificed were kept ready for the purpose at the back of the 'Idgahs, where those high personages could reach through the back doorways without any interruption from the crowd gathered for prayer.

The inscription is carved in relief on a red sandstone slab measuring 2'.8" by 2'.2". The language is Persian, but the script is *Naskh*, the so-called Arabic. The epigraph which is dated 16th of Shaban 807 Hijra (17th February 1205 A. D.) runs as follows:—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ— چون قبة الاسلام دارالملک دهلي فی بلاد مسالک از نر مغل
ملکین و نسان کثرة و شهاطین روے بخترابی آورده و مسکن و حوض و طهور گشته و مساجد و
مدارس و خوانق و نمازگاه و سامه خیرات مندرس و خایر مانده بعون عنایت یزدانی و فیض رامت
سیکانی بنده درگاه ربانی اقبال خان عرف ملو سلطانی را توفیق رفیق شد و اقبال مساعدت نموده
تدارالملک دهلي و بلاد مسالک و سایر خیرات را بسعی جمیل و کوشش جلیل احیا کرده و آبادان
گردانیده و این نمازگاه که از شعار دین مسلمانی و از اعلام شرع رحمانی است از خالص مال خود بنا
فرموده تا عامه مسلمانان نفع گهوند و بانی خیر را بدعای خیر مدد نماید - فی السلس عشرمین
شهرالشعبان عمت برگاهه سنه سبع و ثمانیایه - بنا این عمارت روحانی بنوماییش بنده دلپسند خانی -

Translation

"In the name of God who is Merciful and Clement. When the dome of Islam, the metropolis of the country, named Delhi, having been desolated by the mischief of the accursed Mughals and the violence of infidels and satans had become the abode of wild beasts and birds, and the mosques, the schools, the

convents, the places of prayers and all the charitable institutions had been decayed and ruined; by the favour of God and the gracious munificence of the Most Holy, the slave of Lord, named Iqbal Khan, *alias* Mallu Sultani, had the Divine guidance and good fortune to repopulate the capital of Delhi and other cities of the country, and to restore all the charitable institutions with his benevolent endeavours and glorious efforts. He also built this place of prayers, whose erection is the practice of the Islamic religion, and is enjoined by the Divine law, with purely his own money, so that the general Muslim public should benefit by it and assist the founder of this religious building with prayers for his good, on the 16th of month of Shaban—may its blessings be universal—year eight hundred and seven. The erection of this religious building has been under the direction of the slave Dilpasand Khani”.

The record which refers to the invasion of Timur on Delhi, possesses a great historical interest, and the outstanding points thereof are detailed below :—

(a) Reference to the 'Idgah as a Namazgah, whose position determines the residence of Mallu Khan at Siri.

(b) Desolation of Delhi by the Mughals.

(c) Repopulation of Delhi and other cities by Mallu Khan.

(d) Absence of the name of the reigning king and the addition of the title of Sultani (slave or servant of Sultan) to the name of Mallu Khan.

(e) Reference to Mughals with bad names for ravaging Delhi.

Before I proceed to discuss these points, it seems desirable to narrate a short history of the period to render the inscription and the events referred to therein intelligible. The epigraph relates to the epoch when Nasiru-d-Din Mahmud Shah, the last king of the Tughlaq dynasty, occupied the throne of Delhi. Under the weak successors of Firoz Shah, the central Government had already lost its hold and authority on the outlying provinces, and the accession of this imbecile ruler was a presage of the general anarchy in the country. He was king only in name, while the real authority rested with his chiefs and nobles, who in their turn were busy in fighting each other for supremacy. Soon after his elevation to the throne, a noble of the court, named Saadat Khan, made a revolt and having established himself at Firozabad, not more than seven miles from Delhi, raised Nusrat Khan, a son of Firoz Shah, to the throne under the title of Nasiru-d-Din Nusrat Shah. Thus there were two kings within the space of a few miles, Nusrat Shah at Firozabad and Mahmud Shah Tughlaq at Delhi, which comprised the old Delhi or the city of Raipithurai, Siri the fortress built by Alau-d-Din Khalji; and the intermediate area known as Jahanpanah, which was founded by Muḥammad Shah Tughlaq by connecting

the two former places with walls. This anomalous condition continued for three years, attended by sanguinary encounters of rival factions and reducing the country to a general chaos. Both the kings were mere puppets in the hands of their chiefs with the inevitable result that intrigues and plots were reigning in their courts. These events brought Mallu, entitled Iqbal Khan,¹ into prominence, who with his diplomacy and tactics managed to oust Nusrat Shah from Firozabad, and thereafter to murder his colleague and rival chief Muqarrab Khan at Jahanpanah. He also succeeded in bringing Mahmud Shah Tughlaq under his complete influence and directed all state affairs but in the name of the Sultan. This occurred in the year 1398 A. D. and it was soon followed by the invasion of Timur, when Mallu Khan and Mahmud Shah Tughlaq fled from Delhi, the former going to Baran (Modern Buland Shahr) and the latter to Gujrat and thence to Malwa. The sack of Delhi and the massacre of its inhabitants by Timur are well known historical facts and need not be recounted here.² It may, however, be stated that in the sequence of that catastrophe Delhi was visited with famine and pestilence, which added a great deal to the misery of its inhabitants and made it desolate.³

After the departure of Timur, Delhi again became the scene of civil war between the rival factions. The first to return to it was Nusrat Shah, who occupied Firozabad, but finding himself unable to hold his position against Mallu Khan, who advanced from Baran, he retired to Mewat. Mallu Khan, on his arrival at Delhi, took his abode at Siri, which was soon restored to inhabitation. It may be noted that before his expulsion from Delhi by the invasion of Timur, Mallu Khan dwelt at Siri, and it appears that the strong fortifications of that fortress or his former associations with it attracted him now to select it for residence in preference to Jahanpanah or Old Delhi. Some three years later in 1401 Mahmud Shah Tughlaq returned from Dhar in Malwa to Delhi at the invitation of Mallu Khan, who accorded him a formal reception and accommodated him in the royal palace at Jahanpanah, probably in the same edifice which is now marked by its ruins at the Begampur

1. Sujan Rai Bhandari, the author of *Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh* (Persian text, edited and published by the writer of this article, 1918, p. 255) says that the real name of Mallu Khan was Fazlullah Balkhi, but he erroneously confounds him with another chief who was entitled Qutlugh Khan by Nusrat Shah after the expulsion of Saadat Khan from Firozabad (See *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Persian text, Naval Kishor Press, 1875, p. 127; *Tarikh-i-Farishi*, Persian text, Naval Kishor Press, 1905, Part I, p. 155; *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, Persian text, Bibliotheca Indica, 1931 p.158)
2. A graphic account of the invasion of Timur and his conquest of Delhi is given by the conqueror himself in his memoirs, where quoting a letter from his grandson, Pir Muhammad Jahangir, he makes a mention of Mallu and the latter's brother Sarang. (*Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, as quoted in Elliot's History of India, vol. III, pp. 398, 430-448.) -
3. *Tarikh-i-Farishi*, p. 159; *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 167.

village. The advent of the Sultan brought about no change in the state affairs, Mullu Khan continuing to retain the entire authority himself. The latter taking the Sultan in his company undertook an expedition against Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, who had lately succeeded to the throne of Jaunpur, but Mahmud Shah Tughlaq having been dissatisfied with his position deserted Mallu Khan and went over to Ibrahim Shah. There also he received little attention, and so he marched to Qanauj, took possession of it and established himself at that place as a local king. Mallu Khan returned to Delhi, and held it till 1405 A. D. when he was killed in a battle with Khizar Khan at Ajodhan (modern Patan in the Punjab). After the demise of Mallu Khan, Mahmud Tughlaq came to Delhi and stayed there till his death which occurred in the year 1412 A. D., but we are not concerned here with the events of this period¹.

During his occupation of Delhi, Mallu Khan is related to have had his residence at Siri and the position of the 'Idgah bearing the inscription under notice lends support to this statement. The modern name of Siri is Shahpur Jat, and contiguous with it lies the village of Kharera where the building is situated. Its position in relation with Siri is that it stands outside about half a mile from that fortress in the area formerly embraced by Jahanpanah. There is a general practice that an 'Idgah is constructed outside the town or city to which it belongs, and in conformity with that convention the position of the 'Idgah points to the residence of its founder at Siri. The building is referred to in the inscription as a "Namazgah", and the term has been used therein for other similar religious buildings to distinguish them from Masjids (mosques). An 'Idgah, although meant specifically for the congregational prayers of 'Id, is a *Masjid* (mosque) in its strict sense, and can be used as such for daily prayers either individually or in congregation. The term "Namazgah" for such religious buildings seems to have been used in the epigraph to denote their distinctive character, which is, however not recognized by the religious law of Islam.

The epigraph records the desolation of Delhi in strong terms, relating that having been deserted by human beings it had become the abode of wild beasts and birds. This statement confirms the historical accounts, which, depicting the ruinous condition of Delhi on the occasion of Timur's invasion, relate that many of its inhabitants fled from there, and most of those who stayed there were massacred or succumbed to the famine and pestilence that prevailed in the locality after the departure of the invaders. The repopulation of Delhi on its reoccupation by Mallu Iqbal Khan mentioned in those accounts is also borne out by the epigraphs.

1. For a detailed history of the reign of Nrsiru-d-Din Mahmud Shah Tughlaq a reference may be made to (a) *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, part I, pp. 154-161; *Tabaqat-i-Akhbari*, pp. 125-133; *Khulasatu-i-Tawarikh*, pp. 255-260; *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* pp. 156-181.

The absence of the name of the reigning king deserves special attention. We know from history that Mallu Khan did not assume the royal prerogatives *viz.* accession to throne, striking coins in his name or insertion of his name in the *khutba* (sermons of 'Id and Friday prayers), though after the departure of Timur he held Delhi and its adjoining districts in his independent possession for about seven years from 1399 to 1405 A. D. We also know that, while he was not willing to part with royal authority, he showed every mark of respect and honour due to a king to Mahmud Shah Tughlaq. In view of these facts it was most natural that the name of Mahmud Shah Tughlaq should have found a place in the inscription as that of the reigning king, but the omission of it leads one to believe that, after the Sultan deserted Mallu Khan and established himself at Qanauj, the latter severed his relations with him and ceased to acknowledge him as his sovereign. Nevertheless he calls himself "*Sultani*" in the inscription, which, meaning a servant or a slave of Sultan, evidently alludes to Mahmud Shah Tughlaq. There is no reference in history to this title of Mallu Khan, and we find it added to his name along with the title of Iqbal Khan in this inscription alone. Again, in taking credit of the repopulation of Delhi and other regions (*Balad-i-Mumalik*) and of the restoration of the charitable institutions he represents himself as a ruler of the country, but he recedes to the position of a common member of the public when he announces that he spent his own private money on the erection of the 'Idgah and not the state or public funds at his disposal, and solicits the general Muslims to pray for his welfare. Unlike such a solicitation the Muslim inscriptions set up by kings and rulers invoke prayers for the perpetuation of their kingdom and wealth. Thus the inscription signifying the undisputed authority of Mallu Khan at Delhi gives no hint about his assuming the royal titles, and the information deduced from it conforms to the historical accounts. It relates to the period when he was in enjoyment of highest powers, waging wars against the refractory chiefs to subdue them, not leaving even Mahmud Shah Tughlaq. However, fortune did not favour him long. He was at last defeated by Khizr Khan in a battle at Ajodhan and was put to death on the 19th of Jumada I of the year 808 Hijra (12th November 1405), the inscription under notice being dated about nine months before his demise.

The language of the inscription casts an unfavourable reflection on its author, who having suffered a loss at the hands of Mughals, avenged himself by using abusive language against them. In this respect it falls below the standard of propriety and decency which is generally maintained in Arabic and Persian records of this nature, particularly pertaining to religious buildings. Curiously the Mughal emperors, who were the descendants of Timur, allowed the epigraph to remain in situation denouncing their ancestors. Situated as it was in their capital, it cannot be believed that it escaped their notice, but they appear

to have abstained from disturbing it on account of its historical importance. If this assumption is based on facts, the epigraph provides a concrete instance of their tolerance, testifying at the same time to their regard for ancient records and monuments.

At the end of the inscription there is a mention of one Dilpasand Khani, under whose direction the 'Idgah is related to have been built. As indicated by his name he seems to have been a eunuch-slave of Mallu Khan, deputed to supervise the construction of the building.

SOME INDIAN PARALLELS OF LOKESVARA IN INDO-CHINA

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In his illuminating paper entitled *Lokesvara en Indo-Chine* (*Etudes Asiatiques*, I, p. 227 ff), the late M. Finot has made a thorough study of the iconographic types of this deity in Campā and Cambodia. The progress of research since its publication makes it desirable to trace the Indian affinities of these types somewhat further than could be done in the paper just mentioned.

From Finot's description it appears that the Indo-Chinese images of Lokeśvara may be iconographically arranged under the following heads :

1. Lokesvara with two arms

To this class belong :

(a) two images preserved in the Tourane Museum (Finot, p. 234). They show Lokeśvara with two broken fore-arms resting upon two supports; a figure in the chignon and a frontal eye.

(b) a small stone image in the Hanoi Museum. It represents Lokeśvara standing, with two arms, left broken, right holding flask, Amitābha in coiffure (*ibid*, p. 234).

(c) a bronze image in the two temples at Binh-thuan representing Lokeśvara standing, with two arms holding an ewer and a lotus (*ibid*, p. 235).

(d) Lokeśvara group on Nak. Pan pediments, the god standing between two personages with right hand throwing water from his flask upon the hands of a worshipper and left hand making a gesture (*mudrā*) towards a person bearing two jars of water (*ibid*, p. 248). Similar images of Lokeśvara are found on

the seven pediments of Krol Kô and also in the Ta Som temple and the small shrine east of Ta Prohm (*ibid*, pp. 249-50).

(e) "Pre-Khmer" Lokeśvara from the province of Rach Gia (*ibid* p. 238). This has two arms, left closed with a lotus-bud and right opening for showing a lotus flower.

2. Lokesvara with four arms

Under this category may be mentioned :

(a) a bronze image from Quang-tri, now preserved in the Hanoi Museum. The four arms of the image hold lotus, flask, conch (?) and rosary (*ibid*, p. 234).

(b) a bronze image in the two temples at Binh-thuan (*ibid*, p. 235).

(c) terra cotta medallions of Quang-binh (*ibid*, p. 235). In these Lokeśvara is seated in *mahārāja-ñidā*, with four arms, the upper right supporting the head.

(d) a stone image recovered from the ruins at Bayon by M. Parmentier (*ibid*, p. 246, Pl. V). Here Lokeśvara stands upon lotus, Amitābha in chignon, the four arms holding lotus, flask, book, and rosary.

(e) two seated figures at Nak Pan with four arms one of which holds a book (*ibid*, p. 248)

3. Lokesvara with eight arms

To this class belongs :

(a) the great image at Don Tei, the right holding a book (all others broken), the left holding rosary, *cakra*, *vajra*, lotus (?), sword, image of Buddha etc. (*ibid*, p. 250)

(b) Lokeśvara on certain votive *caityas* lying between the Ankor Thom and Bantai Chmar sites. Here the god has eight arms of which six hold lotus, rosary, book (twice ?), arrow, *añkus'a*, while the two lowermost arms are in *vara-mudrā*.

4. Lokesvara of the irradiant type

(*Ibid*, pp. 242-44)

As for the first group, it may be mentioned that the lotus held in the closed left hand and the same flower exhibited with open petals in the right hand are exactly the attributes of the second variety of Rakta-Lokeśvara described in three *Sādhanamālā* MSS. utilised by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya in his *Buddhist Indian Iconography*. The text of the *dhyāna* of this deity as quoted by Dr. Bhattacharya runs as follows (*op. cit.* p. 46). "Rakta-varṇam

Amitābha-garbha-jaṭā-mukuṭa-dharaṁ vāma-kara-gṛhīta-rakta-padmaṁ tacca dakṣiṇ-akareṇa vikāśayantam.....” etc. Dr. Bhattacharya, after taking the above to mean that the the god should carry the red lotus in the left hand and open its petals with the right, admits (p. 47 *n*) that ‘*vikāśayantam*’ in the above may also mean ‘exhibiting’, in which case the god would have the lotus in both of his hands. The pre-Khmèr Lokeśvara from the province of Rach-gia mentioned under Class 1 (e) shows that the latter is the correct interpretation. In the work above-mentioned Dr. Bhattacharya was unable to discover any actual representation of the Rakta-Lokeśvara type. The Cambodian image, however, offers such a specimen.

Of the group of four-armed images, the one from Bayon with lotus, rosary, flask, and book may be compared with that of Mūlavāsa-Lokanātha of Dakṣiṇāpatha which is twice illustrated in Foucher’s Catalogue (Nos. 25 and 27) App. I, Etude sur l’ Iconographie Boudahique de (’Inde). The description of this figure by Foucher is as follows (p. 194) :

“No. 25 :—(Dakṣiṇāpatha Mūl-?) pavāsa-Lokanāthaḥ āriṣasthāna Bodh. blanc, debout, à quatre bras : 1° inferieurs : m. d. en geste qui assure, m. q. tenant de lotus et le flacon : 2° supérieurs ; m. d. tenant le rosaire, m. q. le livre.....”

No. 27 :—Dakṣiṇāpathe Mūlavāsa-Lokanāthaḥ : Identique a la I 25, sans le rosaire de la m. supérieure d. oublié.” A slightly different from the above is the figure (Foucher, *op. cit.* No. 36) labelled Daṇḍabhuktau Yajñapiṇḍi-Lokanāthaḥ whose description (*ibid*, p. 196) is as follows :

“Bodh. blanc, á quatre bras : 1° inferieurs : m. d. en charité, m. q. tenant le flacon (?), 2° superieurs: m. d. tenant le rosaire, m. q. le lotus rose.....”

Probably the Indo-Chinese stèles with lotus, rosary, book and indistinct object belongs to the same class. Among the hundred-and-eight forms of Avalokiteśvara represented in the Macchandar Vihār of Kathmandu, there is none which is exactly similar to the above. But we have one form (No. 12) which approaches the same. This is known as Jaṭāmukuṭa Lokeśvara. In this form the god has one head with the effigy of Amitābha appearing above ; he has four arms, the upper right holding rosary, the lower right in *vara-mudrā*, the upper left a lotus stalk, and the lower left a water-pot (B. Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Indian Iconography*, p. 178, pl. xLv).

The Indo-Chinese type of four-armed images with rosary, book, *vara*, and *bhūmi-spara-mudrā* has no match in any Indian example. But the Eastern Indian school knows a type with the attributes rosary, book, *vara*, and lotus type (R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture*, p. 88 and references there given). The same type is given in Foucher’s Catalogue (I, 23)

under the caption Suvarṇapure Śrīvijayapure Lokanāthaḥ āriṣasthāna. This is described as follows : (*op. cit.* p. 193) :

“Bodh, blanc, debout, à quatre bras : 1° inférieurs : m. d. en charite, m. q. repliée tenant le lotus; 2° supérieurs : m. d. tenant le rosaire, m. q. le livre; a se d. autre lotus...”

A slightly different type is known to the Eastern School with the attributes, rosary, *vara*, *kamaṇḍalu*, and lotus (Kremrisch, *Pāla and Sena Sculptures*, pl. XLviii).

Of the Indo-Chinese type of Lokeśvara with eight arms, it has not been found possible to observe an Indian parallel.

KOSAMBI YUPA INSCRIPTION IN THE ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL MUSEUM.

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The inscription, which forms the subject matter of this paper is on a fragmentary stone pillar discovered at Kosambi and now preserved in the Allahabad Museum. It is about 4½ feet in height. As can be seen from a personal inspection of the pillar, especially by examining the angle of the extant face of the pillar with its adjoining ones, the pillar, in its original condition, was an octagonal one, as a sacrificial Yūpa is required to be by the Vedic texts. It is therefore clear that the pillar was really a stone Yūpa as the record also clearly states. It will be convenient to give the reading of the record before its further discussion.

- 1 [वृत्ती]यो यूप उच्छ्रितः ॥३॥
- 2 [चतु]र्थस्तु श्रीमान्यूप समुच्छ्रितः ॥४॥
- 3 [त]तो विद्वानभिष्टोमास्तु पंचमम् ॥५॥
- 4 [त]तोनेन षष्ठस्तु प्रथमात्कृतोः ॥६॥
- 5 [कृत]वान्यूपमभिष्टोमास्तु सप्तमम् ॥७॥
- 6 [प्रथ]माद्यज्ञात्संचमो वाजपेयिकः ॥८॥
- 7 [त्रयो]वीरो वर्षेयूपः समुच्छ्रितः ॥९॥
- 8 [आं]मं शिवदत्ताय मंत्रियो ॥१॥
- 9 [स]च्चिबो ग्रामं राहो महात्मनः ॥२॥
- 10 ... तिं दात्सेव कृतदक्षिणाम् ॥३॥
- 11 [यथा]वा राजमित्रः भिया कृतः ॥४॥

- 12 कौबिदारिकं शिरसा प्रतिगृह्य
- 13 फलाः प्रेत्य चेह च । तस्मिनेस्मिन्नेवाहनि
- 14 हार सर्वजातभोग्यमभृतप्रवेष्ट्यं
- 15 [आगच्छ]द्भिः परकैर्भोक्तव्यमिति ।
- 16 सत्कृतः पुनः पुनः प्रीतिमियान्महेश्वर इति ।

It will be seen that the record is a fragmentary one. At first I felt it to be next to impossible to make out the sense of the fragment preserved for us. For it is clear that we have only about one fourth of the record left to us, apart from the first two lines that have been completely lost.

A study of the Vedic literature, however, supplied the key to the record. It will be seen that the first five lines of the record repeatedly refer to Yūpas and count them as third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh respectively. It is clear that the sacrificer had performed seven sacrifices, which belonged to the *Sapta-soma-yajña* series and consisted of Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Shoḍaśin, Vājapeya, Atirātra and Āptoryāma respectively.¹ After celebrating these sacrifices, he erected one Yūpa for each of them. This fact was recorded in the first seven lines of the original record, out of which two have been altogether lost. The 6th line of the record again refers to something connected with Vājapeya sacrifice. Probably it refers to the Yūpa erected for it and states that the inscription is being recorded on it. It was not felt necessary to inscribe each Yūpa with a record; the Yūpa of the Vājapeya sacrifice was selected for this honour on account of its importance.

The next line of the inscription recorded the time of the sacrifice. Its loss is the most grievous one from the historical point of view. The extant portion states that the pillar was erected in the 23rd year, probably of the reign of a certain king, whose name was given in the first three quarters of the verse which have been now lost. If we had known the king's name, it would have probably enabled us to date this record. Palaeography however indicates that this Yūpa is slightly earlier than the Īsāpur and Badvā Yūpas. We may therefore assign it with a fair amount of certainty to the latter half of the 2nd century A. D.

Lines 7—10 of the record, which are separately numbered, constitute its second part. They refer to a minister Śivadatta, who was a confidant of the king, as giving a village as *dakṣiṇā*, probably to the 112 Brāhmaṇas, who officiated at the seven sacrifices. This village seems to have been earlier given to the minister by the king, whom he was serving.

Lines 12-16 are very cryptic and fragmentary and are difficult to interpret. Lines 12-13 refer to something connected with Kovidāra, and which

1 *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*, XIV, 1—4.

was in feminine gender. Kovidāra tree is very dear to Śiva, who was the tutelary deity of the minister Śivadatta. He seems to have planted a Kovidāra grove, probably in the vicinity of a Śiva temple. The remaining part of the record refers to a donation of a village given on the same day. Since the last line expresses the hope that Maheśvara may become pleased with this donation, it would be obvious that the donee of this second gift was a Śiva temple, in the courtyard of which the grove of Kovidāra trees was probably planted. The penultimate line of the record refers to the feeding of mendicants. It would appear that part of the income of the village given to the temple was set apart for maintaining a *sattra* at the temple for feeding the destitute and mendicants, as was the custom with a number of temples in south India. The record is an interesting one, for it shows donations given by one and the same individual on one and the same day for the purpose of furthering both the Vedic and Pāuraṇic religion. This would illustrate very clearly how a synthesis was being effected between the two movements in actual practice.

I now adjoin a translation of the record :—

- L. 1 A third Yūpa was erected.
- L. 2 The fourth resplendent Yūpa was erected.
- L. 3 The learned (sacrificer) (erected the Yūpa which was the) fifth from Agniṣṭoma (the first member of the series).
- L. 4 The sixth (sacrifice) from the first one (was performed).
- L. 5 (He) erected a Yūpa, which was the 7th one from Agniṣṭoma.
- L. 6 The (Yūpa) of the Vājapeya sacrifice, the fifth from the beginning (is bearing this record).
- L. 7 In the 23rd year of (king ...) this Yūpa was erected.
- L. 8 The village, given to minister Śivadatta...
- L. 9 The minister (now gives away) the village (given by) the great king.
- L. 10 After thus giving the Dakṣiṇā...
- L. 11 Friend of the king, covered with glory,.....
- L. 12 After paying homage to (the grove) of Kovidāra trees...
- L. 13 In this and the next world, the fruit ... On the same day,
- L. 14 (The village has been given) with privileges of all kinds, not to be entered by soldiers,...
- L. 15 The mendicants (who come) should be given good (in the temple, from part of the proceeds of the donation).
- L. 16 God Maheśvara, thus honoured, may become pleased again and again.

THE WATSON MUSEUM, RAJKOT, PLATES OF DHARASENA II

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These two copperplates which were without the connecting links and the seal are at present preserved in the Watson Museum of Antiquities at Rajkot. Though they have been deposited there for a very long time, no record as to their find-spot, etc., is available; nor were any attempts made to decipher them completely. They are in a very bad state of preservation, part of them having been broken off. The bottom portion of the first plate and the portion from the top of the second plate are now lost. Even the very writing is badly preserved. They were covered with rust. When cleansed it was found that portions in certain places were dim, the letters being very shallow. It was possible for me to read them with the help of the other known grants of the same king. I had originally deciphered this record in 1934, when its brief contents were given in the Annual Report of the Watson Museum of Antiquities, Rajkot, for the year 1934-35. I am very much obliged to Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Director of Archæology, Baroda State, for securing the plates from the Watson Museum, Rajkot, for my detailed study,

The first plate measures $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$ and the second $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$. The letters are badly preserved and are in the same form of the *Brāhmī* script as is obtained in the other Valabhi grants. As regards *Orthography* no special points are to be noted. The peculiarities of writing are the same as observed in the other similar grants. The language is Sanskrit prose except the last three lines of the second plate where we get *paurāṇic* verses of an imprecatory nature.

In the first plate the place of issue of the grant is given but is read imperfectly, only the letters *Bhadra* being readable. It seems, the military camp was at a place called Bhadara.....This is followed by the genealogy of the Maitraka house upto Dharasena II, the donor king, given in the usual stereotyped style. The genealogical table mentions the following kings:— (1) *Senāpati* Bhaṭārka, (2) Dharasena I, (3) Droṇasimha, (4) Dhruvasena I. (5) Dharapaṭṭa. No. 5, *i. e.*, Dharapaṭṭa, was succeeded by his son (6) Guhasena, who was followed by his son (7) Dharasena II, of the present grant.

Almost all the Valabhi kings though staunch Śaivas were tolerant Hindu kings, and we find that the donor of the present grant was no exception to the rule, as beneficiaries of *three* of the *fifteen* grants attributed to him were Buddhist *vihāras*. One of them is the Bappapādiya *vihāra* built by Ācārya Bhadanta Sthiramati who is alluded to by Hieun Tsang¹. Including the grant

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. pp. 9 ff.

edited here fifteen grants of Dharasena II are known. His earliest grants are of the Gupta year 252² and the latest ones are of the year 270³ (G. E.). The last known grant of his father is of 248 G. E. and the earliest known grant of his successor, Silāditya I, is of 286 G. E. Very probably Dharasena II ruled from *cir.* 250 to 280 G. E.

The *lekhaka* or the scribe of the present grant is Skandabhaṭṭa, the minister for peace and war. The *dūtaka* or its executive officer is *Sāmanta* Silāditya, the heir-apparent. In his earlier grants, one Chibirra officiated in that capacity⁴.

The date of the grant which is given in the last line is not clearly read. From the faint traces now left in the original grant, I formerly read it as 250 or 260 G. E.⁵ Now I tentatively read it as 270 G. E., *Bhādrapada* *Bad* 2 (*i. e.* 589 A. D.).

Here I would refer to one point, even by way of a slight digression. The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal has published *Mañjusri-Mūlakalpa* wherein in verse 598 we are told that Silāditya I ruled for 30 years⁶ :—

दश वर्षाणि विंशं च राज्यं कृत्वामकण्टकम् ।

लुब्धः स्वजनप्रयोगेण अजीर्णयति मूर्च्छितः ॥

Now from the known dates of his father, *viz.*, Dharasena II, and his successor Kharagraha I, it can be seen that the Buddhist text is not completely reliable. The last known grants of Dharasena I are of 270 G. E. and the only known grants of Kharagraha I are of 297 G. E.⁷ Thus it can be clearly seen that even if Silāditya I ruled in the intervening period he could have reigned for a maximum of 27 years and not for thirty years as the above text gives. In fact his earliest known grants are of 236 G. E.⁸ and the latest of 290 G. E.⁹

The officers mentioned include *Ayuktaka*, *Viniyuktaka*, *Dhruvādhikaraṇika*, *Viśayapati*, *Rājasthānīya*, *Dāṇḍapāsika*, *Vartmapāla*, *Hastyaśvāroha*, etc.

It records the grant of the village of Thānaka near the river Paprimatī, in the district of.....[vā] naka, to Amaraśarman and Anūhaśarman, sons of the learned Brāhmaṇa Bhadra of the Gāhuṇāyana *gotra* and who was resident of.....The names of the places occurring here are not met with in any other known Valabhī grants and I have not succeeded in identifying them. Thānaka is very probably the same as the modern village of Thāna which is a railway station and is known for its pottery in Kathiawar.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 187 ; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, IV, pp. 33-7.

3 *Ind. Ant.* VII, 70-71.

4 He functions as *dūtaka* in all his grants except in 269-70.

5 *Annual Report, Watson Museum*, 1934-35, page 19 (5).

6 *An Imperial History of India*, Jayaswal, page 24 ; Skt. text, p. 43.

7 *Proceedings and Transactions of the VII All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda*, pp. 659 ff.

8 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I. p. 146 ; XIV, 327 ; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI., p. 174.

9 *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, 1919-20, p. 54.

THE WATSON MUSEUM PLATES OF DHARASENA II

Textt

Plate I

- (१) [ओ]२ स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावाराद्भद्र वासकात् प्रसभप्रण[तामिन्नाणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसंपन्न] =
- (२) मण्डलाभोग संसक्तसं[प्रहारशतलब्ध]प्रतापा[त्] प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्ज्जवोपार्जितानुरागानुरक्त =
- (३) मौलभृतमिन्नश्रेणी[बलावात्तराज्यश्रीः परमम]ादेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिभटाकस्तस्य सु[तस्त]त्यादरजोहणा =
- (४) वनतपवित्रीकृतशिराः शिरोवनतशत्रुचूडामणिप्रभाविच्छुरितपादनखपङ्क्तिदीधितिः^३ दीनानाथ-
कूपणजनोप =
- (५) जीव्यमानविभवः परममादेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिधरसेनः तस्यानुजः^४ तत्पादप्रणामप्रशस्ततरविमल =
- (६) मौलिमणिर्मन्वादिप्रणीतविधिविधानधर्मा [धर्मराज इव] विनयविहितव्यवस्थापद्धतिरखिल-
भुवनामण्ड =
- (७) लाभोगैकस्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपहितराज्याभिषेकमहाविश्राणनावपूतराज्यश्रीः परमामहे =
- (८) श्वरो महाराजद्रोणासिंहः सिंह इव तस्यानुजः स्वभुजबलपराक्रमेण परगजघटानीकानामेकविजयी =
- (९) शरशैषियां शरणमवबोद्धा शास्त्रार्थतत्त्वानां [कल्पतरुखिव सुदृढप्रणयिनां] यथाभिलषितकामफल-
भोगदः
- (१०) परमभागवतः [महाराज]श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्यानुज [स्तच्चरणारविन्द]प्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्पमघः
सुविशुद्धस्व =
- (११) चरितोदकप्र [क्षालित सकलकलिकलङ्कः] प्रसभनिर्जितारातिपद्मप्रथितमहिमा [परमादित्य]भक्त-
श्रीमहाराज ।
- (१२) [ध]रपट्टः^५ तस्यात्मजः [तत्पादसपर्यावा]त्तपु[ण्यो]दयः शैशवात्प्रभृति [खङ्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव]
समदपरगजघटास्फो ।
- (१३) [टनप्र]काशितसत्त्वनिकषः [तत्प्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारसनसंसक्तसव्यपादनखरश्मिसंहतिः सकलस्मृति =
- (१४) [प्रणीतमा]र्गासम्यकरिपालन [प्रजाहृदयरंजनाद] न्वर्त्यराजशब्दः..... रूपकान्ति =

Plate II

- (१) प्रथम
- (२) दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेका[धिवासस्य]

१ From the original plates and ink impressions, with the help of other known grants of the king.

२ Expressed by a symbol.

३ Read 'दीधितिः'

४ Read 'सेनस्तस्यानुजस्तपाद'

५ Read 'पट्टस्तास्वा'

- (३)वश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः^६ महाराजश्री[धरसेनः] कुशली सर्वा[निवायुक्तकविनियुक्तकदा] =
- (४)रचाटभटभ्रुवाधिकरणिकविषयपतिराजस्थानी [प्रति]सारकदारुपाशिकचौरो =
- (५) [व]र्त्मपालहा^७स्यश्वारोहादीन[न्यांश्च] यथासंबन्ध[मानकान् समाशापयत्य]स्तु
वस्त्वितिदितं यथा मया
- (६) मातापित्रो ः पुण्याप्यायनायात्मन[श्चैहि]कामुष्मिकयथाभिलषितफलावा[त्त]ये वासि
गाहुण्यायनसगोत्र =
- (७) बहुदृचसन्नहचारिब्राह्मणभद्रशर्मपुत्राभ्याममरशर्मानूहशर्मभ्यां ग्रा [वा]नकस्थलीप्रापीय प =
- (८) प्रिमतिनद्याः यानकग्रामस्तोद्वक्तस्तोपरिकरस्तभूतवा[त्त]प्रत्यायस्था[न्य]हिरयादेय =
- (९) स्तोत्रयद्यमानविष्टीकस्तदशापराध[त्]समस्तराजकीयानामहस्तप्रत्नेपणीयः^८ भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन बलि-
चरुवैश्वदेवामि =
- (१०) होत्रातिथिपंचमहायासिकानां क्रियाणां समुत्सर्पणार्थमाचन्द्राकार्याणवसरिद्वित्तिस्थितिपर्वतसम-
कालीनः पुत्रपौ =
- (११) श्रान्वयभोग्यः^९ उदकातिसर्गोण ब्रह्मदायो निसृष्टः^{१०} यतो चित्तया देवब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुजतः
कृषतः कर्षयतः प्र =
- (१२) दिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेषे वर्त्तितव्यमागामि-भद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्ब्रह्मशैरन्यैर्वानित्यान्यैश्चर्ध्याण्यस्थिरं
मानुष्यं सामान्यं च
- (१३) भूमिदानफलमिच्छद्भिरयमस्मदायोऽनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च यश्चैनमाच्छिन्त्यादाच्छिद्यमानं
वानुमोदेत स प =
- (१४) [ख]भिर्महापातकैः सोपपातकैस्संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्ठिं वर्ष-
सहस्रा[णि] [स्वर्गो] मोदति[देत] भूमिदः [१]
- (१५) [आ]च्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येष नरके वसेत् [॥] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[स्तस्य त]स्य तदा फलमिति
- (१६) स्वहस्त[स्तो] मम श्रीधरसेनस्य [१] वृ[त्तकः] [सामन्तशीलादित्यः] लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदि-
विरपति[स्कन्दभटेन] सं १७० भाद्रपद व २ ()

६ Read °शरो महा°

७ Read °हस्त्यथा°

८ Read °क्षीयो भूमि°

९ Read °भोग्य उदका°

१० Read निसृष्टो यतो

“PITHI AND PITHIPATIS”

Sarit Sekher Mojumdar, M. A., Benares.

During the period of the Kaivarta Rebellion many feudatories appear to have tried to be independant of the Pālas. The Piṭhipatis were one of them. I shall try to trace their history and locate the dominion ‘Piṭhi’. The Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradēvi informs us thus in the verses 4-6 :¹

“Vīrō Vallabharājanāmaaviditō mānyaḥ sa bhūmibhujāu Jētāsōtpr̥thu-
piṭhikāpatiratipraud̥hapratāpōdayaḥ || Cikkōravaiṃśakumudodayapūrṇacandraḥ
Śri-Dēvarakṣita iti prathitaḥ pṛthivyām | Piṭhipatirgajapatēraḥ rājya-
lakṣmīm̐ lakshmyā jigāya jagadēkamanōharaśriḥ || Tasmādāsa payōnidhēriḥ
vidhurlāvanyaalakṣmī vidhurnētrānandasamuḍravardhanavidhuḥ kirtirdyuti-
śrīvidhuḥ ||

We know the following points from the above passage.

(a) There was a Piṭhipati named Vallabharāja.

(b) S’ri-Dēvarakṣita belonged to the Cikkōra family. He was also Pithipati.

(c) The expression “Tasmādāsa” has been used to show the relation between Vallabharāja and Dēvarakṣita. It is here and here only that we find the reference to this Vallabharāja, the lord of Piṭhikā. Dēvarakṣita was most probably the son and successor of Vallabharāja. Dr. Sten Konow thinks that the phrase “Tasmādāsa” in Verse 5 of the Sārnāth inscription indicates the relation of father and son.² There is little to be doubted that they belonged to one and the same family, the “Cikkōravaiṃśa”, for otherwise they would not be mentioned in a connecting passage of the same inscription.

Dēvarakṣita was great and ambitious. It was he, I think, who aspired to establish a dominion of his own when the situation was made favourable by the revolt of the Kaivartas in Varendri. He gave a timely hit but his success was destined to a blow. “The second part of the Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradēvi contains the information that Dēvarakṣita was defeated by Mahāṇa, the maternal uncle of the Gauḍa king who thus firmly established the throne of Rāmapāla and subsequently bestowed his daughter Śaṅkaradēvi on the Piṭhi lord”.³ The greatness of Dēvarakṣita is proved by the following facts:

(a) The rise of Dēvarakṣita necessitated a check which otherwise would prove fatal to the Pālās. Hence Mahāṇa, the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla and the Rāṣtrakūta king of Aṅga took up arms against him.

1 E. I., IX. 319 ff.

2 Ibid.

3 E. I., IX. 319-328.

(b) Mahāṇa gave his daughter Śaṅkaradēvī in marriage to Dēvarakṣita even after the latter's defeat. This shows his importance. It was most probably a diplomatic step and perhaps the marriage remained as a guarantee against any repeat of trouble from Dēvarakṣita.

(c) Kumāradēvī, the daughter of Dēvarakṣita and the issuer of the Sārṇāth inscription was married to the great Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindacandra. This further establishes the greatness of Dēvarakṣita.

The name of Dēvarakṣita and his defeat at the arms of Mahāṇa is also mentioned in the Rāmacarita⁴. It is very difficult to ascertain the political status of Dēvarakṣita after the above defeat. The Rāmacarita mentions of one Bhimayaśa as "Kānyakubjarāvājiniḡaṇṭhaṇabhūjaṅga Bhimayaśābhidhāno magadhādhipatiḡ, piṭhipatiḡ....."⁵. This most probably suggests that Piṭhi was transferred to the control of Bhimayaśa and Dēvarakṣita was deprived of his importance.

Bhimayaśa certainly did not belong to the genealogy of the Piṭhipatis. He was, I think, originally incharge of the territory of Magadha and was entrusted with the rule of Piṭhi also after the defeat of Dēvarakṣita and hence the Rāmacarita calls him "Magadhādhipatiḡ Piṭhipatiḡ". His greatness is indicated by the placing of his name first in the list of the Sāmantas of Rāmapāla. Moreover he has the distinguished attribute of "Vandya." Dr. R. D. Bannerji opined that Bhimayaśa probably defeated Yaśa-Karṇa and won the eulogy "Kānyakubja-rāja-vājiniḡaṇṭhaṇabhūjaṅga"⁶. His arguments are very long drawn. To me the alluded success of Bhimayaśa does not strike to have been a very important one as such for otherwise the Rāmacarita would explicitly mention and enhance the glory of his overlord. To examine the validity of the eulogy it is necessary to peep into the contemporary history of Kanauj. Chandradeva Gāhaḍavāla is said to have established his capital at Kanauj⁷ but in the course of the history of the dynasty we find them associated with Benares.⁸ Kanauj was perhaps held by petty rulers. The Jhānsī stone inscription which refers to Candella Kirtivarman and Sallakṣaṇasimha (Varman ?) in lines twenty and twenty-seven gives a short list of the princes of Kanauj.⁹ Dr. Keilhorn infers that "the record has reference to the rulers of Kānyakubja themselves or to certain chiefs who owed allegiance to them". The Shet-Mahet inscription speaks of Gōpāla, the king of Kanauj.¹⁰

4 Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal, III, Commentary on Page 38.
"Anyatra ētēsu.....nirduduhē."

5 Ibid., page 36, Verse 5, Commentary.

6 Bāṅglār Itihāsa, I, page 284.

7 I. A. 1, 885, Pages 102-103.

8 See the view of Dr. H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. I, 507-508.

9 Jhānsī S. I., E. I., I, 214 ff.

10 J. A. S. B., 1892, Extra No, 57 ff.

I am inclined to identify this Gōpāla with Gōpāla, the minister of Kirtivarman who, according to the Prabandhacandrodaya¹¹ and a Candella inscription from Mahoba¹² gave a wonderful display of his ability and reconquered the lost dominions and prestige of the Candella dynasty by defeating Karṇa. He has been called “Sarva-sāmanta—cūḍāmaṇi.” Taking together the above mentioned Jhānsī and Sahet-Mahet inscriptions we find that Kanauj is being ruled over by so many feudatories under Kirtivarman. It is just possible that Bhīmayaśa of Piṭhi, the feudatory of Rāmapāla, defeated the cavalry of some of the above mentioned chiefs of Kanauj and earned the epithet kānyakubja-rājavājini bhujāṅga”.

We do not hear of any successor of Bhīmayaśa. The next source of our information about Piṭhi is the Jānibāgh inscription¹³. The object of the inscription is to donate “the village of Koṭṭhalā, with land and water, without any reservation, together with the plough tax, in Saptaghaṭṭa”, to the Majestic Diamond Throne for its monastery by king Jayasena, son of Buddhasena. Jayasena has been called Piṭhipati and Ācārya”,¹⁴

It is worthy of notice that the donator is called “Bhūpati”. Mr. Jayaswal is of opinion that “Buddhasena was probably some collateral of the Sena king who ruled in c. 1199 A. C, and in 1202 he had not yet any principality of his own under the Turaṣkas. On the other hand, his son, who would have been originally a governor under the Sena king, on the break up of the Sena empire in 1199 A. C, seems to have assumed sovereignty as he, in 1202, (in the inscription) speaks of his own dynasty and contemplates his descendants to be his successors”. Mr. N. G. Mojumdar showed with the support of an epigraph that Buddhasena was not a collateral of the Sena kings and proves that he himself ruled.¹⁵

We can gather nothing more of the dynastic history of Piṭhi. Now I shall try to locate Piṭhi. There is a controversy over it. Dr. Sten Konow's view that Piṭhi is modern Piṭhāpuram¹⁶ in South India cannot be accepted. It is undoubtedly absurd to think that a petty feudatory of the Pālas could possibly possess some dominion there. K. P. Jayaswal writes, “There cannot be any doubt that in the early Sena times Piṭhi denoted the whole of the province of Bihar (except Mithilā.) The commentator to the Rāmacarita could not have flourished long after the Pālas for he knows fully the details of the reign

11 Prabandh Candodaya, I, 4, 6, 9.

12 E. I., Vol I, 217-222.

13 I. A., XLVIII, 43-48, and J. B. O. R. S. IV. 265-280.

14 J. B. O. R. S. IV. 279, Line 10.

15 I. A., XLVIII. 43.

16 E. I., IX, 322.

of Rāmapāla. He always explains Piṭhipati as Magadhādhīpa or the king of Magadha."¹⁷ Mr. H. Pandey opined thus :—

“As such, it appears to have been the name given to the southern portion of Magadha... ..It was possible that Piṭhi is not the name of any particular country and that “Piṭhipati was the title of the king who was the protector of the Diamond Throne at Budh-Gaya.”¹⁸ Mr. N. G. Mojumdar while editing the Jānibāgh inscription was sure to conclude that it “included Bodh-Gaya and the region round it, as the inscription has been discovered in that locality”.¹⁹ Late R. D. Bannerji was of opinion that it lies near the boundary of Magadha or that it might have been a buffer state between those of Kānyakubja and Gauḍa.²⁰

I beg to differ with the above mentioned suggestions and to present my own view.

I think Mr. Jayaswal was wrong when he wrote that the Rāmacarita explained Piṭhipati as the king of Magadha. Even if it meant such we must sound the truth of the statement by comparing it with the Sārṇāth inscription. Devarakṣita has not been associated with Magadha by the authentic inscription and hence we have ground to differ with the opinion of Jayaswal. I do not agree with the theory which identifies Piṭhi with Gaya. Gaya always came within Magadha. If Piṭhi meant Gaya the question remains why a lord of Magadha should explicitly be mentioned as the Lord of a place within Magadha ? The Jānibāgh inscription was found near Bodh-Gaya and hence scholars opine that Piṭhi was somewhere near Gaya. But it does not necessarily mean so. The findspot of the inscription does not always come within the dominion of the donator. It is just possible that Jayasena of the Jānibāgh inscription came on a pilgrimage to Bodh-Gaya and donated the Village Koṭṭahala.

Now, where could that Piṭhi be ? From the Rāmcarita we find that Mathaṇa, the King of Aṅga had to defeat Devarakṣita before proceeding to quell the rebellion of the Kaivartas. This clearly hints that the kingdom of Piṭhi was like a buffer between Aṅga and Varendri. It corresponds roughly to the area lying between the modern Railway stations Pirpointy and Sakrigali Jn. in E. I. Ry Loop (Santhal Pargana)²¹. I identify Piṭhi with Pirpointy on the following grounds :—

1. Piṭhi bears a striking similiarity with Pointy which Mr. Rennell has shown in his map as a town of greater importance than what it is now under

17 J. B. O. R. S., IV. 267.

18 J. B. O. R. S., IV. 277-278.

19 I. A., XLVIII. page 44.

20 Bānglār Itihās, Vol. 7. 286.

21 Is it that this area roughly represented the ancient 'Kajangala' of which we find the reference in Mahāvagga Vinaya Piṭaka, Vol. I, p. 197 and in the report of Hiuen Tsang ?

the name of Pirpointy. The place having been on the bank of the Ganges carried a strategic significance. It is more known as Pointy amongst all sections of the people. It is generally found from history that the Mohammadans destroyed places of importance and associated them with the name of Pir. It is just possible that, as Pīṭhi was an important centre, they left the marks of their strength by naming the place after Pir, *i.e.* Pirpointy.

2. A bank of the Ganges at Pirpointy is still known as Patthal-Ghaṭṭā. “Patthal” means stone and ‘Ghaṭṭā’ probably stands for bank. The word Ghaṭṭā is still associated only with this area near Pointy. Hence we can say that Sapta-Ghaṭṭā of the Jānibāgh inscription was somewhere here. It is just possible that Saptaghaṭṭā or the Seven-banks of this particular area carried some special importance in those days and that the modern Patthalghaṭṭā is one of those famous Seven banks.

Mr. N. L. Dey observed the importance of “Patthal-Ghaṭṭā” and the area near about. He opined that in ages long gone by it was probably the renowned Vikarma Śilā University.²² It is doubtful but the description of the locality as he gives will convince one and all that the place is very old and of historical importance.

3. I have opined above that the Koṭṭhalā-grāma mentioned in the Jānibāgh inscription was not near Gaya. If I go to prove the location of Pīṭhi in Pirpointy I must have to see whether any modern place, nearabout carries the ancient name of Koṭṭhalāgrām. Fortunately I find one. The modern Railway station Kahalgāon (Colgong), which even in the Moghal days was known as Kahalagram,²³ is but the changed form of Koṭṭhalāgrāma.

4. Some sixteen miles North-east of Pointy there is a place known as Śakrūgaṛh in Sahibganj. The ‘Gaṛh’ stands on an elevated area surrounded on all sides by distorted ditch. I personally visited the place and found that some dug works have brought to light some structural slabs. The very sight of the site will impress one of its antiquity. Some stone images unearthed from this spot have been preserved in the Sahibganj E. I. Ry. H. E. School Museum.

We can for benefit see to the origin of the name “Śakrūgaṛh,” It is but the changed form of Cikkōra-Gaṛh *i, e,* the fort of the Cikkōra family of which we found the reference in the Sārnāth incription.²⁴

5. We find a place nearly six miles east of Śakrūgaṛh named Śakrigali. It is nothing but the changed form of “Śaṅkarigalli”. We know from the Sārnāth inscription that Śaṅkarīdevī was the daughter of Mahāna, the King

²² J. A. S. B., New Series, V. 7.

²³ Jauhar Ms., page 28.

²⁴ E. I., IX, 322 ff., verses 4-6.

of Aṅga and was married to Devarakṣita. The marriage was undoubtedly one of great importance and it is just possible that Devarakṣita named the strategic 'galli' after his wife. The inhabitants of locality, ignorant as they are of history, associate the place with Goddess Sankaridevī. Dr. Qānūngo has noticed the strategic importance of the area between Teliagarhi and Sakrīgali during the time of Sher Shah²⁵.

I wish to conclude my essay after describing in short the few archæological finds of the area which are partly in the possession of the Sahibganj E. I. Ry. H. E. School Museum :

(a) "Caturbhuja Viṣṇu mūrti" made of black stone.

(b) *Potshreds.*

The inner and not the outer surface of the shreds are of light green colour and are as if enamelled. They are still well polished. Similar shreds were recently discovered in Mahānad by Mr. P. C. Paul of Darbhanga. They were used in the Pāla period.

(c) *Terra Cota.*

Some small hard marbles, a little figure of horse and a very small image of a meditating face have been found in that area.

(d) Images of Gaṇeśa and Viṣṇu most probably of the Pāla period have also been unearthed near Śakrūgarh. They are preserved in Sahibganj School Museum.

(e) Railings or stone pillars of some buildings, with simple architectural decorations have also been found.

(f) The broken portion of a palm with beads have also been found. The Sārṇāth Museum preserves one such. It belongs approximately to the 11th cent. A. D.

25. Qanūngo : Sher Shah, Ed. 1921, Pages 168—170.

CHANGE OF CASTE AS A CRIMINAL PUNISHMENT

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The document which forms the subject matter of the present paper is of unique importance so far as the formation and change of caste, with which is intimately connected the question of profession, is concerned. The present writer is not aware if any such other document has been discovered. It shows that the kings and rulers, even the Mohammedans, often interfered in the matter of caste, and degradation from it, as a criminal punishment, and that such orders were held valid by the society.

The document refers to the caste of the goldsmiths. They, as is well known, are workers in gold and silver and have a distinct caste of their own called "Sundr". They are divided into small groups, viz., families of 12 houses, 22 houses, 52 houses, and Govindhalla *i. e.* Miscellaneous. Of these 12 houses family is regarded as holding the highest social status in the community. The document was brought to light in a case filed in the Āzamgarh district regarding certain customary charges levied from the lower caste people in certain villages when people go there in a marriage procession. The 12 houses family people claimed exemption from these charges on the basis of this document which shows that these people belonged to the High Kṣatriya families, as their genealogical titles are given in the document. The 12 persons named in the document were originally Kṣatriyas of high families but were degraded to the Goldsmith caste and were obliged to adopt its profession by the orders of the king. It is engraved on a copperplate and is dated in Hijra 822, A. D. 1414 when the last Tughlaq kings were reigning at Delhi. The 12 Kṣatriya people whose names, genealogical titles and residences are given in full in this copperplate were personal attendants (Chobdars) of the then Delhi King. They committed some serious offence for which they were ordered to be shot. In the meanwhile one Paṇḍit Nanda Rāma Chaube of Jaunpur, priest of the Treasurer Seth Manirām of Sarkār Shāhi, Delhi Government, came to their timely help. Both of them intervened and the order was commuted to the degradation of their caste to that of the Goldsmiths'. As a criminal punishment they were further forbidden henceforth to put on arms and the dress of a Kṣatriya by tying the waist, to put on the Sacred thread, which a Kṣatriya is enjoined to put on, and were compelled to earn their livelihood as workers in gold and silver. Their Gotras were also changed and they assumed a new Gotra 'Kaṣyapa.' They agree in this document to pay certain dues for this great act of kindness to the family descendants of Paṇḍit Nanda Rāma Chaube of Jaunpur which the descendants of the 12 houses family still pay to them. They

became the disciples of the family of the said Chubeji as is mentioned in the copperplate which is still in the possession of that family. The copy of the plate is as follows:—

۸۱۹ لغوالمرعن طبعه/الطوي به تقسیم صاعورون
اطلعت علی مضمون المسود المسطورة

انوار صحیح شرعی نمودند خردن (?) معجودن (?) باسام دستام سهنون نول سنگه رام تولی
رگهوبنسی ساکن تولا رام پور و بوتاب سنگه تهاکر سورج بنسی ساکن تهاکر پوره و بهادر سنگه نوکریا گوتم
ساکن نوگیتهادبیه و انوپ سنگه تروڑا درگ بنسی ساکن سکریور تانزا و نهال سنگه الای مؤ
بچیمکوتی ساکن الای مؤ پنجارها و گلاب سنگه نبودهیا ساکن نبودها گهاث و درشن سنگه اتوری
چندیل ساکن انکوری گور و جیمت سنگه رچکوتیا پوار ساکن راج گهاتی و ضالم سنگه نوتکی بیس
ساکن نوتنک پور اونچا و فتح سنگه بنول رجوار ساکن پوولمان پور پودها و مادهوسنگه تاننا بیس
ساکن تانتي مؤ و نواز سنگه بهاا گوشک ساکن بیای پور کھانی چویداران دیدیمه معنی که مایان بوقوع
قصور را از خدمت خردها که بسرگار حضرت شاهی حادانه ملکه داشتیم برطرف شد و باینزاع اسامه
بندی و زنا بندی و تبدیل قومیت و پیشه و کسادکمر یعنی کچیه حال مارزن (?) پوشه زرگرو
شد اداره و سر گرانهم چون شفاعت و جان بخشی مایان اژدم توپ محض بیس نقاس متبرکه بنات
گروچی نندرام چوپے ساکن جونپور ذریعه ایماه جناب شان به منی رام سیته خزانچی سرکار شاهی که
او هم یکی از معتمدان گروچو صاحب گردید و لاجرم بصدق نیت از رونے حاف بحلقه ارادت گروچی
صاحب درامدیم پس از سنسکار ما همه را به کشیپ گوت نامید و زنا درگچی و منتر و کتقی بیایان
ارزان نمودند که هنگام عروسی بر بندیم و پس بیایان واجب است که چنین زنا بندی درگچی
رفت شادی عروسی یک روپیه ۴ آنه و هنگام تجدید و شروع پیشه معیشت و دوکانداری خودها
یک روپیه ۴ آنه نقد و ۲۱ شهرینی و نیز هر سالی روز سارون سودی اینکاشی یک روپیه ۴ آنه بطریق
نذرانه پیشکش آستان گروچی نمود و مطلع و منقار که حلقه ارادت کیهان ایشان باشیم نسلاً بعد نسل
و بطناً بعد بطناً سر کسیکه در اولاد و احفاد مایان و اولاد گروچی باشد نوعی تغلف نه روزیم و
الاعامی شویم و این توفیق مھود به تفھیش پخته مسی سوگند ارادت در سنه ۸۲۲ مقام
دارالسلطنت دهلی مکمل گردیده که عندالتحاجت مستند باشد بقلم کشی ناطقہ -

گواہ شد—دیوان دیندیال سرکار شاهی
ساکھی پنڈت بشمیر ناتھ سرکار شاهی
शाही पंडित विशंभर नाथ सरकार शाही

گواہ شد—مفتی رحیم الہ
ساکھی منی رام سیٹھ سرکار شاهی
शाही मनीराम सेठ सरकार शाही

(in Kaithi characters)

TARA IMAGES IN THE SARNATH MUSEUM

M. M. Nagar, M. A., Sarnath, Benares.

Amongst the various Goddesses worshipped in India Tārā occupies a very conspicuous position. Although adored in all the three principal religions of this country she is thoroughly Buddhistic in character¹. Her worship was first started in India by the Buddhists who seem to have transported her here from Mahā-Cīna-deśa (Chinese Tibet)—her original homeland—via Nepāl², sometime in the 6th century A. D.; and at a later age when she became very popular she was introduced into Jaina³ and Hindu⁴ pantheons. She was originally invoked 'for safe crossing of waters' and finally 'became a deliveress or saviouress (Tāriṇī) from the ocean of existence (bhava-sāgara)'⁵. In Buddhist mythology she is commonly considered as the Śakti or the female counterpart of Avalokiteśvara, the principal Bodhisattva of this age, and is represented as the mother of the Buddhas as well as Bodhisattvas⁶. According to Miss Getty⁷ she is the Śakti of the Dhyāni Buddha from whom she emanates, while according to Dr. Bhaṭṭasālī⁸ she is the Śakti of the Bodhisattvas originating from the same source,—the same emanation dividing itself into the male and the female energies. She figures as an independent Goddess of the first rank and great popularity and was worshipped in as many as 21 forms.

The rich and varied collection of Buddhist sculptures excavated at Sārṇāth, has to its credit a large number of Images of this deity and covers a period of about 600 years, *i.e.*, from the time her worship first began in India (C. 7th Cen. A. D.) till the final destruction of the Holy Isipatana (1200 A. D.) by the Muslim invaders. They testify to the Goddess being invoked here in several forms and having a living cult of wide prevalence. Some of these forms are unique in as much as they are very rarely met with, while others are either artistically very important or are not yet properly identified at all. No apology is, therefore, needed for attempting at a description of some of her most notable images of these different forms, in the lines that follow.

1 B. Bhattacharya : Buddhist Esoterism p. 153.

2 Op. Cit. p. 155. Dr. Hirananda Shastri : Origin and Cult of Tara. A. S. Memoir, No. 20. pp. 16-17.

3 Tara, Sutara or Sutaraka is the attendant yaksini of the 9th Jina Suvidhinātha.

4 Tara is the 2nd Mahāvidyā (dvitīyā) in the Hindu mythology, kali being the first (adyā).

5 Dr. Hirananda Shastri : op. cit., p. 23.

6 Dr. Hirananda Shastri : op. cit., p. 12.

7 Northern Indian Goddesses and Gods, p. 106.

8 Iconography of the Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum. p. 21.

B (f) 1. Brikuti Tārā—standing holding in her left hand a water-pot (kamaṇḍalu) on the hip. The right hand which is now broken was apparently in the Varamudrā. She wears a Sāri and elaborately rich jewellery. Late Gupta style. C. 7th cen. A. D.

This is the earliest image of this deity so far known here. The projected left knee, the curve (bhaṅga) at the waist (kaṭi), the fine wavy chisel marks indicating Sāri, the bead course (maṇibandha) on the aureole (Prabhāvali), the flowery ear-rings (patra-kuṇḍala),—all reminiscent of the Gupta art—point to the image being one of the earliest as yet known.

B (f) 2 Khadiravaṇī Tārā—standing in the tribhaṅga pose on a lotus with Aśokakāntā Marīcī to right and Ekajaṭā to left. Her right hand was in the Vara pose while the left held a flower, probably blue lotus (nilotpala), now broken. She wears only a lower garment the upper half of the body being bare, and is lavishly adorned with ornaments. The Dhyānī Buddha Amoghasiddhi is present on the middle of a five-peaked tiara (mukuta) on her head. Style Late Mediæval. C. 11th century A. D.

This is the most beautiful image of Tārā hitherto exhumed at Sārnāth. It is perfectly in accordance with the Sādhanās and seem to have been carved under the supervision of one having a thorough knowledge of the canons. Being a typical example of the feminine beauty (nāri saundarya), as conceived both by the mediæval poets and artists, it is in deep contrast to the simple and chaste style of the earlier periods. The breasts have been shown large and prominent (analpānta-kuca) and the waist (kaṭi) delicately thin (sumadhyama). The exquisite and rich ornaments with which the Goddess is profusely decorated also throw a flood of useful light on the Indian Jewellery of the mediæval period.

B (f) 7. Ordinary Tārā—seated in easy attitude (lalitāsana) on a lotus (padma) with her right leg pendant and resting on a smaller double lotus. Her right hand is in the Varada pose while the left holds a blue lotus (nilotpala). To left a miniature repetition of herself standing. She wears a lower garment and a few ornaments, and her hair drawn up and tied in a knot over her head. The backslab which is of a throne pattern, is decorated with pilasters, bracket-capitals, rampant leogryphs and devas flying showering flowers. The style is mediæval. C. 10th century A. D.

The image was identified as that of Nīla Tārā⁰, i. e., Ekajaṭā, but all the special attributes of that Goddess are lacking in. Even the frown on the face which is so very characteristic of Ekajaṭā, is conspicuous by its absence. Instead, there is given a very pleasing expression on her face. We, therefore, propose to identify it as an image of Ordinary Tārā whose only emblems are blue lotus and Vara pose.

E (f) 8. Bust of Vajra Tārā—carved in the round (citra) having four heads (caturvaktrā) and eight hands (aṣṭabhujā), the latter having all been broken. She wears a jewelled torque, a necklace of triple bead course and a diadem on each head, richly adorned with strings of pearls. The hair is drawn up and tied in a conical knot between the four heads. The tiara on the principal head bears four miniature images of Dhyānī Buddhas—one of Vairocana in Dharma-cakra-mudrā, one of Amitābha in meditation mudrā and two of Akṣobhya in Bhumi-sparśa-mudrā,—while that on the back head an image of Dhyānī Buddha Amoghasiddhi. There is also a diamond-shaped Ūṛṇa mark on the front forehead. The breasts are carved abnormally large and the faces glowing like those of a young virgin. Style mediæval. C. 10th century A.D.

Of all the Tārā images those of Vajra Tārā are perhaps the most interesting on account of their unique representation. According to the Sādhanā the Goddess should sit in a maṇḍala accompanied by the four Tārās, viz., Dhūpa, Dīpa, Puṣpa and Gandha and the four yoginīs, viz., Vajrapāśī, Vajraghaṇṭā, Vajrāṅkuśī and Vajrasphoṭī; and as this maṇḍala or the magic circle could best be represented by a lotus she was generally shown seated within the same. Unfortunately, the fragmentary condition of the image under our review disables us to postulate the way the deity was represented here; but the one¹⁰ found at Faridpur in Bengal and housed in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, shows that wonderful representation of her, which makes people struck with admiration. It is of the device of a full-blown lotus with eight moveable petals showing in the centre the Goddess seated on a pod of lotus and surrounded by the eight Mothers—the four Tārās and the four yoginīs stated above. These petals which are numbered, when drawn up and capped, close the lotus and range the attendants round her, while when uncapped they slide down and reveal the Goddess in all her glory for the worship—the entire device corresponding with the fact that lotus is supposed to close in the evening and open in the morning.

B. (f) 9. Dīpa Tārā—seated cross-legged on a full-blown double lotus. She had four hands of which the upper right one is missing, the lower right being in the Varamudrā. Of the two left hands the upper one holds flames (dīpa-śhikhā) and the lower a stalk with two full-blown lotuses. She wears a lower garment, a scarf (uttariya) over her shoulders, jewelled fillet over her fore-head, and a torque, a necklace and a girdle over her person. A halo of fullblown lotus pattern in low relief is also carved behind her head. Mediæval style. C. 10th century A.D.

The image is very important in as much as it is a separate representation of her, which is by no means commonly met with, she being always portrayed as an attendant of Vajratārā.

¹⁰ Bhattachārya : op. cit., pp. 47-52,

B (f) 11. Syāma Tārā—standing in tribhāṅga pose and holding in her left hand a blue lotus, the right showing the boon (Vara). She wears a high diadem (mukuṭa), a garment round her waist and a scarf on her shoulders. Circular ear-rings, necklace and girdle are the ornaments with which the Goddess is adorned. Style late mediæval. 12 century A. D.

A similar image of an earlier period found in Bengal and now exhibited in the collection of the Dacca Museum, is also identified as such¹¹.

B (f) 18. Bust of Rakta Tārā—having Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha carved above her head (Amitābha-mukuṭān). She holds in her left hand a red lotus (raktotpala) while the right which is now broken, was probably in the Varadamudrā. She is decked with an elaborate diadem and other ornaments. Style late mediæval. C. 12th century A. D.

337 E. Simhanāda Tārā—seated on a double lotus cushion with her left leg hanging down and resting on a roaring lion who is her vehicle. In her left hand she holds a blue lotus while the right shows boon (vara). A jewelled fillet on the head, pendant ear-rings, beaded necklace (maṇibandha), armlets (bhujbandha), wristlets, girdle (kāncī) and anklets (nūpura) are the ornaments with which she is adorned. She wears a lower garment and her hair tied together in a knot above her head. Style mediæval. C. 10th century A. D.

Images of Simhanāda Tārā are very rare in India, her worship being confined mostly to Tibet and Nepal. It is, therefore, a lucky co-incidence to have an image of this particular form of Tārā. The Goddess is an emanation of Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha who is shown above in a corner on the back slab.

344 E. Ekajaṭa Tārā—standing holding in her left hand a blue lotus, the right being in the gift bestowing attitude. Her face is entirely injured. She wears a lower garment, large circular ear-rings, a necklace, armlets, a jewelled girdle and anklets. To proper left a miniature female figure dressed exactly alike the Goddess, possibly a repetition of herself, standing holding in her left hand a lotus and the right resting on a battle-axe (paraśu). To proper right a dwarfish female figure standing with protruding belly (lambodari) and hands broken upholding an uncertain object resembling an elephant. Both the attendant figures have a frown on their face and their hair treated in a fashion so as to form a chignon (Eka-jaṭā), on their heads. The Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya from whom this Goddess emanates, is shown seated above, to right, on the backslab. Style late mediæval. C. 11th Cen. A. D.

The image is undoubtedly a very queer representation of Ekajaṭā in so far as it is highly uncanonical, the principal figure having none of the recognised emblems of this Goddess except for the chignon on the head, However, the

¹¹ Bhattacharya : op. cit., p. 56. 1. B. (V) a

repetition of the Goddess on her either side in two different forms, the emblems held by them such as lotus and battle-axe, the dwarfish size and the protruding belly, the terrific frown on their faces as also the presence of Akṣobhya—the parental Dhyānī Buddha of this Goddess—are all clear indications of the Goddess being Ekajaṭā and, we, therefore, venture to put forward this identification for the first time.

SUMMARIES OF OTHER PAPERS

THE KRṬA ERA.

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In this paper the author shows that the epoch of the Kṛta or Mālava era is 458 B. C. and is identical with the earlier Śrī Harṣa era mentioned by Al-beruni and not 58 B. C. as so long supposed.

The meaning of 'Kṛta' is 'Satya' (Satya Yuga=Golden Age) as already suggested by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his 'Epigraphic Notes and Questions. The years called Kṛta are the origin of the Vikrama Era. (*Ind. Ant.*, June, 1932, pp. 101—03).

This determination of the epoch of the Kṛta era in 458 B. C. proves conclusively that the epoch of the era of the Gupta Vikramādityas which must be about 400 years later than the epoch of the Kṛta or Mālava era, is identical with the Vikrama era of 58 B. C., a conclusion to which the author already arrived from numerous other varied evidences in his article on the epoch of the era of the Gupta Vikramādityas.

IDENTIFICATION OF SOME ANCIENT INDIAN PLACE NAMES.

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Devasabhā = Dewās

Rajasekhara describes that part of India which lay on the other side of Devasabhā as the Western Country (*Devasabhāyāḥ parataḥ pascaddesaḥ*). The Editor of the *Kāvyaṃtāmsā* tentatively suggested that modern Dewās state in the Central Indian States Agency might stand for Devasabhā. S.N. Mazumdar

S'āstri in his edition of Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* was of opinion that Devasabhā could not be correctly identified. But a careful sifting of evidence enables one to fully support the identification of Devasabhā with Dewās.

Localisation of a few place names such as S'ivapurahara Bhīṣaṇa, Indrapura, etc., mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrt* list (of *Yaksas*) in the extreme north-west of India.

H. Thsang mentions the country of Po-fa-to which has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Should we find a reference to it in the No. I inscription of Kakkuka engraved on a column standing in situ at Ghaṭiyālā, 22 miles W. N. W. of Jodhpur? Mention of this Parvata along with such countries as Travani, Valla and Mada, etc., is interesting.

MUKHALINGAM—THE CAPITAL OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGA.

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Mukhalingam is a village on the southern bank of the Vaiṣṇadharā river in the Vizagapatam District of the Madras Presidency. It must have flourished in the late Buddhist period judging from the existence in the village of a few Buddhist and S'akti images. Mukhalingam and Mukhalingeśvara are modern names for the village and its principal deity respectively. Nowhere are these names met with in the inscriptions however. In the inscription found in the Mukhalingeśvara temple the deity is always called Madhukeśvara from which it may be inferred that that was the name of the deity in ancient times. This Madhukeśvara temple is throughout referred to as being situated in Kaliṅganagara, the capital. This conclusively proves that the capital of the Eastern Gāṅgas contained a temple for Madhukeśvar or Mukhalingeśvara. This cannot but be held to refer to Mukhalingam. Besides, the innumerable Gāṅga inscriptions, temples built by them, and the remains of an old town all in Mukhalingam point to the identification of this village with Kaliṅganagara or Nagara of the inscriptions. Even the very name Nagara is preserved in Nagarī=kaṭakam, a village $\frac{3}{4}$ mile to the south of Mukhalingam which no doubt formed part of the old city in its palmy days. After the Eastern Gāṅga period the village has come to be called Mukhalingam after the name of its principal deity. The deity itself has come to be called Mukhalingeśvara for unlike most liṅgams it has a face. Inscriptions of the Eastern Gāṅgas show that Kaliṅganagara was their capital from about the sixth century A. D. till the middle of the twelfth century A. D. when Anantavarma Choḍagāṅga, the greatest king of this dynasty seems to have shifted it to Cuttack.

The archæological remains in the village consist of parts of the old fort wall, a few mounds, a few Buddhist sculptures and three Śaiva temples. The capital seems to have been well protected on the west and the north by the river and on the east by a hill, though on the south there seems to have been no natural protection. The city stretched along the banks of the river for about two miles. Yuan Chwang stated that the capital of Kalinga was four miles in circuit. The Buddhist sculptures consist of two images of the Buddha and a few images depicting the birth of the Buddha and the angels showering flowers on the Buddha. The three temples are those of Mukhaliṅgeśvara, Bhīmeśvara and Someśvara. All are in the Indo-Aryan or North Indian style of temple architecture. The Mukhaliṅgeśvara temple is the best preserved and the other two are in a dilapidated condition. The temples were built in the tenth and the eleventh centuries. The sculptures on the doorways of the Mukhaliṅgeśvara temple can compare favourably with the best work in Bhuvaneśvara. But the temples themselves are not so imposing as the temples in the latter place.

Though Mukhaliṅgam quite long ago ceased to be the capital, it still retains its religious importance. To this day pilgrims in large numbers from the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts flock to this place on the occasion of the Śivarātri festival.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN TRAVANCORE.

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The study of antiquities in Travancore received its recognition from Government so early as 1891 when, with a view to the reconstruction of the history of the State, a survey of the inscriptions in the country was undertaken. A systematic exploration of the country has brought to light the existence of Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina and Christian relics and also of prehistoric monuments such as dolmens, cistavens, menhirs, etc. The Hindu monuments are mostly the ancient temples and palaces, many of which are important from the historical and architectural points of view. Inscriptions on stone abound in some of them, particularly those in South Travancore. The Buddhist vestiges seen at present are four stone images of the Buddha, belonging to the 9th century A. D. The Jain images of Tirthaṅkara and Padmāvati Devī are found on rocky hillock at Chitharal in South Travancore, and in two other places. The Christian antiquities consist mainly of the Palhavi crosses and are found at the Valiapalli Kottayam, and the churches at Mutussira, Kadamattam and Alangatu. The

only important Mohammdan monuments are the mosques at Quilon and Tiruvitancode.

Travancore is probably the only Indian State which has not been actually conquered by a foreign power. Its culture is essentially Brahmanical and Sanskritic. Its ruling house traces its descent from the old Chera Kings who are referred as independent in the edicts of the Emperor Aśoka Maurya, 3rd Century B. C.

No relics of the palæo-lithic age are found in Travancore; but megalithic monuments are seen in large numbers on the High Ranges. They are mostly dolmens, menhirs and cistavens. The dolmens are the most important of the megaliths. They are either covered or not with earth, of single dimension, sufficient for containing several tombs and formed of various crude blocks of stones supported horizontally upwards on a level with earth by two or more pillars. They divide themselves into two classes—those with a summit cist and those without—all having single or double circles of stone surrounding them. Stone cists or cistavens are found in abundance on the hill side of the State with stone circles and in association with pillar stones and dolmens, and are called by some writers "cairns". The relics discovered in dolmens and cistavens are only crude pottery and rarely bones. Burial urns are by far the most important relics of the pre-historic period in Travancore and are decorated on their exterior with a bead pattern or a leaf pattern drawing.

Travancore is rich in ancient temples. These are the oldest monuments in the State in which are preserved much of the historical, archæological and artistic relics of the State. Two of the distinguishing characteristics of the typical Travancore temples are their wood carvings and their peculiar gable style of architecture. The architecture of Travancore is very different from that of the rest of India. The circular central shrine surmounted with a conical dome, the square maṇḍapa in front of the shrine and the quadrangular walk round these, the small hall in front of the temple accommodating in it the *Balipita*, the triangular gables and the dormer windows are all characteristic of Travancore as of the rest of Kerala. In the typical Travancore temples there is no difference in construction up to the "Prasthara" (entablature) from the Dravidian style of architecture. The distinction becomes visible in the upper portion of the structure where a wooden roof covered most often with copper sheets or with tiles and ornamented with triangular gables is found. It is noteworthy that spires are absent in typical Travancore temples and the inner shrine has a square or round base with a *Sikhara* (or finale) in pyramidal form.

The exploration of archaeological material in Travancore has resulted in the discovery of about 1600 inscriptions engraved on stone and copper. Some of these have a historical and palæographical importance. They throw

considerable light on the early history of the Chera, Pāṇḍya, Travancore and Vijayanagar Kings, and also of the Madurā Naiks. The scripts employed in these are Vatteluttu, Koleluttu, Grantha, and to a small extent Devanāgarī and Malayalam Rāje. Some of the inscriptions furnish to the historian of India a complete genealogy of the Choḷa Kings from the earliest times up to the period of Vīra Rājendra, and also the missing link for the reconstruction of a continuous history of the Cheras from Rajaśekhara to Vīra Rāghava Cakravartī. In the history of the Pāṇḍyas the Travancore inscriptions have made a great contribution; and for the first time a King Jaṭā Varman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya, long unknown to the epigraphical world, has been brought to light in them. Besides offering a sure and reliable basis for the ancient history of Travancore and also bringing to light some leading and important figures connected with the fluctuating times of the Pāṇḍya kingdom and the Choḷa empire, these inscriptions are also invaluable for the light they throw on Dravidian philology and place names and also on the ancient political, social and religious institutions of the country. There is no exaggeration in saying that the temples of Travancore were in ancient times a great centre of civic life and were a powerful institution in the life of the people. A great corporation enjoying the generous patronage of the ruling kings and richly endowed by a pious people, they have been not only the repositories of the great antiquities of the State, but a small state by themselves administering varied kinds of civic functions.

In addition to the wealth of inscriptions, the Travancore temples are rich in ancient works of art such as sculptures on stone, images in bronze, mural paintings and wood carvings. The earliest of the stone sculpture belong roughly to the latter half of the 8th century, probably earlier, bearing a close resemblance to later Pallava work. Excellent stone sculptures of some antiquity are seen at the Sthāṇunāthasvāmi temple at Suchindram, the Nilakaṅthasvāmi temple at Padmanābhapuram, etc., while splendid examples of wood work are found in the temples at Kaviyur, Turavur, Pazhur, Vazhappalli, etc. Fine bronzes of Śiva, Pārvatī, Cheraman Perumal and Śaivite saints are preserved even now in the temple at Suchindram which is a storehouse of fine statuary, illustrative of an excellent art tradition.

Of the mural paintings, the earliest relics (9th century A. D.) are found on the walls of the rock-cut cave temple at Tirunandikarai in South Travancore. Fresco paintings belonging to the 11th and 12th centuries A. D., were in existence on the walls and ceilings of the Suchindram temple; but unfortunately even the last traces of them have been eradicated in the course of its repairs and reconstruction. Precious relics of a 14th century wall painting, belonging to the reign of Āditya Varma Sarvāṅganātha, a King of

Travancore, renowned as a patron of art and letters, are seen on the walls of the shrine of Kṛiṣṇa inside the Śrī Padmanābhasvāmi temple at Trivandrum. By far the most important of the ancient paintings in the State is the one of the DANCE OF NATARĀJA on the Gopura of the temple at Ettumanur in North Travancore, belonging roughly to the 16th century A. D., if not earlier, and measuring 12 ft. in length and 8 ft. in breadth. The ancient palace at Padmanābhapuram has preserved some exquisite specimens of mural art belonging roughly to the latter half of the 16th century A. D., which are full of charm and expression and meditative repose. The consummation of achievement in pictorial art is seen on the walls of Garbhagṛha of the Śrī Padmanābhasvāmi temple, belonging to the early 18th century. They are executed in purely native style and are perhaps the latest record of indigenous painting of the best sort on a somewhat large scale. The largest of the mural paintings (18th century A. D.) so far discovered in the State is the one in the palace at Kṛiṣṇapuram, depicting the story of Gajendramokṣa. In execution, posture and composition, it is one of unsurpassed excellence and is a priceless piece of artistic work.

Travancore had enjoyed extensive commercial relations from early times with the west; and a number of Roman coins dating from 30 B.C. to 547 A.D. have been found in several parts of the State. There exists even now a very good collection of foreign coins in the Fort Palace of His Highness the Mahārāja of Travancore of different denominations belonging to different countries. According to Sir Walter Elliot, 'the Travancore Mint is the only Hindu "Tanḱaśālā" still maintained in its original form'. A few punch marked coins were, it is said, found in an old earthen vessel near Angamali on the Shoranur-Cochin Railway, about 1900 A.D. Portions of Travancore were at various times under the sway of the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and Vijayanagara Kings. The coins of all these dynasties were current in the State. There are also evidences of an intimate connection between Travancore and Ceylon and this is borne out by the inscription of Vīra Pandyā, (10th century A. D.) at Suchindram. The most important of the coins which have been discovered in Travancore are those belonging to the Chera Kings which are now preserved in the Government Museum, Trivandrum. They are double dye coins. They have on them the symbols of the elephant—which is an emblem of royalty—the lotus, the Svastika, the crescent and the sun on the obverse, and an Aṅkuśa or elephant goad, a bow, a "Pūrṇa Kumbha" and a human figure on the reverse.

With the coming of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English, foreign coins also were introduced into the country, the most important of them being the Venetian Sequins known also as 'Shana Kasu'. The oldest indigenous coin now rarely found is the 'Rasi'. From 965 M, E, (*i. e.* 1790 A. D.) regular

coins of the Travancore Kings were minted and circulated in the country, such as silver Chuckrams, copper Cash and gold coins called 'Anantarayan Fanam.' Travancore is probably one of the few Indian States which have still the prerogative of their own coinage.

The conservation of ancient monuments in Travancore has received adequate attention from Government. The European monuments are by far the best preserved in the State. Of these, the Fort at Pallippuram is the oldest extant European monument in India, built in 1507 A. D. A few of the Christian churches are also important from a historical and archæological point of view. The most important is the Valiapalli at Kottayam, the foundation of which was laid in 1550 A. D., and which was completed in 1577 A. D. The cross in it seems to have been set up in 1579 A. D. It is said that the church, as it was built, contained five wood carvings of animals and birds such as elephant, tiger, lion, peacock, Indian cuckoo, etc., and it is not unlikely that the carvings now stored at the upper part of the east side of the church preserve some of the old specimens. Equally important is the Church at Udayamperur where the famous synod of Diamper was held on the 20th June 1599. With the settlement of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English, tombs and cemeteries came into existence, a few of which are conserved in the State as historical monuments at the expense of Government such as those in the chapel inside the Udayagiri Fort.

A Museum of Antiquities has been recently established at the old Palace at Padmanābhapuram, the ancient capital of Travancore, where ancient relics, found scattered and neglected in different parts of the State, are stored and preserved.

An aspect of archæological work recently commenced in the State relates to excavation. The most important of the monuments exhumed are an old Viṣṇu temple belonging to the 9th century A. D., and two other shrines roughly dating to the 10th century A. D. A trial excavation of prehistoric stone cists has also been fairly successful. It is hoped that with the systematic exploration of ancient sites in the State, the work of excavation will yield promising results, illustrative of the life and culture of the people.

INDIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE AS REVEALED FROM EARLY GREEK WRITINGS

Baij Nath Puri, M.A., Research Scholar, Lucknow University

Mr. Baij Nath Puri M. A., B. A., (Hons.) read a paper on Indian Art and Architecture as revealed from Early Greek Writings. He pointed out that the early Greek Historians, Megasthenes, Strabo, Arrian, Aelian and Philostratos

brought to light some of the important aspects of ancient Indian Art and Architecture which have been corroborated by actual finds of specimens of these aspects. They are the earlier mounds of Pāṭliputra and Taxila. These mounds, Mr. Puri points out, were the earliest specimens of Indian Art, being erected mainly for the preservation of relics or bones of the dead. These mounds gave place to Buddhist Stūpas, later on, which were erected either to enshrine some relic of the Buddha or a Buddhist saint. The Greek historians did not mention the Buddhist Stūpas, the reason being that they were practically identical with the burial mounds. Philostroto in his account of Taxila mentioned about the metals in which beautiful figures were worked.

THE LAHORE ACROSS MILLENIUM

R. C. Manchanda, B. A , LL. B., Advocate, Lahore

Mr. R. C. Manchanda, B. A., LL. B., Advocate, read a paper on "Lahore across millenium", Discussing about the genesis of the name Lahore Mr. Manchanda points out that it was Lohavarṇa which through successive stages became abbreviate to its present name. There are other cities also. Traditionally it was believed that the city was founded by Lava, son of Rāma. Mr. Manchanda has further dicussed the site of Lahore and the development of the city in Muslim times. The learned writer has also mentioned about the interesting finds in the year 1926 which were presented to the Archæological department. These images found in Lahore Gate according to authorities belong to 1st Cent. A. D. and indicate the prosperity of Lahore. The author considers Lahore as old as the cities of Harappa and Mohen-jodaro.

SECTION III
EARLY MEDIEVAL AND RAJPUT HISTORY SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, M. A., B. Litt., Ph. D., Calcutta.

When Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad invited me to preside over the Early Medieval Section, I felt genuinely surprised. My knowledge of the Early Middle Ages is less than superficial and my contribution to the history of that period is practically nil. I could not therefore account for this unexpected and undeserved honour and hesitated to accept it. False modesty may be a doubtful virtue but overconfidence often leads to disgrace. At the same time I felt that Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan and his colleagues were not likely to indulge in practical jokes at the expense of an unsuspecting fellow worker, however humble and unworthy. They must have some reason—and good reason—for their choice. Then it dawned upon me that the eminent historians of Allahabad must have had in their view the great institution with which I have been closely associated for the last twenty years, and in honouring me they were paying their tribute to my *Alma Mater*. The University of Calcutta has done much to foster original investigations in Indian History and it was the first University in India to recognise the claims of Rajput History as a subject of special study. The Chair I have the honour to occupy bears the great name of Sir Asútośh, and it is in recognition of his services to the cause of historical learning in this country that I have been called upon to preside over the Early Medieval Section despite my patent lack of worth. In this ancient land of piety and devotion the offerings made to the deity are always appropriated by the officiating priest, and I simply conformed to the traditional practice when, after long hesitation and searching of heart, I ultimately accepted the honour of which I am absolutely unworthy. My only excuse is that conceit had nothing to do with my decision.

The first problem that confronts a student of medieval Indian History is one of chronology. When did the Middle Ages begin in India? The European analogy is of little use to us, for the fall of Rome had no political or cultural repercussion in this country. The Roman empire conquered many lands beyond the confines of Europe, but India was not one of them. The Roman merchants visited these shores in quest of trade, and with the exchange of commercial articles they must have established a cultural contact to which the *Romaka Siddhanta* so eloquently testifies. But when the barbarian hordes from the more

virile north burst upon the opulent empire of Rome, India pursued her political course unaffected and unsuspecting. The fifth century of the Christian era forms no dividing line in this country between two distinct ages. It is recognised that such a line of demarcation must be more or less arbitrary, but nonetheless it cannot be entirely without any justification. That is why we hesitate to agree with the late Dr. Vincent A. Smith when he says that the death of Harṣa and the disruption of his empire marked the close of the ancient period and witnessed the dawn of the Middle Ages in India.

We do not know to what extent Harṣa's fame is based on his own achievements. He was lucky in his friends. The Brahman Baṇabhaṭṭa and the Chinese Yuan Chwang gave him a publicity which fell to the lot of few Indian princes in those days. But he was not the first empire-builder in India nor did his empire ever reach the dimension of the wide territories which owned the sway of the Maurya and the Gupta sovereigns. Probably his direct authority was limited to the modern United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and a slice of the Punjab to the west and a corner of Bihar to the east. No ruling prince of the Deccan ever acknowledged his overlordship, and it is not unlikely that the mighty Chalukyas described him as '*Sakalottarapatheswara*' (the sovereign of the entire Uttarāpatha) simply to exaggerate the power of a vanquished enemy and to emphasise the importance of their own victory. Even if we concede that Harṣa enjoyed a predominant position among the contemporary kings of Northern India, we cannot afford to ignore the ephemeral character of his empire. It lacked that stability which sustained the Gupta empire for more than four generations, and it collapsed almost automatically with the passing away of its founder. The death of Harṣa and the disruption of his empire did not upset the political balance in Northern India to such an extent as to inaugurate a new social order or to interrupt the normal course of cultural evolution on the old lines.

Nor can Harṣa claim to be the last exponent of Hindu imperialism. Even if we leave the powerful dynasties of the south entirely out of account, the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire was certainly more stable and more extensive than that of the Thāneśvar prince. Three emperors of this dynasty, Nāgabhaṭṭa, Bhoja and Mahendrapala attained a pre eminence which Harṣa never reached; and although they ruled for nearly a century and half over an empire that stretched,

roughly speaking, from the Sutlej to the Narbada and from the confines of Sind to the borders of the Pāla kingdom of Magadha, their exploits remained unknown in the trans-Himālayan regions because no learned Chinese monk visited their realm. Empires rose and fell both before and after Harṣa and ambitious rulers strove to leave their mark on the history of their country in all ages. Harṣa's career was neither unique nor unusual in this respect and his reign can hardly be regarded as a political watershed. But Smith laid stress on one characteristic of the post-Harṣa period which deserves careful scrutiny. It was then, he maintains, that "the hordes of foreign invaders were absorbed into the Hindu body politic and a new grouping of states was gradually evolved." He was evidently thinking of the new states that were founded on the ruins of the Roman empire in medieval Europe, but we must not forget that whenever a mighty empire falls to pieces the component provinces, consciously or unconsciously, try to set up a new political order in which their individual aims and ideals find more or less effective expression. That was exactly what happened when the Gupta empire fell before the repeated onslaughts of foreign invaders. But the assimilation of alien people in the body politic of India or the social scheme of the Hindus was certainly not a novel thing. The Greeks, the Parthians, the Scythians and the Kuṣāṇas, people of diverse racial origin, representing varying stages of civilization, had been absorbed in Hindu society long before Harṣa appeared on the scene. Even the barbarian Huṇas were involved in this unceasing process of absorption and assimilation. The stone image of the divine boar at Eraṇ bears as eloquent a testimony to the triumph of Hindu culture and catholicity as the Garuda pillar of Heliodorus. It was only when the Muslims came to India in the beginning of the 8th century that Hinduism failed for the first time to take the newcomer into its own fold, and here we can conveniently draw the line that separates the ancient from the medieval period.

The Arabs in their turn were followed by the Turks after a lapse of three centuries, but the Turkish invaders of India had already forsaken their ancestral faith and accepted the religion preached by the Prophet of Mecca. The ten centuries that intervened between the conquest of Sind and the battle of Plassey witnessed the origin, growth, development and decline of the Indo-Muslim culture. The Muslims failed to convert the major part of the Hindu population,

The Hindus in their turn could not find any effective method of arriving at a reasonable compromise with the aggressive monotheism of the newcomers. But in course of time a synthesis of the two cultures took place that resulted in a distinct departure from, though not a cleavage with, the past. In the earlier part of this period the Rājput princes were engaged in a titanic conflict with the Turkish invaders for political supremacy in Hindusthān. Later on, when they reluctantly owned defeat, we find the results of cultural contact in the religious doctrines of Caitanya, Nānaka, Rāmānanda, Kabīra and Nāmadeva ; in the Indo-Saracenic Art and Architecture that flourished at Delhi, Agra, Sikri, Jaunpur, Gaur, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda ; in the new literary movement that relegated Sanskrit to the background and discovered a new medium of expression in the hitherto neglected vernaculars ; and in the new concept of state and the novel technique of statecraft.

Once the Muslim rulers succeeded in establishing their hegemony in Northern India, the seat of the paramount Power was established at Delhi, just as Pāṭaliputra and Mahodaya had been associated with the sovereignty of Uttarāpatha in the preceding ages. But even the daring enterprise of the Turkish rulers could not unite the entire country under one administration for any length of time. For long the Narbada and the Vindhya served as effective barriers to the south, and the conquest of the Deccan was invariably followed by the disruption of the empire. The Hindu opposition to the Muslim rule lay dormant for a while, but was never totally extinct. The Hindu Gakkars tried to exploit the weakness of the Muslim Central Government after Timur's invasion. Rāṇā Sāngā dreamt of a revived Hindu empire when Bābur met Ibrāhīm Lodī at Pānīpat. The Rājputs, the Jāts, the Bundelas challenged the might of Aurangzeb in the heyday of Timurid supremacy and the Marathas under the inspiration of Sivāji became a military Power that later threatened to subjugate the whole of India. It was at this crisis that the battle of Plassey gave the English a secure foot-hold in Bengal and a new era with distinctive features of its own was rung in and the old was rung out.

In the Middle Ages also empires rose and fell ; small principalities were founded on their ruins to be once more welded into a bigger entity as in the ancient days. The periods cannot be distinguished on the principle of political unity effected by ambitious conquerors or

the disintegration of the state on account of provincial and racial differences. The growth of a new culture, the introduction of new elements in the body politic, the development of the vernacular literatures, a new synthesis of spiritual ideals certainly offer a surer line of demarcation.

It is not possible to discuss all the problems of medieval Indian History within the short compass of this Address. But I may be permitted to deal with one question that is not wholly of antiquarian interest to-day. The distribution of Muslim population in India demands some explanation. It is commonly believed that Islam followed the route of conquest and the subjugated people were forced to accept the faith of their rulers. The predominance of the Muslims in the Frontier Province and the Punjab lends some colour to this contention. But this theory cannot explain an overwhelming Muslim majority in Eastern Bengal. It is quite likely that the North-Western Frontier Province was peopled by Turkish folks during the Kushan days, and their easy conversion to Islam may be explained by racial affinity with the new conquerors; but the Muslims of Eastern Bengal were certainly not racially akin to the Turks and the Afghans, and the conversion of the Hindus of that region must have been due to other reasons. Here the Muslim chronicles of the conquest of Sind throw some welcome light. According to the *Uchhnama*, the Buddhists of Sind suffered all sorts of indignities and humiliations under their Brāhman rulers, and when the Arabs invaded their country the Buddhists lent their whole-hearted support to them. Later on, when Dāhir was slain and a Muslim Government was firmly established in his country, the Buddhists found to their dismay that, so far as their rights and privileges were concerned, the Arabs were prepared to restore *status quo ante bellum* and even under the new order the Hindus received a preferential treatment. The only way out of this difficulty was to accept Islam because the converts were entitled to all the privileges reserved for the ruling classes. So the Buddhists of Sind joined the Muslim fold in large numbers. It cannot be an accident that the Punjab, Kashmir, the district round Bihar Sharif, and North-East Bengal, where Muslims now predominate, were all strong Buddhist centres in the pre-Muslim days. It will not be fair to suggest that the Buddhists succumbed more easily to political temptations than the Hindus and the change of religion was due to the prospects of the improvement of their political status. It is noteworthy

that the Buddhist Kings of Arakan used Mahomedan designations in addition to their own names and even issued medallions bearing the *Kalima*, -the Mahomedan confession of faith, in Persian script. We may further note that the present Mahomedan Sultans of the Federated Malay States are all descendants of the ancient Hindu ruling dynasties later converted to Buddhism. Their conversion to Islam was not effected by armed invasion. The Arabs visited their country as peaceful traders and the Malay Kings accepted the new faith because it must have made a strong appeal to their emotion or reason. The masses must have emulated the example of their rulers and a Buddhist country has become in course of time almost entirely Muslim. This easy translation from Buddhism to Islam demands an explanation. On the eve of the Muslim conquest of India Buddhism had lost its original simplicity and had been overburdened with the complicated rites and rituals associated with the Mahayana cult. Why did these later Buddhists find it so easy to forsake their former faith and embrace Islam while their Hindu neighbours and countrymen remained more loyal to their ancestral belief ?

The students of Medieval History possess one marked advantage over the scholars interested in the preceding period. The Hindus had apparently little interest in historical literature, and Sanskrit chronicles and biographical works that have luckily survived to our times can be counted on our fingers. But the Muslim writers were not so indifferent to mundane matters and applied themselves diligently to historical investigations. In any case, contemporary chroniclers often strove to record the achievements of Muslim rulers and military leaders, and modern scholars found it comparatively easy to construct the framework of medieval Indian History. Here I deem it necessary to sound a note of warning. There is a tendency in certain quarters to treat everything written in Persian as a primary source of History. Nothing can be more ridiculous. A Persian poem with a historical theme may reflect popular feelings of the time, but as historical material it cannot be classed higher than a Hindi or Marathi ballad. Similarly, no serious historian will attach the same value to a contemporary record and a later chronicle, simply because the latter may be written in Persian. Nor shall we be justified in accepting all the observations of a foreign traveller, European or Asiatic, without a critical examination of his sources of information. It is a pity that some of the most prominent:

writers of modern India fail to distinguish a Chronicle from History and to evaluate properly and classify correctly the extant historical materials. It will be preposterous to place the correspondence of Aurangzeb or Jai Singh in the same category with the chronicles of Bhīmasena or Irādat Khān, simply because they belong to the same age and were written in the same language. To avoid confusion it should be frankly recognised that for the early Sultanate of Delhi we have no contemporary record, and if we leave the numismatic and the scanty epigraphic materials out of account there remains hardly anything which can be termed as original sources.

The Persian chronicles suffer from another patent shortcoming. The chroniclers were mainly, if not solely, interested in the military aristocracy. Some of them deliberately sought the patronage of the ruling Sultan and the principal nobles. So far as they were concerned, the masses might have been altogether non-existent. The plodding peasants were probably taken for granted, but their sorrows and sufferings, their trials and tribulations, their pleasures and pastimes, their labours and recreations were considered too trivial to find any place in the chronicles specially compiled for the perusal of the great. The Muslim writers were seldom free from the religious bias that made them indifferent to the culture of the Hindus. The Hindu was a deluded misbeliever eternally doomed to perdition! It is only at rare intervals that an Alberuni turned his attention to the mathematical and the metaphysical speculations of the Hindus or an Amīr Khusru explored the treasures of Sanskrit Literature. It is a pity that in spite of these defects the Persian chronicles still continue to influence the historical works on India. The two ponderous volumes that recently appeared with the impress of the Cambridge University Press amply prove that to many of our distinguished contemporaries *Mediæval Indian History* offers but a catalogue of bloody strifes and court intrigues. For them Caitanya and Kabīra had no message; Tulastīdāsa and Muhammad Jāyastī lived in vain so far as they were concerned; they ignore the lovely paintings of Mansūr; the music of Tānsen is wasted on them.

The historian should not be influenced by chauvinism, but he should not confuse a chronicle with History. He should not forget the teeming millions toiling far from the metropolitan crowd. The self-effacing bard who catered for the poor and unconsciously created a new literature, the saintly teacher who preached the superiority of

love and devotion, also demand his attention. He cannot afford to ignore the economic forces that go to the making of History. He must give a proper account of the religious, literary and artistic movements that gave his period its characteristic tone. He may complain that he cannot make bricks without straw and he is handicapped by the very defects from which the chronicles which form his principal sources suffer. But the historian, if he is true to his ideal, must draw upon fresh materials. Literature and Archaeology may prove of immense value where the chronicles fail. We cannot take a narrow view of History and clip the wings of our muse. We should not have recourse to unbridled imagination, but that is no reason why we should not set to make a scientific synthesis of every bit of information that literature, theology, philosophy and ancient monuments may yield.

The advent of Islam almost synchronised with the rise of the Rājput dynasties. The Rājputs were the Normans of India. Though they did not share the Norseman's seafaring tastes, the Rājputs were as daring, as chivalrous, as enterprising, as adventurous as those hardy warriors who carried their victorious arms from one end of Europe to another. For centuries the Rājput Kings were the defenders of Hindu faith, the patrons of Hindu culture, the protagonists of Hindu traditions. They stood by the ancient Hindu ideals, and fearlessly defended Hindusthān against repeated onslaughts of Islam. History has not so far taken an adequate notice of the part played by the Rājputs, but a warm admirer of theirs from the far-off West, Colonel Tod, paid eloquent tribute to their heroism: "What nation on earth would have maintained the semblance of civilization, the spirit or the customs of their forefathers, during so many centuries of overwhelming depression, but one of such singular character as the Rājput ?.....Rājasthan exhibits the sole example in the history of mankind, of a people withstanding every outrage barbarity can inflict or human nature sustain, and bent to the earth, yet rising buoyant from the pressure and making calamity a whetstone to courage." It is not for nothing that popular imagination still turns to Rājputanā for patriotic inspiration. Smith was right when he said that "the centuries from the death of Harṣa to the Muhammadan conquest of Hindusthān, extending in round numbers from the middle of the seventh to the close of the twelfth century, might be called with propriety the Rājput period."

It will however be wrong to suggest that when the Muslim conquest of Northern India was completed, the Rājputs, reconciled to their lot, beat their swords into ploughshares and permanently forsook their warlike habits in pursuit of the arts of peace. Can we ignore the part played by the petty Rājput chiefs of these provinces in the turbulent days of the so-called Syed Kings? Even the Muslim historians could not ignore the exploits and achievements of the great Sāngā. Were not the Rājputs the virtual rulers of Mālwā even when a Muslim prince reigned at Māṇḍū? When the political genius of that great Emperor, whom the devotion of his Hindu subjects loved to identify with the Ruler of the world, converted his inveterate foes into steadfast friends, the principal Rājput chiefs did indeed re-adjust their political outlook and whole-heartedly identified themselves with the Timurid empire. Soldiers and statesmen like Mān Singh, Jaswant Singh, Mirza Rājā Jay Singh, Ajit Singh and Abhai Singh fought for that empire in every part of India and sometimes their services were requisitioned in provinces outside the geographical bounds of this country. The proud rulers of Mewār, on the other hand, played a different role. Pratāp Singh defied the might of Akbar, and his descendant Rāj Singh unhesitatingly took the lead of a Rājput league organised to defend their ancient rights from the encroachments of Aurangzeb. The Timurid empire is gone, the Marāṭhā confederacy has vanished, but the Rājput states are still there. The Guhilot, the Rāṭhor, the Kacchapaghāta chiefs still rule over their respective clans; and when the exigencies of another empire, to which they now owe their allegiance, demanded their services some years ago, they again donned their armours and drew their swords with their wonted zeal and accustomed ardour. During the palmy days of Rājput glory they produced mighty Kings like Gurjara Bhoja, Chandella Dhanga, Kalacuri Karṇa, Paramāra Bhoja, Solanki Jayasimha and Cauhāna Pṛthvirāja. In the day of their decline, when the Rājput rulers became mere vassals of the dominant Power, they still maintained their military reputation untarnished, their chivalry and honour unsullied.

It is strange that the origin of the Rājputs should still remain a subject of controversy. The problem has been discussed threadbare from all points of view—legendary, historical, ethnological and sociological—but unanimity has not yet been reached. The story of "*Agni-Kula*" (fire origin) was apparently invented to camouflage some

significant historical facts which the noble families of Rājasthān did not consider complimentary to their ancestors. Some of them apparently had some racial affinity with the aborigines of the region; others might not have been totally unrelated to alien invaders. The name 'Rājput' is quite colourless. It includes numerous clans to whom it will be hazardous to attribute a common origin. Their only bond seems to have been a common ideal and a similar organisation. The erudition and industry of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar have fairly established that the Guhilots at least were not directly descended from the Vedic Aryans. Aryan origin is also commonly denied to the Gurjaras. But the traditional view of purely Kṣatriya origin does not suffer from lack of champions. In recent years the orthodox theory of indigenous origin has been very ably defended by Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaurī Saṅkar Hīrāchand Ojhā and the late Rao Bahadur Chintāman Virāyak Vaidya. It is no disparagement of their scholarship or intellectual integrity if we say that so far they have not succeeded in carrying conviction to the opposite camp. The late Dr. Crooke probably stated the case fairly when he said, "Some of the nobler Rājput sects are descended from Gurjaras or other foreigners, while others are closely connected with the indigenous races." Whatever their origin, the Rājputs identified themselves with the ancient ideas and military traditions of this land, and when they claimed kinship with ancient Solar or Lunar races, they simply asserted their legitimate right to the leadership of the Hindus which they had earned with their heart's blood.

Another interesting problem is the prevalence of Feudalism in mediæval Rājputānā. Tod was definitely of opinion that the Rājput states were feudal in character and the political organisation of the Rājputs was founded on feudal principles of service and protection. Crooke and Erskine, however, strongly controvert this assertion. They hold that the analogy between the tribal institutions of the Rājputs and the social organisation of mediæval Europe is in the main superficial. "It is of little use," argues Crooke, "to compare two systems of which only the nucleus is common to both, and to place side by side institutions which present only a factitious similitude, because the social development of each has progressed on different lines." But we should not forget that Feudalism, after all, is a vague term indicating a certain form of political and social organisation in which land tenure plays a determining part. Maitland rightly observed that there was no Feudal

System, there were many feudal systems in different parts of Europe. Feudal laws and feudal customs varied from country to country, from district to district. It is futile to seek in mediæval Rājputānā exactly those laws, customs and practices with which the text-books on Mediæval European History have familiarised us. Tod says, "In remarking the curious coincidence between the habits, notions, and governments of Europe in the Middle Ages, and those of Rājasthān, it is not absolutely necessary we should conclude that one system was borrowed from the other; each may, in truth, be said to have the patriarchal form for its basis." European Feudalism may not have evolved from a patriarchal form of society, but in mediæval Rājputānā the clan system seems to lend some colour to Tod's view. In any case, Tod's elaborate comparison between Rājput customs and feudal institutions of Europe deserves further examination and scrutiny.

In Rājputānā the clan dominated the state. In fact, originally the state belonged to the clan, the King being only a *primus inter pares*. Such a state of things could not but hamper the central authority and the Rājput King was as much handicapped by a conflict of prerogative and privileges as the Lodi Sultans of Delhi. Gradually, however, the King began to assert himself; and as he had to deal mainly with one ruling clan and not with several tribes, he ultimately succeeded in curbing the power of the feudal aristocracy. The transition from government by the elders to autocracy pure and simple must have been necessarily slow but the process is worth studying. It goes without saying that the example of the Timurid Emperors must have supplied the necessary impetus to the subordinate rulers. As Prof. S. C. Dutt so aptly remarks, "The autocrat at the imperial capital supplied the incentive to the prince to play the autocrat in his more limited sphere of action." While the whole world was moving, Rājputānā could not stand still. The Rājputs also responded to outside influence of which the Timurid empire was the living embodiment.

The Rājputs were sturdy warriors but their military system has not yet been adequately analysed. They had their peculiar strategy and tactics. In a feudal force the cavalry naturally occupied the place of honour and the armoured knight with his broad sword and sharp lance led the charge. The infantry was not much thought of. With unparalleled obstinacy the Rājputs refused to learn their lessons and steadfastly clung to old and out-of-date methods. Probably the time-

honoured rights and privileges of the clan stood in the way of military reform. We know as a matter of fact that in the 18th century many Marāṭhā chiefs refused to have anything to do with trained infantry and Western methods of warfare. They were obliged to serve the state with a stipulated number of horsemen and they stood on their rights with a perverse tenacity which does little credit to their head. Such must have been the case in Rājputānā also, for the Rājput cursed "those vile guns, which render of comparatively little value the lance of many a gallant soldier." It is difficult to say how far Vikramāditya of Mewār antagonised his nobles by his predilection for *packs* or foot soldiers. It is a pity that the campaigns of the great Rājput warriors have not yet been studied with that scientific accuracy and industry which they deserve. The prose chronicles of the Rājputs themselves and the Persian *tawarikh*s compiled by their Muslim adversaries, when carefully scrutinised, may prove a veritable mine of information.

As Dr. Tessitori observes, "The history of Mediæval India has been so far compiled chiefly from the works of Muslim historians who represent the Rājput princes in a very unfavourable light, calling them infidel dogs, headstrong rebels, etc. Bearing such unfriendly feelings the Mahomedan historians never do full justice to the important role which Rājput princes played in imperial campaigns. The Rājasthāni chronicles alone can redress the wrongs thus done to the Hindus in general by the Mahomedan historians. They draw before us a picture of Rājput life under the Emperors, and at the same time also of the imperial life as seen through Rājput spectacles." It is needless to say that the Persian chronicles cannot be and should not be ignored. But they should be supplemented and corrected in the light of the Rājput sources. For the earlier period Epigraphy is sure to prove of immense use, and great savants like Buhler, Kielhorn, Bhagwānlāl Indrajī and D. R. Bhandarkar have done important pioneer work in this direction. Sanskrit poetical works like *Prithvirajvijaya* and *Danumiramadamardana* are avowedly historical works, and though poetical imageries and exaggerations may have encrusted the underlying facts, they certainly help us in getting a truer perspective.

For the later period we must turn to the Rājput bardic chronicles, and the prose works known as *Pidhiyas*, *Valas* and *Rhyas*. The scientific study of the bardic chronicles began and ended with Dr. Tessitori. It is a pity that the materials collected by this Italian scholar have

not yet been properly used by Indian students. The bardic chronicles include short stray couplets, at first orally preserved and later reduced to writing, and commemorative songs. Sometimes the latter assumed gigantic proportions and attained immense popularity. Although the main object of such poetical works was the glorification of a particular hero and his *encouragement*, the poet went out of his way to treat of the bygone ages. The most well-known work of this class is *Prithviraja Rāsa* of Chand Bardāi, which consists of many thousand verses and is by no means confined to contemporary events. But such ballads and poems must be treated with the utmost caution. The bards were avowed partisans and not impartial observers. They usually devoted their poetic skill to the glorification of their own patrons and the vilification of their rivals. Not infrequently they participated in court intrigues and their work was naturally vitiated by party bias and personal prejudice. Moreover, as professional poets they cared more for literary effect and less for truth and accuracy. As Dr. Tessitori observes, "In the magniloquent strains of a *carana* everything takes a gigantic form, as if he was seeing the world with a magnifying glass; every skirmish becomes a Mahābhārata, every little hamlet a Laṅkā, every warrior a giant who with his arms upholds the sky. But, if one allows for these exaggerations and reduces things to their natural size, and at the same time denudes the facts of all fictions with which they are coated, the kernel of truth can still be seen lurking inside." How apt these remarks would be in relation to the historical ballads of the Marāṭhās who claim kinship with the Rājputs!

The Rājasthāni historical prose works are more useful. The *Pidhiyas* furnish nothing but genealogical data and often consist of strings of names. From the sixteenth century biographical notes were added to these genealogies, compiled by stipendiary *Bhats* and Jain *Valas*. The *Valas* consist of tales, romances, biographies and brief notices of important events. The *Khayalas* are genuine prose chronicles and the narrative was generally arranged in correct chronological order. So far as cotemporary events or the recent past are concerned, the *Khayalas* are remarkably accurate. As Dr. Tessitori says, "They contained no legends, no lies, no quotation of bardic verses, no flatteries, but merely plain statements of facts teeming with names and dates, these facts contemporary and many of them witnessed by the writer." The *Khayalas* should be properly edited and published. It is a pity that the

original text of the best of them, Nainsi's *Khyata*, is not available in print. The time has come when every University student interested in the subject may legitimately claim a source book of Rajput History. This need would have certainly been removed, had Sir Asutosh Mukerjee been spared for a few years more. Under his inspiring guidance the University of Calcutta made provision for the study of Sikh History, Marāṭhā History, and Rājput History. Not content with the mere recognition of Rājput History as a subject for examination and research, he enlisted the services of a well-known Rājput scholar, Paṇdit Rām Karaṇ—whose familiarity with the Rājput bardic literature and prose chronicles particularly qualified him for the task, with a view to the preparation of a reliable source book. Unfortunately the work was never accomplished, but let us hope that some other University financially better endowed than Calcutta will carry out Sir Asutosh's programme.

It is not possible nor is it necessary to attempt here a comprehensive survey of the work hitherto done with regard to Mediæval Indian History. It will be impertinent on my part to refer you to the pioneer work of such intellectual giants as Elphinstone, Erskine, Blochman, Beveridge, Thomas and Tod. But a brief reference to more recent investigations may not be absolutely out of place. Mahāmahopādhyāya Gauri Śaṅkar Hirā Chand Ojhā has earned the gratitude of all students of Indian History by his researches in Rājput History. Dewan Bahadur Harvilās Sārdā's monographs in English are fairly well-known. Paṇdit Viśeśvar Nāth Reu, Prof. Subimal Chandra Dutt and Mr. Golap Chandra Raychaudhury have contributed several illuminating papers on various topics connected with the Rājputs. Of those scholars who relied mainly on Persian sources, the foremost place must be given to Henry Irvine and Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar. Irvine and Sarkar, between them, cover the entire period from the reign of Shāh Jahān to the end of the eighteenth century. Mediæval Numismatics has found able exponents in Mr. Nelson Wright whose recent publication is sure to replace the pioneer work of Thomas, and Dr. N. K. Bhaṭṭasālī whose work on the independent Sultans of Bengal is indispensable to all serious students. A brilliant school of History was founded here at Allahabad by Prof. Rushbrook Williams, which still flourishes under the able guidance of its present head. From the very beginning the Allahabad historians made Mediæval Indian

History their own. The excellent text-books of Dr. Ishwari Prasad are used all over India. His researches on the Qaraunah Turks, Dr. Tripathi's monograph on administrative institutions of the Delhi Sultanate, Dr. Saksena's *History of Shah Jahan*, Dr. Beni Prasad's work on Jahāngir and Prof. Rushbrook Williams's illuminating little volume on Bābur have permanently established the reputation of Allahabad as a great centre of mediæval studies. To Lucknow we are indebted for a monograph on Humāyūn, but for Humāyūn's rival Sher Shāh we have to turn to Dacca. The biography of Sher Shah, however, is not the only work of Prof. Qanungo. His *History of the Jats*, though incomplete, is a work of great promise. It is quite in the fitness of things that the north-eastern frontier policy of the Mughals should engage the attention of a Dacca scholar: Dr. S. N. Bhattacharyya has given us an erudite treatise on that subject. It gives me great pride and pleasure to add that both Qanungo and Bhattacharyya are genuine products of the Calcutta University. Mr. Indu Bhuṣaṇ Banerjee of Calcutta has recently brought out a volume on the *Evolution of the Khatsas* which is sure to be counted among the most authoritative works on the subject. Dr. N. K. Sinha interests himself in a subject which falls on the border line of modern and mediæval periods. A series of brilliant papers has been published by Mr. Anil Chandra Banerjee on the interesting subject of the evolution of the administrative system of the early Muslim Kings of Delhi. At Madras the veteran Krishnaswami Aiyangar indefatigably works to extend the bounds of our knowledge. His efforts are being ably seconded by his successor, Prof. Nīla Kaṇṭha Shastri. The number of Mahārāṣṭra scholars is too numerous to be mentioned here. A new History school is growing at Bombay under the inspiration of Father Heras who surveys all periods of Indian History with confidence and ability. The posthumous book of Ibn Hasan proves what a promising scholar Indian History has lost in him.

Twenty-five years ago very few Indian scholars actively interested themselves in their country's past, but those who did were men of first-rate ability. To-day dozens of students are engaged in historical investigations at every University centre. We must seriously ask ourselves whether the gain in quantity has not been impaired by a corresponding loss in quality. It is impossible for outsiders to realise the waste in time, energy and money caused by dilettante work. We should also seriously enquire whether we are not encouraging research

too early by intellectually immature students. These queries may be unpleasant, but professional teachers of History cannot conscientiously ignore them.

A crying need of the moment is some method of co-ordination, some effective means of preventing unnecessary reduplication. If Delhi is far off, Lahore, Bombay and Madras are farther still. A co-ordinating agency is, therefore, urgently called for. We cannot permit unnecessary waste at this stage of our national development. Cannot we set up some board or committee whose business will be to keep note of and supply information about the research work in which the different Universities and private individuals are engaged? I have already referred to the excellent work done by Mr. Anil Chandra Banerjee, but with the publication of Dr. Tripathi's volume on the identical subject Mr. Banerjee's papers became superfluous except for some minor points. Two years' hard work was thus wasted for lack of information and co-ordination. This Congress will render a valuable service to historical studies in India if it can set up an unofficial body to prevent such unnecessary reduplication. Probably the national committee affiliated to the International Congress of Historical Science will serve this purpose.

We must not forget that if much has been done, still more remains to be done. Those who care for an easy time, those who expect speedy results, those who hanker after spectacular effect, should go for some other sphere of activity. Historical investigation demands hard work and privation, indefatigable industry and self-effacement, intellectual integrity and devotion to truth.

DHARMARAYA AND VIRA NARASIMHA

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Vira Narasimha, the eldest son of the regent Narasā Nāyaka is generally believed to have succeeded his father as the regent; and after a short period he plotted the assassination of his master Immaḍi Narasimha and usurped the throne of Vijayanagara. The soundness of this belief has been recently questioned. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer expressed the opinion that Immaḍi Narasimha reigned until 1509 A.D., and was succeeded by Kṛṣṇadevarāya, leaving no room for the reign of Vira Narasimha. He believes that the statement that Vira Narasimha ruled over Vijayanagara prior to Kṛṣṇarāya is incorrect as he does not find 'any inscription of Vira Narasimha, where in the king is distinctly called a Tuluva.'¹

In support of his contention, Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer advances two propositions :

1. That Tammarāo and Busbalrāo of Nuniz are identical with Immaḍi Narasimha; and
2. That Immaḍi Narasimha was not deposed in Śaka 1424 (1502 A. D.) as H. Krishna Sastri believed; but ruled up to Śaka 1429—30 (1507—8) as shown by the lithic records of the reign.

These propositions deserve careful examination.

1. The identification of Tammarao and Busbalrāo of Nuniz with Immaḍi Narasimha proposed by Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer is based upon a statement of Mr. Krishna Sastri that Bhujabalarāya Immaḍi Tammayadeva must have been a surname of Immaḍi Narasimha, son of Saluva Narasimha.² Admitting the correctness of Mr. Krishna Sastri's statement, it is difficult to comprehend how Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer has drawn from it the inference that 'Tammarao and Busbalrāo' of Nuniz are identical with Immaḍi Narsimha. It must be noted that according to Nuniz Tammarāo and Busbalrāo are the names of two different kings: the former was the son of Saluva Narasimha, and the latter was the eldest son of Narāsa Nāyaka and the elder brother and predecessor of Kṛṣṇadevarāya. As Tammarāo was another well known name of Immaḍi Narasimha (122 of 1918, 47 of 1916, 195 of 1924), it is but reasonable that they should be identified. Although Tammarāya Immaḍi Narasimha bore the titles of Bhujabala and Bhujabalarāya, it is not possible to identify him with the Busbalrāo of Nuniz, because Immaḍi Narasimha was not the only

¹ M. E. R., 1929—30, Part II, pp. 84—85.

² M. E. R., 1929—30' Part II, p. 84.

king who assumed this title. Besides Immaḍi Narasiṃha, Saluva Narasiṃha (M. E. R. 421 of 1927—28) Vira Narasiṃha (E. C. IV. Gu. 67) and several other later kings bore it. Therefore, it is not reasonable to identify Busbalrao with Immaḍi Narasiṃha on the ground that latter bears the title of Bhujabalarāya.

2. Though Nuniz definitely states that Tammarao (Immaḍi Narasiṃha) was assassinated, his account was rejected as untrue, owing to inaccuracies. He attributed the murder to Narasā Nāyaka, and this fact has destroyed the value of his otherwise incomparable narrative. Narasā Nāyaka to whom he attributes the crime of assassinating his master and ward died in 1502 A. D., whereas Immaḍi Narasiṃha, his supposed victim, is definitely known to have lived until S. 1426 (1504—5 A. D.) Therefore, his account was set aside; and a new theory was propounded based, no doubt, on epigraphical evidence that Narasā Nāyaka did not slay his master, but deposed him. But as the inscriptions of Immaḍi Narasiṃha clearly show that he continued to be the ruler, though only in name, of the kingdom even after the death of Narasā Nāyaka, even the theory of his deposition cannot be maintained. As a matter of fact, tradition preserved in the Virappayya Kālañjana, while supporting Nuniz's account of Tammarao's assassination, states that the person who caused the assassination was Vira Narasiṃharāya, son of Narasā Nāyaka, and that the event took place in the year Raktākṣi corresponding to A. D. 1504—05. This statement is in agreement, as shown already, with the available epigraphical evidence.

It is contended that Immaḍi Narasiṃha ruled up to 1508—09 A. D., and three epigraphs are cited in support of this contention.

- | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|---|
| (a) 94/1906 | S. 1429 (expired) | King: Vira Narasiṃharāya son of Saluva Narasiṃharāya. |
| | Prabhava | |
| (b) 54/1920—30 | S. 1429 (expired) | King: Immaḍi Bhujabalarāya |
| | 1430 (Current) | Vibhava Narasiṃhadevarāya Mahārāya. |
| (c) 15/1900 | S. 1431 Śukla | King: Bhujabalarāya. |

Though these records appear, at first sight, to support the contention, that Immaḍi Narasiṃha ruled upto 1508—9, on a close examination, however, they will be seen to have no bearing on the subject. Taking the three instances cited by Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer into consideration in order, it must be pointed out that the king mentioned in (a) need not necessarily be taken as Immaḍi Narasiṃha, for he can be identified with greater reason with Vira Narasiṃha, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇadevarāya. It must be noted in the first place, that in the inscriptions of Immaḍi Narasiṃha (*i. e.*, the inscriptions dated before 1505 A. D.), the king is never referred to as Vira Narasiṃha. Secondly Saluva Narasiṃharāya mentioned in the record need not necessarily mean Saluva

Narasimha, the father of Immaḍi Narasimha; it may as well be a variation of the name of Narasā Nāyaka. There is ample epigraphical evidence to justify this view. Narasā Nāyaka is frequently referred in his inscriptions as Narasimha, and the surname and the titles of the Saluvas are borne by him:

M. E. R. 32/1905—06	1500 A. D.	King : Narasanna Nāyaka : Titles : Medinī Misara Gaṇḍakattari Trinetra Saluva.
E. C. III. No. 88.	1500 A. D.	King : Saluva Narasanna Nāyaka Titles :
M. A. R. 1928 No. 44.	1497 A. D.	King : Kathari Saluva Narasimha born of Ísvara and Bukkamāmbikā.

The inscriptions cited above clearly show that Narasā Nayakā was also known as Saluva Narasimha. In the copperplate charters as well as the Telugu poems written by and dedicated to his sons, Narasā Nayakā is invariably spoken of as Narasimha Mahārāya. Therefore it may be concluded that Saluva Narasimharāya the father of Vira Narasimha mentioned in (a) refers to Narasā Nāyaka and not to his master Saluva Narasimha.

The records (b) and (c) may be considered together, for the Bhujabalarāya of (c) also occurs as a title Bhujabala in (b). It has already been pointed out that Bhujabala and Bhujabalarāya are only titles, and were borne by several Vijayanagara kings, since the time of Immaḍi Narasimha's father Saluva Narasimha. The Bhujabalarāya of (c) therefore, does not help us in identifying the king unless we take into consideration the date of the record. Since it is contended that Immaḍi Narasimha ruled upto 1508-9 and since there is indubitable epigraphical evidence, as will be shown presently that Narasā Nāyaka's son Vira Narasimha ruled at the same time, the date of the record (c) also ceases to be a determining factor. The record, therefore, has to be left out of consideration in this context. The Immaḍi Bhujabala Narasimhadevarāya Mahārāya of (b) cannot be identified with Immaḍi Narasimha with certainty; for Narasā Nāyaka's son Vira Narasimha also made use of the appellation Immaḍi in his records. The following three inscriptions may be noticed with advantage in this connection :

M. E. R. 54/1915	1505	King : Yimmaḍi Narasā Nayaningaru son of Narasā Nayaningaru, son of Ísvara Nayaningaru.
M. E. R. 330/1921	1506	King : Immaḍi Narasā Nāyaka, son of Narasimharāya.
E, C, IV. Gu. 67	1506	King : Bhujabalapratāpa Narasimharāya son of Narasanna Nāyaka.

It is evident that these three records refer to the same king, and it is not unlikely that Immaḍi Bhujabala Narasiṃhadevarāya Mahārāya mentioned in (b) is identical with him. The three records cited by Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer to prove that Immaḍi Narasiṃha ruled upto 1508—09, fail to establish his position. Therefore, it may be concluded that no case has been made out for prolonging his reign beyond 1505 A. D.

Now, another point, to which Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer has drawn attention must be considered. "We are not aware", says he, "of any inscription of Vira Narasiṃha, wherein the king is distinctly called Tuluva," (M. E. R. 1929—30 II. p. 85). This is indeed surprising, coming as it does, from a renowned epigraphist of Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer's standing. There are, several inscriptions which specifically speak of him as a Tuluva.

E. C. X. G. 77.	1505	King : Vira Narasiṃha—his younger brother : Kṛiṣṇarāya—his father Narasāvanipāla—his grandfather : Īśvara of Tuluva vaṃśa.
E. C. VIII. Nr. 64.	1507	King : Vira Narasiṃha—his father Narasāvanipālaka : his grandfather : Īśvara a decendant of the Tuluvendras.
E. C. VIII. Nr. 66.	1507	King ; Vira N a r a s i ṃ h a : his father Narasāvanipālaka . His grandfather Īśvara, a decendant of the Tuluvendras.
E.I. XIV. pp. 231-40	1508 (?)	King : Vira Narasiṃha—His younger brother : Krishnaraya His father : Narasāvanipālaka His grandfather : Īśvara a decendant of the Tuluvendras.

There are several others in which the identity of Vira Narasiṃha cannot be mistaken, though he is not specifically referred to as a Tuluva king :

M. E. R. 54/1915	1505	King : Yimmaḍi Narasā Nayaningaru son of Narasānayaningaru, the son of Īśvarappa Nayaningaru.
M. E. R. 171/1913	1506	King : Vira N a r a s i ṃ h a r ā y a , son of Narasannā Nāyaka.
E. C. IV. Gu. 67	1506	King : Bhujabalapratāpa N a r a s i ṃ h a Mahārāya, son of Nārasannā Nāyaka—he was ruling from Vidyānagara.
M. E. R. 343/1892	1508	King : Vira Narasiṃha. His minister : Saluva Timmarasa.
M. E. R. 389/1904	1508	King : Vira Narasiṃha. His minister ; Saluva Timmarasa,

These inscriptions prove beyond a shadow of doubt that Tuluva Vira Narasiṃha, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇarāya and the son of Narasā Nāyaka was ruling the kingdom, seated on the jewelled throne of the Narapatis at Vijayanagara. No useful purpose is served by trying to ignore that fact. Since there is no definite evidence to show that Immaḍi Narasiṃha reigned beyond 1504—05 A. D., and since the inscriptions prove that Tuluva Vira Narasiṃha ruled the kingdom from the city of Vijayanagara, it may be taken as established that the former ceased to reign in 1505 and that he was succeeded by the latter who ruled from 1508 to 1509 A. D.

A FORGOTTEN MOSLEM INVASION

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Muhammad bin Kāsim killed the king Dāhar of the Brāhmaṇ dynasty in 711 A. D., and conquered Sind in 712 A. D. Jaisiah, son of Dāhar, reconquered Sind during the Caliphate of Suleiman (A. D. 715-717). During the reign of the Caliph Omar II (A. D. 717-720) Jaisiah embraced Islām in order to save his kingdom from the further incursions of the Arabs. But during the Caliphate of Hishām (A. D. 724-743) his general Junaid killed Jaisiah and reconquered the province of Sind. Sometime before A. D. 738 Junaid made several attempts to establish his supremacy over Rājputānā, Mālava, and the Deccan. But his attempts were frustrated by the king Nāgabhaṭa I of Mālava, Pulikeśin Janāśraya Iāṭa, and Yaśovarman of Kanauj. It is generally believed that Arabs under the Caliphs did not make any further attempt to establish their supremacy beyond Sind. But the critical examination of the Indian records establishes that the Arabs led at least one more expedition against Rājputānā¹.

Khummaṇa-Rāso,² a work of the later period, narrates that 'Mahmūd Khorāsān Pat' invaded Chitor during the reign of Khumān. A large number of kings of different dynasties fought on the side of Khumān and repulsed the attack of the Moslems. Tod says that Mahmūd, referred to, is a mistake for Ma'mūn *i.e.* Abbasid Caliph Al-Ma'mūn (A. D. 813-836), who got Khorāsān, Sind, and other Indian dependencies from his father Hārūn. Ojha³ suggests that Khumān is to be identified with the Guhila Khummaṇa II, who ruled Medapāṭa (Mewār) about A. D. 810-830. The list of the names of the

1 *Cach-nama*, Trans. by Mirza Kalich Beg Fredunbeg, p. 143, Elliot, I, 122 ff.

2 *Annals of Rajasthan*, Tod, ed. Crook, I, 284, 291 ff.

3 *Hist. of Rajputana*, II, 420.

dynasties, who joined this struggle, as has been narrated in the *Khummāṇa-Rāso*, is faulty. Many of these dynasties came into existence long after that incident. But if the above report proves to be historic it will not be unreasonable to assume that a confederacy was made by the Guhila king with other Indian princes to oppose the Arabs.

Khummāṇa-Rāso's report has not been taken very seriously by the scholars. It does not find place in the standard book of Indian history. This is because the work is of late date.

Rājāśekharasūri wrote his *Prabandhakosa*⁴ in V. S. 1405=A. D. 1348. The work gives the genealogy of the kings of the Cāhamāna family of Sākambharī. It states that there was the king Vāsudeva, who was ruling in (V. S.) 608=A. D. 551. The sixth king was Govindarāja and the thirteenth king was Gaṇḍu, who defeated the Sultān Mahamad (Mahmūd). Gaṇḍu is identified with Govindarāja II, whose father Durlabharāja was ruling in 999 A. D.⁵ As there were only two kings of the name Govindarāja II in this branch of the Cāhamāna line, Govindarāja mentioned as the sixth king of the branch by the *Prabandhakosa* is to be identified with Govindarāja I, also known as Guvāka I son of Durlabharāja I. Govindarāja I *alias* Guvāka I was a feudatory under the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 800-836 A. D.)⁶. The *Prabandhakosa*⁷ states that Govindarāja (I) defeated the Sultān Vega Varisa. Though the *Prabandhakosa* is a work of late date, this particular incident, recorded by it, finds indirect corroboration in a contemporary inscription.

The Gwalior inscription⁸ of the Pratihāra Bhoja (A. D. 836-892) states that "of him (*i.e.* Nāgabhaṭa II), whose mode of life was beneficial to all mankind, the incomprehensible royal qualities (like eloquence, statesmanship, *etc.*) became manifest in the world, even from boyhood, by his forcible seizure of the hill forts of the kings of Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa, and Matsya". Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggests that the Turuṣkas, referred to, were either the Arabs or the Turuṣka army under the commands of the Arabs⁹. The above inscription thus establishes that during the reign of Nāgabhaṭa II *i. e.* sometime between A. D. 800 and 836, there was a clash between the Pratihāras and the Arabs of Sind.

As the kingdom of Sākambharī lay on the border of the kingdom of the Arabs of Sind it is highly probable that the Cāhamāna Govinda I participated

4 *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India*, by Hultzsch, No. III, p. 114.

5 *Ray's Dynastic History*, II, p. 1137.

6 *Ibid*, p. 1062.

7 *Rep. Sans. Mss.*, by Hultzsch III, p. 114.

8 *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 112.

9 *Arab Invasion of Sind*.

in the battle between his master Nāgabhaṭa II and the Arabs. Thus the report of the *Prabandhakosa* that Govindarāja I fought with the Moslems may be accepted as true.

The *Prabandhakosa*¹⁰ states that Govindarāja's adversary was the Sultān Vega Varisa. The Al Biladuri¹¹ tells us that Bashār, son of Dāūd, was the governor of Sind under the Khalifat Ma'mūn (A. D. 813-833). This Bashār might have been described by Rājāśekharaśūrī in the fifteenth century as the Sultān Vega Varisa.

Khummaṇa-Rāso's report that the Guhila Khommāna II in alliance with some princes of India repulsed an attack of the army of the Caliph Mamūn, when the latter invaded Chitor, may be taken as to have referred to the same incident as has been mentioned by the *Prabandhakosa* and the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja. If this suggestion proves to be true it may be summarised that sometime between A. D. 813 and 833 Bashār, the governor of Sind under the Caliph Ma'mūn, invaded Chitor. The then king of Chitor, the Guhila Khommāna II, formed a confederacy with the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II, the Cāhamāna Govindarāja I, and some other Indian princes to put a check to the progress of the Arabs. The allied army succeeded in repulsing Bashār and his forces.

The Kalacuri Kokkalla I, king of Tripuri, was born sometime before 816 A. D., and continued to rule after 878 A. D.¹² The Amoda plates¹³, dated K. E. 831=A. D. 1080, state that Kokkalla "raided the treasuries of the Karnāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koṅkaṇa and Śākambhari kings, and those born of the Turuṣka and Rāghu families. It is thus evident that Kokkalla came into a conflict with the Moslems. It may be that he also joined the confederacy formed by Khommāna II against the Arabs under Bashār.

We thus find that in course of a little more than hundred years from A. D. 725 to A. D. 836 the Arabs of Sind made two attempts to establish their sway in Rājputānā. On the first occasion their endeavour was frustrated by Nāgabhaṭa I, Yaśovarman, and Pulikeśin Janāśraya. On the second occasion their object was baffled by the combined efforts of the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II, the Cāhamāna Govindarāja I, the Guhila Khommāna II, and the Kalacuri Kokkalla I.

10 Hultzsch, *R. S. Mss.*, III, 114. Govindarajah-Suratrana-Vega-Varisa-namno jeta.

11 Elliot, I, 128.

12 Author's "*Early History of the Kalacuris of Cedi*"—*I. H. Q.*, XIII, 482ff.

13 *E. I.*, XIX, 75.

THE ORIGIN OF THE KAKATIYAS.

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The origin of the Kākatiyas is a very important but baffling question. Though the sources of Kākatiya history contain certain clues for the solution of this problem, the evidence furnished by them is varying and often inconsistent. The problem involves several minor questions, *e. g.*, who were the Kākatiyas? why were they so called? when do they enter the limelight of history? The answers for these questions form the cumulative basis for the solution of this major problem.

Why were the Kākatiyas so called? Some of the sources contain two answers to this question. Kumārasvāmi Sōmayājin, the learned commentator of Vidyānātha's Pratāparudriya, explains that the goddess Durgā under the name of Kākati was the tutelary deity of the lords of the town of Ekaśilā and that because she was the object of their worship, they were known as the Kākatiyas. This view is supported by Vidyānātha himself who says that Prataparudradēva worshipped Durgā, his *kuladēvatā*, before starting on his *digvijaya*.¹ This explanation is not satisfactory. It was not Kākati alone that was the *kuladēvatā* of the Kākatiyas. The Pratāparudriya itself states that Svayambhūdeva was also the tutelary deity of this royal family.² The monarchs too styled themselves "Svayambhūdeva-divya-śrīpādapadmārādhakas" or "the worshippers of the glorious feet of god Svayambhūdeva".³ The second explanation of the name Kākatiya is contained in the Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli,⁴ dated in the fifteenth century. It is mentioned therein that by the grace of the great Śakti called Kākati, a Kūṣmāṇḍa creeper begot a son and that his family came to be known by the name Kākati. This story is obviously unreliable and may be dismissed as a mere myth. It is possible, however, to determine the origin of the Kākatiyas by other means.

The evolution of the dynastic name of the Kākatiyas through various forms, affords another clue. Inscriptions and literature contain the following forms which deserve careful consideration—

1 See the appendix of my *Kākatiya Samchikka*, p. 1.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Tel. Ins. Kak.*, no., 20, p. 52., line 5.

4 *Jour. Tel. Ac.*, Vol. I, no. 2.

Kākati	Other forms	Kākatiya
Kākatindra ⁵	Kākiteśa ⁶	Kākatiya Narendra ⁷
Kākatiśa ⁸	Kākati Rudrāmbā ⁹	Kākatiya kula ¹⁰
Kākati-vallabha ¹¹	Kākatya-Narendra ¹²	Kākatiya pura ¹³
Kākatiśvara ¹⁴	Kākatiya Rudra ¹⁵	Kākatiya Rudra ¹⁶
Kākati-rāja ¹⁷	Kākatiyya Rudra ¹⁸	Kākatiya Gaṇapati ¹⁹

Several conclusions may be drawn from the lists of words mentioned above—(1) The words Kākati and Kākatiya were both used to denote the same dynasty and appear, therefore, to be synonymous. (2) They appear both as a dynastic name and as a prefix to the names of individual rulers. (3) The word Kākatiya seems to have been evolved from Kākati through the intermediary forms of Kākatti, Kākita, Kākatya and Kākatiyya. It is evident from this that the Kākatiyas were also known as Kākatis.

Why were the Kākatiyas called the Kākatis? The earliest mention of the word "Kākati" is to be found in the famous grammar of Pāṇini,²⁰ in which it figures as the name of an Āyudhajīvika-gaṇa called Kāgandī, belonging to the Dāmanyādi group. Among the early inscriptions of Mathurā, there is a reference to a monastery called the Kākati-kula-vihāra,²¹ which, obviously,

5 Vidyānatha—Pratāparudriya—Nayakaprakarana, verse 32.

6 Kak, Sam. App., p. 16., verse 56.

7 Ibid. p. 2.

8 Hyd. Arch. Ser., no. 3., Palampet inscription, verse 24.

9 Ibid, verse 43.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid, verse 11.

12 Ind. Ant., p. 257., Anamakonda Inscription, verses 5 and 6.

13 Tel. Ins. Kaka., no. 9.

14 Pratāparudriya-natakaprakarana, Act I, verse 20.

15 Kak. Sam. App., Ins. no. 34, lines 4 and 5.

16 Ibid, Act V, verse 22.

17 Tel. Ins. Kak., no. 37, lines 2-3

18 Ibid, no. 28, lines 5—7.

19 Kak. Sam. App., Ins., no. 32.

20 V-3-116.

21 Ep. Ind., I. p. 383.

belonged to a sect of Buddhist monks known as the Kākatis. This name bears such a close resemblance to the name of the Kāgandis, mentioned above, that the Kākatis may be identified with the Kāgandis. It is likely that they embraced Buddhism subsequently and formed a separate sect by themselves.

This identification is supported by the names of a number of villages in the Āndhra country and its neighbourhood which bear close resemblance to the two names under consideration.

The following village names²² are instances to the point—

Village.	Taluk.	District.
Kāgandiyāpalli	Kuḍla	Gaṅjām
Kākadabāḍi	Balligūḍa	Gaṅjām
Kāgita	Sātulūr	Vizagapatam
Kākitora	Gunṭūr	"
Kākitaragūḍa	"	"
Kākadagūḍa	Malkanagiri	"
Kākādagūḍa	Paṭwā	"
Kākavāḍa	Chōḍavaram	East Godāvary
Kākūru	"	"
Kākitaḅoṅḍi	Ellavaram	"
Kākāṅḍināḍa	Cocanada	"
Kākitarāmachandrapuram	Nandigāma	Krishṇā
Kākāṅḍi	Gunṭūr	Gunṭūr
Kāgativānicheṟuvu	Punganoor	Chittoor
Kekati	Madakasira	Anantapūr
Kākatapallikā	Śrikūrmam	Vizagapatam ²³

22 See Alphabetical list of villages in the Madras Presidency.

23 S. I. I., V., no. 1170.

The names mentioned above, which are obviously derived from the two forms Kākati (Cf. nos. 5, 6, 11 and 13) and Kāgandi, (Cf. nos. 1 and 2) indicate the evolution of the former form from the latter, through the intermediary forms of Kāgada, Kāgida and Kākita. It may be supposed that all these places derived their names from the tribe of the Kāgandis or Kākatis. Evidently, they lived in many parts of the Dekkan and south India and built many villages in them known after their own tribal name. It may be concluded therefore, that the celebrated Kākatiya monarchs, who were also known as Kākatis, as shown above, were the descendants of the ancient tribe of the Kāgandis.

Inscriptions of the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries mention a Kākatiyapura and associate the Kākatiyas with it. One of the Kāzipet inscriptions²⁴ states that Beta I, the earliest known Kākatiya king, was the "Lord of Kākatiyapura." Rudradēva, the celebrated ruler of this dynasty, had the title "Kākati-pura-vareśvara" or "Lord of Kākatiyapura."²⁵ His illustrious nephew, Gaṇapatideva, is described as the "Lord of Kākatiyapura."²⁶ Gaṇapatideva's daughter, Rudrāmbā, too, had the title "Lord of Kākatiyapura."²⁷ Rudradeva ruled originally from Anamakoṇḍa and later on made Warangal his collateral capital. Gaṇapatideva, on the other hand, used Anamakoṇḍa as his capital for a long time but shifted permanently to Warangal towards the close of his reign. Under Rudrāmbā, therefore, Warangal continued to be the capital and Anamakoṇḍa lost its importance for ever. It is not known if either of these two towns were called by any other name connected with the Kākatiyas. The names Kākatiyapura and Kākatiyapura have, however, to be explained. Their significance may be inferred from the history of another title "Anamakoṇḍa-pura-vareśvara" or "Lord of the city of Anamakoṇḍa", borne by all the Kākatiya rulers. Its assumption by all the rulers excepting the last two, seems to be justifiable, for, they all ruled from Anamakoṇḍa while the last two Kākatiya monarchs had Warangal for their capital. Obviously, this title became hereditary in the Kākatiya family and was continued down to the time of its extinction, in honour of the earlier capital Anamakoṇḍa. It may be supposed that in the same way the two other titles Kākatiyapuravarādhīśvara and Kākatiyapuravarādhīśvara, were the traditional titles of the Kākatiya family, indicative of its residence in a town called Kākatiyapura or Kākatiyapura. This view is supported by an inscription from Tripurāntakam²⁸ which mentions that Kākati was the *Kulapura* or ancestral town of the Kākatiyas. Thus, it

24 Kak. Sam. App., Ins. no. 1.

25 Ibid, no. 12.

26 Ibid, no. 26, lines 24—25.

27 Ibid, no. 29, lines 1—3.

28 M. E. R., no. 204 of 1905.

is evident that the Kākatīyas were originally residents of a town called Kākati. If this fact is taken along with two others, viz., that the Kākatīyas were also known as the Kākatis and that it is a common practice to derive surnames from habitats, it follows that the Kākatīyas derived their name from Kākatipura. The Garavapāḍu plates of the time of Gaṇapatideva²⁹ support this inference by stating that once, wandering in search of game, Karikāla Choḷadeva visited a town named Kākati and pitched his camp there; that in his family was born Durjaya, the 'invincible in war' and that after the latter his descendants came to be called the "Kākati kings." Karikāla also figures in many other records of Gaṇapatideva's time and not in those of his predecessors. No other source mentions any blood relation between the Kākatīyas and the Choḷas. It seems, therefore, that like the names of many other ancestors, that of Karikāla was added to the genealogy of the Kākatīyas in order to glorify Gaṇapatideva and his family and that this addition does not carry any historical value. Durjaya, the other ancestor of the Kākatīyas, is also referred to, as such, in many early records of the Kākatīya dynasty as well as the inscriptions of numerous Āndhra ruling families of this period.³⁰ One fact of outstanding importance contained in the Garavapāḍu plates is that the Kākatis or Kākatīyas derived their dynastic name from a town called Kākatipura, wherein they lived for some time.

Two different conclusions have been derived so far with regard to the origin of the Kākatīyas, viz., that they were the descendants of a tribe called Kāgandi or Kākati and that their dynastic name was derived from a town called Kākati. The apparent paradox between these statements may be explained by supposing that this Kākatipura was built by the Kāgandis and that after some time their descendants hailed from it as the Kākatis or Kākatīyas.

One of the Kāzipet inscriptions of the time of the Kākatīya king Beta II throws further light on the problem of Kākatīya origin. It ascribes to Beta I, the earliest known Kākatīya king, a curious epithet "Sāmanta-viṣṭi-vamśah"³¹ which means that Beta I belonged to a feudatory family called 'Viṣṭi'. This word denotes a subordinate or servant and taken with the preceding word Sāmanta, it means a family of subordinates which was ennobled and raised to the status of a feudatory family. From this it is evident that the Kākatīyas were originally the ordinary subordinates of some chief or the other and that subsequently they found good fortune and were elevated to the rank of a feudatory family.

29 Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp. 346--356.

30 Cf. the genealogies of the Kōṭa and Natavadi rulers.

31 While publishing the text of this inscription in my *Kak. Sam. App.*, p. 29, Inq. no. 1., I have rendered this portion as "Samanta-viṣṭi-vamśah". But on reconsideration I find that it reads as 'Samanta-viṣṭi-vamśah'.

Some more interesting information is derived from a grant of the time of the Eastern Chālukyan king Ammarāja II.³² It mentions a certain Guṇḍyanārya, who was the son of Eṛṇayarāṣṭrakūṭa and grandson of Guṇḍayarāṣṭrakūṭa and who was also known as *Kākartya Guṇḍyana*. It is also said that this Guṇḍyana was a powerful subordinate and feudatory of Ammarāja and seems to have been governing the Natavāḍi district. This information is of immense significance to the origin of the Kākatiyas and raises many important questions, viz., who was this Guṇḍyana and to what family did he belong? what is the significance of his second name Kākartya Guṇḍyana? why was it assumed by him? why is the suffix rāṣṭrakūṭa, added to the names of his father and grandfather, dropped in his case? One fact, which is evident from the grant under consideration, is that the two ancestors of Guṇḍyana were rāṣṭrakūṭas. It is a matter of common knowledge that the rāṣṭrakūṭa figures in many of the copper-plate grants, as the executor of royal grants. Numerous inscriptions in the Āndhra country equate this rāṣṭrakūṭa with the Raṭṭaḍi or the village headman and mention his office as Rāṣṭrakūṭam or Raṭṭaḍikamu.³³ I believe, therefore, that Guṇḍaya and Eṛṇaya, the grandfather and father respectively, of Guṇḍyana, were village headmen under the Eastern Chālukyas in the Natavāḍi viśaya. The next question that has to be disposed of is that of the reason for the dropping of the suffix rāṣṭrakūṭa in the name of Guṇḍyana and his adoption instead, of the surname Kākartya. This chieftain appears to have been very powerful and influential and ceased, obviously, to be a mere village headman like his two ancestors. The higher status that he was enjoying explains the dropping of the suffix after his name. The addition of the prefix Kākartya, before his name, on the other hand, is a matter of much significance. In the first place, it stands to Guṇḍyana's name exactly as the words Kākati and Kākatiya do in the names of the well-known Kākatiya kings, e. g., Kākati Rudradeva, Kākati Rudrāmbā, Kākatiya Gaṇapatideva. It looks, as such, beyond any doubt, as a surname. Secondly, it agrees perfectly with the form Kākartya, which occurs in the Anamakoṇḍa inscription of Rudradeva and which stands for the Kākatiya dynasty.³⁴ In the third place, it is the earliest known instance of Kākartya or Kākatiya occurring as a surname. For these reasons, I identify Guṇḍyana as a Kākatiya. This identification is supported by other facts of Kākatiya history. Beta I, the first known king of the Kākatiya dynasty, flourished in the first half of the tenth century.³⁵ Guṇḍyana was a feudatory of Ammarāja II, who reigned between 945 and 973 A. D. It is evident

32 M. E. R., 1917, c. p. no. 1 of 1916—17.

33 S. I. I., V., no. 1134.

34 Ind. Ant., XXI, p. 257, lines 21-22.

35 See my Kak. Sam., p. 109.

from this that Guṇḍyana belonged to the generation that immediately preceded that of Beta I. Thus we have in the middle of the tenth century a chieftain who calls himself a Rākāṭya, immediately followed in the next generation by the first Kākāṭiya king. This is, therefore, proof positive of the fact that Guṇḍyana is the first known Kākāṭiya.

How was the family of Guṇḍyana elevated to the feudatory rank? Contemporary history of the Eastern Chāḷukyan dynasty helps us to answer this question. Ammarāja II, the suzerain of Guṇḍyana, was preceded by Yuddhamalla II (927-34) and Chāḷukya Bhīma II respectively. There was regular civil war in the country between these two predecessors of Ammarāja for the possession of the Veṅgi throne. There was great confusion in the country during this period and it is said that the feudatories and officials of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king apportioned the country among themselves and added to the chaos of the time.³⁶ This tumultuous period of Yuddhamalla's reign was followed by the peaceful rule of Chāḷukya Bhīma II, which lasted for twelve years. I believe that being a valiant fighter, Guṇḍyana took advantage of the confusion that prevailed in the reign of Yuddhamalla, made some conquests on his own initiative and carved out for himself a small principality. He must have consolidated his new position in the time of Chāḷukya Bhīma and called himself a Sāmānta.

In view of the discussion pursued above, I conclude that the Kākāṭiyas were the descendants of the ancient tribe of Kāgandis which once inhabited several parts of the Āndhra country. This tribe built a town called Kākāṭipura and instituted in it its tribal goddess also named Kākāṭi. Subsequently, they migrated into the Eastern Chāḷukyan kingdom and rose to the position of village headmen in the tenth century. They found good fortune under Guṇḍyana and obtained the status of feudatories. In the next generation, when again the Veṅgi kingdom was undermined by disorder and confusion,³⁷ the Kāgandis or Kākāṭis emerged as an independent ruling family under the lead of Beta I.

36 B. V. Krishna Rao : History of Rajahmundry in J. A. H. R. S., III, pp. 163-164.

37 The reign of Ammarāja II ended with a civil war between him and Bādapa and this war brought in terrible confusion in the Veṅgi Country.

BENGAL AND THE RAJPUTS

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Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra and some other Bengal kings of the sixth century A.D. were very powerful monarchs ruling over extensive territories. Their political relations with other parts of India are however as yet unknown. Bengal appears to have been a prominent factor in Indian politics first under Saśānka in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. Saśānka had his capital at Karṇasuvarṇa, near modern Murshidābād, and his kingdom comprised large portions of Bengal and Orissa. He formed an alliance with the later Guptas of Mālwa against the Maukharis of Madhyadeśa. The signal success of this alliance was responsible for a counter-alliance between king Harṣavardhana (606-647 A.D.) of Thānesar, a relative and friend of the Maukharis and king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. Whatever be the value of the *Aryamañjusrtmūlakalpa* tradition regarding Saśānka's defeat by Harṣa in a battle near Puṇḍravardhana (modern Mahāsthān in Bogra District), the success of the counter-alliance is proved by epigraphic evidence. The Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman was issued from Karṇasuvarṇa itself. In the period between the death of Saśānka about the end of the first quarter of the seventh century and the rise of the Pālas about the middle of the eighth century A.D., the history of Bengal is obscure. Some scholars think that the country was divided into several small principalities; that the military prestige of the disunited Bengalis sank low; and that powerful kings from other parts of India became encouraged to lead expeditions against the unfortunate land. This however seems to be an exaggerated account of the condition of Bengal during the period of about 125 years that intervened between Saśānka and the Pālas. There are reasons to believe that the period of *mātsya-nyāya* referred to in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla and in Tāranātha's work as prevailing in Bengal before the accession of Gopāla, lasted for a few years only. According to Vākpatirāja's *Gauḍa-vaho*, king Yaśovarman of Kanauj who is known to have sent an embassy to the Chinese court in 731 A.D., met the king of Gauḍa, sometimes also called the lord of Magadha, not far from the Vindhyan region and defeated him. He is also said to have pursued and killed him, and afterwards compelled the king of Vaṅgo to acknowledge his suzerainty. This shows that in the early half of the eighth century Gauḍa and Magadha were under the rule of one king and that kings of Gauḍa-Magadha sometimes went on *digvijaya*. Whatever be the historical value of the traditions regarding the Bengal expeditions of Lalitāditya and Vinayāditya of Kaśmīr as recorded in Kalhaṇa's

Rajatarangini, Kalhaṇa seems to support the above fact when he says that Puṇḍravardhana was a dependancy of the Gauḍa kingdom. The ruler of Vaṅga at the time of Yaśovarman may have been a later Khaḍga prince, dependent on the king of Gauḍa-Magadha. The claims of Lalitāditya and Vinayāditya and of the Kāmarūpa king Harṣa or Hariṣa (first half of eighth century) who is called lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaluṅga, Kośala and other lands, are too vague to attach any special importance to. The Saila prince Srīvardhana who was a Vindhyeśvara, according to the Ragholi grant of his brother's grandson, conquered the country of Puṇḍra after destroying its ruler. Palæography seems to show that he was a contemporary of Yaśovarman. It is not impossible that he was a feudatory of the Kanauj king and came to northern Bengal with the latter's army. The ruler of Puṇḍra may have been a feudatory of the king of Gauḍa-Magadha killed by Yaśovarman.

About the middle of the eighth century, Gopāla, son of a valiant warrior who killed many enemies and may have been a military officer of some king, was made king in order to end the *mātsya-nyāya* that was prevailing at that time. Evidently Gopāla thus received only a small principality; but thanks to the ability of himself and of his son Dharmapāla, the Pāla kingdom soon swallowed many of the states of Bengal and Bihar. The principality of which Gopāla was first made king is difficult to identify. Verse 2 of the Badal *prasasti* seems to show that Dharmapāla was originally a king of the eastern direction, but afterwards became king of all the directions. Verse 3 of the Munghyr grant of Devapāla may suggest that Gopāla's kingdom lay not far from the sea. The Sagartal inscription refers to the supporter of Cakrāyudha, who is no other than Dharmapāla, as Vaṅgapati. The Baroda grant of Karkarāja refers to Gurjara victory over a Gauḍendra and a Vaṅgapati. The Chatsu record refers to the victory of a feudatory of Bhoja I over a Gauḍa king named Bhaṭa who was evidently not a Pāla. These facts may possibly suggest that the Pālas rose to power in Vaṅga, and soon subjugated the neighbouring principalities including Gauḍa. But they were possibly called lords of Gauḍa when they removed their capital to that region, after the extinction of the royal line represented by Bhaṭa. This seems to be the cause why after more than three centuries Varendī was described as *janakabhū* of the later Pālas. Bengal became a prominent factor in all-India politics under Dharmapāla.

The so-called trilateral struggle amongst the Pālas of Bengal, the Pratihāras of Rājputānā and Kanauj and the Rāṣtrakūṭas of the Deccan is generally represented by scholars as one for the possession of Kanauj which is supposed to have acquired the political prestige of the capital of northern India comparable to that of Delhi in later times. The above hypothesis however does not appear to be an established fact. The Pratihāras and the Rāṣtrakūṭas

ere inveterate enemies from about the beginning of their political existence. They had been fighting even when the former did not establish themselves at Kanauj. The Pālas and the Pratihāras appear to have drawn swords for two rival claimants for the throne of Kanauj, Indrāyudha and Cakrāyudha who might have been brothers. Some time before A. D. 783 Indrāyudha occupied the throne and Cakrāyudha possibly repaired to Dharmapāla's court for help. After some time, Dharmapāla defeated Indrarāja (Indrāyudha) and other enemies who must have been the Kanauj king's allies, and thus possessed the *sri* or *rāja-lakṣmi* of Mahodaya or Kanauj, which he however handed over to Cakrāyudha. It may be significant that Dharmapāla himself did not transfer his capital to Kanauj. It is also interesting that in this connection the ruler of Avanti, among others, is said to have readily accepted Cakrāyudha as the king of Kanauj. This seems to suggest that the king of Avanti was related to the Kanauj king either as a friend or as an enemy. If we believe the Jain *Harivaṃśa* tradition that in 783 A. D. Pratihāra Vatsarāja was ruling the eastern country as *avantt-bhūbhṛt*, it may be suggested that the Pratihāras of Rājputānā for a time conquered the Mālwa region. The Wani grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas says that Vatsarāja possessed two white umbrellas belonging to Gauḍa, *i. e.*, the Gauḍa king who at the time of Gopāla and Dharmapāla could have been no more than a subordinate ally of the Pālas. This grant also says that Vatsarāja was intoxicated owing to his easy possession of the *kamala* or *rāja-lakṣmi* of the Gauḍa kingdom. The Baroda grant of Karkarāja, dated A. D. 811 or 812, refers to the defeat of a *Gauḍendri* and a *Vaṅga-pati* by a *Gurjaresvara* who may be Vatsarāja himself or his son Nāgabhaṭa II. These facts may possibly prove that Pratihāra Vatsarāja was a friend of Indrāyudha and fought against Dharmapāla as the Kanauj king's ally. It may further be conjectured that Indrāyudha defeated his rival and occupied the throne of Kanauj with Vatsarāja's help.

Now Vatsarāja was defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva Dhārāvāra who was living in 783 A. D. and is mentioned in the Jain *Harivaṃśa* as Śrīvallabha son of Kṛṣṇa. There is no definite proof to show that Dhruva was an ally of any of the rival claimants for the Kanauj throne. Dharmapāla's victory over Indrāyudha and the installation of Cakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj appear to have taken place after the discomfiture of Vatsarāja, Indrāyudha's friend, at the hands of Dhruva. The table was however turned at the time of Vatsarāja's son and successor Nāgabhaṭa II. According to the Sagartal inscription, Nāgabhaṭa defeated Cakrāyudha whose lowly demeanor was shown by his dependence on others (or on the enemies of Nāgabhaṭa) and also the king of Vaṅga, who is evidently Dharmapāla, the supporter of Cakrāyudha. According to the evidence of the Rādhanpur and Sañjan grants,

Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III, son and successor of Dhruva, defeated the Gurjara king Nāgabhaṭa and possibly also the latter's father Vatsarāja. In connection with Govinda's *digvijaya*, he is said to have advanced as far as the Himālayas where Dharma (king Dharmapāla) and Cakrāyudha surrendered to him of their own accord. It is possible that after the defeat of their army at the hands of Nāgabhaṭa, Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha tried to win over the help of the powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of the Deccan. But whether Govinda III helped them as an inveterate enemy of the Pratihāras, or whether his activities against Nāgabhaṭa were independent of the struggle between the Pālas and the Pratihāras is not quite clear. Dharmapāla is however known to have married the daughter of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa and he may have secured Govinda's help through his wife's relatives. Evidence of the Barah grant of Bhoja and of the *Prabhāvākacārīta* which refers to the death of Nāgāvaloka (Nāgabhaṭa II), king of Kānyakubja, in Vikrama 890=A. D. 833 prove the Pratihāra occupation of Kanauj, which possibly occurred after the death of Govinda III. The line of Indrāyudha, who was friend of the Pratihāras, may have been extinct by this time.

But the struggle between the Pālas and the Pratihāras continued. According to the Badal inscription, Devapāla, son and successor of Dharmapāla, reduced the conceit of the Draviḍa and Gurjara kings. It is difficult to determine Devapāla's relations with the king of Draviḍa *i.e.*, the Tamil country; but the Drāviḍas cannot possibly be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were Karnāṭa. According to the Sirur and Nilgund records, Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III fettered the Gauḍas, and his son Amoghavarṣa I was worshipped by the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha. Some scholars think that the expression *vaṅga-aṅga-magadha* refers to the kingdom of the Pālas; but it is also possible to suggest that it signifies the Pāla king and his *sāmantas* in Aṅga and Magadha. According to the evidence of Pratihāra records discovered in Bihar, the Pālas during possibly the later years of Devapāla lost much of Aṅga and Magadha to the Pratihāra king Bhoja, grandson of Nāgabhaṭa II, and Mahendrapāla, son of Bhoja. The discovery of the Pahārpur inscription shows that Mahendrapāla's dominions extended over large portions if not the whole of northern Bengal. Bhoja's success against Devapāla is possibly suggested by verse 18 of the Sagartal inscription which according to Dr. R. C. Majumdar says that the *rāja-lakṣmi* of Dharma's *apatya* (*i. e.*, Dharmapāla's son, Devapāla) was remarried to Bhoja Pratihāra. Bhoja's feudatory Kakka Pratihāra claims to have fought with the army of his overlord against the Gauḍas in a battle at Mudgagiri (Munghyr) which is known to have been a *jaya-shandhāvāra* of the Pālas. Guṇāmbhodhi or Guṇasāgara I belonging to the Gorakhpur branch of the Kalacuri family was another feudatory of Bhoja. In the Kalha record,

Guṇāmbhodhi is said to have stolen the fortune of the Gauḍas. Another feudatory of Bhoja appears to have been the Guhila prince Śaṅkaragaṇa. According to the Chatsu inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1537), Śaṅkaragaṇa who received some territories from Bhojadeva defeated Bhaṭa, king of Gauḍa (cf. *bhaṭam jivā gauḍa-kṣṭipam*, v. 14), and his grandson Guhila vanquished the Gauḍa king. These princes appear to have been feudatories of Pratihāra Bhoja, while Bhaṭa was possibly a *sāmanta* of the Pāla kings.

The Kalacuris of Ḍahālā had intimate relations with the Pālas. King Kokkalla who ruled in the last quarter of the ninth and the first quarter of the tenth century is said to have defeated a king of Vaṅga. His son-in-law the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II (c. 877-913) has been represented as *gauḍāndam vinaya-vrat-ārṇava-guru* and as worshipped by the rulers of Aṅga and Magadha. It is possible that the early Kalacuris of Ḍahālā were allies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and that Kokkalla actually fought against a Pāla king with the army of his son-in-law. It is interesting to note that Vighrahapāla I who succeeded Devapāla and possibly ruled in the third quarter of the ninth century married a Haihaya or Kalacuri princess. The princess may have been related to Kokkalla's family. At the time of Kṛṣṇa II Rāṣṭrakūṭa, however, Aṅga and Magadha were possibly ruled by representatives of the Pratihāra kings of Kanauj. It may be noted in this connection that a Calukya feudatory of Indra III Rāṣṭrakūṭa (c. 913-22) claims to have defeated the Pratihāra king Mahīpāla, and to have pursued him up to the place where the Ganges meets the sea. Aṅga and Magadha may have been recovered by the Pālas after this discomfiture of the Pratihāras. Kalacuri Yuvarāja I Keyūravarṣa, grandson of Kokkalla and father-in-law of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa III Vaddiga (c. 933-40), is said to have fulfilled the ardent desire of the minds of Gauḍa women. Whether these two instances refer to a single expedition is not known. Contemporary Pāla kings appear to have been Rājyapāla (c. 911-35), Gopāla II (c. 935-92), Vighrahapāla II (c. 992) and Mahīpāla I (c. 992-1040). If traditions recorded by Abul Fazl Allami that the original name of Bengal was *Bang*, that its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province which were called *Al*, and that from this suffix the name Bengal took its rise and currency, are to be believed, Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla signified the same region (Jarrett's tr. of *Ain-i-Akbari* II, p. 120). The king of Vaṅgāla defeated by Lakṣmaṇarāja may have been an early Candra king of eastern Bengal. Early Candra were probably subordinate to the Pālas.

It is interesting that Candella Yaśovarman also claims to have conquered Gauḍa sometime before 954 A. D. It is possible that in connection with the recovery of Aṅga and Magadha the Pāla king Rājyapāla or Gopāla II led expeditions to the west and had to fight with these western powers. It is also

interesting that some Bengalis probably served the Candella kings. Jaddha who served Dhaṅga (c. 950-1002) and Jayapāla who was a *kāyastha* under Jayavarman (c. 1117) are called *gauḍa* though, it must be noted, sometimes that word is found to be a Sanskritised form of Goṇḍa. The most significant fact regarding the settlement of Bengalis outside Bengal during the early mediæval period however appears to be the establishment of royal family from Bengal into South Kośala which was afterwards the seat of the Kalacuri Rājapūts. According to the Jatesinga-Dungri inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1556), king Mahāśivagupta I Yaājātidēva was lord of Trikalinga which he acquired through his arms. He is also called the full-moon in the sky of Vaṅga and is said to have seized Gauḍa and Rāḍha. Whatever be the value of these claims, the fact that his family has been called *vaṅg-ānvaya* has led Bhandarkar to suggest that the family of the king came from Vaṅga or eastern Bengal. The king possibly reigned about the eighth century.

The Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Coḷa refers to Mahīpāla I as king of Uttara Rāḍha and to some other princes such as Raṅgāsūra of Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha and Govindacandra of Vaṅgāladeśa who were possibly feudatories of Mahīpāla. The Beghaura inscription dated in the third year of Mahīpāla's reign, proves that Samataṭa (modern Comilla region), to the east of Vaṅga, formed a part of Mahīpāla's kingdom. The Sūras of South Rāḍha are known to have been feudatories of the later Pālas from the commentary of the Rāmācarita of Sandhyākara Nandī. During the reign of Mahīpāla, Tirabhukti or North Bihar was conquered by Gāṅgeyadeva, called Gauḍadhvaḷa, before 1019 A.D. He is generally identified with the Kalacuri king of the same name (c. 1030-41).

Mahīpāla was succeeded by Nayapāla in whose time Kalacuri Karṇa (c. 1041-70), successor of Gāṅgeya, attacked the Pāla kingdom. The claims of Vighrapāla to have defeated Karṇa appears to prove that he was the leader of his father's army against the Kalacuri king. Karṇa's attempts were unsuccessful. A *kapālasandhi* (peace on equal terms) followed, and Karṇa's daughter Yauvanaśrī was married to Vighrapāla. The Paikore pillar of Karṇa is witness to the Kalacuri king's relation with Bengal. Karṇa's other daughter Viraśrī was married to Jātavarman, king of East Bengal. Jātavarman's claim that he conquered Aṅga possibly shows that he helped his father-in-law against the Pālas. According to the Nagpur record of the Para māras, Karṇa allied himself with the Karnāṭas and conquered the earth. According to the *Vikarmāṅkadevacarita*, Vikramāditya VI (1076-1125), son of Someśvara Āhavamalla (1042-68) defeated Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa. It is not possible to determine if Karṇa and Vikramāditya allied themselves in their eastern expedition.

The later Pālas appear to have had other enemies amongst the Rājapūts. According to a Kiradu inscription, the Kiradu Paramāra Udayarāja, feudatory

of Solāṅkī Jayasīṁha Siddharāja (1094-1144) spread his might in Gauḍa. The *Sukṛtakṛtikallolīnī* refers to Solāṅkī Kumārapāla's (1144-73) claims to have been attended by the lords of Vaṅga, Gauḍa and Aṅga. The earlier Solāṅkī king Bhīma I (c. 1022-64) claims to have received presents from the king of Puṇḍradeśa who may have been governor of North Bengal under the Pāla king Mahīpāla I. Paramāra Bhoja, as is claimed by Merutuṅga, ruled Dakṣiṇāpatha with Gauḍa (c. 1010-55). Paramāra Lakṣadeva (c. 1090) who was a contemporary of Rāmapāla (c. 1084-1126) is said to have entered the city of the lord of Gauḍa. The historical value of these claims cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But the relation of Bengal with the Paramāra Rājput̃s is illustrated by the life of the poet and religious teacher Madana who was a Gauḍa Brāhmaṇa and became *rāja-guru*, i. e., preceptor of the Paramāra king Arjunavarmān (1211-15). According to the Rahan grant of Gāhaḍavāla Madanapāla (1100-14), prince Govindacandra vanquished the Gauḍa elephants.

During the early mediæval period when Bengal had to fight with many powers from different parts of India, many adventurers settled in Bengal. The Pālas themselves were possibly outsiders. Of other dynasties settled in Bengal during this period, the most important are the Candras of Rohitāgiri, the Varmans of Sīṁhapura and the Senas of Karṇāṭa. I do not mention the Kambojas who are supposed to have become *gauḍes'vara* for some time before Mahīpāla I, as I have elsewhere suggested that there was possibly no Kamboja occupation of Bengal. Local Bengali chiefs had to fight hard with these non-Bengalis and as Prof. Raychaudhuri suggests to me the revolt of the Kaivarta leader Divya or Divvoka who snatched away Varendrī or North Bengal from Mahīpāla II may possibly be represented as a struggle of the natives of Bengal with warrior clans coming from other parts of India. Divya and his brother's son Bhīma who succeeded him are actually known to have fought with Jātavarman and Vijayasena and with the Pāla kings Mahīpāla II and Rāmapāla. The commentary of the *Rāmacarita* mentions no less than fourteen *sāmantas* who fought for Rāmapāla against the Kaivarta king Bhīma. It is not possible to determine how many of these feudatories belonged to outside families settled in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa; but the reference to the help rendered by the king's *mātula* Mathana or Maḥaṇa, the latter's sons the Mahāmāṇḍalīkas Kāṅhuradeva and Suvarṇadeva and brother's son the Mahāpratīhāra Śivarājadeva appears to show that the rebellion of Divya may have been the outcome of unpolitically excessive favour shown to non-Bengali relatives of the king during the reign of the *antīk-arambha-rata* Mahīpāla II. And the case may not be quite different from that in England during the reign of Henry III (1210-72). Mathana was probably the governor of Aṅga and a field-marshal in the Pāla

army. He is said to have recovered the country by defeating the Piṭhipati or Magadhādhīpa Devarakṣita who appears like Divya to have rebelled and become independent in Magadha. It is however not known if Divya and Devarakṣita were allies.

A standstill in the brisk relation of Bengal with the Rājput̃s followed the Muslim occupation of Northern India. The relation was however revived at the time of the Mughal emperors Akbar and Jahāngīr. Rājput̃ generals like Toḍarmal and Mānsingh were sent to suppress the rebellions in Eastern India and Mānsingh's struggle with the so-called Bārā-Bhuñās is still remembered in Bengal. It is not only given in Muslim works like the *Akbarnāmah*, but is also noticed in several early Bengali works, such as Bhāratacandra's *Annadāmaṅgala*. It is interesting to note in this connection that Iśā Khan, one of the most prominent Bhuñās, whom Mānsingh had to fight with, is traditionally known to have belonged to a Rājput̃ family originally settled in Ayodhyā. The struggle of the Bengali landlords with the Rājput̃ general of the Mughals may however be the subject of a fine monograph. It cannot be attempted in a paper meant for a Conference like this.

THE RISE OF THE HOYASALAS

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The Hoyasalas rose to power in the southern part of the Deccan in the 11th century and continued to reign, first as feudatories of the Cālukyas and then independently, till 1347 A. D., when they were overthrown by the Mohammadans.

ORIGIN.—In keeping with the traditions of the time the Hoyasalas in their inscriptions claim a mythological origin for their family. They record that "from Brahmā was Atri, from him Soma, from him Pururava, from him Ayu, from him Nahuṣa, from him Yayāti, from him Yadu, in whose line was Saḷa."¹ On the basis of these legends they style themselves as "Yādavakulatilaka", "Yādava-kulāmbara-dyumaṇi", and "Dvārāvati-puravarādhīvara" i. e. "the boonlord of Dvārāvati, the best of cities" and call themselves as Kṣatriyas² of the lunar race. The city of Dvārāvati is to be identified with Dvārakā, the legendary city of Kṛṣṇa and the original seat of the Yādavas, which as the tradition goes was washed away by the sea. This mythological origin cannot stand the test of historical criticism. Hence it is to be rejected.

1 E. C., vol. V, Bl. No. 58; No. 124; Ak. No. 71.

2 Ibid, Ak. No. 62.

Saḷa is considered as the progenitor of the Hoyasaḷa family and the following story with little variations is recorded about him in the inscriptions. The story runs that Saḷa was hunting in the Sahya mountains. At that time a Muni was performing his religious rites in the temple of the goddess Vāsantikā at Śaśakapura. Suddenly a tiger appeared and the Muni called out "strike Saḷa" (Poyasaḷa). Saḷa immediately killed the tiger by a cane or rod and became Poyasaḷa. An inscription states that the tiger was pursuing a hare and Saḷa killed the tiger at the bidding of the Muni. Other inscriptions record that the Muni wanted to test the bravery of Saḷa and one states that he wanted to give him a kingdom, pleased with him when he prostrated in devotion before him. The Yogi then was performing the necessary rites before Vāsantikādevī to obtain a kingdom for Saḷa, when the goddess in the form of a tiger sprang upon him. At this the ascetic called out "strike Saḷa" (Poyasaḷa) and Saḷa killed the tiger.³ As a result of this incident Saḷa adopted the name Poyasaḷa which later on changed into Hoyasaḷa.

The slopes of the Sahya mountains are to be identified with the Western ghāṭs and Śaśakapura with the modern Angadi in the Mudgere taluka of the Kadur District of the Mysore State.⁴ The temple of Vāsantikādevī is still represented by the temple of Vāsantammā and enjoys great reverence and reputation among the people of that part of the country. Besides this, ruins of many temples can still be seen there,⁵ which clearly point to the fact that the place had a great religious significance in those days.

The evidence quoted above clearly indicates that Saḷa was an adventurer and probably a hunter and lived in the hills of the western ghāṭs, where also the town of Angadi has been located. The western ghāṭs were occupied by the wild tribes known as the Bedaras and the Māḷepas in Indian History. They frequently led raids into the neighbouring country for stealing the cows and often they used to outrage the modesty of young girls.⁶ Saḷa probably belonged to the hill-tribe known as the Māḷepas. This suggestion is further supported by the fact that the Hoyasaḷas adopted the title Māḷoproḷgaṇḍa 'champion among the Māḷepas' and call themselves as the Rājā of the Mālerāja.⁷

SALA—Saḷa is often taken as a mythological personage by scholars, but the facts stated below clearly indicate that he was a real historical personage from whom the Hoyasaḷas claim their origin. There is yet another version of his

3 E. C. vol., VI, Cm. No. 20, 137; vol. III, Md. No. 121; vol. v, Bl. No. 171, 112, 74; Ak. No. 71, 82, 108; Hn. No. 65,

4 Ibid., vol. VI, Mg. No. 9, 15, 16, 18; Intr., p. 14.

5 Ibid., Intr., p. 14.

6 Saletore; Wild Tribes in Indian History, p. 60 f, 79f.

7 E. C., vol. I, p. II; Intr., p. 14.

rise. According to this Saḷa killed the tiger who was ravaging the country and killing the cows and because of this act he was permitted to collect an annual tax. With the help of this tax he is said to have collected a force and established his power at Saśakapura.

The name Poyasaḷa was conferred upon him by the Muni. Saḷa or Poyasaḷa has been distinguished from the Hoyasaḷa Nṛpakāma. Scholars are of opinion that Nṛpakāma was the first historical personage of the family, but a close study of the inscriptions will reveal that Saḷa and Nṛpakāma are identical. An inscription of the Kongālava Rājendra Coḷa states that he marched against and defeated the base Poyasaḷa in 1026 A. D.,⁸ another inscription dated 1022 A. D. records that Kaṇṇama made war on Nṛpakāma-Poyasaḷa,⁹ while a third records that name as Nṛpakāma only.¹⁰ An inscription dated 1006 A. D. informs that a minister of the Poyasaḷa was defeated.¹¹ Thus of these inscriptions, one records the name Poyasaḷa another Nṛpakāma and a third Nṛpakāma-Poyasaḷa. On this evidence the conclusion that Poyasaḷa and Nṛpakāma were the names of the same person is irresistible. Further on Vinayāditya is called as the son of Saḷa and Nṛpakāma both. The Hoṣa-Kalyāḍi inscription dated 1162 A. D. states that Saḷa was the Son (ātan-tanaya) of Nṛpakāma¹² and the Kaṛugunḍa inscription dated 1159 A. D. records the same fact and gives him the title Śrīmān Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara.¹³ Another inscription dated 1162 A. D. at the same place records that Viṣṇuvardhana was the son of the son of Nṛpakāma (ātan-ta [na] yana taneyain)¹⁴. None of these inscriptions mention the name of Saḷa. They begin with the name of Nṛpakāma only. One inscription records that "from that Hoyasaḷa was born Vinayāditya."¹⁵ These inscriptions clearly indicate that Vinayāditya is called as the son of Nṛpakāma. But on the other hand there is sufficient evidence to show that Vinayāditya is also called as the son of Saḷa.¹⁶ One inscription even states that he was the eldest son,¹⁷ while the other records that he was the son of Saḷa and the name of his wife was Bḥūmidevi.¹⁸

The then political condition of India also helped the Hoyasaḷas in strengthening their position. The Coḷa Rājarāja the great defeated and

8 E. C., vol. V, Mj. No. 76.

9 Ibid., No. 43.

10 Ibid., No. 44.

11 Ibid., vol. III, Tn. No. 44.

12 Ibid., vol V, Ak. No. 157.

13 Ibid., Ak. No. 141.

14 Ibid., Ak. No. 142.

15 M. A. S. R., 1923, p. 35.

16 E. C., vol. IV, Ng. No. 29.

17 Ibid., vol. V, Cm. No. 20.

18 Ibid., vol. XII, TP. No. 42.

overthrew the Gāngas. The downfall of a dynasty often results in a political chaos.¹⁹ The fall of the Gāngas gave the Hoyasaḷa Nṛpakāma an opportunity to assert his power, but before they could do so they had to face the opposition of the Coḷas along with their feudatories, the Kongālavas. The Kaliyūr inscription records the earliest known date for the Hoyasaḷas in the Śaka 929 Parābhava S. Caitraba. 5, Ādivāra=1006 A. D.²⁰ The inscription further states that Aprameya, lord of the Koṭṭamaṇḍala and a general of the Coḷa Rājarājadeva defeated the Hoyasaḷa general Maḡaṇṇa and a battle was fought at Kalevūr, near Talekāḍ on the southern bank of the river Kāveri.²¹ Aprameya won an overwhelming victory and the Hoyasaḷa general Manjaga, Kaliga or ? Kali-Ganga, Nāḡavarmma and others were killed.²² It seems that the Hoyasaḷa Nṛpakāma sent an expedition to raid the Coḷa territory, but it was driven away with much slaughter. The earliest known date for the Hoyasaḷa Nṛpakāma is 1006 A. D. The Kongālavas, who were the feudatories of the Coḷas, were also fighting against the Hoyasaḷas. Their principality comprised of a small territory between the rivers Kāveri and Hemavati.²³ The Hoyasaḷas in the beginning were also occupying a small strip of territory on the southern bank of the river Kāveri.²⁴ Their interests were sure to clash. In 1022 A. D. the Coḷa-Kongālava Rājendra sent his general Kaṇṇama against the Hoyasaḷa Nṛpakāma and a battle was fought between the two forces. Joggaya, a general of Nṛpakāma, attacked Kaṇṇama and pierced him, but he himself was killed in the action. Kaṇṇama ultimately seems to have been driven away.²⁵ In 1026 A. D. the hostilities were again resumed. An inscription of the Kongālava Kājendra-Coḷa dated 1026 A. D. states that he attacked the base Poyasaḷa, *i. e.*, Nṛpakāma and defeated him in a battle fought at Maṇṇi.²⁶ In 1027 A. D. Nṛpakāma was again attacked by a force sent probably by the Kongālava king and a battle was fought in which Mārāja, son of Kaleyabba was killed.²⁷

The Uggihalli inscription dated in the 7th year of the reign of Nṛpakāma gives him the title Rācamalla-Vermmādi,²⁸ a title often borne by the Gāṅga kings. His known dates from the inscriptions are 1006 and 1027 A. D., but one inscription may suggest 1040 A. D.²⁹

19 K. A. N. Shastri : Colas vol., I. p.

20 E. C., vol., III, Tn. No. 44.

21 H. I. S. I., p. 57.

22 E. C., Vol., III, Tn. No. 44.

23 Ibid., vol. V, Ag. No. 99; Intr., p. VII.

24 Ibid., Vol. III, Tn. No. 44.

25 E. C., vol. V, Mj. No. 43.

26 Ibid., Ag. No.76.

27 Ibid., Mj. No. 44.

28 Ibid., vol. VI, Mg, No. 19.

29 Ibid., Md. No. 18.

VINAYĀDITYA

Śaḷa Nṛpakāma Poyasaḷa was succeeded by his son Vinayāditya sometime about 1040 A. D. From the testimony of a Śrāvaṇa Beḷagoḷa inscription it may be gleaned out that Vinayāditya was born at Śaśakapura,³⁰ Sośevur in the Mysore state.³¹ His earliest known date as recorded in two inscriptions is Śaka 969, Sarvajit S. Phālguna su. 3, Somavāra=Monday, February 2, 1047 A. D.³² From this it may be tentatively suggested that Vinayāditya began his reign in about 1040 A. D.

Vinayāditya is also known as Benayāditya,³³ Binayāyta,³⁴ Vinayāyta,³⁵ Vinayārkkā³⁶ and Biṭṭiga³⁷ in the inscriptions. He had the subordinate titles of the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara³⁸ and adopted the biruda Tribhuvanamalla³⁹ and Trailokyamalla.⁴⁰ He was also known as Vīra Gaṅga Poyasaḷa.⁴¹ The name of his queen was Kaleyabbarasi.⁴² She is styled as the chief queen.

Śaḷa Nṛpakāma had laid the foundations of the Hoyasaḷa Empire. He had established his control over the modern Mudgere taluka of the Kadur District of the Mysore State in spite of constant Coḷa Konagālava opposition. It was for his successors to preserve and expand what they had inherited.

A brief survey of the political condition of the Deccan is necessary before giving the details of further Hoyasaḷa expansion. The Cāḷukyas had come to power in 973 A. D. and their rise to power was opposed by the Gāṅgas and the Coḷas. Taila II was successful in defeating the Gāṅgas and the Coḷa Rājendra invaded the Cāḷukya Empire, he was driven away by the Cāḷukya Satyāśraya, successor of Taila II. The Coḷas were making a hard bid for northward expansion. They had captured Talakāḍ, the capital of the Gāṅgas

30 Ibid., vol II, No. 132, p. 58.

31 Ibid., vol., VI, Mg. Nos. 9, 15, & 18; Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, p. 94.

32 E. C., vol. IV, Ng. No. 32; vol. VI, Cm. No. 160. Ng. No. 32 gives the date in the years. Śaka 967, but this seems to be a mistake for Śaka 969. In 967 the Sarvajit S. had not begun, but the Pihgala was current. An inscription records the date in Śaka 1070. Vikrama S.=1013 A. D. (E. C., vol. VI, Cm. No. 38) but it does not seem to be consistent. The above two inscriptions do not belong to the reign of Vinayaditya but are of later date. The earliest inscription of his reign bears the date Śaka 924, Jaya S. Caitra su. 10=Saturday, March 11, 1055 A. D. (E. C., vol. VI, Mg. No. 19), but here also the Śaka 924 is wrong and it should be Śaka 977.

33 E. C., Vol. V, Cm. No. 207.

34 Ibid., Ak. No. 179.

35 Ibid., Ak. No. 102 a.

36 Ibid., Cm. No. 20.

37 Ibid., Vol. VI, Kd. No. 164.

38 Ibid., Vol. VI, Tk. No. 62; Vol. V, Ak. No. 186; Vol VI, Kd. No. 19.

39 Ibid., Vol. VI, Kd. No. 22; V, Cm. No. 8.

40 Ibid., vol. V, Cm. No. 7,

41 M. A. S. R., 1927, No. 15, p. 43.

42 E. C., Vol. IV, Ng. No. 32.

and all the vestiges of the Gāṅga Imperialism were wiped out. The Gāṅgas had to take shelter under the Cāḷukyas. Rājendra Coḷa, the successor of Rājarāja the Great once again tried to capture some part of the Cāḷukya dominions, but he was not successful. The Cāḷukya Jayasimha (1015-1042 A. D.) defeated him and the Gāṅgavāḍī 96000 province was incorporated in the Cāḷukya dominions.

During this political turmoil the Hoyasaḷas got their opportunity. The fall of the Gāṅgas provided them with a good field for expansion. The Kongālava opposition seems to have lost its force because of the Cola defeats at the hands of the Cāḷukya Jayasimha in 1018 and 1024 A. D. But the Cāḷukyas were also not friendly towards the Hoyasaḷas. The Cāḷukya Jayasimha sent his general Cāvanarasa to curb the power of this newly rising family. Cāvanarasa attacked Dorā *i. e.* Dvārasamudra, the capital of the Hoyasaḷas and captured it. The Cāḷukya general boasts himself by styling as "the shatterer of Dorā" in an inscription.⁴³ It seems that the Hoyasaḷas acknowledged the supremacy of the Cāḷukyas and were allowed to govern as feudatories. This inscription also indicates that the Hoyasaḷas had established themselves at the city of Dvārasamudra. Vinayāditya had also to face the opposition of the neighbouring hill-tribes before he could ensure the safety of his small principality. The hill-tribe known as the Mālepas were living in the hills of the Western ghāṭs. Their chief occupation was to carry raids into the neighbouring countries; and the Coḷas, the Gāṅgas and the Cāḷukyas had constantly to fight against them.⁴⁴ It was not possible for the Hoyasaḷas to establish their power firmly unless the Mālepas, his own people, were curbed. Vinayāditya attacked them and won a complete victory. He attained the title "champion" over the Mālepas (Maḷeproḷgaṇḍam).⁴⁵ Whatever the earliest date of victory over the Mālepas may be, the Beṛūr inscription dated Śaka 984 Śubhakra S. Phālguna su. 5, Ādivara=1062 A. D. states that 'Vinayāditya along with his son Prince Eṛeyangadeva was protecting the Māle country and others forming the Gāṅgamaṇḍala 96000 under the shadow of his sole umbrella.⁴⁶ In another inscription he is referred to as ruling the Māle maṇḍala as a feudatory of the Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI.⁴⁷ The Raṇṇegaṭṭi inscription dated C. V. 19 Puṣya su. 3, Thursday=1095 A. D. also states that the father and the son were ruling over the Māle seven country.⁴⁸

43 E. I., Vol. VI, p. 80.

44 Saletore : Wild Tribes in Indian History, p. 79f.

45 E. C., Vol. V, Ak. No. 86 ; Cm. No. 207 ; Vol. IV, Kp. No. 49 ; Vol. XII, Tp. No. 105.

46 Dr. Saletore thinks that 1090 A. D. is the earliest date for the defeat of the Malepas at the hands of Vinayaditya, but on the evidence quoted above, I do not subscribe to his views. The final defeat of the Malepas took place in about 1055 A. D. or a little earlier.

47 E. C., Vol. V, Ak. No. 87.

48 M. A. S. R., 1926, No. 7, p. 39.

Another inscription dated 1123 A. D. affirms that the Mālepas had acknowledged him as the overlord and his attitude had become friendly towards them, but in case of opposition his treatment was very severe. The inscription records "on the heads of the Mālepas, who growing proud, oppose him, he lays his sword ; on the heads of the Mālepas, who filled with fear do not grow proud or oppose him, he at once lays his hand—Vinayāditya."⁴⁹

Marriage Alliance with the Calukyas.

The suppression of the Mālepas afforded Vinayāditya an opportunity to make efforts in other directions for fresh territorial acquisitions. But this meant incurring a hostility of the Cālukyas, which was tantamount to a political suicide. Knowing full well this danger the Hoyasaḷas played their game. The Coḷas and the Cālukyas were fighting over the ashes of the Gāṅga Imperialism. The Coḷas at every step were opposing the Hoyasaḷas from the very beginning. The Hoyasaḷas therefore threw their lot with the Cālukyas. A princess of their house was given in marriage to the Cālukya Someśvara I (1042-1068 A. D.). An inscription dated 1055 A. D. records grant of land to a temple by the senior queen Hoyasaṇadevī, 'reposing on the broad chest of Trailokyamalla', *i. e.* the Cālukya Someśvara I. The exact relationship of Hoyasaṇadevī with the Hoyasaḷa Vinayāditya cannot be precisely determined, but her name suggests that she belonged to the house of the Hoyasaḷas. With this marriage alliance all fears of a Cālukya opposition vanished away, and they got help against the Coḷas. Suddenly with the death of the Cālukya Someśvara I, a fratricidal war broke out between his two sons Someśvara II and Vikramāditya VI. The latter retired to the south and declared independence. The Hoyasaḷas remained loyal to the new king, *i. e.*, Someśvara II for sometime, but later on turned against him and joined camp of his rebel brother. Eṛeyanga, son of Vinayāditya, helped Vikramāditya, when the latter was fighting against his brother Someśvara II. He was ultimately deposed by Vikramāditya VI. An inscription dated C. V. 25=1001 A. D. of the reign of Vikramāditya VI states that the son of Vinayāditya "was the world-renowned Eṛeyanga Poyasaḷa. At the Emperor's bidding, he caused the elder brother to sheathe (his sword)⁵¹." Many inscriptions of the reign of Vikramāditya show that Vinayāditya was ruling as the former's feudatory and was appointed Viceroy of the Gāṅgavāḍi 96000 province.⁵² Vinayāditya and his son Eṛeyanga were acting as the governors during the reign of Someśvara I and an inscription dated 1062 A. D. records that Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Vinayāditya Poyasaḷadeva along with Kumāra

49 E. C., Vol. II, No. 52 (edition I) ; Vol. VI, Kd. No. 149. Rice Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, p. 329.

50 E. C., Vol. VII, Hl. No. 1 ; S. I. G. A. R. 1930, Ap. F, No. 79.

51 E. C., vol. V, Ak. No. 102 a.

52 Ibid. vols. V and VI.

Eṛeyanga was governing the Māle country and others forming the Gāṅgamaṇḍala 96000.⁵³

The Extent of His Dominions.

The Hoyasaḷas in the beginning had established their control over a small strip of territory south of the river Kṛṣṇā and Vinayāditya conquered the Māle country.⁵⁴ He was then appointed governor over certain districts by the Cālukya Someśvara I and this strengthened his position considerably. He captured a large part of the neighbouring country and claims to have become master of Kongu,⁵⁵ Alavakheḍa, Bayal-nāḍ, Talekād and Savimale.⁵⁶ Alavakheḍa was the territory of the Alavas, comprising the modern south Kanara; Bayala-nāḍ is to be identified with the modern Wainad in the Malabar District. Talekād was the capital of the Gāṅgas, which was conquered and annexed by The Coḷas. The Hoyasaḷa principality extended upto the confines of Talekād, but the city itself was not included. Savimale cannot be precisely identified and Rice thinks that it may be Savanur in the Dharwar District of the Bombay Presidency. It is also called the northern boundry of the Hoyasaḷas.⁵⁷ Koṅkaṇa also seems to have been included in their dominions.⁵⁸ A Belagave inscription states that Vinayāditya was ruling over the Gāṅgavāḍi 96000 and his subordinate, the Mahāsāmanta Gaṇḍrāditya was ruling Aṛakeṛe, Kāliguṇḍa, Kariviḍe, Beligere Kundur, Bālasamudra and Avaḷu.⁵⁹ From the findspots of the inscriptions also it is known that the Kadur and the Hassan Districts of the Mysore State were directly under their control and slowly they occupied parts of Mysore, Shimoga and Tumkur Districts. All these districts were then included in the Gāṅgavāḍi 96000 division.⁶⁰ An inscription vaguely puts that Vinayāditya ruled from the west as far as Talkāḍu.⁶¹

Vinayāditya is said to have risen to power by the favour of his Jain guru Śāntideva⁶² as stated in an inscription dated 1129 A. D. An Angadi inscription records that on Monday June 24, 1062 A. D. Śāntideva performing the rites of Saṃyāsa, as the reward of his faith attained the realm of Nirvāṇa", and the townsmen erected a monument in commemoration of his memory.⁶³

53 Ibid., vol. VI, Kd. No. 161.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid., vol. IV, Ng. 32.

57 Ibid., vol. IV, Ng. No. 32, Intr., p. 18

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid., vol. XII, Tp. No. 105.

60 E. C., vol. VI, Ak, No. 102a.

61 Ibid., vols. V, VI, VIII, IV and XII.

62 Ibid., vol. II, No. 67.

63 Ibid., vol. VI, Mg. No. 17.

After the death of Śāntideva, the Jain teacher Gaṇasena Paṇḍitadeva of Mallur became the Guru of the Hoyasaḷa Vinayāditya⁶⁴ and a grant was made in his favour. Vinayāditya inscribed the six letters Ra-kka-sa Ho-ysa-ḷa on his flag.⁶⁵ According to an inscription his capital was at Śośevur in 1047 A. D.⁶⁶ and the same inscription states that the queen Kaleyale-Devī got Maṛiyāne-daṇḍanāyaka and Devake-daṇḍanāykti married and the lordship of Sindagere was bestowed upon them. Kedagigere inscription dated Dec. 13, 1096 A. D. states that the king had his capital at Belur, modern Belur.⁶⁷

The Nolambas, one of the feudatories of the Hoyasaḷas, does not seem to have entertained friendly relations with their sovereign. An inscription dated 1084 A. D. records that a battle was fought between the Nolambas and Neṛilige Perggade Ālamayya, a subordinate of the Hoyasaḷa Vinayāditya at Nolambanakeṛe and the Hoyasaḷa Mahāsāmanta lost his life in the battle.⁶⁸ Vinayāditya had also to suppress the power of other feudatory chieftains; once he had to fight against the Daṇḍanāyaka Masaṇayya. The battle was fought on the banks of the river Kapeli and Masaṇaiya was killed in the battle.⁶⁹ Vinayāditya was also a great builder. He is said to have built many Jain temples. An inscription records "The pit dug for bricks became tanks, the mountain quarried for stone became level with the ground, the roads by which the Mortar-carts passed became ravines;-thus did king Poyasala cause Jain temples to be built."

64 Ibid., Mg. No. 13.

65 Ibid., vol. V, Cm. No. 148.

66 Ibid., vol. VI, Cm. No. 160.

67 Ibid., Kd. No. 142.

68 Ibid., vol. V, Ak. No. 6.

69 Ibid., vol. IV, Ng. No. 56.

N. B. :—I have not included the carrier of the prince Ereyanga in this paper.

A NOTE ON BAPPA OF THE GUHILA DYNASTY OF MEWAR

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Bappa is regarded as the traditional founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewār. The Ekaliṅgajī Stone Inscription of the time of Naravāhana, dated V. S. 1028, in which we get the earliest reference to Bappa (Bappaka), speaks of him as the moon among the princes of the Guhila family (*Guhilagotranarendracandrah*), the lord of the earth (*ks̄itipatih*) and the Jewel on the surface (*lit. seat*) of the earth (*ks̄hitip̄t̄haratnam*). The obvious implication is that Bappa was one of the most important Guhila kings who preceded Naravāhana. The name Bappaka, however, is conspicuous by its absence in the Ātpur Inscription of the time of Śaktikumāra, son of Naravāhana, which records a genealogy of the early Guhilots and which was engraved in V. S. 1034, that is to say only about six years after the Ekaliṅgajī Inscription. It has therefore been urged that the term Bappa is really an honorific, a term of respect for a distinguished ancestor. The use of this word as an honorific is no doubt met with in several inscriptions of ancient India. But its use as a proper name was also not altogether unknown.¹ The problem whether the name Bappa, used in the inscriptions of the Guhila dynasty of Mewār, refers to an honorific or a personal designation does not admit of an easy solution.

Modern scholars taking the term as an honorific attribute it to different princes of the Guhila dynasty who preceded Naravāhana. Pandit Ojha thinks that Bappa and Kālabhoja were identical.² Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar put forward the theory that Bappa should be identified with Khummāna I of the Ātpur epigraph of V. S. 1034.³ Mr. S. C. Dutt is also of the same opinion.⁴ Quite recently Dr. Bhandarkar has urged⁵ that as the name of Guhilaputra Simha "is coupled with Hāritarāśi (in an Inscription of the time of Samarasimha, dated V. S. 1335) he is probably identical with the traditional Bappa of the

1 Cf. Fleet, *O. I. I.*, Vol., III. (Gupta Inscriptions), pp. 186-87n. Fleet says that *bappa* suggests itself as an old Prakrit form of the modern *bap*, a father. (also cf. Ojha, *Udayapura Rajya ka Itihasa*, p. 405). According to Tod, Bappa is not a proper name. It signifies a child (Crooke's edition, Vol. I, 261n). Tod's rendering of the term is apparently wrong. In Crooke's opinion *Bappa* has the sense of *bap*, father (*ibid*). It is interesting to note in this connection that Abul Fadl also takes the word to mean a child (*Asn*, II., 268). It is not impossible that Tod derived his meaning from Abul Fadl or he may have confused the term *Bappa* with *Bapu* which in Mewar means a child (Ojha, U. R. I., 405n).

2 Ojha, U. R. I., 404.

3 *I. A.*, XXXIX, 186-91.

4 *I. H. Q.*, 1928, 795ff.

5 *B. I.*, XX, App., 84n.

family."⁶ Without entering into a discussion of the various theories it may be noted that in the present state of our knowledge it is well nigh impossible to determine, with any amount of exactitude, the position of Bappa in the genealogical list of the Guhila dynasty. In several inscriptions he is made an ancestor of the eponymous hero Guhila.⁷ But this has been conclusively proved to be a mistake. In the Ekalingaji Stone Inscription of V. S. 1028 Bappaka is spoken of as the moon among the princes of the Guhila family, the implication being that he came after Guhila. In the Chīrwā Inscription of V. S. 1330 he is represented as having been born in the family of the son of Guhila (*Guhilāṅgajavamsajah*). There can be no doubt that the traditional originator of the Guhila family was Guhila or Guhadatta himself. This is sufficiently borne out by the Nāgdā inscription of the time of Aparājita, the Ātpur Inscription of the time of Śaktikumāra, the Chātsu Inscription of the time of Bālāditya, and the two inscriptions referred to above. The question naturally arises as to why in some late inscriptions Bappa is made an ancestor of Guhila? An explanation may be hazarded here. There were several Guhila lines in ancient time.⁸ All these lines of rulers had a common ancestor in Guhila. The founder of the Mewār branch was Bappa and it is but natural that in the dynastic lists of Mewār he should be assigned the first place. The Mewār princes are thus represented sometimes as belonging to the dynasty of Bappa and sometimes as belonging to the line of Guhila. In later times however a confusion arose between the founder of the family in its extended sense and the founder of the dynasty of Mewār, and the recorders were not quite sure as to whether the first place should be assigned to Bappa or Guhila.

There is a remarkable passage in the Kumbhalgaḍh Praśasti of the time of Rāṇā Kumbhā.⁹ It runs thus :—

*Tasmīn Guhilavamsēbhūḍ Bhojanāmdvanīsvarah
Tasmān-Mahindro Nāgdhvo Bappākhyaśch-Aparājitaḥ*

The verse may be rendered as follows :—

In that Guhila family was born the lord of the earth named Bhoja. From him (were born) the king called Nāga and Aparājita (also) styled Bappa (or Bappa, the invincible) (*aparājita*).

If my rendering be accepted then Bappa and Aparajita refer to the same individual, one being the proper name and the other an epithet. Curiously enough Aparājita is the earliest prince of undoubted Guhila lineage whose record

6 The legend was current from the thirteenth century A. D. that Haritarasī, a Śaiva saint, being pleased with the devotion of Bappa conferred on him the kingship of Mewār.

7 Cf. the inscriptions of V. S. 1331, V. S. 1342, V. S. 1496, etc.

8 Eg. Guhilas of Mewar, Guhilas of Chatsu, Guhilas of Mangrol (Kathiawār), etc.

9 Ojha, *U. B. I.*, 408a.

has been discovered within the boundaries of Mewār.¹⁰ It has been found at Nāgdā and is dated V. S. 718. It mentions Mahārāja Varāhasimha, "the Leader of the Force" of the king. It is interesting to note in this connection that our earliest records invariably associate Bappa with Nāgdā. Thus the Ekaliṅgajī Stone Inscription of V. S. 1028 says that Bappaka flourished in Nāghrada. The inscriptions of the time of Samarasimha and Rāymal also associate Bappa with Nāghrada¹¹. In view of these facts the identity of Bappa and Aparājita is not altogether improbable.

Professor H. C. Raychaudhuri suggests to me that Nāghrada may have been named after king Nāga, a predecessor of Aparājita. Bappa *as described in later records and annals* of Mewār is more legendary than a historical personage. For one thing there is no unanimity regarding his position in relation to Guhila in the epigraphs of the family, and the name is not met with till the inscription of the time of Naravāhana dated V. S. 1028. It is important to remember that in the inscription of the Aparājita dated V. S. 718 there is no reference to Bappa. The appearance of Bappa in later records of the Guhila family is paralleled by references to Sātyaki as a progenitor in the later inscriptions of the Rāṣtrakūṭa dynasty of Mānyakheṭa. The attribution of certain coins to Bappa of Mewār is not beyond doubt. It is interesting to note in this connection that Bappa figures in the ancient records of two illustrious dynasties of Southern India. In the epigraphs of one family, namely that of the Pallavas, Bappa heads the list of the princes whose names have come down to us. Another family, namely the Śālaṅkāyaṇas, describe themselves as *Bappabhaṭṭārakapādabhakta*. The conjecture may be hazarded that, as hinted at by Fleet, Bappa in these cases is simply an epithet applied to the venerable Father or ancestor of a line of illustrious princes. In the case of the Mewār family Bappa may have been an honorific epithet which later generations applied to Aparājita when that prince became the centre of romantic legends like Arthur or Charlemagne of Western Europe.

10 Śiladitya mentioned in the Sāmali inscription is generally identified with Guhila Śīla. But the king of the Samali record is not styled a Guhila. The proposed identification is not free from doubt because there were several Śiladityas ruling about that time, e. g., Harsa-Śiladitya and Śīlāditya of the Maitraka family.

11 Cf. the inscriptions of V. S. 1331, 1432 and 1545.

RANA SANGA OF MEWAR,

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Rāṇā Sāṅgā of Mewār played such an important part as the champion of Hinduism against Islam¹ that the local history of Mewār during his reign may be considered as an episode in the general history of India. His career as an antagonist of Babur naturally occupies a prominent place in all works dealing with the history of India in the sixteenth century. Rai Saheb Har Bilas Sarda's biography and Rai Bahadur Gauri Sankar Ojha's monumental work contain an elaborate account of Sāṅgā's eventful life. It appears, however, that there are problems upon which the final word yet remains to be said. The present writer's purpose in submitting his suggestions to scholars interested in Indian History will be amply served if they choose for further elucidation the career of one of the greatest heroes of mediæval India.

I

Early Years.

So far as the history of the early years of Rāṇā Sāṅgā's life is concerned, our principal authorities are Nainṣī and Tod. Nainṣī's account, being earlier in date and more logical in character, deserves preference.

According to Nainṣī, the first four sons of Rāṇā Rāi Mal in order of seniority were—Pṛthvirāj, Jay Mal, Jay Singh and Sāṅgā.² That Pṛthvirāj was the eldest son is clearly established by the designation '*Mahākumāra*' given to him in a contemporary inscription.³ We may, therefore, reject Tod's view that Sāṅgā was the first son and heir-apparent.⁴

It is admitted on all hands that "fraternal affection" between Pṛthvirāj and Sāṅgā "was discarded for deadly hate, and thair feuds and dissensions were a source of constant alarm."⁵ There are two difficulties about the generally accepted account of these 'feuds and dissensions.' In the first place,

1 In Rajputana he is still described as the *Hindupal* (chief of the Hindus). See Sarda's *Maharana Sanga*. In Babur's Memoirs (cf. pp. 550, 558, 561 etc. In Beveridge's translation), he is described as a 'pagan' fighting against 'Islam-guarded soldiers.'

2 Sarda disagrees with Nainṣī's statement, for he says that Sanga was the third son, and he does not include Jassa in his list of Rāi Mal's 14 sons. (See pp. 12-13). He gives us no authority in support of his rejection of Nainṣī's statement. Ojha (*History of Rajputana*, Vol. 1, p. 658) agrees with him, but says in another place that Rāi Mal recognised Jay Singh as his heir apparent. (B. 655).

3 Peter Paterson, *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*.

4 For Tod's account of Sanga's career, see Crooke's edition, Vol. 1, pp. 340-59.

5 These are Tod's words, and they are accepted by Sarda (pp. 14-15) and Ojha (p. 643).

the principle of hereditary succession was so well-established⁶ that it seems difficult to understand why Sāṅgā and Jay Mal ventured to dispute the claim of Pṛthvirāj. Pṛthvirāj was an able prince, "the Rolando of his age";⁷ it was certainly idle for the younger brothers to expect that either Rāi Mal or the Sardārs would pass him over in favour of either of them.⁸ Again, Sāṅgā's chance of ascending the throne was still more remote than that of Jay Mal, for two likely candidates (Jay Mal and Jay Singh) stood between him and Pṛthvirāj. Jay Mal was an active candidate, and he was bold enough⁹ to demand the recognition of the Sardārs if Pṛthvirāj died or was put aside. After Jay Mal there was Jay Singh. He might have been addicted to pleasure and sport, as Nainṣī says; but no one could anticipate in Rāi Mal's life-time that he would be passed over by the Sardārs in favour of Sāṅgā.¹⁰ Later on, Sāṅgā proved himself to be a cautious man,¹¹ and it is difficult for us to believe that he devoted himself to the pursuit of so distant an object, as the possession of the throne was in his case. Secondly, are we justified in accepting as historically true¹² the *Nahra Mugro* incident related by Tod? He says, ".....Sāṅgā observed that, though heir to 'the ten thousand towns' of Mewār, he would wave his claims, and trust them.....to the omen which should be given by the priestess of Chāruṇī Devī at Nahra Mugro.....they (*i. e.*, Pṛthvirāj, Jay Mal, Sāṅgā and their uncle Sūraj Mal)¹³ repaired to her abode. Pṛthvirāj and Jaimal entered first, and seated themselves on a pallet; Sāṅgā followed and took possession of the panther-hide of the prophetess; his

6 Sarda (p. 14) says that every one of the brothers of Pṛthviraj "considered himself qualified by descent and personal bravery" for the throne. But on p. 146 Sarda himself refers to two Rajput princes—Chonda of Mewar and Ajjaji of Halvad in Kathiawar—who had relinquished their *right as eldest sons* to their ancestral thrones. These instances, and others too numerous to be mentioned here, clearly prove that the principle of hereditary succession was definitely accepted in Rajputana. The principle was abandoned only under exceptional circumstances.

7 Tod's description.

8 Sarda recognises the fact that Jay Mal "was conscious that with Pṛthviraj as his elder brother there was little chance of his obtaining the throne." (p. 14). The inscription of 1503-4 A. D. shows that Pṛthvirāj was already recognised as heir-apparent by Rai Mal, and obviously by the Sardars as well.

9 The incident of Tara Bai shows that Jay Mal was a young man of doubtful moral character, but there is nothing on record to show that he lacked the quality of courage, the first requisite of a Rājput ruler.

10 So far as Sanga's case is concerned, our argument is not very much weakened if we follow Sarda and Ojha in denying the existence of Jay Singh.

11 Tod says that Sanga's "courage was tempered by reflection."

12 That the story cannot be believed was for the first time pointed out to the present writer by Mr. S. C. Dutt of the Calcutta University, to whom he also owes numerous suggestions.

13 Sarda (p. 14) says that Suraj Mal "was of the same age" with the three brothers. Under normal circumstances an uncle is older than his nephew. That Suraj Mal's case was not an exceptional one, may be presumed from two facts recorded by Tod.

Sūraj Mal addressed Pṛthviraj as 'child'.

He could hardly have used such an expression had he not been considerably older than his nephew. Secondly, on one occasion he said to Pṛthvirāj, "If I am killed, it matters not; my children are Rajputs, they will run the country to find support". (This incident is noted by Sarda on p. 39). This statement seems to imply that Suraj Mal's sons were old enough at that time to "run the country."

uncle, Sūrajmal, with one knee resting thereon. Scarcely had Pṛthvirāj disclosed their errand, when the sybil pointed to the panther-hide as the decisive omen of sovereignty to Sāṅgā, with a portion to his uncle¹⁴.....Pṛthvirāj drew his sword and would have falsified the omen, had not Sūrajmal stepped in and received the blow destined for Sāṅgā.....Sūrajmal and Pṛthvirāj were exhausted with wounds, and Sāṅgā fled with five sword-cuts and an arrow in his eye, which destroyed the sight for ever."¹⁵ There are certain incongruous elements in this story. It is based on the supposition that Sāṅgā was the eldest brother and therefore the rightful heir to the throne—a supposition which we cannot accept. If anybody could "wave his claims, and trust themto the omen," it was Pṛthvirāj. If he really agreed to decide his fate by the judgment of heaven, why did he try to falsify the omen as soon as the judgment went against him?

As a matter of fact, the real clue to the troubles of Rāi Mal's reign will be found in the ambition of Sūraj Mal. He was a son of Kṣema Singh and thus a grandson of Rānā Mokāl. Tod says that it was he "who had fomented these quarrels"¹⁶ between Pṛthvirāj and Sāṅgā, and that he was "resolved not to belie the prophetess if a crown lay in his path." Are we to assume, as Tod does, that the ambition to seize the crown of Mewār took possession of Sūraj Mal's mind after the *Nahra Mugro* incident? In that case we cannot explain why he fomented quarrels among the princes. We are probably entitled to believe that Sūraj Mal's ambition was of earlier origin, and that he purposely fomented quarrels among the princes in order to create dissensions within Mewār. That he was the author of a deeply laid conspiracy against Rāi Mal may be clearly inferred from certain facts noted by the chroniclers. In the first place, we are told by Naiṅsi that during Kumbha's reign Kṣema Singh (Sūraj Mal's father) revolted, established his authority over the south-eastern corner of Mewār, and tried to make himself an independent ruler. His plan did not succeed at that time, but it was inherited by Sūraj Mal.¹⁷ He must

14 A similar story is told about Aśoka. Once King Bindusara decided to select his heir and asked his sons to take their seats. Other princes occupied seats fit for royalty, but Aśoka sat on the ground. The wise men of the court decided that the earth was the best seat which a king could choose, Aśoka was thereupon nominated as the heir-apparent. May we assume that in Tod's story we come across a faint reflection of this ancient legend?

15 Ojha (pp. 643-4, 647) gives a slightly different version.

16 Ojha (p. 643) rejects the statement of Tod, supported by the *Vivarinoda*, that Suraj Mal was associated with the quarrels of the princes, and says that it was Sarangadeva who played the part of the mediator. The learned writer admits that Suraj Mal was the enemy of the royal family; he says that Sārangadeva joined Suraj Mal later on because he (Sarangadeva) was expelled from his *Jagir* by Pṛthvirāj. This view is inconsistent with the tradition recorded by Tod and accepted by Sarda (p. 14) and the *Vivarinoda*. Moreover, it fails to explain the cause of Sanga's exile.

17 Sarda's view (p. 14) that Suraj Mal's treachery to the crown was caused merely by "the limitations which naturally circumscribe the activities of scions of a younger branch of a royal family", is rather an insufficient explanation of his conduct.

have been trying to make it a success even before the closing years of Rāi Mal's reign. Secondly, that Sūraj Mal had other accomplices within the royal family is proved by his alliance with Sāraṅga Deva, another descendant of Rāṇā Lākḥā.¹⁸ Thirdly, Sūraj Mal did not hesitate even to invoke the assistance of the Muslims against his own clan. Tod says that he "repaired to Mosuffir, the Sultan of Mālwa." We know that Mālwa had no Sultan of this name, but we are told by Ferishta¹⁹ that in 1503 A. D. Sultan Nāsiruddin Khaljī of Mālwa "proceeded towards Chittoor, where having received a large present in money from the Rāṇā.....he returned to Māṇḍo." From Tod's account, supported by an inscription of 1503-4 A. D.,²⁰ it would appear that the Muslims occupied a part of Mewār and that Sūraj Mal (with his ally, Sāraṅga Deva) was actively fighting against the Rāṇā's troops. Fourthly, Sūraj Mal's undying hostility to the ruling branch of the family is proved by the fact that he "finally abandoned Mewār" and his grandson Bikā founded the principality now known as Deoliā Pratāpgarh.²¹

We must review Sāṅgā's early career against the background of Sūraj Mal's treachery. It is clear that Sūraj Mal wanted to utilise him against his elder brothers, and there is no doubt that Sāṅgā allowed himself to be associated with the conspiracy. Probably he was ambitious enough to aspire after the throne, and, knowing fully well that from the point of view of legitimacy he had no chance of being called upon to rule, he tried to realise his ambition by unfilial treachery. Such an explanation is not inconsistent with his character as we know it; did he not want to secure the imperial crown of Delhi? Ambition, then, is the key-stone to Sāṅgā's career.

The exact circumstances which compelled Sāṅgā to live as an exile for some years²² cannot be determined. If we do not accept the *Nahra Mugro* incident as historical, we cannot ascribe Sāṅgā's flight to it. Tod says that Sāṅgā was aware of Pṛthvirāj's "implacable enmity," and seems to imply that this was the real cause of his flight. We also know that Jay Mal was not well-disposed towards Sāṅgā (for Tod tells us that it was Jay Mal who tried to capture Sāṅgā after the *Nahra Mugro* incident). If the "implacable enmity" of these two brothers *alone* was responsible for Sāṅgā's flight, why did he not

18 Tod.

19 Briggs, Vol. IV, p. 243. Ferishta does not refer to Suraj Mal or any other Hindu ally of the Sultan in this expedition.

20 *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*.

21 This is Nainsi's version of the story. Tod says that Suraj Mal himself founded Deolia Pratappgarh.

22 Ferishta places Nasiruddin's invasion in 1503 A. D. Tod's version makes it clear that Sanga fled sometime before this incident. Sanga did not return till 1509 A. D., when Rai Mal was on his death bed. So Sanga must have been an exile for at least six years.

return to Mewar *after* Jay Mal's death and *before* Pṛthvirāj's recall²³. The fact that Sāngā was not recalled before his father was about to die, seems to imply that he was guilty of some offence against Rāi Mal. This explanation is quite consistent with Pṛthvirāj's "implacable enmity" towards him, for the legitimate heir to the throne could not allow a younger brother to deprive him of his patrimony.²⁴ Sāngā's close association with Sūraj Mal shows that Sāngā was guilty of treachery towards his father.

During the period of his exile Sāngā naturally lived the life of an adventurer. We are told that after the *Nahra Mugro* incident "Sāngā fled with five sword-cuts and an arrow in his eye, which destroyed the sight for ever." He took shelter in the sanctuary of *Caturbhujā*, where his life was saved from Jay Mal's attack by a Rāṭhor named Bidā. He "had recourse to many expedients to avoid discovery" and was compelled to pass his days among goat-herds and peasants. Then he went to Ajmer and took service with Karam Chand, the Paramār chief of Śrīnagar. His identity was accidentally revealed (here we are told the traditional story of a serpent rearing its crest over the head of the sleeping exile); the Paramār chief "gave Sāngā a daughter to wife, and protection" which he needed so much.

In the meanwhile, events in Mewār had been moving rapidly. Pṛthvirāj had been banished; Jay Mal had been killed by Rāo Surtān in defence of his daughter's honour; Pṛthvirāj had been recalled: the attack of the Muslims of Malwa had been repulsed; Sūraj Mal had been compelled to leave Mewār. Time, however, had not softened Pṛthvirāj's heart in favour of Sāngā. He was preparing for an expedition against Karam Chand of Śrīnagar, Sāngā's protector and father-in-law,²⁵ when his attention was diverted to Sirohī by a letter from

23 The same argument applies against Sarda's suggestion (p. 16) that Sanga fled because he was "unwilling to attack the heir-apparent to the throne."

24 This explanation makes it somewhat difficult to account for Pṛthvirāj's banishment. Tod, labouring under the delusion that Sanga was the eldest son, says that Rai Mal was angry because Pṛthvirāj was about to deprive him of his heir by killing Sanga at *Nahra Mugro*. But Jai Mal was also implicated in the affair, and the father's wrath did not fall upon him. Again, it is strange to note that when the intending murderer was banished by the King, the victim fled of his own accord and did not venture to return to his father till the latter was in his death bed. Pṛthvirāj, like Sanga, might have lent his ears to Suraj Mal, and the old Rana might have reasons to suspect that his heir-apparent intended to supplant him. Such an analysis of Pṛthvirāj's motive is not inconsistent with his character. Most of the achievements attributed by Tod to this "Rolando of his age" owed their success to treachery. He treacherously killed the Mina chief in whose service he had enlisted himself and his band. He treacherously murdered Saranga Deva. He treacherously killed Lalla Khan, the Afghan Chief of Toda. He attacked his brother-in-law, Jug Mal of Sirohi, when the latter was asleep at night. (Sarda, pp. 27, 42-3). We may not be very far from the truth in assuming that Pṛthvirāj, like another heir-apparent of Mewar (Udā the *Hatyaro*), was about to occupy the throne by murdering his father.

25 Sarda, p. 42.

his sister Ananda Bāī. He went to Sirohī and humiliated his brother-in-law Jug Mal, who retaliated by poisoning him.²⁶

After Pṛthvirāj's tragic death Jay Singh, the third son of Rāṇā Rāī Mal, became the heir-apparent. Naiṅsī says that Jay Singh was given to pleasure and sport, and the Sardārs passed him over and placed Sāṅgā on the throne. There is nothing improbable in this story. Mewār, constantly threatened by the Muslim kingdoms of Mālwa and Gujarāt, required a strong ruler. Sāṅgā was 26 years old in 1509 A. D.²⁷ and his career must have revealed his qualities. That he had fled from Mewār as a traitor was, from the political point of view, no disqualification ; it was rather a point in his favour in the judgment of the Sardars. Sāṅgā might have been afraid of Pṛthvirāj, but he had no reason to be afraid of a worthless prince like Jay Singh. If the crown went to Jay Singh, Sāṅgā might revive the policy of Suraj Mal and try to seize it with the assistance of his Muslim neighbours. We may conclude, therefore, that these weighty reasons of state led to the recall of Sāṅgā during the last illness of Rāī Mal as well as to his accession to the throne after the old Rāṇā's death.

II.

Gujarat and Malwa.

The peculiar geographical position of Mewār involved her rulers in a long-continued struggle with the Muslim Sultāns of Gujarāt and Mālwa. Mewār was bounded on three sides by the Muslim kingdoms of Delhi, Gujarāt and Mālwa. So long as the Sultanate of Delhi was strong and aggressive, the rulers of Mewār had to remain conscious of their weakness, and to thank their stars if they succeeded in preserving their independence against the all-conquering Turks. The recovery of Chitor by Rāṇā Hamīr was followed by the disruption of the Sultanate, but the rise of the independent Muslim kingdoms of Gujarāt and Mālwa in the beginning of the 15th Century created new problems for his descendants. If Delhi was no longer strong enough to threaten Mewār, she was likely to be assailed by these two new kingdoms. Mewār offered to them a natural field for expansion, and their rulers were not slow to take advantage of any weakness which the Guhilots might betray. On the other hand, the vigorous rulers of Mewār were no longer content to play a subsidiary part. Conscious of their own strength, men like Kumbhā and Sāṅgā were determined to extend the boundaries of their petty ancestral state at the cost of Gujarāt and Mālwa. When both sides are bent upon aggression, excuses are not difficult to find.

26 Tod; Sarada, pp. 42—44; Ojha, *History of Sirohī*, p. 205.

27 Naiṅsī says that Sanga was born in 1483.

Rāṇā Sāṅgā's first venture in the sphere of foreign policy was significant. Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa owed his throne to the loyal and able support of a Rājput chief named Medinī Rāi.²⁸ In return for the conspicuous services which he had rendered to the Sultān, Medinī Rāi naturally enjoyed a unique ascendancy in his court. The exclusion of the Muslim nobles from power excited their jealousy, and they resorted to various expedients in order to destroy the all-powerful minister. At last the Sultān himself came to suspect Medinī Rāi without adequate reasons, and stealthily left his capital for Gujarāt. He was cordially received by Sultān Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarāt, who started in 1517 A. D. to place his ally on the throne of Māṇḍū. Medinī Rāi knew that he was not strong enough to oppose the Gujarāt army with success. So he reinforced the garrison of Māṇḍū and then went to Chitor in order to obtain assistance from Rāṇā Sāṅgā. The Rāṇā responded to his appeal,²⁹ and arrived with a large force within a few miles of Ujjain. Meanwhile Māṇḍū fell³⁰ before the attacks of the Gujarāt troops and Muzaffar Shāh began to march against Sāṅgā. On hearing of his approach Sāṅgā retreated to Chitor. The Gujarāt army gave up the pursuit and returned home. Sāṅgā prevented Medinī Rāi from committing suicide and regarded him as a "greatly trusted friend."³¹ The grateful Rājput chief rendered valuable help to his patron in his wars with Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt and Bābur.

There is no doubt that Sāṅgā's policy in this crisis was determined by his desire to revive Hindu ascendancy in Central India. The allegations heaped upon Medinī Rāi by the Muslim historians do not survive scrutiny; but even a cursory glance at the story of his amazing life makes it clear that he was determined to rule Mālwa in the interest of the Hindus.³² He did not "usurp the crown" because, if he did so, "the Kings of Gujarāt, of Khāndesh, and of the Deccan, uniting, would very soon reduce Mālwa to their subjection."³³ He was satisfied with power unadorned by the crown, because he was wise enough to understand that the Muslim neighbours of Malwa would not allow him to establish a Hindu dynasty in Māṇḍū. That he considered himself as the champion of Hindu interests in Mālwa is further proved by his appeal to Rāṇā

28 The incident is described by Firishta (Briggs, Vol. IV, pp. 84-86, 245-261) and in the *Mīrat-i-Sikandari* (Bayley, *Local Mohammedan Dynasties, Gujarat*, pp. 247-62.)

29 According to the *Mīrat-i-Sikandari*, the Rana agreed "to advance as far as Sarangpur, but said that afterwards he would act as circumstances should require". (Bayley, p. 257).

30 In 1518 A. D. according to the *Mīrat-i-Sikandari* (Bayley, p. 258), but in 1519 A. D. according to Firishta (Briggs, Vol. IV, p. 261).

31 Beveridge, *Babur's Memoirs*, p. 593.

32 Firishta says that "excepting the personal servants of the King, amounting to about two hundred, the whole of the office of government were filled with Rajputs". (Briggs, Vol. IV, p. 257.)

33 Briggs, Vol. IV, p. 258.

Sāṅgā. We are told that he "represented" to Rāṇā Sāṅgā "that in Hindustan, among the Hindus, there was no man greater than he, and that if he did not assist his own race, who else was to do so?"³⁴ Sāṅgā was already respected as the best man to "assist his own race," and he did not disappoint his suitor. His failure to achieve success in the enterprise may be ascribed to the difficulties with which he was confronted. Probably he found the combined forces of Gujarāt and Mālwa too strong for him. He may also have been swayed by the fear which had prevented Medinī Rāi from usurping the crown of Mālwa. If he placed Medinī Rāi on the throne of Māṇḍū, the kings of Gujarāt, Khāndesh and of the Deccan might enter into a grand alliance against the infidel.³⁵ Such an alliance Chitor was not in a position to resist. So Sāṅgā considered it wise to retreat,³⁶ reserving for a more favourable occasion his plan of striking a decisive blow in favour of the Hindus.

In 1519 A. D. Muzaffar Shāh returned to Gujarāt, leaving 3000 cavalry to be stationed at Māṇḍū. Mahmūd Khaljī now decided to wrest from the Rājput̄s those forts which they still occupied.³⁷ Chanderī and Gāgrūn were in the possession of Medinī Rāi's troops; and Bhilsā, Rāisin and Sāraṅpur were held by another Rājput̄ chief named Silhadi. Mahmūd Khaljī marched to Gāgrūn. Rāṇā Sāṅgā came to meet him with "a powerful army" and "a great battle was fought." The Muslims were defeated, and Mahmūd Khaljī became a prisoner in the hands of the Rāṇā. The Chivalrous Rāṇā "caused him to be brought into his own tent, dressed his wounds, attended him in person, and showed him every mark of attention; and after his recovery, he furnished him with an escort of one thousand Rājput̄ horsemen, and sent him to Māṇḍū, where he re-assumed the reins of government."³⁸ According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, the Rāṇā's "tenderness" was inspired by his "fear of the Muhammadan Sultāns whose dominions bordered on Māṇḍū, such as Ibrāhīm Lodi, Pādshāh of Delhi, Sultān Muzaffar of Gujarāt, and others." This explanation of the Rāṇā's motive is not unreasonable, although it extols his cautiousness at the cost of his chivalry. Mewār was not yet strong enough to absorb Mālwa and face the combined opposition of her Muhammadan neighbours.

34 Bayley, p. 257.

35 The ruler of Berar was "on friendly terms" with Mahmud Khalji. (Briggs, Vol. IV, p. 249). Sultan Sikandar Lodi had sent a force of 12,000 cavalry to help the Muslim nobles of Malwa against Medini Rai. (Briggs, Vol. IV, p. 253).

36 It must be remembered that after the fall of Mandu and the death of 19,000 Rajputs in its defence, it was almost hopeless for Sanga to expect any assistance from the Hindus of Malwa (See Briggs, Vol. IV. p. 261, and Bayley, p. 258).

37 Briggs, Vol. IV, pp. 262-63; Bayley, pp. 263-64.

38 It seems that the Sultan's son was kept as a hostage in Chitor (Bayley, p. 275). Babur says that the Sultan was made to surrender "a famous crown-cap and golden belt" (Beveridge, p. 613).

Sāngā came into direct conflict with Gujarāt in connection with the affairs of Īdar,³⁹ a small Rājput principality situated on the borders of Gujarāt. On the death of Sūrajmal, the throne of Īdar was inherited by his minor son Rāi Mal, who, however, was within a short time deposed by his uncle Bhīm (Sūrajmal's younger brother). Rāi Mal took shelter in Chitor. Later on Bhīm died and his son Bhārmal⁴⁰ became the ruler of Īdar. Rāimal grew up to manhood and recovered his ancestral state with Rāṇā Sāngā's help⁴¹ in or about 1514 A. D. Bhārmal appealed for assistance to Sultān Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarāt. Bhīm seems to have been a vassal of the Sultān;⁴² the latter was, therefore, interested in maintaining his son on the throne of Īdar. He ordered Nizām-ul-Mulk to drive Rāi Mal out of Īdar and re-establish Bhar Mal. The Gujarāt army at first succeeded in driving Rāi Mal to the hills, but in 1517 A. D. Rāi Mal re-occupied his territory with the Rāṇā's assistance. In the meantime Nizām-ul-Mulk had been recalled and Nasrat-ul-Mulk placed at the head of the Gujarāt army. He failed to achieve any lasting success against Rāi Mal. So he was removed, and Mubāriz-ul-Mulk was nominated to the office vacated by him. Local officers were not well-disposed to Mubāriz-ul-Mulk; they "set themselves to watch for an opportunity of ruining" him. Mubāriz-ul-Mulk seems to have been a rash and boastful man. Unable to tolerate the taunt of a wandering minstrel, he tied up a dog at the door of his *darbār* and said that if Rāṇā Sāngā did not come to fight, he would be treated like the dog. On hearing the news the Rāṇā marched to Īdar. Mubāriz-ul-Mulk appealed to Muzaffar Shāh for reinforcement, but his enemies at court concealed his letters till it was too late. Mubāriz-ul-Mulk was persuaded by his associates to take shelter in Ahmednagar. The Rāṇā captured Īdar and approached Ahmednagar. The Muslims were severely defeated. Mubāriz-ul-Mulk, severely wounded, took shelter in the town of Barni. "The Rāṇā took the town of Ahmednagar, sacked it, and carried away captive all the inhabitants." His officers requested him to plunder Ahmedābād, but the Rāṇā considered himself too weak to undertake such an enterprise. He advanced to Vaḍnagar and intended to plunder it, but the Brāhmiṇ inhabitants of the town requested him to spare it and he agreed. Then he proceeded to Visalnagar and plundered it. Sometime later the Rāṇā left Gujarāt and made a triumphal entry in Chitor. He had succeeded in establishing his protege in Īdar and his plundering raid must have made his name a terror to the people of Gujarāt.

39 Bayley, pp. 252-53, 264-70; Briggs, Vol. IV, pp. 82-4, 87-90.

40 Bihar Mal, according to *the Mirat-i-Sikandari*.

[41] According to the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Rai Mal was Sanga's son-in-law.

42 Muzaffar Shah said "that Bhim had taken possession of Idar with his sanction" (Bayley, p. 252). Firishta (Briggs, Vol. IV, pp. 81-2) says that Bhim was defeated by Muzaffar Shah's troops and saved himself by paying money.

Next winter (1520 A. D.) Muzaffar Shāh proceeded to take revenge on the Rāṇā.⁴³ His arrangements left nothing to be desired. Many prominent *amlrs* came to Ahmādnagar. "The allowances for the whole army were increased from ten to twenty per cent, and a year's pay was issued from the treasury, so that every man might provide himself with what was requisite for the campaign." The command was entrusted to Malik Aiaz, who promised to "bring back the Rāṇā alive in chains, or scatter his life to the wind of death." The Muslims invested the fort of Mandasor (1521 A. D.). The Rāṇā came with a large army; but, finding that it was impossible to save the fort, he requested Malik Aiaz to conclude peace, "promising henceforth to do nothing inconsistent with submission and obedience."⁴⁴ In the Muslim camp counsels were divided. Day by day the Rāṇā's strength increased; all neighbouring chiefs went to his support.⁴⁵ But Sultān Mahmūd Khalji of Mālwa joined the Gujarāt army. At last Malik Aiaz concluded peace⁴⁶ with the Rāṇā without informing Muzaffar Shāh. Mahmūd Khalji also came to terms with him, "on condition that the Rāṇā gave up the Sultān's son, whom he held a prisoner, and made a suitable present." Malik Aiaz returned to Ahmedābād, and was coldly received by Muzaffar Shāh "who gave out that, after the rains, he would himself renew the campaign." In 1521 A. D.⁴⁷ "he commenced his intended expedition against the Rāṇā and marched to Ahmedābād. There the son of the Rāṇā brought to him the elephants and tribute agreed upon, so the expedition was given up." The Rāṇā's son was in all probability the leader of a mission of good will, and the 'elephants' and 'tribute' were hardly anything more than presents.

Bahādur Khān,⁴⁸ the second son of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh was ambitious enough to covet the throne. Not satisfied with the *Jagir* which his father had assigned to him, he left Gujarāt and claimed the hospitality of his father's enemy, Rāṇā Sāngā (1525 A. D.). Sometime ago Bahādur Khān had expressed his desire "to wrest the fort of Chitor out of the hands of infidels,⁴⁹ and to make it over to the Musalmāns, in retribution for what the accursed Rāṇā had done at Ahmadnagar, when he slew so many Musalmāns and carried their women away captive." This sentiment, however, did not prevent him from accepting the "accursed" infidel's salt. We are told that the Rāṇā "showed

43 Bayley, pp. 271-75; Briggs, Vol. IV, pp. 90-95.

44 Firishta says that Sanga "consented to acknowledge fealty to the crown of 'Gujarat,' but certain "extravagant conditions" were connected with this overture. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Sanga did not really intend to become a vassal of his Muslim enemy.

45 Silhadi, the Rajput Chief of Raisin, was won over by Medini Rai.

46 For an explanation of his motive, see Bayley's note on p. 273. Firishta says that Malik Aiaz foresaw that "no co-operation could take place between him and the other Gujarat officers".

47 This is Firishta's date. Bayley gives 1523 A. D.

48 Bayley, pp. 277-78, 304-6; Briggs, Vol. IV, p. 96.

49 He succeeded in realising his ambition after Sanga's death.

him all possible attention" and the Rāṇā's mother regarded him as her "son". The prince's rashness⁵⁰ made Mewār too hot for him, and he went to Mewāt.

Sultān Muzaffar Shāh was succeeded in 1526 A. D. by his eldest son, Sikandar Shāh. His younger brother, Latif "raised a considerable force.....and appeared only to wait for an opportunity of declaring his pretensions to the throne." Sikandar Shāh sent Shirāz Khān to oppose him; "but hearing that the Prince Latif had gone to Chitor, the troops were directed to march in that direction, where they sustained a complete defeat."⁵¹ Whether this defeat was inflicted by Rāṇā Sāngā or by Latif Khān's troops we do not know. Chānd Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān, younger brothers of Latif Khān, seem to have taken shelter in Chitor.⁵² When, after Sikandar Shāh's assassination, Bahādur Khān came to occupy throne of Gujarāt, he passed through Chitor, where he was met by Chānd Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān.

It seems that Sāngā was determined to place Bahādur Khān on the throne of Gujarāt. He refused to come to terms with the Gujarāti nobles who were trying to oppose Bahādur Khan.⁵³ At his instance Udi Singh, the ruler of Dūngarpur, helped Bahādur Khān,⁵⁴ and intercepted the letter for help which the Gujarāti nobles had sent to Bābur.⁵⁵ We may conclude, therefore, that Bahādur Shāh had enough reasons to be grateful to Sāngā for the valuable assistance rendered by him during the most critical period of his career.

III

Ibrahim Lodi.

After his accession to the throne of Delhi in 1517 A. D. Sultan Ibrāhīm Lodi had succeeded in alienating the sympathy of his nobles. Troubles were going on in Delhi, and Sāngā decided to take advantage of the Sultān's difficulties. He attacked the fort of Chanderī⁵⁶, which occupied a strategic position to the east of Mewār. This fort originally belonged to the Sultāns of Mālwa. After Mahmūd Khaljī's accession one of his rival brothers named Muhammad Shāh "laid hands on Chanderī and put it under Sultān Sikandar Lodi's protection, who, in his turn, took Muhammad Shāh's side and sent him large forces.

50 See an incident described in Bayley, pp. 305-6.

51 This is Firishṭa's version (Briggs, Vol. IV, pp. 98-99). According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Latif Khan received the support of the Raja of Munka (Bayley, p. 308). The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* calls him the Raja of the jungles of Chitor. Latif Khan might have been assisted by a hill chief. Under the circumstances it is difficult to accept Sarada's statement (p. 93) that Rana Sanga sent a Sardar to drive Shiraz Khan out of Mewar.

52 Bayley, p. 318.

53 Bayley, p. 318.

54 Bayley, p. 326.

55 Briggs, Vol. IV, p. 102.

56 Briggs, Vol. IV; p. 102, Bayley, p. 326.

Muhammad Shāh survived Sultān Sikandar and died in Sultān Ibrāhīm's time, leaving a very young son called Ahmed Shāh whom Sultān Ibrāhīm drove out and replaced by a man of his own."⁵⁷ Sāngā succeeded in capturing the fort. The fort was given to Medinī Rāi, "the greatly trusted pagan," who began to guard it with 4000 or 5000 soldiers. This incident must have happened between Sultān Muzzaffar Shāh's capture of Māṇḍū in 1518 A. D. or 1519 A. D.⁵⁸ and Sultān Mahmūd Khalji's attempt to recover Chanderī in 1529 A. D., unless we assume that Chanderī was seized by Sāngā sometime before Medinī Rāi came under his protection. In any case, Chanderī could not have fallen to Sāngā's troops before 1517 A. D., the year of Ibrāhīm Lodi's accession.

It may be presumed that Sāngā had something to do with Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi's troubles with his nobles, for otherwise it is difficult to explain the Sultān's determination to crush him. Sometime after the Chanderī incident the Sultān sent against him a large army under the command of Miāñ Makhan,⁵⁹ with whom were associated three other generals—Miāñ Hussain Khān Zar Bakhsh, Miāñ Khān Khānān Farmūli, and Miāñ Marūf—men who "could have instructed even Rustam in the art of war." The Rāṇā advanced to meet the Muslims. Before the battle Miāñ Hussain Khān left the imperial army and joined the Rāṇā. Sāngā succeeded in inflicting a complete defeat on Miāñ Makhan. After the victory Miāñ Hussain and Miāñ Marūf fell suddenly upon the Rājput camp and captured a few elephants and horses⁶⁰. But the Rāṇā's victory was decisive. His troops pursued the Muslims "as far as Bayānā and so alarmed the Sultān that he advanced from Agra to the river."⁶¹

We are told by Tod that in two battles Sāngā was "opposed by Ibrāhīm Lodi in person, at Bakrole and Ghatolli, in which last battle the imperial forces were defeated with great slaughter, leaving a prisoner of the blood royal to grace the triumph of Chitor." In the absence of any other detail, it is impossible to verify truth of this statement.⁶² Muslim writers do not refer to Ibrāhīm Lodi's coming in person or to the capture of any "prisoner of the blood royal" by Rāṇā Sāngā.

57 Beveridge: *Memoirs of Babur*, p. 593.

58 Bayley gives 1518 A. D., but Firishta gives 1519 A. D.

59 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V, pp. 16-20.

60 This story narrated in the *Tarikh-i-Salatan-i-Afghana*, is rejected by Sarda (p. 62) on four grounds: (i) The *Tarikh-i-Daudi* and *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* do not record it, (ii) Mian Husain and Mian Maruf had only a small following, (iii) Sanga obtained a large part of Malwa and tracts up to Bayana, and (iv) Ibrahim Lodi had Mian Hussain assassinated soon after this battle. It may be remarked that (1) *argumentum ex silentio* is hardly safe for historians; (2) the generals attempted a surprise attack; (3) Sanga, not being defeated by the surprise attack, could easily follow up his victory over Mian Makhan; (4) Mian Hussain's desertion of Mian Makhan deserved this punishment.

61 Sarda (p. 62) says that Chanderi was captured after this battle.

62 Sarda (p. 56) refers to a battle between Sanga and the imperial troops near Khatoli (Tod's Ghatolli). "In this battle, the Maharana lost his left arm by a sword cut, and an arrow made him lame for life."

IV

Babur.

On the eve of his fatal contest with Bābur for the supremacy of Northern India, Rāṇā Sāṅgā occupied a really unique position. We read in *Bābur's Memoirs*⁶³ that "not one of all the exalted sovereigns of this wide realm, much as the Sultān of Delhi, the Sultān of Gujarāt and the Sultān of Māṇḍū, could cope with this evil-dispositioned one, without the help of other pagans; one and all they cajoled him and temporized with him." This estimate of the Rāṇā's power and influence is not exaggerated. We have seen that he had twice defeated the troops of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī of Delhi and snatched away from his hands important places like Chanderī and Bayānā. He had defeated Gujarāt troops more than once and plundered a large portion of Gujarāt with impunity. He had helped Bahādur Shāh to occupy the throne of Gujarat. So far as Mālwa is concerned, Sāṅgā's victories were still more brilliant and fruitful. He had captured Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī and retained his son as a hostage. Bābur says⁶⁴ that "in the downfall from power of the Māṇḍū Sultāns, he became possessed of many of their dependencies such as Rantanbur, Sārangpur, Bhilsan and Chanderī." Within Rājputānā Sāṅgā's ascendancy was complete. His vassals ruled over Īdar and Dūngarpur. Tod says, "The princess of Mārwar and Ambar did him homage, and the Rāos of Gwālior, Ajmer, Sikri, Rāisin, Kālpī, Chanderī, Būndī, Gāḡrūn, Rāmpurā and Ābu served him as tributaries or held of him in chief."⁶⁵

Such a ruler was eminently fit for restoring Hindu supremacy in Northern India. The moment was appropriate: the Sultanate of Delhi was tottering to its fall. Nor did Sāṅgā lack in the patience and determination which are essential for success in such a dazzling but difficult enterprise. Since his accession he had been deliberately trying to strengthen his position by weakening his formidable neighbours, the Muslim rulers of Mālwa and Gujarāt. He had succeeded in a trial of strength with Ibrāhīm Lodī himself. He had invited Bābur to occupy Delhi,⁶⁶ so that he himself might easily "move on Agra." After the Battle of Pānīpat Sāṅgā felt that the moment, for which he had been waiting so long, had come at last. The Sultān of Mālwa had been humbled; Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt almost owed his throne to his support;

63 Beveridge, pp. 561-62.

64 Beveridge, p. 483.

65 It is difficult to verify this statement, but Babur's list of Hindu chiefs killed at Khanua includes Chandraban Chauhan, Bhupat Rao of Chanderi, Manik Chand Chauhan, Dilpat Rao, Ganga Singh, Karm Singh, and Daukusi, each of whom was "a splendid and magnificent chieftain". (Beveridge, p. 373.)

66 Beveridge, p. 529.

Ibrāhīm Lodī was dead; Bābur, the new-comer, was threatened by numerous Afghān chiefs in eastern and western India, and his position was still further weakened by the anxiety of his lieutenants to leave India.⁶⁷ Sāngā boldly decided to strike now.

Sāngā had promised to "move on Agra" if Bābur came to Delhi from Kābul, but he gave no sign of moving even after the capture of Delhi and Agra by the Mughals.⁶⁸ We may assume that Sāngā did not intend to help Bābur in occupying the throne left vacant by Ibrāhīm Lodī. His real aim was to seize that throne for himself. That aim could not be realised without driving Bābur out of India.⁶⁹ So Sāngā began to advance towards Bābur's headquarters, and at the same time to strengthen himself by securing the alliance of the discontented Afghān Chiefs.⁷⁰ He captured Kandar, a fort in Rājputānā, from the hands of a Muslim chief named Hasan, who appealed in vain for assistance to Bābur. Reports about Sāngā's "hostile and mischievous attitude" began to reach Bābur. Hasan Khān Mewātī joined the Rājā, although Bābur had tried to conciliate him by releasing his son who had fallen into his hands in the fight with Ibrāhīm Lodī. Bābur left Agra "for the Holy War" on February 11, 1527, and a few days later encamped at Fatehpur Sikrī. Sāngā captured Bayānā and came "near and nearer" the Mughal army. Bābur's army "shewed sign of want of heart." On February 25 Bābur renounced wine. Then he made his nobles and soldiers take an oath that no one would "think of turning his face from this foe, or withdraw from this deadly encounter so long as life is not rent from his body." Here we have the most effective testimony to the strength and reputation of the Rājā.

Tod says that sometime before the Battle of Khanuā Bābur tried to conclude peace with Sāngā. "The negotiation had reached this point, that on condition of Bābur being left Delhi and its dependencies, the Pila-Khal at Bayānā should be the boundary of their respective dominions, and even an annual tribute was offered to the Rājā. We can believe that in the position Bābur then was, he would not scruple to promise anything." Neither Bābur nor any other Muslim chronicler refers to this story, but in view of Bābur's desperate position it cannot be rejected as altogether improbable.⁷¹ Whether Bābur really wanted to keep his promise, if he made it at all, is very doubtful. In all probability, he wanted to gain time, so that he might attack the Rana when circumstances were more favourable to him. The Rājā acted wisely in rejecting the proposal. He was

67 For Babur's difficulties after Panipat, see Beveridge, pp. 523-25.

68 Beveridge, pp. 529-30, 550-57.

69 Cf. Rushbrook Williams, *An Empire-Builder of the 16th Century*, p. 141.

70 They wanted to place Mahmud Lodi, a brother of Ibrahim Lodi, on the imperial throne with the Rana's assistance.

71 Rushbrook Williams (p. 156) says that Tod's story has "no stamp of truth upon" it, but gives no reason for this remark.

fighting for the imperial throne, not for a fort or a province;⁷³ and he could not conclude an enduring peace with the man who wanted to keep Delhi for himself.

On the eve of the battle the number of soldiers at the Rāṇā's disposal was, according to Bābur, more than two lacs.⁷⁴ Tod says that Sāṅgā was usually followed into the field by "eighty thousand horse, seven Rājās of the highest rank, nine Rāos, and one hundred and four chieftains bearing the titles of Rāwal and Rāwat, with five hundred war elephants."⁷⁴ So far as the numerical strength of Bābur's army is concerned, the translator of his *Memoirs* remarks,⁷⁵ "Bābur's army, all told, was 12,000 when he crossed the Indus from Kābul; it will have had accretions from his own officers in the Punjab and some also from other quarters, and will have had losses at Pānipat; his reliable kernel of fighting strength cannot but have been numerically insignificant, compared with the Rājput host."

After numerous skirmishes the final battle⁷⁶ took place at Khanuā, a dependency of Bayānā, on March, 17, 1527. The Rājput̄s were defeated. Many Hindu chiefs were killed. "Many fell dead on the field of battle; others, desisting from fighting, fled to the desert of exile and became the food of crows. Mounds were made of the bodies of the slain, pillars of their heads."⁷⁷ After the victory Bābur gave up the 'plan' of "moving into the Pagan's country.....because of the little water and much heat on the road."

It is necessary to analyse the cause which led to Sāṅgā's defeat in the Battle of Khanuā. Tod gives two reasons—the treachery of Silhadi and Sāṅgā's inactivity before the final battle. The story of Silhadi's treachery is extremely doubtful.⁷⁸ Neither Bābur nor any other Muslim writer refers to the story. Again, instead of rewarding Silhadi for his alleged treachery to Sāṅgā, Bābur wanted to attack him soon after the Battle of Khanuā.⁷⁹ Finally, after Sāṅgā's death Silhadi allied himself with his son and successor, Ratan Singh, against Sultān Mahmūd Khalji of Mālwa. These facts, together with Bābur's statement that Bhūpat, a son of Silhadi, died for Sāṅgā at Khanuā,⁸⁰ make it difficult for us to accept

72 Sarda (p. 138) remarks that Silhadi, who is said to have conducted the negotiations, was displeased because Sanga rejected the proposal "though the Maharana had been offered more than what he had started from Chitor to fight for." What did the Rana start from Chitor to fight for—a slice of territory, or the crown of Delhi? Sarda himself observes in another place (Foreword to his book) that Sanga wanted "to contest the crown of India".

73 Beveridge, p. 562.

74 This estimate seems to have been accepted by Smith. See *Oxford History of India*, p. 323.

75 Beveridge, p. 547. Rushbrook Williams (pp. 152-3) says that "in effectives the Rajput chieftain outnumbered his antagonist by seven or eight to one", although "the average morale" in Babur's army was not good. Cf. Ojha, pp. 686-88.

76 For a description of the battle, see Beveridge, pp. 563-73, and Rushbrook Williams, pp. 149-56.

77 Beveridge, pp. 572-3.

78 See Beveridge: *Asiatic Review*, November, 1915; Rushbrook Williams, p. 156; G. C. Roy Chowdhury, *Calcutta Review*, December, 1934. Sarada (p. 145) accepts the story.

79 Beveridge, p. 598. Babur's plan did not mature.

80 Beveridge, p. 573.

Tod's view about the part played by Silhadī in the Battle of Khanuā. So far as Tod's charge about Sāngā's inactivity before the Battle⁸¹ is concerned, there seems to be a confusion between the preliminary skirmishes (in which Sāngā's army came out successful) and the final engagement. Bābur's narrative makes it clear that Sāngā did not give him any respite *during the final engagement*.

Sarda⁸² says that the battle was lost by the Rājput̄s because "an arrow... struck with such force on the forehead of the Mahārāṇā" that he lost his consciousness and had to be removed from the battle-field. Rāj Rāṇā Ajjāji, "who held the first rank among the nobles of Mewār," occupied the royal seat on Sāngā's elephant, but he failed to prevent the rumour from spreading like wildfire. The bond of unity in the Rājput̄ army was broken, and defeat naturally followed. This story, though supported by one stray couplet quoted by Sarda, is not mentioned by Tod (who says that the Rāṇā was wounded), nor is it supported by any Muslim writer.

Sāngā's weakness really sprang from different reasons. Bābur clearly says that he was the leader of a "rabble-rout."⁸³ His supremacy over Rājput̄ānā wounded the clan sentiment of the average Rājput̄. The Rāṭhors, the Chauhāns and the Kacchawāhas could not whole-heartedly accept the hegemony of a chief who belonged to a different clan. As Bābur says,....."the Rājās and Rāīs of high degree, who obeyed him in this battle, and the governors and commanders who were amongst his followers in this conflict, had not obeyed him in any earlier fight or, out of regard to their own dignity, been friendly with him."⁸⁴ Sāngā was trying to impose on the Rājput̄s a new type of unity which went against the traditional politico-social organisation of the race. Nor could the '*Hindūpat*' have expected whole-hearted loyalty and assistance from his new-found Afghān allies. Everything separated them—religion, tradition, ultimate object (for while Sāngā wanted to establish Hindu ascendancy in Northern India, the Afghāns aimed at placing a Lodī prince on the throne of Delhi); they were united only by a common emergency—the necessity of driving Bābur out of India. Such an unnatural combination could hardly be effective against a group of men whose future in an unknown country depended upon cohesion and desperate courage.

Another factor—purely military—contributed to Bābur's success. There is no doubt that, as a general leading his men to a definite goal through definite means, Bābur was far more able and far-sighted than his rival. Apart from this, these two great men were fighting on different principles of warfare. While Bābur relied on artillery, and mobility, Sāngā depended on cavalry. Tod

81 This charge is supported by Ojha (p. 691) and Sarda (pp. 138-9).

82 Pp. 146-50.

83 Beveridge, p. 561.

84 Beveridge, pp. 561-2

says that Bābur's "artillery made dreadful havoc in the close ranks of the Rājput cavalry." Bābur's experience of war outside India enabled him to strike a decisive blow against an antiquated system which prevailed in conservative India. As Tod says in another connection, "The use of artillery was now (*i.e.*, in the reign of Vikramājeet) becoming general, and the Moslems, soon perceived the necessity of foot for their protection: but prejudice operated longer upon the Rājput, who still curses 'those vile guns, which render of comparatively little value the lance of many a gallant soldier.'"

V

Last Days.

After the Battle of Khanuā "Sāngā retreated towards the hills of Mewāt, having announced his fixed determination "never to re-enter Chitor but with victory." His enemy gave up, for the time being at least, the 'plan' of "moving into the Pagan's country," but he tried to weaken the Rāṇā by subjugating his Rājput Vassals.⁸⁵ A few months after the Battle of Khanuā Bābur started against Chanderī which was still in the possession of Medinī Rāi.⁸⁶ The fort occupied an important strategic position. Bābur seems to have been doubtful about his own ability to capture it by storm, for he sent an envoy "to speak to Medinī Rāo with favour and kindness, and promise Shamsābād in exchange for Chanderī." But "no adjustment of matters was reached, it is not known whether because Medinī Rāo did not trust what was said, or whether because he was buoyed up by delusion about the strength of the fort." The fort was then stormed and captured on January 29, 1528. Sāngā seems to have advanced as far as Irej in order to attack the Mughals; but some of his ministers, unwilling to continue the struggle against Bābur, administered poison to him.⁸⁷ Sāngā died in March or April, 1528.⁸⁹

Sāngā left Mewār weaker than he had found her. Externally, Bābur's strength was increasing day by day, Bahādur Shāh was consolidating his position, and Mahmūd Khaljī was thinking of a war of revenge. Internally, the undue favour shown by Sāngā to his favourite wife Karametī and her son Vikramājī⁸⁸ created dissensions within the royal family. The dazzling military and political success of the great Rāṇā evaporated even before his death.

85 Babur says, "We had come to Chanderi, meaning, after taking it to move against Rāising, Bhilsan and Sarangpur, pagan lands dependent on the pagan Salahuddin, and, these taken, to move on Rana Sanga in Chitur" (Beveridge, p. 598).

86 Beveridge, pp. 589-97.

87 The story of poison, though not mentioned by Babur, is supported by Abul Fazl.

88 Ojha (p. 697) gives January 30, 1528.

89 The Rana gave the important fort of Ranthambhor to Vikramajit. On his accession to the throne Ratan Singh, the eldest of Sanga's sons, claimed it. Karmeti and her son sought and received Babur's assistance, (See Nainsi and Beveridge, pp. 612-13).

JINA-MANDANA
ORDEAL OF KUMARAPALA BEFORE ACCESSION

Santimoy Banerji, M. A., L. T., P. E. S., Mirzapur.

Introduction—Jina-Maṇḍana Gaṇi, the worthy disciple of Soma-sundara Sūri, of great fame and belonging to the Tapāgaccha sect composed a life of Kumārapāla, the great Cālukya Sovereign of Ānhilwāḍa in V. E. 1499 (1442 A. D.). Kumārapāla according to Jina-Maṇḍana ascended the throne in 1199 V. E. (1142 A. D.). The biographical portion of this work is no guess work but a true historical account, so at least the Jain scholars think. This is regarded as an important biography of Kumārapāla.

The Ordeal of Kumārapāla according to Jina-Maṇḍana.—King Jayasīṃha Siddharāja had reigned for many years with credit but no heir was born to him, so anxiously cherished by him and ardently expected by his subject. His heart had become sore in consequence and he began to realize that the old age was dawning upon him and he was losing his youthful vigour every day.

Siddharāja in order to propitiate the Gods conducted due worship of countless gods, heard the reciting of Purāṇas, Harivaṃśa and other works but his heart's desire relating to the birth of a son, was not fulfilled.

He then started on a pilgrimage with Hemācārya. In order to reach the famous temple of Somanātha, he started for Devapurapāṭaṇa now well known in Kāṭhiāwād as Prabhāsa Pāṭṇa. Siddharāja worshipped the goddess Ambikā here and requested Sūriji to enquire of the goddess as to who would succeed him.

The famous saint fasted for three days; the goddess appeared before him and in reply to Siddharāja's query stated that no son would be born to him and that he would be succeeded by Kumārapāla who would turn out to be a far-famed sovereign. Kumārapāla and his brothers Mahipāla and Kirtipāla were the sons of Tribhuvanapāla who was governing Dadhisthali (modern Dethli). Tribhuvanapālā was the son of Kṣemarāja, elder brother of Karṇa I who had resigned his claims to the throne of Anhilpāṭaṇa in favour of his younger brother Karṇa I, in order to keep his father's words given to Karṇa's mother for his succession.

Siddharāja returned to Pāṭaṇa with his heart rent asunder under the heavy pressure of sorrow and surmising that the removal of Kumārapāla from this world would appease the god Somanātha, he entertained a deep grudge against the Prince. King Siddharāja Jayasīṃha in order to remove Kumārapāla from

this earth, made a start with his kinsmen. He got his father Tribhuvanapāla assassinated first. Kumārapāla, having performed his oblation ceremony (उत्तरक्रिया) proceeded to Pāṭaṇa and there started making enquiries in the official circle regarding his father's assassination. He got the clue from a person cognisant of official secrets that the Royal hand was involved in the assassination of his father. Kumārapāla became fully alive to Siddharāja's machinations against him and wanted to retire to a safe place by keeping his family with a relative.

Having brooded thus, he attended on Kṛṣṇadeva (Kahandeva) his brother-in-law and revealed to him the whole story of the troubles he was in. Kahanadeva cited the instance of god Mahādeva who had satisfied his hunger by means of alms and advised Kumārapāla to proceed on to foreign countries in disguise till the fates were pleased with him. Relevant news from the Royal Court would be sent on to him through spies from time to time. Kumārapāla regarded this advice as quite sane and returned to Dadhithalī, his own place.

Kumārpāla left his wife Bhūpāldevī and other members of his family at Dadhithalī, and having disguised himself as a Sādhu, with clotted hair on his head proceeded on to distant places.

After a lapse of time he reached Pāṭaṇa in order to ascertain the trend of affairs in the Royal Court and joined with the Bharatakas in the Karnameru palace. The Bharatakas were cognisant of the anxious search initiated by Jaisiṃha Siddharāja for ascertaining the whereabouts of Kumārapāla and one of them recognising him from the auspicious marks on his person, appraised the king of Kumārapāl's presence in Pāṭaṇa. Thereat, on the second day king Siddharāja invited the Bharatakas at his palace.

While washing the feet of the guest, he discerned the auspicious marks on Kumārapāla's body and desired to put an end to his existence on the finishing of the banquet of his guests.

Kumārapāla gauged the true import of Jaisiṃha's heart from his facial and visual expressions and sought for the means of escape. Jaisiṃha left the dinner hall for the store-house for a little while in order to make arrangements for the distribution of clothes to the Sādhus. This absence gave Kumārapāla the opportunity for escape. He slipped out from the hall on the pretext of Nausea and entered the house of a potter named Aliṅga. The potter concealed him amid the heaps of earthen pots. At night a friendship was established between Kumārapāla and the potter.

Having returned to the banquet-hall from the store-house, Siddharāja started the distribution of clothes and while doing so could not find Kumārapāla. The King flew into anger at once and ordered the commander of the Royal Forces to start immediately for his search and in case of failure warned him

that he would also meet with the same fate which awaited Kumārapāla. On the receipt of this Royal Command, the General with a squadron of horsemen started in search of Kumārapāla. Early in the morning Kumārapāla started from Pāṭana for proceeding to a distant station. By chance the Royal Force also took up the same route which Kumārapāla had taken, in order to arrest him. Kumārapāla, from a distance, observed clouds of dust rising from the hoofs of horses and also heard of the neighing of countless horses. This at once gave him the impression that horsemen were in pursuit of him.

Terror-stricken Kumārapāla at once entered a garden of plum trees and there observed a peasant collecting the plum leaves and earnestly entreated him to adopt means for saving him. His entreaties softened the heart of the peasant and he put in Kumārapāla among the heaps of plum leaves and on them placed heaps of thorns. Although suffering pain from the pricking of thorns Kumārapāla lay among the heaps of plum leaves quite numb and mute like a dead man.

The first man from among the King's troopers approached the peasant and enquired of him whether he had witnessed any person passing that way. The peasant answered that he had no knowledge of it as he had been quite engrossed in his work. The soldier scrutinisingly searched the neighbouring copses and pushed the heaps of plum leaves with his lance and it did not strike him at all that any man was concealed in the neighbourhood. Thus foiled in his searches, the soldier left the place. Siddharāja thus appraised of the fruitless search, issued forth the proclamation by beat of drums that he who would bring news of the whereabouts of Kumārapāla would be duly rewarded and then despatched troops in all directions.

At night, the peasant took out Kumārapāla from the heap of leaves and thorns. His body was overflowing with blood and he had almost reached the condition of one about to breathe his last. In spite of this pitiable condition Kumārapāla thanked the peasant profusely for saving his life.

Kumārapāla then moved forward. Three days fast had almost emaciated him. He then came across with a merchant's daughter who was going to her father's house and joined her company. The merchant's daughter entertained brotherly affection towards him and gave him Karomba to drink. This entertainment highly pleased Kumārapāla.

Later on, Kumārapāla came to know that the merchant's daughter was the daughter of Devasīmha of the village of Umrā and that her name was Devaśrī. While parting from her, Kumārapāla gave her word that he regarded her as his sister and that at the time of his accession to the throne of Gujarāt, he would accept the Bhagini Tilaka at her hands.

Having uttered these words Kumārapāla proceeded to Dadhiṣṭhalī. Here again he was besieged by the troops of Jayasīṃha Siddharāja. He then sought shelter among the heaps of bricks belonging to a potter, named Sajjana. He was fully covered with bricks by the potter and there he lay as one dead and almost breathless. The troops searched for him on all sides and not finding him anywhere returned to their own places. Kumārapāla was then taken out of the bricks at night by Sajjana, the potter. At night they were joined by a Brāhmaṇ named Bośrī. On seeing Bośrī, Kumārapāla addressed him and said that a man was termed Sajjana either from his name or from his action but the present Sajjana fulfilled his name both ways. King Jayasīṃha was till then displeased with Kumārapāla and so the latter asked Sajjana to conduct his family to Avantī and he along with Bośrī proposed to go on a tour in the different provinces of India.

Kumārapāla, later on, sent away his family to Avantī and himself on a tour of the different provinces of India with Bośrī, and having wandered over many tracts of land finally reached Cambay, the sacred city named also as Khambhāt (Stambhatīrtha). At that time Hemācārya Hemacandra Sūri had come to the exterior part of the city in order to answer the call of nature. He noticed there that a wild lizard was dancing on a serpent's hood and he surmised that a prince would be in the neighbourhood. On a close observation of the different directions, he noticed Kumārapāla approaching the city. Kumārapāla however did not notice him. The Sūriji brought him to the Upāśraya with great respect and talked with him on the basis of his previous acquaintance. Kumārapāla enquired of him whether he would enjoy any happiness.

Sūriji then told Kumārapāla that he would secure the throne on the fourth day of the dark fortnight (बदि चार) Sunday the third quarter of the day in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa in the Vikrama Year 1199. He also stressed his words by saying that he would give up foretelling if his words did not turn out true. He then wrote out on two papers the astrological calculations of the day and handed over one to Kumārapāla and another to Udayana. Kumārapāla on hearing this reply stated that if these predictions proved out to be true he would hand over the kingdom to him and would serve him like a swan.

Sūriji stated in reply that being a Sādhu he needed no kingdom. If Kumārapāla ever got the kingdom, he should simply extend the glory of the Jaina faith. Kumārapāla condescended to this request.

Sūriji then revealed to the minister full details of Kumārapāla's identity and his woes. Minister Udayana then took Kumārapāla to his house with great respect and honoured him with board and lodging.

Kumārapāla had passed some time in the house of Udayana, when news

regarding his recent whereabouts reached Jayasimha. Soldiers conducted their searches in Cambay whereon Kumārapāla left the minister's house and reached the Upāśraya of Hemacandra and sought his protection.

Sūriji who was an incarnation of mercy thinking that Kumārapāla would turn out to be a great ruler and a strong supporter of Jainism, made him descend through stairs in an underground cell and covered its door with heaps of books so that it might not be discovered.

The soldiers in the course of their conducting the search of Kumārapāla reached the Upāśraya and on the information supplied by some mischievous persons asked the Sūri to hand over Kumārapāla as he had been hiding in the Upāśraya. In such a critical time the saving of life was highly meritorious, whereas the telling of a lie not so sinful, and the Sūri preferred the latter and said that Kumārapāla was not in the Upāśraya.

The sepoy then wanted to examine the whole Upāśraya and the Sūri gave them full opportunity for satisfying themselves. The whole Upāśraya was searched in detail and after this thorough search the soldiers left the Upāśraya. Kumārapāla could not be found by them.

After the departure of the sepoy, Kumārapāla was raised from the underground cell. Sūriji asked him as to whether he heard the sepoy speaking. Kumārapāla expressed his utter surprise at the timely utterance of the Sūriji. He knew that it was stated that the Jaina faith was based on kindness and he had realized it in practice with reference to his own case. There were many who extended help in times of prosperity but Sūriji appeared to be the only person who extended help in the time of adversity. He had already been attracted to the Sūriji on account of his excellent virtues and had become devoted to him. But the Sūriji's saving of his life had turned him into a slave and previously he had promised to place the kingdom at the Sūriji's feet, but after his life had been saved by the Sūriji, he placed his whole life entirely at his disposal.

From Cambay Kumārapāla proceeded to Broach. Here lived a शाकुनिक, i.e. a reader of the future by omens. Kumārapāla bowed at his feet and enquired when his good days were to come. At this time a black bird called Durgā was taking something on the spire of the temple of Suvratasvāmin. By turns, it went up to the spire, the pitcher and the banner and uttered its peculiar sound. The foreteller by studying the auspicious signs replied to Kumārapāla that through the mercy of the Presiding deity of the temple, his desires would be fulfilled.

From Broach Kumārapāla proceeded to Kolhāpur. Here he propiciated a Yogi named Sarvārthasiddhi and received two *mantras* from him one for getting his kingdom and the other for securing wealth.

His desires being fulfilled Kumārapāla bowed down to the Yogī and taking his leave proceeded on to Kāntipur of the country of Kalyāṇakoraka. After staying here for a few days, he reached the borders of Kolambapattana. The king of this place had a vision of the goddess Mahālakṣmī saying that Kumārapāla, the future king of Gujarāt, would be coming to his kingdom.

Kumārapāla came in course of time, and the king then in memory of Kumārapāla's visit built a temple after his name and also struck coins in his name.

Kumārapāla then visited Pratiṣṭhānapura and other places and finally reached Ujjain and joined his relations there.

One day while roaming in the city of Ujjain he entered the temple of Kuṇḍaleśvara and there bowed down to the image of Pārśvanatha. In this temple he discovered an inscription as follows :—

पुरणो वाससहस्ते सयाण वरिसाण नवनवह कसिए ।
होहि कुमरनिंदो तुह विकमराय सारिच्छो ॥ १ ॥

After the expiry of 1199, O King Vikrama, a king would be born named Kumārapāla as powerful and glorious as your mightyself. This prediction was made by a Jaina Saint named Siddhasena Divākara.

Staying for some time at Ujjain he proceeded with Bośrī and his wife Bhūpāladevī to Daśpura and from here proceeded on to Chitor or Citrakūṭa.

He then proceeded on to Kanauj. Here no taxes were levied on mango fruits and he determined to do the same after his accession.

From Kanauj he proceeded to Kāśhī. He contracted friendship with a merchant. After a day's friendship the merchant suddenly died and having had no sons, his whole property was confiscated to the state. Kumārapāla then decided that on his accession he would stop this practice.

From Kāśī Kumārapāla proceeded to Rājagṛha and from here to Nagendrapattana. From this place he proceeded to Ujjain and then to Siddhapur. Here at Siddhapur, he learnt of the death of Jayasimha Deva and proceeded on to Pāṭaṇa. His brother-in-law Kṛṣṇadeva having heard of his arrival, made suitable arrangements for his entry into the city.

Siddharāja was dead and a convocation of ministers, generals and feudal nobles asked the claimants to the throne to appear before it. Kṛṣṇadeva, the brother-in-law of Kumārapāla brought him to the Court with his brother.

The first claimant appeared before the assembly with folded hands and enquired of the members as to what was required of him. He was, therefore, declared unfit by the election board.

The second claimant presented himself practically shivering and he had no knowledge that his cloth had slipped down from his body. He was in consequence declared as an unsuitable candidate by the Board.

Kumārapāla approached the Board last of all. He did not exhibit any nervousness at all, went straight to the royal throne and sat on it.

The Election Board of ministers, generals and feudal nobles then regarded him as the suitable person for succession to the vacant throne and his coronation ceremony was performed on Vikrama Saṁvat 1199, the month of Mārga 4 dark fortnight, Puṣya Nakṣtra. Śhrīdevī performed the Tilaka ceremony. Minister Udayana was promoted to the Premiership. His son Vāgbhaṭa became the Private Secretary. Alīnga Potter received the Jāgīr of Chittor or Citrakūṭa. His descendants are still known as Sagre Rājput̄s.

Bhīma Singh, the protector of Kumārapālas life in the heap of plum leaves became his chief body guard. Brāhmāṇ Bośrī was given the Lāṭa country as a gift from the king. Śrīdevī obtained Dholka. Bhūpāladevī became the Chief Queen. The Baniā who had given grams at Baroda was granted Baroda as a fief. Although Jina-Manḍana is silent about Sajjana, I think he was appointed as Chamberlain of the Imperial Palace by the king. This guess has been made on the supposition that Kumārapāla had deputed Sajjana to take his family to Ujjain and there to remain in charge of it. So it seems that to look after the household affairs of the king was his chief duty.

Having heard of Kumārapāla's accession, the great Sūri Hemacandrācārya, returned to Pāṭaṇ from Karṇāvati. Due ceremony was observed for his entrance into the city. Kumārapāla received him warmly and represented to him that his accession was entirely through his grace and that the Sūriji should take over the charge of the kingdom from him.

The Sūriji said in reply that Sādhus did not require any kingdom. If Kumārapāla could promote the interest of the Jaina faith by spreading its glory everywhere, he would be doing the right thing to propitiate him.

AN EXAMINATION OF SOME THEORIES ABOUT THE VAKATAKAS.

Y. M. Kale, Buldana.

The history of the Vakāṭakas is yet by no means complete. All the available material has however been scrutinized and the results summarised in Dr. Jayaswal's history. These results cannot be said to be generally accepted by Scholars and before they are crystallised into standard works, it is necessary to examine them more critically.

The Myth of Vindhyaśakti

The name of Vindhyaśakti as the founder of the Vākāṭaka family finds place in a solitary source of information, viz., the Ajanta inscription in Cave No. XVI. It is curious to find the mention in an inscription of such a later date practically the last in chronological order, in the reign of Hariṣeṇa, the last known King of this family. This again is a description given by a minister and is not contained in any of the official records such as copper plates issued by the Kings themselves. None of the numerous official records before this date make any mention of this Vindhyaśakti but start with Pravarsena I. If the family took pride in its Purāṇic founder, they would not have failed to make mention of Vindhyaśakti. The ardent desire of tracing one's family to some Purāṇic hero is common to all the important families in India and in this particular case it seems that the minister Varāhadeva outbids his master's zeal in this respect. The existence of this Vindhyaśakti is itself thus very doubtful. It is noteworthy that all the names of the Vākāṭakas end in "Sena" unlike that of Vindhyaśakti.

Connection with the Puranic Vindhyaśakti

The identity of this Vindhyaśakti with the one of the Purāṇas is still more doubtful. The origin of this theory finds place in a passing remark by the late Dr. Bhau Daji and subsequent writers pursued the cue with remarkable ingenuity. Every reference to this name in the Purāṇas was strained to suit this pet theory in the reverse order of logical deduction. It was wrongly assumed that the failure of the Purāṇic writers to notice such an important imperial family as the Vākāṭaka was well-nigh impossible. Possible reasons for not making mention of the Vākāṭaka family were not explored by these writers.

If the Purāṇas wanted to make mention of this imperial family, it is not known why they fought shy of the name of Vākāṭakas and should have selected

other names such as Vindhyaśakti or Kailakilas, which were certainly less famous than the Vākāṭakas.

The real reason of the Vākāṭaka family not being mentioned in the Purāṇas is, as indicated by Dr. Pargiter, that the Matsya Purāṇa ends with downfall of the Āndhras and makes mention of the northern Kings only. Other Purāṇas base their description from the Matsya and similarly do not profess to describe the southern Empires. The Vākāṭaka Empire was pre-eminently a southern Empire. All historians are now agreed that the Vākāṭaka Empire comprised the whole of Mahārāṣṭra including the Marāṭhī-speaking districts of the Central Provinces. The extension of this Empire upto Bundelkhand, as shown by the Nāchna inscription does not show that it was a northern kingdom. Its capital was, as will be shown later, somewhere in Berar or near Ajanta. The Vākāṭaka Empire, in addition, must not have attained much celebrity before the Matsya Purāṇa was written and came into prominence long after this Purāṇa was written.

The locality in which Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravīra are said to have ruled, according to the Purāṇas seems to be in the heart of Northern India as will be seen from the context and cannot by any stretch of imagination be supposed to be Deccan. Even the name Vindhyaśakti does not seem to refer to the locality of Vindhya mountains but to the family of Vindhyaśakti of the Purāṇas. The connection of the Vākāṭaka family or its founder Vindhyaśakti according to the Ajanta inscription with the Vindhyaśakti of Purāṇas is thus based on unconvincing material and should be rejected.

The caste or Varna of the Vakatakas

The Vākāṭaka kings are said to be Brāhmaṇs by caste. This conclusion seems to be correct on the basis of only one piece of evidence as will be shown presently. But the several reasons assigned by Dr. Jayaswal to corroborate this fact are not satisfactory. The performance of a sacrifice named Bṛhaspati-sava, which is restricted to the Brāhmaṇs according to the Śāstras is assigned as a corroborative evidence of the Brāhmaṇism of this family. This can be refuted by the fact that religious performances are performed by Kṣatriyas through their Brāhmaṇ priests but the merit always goes to the Kṣatriya Yajamāna who for all practical purposes is taken to be the performer of that sacrifice. Secondly that the Gotra of the Vākāṭakas Viṣṇuvārdhana is a purely Brāhmaṇ Gotra is no reason to take them to be Brāhmaṇs as the Kṣatriyas have always adopted the Gotras of their preceptors.¹ The only satisfactory reason, however, is that the founder of the dynasty Vindhyaśakti is described in the Ajanta inscription

1 It must be noted that all the known marriage connections of the Vākāṭaka princes were with Kṣatriya families but this can be explained away as "anuloma" marriages were in vogue then. The name-end "Sena" does not seem to be Brahmanical.

as a "Dviija." If Vindhyaśakti was real personage and not a mythical one, this inference is conclusive. But even if he is a mythical person I am inclined to hold that it implies a consciousness in the mind of the minister Varāhadeva that the family of the Ruler was a Brāhmaṇ family as must have been generally accepted in those times. On this ground alone, the Brāhmaṇ Varna of the Vākāṭakas should be reasonably accepted.

The identification of Pravarapura.

The locality of Pravarapura, the capital of the Vākāṭakas, has not yet been traced. The identification of the place seems to be given up as hopeless. I think the matter is not so hopeless if the possible change of the name according to Prakrit grammar can be traced. The name 'Pahur' agrees with the possible change from Pravarapura² and if this is accepted by scholars the Pravarapura of the Vākāṭakas can be traced out of the numerous towns of that name in Berar, Khandesh or Marathi C. P. There is one place of this name in the border of the Amraoti and Yeotmal districts of Berar which seems likely from the antiquities of its surroundings. Most of the copper plates of the Vākāṭakas are found in Berar or Marathi C. P. and it is likely that the capital was situated in the midst of these regions. The Amraoti district of Berar was then the cradle of ancient civilization of the Deccan. The second possible place is Pahur near Ajanta. The proximity of this place to Ajanta where three Vākāṭaka inscriptions can be found tempts one to hold that the place is probably the Pravarapura of Vākāṭakas. But places of this name are so numerous that searching local investigation by the Archæological department by way of excavations is necessary. A large number of places bearing this name however goes to show that the name was once very popular and in place names we always see a tendency to copy.

The origin of the name Vakataka.

The origin and the meaning of the name Vākāṭaka have baffled all attempts at solution so far. It is not, however, impossible to hazard a possible derivation. The name was possibly derived from Vāṭakaṭa. Kaṭa or Kaṭaka is a usual suffix like Pur or Nagar to denote a place name. Vaṭa or a banyan tree has supplied many place names like Vaṭapura, Vaḍanagar, Vaḍagāoṇ, etc. Vāṭakaṭa according to the rule of transposition in Prakrit Grammar would become Vākāṭaka and one belonging to this place would be certainly Nākāṭaka. This solution is by no means conclusive but is offered as a possible one.

² Pravarapura—Pavarpur—Pavarur—Paor.

THE EASTERN GANGA ERA, ITS INITIAL YEAR.

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Introduction.

Ten years ago, when the writer of this article was elected as the Editor of the *Kaliṅga-Deśa-Caritra*, Published by the A. H. R. Society, Rajahmundry, he had occasion to study the various Copper-plate and stone Inscriptions published by several scholars. In subsequent years he studied several hundreds of stone inscriptions written in Telugu and published in the S. I. Epigraphical Reports and Inscriptions Volumes and also himself deciphered and published several C. P. charters in the Journal of the A. H. R. Society.

The views expressed by several European scholars like, Dr. Fleet, Dr. Hulzsch and Dr. Kielhorn and Indian scholars like Messrs. G. Ramadoss, R. D. Benerji, P. Satyanārāyaṇa Rāja-Guru, on this problem of Gāṅga Era were closely examined and found wanting. It was the discovery and publication by this writer of the Jirjingi C. P. grant of Indravarmā of 39th Gāṅga Era in Volume III of J. A. H. R. S. (1928) that enabled him first to come to the view that the Gāṅga Era was started some time at the end of the 5th Century A. D. This view was expressed in his Telugu work *Kaliṅga-Deśa-Caritra* published by the A. H. R. Society in 1930.

The purpose of this article is to summarise the different views of Scholars and to criticise the same and *to reiterate the author's view that the Era started, not before but after the fall of the Imperial Guptas of Magadha*, sometime nearabout 495-96 A. D.

His view has now been held to be correct by several scholars like Prof. K. V. Subramanya Ayyar (Retd. Epigraphist), Prof. Nilakaṅṭha Śāstri of the Madras University, Mr. J. C. Ghosh, Dr. D. C. Sirkar and Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, Editor of J. A. H. R. S.

It is earnestly hoped that the Indian History Congress of Allahabad will discuss and settle the problem finally so that the initial year of this hitherto little known East Gāṅga Dynasty might be adopted in all the Text-books as true and final.

The Gangeyavamsa Samvatsara, or The Ganga Era.

All the inscriptions of the Early Gāṅga kings discovered and published so far including Madhukāmārṇava's which probably belong to the period A. D. 500 to 1000 A. D. are found inscribed on copperplates only and they number nearly twenty-five. In all these C. P. grants, the kings describe themselves as

belonging to Gāṅgāmalakula *i. e.* the pure clan of the Gāṅgas and this is probably intended to distinguish the indigenoussness and the purity of their tribe against the mixed and the MLECCHA or foreign character of the other Indian ruling tribes of the period. Similarly, they used an Era of their own which is differently termed in the several grants. Thus, the terms, Gāṅgeyavaṁśa-pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara (the year of the augmenting victorious rule of the Gāṅga Line), Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara, (the year of the augmenting victorious rule) Vijayarājya-saṁvatsara (the year of the victorious rule), Pravarddhamāna-rājya-saṁvatsara (the year of the augmenting rule,) Pravarddhamāna-saṁvatsara (the augmenting year), the Gāṅgeya-vaṁśa-saṁvatsara (the year of the Gāṅga Line), all appear. Though they appear in so many different forms, we may take it that they all refer to an Era of the E. Gāṅgas called the Gāṅga Era. It is significant that while the Calukyas of the Dekkan and the Kadaṁbas and the Gāṅgas of Mysore used the Śaka Varṣa, the *early* E. Gāṅgas adopted the Gāṅga SAMVATSARA, probably to emphasise the purity and the individuality of their own Line. It is peculiarly noteworthy that of all the Dynasties that ruled over various parts of India, this Dynasty alone preserved its individuality and independence for over nine long centuries, *i. e.*, from about A. D. 500 to A. D. 1434. The Gāṅga Era, like the other Eras of the time, denotes the foundation independently of a powerful kingdom and in my view, *the Gāṅgas became independent in Kalinga SOON AFTER THE FALL OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE AT THE CLOSE OF THE 5TH CENTURY* just like the Valabhis in Mālwa, the Maukharis in Bihar and the Calukyas in the Dekkhan. At the time of Samudragupta's invasion, about 349 A. D., Kalinga was divided into several small divisions over which petty chiefs ruled. They were defeated by him but again restored to their places on their becoming tributary. So long as the Gupta Empire lasted, the situation must have remained the same but after its downfall, the E. Gāṅgas rose and asserted their independence and started, in token of it, an Era of their own. The *earliest kings did not refer to the Gāṅga Era*. But Mahārāja Devendravarmā, son of Anantavarmā and his son, Mahārāja Satyavarmā were *the first kings that expressly referred to the fifty-first year of the Gāṅga Era* in their C. P. grants and this practice was continued by their successors. Hastivarmā of 80 G. E. and Indravarmā of 87 and 91 G. E. claimed, in their C. P. inscriptions, to have conquered the whole of Kalinga (sakala-Kalinga) and taken up the title of (Rājasiṁha) Lion of Kings and to have firmly established the Gāṅga Dynasty in Kalinga. Possibly, the Gāṅga king *Indravarmā* who is the Donor of the Jirjingi Grant of 39th year (G. E.) and who alone has the title of 'TRIKALINGĀDHIPATI' among all the Early Gāṅga Kings, might be the Founder of the Dynasty. While he was a Tri-Kalingādhīpati, his successors were *Sakala-Kalingādhīpatīs*.

Unfortunately, the starting point of the Era has long remained a matter of discussion and doubt. In their Grants, the kings simply referred to the Gāṅga Year and the PUNYA-KALĀS such as solar and lunar eclipses, the Viṣuva and the Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkrāntis, the months, the pakṣas and the TITHIS *but not to the names of years* which alone would enable scholars successfully to equate the Gāṅga year with the corresponding Christian or Śaka year. While noticing the C. P. grants of Indravarmā, son of Dānārṇava in S. I. Ep. Report for 1913-1914, p. 71, Dr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai remarked that the particulars of time noted in the Grant would not be sufficient to fix up the regnal period of the king in terms of Christian or Śaka years. Similarly, Dr. Hulzsch while editing the C. P. grant of Devendravarmā, son of Guṇārṇava wrote thus;—"Unfortunately neither of the two dates (noted in the grant) contains any elements which admit of verification and which might thus help to fix the initial point of Gāṅgeya Era."

However, scholars like Dr. Fleet depended upon the *astronomical data*, given only imperfectly in the C. P. Grants, though they also relied at the same time on *Palæography* which is rather an uncertain handmaid of history and on *Synchronism* which is suggested in Pṛthvīmūla's Godavari Plates. In editing Indravarmā's C. P. Grant of the Gāṅga Year 128¹ he stated thus;—"It is possible that this king is identical with the Adhirāja Indra, who is mentioned in the Godavari Plates of Rājā Pṛthvīmūla as combining with other chiefs and overthrowing a certain Indrabhaṭṭāraka who must be the E. Calukya king of that name (A. D. 660) and that it is the period to which this and the two grants of 146 (it is really 138) and 91 may be allotted on palæographical grounds and "on account of the use of numerical symbols in the date and the omission to specify the lunar fortnight of the month; and with this to start with, the mention of the eclipse of the moon may perhaps serve, on calculation, to determine the date of the grant exactly." Again, while noticing the grant of Devendravarmā on p. 274 in the same volume, he wrote thus: "I have already suggested that, *on historical as well as palæographical grounds, Indravarmā of 128 and 146 (138) may be referred to about Śaka 579 to 582 (A. D. 657-660)*. Taking 136 as the mean between the two certain dates of Indravarmā and taking this as equivalent to Śaka 280, this would bring Devendravarmā to about Śaka 696 (A. D. 77-775). *And this is about the latest period to which, on palæographical grounds, the grant of the year 254 can be referred*".

Finally, however, while editing the Parlakimidi Plates² of Mahārāja Indravarmā of 91st year, he remarked that the Indra of the Chicacole grant of 128 year may be the grandson of the Indra of these Plates "and *as regards the*

1 Ind. Ant. Vol XIII, pp. 119-122.

2 Ibid, Vol. XVI, pp. 131-134.

Bra, it is Gāṅgeya Era but its EPOCH STILL REMAINS TO BE DETERMINED. ... and it is possible that the Indra who defeated Indrabhaṭṭāraka may be this king in which case the lunar eclipse mentioned in the grant of 128 year should be looked to in the period 627-725 A. D. for its precise determination."

This last hint thrown out by Dr. Fleet was thoroughly examined by Mr. G. Ramdos, B. A., who finally found that none of the eclipses recorded in the Gāṅga plates fell during the period suggested by Dr. Fleet.

However, he put forward his own views based on historical and palæographical grounds. *Firstly*, because Samudragupta conquered Kalinga in 349-350 A. D., he stated he would have freed it from out of the hands of the Piṣṭapura kings who formerly ruled over it and granted it to the E. Gāṅgas who consequently called their Era, the Year of the *Victorious rule*, which therefore began in 349-350 A. D. *Secondly*, comparing the alphabet of the plates of the E. Gāṅgas with that of the Gupta and Kalacuri grants, he came to the conclusion that the *Initial year of the Gāṅga Era should be placed between the years 349 A. D. and 350 A. D.*

But both these arguments fall to the ground. It is impossible to believe that the Guptas would have allowed the Gāṅgas to found an Era of their own during the zenith of their power and rule which lasted till the close of the 5th century A. D. It is equally unsafe to rely on the palæographical comparison as it is not *by itself* a sure and safe handmaid of history. For instance, among the Gāṅga plates themselves, those of 51st year were considered to be later than those of the 254th year by a comparison of the characters only !

While Dr. Fleet stated that Indravarmā of 87 and 91 G. E., should be considered as having fought with Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the E. Calukya Line who lived in A. D. 663, Dr. Kielhorn suggested that the same Gāṅga King should be considered as having fought with Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Line. This suggestion was accepted by Dr. Dubreuil³ who further stated that the Gāṅga Indra of 87 and 91 years might have surely fought with the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Indrabhaṭṭāraka *in the BEGINNING OF THE SIXTH CENTURY*. But he claimed the victory for the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king as against the express statement to the contrary contained in Pṛthvimūla's Godavari Plates (*vide* J. Bom. R. A. Soc. Vol. XVI, p. 116).

Pṛthvimūla, son of Prabhākara, in his 25th regnal year, issued an order from Kandalī to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chiefs of the District of Talupaka granting the village of Cuyipaka situated amidst the four villages of Vilendi, Renguta, Kamparu and Tukura. *THE GRANT WAS MADE AT THE INSTANCE OF KING INDRA, THE CONQUEROR OF INDRABHATTARAKA*. Indrabhaṭṭāraka, the Donor of the Rāmatirtham grant, who belonged to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty

³ *Vide* his Ancient History of Dekkan, pp. 76 and 91.

was the ruler of South Kalinga (Visag and Godavari Districts) and Veṅḡi about the period A. D. 500-530. He is described in the Grant as having defeated in hundred thousands of battles several four-tusked elephants (Airāvatas of Indra). The Godavari plates also state that Indrāraja, seated on his elephant Supratika and heading a powerful confederacy of princes struck down the elephant *Kumuda* on which Indrabhaṭṭāraka was seated. Now SUPRATIKA is the name of the elephant of North-Eastern region and KUMUDA is the name of the elephant of South Western region. *It is clear therefore that King Indravarmā of N. E. region, i. e., North Kalinga defeated Indrabhaṭṭāraka of S. W. region, i. e., South Kalinga and Veṅḡ.* Probably, South Kalinga formed the bone of contention between the two kings and Indra of Gāṅga Line succeeded in wresting it from out of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin King's hands. Therefore only, the Chikkulla plates of his successor, Vikrmendravarṃā mention Dendalur or modern Dendulur near Veṅḡi as the capital of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty, though the Rāmatīrtham plates mention Pūraṅsaṅgam in Visag District as the Capital. Evidently, the Gāṅga king succeeded in pushing his Viṣṇukuṇḍin rival across the River Godāvāri.

Since this Viṣṇukuṇḍin Indrabhaṭṭāraka ruled from A. D. 500 to 530, it follows, according to the statements of Drs. Kielhorn and Dubreuil, that the Gāṅga Indra of 87 and 91 G. E. lived and ruled at the same time and so the Gāṅga Era would begin about 440 A. D. *But this is not so. The discovery of five new inscriptions has thrown considerable new light on this difficult problem.*

Of these, the Jirjingi Grant of Indravarmā of 39 G. E. is the most important.⁴ The King is termed TRIKALINGĀDHIPATI (Lord of the Three Kalingas), a title which is not met with in any of the Gāṅga grants upto the time of Vajrahasta (Śaka 960). *The letters are box-headed and therefore belong to the beginning of the 6th century A. D.*⁵ The king is also described as the victor in several battles of four-tusked elephants and as the thousand-fold sun in the sky of pure Gāṅga family. In my opinion, it is this king that is referred to in Pṛthvīmūla's Godavari Plates as having defeated the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Indrabhaṭṭāraka. *If so, his 39th year would synchronise with A. D. 530 or THE GANGA ERA WOULD BEGIN ABOUT 490-491 A. D. or nearabout.*

The second important Grant is that of Madhukāmārṇava of G. E. 526.⁶ Like his immediate successor Vajrahasta whose accession took place in Ś. 960, he too granted some villages to Vaiśyas. According to the genealogy and chronology contained in Vajrahasta's plates, which are approved by all scholars as historical and trustworthy unlike some of those contained in the Grants of his grandson Anantavarmā Choḍa Gāṅga, Madukāmārṇava ruled from A. D. 1019

4 J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, Part I, pp. 49-53.

5 The grant was published by me and Prof. K. V. Subramanya Iyer (Retd. Govt. Epigraphist) who examined the plates and agreed with my views.

6 C. P. No. 3 in S. I. Ep. Report for 1918-19,

to 1037. If the Madhukāmārṇava of G. E. 526 is, as I have taken, the same as this king who ruled from A. D. 1019 to 1037, then, *THE GANGA ERA WOULD BEGIN ABOUT 493 A. D.* assuming that the king made his grant in the first year of his accession.

The third important Grant is the Pulimburu C. P. grant of Mādhavavarmā III.⁷ It was discovered along with a C. P. grant of Jaysimha I⁸ of the Eastern Calukya Line who ruled from A. D. 633 to 663 and *who granted the same village of Pulimburu to the son of the donee of the Grant of Mādhava-Varmā III.* From this fact, it has been possible to fix the close of Mādhavavarmā's rule as falling in the BEGINNING of 7th century A. D. The importance of the grant lies in the fact that it was made while crossing the river Godāvārī with a VIEW TO CONQUER THE EASTERN REGION, *i. e.* KALINGA. This shows that Kalinga which was under Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule in the time of Indrabhaṭṭāraka passed into the hands of the E. Gāngas and hence the necessity of this invasion. The regnal periods of Indrabhaṭṭāraka and his Gāṅga contemporary Indra I of G. E. 39 could also be roughly fixed as falling in the *first quarter of the 6th century A. D.* From this IT FOLLOWS THAT THE GANGA ERA STARTED ABOUT 490 A. D. or thereabout.

The fourth important inscription is the Siṃhapura Copperplate Grant of the Kadamba king Dharmakheḍi of the Gāṅga-Kadamba year 520⁹. Dharmakheḍi is described as the Mahāmāṇḍalika of Devendra-brahma (varmā), son of Ananta-brahma (varmā) of the E. Gāṅga family. From his capital Jayantipura, in *Mahendrabhōga Visaya* (Modern Mandasa Zamindari in Ganjam District), he ruled over five districts with the title of Mahendrādhipati (Lord of Mt. Mahendra). In Gāṅga-Kadamba-varṃśa-pravaraddhamāna-vijayarājya-samvatsara-Pañcaśataviṃśōttare, 520, he granted the village of Dharmmapura in Mahendrabhōga to two Vedic Brāhmaṇs. *The Gāṅga-Kadamba Era may rightly be identified with the Gāṅga Era as the Kadambas were but the feudatories of the Gāṅgas* and as they referred in loyal terms to their suzerains in all their grants. In this Grant, a short genealogy of the Kadamba Donors and their Gāṅga suzerains is given as follows :

Kadamba Kings

Niyārṇava

|

Bhāmakheḍi

|

Dharmakheḍi

E. Gāṅga Kings

Anantavarmā

|

Devendravarṃmā

It appears from the above grant that Dharmakheḍi of G. K. Era 520 lived in the reign of Devendravarṃmā.

7 J. A. H. S., Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 17-24.

8 Ibid, Vol IV, Parts I and II, pp. 72-76.

9 Ibid, Vol, III, pp. 171-180.

Lastly, from the fifth important inscription newly¹⁰ published under the title of "THE MANDASA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMADEVA OF Saka 913," we get the following genealogy of the Kadamba and the Gāṅga rulers :—

Bhāmakhēḍi

Dharmakhēḍi

Anantavarmā
(Vajrahasta)

The titles of Dharmakhēḍi, the donor of this Grant, are the same as those of the previous one and it is therefore clear that the G. K. Year 520 which is the same as the Gāṅga year 520, corresponds to Śaka 913 or A. D. 991 approximately. In other words, *the Gāṅga Era started about Śaka 393 or A. D. 471.*

The following genealogy and chronology, *supplied by all the C. P. Grants of Anantavarmā Vajrahasta III and several of Anantavarmā Choḍagāṅga enable us in getting still nearer the starting point of the Gāṅga Era.*

1. Guṇamahārṇava Mahārāja Ś. 816

2. Vajrahasta I 44 Yrs. (Ś. 816—860)

3. Gundama
3 Yrs. (S'. 860—63)

4. Kāmārṇava
35 Yrs. (S'. 863—98)

5. Vijayāditya
3 Yrs. (S'. 898—901)

6. Anantavarmā Aniyaṅkabhīma Vajrahasta II 35 yrs. (S' 901—936)

7. Kāmārṇava
¼ Yr. (S'. 936—37)

8. Gundama 3 Yrs. (S'. 938—941)

9. Madhukāmārṇava
19 Yrs. (S'. 941—950)

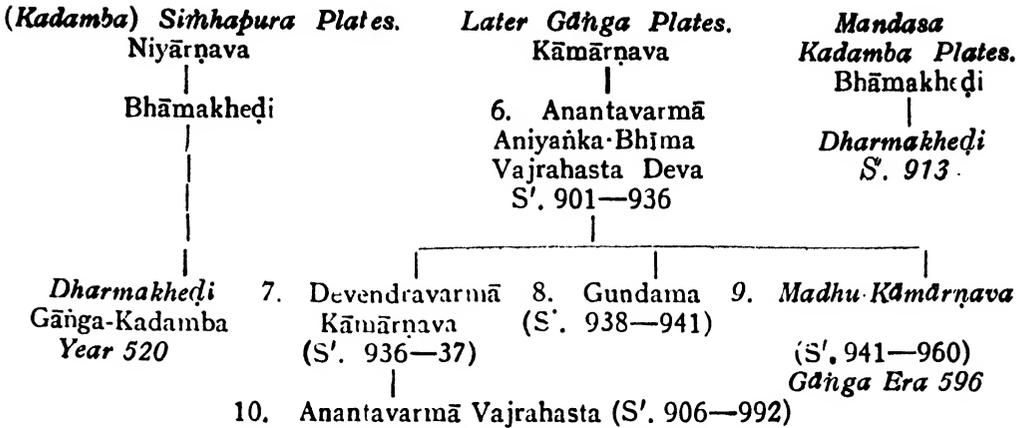
10. Anantavarmā Vajrahasta III 35 years (accession in S'. 960)

11. Devendravarmā Rājarāja I 8 Yrs. (accession in S'. 992)

12. Anantavarmā Choḍagāṅga (accession in S'. 999=A.D. 1076—77)

Dharmakhēḍi, son of Bhāmakhēḍi of the Mandasa Plates of the time of Anantavarmā of S'. 913 appears to be identical with Dharmakhēḍi, son of Bhāmakhēḍi and grandson of Niyārṇava of the Simhāpura Plates of Devendravarmā dated in Gāṅga-Kadamba Era 520. Since Anantavarmā of the plates is said to have been crowned in S'. 901, he must be identified with Anantavarmā Aniyaṅkabhīma Vajrahastadeva (S'. 901—S'. 936), the 6th king in the Genealogical tree and Devendravarmā of Simhāpura Plates with Kāmārṇava, the 7th king who is the eldest son of the 6th king and who ruled in S'. 936. *The titles of Anantavarmā and Devendravarmā were apparently used for all the Kings alternately from Vajrahasta I to Choḍagāṅga.* The 9th King of the Line, Madhukāmārṇava made a grant in 526 Gāṅga Era as noted already. Hence the following Gāṅga-Kadamba Chronology and Genealogy can be arranged from which *we get the initial year of the Era in 494—95 A. D.*

10 J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVII, pp. 175—188.



Thus, Dharmakhēḍi of S' 913 and Gāṅga-Kadamba year 520 lived in the reigns of 6 and 7 (Anantavarmā Vajrahasta and Devendravarṇmā Kāmārṇava) and so his Gāṅga-Kadamba year 520, which is the same as the Gāṅga year 520, corresponds to S'. 936. If so, the Gāṅga year 526 mentioned in Madhukāmārṇava's Plates corresponds to S'. 942 which is the second regnal year of the king. Hence, the initial year of the Gāṅga or Gāṅga-Kadamba Era falls in S'. 416-17 or A. D. 494-95.

In Indian Antiquary Vol. XXI for December 1932, Mr. J. C. Ghosh expressed the view that the date A. D. 495-96 would satisfy the astronomical data found in certain Plates mentioning Solar eclipses and suggested it as the true initial year of the Gāṅga Era.¹¹

In J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, Parts 1 and 2, pp. 19-32, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, the Editor of the Journal, published an article on the *Commencement of the Gāṅga Era* and after examining several astronomical data arrived at the conclusion that it commenced in the month of *Śrāvāṇa* or Bhādrapada in Śaka 419 or August 497 A. D.

Mr. D. C. Sirkar supports my view in his article published in J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VII, pp. 229-30 and states that the initial year might be 496 A. D.

Conclusion:—There are several views thus on this question. *But the consensus of opinion is veering round the date fixed by me nearly 8 years ago (495 A. D.).* But still there are scholars like Dr. R. C. Majumdar who hold the view that the Gāṅga Era was started between A. D. 550 and 557 and that the Early Gāṅga rule ended in the 10th Century.¹² But this view is opposed to history, Palæography, Synchronism and Inscriptions and so should be rejected as baseless.

¹¹ I accepted the view and adopted it in my article, "*The initial year of the little known E. Ganga Era*" which was contributed to the O. J. Commemoration Volume published in 1934. I stated therein that since the Imperial Guptas fell in A. D. 495 and since the Maukharis also, who rose on the ruins of the Guptas, founded an Era of their own in A. D. 495, the E. Ganga also would have founded the Era in 495-96.

¹² *Vide his Outline of the History of Kalinga*, reprinted from the Dacca University studies.

SUMMARIES OF OTHER PAPERS

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RASTRAKUTAS AND THE
EASTERN CALUKYAS FROM 747 A. D TO 925 A. D.

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As long as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas ruled over the Deccan, they did not allow peace in the Eastern Calukyas of the Āndhra country because the Calukyas were their foes.

Dantidurga was the first to conquer parts of the Āndhra country. Kṛṣṇa I and Govinda invaded Veṅgī.

The Eastern Calukyan king Vijayāditya II fought hard against Govinda III, who helped Vijayāditya's brother Bhīma Salukki. He is said to have warred for 12 years with the Raṭṭas and the Gāṅgas. He is said to have fought 108 battles and built 108 temples to Śiva.

His son Kaliviṣṇu seems to have died early in a battle with the Raṭṭa. His second son Vijayāditya III was a greater warrior than even his grandfather, Vijayāditya II. His youngest brother Yuddhamalla sought the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa against his brother Vijayāditya III.

Vijayāditya III had to meet a confederacy of all the Dekkan potentates. His general Pāṇḍuraṅga first reduced the Boya forts of Nellore, captured Kattepodurga and reconquered Veṅgī from the Raṭṭa. The alliance among Kṛṣṇa, Saṅkila, Maṅgi, and the Gāṅga was then dissolved by the Military power of the Āndhra king. The three cities Kiraṇapura, Acalapura and Nellurupura were burnt. The southern Tamil powers also joined in this war against the Eastern Calukyas. Vijayāditya had a triumphant progress through Kaliṅga, Bastar, Cedi, Mālwa, and the Raṭṭa kingdom.

After the death of Vijayāditya III, the Raṭṭa king Kṛṣṇa II set up rivals to Calukya Bhīma. Bhīma routed Kṛṣṇa and his allies, the Lāṭa king and the Chalukya Baddega. Vijayāditya IV planted a pillar of victory at Virājapurī after defeating the Raṭṭa.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV was a contemporary of as many as eight Eastern Calukyan kings. As usual he led his army into Veṅgī. Amma I drove away his enemy, killed his troublesome cousins and shifted his capital from Veṅgī to Rājahmundry.

Hostilities between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Eastern Calukyas continued for another 50 years. The Raṭṭas never failed to create trouble for the Eastern Calukyas till they were overthrown by the Calukyas of Kalyāṇī.

THE DATE OF SRI MADHVACARYA

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Śrī Madhva Ācārya is the illustrious founder of Dualism, one of the three main systems of Hindu Vedānta. The date of this great Ācārya is still a matter of controversy and even savants have assigned to him dates obviously absurd. There is a difference of nearly a century between the various dates that are assigned to the life-time of this great teacher.

The Mahābhāratatātparyanirṇaya, one of the literary works of Śrī Madhva, states that he was born after the lapse of 4300 years of the Kali Era. This corresponds to 1199 A. D. The Ācārya is known to have lived for eighty years. Accordingly, he would have flourished between 1199-1279 A. D. This date is untenable for three reasons. (1) It is far too early. (2) It differs radically from the incontrovertible evidence of the inscriptions of Śrī Narahari Tirtha, one of the direct disciples of the Ācārya. (3) Some important events in the life of the Ācārya, which contain specific references to certain contemporary events and persons, become inexplicable in accordance with this date.

The records preserved in the Mādhva *maṭhas* founded by the Ācārya himself, are the second source of our information. They mention that he was born in Śaka 1040 and it follows from this that he passed away in 1198 A. D. There are several objections to this view. (1) It conflicts with the evidence of the literary source mentioned above. (2) The *maṭha* records originally contained only cyclic years and the Śaka dates were inserted subsequently. There is no agreement between these two sets of dates and this formulates a pontifical rule of 64 years for the seventh successor of the Ācārya, which is an absurdity.

Mr. Rājpurōhit has¹ recently propounded a sensational theory assigning to the Ācārya a lifetime of 64 years between 1199-1257 A.D. There are many serious objections to this view. (1) It is against all the literary and traditional sources which state that the teacher flourished for eighty years. (2) The last of the two dates is the result of an artificial manipulation and invidious selection of part of the *maṭha* chronologies. (3) It presupposes an untenable identification of Īśvaradeva, a contemporary of the Ācārya. (4) It involves a conflict with the clear evidence of the inscriptions of Śrī Narahari Tirtha. (5) It confuses several definitely known events in the lives of Śrī Madhva and Śrī Narahari Tirtha. (6) It postulates unwarranted changes in the order of pontifical succession after the Ācārya.

The Anu-Madhva-vijaya, the Vāyupurāṇa, the Śrī Madhva-vijaya, the inscriptions of Śrī Narahari Tirtha and contemporary history help us in

determining the correct date of this Ācārya. The literary sources mentioned above are agreed in stating that Śrī Madhva was born in the cyclic year Vilambi and one of them equates this date with 4339 Kali which corresponds to 1238 A. D. The inscriptions of Śrī Narahari Tīrtha indicate that he was converted to the Dualistic school and initiated into the ascetic order by the Ācārya prior to 1264 A. D. The events of the life of the Ācārya from the time of his birth to that of his meeting with and conversion of Sāma Sāstrī (subsequently Śrī Narahari Tīrtha) as recorded in his authentic biography, indicate that the Ācārya was about 25 years old at the time. The political condition of northern India as referred to in the Ācārya's biography agrees perfectly with the condition that prevailed in the time of Sultān Balban of Delhi.

For these and several other reasons, I conclude that Śrī Madhva Ācārya flourished for eighty years between 1238-1318 A. D.

FOUNDATION OF THE REDDI KINGDOM.

Dr. M. Rama Rao, M. A., Ph. D.

The fall of the imperial Kākatīya dynasty of Warangal after the capture of Pratāparudradeva by the Mohammadans in 1323 A. D. was an event of immense significance in the history of the Dekkan and south India. Numerous kingdoms arose on the ashes of the Kākatīya empire and the history of the Dekkan between 1323 and 1336 A. D. *i.e.*, from the fall of Warangal to the rise of Vijayanagara, is the history of the struggles of these small kingdoms. Of the many political successors of the Kākatīyas, the Reḍḍis played a prominent part in the history of the Āndhra country. The circumstances that led to the foundation of the Reḍḍi kingdom form the subject of this paper.

After the capture of Pratāparudradeva, Prince Ulūgh Khān, the Mohammadan general, set up one of his subordinates as governor at Warangal and returned to Delhi. Immediately after his departure, Hindu reactionaries mustered strong under the leadership of Kapaya Nāyaka, drove away the Mohammadan governor and recaptured Warangal.

Elsewhere, on the East coast, Prolaya Vema, a Reḍḍi general of Pratāparudradeva, rebelled against the authority of the Kākatīyas as early as 1320 A. D. and occupied Dharāṇikoṭa on the river Kṛṣṇa. Obviously, he was extending his influence in this region with greater courage after 1323 A. D.

Further up, on the northern bank of the river Godāvārī, there was a similar reaction. Prince Ulūgh Khān visited this city in 1324 A. D. on his way back to Delhi, captured it and stationed there another subordinate of his as governor. A certain Prolaya Nāyaka gathered the scattered Hindu forces, drove away the Mohammadan governor and rescued the city. His successor Kapaya

Nāyaka was more aggressive, conquered considerable portion of the East coast and subjugated 77 local chieftains including Prolaya Vema. He held sway over them for a short time.

There was another theatre of activity in the Guntur district. The Muslim historians state that Pratāparudradeva died as a captive while on his way to Delhi. But this statement seems to be unreliable. There is a strong tradition in the Āndhra country to the effect that the monarch was liberated and returned to his native country. One inscription of 1326 A. D. and another of 1330 A. D. refer to him as ruling in those two years while another record mentions unequivocally that he died as a freeman. Still, the return of this monarch was inconsequential and could not check the forces of disruption which were already wide-spread. Recherla Rudra, one of the famous subordinates of this king, seems to have been holding the Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur district in the name of his overlord till 1326 A. D.

Prolaya Vema became independent after the death of Prolaya Nāyaka mentioned above in 1325 A. D. but his further ambition was checked on account of the presence of Rudra. So, Vema shifted to the hill fortress of Vinukonda but even here he was not quite free. He therefore retreated farther south to Addanki. From there he conducted many raids into the neighbouring region and annexed considerable territory up to Sriśailam. After the death of Recherla Rudra in or about 1326 A. D. Vema subjugated the whole of the modern Guntur district.

The date of this important event can be determined more or less accurately. The traditional accounts, which describe the rule of the Redḍi kings, mention the duration of their rule variously as 105, 100 and 95 years. Epigraphical evidence indicates that the Redḍi territory was conquered by the kings of Vijayanagara by 1422 A. D. After the death of Recherla Rudra, the coast was clear for Vema. There is reason to assign greater validity to the traditional version of 95 years for Redḍi rule. The interval between 1326-1422 A. D. mentioned above, agrees perfectly with this version. I therefore assign the foundation of the Redḍi kingdom to 1327 A. D.

THE HINDU CONCEPTION OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

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The article is based on *Rājanīti-Ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara—a Sanskrit work, written in the second half of the Fourteenth Century.

The characteristics of the work lie in the fact that it brings into court the Dharmaśāstras and the Dharma Law Digests written between the 11th and 14th centuries and discloses the existence of a variety of Law Digests like Hārīta and Nāradya that have been exclusively drawn upon by the author.

The present paper deals with the origin of kings, traits of kingship, classification of the kings, virtues of the kings, daily routine of the kings and other allied matters.

THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF POET SRINATHA'S WORKS

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Srinātha was one of the greatest of the Telugu poets who lived in the second half of the 14th and the first half of the 15th century. His works throw a flood of light on the political economic and social conditions of the period. His works Haravilāsa and Kāśī-khaṇḍa give a fairly good account of the Redḍis of Kondavidu and the Redḍis of Rajahmundri respectively. Even such details as the way people dressed and ate have been graphically described by the poet.

THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF PRATAPA-RUDRIYA OF VIDYANATHA.

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The work was written by Vidyānātha the Court poet of Kākatiya monarch Pratāparudra oftentimes wrongly called Rudra II. The work is important because it is a contemporary authority for the Kākatiya dynasty which ruled for about three centuries over the Āndhra country. Its historical importance lies in the fact that it forms the source from where we can learn the religion, the social conditions and foreign relations of the Kākatiyas. The work is divided into nine Prakaraṇas or Chapters. They are the Nāyaka Prakaraṇa, Kāvya Prakaraṇa, Nāṭaka Prakaraṇa, Rasa Prakaraṇa. In the 5th and 6th Kāvya-guṇa-doṣa have been discussed. In the 7th and 8th Śabdālaṅkāra and Arthālaṅkāra are dealt with. In the last chapter Ubhayālaṅkāra is discussed. The work as indicated from the first chapter seems to have been written during the later part of the thirteenth century. The work helps in solving the most disputed problem of Kākatiya dynasty—the question being whether the Kākatiyas were Kṣatriyas or Śūdras. A careful study of the work reveals that they were Śūdras and were elevated by their court poets to equality with Kṣatriyas. Many inscriptions also prove that they were Śūdras.

Pratāparudriya is solely responsible for clearing the misconception created by the foreign traveller Marco Polo who wrote that Rudrāmbā was the consort of Kākati Gaṇpati. The fact that she was the daughter and not the wife of Kākati Gaṇpati was revealed by this work. The relations of the Kākatiyas and the Yādavas are also clearly indicated in this work.

THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALIṄGA AND THEIR ORIGIN

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Gāngas originally belonged to the Gaṅgetic Valley and lived there from the 4th century B. C. onwards and about the third century A. D. they moved on first the (Eastern) Gāngas from Gaṅgāvāḍi to Kaliṅga and then the (Western) Gāngas also from Gaṅgāvāḍi to Mysore. Dr. Fleet's and others' statement identifying Gaṅgāvāḍi and Kolāhalapura with places of the same name in Mysore is incorrect. That the Kaliṅga Gāngas were a branch of Mysore Gāngas is also incorrect. As stated in the later inscriptions of the western Gāngas of Mysore their origin is to be traced in the North. References to them are to be found in the works of classical writers whose writings are based on Megasthenes' Indika. References are to be found in Rufus's History of Alexander, MCrindle's 'Ancient India' and Ptolemy's Geography and also the Jain work, Paṛiśiṣṭa Parvan, and Mahābodhi-vaṁśa. According to the account of Pliny in his Natural History the Gāngas seem to be a branch of the Kaliṅgas. Thus the Gāngas according to Greek and Roman writings of the period 4th cent. B. C. to 2nd cent. A.D. were a Gaṅgetic tribe living in the Gaṅgetic Delta and a part of Bengal and Bihar and that is why it was called the Gāṅga tribe. The inscriptions bear testimony to the fact and prove that the Gāngas of Kaliṅga were a northern race and had little to do with the Gāngas of Mysore.

WHO WERE THE PANDYAS OF MADURA

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The seal on the grant of the Pāṇḍyan Kings bore an emblem of two fishes, and so, according to Rev. Heras, had all the kings of the Mīnas who formed the bulk of the population of Mohenjo Daro. Nayadhamma Kahā gives a legendary account of the foundation of Madurā, according to which Pāṇḍavas were exiled by Kṛṣṇa and founded Madurā or Pāṇḍu-Mathurā. Two Mathurās, one in the North and the other in the South, have been mentioned as two beautiful sister cities in the story of Annikaputra in Paṛiśiṣṭaparvan. Local tradition also seems to corroborate the fact that Madurā

was associated with the Pāṇḍavas. In the western Arcade of the great temple of Madurā there are statues of five Pāṇḍava brothers. But Sanskrit Grammar distinguishes them from the Pāṇḍyas. Kātyāyana adding a Vārtika *Pāṇḍor-dyaṇ* to a sūtra of Pāṇini gave the form Pāṇḍya and not Pāṇḍava. Kṛṣṇa-Pāṇḍu legend got into an intricate tangle. Megasthenes mentions of Pandaea as a daughter of Kṛṣṇa. The country which was given to her to rule in the South became known as Pāṇḍya Kingdom. Pliny also repeated the same fact. Dr. Bhandarkar pointed out that Hindu Epic or Purāṇa does not know of any daughter of Kṛṣṇa of the name of Pāṇḍya. According to him Pāṇḍua was a tribe living near Mathurā and a section of them went to the south and got settled there. There was such a tribe in the north of India, Pandoonoi in the Punjab according to Ptolemy and Pāṇḍus of Madhya-deśa according to Varāhamihira (A. D. 6th cent.). Bhandarkar says they were Aryans. Pargiter says they descended from Duṣyanta who had been adopted by King Marutta of Turvaśu lineage. The question has to be answered.

SECTION IV
SULTANATE PERIOD

FEROZ SHAH'S FISCAL REGULATIONS.

Professor Sri Ram Sharma.

Our information about the pre-Mughal Administrative System in India is admittedly very meagre. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that there are still many dark corners therein where it is difficult for us to gain very much even if we take a good peep thereat. The information about the various aspects of the administrative machinery lies scattered about in the various chronicles which give us tantalizingly few hints about the methods of administration as a whole.

One subject, however, receives more than its due attention from time to time. The fiscal regulations of various kings and rulers are described at some length, either when changes are introduced, or when a judgment is passed on the work of a ruler. The question of interpreting the various passages describing fiscal arrangements, however, presents many difficulties mostly because we do not know much about the background of many of these regulations. It is intended here to discuss only a part of this large question, the Fiscal Regulations of Firoz Shah's reign.

To understand what Firoz Shah did we have to go back a little. The traditional fiscal methods were rudely changed by Ala-ud-Din Khilji. It is not, however, very easy to understand what he actually did. At one place we are told that he introduced the system of measurement, that he demanded one half of the produce as the share of the state, and that in addition to the land revenue, he imposed a grazing tax as well.¹ Elsewhere, however, we are told that the Hindu (peasants?) were so squeezed that they were not left with more than their yearly subsistence. It is wrong to hold, as Moreland does, that these latter measures concerned the Hindus of the upper classes alone. Ala-ud-Din is manifestly describing the measures that he took for the purpose of subduing the Hindus in general. Are we right in holding then that the payment of the land revenue at the rate of one half of the produce, plus an unspecified grazing fee along with the customary payment of the Jizya, left not more than their bare subsistence with the Hindus. But exactly what did this subsistence consist of? The passage of Barni leads one to suggest that they were not allowed to store corn, milk, and other provisions. Leaving this aside, we do not know what part was played by measurement in the assessment of land revenue. Our records are silent again. Was a schedule of demands per *bigha* for every crop adopted? If so, how was it prepared? Was land revenue collected in cash or kind? When land revenue was paid in cash, how was it calculated? Were local prices or standard prices used for this conversion?

¹ Barni, 287—292.

Ala-ud-Din discontinued the payment of salaries by *jagirs*. How was the cash necessary for the payment of salaries in cash obtained? These are some of the questions on which one would like some definite information.

The next stage in the story of the revenue organization comes in the reign of Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq. Again the only definite thing that we know about him is that giving up the use of measurement as an aid in the assessment of land revenue he reverted to the method of sharing the produce of the crop. There is not much difference between what he aimed at and what Ala-ud-Din had tried to attain. The Hindu (peasant) was neither to enjoy affluence enough to become refractory nor was he to be ground down to a dead level of poverty which should make it impossible for him to pursue his hereditary calling, cultivation. The headmen seemed to have been paid by holding rent-free lands in the villages.²

When we pass on to the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq, we get either too vague or too unintelligible information. He is said to have increased the land revenue tenfolds. As such it would have been several times the produce of the land instead of being a share thereof. No peasantry would have stood it least of all the Indian peasantry which knew that the state depended on the income from the lands they cultivated.

We may assume then that Feroz Shah Tughlaq inherited the system of Ghias-ud-Din as modified by the practices of Muhammad Tughlaq. He seems to have ignored the fantastic experimentation of his predecessor's reign. Barni uses almost the same language in describing his system as he had used earlier for the reign of Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq. We are told³

خروج و جزیه بر حکم حاصل شد کہ بستانند- و قسمت و زیادت طلبیها و نابودها و معتدھا تصریری
بکلی از مہمان رعایا برداشتند-

This is almost a paraphrase of what has been said earlier in the reign of Ghias-ud-Din. We have there⁴

خروج بلاد و ممالک بر جادہ معدلت بر حکم حاصل تعین شدد عدثات و قسمت بود و نابودھا
و از رعایا بلاد و ممالک برداشتند.

Both the systems described here represent 'Batai'. Ghias-ud-din is said to have relieved the cultivators from innovations (Ala-ud-Din's use of measurement?) and division based on averages taking into consideration bumper crops and crop failures. Feroz Shah is described as having relieved the peasants entirely from sharing, increments in demands, crop failures, and figures based on surmises. Barni further adds that an additional cess on land revenue was remitted.⁵ Aff

2 Barni, 429.

3 Barni, 574.

4 Barni, 329.

describes the settlement of land revenue in Delhi as being settled on the principle of the 'rule of observation' and credits the king with the remission of customary cesses like *قانو پیشینہاں* و *سوم گزشتہ گل*, besides the remission of the advances made to the peasants by his predecessor.⁶ We are further told that the revenue of the kingdom was settled at 6,75,00,000 tankas and that this was not varied during the forty years of Feroz Shah's reign.⁷

We have thus three statements about Feroz Shah's land revenue system. It was based on the principle of '*Hukm-i-Hasil*' according to Barni and '*Hukm-i-Mushahda*' according to Afif. The total revenue was fixed in cash for the Doab as well as the entire kingdom and it remained the same throughout his entire reign. *Hukm-i-Hasil* and *Hukm-i-Mushahda* are two terms used by two authors. Do they imply the same thing? *Hukm-i-Hasil* undoubtedly means the principle of sharing the produce. *Hukm-i-Mushahda* would be the principle of observation. Moreland has suggested that *Hukm-i-mushahda* might be appraisal or *kankut*. It would then be one of the methods in use when *Batai* is practised. The state, it seemed, claimed its share of the land revenue, not by claiming a share of the harvest when it had been cut and garnered. It based its demand on an estimate of the total yield arrived at while the crops were still standing.

Now the '*Kankut*' enables the state to claim a share in kind of the crops cultivated. The money value of the revenue so collected would vary with the crops sown and the area under cultivation. It may be presumed that ordinarily the Indian cultivators, mostly practising subsistence farming, would go on cultivating the same crops and that the cropped area each season would not vary very much. Ordinarily such a presumption may be safely made. But Feroz Shah's reign came after the stormy days of Muhammad Tughlaq when the cultivators had been so much harassed and troubled and when a good deal of the land had gone out of cultivation as well. We are assured elsewhere by Afif that as a result of Feroz Shah's beneficent reign, new villages came to be established and more land was brought under cultivation. What happened to these lands? Was any land revenue charged thereon? Of course the settlement of the land revenue, we are told, took six years. Naturally the lands brought under cultivation during these six years might have been included in the estimate of the total revenue of the land. But the problem of an unvarying land revenue in cash still remains unsolved. Even the same crops on a constant cropped area would not always produce the same cash value unless the prices remained constant. Are we to assume then that during the entire reign of Feroz Shah prices remained the same? That would be a very tall order

5 Barni 576.

6 Afif 91 & 94.

7 Afif 296 and 94.

particularly when we remember that Ala-ud-Din had to set up a definite economic organization of his own to secure that the commodity prices fixed were not interfered with. If the level of prices was apt to remain the same during the mediæval period, we would not have found Ala-ud-Din taking much elaborate precautions for securing the success of his price fixing machinery. They reveal that he had the fear of changing prices constantly in his mind.

But without any machinery of such a type it was impossible for Feroz Shah to secure the sameness of prices throughout his reign. If that is so, the statement of Afif about a never changing total of land revenue in cash in the Doab and also the entire kingdom must assume another meaning. Is it possible that despite Barni's statement about Batai being the method of land revenue in use, some other method of land revenue may have been adopted by Feroz Shah? Such a method would be the usual Islamic mode levying a definite amount of land revenue in cash on a particular area. We know that Feroz Shah was a very strict follower of the Islamic regulations even in matters of raising taxes. Several unauthorised taxes were abolished by him. He levied the irrigation dues only when he had been assured by the 'Learned in law' that these could be lawfully levied. Is it possible that he settled the land revenue to be paid to him in cash following Islamic injunctions? Now any such method could well have been described by 'Afif' as 'Hukm-i-Mushahda', levying of the land revenue after a scrutiny on the spot. Nothing that he says elsewhere on the subject contradicts this interpretation. It would make better sense of the statement made by him with pride that during the rest of Feroz Shah's reign the revenue was neither revised nor raised.

Are we then to assume that Feroz Shah settled the land revenue permanently in cash? We have yet to tickle Barni's statement that Feroz Shah introduced the principle of sharing the crops and abolished demands based on imaginary surmises (معتدا تصورى), crop failures (varying of demands due to crop failures,—he could not by his orders secure that there should be no crop failures) increments and classifications. Now all these things would hold true of Feroz Shah's land revenue system as we have tried to interpret it above. All these things can be, with equal justice be said of the *bilmuqtin* system of land revenue usually favoured by the Muslim jurists. No, with more justice. Moreland in his notes on the translation of this passage interprets معتدا تصورى و تسات تابدما as additional cesses abolished by Feroz Shah. It is surprising to find him varying the essential meaning of avowedly technical terms within two reigns and in the work of the same author. When some of these terms occur in the passage above cited about Ghias-ud-Din's reign, Moreland translates them as methods of assessment or considerations taken into account when assessment was made. Here in translating the same terms when employed with regard

to Feroz Shah Tughlaq's reign he considers them as cesses. Now there is nothing to suggest that during the course of one intervening reign the meanings of these terms had changed. There is nothing else cited by Moreland nor anything that could have been cited to support this view. We are reluctantly compelled to give up Moreland's fanciful translation of the second passage and adopt the plain meaning of these terms as he has himself done it in the earlier passage. It would not, then, be necessary to do violence to the text of Barni in order to arrive at a true meaning of the passage cited.

But if the rest of the passage in Barni is capable of supporting the thesis that Feroz Shah settled the land revenue on cash rates, the main description of the system as *Hukm-i-Hasil* still remains. I think it is a mistake of the chronicler who describes the system which Feroz Shah tried to introduce at first but gave up in favour of settling land revenue after careful scrutiny '*Hukm-i-Musashda*'. I do not think that it is necessary to bind ourselves to Barni when we find Afif plainly implying something else.

But one question still remains unanswered. Who paid the land revenue so fixed to the king? Not the peasants. There is little to support the view that the Tughlaqs dealt with the peasants directly. The country, we are told, was apportioned among various types of state servants. The administrators, the soldiers, and the pious and the learned realised their salaries from the portions assigned to them by the King. Afif goes to the length of saying that all the villages and Parganahs were given in assignments by the king⁸. Moreland has tried to cast some doubts on this statement by suggesting that the king must have had revenue for himself which presumably, Moreland implies, could come from the crown lands. It is necessary to remember, however, that the king had several sources of revenue open to him still. The *Jizya*, the irrigation dues, the export or import duties, and the tributes from the chiefs must have brought in a large amount of money. The chiefs were the local rulers who were not dispossessed but were allowed to continue in their districts on the stipulation that they paid a fixed tribute—not revenue as Moreland has suggested—to the king. These tributes must have formed a fruitful source of revenue. Nor did the distribution of the districts under the direct control of the crown to assignees of various types exclude the idea of the king's getting revenue from them. We know that several assignees were given areas which sufficed not only for their own maintenance, as also of their soldiers and servants, but left a good deal of surplus. This they had to remit to the king. It seems likely that when the administrative officers in charge of the Parganahs or bigger units (*Iqtahs*) were given land they stipulated to pay to the king a *fixed* amount as the surplus from their districts. We find them remitting

8. Afif, 95, 270, 297.

this surplus every year to the king who gave orders that the value of their presents should be credited towards the payment of their annual dues.⁹

How was the surplus arrived at? We learn that the grants were not changed during the forty years of Feroz Shah's reign.¹⁰ We know further that Feroz did everything to make these grants hereditary. On the death of an assignee, his assignment went to his son, in the absence of a son to his son-in-law, if a son-in-law was not forthcoming, the late assignee's slaves claimed it and if everything else failed, the widow of the assignee was allowed to have it.¹¹ It would thus become feudal in nature. But was this a general order or did it concern the individual soldiers only who had got grants for their subsistence? It is likely that these orders concerned only those public servants—Civil and Military—whose work was neither specialised nor of a highly technical nature. It is true we find a son succeed his father even as a Finance Minister but it is likely this was an exceptional case. Ordinarily only individual soldiers and state servants of similar status alone would have been allowed to let their jagirs descend from them to their descendants. In such jagirs probably there was no surplus to be accounted for. The assignment just covered the salary due.

But a surplus arose in connection with assignments where administrative work was to be performed. There the charge under a *Shiqdar* or *Muqtai* was an administrative unit which was also held by him as a jagir. He performed the administrative duties, drew his own salary, and that of his staff and dependents from his charge and was expected to pay to the state the surplus. It is possible that a scale of cash salaries may have been current at that time and that the surplus to be paid was the difference between the total revenue of an administrative unit and the cash salaries assigned to the officer-in-charge including his dependents and his staff. He would undertake to pay to the state this difference. Now it was not farming in the strict sense of the term. The payments to be made by the officers do not seem to have depended on any competition between various officers competing for the same charge. Yet as the jagirdar was also the Administrative officer incharge of the area, he must have been left very much to his own devices for collecting the land revenue. He submitted an account to the Central Government. But this must have been a simple affair showing on the credit side the total revenue due as settled by the state and on the debit side the salaries due to the officer. It is not likely that the audit by the central government ordinarily went into such intricate questions of details as the actual revenue collected by the jagirdars. Of course, scandalous exactions ruining peasants and thus endangering the payments of the surplus due to the state would naturally attract the attraction of the Central Government and so would any interference

⁹ Afif 268, 269.

¹⁰ Ibid, 94.

¹¹ Ibid, 97.

with the grants made to the servants and the soldiers of an administrator.

The actual collection, however, does not seem to have been made by the assignees even. They depended on 'Collectors', probably the forerunner of the village numberdars, who were allowed 5 per cent of their collections¹². Whether this was an additional cess, as now, or was allowed out of the same dues, as under Akbar, is uncertain.

Naturally then the problem changes its form. If the peasant paid the revenue to the assignee who was not ordinarily accountable for what he received to the state, the question of how the state assessed the land revenue was less important. That it retains some importance is due to the fact that under Ala-ud-Din, Ghias-ud-Din, and Muhammad Tughlaq very bold experiments had been made for the purpose of impoverishing the (Hindu) cultivators. The principles underlying the assessment of the land revenue during these reigns were political rather than fiscal. Under Feroz Shah, fortunately, political considerations seem to have been thrown into the background and revenue was fixed on fiscal considerations alone. The state seems to have assessed the entire countryside in a preliminary survey that is said to have taken 6 years. The revenue seems to have been assessed now in cash permanently probably either by a system of acreage or by some rule of the thumb or by mutual understanding. As it was intended to use the new settlement for getting the countryside repopled and as this seems to have been effected, it is reasonable to suppose that the assessment made by the state was observed by the assignees who were in many cases both the assignees of the revenue and the administrators of the areas as well. The entire territory was given to the assignees of various types. But an assignment did not always absolve the assignees from the payment of the surplus to the king. The state thus paid for most of its establishment in this way sparing itself both the trouble of collecting the land revenue and of making arrangements for the payment of its servants. It, however, paid certain officers' salaries in cash, witness the slaves some of whom were thus paid salaries ranging from 20 to 100 tankas.¹³ Several other officers also seem to have been paid cash salaries. Money for these payments as well as for personal expenses of the king had to be forthcoming. This seems to have been provided for by the surpluses of revenue over the salary assignments of the administrators in charge of parganahs, besides the jizya, the tributes to the king, import and export duties, and octroi. The chronicles do not seem to mention any crown lands. If the king kept any territory for himself it must have been very inconsiderable in extent, and may have mostly consisted of pleasure gardens, and vegetable and fruit gardens.

¹² Afif., 99.

¹³ Afif., 270.

THE BAHMANI-VIJAYANAGAR RELATIONS

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The Vijayanagar empire and the Bahmanī Kingdom came into existence almost simultaneously about the middle of the fourteenth century of the Christian Era. From the very commencement of their career, these two great powers carried on relentless warfare against each other. It is not the purpose of this paper to give a detailed account of their prolonged campaigns, ruthless massacres, and ravenous spoliations. These have been described at length by a number of mediæval chroniclers and modern historians. This paper will be confined to an examination of certain general issues arising from the statements made by them. Such an examination appears to be very much needed for a correct understanding of the exact relations between the two states. To wage a religious war, 'to suppress infidelity', 'to strengthen the Faith', 'to exterminate the infidels', *etc.* are some of the choice phrases used by Ali bin Aziz-ullah to indicate the purpose of the Bahmanī wars against Vijayanagar.¹ From the remarks of Ferishta, it would appear that peace between them depended upon the regular payment of the 'stipulated' tribute by the *Rāyas* of Vijayanagar to the Bahmani Sultāns² On the authority of these chroniclers some modern scholars have inferred that (1) The Bahmani-Vijayanagar wars had their genesis in their mutual religious antagonism,³ and that (2) Vijayanagar *never* scored a victory over the Bahmani's, but rather paid them an annual tribute; or if it withheld it, there was war and humiliation.⁴

But the available historical materials do not substantiate these one-sided conclusions.

I

It is true that there were frequent wars between the Bahmanī Sultāns and the *Rāyas* of Vijayanagar. But their cause was political and economic rather than religious.

India south of the Vindhya always exhibited a tendency to fall into two or three well marked big states more or less in harmony with the physical contours of the country. Attempts of military leaders to unite the whole of

1 *Ali bin Aziz-ullah Tabataba*: *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, translated into English by J. S. King. See pp. 28, 37, 39, 53, *etc.* Throughout this paper the references are to the reprint from the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII.

2 *Ferishta (Briggs)*: *The Rise of the Mahomedan power*, Vol. II. pp. 326, 379, 402, 422, 437.

3 W. W. Hunter: *The Indian Empire*, p. 231.

4 Stanley Lane-poole: *Mediæval India*, pp. 180, 182, 183.

the peninsula under one crown were frustrated by geographical impediments. Dynasties after Dynasties collapsed, but the unity of the entire land remained a distant dream. Supremacy over the peninsular part of India was the stake for which successively the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi had fought with the Pallavas of Kāñchī, the Rāṣtrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ with the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgī, the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi with the Choḷas of Tanjore, and the Yādavas of Devagiri with the Hoyasalas of Dwārasamudra. The land between the Kṛishṇā and the Tuṅgabhadrā had been the bone of contention between the Western Chālukyas and the Cholas as also between the Yādavas and the Hoyasalas. When the Bahmanī kingdom and the Vijayanagar empire rose on the ruins of the Yādava and Hoyasala dominions, history repeated itself. The contest between the Bahmanī Sultāns and the Rāyas of Vijayanagar was but a revival of the ancient feud that had existed between the Deccan and South India under purely Hindu sovereigns. In the Bahmani-Vijayanagar disputes, their religious differences only served to brutalise and not to originate their warfare.

Further, there was also an economic element in their struggle. The Deccan Plateau was less fertile and prosperous than the lands south of the river Kṛishṇā, and the ruler of the former was often tempted to seize the accumulated wealth of the latter. Under the Bahmanī Sultāns, who prized the spoil of the sword higher than the fruits of the plough, the Deccan ceased to be the storehouse of riches which it had been once under its Hindu sovereigns. On the other hand, according to Ferishta⁵, the Rāyas of Vijayanagar were greatly superior in power, *wealth* and extent of the country to the Bahmanī kings even as early as A. D. 1378. Abdur Razzāk⁶, who visited Deva Rāya II in A. D. 1443, says 'in the king's palace are several cells like basins, filled with bullion, forming one mass'. Nuniz⁷, who prepared his historical summary at Vijayanagar about A. D. 1536, tells us that Deva Rāya II determined to collect great treasures, but owing to constant warfare he could not gain more than eight hundred and fifty millions of gold, not counting precious stones. By gold Nuniz evidently means *varahas*, and calculating each *varaha* at the rate of three rupees the cash accumulated by Deva Rāya II appears to have been worth 255 crores of rupees. We need not accept these figures more than as an index of the colossal wealth of the empire of Vijayanagar. It offered sufficient inducement to the Bahmanī Sultāns to make capital out of the territorial disputes and, if successful, to blackmail the victim.

Thus it may be said that the Bahmani-Vijayanagar wars were not crusades, but secular exploits waged for the acquisition of wealth and territory.

5 *Op. Cit.*, p. 337.

6 Major: *India in the Fifteenth Century* (Hakluyt ed.), p. 26.

7 Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 302.

II

It is also wrong to assert that success in war *always* lay on the side of the Bahmanī Sultāns and they reduced Vijayanagar to the position of a tributary state.

Both the states had come into existence almost simultaneously and both desired to extend their borders to the farthest limits. In their enterprise they came across each other in the Rāichūr Doab, between the rivers Kṛishnā and Tuṅgabhadrā, and the struggle commenced. Ferishta⁸ tells us that Alāuddīn I, the founder of the Bahmanī kingdom, sent a considerable force into the Carnatic, from whence his general returned successful with valuable contributions from several *Rājās*. From Ali we learn that the *Rājās* so defeated included Harihar I, Bukka I and Kampa, who, according to inscriptions, were laying the foundations of the Vijayanagar empire.⁹ It appears that these saved their infant state by making timely concessions to Alāuddīn I. But after Alāuddīn's death in A. D. 1358, the *Rājās* of Vijayanagar and Telingana demanded from his son, Muhammad Shāh I, the restitution of the territories wrested from them by his father, and threatened, failing compliance, to concert measures with the emperor of Delhi for a combined attack on his kingdom. Muhammad Shāh I resolved on war, and made extravagant counter-demands on the Hindu *Rajahs*. War commenced with an attack on Kaulas by Vinayaka Deva, the son of the *Rajah* of Telingana, assisted by an army from Vijayanagar. The allied Hindu forces, however, were totally defeated, and the *Rajah* of Talingana purchased peace by paying a huge indemnity. Bukka I, the Vijayanagar sovereign,¹⁰ was not a party to this treaty. Hence with a view to ascertain his attitude, the Bahmanī Sultān issued to his musicians what has been erroneously called a drunken draft' on the Vijayanagar treasury. Bukka I, *proud of his independence*, sent back the messenger with every mark of contempt and derision and declared war upon the Sultān in A. D. 1366. Before the latter could mobilise his forces, the *Rājya* surprised and captured the fort of Mudkal in the *debatable land* of the Rāichūr Doab. He put the entire garrison to the sword with the exception of one man, who was allowed to carry the tragic news to Kulbargā. The infuriated Sultān swore solemnly to avenge the disaster by the slaughter of one-hundred thousand Hindus, and immediately led his forces in battle array against the invaders. In spite of the rainy season and in face of the enemy, he crossed the Kṛishnā, retook Mudkal, routed the Hindus, pursued them across the Tuṅgabhadrā and advanced upon Vijayanagar. The war dragged on for several months with casualty list of the Hindus soaring higher and higher. Yet the final decision

⁸ *Op. Cit.* p. 294.

⁹ Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 490.

¹⁰ Ferishta calls him 'Krishn Ray'; but there is no doubt that his name was Bukka.

remained a distant vision. The Sultān lost two of his commanders and failed twice to capture the Hindu Citadel.¹¹ In a desperate mood, he ordered the massacre of the inhabitants round Vijayanagar. It is said that this war cost the Hindus half a million lives. At last the protests of 'the Brahmins and principal Hindu Officers' compelled Bukka I to sue for peace. According to Ferishta,¹² the Sultān sheathed the sword only when the *Rāya* honoured his draft and paid the musicians. In the treaty of peace, beyond an agreement that in future wars non-combatants should not be molested, there was no other understanding—*no stipulation of any kind either about tribute or about the boundaries between the two states.*

The last question, however, was revived¹³ by Mujāhid Shāh, the son of Muhammad Shāh I. Soon after his accession to the throne in March, 1375 A. D. he wrote to Bukka I that, as joint possession of some forts and districts between the Kṛishnā and the Tuṅgabhadrā caused constant disputes, the *Rāya* should waive his rights over all the territories beyond the Tuṅgabhadrā together with the fort of Bankāpur. The Vijayanagar sovereign said in reply that the forts, Rāichūr, Mudkal and others, between the rivers had for ages belonged to his family and that the Sultān should surrender them and confine his authority to the north bank of the Krishnā. In A. D. 1376 Mujāhid Shāh declared war, and crossing the two rivers, sent a force to besiege Adoni, and himself marched against Vijayanagar. Bukka I, with a view to tire out the enemy, withdrew to woods and hills and resorted to guerilla tactics, avoiding pitched battle for nearly six months. At last the pestilential air of the forests affected his health, and compelled him to take refuge in his capital. It appears¹⁴ that he died of the malady in February, 1377 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Harihara II. Still this change of rulers did not bring success to the arms of Mujāhid Shāh. Finding it impossible to reduce the fort of Vijayanagar, he turned back and joined his troops at Adoni. He besieged the fort for nine months without making any impression upon it. Finally, on the advice of his minister, Mullick Seif-ud-Dīn Ghorī, he made peace with the *Rāya* and *retreated* to his dominions. In this connection Ali's statement¹⁵ that the ruler of Vijayanagar agreed to pay a large sum as *na'l-baha* and to deliver the keys of the fortress in dispute appears to be appocryphal. There is no doubt that on this occasion the Sultān suffered a defeat, and even failed to capture the fort of Adoni. The fort of Bankāpur still remained in the hands of the *Rāya* and there was absolutely no question of tribute in this war also. This war not only

11 Ferishta, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 308—319.

12 *Op. Cit.*, pp. 318—319.

13 Ferishta, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 330—339.

14 *Ep. Carm.*, Vol. IV, Yd. 46.

15 J. S. King: *Op. Cit.*, p. 29.

frustrated the ambitious designs of Mujāhid Shāh and left the boundary question unsettled, but also, in a way, it cost him his life, and invited a counter-invasion from Vijayanagar. During the last campaign he had publicly reprimanded his cousin,¹⁶ Dāūd, for quitting a strategical post. Before reaching Kulbargā, the latter murdered him in revenge, in April 1378 A. D. and proclaimed himself Sultān. For thirty-five days the Bahmanī kingdom was paralysed due to party factions and this tempted Harihara II to cross the Tuṅṅabhadrā and invest the fortress of Rāichūr. At last Dāūd was himself assassinated and the crown passed to his younger brother,¹⁷ Muhammad Shāh II. The new Sultān succeeded in securing the support of all parties, and so Harihara II gave up the siege of Rāichūr and retired. Ferishta¹⁸ says that the *Rāya* not only raised the siege, but also agreed to pay to the Bahmanī Sultān 'the tribute stipulated in the reign of Mahomed Shāh Ghazi'. There are two glaring inconsistencies in this last statement. Firstly, in the reign of Muhammad Shāh I no stipulation had been made for the payment of any tribute; and secondly, the present occasion did not need any such concession on the part of the Vijayanagar sovereign. No military triumph is to the credit of the Sultān at this time in any record whatsoever. On the contrary there are inscriptions to show that the forces of the *Rāya* repelled the *Turushkas* (*i. e.*, the Mussalmans) from Adoni and expelled them from Goa.¹⁹

Muhammad Shāh II, however, was a man of peace and culture, and so during his reign of nearly twenty years the two states enjoyed almost unbroken tranquility.

His death in April 1397 A. D. was followed by a period of disorder at Kulbargā. Within seven months his two sons were successively crowned, deposed and blinded. Finally, Firoz Shāh, a grandson of the founder of the dynasty, seized the throne for himself. Thrice during his reign the Bahmanī kingdom and the empire of Vijayanagar appealed to arms *for the possession of the disputed territory*.

(a) Taking advantage of the civil commotions in the Bahmanī kingdom, Harihara II organised a campaign against the Rāichūr Doab. He instigated Narsing Ray of Kherlā to invade the Bahmanī territory from the north, and sent his own son Deva Rāya²⁰ with 30,000 horses to seize the fortress of Rāichūr and Mudkal. On hearing this, Firoz Shāh sent a division of the army against Narsing Ray, and himself marched with the remaining troops to oppose the

16 Ali; Ferishta calls him uncle of the Sultān.

17 Ali; Ferishta wrongly calls him Mahmood Shāh I.

18 *Op. Cit.*, p. 347.

19 *Ep. Carn.* XII Kg. 43; *Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, IX, 227.

20 'Dew Ray' or 'Dewal Roy' of Ferishta. Sewell assigns the command to Bukka II, the eldest son of Harihara II. But the authority of Ferishta is more acceptable.

Vijayanagar prince. When he reached the river Kṛishnā he found his way blocked by the flood in the river and the enemy firmly entrenched on the other side. Ferishta²¹ tells us how Kazi Siraj and his companions treacherously murdered the son of Deva Rāya and spread panic in the camp of the Hindus which enabled Firoz Shāh to cross the river and effect a landing without opposition. The Hindus were taken by surprise and left the battlefield in dismay. The Sultān pursued them across the Tuṅgabhadrā as far as Vijayanagar. As usual, the Hindus shut themselves up in their impregnable citadel, and the Mussalmāns ravaged the flourishing districts south of the city and made several prisoners, among whom were several Brahmins. The relatives of them begged the Rāya to ransom the captives; and after much negotiation, the Mussalmān commander agreed to accept ten *laks of hoons*²² for the royal treasury as a ransom for the prisoners, and one lak for himself as negotiator. Accordingly the Brahmins paid six *laks* and the Rāya five. Firoz Shah accepted the ransom and released the prisoners. 'A treaty was then concluded by which it was agreed that the boundaries of both kingdoms should remain the same as before the war, and that one party should not molest the subjects of the other'. It is noteworthy that no great material advantage accrued to either party under this treaty: there was no provision in it either for payment of tribute to the Bahmani Sultān or for settling the old territorial disputes. According to Ferishta himself, the Sultān was satisfied with the ransom money, and the treaty only restored the *status quo ante bellum*.

No doubt, the above version differs somewhat from that of Ali, who says that the war was started by Firoz Shāh, and it ended only when the Rāya paid him 33 *laks* of *tankah* and agreed to remit to him an equal amount every year. Still the last condition, even if it be true, appears to have been never voluntarily and peacefully fulfilled. According to Ali's own admission the Sultān waged twenty-three or twenty-four wars against the Hindus, and every year he *exact*ed from Vijayanagar thirty-three *laks* of *tankah*.²³ While dealing with the events of A. D. 1401, Ferishta also begins to talk of tribute, and says that under the instigation of the rulers of Gujerāt, Mālwā and Khāndesh, the Rāya withheld it from the Sultān for four years, and that the latter waited for a convenient moment to punish him.²⁴ In spite of all this, it is a significant commentary that none of these chroniclers attribute the next war to arrears of tribute.

(b) The next war was fought in A. D. 1406. By this time both Harihara II and Bukka II had passed away, and the Vijayanagar throne was occupied by

21 Op. Cit. pp. 370-375.

22 i. e. *Huns* or *Varahas*.

23 J. S. King : *Op. Cit.* pp. 37-40.

24 *Op. Cit.*, pp. 379-380.

Deva Rāya I. According to Ferishta,²⁵ this war was provoked by the Rāya who sent an expedition into the debatable land north of the Tuṅgabhadrā to seize by force a lovely but coy maiden Peral or Nehal, residing at Mudkal. On the approach of the Vijayanagar troops, the girl and her parents left the town along with other inhabitants. Having missed their coveted prize, the troops made a hasty retreat, laying waste on their route towns and villages. Firoz Shāh at once prepared for retaliation, crossed the two rivers without much hindrance, and laid siege to Vijayanagar. Finding it impossible to reduce the city, the Bahmanī forces devastated the countryside, secured a rich booty in gold and prisoners, captured the fort of Bankāpur and concerted measures for an attack on Adoni. Pressed by his relentless foes and getting no response from Gujerāt and Mālṡā to his appeals for assistance, Deva Rāya I sued for peace. Under the terms of the treaty he gave his daughter in marriage²⁶ to the Sultān, ceded to him the fortress of Bankāpur as dowry and paid a large indemnity, which consisted of ten *laks* of *hoons*, five maunds of pearls, fifty choice elephants, and two thousand male and female slaves, singers etc. Such is the account given by Ferishta. 'Alī in his usual manner passes over this war with great brevity, and makes it also one of the so called religious wars of Firoz Shāh. He says in conclusion that the Sultān having appropriated the fixed sum of thirty-three *laks* returned to his capital with immense booty. It may be observed here that both the chroniclers do not mention arrears of tribute among the causes, and promise of tribute among the results of the war.

(c) The third war centred round the fort of Pangul,²⁷ seventy miles north-east of Adoni. It belonged to the Vijayanagar sovereign, and Firoz Shāh determined to seize it in A. D. 1417. He invested the fort for two years, at the end of which a pestilence broke out in his army and he had to retire. At this juncture arrived Deva Rāya I at the head of the combined forces of Vijayanagar and Telingana and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Mussalmāns.²⁸ The Bahmanī commander-in-chief was slain in battle, and the Sultān himself fled from the field in great confusion. The victorious Hindus pursued him into his own kingdom, laid waste his country, slaughtered his people without mercy. It was with great exertions that his brother, Ahmad Khān, succeeded in driving them back into their own territory.

²⁵ *Op. Cit.*, pp. 380-387.

²⁶ Ferishta gives a graphic description of the marriage festivities. But it is surprising that a Mussalman like 'Alī ibn 'Aziz-ullah does not make any mention of this marriage. Ferishta's statement is not above suspicion, especially because the circumstances did not warrant any such sacrifice by the *Raya*.

²⁷ Ferishta : *Op. Cit.*, pp. 389-391; Alī : *Op. Cit.*, pp. 40-41.

²⁸ Sewall attributes this victory to Deva Raya II.

See *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 62-66. But Deva Raya I ruled till A. D. 1422. See 'Ep. Carn. 1V Gn. 24.

Firoz Shāh completely broke down under this disaster; and being intimidated by his brother, Ahmad, he abdicated the throne in his favour and died shortly afterwards in September 1422 A. D.

Ahmad Shāh I took the earliest opportunity to retrieve the prestige of his dynasty by invading the Vijayanagar territory with forty-thousand horse in A. D. 1423. Deva Rāya I, the victor of Pangul, was dead a few months before, and on his throne was seated his son Vijaya Rāya.²⁹ He secured the assistance of the *Raja* of Telingana; still he lingered with his forces on the southern bank of the Tungabhadrā. He appears to have lacked the military ardour of his great ancestors who often defended their empire by taking the offensive against the enemy. Probably due to his inactivity, the ruler of Telingana withdrew his troops and retired. It is unnecessary here to follow the fortunes of the campaign. Ferishta³⁰ describes in detail how the two contending monarchs had a very narrow escape, how Ahmad Shāh devastated the country, massacred the people and blockaded the city of Vijayanagar, and how Deva Rāya, in order to save his subjects, complied with the Sultān's demand for the payment of 'arrears of tribute for many years.' 'Ali³¹ however, does not mention any such monetary concession on the part of the Rāya. He simply says that the soldiers of Islām took many forts and towns and an enormous amount of booty, prisoners of war, horses and elephants. "After devastating the country of the infidels far and wide the Sultān returned to his capital." *It is remarkable that none of the chroniclers mentions 'arrears of tribute' as the cause, or a promise of future payment as the consequence, of this war.* Obviously the wealth taken away by Ahmad Shāh consisted of the war booty, and Ferishta dignified it with the name of 'arrears of tribute'.

Under the aforesaid circumstances it becomes extremely difficult to believe the statement of Ferishta that the next Bahamani-Vijayanagar war had its origin in the arrears of tribute.

Ahmad Shāh could never forget that in the last war the *Rajā* of Warangal had appeared on the side of Vijayanagar. He had full revenge upon him about the close of A. D. 1424, when he slew him in battle, and annexed a large part of Telingana to his own kingdom. Probably to be nearer his new conquest, he also built the new city of Ahmadābād-Bidār and made it the capital of the Bahmani kingdom. During the rest of his reign he was busily occupied in wars with the rulers of Mahur, Mālwā, Konkon, and Gujerāt. Hence Vijayanagar

29 Ep. Carn. IV, Gn. 24 and VII Sk. 93. Ferishta makes no distinction between Deva Raya I, Vijaya Raya and Deva Raya II. To him all are 'Dew Ray'. Sewell wrongly assigns this event also to the reign of Deva Raya II.

30 *Op. Cit.*, pp. 398-405.

31 *Op. Cit.*, pp. 33-54.

enjoyed complete peace for about a decade. This period of tranquility coincided with the first ten years of the reign of Deva Rāya II, who appears³² to have inherited the crown of his father Vijaya Rāya about A. D. 1424.

Ahmad Shāh died in February 1435 A. D., and was succeeded by his eldest son under the title of Alāuddīn II. His reign witnessed four successive wars with Vijayanagar.

(a) According to Ferishta,³³ Alāuddīn II, soon after his coronation, sent his brother Muhammad Khān with a powerful army against the Rāya of Vijayanagar, 'who had withholden the tribute for five years, and now refused to pay the arrears.' In the light of what has been adduced above, it appears that the plea of tribute was merely a pretext or an afterthought of the chronicler to justify the aggressive conduct of the Sultān. The war, however, ran its usual course, and finally the Deva Rāya II got peace by surrendering twenty elephants, a considerable sum of money, and two hundred females, skilled in music and dancing. There is again no mention by Ferishta of any stipulation by the Rāya to pay annual tribute to the Bahmanī Sultān. 'Alī does not refer to this war at all.

(b) But this peace proved only a truce, for Muhammad Khān soon rebelled against his brother and in alliance with the Rāya of Vijayanagar seized Mudkal, Rāichūr and some other forts.³⁴ 'Alī says that the Rāya invaded the territories of Islām, captured the fort of Mudkal and devastated all the surrounding country. After subjugating his brother, Alāuddīn invested the fort of Mudkal and compelled the defenders to capitulate. Under the terms of the treaty Rāya paid a large indemnity, agreed to remit to him each year a certain sum, and promised not to invade his territory in future.³⁵ Ferishta is silent about the manner in which this war was brought to a close. Most probably the defeat and conciliation of the rebel prince automatically led to the withdrawal of the Vijayanagar army.

According to Ferishta, these defeats at the hands of the Bahmanī Sultān led Deva Rāya II to investigate into their causes. He was assured by his councillors that the superiority of the Mussalmān rulers arose out of two circumstances: "First, that their horses were stronger, and able to endure more fatigue than the weak animals of the Carnatic; secondly, that a great body of excellent archers was always maintained in pay by the kings of the house of Bahmuny, of whom the Rāya had but few in his army." Accordingly he at once launched a drastic scheme of military reform: he admitted the Mussalmāns

32 *Ep. Carm.* VIII Tl. 163.

33 *Op. Cit.*, p. 422.

34 *Ferishta*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 423.

35 'Alī, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 73-74.

into his army on a large scale, conferred *jagirs* upon them, erected a mosque for their use in the city and offered other facilities for the free exercise of their religion; and at the same time he made all Hindu soldiers also learn the discipline of the bow. By these measures he managed to raise an army of two thousand Mussalmāns, and sixty thousand Hindus, well skilled in archery, 'besides eighty thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot, armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances.'³⁶

(c) With this host, says Ferishta,³⁷ Deva Rāya resolved to conquer the Bhamanī kingdom. Accordingly in A. D. 1443, he suddenly crossed the Tuṅgbhadra, took the fort of Mudkal, sent his sons to besiege Rāichūr and Bankāpur, and himself encamped with his army along the southern bank of the Kṛishnā. But from the account of 'Abdur Razzāk³⁸ it becomes clear that the Rāya took these measures under grave provocation. Between November 1442 and April 1443 A. D. one of his relatives put to death several of his nobles, and even made an unsuccessful attempt on his life. Sultān Alāuddīn rejoiced at this and demanded of him seven *laks* of *varahas*, and failing compliance, threatened war. Deva Rāya took up the challenge and was the first to take the field. According to Ferishta, within a period of two months three battles were fought, the Hindus being victorious in the first and the Mussalmāns in the second. In the third Deva Rāya's eldest son perished, and the Hindus left the battle field in panic. They took shelter in the fort of Mudkal. Two officers of the Mussalmāns, in pursuit of the fugitives, entered the fort and became captives. The Sultān threatened the Rāya with dire penalty if his officers were injured in any way. The Rāya, who 'knew by experience the determination with which the Bahmuny princes fulfilled their vows', sued for peace. He agreed to release the two distinguished Mussalmān prisoners, and to pay to the Sultān annually the stipulated tribute on condition that he was not molested in future. The terms of the treaty were carried out and 'during the rest of his reign, Dew Ray (*i.e.* Deva Rāya II) regularly remitted the tribute'. Such is the story given by Ferishta. There is no specific mention of this campaign in the account of 'Alī. But 'Abdur Razzāk, who was at Vijayanagar during these eventful days, does not speak of any reverses to the Vijayanagar arms at this time. If the eldest son of the Rāya had been killed in this war, the court of Vijayanagar would have been filled with gloom, and it could not have escaped the notice of the Persian ambassador. It is also very difficult to believe that the threats of the Sultān made Deva Rāya II supplicate for peace, give up the prisoners and make an offer of annual tribute. It appears more probable that the new war machine

36 *Op. Cit.*, pp. 430-432.

37 *Op. Cit.*, pp. 432-434.

38 *Op. Cit.*, pp. 33-35, 40-41; Nuniz : *Op. Cit.*, p. 303-304.

of the *Rāya* could hold its own against all the threats of the Sultān and, his general, having 'taken several unfortunate prisoners', returned to Vijayanagar, as stated by 'Abdur Razzāk.

(d) The last Bahmanī-Vijayanagar war of the reign of Alāuddīn II was fought about A. D. 1449. This war is noticed in the introduction to a *contemporary* Sanskrit drama—*Gangadasapratāpavilasam*³⁹—wherein it is stated that immediately after the death of Deva Rāya II, the Sultān of the South (*i.e.*, the Bahmanī Sultān) and the Gajapati ruler, who had previously been defeated, marched upon Vijayanagar and closely invested it. But Mallikarjuna Rāya, the son and successor of Deva Rāya II, came out as a lion and dispersed the besieging forces. According to Ferishta Alāuddīn II at this time was immersed in a life of dissipation, and his nobility was divided into two hostile groups—the Deccanees and Foreigners. Hence if Mallikarjuna Rāya repelled the Bahmanī attack in A. D. 1447, there is nothing preposterous except probably the silence of the Mussalmān chroniclers about it.

For nearly quarter of a century after this war there does not appear to have been any direct clash between the Bahmanī kingdom and the Vijayanagar empire. Both the states had to face so many internal and external problems that they could hardly venture on further political complications. At this time a new power arose in the eastern horizon: Kapilesvara Gajapati, after making himself lord of Orissa in A. D. 1435, extended his sway over the whole of Telingana and the eastern coast strip as far south as Kāñchī at the expense of both the Bahmanī and Vijayanagar states. In an inscription⁴⁰ at Jagannātha he is styled as 'the lion to the sheep the Karnāta King', and 'the victor over Kalavarga (Kulbargā)'. That these are not empty boasts is proved by the events of the time.

Alāuddīn II died in A. D. 1457 and was succeeded by his eldest son Humāyūn. He was a monster of cruelty, the very prototype of Nero and Caligula. His maniacal passion for bloodshed plunged the whole kingdom into chaos, and brought disaster to his arms in Telingana. In A. D. 1459 the troops of Kapilesvara Gajapati assisted the rebels at Devarkondā, routed the Bahmanī forces and pursued them to a distance of ten miles. The death of Humāyūn Shāh in A. D. 1461 brought welcome relief to his subjects, but did not better the fortunes of the Kingdom. His eldest son and successor Nizām Shāh was only a boy of eight years, and his reign of about a couple of years witnessed further decline in the power of the state. Kapilesvara Gajapati invaded the Bahmanī kingdom, plundered the country as far as Kaulās and appeared within ten miles of the capital city of Bidār. Shortly after the defeat

39 Dr. S. K. Ayyangar : Sources of Vijayanagar History, p. 65.

40 See S. K. Ayyangar : A little known chapter of Vijayanagar History, p. 9.

of the Oriyas, Mahmūd Khiljī of Mālwā took the field, defeated the Bahmanī forces, and occupied Bidār. But for the tact of the Vazir Mahmūd Gāwān, and the timely help of Mahmūd Shāh of Gujerāt, the house of Bahmanī could not have survived these shocks even for the few years that it did⁴¹.

The Empire of Vijayanagar was in a worse plight. A considerable portion of its eastern districts was taken by Kapilesvara Gajapati, Rājahundry, Koṇḍāpalle, Koṇḍavidu, and Udayagiri acknowledged his sovereignty. The presence of Mallikarjuna Rāya at Penugōṇḍa in A. D. 1459 does not seem to have had any restraining influence upon him. In A. D. 1466 Mallikarjuna Rāya passed away, and the throne was usurped by his cousin, Virūpāksha Rāya. The latter, according to Nuniz, was too much addicted to the pleasures of wine and women to pay his attention to the affairs of the state. In mere sottishness he slew many of his captains. His wickedness let loose the forces of disorder over the whole of the empire, caused the loss of Goa, Chaul and Dabul and finally cost him his own life.⁴²

The death of Kapilesvara Gajapati in or about A. D. 1469 gave a short respite to the Bahmanī Kingdom which enabled it to recommence hostilities against Vijayanagar. Virūpāksha Rāya's weakness made the enterprise very easy. Nizāin Shāh had died in July, 1463 A. D., and since then the Bahmanī throne was occupied by his younger brother,⁴³ Muhammad Shāh III. According to the Mussalmān chroniclers,⁴⁴ the latter waged three wars against the outlying provinces of Vijayanagar, and it is found that none of them had any connection with 'tribute'.

(a) The first war centred round the port and island of Goa. In A. D. 1470 Mahmūd Gāwān, the Vazir of Muhammad III, attacked it by land and sea. Before Virūpāksha Rāya could oppose his design, he took possession of it, and garrisoned it with his own men.

(b) The second war was waged in defence of this new acquisition on the western coast. About A. D. 1472, after a lapse of nearly two years, Virūpāksha Rāya thought of recovering Goa. But he was not the man to assume leadership. He contented himself by instigating the Governor of Belgaum to retake it. But unsupported from Vijayanagar, the local Governor failed in his mission, and lost his own territory. Belgaum was added to the Bahmanī Kingdom.

(c) The third war cannot be strictly called Bahmanī-Vijayanagar war. Its scene of action was on the east coast. In this region the authority of

41 Ferishta. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 452—476.

42 S. K. Ayyangar : Virupaksha II in Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, 1917, pp. 255—64, Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 305.

43 Ferishta wrongly calls him Muhammad II.

44 See Ferishta, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 485, 491—493, 493—501; Ali, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 106—112.

Virūpāksha Rāya was reduced to almost nothing. After the death of Kapilesvara Gajapati Muhammad Shāh III made himself master of Rājahmundry and Koṇḍapalle, while 'Narsing Ray' (*i. e.* Sāluva Narasimha), the warden of the south-eastern marches of the Vijayanagar Empire, asserted his independence and enlarged his dominion at the expense of the empire. A conflict between these two was inevitable. In A. D. 1477 Muhammad III declared war against Narasimha, conquered Masulipatam, Koṇḍapalle and Malūr, reduced him to submission, and raided Kāñchī. The empire of Vijayanagar was reduced to such an abject condition that some were misled into the belief that the capital city *itself* fell a victim to the foreign aggression at this time.⁴⁵

No doubt, the Bahmani Kingdom gained an upper hand in its military operations against the two Hindu states during this period. But there was no element of stability, no promise of future development in these victories. The states of Orissa and Vijayanagar lost a few bits of territory; but they were not bound to the Bahmani Kingdom by any ties of loyalty—tributary or otherwise. The present liveliness of the Bahmanī Kingdom was also a temporary affair. It was like the sudden flaming up of a dying lamp. Soon the tables were turned; the Bahmanī Kingdom fell a victim to the internal party factions and split up into five independent states; on the other hand the empire of Vijayanagar and the Kingdom of Orissa recovered their power and prestige, and became once more the leading states of the south.

About the close of the reign of Muhammad Shah III party feelings between the Deccanees and the Foreigners grew violent and resulted in the unjust execution of the great minister Mahmūd Gāwān in April, 1481 A. D. When it was too late Muhammad Shāh III discovered his mistake and tried to drown his remorse in drink, until he died of excesses in March, 1482 A. D. With the death of Ṣultān and his talented minister, the Bahmanī dynasty practically ceased to exist. It is true that Mahmūd Shāh, the son of Muhammad Shāh III, occupied the Bahmanī throne for nearly thirty seven years. But his was an inglorious reign during which the principal Governors of the realm, one after the other, asserted their independence and set up their own Sultanates;⁴⁶ and Purushottam Gajapati, the son of Kapilesvara, retook Rājahmundry, Koṇḍapalle, Koṇḍavidu, Udayagiri etc.

45 Nikitin, the Russian traveller, who visited the Deccan in A. D. 1474, asserts that the King of Bidar *i. e.* Muhammad III attacked and took Vijayanagar. See R. H. Major: *Op. Cit.*, 'p. 29. The Beagali Poem *Sri-Chaitanya-Charitamrtam* credits Purushottam Gajapati with a similar achievement.

46 The Imad Shahi of Berar in A. D. 1484; the Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnagar in A. D. 1489; the Adil Shahi of Bijapur A. D. 1489; the Qutub Shahi of Golconda in 1512, and Barid Shāhi of Bidar in 1527,

Vijayanagar was saved from a similar fate of disintegration by the timely action of Sāḷuva Narasimha. It is stated by Nuniz⁴⁷ that Virūpāksha Rāya, due to his wicked conduct, was killed by his eldest son, who declined to take the crown for himself and seated his own younger brother upon the throne. This appears⁴⁸ to have happened about A. D. 1486. Padearao (*i.e.*, Praudhadeva Rāya), the new King was no better than his father. Disgusted with his evil course, Sāḷuva Narasimha headed a revolution, expelled the degenerate sovereign, and made himself emperor. "He regained all the lands which the Kings his predecessors had lost".

With these changes in the two states, the period of Bahmanī-Vijayanagar wars came to an end. In A. D. 1527 the house of Bahmanī became extinct.

The above facts show that the victories of the Bahmanī Sultāns over the Rāyas of Vijayanagar were neither unbroken nor very decisive. The Sultāns were almost as often defeated at the hands of Rāyas as they were victorious over them. The reverses met by Mujāhid Shah and Firoz Shah were in no way less severe than those inflicted by them on their antagonists, Bukka I and Deva Rāya I. Still Ferishta and 'Ali have nothing to say about the terms imposed by the Rāya over the vanquished Sultāns. These *later* chroniclers overlook the fact that *none* of the Sultāns ever succeeded in capturing the great stronghold of Vijayanagar, and so long it stood there, the Rāyas had no compelling necessity to pay *annual* tribute to the Sultāns. All the *contemporary* foreign visitors to the Hindu empire bear testimony to its power and prosperity, and none of them says that it paid tribute to the Bahmanīs. The fact appears to be that neither Kingdom was strong enough to reduce the other to the position of a tributary state. The dispute was mainly territorial. The Bahmanī Sultāns, whenever they had the power, compelled the Rāyas of Vijayanagar at the point of the sword to surrender to them a part of their accumulated wealth. The Rāyas never regarded it as a tribute, much less an annual tribute, to be sent regularly to the Bahmanī treasury, To them it was simply a blackmail to be given to their foes in a lump sum to stop the pillage and massacre of their unarmed civilian population. The Mussalmān chroniclers obsessed by the juristic notion of *Khiraj* dignified it by the name of tribute.

47 Sewell: *Op. Cit.* pp. 305—307.

48 Ep. Carn. X Mb. 104; and Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1902, No. 593.

THE RIHLA OF IBN BATTUTA.¹

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Of all the Arab geographers and historians, I have had from my school days a special liking for Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, partly because of his extremely interesting personality and versatile talents as a scholar, theologian, adventurer, warrior, sailor, traveller, pilgrim, botanist, politician, poet, journalist, historian, geographer, jurist, ascetic, devotee, and pleasure-seeker, and partly because of his remarkable contributions to the history of Mediæval India. It was Maulvī Muḥammad Ḥusain's Urdū translation of the second part of the *Rihla* which first attracted my attention. I was able to obtain a copy of it from the library of the St. Stephen's College, Delhi (1917). Before long I learnt that the whole of the *Rihla* in original Arabic had been printed and published in Cairo. I obtained a copy of it through Malik Muḥammad Shirāzi, the leading orientalist of Bombay:

Later, I came across Samuel Lee's "Ibn Baṭṭūṭa"—an English translation of an epitome of the *Rihla* based on incomplete manuscripts. It is, however, a scholarly work and contains many useful notes. I was delighted to read in it the learned author's opinion on Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. "My principal object" says Samuel Lee explaining the notes he had added to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's text "was to ascertain the accuracy and fidelity of my author; and in this point of view I have succeeded to my own satisfaction at least having no doubt that he is worthy of all credit. It is for his historical, geographical and botanical notices that he is principally valuable; and I concur with his epitomator Mr. Burckhardt and Mr. Kosegarten in believing that in these he is truly valuable."²

Meanwhile, a copy of Yule's Cathay came into my hands and I discovered that a French translation of the complete text of the *Rihla* had been produced by two French scholars, Defremery and Sanguinetti. I wished to obtain a copy of it, but made a vain search for it at some of the libraries in India.

Shortly after, I heard of a new translation of the *Rihla* brought out by Prof. H. A. R. Gibb of London. I found it very interesting and enlightening, and decidedly an improvement on Samuel Lee's work. But this, too, was incomplete, for it contains only "Selections from the Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa."

1 Here are a few pages from the introductory parts of Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain's book entitled "The Rihla of Ibn Battuta". (In Preparation)

2 Lee, Samuel: The Travels of Ibn Battuta, (Preface)

At last I went to Europe (1933). There I found in the libraries of the School of Oriental Studies, of the India Office, and of the Royal Asiatic Society four volumes of "Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah par Defrèremy et Sanguinetti." On reading through the first few pages of the first volume, I learnt that there existed an autograph of Ibn Juzayy, the famous editor of the *Rihla* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, a fact referred to by Prof. Gibb in his introduction. This made me anxious to go to Paris and see the autograph. I seized the earliest opportunity to do so, and was able to study and collate the various manuscripts of Ibn Baṭṭūta's *Rihla* in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

This had not been done since the publication of Defrèremy and Sanguinetti's work, nor had their printed Arabic text been checked. In his *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Batuta durch Indien und China*, Dr. Hans Von Mzik, the German translator of the *Rihla* says "This translation of Ibn Batuta's work is based on the Arabic text of Defrèremy and Sanguinetti. The translator often had grave doubts regarding certain passages which would have required reference to at present inaccessible original manuscripts and of which the readings were only very rarely adequate."

I have checked the Arabic text of the French editors, and have carefully studied their translation of the Arabic into French. I have further, produced an original translation of the *Rihla* into English. In the course of my translation I have indicated in the footnotes wherever I have differed from my predecessors in the field.

I have also studied Maulvi Muḥammad Husain's Urdu translation which Mzik has misunderstood. He erroneously mentions it as an English translation.³

Personal Findings and Observations

The Bibliothèque Nationale contains five manuscripts of the *Rihla*. The first two manuscripts contain two volumes of the *Rihla*, each leather-bound but different in size as well as in writing. The opening three pages of the first volume No. 2290 and 908 are very beautiful and have been tastefully decorated and interspersed with gold marks. The rest of the manuscript is handsomely bordered.

It should be noted that between the aforesaid two volumes, Nos. 2290 (908) and 2291 (907), there is no resemblance and no similarity at all either in regard to paper, or in regard to handwriting. The latter No. 2291 (907) is decidedly the older. It was written in A. H. 757 (A. D. 1356) as is mentioned in the text. It is said to be the autograph of Ibn Juzayy.

The manuscript is so old and affected by moisture that in certain parts the script has been completely obliterated: for instance at the top of the

³ Misk p. 5.

folios 47-50: three-fourths of the first three lines of each page are effaced. An attempt was made subsequently to restore the original and reproduce the effaced words, but with no great success.

I think the manuscript contains, if at all, but a few pages in the personal handwriting of Ibn Juzayy and is not free from interpolation. The difference in the shaping of letters and apparently even in caligraphy and handwriting in different parts of the manuscript is patent. The handwriting in the first three leaves appears a little different from that of the following 16 leaves. And, again, the handwriting of the next 13 leaves is different from that of the succeeding six, *i.e.*, from 37⁴ to 46⁵.

From folio 49 to 68 the handwriting is again different and the ink varies also. For instance, the ink on leaf 39 and the following leaves differs from that of the preceding ones; and again the ink on folio 69 and the succeeding folios varies slightly from that of the preceding ten. The last two are written in a running hand extremely difficult to read.

The average number of lines per page is 23. Of the pages written after the death of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the first is an outstanding example. From the script it bears it is evident that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was dead, when this was written. It may be recalled that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa died in 1377, eleven years after the death of Ibn Juzayy.

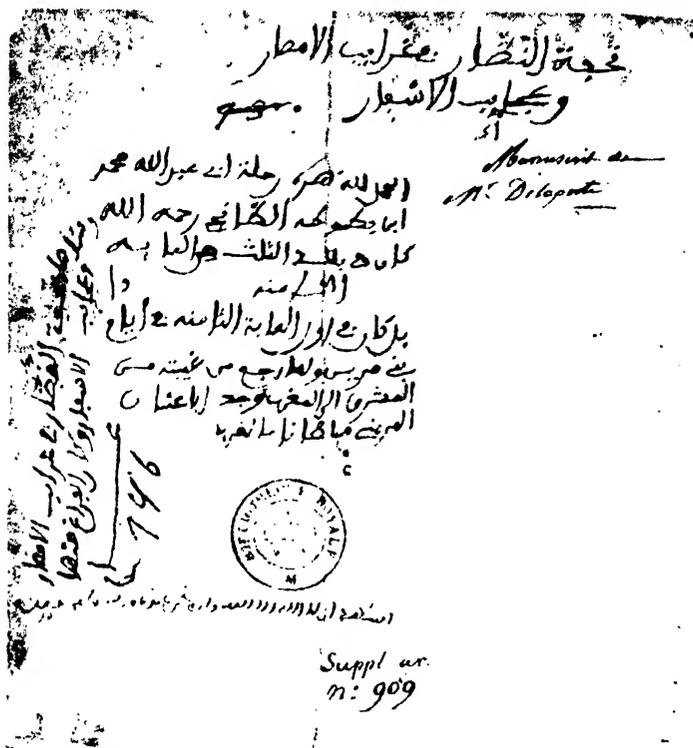
I am of opinion that this manuscript (*i.e.*, Ms. No. 907) has been rated highly. Although it has been acknowledged that certain leaves in this manuscript have been inserted later, *e. g.*, the leaves 1 and 2, and 19 to 38, yet "the rest of the work" it is said "has been written in the same hand." But even as regards the pages which are alleged to have been written by Ibn Juzayy their script is effaced in many places. Other manuscripts, I think, give a better reading on the whole. I have scrutinized the printed Arabic text in Defrèmercy and Sanguinetti's Ibn Batoutah, and noted how frequently they borrow from other manuscripts in preference to the so-called autograph. In one place, it is interesting to note, they follow the Ms. 2287 in preference to the reading given by the autograph, although the latter is clear and legible, and is confirmed by the Ms. 2289.

It appears that this manuscript was at one time the personal property of a certain Muḥammad who had purchased it from some one else. Pressed by poverty the latter was compelled to part with the manuscript. He gave it up as part of his dues to the owner of his house. This took place in April 1817 (Jamādi II 1232 A. H.)

4 The leaf 37 is also marked as 39.

5 The leaf 45 is also marked as 48.

This is the conclusion drawn from a script on the fly page of the manuscript. Of the three other Mss. Nos. 2287, 2288, 2289, the Ms. No. 2287 and 909 bears on the fly leaf an inscription which I have had photographed with the permission of Mons. Blochet of the Bibliothèque Nationale.



It is a complete manuscript, very clear and legible. The paper is worm-eaten in some places, for example, on the top of the leaves from 37 to 58. But, on the whole, the manuscript is immune from deterioration. It has 206 leaves. The number of lines on each page is usually 28, though occasionally it is reduced to 27. Headings of new subjects in the narrative are marked sometimes in black, sometimes in blue and oftener in red ink. Every page containing the script is 8" long and 5" broad, with side-margin of about 5.7". There is a blank space of 6" at the bottom of every page: and at the top there is similarly blank space, but much smaller, no more than 8 cm. wide.

De Slane is of opinion that this manuscript is a copy of 17th century A. D. I have compared its script with a specimen of "Maghrebi Schrift": 16, Jahre 1112 No. 7470, as given in Ahlwardt's *Handshriften-verzeichnisse der Koniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*⁶ and also with the specimens given in "Specimina Codicum Orientalium".⁷ De Slane is probably right.

6 A. Asher & Co., 1899.

7 Specimina Codicum Orientalium Corlegit Evgenivsg Tisserant.

The number of pages in this as in other manuscripts is marked in numerals which look like European. Particularly notable is the figure 746 included in the script on the margin.⁸ It should be read as 756. It is contended that the pagination is the work of some later European owner of the Ms. and that originally the folios of the Mss. were unnumbered. This is untenable. I have reason to believe that the numerals then used in Morocco and what the Muslims called the Maghrib (west) resembled the European forms.

Smith and Karpinski, authors of the "Hindu-Arabic Numerals" maintain that the Arabs borrowed these numerals from the Hindūs, and brought them to Europe. Mr. G. E. Hill of the British Museum wrote a monograph. "On the early use of Arabic numerals in Europe" published in *Arcæologia* in 1910. He holds that the Arab forms of the numerals came into Europe and that the earliest occurrence of a date in these (Arabic) numerals on a coin is found in the reign of Roger of Sicily in 1138.....These numerals were also introduced in northern Africa.....The Algeriens employed two different forms of numerals in Mss. of the 14th century and.....the Moroceans of to-day employ the European forms instead of the present Arabic.⁹

The Ms. 2288 also shown as 911 looks very old. It has been affected in part and obliterated by damp. Some pages bear on the margin corrections made by hand, as, for instance on page 7; half of page 8 is torn and has been replaced by a blank paper. The page 93 seems to have been written by a different man or by a different pen. Its writing varies from that of the preceding pages of the Ms. The script of pages 103, 104, 114, 115, and 116, and on many others is in certain places completely obliterated, and these pages have been badly spoilt by moisture. The Ms. ends abruptly on page 159; the last few pages are missing.

The last manuscript No. 2289 also shown as 910 bears the seal together with a date "19 Aout 1874" on the fly leaf. This is probably the date of the acquisition of the Ms.

The next page of the Ms. contains on the margin and in red ink the following interesting piece of information.

"This manuscript was brought by one *Muṣṭafa bin Kochak Ali* in 1236 or 1240 A. H. (A. D. 1829 or 1824) and the price for it was duly paid".

It is a complete manuscript. Its closing words, when translated, read as follows:—

"Here ends the *Rihla* called" *Tuḥfat-un-Nizār*.....": Its writing was finished on the 3rd of Zilhij 756 (December, 1354).

⁸ This date is included in the photograph mentioned above. See p. 281.

⁹ Smith and Karpinski p. 68.

This manuscript is well preserved, and is very beautifully written.

A comparative study of the autograph (i.e. Ms. 2291) and other Mss. with Defrémery and Sanguinili's Arabic text.

(1) The autograph (F. i. L. 14, 15) has

و يكون منبجار جها ثلاثة رجال يقعد

Defrémery and Sanguinili's printed text (II. p. 95) has

و يكون منبجار جها ثلاث قباب يقعد فيها الرجال

The French editors borrowed this from Ms. No. 2289 (F. 87 L. 12, 13).

But this has not been mentioned in the *variantes et notes*.

(2) The autograph (F. i. L. 17) has

و خرج يشد بانتهي جهده

The French edition (III. 95) has

و خرج يشد بمنتهي جهده

This has been borrowed from the Ms. No. 3229 (F. 87 L. 15):

(3) The autograph (F. 2 L. 16, 17) has

يعطون بكل قادم على السلطان الالف من الدنانير

The French edition has

يعطون بكل قادم على السلطان الالف من الدنانير دينا

This reading has been borrowed by Defrémery and Sanguinille from the Ms. 2289. But this fact is not mentioned in their "*Vaintes et notes*".

(4) The autograph (F. 30 L. 8.) has

فبعث السلطان العساكر الي ابن اخيه بهرام خان

and the same is given in the Ms. 2289. But the French edition has

فبعث السلطان العساكر الي ابن اخيه ابراهيم خان

(5) The Ms. 2287 (F. 136b L. 2) has

فاملئ اسماء رجال كثيرين من كفار البلد

The French edition has

فاملئ اسماء رجال كثيرين من كبار البلد

(6) The Ms. 2287 (F. 139) has

فاتفق مع الامراء الدين اتى بهم علي ثمل خاله و الهروب بما عنده

The French edition has

فاتفق... .. على قتل خاله

The word ثمل included in the Ms. makes better sense than the word *Qatal* of the French edition

(7) The Ms. 2287 (F. 146 (b) 1,227) has

و تكلم امير نجعت بان السهد قاج الدين

The French edition has

و تكلم امير نجعت بن السهد قاج الدين

(8) The Ms. 2287 (F. 171*b* lines 10 & 11) has

فبعث الوزير الي جماعة من كبار ناسه في شان تصريح العلم

The French edition has

فبعث الوزير الي جماعه من كبارنا سه في شان تصريح العلم

(9) The Ms. 2287 (F. 220*b* line 28) has

و يكون في يديه رمكان

The French edition has

و يكون في يده رمكان

(10) The Ms. 2287 (F. 205*b*. line 13) has

و نزل بالمطر ثلج كثير

The French edition has

و نزل بالطريق ثلج كثير

(11) The Ms. 2287 (F, 139) has

و الثاني الملك تموي الشرمدار و هو السمانتي

The French edition has

و الثاني الملك تموي الشرمدار و هو الساقبي

(12) The Ms. 2287 (F. 140; L. 13) has

و اميرها عين الملك بن مافرو

The French edition has

و اميرها عين الملك بن ماهر

Of these twelve instances, the 1st, the 4th, the 5th, the 6th, the 11th, and the 12th particularly deserve a careful examination. Each of them conveys a sense different from that of the corresponding text in Defrèmercy and Sanguinetti's "Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah". The first *i. e.*, ويكون نجار دها ثلاثة رحال بقعد رحال, is a part of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of the foot-post in India. He means to say that at every third of a mile there is a village outside which people sit on carpets spread at specific places ready to proceed with the post. The word قباب (pavilions) is replaced by the word رحال. Now, رحال according to the *Muntah-al-arab*¹⁰ means كستردني يعني something like a carpet or a covering of floors.

The fourth *i. e.*, بهرام خال ابن اخيه العاكروالي الساطان فبعث appears to be a much better reading than that of the French edition. This represents a stage in Ghīyāṣ-ud-dīn Bahādur's rebellion. On learning of it the Sultān according to the Ms. 2287 sent an army against him headed by his step-brother Bahrām Khān. The phrase ابن اخيه is obviously a mistake. It should have been ابن ابيه (step-brother). It should be recalled that the emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq

had no nephew ; and there was no man named Ibrāhīm Khān who could be regarded as his *بن اخيه* (brother's son). There was certainly a young man named Bahrām Khān mentioned by Baranī and other historians. He was also known as Tatār Khān and was the adopted son of Ghīyāṣ-ud-dīn Tughluq

The sixth instance is very important and interesting. The correct reading is, I feel sure, that given in the Ms. 2287 namely *كفار البلد من كثر رجال كثير* This means that the Qāzī who had been suspected of political disaffection had thus incurred the emperor's displeasure complained about some of the Hindūs. That is, on being asked to name those whom he knew to be malcontents he gave out the names of some Hindūs. This was sufficient to inflame the emperor's anger. Instead of being pleased with the Qāzī as probably the latter had calculated, the emperor rebuked him for the ill-will he seemingly bore to his Hindū subjects and immediately put him to death. Evidently the emperor regarded the law-abiding Hindūs as the backbone of his country and empire and unhesitatingly inflicted an exemplary punishment on the Qāzī to deter the other officials from outraging the Hindūs.

Now, the reading in the French edition is entirely different. The word *كبار* preferably used and accepted by Defrèmercy and Sanguinetti connotes Muslim nobility chiefly. And such a translation as has been universally accepted destroys the sense : and is, in fact, contrary to the spirit of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's policy.

The eleventh instance is again interesting. It is an attempt to describe a courtier *تمور شربدار* و *يلك*, i. e. Malik Timūr, an officer in charge of Royal Drinks. He was a resident of Sāmānā. Hence the reading *و الثاني الملك تمور الشبي مدار* و *الثاني الملك* in the Ms. 2287 which is preferable. But the reading *و الثاني الملك* و *تمور الشربدار هو الساقى* in the French edition turns *السمانتي* (inhabitant of Sāmānā) into *الساقى* which has been regarded as an explanation of *الشربدار*, a poor explanation indeed.

The twelfth instance is convincing enough. The reading in the Ms. 2287 gives *بن ماهر* *عين الملك* as the correct form of the name of 'Ainul-Mulk bin Māhrū, the famous courtier and servant of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. But the French edition has *بن ماهر* *يمن الملك* (Ain-ul-Mulk bin Māhir), which is incorrect.

FEROZ SHAH BAHMANI AS A NATION-BUILDER OF THE DECCAN

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The Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan, which lasted for nearly a century and a half, is rich in history. It produced a number of statesmen, nation-builders, law-givers and scholars. Tajuddin Feroz Shah, who was the eighth of the Bahmanide line, was a towering personality in the Mediæval Deccan. His glorious achievements in the fields of politics and culture, make his reign, which covers a period of twenty five years, unique in history. He was a scholar-statesman who possessed in a rare combination of the qualities of a scholar-statesman, and a nation-builder. He was a great scholar of his time, well-versed in all branches of literature and science. At the same time he was a social reformer with full knowledge of the realities of the situation, and a statesman who could handle men and affairs with perfect skill and sagacity. He served his kingdom with his pen and sword as a sincere and a patriotic ruler and brought it to the pinnacle of glory, which was not surpassed at any time by his successors. He developed the moral and mental capacities of his subjects by propagating art, science and literature throughout his kingdom. He reorganized the Deccani society by introducing some of the important reforms, which bore fruit in the age that followed. In short, he holds the highest place among the members of his house, and, as almost all the historians support the fact, it was through his outstanding personality, that the Bahmani dynasty was known in India and abroad.¹

It is not possible to ascertain the date of Feroz Shah's birth. To follow the authority of Burhan-i-Maasir² and Zafar-ul-Wala³ which give more correct information about the Bahmanide line than Ferishta, Feroz Shah's father was Ahmad Khan, one of the four sons of Alauddin Bahman Shah, the founder of the kingdom. Ahmad Khan and his brother, Mahmood Khan did not become kings but lived a private life. When Daood Shah, the second son of Bahman Shah, who had killed his nephew Mujahid Shah, was murdered in revenge after a brief reign of a month or so, Mohammad Shah II, a son of Mahmood Khan ascended the throne. The reason why Mohammad Shah, the son of a younger brother was enthroned, while Feroz, the son of an elder brother was there, seems to be, that Feroz and his younger brother Ahmad Khan were still

1 Ferishta part III page 307, Khafi Khan Vol. III p. 50.

2 Burhan-i-Maasir by Ali Ben Azeezullah. Published by the Persian Manuscript Society of Hyderabad, page 41

3 Arabian History of Gujrat, edited by Sir Denison Ross p. 160.

minors. If Feroz had been of age at the time of Daood's murder, he would have ascended the Bahmani throne and saved the kingdom from the set-back, the kingdom so unfortunately suffered owing to the weak reigns of Shamsuddin and Ghiasuddin, the successors of Mohammad Shah II. But the succession of the latter to the throne, whom Ferishta mistakably calls Mahmood Shah, was of great advantage both to the kingdom and the royal family. Mohammad Shah II was a highly cultured ruler, generous and liberal at heart. He bestowed his royal favour on all the members of the family. He directly supervised the education and training of his cousins Feroz and Ahmad. A celebrated scholar of the age, Meer Fazlullah Anju, who had come to the Deccan from Persia and enjoyed royal patronage, which was characteristic of Bahmanide rulers, was appointed as their tutor. It was due to this training of Fazlulla Anju, on whom, later, the high sounding title of Sadar-i-Jahan was conferred, that Feroz became an erudite scholar, by no means inferior to his learned tutor. There is no doubt that several other princes, such as Feroz's brother, Ahmad, and Mohammad Shah's sons, Shamsuddin and Ghiasuddin, came in contact with Sadar-i-Jahan, but it was the intelligent Feroz benefitted most by his training.

Ferishta⁴ and Khafi Khan⁵ give us a detailed account of Feroz Shah's wide knowledge of science and literature and his constant devotion to learning. He is represented as a great genius, and the fact is evident from his versatile mind and his varied literary activities. It appears from the statement of the historians that he had exhausted the whole field of contemporary knowledge and was at home in all branches of learning which constituted the standard scholarship of the medieval age. He was well-versed in the Quranic studies, Islamic jurisprudence, as well as natural and moral sciences. He was well-read in Sufism and all its branches, a very popular subject of the mediæval times. He was highly proficient in mathematics and geometry.⁶ Moreover his creative mind was not content with the existing stock of knowledge which was transmitted from the teacher to the student, but he continued to explore new fields for himself and made valuable contribution to art and science. He spent his liesure in the company of scholars and discussed the controversial topics with them. More striking is the fact that he, according to Khafi Khan, lectured to the students on the standard text of logic, rhetoric, natural and moral sciences, rational theology, exegesis of the Quran, Tradition and jurisprudenc—a fact which reveals his wide range of scholarship. To be precise, in the words of Ferishta, he lectured on *Zahide* and *Sharh-i-Tazkira*, the important texts of mathematics;⁷ on *Sharh-*

4 Ferishta part III p. 308.

5 Khafi Khan Vol III p. 50.

6 Geometry was included in Mathematics but treated as a separate subject in the Mediæval times.

7 These works are by a famous scholar Najmuddin Azzahedi who died in 658 A. H. i.e.

i-Maquasid,⁸ a high standard book dealing with the rational treatment of religion; on Tahreer-i-Uqledus, a book which explains the theorems of Euclid; on Mutawwal, a scholarly work on literary technique.⁹ He used to take his classes three days a week, Saturday, Monday, and Wednesday. If he failed to take his classes during the day time, he engaged the students at night. He had also learnt to read the old and the New Testaments and used to discuss with the scholars of the respective religions.¹⁰ He was a poet and used "Urooji" and 'Ferozi" as his pen-name. Some of his poems and a few couplets still survive and supply a clue to his extra-ordinary mental capacity.¹¹

In addition to his wide knowledge of science and literature, he is also known in history as a great linguist. Ferishta tells us that he had mastered almost all the principal languages of Asia and some of Europe, including the Dravidian Vernaculars spoken in the various regions of the Deccan.¹² Since he was gifted with a prodigious memory so retentive that he could reproduce anything he had heard once or twice, Ferishta's statement about his mastery of all these languages does not seem to be unfounded. He spoke these languages as fluently as he did his own tongue. With a view to keep himself constantly in touch with these languages, he had made a very curious arrangement, which only the master-mind of Feroz Shah could devise. He married many women of the various nationalities of Asia and Europe and also those of the Dravidian races of the Deccan, and conversed with these wives in their respective tongues. What is still more strange is the fact, that these wives which numbered hundreds, were provided with separate palaces and with a number of maids of the same nationalities to serve them. The wives were ordered to associate with, and speak to their maids of their own race appointed for them, and not with others, lest their languages, so preserved, should suffer in purity by the admixture of foreign words. In so doing, he sought the same milieu for these wives and their maids with which they were familiar in their own countries. If any maid died or was dismissed, she was promptly replaced by a fresh one from the same country, and thus the languages were carefully guarded against all alien influences. Of the wives Feroz Shah had in his haram, nine were Arab women, who were born and brought up in Hedjaz, where polished Arabic is spoken. Nine of them were from Persia and the adjoining regions. And others hailed from Europe, Trans-Oxania, Afghanistan, Rajputana, Bengal, Gujerat, Andhra, Karnataca, and Maharashtra. All of them, irrespective of their cast and creed, had their own palaces and maids, and enjoyed royal favour in equal measure.

⁸ It is by Saadudin Taflazam who is also the author of Muttawwal. He died in 791 A. H. 1389 A. D.

⁹ Ferishta part III 308.

¹⁰ Ferishta p. 309.

¹¹ Ferishta p. 319.

¹² Ferishta p. 309.

Making due allowance for vanity of a poet, Feroz Shah's own couplet sums up his extra-ordinary talents and learning in a few words;¹³

دماغ طابع عروجی چه دلکش چمنی است - چمن مگوئی کہ آن آسمان نرہنگ است

What a refreshing garden is the mind of Uroji, (Feroz Shah). Don't call it a garden, it is rather the Heaven of knowledge. Having reviewed Feroz Shah's achievements in the field of learning, Ferishta gives his verdict that his versatile mind must have been greater than that of Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq¹⁴. There is no doubt that the latter was the only sovereign who could be compared with Feroz Shah Bahmani in respect of learning. But as a matter of fact, with regard to his stock of knowledge and extraordinary talents, Feroz Shah was far superior to Tughlaq. There was not the same genius and zeal for learning in the Pathan king as is found in the Bahmanide ruler. Moreover Sultan Tughlaq, with his bookish learning and negligible practical ability was failure in the domain of politics and statesmanship. Feroz Shah Bahmani, on the other hand, was not only a great scholar but was also gifted with a creative mind which enabled him to achieve success in every walk of life. He was as great and successful as a statesman as he was as a scholar. He wielded his sceptre as skilfully as he did his pen. There was hardly any scheme which he failed to carry out.

Feroz Shah in his role of a statesman and nation-builder, has no parallel in the History of the Deccan. He was the most cultured and highly educated ruler Deccan had ever had. He came to the throne in the early years of the fifteenth century when the Bahmani kingdom was passing through the throes of political disintegration, and but for the accession of Sultan Feroz, the kingdom would have been torn asunder a century earlier. Some of the Turkish slaves who had been brought up by Bahman Shah I, turned faithless and had usurped the royal powers. Taghalchin, who was prominent among them, dominated the central government and had reduced the minor kings, Ghiasuddin and Shamsuddin, who succeeded their father one after the other, to the position of mere figure-heads. This was a calamity which threatened not only the Bahmani prestige, which had been so laboriously built up by the previous kings, but also the very existence of the Bahmani kingdom. The nobility and the gentry which formed the main stay of the kingdom were terrified at this turn of affairs, and helplessly looked forward to a saviour, who appeared in the person of Feroz Shah. It was nothing sort of a miracle that Feroz, in union with his brother Ahmad Khan, rose to the occasion and risking life and property, championed the Bahmani cause. All his efforts to overthrow Taghalchin's domination were baulked by him and his followers, who had taken hold of the sovereign power.

13 Ferishta part III p. 319.

14 Ferishta p. 308.

It was obviously a hopeless task, and what saved the situation and won the day, was the heroism and sincerity of Feroz Shah. Almost all the historians, who record these stirring events are agreed that Feroz, in striving to gain the throne, was actuated entirely by unselfish motives and he wanted the throne not for self-aggrandisement, but to save the Bahmani Kingdom.

The first steps, which Feroz Shah took after his accession in 800 A. H.= 1397 A. D. were to make good the losses, the kingdom had sustained during the selfish regime of Taghalchin and restore the old palmy days of Mohammad Shah I and II. The worthless favourites of the usurper, who were responsible for mal-administration, were turned out and men like Fazlulla Anju and his educated relations were raised to the highest posts of responsibility and trust. Faziulla, on whom was conferred the title of Malik Naib in addition to that of Sadr-e-Jahan, was appointed as Wakeelus-Saltanat, the lieutenant of the kingdom, and his son Shamsuddin Anju to whom the hand of the king's own daughter was given in marriage, was appointed as governor of Daulatabad. Two Turk brothers who had helped the king in his attempts to win the throne, were awarded the titles of Hoshyar Aenul Mulk, and Bedar Nizamul Mulk respectively, and were raised to the position of trustworthy counsellors. The king's own brother, Ahmad Khan, an equally aducated young man, was appointed a minister with the titles of Ameenul Omera and Khan Khanan. Feroz Shah's another task, equally onerous, was to restore the Bahmani prestige in the neighbouring kingdoms, especially Vigia Nagar. Almost all the historians who quote the authority of Mulla Daood Bidri, a contemporary historian of Feroz Shah's reign, mention twentyfour expeditions which Feroz Shah conducted against the neighbouring powers and except in one or two cases, he returned home triumphantly. He not only excersized considerable influence on the neighbouring states, but he, at the same time extended his kingdom to Bankapur in the West, and to Rajamandri in the East.

The most outstanding achievement of Feroz Shah, which is almost epoch-making in the history of the Deccan and India, was his ambitious nation-building programme. What he aimed at was, to reorganize the Deccani society by amalgamating the two diametrically opposed communities, Hindus and Mussalmans, by creating sound social ties among them. This programme for welding the different communities into a single homogeneous nation had its root in the spirit of tolerance the Bahmani kingdom had always showed towards all classes of its subjects, and as such it was a continuation of the older policy adopted in the earlier reigns. As a matter of fact, the Bahmanides were the first Mohammadan rulers of India who laid down the broad lines of the liberal policy of nationalization of the Deccan. Alauddin Bahaman Shah I and his prime minister Saifuddin Ghorī, were the first politicians of India to initiate and implement this policy. Although only half a century had

elapsed since the settlement of the "Centurians" began in the last decade of the thirteenth century, it is surprising that even in this short period, they had acclimatized themselves in this region, and making a common cause with the Dravidian races, had formed a Deccani nation, quite distinct from that of the North. Even the early days of the Bahmani kingdom had seen Hindus holding responsible government-posts, especially in Revenue and Finance departments. Ferishta is definite in saying that Brahmans for the first time in the reign of Bahman Shah I, were called upon to shoulder the responsibilities of the Muslim government with equal privileges with the Mohammadans. Hindus, on their part, whole-heartedly responded to their call, whereas they had hitherto kept aloof from the Pathan kingdom of the North regarding service in the Mohammadan government as derogatory to their race.¹⁵

The work of amalgamating the two communities was yet to be done. It did not advance beyond the limits reached in the early reigns of Bahman Shah I and his son Mohammad Shah I, characterised by the liberal and the tolerant attitude of its government towards the Hindu subjects. These early rulers had confined themselves to employing Brahmans in the government service on equal terms with the Mohammadans—a policy which no doubt drew both the communities close to each other, but it did not help to blend them into a single homogeneous nation. In the beginning of the fifteenth century when Feroz Shah came to the throne, a full century had elapsed since the advent of the Mohammadans in the Deccan and therefore it was high time to pursue this policy with new methods and place it on a permanent basis. Feroz Shah was shrewd enough to realize the situation and devise a new plan, so that the two communities might come into close contact with each other and thus form a common society. He was not content with the older policy of merely allowing Hindus to share the responsibilities of the government, though he continued the policy more intensively than his predecessors and gave the Hindus a preponderant share in politics.¹⁶ He drew up a novel scheme of amalgamating the two communities by creating new social ties between them through inter-marriages. To expedite this scheme, he himself set an example by marrying Hindu women from the North and the South of India, particularly those hailing from the three linguistic regions of the Deccan, Maharashtra, Andhra, and Karnatak. These wives were kept in separate places at Ferozabad—a town which was newly built for this purpose and named after the king—and they were at full liberty to observe their rites and traditions.

A part of this plan was also to contract matrimonial alliances with the neighbouring states of the North and the South with a view to put an end

¹⁵ Ferishta part III p. 278.

¹⁶ Ferishta part III p. 309

to the age-long hostility which so often disturbed the peace of the Deccan plateau. North of the Godaveri the Bahmani kingdom touched a Gond principality called Kherla. Though it was not so strong as to be a danger to its powerful neighbour, yet it was made use of by the aggressive Mohammadan kingdoms of the North, Malwa and Khandesh, and used to encroach on Berar, a northern province of the Bahmani kingdom. In the south it touched the strong kingdom of Vigianagar which had come into existence a decade earlier than the Bahmanides. It was so firmly established that it had withstood so far the fierce onslaughts of the north and survived its rival kingdom for a century. The common boundary and the strip of land watered by the Krishna and the Tungabhadra which formed a bone of contention, was the cause of incessant wars between them. From the very early years when the Bahmani kingdom came into existence, relations between them had always been strained and in consequence, sanguinary wars were waged between them with appalling loss of life and property to both the sides. Out of the twenty four expeditions which were undertaken in the reign of Feroz Shah, most of them were against Vigianagar and in most cases resulted in the severe defeat of the Hindu kingdom. This unhappy state of affairs had always occupied the best attention of the statesmen on both the sides, but no amicable settlement had been reached. Each party sought to overthrow the other. Feroz Shah was the first ruler to solve the problem with a master-stroke of policy, that is, he planned to cement political alliances by means of matrimonial relations. The first act of this kind took place in 802 A. H., two years after Feroz Shah became king, when a pitched battle was fought between Narsingh, the Gond Rajah of Kherla, and the Bahmani ruler. The former was defeated and sued for peace. The treaty which was concluded contained, among other terms, the marriage of the defeated rajah's daughter with Feroz Shah. Similarly on the southern side, when the powerful raja of Vigianagar, Dew Raya¹⁷, was defeated with heavy losses in 809 A. H. 1406 A. D., he was compelled to sign a treaty with humiliating terms such as the offer of gold jewellery, elephants and his daughter for Feroz Shah's harem. Though the Vigianagar princess was obtained as a part of the humiliating treaty, yet the marriage was celebrated with great pomp and honour appropriate to the royal status of the parties so that it might create good will between the two kingdoms. Fazlulla Anju and Ahmad Khan were deputed by the king to go to Vigianagar and bring the bride with due honour which she deserved as a Vigianagar princess. Feroz Shah was invited to Vigianagar and was accorded a magnificent reception and served with sumptuous feasts¹⁸.

¹⁷ The Roy was named as Deva Raya by Ferishta and other historians, but really speaking he was Bukka II. Cambridge History of India Vol. III 391

¹⁸ Ferishta part III p. 315

The process of nationalization was also accelerated by the development of the Deccan languages, which were liberally patronized by Feroz Shah. His predecessors had, no doubt, a broad outlook towards their Hindu subjects, but they never learnt and encouraged the vernaculars of the country. Feroz Shah was the first ruler to recognize the importance of this factor in nation-building. Besides, the principal languages of other countries, he devoted his time to master the three languages, Marhati, Telugu, and Kanarese, spoken in his kingdom. He knew and spoke these languages fluently. It is definitely recorded that, when Feroz visited Vigianagar as a guest of Dew Raya in connection with his marriage celebration, he conversed with the Raya in Kanarese.¹⁹ And a unique arrangement by which foreign women in his harem conversed with the king in their respective tongues, was intended to revive his linguistic interest and keep him constantly in touch with the languages. And thus the part he played in the revival and development of Deccan languages, was no less important than that of the Rayas of Vigianagar.

Feroz Shah's activities as a scholar and an educationist present a more attractive fact of his many-sided personality. His educational activities motivated by the sincere desire to raise the intellectual standard of his subjects, were by no means inferior to his social reforms. Of course, it is only fair to conclude that, Feroz Shah's reign was only a later stage in the literary progress of the country. The literary tradition of the day, was inherited from the previous generation, that is, the reign of Mohammad Shah II. It was then that several distinguished men of letters were invited to the Deccan to spread learning throughout the kingdom. Meer Fazlulla Anju, who was mostly responsible for the literary enthusiasm which marked both the reigns, had been invited by Mohammad Shah and patronized by him. A number of literary circles were formed round Fazlulla and his disciples, and a great intellectual awakening was brought about. Feroz Shah himself was a typical product of his age, and so the literary enthusiasm he showed during his reign, was in continuation of the settled policy of the past generation.

But Feroz Shah's unflinching love of learning and his devotion to the cause of education has no parallel in history. It was certainly far more than what was experienced in the reign of Mohammad Shah II. As he himself was a great scholar, he could realize the true value and advantage of learning. He sincerely strove to raise the intellectual standard of his subjects to a level which was never reached before and after him. It is a strange fact that he was so much devoted to the cause of learning that, inspite of his heavy work in managing state affairs, he found time to pay full attention to the matter with a definite purpose of developing the mental capacities of his subjects. It is worthy of note that in the domain of education he was always progressive and

¹⁹ Ferishta part III p. 315.

did not neglect to get new inspiration from the living centres of learning in other parts of the world. As a result of this the Bahmani kingdom had established contact with the older seats of learning in Arabia, Persia, and Trans Oxania. Distinguished men of letters flocked to the Bahmani capital and were received as royal guests. The Bahmani fleet which comprised two hundred ships and was employed to guard the coast of the kingdom, was commissioned to sail in the seas of Arabia and Persia and bring back treasures of art from these countries. But the import which the king preferred was of capable men who could serve the state as soldiers and as teachers. The ships sailed back to the ports, Goa, Javal and Wabel, with as many scholars as they found and added to the literary circle of the king annually, so that, in course of time, it became a great academy.²⁰

Historical records of the time fail to give the names of all the scholars who had thronged to the court of Feroz Shah at Gulburga. They confine themselves to the general statement that Feroz Shah had a large body of distinguished men of letters who were the choice of the age.²¹ Fazlulla Anju, Shamsuddin Anju, Ameer Naquddin, Moulana Lutfulla Sabsvari, Mulla Ishaq Sarhindi, Hakim Hasan Geelani and Syed Mahmood Karzuni, are the very few names which are haphazardly mentioned. Though Fazlulla, owing to his all round scholarship and his matrimonial connections with the royal family, was a very prominent member of the group, and was highly respected as such, Hakeem Hasan Geelani and Mahmud Karzuni are also represented as well-read scholars. All of them were held in high esteem and received royal hospitality in equal measure. The palace was thrown open to whomsoever cared to enter and every one was promptly served with every thing he wanted including food and drink. Since the king was engaged in administrative work during the day time, so to suit him, they usually met at night and sat late till two or three A. M. He betook himself to these literary gatherings almost every night. What is more interesting to note is that he never allowed his royal position to stand between him and the members of the gathering. He, rather, freely moved in the company of scholars, priests, poets, story-tellers, and bards as an ordinary man, and treated them as if they were his brethren. He told the learned visitors frankly that, so long as he sat on the throne and attended to the state affairs, he must appear in the capacity of a king striking awe in the mind of his subjects and thereby keeping a firm hold on the reins of government. On the other hand, in the company of scholars, he was no more than an ordinary member, and by this arrangement he meant to enjoy himself fully in the capacities of both a king and a scholar. The members of this company were

20 *Ferishta* part III p. 308.

21 *Ibid.* part III p. 308.

given full liberty to talk to one another and to himself as freely as they could. The only restriction imposed on them was to avoid politics which was the special province of "Devandari", namely the king and his ministers, and refrain from back-biting. Mulla Ishaq Sarhindi referred to an untoward incident which followed Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi's free association with his courtiers and warned the king to guard himself against this. He was of opinion that this sort of free contact did not become a king. But Feroz Shah did not subscribe to this milieu and he argued that the untoward incidents could occur only when the kings were wanting in learning and culture. As a matter of fact Feroz Shah's high culture and good training and tact enabled him to steer clear of the scylla of arrogance as a king and the charybdis of undue familiarity as a member of a literary circle. He stuck to his principle so consistently that it led to no untoward incident which could disturb the pleasant atmosphere. All those who had come in contact with other kings, unanimously asserted that Feroz Shah, with his strength of character and high principle, was the only ideal sovereign of his times.²²

A notable feature of the literary circle was, that it was not restricted to the Mohammadan scholars, but was open to the scholars of other religions as well. They were accorded the same hearty reception as the Mohammadans, and the king took special care of them.²³ Feroz Shah approached the scholars of other religions, as Christianity and Judaism, and if a later historian is to be relied upon, also those of Brahmanism²⁴, and used to discuss religious problems with all of them. He studied the Old and the New Testaments and probably the Vedas too, and according to Khafi Khan, added explanatory notes to them—²⁵ a fact which shows that he had a deeper knowledge of the Scriptures. These noble efforts on the part of Feroz Shah to search for truth even in non-Islamic creeds, bear testimony to the true spirit of scholarship far ahead of his age. It is obvious that he was animated by the true spirit of scholarship unfettered by religious bias. And moreover it is borne in upon us that he believed in universal peace or toleration. It was a noble attempt to tone down the differences of religions and so bridge the chief gulf between the rulers and the ruled in those times.

Such was the noble ideal which Feroz Such so ardently cherished and lived upto it throughout his life. His own verses, beautifully composed, give a vivid idea how he looked at human life.

درانش هوزة فکر زائل نه کنی - اندیشه به هر خیال مائل نه کنی
 این نقد خریدنه دماغ است بکوهی - نا صرف به جنسهاے باطل نه کنی -²⁶

22 Ferishta part III p. 307.

23 Ibid part III p. 309.

24 Mahboobut Tawarikh by Abdul Jabbar Khan Asafi p. 427.

25 Khafi Khan Vol. III p. 50.

26 Ferishta part III p. 319.

Don't waste your intellect on nonsense,
Don't lend your mind to every thing you come across.
You possess a mind as rich as a treasury.
See, that it is not wasted on worthless matters.

It is not possible to ascertain how far Feroz Shah succeeded in re-modelling the Deccani society in accordance with his original ideas. Historical records of the time do not furnish us with sufficient data as to the social conditions of those days. As is usually the case with mediæval authorities, they concentrate on the personality of the king and his court. There is every reason to believe that the scheme did not pass unnoticed. Though it made slow progress yet it had far reaching effects on the succeeding ages. The later kingdoms which were the off-shoots of the Bahmani power, adhered to the liberal principles laid down by Feroz Shah. It is a well known fact that the founder of the Adil Shahi kingdom, Yousuf Adil Khan had married a Maratha woman and had thus paved the way for a common culture. His successors who were descended from the same Maratha lady, were naturally attached to Mahārashtra and its culture. The result was that they sincerely helped the development of Maratha nation and its language. The Qutub Shahi kings of Golconda, who ruled over the Telugu country, followed in the wake of the same Bahmani tradition. Though they were foreigners of Persian blood, yet they identified themselves with the people of the country they ruled. They imbibed the local spirit, observed the local traditions, and learned the Telugu language and acquired so much proficiency in it that they could write Telugu poetry. The bulk of Telugu literature during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, owes a great deal to Qutub Shahi patronage. And coming to a later age, the liberal and tolerant rule of Akbar, the Great Moghal, and his cosmopolitan literary and religious circle, remind us of the good old days of Feroz Shah.

THE ORIGIN OF THE KHILJI SULTANS OF DELHI

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The following passage in Ziauddin Barni's famous *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* has been responsible for much of the doubt cast on the origin of the Khilji Turks who founded a strong centralised empire in India in the 13th century¹. The translations or rather mis-translations of *Ferishta* made by Dow² and Briggs³ made the confusion greater. The Khiljis were not regarded for a long time as Turkish in origin and in the present note I have tried to establish the identity of the Khiljis who were thoroughly Turkish in origin and whom careless historians and whose long residence in Non-Turkish lands deprived them of their ethnic origin.

"In the year 688 A. H.", writes Ziauddin Barni "Sultan Jalaluddin Khilji ascended the throne in the Kailughari palace. As the people of Delhi had for 80 years prospered under the rule of the Turks the government of the Khiljis appeared to them intolerable. Jalaluddin therefore, refrained from entering the city for a time.....It appeared strange to them as to how the Khiljis came to rule in place of the Turks and how kingship had passed from the Turkish people into the hands of others"⁴ Elsewhere too he makes the statements that Jalaluddin came from a race different from that of the Turks, that he did not belong to their party and that by the death of Sultan Kaiqubad the Turks lost the empire.⁵ The implication in these passages of Barni is that the Khiljis who were not Turks, deprived the Turks of their kingship to which according to him they had a prescriptive right. It appeared strange to the people of Delhi long used to the rule of the Ilbari Turks that the Khiljis should rule in India. One can excuse the ignorance of the people of Delhi who had perhaps on account of long associations a greater regard and a firmer sense of loyalty to the particular family that had ruled for generations than an accurate knowledge of Turkish tribes. The rule of Balban had been long and in a way prosperous. He had awed the people by his magnificent display of riches and terrorised them by a strong ruthless personal rule. He had been at pains to find a royal ancestry for himself and connect himself with the ancient Persian emperors with the object of surrounding his dynasty with the halo of antiquity. His sons and grand-sons were known to the people as being born

1 1290—1320.

2 Dow, Alexander—*The History of Hindustan*, London 1770-72.

3 Briggs, *Rise of Muhammadan Power*, 4 Vols.

4 Barni, *Calcutta Text*, p. 175,

5 Barni, *Calcutta Text*, pp. 171-172 ; p. 173.

in purple and as men of many accomplishments and in case of one, inspite of his reckless living, men of personal charms. The Khiljis were interlopers and upstarts. They were rough warriors and the people of Delhi expected nothing but rigorous exacting government from them. They did not like them nor desire their rule; hence their contemptuous surprise at the brazen faced daring of the Khiljis in assuming royal power.

But no such excuse of ignorance or wonder can be put forward for Barni who inspite of his confusedness is a careful writer and professes in the introduction to his book to have utilised all the oral and written information that was available for the compilation of his book.⁶ Further he had splendid opportunities of knowing things, firstly because of family connections and secondly on account of his personal associations with men of power and prestige at the court and men of learning and piety in the capital. A man who was for 17 years at the court of Mohammad Tughlaq and claimed the friendship of men like Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, Amir Hasan Sanjari and Hazrat Amir Khusrau could not be ignorant of as to who the Khiljis were. As such his statement is either a case of deliberate suppression to belittle the importance of the Khilji rule or is capable of a meaning which has not been properly understood.

Ziauddin Barni was a young boy during the reign of Jalaluddin the founder of the Khilji dynasty and his account of the court and the pleasure parties of that emperor is full of such wistfulness and is described with such touches of despair and personal loss as to indicate a strong impression having been left on his youthful mind. He gives expression to an anguished longing for the return of that period of bliss. He speaks well of Jalaluddin but in his account of Alauddin's reign there is neither admiration nor respect for his government, nor does he sigh for the return of a government as his. His praise wherever it is due is grudgingly given. For Qutbuddin, the son and successor of Alauddin, he has only contempt. Such were the three Khilji Sultans under whose rule Ziauddin Barni's mind matured, and writing thirtyseven years after the death of the last Khilji ruler he still refused to acknowledge them as Turks. The only explanation that can be given is the ingrained and sentimental regard which the people of Delhi, the premier capital town of the Muslim empire, had for the descendants of Iltutmish however removed from their progenitor and which feeling Barni shared, and secondly the belief that the pious and the holy people and the descendants of the old aristocratic families had a superior claim to the indulgent consideration of the government and that these two classes of people must have, as a matter of right, the monopoly of all offices irrespective of merit or personal talent. This belief had been inculcated in the minds of

⁶ See article on Ziauddin Barni by Syed Husan Barni, Islamic Culture Vol, XII, No. 1.

the people by Iltutmish and Balban. The Khilji imperialism uprooted the first and scattered them; it humbled and destroyed the pride of the latter. The Khiljis had neither respect for the one nor fear of the other. They wanted merit and efficiency and did their work so thoroughly that even the post of a SadrusSadur went to a Multani and elicited the sharp rebuke of Maulana Shamsuddin Turk. "One of the things which I have heard about you," wrote Maulana Shamsuddin Turk, "which neither God nor his prophets nor any saint or Sheikh likes is this. You have entrusted the most delicate of all offices and one unbecoming to any one who does not hate the world to the Multani fellow Hamid who from the time of his grandfather and father has lived on nothing but usury. You do not concern yourself about the faith of any Kazi, you entrust the laws of the Shariat to selfish and greedy men who love the world."⁷ As such the Khiljis were not Turks for they did not behave like the former Turkish rulers. Ziauddin Barni is very particular about the lineage of men of importance. This was the legacy left by Iltutmish who first created class consciousness amongst the Turks by bringing them together in his famous corps of Shamshi slaves and Balban's endeavour to secure a halo of sanctity for his dynasty by insisting on blue blood being the essential requisite for fitness for a governmental post.

Ziauddin Barni divides the people into 'Sharif' and 'Razil' and a careful perusal of his book leaves the impression on the mind that by 'Sharif' he meant men descended from those respectable families that formed the nucleus of the Muslim population in India and the well born emigrants who settled in India having been driven from their homes by the devastating flood of the Mongol rising. The Khiljis in his eyes had no claim to respectability, and no ancient lineage, and no personal piety to recommend them. They were not Ilbari Turks nor did they belong to the 'fighty families' of the days of Iltutmish. Hence their origin was ignored and they were classed with the non-descript Musalmans who now formed the bulk of the Muslim population in India. This is the only explanation one can put on the loosely made statements of Barni. To regard it as the last word on the ethnic origin of the Khiljis is unscientific and unhistorical. Barni was a contemporary of the Khiljis; he was a well read man, well connected and well informed and had certainly ample opportunities of knowing the truth, but for once in this case his personal dislike of the Khiljis over-rode his sense of historical accuracy or truth.

After Barni the two other historians who could have elucidated this point are Shamshi Siraj Afif⁸ and Yahya Ibn Ahmad Sarhindi.⁹ Both are silent on this point and it is difficult to get any information from their pages. Ferishta

7 Ziauddin Barni, Calcutta Text p. 398; for Barni's views on this see p. 352.

8 Tarikhi Feroz Shahi

9 Tarikhi Mubarik Shahi

and Nizamuddin writing in the 16th century have definite statements to make on this point. Nizamuddin Bakhshi in his *Tabaqati Akbari* says—

“I have seen in one of the authoritative histories, that the tribe of Khalj are the descendants of Khalij Khan, son-in-law of Chengiz Khan; and his story is this. He had an unpleasantness with his wife, the daughter of Chengiz Khan. For fear of the latter, he had no alternative but to simulate softness and courtesy. He was all along looking for a release, a means of escape, but could not find any. At last when Chengiz Khan defeated and crushed Sultan Jalaluddin on the bank of the river Sindh, and having freed his mind of all anxiety about Iran and Turan, returned towards his own country, and at about the same time passed away; Kalij Khan, who had carefully examined the hilly country of Ghur and Gharjistan and their strength and inaccessibility, settled down there with his family and tribesmen, who numbered about three thousand families. As Chengiz Khan was dead, and none of his sons took any notice of his movements, he remained there: and his descendants multiplied. As the Sultans of Ghur and its dependencies conquered Hindustan, the Khalj, owing to their being in the neighbourhood, came at different times into that country, and entered into service there and attained to high rank. The father of Sultan Jalaluddin and the father of Sultan Mahmud Khalji Mandvi, who were among the great and successful Maliks and renowned Sultans, were grandsons of Khalij-Khan. Kalij became Khalij by a change of letter, and by frequency of use became Khalj. According to the author of the *Saljuknamah* (however) Turk, the son of Japhet had eleven sons, one of these was named Khalj. His descendants are called the Khalj.”¹⁰

Nizamuddin's statement is self contradictory. The Khiljis existed and fought as mercenaries with the armies of the Khwarzm Shahis, Mahmood of Ghazni and Shahabuddin of Ghur and the famous Khilji adventurer Mohammad Bakhtiyar conquered Bengal for the latter much earlier than the irruption of the Mongols in Central Asia. According to Utbi the army of Mahmud which won a victory near Bulkh in 1008 contained a contingent of the Khiljis. According to Nasawi Jalaluddin's army which defended Samarkand against the Mongols had a contingent of Khalj. Nizamuddin forgetting his previous statement says that the descendants of Khalj Khan came to India with the Ghuris whose lands were devastated and sovereignty put an end to by the Mongols. Ferishta realised the difficulty and rightly pointed it out. “To the author of these pages, Mohammad Qasim Hindu Shah Ferishta,” says he, “the second explanation seems more reasonable. The histories of the Ghazanavides repeatedly affirm that many officers of Amir Subuktigin and Sultan Mahmud were Khiljis, and these monarchs certainly flourished before

¹⁰ Nizamuddin's *Tabaqati Akbari*, Calcutta Text, p. 116.

Chengiz Khan. It is, however, possible that Sultan Jalaluddin of Delhi and Sultan Mahmud of Mandu may have been the descendants of a Khilji chief, named Qalij.¹¹ The same view is held by Mullah Abdul Qadar Badaoni who says, "It must not be forgotten that although Shihab-ud-Din Hakim Kirmani Jaunpuri, the author of the history called *Tabaqat-i-Mahmud Shahi*, deduces the pedigree of Sultan Jalaluddin and Sultan Mahmud Maḷwi from the stock of Qalij Khan, son-in-law of Chengiz Khan, there is a long story connected with this. This at least is clear that this ancestry has no real authority, any one of sound judgment will be able to detect the falsity of his claim to this descent; and as a matter of fact there is no connection whatever between Qalij and Khalj, in spite of the fact that Qalij has too rough a sound for the Turki tongue, and if it had any equivalent (of sufficient softness) it would be Qalj with the meaning of a sword and in some histories it is said that Khalj is the name of one of the sons of Yafis, (Japhet) the son of Nuh (Noah) on whom be peace and the Khiljis descend from him. God knows the truth of this."¹²

Barthold, one of the greatest authorities on the History and Geography of Central Asia speaks of the Khalj (Arab vocalization) as a Turkish tribe who as early as the fourth century lived much further south than the other Turks in the Southern parts of the modern Afghanistan between Seistan and India and are said even then to have come thither in ancient times.¹³ It was on account of this perhaps that they came to be identified with the indigenous people of Afghanistan. According to Major Raverty and Elphinstone the Khiljis were a people who were Turks but having been long staying in Afghanistan first round Herat and then eastwards they became so assimilated to the population of the locality that they were taken to be more Afghans than Turks.

On the authority of MirKhond the name Khalj was given to a tribe by Oghuz Khan, "Aghuz Khan also named the Turk tribe of Khalj خَلج sometimes pronounced Khalaj, in poetry from the following circumstances. On one of Aghuz's expeditions, the particulars of which are too long for insertion here, some of his men fell out on the line of march, and remained behind. When they came up with the army again, Aghuz demanded the reason of their disobeying his strict orders against loitering. One of them replied, although they had been directed to take food with them sufficient for some days, that they had stayed behind in search of it, and that, in his own case, he had to remain because his wife was taken in labour, and, when the child came into the world, the mother, for want of nourishment, had no milk to give it. He had no food to offer her; when, looking about him, he espied, near by, a fox which had caught a partridge. He threw a stick at the fox which dropped the bird,

11 *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Newal Kishore edition, p. 88.

12 *Badoni, Muntakhebut Tawarikh*, Translated by Ranking, p. 230.

13 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 875.

which he seized, and, having roasted it, gave it to his wife to eat, and thereby she was able to afford nourishment to her babe. Hearing this tale, Aghuz gave the child—a boy—the name of Khalj or Khalaj, which signifies, according to some authors, “leave the woman behind,” but others again say it is a compound word derived from خ Khal, left, and ج aj, hungry—“left hungry.” The posterity of this man became, in time, very numerous, and various branches of them went out into Mawar-un-Nahr, the Garmsir of Ghur and other parts of Khurasan, and into Irak.”¹⁴

That the Khiljis were Turks is amply borne out by the Arab Geographers. Ibn Khurdazbeh says:—“from Taraz to Nushajan 3 parsakhs, then to Kasra Bas, 2 parsakhs. It is a hot place where the Karloks have their winter-seats. Not far from there there are the winter—seats of the *Khalaj*.”

In Kitab Muojam ul Buldan occurs the following “Khalj.....is a place near Ghazni or in the vicinity of Zobulistan.”¹⁵

Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah Ibn Abu'l Hasan-al-Marv-ur-Rudhi writing of the Turkish tribes says, “Now the Turks consist of many tribes most of whom live in the plains and have pasture grounds, but they do not remain in one spot for their flocks except in winter when snow covers the ground. If any one should wish to learn about all the Turkish tribes, it would be impossible but the following list gives the names of some of the best known sub-divisions. The eleventh tribe in a list of 64 is the Khalj and leaves no doubt about the Turkish origin of the same. Fakhruddin was a contemporary of Ghyasuddin Ghuri and was a man of education and culture and highly spoken of by Ibn Albir.”¹⁶

The following extracts from some eminent Arab Geographers are given in support of the Turkish origin of the Khiljis:—

“In Ghaznin and in the limits (hundred) of the boroughs which we have enumerated, live the Khalaj Turks who possess many sheep. They wander along climates (gardanda bar hava) grazing ground and pasture lands (marai) in provinces (hudud) of Balkh, Tukharistan.”¹⁷

“The Khalaj are a kind of Turk who in the days old came to the country (stretching) between Hind and the districts of Siestan behind Ghaur. They are cattle breeders (abl-al na'am) of Tarkish appearance (Khilaq) dress and language.”¹⁸

14 Tabaqati Nasiri translated by Raverty, p. 878 note.

15 Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum Vol. 2, p. 459.

16 (a) Tarikhi Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah (b) Ajab Nama p. 407.

17 Hud-ud-al-Alam, Translated by Minoraky p. 111.

18 Istakhri p. 245.

"Oghuz consisted of 24 clans but the two Khalaj clans separated from the federation and "therefore these two are not (evidently now) counted as of the Oghuz."¹⁹

"The Khalaj are a tribe of Turks who from the Khallukh limits envigorated to Zabulistan. Among the districts of Ghazni there is a steppe where they reside. Then on account of the heat of the air their complexion has changed and tendered towards blackness; the language too has undergone alterations and became a different dialect."²⁰

The 'Masalik Ul-Mumalik' states that "the Khalaj are a tribe of Turks, which in former days—this work was written long before the time of Mahmud of Ghaznin—settled in Garmsir, between Sijistan and the region of Hind²¹. They are in appearance and dress like Turks, and observe the customs of that race, and all speak the Turki language." The same work also states in two or three places, that there is a town called Khalj in that part; and in the account of Jaj also Chaj, of Mawar-an-Nahr says that this is a populous and flourishing city, the people of which are Ghuzz and Khalj, and the Mussalmans of the sect of Ghazi.

The Ghilzais of Afghanistan who are undoubtedly of Turkish origin have been indentified with Khiljis. Major Raverty objected to it strongly but as Wolsey Haig has pointed out, "If the Ghilzais be not Khiljis it is difficult to say what had become of the latter."

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¹⁹ Kaogharī Diwan lughat al Turk.

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²¹ Ibn Haukal quoted in J. R. A. S. Vol. XLIV.

THE ORIGIN OF 'GANGO BAHMANI' IS FERISHTA'S LEGEND ABSURD ?

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Lt. Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig as the editor of the Cambridge History of India Vol. III and a writer of the Chapters VI and XV dealing with Muhammad Tughluq and Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan respectively writes in a footnote on page 170-171 "European historians have hitherto accepted unquestioningly Ferishta's absurd legend of his having assumed the title 'Ala-ud-din Hasan Kanku Bahmani in honour of one Gangu, a Brahman whose slave he had formerly been." Apparently he does not believe in the legend and thinks that the story is untrue beyond all doubt. We are inclined to think otherwise. The object of this paper is to show how attempts to discredit the 'Gango Brahmin' connection of Hasan Shah and to trace him to the Persian origin are not after all as conclusive as they are considered to be by men like Lt. Col. Haig.

The view that Ferishta's version regarding the origin of Bahmani was not reliable was first put forth by Major J. S. King in the Indian Antiquary Vol. 28th of the 1899. In it he has given a well-edited translation of the work "Burhan-i-Masir" written by Ali bin Aziz Ullah Tabātabā. The said Tabātabā was a contemporary of Ferishta. As regards the quality of Tabātabā's work, Major King himself says on page 120, that "the style (of Tabātabā) is more ornate and in general completeness is inferior to the latter" (*i. e.* Ferishta's works). Tabātabā gives a long line of ancestors of Hasan Shāh in which he traces the name Bahram Gūr after giving a list of about twenty ancestors, but probably not being himself sure of the genealogy, he proceeds to add "But God the Most High alone knows the truth of matters". The sentence quoted has been throughout used by Tabātabā whenever he felt that he was on uncertain and doubtful historical evidence. It cannot be explained away as a general expression of modesty on the part of the writer. As regards the genealogy the difficulty of Tabātabā was obvious; of the words Gangu Bahmani Tabātabā could explain away 'Bahmani' by giving a Persian genealogy and explaining Bahman Shāh as a title held by Hasan Shah, but how could he explain Gangu? Major King also is silent over this point. Thirty years after this Lt. Col. Haig, the editor of Cambridge History tried to explain the word 'Gangu' or 'Kanku'. Being inclined to favour the Persian version he proceeded to argue that "the meaning of the addition 'Kanku' has not been established; but it is

probably a corruption of Kaikāūs, the name of Bahman Shah's father." (Cambridge History of India Vol. III footnote page 171). In further support of his argument Lt. Col. Haig writes on page 372, "Alau-d-din Hasan claimed descent from the hero Bahman, son of Isfandiyar and his assumption of the title Bahman Shah was an assertion of his claim." (Note :—In the footnote he refers the reader to J. A. S. B., Part I Vol. LXXIII extra number 1904, where Lt. Col. Haig first made his 'Notes on the Bahmani Dynasty'. We have not been able to get that number). Continuing, says Lt. Col. Haig, "Ferishta relates an absurd legend connecting the title with the name of the priestly caste of the Hindus, but the story is disproved by the evidence of inscriptions and legends on coins, and the name of Kanku which frequently occurs in conjunction with that of Bahman and which is said by Ferishta to represent Gangu, the name of King's former Brahman master, is more credibly explained by Maulavi 'Abdul-ul-wali as a scribes corruption of Kaikāūs, which was the name of Bahman's father as given in two extant geneologies."

I shall quote the relevant passage from Maulavi 'Abdul Wali's article which appeared in the Journal and the Proceedings of the R. A. S. B., Vol. V 1909, on page 463 on which Lt. Col. Haig relies his support.

'The Manuscript of the Haft-Iqlim' which belongs to the A. S. B. (D/347) has 'Hasan Kakuya' instead of Kanku or Gangu. (Note:—"The writer tells us in the same article that the author of the manuscript was Amin Ahmad Rāzi, who wrote it in 1002 H. before the time of Ferishta. The word 'Hasan Kakuya' appears in a passage under 'Dakan'). The word is a puzzle. Is it the Dakani corruption for Kaikāūs, the name of King's father? If this knotty point can be cleared up, the full name and title of the founder of the Bahmani Dynasty will run somewhat thus:—

Ālāud-d-din Hasan bin Kaikāūs Bahmani'. If the letter "s" of Kaikāūs be left out, the word may give rise to the following variants in Persian character: Kaikau, Kaukau, Kanku, Gangu, Kaku etc."

From the above passage it would be clear that Maulavi 'Abdul Wali himself regards this point as 'Knotty' and feels that if 's' of Kaikāūs be left out then the word may take the form of 'Gangu or Kanku' due to scribe's corruption. Further it should be remembered that the current title by which Hasan Shāh used to be addressed is not Hasan *bin* Kaikāūs Bahmani; it is only Hasan Gangu (Kaikaus) Bahmani. The fact that Haft Iqlim was written before Ferishta wrote, is not at all relevant for, after all the difference is only of a few years. It must be remembered that although Ferishta's work was completed by 1606-7 A. D. he had written the earlier portions as early as 1595-96 A. D. which is not very far off, from 1002 H. i. e. 1593-94 A. D. Much depends upon the quality of Haft Iqlim and the qualification of its author. 'Abdul Wali says not a word

about it in his article in the R. A. S. B. of 1904. Probably he has not thoroughly examined it.

It is very difficult to say what 'inscriptions and legends on coins' Lt. Col. Haig refers to. He has given no authority. It would have been much better if he would have. An article in the Journal and Proceedings of the R. A. S. B. Vol. XIX of 1923 (page 22/33) deals with the coins of Bahmani Kings. The coin of Alāu-d-dīn gives Bahman Shāh as the title of the King. The succeeding King calls himself Muhmad Shāh bin Bahman Shāh or Muhmad Hasan Bahmani. This shows that Bahman Shāh is a title assumed by Alau-d-din. The assumption of the title only shows that Alau-d-din liked to honour himself with the name of Persian hero Bahman, son of Isfandiyar. It does not make out a case in support of the Persian origin of Hasan Shāh. Hasan Shāh does not call himself a Bahmani. Succeeding Kings call themselves Bahmani, obviously because the founder of their dynasty styled himself Bahman Shāh. We therefore wish to point out that there is no *contemporary evidence* in support of the Persian origin of Hasan Shāh.

One can easily explain why Hasan liked to call himself Bahman Shāh. Whenever Kings rise to a high position they are anxious to trace their origin to noble families of old nay, even to the celestial Sun or the Moon. Do we not know that the later Chalukyas of the Deccan, although Dravidian in origin were anxious to imitate the Aryans by tracing their origin to the Sun or the Moon? The grandiloquent title assumed by kings and inscribed on coins does not long survive in popular memory but the popular name does. Hasan Gangu Bahmani was the popular name. The sanskrit word Brahman is generally pronounced by the Muslims as Bāhmun. We have the authority of Ferishta who tells us that Muslims of his days also pronounced the word similarly (*vide* Ferishta, Brigg's translation, Vol. III page 297 last but one line). Hasan was a Gangu Bahmani *i. e.* was one who once belonged to Gangu Brahman. Gangu is not a legendary person. It must be remembered that Hasan went out of his way and entrusted the management of his treasury to Gangu who had left Mahomed Toghluk's service and repaired to the Deccan when he learned of Hasan having come to the throne. (Ibid 289-90). Was Hasan an Afgan or a Persian? Ferishta emphatically says that he was by birth an Afgan (Ibid 297). Assumption of a title Bahman Shāh proves nothing except that Alāu-d-dīn liked to associate himself with the Persian kings. The geneology of 20 ancestors of Hasan Shāh given by Tabātabā cannot be regarded as reliable, because he is himself not sure of it and it is not corroborated by any other independent and contemporary evidence. Such geneologies are mostly untrustworthy.

We shall summarise what we have to say in brief.

(1) Kaikāūs may have been very probably the name of Hasan Shāh's father. We say very probably because there is no conclusive evidence.

(2) Attempt to connect Kaikāūs with Gangu on the part of Maulavi 'Abdul Wali is not complete; he himself is doubtful about the 'knotty point'.

(3) Assumption of the title Bahman Shāh by Alāu-d-din does not vouchsafe for the definite Persian origin of Bahmani kings.

(4) Geneologies are not trustworthy.

(5) Gangu is not an imaginary person. Hasan was closely associated with him.

(6) In the quality of writing Ferishta is superior to Tabātabā.

It must be remembered that Ferishta wanted to write a true account of Delhi and Bāhmuny kings and is generally fearless in criticising his master and critical in the sifting of his material. His patron Ibrahim Adil Shāh spared no expense to procure the most ample materials. He drew his information from 34 authorities and utilised 20 others, in the writing of his book of the 34 authorities there are two that refer to Bahmani Kingdom. They are :

(1) Siraj-oot-Tareekh Bāhmuny by Moola Mahomed Lary.

(2) Tohfut-oo-Sulateen Bāhmuny by Mulla Dawood Bidry.

If the controversy regarding Hasan Gangu Bahmani is at all to be further investigated we have to make a search of these documents, which, it is to be hoped, would throw further light on the subject. Till then, it would be hasty to discard the story told by Ferishta that Hasan was a slave to Gangu in his early days and he was popularly called Hasan Gangu Bahmani. It was a story that was the most generally believed in the 16th and the 17th Century *i. e.* when Ferishta wrote about it.

Another contemporary writer who wrote his work in 1608-9 was Rafiu-d-din Shirāzi. He was a Khajānchi *i. e.* treasurer at the court of Bijapur and has written Tazkarat-ul-Muluk. In it, he deals with Bahmani Kings and in writing about Hasan Shāh, says that he was formerly a servant of Gangu Brahman. There is no evidence internal or external to show that Shirazi borrowed from Ferishta. The translation of Tazkarat-ul-Muluk is given by Major J. S. King in the same volume of the Indian Antiquary, in which the translation of Burhan-i-Mahasir appears *i. e.* in Vol. 28th of 1899. We do not know why a statement supported by two independent and responsible writers should be discredited and a preference be given by research students to the writings of Tabātabā of the same period, who admittedly is "more ornate in style" and whose prejudice against "infidels" is seen from page to page. We are inclined to believe that Tabātabā must have deliberately given preference to legendary Persian geneology and passed over the story that Hasan was a slave to Gangu. It is significant that he says not a word about it while other writers who prefer to call Hasan by the name Hasan Gangu Bahmani, say that although they know of other stories they

would like to give what is the most generally believed in the Deccan. We have already shown that Haft Iqlim is not a document much older than the writings of Ferishta and therefore the more worthy of consideration. Its reliability has not been critically examined. Nor does it take us very far in deciding about the Persian origin of Hasan Shāh. Surely the Deccan Muslims would never have given currency to a belief that was not flattering to them had they believed in the reliability of the other versions by which Hasan could be traced to Persian origin and Gangu could be proved to be a myth.

Our conclusion is that for the present the evidence on different points is inconclusive and we shall not be justified in condemning Ferishta as one who gave currency to an 'absurd legend.'

CHARACTER OF SULTAN SIKANDAR LODI

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Sikandar Lodi is described by historians as possessing extra-ordinary physical charm and mental accomplishments. He had a prodigious memory, was faultless in speech and action¹, and a strong advocate of the Muslim canon law from the observance of which he exempted himself. He shaved his beard on the excuse that it was broom-like and to sustain his physical and mental vigour, he took regulated doses of wine "so secretly that nobody knew of it".² The usual five daily prayers he performed in one sitting in the morning.³ He was extremely simple in his dress but fully royal in his demeanour. No low-born people could associate with him nor any profane thing could ever be heard in his presence. But at the same time he was unusually kind to his relatives and condoned their faults when they begged his pardon.

As a king he was just, charitable, hard-working, a cherisher of his people, a patron of the learned and a critic and patron of literature and fine arts. Like the benevolent despots of the 18th century Europe, he was ever-conscious of the great trust imposed on him by virtue of his position as king, and worked with untiring energy for the welfare of his subjects, often remaining engaged in state duties from morning till sleeping time⁴. Every work had its appointed

1 'Abdullah, Tarikh-i-Daudi, Bankipore Ms. p 77-8

2 Ibid p 68; 'Abdul Haq, Tarikh-i-Haqqi, Bankipore Ms.

3 Nizamuddin, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, A. S. B. I., p 335; Ahmad Yadgar, Tarikhi Salatin-i-Afaghana Imperial Lib. Cal. Ms. p 37

4 Yadgar, Tar. Sal. Afagh. Ms. p. 37

time. The days he spent in the transaction of state duties, the nights partly in the private audience hall, partly in musical entertainments and discussion with the learned. He took his meals at midnight with 17 'ulamas who kept his company. They were not permitted to take meals in the royal presence but carried the edibles home after the Sūltān had finished his. He slept not more than 4 to 4½ hours.

All matters big or small the Sūltān transacted personally, and possessed all informations regarding his empire in the tip of his fingers. "He was" says Nia'matullah, "ever busy in rooting out troubles, transacting businesses of the state, and relieving the burdens of the people."⁵ Every morning he examined the news from the provinces and the schedule of rates for the regulation of the prices of the commodities, and the army news. He made prompt enquiries whenever anything went wrong.⁶ He was in the habit of despatching two farmans to guide an army on march or engaged in campaigns. So thorough was his knowledge of the places he never visited and the domestic affairs of the individuals that the credulous people believed that the Sūltān possessed a lamp similar to that of 'Alā'uddīn of the Arabian Nights, whose two guardian genii supplied him with the informations.

Sikandar deserves the title of 'the Just' by which he is known to the medieval historians. Even Sūjjan Rāi⁷ who is severe on the Sūltān for his anti-Hindu laws pays a compliment to his wisdom and justice. Justice he daily imparted in the open 'darbar',⁸ and was never a respecter of person or rank if guilt could be proved. His court was open to petitioners at all times, and he never shrank from redressing wrong even when going out on horse-back. Once it was brought to the notice of the Sūltān that Miān Bhoa the Chief Qāzi had not been able to give a prompt verdict in a case instituted by a Syed from a province. The sūltān ordered that nobody should leave the court till the case had been decided. By midnight the case was decided in favour of the plaintiff and the defendant jāgirdār who had usurped his rent-free land was punished.

Sikandar like Mūḥammad Tūghlaq was prodigiously generous and charitable. He distributed all 'zakat' money⁹ to the poor, the learned and the recluses. Cooked and un-cooked food was distributed in different parts of the metropolis. He distributed large sums to the poor on the 10th of Mūharram, the anniversary of the prophet's birth and death and the celebration of victories, and released prisoners guilty of the non-payment

5 Makhzan-i-Afghani M. U. Ms. p 112

6 Maasir-j-Rahimi, Tarikhi Daudi and Makhzan-i-Afghani

7 Khulasat-ut Tawarikh M. U. Ms.

8 Tabaqat-i-Akbari and Ferishta M. U. Ms.

9 2½ p/c. tax on property, the first tax levied by Islam. ✓

of taxes. Allowances and stipends were fixed for the needy twice a year, enough to last for six months, on the recommendation of the provincial governors. Similar stipends were allotted and cloth for winter given to the preacher, elocutioner and the sweeper of every mosque in the realm.¹⁰ His sleeping suits and the bedding and the cot which he changed weekly, he gave perhaps after sale, as dowries to the daughters of the indigent widows on the occasion of their marriage.¹¹ It was his favourite saying that "when one lays a good foundation, no loss can accrue to it".

"Sikandar was so partial to Islām that he went to extremes in this matter".¹² While yet a prince, he drew his sabre on a 'ulama' whose opinion he sought to prohibit the Hindus bathing in Thāneswar tank, when he pointed out that it was illegal to put a stop to an old practice, and was only silenced when the learned doctor gave a rejoinder that he felt no fear to say what was in the law-books.¹³ Whenever an opportunity presented itself, and especially during his Central Indian campaigns, he removed the idols and levelled down temples, and substituted them by mosques, caraven-serāis and madrasahs. He gave the idols of Nagarkot to the butchers for weighing meat.¹⁴ Open practice of the Hindu religion was proscribed in the realm.¹⁵, and police officers posted in the bathing ghats of Muttra, prohibited bathing and the shaving of beards and head by the Hindus.¹⁶ According to Sūjjān Rāi, the Hindus were required to tie a blue piece to their shoulder cloth, as Omar I required the 'zimmis' to append a yellow patch to the shoulder cloth, 'to pay homage to Islam'. Hindus who tied a turban, had to pay a higher rate of 'jizya'. He ordered the execution of Bodhan, Kabir-panthi free-thinker¹⁷ from Rohilkhand, for his refusal to recant his declaration that Hinduism is as true a religion as Islam.¹⁸

Sikandar was the author of social and administrative laws. He forbade the annual procession of the supposed dagger (which killed him) and the imitation head of Syed Sālār Masūd Ghāzi¹⁹ in Bahraich, on account of its

10 *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I, p : Makhzan, M. U. Ms. p

11 *Tar Sal Afagh*, Imp. Lib, Buhar Ms. p 37

12 *Tab. Akb. I*, 335

13 *Tab. Akb. I*, 336

14 *Tar Sal Afagh*, Buhar Ms p

15 *Makhzani--Afghani*, M. U. Ms p 108.

16 *Ibid* 336

17 *Acc. to Sir William Jones.*

18 *Makhzan M. U. Ms p.* 107.

19 Salar Mali, mother of Salar Mas'ud is supposed to be the sister of Sul Mahmud of Ghazni, a claim which has not been seriously taken by historians. His father Salar Rajab, accompanied Sul Mahmud in his Indian Campaigns. Salar Mas'ud Ghazi, who was born at Ajmir, settled in Bahraich after the death of his father, as a pioneer of Islam. He was put to death by Raja Sahar Deo in 429-1037 in the 19th year of his age. *Halat-i-Syad Salar Mas'ud Ghazi*, M. U. Ms by Abdur Rahman Chishti Uluvi.

Processions are to this day held in almost all cities of Behar and U. P. and are known as the Nuptial of Ghazi Mian, because of his being in the nuptial clothes at the time of his murder,

degeneration into relic worship. He prohibited women visiting the tomb of saints, stopped the display of the 'tāzias' on the 10th of Muharram, and the worship of Sitala the goddess of small-pox.²⁰ In order to strike terror into the hearts of the provincial governors, he formulated elaborate rules for the reception of the royal 'farmāns' by them.

Sikandar like his father, was very fond of hunting and polo-playing. As a soldier, he was brave and chivalrous, merciful to a fallen foe, and never resorted to treachery to gain a military advantage over his enemies. About two-thirds of his reign of about 29 years, he spent in the camp in reducing the parties who opposed his candidature to the throne, in effecting the final subjugation of the Sharqi kingdom, in Panna, Dholpūr, Gwalior, and the Punjāb, but failed to attain his military objective only twice—in Panna and Gwalior. By conquests and annexations, he extended the empire to frontiers of Mūltān, Kashmīr, and the tribal territories in the north-west frontier in the west, the kingdom of Bengal in the east, the Himālayas in the north and Rājputana and Mālwa in the south.

Posterity owes more to Sikandar for the cultivation of the arts of peace than those of war. He had himself a taste for literature and poetry, and felt never so happy as in the company of the learned. He wrote poems under the pen-name "Gūlrūkh".²¹ One of the chief poets of his time was a Brahman named Dungar. He set apart presents sent by nobles and friendly rulers for patronizing the learned. Shaikh Jamālūddin (Malulāna Jamālī), a prolific writer, a disciple of Shaikh Samā'ūddin Kambo of Sirhind, who had made a wide tour of the Mahomedan East and visited Maulāna 'Abdūr-Rahman Jāmi, was invited to the Sūltān's court where he remained in great esteem till the death of the Sūltān. Besides the 17, Ulama, who kept his company, his court was graced by Maulāna 'Abdūllah Talbani of Delhi and Azizūllah Talbani from Sambal. He himself attended the learned lectures of Maulāna Abdūllah by taking his seat stealthily in a corner and exchange greetings when the lesson had been finished. Manuscripts on different subjects were collected from as far as Būkhāra and calligraphists and scholars were constantly engaged to copy or translate them. By his orders the Mahā Vaidyak, a treatise on medicine, was translated into Persian and renamed 'Farhang-i-Sikandari'²²

Sikandar had a taste for fine arts including classical music. He evaded the letter of the law by causing the vocalists or the instrumentalists to

²⁰ Waqiati Mushtaqi quoted by Elliot.

²¹ Some of his couplets are quoted by Badauni, A. S. B. I, 323.

²² *Vide* Akhbarul Akhiyar, Maulana Abdul Haq, Delhi Pub., 297-8. After the downfall of the Lodi dynasty, Maulana Jamali became attached to the court of Babar and Humayun and died in Gujerat in Ziqadh 441/Feb 1535, while accompanying Humayun in his Gujerat campaign. He is the author of the 'Siyarul Arifin', a biography of Sufi Saints and a Diwan consisting of 8/9 thousand verses.

display their skill before the camp of Syad Rūḥullah and Syad Ibn-i Rasūl adjacent to his own camp and listening to them. The musical evening began three hours after sun-set. Four slave-boys procured at high price were each trained to play on an instrument. One played on the 'chang', the second on 'qanūn', the third on 'bīn' (veena), the fourth on tambūra (tānpūra). There were ten Shahnāi players in the permanent staff of the Sūltān but none could play beyond the airs prescribed by the Sūltān,—that is 'Māligaurā'²³ 'Kalyān',²⁴ 'Kānra'²⁵ and Ḥūsaini Kānra, an air of the present Kāñ Thāt invented by Sūltan Ḥūsain Shāh Sharqī.²⁶

Sikandar was as good as a destroyer as he was as a builder. His work of destruction was as thorough as can be imagined. He destroyed the famous Dholpūr garden which gave shade for fourteen miles. In Panna, Gwalior, Bihār and Jaunpūr he behaved as a vandal. The story is known to everybody in Jaunpūr that he attempted to blow all the Sharqī mosques by gun-powder and desisted only when the ulamas strongly protested. Yet he beautified Agra after the transfer of the capital to that city, with buildings, mosques and caravan serais. No building constructed by him except his father's tomb in Delhi and a 'bāradari' at Agra have survived the ravages of time.

Historians are never tired of singing the golden age of his reign with its attendant peace, prosperity, security and plenty. There is much truth in the praises, because, after more than a century India got a stable and orderly government, similar to that obtaining in England under the Tudor kings, after the devastating Wars of the Roses. The nobles were made law-abiding, and their high-handedness put under a strong check. The prestige of the Delhi Sultanate fallen since the days of Mūḥammad Tughlaq had revived once more. As a legislator, he was the model for Sher Shāh and Akbar and much pioneer reform in coinage, revenue and land-settlement²⁷ and civil administration had been accomplished by Sikandar.

23 Maligaura is a Sampuran (full) rag of the present Marwa Thāt.

24 Aiman Kalyan or Shuddh Kalyan.

25 Renamed Darbari Akbar of the present Asawari Thāt.

26 Mullah Mushtaqi, Yadgar and Abdullah each gives a different list of the four airs.

27 *Vide* Thomas, Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire, p 3.

**IDENTIFICATION OF DALPAT RAI MENTIONED IN
BURHAN-I-MASIR WITH DALAPATIRAJA THE
AUTHOR OF THE DHARMAŚĀSTRA WORK
CALLED THE NRSIMHAPRASAD**

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Prof. P. V. Kane¹ has devoted a section of the *History of Dharmasāstra* to the history of the encyclopaedic work on *dharmasāstra* called the *Nrsimhaprasad*². Prof. Kane's analysis of the work gives us the following particulars about the history of the author :—

- (1) When King Rāma ruled in Devagiri (=Daulatabad) Samavil was ruler of Delhi. He was followed by Nijāma Sāha³.
- (2) The author calls himself *Dalapati* or *Dalādhisā*⁴ or *Dalādhipa*.
- (3) His father's name was *Vallabha*.
- (4) The family belonged to *Bhāradvāja gotra* and *Yājñavalkya Śākha* (i.e. Suklayajurveda).
- (5) Dalapati was the Keeper of the imperial records of Nebajana (नेवजन).
- (6) His guru was one *Sūryapaṇḍita*⁵.
- (7) He was a great exponent of Vaiṣṇavadharma.
- (8) He was the Chief Minister and Keeper of records of Nijam Shah, who was the overlord of all yavanas and the ruler of Devagiri.
- (9) Nizam Shah is styled as *Mahārājādhirāja* in some colophons.

1 *History of Dharmasastra* (=HD) Vol. I (1930) pp. 406-410

2 Ibid p. 406—Prof. Kane records the following MSS. of the work :—

(i) Benares Sanskrit College : a Complete MS.

(ii) Government MSS. Library at the B O. R. Institute, Poona—*Danasara* a portion of the *Nrsimhaprasad* (=NP)—MS No. 353 of 1875-76 and *Tirihāsara*—MS. No. 352 of 1875-76.

(iii) Bikaner Cata. (pp. 429-430)—MSS. of *Danasara* and *Santisara*.

(iv) *India Office Catalogue*, p. 434. No. 1467—Six sections out of twelve.

3 Verse 9 of *Samskarasara*— “ श्रीमहेवगिरौ पुरन्दरपुरस्पर्षाषिवद्वादरे । रामे राजनि
शामविक्रित्त बभौ वाजासदिक्रीश्वरः ॥ दिल्लीशादुपरि प्रभुः समभवन्नैजामसाहो महान् etc.

4 Mr. Kane observes: “It is doubtful whether *Dalapati* or *Daladhisa* was the real name of the author or was merely a title.”

5 Mr. Kane states: “It is not unlikely that Suryapandita said to be the *guru* of the author is the same as Surya the great Maratha Saint Ekanatha, who wrote his *Bhagavata* at Benares in Saka 1495 (i. e., A. D. 1573) and who states that he was born in a family of devout Vaisnavas”.

(10) The work is named after God Nṛsimha⁶ who appears to be perhaps the family *Deity* of the author.

About the patron of Dalapatiraja Dr. Eggeling observes:—"The particular ruler of Ahmadnagar referred to would seem to be either (and more probably the founder of the Nizām Shāh dynasty,) *Mallik Ahmad Nizām Shāh* (1489-1508 A. D.) or his son and successor *Burhān Nizām Shāh* (1508-1553 A. D.)⁷

Mr. Kane apparently accepts the above identification suggested by Dr. Eggeling though he gives different dates for Ahmad Nizām and Burhān Nizām.⁸ The Benares Sanskrit College MS. of Dalapatiraja's work records the dates *Sainvat* 1568 and 1569.⁹ On this ground as also for other reasons Mr. Kane rightly concludes "that the *Nṛsimhaprasāda* could not have been composed later than 1512 A. D."¹⁰ and further: "It may be taken as certain that the work was composed between 1490 and 1512 A. D."¹¹ On other more probable reasons Mr. Kane states that "the *Nṛsimhaprasāda* must be later than about 1500 A. D."¹²

Prof. Kane's conclusion that the *Nṛsimhaprasād* was composed "later than about 1500 A. D." can be corroborated on a ground not mentioned by him *viz.*, that it is composed after the conquest of Devagiri or Daulatabad by Ahmad Nizām Shāh. Dalapatiraja calls his patron "*Devagiripuranaṛā dhīsvara*", a title stating that he was the overlord of the fort of Daulatabad.¹³ This statement enables us to presume safely that the conquest of the fort of Daulatabad was already an accomplished fact when the work was composed. The Conquest of Daulatabad was effected in A. D. 1499.¹⁴ If this date is correct

6 Vide *India Office Cata.* Part III (1891) p. 434—

"श्रीनृसिंहप्रसादेन दिनानुष्ठेयमुच्यते," "श्रीलक्ष्मीनृसिंहचरणगुण सरोरुह etc.," Page 435—
"लक्ष्मीनृसिंहं हृदिभावयामि" "अभिव्यं च नृसिंहाख्यं परं ब्रह्म etc."

7 Ibid, p. 434.

8 H. D. I, p. 410—"As the author was a minister of Nijama Saha who ruled over Devagiri it appears that he is referring to Ahmad Nizam Shah (1508-1533 A. D.), most probably the former. [Vide Lane-Poole's *Muhammadan Dynasties* (ed. 1925) p. 320 for the names and dates of the Nizam Shaha.]"

9 Ibid, p. 409, footnote 1001—, 'संवत् १५६९ वैशाखवदि ७ शुक्ले' 7th May 1512 A. D.

10 H. D. I, p. 410.

11 Ibid,

12 Ibid, p. 409.

13 Ibid, p. 406—v. 9 of *Samskara Sara*—

"श्रीभद्रवगिरौदिल्लीशानुपरि प्रभुः समभवन्नैवामसाहो महान्"

14 Vide *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII (Ahmadnagar) p. 360. Ahmad Nizam surrounded Daultabad with 30,000 troops and reduced it in A. D. 1499. For a detailed account of this expedition Vide *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLIX (1920)—pp. 107 ff. (Translation by T. W. Haig of *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*) also pp. 123 ff. The author of this history of the Nizam Shahi kings of Ahmadnagar being a panegyrist of the dynasty whose history he professes to tell, the value of this work is much impaired by its partiality. However, the chronicle is not without value and is fairly trustworthy so far as it relates to domestic affairs—this is the opinion of Lt. Col. Haig.

we must conclude that the *Nṛsīṃhaprasāda* was composed by Dalapatirāja a few years after A. D. 1499 the year in which the fort was besieged and conquered.

I propose to identify the author of the *Nṛsīṃhaprasāda* with *Dalpat Rai* who was a Brahman officer in the army of Ahmad Nizam Shāh, the patron of the author of the *Nṛsīṃhaprasāda*. About this Brahman army officer the following story is recorded in the *Burhan-i-Māasir*. The author of this chronicle while dealing with the character of Ahmad Nizam Shah observes as follows:—¹⁵

“Another of the King’s wise actions may be mentioned here. *Dalpat Rai*, a Brahman officer in the army was jealous of Masnad-i-‘Ali Malik Nasir-ul-Mulk as is often the case with officers whose sole aim and object is the acquisition of wealth, and who cannot bear to see anybody more prosperous than themselves. Dalpat Rai prompted by his evil passions, forged a memorandum, purporting to be in the hand-writing of Masnad-i-Ali, in order to show that Masnad-i-Ali received large sums as bribes from the officers and governors of countries on the borders of the King’s dominions. Spies reported this matter to Masnad-i-Ali and he without thought of denying the charge said—‘*Dalpat Rai* does not know the truth of this matter. Those who have given and he who has received the bribes must necessarily know more about the matter than *Dalpat Rai*.’ He then drew up as a counterblast to *Dalpat Rai*’s memorandum, another memorandum showing that he had received double the amounts mentioned in *Dalpat Rai*’s memorandum. On the day on which the king held his court *Dalpat Rai* came forward and presented to him his memorandum. The king turned to Masnad-i-Ali and asked him to explain the accusation which had been brought against him by *Dalpat Rai*. Masnad-i-Ali after praying for the king’s long life and prosperity said, ‘What can *Dalpat Rai* know of my outgoings and incomings?’ And he placed in the king’s hand the memorandum he had himself prepared. The king on reading this memorandum found that the sums mentioned therein were greater than the sums mentioned in *Dalpat Rai*’s memorandum. Masnad-i-Ali then said, ‘All this money belongs to your majesty and I have saved it against this day.’ The king then tore up both memoranda and cast them from him and said—‘Men enter the service of kings for the sake of acquiring worldly treasure, not for the sake of laying up treasure in heaven and as long as Masnad-i-Ali Nasir-ul-Mulk is not convicted of treachery in the royal service, nor of extortion from the kingdom and its subjects, I shall be thankful and not displeased if the Sultans of neighbouring countries send him gifts and presents for the sake of establishing and confirming mutual feelings of friendliness and averting strife, for this will show that God has favoured my servants with the opportunity of acquiring from others the means of power and has so implanted in the hearts of all men the fear of me that they are willing

¹⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, XLIX, p. 158.

to ingratiate themselves with my servants by sending them gifts and by comforting themselves with proper humility towards them. The king then turned to *Dalpat Rai* and said to him, 'Henceforth do not dare to be guilty of such conduct or to allow your enemy to lead you into acts of enmity against my loyal servants, or you will incur my royal wrath. It is the part of faithful servants to live with one another in peace and amity, having for their object the furtherance of their lord's affairs and not their own personal and selfish ends, which they should put aside, in order that they may receive the rewards due to faithful service.'

The anecdote recorded in the above extract is amusing and instructive enough. It shows that *Dalpat Rai* occupied an important position in the Army of Nizam Shah and that he was probably thirsting for the post of the Prime Minister occupied by his rival, whose character he wanted to damn by forging a memorandum as narrated in above extract. Secondly *Dalpat Rai* was not immediately punished by the King, who was convinced of his guilt but only reprimanded him. It appears to me that the anecdote while illustrating the character of Nizam Shah in his dealing in a political and shrewd manner with both *Dalpat Rai* and the Prime Minister indicates also the degree of his influence with Nizam Shah. I shall therefore record in the following table my points for identifying the author of the *Dharmasāstra* work *Nṛsimhaprasāda* with his namesake, the officer in the army of Nizam Shah. These points are as follows :—

Author of Nṛsimhaprasāda	Nizam Shah's Officer.
<p>(1) Identity of patrons :— <i>Patron :—</i>Ahmad Nizam Shah (1490-1512 A. D.)</p> <p>(2) Identity of Names :— <i>Name :—</i>Dalapati or Dalādhiśa or Dalādhīpa or Dalapatirāja</p> <p>(3) Identity of Caste :— <i>Caste :—</i>Brahmin. He is called "<i>Dvijarājavaṃsa-tilakā</i> lam Kāratūra" and "<i>Bhāradvāja Kulanuga</i>".</p>	<p><i>Patron :—</i>Ahmad Nizam Shah</p> <p><i>Name :—</i>Dalpat Rai</p> <p><i>Caste :—</i>Brahmin</p>

Author of <i>Nṛsiṃhaprasāda</i> .	Nizam Shah's Officer.
(4) Occupation of important position in the Kingdom :—	<i>Occupation</i> :—Officer in the army.
He is called “दलाधीशेन भूभुजा”, “दलाधीश महीपति:”, “दलाधीश्वर:”, “निजामसाह साम्राज्य धुरंधर महीपति:” “दलाधिप महीपति:” “दलाधिपमहीभुजा” in the body of the text of the <i>Nṛsiṃhaprasāda</i> while in its colophons he is called “निजामसाह समस्तकरणाधीश्वर श्री महाराज दलपतिराज”, “निजामसाह समस्त साम्राज्य धुरंधर श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्री दलपतिराज” ¹⁶	

The first three points in the above comparison proving the identity of Patron, Name and Caste when combined with the chronology of the *Nṛsiṃhaprasāda* which is independently proved to synchronise with the period of the reign of Ahmad Nizam Shah (1490-1512) make it highly probable if not certain that the Brahman officer in the army of Ahmad Nizam Shah represented as jealous of his Prime Minister is identical with the author of the *Nṛsiṃhaprasāda*. In the body of the text of this important work on the *dharmasāstra* he is called “*Dalādhiṣa Mahīpati*” or “*Dalādhiṣa Bhūbhuj*” i. e. a king having charge of a *Dala* or body of troops. I agree with Prof. Kane when he doubts whether *Dalapati* or *Dalādhiṣa* was the real name of the author or was merely a title”. If, however, we accept the identification of the two personages under reference we shall have to presume that *Dalpat Rai* of the *Burhān-i-Māsir* is identical with *Dalapatirāja* of the colophons and *Dalādhiṣa* or *Dalādhiṣa* of the body of the text of the *Nṛsiṃhaprasāda*. It is also possible to presume that the name *Dalādhiṣa* or its equivalents as applied to *Mahīpati* or *Bhūbhuj* may show that *Dalpat Rai* was a Brahman King or Chief in charge of some territory as also a body of troops owing allegiance to Ahmad Nizam Shah according to the feudal system then prevalent in the Deccan.

The name *Dalapatirāja* is very commonly met with in history. Our *Dalpat Rai* who was in the employ of Ahmad Nizam Shah should be distinguished

¹⁶ See *India Office Oats*. III, 1891, p. 434-435 where numerous extracts from the MS. of the *Nṛsiṃhaprasāda* are given by Dr. Eggeling. The epithets used for the author of *Nṛsiṃhaprasāda* as recorded above are from these extracts.

from Rao Dalpat Bundela¹⁷ who was contemporary of Zulfiqar Khan and Bidar Bakht. He should also be distinguished from his namesake Raja Dalpat,¹⁸ son of Sangram Shah who married the Chandella princess Durgāvati about 1545 A. D. A third namesake of Dalapatirāja is the author of a work called the "*Yavana-paripāti-anukrama*. Dalapatirāya wrote this work for his patron Mādhavasimha who appears to have flourished about 1764 A. D.¹⁹

I have tried in this short paper to throw some more light on the personality of the author of the *Nṛsimhaprasāda* about whom no other source of information than the *Nṛsimhaprasāda* was known to scholars. If the evidence recorded in this paper regarding the identification of two Dalapatirāyas having an identical patron *viz.* Ahmad Nizam Shah is accepted we shall have gained some more ground in the history of this important *dharmasāstrā* author, which remains hidden for want of recorded evidence.

17 Vide pp. 10, 15, 30, 34 of *Later Moguls* by William Irvine, Vol. I (1707-1720 A. D.). Rao Dalpat Bundela was killed at Jajau in June 1707 and was cremated by his son Bharati Chand at the village Dhami, seven miles from Agra.

18 Vide *Dynastic History of Northern India* by H. C. Ray, Vol. II, pp. 802, 735. Durgavati was killed in 1564 A. D. by Akbar's general Asaf Khan.

19 Vide I. H. Q., XIV, pp. 153-157. Mr. M. M. Patkar draws our attention to the following date found recorded in the B. O. R. Institute MS. No. 409 of 1882-83 (folio 15a):—

“ तिथौ पंचम्यां नमस्ये मासि सितपक्षे विक्रमादित्य राज्यात् ॥ १८२० ॥ ”

This date *viz.*, *Samvat 1820 month of Nabhas (Bhadrapada) 5th tilki of the Sulapaksa* corresponds to *Monday, 12th September 1763*. If the above date is a genuine part of the body of the text as it appears to be the author Dalpatirāya the author of the *Yavanaparipati-anukram* appears to be a very late author.

THE DEATH OF YUSUF ADIL SHAH—the date ?

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A verse in *Āmuktamālyada* states that on his northern expedition, Kṛṣṇarāya defeated the Musalmans, and on the field made a scarecrow of the severed head of Ādil Khān.¹ This Ādil Khān must have been no other than Yūsuf, the founder of the Ādil Shāhi Dynasty of Bijapur.²

The time and place of Yūsuf's death is variously given by different writers on the topic. Zābiri was referring to this divergence when he wrote, "The death of Yūsuf Ādil Khān was according to the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, in 913 A. H.; according to the history of Muhammad Qāsim Ferishta, in 916; and according to Rafi-ud-Din Shīrāzī and Mir Ibrahim Asad Khāni, in 925." To this list Dr. Venkataramanayya adds some more opinions, that of Syed 'Ali Azizullah Tabātabā placing it after 912, and that of an anonymous Historian of the Qutb Shāhi Kings in 910; and of Khāfi Khān in 916 and 914 (A. H.).³

Nor do we find an unanimity among the authors as to the circumstances under which Yūsuf's death occurred. Ferishta writes that Yūsuf died at Bijapur of dropsy.⁴ According to the anonymous Historian, "Yūsuf Ādil Khān died at Kovilkonda".⁵ Syed Ali's declaration that *Majlis-i-Rafi Ādil Khan* died within sight of Kovilkonda goes to confirm the anonymous Historian.⁶

If really Yūsuf died at the hands of the 'Infidel' Kṛṣṇarāya it is very likely that Muslim historians would distort the whole episode and make his death appear natural.

According to Ferishta, Yūsuf died in A. H. 916 (A. D. 1511-12) after the recapture of Goa from the Portuguese on 20th may, 1510. But Ferishta is strongly contradicted by the contemporary Portuguese opinion according to which Yūsuf was already dead by the time Albuquerque first arrived at Goa on 20th February, 1510 A.D.

On his way from Cochin (Feb., 1510) to frustrate the Grand Sultan of Egypt's attempt to assist the Indian Moors against the Portuguese, Albuquerque off Anjediva, met Timoja, from whom he learnt that "the Cabaio, Lord of

1 Canto I. v. 42.

2 Vyasavali, K. V. Lakshmana Rao. Vol. I, pp. 40-41. Ismael, son of Yusuf died in 1534, four years after Kṛṣṇarāya's death.

3 J. O. R. p. 157 April-June, 1936.

4 Briggs, III, p. 30.

5 Ibid, (app.) p. 350.

6 Burhan-i-Masir. Ind. Ant. 1899 p. 319. Kovilkonda is a fort on the frontiers of the Qutb Shahi Dominions.

Goa was dead.”⁷ At Cintacora, Timoja again informed him that “By means of messages and letters that he had received from the Hindus of the city, he had been notified of the death of Cabaio and that in Goa there was a Captain, named Malik Cufer Guji.....this captain after the death of Cabaio obeyed no one.⁸ After the capture of Cintacora, a fakir, whom Timoja had seized, said to ‘Albuquerque that the news of Goa was that the Cabaio was dead and his son away in the interior of the country.⁹ On March 1, Goa fell into the hands of the Portuguese *with little fighting*.¹⁰ About the end of that March, two ambassadors, from Egypt and Ormuz, to the Court of Cabaio, finding that the latter was already dead, approached Afonso Dalboquerque instead.¹¹ All these go to declare that Yūsuf must have died even before the arrival of the Portuguese at Gao on 20th February, 1510 A. D.

Dr. Venkataramanaiya tries to fix the two limits in time for this occurrence. On the eve of Albuquerque's first attack upon Goa, Timoja told him that a captain of the Grand Sultan who had been defeated by Almeida, took refuge at Goa, after the defeat, and that he made it his headquarters at the request of the Cabaio.¹² The request of the Cabaio, therefore, must have been made after 3rd February, 1509, the date of the defeat of the Egyptian fleet by Almeida. Cabaio must, therefore, have been alive at the time of the request and hence he must have died sometime between February, 1509 and February, 1510 A. D.¹³

This is the thesis of Dr. Venkataramanaiya on this question. But before accepting his theory one has to reckon with some other factors too. He himself refers to certain passages of the *Commentaries* which he rightly terms ‘very intriguing.’ One such is the following :—“The Hoidalção having recalled to mind that which the Great Afonso Dalboquerque had sent to declare to his father (while that commander was lying in the river Goa.....and when he was no longer able to restrain his temper) that he should *yet* see his words come to pass and the city in the power of the Christians and Milrrhao, the Hindu, carrying on the Government”.¹⁴ Dr. Venkataramanaiya places this declaration prior to the first attack on Goa. He is right in saying that this declaration could not refer to the threat which Albuquerque uttered at the conclusion of his talk with Mustafa Khān, the officer of the Ādil Shāh. It ran

7 *Commentaries*, II, pp. 81-82.

8 *Ibid.* pp. 86.

9 *Commentaries* Vol. II, p. 87.

10 *Ibid.* .. pp. 88-92.

11 *Ibid.* .. p. 106.

12 *Ibid.* .. p. 82.

13 *J. O. R.* April-June, 1936, p. 160.

14 *Commentaries* Vol. III, p. 187. *J. O. R.* footnote on page 158.

thus—"And he would promise him, before that summer should pass away that he would be taking his rest again, in the palace at Goa, and that he hoped to make Timoja, a very great Lord in the Kingdom of Decan."¹⁵ These two statements are different, not merely because the latter's '*tenor was different*', but also because Mustafa was the last captain of the Ādil Shāh to be received by Albuquerque, before his crossing the bar of Goa, preparatory to the second attack on that fort some months later. The declaration, therefore, forewent the threat. But the declaration itself was made 'while that commander (Albuquerque) was lying in the river Goa.' Now to what time may be attributed Albuquerque's stay in the river ?

This stay in the river seems to belong to the period between the recapture of Goa by Ādil Shāh on 20th May, 1510 and 16th August, 1510 A. D., until when Albuquerque could not cross over the bar of Goa.¹⁶ Prior to this period, Albuquerque does not appear to have remained in the river for any appreciable length of time. Indeed, he could first sound the depth of the river Goa, only after he captured the fort of that name in the first instance in March, 1510 A. D.

If the period we have given for Albuquerque's stay in the river be true, then the declaration comes after the first capture of Goa by the Portuguese. It was made to the Cabaio, which means that the Cabaio (Yusuf) was alive after the 1st of March, 1510 A. D.

Timoja's reply shows that "Goa was alone without any garrison." But by the time Timoja met Albuquerque off Anjediva, the situation at Goa seems to have changed. For Timoja told Albuquerque that "a captain of the Grand Sultan with some Rumes had arrived at Goa and that Cabaio had made important overtures to this captain to the end that he should settle there." The stay of the captain at Goa, therefore, must only have been of a very short duration extending over a month or so.

This first attack on Goa in March, 1510 came very close upon the arrival of that Captain thereat. He was hardly allowed time to strengthen himself there. In the meanwhile the Portuguese were upon Goa. This is inferred from the advice of Albuquerque to his captains on 27th February, recommending an immediate attack upon that fort.¹⁷ This circumstance again suggests that Yūsuf was living at least during February, 1510 A. D.

Again the attack on Goa had been contemplated less as an immediate necessity than as a prospective desirability.¹⁸

15 Ibid Vol. II, p. 187.

16 Ibid ,, II, Chaps. 32-33.

17 Commentaries, II, p. 83

18 "Afonso was getting himself ready.....to fall upon Goa before they went off to Portugal,"

Ibid, p. 53

But the talk with Timoja off Anjediva changed everything. The unexpected but much welcome report of Yūsuf's death, whatever its authenticity, set Albuquerque to a course of action which he did not hesitate to carry out. The decision was sudden and the action quick. In all this, where does a previous declaration come in ?

The declaration can only be understood as the product of a frustration after a preliminary success. The word "yet" in "he should yet see his words come to pass" may then be taken to mean "In spite of the present discomfiture." The same is borne out by another of the sentence from commentaries which Dr. Venkataramanayya quotes. Soon after the reduction of Goa a second time Albuquerque wrote to Ismael Ādil Shāh ".....I wish most sincerely that your father had been living that he knew me to be a man of my word."¹⁹

This again is confirmed by another sentence of the same letter. Albuquerque continues ".....for all that the Cabaio, your father, be dead I will be your father, and bring you up like a son."²⁰ Such protestations of affection and sympathy, even for the diplomatic purpose of gaining an ally in the ruler of Bijapur, must have followed closely the demise of Yūsuf Ādil Khān.

While expressing his wish that Yūsuf were living, Albuquerque gives us to understand the motive thereof, *viz.*,.....that Yūsuf might know him to be a man of his word. This 'word' was what was contained in the declaration, namely that 'Milrrahao shall be carrying on the Government at Goa'. This really happened subsequent to the second capture of Goa in November 1510 A. D.²¹ and thus his word was made good. After the first fall of Goa we see Timoja installed as the chief Aguazil and the lessee of the lands of Goa. Nothing is heard of Merlao in that instance. Had the said declaration been prior to that event, there is no question of Albuquerque's word being kept, for it was Timoja and not Merlao to whom the lands were leased; nor could there be any propriety for Albuquerque's regret at the death of Yūsuf even before the latter was convinced of Afonso's tenacity of purpose. Hence we may say that the declaration embodying that "word" must have belonged to later than 1st March, 1510 A. D.

Thus the evidence to prove that the declaration was made after the first fall and recovery of Goa by the Ādil Shāh, is considerable. The declaration as it is said specifically, was made to Yūsuf, the father of Ismael. This again proves that Yūsuf was still alive after the Portuguese lost Goa in the first instance. Evidence is forthcoming that the Haldalcão, who had successfully entered Goa, pressing the Portuguese into the river, remained there three days

19 Commentaries, III. pp. 20-21.

20 Commentaries, III. pp. 20-21.

21 Commentaries, III. pp. 25-28.

after the departure of the Portuguese from the river on 16th August, 1510 A.D.²² Even then it was because "the Lords of the Kingdom of Deccan had risen up in rebellion against the 'Hidalcão' and should he not go to check them," the prince must lose either one thing or the other."²³ And since the above discussion leads us to understand that this 'Hidalcão' was Yūsuf Ādil Khān and not Ismael and whereas we know that by the time of the second fall of Goa in November, 1510 A. D. Ismael had already ascended the throne, the conclusion presents itself that Yūsuf Ādil Shāh must have died sometime between 16th August and November, 1510 A. D.

This is not however to ignore the other factors that come into conflict with this writer's theory.²⁴ It may be that Timoja, with an eye to the profit he might derive from the capture of Goa,²⁵ was simply egging Alboquerque to commit himself to a policy of aggression against Bijapur, and with this in view lured the latter with false news of Yūsuf's death. May be, the information given by the Turkish prisoner off Cintacora was prompted by Timoja himself into whose hands the Turk had fallen, prior to his interview with Afonso. This finds perhaps, a distant echo in Alboquerque's exhortation to his captains on 27th February, 1510 with the proviso "if Timoajā had spoken truly."²⁶ The unanimity of the later Portuguese opinion, that Yūsuf's death was antecedent to the first fall of Goa, may even be explained away, as having been drawn from the contemporary Portuguese version. 'Commentaries,' itself, has given occasion to these two theories, Dr Venkataramanaiya's and this writer's. But the latter view has got the advantage of being supported by Ferishta also.

{ 22 Commentaries, II. p. 202.

23 Ibid, II. p. 197.

24 I think that Yusuf must have died in an action against Krsnaraya. *Purohas says that after the first fall of Goa there was a great invasion of Bijapur by the King of Vijayanagara* and that this was a greater danger to Bijapur than the Portuguese. The Moslem Lords who had risen in rebellion against Adil Shah, of whom Alboquerque writes, did not cross the river Bhima, which was then in floods. All the Portuguese writers say that there was a continued warfare between Yusuf and the King of Vijayanagara. But Fr. Louis' letter to Alboquerque suggests that there was friendship between Ismael and Krsnaraya even in 1510 A. D. According to Amuktamalyada Krsnaraya killed Yusuf Adil Khan. The Moslem Lords seeing that Krsnaraya was engaging Yusuf in battle, must have kept themselves aloof; for they were desirous of Yusuf's fall but were unwilling to side a Hindu. Krsnaraya, having killed Yusuf, appears to have assisted Ismael to succeed to the throne of Bijapur. This explains their initial friendly relations. Krsnaraya's title "Yavanarajya-Sthapanacharya" which appears first in 1514 in an inscription from Nellore, most probably related to this event.

25 Commentaries, II, p. 86.

26 Ibid, II. p. 83.

SECTION V
MOGHAL HISTORY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.**R. P. Khosla, M. A., Lahore.**

Gentlemen! it is a matter of great pleasure to me to meet eminent historians like yourselves who have come to this historic place from different parts of the country to attend the Indian History Congress. Many of you I have known personally while others only by reputation. I am grateful to the organisers of the History Congress not only for the distinction they have conferred on me by asking me to preside over this section but also for the opportunity they have afforded me of coming into personal contact with you. We hail from different provinces but we have common ties. The past history of our motherland is a matter of vital importance to every one of us and we all take legitimate pride in it. You might have heard some persons proclaiming that happy is the country that has no history. If that were true the happiness claimed by such persons will lack the noble and lofty elements which alone make happiness a coveted mental possession. The present is indissolubly linked up with and receives its inspiration from the past, and therein lies the importance of the study of history. A people who refuse to take pride in the history of their country allow themselves to be robbed of a most precious heritage and cannot expect to bequeath any valuable legacy to posterity. A knowledge of the noble struggles of our ancestors has an elevating effect on our mind; and even if those struggles were otherwise than noble, a knowledge of them serves as an unerring guide to conduct us safely along the path of the present and help us to avoid the pitfalls on our political road. Current politics without a knowledge of past history are like the top storey of a house which has neither any foundations nor any lower storeys. Most of the present political currents have their origin in the hoary past, and it is not possible to understand them in their true perspective without a background of history. History alone can interpret them correctly. The present day events are only the effects. The causes lie buried in the past. Just as a physician must probe into the causes of a disease in order to remedy it, a student of political and social problems which confront him at present must make a careful study of the happenings of the past before he can arrive at a correct solution of them. Without such mental equipment he will run the risk of confounding the accidental with the essential, and his treatment being without a proper diagnosis will be defective. His

conclusions, though plausible, will seldom be correct, and many of the events which a correct knowledge of history could rationally explain will remain inexplicable puzzles to him. Similar causes give rise to similar effects and there is more than the proverbial truth in the adage 'History repeats itself'. The past lies buried under the debris of time. That past has to be rescued from oblivion. It is a difficult task and cannot be accomplished by one man in one day. An army of selfless workers is required if any tangible results are to be achieved, and the efforts of all those who are devoting their time and energy to this noble cause are deserving of praise. It is to encourage this sort of work that the History Congress holds its annual sessions at different educational centres in the country. It creates a spirit of cooperation among the historians of different provinces and tends to co-ordinate their efforts.

Every period of Indian history is important and interesting from the point of view of an Indian historian; but the Moghal period has a special interest for us as it is both mediæval and modern. Its administrative divisions and its land revenue system were, if not in toto, at least in the greater part, accepted by the English East India Company who readily incorporated them in their system of government. The communal problem which looms so large on our political horizon these days was dealt with by some of the great Mughal emperors more rationally and with better practical results than it has been by the present government and the political leaders of modern India. The artificial divisions among the people created by the present government and accepted by some of our leaders did not exist then, and strange as it may sound to some ears there was more of homogeneity among the people then than is found today. Again the dreams of national unity are not a monopoly of the present day leaders of Indian thought, but they were also dreamt by Akbar and Nanak. Both believed in one people, the former because of oneness of the state, the latter because of oneness of God. They were not mere dreamers, but both tried to give a practical shape to their dreams. One worked in the political field, while the other in the spiritual. Both were apostles of Hindu-Muslim unity and both tried their best to bring it about.

The problem of the natural frontiers of India was the same then as it is now. This problem also was better solved by the Mughal emperors than by the present Government. Life and property in the frontier provinces were certainly not so unsafe during the Mughal rule

as they are today. The grip of the great Mughal on the frontier provinces was as firm as on the other parts of his empire.

The Mughal period witnessed the rise of great religious movements on the one hand and of great literary activity on the other. Hindi and Urdu flourished side by side, but the Hindi-Urdu controversy of today with all the bitterness it has engendered did not exist then. Several Muhammadans wrote beautiful Hindi while the contributions of Hindus to the Urdu as well Persian literatures were by no means negligible. Abdur Rahim Khankhanan's Hindi poetry is read with interest even today. Many Muhammadans studied Sanskrit and many Hindus attained a fairly high degree of proficiency in Persian.

Festivals were more or less common to both the communities and there was more of cordiality in social relations. This shows that the germs of national unity did not fail to fructify.

Another reason why the Mughal period has special interest for us is the vast wealth of material that is available to enable us to reconstruct the history of Mediæval India. No other period of Indian history (barring the present) is so rich in its sources as the Mughal period. Many of the Mughal emperors were themselves men of letters and have left to us their 'tuzuks' or records of the events of their reigns. The Memoirs of Babar and Jahangir give us most valuable information regarding their respective reigns. The letters and 'ahkam' of Aurangzeb are a store-house of the orders and proclamations issued by that hardworking monarch to his officials for the latter's guidance in the discharge of their onerous duties. Though the royal autobiographies usually paint the picture in roseate hues only, naturally omitting the other side, yet by a careful sifting it is possible to get a knowledge, fairly accurate and trustworthy, of what was done, or at any rate attempted, by those rulers. Other members of the royal family also have left to us valuable accounts of their times, as for example Gulbadan Begum's Humayun Nama throws a flood of light on the reign of her royal brother. Among the commoners there was a large number of scholars in the Mughal period who devoted their time and energy to the chronicling of contemporary events. That age was particularly rich in men of letters with a historical trend of mind. It will not be out of place to mention here some of the important works bearing on the subject. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi by Abbas Khan, Tarikh-i-Daudi by Abdulla, Humayun-Nama by Khondamir, Tarikh-i-Rashidi by

Haidar Mirza, *Tabakat-i-Akbari* by Nizamud Din Ahmad, *Tarikh-i-Badauni* by Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Akbar-Nama* by Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari* by the same author, *Ikbal-Nama-i-Jahangiri* by Mutamad Khan, *Badshah-Nama* by Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Shah Jahan-Nama* by Inayat Khan, *Mirat-i-Alam* by Bakhtawar Khan, *Muntakhabul Lubab* by Khafi Khan, *Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan* by Mir Mubarakullah Iradat Khan, *Majalिसus Salatin* by Muhammad Sharif Hanafi, *Lubbut Tawarikh-i-Hind* by Rai Bhara Mal, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* by Muhammad Saki Mustaid Khan, *Ibrat-Nama* by Muhammad Kasim, *Tazkira-i-Chaghtai* by Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan, *Tarikh-i-Hindi* by Rustam Ali, *Tazkira of Anand Ram Mukhlis*, *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah*, *Tarikh-i-Faiz Baksh* by Sheo Prashad, *Siyarul Mutaakhhirin* by Ghulam Husain Khan, *Chahar Gulzar Shujai* by Hari Charan Dass, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* by Muhammad Ali Khan, *Muntakhabut Tawarikh* by Sadasukh, etc. etc. are some of the works which might be studied with profit by students of Mediaeval Indian history. These works are most valuable from the point of view of those who want to write a history of those times. The writers saw what was happening around them and recorded it. The advantage of first hand or almost first hand knowledge was theirs, though the value of their writings must be to some extent discounted as they had to keep the darker shades out of the picture. They could ill afford to write things which were not complimentary to their royal masters. Still their graphic accounts have great value in our eyes, though we greatly miss their comments on the real significance of several of the events recorded by them. Most of them were chroniclers rather than historians. But these chronicles and records, when properly sifted and accurately interpreted by able scholars like Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Doctor Beni Prasad, Doctor Ishwari Prasad, Doctor Banarsi Prasad, Professor Kanungo and a host of others, have made the Mughal period of Indian history most familiar to us.

We should also remember that India in Mughal times attracted a large number of visitors from Europe. Manucci, Bernier, Tavernier, Sir Thomas Roe, Terri de Laet, Mandelso and many others travelled in the different parts of the country and have left us valuable records of what they saw. They had sometimes access to the Court and came in contact with influential Mughal grandees. They had ample opportunities to study the conditions existing in the country and they made full use of these opportunities. Some of them had Indian titles conferred on

them. English Khan was one of such titles. Their travels covered long distances, and travelling was not always a pleasure in those days. Though they looked at contemporary events through western eyes and consequently must have misunderstood the real nature and significance of certain ceremonies and institutions, yet their contributions have a value of their own and can by no means be ignored by students of Mughal history. They at least bear the stamp of independent observation and they tell us what others thought of us. The European writers had the advantage of looking at things from a new angle, and therefore things must have presented new facets to them. Their views, though not always correct, were detached as compared with those of Indian writers. They certainly deserve to be treated with respect by us. Their successors, though at a long distance, have done monumental work in this field. Men of the type of Vincent A. Smith and Rushbrook Williams have laid us under a debt of gratitude by making researches in that period. A flood of light has been thrown on the agrarian and economic problems of Muslim India by Moreland—the author of the ‘Agrarian Organisation of Muslim India.’ There are a number of Indian scholars, besides those mentioned in a previous paragraph, who are working on Mughal India, and their names may be of interest to you. Mr. M. D. Mirza of the Bombay University, Dr. Kanungo, Dr. S. N. Bhattacharya, Mr. M. Ishaq of Dacca University, Dr. Sukumar Banerji, and those gentlemen who have agreed to read their papers at this Congress. I would also like to mention some of the magazines and journals which from time to time publish papers on this subject. U. P. Historical Society Journal, Indian Culture, Calcutta Review, Historical Quarterly, B. and O. Research Society Journal, Punjab Historical Society Journal, Royal Asiatic Society Journal, etc.

Though so much work has already been done yet the subject is not exhausted. Many points are still waiting to be cleared and those of us who are engaged in this work can ill afford to relax their efforts. Our knowledge of the cultural and social side of the people in Mughal times is very meagre. Their standard and mode of living, their festivals, their institutions are not yet fully known to us. We have up till now been allowed merely faint glimpses of these things. We have not yet been admitted into their joys and sorrows. Their daily life is still a mystery to us. Our knowledge is mostly confined to kings and courts and we hardly know anything about ordinary men and women,

You are seekers after truth, and truth can be discovered only by ceaseless, tireless efforts. Display any lack of earnestness and it will elude you. Go on working steadily towards your goal. But pray remember that in order to achieve desirable results you should bring to bear a just and equitable mind on the subject, and not approach it in a partisan spirit; otherwise your work will be vitiated and its historical value will be considerably marred. Dispassionate views are the best views. A historian must tell unalloyed truths, howsoever unpalatable they might be to some of his readers. His mission is not to please them but to inform them. If you show the slightest trace of bias or prejudice you forfeit your claim to be regarded as true worshippers at the temple of the Goddess of History. You must evaluate the literary sources correctly and weigh the Historical evidence in well-poised scales. You must consider the pros and cons of historical problems with an evenly balanced mind and then draw logical conclusions, whether those conclusions coincide with your own inclinations or not. The conclusions should follow and not precede your researches. An open mind open to conviction is a valuable asset to a historian. Your views should be supported by genuine authorities and your integrity in interpreting these authorities should be unimpeachable.

Before concluding this address I would like to thank you all for the spirit of co-operation which you have shown by coming to attend this session. I am particularly grateful to those scholars who have agreed to read papers at this meeting. They must have spent several days in writing their papers and months in collecting the material. By the end of this session all of us will have learnt many new things about one of the most important periods of Indian history.

RAJPUTANA AND MUHAMMEDAN ART**A Study in Culture Contacts****Dr. H. Goetz, M. A., Ph.D., Bobmay.**

Since the times when Dr. Coomaraswamy introduced Rajput painting into the sphere of art collectors and historians, there has been a good deal of controversy about its relation to contemporary Mughal art. Some saw in it an independent Hindu art, others an offshoot of Mughal painting. An unanimous opinion was, however, never reached as nobody ever took the trouble to study this art in its natural set, the history of Rajput civilisation as a whole. For the problem is not restricted to Rajput painting, as a strong Mohammedan vein is obvious also in Rajput architecture, dress and many political traditions. When a research tour during the two last winters offered me the opportunity to visit a great part of Rajputana, Bundelkhand, and Malwa, my interest was, therefore, fixed on the elucidation of the problem how Moslem influence penetrated Rajputana and how Rajput civilisation, in spite of this overwhelming flood of foreign innovations, was nevertheless able to keep its characteristic national spirit. As a foreigner I had, of course, to restrict my investigations to a limited cope of phenomena, to those of art, but I should feel very glad if these preliminary observations of mine should inspire Indian scholars to extend them to the other aspects of life, the court language, the literature, the political institutions and ceremonies, etc.

I think that we may distinguish four stages in the development of this later Rajput art built up on Hindu as well as on Mohammedan foundations. Until the early 15th century Rajput art was only one of the many branches of Mediæval Hindu tradition. In the 15th and early 16th centuries, however, Rajputana came under the spell of the late Pathan art of Malwa, and in the greater part of the 17th and the first quarter of the 18th century under that of the Mughal court. On the other hand the late 16th and beginning 17th centuries, and again the late 18th and early 19th centuries were periods of assimilation, a flourishing national art and even cultural expansion.

It is here not my task to discuss the question how much Hindu art had contributed to the growth of the Mohammedan style in India; especially in Gujerat this contribution is quite obvious. But in the 15th century these many heterogeneous elements had long been melted into one very characteristic style enriched by many innovations brought from Central Asia, Persia and Mameluke Egypt. It was the Sultanate of Malwa which not only developed one of the finest forms of this Pathan art, but which also spread it over Rajputana and Bundelkhand from its centres Mandu and Chanderi. Thus, we find the strong

impress of Malwa-Pathan architecture at Chitorgarh in the palace and other secular buildings of Rana Kumbha who in A. D. 1454 had been forced to acknowledge the suzerainty to Sultan Mahmud Khalji. At Old Orchha, too, the earliest structures, the Ram Mandir and the Raj Mandir, reveal the model of the same foreign art. I should, however, go too far if I would speak of a simple adoption of the Malwa style by the Rajputs. In fact, the main conception of these buildings remains truly Rajput, especially the high massive quadrangular palace-block with its central court so characteristic for many Rajput castles of the 15th to the early 17th century. The Pathan influence shaped especially the form of the arches, domes, chhattries, the wall decorations, etc. There are reasons to suspect that Malwa-Pathan pictorial art has in a similar way contributed to the birth of Rajput painting. Early Rajput painting is, no doubt, an offshoot of Mediæval Hindu painting; the responsibility of the Pathan model must be sought in the manner in which the new Rajput pictorial art shook off a great part of that common Mediæval tradition and assumed a formula of its own. At Mandu there are also the prototypes of the elephant and rider figures which in the next centuries became so characteristic of Rajput sculpture. They represent an aesthetic conception foreign to Indian tradition and go back to Mohammedan Mongol models in Persia and Central Asia. From later miniatures we must finally conclude that also the Mohammedan dress of the time which followed the fashion of Timurid Samarcand and Herat, had in a certain measure found favour in Rajputana.

In the 16th and early 17th centuries this Pathan-Rajput tradition as I should like to call it, became completely imbued with the national ideals of Rajput chivalry and Hindu idealism. At Orchha and Datia we have the masterpieces of this style, the splendid palaces of Bir Singh Deo; and there must also be localized the very expressive early Ragmala pictures. But also at other places, Gwalior, Amber, Udaipur, Bundi, etc., it can be pointed out side by side with the earlier, purely Hindu tradition of religious art. It was this mixed style which became one of the chief components of architecture, sculpture (elephant figures), pictorial art and dress fashion of Akbar, besides the Central-Asian and Persian traditions brought by the early Mughals, and the last phase of the Pathan style, as it had developed under the Suri Sultans. Though in the 17th century the Mohammedan note in Mughal art became increasingly stronger, Rajput art has been responsible for the chief distinction between classical Mughal and other Moslem arts. Whereas *e. g.* the art of Bijapur and Golconda may be regarded as an Indianized Persian style, the main foundations of Mughal art have since Akbar remained Indian, how many Persian, Deccani or Western innovations might ever be grafted on it.

With the rise of classical Mughal civilisation during the last years of Jahangir and under the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb Rajputana not only

lost its influence, but also came herself under the spell of the splendid imperial court. As in the 15th century, the foreign model was again imitated at almost every important Rajput court. During this whole period it was the Kachhwaha rulers who set the fashion, first Mirza Raja Jai Singh I with his famous Amber palace in the taste of Jahangir's late years, Sawai Jai Singh II with his new city of Jaipur in the style of Aurangzeb, and finally Madho Singh by introducing the Roccoco ideals of Mohammed Shah in his Hawa Mahal. In the same manner it was Jaipur which opened the way for Mughal painting in Rajputana. But this imitation of Mughal court fashions and art was not restricted to Jaipur. In Mewar the classical Mughal taste of Jahangir and Shahjahan is to be felt in the Dilkusha Mahal and Amar Vilas at Udaipur, and to a certain degree also in the decoration of the ghats on the Raj Samand dau, in the Chatar Mahal and Aniruddh Mahal at Bundi, in the early parts of Kotah castle, in the Phul Bagh and the pavilions at the Raj Mandir at Orchha. The Aurangzeb style was then copied in Ajit Singh's Fateh Mahal at Jodhpur, in Abhai Singh's palace at Mandor, in Buddh Singh's and Umed Singh's additions to Bundi Castle, in those of Sangram Singh II and Jagat Singh II at Udaipur, also at Bikaner, and finally in the Jat palaces of Dig, Kumbher and Bharatpur (Purana Kothi). Even the last remnants of the Hindu style in secular architecture disappeared, and temple architecture, too, became mixed, with Mughal chhatris, roofs and decorations. In painting the first vestiges of Mughal influence are already obvious in the Orchha of Bir Singh Deo, but the victory of Mughal art must be put into the time of Shahjahan, and in the beginning of the 18th century all the Rajput courts cultivated painting in a style which has hitherto been called "mixed Mughal-Rajput", but which was in fact the Rajput court style of the time, as is evident not only from the original palace collections but also from the wall paintings at Orchha, Bundi, Kotah, etc. Only very isolated vestiges of a simultaneous boorish continuation of the preceding splendid phase of Rajput painting can be traced for a short period.

With the disintegration of the Mughal empire, however, the tide changed again, and for another time Rajputana evolved a national style of life and art which exercised a strong influence over the Punjab, Malwa and the Maratha states. Already under the emperor Farrukhsiyar the increasing independence of the Rajput states is obvious by a beginning differentiation in the dress fashions and in the artistic expression, and when after the sacks of Delhi by Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah Durrani, the Marathas and Safdar Jang the Delhi court had been completely impoverished, a quick departure from Mughal dress, architecture and painting, which hitherto had ruled unrestricted even down to Tanjore, became general. Nevertheless, this second zenith of Rajput civilisation was delayed until the early 19th century when the British hegemony had brought peace to the Rajput states devastated by a century of internecine

civil wars, and it lasted until the time when with the administrative reforms European civilisation penetrated and began to disintegrate a culture expressing the ideals of a vanishing feudal age.

Late Rajput architecture was evolved from the late flourishing architecture of the Mughals in its grave Baroque and its frivolous Roccoco aspect (time of Aurangzeb, *viz.*, Mohammed Shah). The chief characteristic of this late Rajput architecture is its musicality, the endless repetition and variation of the old structural and decorative details, not according to a simple canon of fixed proportions, but following the changing rhythm of musical harmony. The structure of the buildings is almost lost behind this rich play of forms, of light and shadow, of colours; the value of the single old forms, too, is merged into greater harmonies and compositions and replaced by new architectural types and decorative motifs introduced from the Deccan. Many fine examples of this style are to be seen at Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Udaipur, Kotah, Bundi, Datia, etc. And its influence is to be felt in the architecture of Lahore, Bhopal, Lucknow and Mysore; its decorative impress is obvious also in the otherwise so dissimilar Maratha palaces. The same musicality dominates also late Rajput painting. Through the 18th century the reflex of contemporary Mughal pictorial art is still to be felt. In the Rajput works of Jaipur under Sawai Madho Singh, for instance, the influence of Delhi and Fyzabad under Shuja'-ud-daula is still evident. But under Sawai Pratap Singh and Sawai Jagat Singh (1779-1818) Jaipur painting has lost all contact with Mughal art, it has reached the zenith of that pompous gravity and finally transporting musicality and spiritualism which so aroused the enthusiasm of Dr. Coomaraswamy although he had dated those portraits and Raslila cartoons in the Jaipur palace a century too early. The same evolution can be observed at Jodhpur in the time of the Maharajas Man Singh, and Takhat Singh, and so on in other places; it is the exact counterpart to the so musical and charming contemporary paintings of the Kangra Valley in the Himalaya. Only a few examples of Rajput sculpture of this period exist, mostly of elephants and horses, also of fine female or divine figures, rather transpositions of paintings into plastic conceptions. At the same time Rajput dress, too, evolved those splendid extravagant and picturesque fashions which we still admire at any Rajput durbar.

Thus the peculiar art of Rajputana was the product of two periods of contact with Moslem civilisation, that of the Pathan sultanate of Malwa, and that of the Mughal court in its heyday, and of two succeeding periods when those foreign elements were assimilated, imbued with the national Rajput spirit, and finally transmitted to the rest of India, to the Mughals of Akbar, *viz.* to the Indian courts of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. This nationalisation did, however, not mean a return to the preceding Mediæval Hindu tradition, but the expression of racial ideals somewhat different from

those of the other Hindus. It was not only the chivalrous romanticism of the Rajput sagas, it was also a peculiar aesthetic ideal, lines and plain surfaces, very different from the so unrivalled sculptural sensitiveness of Hindu art proper. Were this quick surrender of Hindu art traditions in favour of Mohammedan innovations, these dissimilar aesthetic ideals the result of a strong vein of non-Indian blood amongst the Rajputs? Col. Tod had first brought forth the theory of the Scythian *i.e.*, Iranian origin of a part of the Rajput clans, and it has, though with modifications, found support from other quarters, historians as well as anthropologists. I do not risk to venture myself on any definite opinion on such a difficult and insufficiently explored problem. The only statement I can bring forward is this that the closest affinity to the ideals which created a new national Rajput art out of Mediæval Hindu and Moslem elements, is to be found in the art of ancient Iran.

I should feel glad if this rather preliminary and tentative outline would inspire Indian scholars to further investigations in a neglected but nevertheless so splendid field of Indian culture. Art is only one aspect of human civilisation. A great cultural movement such as we can study in the growth of Rajput art, must be perceptible also in the manners, the political institutions, the literature, *etc.*, though probably in a varying degree. Such an investigation will help us to learn to understand the great creative currents of those times when Mediæval India was transformed into that form of life which is at the basis of the India of our own days.

THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF SHER SHAH'S KINGDOM

Dr. Parmatma Saran, M. A., Ph. D., Benares Hindu University

Sher Shah ruled a far wider territory than his Mughal predecessors. Before he finally drove Humayun out of India he had already subdued Bengal. Within a few years of his victory over Humayun near Bilgram and Qannauj, he made himself master of the whole of Northern India. His dominions extended from Sunargaon in the east to the Gakkhar country in the north-west, the western boundary being formed by a line joining Balnath Jogi on the Jhelum in the north and Khushab nearly a hundred miles south-west, and thence running across the Jhelum along the bank of the Indus down to Bhakkar.¹ On the south his territories were bounded by the Vindhya and Karakoram ranges,

¹ While Sindh had been surrendered to Sher Shah by its Afghan chieftains, the desert of Jaisalmer and part of Bikaner and Jodhpur remained out of the sway of the Sur Government.

as he had brought within his sway practically the whole of Rajputana, Malwa and Kalanjar. No further territorial accessions took place under his successors. Qanungo wrongly supposes that the fact 'that Sher Shah's empire extended as far as Mount Abu and Sakkhar Bakkhar (in Sindh), is known only from his coins' and that these facts 'have escaped the notice of all professed historians'.² Abbas has a clear reference to the manner in which the two provinces were acquired. The kingdom of Marwar had been extended by Rao Maldee to include the territory up to Abu and beyond. Vanquished by Sher Shah he took refuge in Siwan on the borders of Gujrat and thus the whole of his possessions including Abu fell into the hands of the victor. As regards Sindh (Sakkhar-Bakkhar) we are told that it was surrendered by its chief when they learnt that Sher Shah was preparing to attack them. In his triumphal march from Qannauj he swept right across the Gangetic Doab and the Punjab up to Khushab in the north, capturing towns and subjugating provinces. At Khushab he made a halt and sent forces to hound Humayun who was at Multan, out of the country, and to occupy that province. Here Ghazi Khan, Fateh Khan and Ismail Khan came and waited on him and gave proofs of their firm loyalty to him. The King was much pleased and confirmed Ismail as ruler of Sindh.³ Subsequently during the Ujjain and Sarangpur campaign when Sheikh Bayazid, grandfather of the author of the *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, came to see Sher Shah, the latter promised that after the fall of Kalanjar, he would give him the provinces of Sindh and Multan, the country of the Bauluchis.⁴ From the contemporary accounts we learn that the administrative machinery was re-established in these places as soon as they were conquered, an achievement which was the unique credit of Sher Shah.

Administrative Divisions.

Sher Shah was a veteran and skilled administrator and had attained the ripe age of sixty-eight⁵ when he became king. What was more, he was possessed of a keen sense of duty and of extraordinary energy in organisation. He had been a careful critic and observer of the shortcomings inherent in the systems of Babar and Humayun; and finding now an opportunity to remedy

2 Sher Shah, 382—388.

3 Abbas (MS. A.) p. 178; Elliot IV, 388. (MS. A. indicates the author's copy of Abbas).

4 Op. cit. ... p. 180; Elliot IV, 389.

5 A very common but serious misapprehension exists regarding the date of Sher Shah's birth, created by Mr. Qanungo's absurd suggestion to place that event about 1486 A. C. But in a paper on 'The Date and place of the Birth of Sher Shah,' published in the *J. B. O. R. Soc.* (March 1934 of Vol. XX pt. I) the present writer has conclusively shown that Sher Shah was born in the year 1472 A. C., Qanungo's hypothetical date being late by no less a period than 14 years. Consequently at the time of his enthronement Sher Shah was not 54 but 68 years old. It may also be observed here that he had a long experience of administering his father's jagir, extending over nearly 25 years in the first instance, and then several years again after his death.

them, addressed himself to the task with characteristic earnestness and enthusiasm.

Concerning the administrative divisions of Sher Shah's kingdom the contemporary chronicles yield, even to a very close scrutiny, extremely scanty information. We are left to make inferences from indirect and incidental observations only. Sher Shah seems to have retained more or less the former limits of the provinces, sarkars and parganahs. A modern writer has fabricated a fantastic theory about Sher Shah's political divisions, viz., that he discarded *the principle of dividing the kingdom* into provinces and although he had nominally to retain some provinces, he dispensed with them altogether so far as administrative purposes were concerned. The writer contends that the largest political unit into which Sher Shah's kingdom was divided was the sarkar.⁶ The existence of the provinces and provincial governors which is clearly mentioned in the chronicles is explained away by suggesting that these were meant either to 'preserve the administrative unity of the whole province' and to prevent quarrels among the governors⁷ as in the case of Bengal, or from military necessity, as in the case of the Punjab, Malwa, and Ajmer, Jodhpur and Nagor.⁸ His conclusion, however, is based on preconceived ideas rather than on historical facts, and he does not hesitate to twist the meanings of passages to suit his purpose.⁹ Although no detailed statistical account like the *Ain-i-Akbari* is available for Sher Shah's kingdom, we have unmistakable evidences that the empire was divided into regular provinces. Bengal was the only province which is said to have been split up into smaller governorships ostensibly with a view to minimise the chances of rebellion.

6 From pp. 241-243 of his 'Sher Shah' Qanungo laboriously develops his theory that Sher Shah 'substituted in Bengal a completely new mechanism', viz., that he broke up the province into a number of separate and smaller governorships. Qanungo fixes their number at nineteen, on the ground that as we learn from Abbas that the largest administrative unit of Sher Shah's Empire was a sarkar (MS. p. 249—Elliot, IV, 414), it would not be very far from the truth to say that about this time the 19 sarkars of Bengal proper enumerated in the *Ain-i-Akbari* were constituted by Sher Shah. 'This new system, that is to say, of dividing a province into separate governorships which were coincident with the sarkars of later time was' Qanungo contends, 'Sher Shah's ideal of provincial organisation' (vide 'Sher Shah' p. 357). It will be presently shown, however, that his contention is quite baseless. But it may be pointed out here that the statement which he ascribes to Abbas, viz., that the sarkar was Sher Shah's largest administrative unit does not exist either in Elliot or in any of the five MSS. extant in the Br. Museum and the India Office, nor in my copy. I find no statement of Abbas capable of yielding the sense which Qanungo has discovered,

7 Sher Shah, 243.

8 Ibid, 357—358.

9 For instance, he further supports his theory by a quotation from Abbas (Elliot IV, 432), viz; "He (Sher Shah) intended to remove Azam Humayun (Haibat Khan) from his government of the Punjab, but had no time before he was glorified in martyrdom." This sentence has been torn out of its context and twisted to yield the desired sense, which however, happens to be just the contrary of what the passage really conveys. Read with the context it only means that Sher Shah wanted to remove the governor as a punishment for certain acts of high misdemeanour and not in order to abolish the office itself.

These divisions have been assumed by Qanungo to be identical with the nineteen sarkars of Bengal under Akbar,—an assumption no better grounded than his theory and arguments. For Abbas on two occasions uses the distinct words:—¹⁰ *بنگاله بنود و قاضي فضيلت را امين بنگاله بنود* translated by Elliot: "And he divided the kingdom of Bengal into different provinces and made Qazi Fazilat 'Amir' of Bengal," and again: *بنگاله بنود و قاضي ساخت و طوائف ساخت* translated by Elliot: "The kingdom of Bengal he divided into parts, and made Qazi Fazilat Amir of that whole kingdom."¹¹ The meaning of *طوائف* is thus given by Steingass: 'The kings of those provinces into which the empire of Sikandar (Lodi) was broken up'. From the nature of Afghan policy in India it is only too well-known that it was composed of a number of tribal, more or less autonomous leaders who continued to enjoy these privileges till Sher Shah's time. Instead of giving the province of Bengal to one of these Sher Shah divided it among several of them. In this way he satisfied the powerful and ambitious Afghans and rendered them incapable of rebellion as well. This view is fully supported by Badauni. Says he, "..... Sher Shah imprisoned Khizr Khan and taking possession of the country conferred it by way of Jagir upon several of his trustworthy Amirs, and appointed Qazi Fazilat.....superintendent of the Eastern Rohtas fort."¹² The same is also borne out by the *Makhzan-i-Afghani*¹³. According to Qanungo each of these jagirs into which Bengal was thus divided represented a sarkar. Had it been so there seems no reason why Abbas and other writers quoted above should have refrained from directly stating them as sarkars, and given them instead a misleading and incorrect name. But what Sher Shah really did was that he divided that province into a few smaller jurisdictions and gave them as

¹⁰ Abbas (MS. A) p. 183; I. O. MS. fol. 87-88; Elliot IV, 390.

¹¹ Ibid (MS. A) p. 225; I. O. MS. fol. 108; Elliot. IV, 417. It may be noted that Elliot's MS. seems to have had the word 'Amir' and not 'Amin' which is found in all other MSS. known to me, in India and England, although curiously enough an abridged reduction of the *Tarikh-i-Sher-Shahi*, (Or. 1782) which belonged to Elliot and was copied by his munshi, has also the word 'Amin' and not 'Amir'. It can, therefore, be safely concluded that his rendering was an error.

¹² *خضر خان محبوس گشت و شهر شاه ضبطان ولایت نموده بچندی از امرائے معتبر جاگیر ساخت و قاضي فضيلت..... ناظم مهمات قلعه و حقالس شرقي گرد آيند -*

Badauni, 364-365. It will be remembered that Badauni was a contemporary of Abbas and had personally been witness to Sher Shah's administration in his boyhood. He is as valuable an authority for the great Afghan's reign as Abbas.

¹³ I quote the relevant passage from the *Makhzan-i-Afghani* and *Khan Jahan Lodi* of which the different MSS. I have carefully compared and collected both in the Br. Mus. and the India Office.

مخزون افغاني (Or. 1636, fol. 216 a) و آنجا حاکم دیگر تعیین فرمود و قاضي فضيلت را امين بنگاله بنود تاريخ خانجهايي و مخزون افغاني (Ethe, 1705, fol 158 a, b) بنگاله چند بچند کس از امرائي معتبر خود جاگیر کرد و قاضي فضيلت را امين آن ولایت ساخت و سلاح و سزادان و سزاد آن ملک را و قبضه اقتدار او مسلم نهاد -

jagirs to the powerful local Afghan leaders, as is clearly mentioned by Badauni, Makhzan and other authorities alike. That Sher Shah did divide his provinces into sarkars is quite certain although it is nowhere definitely stated. The point to which I wish to draw attention here is that the passages under consideration do not refer to any such division. On the other hand, the only reasonable inference from them will be that out of the Bengal province Sher Shah placed a territory comprising a few sarkars in charge of each of a few tribal chiefs who were, of course, all politically equal in status and independent of one another, but responsible to the central government through the Amin, as to whose functions and powers Qanungo has again lost touch with facts and given free play to his imagination. He contends that 'this office carried no military command and no great administrative duties except that of supervision and prevention of quarrels which were sure to arise among a number of officials of equal status.....' (p. 357). This view would seem to be quite untenable in the light of the passages quoted above from Badauni, Makhzan, etc., in which the position and functions of the Amin have been defined in absolutely unmistakably words. This piece of evidence, however, Qanungo has completely ignored. But even the rather scanty observations of Abbas on this point would be found on a careful consideration, to lend no support to his theory. In Abbas the passage in question occurs as a conclusion to the account he is giving of the measures taken by Sher Shah for the maintenance of internal peace by stationing a certain number of troops and garrisons in different places in the country. Hence he says: 'He appointed Qazi Fazilat..... and in every place where it suited his purpose, he kept garrisons.'¹⁴ The only reasonable sense which, in this context, these words can bear is that Qazi Fazilat was, like others, who were stationed in other localities, also responsible for defence, that is to say, for war and peace, as Badauni clearly says, in addition to his duty of supervising and controlling the general administration according to the policy of the central Government and also of suppressing and punishing the contumacious whenever necessary. The designation Amin used in preference to Faujdar or Qiladar which should have been appropriate for an officer restricted simply to military duties, signifies the wider scope of his duties. Hence it has been translated by Elliot as 'Manager' (IV, 391), by Dorn as 'Trustee', and by Maulvi A. Salaam in his translation of the Riyaz-us-Satatin, as 'Overlord.'¹⁵ Thus the Amin's office roughly resembled that of the later Mughal viceroys of the Deccan under whom several minor provinces were combined into a single viceroyalty with the same object in view, namely, to

¹⁴ و قاضی قضایات را..... امین بنگالا ساخته بود و در هر مکان که مناسب حال او دید

فوجخانه گشته بود -

facilitate the control of a distant province and keep in check the centrifugal tendencies of the local chiefs. It was ostensibly with the object of keeping internal turbulence in check and of protecting the province from ambitious neighbours that the post of the Amin was created. As "trustee" he was responsible for the province as a whole to the king. 'Prevention of quarrels' would thus come incidentally within the scope of his duties, but the possibility of occasional quarrels among officers would not necessitate or justify the creation of such an important office. In all likelihood the Amin's duty was also to intervene in the internal administration, when necessary, in the interests of peace and security. Indeed the Amin's jurisdiction and authority was so wide that it soon enabled him slowly and imperceptibly to assert his power as a fullfledged governor with the result that Islam Shah, on his accession, appointed Muhammad Khan Sur, governor of the whole province in the same way as in other provinces, and the tribal Jagirdars or chiefs among whom Sher Shah had divided it were completely lost sight of. (Riyaz p. 148). He was followed by Shahbaz Khan, as governor of the Province under Muhammad Shah Adil (Riyaz p. 150). Hence it seems reasonable to conclude that the governors (*i. e.* the several jagirdars among whom the province was divided) were left to carry on the administration as they thought fit. Thus while the extent of the Amin's authority to intervene in their affairs cannot be estimated with any degree of precision, yet the nature of his responsibilities would seem to suggest that he must have been in control of the main strings of administrative policy. We may therefore reasonably conclude that although the peculiar circumstances of the province of Bengal necessitated its division into what we may call, sub-provinces, its essential unity was maintained, and, for purposes of administrative policy, it was treated as a single province.¹⁶

No such complication, however, arises in the case of the other provinces of which we find a clear mention in practically all contemporary authorities. But it should be carefully noted that the extent of some of Sher Shah's *Subahs* seems to have been determined by local considerations. We may now cite some cases to illustrate the existence of subahs. His first subah extended from Delhi to the western boundary of Rohilkhand, and the second from Rohilkhand as far as Oudh and Jaunpur. The first he entrusted to Ahmad Khan Sarwani whom he made, in view of the difficult circumstances of the time, like Qazi Fazilat, Amin of Delhi,¹⁷ and the second he entrusted to Masnad-i-Ali Isa Khan. As soon as he occupied Delhi after defeating Humayun at Qannauj, he was faced with the problem of maintaining order in this region which was the heart of the kingdom, and was to serve as the base of his military advance into the Punjab.

¹⁶ The changes involved in the nature of the administration do not fall within the scope of this chapter : they will be discussed in their proper place.

¹⁷ I. O. MS, fol. 107b, MS. A. pp. 221-223.

The Sarkar of Sambhal (*i. e.* Rohilkhand) was the home of the most implacable rebels, and hence the governor of this territory was asked to make Sambhal his seat. The latter was expected only to restore order and peace first by suppressing the insurgents with a ruthless hand. This was an emergency step, for we are told that when he had dismissed Isa Khan to the Sarkar of Sambhal Sher Shah felt at his 'ease regarding the whole country from Delhi to Lucknow.' He was asked to maintain 5000 horse for whose maintenance a suitable Jagir was assigned. Nasir Khan was made his deputy.¹⁸ Moreover, even a cursory reading of the chronicles would reveal the existence of the provinces of Lahore, Multan including the Gakkhar country, Sindh, Ajmer including Jodhpur and Nagor, Malwa and Bihar.

During his first march to the Gakkhar country in pursuit of Humayun he had hardly settled the country before he returned to Bengal to deal with Khizr Khan. But he had started building the Rohtas fort with great expedition, and the Baluchi chiefs of Sindh, Fath Khan and Ghazi Khan having made their submission were confirmed in the governorship of that province. While leaving for Bengal he had left the country between Lahore and the frontier in charge of Haibat Khan Niazi, Khawas Khan, Isa Khan Niazi, Habib Khan and Rai Hussain Jalwani.¹⁹ After returning from Bengal Sher Shah took Gwalior, Malwa and 'assigned the country of Mandu to Shuja't Khan.²⁰ Shuja't was soon after degraded and again restored to a *Mansab of 12000* horse, and 'became ruler of the whole country of Mandu.'²¹ Shuja't Khan had even authority to distribute Jagirs throughout the whole province.²² This was followed by the siege and treacherous capture of Raisen during which news came of the quarrel between Khawas Khan and Haibat Khan Niazi. The country between Lahore and the Jats between Lahore and Panipat were devastating the land. Sher Shah recalled every other officer and 'confirmed Haibat Khan Niazi in the government of the Punjab,' (Punjab is evidently used here to indicate the whole territory of the five rivers including Multan)—and Fath Jang Khan his assistant. When Haibat Khan Niazi established peace and restored Multan to its former prosperity, Sher Shah sent his instructions regarding the revenue administration of Multan, that being a special case. Haibat Niazi put Fath Jang in charge of Multan, and returned to Lahore. Thus these two officers

18 MS. A. pp. 171-172; Elliot IV. 388-384 and p. 416.

19 MS. (A) pp. 181-133. Elliot IV, pp. 388-90.

20 MS. (A) p. 187. Elliot IV, p. 398.

21 MS. (A) pp. 191-92. Elliot IV, p. 396-297.

There is a mistake in Elliot here. The command of 12000 was conferred on Shujaat Khan and not on Haji Khan who was only a Faujdar. See Elliot IV, p. 395.

22 MS. (A) pp. 235-236; Abbas, I. O. MS, fol. 114 a.

ruled the provinces of Lahor and Multan.²³ Next followed the capture of Jodhpur, Nagor and Ajmer which was entrusted to Khawas Khan and Isa Khan Niazi assisted by some other chiefs.²⁴ Sulaiman Khan was appointed governor of the Bihar Provinces.²⁵ These instances should suffice to show that no new mechanism 'at once original in principle and efficient in working' (See: 'Sher Shah' p. 241) was created by Sher Shah. Nevertheless Mr. Qanungo would have us believe that Sher Shah's ideal of provincial organisation was that of Bengal. As we have shown, Bengal was not organised as Mr. Qanungo conceives it. Nor was even the expedient of appointing an Amin to it made the ideal for the rest of the kingdom. The case of Bengal was an exception rather than the rule. Sher Shah never gave any indication, either by design or by practice, of introducing the same system in the other provinces. Their governors were not so limited in the scope of their functions and were moreover called Hakims (حاکم).

The existence of regular subahs is further corroborated by subsequent evidence. Ahmad Yadgar tells us that when Firoz Shah son of Islam Shah was placed on the throne orders were sent to the governors of the Subahs.²⁶ We have no reason to suppose that any such radical reorganisation as the reconstitution of Subahs was undertaken by Islam Shah. The province of Malwa was still governed by Shuja'at Khan who was succeeded by Taj Khan the Vazir.²⁷ Islam Sur had appointed his kinsman Muhammad Khan to succeed Qazi Fazilat as governor of Bengal.²⁸ He in turn was succeeded by Shahbaz Khan under Muhammad Adil Sur.²⁹ In the Light of the above evidence Mr. Qanungo's theory that Sher Shah altogether dispensed with the province as an administrative unit, would seem to be entirely groundless. Incidentally we have also shown that the governors of Mandu and Multan enjoyed, among others, the usual authority of dealing with revenue administration. Yet we find Mr. Qanungo making a still bolder assertion that even while Sher Shah was compelled by military necessity to keep governors in Malwa, Ajmer and the Punjab, 'the central government controlled finance and justice in these parts as in the rest of the Empire.' A more unwarranted statement it would be difficult to find.

Further, from the evidence of Akbar's reign also Mr. Qanungo's theory would seem to be quite untenable and self-contradictory. He contends that the great Afghan (Sher Shah) was responsible for the creation of 'the imperial edifice which the stupendous literary activity of Abul Fazal has

23 MS. (A) pp. 193-195; Elliot IV, 397-399.

24 MS. (A) pp. 207-208. Elliot IV, 405-406.

25 Riyaz, p. 153;

26 Elliot V, 43.

27 Op. cit. 44.

28 Ain, p. 415 L 20-23; also Riyaz p. 148.

29 Riyaz, p. 150.

misled the world into regarding as the sole creation of his royal patron.' In order to be consistent with this theory Mr. Qanungo ought to have shown that until his reorganisation of the Empire into provinces in 1581, Akbar had no provinces, working, as he should have done (according to Mr. Qanungo) till then, the machinery bequeathed to him by Sher Shah. The baselessness of this position is too patent to need comment.

The Jagir System—

The Afghan policy was based on the conception of the kingdom being tribal property. From Bahlol Lodi down to Sher Shah and even Islam Shah all had to invite their Afghan kinsmen, and in recognition of their right to a share in the kingdom to give them some part of its income either in the shape of cash or jagir. Besides, they had to divide almost the whole kingdom among the leading Afghan nobles and chiefs. This system was not in the least altered or modified by Sher Shah. But by his great experience, dominating personality and astuteness in dealing with them, he succeeded in introducing most remarkable improvements into both the spirit and the machinery of government. The bulk of his kingdom was also assigned in Jagirs to Afghan nobles. But while they still retained their theoretical rights and privileges, their actual position under him had become greatly reduced. The Lodi Sultans had to keep flattering them in order to retain their co-operation and help and even Sikandar had no control over his provincial governors. But under Sher Shah they had to be thoroughly submissive and obedient and even the smallest act of inefficiency or dereliction of duty never went unpunished. Islam Shah acted on the general principle of abolishing Jagirs, so far as was practicable, and substituting instead the system of cash salaries, but he could not accomplish much.

We find references also about the native chiefs many of whom were forced to acknowledge allegiance to the ruler of Delhi. For instance the Raja of Lakhnor, to the east of Sambhal, was allowed to retain his estate and evidently enjoyed a very influential position under the protection of the governor of Sambhal.³⁰ Abbas incidentally refers to the attendance of zamindars for interviews with the king, every morning³¹. But the nature of the treaties and obligations of these zamindars and Rajas can only be a matter of conjecture.

³⁰ Elliot, VI, 384; Ms. A, p. 172.

³¹ Ms. (A) p. 200,

A MUGHAL MINIATURE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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Amongst the most fascinating of Mughal miniatures is an unfinished drawing¹ of a durbar of Shah Jahan, by Anupchatar. It is a folio of a magnificent album² of Mughal miniatures in the British Museum, which contains several other masterpieces of Mughal art by notable artists. Unfortunately we know little or nothing about the artist, Anupchatar. So completely were the painters neglected by the Mughal historians, that the only way to know Anupchatar is to study the extant specimens of his art.³ The picture is in one of the preliminary stages, through which it had to pass, before the painter could call it a finished product of his art. The absence of rich colours in this case enables us to appreciate better the excellence of Anupchatar's art which lies in the delicacy of its fine ink-line. The picture shows Shah Jahan seated on a throne, the canopy of which is supported by 12 beautiful slender pillars. There is a deeply fringed (incomplete) awning over the canopy. In front of the emperor stands Asaf Khan (No. 8), who presents a wreath of pearls and gems to him. The four boy princes stand near the throne, while the rest of the nobles stand inside the silver railing in respectful demeanour. The portraits of all those present in the durbar are sketched in black and white with such accuracy, care and scrupulous attention to details that they bear evidence of having been drawn from life. Our interest in them is heightened by the names inscribed on most of them. The portraits possess character and many of them are very revealing indeed. The artist has proved beyond doubt the truth of the aphorism that a man's face is the index of his heart and the mirror of his deeds. The picture represents undoubtedly one of the earliest durbars of Shah Jahan, for several nobles present in the durbar died early in the reign. For instance Riza Bahadur (No. 39) was killed on October 15th, 1629. Arnold⁴ suggests in his note on the picture that it probably represents the durbar, that was held in February (or March 8th, according to the New Style) 1628, to receive the three princes and Asaf Khan, who had arrived at Agra from Lahore. This is improbable, for Khwaja Abul Hasan (No. 7) was not present in the durbar on that date. He was left behind at Lahore by Asaf Khan in accordance with the instructions of Shah Jahan.⁵ The emperor granted a mansab to Khwaja

¹ Indian Drawings VII 1920—9—17—013 (27) in the British Museum.

² British Museum MS. Add. 18801.

³ Another picture by his hand is fol. 26 in MS. Ouseley Add. 173 in the Bodleian Library.

⁴ A and B, 73—74.

⁵ L. I. A. 115.

Abul Hasan in his absence⁶ on duty, on the day of the durbar. He did not arrive at court from Lahore until June 15th, 1628.⁷ But soon after this, Qasim Khan (No. 20) left court on August 16th, 1628,⁸ to take up the governorship of Bengal. Since both of them are present in the durbar, the picture should represent a scene at the court during the two months, between June 15th and August 16th, 1628. There is, however, one difficulty. The actual age of Murad Bakhsh (No. 24) at this time was only 3 years and 8-10 months, but he looks in the picture as if he was a boy of about 8, though each one of his three brothers looks his actual age in the picture. It may be that the portrait of Murad Bakhsh is a later interpolation. It appears to be inferior in quality and the face has nothing in common with the profiles of his three brothers, whose facial resemblance is striking. There is yet another consideration, which persuades me to suggest that the portrait is spurious. A more or less similar picture in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology, though of a definitely inferior quality, does not contain a portrait of Murad Bakhsh.

Our picture bears an inscription and a seal on the back of the folio. The inscription gives the title of the picture, viz., 'the court of his majesty along with the princes and the nobles' and the price-200.' Below the inscription is the seal of 'Ashraf Khan, servant of Alamgir Badshah 1072,' which is 1661-62 A. D.

The following are the short sketches of the life and character of many of those, who are represented in the miniature. They will enable us to realize how well the historians' account is corroborated and confirmed by the artist.

1. Name is illegible and the portrait is unfortunately blurred out.

2. Qulij Khan,⁹ whose portrait is blurred out, was one of the greatest soldiers of his age. He attained a mansab of 5,000, and died in 1654.

3. Shaikh Nazir¹⁰ was one of the most extra-ordinary men of his time. His 'miracles' often left Shah Jahan and his court astonished and in suspense. His real name was Nasir Muhammed, but his spiritual guide named him Shaikh Nazir. He was a personal attendant of Shah Jahan. Day and night, at all seasons of the year, he was dressed in a shirt with short sleeves, stuffed with cotton. His dress in the picture is true to description.

4. Amar Singh,¹¹ the eldest son of Raja Gaj Singh, stands immediately behind his father. He served in the campaigns against Jujhar Singh Bundela, Sahu Bhonsla in the Deccan and Raja Jagat Singh. He served also in

6 Ibid. 182.

7 Ibid. 203

8 Ibid. 226.

9 M. U., III 92-95. L. I. A. 226, 428.

10 L. I. B. 337-38.

11 M. U. II, 230-33. L. II, 97, 380-82.

Afghanistan under the princes Shuja, Murad Bakhsh, and Dara Shikoh on three different occasions.

5. Gaj Singh¹² was a cousin of Shah Jahan. His thick, long nose and double chin do not leave a very pleasant impression on our mind.

6. Shaista Khan,¹³ who stands not far from his father, Asaf Khan, in the picture was a brother-in-law of Shah Jahan. His name was Mirza Abu Talib, but he is best known by his title Shaista Khan, which he received from Jahangir. He was not a great general, but he was best known for his many social virtues. He was extremely kind and generous, and in spite of his great wealth and high position, there was not a trace of vanity in him. One can almost read these characteristics in his face.

7. Khwaja Abul Hasan,¹⁴ who came to India from Khurasan. In 1612, Jahangir selected him for the office of Mir Bakhshi. Later he appointed him as the Diwan. In 1629, Shah Jahan entrusted him with the pursuit of Khan Jahan Lodi, who had escaped from Agra. In 1632, he was appointed governor of Kashmir, but owing to his advanced age he was permitted to remain at court. His great services and loyalty to the empire and his frankness and honesty of purpose won him the confidence of Shah Jahan, who promoted him to a mansab of 6,000. He visited him on his sick bed in January 1633. He died in March 1633,¹⁵ at the ripe age of 70. He possessed 'a sour countenance and a stern nature'. How true to life and character his portrait is. Without much difficulty one can spot out the doyen of Mughal nobility in his late sixties, with his failing eye-sight and furrowed forehead, learning heavily on a staff and looking at the emperor straight in the face.

8. Asaf Khan,¹⁶ the brother-in-law of Jahangir and the father-in-law of Shah Jahan, was a member of a gifted Persian family, which produced several remarkable men and still more remarkable women. Ever since his sister married Jahangir he began to earn rapid promotions until he attained the office of the Vakil and a mansab of 7,000. On his accession, Shah Jahan loaded Asaf Khan with gifts and honours, awarded him the title of Yamin-ud-Daula and a mansab of 8,000. He died in 1641, of chronic dropsy. He had a tremendous appetite, which may well be, considering the enormous figure that we see in the picture. He was an astute politician and a clever diplomat—characteristics, which are well brought out in his portrait. He lived like a prince, had a great reputation for courtesy, dignity of bearing and hospitality, and spent lavishly when he entertained royalty. It is, therefore,

12 M. U. II, 223-225. L. II, 97.

13 M. U., II, 690-706. L. I. A., 180, 294, 295-96, 302, 318; I. B. 135, 137. M. A., 368.

14 M. U., I, 737-39. L. I. A. 182, 276-77, 297, 300-01, 432, 449, 473-74.

15 The date in A & B., p. 75, is incorrect.

16 M. U., I, 151-59. L. I. A. 70-75, 79, 112-15, 177-80, 318-19; 424, I. B. 82-83; II, 257-57.

perhaps appropriate that we should see him making a rich offering—it looks like a rope of pearls and gems—to the emperor.

9. Shah Jahan¹⁷ was born on January 15th, 1592. The description of his features, as given by the official court chronicler¹⁸, will be of interest. He was a man of middle height with a sallow complexion. He wore a short beard and well trimmed moustache. His open forehead, graceful eye-brows, dark commanding eyes, prominent thin nose and thin closed lips were the other noticeable features, which combined to make him a handsome man.

10. Daultat Mai¹⁹ was a strikingly handsome man. Jahangir gave him the title of Khawas Khan. His intrepidity in the engagement with Khan Jahan Lodi near Dholpur attracted Shah Jahan's notice. He was appointed governor of Tatta in 1635.

Later he held once again the post of captain of the mansabdars-in waiting, which he relinquished in 1646, to take up the governorship of Kandahar. He returned to India after the fall of Kandahar and died in disgrace and obscurity. In the picture he stands in attendance on the emperor with a fly whisk in his hand. Amongst all those present in the durbar, he has the fairest complexion and he certainly looks young and handsome.

11. Dara Shikoh,²⁰ the eldest son of Shah Jahan, was born in March 1615.

12. Shuja²¹, the second son of Shah Jahan, was born in July 1616. In August of the year 1633 he received his first military command in the Deccan.

13. Aurangzeb,²² the third son of Shah Jahan, was born in November 1618.

14. Mahabat Khan,²³ whose real name was Zamana Beg, was of Persian descent. To the end of his days he was reckless in expenditure and in matters of personal health. It was said of him that he never abandoned any one, whom he once gave his confidence. He died of a chronic ulcer in 1634. Mahabat Khan stands immediately behind the princes, facing Asaf Khan in the picture. He looks at the latter with jealous eye and a contemptuous smile.

15. Behind Mahabat Khan stands a man, who is healthy and stout, and wears a dark beard. But his name is not given.

16. Mirza Rustam²⁴ came from Persia to India in the reign of Akbar. He was well received at court and was given a high mansab. He died at the

17 L. I. A. 16, 385, 389-90.

18 L. I. A. 130-34.

19 M. U., II, 24-30. L. I. A. 181, 474-75, 537; I. B. 101; II, 577. W. 412a, 415a.

20 L. I. A. 178-79, 391, 452, 458. A. S., I, 192.

21 L. I. A. 392, 402-03, 452, 460-64, 537.

22 L. I. A. 392, 489-93; I. B. 243, 269.

23 M. U., I, 744-45; III, 385-409. L. I. A. 116-17, 199, 241, 424, 528; I. B. 59-60, 293.

24 M. U., III, 434-41. L. I. A. 205, 452, 461-64.

advanced age of 72.²⁵ "Mirza was a man of the world and knew the spirit of the age". How true to his later life the portrait is. Heavy, old, infirm and diseased, he leans on his staff, looking intently at the scene in front of him. His flabby face, long beard, heavy eye-lids and dishevelled hair, which almost hide his ear, combine to make him well advanced in age.

17. Khan Alam²⁶ belonged to a family, which had served the Mughals since the days of Timur. In 1632, Shah Jahan granted him an ample old age pension, thus enabling him to spend his last days comfortably in Agra. He leans heavily on his staff and looks old, weak and dissipated.

18. The figure immediately behind Khan Alam has an excellent profile. Unfortunately it bears no name.

19. Khan Zaman²⁷ whose real name was Mirza Amanulla, learnt the science of war and strategy as an under-study of his father, Mahabat Khan. He died of chronic disease in 1637, at a rather early age. In the picture we see him a sturdy man with a fresh, open countenance, which suggests that he possessed a sincere heart and a lovable character.

20. Qasim Khan,²⁸ son of Mir Murad, belonged to a well known family of Saiyeds of Juven. He served for a considerable time in the Deccan and in Bengal. In 1632, Qasim Khan launched a well planned attack on the Portuguese. He died three days after his men had secured a definite victory over them in autumn 1632. Shah Jahan lamented the loss of an efficient officer and a loyal and sincere worker. He was an excellent poet and writer. His profile certainly gives us the impression that he was a man of culture and rectitude.

Arnold²⁹ has attempted to identify the portrait with an officer, better known as Qasim Khan Mir Atash³⁰, who was very much the junior of Qasim Khan, the governor of Bengal, both in age and rank. The former was appointed Mir Atash as late as 1645, when he was promoted to a small mansab of 1,000.³¹ He, therefore, definitely did not possess a sufficiently high status early in Shah Jahan's reign to be able to rub shoulders with Gaj Singh and Wazir Khan, who stand on either side of him in the picture.

21. Wazir Khan³², a resident of Chunot in the Punjab, entered Shah Jahan's service during his princehood and remained loyal to him in his adversity. He was an excellent physician. His real name was Hakim Alim-ud-Din. He died in 1641. He led a simple life, saved much and was short tempered. His

25 According to another Ms. of the Ma'asir, it was 82. See M. U. III, 439, footnote 5.

26 M. U., I, 732-36. L. I. A. 125, 228, 426-27.

27 M. U., I, 740-48; III, 385-86. L. I. A. 199, 257; I. B. 59, 257, 293.

28 M. U., III, 78-82. L. I. A. 226, 409, 425-39, 444. A. S., I, 32.

29 A and B., 78.

30 See M. U., III, 95-99.

31 L. II, 414.

32 M. U., III, 988-86. L. I. A. 408, 410, 426; II, 241,

outstanding characteristic was his great personal loyalty to Shah Jahan and his high sense of duty. His profile, if viewed in the light of these remarks, is very revealing, indeed.

22. Raja Bithaldas³³ was the second son of Raja Gopaldas, who along with his eldest son had died fighting for the cause of Shah Jahan at Tatta. On Shah Jahan's accession Bithaldas received the title of Raja.

He has typical Rajput features. The sharp outline of his profile and his tall, well built figure remind us that he was a soldier first and last.

23. This interesting figure is unnamed. He stands humble and respectful, with his eyes facing the ground rather than the emperor. His huge turban is more foreign than Mughal. He may be one of the numerous eminent foreigners, who arrived at Shah Jahan's court. The portrait cannot be identified with Saiyed Jalal Bukhari, the Sadr-us-Sudur, as is suggested by Arnold,³⁴ because Musavi Khan, and not he, held that high office in the early period of Shah Jahan's reign. Musavi Khan himself (No. 30) is present in the durbar.

24. Murad Bakhsh³⁵ was born in October 1624. He married the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safvi (No. 31) in 1642. He was a rash and credulous young man. He is plump and looks very young in the picture. He has not yet discarded the small boy's cap, which covers well his right ear.

25. A young man, obviously a Rajput, wearing pearls in his ears. The portrait is unnamed.

26. The name is not legible.

27. Sadiq Khan³⁶, who was related to Asaf Khan, served as a Bakhshi in Jahangir's reign. He was not well inclined towards Shah Jahan, but on Jahangir's death he made his peace with the adherents of the former. Shah Jahan appointed him as his Mir Bakhshi. He died in September 1633. He stands almost in the middle of the audience hall. His closely trimmed black beard makes him conspicuous in the group.

28. Sultan Nazar³⁷, the brother of Saif Khan (No. 40), was a man of literary tastes. He stands in front of his brother and faces Sadiq Khan Mir Bakhshi (No. 27), with a scroll of paper in his hands. The name, Sultan Nazar is perfectly legible. It is strange that Arnold³⁸ identifies the portrait with another man, named Mirza Sultan Safvi³⁹. The name Sultan, common to both, obviously misguided him.

33 M. U., II, 250-54. L. I. A. 117-18, 369, 476 ; II, 241.

34 A and B. 79.

35 L. I. A. 392, 430 ; II, 304-05.

36 M. U., II, 729-31. L. I. A. 181, 186, 533.

37 M. U., II, 421.

38 A. and B. 79.

39 For the story of his life see M. U., III 581-83.

29. Azam Khan⁴⁰, whose real name was Muhammad Baqar, came to India from Iraq and entered the service of Asaf Khan Jafar Beg. Later he held successively the posts of Khan Saman and Mir Bakhshi under Jahangir. Shah Jahan retained him as Mir Bakhshi and later appointed him as his Vazier. He died at the advanced age of 76, in 1649, at Jaunpur, where he lies buried. He had many good qualities and was held in respect.

He looks a man of elderly age in the picture. But Arnold⁴¹ identifies the portrait with a man, much younger in age and lower in rank, who did not receive the title of Azam Khan Koka⁴² till the second decade of Aurangzeb's reign.

30. Musavi Khan⁴³ attained the office of Sadr-us-Sudur in Jahangir's reign. Shah Jahan retained him in that post. But he dismissed him in the 16th year of his reign. He did not long survive his disgrace and died in 1644. He wears a long beard and puts on an orthodox appearance, which was, perhaps, an essential qualification for his post.

31. Shah Nawaz Khan⁴⁴ was the title given by Jahangir to Mirza Badiuz-Zaman, who was the son of Mirza Rustam Safvi (No. 16). In Shah Jahan's reign he served in the Deccan, where he acted once as the guardian and Vakil of Murad Bakhsh. He lived a grand and elegant life and loved the pleasures of the hunt and the chase. It is not, therefore, surprising if we see him in the picture with a falcon perched on his gloved hand.

32. Afzal Khan,⁴⁵ whose real name was Mulla Shukrulla, came from Shiraz to Surat and joined the staff of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan at Burhampur. On Shah Jahan's accession he received the post of Mir Saman. In the second year of the reign he was promoted to the office of Vazier. He died in 1639, at the age of 70. He possessed an acute mind and a keen intellect and was known for his clear thinking. He looks old, scholarly and wise in the picture. His thin closed lips indicate a determined nature and great tenacity of purpose.

33. Miran Saiyed, Khan Jahan's⁴⁶ unswerving devotion to the cause of Shah Jahan during the last years of Jahangir's reign won him the prince's regards and confidence. He died of paralysis in 1645.

34. Karan Bhurthiha⁴⁷ received the title of Rao and the territory of Bikaner on his father's death in the 4th year of Shah Jahan's reign. One may perhaps gather from his portrait that he was inclined to be wayward and flippant.

40 M. U., I, 174-180. L. I. A. 186, 294, 295, 318, 394-95, 424, 444; I. B. 102.

41 A and B., 79-80.

42 For an account of his career see M. U., I, 247-51.

43 M. U., II, 441-42. L. I. A. 181, 200, 453.

44 M. U., II, 670-75. L. I. A. 181, 300, 476-77; I. B. 267, 269.

45 M. U., I, 145-51. L. I. A. 176-77, 229, 257-58; II, 131-32.

46 M. U. I, 758-66. L. I. A. 354; II, 473.

47 M. U., II, 287-89.

35. Anerai⁴⁸ served in the royal household towards the close of Akbar's reign and for some time in Jahangir's reign. His sharp features make an excellent profile. He looks determined and brave.

36. The name⁴⁹ is not legible, but it may be read as Jan Sipar Khan,⁵⁰ who had the title of Jan Baz Khan in the reign of Jahangir. He was a faujdar of Mandisor for a considerable time in Shah Jahan's reign. He died in 1645.

37. Mir Jumla⁵¹ came from Isfahan to the Deccan where he entered the service of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. Shah Jahan appointed him as Mir Saman and later as Mir Bakhshi. He died in 1637. His small chin, short neck, protruding lips and short stout figure do not warrant a gainly appearance. It is not at all surprising that people found in him a difficult person to cooperate with. Arnold⁵² identifies the portrait with another Mir Jumla, who joined Shah Jahan's court towards the close of his reign. It is strange that he should do so, since on his own admission⁵³ the picture represents 'an early durbar of Shah Jahan's reign'.

38. The name is not perfectly legible. It can be read as Amanat Khan.⁵⁴ If it is so, it may refer to Abdul Huq, a brother of Afzal Khan (No. 32), who received the title of Amanat Khan on June 19th, 1632. He was one of the finest calligraphists in the Naskh style and was commissioned to write some inscriptions for the main building in the Taj Mahal. He died in the 8th year of the reign. Arnold⁵⁵ reads the name as Amir Khan, which is improbable. It is, however, difficult to believe that Amanat Khan, who received the title in 1632, should be in the picture which is believed to be dated 1628.

39. Riza Bahadur,⁵⁶ also known by his title Khidmat Parast Khan, was one of the most trusted servants of Shah Jahan. He was killed on a battlefield on October 15th, 1629, while he was fighting bravely against Khan Jahan Lodi. Short and doughty, he stands appropriately at the entrance to the audience hall, with his hands resting on a staff. He wears a small, thin Mongoloid type of beard and a plumed jewel in his turban. His eyes and his face show his contempt of danger.

40. Saif Khan⁵⁷ married the elder sister of Mumtaz Mahal. He died in 1640. He was astute, cunning and self-seeking and he does not look a plain honest man in the picture either.

48 M. U., II, 220-23. L. I. A. 493-95.

49 I doubt if it can be read as Khan Saman, which is the version given by Arnold. A. and B. 81.

50 M. U., I, 530. L. I. A. 278.

51 M. U., III, 413-17. L. I. A. 181, 226, 258, 453.

52 A and B. 81.

53 Ibid. 73-74.

54 L. I. A. 488-29, 535; I. B. 312; II, 8, 132-33, 737.

55 A and B. 81.

56 L. I. A. 77, 79, 118, 123, 277-78; I, B. 300.

57 M. U., II, 416-21. L. I. A. 76-78, 126, 177, 228, 426; I, B. 109.

41. Aláverdi Khan⁵⁸ was the title given to Motaqid Khan by Shah Jahan on his accession. He served with the Deccan army on several occasions. He held the post of Qarawal Baigi and later the governorship of Malwa and of Khandesh. He has the fresh, keen, smiling face of a true sportsman.

42. Makramat Khan⁵⁹ was the title given to Mulla Murshid of Shiraz by Shah Jahan on his accession. He received also the post of a Diwan Bayutat. Later he held the governorship of Delhi and supervised the building of the new city of Shahjahanbad, the fort and the palaces. He looks an honest, sincere and hardworking man.

43. Motaqid Khan⁶⁰ served Shah Jahan loyally during his princehood. In his reign he held the governorship of Orissa for a considerable time. He can hardly claim to possess a handsome face or fine eyes, but he appears to be a thoroughly reliable man.

44. Mukhlis Khan⁶¹ served as a faujdar of Jaunpur and later as a governor of Telingana. He died in the 10th year of Shah Jahan's reign. He served the empire loyally, though he did not live long to attain a high post. He does not seem to have possessed robust health, for he looks tired and sickly.

58 L. I, 181-82, 253, 275, 310, 319, 425, 538; I. B. 40, 41, 60, 63, 97, 146; II, 720.

59 L. I. A. 191, 460; II, 244, 320.

60 L. I. A. 79, 122-23, 430-31; II, 473.

61 L. I. A. 181, 228; I, B, 14, 119, 298.

Abbreviations

A & B—The Court Painters of The Grand Mughals

By

Laurence Binyon with Historical Introduction and Notes

By

T. W. Arnold. 1921.

A. S.—AMAL-I-SALIH By Muhammad Salih Kambo (Bibliotheca Indica edition.)

L.—THE BADSHAH NAMA By Abdul Hamid Lahauri. (Bibliotheca Indica edition.)

M. A.—MA'ASIR-I-ALAMGIRI By Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan (Bibliotheca Indica edition.)

M. U. THE MA'ASIR-UL-UMARA By Nawab Samsam-ud-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan. (Bibliotheca Indica edition.)

W.—PADSHA NAMA By Muhammad Waris (British Museum MS, Add. 6556.)

**LETTERS EXCHANGED BETWEEN EMPEROR AURANGZEB
AND HIS SON PRINCE MOHAMMAD AKBAR.**

Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Sahityacharya, Jodhpur

After the death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh I, at Jamrud, in 1678 A. D., the Emperor Aurangzeb annexed Marwar and the Rathor nobles were obliged to keep their newly born ruler, Maharaja Ajitsingh, concealed in the mountains and raise the banner of war against the oppressor. When the pressure of these Rathors grew intolerable the Emperor himself reached Ajmer and sent his son Prince Mohammad Akbar to quell the rebellion. But soon Durgadas, Sonag and other chiefs of Rathor nobility prepared Akbar to usurp the throne of Delhi, like his own father, and proclaim himself the Emperor of India on the 3rd January 1681 A. D.

It was a great shock to the Emperor, as at that time he was camping with a very small army and so he tried to deceive his son by sending him the following letter.

Translation of the letter

"Dearest son, light of the eyes and dearer than life being blessed with special favours should know—Almighty knows well that we loved him better than all his other brothers. Our benevolent self had always kept his health, wealth, prosperity and comfort at heart. But due to his unworthiness he has fallen into the trap of the deceitful Rajputs and being driven away, like Adam from the lap of his mother and the side of his father, is now wandering in the forests and mountains of misery and is contemplating to execute malicious plans and conspiracies.

Learning the mournful news of his roaming about in wilderness and discomfort, we are greatly pained and have lost the charm of our own pleasures. Fie! it is a great pity that leaving aside the regal dignity, that simple and inexperienced boy neither took pity on his own self nor his wife and children and has given himself over to beastly and cruel Rajputs and is rolling here and there like a ball fallen into the hands of rude people.

Father has a natural love for his sons. Though this son has committed great faults, yet we do not want that he be treated according to his deserts.

"If the son is a heap of ashes yet he is the collyrium of his parents' eyes"¹

Done is done. But even now, if on showing him the right path, he repents for his misdeeds and returns in our service the pen of pardon will be struck

¹ The matter given in inverted commas in both the letters re-produced here is in couplets in the original letters.

through the records of his faults and those gifts and favours, which he could not have even dreamt before, will be bestowed on him.

Though for the bestowal of those favours his presence in person is not essential, yet his evil reputation is now widely known and every young and old has heard about his follies, it is necessary that once he should present himself in the court and efface this black spot from his forehead.

How Jaswant, the leader of these Rathors, behaved with Darashikoh and how far he helped him is so well known that it requires no repetition. That son who has built castles in air on the promises of these Rathors will reap nothing else but repentance.

He should bear all this well in mind and may wisdom and light guide him".

Prince Mohammad Akbar's reply to his father

"Mohammad Akbar, the youngest son, humbly informs his father, who is revered in both this world and the next that the mandate, which was addressed to the youngest son for the special purpose, was received in good time and on auspicious occasion. After humble submission its ink has been anointed in the eyes of wisdom as collyrium and by knowing its favourable purpose eyes of the heart were enlightened.

In reply to each and every instruction, inscribed by the paternal pen, a few words are written which are true and if judged impartially, will be found not far from justice.

You have written that you had loved him (the youngest son) more than all the other sons, but his own unworthiness ignored this great generosity and has thrown himself in the whirlpool of folly.

Emperor of spiritual and temporal world—may he be safe, as the duty of a son is to serve and please his father, likewise the duty of a father is to bring up, educate and guard the health and life of his son. Praise be to God, up till now I have left no stone unturned in service and obedience, but how can I enumerate the favours of your Majesty. As one from a thousand or as if a drop from the ocean it is brought to the notice that to help and side with the youngest son is the foremost duty of a revered father always and everywhere, but your Majesty, leaving aside the love of all the other sons, have bestowed the title of "Shah" upon the eldest son and declared him the heir-apparent. How this action can be justified?

Every son has got equal right in his father's property. Which religion permits of preference of one over the others? There is another true and omniscient Emperor, in whose workshop of power and wisdom there is no place for false logic. To elevate or degrade rests upon His will, which is not

devoid of prudence. But what to speak of your Majesty's religious mindedness, justice and wisdom, which are an open book to all.

'Let us see whom the beloved Almighty loves and favours.'

Your Majesty is the originator and preceptor of this path. How can this path which has been chosen by your Majesty be called wrong ?

'When my father sold the garden of paradise for 2 grains of wheat,² shall I not be called unworthy of him if I do not sell it for a grain of barley'.

'Worthy son is he who follows in the footsteps of his Sire'.

If one wants to prosper like his father he should learn to act like him.³

Your Majesty! man has always faced difficulties and dangers. Mighty Monarchs like Taimur⁴ and Akbar⁵ had gained their objectives after surmounting numerous difficulties.

'He who is not prepared to face difficulties will never gain any pleasure.'

It is proved by history that he who bears no hardship of darkness cannot qualify himself to taste nectar and he who faces no troubles cannot taste the fruits of pleasure, as there is no flower without thorn and no treasure without serpent.

He who kisses the blade of sword embraces the goddess of the kingly fortune'.

When every hardship is followed by prosperity, by the grace of Almighty, there is every hope that in a few days the fulfilment of desires will be within sight and the state of perplexity and wandering may change into success and pleasure.

Your Majesty hints—that to what extent Jaswant, the leader of the Rathors, helped Darashikoh is well known and that the promises and words of the Rathor clan are not to be relied upon, may be quite correct. But your Majesty has not reached the depth of the facts, because your Majesty has no brains. In fact, Darashikoh had a dislike for this clan and therefore he met just what he deserved.

2 According to Mohammedan belief God created Adam and kept him in paradise instructing him not to eat the fruit of knowledge (wheat). But Adam disobeyed His command. Being displeased God hurled him down in this mortal world.

The well known Persian poet Hafiz of Shiraz has composed a poem expressing the idea—if I shall not do something more than what my father has done I shall be called an unworthy son. Prince Akbar has quoted this couplet in his letter here declaring "When my father has done such things, either I must do something more or give myself up to be called an unworthy son".

3 This is from Sheikh Sadi of Shiraz, the well known Persian poet.

4 The word 'Sahib Qiran' used for Taimur here means—the Lord of happy conjunction of stars or a fortunate and invincible hero.

5 The word 'Arsha Ashiyani' used for Emperor Akbar here means nestling at the foot of the divine throne.

Had he been friendly with these people from the very beginning he would not have been reduced to such an extremity.

Emperor Akbar—peace be on him, strengthening the ties of alliance with them, conquered the whole of India and on their strength made his empire firm. This is the very race with whose help Mahabatkhan obtained control over the Emperor Jahangir. The bravery of Rajputs cannot be easily forgotten, as only three hundred of them performed great deeds of valour, like Rustum, befitting their tradition, even when your Majesty himself was adorning the crown and throne at the capital.⁶ Jaswant was the same who had disgraced your Majesty more than once even in your campaigns against enemies and your Majesty seeing no way of avenging the insults deliberately overlooked the matter. That was the Jaswant, same whom your Majesty kept away by various promises and pretexts from joining Darashikoh and that was the very cause of your victory, over your brother.

Praise be to their loyalty who sacrifice their heads for their prince and even do not hesitate to put their lives at stake.

O Emperor of India! many princes and nobles are in search of Seva⁷ since the last 3 years, yet it is only first day for them. All this does not cause surprise because ministers are helpless, nobles untrustworthy, soldiers inefficient, clerks worthless, merchants paupers and the people down-trodden. The Deccan, a land like heaven, has become deserted and abandoned as a forest and a mountain. Burhanpur—the abode of pleasure, which is like a mole on the cheek of the earth, gives a spoiled and deserted appearance. Aurangabad which bears your Majesty's name and hence is an important city among others, shivers like quick-silver by the massacres and plunders of the enemy's forces. The administrators enjoy at home and the people are at the mercy of the enemy.⁸ Where such atrocities prevail, there is no wonder if the inhabitants of the place find themselves unable to praise and bless their king. High persons of old nobility and respected people live in obscurity, while the work of administration and the strings of advisors are in the hands of low born and wicked persons. Cotton cleaners, weavers, soap-sellers and sweepers wield power.

Persons dressed in loose garments, to hide their treachery and deceit, hold the net of the Satan in the shape of a rosary and preach religion. While your Majesty considering them friends, advisors and ministers, like Gibrael,⁹ Michael¹⁰ and Israfil,¹¹ have delegated your powers in their hands.

⁶ The three hundred Rajputs carried away their infant prince Ajitsingh to Marwar against the wishes of the Emperor.

⁷ Well known Marhatta knight Shivaji, who died on 5th April 1680 but probably the writer here might have meant Sambha his son and successor.

⁸ Marhatta army.

⁹ Gabriel—an angel of God.

¹⁰ Michael—another angel.

¹¹ Israfil—The angel of death, who is to blow the last trumpet.

Those knaves, who show wheat but sell barley, getting opportunity declare a feather of a pigeon as that of a red duck and a straw a mountain.

'In the reign of king Alamgir, the champion of the faith, soap-sellers have become law givers and religious heads.'

'Carders and weavers take pride in knowing the secrets of the Emperor's courts.'

'Rogues wield such powers that scholars wait at their doors.'

'Fools exercise such great authority as was never dreamt of by the wise.'

'God forbid, in these unsettled times horses are kicked by asses.'

Your Majesty's orders are thrown to the winds, justice and wisdom have disappeared. The officials of the kingdom have become merchants and traders. They buy positions with money and sell them to fulfil their base desires.

He who eats salt breaks the salt-cellar. The time is not far away when the foundation of the kingdom may collapse.

When such conditions exist and there seems no hope of change in your Majesty's policy, the kingly duties force me to clear the country of Hindustan by removing rubbish and thorns spread in the shape of rogues and oppressors and to uproot lawlessness by promoting the wise and learned. By doing so, the creation of God, after being free from anxiety and oppression, engage themselves calmly in their own pursuits and the fame which is real and eternal may ever last in the world.

How good it would be, if your Majesty develops the desire of leaving this work in the hands of your youngest son and yourself start on a holy pilgrimage of Mecca and Madina to gain eternal bliss and make the world ever grateful and thankful.

Your Majesty has lost a greater part of your life in coveting the worldly objects, which are more unreal than dreams and more unsteady than the shadows of the clouds. Now the time has come when you should do some thing for the next world in order to atone for the past sins, which were perpetrated in your prime of life, to satisfy the greed of worldly desires, by your outrageous conduct towards your revered father and noble brothers.

'These sixty years are wasted in sleep. Yet try to make a better use of the rest.'

Besides this the trouble taken by the paternal pen in thrusting some more advices, deserves admiration.

'What good have you done to your father which you expect from your son'.

'You tender advice to others, but better try to hear yourself first whatever you have to say to others'.

'When you cannot cure yourself keep away from advising others'.

'I regard it a stroke of good fortune that you advise me to return to you. But the memory of treatment meted out to your father and brothers, since early days of your youth, creates a just fear and suspicion in the mind of one, who has become target of anger without sufficient cause and that fear and suspicion is not groundless. But if your gracious Majesty take the trouble to come here this fear and suspicion will be dispelled and peace and pleasure reign in their place.

'We are unable to reach that elevated door, but if kindly grace steps forward it will be more appropriate.

On your Majesty's arrival when the mind will be appeased hearty obedience to the kindly commands will be deemed a good fortune.

In this unknown State.....

'Kill or grant pardon my head lies at your door I am not to give commands, but am at your mercy !

With greatest respects. May the sun of kingship ever shine.'

A good deal of information is gained from these letters about the conditions prevailing at that time and the causes of the rise and fall of the Mughal Empire.

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PASSPORT

**T. L. Manghirmalani, Professor of History, Prince of Wales College,
Jammu.**

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PASSPORT—

It is in favour of Mirza Moman Khan. He was a Mogul and his ancestors accompanied Shah Jehan's son, Murad, to Gujerat. He himself served for some years at Khambat (Kathiawar) as one of the deputies of the Mogul Governor of Gujerat, but being ambitious revolted against a weak successor of Aurangzeb, and with the assistance of Jafar Khan, another Mogul, made Khambat independent of Delhi. After the death of Jafar Khan, he quarrelled with his heir, Nizam Khan, and was forced to migrate to Delhi. He was there when Nadir Shah sacked the Imperial city (1739), but conditions in the capital after that disaster became very unstable and the Mirza was again in search of a new home. He travelled through the Punjab and came to Sind when it was ruled by Mian Nur Muhammad (1718-55). He showed his passport to the

Kalhora Prince, who recognized his noble descent by giving him Jagirs and lands and by appointing him to a high position in his court.

Sindis say that Nadir Shah returned from India to Iran by way of Sind and Baluchistan and they tell two stories about his life in their country. The Padshah's first camp in Sind was in Larkana, a very wet district. When night came he could not sleep on account of the troublesome noise that the frogs in the water made and he ordered his Wazir to stop the nuisance. The minister was a wise man—he got goats killed, had their intestines and oesophaguses filled with air, and threw them into the pools. The frogs, mistaking them for snakes and serpents were at once quiet.

In the morning the Sultan asked Nur Muhammad's agent at Larkana where his master was. "At Umarnkot, Sir" was the humble reply. "How far is it from here" the Shah commanded. "A hundred miles, my Lord" submitted the servant. "Not much, so we will go to Umarnkot to meet your Prince" ordered the Padshah. In the evening he rode his horse and, accompanied by the agent, made for Umarnkot, instructing his minister to follow him with the army. When 100 miles was run, the horse stopped, neighed and urinated. "Where is Umarnkot, the horse tells me the 100 miles is finished" roared the Shah. "We have reached the place, O Lord of the Lords. Your slave can spy the fort of Umarnkot," said the agent with folded hands. He then ran to his master, who rushed out of his palace bare-headed and bare-footed and threw himself on the feet of the Irani. Nadir Shah confirmed him in his honours and took a crore of rupees in cash and jewellery as his honours.

Nadir's conquest of Baluchistan was equally easy: his famous message

اے مور کمزور ساکن زمین شور چون کور بلند بیہنی آسان بگذار
تا یا مال سم مستور سر بلندان نہ شوی -

to its chief was enough to secure the result.

Where did Nadir Shah sign Moman Khan's passport, in the Punjab or Sind? The year of his seal is indistinct.

After the death of Nur Muhammad there were dissensions in the Kalhora family and a Biluchi tribe, the Talpurs, seized the throne. Moman Khan had regretted the evil fate of the Kalhoras, but he had died before their final collapse. His sons were disliked by the new rulers and lost all their jagirs. Their descendants now live at New Hala, Haiderabad District, in possession of lands hardly enough to give them a decent living.

What is the passport like? It is a leather leaf, one side of it beautifully ornamented, with the name of Moman Khan (erased by a descendant when the family broke into 2 rival parties) inscribed in the centre, and the other covered with seals and endorsements. I cannot read all the contents, but what I can... and I have been able to read most of them...I give below.

In a very prominent way there is affixed the seal of Nadir Sultan and the endorsement under it reads

عرض دیده شد بتاریخ شهر رجب المرجب

The seals of Shah Alamgir and Shah Alam Padshah are also distinct and the endorsements are :—

۸ سوال سنه ۱۶ از وجوبات محافظان تکوین نظر علی.....

Alamgir (Aurangzeb) died 1118 H.

بتاریخ ۲۲ شهر محرم سنه ۲۴

محمد و جن خواجه علی..... خواجه محمد

Shah Alam (Bahadur Shah) died 1st Moharrum 1124 H, but the successor's reign began some time after his death and this probably accounts for the use of Shah Alam's seal even after he had ceased to be.

There are 3 broken seals reading respectively

محمد حسن خان and شمس الدوله - علیخان

Is the last one of the Syed King—Makers of the reign of Farrukh-Siyar (1713-19) ? An endorsement which goes with one of the seals is

هشتم شهر شوال سنه ۱۹

عرض دیده شد

One seal is almost destroyed and there is one whole seal and one slightly broken seal which cannot be interpreted.

The other endorsements are :—

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | هشتم شهر سوال سنه ۱۶
عرض دیده شد |
| 2 | واقع یازدهم ماه ربیع الثانی سنه ۲۱
عرض دیده گردید
العبد نور محمد محمد باقر سید |
| 3 | ۱۱ ربیع الثانی سنه ۳۱
جلوس مبارک
نور دین..... |
| 4 | العبد کمترین خانه زادان محمد.....
کمترین خانه زادان عرض دیده.....
دهم صفر الظفر سنه ۷ جلوس امنیت مانوس |
| 5 | ۱- صفر سنه ۷ جلوس والا |
| 6 | ۱۳ صفر
عرض..... |
| 7 | ۲ رمضان سنه ۱۵
عرض دیده شد |
| 8 | ۲ ربیع..... سنه ۷
عرض دیده شد |

9
10

دهم جنادي الاول سنه ۱۰۴۱
عرض دیدة شد
۱۰ شوال سنه ۱۰۴۹
عرض دیدة شد
العبد عبدالله خان

Is this Abdulla Khan the other King-Maker of the time of Farrukh-Siyar ?
The card is broken in places.

How was the card used? The several seals and endorsements on it guaranteed that the owner was a safe person and that as such he could go from one part of India to another undisturbed. An insult to him was an insult to his card, to be avenged with all their might and force by those responsible for it.

The card is the property of Mirza Gulam Mehdi, a member of a highly respectable family at Tando Thoro, Haiderabad Sind. His great grand-father married a grand-daughter of Mirza Moman Khan and this connection is a factor to be seriously considered when the authenticity of the document is questioned. I am grateful to the Mirza Sahib for his permission to use the card.

AQA RIZA MUSAWWAR

(mentioned in the Inscription on the Gateway of Khusru Bagh, Allahabad).

Dr. Abdulla Chaghtai

In his great work *A'lam Arai A'bbasi*, Iskandar Munshi, the court historian of Shah A'bbas (1581-1628), furnishes us with chapters on Calligraphists, Miniaturists, and Musicians of his time. In the chapters on Miniaturists he writes—

“Moulana A'li Asghar of Kashan an incomparable master and an accomplished painter, as an artist and colourist, he was unique and surpassed his contemporaries in drawings of streets and trees, he also took service with Sultan Ibrahim Mirza and in the time of Isma'il Mirza was on the staff of the Library. His son Aqa Riza became the marvel of the age in the art of painting and unequalled in those days. In spite of the delicacy of his touch, he was so uncultured that he constantly engaged in athletic practices, and wrestling, and became infatuated with such habits. He avoided the society of men of talents and gave himself up to the association with such low persons. At present time he is a little repented of such idle frivolity, but pays very little attention to his art, and like Sadiq Beg he has become ill-tempered, peevish and unsocial. In the

service of his present Majesty, the shadow of God, he has been the recipient of favours and considerations, but on account of his evil ways, he has not taken warning and consequently he is always poor and in distress".¹

It was Mr. Percy Brown who first of all put the problem in his work *The Painting under the Great Mughals*² in the light of Emperor Jahangir's Memoirs regarding Aqa Riza, and claimed that Aqa Riza Abbasi, the painter of the latter days (d. 1044 A H) were different persons and it was the chance for Arnold to change his original opinion : "Aqa Riza and Riza Abbasi were one and the same person."³ Because he insisted upon his same view in his *Islamic Book*.⁴

From Jahangir's Memoirs we read that Aqa Riza had come to India and entered his service :

"On this day Abul Hasan the painter, who has been honoured with the title of *Nadir-uz-Zaman* drew the picture of my accession as the frontispiece to the *Jahangir Nama* and brought it to me. As it was worthy of all praise, he received endless favours. His work was perfect and his picture is one of the *chiefs d'oures* of the age. At present time he has no rival or equal. If at this day the Master Abdul Haye and Behzad were alive they would have done him justice. His father Aqa Riza of Herat at the time when I was prince joined my service. He (Abdul Hasan) was a *Khanazad* of my court. There is, however, no comparison between his work and that of his father (*i. e.* he is far better than his father). One "cannot put them into the same category. My connection was based on my having reared him from his earliest years to the present time. I have always looked after him, till his art has arrived at this rank. Truly he has become a *Nadir-uz-Zaman* (the wonder of the age). Also Ustad Mansur has become such a master in painting that he has the title of *Nadir-ul-Asr* and in the art of drawing he is unique in his generation."⁵

From the *A'lam Arai A'bbasi* and Jahangir's Memoirs we have the geneology of this great artist : Ali Asghar...Aqa Riza...Abul Hasan. A'li Asghar the father of Aqa Riza served under Sultan Ibrahim the brother of Sultan Isma'il Safwi II (1577). When the latter ascended the throne of Persia A'li Asghar entered his service and ranked with the seniors such as Aqa Mirak, Sultan Muhammad, Muhammadi, etc. etc. It is easy, therefore, to infer that Aqa Riza was of an advanced age when he entered India. I am fully aware that Iskandar Munshi does not mention the fact of Aqa Riza having been in India, but such an omission carries no weight. Many facts, now known to have happened, have often been omitted by the Oriental historians. For instance, we know that Jahangir sent his court painter Bishandas to Persia in the company

1. Catalogue of the Persian MSS. Bibliotheque Nationale Paris, Suppl. 1348. Fol. 133a.

2. Brown, Percy, *Indian Painting under the Mughals* 1924, London, pp. 65-82.

3-4. Arnold, Thomas, *Islamic, Book*, p. 82-3, 1929

5. *Jahangir's Memoirs*, English Translation Vol. II p. 20,

of Khan-i-Alam⁶ But we do not find the mention of this fact by the Persian writers of that day.

I have discovered on the main gateway of the Khusru Bagh⁷ the following inscription in perfect Nasta'liq style:—

حسب الحكم حضرت شاهنشاهی جهانپنای ظل الهی نورالدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه غازی
باهتمام مرید اخلص آقا رضاء مصور این بنائے عالی صورت اتمام یافت

which clearly shows that the building was erected under the supervision of Aqa Riza *Musawwar* (painter), by the orders of Jahangir; while the inscriptions of the monument were inscribed by the great calligraphist Abdulla *Mushqin Qalam*. This clear declaration is an ample proof that Aqa Riza was a painter and not a calligraphist, for had he been a calligraphist, he and not Abdulla *Mushqin Qalam*, would have written out the inscriptions.

The best specimens of his work were first reproduced by Marteau-Vever in their *Miniature Persan*.⁸ The British Museum has an illustrated MS. of Anwar-i-Suhayli, the best specimen of the early days of Jahangir's reign although it has some signed and dated paintings of the last years of Akbar's reign specially those which fortunately bear the name of Aqa Riza. The colophon of the MS. bears the date 1019 A. H. (1616 A. D.). These with a little variations of his name and his signatures are found⁹ there and with the appellation *Murid* or *Murid-i- Padshahi*. Recently Monsieur Godard has reproduced one of his important works in *Athar-e-Eran*¹⁰ from the Imperial Collection of the Iran Government which by chance bears his signature on the margin in four lines:—

شاه سلیم—غلام به اخلص—آقا رضاء مصور— فی تاریخ رمضان ۱۰۰۸

Shah Salim,...Servant with sincerity...Aqa Riza Musawwar,...in the month of Ramzan 1008 A. H. (1599 A. D.). Mr. Godard is mistaken in taking the portrayed personality with a bear in the robes of a saint as Emperor Jahangir instead of the most famous saint Salim Chishti who lies buried in the court yard of the grand mosque of Fatehpur Sikri.

From the version of *A'lim Arai A'bbasi* and Memoirs of Jahangir we can easily conclude that the word Aqa was a part of his name and not a title, which could have been otherwise stated there as we find about his son Abul Hasan, who received the title of *Nadir-uz-Zaman*.

6. *Tusuk-i-Jahangiri*. Aligarh Edition p. 285.

7. Khusru was the eldest son of Jahangir from Shah Begam who was the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das. She died in 1012 A. H. The building known as Khusru Bagh was built by Jahangir under the supervision of Aqa Riza where Khusru himself was later on buried in 1021 A. H. Mr. Beveridge wrote notes on this garden with the transcription of the inscriptions found there and by chance that of the gateway escaped from his notice, *vide* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1907, 1908, 1909.

8. Marteau-Vever, *Les Miniatures Persanes* 1913, Pl. 17.

9. British Museum Catalogue of Persian MSS. Add. 18579.

10. *Les Athar-e Eran*, Paris 1936.

USTAD ISA THE SO-CALLED ARCHITECT OF THE TAJ

Dr. Abdullah Chaghtai

Before I would say something about Isa the so-called architect of the Taj Mahal, Agra, I must say a few words about the source which actually bears his name and later on became the cause of a great confusion. In 1825-6 many manuscripts were prepared by the students of the Agra College in compliance with an advertisement of Mr. J. S. Lushington then magistrate and Collector of Agra.¹ These MSS. bear a long list of architects, artizans etc. who are supposed to have been employed on the construction of the Taj Mahal by Shah Jahan, although the contemporary official records are silent on this particular point. I have fully discussed these MSS. in my work on the Taj. There is one of these MSS. in the British Museum which was translated into English by Col. Anderson² in 1873 who translated its first proper name Isa the architect-in-chief as *Christian* instead of letting it remain as original Isa as he let remain other proper names of the list. To-day almost every library of India and abroad contains these MSS. The same Ustad Isa is mentioned in them thus—Muhammad Isa Effendi; Isa a native of Akbarabad; Isa a native of Qandhar; Muhammad Isa, a native of Constantinople; Muhammad Isa a native of Persia,; of China, etc. etc.

I came across a *Guide to the Taj at Agra* in English which was translated from one of such MSS. prepared by the students of Agra College. It was printed at the Victoria Press, Lahore, by one Azeezooddeen and passed through certain editions 1854 and 1869. In this book it is stated that the plans were demanded by the Emperor from the experts of every kind and description for the construction of the famous mausoleum and laid before the Emperor, who after much thought and study selected the one presented to him by Isa Muhammad Effendi, a celebrated architect, who was sent by His Highness, the Sooltan of Room—Turkey and he was engaged at a salary of one thousand rupees a month. The golden cupola of the mausoleum became broken by a violent storm before it was finished and Muhammad Sharif son of Isa undertook the repair and he received five hundred rupees a month.

It is a fact that so far no Indian historical record or any epigraphical evidence favours us with the information that there was any Ustad Isa, an architect in India who would have had participated in any construction of any period, with the exception that we have only one foreign information that there was one Turkish architect whose name was Muhammad Isa and he was the pupil of the great Turkish *Mi'mār* Sinān (d. 958 A. H. A. D. 1551) about whom Muhammad Suruyya has mentioned in his encyclopediac work the *Sijjilli Uthmani* under the heading of the same *Mi'mār* Sinān, that Isa went to India

1. Catalogue of Persian MSS. British Museum, Or 6558.2.
2. Calcutta Review 57 volume, pp. 233-7 1873,

and became very famous for his super-excellence in architecture. On the other hand a recent Turkish writer on art has mentioned that Babur had brought to India two architects Isa and Yusuf with him,³ although their mention is not found in Babur's Memoirs. If we believe for the time being the information found in the Turkish records quoted here then we shall have to say that the Turkish Isa, the pupil of Sinan, was about a century earlier than that referred to conjecturally as a Christian during the days of Shah Jahan.

From the above account we come to the conclusion that there is a great controversy about the origin of Ustad Isa and whether he actually existed or not. Yet one idea catches our attention that someone has been encouraged by this ambiguity to call Isa of the Armenian stock, basing his argument on the same theory that Isa means Christian. He says: "Ustad Isa the master builder, who is said to have been a Persian. There seems to be some doubt about the nationality of Ustad Isa and it does not appear to be that he was a Persian, for a Persian, who is an orthodox Muhammadan, would never have borne name Isa which means Jesus."⁴ This allegation of the critic cannot for a single moment be substantiated on very sound reasons and rather it reflects the sheer lack of the knowledge of the Muslim History on the part of the critic and one begins to laugh at his childish remark. It must be borne in mind that the Musalmans equally honour all the prophets whether of the Old Testament or New Testament and they usually give names to their children after these prophets' names, such as—Jesus, Moses, Solomon, David, etc. etc. I think it will be quite sufficient to say that there are six most authentic compilations of the Traditions of prophet Muhammad which have been compiled by six different authorities within two centuries after the death of the prophet and by chance one of them is called *Jami Tirmizi* which was compiled by Abu Isa Muhammad bin Isa of Tirmiz (a city in Persia). In India one of the great generals of Sher Shah Suri's name was Isa Khan. A compendious list, of such chief personalities who had their names Isa, can easily be prepared, of whom Islam still boasts of. One writer in response to it said that Isa's name was found in the contemporary histories of Shah Jahan, which is also without foundation.⁵

If the translator of the above MS. has ironically or purposely translated the name Isa as Christian, it also leads us to believe that it is a clear distortion of the fact. On the other hand if the compilers of the MSS. of the Agra College have really coined the word Isa with the intention that it must bring about a confusion then there is another proof to believe that the MSS. manufactured at Agra were absolutely of no historical value. Therefore at the end I must conclude from all the facts mentioned above that Ustad Isa is really a myth and it has no connection as far as the construction of the Taj and its design are concerned.

3. Celal Esat, *Türk San'atı* 1928. p. 23. Istanbul.

4. *The Statesman Daily, Calcutta* 17th November 1929.

5. *The Statesman Daily, Calcutta*. 1st December 1929.

SHER SHAH—HIS ACCESSION AND HIS CORONATION

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The history of Sher Khan's ascent to power is an epic by itself at once interesting as well as instructive. Its chief distinguishing feature lies principally in two things. Firstly Sher Khan was a man of humble origin without claims to any hereditary or public prestige.¹ He came to the helm of affairs at a time when the Chāghatāi Revolution of 1526 A. D. had been accomplished and the Afghan cause had recoiled and receded beyond all hopes of regeneration. Sher Khan was the one man among the Afghāns who clearly saw that the Afghān nationalism was threatened by internal dissensions and an external peril. A discussion of how he reunited the Afghāns and revitalized the fossilized Afghān power may better be avoided for considerations of space. For the present we shall content ourselves by making an attempt to investigate the date of Sher Khāns coronation.

Modern scholars have arrived at different conclusions about the actual date and place of Sher Khān's coronation. In their monumental works on Muslim history Edward Thomas and Dr. Vincent Smith have opined that Sher Khān assumed the title of Shah in 945 H. before Chausa.² Dr. Qanungo in his learned monograph on 'Sher Shah', however, disagrees with the above view, and is inclined to think that 'the coronation took place at Gaur in 946 H.'³ Only a year back Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, in his learned contribution to Journal of Islamic Culture reviewed the whole position in the light of fresh numismatic data. He is inclined to think that 'the coronation and minting of coins by Sher Shah have to be placed about the middle of Safar.....945 H.'⁴

While studying at the Khudābakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bānkīpur, I came across a manuscript copy of Jannat-ul-Firdaus. In the list of the Muslim

1 Abdulla, the author of Tarikh-i-Daudi (Bankipur MS. 39.) says that Bahlol Lodi bequeathed the following death will to this successor :—

(بہلول لودی) میرے از مقربان فرمود کہ در وصیت مرا نظام خاں کہ سلطان سکندر باشد
خواہی رسانید اول این کہ هیچ کس را از قوم سورا امرا و خوانین نکنی کہ اینها دماغ بادشاہی
دارند -

Consequently we do not find either any Sur Grandees of special significance or any organised class of Sur nobility under the Lodis.

2 Thomas, Chronicles of Pathan Kings, 393; Smith, Oxford History of India, 326.

3 K. R. Qanungo, Sher Shah, 208.

4 Islamic Culture, January 1937, 127.

Kings of Bengal, as given in this work I noticed the following details about Sher Shah⁵ :—

(a) 942 H. as the 'Sāl-i-Julūs' (سال جلوس) of 'Sher Shāh Sultān',

(b) Ten years as the period of his rule (مدت جلوس)

(c) 952 H. as the date of his death (سال وفات)

I was at first not inclined to take these details seriously because the work in question was completed as late as 1126 A. H. (1714 A. D.); but subsequent investigation of the subject revealed that the statement deserves serious consideration because:—

Firstly it is in full agreement with the testimony of the Portuguese historians. According to them, in the year 1535 A.D. (941-42 H.) Sher Khan Sūr mustered forty thousand cavalry, two hundred thousand infantry and fifteen hundred elephants, and swooped down upon Bengal by a less frequented route. Sultān Mahmud, the king of Bengal at first fortified himself in the fort but ultimately he had to bow before the might of the Afghāns and submitted to Sher Khān by paying fifteen lakhs of Dīnārs as war indemnity to him. He also probably promised to pay an annual tribute.⁶

Further on, Rev. J. J. A. Campos, in his 'History of the Portuguese of Bengal' says, "After Mellos' departure news arrived in Gaur that Sher Shah was advancing again with a powerful force in order to demand another large sum of money, which he declared was his annual tribute, and was now due to him after the lapse of a year. Mahmud Shah who had never agreed to such a compact refused to pay the tribute"⁷...Whatever may have been the pact between Sher Khān and Sultan Mahmud, it can be safely concluded from these passages that ever since his first victory over the king of Bengal the Afghan Chief considered the former as his vassal, and the kingdom of Bengal as a subordinate tributary state under him.

Secondly the statement of the author of Jannat-ul-Firdaus as well as the testimony of the Portuguese historians are supported by another piece of numismatic evidence. Mr. Charles Rogers in his "Supplement to Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings" (J. A. S. B., 1816, 213) gives notice of an interesting copper coin bearing the superscript 'Sher Shah Sultan', on the obverse, and 943 H. on the reverse.⁸

⁵ Jannat-ul Firdaus, Bankipur MS. 137a Seq.

⁶ J. J. A. Campos, History of the Portuguese of Bengal, 36.

The author of Tarikh-i-Daudi (Allahabad University MS. 159) substantially supports this statement by saying:—

از راه نامن گوه گرفته در راهی که هیچ کس ترننه بود بجنکلی در آمده یکایک خود را در گور رسانید -

⁷ Campos, 39-40

⁸ Obv.

شهر شاه

Rev.

۹۴۳

سلطانی

سنه

See J. A. S. B., 1896 vol. 1, plate III, coin No. 5.

This is the earliest copper coin of Sher Shah, known to us, which Mr. Rogers had obtained from L. White King Esq., F. S. A., Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar. It is of fine finish with a clear superscript over it. I do not fight shy of confessing that this is the only coin of its kind known to us, which has still to be traced out, and further examined, but this need not deter us from arriving at a tentative conclusion. It is possible, Sher Khan may have assumed the title of 'Shah' as well as of 'Sultan' after his first invasion of Bengal in 942 H. to show that the king of Bengal occupied a position, subordinate to him. With the same end in view he may also have struck coins in his name in 943 H. when he again attacked Bengal and blockaded its King, Sultan Mahmud in the fortress of Gaur.

This state of affairs continued till the end of the year 944 H. when Sher Khan finally captured Gaur,⁹ which in other words meant the conquest of the kingdom of Bengal. This was a very significant event, for it made him supreme over the entire country from Chunar and Benares in the west to Bengal in the east. It also brought vast hordes of gold to him as well as glowed the hearts of the Afghāns with new hopes and aspirations, and inspired them with an unswerving faith in his leadership. He was now decidedly in a better position to set fresh spurs to his vaulting ambitions. He appropriated the umbrella and the throne of Bengal along with other insignia of royalty¹⁰.

It was during Humayun's stay in Bengal in the year 945 H. that Sher Khan gave final touches to the picture of his ascendancy. He caught the Mughals napping and expedited the opportunity with all ardour and alacrity. He launched a series of campaigns and subdued the northern and the western parts of the modern United Provinces upto Kara-Manikpur and Qanauj in the west,¹² and even besieged Chunar*. In the newly subjugated land Sher Khān carried conquest and consolidation hand in hand. He appointed his own Āmils to make Rabi and Kharif collections and also introduced coins under the bolder designation of Sultan Ādil and Khalifat-ul-Zamān, 945 H.

We have numerous such coins. As late as 1896 A. D. Mr. Charles Rogers noticed a copper coin, dated 945 H. with the superscript "Sher Shah Sultān' on the obverse and 'Khalifat-ul-Zamān 945' on the reverse. Mr. H. N.

9. Campos, 36 ; Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, Ms. 106.

10. Jauhar Ms. 41 ; Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi Ms.

11. J. R. A. S. B., 1896, 213.

Obv.

شیر شاه
سلطان

Rev.

خطبته
الزمان
۹۴۵

12 Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi Ms. 130 ; Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi, India office Ms. 109b; Dorn, 116 ; Akbor Nama, Cal. text 1, 154 ; Jauhar Ms. 27

*Jauhar, Ms. 27.

†Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi Ms. 130 ; Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi I. O. Ms. 109b.

Wright in his informative publication, 'Sultans of Dihli their coinage and Metrology' has given two similar copper coins (Nos. 1257 and 1258) and two silver coins (Nos. 1040 A. and 1040 B.) with the following superscripts:

Margin : Farid-ud-Duniyā wa'd-Dīn Abul Muzaffar.

Within Square : Sher Shāh Al-Sultān Khalladallāhu-Mulkahū 945 (followed by) Sri Sher Shahi (in Dev Nagri script).

Mr. Bhattasali has noticed three similar coins with identical superscripts in his learned contribution to Islamic Culture (Jan. 1936, 127) while the Patna Museum has three similar coins in its valued collection.

It has to be admitted that these coins have misled many a scholar of Muslim history by leading him assume that Sher Shāh ascended the throne or became the king of Bihar. The latest of them Mr. Bhattāsālī has gone a step further by saying, "The coin pushes back the date of Sher Shah's accession by one year.....The coronation and minting of coins by Sher Shah have to be placed within the fortnight between the end of June and middle of July 1538 *i. e.* about the middle of Safar 945 H."¹³

I beg leave to differ from Mr. Bhattāsālī with my humble submission that the learned scholar seems to have antedated the coronation ceremony because:—

Firstly it is not supported by any original authority. Contrariwise, the Afghan as well as the Mughal chroniclers, alike refer to Sher Khan's coronation either soon after the debacle of Chausa (Safar 9, 946 H.) or after the defeat and death of Jahangir Quli, the Mughal Governor of Bengal.

Secondly Abbās Sarwani, Abdulla and Niyamatulla¹⁴ conclusively state that Sher Khān retained the title of Hazrat Ālā till after the disaster of Chausa; and to say that he remained an Afghan dignitary as well as their king at the same time is nothing short of terminological inexactitude. Keeping in view the tact and caution with which Sher Khān appeased his craving for royalty it can be averred that he would never have committed this perilous indiscretion.

Thirdly none of the coins dated 945 H., referred to above were minted at Gaur. One of them bears the mint mark of Shergarh while the rest are anonymous.

Then what was Sher Khān's position? He derived all of his strength from the Afghans and must have thought it unwise and injudicious to do anything which might afflict or excite the sentiments of his touchy comrades. He, therefore, contented himself with the title of the most dignified among the Afghāns (حضرت عالی)¹⁵ which in practice vested in him all the powers and

13. Islamic Culture, January 1936, 130.

14. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, Allahabad University MS. 146; Tarikh-i-Daudi, Allahabad University MS, 128; Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, India office MS. 112a.

15. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, MS. 102.

Thus Sher Khan took the title of Sher Shah Alam, but it would be a mistake to suppose that this was the final coronation of Sher Shah. At the most it legalised his status among the Afghans and converted the title of Hazrat Ālā into that of the king. Over and above this it hardly made much difference. He was still far from being the king of Hindustan. His victory at Chausa was the result not of any strategic feat or fair trial of strength, but of a treacherous act of political brigandage and as such it could not bear the fruits of a clear and real victory. It was therefore natural that Sher Khan's pretensions did not win wide recognition at the hands of the Indian Chiefs like Mallu Khān of Malwa²⁴. Besides Humāyūn had escaped to Agra where his appeal for help and reinforcements had met a generous and encouraging response²⁵. Sher Shah seems to have been fully conscious of this, for he voiced his apprehensions before Isā Khān at Chausa by saying, "The king of Hindustan has escaped alive and still holds most of the countries in his possession²⁶. He also seems to have been fully aware that his control over the eastern region was still far from being secure. In the eyes of Humāyūn and other Indian rulers of distant states Sher Shah was still an adventurer and a rebel. It was in fact, the battle of Qanauj which legalised Sher Shah's claims over the Empire of Hindustan. For the date of Sher Shah's accession as the Emperor of Hindustan let us therefore search somewhere after that battle, which was fought on Monday Muharram 10, 947 H. (May 17, 1540).

The Persian historians give two conflicting dates about Sher Shah's coronation after the battle of Qanauj. Sultan Ali Husain Safawi, the author of M'adan-us-S'ādat says that he ascended the throne on Muharram 11, 947 H. (May 18, 1540 A.D.) just on the following day after the battle. The full text of his statement may be quoted as follows :—

روز عاشورده سنه سبع و اربعهون و تسلمايه روز دوشنبه لشکر بادشاهی کوچ کرده اراده فرود آمدن در یای گنگ در شته و شهر شاه بجنگ پهن آمده و انواج بادشاهی جنگ ناکرده هنریمت رفتند - جنت آشیانی..... متوجه لاهور شدند - این حاضر بتفصیل در ذکر سلطنت جنت آشیانی مرقوم گشت - ذکر جلوس شیر شاه یازدهم ماه محرم سنه مذکور بر سر سیر سلطنت خلعت بندر اجلاس غوره خطابه و سکه بنام خود کرده و فرمان اول از عیسی خان کبیر از این شیخ مله بود نیز

خانویسانده و بعد از چند روز تعقب لشکر روانه لاهور شد - R. A. S. B. M.S. 1, 294 ff.

We cannot implicitly rely upon this work because it was completed in 1218 H.=1803 A. D., more than two hundred and fifty years after the death

24 Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi MS. 150 ff.

25 Officers and soldiers flocked from all directions to replete the depleted rank of imperial forces. Hindal went to Alwar for fresh levees. Kamran volunteered his services to instantly march against Sher Shah, while Shaikh Nasiruddin with the help of some chemicals converted all copper plates, dishes and other vessels that he could collect, into gold and presented it to the Emperor, Akbar Nama, Cal. text 161; Janhar MS. 42 ff. Al-Badaoni, Cal. text, 353.

26 Abbas MS.

of Sher Shah. It was no doubt written under the patronage of Nawab S'ādat Ali Khan, but we do not know the sources of its author's information.

Ahmad Yadgar the author of *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana* has given a different date. According to him Sher Shah ascended the throne at Agra on Wednesday Safar 4 (?) 947 H. The full text of the passage is as follows :—

در قنوج شکست لشکر مغل بانتاد و چون جنت آشیانی در آگره نهبوبات نیافت
متوجه لهور شدند... از خزانه جواهر الی اشرفی بار کرده روان گردید شورشاه باداب سلطانی
در آگره آمد روز چهار شبه چهارم شهر سنه بر تخت سلطین جلوس فرمود خواصکان باسی هزار
سوار تعاقب همایون بادشاه فرستاد -

(Buhar M.S., Imperial Library, Calcutta, 71.)

Ahmad Yadgar seems to be more reliable and trustworthy than the author of *M'ādan'us S'ādat*. His patron Daud Shah Karārāni, at whose instance he began and completed his work, *Tarikh-i-Salātin Afghānā*, was an Afghān king of Bengal (780—844 H.—1572-76 A. D.). Ahmad Yadgar, therefore, must have had special facilities in writing the history of the Afghāns and it is quite possible, he may have had access to historical material which may not have been available even to Abbas Sarwāni, the author of *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*.

But Ahmad Yadgar's date is faulty in one respect. He no doubt, gives the exact day (Wednesday) and date (4th) of the auspicious event but he does not give the exact month. It cannot be earlier than Muharram because Ahmad Yadgār describes the ceremony after the conclusion of the battle of Qanauj (Muharram 10, 947 H.). Besides according to him, the ceremony was performed at Agra, which came in the hands of Sher Shah after the battle of Qanauj. Owing to these reasons it cannot also be Muharram 4, 947 H. In all probability it is Safar 4, 947 H. (June 10, 1540 A. D.).

In the above lines I have attempted to throw some side-flashes on two events of Sher Shah's life *viz.* his assumption of the title of Shāh, and his coronation. I do not profess to have thoroughly sifted or exhausted all material relating to them, much less have I established any new point. I have only resuscitated some of the old material, which had been lying, probably unexamined, in oblivion, leaving further investigation and final settlement to abler scholars and specialists who are more directly interested in Sher Shah's reign.

BADAUNI AND HIS "MUNFAKHABAT"

Prof. M. L. Roy Choudhury, M. A., B. L., P. R. S., Bhagalpur.

Abdul Qadir, Abdul Faizi and Fazl were the pupils of the famous Sheikh Mobarak in 1558, and all three were brilliant scholars. Faizi specialised in Medicine and Poetry, Fazl in Theology and History, and Badauni in Grammar and Logic. In 1573 Abdul Qadir was introduced to Court and accepted a Ma'dad-i-M'ash.

In course of a debate against Ibrahim of Sarhind he first attracted the attention of the Emperor who was much pleased to see the range of his theological learning. And he was selected often to debate in the Ibadat Khana 'to break the pride of the learning of the Mollas.' Abdul Qadir took much interest and displayed considerable knowledge in the naughty and subtle problems of theology. But after the introduction of Abul Fazl into the court "the high opinion which Akbar had formed of Abdul Qadir's learning and disputational powers, was transferred to Abul Fazl whose boldness of thought and breadth of opinion dazzled the court and excited the jealousy and envy of the Ulemas.¹

In the beginning, Akbar thought that Badauni was a Sufi but in the end he regretted to find that Badauni was only a 'Sun-dried Molla².' A bit of Badauni's mind could be read in his reply to Akbar's question enquiring as to why he wanted to join the expedition against Rana Kika. Badauni proudly replied that his 'intention in joining the war was to kill the infidels.'³ The first literary production of Badauni was Kitabul Ahadis dealing among other things with the excellence of expedition against the infidels.⁴ Badauni was entrusted with translation of the Mahabharat along with some other scholars and for this he cursed his lot that he had to write the names of gods of the infidels.⁵ Badauni's mother died in 1589 and he took leave and went home with a copy of Mss, Khirad Afza, a very favourite book of Akbar. He overstayed leave by one year and moreover lost the copy of Khirad Afza and dared not appear before the Sovereign.

At length on the recommendation of Faizi, Badauni was allowed to appear before His Majesty at Lahore and was restored to favour (1591-92).

In 1593 Abul Fazl helped Badauni to attract favour of Akbar on the day of Nau Roz and was recommended for the post of Mutwalli⁶ of the tomb

1 J. R. A. S., 1869 Blockman's life of Badauni.

2 Blockman No. 4 N.

3 *Bad.* II pp. 233.

4 *Bad.* II pp. 234.

5 *Bad.* II pp. 329. Block pp. 104 n.

6 Mutwalli means keeper of a shrine or holy place.

of Moin Uddin at Ajmere. But Akbar liked him to stay at court for his literary gifts and entrusted him with the task of translation of Bahar-ul-Azhar. In 1593-94 Badauni completed the third part of Tarikh-i-Alfi. In 1595 Faizi died and Badauni was much relieved to hear that his rival at court, in religion, nay in life had left the world. Mulla Badauni expressed his devilish venom;⁷ for, if he could not beat Faizi in life, he must do so at his death. Akbar liked Badauni in spite of his lurid taste and bitter orthodoxy for his literary merits. Till the end of his life 1595 (?) Badauni continued in the court of Akbar.

Badauni's angle of vision—

From a brief sketch of the life of Badauni at the court of Akbar, we have seen him as holder of Madad-i-Mash of 1,000 bighas of land, as Imam of Wednesday prayer, as soldier against Rana Kika, as translator of books, whereas his rival in school had risen to be poet laureate of the Empire, his junior comrade was the highest dignitary of the state; naturally he lost the balance of his mind. On more than one occasion he deplored his lot and envied that of Abul Fazl and Faizi.⁸

In his childhood Badauni had been trained on the lines of an orthodox Mulla. His maternal grand-father Muluk Shah taught him grammar, recitation of the Quran, and Islamic Law. Once Badauni set out to pay a visit to Shaik Muhammad Ghaus, a highly revered Mulla of the age. As soon as Badauni saw that the pious Shaik "rose up to do honour to Hindus" he felt obliged to forego the pleasure. Badauni 'styled sufism as nonsense'⁹ in connection with Sharif Amal. Badauni could not tolerate anything that was non-sunni. When a Shia was wrongly murdered by a Sunni, Badauni had not a word of sympathy for the dead Shia whom he immediately consigned to hell for no other reason but that he was a Shia. There are innumerable instances when Badauni concocted facts, or distorted them to suit his conclusions or spoke only half truth. As for example, Badauni interdicts Akbar for having given permission for the use of boar meat against laws of the Sahriat. But he never mentioned whether the permission was given to Muslims or to anybody else and what was the occasion for it. The permission was indeed given to the Hindu soldiers amongst whom boar meat was permissible and the occasion was the Chitor expedition where both Hindu and Muhammadan soldiers fought in the same ranks. Moreover, the permission was given not only for boar meat but also for tiger's meat which was permissible among Turks. As regards the regulation forbidding cow's flesh, Badauni said, that

7 Bad. II pp. 420, III pp. 414-5.

"A dog has gone from the world in an abominable state. He was a miserable Hellish dog".

8 Bad. II pp. 270.

9 Bad. II pp. 245.

Akbar had stopped killing of cows in order to show his love for Hindu wives ; and that he was actuated by an anti-Islamic feeling. But the entire regulation taken as a whole reads otherwise,—“Nor flesh of cows, buffaloes, sheep and camels be taken for they are domestic animals”. But honest Badauni only mentioned cows, for the mention of the buffaloes, sheep and camel would defeat his purpose. A glorious example of half quotation was regarding the reconversion of a Hindu woman who had fallen in love with a Muslim. ‘She (Hindu woman) should be taken by force and be given to the family¹⁰’.

But Badauni did not mention the other part of the regulation which dealt with Muhammadan lady “nor should a Muslim woman who had been in love with a Hindu be prevented from joining Islam ¹¹” According to Badauni Akbar had ordered the destruction of Mosques. But Badauni did not mention the date of regulation and the occasion for it. The whole regulation would have been clear had he mentioned that the regulation came after the Bengal rebellion when those mosques (unauthorised) were used as centres of rebellion.

In his blind fanaticism and spiteful venom against Faizi and Fazl, he had lost the balance of his judgment and we think the real intention of Badauni was not so much to revile the Emperor as to revile the ‘wickedness of sons of Mubarak.’ In reviling them he had to revile the Emperor more than he possibly intended to, only to show the length of the apostacy to which the Emperor had been led by ‘the designing brothers.’ In his anger, Badauni sometimes said that Akbar was a Christian, another time that he was a fire worshipper, and a third time that he was a respecter of cows that is, he was a Hindu. “Akbar believed,” said Badauni, “in the truth of the Christian religion and wishing to spread the doctrine of Jesus, ordered prince Murad to take a few lessons in Christianity and charged Abul Fazl to translate the Gospel.” De Jarric says that Akbar took some lessons in Portuguese himself so that he could follow their discussions in original. Soon after Badauni said that Akbar was a sun worshipper and uttered one thousand and eight names of the Sun every morning.

We should not lose sight of the important fact that he began to write his *Muntakhabat* in 1590 when he was labouring under the charge of absenting himself from the court without leave, when he was under the disability of losing the favourite book of Akbar *Khirad-Aiiza*, when he was refused an interview at *Bhambar* after the discovery of his forgery of a certificate from *Hakim Ain-ul-Mulk* of Delhi. What better things could be expected of him at that time when his whole existence was at stake ? On the other hand one of his comrades of early years was enjoying the reputation of being the chief poet of the age, and another the chief *vakil* of the Empire. Indeed he was suffering from a

¹⁰ *Bad.* II 375, 380.

¹¹ *Dabistan* II pp. 413.

jealousy complex against his school mates. Smarting under a sense of injustice that his merit had not been properly recognised and rewarded, Badauni's hand could not give anything better.

Badauni dared not publish his cream of history "Muntakhabat" during his life-time; when the book was published during the reign of Jahangir, he became so infuriated "at the baseness of the lies that he ordered the son of Badauni to be imprisoned and his property to be confiscated." He further took an agreement from all the booksellers of the capital that they should not sell the book.¹² Even Khafi Khan says, "Badauni has said many things regarding the Emperor which are quite incredible and which it would be improper to repeat or commit to writing. Indeed if I should retain one-hundredth part of them it would be disrespectful to his memory."¹³

Badauni was a cynic by nature. He had no respect even for the nearest ties of human relationship. "Relations are like scorpions in the harm they do, therefore be not directed by father's or mother's brother. For verily sorrow is increased by father's brother, and as for the mother's brother he is destitute of all good qualities."

If these be the ideas of a man about his cousin or uncle, can we expect anything better than what he wrote about Abul Faizi or Hindu Official of the Emperor, we mean Birbal? Nowhere Birbal has been mentioned without his favourite adjective "hellish dog", "a wretch." In his venom he casts most disgraceful aspersions on Birbal that he had incest with his own daughter.¹⁴ This is the man who wrote the history of Akbar; indeed it is true that tongue may lie but pen cannot, and however one tries to do so he is unconsciously found between the lines of his pen. To be fair to Badauni we could only quote Major Nassaw Lees and join with him in saying "it would be grossest piece of injustice to the dead Emperor to present the public¹⁵ with Abdul Quadir's review of his character and no other." Indeed V. A. Smith has done it.

12 Mirat Alam Bloch. F. N. 2 pp. 104.

13 Khafi Khan. Vol. I. pp. 196.

14 Bad. II pp. 312.

15 J. R. S. B. Great Britain, 1868.

CULTURAL CONFLICTS AND HARMONY IN MUGHAL HISTORY,**P. N. Waiton,**

The purpose of this short note is to draw the attention of the scholars to a need felt by those whose daily business it is to explain the making of our nation. That need is the cultural approach to our history. That cultural approach has come to mean in some cases only blind belief in the greatness of the past or an effort to point out everything as conducive to the ideals for which they stand. The historian has become a propagandist of another type. He is a nationalist not prepared to recognize real conflicts of interest lest it should lead to further misunderstanding.

The state in India has often been a culture-state. Its establishment, its maintenance, and its decay has therefore led to conflicts which ought to be analysed as conflicts. Such conflicts do lead to integration. But it is no use assuming such an integration where it does not exist.

For the sake of convenience we shall take the Mughal Period of our history. There is no period in our history which does not show such conflicts. I have deliberately chosen this one because it has been more fully studied. It is one of which every one is justly proud. But that is not to say that one must agree to the numerous estimates and interpretations put forth.

The Mughal Empire was built up with an ideal essentially religious in content. It was an Empire that commanded the allegiance of the Muslim on the plea that it stood for Islam. The more this fact is emphasised the little will be the understanding of the hopes and fears of the various components of the Empire.

The masses have rarely been participants in the conflicts. They have generally submitted to the laws. Their contact with the state was only occasional. Their cultural movements had their own rhythm.

The state had come to mean the Emperor. But in a theocracy the personality of the Emperor counts for little. The numerous monographs dealing with the reigns do contain the details of their policies. They all bear the stamp of the Ulema. The conquests made, the land revenue settled, the mansabs given and the marriages celebrated had the same view, in view, the glory of Islam. This was at least the theoretical position.

It is no use trying to attribute to some the political motive leading to a national state such as we envisage. Hindus served the state as subordinates. Even the marriage alliances have only left humiliation as a legacy. The Hindus were loyal mercenaries,

This is not to say that there have been no efforts to synthesize. Akbar and Dara are exceptions which only emphasise the difference. Even Akbar did not deny his allegiance to the Islamic law. His only claim was to interpret it. Even that claim was not admitted. The Mughal Empire may be called national in the sense that it was nation wide. It claimed and got the obedience of the Hindus as *de facto* rulers in some cases and as *de jure* ones in some others. It was an indigenous product. Its wealth, its strength, its vastness inspired respect abroad. More Hindus have died in defending it than perhaps in defending their own cause. It was nevertheless a Muslim Empire.

We must discard the historicity of a secular state in this country. A secular state has had never a foundation in the hearts of the millions. No nation can rise to heights of heroism on mere fictions of justice and impartiality. What people will die for is a much greater thing than that. It may be the future of the race or religion or the land they love. That future in itself will be full of dreams created and recreated out of the faith of the millions, and expressed by poets and rationalised by philosophers.

With so much fervour and so much misunderstanding it is improper to insist on non-communal history. History must be super-communal. The issues must be analysed and objectified. Only such an attitude will help forward the task of integrating the various elements of a people. And what are the issues really ?

Here I know I am treading on a rather uncertain ground. We must begin with a few questions. What was the nature of the response to efforts made with a view to absorb one or the other cultures? Were these efforts conscious or not? What was the nature of compromises reached from time to time in cases of conflicts? What was the amount of recognition given to institutions like the caste and the Jamat? What was the official attitude in case of internal disputes? To what extent were the privileges of particular classes granted? What was the sanction behind the semi-judiciary functions of local bodies? Many more may be suggested. They do not point to specific conflicts but they point out the area to be covered.

No doubt learned treatises on various aspects of Mughal administration are available. But they do not approach their subject matter in that spirit. The materials available need to be re-arranged and re-interpreted. That is a task which I propose this body must take up. It involves a study of a vast field. It presupposes a range of equipment which no single individual or institution can command. Particular fields like architecture and music have been covered only superficially. Linguistic research regarding the language problem has only begun. In all these cases the problem of cultural harmony is more predominant than that of conflict. Man is indeed a paradoxical animal,

He is as much of a willing collaborator as a fighter. The conditions governing such a collaboration remain to be better analysed.

In these days of swift change the conflict is acute. The nature of the conflict may change. Silent processes of social life constantly redefine the value pyramid. Eventually the changing values may shift on the struggle to new frontiers of strife and controversy. But behind the clash of armour and argument stands the man—one who is haunted by the past or is in love with it, one whom events to come fill with hopes and with anxieties and finally as one to whom the division of labour and provisions for the future have given leisure and opportunities to enjoy form and music.

FRESH LIGHT ON SHAIKH ALI HAZIN, AND HIS TOURS IN EASTERN HINDUSTAN

Prof. Syed Hasan Askari, M. A., History Deptt., Patna College, Patna.

Maulana Shaikh Mohammad Ali Hazin, the celebrated poet and scholar of Persia was forced by the vicissitudes of his beloved country to migrate in 1146/1734¹ to Hindustan. He requires no introduction to the literary world. As early as 1830-31, an English translation, with the original Persian text, of the famous Tazkira² (Memoirs) of the poet, written in 1154/1740 in India, was published in London by Mr. T. C. Balfour.

A man of noble lineage, high character, and great learning, Hazin was undoubtedly one of the celebrities of his age. Described³ as the "most illustrious and the greatest of the doctors, the glory of Arabia and Persia and the compriser of all sciences, speculative and practical", Hazin appeared to Khusgo⁴ the devoted pupil of his most formidable opponent, Khan Arzu⁵ "as an angel in a human body". Raymond quotes the poet's own words that "he never loosened the cordons of his drawers neither upon a lawful or an unlawful occasion, and of course had never meddled with a woman".⁶ There is much to admire the man. His "liberality in religious opinion⁷ despite his genuine faith in the

1 Tazkiratul Ahwal Kujhwa Ms., Mirat-i-Aftab Numa, O. P. L.

2 Two manuscript copies bearing the owner's seal 1213/1798 and belonging to my village library have been consulted. See also Beals' Dictionary.

3 Makhzanul Gharaiib p. 136 (O. P. L.).

4 Safina-i-Khusgo (O. P. L.), p. 182 b. The author's name was Lala Brindaban Das.

5 Arzu went to the length of writing a book, named *Tanbihul-Ghafelin* in criticism of Hazin's poetry. For his remarks see his well known work, *Majma-un-Nafais*, p. 400 (O. P. L.).

6 *Seyar*, Eng. Tr., II, p. 178.

7 Ousley, quoted by T. C. Balfour, Also letters of Hazin.

religion be professed", his disdainful attitude towards the tempting things of the world⁸, his readiness to befriend one and all⁹, his keenness of judgment, his upright character, and above all, his lofty patriotism are worthy of emulation by others.

But he was not without his own weaknesses. His excessive self-confidence or self-consciousness made him at times contemptuous of the abilities of others, particularly the contemporary Indian scholars of the Persian language. His intense love for his own country made him almost blind to the beauties of the land of his forced adoption. His unjust complaint that he "had to lead the dullest course of his existence in the dullest of all countries"¹⁰ and his sweeping remarks that "owing to its climate the people of this land do not make acquaintance with any without some motive"¹¹ cannot but be resented.

It is unfortunate that even his admirers did not choose to write much beyond what he had himself indicated in his *Tazkira*, written eight years after his settlement in India in 1154/1741-42. The very fact of his first arrival in India has become a disputed point, for, Gholam Ali-Azād Belgrami, a friend and admirer of Hazin, whom he first met and journeyed within Sindh, and who wrote subsequently a spirited refutation of his opponent's criticisms, definitely gives the year 1147¹² while the author of *Mirat-i-Aftab Numa*¹³ and also Browne give the more accurate date of 1146. Hazin himself speaks of "this period¹⁴ of eight years, at the time of writing, that is, the end of the year 1154". A correct chronology of his itinerary during the first 14 years of his life which, according to Azad¹⁵, he passed at Delhi and its neighbourhood, and a detailed but critical account of his movements and activities and his relation with the people of this country, both rich and poor, Hindus and Muslims, of Western and Eastern India, still await the earnest attention and devoted labours of persons interested in the Persian historical literature.

The writer of the present paper, while collecting and sifting materials for the early¹⁶ life of Raja Ram Narain Mauzoon, who dominated the political stage

8 S. M. Dastur.

9 Dastur-ul-Insha; letters of Hazin recommending persons to Raja Ram Narain,

10 *Tazkiratul Ahwal*, Balfour's translation.

11 *Tazkiratul Ahwal*, Kujhwa Ms.

12 i. *Khazana-Amira* 193.

ii. *Sarve-Azad*, 225.

iii. Browne L. H. *Persia* IV.

13 O. P. Library, Patna.

14 *Tazkira-Ahwal*, (Kujhwa Ms.). The poet tells us that he reached Thata on the 1st of Shawwal, 1146.

15 *Sarve-Azad*, (printed text) 225.

16 I read a paper "A new light on the early life of Raja Ram Narain, Mauzoon", at a meeting of the Historical Society of Patna College, in March, 1937. It may be published in some journal in near future.

of Bihar as its Deputy Governor for a little over a decade in the fifties of the 18th century, and was a pupil of Hazin in his poetical pursuits, came across some rare collections of letters belonging as private properties to some Patna people. The biggest and the most valuable of these manuscripts, named *Dastur-ul-Insha*,¹⁷ compiled by Bijay Singh Kayasth of Lucknow, a dependent of Rai Mansa Ram, who was a cousin of Mauzoon's son-in-law, Rai Basant Ram, and acted as a Foujdar of Tirhut, till he was overthrown by Mir Qasim, in 1175/1761, contains about 40 letters of Hazin,¹⁸ addressed to Raja Ram Narain and to various other persons, and there are a few more which in some way or the other concern the eminent Persian. A chronology and critical account of Hazin's life in the East of India is a desideratum. An attempt will be made in the following pages to extract from the sources available at Patna, especially from the collections of letters, whatever is possible about the life and activities of Hazin after he had left Delhi and Agra.

Hazin, according to his friend Azad, 'having lived a sort of retired life for about 14 years in the city of Delhi came out of it in year 1161¹⁹, stopped for a while at Akberabad and thence hastened to the city of Benares and after some time he went to Azimabad (Patna). Khan-i-Arzu, the author of *Tanbihul Ghafelin* writes, "He (Hazin) had gone to Bengal with a mind to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca and the holy shrines but, *now*²⁰, having turned back from Azimabad (Patna), he has fixed up his residence at Benares." "Now" may mean 1163 as is indicated by the author's use of the same term in pages 130a and 451 (O. P. L. Ms.)

After weighing the separate pieces of evidences we are forced to the conclusion that Hazin's first visits to Patna must have taken place before Arzu and Khusgo completed their respective works in 1164/1750²¹ and 1165/1751-52 nay even earlier, for Tahqiq's death²² in 1162/1749 and Khan-i-Arzu's elucidatory expression "in this very year²³ which is 1163/1750" (MN 130 b) and "last year²⁴,

17 This unique collection copied in 1206/1790 and belonging to Rai Mathura Prasad B. A., a representative of Raja Ram Narain; contains a large number of disarranged, private and official letters, sanads, and news letters, mostly written by, or addressed to Raja Ram Narain and other contemporary personages, regarding the transaction in Bihar and Bengal and occasionally throwing light on historical events elsewhere. The major portion of the collection covers the period of the said Raja's Niabat of Bihar, 1752-1761. But Safdar Jung's expedition to Bihar in 1742-43 is the subject of probably the earliest letter in the *Dastur* (p. 271b-272a). The letters were first collected in 1183/1769 and were originally meant for "the elementary education" of boys.

18 We shall consider some of these later on. Two works of Hazin in O. P. Library contain more than half a dozen letters of the great Persian, including one addressed to Mauzoon, which corresponds exactly with those available in the *Dastur*.

19 Sarve-Azad, 225.

20 *Majma-un-Nafais*, p. 123. O. P. L.

21 *Safina-i-Khusgo* p. 163.

22 *Safina-i-Khusgo*, p. 163.

23 *Majma-un-Nafais*, 130 b.

24 *Majma-un-Nafais*, 45.

that is 1162/1749" (MN 450) are significant. The battle of Khudaganj, 1164/1750, the evidence of Kiratchand's dated letters and Khusgo's mention of "as the young Diwan" (not yet Naib) Raja Ram Narain "who had got his appropriate pen-name from Hazin to whom he submitted his²⁵ verses" are interesting points for our consideration. But all vagueness is removed and we find a positive evidence in another valuable work, fortunately discovered by the writer in the house of a Unani Physician in the Patna City.

Insha-i-Gherib and *Insha-i-Ulfat* are two valuable collections of letters and miscellaneous writings of Lala Ujagar Chand, Ulfat of Patna who was a contemporary of Khusgo, Hazin and Ram Narain. The first work completed in 1151/1738, is silent about Hazin. But *Insha-i-Ulfat* contains not only half a dozen references to the Persian poet but also, and what is most important, a versified chronogram which settles the question of Hazin's arrival at Patna in 1163/1750 and also gives us a hint about an earlier visit paid by the poet to the capital of Bihar. Ulfat composed the following quatrain to commemorate the year of Hazin's arrival at Patna :—

"The Shaikh, endowed with virtue and munificance, has honoured (us) with his visit. The early spring has again made its appearance in the city. The voice from the invisible speaker told Ulfat this congratulatory chronogram (namely)²⁶ the *favours-promoting arrival*." The *italicised* expression yields the year 1163.

Though we get the year, unfortunately the month mentioned is not specified. Hazin would not undertake an arduous journey during the hot and rainy season. December 11, 1749, coincided with 1st of Moharram, 1163²⁷. Hazin must have felt disinclined to move about in the sacred months of Moharram and Safar. Therefore Rabi I and II, 1163, corresponding to February-March, 1750, may tentatively be accepted as the time, referred to by Ulfat. The occurrence of words "early spring" in the quatrain is perhaps, not without some significance.

The duration of his first visit to Patna must have necessarily been very brief for the distraction of Bihar and Bengal in 1748, caused by the rebellious activities of the Afghans and their allies, the predatory Marhatta, must have prevented the poet²⁸ from prolonging his stay there.

He may have stayed for sometime at Patna on the occasion of his second visit in 1163/1750, but the disturbed condition of Bihar and Bengal must have

25 *Safina-i-Khusgo*, p. 216.

26 *Insha-i-Ulfat*, p. 29a ; *Maqdan-i-Faiz Afza*" 1163.

27 Hazin was also a great Shia divine. His letters, addressed to Shaikh Hasan, and found both in the *Dastur* and in a manuscript of O. P. L., reveal how people treated him as a 'Mujtahid', and asked for his authoritative opinion regarding theological and doctrinal matters .

28 *Seyar* ; *Sarkar's, Fall of the Moghal Empire*, Vol. I.

again driven him back to Benares. Circumstances had, however, changed by the time the poet made his appearance in Bihar for the third time in 1165/1752.

Aliverdi's treaty with Raghuji 'Bhonsla in May 1751²⁹ and the consequent removal of the Marhattas from Bengal, coupled with the suppression or dispersal of the rebellious Afghan and other turbulent elements³⁰ afforded peace and quiet to the province. Raja Ram Narain Mauzoon, having been appointed Deputy Governor of Bihar, Hazin might have been tempted to try his luck again to get back to his beloved home-land *via* the port of Hugli. He could not think of the other routes for the situation in these quarters had grown worse. The Doab Pathans and the Durrani Afghans, the Irani Vazir and the mercenary Marhattas had made the north and the western parts of Hindustan³¹ an unsafe land.

As regards positive evidence of such a visit, reference should be made to Raja Kiratchand's letter. One which occurs³² in between two others³³, dated 28th January I, year 5th, and 21st Safar of the same year, that is, 1165/1752, tells us that the "happy and hopeful tidings of the arrival of his eminence, the Shaikh Saheb, the qibla of the two worlds, has infused fresh vigour into the hearts of the supplicants" and that "enclosed in the envelope would be found an humble letter addressed to his eminence etc". Another undated letter of Kiratchand, found in the same series, and followed by two others, the last of which³⁴ is dated 8th Jamadi II, year 6th (1166/1753) contains the significant expression "Has the Shaikh Saheb,.....who had a mind to proceed to the west, already left or is still present in the city (Patna)? I had sent a second letter to him, kindly inform me if it has actually reached him". The reference to the 'second letter' suggests that the distance of time between the two letters may not have been a long one. This is, perhaps, supported by a letter of no less important personage than the poet himself, which we find in the Dastur.

In this letter Hazin writes about "his still drawing the feeble breath of his borrowed life and *sitting in a corner of the desolate Azimabad (Patna)*" without "having even strength and capacity to move about." A little further we come across the following lines :—"I have often felt grieved on hearing the news of the *misfortunes and the distracted condition of the Punjab and Delhi* and have prayed to God, humbly and with lamentation, for the removal of the troubles, and am still doing so."

29 J.B.O.R.S, March, 1932 ;

30 Dastur, p. 199b, Seyar ; Waqiat-i-Mahabat Jung by Yusuf Ali, (Patna College Copy).

31 Sarkar's, Fall of the Moghal Empire, Vol. I ; Dutt's, History of the Marhattas, Cambridge History of India, Vol IV etc.

32 Dastur, 284b.

33 Dastur, 284a, 285b.

34 Dastur, 285b, 286a, b.

The most important point in the letter under review, however, is the fact that it was written by Hazin from Patna and so necessarily must be dated much before the death of Safdar Jung that took place at Lucknow on the 17th Zihijja, 1167, 5th October, 1754. The reference to the calamities and distracted condition of the Punjab and Delhi leads us to the year 1165/1752 when Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded the Punjab for the third time³⁵ and his threatened advance to Delhi caused such panic in the imperial court as to result in a hasty and disgraceful treaty which ceded Multan and the Punjab to the Durrani and caused an estrangement of Vazir Safdar Jung, who had already enlisted the support of mercenary Malher Holkar but had been forestalled by his enemies in the Court. Azad Bilgrami notes these matters and mentions the arrival of the Vazir with Malher in Delhi in Rajab 1165 (May 1752). The date, 11th Rajab, given in Hazin's letter, may, under the circumstances, be placed in the year 1165 or May 1752.

There is a third and more conclusive evidence of Hazin's presence in Patna in 1165/1752. In a letter³⁶, obviously addressed to Alivardi, the Nawab of Bengal, Raja Ram Narain informs the former that "Afra Seyab Beg, the companion of Akbar Ali Khan³⁷ Mangbashi, while proceeding in a drunken state from the house of a dancing girl towards the³⁸ Idgah, happened to pass by the Haveli, occupied by his eminence, the Shaikh Saheb, the venerable Shaikh Ali Hazin.....and having lost all control over himself he wounded the door-keeper of the Shaikh."

Thus, though Patna had some attraction for Hazin, specially at a time when the most devoted and eminent of his pupils, the celebrated Ram Narain, Mauzoon, was its deputy governor, yet there may have been more than one reason which induced the great Persian to leave this City for the third time. The Raja appears to have been mostly absent from his capital on State business. Ujagarchand, Ulfat informs us how the Raja tried to keep himself in touch with his august guest through correspondence.

But it was difficult to keep a man of such delicate complexion as Hazin in good humour, especially when the man who was responsible for his sojourn

³⁵ Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 434. See also *Khazana-i-Amira* by Gholam Ali, Azad Bilgrami.

³⁶ Dastur 180, Q.

³⁷ Dastur 180, Q.

The Mangbashi has been described as the 'Qafia-salar-i-Khazana-i-Bangala.' We find a mention of his son, Ali Naqi Khan, Intizar, who "arrived at Murshidabad during the time of Alivardi and settled down there," (*Gulzar-i-Ibrahim* p. 26). There are numerous letters in the *Dastur* relating to the presence and activities of Ali Akbar Khan Mangbashi in Patna during the years 4th and 5th of accession (1751-59).

³⁸ Thus Hazin's residence in the old Patna City on this occasion was not the same as that mentioned by Ulfat in the letters quoted above.

at Patna was mostly absent from his side. Whatever the reasons which made Hazin give up Patna again, certain it is that he had a more prolonged stay in the city at the time of his third visit than on the two earlier occasions. At any rate, he was present in Patna for not less than 6 months, that is, from Rajab³⁹ to Zihijja, 1165 (May to October, 1752). That he may have left at the end of the last month of the Arabic Calendar is probably indicated by another of his letters found elsewhere⁴⁰, wherein we find him informing Raja Ram Narain about his 'safe' arrival at Benares on the 1st of the month" (Moharram) and thanking him for his kindness which enabled him, inspite of his "excessive weakness" "not to feel the hardships of the journey."

THE MANSABDARI SYSTEM IN THE REIGN OF JAHANGIR.

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Much has been written on the Mansabdari system of the Moghuls and numerous controversies have been raised which in spite of long drawn out discussions still await final solutions. Of these, we are familiar with the variety of views on the significance and interpretation of the Zat and Sawar ranks. It must, however, be frankly admitted that our knowledge of this system as yet, is superficial. We generally, for our facts, draw upon the list of mansabdars given in Blochmann's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari* or make our deductions from some stray remarks of any foreign traveller. Few have cared to analyse and understand the working of the system on the basis of a clear study of the *Akbarnama*, the *Tuzuki Jahangiri*, the *Padshahnamas*, or the *Alamgirnama*.

The Moghul sovereigns were very particular to see that a careful record is made of the orders which they issued with regard to the military promotions of their officers. This was as it should be. The existence of their Empire depended upon the efficiency of their army, hence their watchful regard for the working of the Mansabdari system. Abul Fazl has noted down all cases of promotions and fresh appointments in the *Akbarnamah*. Jahangir was also very particular in this respect and the *Tuzuk* is full of the account of promotions and appointments. It is true that sometimes memory fails him and he either repeats a fact mentioned before, or makes a wrong entry, or even as in the case of Abul Hasan Shihab Khani contents himself by saying that he was made

39 *Insha Ulfat*.

40 *Dastur*, 233 b.

vizier of Bengal without mentioning his rank or mansab. Nevertheless, if we collect the copious information and collate it properly, which requires much patient labour, we can arrive at some fruitful conclusions which are not patent to us at the beginning. And what holds true of the reign of Jahangir is also applicable to the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzib. If it were possible to prepare a card-index of the mansabdars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, indicating their gradual promotions, many controversies which rage round the mansabdari system would automatically disappear.

It would then be possible to point out with a fair degree of accuracy to the number of mansabs obtaining in the reign of a particular monarch, and very likely also the number of mansabdars in existence in a given year. We may then be also in a position to determine the principles which governed promotions, taking it for granted that they did not depend merely on the whim and caprice of the grand Moghul. Furthermore, our knowledge of the development and deterioration of the system would be based on known facts. At the moment we only base our conclusions on certain vague generalisations. It may be urged that the *Maasir-ul-Umara* furnishes us with this kind of information, and hence it is unnecessary to waste our time on such a fruitless effort. But this work suffers from certain limitations. Undoubtedly it is very exhaustive, but its facts must needs be checked.

It has been possible for me to make a close study of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* with special reference to the problems of the Mansabdari system, and the interesting facts which I have gleaned through the pages of this work are set forth in the following lines.

As to the number of mansabdars of various ranks, only a rough estimate can be made. Jahangir remarks that he has recorded the names and account of mansabdars of 500 *Zat* only, though he mentions one case of a mansabdar of 400, two of 300, and two of 200. A tentative conclusion which may be drawn is that the lowest rank in the reign of Jahangir was of 200. All grades above 7000 were reserved for members of the royal family. *Dawar Bakhsh S. Khusrau* held the rank of 8000+3000, *Shahriyar* of 12000+8000, *Khurram* or *Shahjahan* 30,000+20,000, and *Parwez* of 40,000+30,000.

It should be indicated in this connection that with the exception of *Shahjahan* who obtained promotion on the ground of his merits, all others received advancements in their grades under the stress of peculiar circumstances, the most important of them being the rebellion of the favourite child of Jahangir. *Dawar Bakhsh* obtained this high rank on the occasion of his appointment to the government of Gujarat. Being a minor *Khan A'zam* was appointed his tutor. *Shahriyar* was promoted to this rank firstly, because he was the son-in-law of the Empress, and secondly, because he was asked to

lead the Qandahar campaign, on Shahjahan's refusal to undertake the task. As to Parwez, he was given this high rank because he was appointed to deal with the rebel Bidaulat *i.e.* Shahjahan. His rank should be higher than that of his rival and younger brother.

Of the five incumbents of the rank of 7000 Zat o Sawar Itmad-ud-Daulah, Khan A'zam, Shahrukh Mirza and Abdur-Rahim Khan Khanan were very intimately connected with the Imperial house. The fifth, Mahabat Khan was for a considerable time out of favour, having been posted to the distant province of Bangesh. It was after the outbreak of Shahjahan that he was summoned to the Court and appointed to the high command with the title of Madār-us-Sultanate. But although he was out of favour many smaller officers were promoted to higher grades on his recommendation. Qiyam Khan on his recommendation was promoted to the rank of 1500+800 and Sardar Afghan to that of 1000+400. His son Amanullah, entitled Khanahzad Khan, seems to have been a special favourite of the Emperor, because he seems to have received rapid lifts from one rank to another. Within a short space of five or six years he rose from the rank of 1000+300 to that of 5000+5000.

In the next grade, that of 6000+6000, there were during the whole reign 9 incumbents. Of these six died during the lifetime of Jahangir, only three survived him. These were Asaf Khan, Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang, and Khan Jahan Lodhi.

There was only one officer Mirza Rustam who held the rank of 5500 +1500.

The following table will give an idea of the number of mansabdars in other ranks:—

Rank (Mansab).	Number of Mansabdars.
5000	24
4500	1
4000	15
3500	4
3000	24
2500	16
2000	59
1800	2
1700	1
1500	32
1300	2
1200	4
1000	61
900	2

Rank (Mansab).	Number of Mansabdars.
800	12
700	14
600	14
550	1
500	19
400	1
300	2
200	2

The above analysis brings out fairly clearly some of the salient features of the gradation of ranks. The most popular grades were those of 1000 and 2000. Only occasionally appointments were made in the grades of 4500, 1800, 1700, 1300, 900, and 550. Furthermore from 2000 to 5000 the grades varied by 500, and below 2000 by 100; exception should be made in the case of the grade of 550.

It has been asserted by some writers that under Jahangir the liberal policy of toleration underwent a slight reaction in the opposite direction. It is a fact that during this reign the number of Hindus occupying high mansabs declined. Out of the total number of 326 mansabdars there were only 51 Hindu mansabdars whose grade-wise distribution was as follows :—

5000	6
4000	2
3500	1
3000	6
2500	4
2000	10
1500	7
1000	6
800	2
600	3
500	4

Thus the highest rank to which a Hindu officer could aspire was that of 5000. At it was, this grade, so far as the Hindus were concerned, was reserved only for the chiefs of semi-independent states. Mirza Raja Bhao Singh, Maharaja Bir Singh Deo, Raja Gaj Singh, Raja Jagannath S. Biharimal, Karan S. Rana Amar Singh, Ray Ray Singh numbered among the members of this rank. The two Hindu members of the 4000 grade, Mahe Singh and Pratap Bherji of Baglana were also Rajput chiefs. Raja Basu who held the rank of 3500+ was a favourite of the Emperor, he having rendered very devoted and loyal service to him. The same holds true for the ranks of 3000 and 2500,

which in effect means that the highest grade to which a Hindu officer could expect promotion was that of 2000. But this under-representation of Hindus in the Imperial Service should not necessarily convey the impression that this community was living less happily in the reign of Jahangir than was the case during the reign of his predecessor. It is only an indication of the trend of the Imperial policy which for various reasons fructified under Aurangzib.

But more important than the policy of communal representation were the principles which formed the method of promotion from one rank to the other. Generally promotions were gradual and were given in recognition of meritorious services to the State. The cases of Dilawar Khan who conquered Kishtwar, of Dilir Khan, of Ibrahim Khān (Hushang), of Mukarram Khan who conquered Khurda, of Raja Man Gwaliori, of Khwaja Jahan (Dust Md.) are instances in point. But gradual promotion did not preclude the possibility of rapid promotion. The case of Khanahzād Khan S. Mahabat Khan has already been cited. Other such instances may also be given.

Occasionally officers received sudden promotions. Even in such cases it was not the whim or merely the sweet will of the monarch which decided them. On the other hand, it was the record of some brilliant or useful service done to the State (and the State meant also the person of the sovereign) which determined the question of promotion. Lāla Beg (Bāz Bahadur) was promoted in the first year of the reign from 1500 to 4000. Jahangir in this connection observes, "Bāz Bahadur is of the lineage of the special attendants of our family; his father's name was Nizām, and he was librarian to Humayum." Another such case is of Raja Basu who was promoted from 1500 to 5500. Again the Emperor is not reluctant to offer an explanation. 'I raised Raja Basu, who was a landholder of the hilly country of the Punjab, and who from the time I was prince till now has kept the way of service and sincerity towards me.'

Promotions were also made on the basis of recommendations of superior officers. Ibrahim Khan Bakhshi of the Deccan was promoted to a higher grade on the recommendation of Khan Khanan, Abdullah Khan Feroz Jang and Saif Khan Barah on that of Prince Khurram, Ali Quli Darman on that of Bahadur Khan of Qandahar,

On the retirement or death of an officer his relations were provided with employment in the State service. For instance when Khan Dauran (Shah Beg Khan) retired from State service his eldest son Shah Muhammad and his third son Asad Beg were promoted to higher ranks. Ibrāhim Husain (Khush Khabar K.) was promoted in recognition of his father's services in Bangesh. Allah Yar Khān b. Murawwat Khan was promoted for the sacrifice of his brother against the Māghs. Sadr Jahan was promoted to a higher rank on the demise of his father-in-law Murtaza Khan.

The instances of sons being promoted to military ranks are too numerous to mention. Prominent among them are those of Raja Gaj Singh, Akbar Quli Gakkar S. Jalal Khan, Ali Muhammad and Bahadur, sons of Saif K. Barah, Mihr Ali S. Faridum Khan Birlas, Shadmān S. Sultan Husain of Pakli, Ibraim Husain S. Mirza Sharafuddin Husain Kashghari. Dilawar Khan's sons were enrolled in mansabs on the former's death, and so were the sons and relations of Raj Singh and Shah Nawaz Khan who died on active service in the Deccan. But all these cases of promotion and appointment are of persons who were in a position to discharge their military duties satisfactorily.

When, however, notice is taken of the case of Izzat Khan who died fighting in Bangesh we see the beginning of a very reprehensible tendency which accentuated during the succeeding reign much to the detriment and deterioration of the military organisation of the great Moghuls. Jahangir remarks, "As Izzat Khan had left a son of very tender years, keeping before my eyes, that discerned the truth, his life sacrifices, I gave him (the child) a mansab and a Jagir so that those left behind should not be scattered abroad, and others might have increased hope.' Had the Emperor limited his benevolence to the grant of a pension only and not assigned a mansab to the child of tender years, he would have prevented much of future degeneration in the army.

That mansabs were not granted for military service alone is brought home to our mind by the numerous interesting cases on record in the Tuzuk. Ma'mur Khan (Abdul Karim) was given a mansab in recognition of his building repair work at Mandu. Mahzuz Khan (Mulla Asad) a story-teller was a mansabdar, and so were Maktub Khan, Superintendent of the Imperial Library, and Kalyan Ajaib-dust an engraver. Even the physicians and men of letters held mansabs.

This is a brief review of the conditions of the Mansabdari System in the reign of Jahangir. A close scrutiny of the Tuzuk is certain to yield more varied and interesting information.

SECTION VI
SIKH HISTORY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS**THE PHASES AND SOURCES OF SIKH HISTORY.**

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My first word tonight must be one of my grateful thanks to the Council of the Indian Historical Congress for the position of honour and responsibility to which they have called me. I am glad that in the programme of the Congress a separate section has been assigned to the History of the Sikhs and the Punjab, which offers, I need scarcely assure you, a particularly rich and extensive field for research to the historian and the archaeologist. Within the boundaries of the Province and its immediate neighbourhood are to be found some of the most ancient ruins and monuments going back to the Aryan and Pre-Aryan periods. As you know, the recent excavations of the mounds at Harappa, in the district of Montgomery, have brought to light the cultural relics of the Pre-historic age and at a single bound pushed back our knowledge of Indian civilisation by more than three thousand years. There are scores of other mounds, big and small, spread all over the Province that are still awaiting exploration and might yield to the spade of the excavator the hidden cultural treasures of centuries. In my own district there exist at least half a dozen mounds, apparently of great historical interest. Now and again one may see even the surface strewn with valuable finds, which require closer attention at the hands of the antiquarian than they have yet received.

This is especially the case after an unusually heavy shower. I have myself seen pieces of painted pottery picked up at one or two of these mounds with rosette and open lotus designs surrounded by a pearl border—the motif usually associated with the well-known Sassanian Art. A small village called Hathi-wind, not far from my native town (Bhera), is ascribed by tradition to have been the site where Alexander built a stable for his elephants. The village, it is said, lay on his way in the course of his famous march through this part of the country before he met and defeated the forces of Porus.

Apart from these mounds and sites of old, the exploration of which falls strictly within the sphere of the Archaeological Department, there are other fields of investigation, which do not demand much of

technical skill or knowledge on the part of a research student. The collection of folk-lore bearing upon well-known political and social events of the last few hundred years will alone require and repay the labours of at least a couple of dozen young men belonging to different parts of the Province.

That rich stores of folk-lore are not only extant, but afford valuable material for the construction or elucidation of the accounts of important events, is within my own personal knowledge. Amongst other important but yet unexplored sources of the social and political history of the Punjab may be mentioned small collections of books and relics in possession of private families in different parts of the Province. The search for these is also awaiting organisation under competent supervision and direction and will, I am sure, when taken in hand bear ample fruit. The most important direction in which extensive research work can and should be undertaken in the Punjab, without delay, relates, of course, to the history of the Sikhs. There is, I need hardly assure you, abundant valuable material available in the Province today, even though it may be scattered in various shapes and forms. I wish to draw the particular attention of those who may be interested in this important question—and in this category I include the European official as well as our university teachers—and appeal to them to see to it that no further time is lost in collecting the valuable material which a little earnest search may make available today but which may be lost to-morrow. I know, and I feel most keenly, that every year is exacting a heavy toll in a hundred different ways. I have purposely appealed to the European official. We, in the Punjab, know what we owe to the labours of scholars like J. D. Cunningham, Sir Richard Temple, Sir John Thompsom, Sir Edward Maclagan for helping to reconstruct the history of the Province from materials which were rapidly becoming extinct. More than eighty years have already passed since the Sikhs ceased to rule over the Province and the ranks of the men belonging to the older generation, who may be able to narrate contemporary exploits and adventures, are daily thinning out.

From time to time individual lovers of research have, no doubt, been making efforts in this direction and in this connection I cannot but refer to the self-imposed labours of Giani Gian Singh, who is said to have made extensive tours over the Province and collected

voluminous material, both from books and traditions, which he published in several respectable volumes in the nineties of the last century. A similar search was undertaken by the late S. Karam Singh. It is a pity that he was not spared to complete his work or put his material into shape. Some of the articles published by him from time to time seem to show that he brought to bear upon his labours a more critical understanding than his predecessor. While we cannot but be grateful to these workers for what they were able to achieve, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the work of collecting, sifting and collating the material on Sikh history, as in other similar fields, needs organised and sustained effort under expert supervision and guidance.

The history of the Sikhs may be said to extend over a period of about four hundred years from the birth of Guru Nanak in 1469 to the annexation of the Punjab by the British in 1849. This period of four centuries reveals several distinct phases and each phase requires for its right understanding and proper perspective both an intensive and extensive study of the other phases and stages. During the first seventy years after the death (1538) of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh movement, the most marked feature of this protestant movement was the formation and building up of the church.

Even the elements that go to make a theocratic state were clearly visible during this period and the fact was noticed even by a contemporary writer, Mohsin Fani. The second Sikh Guru invented a simplified script which subsequently became the vehicle of Sikh religious literature, an essential element for the consolidation of the doctrine of the church. The third Guru organised the *masands* or the district bishoprics; the fourth, in his turn, secured the gift of the plot of land from the emperor Akbar where he built the holy Tank and laid the foundation of Amritsar, the sacred place of pilgrimage of the community. The fifth Guru, Arjan Dev, compiled the Granth Sahib or the sacred book of the Sikhs, besides organising the finances of the church on more systematic lines. It is easy to see, from what I have indicated, how step by step each Guru made the work of his immediate predecessor the necessary basis for his own contribution to the building of the church as a theocratic state.

The execution of the fifth Guru in 1608 marks the beginning of the transformation of this religious community into a community of born warriors, whose deeds of valour are a matter of conversation in

military circles in India. The emperor, Jahangir, as he tells us himself in his diary, viewed the movement with strong suspicion and disfavour and was looking for an excuse to suppress it. The opportunity soon came, when prince Khusro, raising the standard of revolt against his father, paid a visit to Guru Arjan Dev and sought his blessings in his struggles against the emperor. The Guru was arraigned for treason by the order of Jahangir and was tortured to death in prison.¹

His son Hargobind, who ascended the gaddi, is said to have added to the traditional symbols of priesthood two swords: one representing his resolve to avenge the wrong done to his father and the other as a symbol to prepare his followers in self-defence against further aggressions of the rulers of the day.

The struggle thus commenced, combined with increasing determination on their part not to submit in spite of the severest persecution and torture, became more and more bitter as time went on with heavy losses to the Sikhs. The execution of the ninth Guru, Tegh Bahadur, by the order of Aurangzeb in 1675, added fuel to the fire, as it were. The birth and the struggles of the Khalsa under the leadership of Tegh Bahadur's son and successor, Gobind Singh, against the forces of the Mughal government form a chapter of great importance and interest to the student of political and religious history; but it will be out of place for me to refer to it even briefly here. But we all know that Gobind Singh completely transformed the community and inspired them with the living faith that God was with them and that, whatever the reverses they might suffer, theirs would be the final victory. *Chirian kolo bax marawan, Tan main Gobind nam rakhawan*'' (Call me by the name of Gobind only if I succeed in making the sparrows kill the hawks.) And, verily, he did perform the miracle.

¹¹ از سه پشت او (گوروارجن) این دوگان باطل را گرم مهد اشت - مدت عابضاطر
 میکندشت که این دوگان باطل را برطرف بآید ساخت - باور او جرگه اهل اسلام دربانید آورد
 تا آنکه درین ایام خسرو از او را عبور می نمود - این مردک مجهول اراده کرد که ملازمت
 لوداوردیابد - در منزلت که جاه و مقام او بود - نزل افتاد - آمده او را دیده و بعضی مقدمات فرا
 یافته باو رسانید - و بر پیشانی او انگشتری از زعفران که به اصلاح هندوان تشنه گویند - کشید و
 آنرا اشکون می داند - چون این مقدمه بمسامع جاه و جلال میبرد و بطنان او را بوجه اکل
 میدانستم امر کرد که او را حاضر ساختند و ساکن و منازل و فرزندان او را بموقعی خاص منابت
 نمودم و اسباب و اموال او را بآید ضبط دو آورده فرمودم که او را به سیاست و بیاسا رسانند -
 نول کشور پریس - نورنگ جهانگیری صفحه ۳۵

After Gobind Singh's death in 1708, there was little danger, as Cunningham aptly observes, of the Sikhs lapsing into the order of monks and mendicants. They were definitely put on the path of developing into a military community. The actual struggle that was launched by Gobind Singh was carried on for another eight years by Banda Bahadur, whom the Guru had nominated as his successor to carry on the secular guidance of the community. Since Aurangzeb had also died a little time before the passing away of the Guru, the confusion attending the war of succession to the Mughal throne made the task of Banda Bahadur easier than it might have been. At one time Banda actually seized the entire territory between the Sutlej and the Jumna and appointed his own officials in place of the Mughal officers.² But in 1716 Banda was captured and tortured to death.

The first important phase in the history of the Sikhs may be said to have come to a close with the death of Banda Bahadur. During these one hundred and seventy years Sikhism had undergone a great change. Severe sufferings, hardships and countless vicissitudes of fortune under the Mughal rule had transformed that little brotherhood of simple, earnest and religious-minded people, which Nanak had founded, into a community imbued with a spirit of sacrifice and aspiring to win political freedom. Now this forms an interesting period for study and research, for, since the publication of Dr. Sir G. C. Narang's little book on the "Transformation of Sikhism," twenty five years ago, no further work has been done on this period.

During the second stage in their career, which extends over a period of about half a century dating from the death of Banda, the enormity of Sikh sufferings increases, leaving imprinted on the community new traits of character and furnishing them with a rich legacy of tradition, of unflinching faith in the righteousness of their cause, patient endurance under the severest forms of physical persecution and torture and of service to all. Some of the saddest incidents in the life of the followers of the Guru, indeed, took place during the period. What Guru Gobind Singh had taught and exemplified in his own person, tens of thousands of the faithful Khalsa carried out in their lives even after the inspiring personality of the leader had been removed from their

² بعد خراج و تاراج سرحد در ہم یوگنات برامہ تحصیل باج و خراج سال خود تعین

نمودند—خانی خان -

midst. The authenticated stories of the sufferings of Sikh martyrs borne with the glow of cheerfulness on their faces and the words "*Wah-i-guru, Wah-i-guru*" on their lips are unsurpassed in the history of any other community.

This brings me to the year 1739 which forms a memorable landmark in Sikh no less than in all-India history. The small community of the Sikhs was almost about to be wiped off by their Mughal persecutors, when Nadir Shah appeared on the scene followed, soon after, by a kindred spirit, Ahmad Shah Abdali, whose repeated free-booting incursions from 1748 to 1765 I have described in a short paper submitted before this Congress. The extensive marauding activities of these two invaders brought about a complete collapse of the Mughal administrative machinery. As might have been expected, the resulting political confusion not only put an end to the sufferings of the Sikhs, but it also opened a fresh chapter of hope and struggle in their chequered history. Coming out into the open from their hiding places in the hills, they now embarked upon a career of offensive and defensive warfare against the Abdali and his Afghan hordes from Central Asia. In the course of these unequal conflicts they were forced to develop novel devices, subterfuges and methods of fighting and strategy, which stood them in good stead and eventually helped them in rolling back the tide of the invaders across the Indus.

The fifty years from the death of Banda Bahadur to the final retreat of Ahmad Shah from the Punjab form a most stirring period in Sikh history, when the little community was fighting for its very existence against immense odds literally with its back to the wall. The general outlines of these anxious and eventful years are well known, but there is a great deal more that awaits patient and intelligent investigation and elucidation at the hands of the careful and critical student of history, with special reference to various points, such as the nature and extent of persecutions, the sustained patience and suffering of the victims, the causes which led to their rapid recuperation, the life and death struggles in which they were engaged and the final triumphant emergence of the community strong and united enough to seize the sceptre of sovereignty under their brave leaders. So far as my information goes, no one has yet studied this period as a whole in a critical and scientific spirit, though one of my friends and pupils, Dr. H. R. Gupta, has lately been engaged with, I believe, promising results on a portion of this period.

The second half of the eighteenth century (1765-1799) reveals another very important phase of Sikh history. The territorial conquests in the beginning were made jointly by various group leaders or Jathedars, as they were then known. All of them had pooled their small military resources in or about the year 1748 and had agreed to fight under the common flag of the Dal Khalsa or the National Army of the Panth. These joint conquests were subsequently partitioned by the confederate chiefs or Jathedars. A chief, in turn, divided his share amongst his own leaders of small bands, who again sub-divided their shares amongst their own dependents in agreement with the general custom of sub-infeudation. Twelve such chiefships or *misals*, as they are known in Sikh history, each independent of the other, rise into prominence during this period. The constitution of a *misal* or chiefship seems to have been based on more than one political principle. While the fundamental democratic elements of the Panth, as organised by Guru Gobind Singh, were not quite absent from its composition, the independent feudal chiefships that had now come into existence were more and more usurping the position and power of the commonwealth and, as was natural to expect under the circumstances, the head of every small principality was more anxious to increase his own individual resources and influence than to look after the interests of the commonwealth. These personal or selfish interests were further stimulated by the fact that the collapse of the Abdali monarchy had once for all removed the common danger, which had brought the several chiefs together into a confederacy and so far kept them united with each other. Before long we find them involved in serious conflicts with one another and the closing decade and a half of the 18th century is mainly a record of these bitter feuds and unseemly struggles for supremacy. There is abundant though widely scattered material available relating to this interesting period of Sikh history. This again, is an altogether virgin field for the research student.

I come now to the last phase of this long and interesting story, namely the period of monarchy which is associated with that remarkable man, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who now appeared on the stage.

Step by step, the rise from theocracy to theocratic commonwealth, then to feudal chiefships and from feudal chiefships to monarchy may seem to be a process of natural and even irresistible evolution, but, in saying so, no one should forget that, at each turn from one phase to

another, a supreme effort was required on the part of one or more gifted leaders or of the community as a whole. Ranjit Singh was one such gifted leader. The creation of the monarchy at this time was, I believe, a dire necessity for the Khalsa. But it is only a man of genius and resource who can follow the one road out of many that leads to success. Situated as the Khalsa was, at the beginning of the 19th century "to be or not to be" was not merely a philosophical question with which they were now confronted. It was a matter of stern reality. On almost three sides, south, west and north, they were hemmed in by the Afghan principalities of Multan, the trans-Indus districts of Peshawar and the Derajat and of Kashmir, from whom they could expect no quarter. Nor would the neighbouring Rajput hill chiefs of Jammu and Kangra mind extending their own territories at their expense, should an opportunity offer itself. Finally, by taking the Mughal emperor under their protecting wings, the British had extended their influence right up to the banks of the Jumna in 1804. When we add to these the fact that recent mutual quarrels of the *misals* had made all of them exceedingly weak, we can form some idea of the perils with which the Sikhs were beset. Ranjit Singh clearly visualised the situation and feeling the urge of necessity set to work to save the Khalsa by bringing the various independent chiefships under one flag. There was no half way house.

The history of the monarchy and its collapse occupies the whole of the first half of the 19th century, and the first-hand material, both published and unpublished, for a detailed study of it is so abundant that a number of research students may profitably be occupied with it for years. A beginning in this direction has, already, been made but a good deal more is needed. Twenty five years ago when Professor Ramsay Muir came to Lahore at the invitation of the Punjab University he approached the Government to enquire if there were, in their custody, any record of the Sikh government, the immediate predecessors of the British in the Province. Sir Michal O'Dwyer, the then Lieutenant Governor and his secretary, the late Sir John Thompson, got interested in the matter and, on search being made, a voluminous unassorted mass of ministerial papers relating to the civil and military administration of the Sikh rule was rescued from oblivion in the dark and dingy Record Rooms of the Secretariat Offices. There these papers had been lying pell-mell for seventy long years.

If I may be excused a personal reference, I can claim to have had the privilege of untying the knots of the bundles for the first time after these loose sheets had been promiscuously collected in bundles and thrown away at the time of the Annexation of the Punjab. It took me a considerable time to struggle through this material single-handed and then arrange, sift and catalogue the whole of it. This valuable record has now opened out new and rich fields of research which, thanks to the Punjab Government, are available for examination by any lover of the history of Sikh times. A regular Public Record Office was instituted in 1922 where necessary facilities are offered to all earnest workers.

Valuable as these records are, they form only a part of those which exist, I am sure, in the possession of private persons, specially those whose families were connected, in one form or another, with the administration of Ranjit Singh and his successors. For, it must be borne in mind that, except for the official documents relating to Finance and other papers of exceptional importance, all files and papers were, as a rule, kept in the personal custody of *munshis* or the Superior Secretariat Staff. There were no regular record rooms belonging to different State Departments, and no system of linked files such as we have in modern days. When the Sikh rule came to an end, it were mostly the Army Pay Rolls, Revenue and Jagir papers and the Treasury Account sheets that came into the hands of the British officers, all other documents remaining in the custody of the Secretariat staff or the ministers.

Apart from the official records, there are valuable books, diaries, and contemporary correspondence extant bearing upon the social and political history of the time. Only recently some important correspondence between Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala and his son concerning certain events in the second Anglo-Sikh War accidentally came into the possession of the Punjab Record Office. Now, neither the descendents of Chattar Singh nor others were aware even of the existence of these letters. The collection was discovered with a private individual, one of whose ancestors had been a *Munshi* in the service of the Attariwala Sardars. We made copies of these letters and returned the originals to the owner. I have, in my own possession, a small leather-bound volume containing military orders (*Parwanas*) issued by Maharaja Ranjit Singh during the year 1834. It was given to me by the late Rai Sahib, Pandit Wazir Chand Trikha out of his valuable

collection on a variety of subjects. The copy appears to have originally come from the private collection of Lala Das Mal, who was connected with the family of Lala Ram Ditta Mal, one of the Secretariat Officers of Ranjit Singh. Again, it was only the other day that a friend of mine got hold of a private Diary of Raja Dina Nath, one of the most trusted ministers at the Sikh court. The Raja, as we know, played a most important part in the turmoil that ensued after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and his Diary will, doubtless, help to clear up many imperfectly known incidents of those dark days. Another contemporary Diary, extending over twenty manuscript volumes, was brought to the notice of the public, for the first time, by Sir Abdul Qadir in a paper which he read before the Punjab Historical Society some twenty years ago. The writer of this Diary, Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh, was a great oriental scholar of the day and in his capacity as a private tutor to their sons he had easy access into the homes of some of the courtiers of the Sikh Darbar. The Diary, or rather a personal memoir, contains innumerable references to the day to day events that came under the observation of this wide-awake and influential citizen of Lahore; and is likely to yield on examination a good deal of important information.

I have referred to these few instances picked out of a great many similar cases only to show how easy it is—of course given a properly organised association interested in the work—to rescue the valuable historical material that exists in abundance in the Province. I am afraid I have tried your patience too much. My only excuse is that I have all along attached great importance to the study of Sikh history and I have felt that for its construction all possible sources must be fully tapped. Whatever material has already been lost for good for want of early attention on the part of students of history cannot be helped but what remains must be saved from the ravages of time without any further delay. In dwelling upon the various phases of Sikh history, I have been anxious—I hope not more anxious than the importance of the subject deserves—to interest as many fellow-workers as possible in the subject so as to save the material from further destruction or loss.

I cannot conclude my address without offering you my sincere and cordial thanks for the indulgence which you have throughout so kindly extended to me.

AHMAD SHAH ABDALI AND THE SIKHS, (1748-1765).

Principal Sita Ram Kohli, Hoshiarpur

After the lapse of well-nigh two hundred years, Ahmad Shah better known to historians as Ahmad Shah Abdali, is a household word in the Punjab. His repeated invasions of the province between 1748 and 1765 spread panic and consternation whenever he made his appearance. The traditions of these terrible times still linger in popular memory and conjure up a picture of loot, slaughter, and general insecurity of life and property. *Khāda pitta lāhe dā rahndā Ahmad Shah dā* (Eat, drink and be merry, for surely Ahmad Shah will snatch away what you will leave behind), is a well-known saying which is used as a current coin in every part of the Punjab.

It was left to the Sikhs alone not only to save the province from the clutches of the ruthless and determined Afghan invader but after some decades, to roll back the tide of foreign invasions and establish themselves across the Indus with an equally unenviable reputation. As is well known, Hari Singh Nalwa, one of the generals of Ranjit Singh imitating the method of Ahmad Shah Abdali spread terror in the lands east of Afghanistan and attached them permanently to the dominions of his master. His name is still held in dread by the people of those regions and Afghan mothers would still frighten into silence their unruly or fretful children by the words *Haria Rāghle dā*, "Look, Hari Singh has come".

The struggle between Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Sikhs extends over a period of more than one decade and may be said to represent one of the most stirring periods in the history of the Sikhs. The province of the Punjab, as we know, was ceded to the Afghans by the emperor of Delhi in March 1752. The transfer presented a serious problem to the Khalsa. They had been fighting against the forces of the decadent Mughal Empire for their own political emancipation, but now they found themselves face to face with a stronger and a sterner foe. However, they did not lose heart. They were fighting for a sacred cause and not for the first time they prepared themselves to stake their all for it. They were now better equipped for the fray than they had been at any previous stage in their history. The period of fifteen years following the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739 was of immense value to them. The year 1739 became, in fact, a starting point in their renewed career. Taking advantage of the political confusion which overtook the province after Nadir's departure, the Sikhs came out of their hiding places and began to wreak vengeance upon their erstwhile persecutors. In this work of defying the

authority of the crippled government of the Punjab, they were soon joined by many other refractory clans like the Jats, the Bhaties, the Runghars, and the Gujjars. In the absence of a strong, settled government in the Province, the forces of lawlessness once let loose went on gathering strength and momentum. Worse still was, perhaps, the fact that while the province was still suffering from the after effects of the fearful incursion of Nadir Shah, it was visited with as many as half a dozen visitations in the shape of Abdali and his plundering hordes repeated at short intervals.

Such a confusing state of affairs cannot but be a tempting invitation to the intrepid and adventurous spirits and the ranks of the Khalsa began rapidly to swell. There was, indeed, no dearth of soldiers in the country. The art of war was still in its infancy. Primitive weapons like the sword, the spear, the lance and the dagger which demanded little or no technical knowledge were still in general use so that every able-bodied man was a potential soldier. A dare-devil young man did not find it difficult to collect around him a number of equally bold and ambitious men from his village or clan and offer his services to a chief on such terms as he could secure for himself and his men. The chiefs—there were many such in the province at the time—were, on their own part, only too glad to welcome accession to their strength. As many as sixty Sikh group-leaders or *Jathedars* appeared on the scene.¹

But each of these leaders was guided more or less by his personal ambition and was content with small scale predatory excursion on his own account. There was no unity of command and the various *Jathedars* were scarcely combined for a collective purpose. The anarchical condition of the country, however, invited and held out hopes of greater success with organised military operations. Some of the more talented and far-seeing Sikh leaders were not slow to realise the necessity no less than the advantage of organising the entire resources of the community. The aged leader, Sardar Kapoor Singh, who had been guiding the movements of the Khalsa during the hard times was still active and commanded the highest esteem and regard amongst his co-religionists. In consultation with other senior members of the *Panth* he succeeded in persuading all the group-leaders who had gathered together at Amritsar on the occasion of the Besakhi festival in April 1748, to pool their resources for national service. The entire fighting strength of the Khalsa was thus brought to serve the common cause and was given the name of the Dal Khalsa or the National Army of Sikhs. The chief command of the united forces was entrusted by common consent to S. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, a daring and gifted soldier—the progenitor of the ruling family of Kapurthala. Some sort of re-grouping of the *Jathas* was also made and many of the minor groups were merged into bigger ones so that the entire Dal was distributed

¹ All-ud-Din, in his '*Tvra Nama*' even reproduces the names of these leaders.

into twelve big divisions each of varying strength but with its distinctive badge and banner.

It may be remarked in this connection that the foundation of the National Army synchronises with the first invasion of Ahmad Shah with whose Central Asian hordes they were destined before long to measure swords.

The prolonged persecution at the hands of the Mughal rulers of the day combined with their firm faith in the ultimate success of their cause had inured the Khalsa to hardships which would have broken the spirit of many others in similar circumstances. During all these years they had slowly developed new traits of character which now stood them in good stead. No less important was the fact that placed as they were about the early part of the eighteenth century they evolved methods of warfare and military strategy which had no small share in protecting them against such great odds and even in securing their final victory. Among other traits and methods one peculiarity of warfare for which they won the admiration of even their enemies was that they developed the methods, subterfuges, and strategy of guerrilla warfare almost to perfection, so that they could effectively harass and attack an enemy greatly superior in numbers and equipments without giving them an opportunity to utilise their distinct advantages in these respects.

Besides the organisation of the National Army and the illusive methods of fighting which they had so fully developed, the Sikhs had also made a distinct advance in their political career. They had secured a firm foot-hold in the political life of the province and were, accordingly more interested in opposing the Abdali invader. The Punjab, as I have said before, was annexed by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1752 but his engagements in the Central Asian parts of his dominions left him no time to attend personally to the Punjab affairs till 1756. His deputy, Mir Muin-ul-Mulk, popularly known as Mir Manu, succeeded, for the time being, in enforcing order and vigour in his administration. He also undertook a well-organised campaign against the Sikhs and once again forced them to take shelter in the sub-mountain country. But Mir Manu was removed by the cruel hands of death in November, 1753, and the province was once again plunged into the welter of anarchy and confusion. The Emperor of Delhi had relinquished his authority in 1752 and the new ruler of the province, namely the Abdali Ahmad Shah, was not free to attend to this outpost of his empire. Dismemberment of the province soon set in. The Multan division in the south and the Jullundur doab in the north-east broke away from the authority of the widow of Mir Manu. The Sikhs and the other refractory tribes created havoc in the country. The entire machinery of government collapsed. The contemporary accounts seem to show that it was literally the rule of "Might is Right". Poor peasantry was being ground down by the big zimindars, revenues failed, trade and industry came to a standstill. The peace-loving

section of the population were in dire need of protection and failing the government they would welcome this protection from whatever quarter it came. The only organised community well-equipped for purposes of offensive and defensive fighting who could extend this protection at the time were the Sikhs with their Dal or the National Army. Their gifted leaders thus seized this opportunity and by offering to the people the necessary protection laid the foundations of their future territorial and political power in the province. One or more units of the National Army were detailed for the purpose and placed in charge of the territory that was brought under the system of protectorate. Arrangements were also made for reinforcing these divisions in the case of necessity by way of building small fortresses and keeping garrisons therein. Small slices of territory in four out of the five doabas of the Punjab were thus taken under the *Rakhi* system and a regular source of revenues for the maintenance of the National Army was thus secured—the usual rate being 1/5 of the revenue of the protected territory at the time of each harvest. These slices of territory served as so many tentacles that eventually helped in spreading their territorial sway of the Khalsa over the whole province

Such was the position of the Sikhs when they were called upon to wage a prolonged defensive war against Ahmad Shah Abdali and his deputies in the province. The Afghan invader came to India in November 1756 and made what he considered a more permanent arrangement for the government of the Punjab. He appointed his son Timur Shah as governor and one Jehan Khan as his assistant. Jehan Khan was a thorough militarist who believed in the policy of blood and iron. He renewed the policy of persecution against the Sikhs but overlooked the fact that they were now much stronger and better organised, and had larger stakes than they had on any previous occasion. Moreover, Jehan Khan by his overbearing conduct had given offence to Adina Beg Khan, one of the cleverest of Muslim officials in the province, and at the moment holding charge of the government of the Jullundur Doab. Against Jehan Khan's policy of repression Adina Beg now began to cajole with the Sikhs and also invited the Marathas if they cared to fish in the troubled waters of the Punjab. Adina Beg succeeded in his plot. The Marathas invaded the Punjab and with the help of the Sikhs and Adina Beg turned out the Afghans bag and baggage in April 1758. The Maratha forces however did not tarry long. Leaving the province in the charge of Adina Beg, the Maratha generals retired. Adina Beg had thus gained his object. He was now the master of the situation. He had known the Sikhs, their favourite haunts and places of refuge, as also their points of strength and weakness in war. No wonder he might succeed in suppressing them for good. But luckily for the Sikhs he died the same year (September 1758) when he set on his policy of persecution.

Adina Beg's death was followed by another period of a couple of years of misrule. The Sikhs further strengthened their position during this brief interval when there was no stable government in the country. In the meantime Abdali was preparing to avenge the insult which the Marathas had offered to his son. He defeated them on the field of Panipat in January 1761 and then later appointed Khawaja Obed as governor of the subah of Lahore and himself returned to his capital in October. The Sikhs who had fled away from the plains on the approach of Abdali soon reappeared as he turned his back on the country, turned out the Afghan governor Khawaja Obed and seized Lahore in November 1761. They are said to have used the old Mughal mint and struck coins to commemorate the occasion of their triumph.

This was perhaps a little too much which the imperious Abdali could brook. The Sikhs were already a source of no small trouble to the Subahs whom he left behind in charge of the province. But he was well aware of the illusive methods which they used to employ in war and successfully avoided an open battle. He was now determined to crush them once for all but he could only do this if he came upon a large body of them unawares. When, at Lahore, in January 1762 during his 6th invasion he found the opportunity for which he had long been in search. Coming to know that some forty to fifty thousand of them were collected near the village Koop Rahira east of Malirkotla, harrasing Zain Khan, governor of Sirhand, Abdali made up his mind to attack them. He performed on this occasion one of his most notable feats. By forced marches he is said to have appeared suddenly on the 10th February before the Sikh Army, having traversed no less than 150 miles with an army estimated at 30 thousand within an incredibly short time of thirty six hours only. Arrived at Koop, the Afghan invader lost no time in surrounding the Sikhs on three sides. At the same time he detailed a strong detachment with instructions to Zain Khan and his ally Bhikam Khan, chief of Malirkotla, to fall upon the *Bahir* or the stores and provisions camp of the Sikhs which was at the time located at the village Gurma some four miles to the east of Koop. The Sikhs thus taken unawares could not follow their traditional methods of fighting and suddenly brought to bay against a powerful enemy they had no choice but to adopt the prevailing Mughal methods of battle array. At the suggestion of Sardar Charat Singh—the grandfather of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, observes the author of Panth Prakash, they immediately formed themselves into solid squares in charge of the best men to protect each side of the square. At the same time they also sent a detachment to protect the *Bahir*. The general command of the Dal as usual, was in the hands of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

In this formation the Sikh Army then began to move slowly towards their *Bahir*—the only direction which was left open for them. Here, again, another difficulty arose. The detachment sent by Abdali succeeded in introducing a

wedge between the Sikh Bahir and their main body moving towards it. The Bahir was looted and cut to pieces. In spite of the great odds with which the Sikh Army was faced on this occasion, adds the author of the *Panth Prakash*, and in spite of the temporary confusion which was caused by the Afghan wedge separating the Bahir from the main body of the Khalsa Dal, they succeeded in rallying together and moving in formation for a distance of 18 miles. When evening came on both parties were tired and thirsty and were only too anxious to stop the fighting. On that terrible day the Sikhs are said to have lost about twenty two thousand men which means about half of their total strength. The incident is called in Sikh tradition *Gullu Ghara* or the great holo cast. During the night the Sikhs slipped away into the neighbouring desert towards Barnala while Ahmad Shah was too glad to get rid of such a tough enemy for the time being. Though, perhaps, not so great as those of the Sikhs the Afghan losses were sufficiently considerable to make Abdali think twice before deciding to pursue the Sikhs further. They had put a sufficient distance between themselves and the Abdali forces and being in the neighbourhood of the desert they could pursue with success their old accustomed methods of guerrilla warfare at which the Abdali was at a disadvantage.

The second occasion when the Sikh troops in considerable strength found themselves face to face with the forces of the redoubtable Abdali was in March 1765, three years after the battle at Koop. They seem to have possessed such wonderful power of recuperation that after the terrible carnage at his hands only three years ago they were again ready to give him battle.

A detailed account of this campaign is given in the *Jangnama* composed by Qazi Noor Mohammad who was an eye witness of events in the camp of Abdali himself. Like some of the other Mohamedan writers of the age Noor Mohammad freely indulges in using abusive epithets like *Sag* etc. meaning a dog or a cur for the Sikhs and is also a little too partial to the Afghans and Balochi soldiers, yet he is not altogether unfair to the Sikhs. His comments on the military tactics and the valour displayed by the Khalsa soldier during some of the combats with the Afghans speak very highly of them.²

Abdali, as the author of the *Jangnama* tells us, was specially determined this time to inflict such a defeat upon the Sikhs as to make it impossible for them to disturb the peace of the country again if not to exterminate them. But as soon as they got the news of his arrival the Sikhs, as was their wont, gave him a slip. They penetrated into the Lakhi jungle where Abdali prudently avoided to pursue them since "his own men and beasts, he said, might

² My attention to the *Jangnama* was first drawn by my friend Dr. H. R. Gupta who came across a copy of it in the Khalsa College Library.

run the risk of being starved to death for want of water, fodder and other necessities".³

It so happened, says the author of Jangnama, that while the Abdali was still considering his plan of action, a body of Sikh troops under one Chartu, (meaning Sardar Charat Singh, the grandfather of Ranjit Singh) came upon the Afghan Qarawal or vanguard and fought a severe encounter resulting in the death of more than a dozen brave warriors including the officer commanding the guard. The skirmishing went on the whole day when at sun down the Sikhs managed to escape to Chak Guru (Amritsar) under the cover of darkness.

The Abdali, accordingly started for the Chak (Amritsar) on the following morning. But as soon as he reached there he discovered that all the men had disappeared leaving behind only thirty stalwarts to guard the precincts of their sacred temple⁴. At the approach of the Afghan army, 'the thirty' came out and falling upon the hordes of the enemy offered themselves as "martyrs"⁵.

Finding that the Sikhs had again slipped out of hand, Abdali now returned to Lahore and after a halt of a few days there, he proceeded to Sirhand *en route* to Delhi. But he had hardly crossed the Sutlej when news reached him that a considerable force of the Sikhs had collected at Amritsar with the intention of giving him battle. On hearing the report the Abdali and his "Ghazis" rejoiced at the opportunity which they themselves were in search of.

Ahmad Shah accordingly re-crossed the Sutlej. In the meantime a large Sikh force had also left Amritsar to meet him and marching with their accustomed rapidity had advanced far enough to block the way of the Afghan invader. They began to harass the flanks of the Afghan army and thus considerably impeded its movements, so much so that in spite of their enthusiasm to come face to face with the enemy "the Ghazis" took no less than seven days to traverse the tract lying between the Sutlej and the Beas—a distance of not much more than fifty miles. The author of the Jangnama describes in detail the various actions fought between the Sikhs and the Afghans during this march. In one of these combats the Abdali himself took up a position in the centre of his army, with a detachment of 12000 men commanded by Shah Pasand Zabt Begi on his right, and the Biloch forces of Kelat on his left. On the opposite side the Sikhs were also advancing in formation this time again under the chief command of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahlowalia who occupied the centre of the

3 نه آب است آنجانه کاه و علف - مبادا شود لشکر ماتاف - جنگ نامه صفحه ۸۲ خلاصه

کالنج امرتسر -

4. The author of the *Jangnama* whom we have followed throughout tells us that Abdali, even though he had left all heavy luggage at Lahore spent three nights on the way between Lahore and Amritsar—a distance of about thirty six miles. Abdali, probably wanted to avoid an encounter with the entire body of the Sikhs whose strength he did not know.

5 شاه و لشکر شاه بچک چوں رسید * ازان کلان کس دانند *

force with his namesake of the Ramgarhia *misal* and several other sardars by his side. To his right were Charat Singh, Lehna Singh, Jhanda Singh and Jai Singh with their respective contingents. The left wing of the Khalsa Dal was occupied under the command of Hari Singh, Gulab Singh and Gujar Singh of the Bhangi *misal*.

The right wing of the Khalsa under Charat Singh and the left wing of the Afghan army under the Biloch chief thus found themselves face to face but neither of them would advance towards the other. Charat Singh continued to fire at the Biloch troops from his position and the latter also returned the fire without making any attempt to move forward, for the Abdali had issued strict orders that "none of his officers was to leave his place and move forward towards the enemy". Meanwhile a messenger, arrived from Abdali summoning the Biloch chief to the presence of the king. On appearing before the Shah, writes the author of the Jangnama, he was informed that the right wing of the Afghan army had been duped by the Sikhs. Being pressed by the enemy the Afghan troops had foolishly rushed out of their positions and advanced a considerable distance in pursuit of the retreating Sikhs. The Sikhs now finding the original Afghan position vacant had turned round and occupied it. The King added that like the Tartar infidels of Central Asia the Sikhs are raining arrows and bullets sometime on our right and sometime on our left. Go and support this side and stop the confusion. "But I warn you", he added, "not to leave your place under any circumstances and not to be deceived by the wily Sikhs retreating before you."

As it happened the Biloch chief himself was soon after duped by the tactics of the Sikhs confronting him. He was enticed to leave his place and move forward; and as soon as he was separated from the main body of his wing, he was at once surrounded by the enemy. It was only by dismounting from their horses that he and his party of about fifty followers were able by dogged resistance to save themselves from being destroyed in a body.

The battle continued till sunset when both sides were glad to retire from the field and the fighting ceased. This was one of the seven separate actions

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- مگر چند کس در حصار اندرون - بمانده که خود را بویزند خون -
 - که کردند جان راندا بر گورو - که لعنت بود بر گورو زشت دو -
 - چون دیدند شاه نکو نام راهمه لشکر دین اسلام را -
 - برون آمدند آن هم از حصار - که سی تن بدند آن سکاں در شمار -
 - نه کردند یک ذره ترس و باک - نه خوئے ز قتل و نه بیم از هلاک -
 - به آن غازیان چون در آویختند - در آویختن خون خود ریختند -
 - همه قتل گشتند سکاں لعین - برفتند در اسفل السانین - جنگ نامه صفحه ۱۰۶ -

described in the Jangnama on continuous days between the Sikhs on one side and the Afghans under Abdali on the other. In all these combats the outstanding feature of the tactics of the Sikhs, as the author of the Jangnama points out, was "to retreat before the enemy for some distance and draw a portion of his troops after them, but as soon as this body was separated from the main army and was out of the reach of immediate re-inforcement, they turned back and fell upon their persuers in full strength and then "set even water on fire".⁶

It may not be without interest to mention that in the same section of his poem where the author of the Jangnama explains the tactics of the Sikhs; he also bestows words of extreme eulogy and admiration upon them for bravery, courage and high moral sense. For instance he says "Justice and fairness demand that we should not call them 'dogs' or 'curs'—their designation is "Singh" meaning a lion; and lions, indeed, they are. Every one of them behaves like a lion in the field of battle. Again, speaking of their courage, valour and dexterity and skill in war, he observes that whosoever wishes to learn the art of fighting must learn it from the Sikhs; for they fearlessly advance towards the enemy and are engaged with him in action yet they return from the field quite safe and alive⁷. No less than their bravery, the author of the Jangnama also admires the individual and public morality of the Sikhs. None of them, he says, could be accused of adultery, nor of theft. On the other hand, if some of the weaker sex fall into their hands, they give them the necessary shelter and protection."⁸

This was the seventh or the last important invasion of Abdali. It would appear as, indeed, the narrative in the *Jangnama* also reveals, though not in

6 هزیمت گر آنتد در افواج شان - تو آن را هزیمت مدهاں ایجوان
 که آن خدعه هست از جنگ شان - جذر کن جذر کن دوباره ازان
 که این خدعه شان بود این چنین - که چیره شود خصم در خشم کین
 بیارد پس ایشان از لشکرش - جدا مانند از کومک و یاورش
 ازان پس بگردند بورهش کنند - گر آب باشد در آتش زند
 جنگ نامه صفحه ۱۷۳

7 سگان را مگو سگ که هشتند شیر - بمهدان مردان چو شیران دلیر
 بود سنگه القاب او دانهش - ز انصاف نبود که سگ خواندهش
 فن جنگ گر خواهی آموختن - از ایشان بیا موز اے نفع زن
 که در پیش دشمن شدن مردوار - سلامت بدر رفتن از کارزار
 8 زنا هم نه باشد میان سگان - نه پیدا است سارق دران بدرگان
 که نکشد نامرد را هیچ گاه - گریزنده را هم نگورند راه—جنگ نامه

explicit terms that the Shah losing all hope of success against the Sikhs, thought of more conciliatory policy and with this object in view he was only too glad to place one of the Sikh chiefs, Sardar Ala Singh, in independent charge of the important Subah of Sirhand. He stayed in Lahore for a short time and after making hurried arrangements for the government of the province soon returned to Kabul. But as soon as the news was received that the Abdali had not crossed the Attock, the Sikhs turned out the Afghan governor and seized Lahore. On receiving the report of these happenings, so goes the traditional account, the Abdali felt helpless and is said to have remarked - ازین قوم بوئے بادشاهی می آئید - (The manner of these people smacks of royalty.) What the Abdali was reported to have said was not far wrong. The Sikhs had been fighting for their political emancipation and they won it at last and established a sovereign state of their own in the Punjab.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES OF SIKH HISTORY

(1469-1708)

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The history of the Punjab is practically the history of the Sikhs. Before the advent of Guru Nanak (1469-1539), the founder of Sikhism, one can hardly point to any really great Punjabi who may be said to have left any permanent mark on the pages of history, but after him we have a long list of Punjabi saints and warriors and saint-warriors, who are reckoned among the brightest gems in Indian history and are proclaimed to be the defenders of the Indian race and culture.

In order to see what change has been brought about in the character and destiny of the Punjab, it is enough to compare the condition of the Punjab and the Punjabis as they existed before the advent of Sikhism and after the Sikh Gurus had lived and worked for them. It is a common thing now to admire the physique, the bravery and patriotism of the Punjabis, and of the Sikhs in particular, who were seen thousands of miles away protecting the lives and honour of the French and the Belgians in Europe during the Great War, and of the Ethiopians not long ago. But it is forgotten that these very people only four hundred and fifty years before had not the strength to defend their own homes and hearths against the Asiatic invaders and the children of the Punjab were taken away to be sold in the bazars of Ghazni and Kandhar. Where from has come this strength and the sense of honour? Not from any change in race or diet. It

was the spirit infused by the teachings and precepts of the Sikh Gurus Nanak to Gobind Singh (1469-1708) that brought about this tremendous change in the religious, social and political outlook of the people of the Punjab. A new force came into existence and developed into an independent power. This new power of the Sikhs freed the Land of the Five Rivers from the yoke of the Mughal and the Abdali and transformed it into an independent sovereign state. And it is since then that it has come to be an independent historical unit.

Again it is the Sikhs who have made it possible for the Punjab to now form a part—and not an unimportant part—of India. For seven hundred and fifty years before its independence under the Sikhs, it was more of an annexe to the Central Asian dominions of the various dynasties, from the Ghaznavis to the Mughals. It was only the country south of the Sutlej that was known as *Hind*, with the town of Sirhind (*Sar-i-Hind*—Gate of India) at its north-western gate. And had not the Sikhs conquered it from the Durranis, it might still have formed a province of Afghanistan into which it was converted by Ahmad Shah Abdali.

To understand this all and to interpret the various events connected with the history of the Sikhs during those eventful days of the eighteenth century when thousands of them unswervingly sacrificed their lives at the altar of their faith, it is but necessary to go back to the history of the Gurus and try to enter into the spirit of their teachings. It is a pity that no work has been done on this period, and it is therefore, that I propose to say, in this paper, some thing on the contemporary sources of Sikh history, 1469-1708.

The *Guru Granth Sahib* is the first and the most important original and contemporary source for the lives of first five Gurus, Nanak to Arjan, and of the ninth Guru Tegh Bahadur. Several incidents connected with their lives are reflected in their versified utterances incorporated in that volume. And these utterances are the truest interpretations of the social, religious and political atmosphere of those days and of the various life-incidents and of the views of the Gurus regarding the then prevailing social customs, religious rites and political conditions in the country.

The compositions of the Gurus are not mere hymns addressed to God, but, as the Gurus took lively interest in the secular welfare of the people and as their organization roused controversy and opposition in different quarters, some of their utterances have great historical interest for us. They are the outpourings of their hearts either on the occasions of certain historical incidents or during their discussions with the professors and priests of other religions, or in the course of their advice or admonition to their disciples or other enquirers regarding the conduct of their lives.

The hymns of Guru Nanak referring to the various events of his childhood at Nankana Sahib, his life at Sultanpur, his visits to the places of Hindu and Muslim pilgrimages and his discussions and discourses with the Brahmins, the Yogis, the Sidhs, etc., are the only first hand sources of information on these topics. There is nothing available to excel his description of the condition of the people on the occasion of the sack of Saidpur (Eminabad) during the third Indian expedition of Babur in 1520-21. His revolt against the established formalism and his protest against the slave mentality of the Indians in giving up their national language and dress, just to please the ruling classes, are reflected in the *Asa di Var*, while his *Japji* and other hymns inculcate his views on Godhead, the relationship between the One Formless Self-existent Creator and His Creature, the man, and the conduct of human life in the world.

Similarly the *shabdas* of the other Gurus and Bhaktas set forth their views on social and religious subjects and refer to the reforms introduced by them and trace the gradual growth of the Sikh thought and the evolution of the Sikh *Sangats* into a distinct community.

The *Ramkali ki Var* of Satta and Balwand is more historical than religious in its nature and is a very important contemporary document for the students of Sikh History. It emphasizes that all the Gurus were identical in spirit with Guru Nanak, and, thus, it admits of no invidious distinction about the conduct of the different Gurus. To maintain the solidarity of the newly established *Panth* and to guard against the rise of sects and schisms, so common in the history of religions after the deaths of their founders, Nanak and the succeeding Gurus, the *Var* points out, inculcated for their disciples the strictest of discipline of life, and, after subjecting them to the severest of tests, appointed the most faithful as their successors during their own lives. This not only prevented the Guruship from becoming a hereditary possession by the usual system of primogenitory succession but actually defeated all opposition set up from time to time against the accredited nominees of the Gurus.

The hymns of Guru Amar Das in the *Wadhans ki Var* point to jealousy of a *Tapa* of Khadur towards Guru Angad and to his temporary excommunication from that place. The fourth Guru Ram Das refers, in the *Gauri ki Var*, to the avarice of a *Tapa* of Goindwal on the completion of Bawli Sahib and to the complaint of the Khattris of that place against Guru Amar Das which, of course, was dismissed as unfounded. In the *Tukhari Chhant* he describes, from personal experience, the visit of Guru Amar Das to Kurukshetra and Hardwar.

The *Sadd* of Sundar is an eye-witness's account of the death of the third Guru. It explains the Sikh attitude towards death and points out the futility of the then prevailing ceremonies, when the Guru is reported to have said:—"A saint or a true Guru is the one whom God's order is pleasing," and "Let no one weep when I am gone; that would not please me," etc.

The jealousy exhibited by Prithi Chand, contemptuously known in history as Prithia, on the nomination of his younger brother Arjan to the *Gaddi* of Guruship, is hinted at and condemned in *Rag Suhi* and the *Gauri ki Var*, and their father's (Ram Das's admonition addressed to the quarrelsome son is given in the *Sarang Rag*.

In the *Majh Rag* are found those three letters of Guru Arjan addressed to his father from Lahore and a complimentary note composed on his return to Amritsar in 1581, which formed a part of the test placed before him to prove his suitability for the *Gaddi*.

Guru Arjan sings in the *Suhi Chhant* of the constructions and completion of Hari Mandir, now called the Golden Temple, Amritsar, and in the *Sorath Rag* he describes the advantages of the *Sarovar* or the Tank of Ram Das. There are about a dozen hymns in the *Bilawal*, *Asa Gaund*, *Sorath*, *Gauri*, *Deva-gandhari* and *Bhairo Rags* referring to the birth and illness of Guru Hargobind and to the murderous designs against his life by the agents of Prithia and his wife. When Sulahi Khan made a common cause with Prithia and set out to wreak his vengeance upon the inoffensive Guru for the failure of their offensive mission at Delhi against him, the various suggestions made to the Guru are stated by him in a hymn in the *Asa Rag* wherein the Guru says that he preferred to rest all his hopes on God, and, in the *Bilawal Rag*, he points to the ignoble end to which Sulahi Khan came.

In the epilogue of the Holy *Grantha*, the author, Guru Arjan, while recommending his Book to the attention of humanity, describes it as a most precious food which it cannot afford to ignore.

Guru Hargobind wished to inspire the Sikhs with a spirit of manliness. He, therefore, added, in the beginning of certain *Vars* in *Granth Sahib*, the names of the *Dhwanis* or musical sounds in which they should be sung to produce the desired effect on their minds.

The *Shlokas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur, composed during his confinement at Delhi and incorporated in the *Guru Granth Sahib* by Guru Govind Singh, clearly indicate his detached view of his coming death. *Shloka* No. 54 in this composition is believed to be the courageous and encouraging reply of Guru Gobind Singh at the age of nine to his father's *Shloka* No. 53 sent to him at Anandpur to test the fitness of his successor.

Next to the *Guru Granth Sahib* in authenticity is the *Varan* of Bhai Gurdas (1551-1629), who was a contemporary of five Gurus, from Guru Angad to Guru Hargobind, and was very closely associated with four of them from the third to the sixth. Moreover, he was one of the few chosen and favourite disciples, next only to Bhai Buddha who had the unique fortune of anointing as many as five successors of Guru Nanak with the *Tilak* of Guruship. This speaks

for the valuableness of his writings, which the old Sikhs, as tradition has it, considered as a key to the *Guru Granth Sahib*.

The *Varan* of Bhai Gurdas, like his *Kabit Swaiyye*, are mainly devoted to the exposition of the tenets of Sikhism. The historical portion is confined to about eighty five *pauris* scattered in I (17-48), XI (13-31) and XXIV (1-25), with two *pauris* each in XXVI (31, 34) and XXXIX (2, 3) and one each in III ((12), XX (1) and XXXVIII (20). Six *pauris* (17-22) of *Var I* describe the religious, social and political state of affairs before the advent of Guru Nanak, while his travels and discourses, with particular reference to his visit to the Hindu and the Muslim places of worship and with his discourses (*gosht*) with the Sidhs and Mullas, are related in 23-44 of I, 1-4 of XXIV and 21 of XXVI. Joint references to the successors of Nanak, upto Guru Hargobind, and their oneness with him are found in *Var XXIV* (5-20) XXVI (34), XXXVIII (20) and XXXIX (2, 13), and the state of Guru Arjan's mind during the tortures that resulted in his martyrdom can be seen in *Var XXIV* (23).

Beyond the above two works, there is nothing known so far to claim to be a contemporary account of the first four Gurus. The well known *Janam Sakhi*, ascribed to Bhai Bala and said to have been written by Paira Mokha of Sultanpur to his dictation, as desired by the second Guru Angad, may, as available at present, be dismissed as incredible in many places for the reasons enumerated and discussed by the late S. Karam Singh in his *Katik kih Wasakh*. The only book which may be said to be the nearest approach to reliability regarding the life of Guru Nanak is the *Puratan Janam Sakhi* (written somewhere in the beginning of the seventeenth century), which is the same as *Wilayatwali*, *Hafizabadi* and *Macauliffe-wali Janam Sakhis*. This has been edited, in its present form by Bhai Sahib Vir Singh of Amritsar and published by the Waziri-Hind Press. As the learned editor observes in his preface, on the basis of internal evidence, this *Janam Sakhi* has as its source some other work which has not been unearthed, so far and which may be a contemporary record. Sardar Bahadur Bhai Kahan Singh, in his *Gur Shabdarananakar Mahan Kosh*, the *Encyclopaedia of Sikh Literature* (I, 685, i), mentions the name of one Sewa Das of Pothohra who wrote a *Janam Sakhi* of Guru Nanak in 1588, forty nine years after the death of the Guru, and it will be no wonder if that work, when traced, is found to be the source of the *Puratan Janam Sakhi*. The *Janam Sakhi* of Bhai Mani Singh is a later work of the eighteenth century and contains an account of the first Guru, with the last chapter devoted to his successors ending with the succession of Guru Hargobind.

A manuscript collection of the stories and compositions of Meharban and Harji, the son and grandson of Prithia, written in the oldest Gurmukhi script, and presented to the Sikh History Research Department of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, by Sardar Sahib Bawa Udham Singh of Lahore in March 1932, is

another important contemporary record of the days of Gurus Arjan and Hargobind. The compilation appears to have been made by some follower of Meharban and Harji during the seventeenth century. The *shabdas*, or hymns, of Guru Nanak and discussions thereon made in the compilation are so interpreted as to deduce the superiority of his patron *Minas* as Prithia and his descendants were called by the fourth Guru Ram Das. It includes some *shabdas* of Meharban and Harji under the headings:—*Guru Meharban Mahal 7* and *Satguru Harji Mahal 8*, with the name of Nanak added towards the end, as it is found in the compositions of the Gurus. This is a very clear evidence to show the attempt of the descendants of Prithia to establish their own Guruship, in opposition to Gurus Arjan and Hargobind, which, however, was doomed to fail. With this, there also appeared a danger to the purity of the teachings of the Gurus which with the addition of these unauthorized compositions, at some later date, might have become so confused as to render the genuine hymns indistinguishable from subsequent interpolations. This was apparently one of the causes which induced Guru Arjan to collect together the compositions of the Gurus and compile them in the Holy *Grantha*. This collection is almost identical with the volume in the library of the late Sant Jwala Singh of Patiala ascribed to Meharban himself.

According to Shaikh Abul Fazal's *Akbar Namah* (III, 514-15) and Mulla Abdul Qadir Badaoni's *Muntakhib-ut-Tawarikh* or *Tawarikh-i-Badaoni*, Emperor Akbar paid a visit to the residence of Guru Arjan at Goindwal on the bank of the Beas on the 13th of Azur (Jamadi-us-Sani) 1006 A. H., 11th January, 1598. (O. S.) Badaoni tells us that the Emperor appreciated the teachings and character of the Guru. It was the result of this visit, as confirmed by Sujan Rai Bhandari's *Khulasat-u-Tawarikh* (Zafar Hassan's edition, p. 425), that, at the suggestion of the Guru, the Emperor ordered the remission of 10 to 12 per cent of the land revenue in the Punjab, as demanded by the changed circumstances on the departure of the Imperial forces from the country.

A passage of about twelve lines in the *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri* (Nawal Kishore's Edition, p. 35, lines 7-18) is an invaluable contemporary evidence regarding the causes which led to the arrest and imprisonment of Guru Arjan and the sentence of capital punishment with tortures passed against him by Emperor Jehangir. This, when read along with the account of the Guru's martyrdom in Sohan Lal's *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (Vol. I. 34) and Rattan Singh's *Prachin Panth Prakash* (p. 534)—both secondary but reliable sources—, demolishes the theory commonly advanced by the Sikh and other writers which amounts, in the eyes of non-devotee historians, to nothing more than suicide.

This may be critically compared with the letter of a Christian Padre, probably Father Jerome Xavier, written from Lahore in 1606 and published in Father Guerreiro's "Relacam Annal das Covsas que fezeram os Padres Da

"Companhia de Lésvs nas partes da India Oriental" of the years 1606 and 1607, printed at Lisbon in 1609.

Mohsin Fani (1615-1670), the author of the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, was a personal friend of the sixth Guru Hargobind. He stayed with him for some time and, not unoften, was in correspondence with him, and was present at Kiratpur on the occasion of his death. He was also intimately known to Guru Har Rai the seventh Guru. His account of the Sikhs and Sikhism of this period, in the *Dabistan*, is, therefore, of the highest importance to the students of history. With the exception of a few minor errors, his account of the earlier Gurus and of the beliefs and practices of the Sikhs, recorded on the authority of the best informed people, can as well be safely depended upon. The above chapter, the "Nanakpanthia," of the *Dabistan*, covering some twelve pages (Nawal Kishore 1321 A. H. Edition), is the first known account of the Sikh people in Persian. But it has been the least drawn upon by writers on the subject, although the work was translated into English by Shea and Troyer for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland in 1843. Another translation of the "Nanakpanthia" was published by Sardar Umrao Singh Majithia in June 1930 issue of the *Khalsa Review*, and also by the writer of this paper in Punjabi in the *Phulwari* of Phagan-Chet, 1987, Bikrami. A revised English translation of it with footnotes and comments is being shortly issued.

Gur Bilas Chhewin Padshahi by Bhagat Singh, the only detailed work on the life of Guru Hargobind, was completed in Sambat 1775 Bikrami, 1718 A. D. It can neither claim to be contemporary nor original. According to the late Sardar Karam Singh, an old manuscript copy said to be a transcription of the original *Gur Bilas*, is available in the village of Gurusar in the District of Jhang, Punjab. It is said that a Sikh of Gurusar, related to a priest of the Akal Bunga Gurdwara, Amritsar, had this copy made from the original in the Akal Bunga and the present printed volume, available in the market, is an interpolated edition of this copy.

Abdul Natha, a bard of the village of Sur Singh, was a contemporary of Guru Hargobind and his *Varan* contain a detailed account of the battles of this Guru. The efforts of the scholar who would trace this work and place it in the hands of the public will be of immense service to the cause of history.

The *Khulasat-u-Tawarikh* of Munshi Sujan Rai Bhandari of Batala was being written and nearing its completion in the twenty second year of the spiritual reign of Guru Gobind Singh (1696 A. D.), as mentioned by the author on page 70 of Zafar Hassan's edition of 1918. This would make him a contemporary of at least the last four, if not five, Gurus from Guru Har Rai to Guru Gobind Singh. Sujan Rai supports the statement of the Sikh writers that Guru Har Rai came to the help of Dara Shikoh on the bank of the Beas

with the object of retarding the progress of his brother Aurangzeb against him. His description of the religious life of the Sikhs of those days and their deep-rooted devotion to their Gurus is very interesting. Other important Sikh topics dealt with in this work are the religious position of Nanak and his successors, the visit of Emperor Akbar to Guru Arjan and the death of Guru Tegh Bahadur at Delhi in 1081 Al-Hijri, 1675 A. D., and brief notes on historical places like Nanak Mata, Guru ka Chak (the present Amritsar), Makhawal (Anandpur) and Kiratpur.

The details of Guru Tegh Bahadur's travels in the east, when he accompanied Raja Ram Singh Kachhwahiya during his expedition to Assam, may be gleaned from the Mughal, Assamese and other records. A Sikh named Fateh Chand accompanied the Guru during these travels and served him as a *Mewra*, or messenger. The collection of the Guru's letters, called *Hukam Namahs*, in the possession of his descendants, is an invaluable treasure of historical information. I have had the privilege of consulting the copies of some of them through the courtesy of Sardar Ranbir Singh, son of the late Sardar Karam Singh, and have obtained his permission to publish them for the benefit of the students of history. In addition to these, there are several *Hukam Namahs* preserved in the various Sikh Gurdwaras raised in memory of the Guru in the United Provinces, Behar, Bengal and Assam. Some of the letters of Mata Gujri, wife of Guru Tegh Bahadur, in the Harmandir Sahib Gurdwara of Patna are equally important and deserve to be published.

Of all the Sikh Gurus, it is on the life of Guru Gobind Singh that we have an appreciable, though not yet sufficient, amount of contemporary and original material.

We have two works from the pen of the Guru himself: the *Bichitra Natak* and the *Zafar Namah*. The first five *adhyayas* or chapters of the *Bichitra Natak* contain an invocation to God, a brief account of Lava and Kusha, the sons of Rama of Ayodhia, and a reference to his previous life of meditation at Hemkund in the Himalayas. These are of no historical importance and may be considered superfluous by a modern student of history. The sixth chapter describes, in the Guru's own words, the mission of his life in this world and helps us to understand and interpret certain events in his life which are otherwise dismissed as incredible by the materialistic-minded reader. It is with the seventh *adhyaya* that the autobiographical monologue of the Guru begins, and in seven chapters deals with his birth at Patna, the death of his father, his visit to Paonta and hunting excursions on the bank of the river Jamuna, the battles of Bhangani, Nadaun and Guler, and with the march of Prince Muazzam (afterwards Emperor Bahadur Shah) to the Punjab.

The *Zafar Namah*, or the admonitory letter of Guru Gobind Singh addressed to Emperor Aurangzeb in the Deccan, tells us in so many words

that he had taken to the sword as the last resort and that he was willing to enter into peace negotiations if the Emperor were to come to the Pargannah of Kangar in the Punjab. It also helps to throw some light on the details of the last battles of Anandpur and Chamkaur in December 1704.

In addition to this, there is a large number of *Hukam Namahs* of the Guru preserved in the various Gurdwaras in and outside the Punjab, and some with persons like the descendants of Nabi Khan and Ghani Khan of Machhiwara and of Fateh Chand *Mewra* referred to above. Some of these are of invaluable historical importance, and it is a pity that no sustained effort has been made to collect them for publication in a handy brochure to be drawn upon by scholars for a scientific study of the life of this warrior-saint of India.

I may here mention one such *Hukam Namah* of Guru Gobind Singh, of which a photographic copy is available in the Sikh History Research Department of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, and is now placed in the Exhibition here. It is written from the neighbourhood of Agra on the 1st of Katik, Sambat 1764 Bikrami (October 1707), to the *Sanghat* of Dhaul. In it the Guru informs them that he had an interview with Bahadur Shah (4th Jamadi-ul Awwal 1119, 2nd August 1707) and had received from him presents worth sixty thousand rupees, that the other things (referring to the negotiations that had brought him so far from the Punjab) were progressing and that he soon expected to return to the Punjab, and he enjoins upon the *Sarbat* Khalsa to join him fully armed on his arrival in Kahlur. This demolishes the theory advanced by some of the biographers of the Guru that on the death of his sons at Chamkaur and Sirhind he had left his country for the Deccan in disgust, despaired of his Sikhs and of the people of the Punjab, with a view to exciting and raising the Rajputs and the Marathas against the Mughals for the fulfilment of his mission. This is not borne out by facts. The Guru was in the heart of Rajputana in March 1707 when he heard at Beghaur the news of the death of Aurangzeb. The rightful heir Mu'azzam (Bahadur Shah) was still on the North Western Frontier, with no army and no treasure. His younger brothers were in rebellion. There could be no better chance for the Guru. But he quietly returns to Shahjehanabad, and is seen lending a helping hand to the rightful Mu'azzam, the son of Aurangzeb, his worst enemy in the battle of Jajau, 18th June, 1707. The above *Hukam Naman* now comes to our help and definitely tells us, in his own words, that he expected to return to the Punjab and had in view some military operations there, for which he was issuing instructions to his Sikhs in the Punjab to join him on his arrival in Kahlur. It was only an accidental change in the circumstances, owing to the rebellion of Kam Bakhsh, that he had to accompany Bahadur Shah towards the south as the old negotiations were still in progress.

The *Sri Guru Sobha* of Sainapat is one of the rarest contemporary accounts of the life of Guru Gobind Singh. Its historical importance may be judged

from the fact that the author was closely associated with the Guru as a resident poet in his *darbar* at Anandpur and was an eye-witness of most of what he has recorded. He has described almost all the battles fought by him. His account of the institution and organization of the *Khalsa* deserves the particular attention of scholars. A few errors in his description of the Guru's travels in Rajputana, on his way to the Deccan, may be easily corrected with the help of other records. His statement regarding the reappearance of the Guru's son Zorawar Singh at Itbahpur in Rajputana, and his death soon afterwards at Chittore in a struggle with the Rajputs, is supported by Rai Chatarman in his *Chahar Gulshan Akhbar-un-Nawadar* (completed in 1173 A. H., 1759 A. D.), but it can hardly stand against the evidence of the Guru himself in the *Zafar Namah* wherein he mentions that all the four of his sons had been killed. The Guru had himself seen him falling dead in the battle of Chamkaur. Sainapat is the only author who helps us with his rational account to clear to a great extent the mystery woven round the death of Guru Gobind Singh.

Rai Chatterman's work *Chahar Gulshan Akhbar-un-Nawadar*, mentioned above, describes the circumstances under which Ajit Singh, an adopted son of Mata Sundri, was disclaimed by her and his own son Hathi Singh was removed to Mathura after his (Ajit Singh's) execution in 1134 A. H., 1719 A. D. at Delhi. It also mentions the death of Mata Sahib Devi, a year after the death of Mata Sundri.

The *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab* of Khafi Khan only casually mentions the Guru in the train of Bahadur Shah on his way to the Deccan. The *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi* or *Bahadur Shah Namah* of Danishmand Khan mentions him thrice: firstly on the 4th Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1119 A. H., when he had an interview with Bahadur Shah at Agra, secondly when he met him at Burhanpur, and last of all on the 5th Ramzan 1120, when a report was made to the Emperor, a month after his death, "as to the disposal of the movable property of Guru Gobind Nanak. It was of considerable value and according to rule ought to be confiscated. The Emperor, with the remark that he was not in want of the goods of a *Darvesh*, ordered the whole to be relinquished to the heirs." [Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, 90; Elliot, VII, 566.] The exemption of the Guru from the application of the rule for the Imperial officials and his occasional separation at his own will from the Imperial Camp of an expeditionary force refute the allegation made by some writers that he had entered the Imperial service as a military commander during the Deccan Expedition of Bahadur Shah.

The *Parchian* of Sewa Das is a collection of fifty Sakhis or stories of the lives of the Gurus: eight of the first eight Gurus, four of the ninth and thirty eight of the tenth. The date of writing is not known, though it does not appear to have been written long after the middle of the eighteenth century.

Bawa Kirpal Das completed his *Mahma Prakash* (Prose) in 1798 Bikrami, 1741 A. D., thirty three years after the death of Guru Gobind Singh. He gives some important events from the lives of the ten Gurus and attempts a tolerably successful description of the troops of the tenth Guru.

There is another *Mahma Prakash* (in verse) by Bawa Sarup Das Bhalla, written in about 1833 Bk., 1776 A. D. The author was a descendant of the third Guru. It is the oldest work giving a connected story of the Guru Period and deserves the attention of research students of history. His account of the second and the third Gurus is better than that of any other writer.

The *Sau Sakhi* is one of the five parts of a larger work, the *Punj Sau Sakhi*, ascribed to Bhai Ram Kaur, also called Gurbakhsh Singh, a contemporary disciple of the tenth Guru, but it has been so successfully tampered with as to render the genuine portion inseparable from later interpolations. It has, therefore, to be used very cautiously by scholars.

Bhai Nand Lal was a gifted scholar in the court of Guru Gobind Singh but his works are mere eulogies from the pen of a devoted disciple and have little to add to our historical knowledge of the period.

A later manuscript work, *Dasam Padshah Antam Kautak* by Dhian Singh written about the middle of the nineteenth century, mentions the name of the surgeon sent by Bahadur Shah to attend the Guru, when he was stabbed at Nanded, as Call or Cole. The discovery of the account of this last incident of the life of the last Guru by an impartial writer, if there were any written by him, will clear the mystery which enshrouds it.

The Persian histories of Budh Singh Arora, Bakht Mal, Khushwaqt Rai, Ahmad Shah, Ghulam Muhayy-ud-Din alias Bute Shah and Ali-ud-Din, and the Gurmukhi works of Rattan Singh, Santokh Singh and Gian Singh belong to later periods of Sikh history. They are only secondary authorities on the Gurus, but in many cases they are extremely useful.

A word about the *Suraj Prakash* and I have finished. This is a voluminous work of the highest literary merit from the pen of a genius covering the entire Guru Period in about 6400 pages, written in about 1844. But, in the absence of contemporary records at his disposal, and wanting in the modern sense of scientific historical research, its author Bhai Santokh Singh has not been able to penetrate beyond the crust of the then prevalent accounts. He considered all the Punjabi works on the subject, from the *Mahma Prakash* to the *Sau Sakhi* and other similar works, as equally authentic. Its historical accuracy, therefore, had not remained unquestioned. But thanks to the rare scholarship and researchful attitude of Bhai Sahib Vir Singh of Amritsar that after incessant labour of several years this gigantic work has now been placed in the hands of the public in a more presentable form in fourteen volumes, well edited from the historical point of view.

THE FIRST SIKH COIN OF LAHORE

*November 1761***Dr. H. R. Gupta, M. A., Ph. D., Forman Christian College, Lahore.**

Ahmad Shah Durrani retired from the Punjab in May 1761 leaving behind him Sarbuland Khan and Khwaja Obed as Governors of Multan and Lahore respectively. Ghamand Chand, the Katoch ruler of Kangra, was entrusted with the government of Jullandhar Doab with Saadat Khan and Sadiq Khan Afridi as his deputies. Zain Khan was given independent charge of Subah Sirhand. They all had instructions from their master to spare no effort to crush the power of the Sikhs.

But the Sikhs proved more than a match for the lieutenants of the Durrani. About 40,000 of them collected on this side of the Chenab and started plundering the country all round. Nawab Khwaja Mirza Khan who was in charge of the *Chahar Mahal* came out to oppose them but he was defeated and killed in the action.

The Sikhs next attacked Bhikham Khan of Malerkotla who had recently incurred their wrath for helping Zain Khan of Sirhand against them. The town of Malerkotla was given to plunder.

On getting these alarming reports and also still smarting under the insults which the Sikhs had heaped upon him during his return march through the Rechna Doab, Ahmad Shah Abdali despatched to the Punjab a well-trained force under his trusted general Nur-ud-Din. But as luck would have it, even Nur-ud-Din suffered an humiliating defeat at the hands of Sardar Charat Singh at Sialkot. He had to flee from the citadel under cover of darkness leaving the Afghan garrison to their fate which soon after surrendered to the Sikh Sardar. Charat Singh now flushed with victory returned to his headquarters at Gujranwala and apprehensive of danger from the Subedar of Lahore started further strengthening his defences. His apprehensions proved too true. Khawaja Obed invaded Gujranwala in September 1761. Charat Singh, on his part, was ready to meet the invader. The siege of Gujranwala was thus prolonged; and in the meantime other notable Sikh leaders like Jassa Singh Ahlowalia, Hari Singh and Jai Singh Bhangi, Jai Singh Kanhya, Lehna Singh and Sobha Singh with their contingents from all over the Punjab rushed to his aid. Khawaja Obed was thus besieged in turn and almost lost his wits. He sought safety in flight and left the field without striking a decisive blow. The Sikhs who were ever on the watch of the movements of the enemy lost no time and fell upon the retreating Afghan troops and

relieved them of a large number of swivels, pieces of cannon, stores and provisions, horses and camels and other camp baggage.

This continuous round of rapid victories achieved by the Sikhs within a short space of about four months after the departure of Ahmad Shah laid practically the whole of the Punjab at their feet.¹ The Sikhs, therefore, performed a thanksgiving service at Amritsar on the occasion of the Diwali festival which fell on October 22, 1761.² There they held a general assembly and passed a Gurumata³ that they must capture Lahore, without the possession of which they could not look upon themselves as a supreme power in the land of the five rivers.

Consequently, the Dal Khalsa under their chief leader Jassa Singh Ahlowalia marched upon Lahore in a body, laid siege to the city and cut off all the means of communication, allowing nobody to come in or go out of the town.⁴ Khwajah 'Ahed, the Lahore governor, shut himself up in the fort and did not stir out to oppose them. The noted citizens, knowing the weakness of the governor, opened negotiations with Jassa Singh and threw open the gates of the city, thus saving the town from the horrors of a sack. Now there were two rulers in one place, the Sikhs in the city and Khwajah 'Ahed in the fort.⁵ But the Governor seems to have met his death shortly afterwards as we are given to understand by the contemporary author of *Khazan-i-Amira*.⁶ In a fit of enthusiasm and delight the Sikhs fulfilled the wishes of their revered leader Late Nawab Kapur Singh by declaring Jassa Singh Ahlowalia as Padishah. Then seizing the royal mint, they struck the first Sikh rupee which bore the following inscription

“ سکہ زر در جہاں بفضل اکال • ملک احمد گونت جسا کلال ”

(coined by the grace of God in the country of Ahmad captured by Jassa Kallal).⁷

The capture of the provincial capital and coining of money marked the highest point, though temporarily, in the evolution of Sikh power. It translated their ideal into actuality and fulfilled the prophecy of the last Guru to the

1 Miskin, 237.

“ در تمام ملک سکھان ساٹو و دائو بودند ”

“ غرضیکہ از دریاے آنک تا بدریاے سر ہند سکھان محیط و متصرف گشتند ”

2 Khushwaqt Rai, 94.

3 Ali-ud-Din, 123 b.

4 Ahmad Shah, 889.

“ کابجائے ولید کہ بیچ کس نمٹے تو انست کہ از حصار شہر لاہور بیرون برآمد ”

5 Gyan Singh, 809—10.

6 *Khazan-i-Amira* is also supported by Ratan Singh, pp. 495—96, who, while describing 'Ahed's attack on Gujranwala, says that he came to Lahore where he was shortly afterwards put to death by Charat Singh.

7 *Khazan-i-Amira*, 113—14; Siyar, iii, 74; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 121b—122a; Sohan Lal, i, 146—47; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 173; Gian Singh, 1036; Raj Khalsa, 374.

realization of which they had to wade through streams of blood and tread over heaps of corpses of their own brethren. This raised them to a first grade authority and made them a sovereign power. The people of the Punjab now realized that even in case the Khalsa were expelled from Lahore, they were destined to become its masters sooner or later. But, as the irony of fate would have it, this greatest glory of the Sikhs was to be followed, only within three months, by the hardest blow they had ever sustained after the death of Banda.

At this place it seems necessary to offer a word of explanation regarding the date of this coin. Most of the writers on Sikh History have stated that the Sikhs alone expelled Timur Shah and Jahan Khan from Lahore, occupied the provincial capital, declared their sovereignty and their leader Jassa Singh struck coin in his own name.⁸

Browne is the earliest writer who has mentioned this in his book. He says:—"The Sicks collected together under their chiefs from all quarters, and blockading the city of Lahore, collected the revenues of the country all around for their own use. Jehan Khan with the prince, marched out to give them battle; but after several actions, finding the Sicks too numerous for him to contend with, he retreated to Kandahar. Upon this occasion, Jessa Singh Kalal, who was at the time Commander-in-Chief of the Dul struck rupees in his own name, at the royal mint at Lahore, with the following inscription,

'Jessa Kalal conquered the country of Ahmed and struck this coin by the grace of God.'

Browne based his account on the authority of two Punjabis whose dates are admitted as "extremely defective" even by Browne himself. In the introduction on pp. iii-iv he states:—"Having met with two Hindus of considerable knowledge, who were natives of Lahore, where they had resided the greater part of their lives, and who had in their possession, accounts of the rise and progress of the Sicks, written in the Nuggary (or common Hindoo) character, I persuaded them to let me have a translation of one of them in the Persian language, abridging it as much as they could do, without injuring essential purpose of information. After all, I found it extremely defective in a regular continuation of dates, and therefore not deserving the name of a history."

Browne compiled his "India Tracts" nearly thirty years after this date and we cannot say whether Brown's Punjabi friends were eye witnesses of this event as described by them. Hence we can safely reject their authority in view of the more tangible evidence of the eye-witness Miskin, and the Marathas. Miskin held an important position in the court of Timur Shah, and was therefore

⁸ Cf. Browne, ii, 19; Malcolm, 94-95; Bakhtmal, 82; Khushwaqt Rai, 104; Elphinstone's *Kabul*, ii-289; Cunningham, 105; Latif's *Punjab*, 231; Gordon, 61; Narang, 148.

able to study the events first hand. He was in the blooming youth at this time being only 19 years old and we therefore cannot suspect that his memory would have failed him when he compiled his autobiography in 1782—Moreover, his account of the expulsion of the Afghans from Lahore is so vivid and profuse in details that such a striking event as the capture and occupation of Lahore by Jassa Singh and the issue of coins by him could not have escaped his notice. Besides, almost all his details are also supported by Marathi records.⁹

The rest of the authorities are much later and do not claim having based this statement on contemporary evidence. Hence this assertion of the Punjab historians does not appear to be based on facts.

We have, however, assigned November 1761 as the probable date of the minting of this coin. Miskin had left Lahore three years earlier and hence his authority fails us on this occasion. But the contemporary author of *Khazan-i-Amira*, compiling his work somewhere between July 1762—July 1763 says that the Sikhs killed the Durrani Governor of Lahore, captured the capital and issued this coin and that it was due to these doings of the Sikhs that Ahmad Shah invaded India in 1762 and inflicted a severe defeat on the Sikhs, massacring about 12,000 Sikhs.¹⁰

The statement of the author of the *Khazan-i-Amira* does not seem improbable. Ahmad Shah was already making preparations to invade India¹¹, and when he received this news, he at once set out and defeated the Sikhs in

9 Ratan Singh in his *Panth Parkash* also states that Lahore was taken by the joint forces of the Sikhs and the Marathas. cf. p. 424.

10 *Khazan-i-Amira*, 114.

” قوم سنجہ ساکن صوبہ پنجاب کہ از قدیم ایام خمیر مایہ فتنہ و فساد اُندوہا اسلامیان
عداوت و تعصب شدید دارند تا آنکہ معائنہ کردہ بودند کہ شاه چندین مرتبہ ہندوستان را بی سپہ
ساخت از راہ قلعہاقت اندیشی عمک یعنی و شورش انراشکے تائب شاه را در لہور کشتند و جساستکہ
نامی را از قوم خود بیادشاهی برداشکے دیوار ہر سد جم نشانہ دوروے سکے را بنام او سیاہ کردند و
بلای لہور و اطراف آنراہ تصرف آوردہ خلق اللہ را سہما فرقہ مسلمین را اذہتیا رسانیدند شاه درانہ
باستماع این اخبار بر عادت معمولہ خود باز نہضت ہند و چون کل زمین لہور را مکمل نزدل
اجلال ساخت “

10 "The Sikh people of the Punjab, who from the earliest times have been a source of mischief and sedition and are bigoted enemies of the Musalmans, in spite of the observance of the fact that the Shah had so many times over-run India, owing to the want of foresight raised the standard of rebellion and disturbance and killed his viceroy at Lahore. They raised a person named Jassa Singh from among themselves to the status of a king, and like the demon, they made him sit on the throne of Jamshid, and blackned the face of the coin with his name. Having taken possession of the city of Lahore and its vicinity, they molested God's creatures in general and the Muslims in particular. Hearing this news, Shah Durraul, according to his established practice, again moved towards India."

11 A Marathi letter, dated the 27th October, 1761, states that the Durrani advance-guard has advanced as far as Attock. [Selections from *Peshwa's Daftar*, XXIX. 16.]

the battle of Kup on the 5th February, 1762. On the other hand, the capture of Lahore by the Sikhs at this time does not appear to be out of the range of possibility. They had put to death Khwajah Mirza Khan, an ex-Governor of Lahore, then in charge of Chahar Mahal (June); expelled the Durrani faujdars of the Jullundur Doab (July); plundered Sirhind and Malerkotla (July); defeated Abdali's general Nur-ud-Din (August) and routed Khwajah 'Abed, Lahore Governor (September). It is therefore not strange that after having achieved such splendid victories, they took Lahore in November 1761.¹²

The Sikhs seem to doubt as to the striking of these coins because no Sikh writer except Gian Singh has mentioned this fact in his work¹³. They can most probably advance the following objections which we will discuss here at some length :—

1. It is insulting for a Sikh to be addressed without the surname of "Singh."

2. A Sikh would never claim any credit to himself but to the Guru. Even Ranjit Singh, on having established monarchy did not issue a coin in his own name.

3. The coin is not available anywhere and no historian claims having seen it.

4. Jassa Singh could not issue coin in his own name because it would have meant the loss of confidence of his comrades.

5. He could not have used the title "Kalal" (distiller of wine.)

6. Ganesh Das clearly states that such coins bearing this inscription were minted by the bigoted Mullahs of Lahore and were sent to Kabul to excite the passion of revenge of Ahmad Shah Abdali against the Sikhs.

Before we produce necessary evidence against these views, it may be pointed out that the capture of the provincial capital was the greatest achievement of the Sikhs during the century and it naturally excited their zeal and sentiments of pleasure to a degree that they seem to have forgotten all

12 A Marathi letter, dated 17-11-1761 says that the Sikhs are causing tumult in Lahore. ("सिखांदी लाहौर प्रांती हँगामा केला आहे") S. P. D. XXIX. 24. The famous Sikh Historian Sir Lepel Griffin was nearer correction when he wrote :—

"Nor were these coins struck before 1762; not in 1757-8, as stated by Cunningham; and it is very doubtful whether they were struck in large numbers at all. The Raja of Kapurthala has none in his possession, nor do I know any one who has seen one." Rajas of the Punjab, footnote, p. 461.

It is remarkable to note that Gian Singh gives the correct year of this coin. Cf. Raj Khalsa, 374.

13 Dr. Sinha, without consulting any of the works quoted above in this connection, jumps to the conclusion that these coins were not struck at all, and refers to no authorities on whom he bases this statement, cf. Rise of the Sikh Power 94,

such feelings as they would have had on a calmer occasion. In the heat of passion of having attained this glory, after the hardest struggle of more than half a century, bubbling over with their success and flushed with the pride of victory, they let them pass beyond the bounds of reason and thus they glorified the victor who had led them from one conquest to another for about a dozen years past. That the mistakes, made in the highest excitement of the hour, were realized in saner, cooler and calmer moments is evident beyond all doubts.

With regard to the first objection Khushwaqt Rai on folio 104 of his "Kitab-i-Tarikh-i-Punjab" says:—

"لکن سکہ چلدرورز بماند باز بسبب حقارت نصف اسم کہ در آن سکہ بماند موقوف کرد" -

(But the coin enjoyed a short span of life, because its circulation was stopped on account of the contempt of the half name which was imprinted on this coin).

Remarking about the second objection the Muslim historian Ahmad Yadgar gives us to understand that the Sikhs felt pinched on giving the credit of their victory to a Sikh and not to the Guru. Consequently, they stopped the circulation of this coin and struck another in the name of the Guru.

"جسہ نام سکہ خود را بادشاہ مقرر کردہ سکہ برسیم و زید نیکونہ ساخت -

سکہ زو در جہاں بھکم اگل تخت احمد گونت جسا کلال -

دیگر سکہاں پرو شوریدہ او را ازین امر مانع شدند و سکہ بنام گرو مقرر کردند" -¹⁴

James Browne, writing about 25 years later than this event, says:—

"Soon after the last expulsion of the Aumils of the Durrani Shah, the Sikhs held a general diet at Amritsar, in which they determined to call in the rupees which were struck in the name of Jessa Kalal and to strike them for the future in the name of their Goo-roos, with an inscription to this effect, 'Gooroo Gobind Singh, received from Nanak, the Daig, the sword and rapid victory', which coin is current throughout their dominions to this day."¹⁵

The third objection, upheld by many others¹⁶ has already been answered in the above quotations.

As regards objection No. 4, it seems probable that Jassa Singh never tried to impose his authority on his co-religionists. But on the contrary the latter appear to have insisted on Jassa Singh's name to be inscribed on the coin in confirmation with the current custom¹⁷ of issuing coin in the name of

¹⁴ Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan, 173.

¹⁵ India Tracts, ii. 27. "I have several of these rupees in my possession." Ibid, footnote.

¹⁶ Cf. Lepel Griffin in Rajas of the Punjab, footnote on p. 461; C. T. Rodgers in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LIV. 1885, part i pp. 67-76; R. C. Temple in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII. 1889, p. 321.

¹⁷ "The striking of coins in India is a prerogative of royalty, and one which has always been exercised the moment a man sat on the throne," C. T. Rodgers in J. A. S. B., Vol. Lii. 67 p., 1885.

the ruling person, more so because they had already established the practice of calling him padishah.¹⁸

Regarding the fifth point we have no hesitation in asserting that the Sikhs of those days were men of great sacrifice, deep faith, humble pretensions and simple nature. They never tried to hide from what stock they had come. Even the biggest chief seldom displayed any superiority over his followers even in dress, food or manners. Another example of this frankness and simplicity is afforded to us by the Bhangi Misl, the strongest unit of the Dal Khalsa. The term "Bhangi" is not a whit better than "Kalal" but even the mightiest Sardar of this Misl felt proud to add the surname "Bhangi" to his name. Jassa Singh, therefore, would have felt no scruples in calling himself Kalal, particularly at a time when there was the question of rhyme of the verse to be inscribed on the coin.¹⁹

As to the statement of Ganesh Das it may be said that he does not give any source for this statement and is wholly unsupported by any other historian earlier or later. He compiled his account in 1849, nearly one hundred years after the event and therefore his isolated authority cannot be accepted for historical purposes. Moreover, he places this event in 1765, evidently referring to another coin of that year.²⁰

18 Cf. Khushwaqt Rai, 102; Ratan Singh, 265-66; Gyan Singh, 571; Prinsep, 30; M'Gregor, i-147; Punjab Chiefs, 172. Even on a subsequent occasion Jassa Singh is said to have been seated on the Imperial throne of Delhi by the Sikhs. Cf. Raj Khalsa, 378.

19 Bhangi means a person who is addicted to taking bhang, an intoxicating liquor of dark green colour, prepared by pounding the leaves of hemp, a wild plant, often found along the river banks.

20 Risala-i-Sahib Nama, 210.

هو سرداران بھنگي در سبت ۱۸۲۱ بمرما جيت سكه بنام گرو گوبند برنقرا روپيه در دارالضرب زدند و اين بيت ظفرنامه رابر روپيه هاشميت نمودند ديگ تپغ و فتح نصرت بھدرنگ - يافت از نانک گورو گوبند سنگه چنانچه درسرائی نکودر دسري امرتسر و بلده لاهور و سيالکوٹ و گجرات وغيره محاکک پنجاب این سکه رواج يافت و چين سکه محمد شاهي که سابق مروج بود موقوف گردید از نيمکر علمایان تعصب بهشه پنجاب برچند روپيه بيت ديگر اختراع خود مسکوک کرده پھس احمد شاه درکابل بردند -
سکه زدود حياں بھغل اکال تخت احمد گرفت جساکلال -

Griffin wrongly translates بيت (couplet) into (twenty) misreading it as "bist". Rajas of the Punjab, footnote, 461.

DEVELOPMENT OF BRITISH POLITICAL AGENCIES IN THE PUNJAB

1803—1849

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It was not till the end of the eighteenth century that the British Government took any notice of the Sikhs. In 1781 a body of Phulkian and other Sikhs had marched down to Meerut but were defeated by the troops of the Emperor of Delhi. Two years later Bughel Singh and other commanders proposed crossing the Ganges, but were deterred by the watchfulness of the Oudh troops. However, they were predominant from the frontiers of Oudh to the Indus, and in 1784, the English Governor-General, Warren Hastings seems to have thought that the presence of a British Agent at the court of Delhi might help to deter them from molesting the Nawab Vizir of Oudh. But the English had no clear knowledge of the power and character of the Sikhs and nothing was done to check them. A little later, however, it was clear that the progress of the British power northwards will have two serious rivals, namely the Marathas and the Sikhs. From their position and character, these two nations must at no very distant period have appeared in hostile array on the plains of Delhi and the Marathas would no doubt have prevailed. This would have created a powerful Maratha state with which the Company would have to fight for its existence. Wellesley therefore decided that it was time to interfere. The interference of the British on this theatre and the victory of Lord Lake on the 11th September, 1803, at Delhi pushed back the Marathas within the Gwalior and Indore frontiers, and placed the person of the Mughal Emperor in the custody of the Company to whom Sindhia transferred all his political rights in upper India. A Residency was established at Delhi in the same year, but the fiction of the Mughal Government continued because by the arrangements which Wellesley then made, the administration of the new territory continued to be conducted in the Imperial name, though the only place where old Shah Alam's orders were really effective was the palace and its precincts. The first Acting Resident of Delhi was Lt. Col. (later Sir David) Ochterlony who was in charge from 1803 to 1806.

In addition to the Trans-Jumna territories like Delhi, Hansi and Hissar which the campaign of Lord Lake brought under the almost immediate control of the Resident, it resulted in the tender of allegiance on the part of many Sikh Sirdars some of whom had fought against the English at Delhi. More important among them were Bhai Lal Singh of Kythal, Bhag Singh of Jind and after a time Bhunga Singh of Thanesar. This was the first definite

connection of the East India Company with Trans-Jumna territory and its chiefs.

Next year, however, Holkar in concert with certain Sikh Chiefs marched on Delhi with a large force and laid siege to it. Delhi was, however, very skilfully defended for ten days by the Acting Resident, Lt. Col. David Ochterlony with such a small force that the men had to be provisioned at their posts on the ramparts. The advance of Lake's army raised the siege and Holkar had to flee to Rajputana. Soon after this Ochterlony was confirmed at Delhi and his designation was now altered to that of Resident. Most of the Sikh Chiefs were with the English during this campaign, and rendered valuable services which were acknowledged by Lord Lake. Gurdit Singh of Ladwa, however, had taken up an actively hostile attitude and was therefore deprived of his villages in the Doab and the town of Karnal by Col. Burn in April of 1805. After this event Col. Burn called a truce and began to negotiate with Gurdit Singh of Ladwa and other Sikh Chiefs, many of whom had sent their Vakils to his camp. When Burn reported the circumstance to the Resident, the latter reprimanded him for his conduct and told him that he had absolutely no (political) authority to negotiate. The Vakils of various Chiefs were suffered by the Resident to be at his camp so as to enable Col. Burn to act as a medium conveying Ochterlony's wishes and orders to them. Col. Burn felt hurt that the matter of settling terms with Ladwa had been taken out of his hands and suspended all intercourse with the Sikh Chiefs. Ochterlony sent fresh terms which were rejected by the Vakils of Ladwa in the camp of Col. Burn but were accepted later on. Thenceforth it was clear to all the Sikh Chiefs that the proper authority for carrying on any negotiations with the British Government was the Resident. Most of them therefore sent their Vakils to attend on him at Delhi.

During the same year when Lord Lake was chasing Holkar and Amir Khan into the Punjab, he was joined by the Sikh Chiefs of Sirhind like Sahib Singh of Patiala, Bhag Singh of Jind and Lal Singh of Kythal. Lord Lake's connection with many of these Chiefs was intimate and he also entered into a friendly correspondence with Sansar Chand Katoch. Some of these Chiefs were rewarded by grants for their late services, but beyond this their relations with the British Government came to a virtual end owing to the reaction against the policy of Wellesley. At home the Courts of Directors and Proprietors had condemned his policy by an over-whelming majority, and Cornwallis had come to India with the avowed object of withdrawing from the wide responsibilities which Wellesley had undertaken. He even desired to relinquish all territory west of the Jumna except Agra, and consequently no further relations with Chiefs of Sirhind were possible. The relations already established were neither denied

nor further cemented, and a period of 'masterly inactivity' was inaugurated. Circumstances, however, rendered it impossible to follow this policy with logical consistency.

In 1807 Napoleon concluded the alliance of Tilsit with Alexander I of Russia one of the details of which was a combined invasion of India by the land route. From that year may be dated the bogy of Russian advance which kept exercising the minds of British statesmen throughout the nineteenth century. In Macmunn's words, from that day 'the Bear has always cast his shadow forward on the borders of India.'

To provide against this fresh danger, it was thought necessary to have a barrier between British India and Russia. The conception of such a barrier took the form of an outer and an inner layer of states. The inner layer was to be Lahore, Bahawalpur and Sindh, the outer layer Kabul, Herat and Persia. Therefore, Governor-General Lord Minto, an active exponent of the policy of inactivity and non-intervention was obliged to send Elphinstone to Kabul, Malcolm to Tehran, Metcalfe to Lahore, and a certain Hanky Smith to arrange treaties and alliances. This last gentleman seems to be a victim of the masterly inactivity of historians, who all mention Malcolm, Elphinstone and Metcalfe, but leave out poor Hanky Smith. A little before the mission of Metcalfe, *i. e.* in March 1808, the Chiefs of Patiala, Jind and Kythul had sent a deputation to the Resident at Delhi to ask for British protection against the aggressions of Ranjit Singh. No definite assurance was given to him, but in September of the same year, when Metcalfe was sent to Ranjit Singh, the Chiefs of Sirhind were verbally assured that they had been taken under protection as dependants of the British Government. But Ranjit Singh was not inclined to listen to Metcalfe's proposal, and therefore to support him in his negotiations, and to provide for possible Military operations of a more extensive character, a detachment of troops was ordered to be advanced towards the Sutlej under the command of Col. Ochterlony. Ochterlony reached Ludhiana on the 18th February, 1809, accompanied by the Agents of the various Rajas ordered by the Resident at Delhi to accompany him. Meanwhile, he had been invested with political duties as well, but they were to come into force after Metcalfe's withdrawal from Lahore. To quote from Edmonstone's letter to Ochterlony, "when Mr. Metcalfe shall have withdrawn your local situation near the frontier of that country will be favourable to the conduct of any communications with the court of Lahore or with any of the Chiefs or subjects of that state which the course of events and transactions may render necessary." Ochterlony was therefore only in military command at Ludhiana from the 20th February, 1809, to the April of the same year. In April Metcalfe concluded a treaty with Ranjit Singh and withdrew

from the Punjab. Thenceforth Ochterlony was in Political and Military command at Ludhiana for one year *i. e.* from April 1809 to April 1810. Till this time he communicated directly with the Government of India as he had been doing while he had been commanding at Allahabad.

Meanwhile the question of retaining the post at Ludhiana was being considered by Government. Ludhiana was conquered by Ranjit Singh from the widow of Roy Ilias Khan in 1807 and bestowed on his maternal uncle Bhag Singh who in 1809 was anxious to benefit by the protection of Government. Raja Bhag Singh's proposal to exchange the district of Ludhiana for Karnal was rejected by Government though Ochterlony listened favourably to the proposal for a time. Ochterlony was in favour of continuing the post, but Government received intelligence from Europe that the projects of France against India must be abandoned on account of Napoleon having embarked on the Peninsular Wars. The object therefore of stationing a military force in the territories of the Sikh Chiefs "which before had reference to the approach of a European enemy was now limited to the security of the territory between the Jumna and the Sutlej against the encroachments of Raja Ranjit Singh." The post therefore could be withdrawn to a greater distance from the frontier of the Punjab than was originally intended. Ranjit Singh was also informed of this decision through a letter from the Governor-General who wrote that the force at Ludhiana will be withdrawn "as soon as may be found convenient". But Ochterlony was very much against the abandoning of the post, an attitude for which he gave three arguments:—

Firstly, he said that the event which first suggested the maintenance of this advanced position, is still possible. "As a grand step in advance towards a European enemy, it cannot be considered unimportant".

Secondly, as an object of jealousy to Ranjit Singh it will every day be viewed with more and more indifference as the forbearance and moderation of the British Government become more conspicuous.

Thirdly, he said it will serve as a good check on the protected Sikh States.

With regard to the intimation made to Ranjit Singh that Ludhiana will be abandoned 'as may be found convenient', it was suggested by Mr. Seton the Resident at Delhi that the phrase used in the G. G.'s letter to Ranjit Singh was a relative one and gave a loophole in as much as it was His Lordship alone who could determine *when* it may be convenient to withdraw it. The Government therefore decided to maintain the post till further orders. As suggested by Ochterlony the Raja of Jind was compensated for the occupation of Ludhiana by a payment of 500 rupees per mensem from the date of the arrival of the detachment. The whole correspondence on the question shows the reluctance of the Governor-General to incur obligations and responsibilities

beyond the Jumna; and whenever he did incur them it was because he was forced by circumstances and by the arguments of his subordinates like Ochterlony who were nurtured in the school of Wellesley. However, Ludhiana was retained and with regard to the disputes between Sikh Chiefs and others between the Jumna and the Sutlej Ochterlony was authorized to take cognizance of complaints presented to him on the principle that the Government had a 'right' but no obligation to interfere, *i.e.*, he should interfere only when he thought it desirable, without acknowledging the obligation to do so. This authority given to Ochterlony was, we may say, the beginning of the First British Agency in the Punjab. The regular Agency itself was established next year *i.e.*, April 1810. David Ochterlony was of course appointed the First Agent to the G.-G. at Ludhiana just as he had been the first Resident at Delhi seven years earlier. He was henceforth to act in subordination to the Resident at Delhi, through whom he conducted his correspondence. Capt. Birch was appointed Assistant to the A. G.-G.

From April 1810 to October 1814, Ochterlony remained at Ludhiana as Agent to the G.-G. as well as in military command of the detachment stationed there. In August 1811 a proclamation was issued to the protected Chiefs asking them to desist from fighting with each other. Their armed conflicts having practically ceased owing to that proclamation, the work of the Agency consisted in deciding claims of the Chiefs against each other, their boundary disputes, and disputed successions. To enforce these decisions military force could also be used. The other questions which demanded the Agent's attention were installations of Princes, providing for regencies, reporting news of political and military nature, and preventing the depredations of Akalis like Phoola Singh into the cis-Sutlej territory. The complaints of the chiefs against each other respecting village boundaries etc. were sent to the party complained against and an immediate settlement was demanded, unless the respondent could allege good reasons against it. People were encouraged to have recourse to the arbitration of the eldest and most respectable zamindars of neighbouring villages. If, however, they refused, the case was regularly decided on oath before such of the Vakils of the Chiefs as chose to attend. The oath considered most binding was that by the cow-hide. There were some other minor and routine duties which need not be mentioned here.

During the years 1812 and 1813 the Gurkhas commenced those encroachments which resulted in the military operations against them in 1814. Ochterlony was given command of one of the columns operating against them on the extreme west of Nepal. During his absence from October 1814 to June 1815 his assistant Capt. Birch was entrusted with the current political duties, and was specially asked by Ochterlony to employ an intelligent man

with a few Harkaras to be always with Diwan Mohkam Chand, or in the cantonment of Phillaur, to see if Ranjit Singh contemplated taking advantage of the absence of British troops from Ludhiana to make an inroad in the territories of the protected Chiefs. On conclusion of the Gurkha campaign Ochterlony returned to Ludhiana in June 1815 and resumed his duties. He was now vested with control over the territory conquered from the Gurkhas in the hills in addition to his previous duties and his designation was changed to that of "Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent to the Governor-General in the territories of the protected Sikh and hill Chiefs between the Jumna and the Sutlej." He was given two assistants, Capt. Birch stationed at Nahan and Lt. R. Ross at Subathu.

The Agent remained at Ludhiana for a period of about 5 months after his return from the hills but he found that he could not properly conduct his new duties of Superintendence of hill affairs from Ludhiana. Moreover he had been placed in command of the 3rd Division of the Field Army which was stationed at Karnal. He therefore had to remove his Agency from Ludhiana to Karnal in October 1815. During this time Ochterlony and his assistants at Nahan and Subathu were busy in removing traces of the Gurkha occupation from the territories which had been acquired. An interesting example is that about the hill women who had been usurped by the Gurkhas along with the hill country and were living in a state of unmarried polygamy, with them. The Gurkhas when being turned out of the country were asked to leave those women behind for it was declared that the laws of England did not admit of slavery, and a right over a woman could be conferred only by marriage. And Ochterlony wrote to Birch that "knowing as we do, how most of them have been acquired, it would be the height of injustice to prevent their going back to their kindred if they will receive them. But it should be made a point of honour with the women that articles bestowed on them by their former protectors should be restored." Amelioration of the condition of the peasantry and the settlement of the country were also undertaken, as well as the task of putting the administration of the hill Rajas in order, especially of Nahan and Kalsia.

Shortly after his arrival at Karnal Sir David Ochterlony who had been made a K. C. B. and created a Baronet for his services in the Gurkha campaign, were placed in supreme command of the renewed operations against the Gurkhas. Before leaving Karnal, he left instructions to Lt. Birch in the hills that cases requiring early decisions should be referred to the Resident at Delhi, but in the cases which will bear delay, he himself should be written to as being particularly interested in the hill country. Ochterlony returned in July, 1816, and resumed his duties at Karnal which were

conducted during his absence by W. Murray, though by the letter above quoted Ochterlony had left very little power in Murray's hands with regard to the hill territory.

It will have been noticed that during these transactions in the year 1815, Ludhiana Agency had disappeared, or more correctly had shifted to Karnal along with Col. Ochterlony. Ludhiana was therefore without an Agency for about one year *i. e.* from October 1815 to November 1816. During this time the arrangements for the accommodation of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk and the members of his family who had taken refuge in Ludhiana also engaged the attention of Col. Ochterlony and in November 1816, it was found necessary to post an assistant at Ludhiana to look after the ex-Royal family of Kabul and also to hold charge of the treasury, Abkari Mahal and Police. In this resurrected and a subordinate position, the Ludhiana Agency was put under the charge of Lt. W. Murray, Assistant A. G.-G. Ludhiana. At this time therefore we had four Agencies between the Jumna and the Sutlej. The principal one at Karnal, and three subordinate agencies at Ludhiana, Subathu and Nahan.

Major-General Ochterlony left Karnal in October 1817 and the work of the Agency was carried on by Capt. G. Birch under the designation of Assistant A. G.-G. Capt. Birch continued at Karnal till September 1821 when he was succeeded by Capt. R. Ross under the designation of Deputy Superintendent of Sikh and Hill affairs. Capt. C. P. Kennedy 'the father of Simla' who was then Commandant of the Nasiri Battalion was appointed Assistant to the Deputy Superintendent for the charge of the Hill States in addition to his other duties. Immediately after taking over charge Capt. R. Ross recommended that the Agency be removed from Karnal to some other place. The consideration of combining the Military and Political command between the Jumna and the Sutlej having ceased by the departure of Ochterlony there was no reason why Karnal should continue to be the residence of the Officer exercising political duties. He also gave some other arguments in favour of this proposal.

Firstly, he said that Karnal was situated on the extremity of the country and was more in the Delhi tract. This fact caused inconvenience and delay in dealing with the more northern States.

Secondly, and this was a very interesting argument, he said, a number of Sikh Chiefs with their armed followers, Vakils, Agents etc. resort to the Political Agent, and being ignorant of the cantonment Regulations they become amenable to the Military authorities on account of their habits of inebriety. It would certainly be irritating for the Political Agent, to get up one fine morning and find that the Vakil of some State with whom he had important

business to transact was detained by the Military authorities or by the town Magistrate of Karnal Division in consequence of having been found tipsy during the previous night. Some idea of the force of this argument can be had from the fact that the Vakils of these Chiefs attending at Karnal with their followers numbered about three hundred men and lived in a separate part of the town called Vakilpura.

Ross therefore suggested that the Agency be removed to Ambala, which was more centrally situated. In fact, mathematical precision could scarcely have placed it better. A circle of 50 miles radius with Ambala as the centre would include in it Bilaspur, Sabathu and Nahan in the Hills, Karnal, Ludhiana, Patiala, Nabha and Kythal in the plains, in short every place of consequence with the single exception of Jind. Moreover Rani Daya Kaur the Sardarni of Ambala, was a childless woman of upwards of 80 years of age, and was expected to die any moment. On her death the place would lapse to the British Government as overlords of the Protected States. Soon after she died, Ambala lapsed to Government and the Agency was removed to that place in March 1822. *This was the second case of Lapse, the first having occurred in 1820 when the petty state of Bilaspur had lapsed to Government.*¹ In the records of Karnal and Ambala Agencies are found the first instances of the working of the doctrine of paramountcy and lapse, later on so widely used by Dalhousie. But whereas Dalhousie acted on the general principle of annexing if he could do so legitimately, at this time in 1820 and 1822, we find Moira's Government willing to bestow these lapsed estates on other Indian rulers on condition of tribute, retaining of course the right to resume them at pleasure. In the case of Bilaspur, they were willing to confer it on Sardar Jodh Singh of Kalsia if he paid a tribute and relinquished all his grants from Ranjit Singh beyond the Sutlej. But Jodh Singh never turned up to enter into an agreement though many invitations were sent to him.

In the year 1823, another re-shuffling of the posts was made. Lt. Murrary was transferred to Ambala as Deputy Superintendent of Sikh and Hill affairs, and Lt. C. M. Wade, an ambitious man with an aggressive personality, was appointed to the Ludhiana Agency. Almost from the day of his arrival he entered into an endless controversy with Murrary, which ended only by the latter's death in 1831.

During this time many questions of importance came up before the Agents. One such case was that of Rani Sada Kaur, the mother-in-law of Ranjit Singh. Two forts called Himmatpur and Wadni on the left side of the Sutlej had been

¹ Lord Dalhousie, whose period witnessed so many cases of Lapse, was certainly not the inventor of this doctrine, although he is generally blamed for it, ✓

transferred to her by Ranjit Singh in 1808. These had been confirmed to her in 1816 by Ochterlony. Ranjit Singh considered that she was dependent on him for those forts whereas the British authorities considered her as one of the Protected Chiefs between the Jumna and the Sutlej.

In 1821, the Maharaja learnt that Sada Kaur's Thanadars of these territories were oppressing the Zamindars. He therefore called the Zamindars of the place, gave them shawls and turbans and touching his beard declared them his vassals². They at once threw off their allegiance to Sada Kaur and declared for Ranjit. But Sada Kaur's Thanadar of Wadni did not yield the fort to the men sent from Lahore with the result that his wife and children were imprisoned in Lahore along with the Mai. Sada Kaur sent secret messages from her place of confinement to Lt. Murray intimating that she had been made to sign a document yielding the place to Ranjit and asking for protection. She admitted that Ranjit was her heir and would be entitled to all her possessions after her death but her only regret was that he was attempting to do in her life time what he should have done after her death. But Ranjit was determined and ordered troops to be sent across the Sut¹ to take possession of Wadni. Mr. A. Ross the Resident at Delhi at the same time ^{Octob} ^{Rijch} ordered Murray to prevent Ranjit's Officers from dispossessing those of Mai Sada Kaur. He therefore collected all the horse available at Ludhiana, arrived at Wadni and took possession of the fort. Two hours later the Lahore troops arrived to find the place in the possession of the British troops. The case was watched with much interest by the Chiefs and people of Malwa. On the one hand it was felt that Ranjit Singh having presented turbans to the Zamindars of Wadni and having declared them his vassals would support his *Pagri Ki Laj* (honour of the turban). On the other hand the Resident considered Sada Kaur as one of the Chiefs, who must be protected in her possessions on this side of the Sutlej. *This was probably the first case of the display of British protection against Ranjit Singh to these Chiefs ever since 1809 when it had been promised.* Whether Wadni could be considered as one of the protected territories is a question. But it is certain that the interference of the British Government shook the Maharaja's faith in the sincerity of their professions and 'deeply mortified his pride.'³ This was the temper in which Wade found him on his arrival at Ludhiana in 1823. The Maharaja was busy making extensive military preparations. His newly employed French officers were recruiting any handsome man who presented himself, and the Maharaja was asking them whether one lakh horse will be able to cope with 40 English battalions. He expressed himself very strongly against the cis-Sutlej Chiefs who, he said, had

² This was the usual way of extending protection to vassals.

³ Resident's words.

placed the cantonment of Ludhiana as a huge stone upon his breast, and whose troops were always at the disposal of Lt. Murray. The Maharaja also ordered Phula Singh Akali to raise one thousand men. But the new Agent Capt. Wade adopted a more conciliatory tone and the war-like preparations of the Maharaja were given out to be directed towards Sindh. Moreover "the re-appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe as Resident at Delhi and the first journey of the G.-G. towards the Frontier encouraged Ranjit Singh to appeal to the equity and justice, as well as to the friendship" of the British Government with the result that the abnoxious act was revoked and Sir Charles Metcalfe declared it as an interference with the domestic affairs of the Maharaja with which the English had no political concern.

During the years 1828-1829, the exact extent of Ranjit Singh's territories cis-Sutlej was defined. During these discussions Capt. Wade the Agent at Ludhiana invariably supported the claims of the Lahore Darbar as against the Malwa Chiefs, with the result that Ranjit Singh's confidence in the friendship and impartiality of British Government was re-established. These incidents go to show the extent of the influence which the local Agents exercised in those days in shaping the policy of their Government and cementing friendship between two states. Those were the days when Political Agents were also pioneers of Imperialism and not merely functionaries serving as mediums for transmitting the orders of their superiors. What more, they were like little Rajas holding their Darbars and listening to grievances. In 1831, Jacquemont the French traveller describing the work of Lt. Murray at Ambala wrote :—

"That from Ranjit Singh who possesses territories on the left bank of the Sutlej with the revenue of 3 lakhs and the Raja of Patiala down to the smallest Sardar, all have their Vakil or Agent with Murray. Three times a week he holds a Darbar which lasts from 8 a. m. to 4 p. m. During the day 500 people come before him. First he receives the Vakils in the order of seniority of the Chief they represented. The Envoy of Ranjit Singh arrives and is the only one who receives the distinction of a chair. Then comes the Vakil of Patiala and so on. "At the end of this *corps diplomatique* which strongly resembles a band of melodrama brigands, are the representatives of the poor Chiefs, who only possess a half or a quarter of a village. They would starve rather than forego their princely right of having an envoy with Murray. Each passes before him, and the latter never escapes with a salam. There is nearly always some petition to be read, mostly boundary disputes or complaints against the cattle of a neighbouring Prince. If Murray were not there to act as arbitrator, there would be fighting from one end of the country to the other, but such is his vigilance that in spite of all the opposing claims of an armed and

idle aristocracy, violent scenes are rare, as he punishes their authors severely to the general satisfaction".⁴

After the diplomatic body some hundred individuals pass through the Darbar, all of the same class, that is to say subjects of the Sikh Princes and Chiefs who come to complain against their masters. All these petitions are read and nearly all of them torn up as inadmissible, for the treaties of the Company with the Sikh Chiefs debar them from interfering between the Chiefs and their subjects and Murray only departs from this rule in exceptional cases. Generally speaking only those cases are dealt with which concern the inhabitants of the Sikh territories which belong to the Company. These complaints are of the simplest nature.

In the lapsed territories the general rule laid down by Government was that the local customs and institutions should be adhered to. Civil justice was to be administered through the medium of Panchayats as far as practicable. With respect to the administration of criminal justice, the powers of the Political Agent, Ambala, extended to seven years imprisonment but his decisions could be appealed against to the Resident at Delhi.

From 1823 when Murray became the Deputy Superintendent for Sikh and Hill Affairs, up to 1827, the records of the Ambala and Ludhiana Agencies are full of controversial letters concerning the jurisdictions of the various officers. Capt. Murray though a very able man could not pull on well with his subordinates. He had a controversy with Lennedy at Subathu and a controversy with Wade at Ludhiana. In 1826 these disputes came to such a pass that the Resident had to prepare a memorandum defining their respective jurisdictions. It was clearly laid down that the charge of British relations with the Protected States between the Jumna and the Sutlej belonged to Murray subject to the control of the Resident at Delhi and that the duties of the Assistant at Ludhiana were strictly local, and with respect to these duties he was directly under the Resident. The charge of British relations with Ranjit Singh belonged neither to the Deputy Superintendent at Ambala nor to the Assistant at Ludhiana, but was directly under the Resident with whom Ranjit's principal Agent was stationed. If ever engaged in communications with the protected states, the Assistant at Ludhiana, with regard to such communications must act in subordination to the Deputy Superintendent at Ambala. This decision was far from satisfactory to Capt. Wade, and next year on his return from his first mission to Ranjit Singh he wrote to Government that His Highness Maharaja Ranjit Singh had frequently expressed a wish that the local Superintendence of his affairs cis-Sutlej should be entrusted to the Political Assistant, Ludhiana. The same year *i. e.* in 1827 the Governor-General paid his first visit to Simla and Kennedy at Sabathu got

a chance to press his case for becoming independent of Captain Murray's control. Both these proposals were agreed to and in June 1827, the Deputy Superintendent of Sikh and Hill Affairs was deprived of his charge of the Hill affairs, and their management was entrusted to Capt. Kennedy in direct subordination to the Resident under the designation of Principal Assistant to the Resident, Delhi. His jurisdiction was to extend over the several Hill Ranas paying tribute to the British Government and the reserved and transferred lands within the Hills as also to the remote and extensive Raj of Bashahar. In October, Murray was further relieved of the charge of the Lahore dependencies, work in connection with which was entrusted to the Political Assistant at Ludhiana also in direct subordination to the Resident at Delhi. Thus the Deputy Superintendent of Sikh and Hill affairs, now known as Political Agent, Ambala, was left only with the charge of Protected Sikh States as well as Sirmur, Hindur, Bilaspur and Morni. He was however told that these changes were not due to the personal difference between Lt. Murray and his subordinates and that as he was holding a most extensive, important and honourable charge he should not mind relinquishing a part of it. These new arrangements were very much pleasing both to Wade and Kennedy as they increased the importance of their respective charges, but their controversies with Murray continued, so much so that Government had to reprimand them severely for the unfriendly feelings towards each other. Murray, however, died in 1831 at Subathu and with the coming of G. R. Clerk in his place on the 13th August, 1831, a period of harmonious relations between the Agents was inaugurated.

No further change was made in the jurisdictions of the Agents except that Captain Wade was made a Political Agent in 1832, and in July 1838 the Political Agent of Ambala was again charged with the control of the affairs of Ranjit Singh's cis-Sutlej possessions, while the Political Agent, Ludhiana, was entrusted with the complete management of British relations with Ranjit Singh as regards the affairs of the Punjab and His Highness's possessions beyond the Indus. Mr. G. R. Clerk remained at Ambala from 1831 to November 1838 when he was sent to Ludhiana. During this period the only important questions relating to the Sikh states were those in connection with some escheats (lapses), notably that of a portion of the Jind state and of Ferozepur. These questions involved discussions with Ranjit Singh and other claimants but were amicably decided in the end. It was during these discussions, the details of which are found in the Ambala and Ludhiana Agency records, that those principles of succession to cis-Sutlej Chiefships were evolved which are now followed in those states. Let us take the case of Jind for example.

In the year 1834, Sangat Singh the young Raja of Jind died suddenly leaving three young widows but no children. The question of succession of

the estates naturally arose. There were many claimants for example, the widows of the late Raja, the real and step-mothers of the late Raja, the British Government, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Nabha family and one Sirdar Sarup Singh who appeared later on. There was such a lack of any established rules that it took no less than three years before the question could be finally decided.

In the words of Murray "the rules of succession to landed property in the Sikh States were arbitrary and variously modified in accordance to the usage and interests and prejudices of different families, nor was it practicable to reduce the anomalous system to a fixed leading principle". It was therefore laid down by Government that "every consideration of justice, usage and policy seems to require that as regards the four principal States of Patiala, Jind, Kythal and Nabha, the rule ought to be that the estate should devolve entirely to the nearest male heir according to the Hindu Law and to the exclusion of females". Those estates which were granted by Ranjit Singh *after* the treaty of 1809 will revert to him. Sarup Singh who was the nearest male heir was to succeed to the Jind Raj but only to those parts which were possessed by his great grandfather Gajpat Singh through whom he derived his title. Those parts which were acquired by the Jind family *after* the death of Gajpat Singh and *before* the treaty of 1809 were to escheat to the British Government as the paramount power. Of the territory thus acquired by the English from Jind, the district of Ludhiana was most important, yielding a revenue of about Rs. 85,000, the remaining acquisitions together yielding a like amount.

In addition to the rules of succession which were formulated at this period, the story of escheats as related in these records gives an interesting account of the rise of British power in Northern India.

In April 1840 when G. R. Clerk, the Political Agent, Ambala, was appointed to the charge of Ludhiana in place of Lt. Col. Sir C. M. Wade, the Ambala Agency ceased to exist as a separate agency. The control of Sikh Principalities trans-Jumna was vested in the Government of the North-Western Provinces instead of the A. G.-G., Delhi. Mr. Clerk's official designation at Ludhiana was A. G.-G. for the affairs of the Punjab and later A. G.-G. North-West Frontier. These changes were necessary on account of the anarchical state of the Lahore Darbar owing to which the Government of India wished to be directly in touch with the affairs on their North-West Frontier rather than through the Agent at Delhi.

In October 1842 it was arranged that the whole Province formed out of the escheated Sikh States should be divided into the districts of Ambala and Ludhiana including Ferozepur, and being incorporated with the Hill States under the Subathu Agency should be treated as one jurisdiction being presided

over by a Sub-Commissioner subordinate to the Agent, Governor-General. At the same time the control within the protected States was also transferred to the A. G.-G. North-West Frontier. In 1843, G. R. Clerk was appointed Lt. Governor of the N. W. Provinces and was succeeded at Ludhiana by Col. A. F. Richmond who was in turn relieved by Major G. Broadfoot who held charge till his death in December 1845 in the battle of Ferozeshah.

The correspondence of the North-West Frontier Agency from 1840 to 1845 contains an account of the circumstances leading to the First Sikh war and is especially important as giving an insight into the condition of the Lahore Darbar.

It was during the First Sikh war that the Protected Sikh Chiefs were asked to help the British Government. By previous engagements they were "bound to assist the British Government in time of war to the best of their ability, to furnish information, forward supplies and join their contingents to the British force". But, in the words of Henry Lawrence, "of those contingents (which the Protected Chiefs were bound to furnish) it will be sufficient to remark that some fought against us and many never appeared at all. Even those that did join our army were but little to be depended upon, and such was their want of discipline and equipment that had they been faithful they had still been useless". On paper, the number of soldiers which these Chiefs could bring into fields on a requisition being made was very large. Ochterlony had prepared one such paper in 1809, and further estimates had been made by other officers from time to time. But on requisition being made in 1845, it was found that most of these soldiers were merely paper soldiers, who never turned up, and those that did turn up proved to be tin soldiers.

After the first Sikh War Major Henry Lawrence succeeded Major Broadfoot as Agent to the G.-G., North-West Frontier. Serving under him was Major F. Mackeson Commissioner and Superintendent for the cis-Sutlej territory at Ferozepur as well as the Hon'ble Mr. J. C. Erskime as Sub-Commissioner in charge of the Protected Hill States at Simla.

The arrangements were again modified and the Commissioner and Superintendent of cis- and trans-Sutlej territories were placed under the direct control of the Government of India instead of that of the Resident at Lahore.

These arrangements continued till 1849 when the Punjab was annexed.

The records relating to all these interesting and important topics are lodged in the Government Record Office, Lahore, and can be seen by permission of the Keeper of Records to the Punjab Government. I have seen most of the records of these earlier Agencies in the Punjab and can confidently say that there is room for biographies of David Ochterlony, and Captain C. M.

Wade. There is also material for a thorough and critical account of the British Government's relations with the trans-Jumna Chiefs, with the kingdom of Lahore under the Sikhs, with Afghanistan and with Sindh. The missing records are being gradually replaced. By a thorough examination of these records it is possible to write a new history of the Punjab provided one has the means, the time, and the ability to do so. It is hoped that the young scholars who are engaged in this work will some day succeed in bringing out an authoritative history of our Province.⁵

5. The author wishes to thank the University Professor of History of the Punjab University for help and the Keeper of Records to the Punjab Government for permission to see the Records on which this paper is based.

SECTION VII
MODERN HISTORY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. Bal Krishna, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur

I am very grateful to the Working Committee for having conferred upon me the honour of presiding over the Modern section of Indian History. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan and his colleagues are to be highly congratulated for having summoned the History Congress at Allahabad and shouldering the responsibility of successfully organizing the work of all the sections. It is indeed a rare opportunity when historians and scholars interested in the different periods of history should have assembled from all parts of this sub-continent in the sacred and ancient city of Prayag for organizing, vitalizing, and promoting research in national history. This city is not only situated at the confluence of the holy rivers, but is a confluence of the sacred streams of oriental and occidental learning. Herein we are having a congregation of eminent scholars and research workers in the same spirit as the Parishads were held in ancient days. The University of Allahabad can justly be proud of securing the services of several distinguished historians who have earned the reputation of making original contributions to historic literature. With the patronage of the provincial government, the University and the public, this session of the Congress is sure to be crowned with success. The Indian Historical Records Commission has done much service in encouraging the collection, preservation, arrangement and study of records in British India and the States. The scope of the Commission has, however, been very much limited. Its work can be supplemented by various societies, associations and conferences.

All Historical Conferences to be simultaneously held at one place:—

All these should work in collaboration with each other and not as rivals competing with one another to usurp the sphere of others and to satisfy personal and territorial ambitions. The Records Commission holds its session in December in one place the History Congress in another, the History Conference at Kamshet and the History Institute at Benares. There is already a move to start an All India Historical Association under the guiding spirit of Father Heras. It is almost impossible for professors

and scholars to attend more than one conference in a year. The money, time and energy required for attending these conferences from distant places are prohibitive in many cases. I must consequently request you all to seriously consider the question of supplementing the work of different organizations and of holding the annual sessions in one place at the same time. Many of those who attend the Records Commission are present here. I strongly feel that the summoning of conferences at different places is waste of our valuable time, energy and money. Several of us by reason of service, health and old age find it most difficult to attend these sessions. I, therefore, cherish the hope that you will evolve some practical scheme to carry out my suggestion. Now I proceed to take a view of the work hitherto done in the British period of Indian History.

History of European Empire in the East:—

In the list of secondary books given in the 5th volume of the Cambridge History of India, published in 1929, there is not a single Indian author of a book on the Portuguese, Dutch and French Empires in the East. It is indeed regrettable that Indian scholars should not have undertaken study and research in the imperial history of these nations. There are numerous works written by men of their own nationalities, but we Indians have not yet worked in the record offices of Goa, Lisbon, Batavia, the Hague, Pondichery and Paris. All these historic fields lie unexplored by our scholars.

Even when you turn to the History of the English East India Company, you find the names of Malabari, Shafaat Ahmad Khan and myself out of 31 authors listed there. Again no Indian author has produced a standard work on the struggle between the French and the English. There are only two Indians who have written some books on the British conquest of Bengal. Subsequent history of the British in India too has not invited Indian scholars.

The conquest of Ceylon, Burma, Sind and Punjab by the British has not been studied by Indian scholars. Out of 43 authors, only one is an Indian who wrote a book on the Punjab in 1891. We can well realize that the relations of India with Afganishtan, Russia and Persia will hardly attract Indian scholars when the most important and interesting studies have remained unattended uptil now.

Only the Anglo-Maratha relations have been studied to some extent—seven out of 31 writers are Indian. There is again a lamentable gap even in the history of the Carnatak and Mysore. No original work has yet been produced by an Indian scholar on the distinguished Sultans Hyder and Tipu.

In short, the 5th volume covering a period of 360 years upto 1858, depicts a most lamentable picture of our indifference to historical research. Our disappointment is heightened when we turn to the history of the post-Mutiny period of British India.

History of British India:—

The 6th volume of the Cambridge History of India deals with political, constitutional, financial, judicial, administrative, military and educational topics upto 1919. Some 750 references are given in the bibliography. Out of these Indian writers are not more than forty, all others are British and European authors. Thus the whole field of modern history remains practically untouched by Indian scholars. The blame must be shared by the provincial governments, the Universities, the public and the intelligentsia. There are many difficulties in the way of research in this period. This History Congress must suggest and devise means to encourage historic research in this country. I venture to recommend to you a few for your consideration.

Record in British India to be printed:—

The Imperial Record Office and the Provincial record offices must contain much material on the modern phases of Indian history. The Government of India and the provincial governments have not been keen in publishing the records or even their selections. Bengal and Madras have done something. The Bombay Government has been slumbering for decades together. Sir George Forrest collected certain documents and the government published these. Since then, the publication work was neglected till Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Bahadur Sardesai offered their honorary services and thus brought out valuable papers in Marathi and English from the Alienation Office and Residency Records. The Bombay Records Office still remains untouched. May I hope that the national governments will pay due attention to this matter and publish important records?

It is necessary to point out that scholars cannot have access to all the records. The Government does not permit the use of any papers

unless these are one hundred years old. The provincial governments are now national and democratic, and I hope that they will revise the rules to encourage the study of the records.

In passing, I may mention that some Records Offices as that of Bombay, have not got proper arrangements for seating scholars. Provincial Governments and record superintendents should do their best to create facilities for research workers.

English and European Records to be copied:—

The original and richest material is to be found in London at the India Office and British Museum. No history on the British period can be exhaustive and true to facts without consulting these records and without testing their veracity by the contemporary records of the Dutch, the French and the Portuguese nations. No Indian scholar is expected to be conversant with these four languages, nor can he have the means and time to go to the various countries for collecting material on any one topic. If he leaves the work of collecting the material to be done through the record offices, it becomes exorbitantly costly, takes too much time and is not satisfactory. The Dutch records on the Shivaji period took more than two years for selection and translation, while those on Rajaram are still difficult to obtain. A sum of Rs. 1,500 is required to secure the material. We will still be in doubt whether all the material on fifteen years or so has been obtained and whether the English translation of Dutch records is correct. These difficulties have prevented scholars to utilize the European records up till now.

The cooperation of the Indian States.

The Indian States have, with a few notable exceptions, not got any record offices which are open to scholars for work. Mysore, Baroda, Hyderabad, Gwalior, etc., are some of the large States which have records departments of the modern type and permit workers under certain conditions. Baroda, Indore, Gwalior and a few others are to be heartily congratulated for publishing selections of the records. But it is desirable in the interests of the States and the country that the rulers should not only organize their record departments, but undertake to produce detailed history of their own territories. Similarly, by publishing important selections they will be contributing their necessary quota to the construction of national history. In my opinion,

much light will be thrown on the history of British India from the records of the Indian States. These must be tapped. Consequently, these must be indexed and made available to the public.

Ten Year Plan of Research:—

Provincial governments should undertake to encourage historical research by instituting scholarships say, of the value of Rs. 100 to 200 p. m. with a lakh of rupees set apart for the growth of historical literature. Fifty scholars from all parts of the country can be selected to work on various problems of provincial and Indian history. Fifty books will be written by these workers within two years and thus within ten years a vast literature can be produced. Every one of the governments of Bombay, Madras, Bengal, U. P. and Punjab can easily spare a sum of one lakh rupees per annum while other provinces may contribute half a lakh each.

Central and provincial governments of pre-reform days neglected to further research in Indian history, but the popular governments of to-day should undertake constructive programmes for encouragement of research in various branches of knowledge. The first and foremost place ought to be given to the writing of national history. While hundreds of brilliant young men will find employment in a work mostly cherished by them, it will let loose the energies of hundreds of veteran workers, professors, teachers, judges and journalists for producing valuable works on national history. We can well imagine the flood of light thrown upon the manifold phases and periods of the history of this vast continent when four to five hundred workers will be exclusively devoted for at least a decade.

This work should be collaborated and controlled by the Inter-provincial Board of Research Regulation, so that there should not be any duplication for the present. Each scholar will know the topics on which others are working. This Board can serve for the selection of scholars. In ten years four to five batches of different scholars might be recruited for this work. Thus I can see an army of two thousand intellectuals enthusiastically exploring the secrets of Indian History and presenting to the people works of permanent interest.

The New Plan to Obtain Records—

A plan should be evolved to take typescripts of the records and documents available in England, France, Holland, Portugal, so far as

Indian History is concerned. Typists should be employed in each country to copy out the records which should be selected by scholars engaged for the purpose. If the Central Government cannot spare any money for this work, the national governments in the provinces should come forward to plan out a programme and contribute money for its completion. We are spending fifty-five crores of rupees on the army; European nations in the fever of war are raising loans to the tune of millions of pounds for the noble means of destruction. Should we not in the dawn of our national life possess the means of constructing our national history? The foreigners alone have written histories of our land, but we have not the means to test their veracity. If provincial governments be unable to spare money from their ordinary budgets, they can raise a loan for their contribution to the common fund for copying the records.

A five year plan can be evolved and the necessary funds should be raised for the purpose. Crores of rupees have been spent on irrigation schemes to foster wealth, let a crore or two be also spent in tapping historic wealth, and thereby providing sap of life for the growth of national history in all its phases. On the basis of Rs. 100 as the monthly salary of a typist, 100 typists can work simultaneously. Scholars to tally the typed pages, typing machines for hundred typists, paper, etc. in various centres will cost the government about two lakhs of rupees per year. Thus it will be evident that in a few years this work can be completed at a small cost. This plan must be undertaken first in order to provide material to research workers in the European period of Indian history.

A Federal Research Institute should be established at Delhi. This should possess the copies of the records typed from European centres and a library of printed records and books on all periods of Indian history. It should serve as a centre for the collection of research material of all kinds. Facilities of lodging and boarding should be provided there to the scholars. The Central Government should be requested to undertake this important work in hand as early as possible.

Files of newspapers and periodicals published in India and other countries should be preserved in the Federal Institute. So far as these published in India are concerned, Government can obtain five copies free of charge. Three copies can be distributed in the same way as the books. Other copies can be utilized for exchange with other countries. Thus we might get a large mass of newspapers, and

periodicals from America, Britain and the British Commonwealth and even from Europe and Asia without payment. The question of accommodating this most rapidly growing collection has to be faced by every government. When other civilized governments have been doing this collection work for the last few decades, we can begin this work now. No history of Modern India can be thorough, correct and impartial, without consulting these contemporary sources. I beg most emphatically to draw the attention of the governments to the consideration of establishing libraries for newspapers and periodicals.

It is indeed a matter of great satisfaction that the Congress Government of the United Provinces has served as a pioneer in evolving, financing and putting into operation a scheme of adult education at a cost of six lakhs in one year. I hope that this national government will give practical shape to some of the suggestions made by the History Congress for stimulating historical research and for publishing books on national history.

The copyright law must be amended so that three copies of each publication are given to the Government one for the Imperial Library, and one for provincial library and third for the district town Library of the districts in which the book is published. Thus every book and pamphlet published in any part of India will be available in the Federal capital.

The five proposals suggested by me are to some extent dependent upon each other. These create a link between the Federation and its units and thus all are required to pool their resources for the provision of historical material and its utilization by an army of scholars. I am sure that without prohibitive cost we can possess all the necessary records from the European centres, establish a Federal Research Institute and give an extra-ordinary urge to the creation of a vast historical literature of permanent value to this country and the world at large.

WAS BRITISH CONQUEST OF INDIA ACCIDENTAL?

Dr. Bal Krishna, M. A., Ph. D.

1. *The Indian Empire a Blind Acquisition:—*

The idea of the accidental acquisition of the Indian Empire by the British has crystallized into a universal belief. It is being re-iterated from time to time in books and speeches as a self-evident maxim of the political histories of England and India. It claims many staunch adherents in both countries, but the study of the records of the British East India Company will shake the reader's faith in this popular doctrine. The presentation of these facts is not only of academic interest, but is fraught with political significance of the first magnitude. The theory of the fortuitous acquisition brings in fatalism and divine imposition. Then it implies the sudden and fortuitous loss of the countries which have been accidentally acquired. The spread of this doctrine will wash away the very foundations of human effort, enterprise, intelligence, British heroism and political genius. Although national vanity is tackled by explaining the Indian conquest on the principle of Cæsar's inimitable message of "Vini, Vidi, Vici", history and truth are often murdered by such catchwords. Research too receives a crude setback. History repudiates the idea that empires can be gained like prizes in a lottery. I am writing these pages in the hope that my onslaught on the popular belief should bring to light the true causes of the British conquest of India.

The idea of blind acquisition of an empire more extensive, more populous and more prosperous than that of ancient Rome, was probably given currency by Professor Seeley. "Nothing greater that has ever been done by Englishmen," said he, "was done so unintentionally, so accidently as the conquest of India." Further on, the learned professor explains himself thus: "But in India we meant one thing and did quite another. All along we have been looking one way and moving another". Seeley's school of thought has thus propounded the theory that the object of the English in coming over to the East was trade alone and not conquest of territory. But I maintain on the basis of documentary evidence that commerce and conquest were the main objects soon after the advent of the English in the East. Conquest was never lost sight of, although it was subservient to commerce for the first sixty years.

It is purely fallacious to believe that the East India Company was a mercantile body which in its corporate capacity of merchants was, through the stress of circumstances, and much against its own will, forced to become sovereign of Bengal. A judicious reading of the charters, letters patent, and

records of the Company can lead us to the one conclusion that its nature, scope and aims were, soon after its establishment, enlarged, and that the mercantile body of the time of Elizabeth, in course of time, but long before the acquisition of the Bengal sovereignty, had been transformed into a body politic. Throughout its long career, we find it working as a department of the state for the commercial and political conquests of the heathen nations of Africa and Asia. We ought not to be misled by its commercial concerns. It was engaged in commerce, as the state is universally engaged now in producing, distributing and exchanging millions of pounds worth of goods, by being the biggest capitalist entrepreneur and merchant rolled into one. The East India Company likewise was not a purely commercial corporation, but also a political organization to extend the conquest of England and ruin the power of her European rivals in the East.

“It was in charter as in deed a new state, erected within the state itself, which enriched it and increased its strength abroad”.

This aspect is fundamentally essential for the right understanding of the events immediately preceding and following the memorable battle of Plassey, and if we lose this key, we shall be launched into an inextricable labyrinth of historic confusion. We are sure that this focal truth alone can afford us the right perspective in viewing the history of the progress and development of the Company. With the loss of this guiding light, we are bound to wander in a wilderness of loose and incoherent facts.

2. *Territorial conquests of the Portuguese and the Dutch:—*

The Portuguese, from the first appearance of the Dutch and English in the Indies, were determined to keep them out of the Oriental trade by force. Thereupon the Dutch invested their East India Company, with the avowed object of conquest and colonies, with authority to make peace or war with the Eastern princes, to erect forts, to choose its own governors, maintain garrisons and to nominate officers for the conduct of the police and the administration of justice. Armed with such vast powers and fortified with a burning ambition to build up an extensive commerce, the Dutch had a meteoric success in routing the Portuguese forces in many places of importance and were soon in possession of large islands, a well-exercised navy, strongly fortified places and good harbours. They were accordingly well secured against the Portuguese and their new rivals of the English nation.

The Dutch had soon learnt the lesson that they could not trade in the East unless they could capture the countries under the control of the Portuguese. *The English following in the wake of the Dutch had only one alternative, either to cease trading and sink into obscurity or to oust the Portuguese and the Dutch from their possessions and settlements.* It is true that the English could not

successfully cope with the dutch in the East Indies for more than a century but it does follow that the idea of making conquests for the preservation of trade and the honour of the country was not present all along, or that they did not make attempts to secure territories.

Commerce, conquests and colonies were welded together in the careers of the Portuguese and their Dutch successors. The experience and practice of these nations had made it clear to the English that commerce could not be carried on without fortified factories, naval and military supremacy and state-aid. The English could not proceed on purely commercial lines in the teeth of armed opposition from their firmly established rivals.

3. *English attempts for territorial acquisition—*

I will now take a very rapid survey of the attempts made by the East India Company to gain colonies in the East and to secure fortified places in India for founding an empire here.

1. The English took possession of *St. Helena* in their very first voyage.

2. *Struggle for the Spice Islands*—The Dutch made treaties with the rulers of Amboyana, Banda and Pulo Ai in 1600 and 1602 for assisting the natives in the expulsion of the Portuguese and for exclusive purchase of spices. The English were trying to enter into similar treaties with other rulers. In 1620 they even succeeded in procuring the surrender of three places in the Island of Banda, namely, Pulo Ai, Poolaroon and Lantor. This success was short-lived, as the English were soon defeated and almost expelled from the places by the Dutch. Thereafter the former made supreme efforts to establish themselves in India.

3. *Colony at Saldanah*—Edward Dodsworth pointed out to the Company in November 1615 the advantages of having a colony at Saldanah. Five years after Capt. Schilling took possession of the Bay of Saldanah and the adjoining continent of Africa as far as no christian prince had any fort or garrison within the limits. Thus he opened the way to colonization in South Africa.

4. *Capture of Ormus*—In 1622 the English captured Ormus, the greatest emporium of Euro-Asiatic commerce of those days in the mouth of the Persian gulf. Its custom-house alone is said to have produced £ 31,875 per annum to the Portuguese. If the views of the English Captain as reported by P. D. Valle can be relied upon as representing those of his nation or the Company, then no more proofs are required to show the existence of political ambitions during the first thirty years. The Captain observed that in case the Persians would deliver to the English the fortress of Ormus, *as they had desired it from the beginning*, the English would people the Island, restore its trade as

formerly, and would keep four ships there for the protection of its trade and for guarding the sea against the Portuguese as well as other enemies. They would, moreover, transport a good number of people from England, and whole families with wives and children to dwell in Ormus, as the Portuguese did before, and then they would prosecute the war against the latter at Muscat and everywhere else¹.

5.—*Early attempts for forts in India*—So far as the efforts to secure fortified places in the Indian soil are concerned, we find that the possession and fortification of Muzafarabad are discussed by the English at Surat as early as 1615². Sir Thomas Roe favoured a vigorous offensive as 'the nobler and safer part' and the most likely to impress the Indians.

A most significant attempt was made by Capt. Keeling for securing territories and expelling the Portuguese from their Eastern possessions³.

Roger Haves gives the terms of a treaty entered into with the Zamorin on March 4, 1615. The latter promised the cession of the castle and island of Cranganor together with the town and the fort of Cochin to the English, if they should be successful with him in capturing those places from the Portuguese.

6.—*Plans for the Conquest of Bombay*—After having fortified Lugundy in Java and Armagaon on the Coromandel Coast, the Company suggested the advisability of establishing a settlement at Bombay, the "London's Hope" in Arabia, or at some other suitable spot in the Indies. In pursuance of this object, the English entered into an alliance with the Dutch. Six English ships laid siege to Bombay in October 1626, pillaged the town; set all the houses on fire, and returned⁴. It formed the first attempt of the English to capture Bombay from the Portuguese.

In 1628 again, ships were twice sent on voyages of discovering the situation of Danda Rajapuri, Rajapur and Bombay on the Konkan coast, but no fortifications were undertaken at 'Bombayee'⁵, as it was too much exposed to Portuguese depredations.

7.—*Policy underlying fortification of Armagaon*—The various reasons, commercial and political, for having fortifications, have been outlined in a letter of 27th May, 1626, which relating particularly to the necessity of a fort at Armagaon, gives the underlying motives of the whole policy. "Were we once fortified, we should draw infinite of all sorts of people and, more special, such as are fitting our Negotiations; and, in time, *we should get the whole Government*

1 P. D. Valle, Vol. I, p. 8.

2 Letter Rd. Vol. III, 208.

3 Purchas his Pilgrimes, E. S. Vol. VI, p. 496.

4 Marine Records, Vol. 43.

5 This name is still used by the Indians.

of the place into our own hands; and doubt but, if we continue thus, we shall be subject to all casualties and the Dutch will never leave us in quiet, "till they have, by one means or other, rooted us out"⁶.

8. *Schemes to capture Portuguese possessions*—One more evidence is furnished by Wylde, the President of the English Factory at Surat, in his Remonstrance to Cromwell. He entered into a treaty with the Great Mogul to aid him by sea, in the taking of the Portuguese cities of Diu, and Daman. He entertained the Lord Protector with interesting details of the power and riches of the Portuguese and then suggested the capture of their dominions by sending a naval expedition from England. "So may the work be done in one year, for Jacatra being surrendered, all the rest must follow, as wanting provisions or starve. And this done, there will be little to be done with the Portugull as being inconsiderable by sea, whereof we must endeavour to make ourselves masters before we can enjoy all those rich trades to ourselves alone".⁷

Charles I condemned the Company for not having fortifications like the Portuguese and Dutch, and therefore granted charters to Courteen Company and the Assada Merchants "to take possession of all such lands as they shall discover".

9. *Colonies in Africa and India*—Interesting accounts of the proposals for establishing colonies in the islands of Madagascar, St. Helena, Re-union (called England's Forest) and Mauritius; of the occupation of Madagascar, the despatch of several ships with colonists on board and of the efforts to make it a successful colony since 1636 onward, are now available in Foster's Court Minutes. Then the war with the Dutch after the fifties forcibly brought to the mind of the English statesmen the paramount necessity of having fortified places in the East. President Blackman from Surat and Spiller from Isphahan in Persia wrote strong minutes on the necessity of founding colonies. The former pointed out in 1653 that Bombay and Bassein could be captured from the Portuguese without any difficulty.

In 1653, Spiller commended the strong policy of the Portuguese and the Dutch in having fortified places in the East and particularly a castle "about Surat or on the coast of India" for enjoying a commanding trade and increasing English "strength, force and honour in these Oriental parts"⁸.

The petition of the E. I. Company in 1654 to the Lord Protector for "a national interest in India",⁹ proposed the acquisition of Bassein and Bone Bay

6 Factory Records, Miscellaneous, Vol. IX, p. 135.

7 B. M. Sloane Mss., 3271. Cf. Dr. Khan's Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations Relating to Bombay 1660-1677, p. 435.

8 Ibid, April 10th 1654, p. 272.

9 Ibid, p. 374. C. O. 77, Vol. VII. No. 92, Decision to obtain Danda Rajapura, Bassein and Bombay or any other places in 1658. Court Minutes, Vol. 1655-59, pp. 250, 252. Cf. Court Minutes, 1650-1654, Introduction, p. iii.

(Bombay) in India, and the town and castle of Mozambique in Africa with the several fortifications, privileges, trade and other benefits belonging to these places.

Similarly, the decision to re-occupy, fortify and colonize Poolaroon and St. Helena, furnishes additional evidence of the colonizing spirit of the East India Company.

10 *Cession of Bombay*—When it is remembered that vigorous efforts were made by the English since 1626 to take possession of Bombay, it is only then that the full significance of the cession of that island to the King of England in 1662 can be realized by the reader. What could not be obtained by force of arms, was diplomatically secured through gift. Why Bombay and not any other place should have been obtained in dowry, becomes intelligible from the preceding and subsequent events. This donation cemented the friendship of the English and Portuguese, so that the allies should be able to successfully oppose the growing power of the Dutch.

The ambitious and aggressive policy of Charles II will be revealed from the words used in the Commission given to Sir Abraham Shipman :

“Our maine designe...being to gain to our subjects more free and better trade in the East Indies, and to enlarge our Dominions in those parts, and advance thereby the honour of our Crown, and the Generall Commerce, and Weale of our subjects...”.

11. *Militant Policy of the Company*—A few years later Gerald Aungier, Governor of Bombay, sounded a trumpet call by postulating to the Company that ‘the times now require you to manage your general commerce with your swords in your hands’. When the Mogul Emperor was engaged in a war with Bijapur, Golcondah and the Marathas, the Company adopted their new policy of aggressive militarism. They resolved to enter into a war (with the Mogul, because in their own words “we have no remedy left. But either to desert our trade or we must draw that sword His Majesty hath intrusted us with, to vindicate the rights and honour of the English Nation in India.”¹⁰

The following extract is interesting in revealing the imperialistic ambition. “If it should be asked, How the Dutch can maintain 170 forts and fortified places in India, while 2 or 3 can hardly be supported by the English Company ? The answer is the same: All the Dutch stock would not maintain their 170 forts one year but for the ingrossment of spice, and their skill of making their natives pay the charge of their fortified places: And this last we say is all the foundacon of their greatness and power: For how have they engrossed Spice trade but by fortifications ? And how have they maintained their fortifications, but singly by that skill which we now recommend to your invitacon.”¹¹

10 Letter Book, Vol. 8, pp. 79, 225-227—Bruce's Annals, Vol. 3, p. 568.

11 Letter Bk., Vol. 8, pp. 37, 264-5. Fort Gen, Letter dated 14 January 1686.

In another letter they write:

"It is our ambition for the honour of our King and Country, and the good of posterity, as well as of this Company, to *make the English Nation as formidable, as the Dutch, or any other Europe nation, are, or ever were in India; but that cannot be done, only by the form and with the method of Trading Merchants,* without the political skill of making all fortified places repay their full charge and expences"¹².

Finally, we may produce another memorable despatch wherein it is laid down "*that which we promise ourselves in a most especiall manner* from our new President and Council is that they will establish such a politie of civill and military power, and create and secure such a large revenue to maintain both at that place, as *may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English Dominion in India for all time to come*"¹³.

Imperialism Continued—Though the Company sustained an ignominious defeat and suffered heavy loss in trade and prestige in trying sword with Aurangzeb, the Directors did not give up their political ambitions. They issued the following instructions to their 'General of India' in Aug. 1688.

"*Though our war be over, you must continue to train and exercise in arms all our Factors, Writers and English Servants of all degrees from the highest to the lowest according to our former orders, because we must for ever hereafter keep ourselves a martial Nation in India.*"

Dr. C. R. Wilson has justly remarked that "nothing can be further from the facts than the generally accepted picture of the mid-day halt of Charnock at Su. anatee growing to be a city, "chance-directed, chance-erected," "spreading chaotic like the fungus". Had the English confined themselves to 'mere trade', had the merchant remained "meek and tame where the timid foot first halted", there would have been no Calcutta and no British India."¹⁴

The English after 1700 resorted more to force than presents for opposing the demands of the native officers and even of the governors of Bengal. Instead of "to be always giving to every little rascal," the Governor of Fort William showed boldness in clearing his goods by the use of the military.¹⁵ At the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, Fort William was considerably strengthened by building two new bastions and by employing sixty new Indian soldiers. On account of the enhanced security, the English were able to oppose the demands of the Nabob for a levy of one lac of rupees from them. A threatening message

12 Letter Bk, Vol. 7, p. 500.

13. Letter Book, Vol. 8, pp. 242-3. Letter on 7th Jan. 1686, pp. 467-8

14. Bengal Past and Present, Vol. I. p. 30.

15. Hedges, Diary. Vol. II, LVII.

was sent to Patna to the effect that "If any of our people there are plundered, we will take satisfaction at *Hugli*, or anywhere we find it convenient to do."¹⁶

12. *A Secret Scheme to Conquer Bengal*:—The English continued to gather strength in Bengal and minutely studied the political situation of the whole country through their agents. By the middle of the 18th century they felt themselves strong enough to conquer Bengal from the Muslim forces. A confidential scheme for the conquest of Bengal was sent to the Company by Colonel Scott. Herein he brushes aside all objections and fears as groundless and argues that the English could not have any dread of invasion from Delhi. "500 disciplined troops might defend the pass," says he, "against the whole power of Indostan and secure us from that quarter." No European nation could contest the conquest with the English, as the latter would have the absolute command of the Hugly river. The Marathas could not disturb the peace of Bengal if the passes would be fully defended by forts and troops. In short, in his opinion an annual supply from Europe of 2,000 men for three years, would be necessary and quite sufficient to make the English conquest secure and lasting.

An experienced officer like the Colonel was convinced of the inherent weakness of the rulers and the ruled in Bengal, and consequently he developed the project of suddenly capturing the government of the three provinces. The subsequent events leading up to the battle of Plassey are the natural developments of such projects.

13. *The Conclusion*:—We have now finished our survey of the repeated attempts of the English East India Company to found colonies in Africa, the Indian Archipelago, in Persia and India from their very first voyage in 1601 to the Bloodless Revolution of 1757 in Bengal. There is scarcely any long period wherein an abatement of this ambitious programme is visible. On the contrary, every succeeding decade reveals more vigorous efforts being made for the establishment of an English Empire in the East.

The victories in the Carnatic and Bengal were consequently the fruits of a long preparation on an extensive scale, and not of accidental circumstances. The intention and attempt to establish colonies were all along present from the establishment of the Company; the only thing hidden from human ken was the wonderful magnitude and the extraordinary stability of the empire founded by the English in India. This study pre-eminently emphasizes the pregnant truth that the conquest of India by the British was not achieved by a stroke of fortune, but through sturdy struggles and steady sacrifices extending over more than two centuries.

16 C. R. Wilson : E. Annals, Vol. I, p. 178.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

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Sir William Foster has remarked in one of his publications that no detailed account of Anglo-Dutch negotiations is to be found in published English works. The history of the foreign policy of Charles II has been traced with consummate skill by Macaulay, Ranke and others, but no attention has been paid to the luminous despatches of Sir George Downing from the Hague. I studied his published writings and despatches in 1916 when I was preparing material for the *East India Trade*. The lapse of time has tended to confirm the impression I had formed in those days, and my conviction of the supreme importance of the East India Trade in the determination of English foreign policy. Unfortunately, little material has been added to the information contained in Ait Zemas *Saken Van Staet en Orologh*, Part IV, 1669; and, in Japikse's work published at Leiden, 1900. I indicated in 1922 the part played by Downing in the formulation of English demands, and his determined stand on behalf of the East India Company. Further details of Downing's career will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, and other works. Downing had taken a prominent part in the negotiations with the Dutch under Oliver Cromwell, and he went back to the Hague to resume the thread of negotiations under Charles II. A man of fertile energy, with the realistic outlook of a Restoration diplomat, Downing warmed both his hands on the fire of life, and accepted gratuities and donations from the East India Company. He was, however, steadfastly loyal to his king, and spared no efforts to advance his interest, and champion his country's cause. Downing was well versed in the intricacies of Dutch political life, and his bluff manners, strong commonsense, and manly bearing seem to have created an excellent impression in Holland.

It is unnecessary to detail the negotiations which were started by the East India Company immediately after the restoration of Charles II. Cromwell's victories over the Dutch had rankled in the minds of a proud and sensitive people, and the re-enactment of the Navigation Act in the reign of Charles II had revived memories of a titanic struggle between the two great Protestant powers. I have dealt at length with the main causes of the Anglo-Dutch conflict in the *East India Trade*, and reference may be made to this work for details of the chief causes of this hostility. The struggle between the two great Protestant powers tended to destroy the solidarity of the two great Protestant powers of Europe, and far-sighted statesmen clearly realised the danger of this conflict. The position was complicated by the warm advocacy of the cause of Charles' nephew, the young prince of Orange, against the pretensions of De Witte, who, though supreme head of the administration, was looked upon as usurper

by the Orange party in England and Holland. It was clear to all sincere Protestants that a quarrel between the two Dutch parties would render Holland impotent and disorganised, and would contribute to the aggrandisement of Louis XIV. While the Orange party looked to Charles II for support; the De Witte faction was inclined to favour an alliance with France. Charles did not like the Dutch, and openly expressed his contempt for the plebeian merchants who had engrossed all power in their hands, and were inclined to look at every question from a commercial point of view. His instincts, his outlook on life, his tradition, and his interests were arrayed against a nation which was waging a fierce commercial war against the English whose interests in the East, in Africa and in America were diametrically opposed to the naval enterprise, commercial supremacy and political hegemony of the English.

The island of Polaroon had been restored to the English by the Treaty of Westminster; but the Company found it impossible to take possession, though attempts had been made in 1656, 1658 and in 1659 for that purpose. The Company resolved to send an expedition to seize the island, and Captain Dutton was sent as governor from St. Helena. The Dutch resorted to a technique with which the English Company had become perfectly familiar throughout their intercourse in the East. They insisted that surrender was to be made on the production of commissions not only from the Company, but also from the King. When the royal commission under the great seal was secured on December 22, 1660 (See Foster's *Court Minutes 1660—1663*), it appeared thoroughly unsatisfactory as it made no mention of the Treaty of 1654. The English merchants now launched a vigorous offensive on the entire Dutch system of monopoly. In a representation to the Council of Trade on December 11, 1660, they urged that in the treaty negotiations not only should reparation be insisted upon for damages already sustained, but for the future the English should have complete and unfettered right to trade freely in all parts of the East, without any molestation on the plea that the Dutch were at war with the natives of a particular place or had obtained an exclusive contract from a native customer (See Foster, *op. cit.* page XV). The Council of Trade favourably reported upon the claims of the Company, and suggested the incorporation of this complaint in the proposed treaty with the Dutch. So far, the king had not been directly approached by the Company in its representations against Dutch competition in the East. On January 28, 1661, the Directors complained of the vexatious delays to which the Dutch had resorted with characteristic sluggishness, and referred to the persistent rumours of a strong fleet which the Dutch had equipped for the East. The Dutch had planned the capture of Bombay from the Portuguese, and there are many references to the Dutch desire in the minutes of the

Company's books during the years 1650-9. They knew the strategic and commercial importance of Bombay, and it would have been easy for them to reduce Bombay, as the Portuguese power had shown alarming signs of decrepitude, and the Dutch had driven their commercial rivals—both Portuguese and English—from every South Sea island. Their mastery of the South Seas was unchallenged, while their conquest of Malaya and reduction of Ceylon made them the most formidable European power in Asia. They could not look with equanimity at the acquisition by their Protestant rivals of a port of great strategic importance to western India, and great concern was felt in London over the aggressive designs of the Dutch, who, it was reported on reliable authority, had fitted out a powerful fleet for the purpose. Negotiations had already been started in England for the marriage of Charles II with Catherine of Braganza, and the King made it clear to the Dutch ambassador that he could not allow any attack on Portuguese possessions in India. For further details of the occupation of Bombay by the King, and his transfer of the island to the Company, the reader is referred to my *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay*. Here, we are concerned mainly with the effects of their transfer on Dutch policy in India.

A treaty of peace had been signed between Portugal and Holland in August, 1661, but it was not ratified by the Dutch until December 1662, and was not published at Batavia until March, 1663. The interval was skilfully exploited by the adroit merchants in establishing their supremacy over the "pepper ports" on the south-west coast of India. Quilon was captured in 1661, and Caranganur was stormed in the following year. Cochin capitulated on December 28, 1662. Cannanore was then attacked and yielded early in February, 1663. The tide of the Dutch conquests flowed irresistibly, and the English merchants watched with feelings of jealousy and dismay the virtual disappearance of the Portuguese power from the South-West-Coast of India. They began to strengthen their position by establishing factories along the coast, and English settlements were established at Kār wār, Porkhād (about fifty miles south of Cochin) and old Kayāl (near Tuticorin). The English President sent the *Hopewell*, in October, 1662, to bring some from the Porkhād factory. The way was barred by Dutch ships, who informed the English captain a few miles from Cochin that the English would not be allowed to pass, as the whole coast was under blockade. The *Hopewell* was, therefore, compelled to return to Surat. The English President was furious with the treatment meted out to the Company's ship, and he decided to adopt a different method altogether. The Company's flag had been insulted by the Dutch shopkeepers, he wished to test whether the King's flag would preserve the ship from indignity. A royal squadron had been sent under Lord

Marlborough to take delivery of Bombay, and the vessels were to be laden home with the Company's goods. Oxenden now arranged with Lord Marlborough that one of the Company's ships, the *Leopard*, should complete her landing at Kārwar and Porkhād, from goods awaiting shipment and then proceed straight to England. When the ship arrived at Cochin, she found the harbour occupied by the Dutch. The latter prohibited the captain from proceeding to Porkhād, as it was a dependency of Cochin and the Dutch were determined to exercise their monopoly with the rigorous precision which had wrought havoc in Malaya, Ceylon and other places in South Seas. The *Hopewell* sailed for England without the loss of the cargo. The Dutch followed up their victory by compelling the Rajas of Cochin and Porkhād to sign treaties in March, 1663, whereby they secured complete control of the pepper produced in those parts. The Company protested vigorously against the high-handed action of the Dutch, and Downing backed the claims of the East India merchants with his customary ability and vigour. His despatches from the Hague give a graphic account of his negotiations and show how fierce was the antagonism which embittered the relations between the two great Protestant powers. The despatch reproduced below shows the intensity of this conflict, and confirms the impression formed by me in 1916 that English foreign policy received a specific mould from the keen and sustained rivalry over the East India Trade.

Meanwhile, the negotiations with Holland dragged on, and Parliament was determined to preserve English commercial interests abroad. The King's championship of his nephew, the young prince of Orange, acted as a constant irritant to De Witte. The pretensions of the Company continued to mount the heights to which the timid and cautious ambitions of weaker nations could never aspire. They asserted the right of the English to reside in any part of the East Indies, and to trade freely with all the natives, except those who were "immediate servants of the Dutch." They were to be given permission to trade, notwithstanding any exclusive contract which natives might have signed with the Dutch. Moreover, an English passport was to be a sufficient protection from any interference from the Dutch, whether the vessels were English or native-owned, if the latter carried goods for an English factory. This was not all. All the rights and privileges secured for the English were to be enjoyed by every Indian or Asiatic nation that was in alliance with the King. De Witte criticised the Dutch ambassadors for entertaining these proposals, and a breakdown seemed imminent. The Dutch system in the East Indies regarded monopoly over the spices as the brick-pin of its political structure, and no Dutchman was prepared to part with a right which had been secured by them after nearly sixty years of continuous warfare. While the East India Company was intent upon driving a hard bargain with its rivals, the English

Government was keen on the conclusion of a just treaty. It would be tedious to narrate the details of negotiations which consumed the energy of the parties, and involved constant reference to their respective Governments by representatives of the two powers. In the course of negotiations, the Dutch were amazed at the revival of an old claim by the English. The claim concerned two ships which were owned by the younger Courteen, the *Bona Spreanza* and the *Henry Bonaventura*. The former had been hired for a venture in Macao, and was captured by the Dutch in the Straits of Malacca. *The Bonaventura* had been wrecked on the island of Mauritius and the Dutch settlers in that island had seized part of her cargo. These events occurred in 1643, and representations had been made to the Dutch Government for a number of years. The civil War dealt a severe blow to Courteen's prospects, and he took refuge from the importunities of his creditors in Italy and was made a bankrupt in 1650. He was alleged to have assigned his claims to Sir Edward Littleton and Sir Paul Pindar, and the creditors of the last two gentlemen took over these debts; but Courteen presented the claim himself and obtained 85,000 guilders in settlement. As it had been agreed that in the projected treaty all claims relating to the East Indies prior to 1659 would be barred, there was no reasonable ground for action by the parties. This seems to have roused the interested creditors to unwonted exertions, and as they had considerable influence at Court, the King's interest was enlisted on their side. Sir George Downing, the English Ambassador, pressed these claims with great vigour and ability. The States-General remained adamant, and declared that it was impossible to consider such an old claim. A breakdown of the negotiations seemed imminent, and Downing talked of quitting Holland. A compromise was, however, arrived at, and it was agreed that the claimants should have the right to prosecute their suit already begun, but all reference to the tribunal which was to adjudicate on this issue was deliberately omitted. This elaborate vagueness was productive of considerable friction later on. Those who wish to study this matter further may refer to Volume VIII of the Duke of Portland's MSS Calendered by the Historical MSS Commission. The matter is discussed at inordinate length in that volume.

The treaty was signed on September 4, 1662, and ratified at Westminster on Christmas Eve. It was based mainly upon The Treaty of Westminster 1654, though it contained many important changes which were the result of increasing hostility and tension between the two powers. Clause XV of the Treaty breaks fresh ground. The treaty is reproduced in AitZema's work, as well as in Jean Du Mont's *Corps Universel Diplomatique*, Volume VI, part II. Sir William Foster's *Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1660—1663*, reproduces clause XV of the Treaty, pages 351—3. The

treaty provided for the surrender of Polaroon to any one coming with a Commission from the King under the broad seal. It was agreed that the cession of Polaroon would cancel all claims for damages which had been sustained in the East Indies, and known in Europe, before January 10/20, 1659. The treaty specifically excepted the case of Courteen's two ships, and allowed the claimants to prosecute their case before a tribunal which was deliberately left vague. Claims made by individuals in particular cases after 1654 were to be decided by Commissioners to be appointed for the purpose. An interval of one year was allowed during which the English ambassador at the Hague was to negotiate for settlement of claims on either side in consultation with the Dutch authorities. The treaty failed to establish peace between the two nations. Commercial supremacy in the East was the heart which sent the blood of life pulsating through the whole political system of the Dutch Empire, and the shrewd, calculating merchants of Amsterdam clung to these privileges with iron resolution. The English Company had formed expectations which were bound to be disappointed, and the wranglings between the two nations continued with ever-increasing bitterness. The Dutch monopoly in the East Indies remained undisturbed, while the compensation to the English for the severe losses sustained by them was ineffective, and the prospect of its payment were uncertain and remote. The Company had been assiduous in winning support in influential quarters, and the Committee resolved at a meeting on March 13, 1661, "after some consideration how to obtain satisfaction, to give additional powers to the Committees formerly appointed to conduct this business and decrees that any two of them may use all just and possible means to obtain the required satisfaction; and, if they see occasion, they may, with the advice of the Governor and Deputy, dispose of a proportion of what shall be recovered from the Dutch in such a way as they please, provided it does not exceed one-fifth of the sum recovered". In other words, the Company offered a bribe of one-fifth of the sum that may be recovered from the Dutch to persons who helped the Company in its negotiations. The Dutch were unperturbed by these arrangements, and violated the basic provisions of the Treaty with a persistency which wore out the patience and exhausted energy of the English Company. Captain Dutton, who had been sent to Bantam returned to London, and related to his employers a tale of procrastination and malpractices by the Dutch. The Dutch Governor of Banas refused to hand over Polaroon, when Hunter, the Company's Agent tamely acquiesced in the repulse which the British had sustained. The Company made a strong representation to the King in the middle of July, 1663, and Charles II backed the claims of English merchants and requested Downing to exert himself in their behalf. Downing now appears on the scene, and the part he

played in the negotiations was of particular importance. His policy may be summed up in his own vigorous words, "I shall try to do all I can for the Royal Company but I am not optimistic. The only way to check the Dutch from doing such injuries or getting any remedy is to do them greater injuries, for your inaction they interpret as fear. They don't care for complaints." (Downing to Bennett, September 11, 1663). The first Despatch dated September 4, 1663, O. S., refers to his arrival in Holland, and his visit to De Witte and other persons. This is reproduced below. His second despatch expresses his general attitude towards the Dutch, and sums up the methods he adopted in his dealings with Holland. They were the methods of a blustering, vigorous and able diplomat, who constantly indulged in bluff, to enhance his importance and the importance of his country, and received frequent largesses from a grateful Company for his brilliant advocacy and courageous opposition.

The third Despatch is dated December 18, 1663 and is of the utmost importance. Downing gives an extremely clear account of his conference with the deputies of the States-General and discusses the main points in the dispute with great clarity and force. The controversy centred round the four ships to which reference has been made above. Regarding the ships *Bena Esperanza* and *Henry Bonaventura*, the Dutch referred to the text of the treaty and asserted that the words *lis incepta* referred to legal proceedings; while Downing maintained that it meant diplomatic negotiations which had been going on between himself and the States-General. In the case of the *Hopewell*, the Dutch maintained that the ship was really bound for cochin, while the refusal of the Dutch to allow the *Leopard* to proceed to Porkhad was justified on the ground that the Dutch had conquered Cochin and Porkhad was a dependency of Cochin. Sir William Foster refers to Lister's Life of Clarendon for details of these conversations. The despatch is now published in extenso, and throws fresh light on the subject. The last despatch of Sir George Downing, printed here is dated March 18, 1663, and describes a conference with the deputies of the States of Holland. "It was," says Downing, "such a conference as I have never before heard of, for that it was in the place where the States of Holland doe assemble and the whole Estates or Corps were present with the nobles and all the Townes, and it continued from half ffive in the afternone till half nyne at night, they discussed the question of the *Leopard*."

These despatches bring out the importance of the East India trade in the determination of British foreign policy and throw a powerful searchlight on the commercial rivalry of the two powers. The despatches have never been published in their entirety, though references to them are to be found in Lister's Life of Clarendon. I have selected these despatches as they possess intrinsic importance, and have left out others which dealt with the European situation etc.

DESPATCH I

Downing's arrival at the Hague.

Hague, year 4th September, 1661, O. St.

Rt. Hon'ble,

By the last I gave an accompt of my arrivall in this Country since which time I have been in the Taylors handes for my Liveries and soe forced to be a L'incognito till this morning when I went to the President of the States Generall to notifie my arrivall and to make him such compliments as are necessary and usual in such cases, from whom I received a Like returne with much civilitie. And though it is not usuall for the States to take any notice of any publick Minister untill Report hath been first made in their assemblies of his having notified his arrivall, yet they that day by advance sent their Agent to me concerning the business of the Protestants in Piedmont and I have herein inclosed to you a Coppie of their Resolution which he put into my hands whereby you may perceive, what they desire. Dureing my being in a L'incognito I gave a visit to Dewit (as is the custome of all publick Ministers to visit him first). And this day he returned me my visit and with this compliment that he came not only upon his own accompt, but by Order of the States of Holland and that they had commanded him as their first Minister to give me this visit to bid me very heartily welcome into their Country and to desire me to assure his Majestie of their hearty good wishes for his welfare and the welfare of his Kingdoms; I finde they much apprehend the growing greatness of France and that they may have need of his Majestie's friendship upon that accompt, France being now very neer them as well above in the Country, by what they have now gotten in Loraine as upon the Sea Coast. The States of Holland have this day disposed of the vacant places in their Militia and they hade given Collonel Cromwells place to Lieut. Collonel Dolman his Lieut. Collonel, the Admiralties are now here about the buisness of the Turkish Pirates and about the Laying an Impost upon forreigne Manufactures whereby to encourage their own, and much debate there hath beene about this matter, the Spanish Ambassador gave in last weeke a memoriall to the States Generall concerning eight private men of warre with Spanish Comissions taken by the men of warre of this Country, And I finde he is very angry about this buisness, but not like to gett much remidy, I finde that the most seeing in this Country are of opinion, that his Majestie will serve himselfe of the occacon of the Portugueses not haveing rendered Bombaim, and thereupon hold himselfe at libertie for the future in relation to the buisness of Portugall and leave the King of France to doe his own worck himselfe, who is ten thousand times more concern'd in that buisness then his Majestie and

who wants both worck and wayes of imploying his mony. And they doe say that there is no other way but this of ballancing the affaires of Europe nor of rendring his Majestie considerable even in France itselfe but by letting them beare their own burthen vizt. with the King of Portugall: in whose affaires they are most concerned.

I am Sir
Your most aff: humble Servt.
G. Downing

[Addressed]

These

For the right honble Sir Henry Bennet one of his Majesties Principall Secretaries of State and one of his most honble Privy Councill at Whitehall.

DESPATCH II

Downing's general policy towards the Dutch

Hague the 11th Sept. 1663. : O : St.

Sir,

I received yours by the last post with the inclosed concerning the Royall Company. I shall not faile in my utmost for them but God helpe them, if they depend upon paper reliefe. To have the Admirall of England and the King his only brother, for their cheife, and the King himselfe so much concern'd both in purse and affection, but whatever injuries the Dutch doe them let them be sure to doe the Dutch greater, and then let me alone to mediate between them but without this, all other wayes will signifie not a rush, for that you doe not injure them, as well as they you, they do not consture (sic construe) to proceed from love or generositie or regard of justice, but only feare, and so long as they thinck they are afraid of them, and will take no other revenge but complaints, you may complaine on, but without remidy, and instead thereof expect farther affronts and injury=pray let me have your weekly correspondnce and newes and command.

Sir
Your very affectionate friend
to serve you

G. Downing

When you have read the inclosed to Sir Henry Bennett pray seale it and send it forward.

[Addressed]

A Monsieur
Monsieur Williamson Secretaire
de Mr. le Chevalier Benett
a Whitehall
Londres

DESPATCH III

Downing's Discussions under the Dutch on the East Indies

Hague the 18th December: 1663: O:st

Rt. Honble,

By the indeavour of the Deputies of this State which had been this Summer in Oostfrize matters were brought to this passe that the Prince of Lickstentein had agreed to take about a million of gilders in full of all pretences due to him from the Conte of Oostfrize and a treatie was made between the said Conte and the said Deputies whereby this state did agree to furnish the 1st third parte of the said summe the which was to have been paid about Michaelnesse last and the said Conte had signed an obligation for the repayment thereof att a certaine time but this State not satisfied with paper did demand, that a certaine place in Oostfrize called Deylarscons should be by the said Conte putt into their handes for their farther assurance, att which the said Conte boggled and it is certaine that about a Month agoe he wrote to his Resident here that as to this last proposition theré was no such haste but he would consider farther *of it and matters standing thus the Bishop of Munster* being authorized by the Emperour to putt in execution a sentence which Lickinsteine had obtained against the said Conte for this mony hath surprised the said Scons in which were but about 5 of the said Counte's men, and hath putt in to it between 3 and 400 soldjers and above 100 cart loads of amunition and provision and hath about 400 Boores att worke to mend the fortifications and (as is said) is also sending more soldjers to it, now it is said that this Scons lyes within an houre and a halfe of a garrison of this State, and upon a pass in a Morasse, and this Bishopp is looked upon as a very active and diligent person, and so the comeing of this newes being also altogether unexpected hath somewhat interrupted the devotion and merriment of the Hollanders here, and the Estates Generall and Councill of State and Committee De Raed have mett every day about it they looke upon it as a thing by no meanes to be suffered, to have another power come so neer them, and nest themselves, and so the Councill of State have drawne up a project of a body of men to be employed in this buisnesse which this day to be reported in the Estates Generall, but (which gives much matter of discourse) there is not yett one word come from the Conte of Frize hither, by way of complainte of what this Bishopp hath done, or so much as to give notice thereof and the said Scons doth not stand upon this States land but upon the land of the said Conte nor hath he signed as is above any treaty with this Country concerning this buisness and therefore however it is true that there were one or two killed in the takeing the place yett some do begin to suspect that he is in intelligence with the said

Bishopp in what hath been done, for that he had rather the said towne should be in his handes then in the handes of this State and now those of Holland doe frett that they suffered the said Bishopp to Master the City of Munster and all the discourse is of 5 or 6000 men's being forthwith sent either to retake the said place or to fall into Westfalia but this is but [illegible] discourse there being nothing of this kind resolved by the Estates General but only to have a body of men in readinesse and faine they would be invited by the Conte of Oostfrize to act, and then they would forthwith march and carry with them whatmony is already due to Leckstentein for the first payment, and in case that should be refused imediately to retake the place, but if the said Conte doe not applye to them, then have they only reason of State, whereupon to ground their intermedling therein, always the soldjers here are glad of this accident for that they hope it will fright their Masters from thinking of disbanding any more of them for some yeares. The Ecclesiasticks of Brabant have sent hither to desire that the buisnesse of the Debt pretended to be due from the King of Spaine to the Prince of Orange should be left to the decission of the chambre mis partie, but the Estates Generall have resolved the contrary and sent their Deputies to Don Stephans de Gamarra to lett him know so much, and to desire him to use his utmost indeavours that the Prince may have satisfaction that so there might be no need of letters of Reprisall the which he hath promised and is gone this day towards Bruxells.

Vice Admirall Cortenaer was come home upon the Coastes with 4 ships but the Admiralty of Rotterdam have sent him backe to the streights. They are setting up a Councill of Trade att Amsterdam wherein to be two Merchands of every sort and de Graffe to be President and Van hoorne to be president in his absence, and they say they shall meet after new yeare to consider by what means they may increase the trade of that place, there are dead there this weeke of the plague, 280. We have here as yett no newes of the arrivall of the ships with plate which have been so long expected from Cadiz att Amsterdam, the which they say have in them mony and plate to the value of a Million Sterling and are said to have been as farre as Cape St. Vincent *with the silver ships* bound for Zeland and Rotterdam and these have been arrived there these ten dayes or more, indeed this Country drives a very vast trade for Spaine and the principall Commodity they carrie thither is Leyden Sayes, which because they are truly overlooked and sealed att Leyden are in great reputation in Spaine, and we might much undersell them and gaine wholly this trade if the same care and good order were taken for searching and sealing the Sayes made att Colchester and eleswhere in England as is done with the Bayes made there, for want whereof alone though a say be better that is made in England then one made att Leyden, yett will it not sell so deare nor goe off so readily, There is and hath been a

discourse att Amsterdam that the King of France should buy some ships there but no such thing yett done nor any talke thereof here but they say he intends to be very strong next summer in the Mediterranean Sea and that he will have there 16 or 18 ships besides his Galleyes. Boreel writes that the Pope hath resolved to raise 12000 men more besides 6000 which he hath already for the defence of the *Ecclesiasticall State*. *Holland growes every day more jealous of the King of France* his great arming of himself, and they are farre from well pleased att the day by indeavours they see he useth to make himself considerable att sea in which he hath done more then ever King of France did. Those of Overysell speake of opening in the Estates Generall their Resolution against the new Prayer but from Utrecht no newes as yett about this matter but old Reinswood pusheth hard that his son att Madrid be declared Ambassodor. I had forgott to insert that Boreel writes, that there is great discourse that the King of France will goe next Easter to Lyons to be nearer Italy. I did intend by the last to have sent you att Large the Advice of the severall Admiralties concerning the equipage for the Streights, but that the Conference putt me so behind hand that my people had not time to translate it, and doe their other buisness. Those of Holland have not yett opened their Resolution in the Estates Generall concerning it but it is agreable to that of the Admiralties save only that they doe desire that instance should yett be made to the Admiraltie of Zeland to sett out their proportion, and also that instance should be made to the King of Spaine, to equipe against those Pirates also Cuneus writes, that Secretary Morice had lett him know that his Majestie intended himselfe to retourne an answere by the first, to the letter delivered to him by him from the Estates Generall and that indeavours had been used to obtain leave to levy some Regiments in England for the service of the King of Spaine in Milan, but that it could not be obtained. I am sure the greatest want in England of the bodyes of men [sic] it being not halfe peopled to what that land will beare, and experience every way sheweth that both rich and poore live best where there are most people. Monsieur Reed begins now to doubt whether he shall persue his intended voyage for England haveing hopes given him that he shall be employed against Dylarscons if occasion. The last letters from Vienna say that the Conte Sindrendoft was on his way for Holland and England, to demand succour against the Turke.

The Councill of State were this day in a body in the Estates Generall, where they presented their Petition as they doe every yeare for a Supply from the Provinces for the yeare to come, but as to the list to make up (as they said) a considerable body of men to oppose against the enterprise of the Bishopp of Munster they declared that they had been hard att worke these 2 dayes about it, but should not be able to gett it done till tomorrow, it will make between 5 and 6000 men to be drawne out of the respective Garrisons. The charge

of President of the Councill of Brabant is this day given by the Estates Generall to one Beaumont one of the Prince his Councill, but who depends absolutely upon Dewitt. Tomorrow they of Frize will propose againe the buisness of the Ambassade and Presents for England, it had been done this day had it not been for the long Petition of the Councill of State. I have yours big last post and am heertily glad of your good recovery, I am sorry the Royall Company have altered their mind concerning Frederixburgh they will I feere repent it when too late, for it being on one side and Cabo Corso on the other side of the harbour it would alwayes have given them occasion to vye with the Dutch and have let them into that trade, and possibly the Dutch having so lame a title and in truth noon but possession to Cabo Corso to have served them there as they did as to the fort they have gott of the Duke of Corlands in the River Gambia, pray tell them thus from me and lett them not make slight thereof, I did write it would be impossible to gett the Rogue delivered to me, and I heerby confirm it, and am certain thereof as that I am alive, and espetially in Amsterdam who stand so much upon the inviting all people to live in this Countrey that when I had gott Broxter and them and had them in prison, Amsterdam sent order to their Deputyes in States Generall to move that the prison dcors might be sett open and they let go out publiquely at noon day, but as to the catching him out of the town when banished there this is a very strong undertaking to adventure upon such a thing in this Country without an order yet I am trying whether I can find two or thrae resolute blades that will undertake it, but what shall I promise them, for they must adventure their lives if any stirr should happen, and must resolve never to see this Country more, I am Sir.

Your most affect humble Servt.

G. Downing.

[*Endorsed*]

Hague

18 Dec.—63

Sir. G. Downing

DESPATCH IV

Downing's Conference with the Dutch on matters relating to the East Indies.

Hague, the 18th of March A^o. 1663 Old St.

Right Hon'ble,

Having bin (as I wrote in my last) desired by Monsieur de Witt to agree to have a conference with the Deputyes of the States of Holland in particular, concerning the matters about which I was now in dispute with the East and West India Companies of this Country, for that (said he) although I have given

an accompt as well as I could of what passed concerning them in the Conference held with the Deputyes of the States Generall, yet that he knew that it would be more convincing and satisfactory if they saw me and the Directors face to face, and heard the matters argued at large before themselves. Yesterday accordingly I had a conference with them concerning the Ships Hopewell and Leopard, there being also present the Directors of the East India Company with their Advocate and it was such a Conference as I have not before heard of, for that it was in the place where the States of Holland doe assemble and the Whole Estates En Corps were present, both the Nobles and all the Townes, and it continued from half ffive in the afternoone till half nyne at night, Whereby you may see what an influence this East India Company hath ; Monsieur De Witt and the Advocate of the East India Company spake for them, and myselfe for the East India Company at London. I shall not trouble you with a large Narrative of all that passed, for that it was for the most part a repetition (though more at large) of what had bin said concerning these Ships in the Conference with the Deputyes of the States Generall, of which you then had an accompt. Only in short as to the Hopewell, they said that she was designed for Couchin and that Couchin was at that time besieged at Sea and Land, and therefore that they might justly hinder her from trading there. I replied that she was not designed for Couchin, nor coming thither, but on her way directly along the coast for Porcatt, for which she was consigned and where noe forces of theirs were, but stopped by two ships of the East India Company of this Country and brought by force to Couchin, And for the making good that she was consigned to Porcatt, I produced not only a Copie of the Comission of James Snow Comander of her, and of the protest he made upon his being hindred to pursue his Voyage, and of the English President and Councill at Suratt after her returne thither, All which I had also produced at the Conference with the Deputyes of the States Generall, but (which I had gotten since) produced also a Copie of Heustaert who was Commander of the Dutch before Couchin, his letter wherein he acknowledgeth under his hand the receipt of the forementioned Protests and that he had hindred the said Hopewell from going to Porcatt. Whereupon both the Advocate of the East India Company and Monsieur De Witt replied that if that Paper were true, they must yeild the cause. But the Advocate pressed earnestly that they had not yet received their full information concerning this matter, and therefore they did desire that no finall conclusion might be taken concerning the same, untill the arrivall of their next returne Ships, I answered that this busines concerning the Hopewell in the Month of October 1662 by their owne confession they had had letters since that time, once from Cocheene by the Leopard, and twice from Suratt, the last of which letters from Suratt were

dated many Months after this had hapned, and did also by their owne confessions make mention thereof, and that all the papers that had passed pro and con, concerning this matter, would not fill a sheete of paper, and that it was but 15 dayes voyage from Porcat to Surat, and with what reason then could they demand further time upon that account, and that for the further verifying of that Copy of Heustaerdt's letter to be authentique, I was ready to give them the oaths of the Captaine and other officers of the Hopewell.

For the Leopard they did acknowledge that she was designed for Porcat but that then Couchin was taken, and the Radia of Porcat had submitted himselfe and his Country, by Treaty to their obedience and therefore that they might justly then hinder the Leopard or any other English ship from going to Porcat, that they had profferd the Commander of the Leopard to fetch such goods for him as were at Porcat, and that this was a Civilitie and more then they needed to have done. Moreover that they were inform'd by their letters that there was at that time no pepper or other goods ready at Porcat, for the Leopard, for that upon the surrender of Couchin the people of Porcat had all fled into the Country, and taken away their goods with them for feare least the forces of this Company should have turn'd that way, and that if the Leopard should have stay'd there, till goods had bene gotten out of that Country, that she would not have bene able to have return'd for Europe that yeare. I answered that if it were materiall to the question, I could make out that there was no such submission of the said Radia to them, as whereupon they could ground the hindring of our future trade there, but that this being nothing materiall to the businesse of the Leopard, I should as to this matter grant what ever they did affirme of this nature, Yea (if they pleas'd) that the said Radia had absolutely given them his whole Country and outed himselfe of all, and that yet this could signifie nothing as to the hindring the Leopard, to go at that time to Porcatt for that the English had at that time a settled factory at Porcatt in pursuance of a Treaty with the said Radia, that if the said Radia had not surrendred his Country but onely made some Treatie with them and that by that Treatie (take it at the worst) he should have oblig'd himselfe not to permit the English to trade any longer there, yet that he remaining still Prince the notification thereof must have come from him, and a competent time at least given for their remooveall with their effects, that if he had absolutely given them his Country that the like notification must have bene made by them of the East Indie Company of this Country, and the like time for remooveall and that this was not a matter of civilitie as they would alledge, but of right, for that their Conquest (or call it what they would) was not over the English and their goods but over the people of the Country, the English were friends to both, and so if Porcatt belonged to the

Radia the English and their goods were free, and if it belonged to the Dutch, the like. Suppose the King of Spaine (said I) should take Lisbon, Should the English and the Dutch who are friends to both loose their liberty or Estates? Withall that they might consider that at the time of the besieging of Couchin his Majesty had a considerable fleete in the East Indies under the Command of the Earle of Malburrough and that he was solicited by the Portugaises to have intermedled in that businesse, but refus'd it, saying that his Majesty was a neuter as in friendship with both, but if this maxime were true that it were matter of friendship and not of right to let a common friend have his owne in case of the taking of a place, that then there were no such thing in nature as a neuter but that ipso facto every one that had any thing in a place or Country attacqu't were a party, and I tould them that however they of the East Indie Company were pleased at this time to make such an allegation as this because it served their present turne and made for them, yet that I was very sure that the Estates considering how their subjects with their fortunes were in all Kingdomes and Countries, and of how dangerous a Cconsequence such a maxime (if aver'd) would be to them, would be very farre from the owning thereof and in fine I beate them quite from this pretext and the Advocate did acknowledge though Porcat should have beene as much theirs as Couchin, that yet our goods did of right and not of civilitie or courtesie onely belong unto us but then (say'd he) though the right of them belonged to you yet it was in our power to say how, and in what ship you should carry them away, to which I reply'd that to say they were ours and yet that we might not dispose of them was all one as to say they were not ours, that they must consider that the Commander of the Leopard and the Factor at Porcatt were both under the Command of the President and Councill at Suratt, and the President and Councill at Suratt not their owne Masters but under the Command of the Company at London, that the Commander of the Leopard and the Factor at Porcatt were order'd by the President and Councill at Suratt in pursuance of the orders that they had from the Company at London, to putt and take on bord the Leopard such goods as were then at Porcatt, and therefore it was not in the power of the Commander of the Leopard to consent to the Lading them upon any Holland ship to be brought to them, nor in the power of the Factor to put them on bord any such ship, and what assurance could they have that such Holland ship should not have carried them to Batavia, instead of bringing them to the Leopard, or suppose such ship should have beene cast away who should have secur'd them from their Masters at London, and it is not in the East Indies as in these parts of Europe, where new orders or other shipping may be had every weeke or ten dayes, a dis-appointment on hinderance there, is a losse of a yeare or two,

so that to say the goods were not ours or to hinder our ship from taking them away was the same thing, and the one as justifiable as the other, Afterwards I added that though for shortning this dispute I had granted whatever they had alledged, of the Radia of Porcatt his having submitted himselfe to them, yet if that were the question, if the East Indie Company pleased to have recourse to their last advice from Surat they would find that he was at that time in open defiance with them. Moreover that the Leopard her arrivall at Couchin was but very few dayes after the surrender thereof, that none of their forces had gone from thence at Porcatt but all forthwith the contrary way to Cananore, nor any notice any way given to the English at Porcat of any accord or agreement made by them with the Radia thereof, much lesse any notification given them to withdraw themselves, and time prefixt for the doing thereof, which must have beene done suppose the worst that could be suppos'd, and if it had beene done so much the less excusable was the hindring of the Leopard to go thither in order to the taking away of what they had there, and for what they had alledged that there was at that time no pepper or other goods at Porcatt for the Leopard, I answer'd what was that to them, that this might be a Proposition to be alledged, if the question were about the value of the dammage Sustayned by the hindring of her, but that it was of no waight as to the justifying of the action, besides that though possibly the people of Porcat might upon the first apprehension have carried away their goods yet that seeing their forces march a quite contrary way as they did immediately after, and upon the arrivall of an English Ship the goods would have beene there quickly againe, and in the close I appealed tot he Commissioners whether there remained the least shadow of a pretext for what had beene done to the said ship in defeating her voyage, and Dewitt thereupon prest the Advocate very hard to know if he could say no more in justification of what they had done, whereupon the said Advocate desired to have time concerning that ship also, for that (said he) possibly by our returne shippes wee may have some further information concerning it also, to which I reply'd that the said Advocate had in the beginning of the Conference declared severall times that though as to the Hopewell they desired more time, yet as to this ship they were fully informed by the letters they had already received and therefore that he should now desire more time as to this also, that this I must confesse I did not at all understand. In conclusion I added that whereas a Proposition had beene made to me in the last Conference with the Deputies of the Estates Generall concerning a Reglement for the avoyding of such disputes for the future, I declared that I was very ready to employ my indeavours therein and to that end receive and debate such propositions as should be made for the better ordering of the affaires of the two

Companies, and both Dewitt and the said Advocate sayd that they also were very desirous thereof, I tould them hat if this were done t'would be a greate profit to both, and that their actions would be worth yet one 50 more p. cent. and so the Conference ended.

I am Sir,
Your most affectionate humble Servant
G. Downing

[*Addressed*]

To the Right Hon'ble Sir Henry Bennett
one of his Majesties Principall Secretaries
of State and one of his Majesties most Hon'ble
Privy Councill.

These
Whitehall

[*Endorsed*]

Hague
18 Marh 166 $\frac{3}{4}$ S.V.R: 21
Sir Geo. Downing
Hopewell & Leopard Shipps

MIRZA NAJAF KHAN

A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, Calcutta.

At a time when Shah Alam the last real Mughal Emperor of India was sadly lacking in resources, and the once great empire of his forefathers was fast dwindling into a mere shadow of its former self there appeared on the political firmament of India, a bright star in the person of Mirza Najaf Khan, who, though a foreigner to the land, was destined to play a conspicuous role in the political history of India.

Mirza Najaf Khan who was a native of Persia is said to have been a lineal descendant of Muhammad, the Prophet of Arabia.¹ When Tahmasp Quli Khan, better known as Nadir Shah, usurped the throne and territories of Persia he put under confinement all persons who claimed to be of blood royal including Najaf Khan, his mother and only sister.

In 1746 Mirza Muhsin Khan, the brother of Nawab Safdar Jang, the Subadar of Oudh, was deputed by Emperor Muhammad Shah of Delhi on an embassy to Nadir Shah in Persia. This nobleman interceded on behalf of the prisoners and secured among others the liberation of Najaf Khan and his family. Najaf Khan and his sister, Khadija Sultan Begam, then 13 years of age, came away to India with Mirza Muhsin Khan while his mother, advanced in age and unwilling to leave the place of her birth, preferred to remain in Persia. Shortly after their arrival in India Mirza Najaf Khan, in gratitude, gave the hand of his sister in marriage to Muhsin Khan, their deliverer.

Mirza Najaf Khan then took service under Muhammad Quli Khan, the Qiladar of Allahabad, and when the latter, at the instance of Shujaud-Daulah, the Nawab Vazir of Oudh, was murdered in cold blood, Najaf Khan proceeded, in 1762, towards Patna in the hope of making his fortune there. He presented himself at the court of Mir Qasim, the Nawab of Bengal, who was then at war with the English. The Nawab, who was on the look out for an enterprising and adventurous young man like him, received him cordially, appointed him to the command of a body of Mughal horse and sent him to fight the English. Najaf Khan fiercely attacked and bravely fought the enemy at Udhua Nala and other places and on all occasions he made himself conspicuous by his vigour, intrepidity and gallantry. But fate had decreed otherwise and Mir Qasim was defeated and practically compelled to retire into oblivion.

Mir Qasim now resolved to seek asylum in Oudh under Shujaud-Daulah, but Najaf Khan who was aware of Shujaud-Daulah's selfish mentality dissuaded him from taking this step.

¹ Maasirul Umara under "Zulfaqarud-Daulah."

Mir Qasim, however, crossed over to Oudh and took refuge under the Nawab Vazir. Najaf Khan, having no confidence in the Vazir, left his master, Mir Qasim, to his fate and sought shelter in Bundelkhand² where he remained and faithfully served under Guman Singh, a chief of that place, till 1765. After the conclusion of the Treaty of Allahabad in 1765, Najaf Khan was sent for by Shah Alam and appointed Steward of the Royal Palace. In this capacity Najaf Khan efficiently carried out his duties and by his unremitting efforts and unbounded zeal brought the confused state of the royal household and its finances to a stable footing. Shah Alam was so pleased with his fidelity and devotion to duty that he at once recommended him to Lord Clive for pardon for his past hostilities against the English and obtained for his maintenance a pension of 2 lakhs of rupees³ payable from the revenues of the province of Kora. Shah Alam after leading a comparatively peaceful life for 7 years (1765-71) under British protection at Allahabad returned to Delhi in 1771 at the earnest persuasions of the Mahrattas who promised him a share in all their conquests. Najaf Khan followed his royal master to Delhi⁴.

The first object to which Shah Alam directed his attention on his arrival at Delhi was the punishment of the contumacious Zabita Khan, the son of his late minister, Najibud-Daulah. Zabita Khan unlike his father had begun to show signs of disobedience and revolt. Shah Alam ordered the Mahratta forces to march in advance while Najaf Khan was directed to follow them with his body of Mughal troops. A terrific battle took place between Zabita Khan and the imperial army on the outskirts of Saharanpur. Najaf Khan fought with courage and determination and Zabita saved his life by flight. The Mahratta army hotly pursued the flying enemy but he managed to escape. They then took possession of his camp which was full of arms and ammunition, money and materials.

The Mahrattas contrary to the stipulations previously made by them, exclusively appropriated the spoils of victory and refused to share them with their Mughal comrades. This naturally created discontentment among the latter. Shah Alam was disgusted at this unseemly behaviour of the Mahrattas and resolved to get rid of them as soon as possible. With this object in view he ordered them to march forthwith against the Jats who were then raising the standard of revolt under their leader Nawal Singh. A few days later Shah Alam learnt with surprise that the Mahrattas, instead of giving fight to the Jats, were busy intriguing with Zabita Khan. Their perfidious conduct infuriated Shah Alam to such an extent that he made up his mind to crush the iniquitous confederacy. Najaf Khan, the tried and trusted leader, was consulted in the

2 Ibid.

3 I.R.D., Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, (1767-9) No. 192.

4 I.R.D., Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. III, (1770-2), No. 830.

matter. He advised Shah Alam, first of all, to augment the strength of the royal forces. Najaf Khan was accordingly appointed paymaster general of the imperial force⁵ and was entrusted with the task of raising fresh troops with promptitude and despatch.

Najaf Khan threw himself whole-heartedly into this task and by his indefatigable energy and unremitting toil he rallied round the royal standard a considerable number of troops within a very short time. He appealed to their royal sentiments by publicly declaring that the rally was meant to protect the sacred person of the emperor and safeguard the imperial interest from the insolent menaces of the Mahrattas.

In the meantime the Mahrattas entered into an agreement with Zabita Khan to obtain for him the royal pardon and the office of Amirul-Umara in consideration of a large sum of money. They sent an emissary to His Majesty to negotiate in this matter, but Shah Alam, relying on the ability and loyalty of Najaf Khan, assumed a bold attitude and dismissed the envoy with a curt refusal.

Najaf Khan, under the emperor's orders, marched his troops against the Mahrattas and posted himself near the Ajmer Gate while the Mahrattas, who overwhelmingly outnumbered their opponents, drew themselves up at some distance. A furious conflict ensued. Najaf Khan vigorously attacked the enemy and was on the point of winning the day when unfortunately he was wounded and disabled for the time being by an accident caused by the explosion of a wagon of ammunition. This caused considerable confusion in the army and Shah Alam convinced of the futility of prolonging the contest ordered the withdrawal of the imperial forces. He then opened negotiations with the enemy.⁶ The Mahrattas attended the royal court with Zabita Khan. The latter was pardoned and appointed Amirul-Umara (1772 A. D.)

At this time the exalted office of Prime Minister was occupied by Husamuddin Ali Khan, a low, and debased courtier of Shah Alam, who had risen to power only by means of sycophancy.⁷ Himself an ignoble person, he eyed with jealousy the rise of Najaf Khan and missed no opportunity of belittling his high accomplishments and refined culture. After the reinstatement of Zabita Khan he succeeded in convincing the emperor that Najaf Khan was solely responsible for his (the emperor's) humiliation and discomfiture and advised his immediate execution.

Najaf Khan foreseeing the gathering storm retired prudently to his own palace. There he collected his friends and dependents numbering about 3,000

5. I. R. D. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV, (1772-5) No. 473.

6. I. R. D. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV, (1772-5), No. 122.

7. H. G. Keene: *The Fall of the Moghul Empire* (1876), p. 76.

around him, who pledged to lay down their lives in protecting him and his interests. Instigated by Najaf Khan's inveterate enemy, Husamud-Din, the Mahratta forces were ordered to assault his palace. Things for the time being assumed a very serious outlook. Najaf Khan though hemmed in by adverse circumstances determined to face the calamity like a true and valiant soldier rather than surrender himself meekly to his opponents. But Takoji Hulkar, admiring the fearless and intrepid attitude taken up by Najaf Khan and being ashamed of the atrocious part his countrymen were adopting took upon himself the task of mediation and succeeded in effecting a reconciliation. Najaf Khan then proceeded to the royal presence and made his obeisance to the emperor who received him graciously and honoured him with a *khilat*.

In 1773 the Mahrattas were driven out from the Doab by the combined forces of Najaf Khan, Nawab Shujaud-Daulah and the English. With the departure of the Mahrattas, Husam-ud-Din Khan, their agent at court, fell from power and Najaf Khan was left free to carry out important administrative reforms and to chastise the Jats who were giving trouble incessantly. Nawal Singh, the Jat Chieftain, hearing of the approach of the imperial army, set out from the fort of Dig with his formidable forces and met it halfway. A short but decisive engagement took place. Najaf Khan inflicted heavy losses on the enemy and eventually forced them to retreat leaving behind them a camp full of arms and ammunition and other valuable effects. Nawal Singh with a few attendants took refuge in the fort of Dig and the rest of his army dispersed precipitately.

The booty seized was considerable and this prevented the immediate pursuit of the fugitive leader. In the exultation of his victory Najaf Khan sent an express account of it to Delhi where the news was received with the highest satisfaction by Shah Alam and the nobles of the court. Rewards and honours were promptly conferred on him and his army by the emperor. Najaf Khan next led the army to Agra and laid a siege to the town. The garrison was compelled for want of provision to sue for peace and ultimately surrendered the fort and its dependencies. The intelligence of this important event was at once conveyed to Delhi through a messenger who also carried with him the key of the fort to be laid at the foot of the throne.

Meanwhile, a treaty having been concluded between Shah Alam and Shujaud-Daulah at Delhi, Najaf Khan was recalled from Agra and commanded to join Shujaud-Daulah in his war against the Rohillas. He unhesitatingly obeyed the royal command and in conformity with the emperor's directions led his army towards Rohilkhand. He acquitted himself creditably in this war. After several desultory skirmishes he worsted the Rohillas at the battle of Katehr. After the successful termination of this campaign he proceeded to pay his respects

to Shujaud-Daulah who received him with due honour and as a reward for his meritorious services appointed him to the *niabat* of *vaxarat*, an office more honourable than lucrative. Najaf Khan gratefully accepted the honour and returned to Delhi.

Arriving at Delhi he resumed his unfinished campaign against the Jats and marched towards the fort of Dig, the only stronghold of consequence left to the Jats, and laid siege to it. The fort of Dig was so long considered impregnable and was defended by a numerous garrison. The siege lasted for more than 12 months. The garrison had already become attenuated for want of provisions and the repeated assaults made by the beseigers when death suddenly claimed their leader Nawal Singh and caused chaos and confusion among the rank and file. Nawal's brother Ranjit Singh who succeeded to the command was determined to defend to the last the honour and prestige of his race. But his own troops became impatient and mutinied. In this predicament he abandoned all hope of resistance and decided to withdraw from the fort stealthily.

On a pitch dark night he took with him his family and as much treasure as he could conveniently carry and effected his escape from the beseiged fort. Next morning the besiegers were astonished to find the walls of the fort unmanned and no signs of activity of any kind whatsoever. Najaf Khan at first suspected stratagem but a closer inspection of the surroundings revealed the fact that the rebels had actually retired. He triumphantly entered the fort and took possession of it. With the capture of Dig in 1776 an immense plunder fell into the hands of the Mughal army. The remaining parts of the Jat country submitted quietly. Najaf Khan imposed heavy fines on the recalcitrant zamindars who had sided with the Jats and the money thus obtained was utilised in discharging the arrears of his troops. The conquest of the Jats was complete.

Najaf Khan now directed his attention to the collection of revenue and the reformation of the administration at Agra when he was suddenly called off by a letter received from Shah Alam who required his immediate presence at Delhi. On his arrival he was directed to march against Zabita Khan who had again become troublesome and who, at the head of a considerable number of Sikhs whom he had collected around him, was creating disturbances near the capital. Shah Alam who was by this time sick of Zabita Khan's treachery determined to inflict an exemplary punishment on him. He himself took the command of his army and accompanied by Najaf Khan marched against him. In the battle that ensued Najaf Khan utterly routed Zabita Khan and his confederates, the Sikhs. Zabita Khan fled for his life across the Jumna and the Sikh army melted away. Najaf Khan thereafter returned to Agra in order to resume his duties there.

About this time the regents of Raja Pratap Singh of Jaipur had grown refractory. They took advantage of the temporary absence of the royal army from the capital and suspended sending the customary tribute to the imperial treasury. Shah Alam accordingly ordered Majdud-Daulah Abdul Ahad Khan, a spirited nobleman of his court, to march against them. Majdud-Daulah, a second Husamud-Din in cunning and unscrupulousness, was eager to satisfy his own selfish ends and looked with envy upon the ever-increasing authority of Najaf Khan. Here was a favourable opportunity for him to gratify his ambition and to establish his influence over Shah Alam.

He gathered together an army and accompanied by Shah Alam marched to punish the Rajput prince and his wily advisers. The rebels offered a mild resistance but were eventually defeated. The easy success of the operation emboldened Majdud-Daulah to induce His Majesty to undertake a tour of the province of Ajmer and at the same time pay his devotion to the shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, a Mohammedan saint of repute, at Ajmer. The idea was to separate the Emperor from Najaf Khan by a considerable distance and to use this opportunity to poison his mind against his own rival.

Najaf Khan hearing of the success of the operations against the Rajput prince and being apprised of Majdud-Daulah's evil designs ventured on a personal visit to the royal camp. Leaving Agra to the care of his friend Muhammad Beg Khan he marched towards Jaipur. The Jaipur ministers after their disgraceful defeat tried to make peace overtures on behalf of their master. Negotiations had been started and a large *peshkash* was offered on the part of the young prince. Najaf Khan, when he was informed of the situation, wrote to His Majesty and advised him to the effect that the conclusion of any treaty should be held in abeyance till his arrival at Jaipur. Shah Alam had the sagacity to accept this advice and put a stop to all negotiations for the time being.

In a few days' time Najaf Khan reached the neighbourhood of the royal camp. Shah Alam hearing of his approach sent his third son Prince Yazdan Bakht to receive him with due honour and ceremony and conduct him to the royal presence. When Najaf Khan reached the royal camp he was received by His Majesty with marks of honour and affection. It was now that Majdud-Daulah realised the enormous influence his rival wielded over the emperor and how difficult it was to counteract it.

On the arrival of Najaf Khan negotiations with the Jaipur ministers were resumed. Raja Pratap Singh, who was naturally penitent, presented himself at the royal camp and offered a *peshkash* of 5 lakhs of rupees. He was pardoned and restored to the government of Jaipur. The royal army, having thus settled the affairs at Jaipur, returned to Delhi. Soon after his arrival

Najaf Khan celebrated, with due pomp and grandeur, the marriage ceremony of his youngest daughter, with Nawab Najaf Quli Khan. Shah Alam graced the occasion with his august presence. A few days later Najaf Khan departed again for Agra, the seat of his administration and his favourite resort.

At about this time news reached Delhi of the defeat of the royal army under Majdud-Daulah at the hands of the Sikhs and of its disgraceful and disorderly retreat. Shah Alam was highly dissatisfied with Majdud-Daulah and urgently summoned Najaf Khan from Agra to retrieve the prestige of the imperial arms. Najaf Khan in obedience to the command marched hurriedly towards the capital. On his way to Delhi he was met by Majdud-Daulah whom he placed under arrest and sent him to the capital under a strong escort. Najaf Khan on reaching Delhi escheated his entire property to the royal exchequer. He then presented himself at court where he was received with every mark of favour and affection. In return he made an offering of 4 lakhs of rupees to His Majesty together with some fine Persian horses for the royal stable. He now lost no time in carrying out the mission for which he had been summoned. He hastily mobilised a strong army and sent it under his nephew, Mirza Shafi Khan, to check the disturbances of the Sikhs. The invaders assembled and faced the imperial forces near Meerut. But their unskilled mode of warfare fell far short of the disciplined valour of the Mughal veterans. The Sikhs were defeated and were compelled to evacuate the country with the loss of their leader and 5,000 men.

Najaf Khan, who had by this time set the affairs at Agra in order and whose presence there was no longer necessary, decided to pass the remaining days of his life peacefully at the capital. His Majesty, who also wanted this old servant to remain by his side, favoured the idea and assigned to him for his residence the palace of his late vazir, Qamarud-Din Khan.

Najaf Khan had been ailing from a severe rheumatic pain for several years. This was aggravated by other complications due to his irregular mode of life. In this bad state of health he languished for several months and died full of honours and glory on Monday the 22nd Rabiussani (6th April 1782). His death was deeply mourned by Shah Alam, who frequently visited him during his last illness. It was also lamented by the inhabitants of Delhi who loved and revered him. He was laid to his eternal rest in the sepulchre of Ali Mardan Khan at Aliganj to the south of New Delhi.

THE CARNATIC AND NASIR JANG

(1749-50)

Professor C. S. Srinivasachari M. A., Annamalai University*I. The situation in the last years of Nizamu'l-Mulk—*

The death of Asaf Jah Nizamu'l-Mulk near Burhanpur saw the Carnatic in an intensely confused condition. His successors were strikingly inferior to him in ability as well as in character. The late Nizam's eldest son, Mir Muhamad Panah, Ghaziu'd-din-Khan, was at Delhi as his father's deputy at the Imperial Court. Nasir Jang seized the Viceroyalty as he had already acted for some years as his father's deputy and was on the spot. The late Nizam had, largely under the influence of Imam Sahib, been pro-French in his attitude towards European powers of the Coromandel Coast. Imam Sahib was the faujdar of Alambari and then of Masulipatam, but owing to his enmity with Nawab Safdar Ali, he joined the service of the Nizam. This Imam Sahib enjoyed great favour and influence at the court of the Nizam and was eagerly looked up to by both the English and French who were solicitous of favours. Indeed, Nawab Anwaru'd-din Khan who had become master of the Carnatic in 1744 had been persuaded by his eldest son, Mahfuz Khan, and his Diwan, Rajah Sampath Rai, to favour the English while the French had always been noted for their friendship with the Nawayat, the community to which the late Nawabs and Chanda Sahib belonged and kept up a close correspondence with the latter, during his imprisonment at the hands of the Marathas and with Rahguji Bhonsle. In the course of the First Carnatic war, between the English and the French, Mutyalu Naicken was sent to Nasir Jang by the English in order to counteract the influence of Imam Sahib who acted as the French agent at the Nizam's court. Then Nasir Jang promised to help the English; but Imam Sahib had persuaded old Nizamu'l-Mulk even to write to the Emperor at Delhi that the English were in the wrong. Nawab Anwaru'd-din Khan was written to by Nasir Jang to accompany him with troops in his intended march into the Carnatic as he had been put in charge of the districts south of the Krishna by Nizamu'l-Mulk. Anwaru'd-din Khan was reported to contemplate the recall of Mahfuz Khan from Nasir Jang's camp and to join him as the situation on the coast became serious. After the events following the French capture of Madras (Sept., 1746) Nasir Jang seems to have begun negotiations for an agreement with the English that he would recover Madras for a sum of ten lakhs of pagodas, according to Ananda Ranga Pillai, the Pondicherry Diarist

and three lakhs, according to the English Records, (*vide Country Correspondence* 1748, No. 5, p. 2) and 3,000 pagodas for each day the army marched and 2,000 pagodas for each day he halted; (*vide* entry for October 35, 1747 and Mr. Dodwell's note on the subject of the amount, p. 189 of Vol. iv of *Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary*). When Anwaru'd-din Khan heard that owing to repeated English requests, Nasir Jang had resolved to come down into the Carnatic, he wrote to Mahfuz Khan to bring about a frustration of the projected march, saying that what between French arrogance, English cowardice and the prevailing famine, the country was ruined and could not bear the expenses of Nasir Jang's army.

The news of Nasir Jang's departure for the Balaghat after finishing his negotiations with Mysore was very welcome to the old Nawab, who had so moulded several nobles at the Nizam's court that they were always speaking of the bravery of the French and the cowardice of the English. Moreover, old Nizamul-Mulk, who was engaged in operations round Daulatabad, had ordered Nasir Jang to return to the Deccan in order to help him against a projected Maratha invasion. Mutyalu Naicken who was sent as envoy by the English Presidency at Fort St. David to Nasir Jang's camp, spent a large amount of money in presents without getting anything substantial in return, and both Nawab Anwaru'd-din and his Diwan, Raja Sampath Rai, declared jestingly that the English had lost their good fortune and also their wits. Mutyalu Naicken did indeed secure a measure of diplomatic success as he returned accompanied by a band of Mughal and Maratha horsemen and three hundred peons and as Anwaru'd-din was commanded by a *parwana* to order all the Poligars to assist the English against the French and as Dupleix was enjoined by another *parwana* to abstain from further hostilities against the English. The French could only resort to the dirty expedient of intriguing for the seizure of Mutyalu Naicken on his way from Arcot to Fort St. David. For this purpose, an adventurer in the French service, Abdur Rahman, was detailed off with a hundred horse and ammunition, to waylay Mutylau Naicken with the help of the Poligar of Vettavalam. The Naicken was, however, too clever to get caught. The French were hoping that if the Marathas invaded the Carnatic as they had threatened to do, the Nawab and his sons would be busy defending themselves and then they could settle everything about Fort St. David in spite of Nasir Jang's *parwana* to the Nawab to assist the English. Dupleix had also received letters from the pro-French party at Nasir Jang's court that the latter had always admired French valour. In the beginning of 1748, news reached Pondicherry that Anwaru'd-din was not on good terms with his eldest son Mahfuz Khan and that Fateh Singh and Raghuji Bhonsle had assembled their troops at Akalkot for a march on the Carnatic and that Chanda Shaib had been liberated. Above all, information was received about the death of the Emperor

Muhammad Shah about the end of April and of Nizamul-Mulk, some weeks later¹.

II. Chanda Sahib's re-entry into the Carnatic—

News reached Pondicherry in June 1748 that Chanda Sahib had obtained his release from Maratha custody by the influence of the wife of Rajah Shahu and that he had also definitely settled the question of Trichinopoly. Negotiations had been going on for some time between the Marathas and the Nawayat re'ations of Chanda Sahib in the Carnatic, even from 1744. Chanda Sahib seems to have been promised his release on certain conditions even then ; perhaps he then exchanged Raghuji Bhonsle for the Peishwa Balaji Rao for his jailor. In 1745, the Pondicherry Council agreed to lend Chanda Sahib a lakh of rupees ; but it had no funds at its disposal then. After the French victory in 1746, Dupleix and the relations of Chanda Sahib began to concert measures for his liberation. Even then Dupleix refused to guarantee the payment of his ransom, but only offered to act as the agent of the Marathas in its collection. He even then advised Chanda Sahib's son, Reza Sahib, to assemble all the forces of the Nawayats and fall upon Anwaru'd-din, who was then lying sick at Arcot ; and he promised to pay the lakh offered by him in the previous year as soon as Chanda Sahib should reach the Carnatic.

Chanda Sahib departed from Satara early in 1748 and proceeded slowly to the south awaiting communication from his friends. On the banks of the Krishna, his help was requested both by the Poligar of Chitaldrug and by his enemy, the Rani of Bednore, but owing to the jealousy of a Nawayat Captain of the Bednore forces, Chanda Sahib took the side of the ruler of Chitaldrug. In the battle that ensued, at Myconda, south of the Tungabadra, Chanda Sahib's eldest son, Abid Sahib, was slain and he himself was taken prisoner to Bednore. The Rani of Bednore could not, however, keep him for long. He seems to have again received an invitation from the ruler of Chitaldrug to take command

¹ Varying dates are given for the death of the Nizam. Grant-Duff dates it as having occurred on June 19, 1748. The Country Correspondence of the English gives it as May 21, (June 1) as quoted by Dodwell. Burgess states (p. 188 of his Chronology of India) thus; "June, Jumada II, Asaf Jah, Nizamul-Mulk dies". The death of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, the astrological details of which are given by the Diarist, Ranga Pillai, can be dated on this basis for April 17-28, but there is a day's difference according to another reckoning which puts it down as April 26/27; Rabi II, 27, H. 1161. The date given in Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (revised by Keene, 1894) for the Nizam's death, is 22nd May, 1748 (old style) 4th Jumada II. A. H. 1164, i. e., 37 days after the death of Muhammad Shah. This date is confirmed by a letter of Imam Sahib to Pondicherry quoted by the Diarist in his entry for July 7, 1748. The news of the Nizam's death reached Arcot only sixteen days after its happening, which was fixed by the Diarist for June 2. The chronogram of his death is Mutawajjih-i-Behisht (turned towards paradise) - p. 284 of Y. H. Khan's *Nizamul-Mulk Asaf Jahi*. A rumour was prevalent that the Nizam took poison and died as he heard that his eldest son Ghaziu'd-din Khan was ordered to be executed by the Emperor Anwaru'd-din was in fear of an attack by Murtaza Ali of Vellore and there was confusion in Arcot (p. 75, of Vol. V of *Ranga Pillai's Diary*).

against Bednore. He then got a complete victory over Bednore and gathered for himself three thousand of the enemy's horse who offered their services to him as well as two thousand five hundred troops of his own ally; thus he had a large force with him when he interfered in the Carnatic politics.

Chanda Sahib had already planned to send his son, Abid Sahib, to the Nizam, in order to treat with him for the restoration of the Carnatic to him even before 1747. But the Nizam was not willing to restore Trichinopoly to Hindu rule, as that was one of the conditions insisted upon by the Marathas for Chanda Sahib's release. (See entry of Ananda Ranga Pillai in his *Diary* for the 24th of January 1747). Apparently the failure of Chanda Sahib to get his release earlier was caused partly by the opposition of the Nizam and partly by the failure of Dupleix to furnish the necessary ransom. Orme and Wilks differ in their versions as to the sequence of Chanda Sahib's activities in his wars with Bednore. Perhaps, he joined Muzaffar Jang, the Mughal governor of Adoni and Bijapur, very shortly after his release in 1748 and was employed in raising money for his new master in the *subah* of Bijapur, out of which arose the Bednore and other affairs. It was now that he should have persuaded Muzaffar Jang to embark on the plan of first seizing the Carnatic and afterwards the Deccan itself.

To return to the subject:—Meanwhile Imam Sahib wrote to Pondicherry from Nasir Jang's camp at Aurangabad that the late Nizam had left an enormous quantity of his treasure at that place and that a letter of congratulation should be written to the new Nizam, requesting him for a continuance of favours. Chanda Sahib had reached Krishna early in July 1748; and proposals were sent to him by Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore, a Nawayat cousin of his, that they should divide the Carnatic between them. Unrest began to spread; and Muhammad Ali, the son of Anwaru'd-din, who was then in the Tinnevely country, was ordered to return to Trichinopoly and to strengthen the garrisons of both Trichinopoly and Madura. Plenty of trouble ensued to the old Nawab at Arcot from the feudatories in his immediate neighbourhood. The Muhammadan governmental organisation in the Carnatic had never recovered from the effects of the great Maratha invasion of 1740-41. The succeeding years had been full of murders and anarchy. The death of Nizamu'l-Mulk released the disruptive forces that had been partially held in check by the terror of his name. While Murtaza Ali planned to join with Chanda Sahib's forces, the Hindu principalities of Tanjore and Mysore schemed to restore Hindu rule in Trichinopoly. Chanda Sahib's descent south greatly troubled Anwaru'd-din who sent his family for safety to Trichinopoly. He endeavoured to keep the favour of Muzaffar Jang by writing to him a very conciliatory letter. About the middle of 1749, the Bednore affair having been settled, Muzaffar Jang and

Chanda Sahib descended into the Carnatic proper, through the Anantapur district. Finally, about the end of July, there took place the battle of Ambur between the invaders and Anwaru'd-din.

Chanda Sahib advanced through the Damalcheruvu Pass, to the north-west of Chittore; the French and their allies effected a junction with him, routed Anwaru'd-din at Ambur and then occupied Arcot. Ambur did not lie on the road which would lead an invading army from Damalcheruvu to Arcot. Mr. Dodwell queries why Anwaru'd-din should have taken his post at Ambur or why Chanda Sahib should have turned aside from Arcot to meet him. Burhanuddin, in his *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*, says that Husain Khan Tahir, the Nawayat jaghirdar of Amburgadh, persuaded the Nawab to encamp before his fort, in the plain, with a treacherous motive; and he details the treachery of the Tahiran, as well as the way in which Muzaffar Jang was dissuaded out of his inclination to make peace with the old Nawab.

III. *The Reaction after the Battle of Ambur—Nasir Jang in the Carnatic.*

By the beginning of September 1749, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang were at Arcot. Many of the *Killedars* of the Subah had submitted, while Mir Asad, the Killedar of Chetpattu, who had been diwan to Nawabs Dost Ali and Safdar Ali, stood out for some time. Meanwhile news was received that Nasir Jang was greatly depressed by the death of Anwaru'd-din and planned to send his younger brother with an army. Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib made a state entry into Pondicherry and spent a number of days there in festivities. They indulged in revelry and high hopes, but felt keenly the want of money, which the French could not give them. Muzaffar Jang himself was very close-fisted and constantly dunned his ally for a supply. Moreover, he was anxious to go north, since he heard that Murari Rao Ghorepade was marching down on the Carnatic with several thousands of horsemen and Pindaris, turning everything upside down and planning to march on Arcot; and Nasir Jang himself had begun his march from Aurangabad with a body of 30,000 horse. We need not dwell here on the operations of Chanda Sahib and his ally in the country round Fort St. David and in Udaiyarpalayam and Tanjore, in their desperate endeavour to fill their treasury.

Abdul Amin Khan, the younger son (or brother?) of Abdul Nabi Khan, Nawab of Cuddapah, wrote to Chanda Sahib that it would be an easy task for him to capture Tanjore and Trichinopoly, but Gingi was very strong and should be kept in friendly hands; his elder brother was now the ruling Nawab of Cuddapah and he was the Nawab of Savnur and Bankapur; ² he expressed a

² There is some doubt about the identity of this person. The Diarist speaks of him in another place as Abdul Majid Khan. The families of the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Savanur were related. He probably confuses the Nawab of Savanur with Abdul Majid who succeeded Abdul Nabi of Cuddapah and who was followed by Abdul Alim Khan (Abdul Amin).

desire in the letter to open communications with Dupleix. He was later to play a prominent part in the intrigues that brought about the deaths of Nasir Jang and Muzaffar Jang in quick succession. When Nasir Jang marched south through Kalyan and Gulbarga and his general, Sayyad Lashkar Khan, reached the banks of Krishna, the Pondicherry Diarist heard that the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Savanur were moving against him; and the Nawab of Kurnool, Himayat Khan, the other member of this infamous triumvirate, appears to have actually attacked and defeated a small force sent to him for Nasir Jang.

Nasir Jang wrote to the French that he would forgive their past offences if they should separate from their Muhammadan allies and be faithful to himself. Muhammad Ali who had escaped to Trichinopoly from Ambur, solicited French friendship and asked Dupleix to make peace with Nasir Jang and offered twice as much as the French might secure from his enemies. Nasir Jang sent two emissaries to Chanda Sahib at Tanjore to treat for peace (February 1749). These two, Moro Pant and Kazi Dayem, offered terms to Muzaffar Jang, now that Chanda Sahib was too busy with his attack on Tanjore to care about the enemies' approach. Dupleix suspected that Muzaffar Jang might be purposely spreading the rumour that Nasir Jang was coming down rapidly into the Carnatic because Chanda Sahib was not letting him manage the Tanjore affair. Nasir Jang reached the Changamah Pass early in March 1750 while Chanda Sahib had retreated from Tanjore to the neighbourhood of Chidambaram and finally to the fort of Tiruviti near Panruti, having to fight continuously during his retreat with a body of Maratha horse under Murari Rao. Rumours came that these Marathas were actually joined by English troops from Fort St. David. Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang reached Pondicherry safely and immediately demanded money from Dupleix. They pitched their camp at Villiyanallur, almost under the very walls of Pondicherry as if for protection from its guns. Nasir Jang occupied Gingi quite easily. Chanda Sahib's men greatly troubled him for the payment of arrears due to them. Dupleix had to order M. d'Auteuil, the French commandant, to encamp with French soldiers at Villiyanallur and see that the sepoys did not dun Chanda Sahib. But in spite of French reinforcements and protection, Maratha horsemen hovered on the outskirts of the camp, broke into a choultry at Villiyanallur and killed some Coffre troops stationed therein. The sense of insecurity that prevailed in the camp was great; and a rumour got about that Nasir Jang had captured Trichinopoly. On March 23, Chanda Sahib sent his *gumastah*, Rajo Pandit, and his son, Raza Sahib, to Dupleix, with letters from himself and Nasir Jang's emissaries to the effect that they would be willing to let Chanda Sahib retain the subah of Arcot, as he had been connected with that province for a number of years from the time of Nawab Sadatullah Khan and as the French Governor would not be content

unless he were confirmed as the Nawab of the Carnatic. This and another communication received from Chanda Sahib the next day, made the Diarist suspect that 'he (Chanda Sahib) was waiting to see which way the cat would jump' and hoped that Dupleix would advise him to make peace with Nasir Jang, particularly as he himself was to be confirmed in the possession of Arcot.

Muzaffar Jang, whom Nasir Jang was resolved to abase, seeing that Chanda Sahib was wavering, sent a letter to Dupleix in which he urged that D'Auteuil and his army should attack the enemy and that this was not the time to be indecisive. Dupleix himself had, on the receipt of the offers made on behalf of Nasir Jang, ordered the French troops to halt, expecting that peace would be made (Dodwell's note based on Dupleix's letter to the French Company, dated October 3, 1750, quoted on p. 486 of the Diary, vol. vi.)

IV. *Tortuous Negotiations of the French—*

An action took place between Nasir Jang's forces and the French allies on April 4; but little injury was done to either side; and on the evening of the same day, 13 French officers insisted on resigning their commissions and returning immediately to Pondicherry. This act done in the presence of the enemy is held as "even more disgraceful than the mutiny of the English officers in Bengal in 1776". D'Auteuil wrote to Dupleix from camp even on April 1, that 15 officers refused to fight because the army was considered too small to attack the enemy's 50,000 horse reinforced as they were, by 2,000 sepoy and 10 guns from the English. Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib also wrote that all the officers and soldiers of the French were opposed to fighting, as the enemy was strong with great stores of powder and shot, guns and good artillery men. Ananda Ranga Pillai tells us in his *Diary* that Dupleix sent Bussy to advise the mutinous officers to obey and persuade them to agree to fight. (Chanda Sahib's explanation to the Diarist on April 5; see pp. 17-22 of the Diary, Vol. vii). Even after this D'Auteuil retired on Villiyannallur, accompanied by Chanda Sahib and 4,000 of his horse. Muzaffar Jang however, refused to move, saying that Nasir Jang's people had come to treat with him after the engagement of the previous day and that he preferred to remain where he was, even at the risk of his life. This meant that Muzaffar Jang had really determined to desert his allies. Dupleix ordered a strict guard to be placed over the house in Pondicherry where his family resided. Chanda Sahib was inclined to throw the blame for this cowardly retreat on D'Auteuil; he declared that the Maratha officers in the enemy's camp were ready to abandon Nasir Jang who, just before the engagement, was inclined to retreat; but Muhammad Ali, Mahfuz Khan and others tried to restrain him from such a dishonourable action. At such a moment he urged D'Auteuil to attack Nasir Jang; but the French Commandant obstinately refused, as all his officers had

departed. He said, "the Europeans scattered in all direction ; D'Auteuil and a few soldiers went one way ; Muzffar Khan, the *jamadar*, went another way ; and his sepoys, a third". Muzaffar Jang declared that he could not incur the disgrace of running away out of fear ; Chanda Sahib was pursued by Maratha horsemen and could not reach Muzaffar Jang's camp ; when in the early morning the retreating army was surrounded by the enemy, they fought so well that Mahfuz Khan fell and Mohammad Ali was wounded—quite false news told by Chanda Sahib, who wanted to persuade others that he could have won in the engagement, if D'Auteuil had not retreated. Chanda Sahib also wanted to persuade the Diarist that Muzaffar Jang was in no way at fault, that he had not any previous design of joining Nasir Jang in which case he would have secured the restoration of his family from Pondicherry and that affairs were spoiled only by D'Auteuil and not by Muzaffar Jang. Of course Dupleix threw the entire blame on Muzaffar Jang ; but he permitted Chanda Sahib to negotiate with Murari Rao and his companions to abandon Nasir Jang, in return for Tadparti and the neighbouring country which were to be given to him. ³

Nasir Jang, on entering the Carnatic, had first summoned Muhammad Ali to join him from Trichinopoly and sent letters to Fort St. David requesting the English to send him a body of European troops. He ordered his own army to concentrate under the hills of Gingi and on the protection of its walls. He himself reached Gingi about the last week of March. Muhammad Ali joined him with about 6,000 horse at Valudavur, about 10 miles from Pondicherry ; the English detachment under Cope which had been sent previously to Trichinopoly to Muhammad Ali, accompanied him. On March 28, Nasir Jang was encamped between Villupuram and Koliyanur ; the English troops were said to be about 200 English soldiers, 100 *mestizos* and 200 *topasses* besides 400 sepoys. Moreover additional troops were sent from Fort St. David under the command of Lawrence. The Mughal camp stretched for about five miles from north to south and three miles from east to west. It was recorded by the Pondicherry Diarist that the Marathas and Kallars in Nasir Jang's camp made a sortie or two on the French camp on that afternoon but there was nothing that could be called fighting. Even in this situation, an emissary from Nasir Jang arrived to treat for peace, to whom, in the presence of Bussy, Muzaffar Jang replied that there could be no talk of peace without the approval of Dupleix. The emissary offered to grant *jaghirs* to both Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib and to repay the amounts they had borrowed from the French. Muzaffar Jang to whom the emissary came, sent for a French representative to be present during the conversations and his reply was given in the presence

³ Diarist's entry for April 5, pp. 17-22 of the *Diary*, Vol. vii.

of Bussy⁴. Dupleix wrote to Chanda Sahib that any negotiation should be conducted only through himself ; otherwise he was not for compromise at all. Shortly afterwards, Nasir Jang's engagement took place, on account of which the English Captain Cope, and the French Commandant, D'Auteuil, exchanged 'mutual recriminations regarding the breach of peace between the two nations'.

V. *The Plot thickens*—

Nasir Jang halted at Valudavur after his triumph where he received Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore to whom he gave Arcot. Mir Asad was made the Diwan of the Nawab Muhammad Ali and both agreed to pay the Nizam an annual tribute of 50 lakhs for the subah. (The Diarist tells us that Nawab Sadat-ullah Khan used to pay 12 lakhs a year ; Anwaru'd-din agreed to pay 24 lakhs ; and Mahfuz Khan 28 lakhs of rupees). Wandiwash was to be given over to Mir Asad who suggested that if Pondicherry were blockaded, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang's mother who were there, would have to be given up and most of the sepoys would desert from the French side. Major Lawrence who was in Nasir Jang's camp is said to have written letters to Dupleix and D'Auteuil that he would arrange to effect a peace between the French and Nasir Jang.

Nasir Jang was advised by his nobles like Sayyad Lashkar Khan and Sayyad Sharif Khan that the besieging of Pondicherry would prove a very arduous task and the English would not fight with French then as there was peace between them ; they were of the opinion that the subah of Arcot should be given to Muzaffar Jang and peace should be made with the French ; otherwise Chanda Sahib would return with European aid and renew the struggle for the Nawabship of Arcot. This counsel was all the more effective as Murari Rao, Sanoji Nimbalkar, Chandra Sen and other Maratha sardars in the Nizam's camp were preparing to depart. In reply to communications received from Nasir Jang and Shah Nawaz Khan, Dupleix sent ambassadors, including two of his Council, Mm. du Basset and Delarche, to the Mughal camp. Shah Nawaz Khan sympathized with the French ; but apparently he was not able to persuade his master who demanded the surrender of Chanda Sahib and firmly declined to give him the *subah* of Arcot. The French envoys returned to Pondicherry with a letter from Shah Nawaz Khan explaining the situation, to which a veiled threat of declaration of war was sent as a reply. In fact, the envoys said that Shah Nawaz Khan and his Peshkar, Ramdas Pandit, told them secretly that if they departed without hesitation, marched again with troops and fell upon Nasir Jang's camp-guards by night, he would arrange to get Arcot for Chanda Sahib and restore his territory to Muzaffar Jang. According to Orme, suspicions were

⁴ Diarist's entry for March 31 pp. 435—48 of Vol. vi. This is an effective support of Chanda Sahib's opinion that Muzaffar Jang had no pre-conceived plan of making his own terms with and submitting to Nasir Jang and that Dupleix's estimate of him was not fully justified.

entertained of the clandestine conduct of the French deputies who were intriguing with Shah Nawaz Khan. The French attacked Nasir Jang's camp on the night of the 27th April and effected a great deal of damage.

Ramdas Pandit is stated by the Diarist to have then offered terms of peace by which Trichinopoly was to be given to Chanda Sahib, as well as a *mansab* of 5,000 horse, a *jaghir* in the Arcot subah and permission to attack and plunder Tanjore. It was also stated that Muhammad Ali had been promised Arcot and that the English had agreed to help him on receiving a *cowle* for the Poonamalle and a part of Devanampatnam (Fort St. David) country as *inam*. In the council of the Nizam, when the consent of the nobles was asked for the appointment of Muhammad Ali to the subah of Arcot, Shah Nawaz Khan said that the subah should be only given to Chanda Sahib who deserved favour. Sayyad Lashkar Khan said that he would very willingly consent to Muhammad Ali's appointment; but as the French were opposed to him, he thought it inadvisable. Muhammad Ali openly quarrelled with Sayyad Lashkar Khan for his remarks; and Nasir Jang dissolved the council without giving the dress of honour to Muhammad Ali.

Muzaffar Jang's captivity in Nasir Jang's camp was not harsh, and he was easily enabled to correspond with his mother and other friends at Pondicherry. This lady was the half-sister of Nasir Jang and his elder brother Ghaziud-din Khan, who were the sons of Nizamu'l-Mulk's second wife. Nasir Jang is said to have relaxed the severity of the imprisonment of his nephew, possibly as a result of the letter that his sister wrote to him.

On May 3rd, the Nizam held a darbar before marching north, at which besides Sayyad Lashkar Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan, Sayyad Sharif Khan and his other Diwans, were also present Nawab Abdul Nabi Khan of Cuddapah, Himayat Bahadur Khan of Kurnool and other nobles. They all advised him to forgive Muzaffar Jang; while Jamil Beg Khan, the subadar of Berar, advised the Nizam to conciliate the French and win them over to his side; and Sayyad Lashkar Khan and others offered the same advice of submission and reconciliation to his uncle, to Muzaffar Jang.

Cope and Lawrence went to Nasir Jang's camp just then, but did not seem to have accomplished much. He desired the English to accompany him when he commenced his return march to Arcot; but Lawrence insisted on first receiving grants of the Poonamalle country, to which demand, the Nizam returned no answer (Dodwell's *The Madras Despatches, 1744-1765*; pp. 112-118).

Chanda Sahib knew that Nasir Jang was perfectly willing that Tanjore and Trichinopoly might be given to him; but he wanted Arcot and he well knew that Dupleix would not consent to any settlement if Arcot were not given; and

he contrived that his demands should be made known to Nasir Jang in very clear terms.

Shah Nawaz Khan wrote from the Nizam's camp at Arcot, dated May 11, that his master would continue to stay at that place for four months and that, if in the mean time Chanda Sahib gave satisfaction, the subah of Arcot would be given to him, while Trichinopoly and a *mansab jaghir* for Tanjore would be granted immediately. Dupleix even offered to guarantee that Muzaffar, if released, should not draw his sword against the Nizam. But Nasir Jang was suspicious that if Muzaffar Jang were released, Sayyad Lashkar Khan and others might choose him as their leader and give trouble to him. A rumour arose that when Nasir Jang was at Wandiwash, Muzaffar Jang escaped from his custody in the confusion caused by a storm.

The division of the Nizam's camp into the two parties respectively supporting the causes of Nasir Jang and his nephew, is seen clearly in the entries of the Diarist, Ranga Pillai. Muzaffar Jang's partisans like Sayyad Lashkar Khan, Jamil Beg Khan and the Pathan Nawabs of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Savanur are said to have resolved to overthrow Nasir Jang with their troops and to send Muzaffar Jang under a strong guard to Pondicherry for the sake of safety. Ramdas Pandit, whom Grant-Duff calls 'the traitor Ramdas' was secretly in favour of Muzaffar Jang's elevation but pretended to seek Nasir Jang's interest alone and at the same time did all in his power to encourage Sayyad Lashkar Khan and Muzaffar Jang's party, communicating to them all that passed with Nasir Jang. It was only Shah Nawaz Khan and his adherents that were opposed to Muzaffar Jang; all the others wished Nasir Jang to be overthrown. Shah Nawaz Khan was said to have arranged that Trichinopoly and Tanjore should be leased out to Chanda Sahib after being formally granted to Dupleix, who could occupy them and then lease them out to his *protege*; and that he (Shah Nawaz) himself would keep Arcot under him and give it over to Chanda Sahib, if the latter should be prompt in the payment of his tribute; and the amount owing to Dupleix from Muzaffar Jang should be paid by Chanda Sahib in return for the grant of Trichinopoly to him. On the other hand, it was rumoured that Nasir Jang was to have given the subah of Arcot to Muhammad Ali with Taqi Sahib of Wandiwash as his Diwan. Conflicting counsels thus prevailed in the Nizam's camp. It was reported that Muzaffar Jang had also promised to bring round Chanda Sahib and fetch him to Arcot. Chanda Sahib was advised by his brother Muhammad Ali Khan of Polur to beware of going to Arcot for any interview, even though he should be assured safety by an oath on the Quran. Shah Nawaz Khan is reported to have written to Dupleix, urging him to seize the fort of Valudavur. The Pathan Nawabs, Abdul Nabi Khan of Cuddapah, Himayat Bahadur Khan of

Kurnool and Majid Khan of Savanur refused to pay their *peshkash* to Nasir Jang on the ground that they have not paid any even to his father, that their lands were plundered by his poligars and that Nasir Jang was responsible for their continuing to maintain a large body of troops in the field. The Nawabs absented themselves from the Nizam's durbar; and an open collision between the Nizam's troops and their own followers was only averted by the intervention of Shah Nawaz Khan.

VI. *The Approach of the Crisis—*

In the beginning of July it was rumoured at Pondicherry that a number of nobles of the Nizam had resolved to release Muzaffar Jang, establish him as the *Subadar* of the Deccan and seize or slay Nasir Jang; and Muzaffar Jang's attempted escape, noted above, was in reality done with their connivance; and when it failed, the latter took all the blame on himself and contrived to pretend madness. Chanda Sahib advised that agents should be employed to arrange matters secretly with the Pathan Nawabs for the deposition of Nasir Jang. Letters were written cautiously by Dupleix, to Chanda Sahib's men at the Nizam's camp couched in general terms; and the messengers were given specific instructions to bring about an understanding between the discontented nobles and the Pathan Nawabs. The situation about the middle of August, was very unsatisfactory to the English while Dupleix pushed on his efforts and brought things at Nasir Jang's camp to the crisis which was to end with his assassination.

The French troops now gained a victory at Tiruviti over Muhammad Ali and compelled him to retreat with great loss. They planned to march towards Arcot by way of Gingi or Wandiwash.⁵

Nasir Jang continued to be indifferent to the quarrels among his nobles and their mutual recriminations. Shah Nawaz Khan charged Mir Asad with treasonable correspondence with Pondicherry, while Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore was advised to attack Pondicherry with the aid of Mir Asad who was rebuked for having previously suggested that Muhammad Ali was to be helped at all. Shah Nawaz Khan himself is said to have boasted that but for Nasir Jang's orders he should return at once to Aurangabad, he himself would

⁵ It appears from the *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* that Muhammad Ali had secured the friendship of the English by giving them the hope of the grant of the jaghir of Poonamalle, that Nasir Jang was persuaded by the intriguing Pathan Nawabs and Ramdas Pandit to order Muhammad Ali to sever his relationship with the English, that he had ordered Abdul Nabi Khan of Cuddapah and Himmat Khan of Kurnool to subjugate Fort St. David and Madras respectively, that Muhammad Ali contrived to give a large bribe to Ramdas Pandit through Raja Sampath Rai and Raja Bashan Das and to persuade them and Shah Nawaz Khan to see that the order for the expulsion of the English was withdrawn. When the battle was lost, Muhammad Ali fled to Gingi, but wished once again to proceed to Tiruviti to engage with the enemy; but he was suddenly recalled by the Nizam to his presence.

soon set out to attack Pondicherry. Dupleix was hopeful that if French troops should advance in the direction of Arcot, the Pathan Nawabs of Cuddapah and Kurnool would, as they had formerly promised, have a good chance of seizing the person of Nasir Jang, while Muhammad Ali would never approach the French troops.

Meanwhile events moved in quick succession. Nasir Jang continued inactive at Arcot. The English were sulky with Muhammad Ali and reduced to inaction, while Bussy carried the great fortress of Gingi by a sudden and surprising escalade, (September 11). This was regarded as a wonderful achievement and it awakened Nasir Jang to the true peril of situation. During the next two months there was inaction on both sides. D'Auteuil, the French Commandant, seemed strangely resolved to rest on Bussy's laurels. Dupleix urged him to advance at once against Nasir Jang. One of the Maratha *mansabdars* in Nasir Jang's camp sent a message to Chanda Sahib and Dupleix that if the French had marched on Arcot immediately after the taking of Gingi, Nasir Jang could have been easily seized, and urged that the time had now come to capture or slay him and establish Muzaffar Jang on the throne. The *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* of Burhanu'd-din says that after he heard that the French had captured Gingi, Nasir Jang ordered Muhammad Ali to lay siege to the captured place and to prevent any succour reaching the garrison from Pondicherry; and, accordingly, the latter sent his *Bakshi*, Md. Abrar Khan, with an army to Gingi. But the conspirators persuaded Nasir Jang to transfer the forces of Muhammad Ali to protect Conjeevaram, which, they said, was threatened by the French troops at Chingleput; and thus Abrar Khan was recalled from Gingi and sent with augmented forces to Conjeevaram; thus in the quaint words of Burhanu'd-din, 'the *maidan* of impudence became extensive for the French and for those corrupted by mischief'.

D'Auteuil hastily retired from Chettupattu on hearing that Nasir Jang's forces had reached Desur, 20 miles off and justified his retreat by saying that the Pathan Nawabs and others were only deceiving them with false promises. Dupleix tried to console himself as best he could by saying that the French did not retire for any lack of confidence in themselves but only on account of rains and flooded rivers. Things were much worse on Nasir Jang's side. His army was encamped to the north of Cheyyar river which was flooded; his horses and bullocks were dying in large numbers; the artillery scarcely covered four miles a day; the horsemen were unwilling to march and Nasir Jang himself marched in the rear and not in the front of the army.

Ananda Ranga Pillai, the diarist of Pondicherry, was told that many of the Mughal sardars were not with the troops and that Arcot was crowded, rice was scarce and sold in camp at five pakka seers a rupee. When Sanoji

Nimbalkar and Ramachandra Rao were ordered by Nasir Jang to march as advance-guards, they refused, pleading danger and advising peace. Shah Nawaz Khan was of the same opinion and counselled his master not to fight. D'Auteuil, on the other side, pleaded sickness and wanted permission to retire to Pondicherry, and Dupleix asked the Diarist, Ranga Pillai, to write to Muzaffar Khan, the *Jamadar* of French sepoy to continue to remain round Gingee and not to send in the guns.

Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore suggested to Dupleix in the meanwhile that he might be made the Nawab and Chanda Sahib might get Trichinopoly or, in the alternative, he should be confirmed in the possession of his *kill*a and *jaghir* and should be made diwan to Chanda Sahib. Dupleix did not take this seriously and was only sorry that the rains prevented the French from using their muskets and artillery.

VII. *The Assassination of the Nizam (December 1750).*

Nasir Jang had at last ordered his troops to march towards Gingi and himself joined the main body in the beginning of October. His army was considerably less numerous than when he entered the Carnatic; but he could still count, according to the authority of Orme, 60,000 foot 45,000 horse, 700 elephants and 360 pieces of cannon. On the evening of the 24th October, a body of Nasir Jang's horse about 4,000 in number who were lying in ambush in several places round Gingi, were encountered by a few French dragoons and Muhammadan troopers. As it was heavily raining, the Muhammadan troopers could not fire and insisted on retreating to camp; the dragoons lost their way and many of them were killed. The French marched the next day, but were obliged by heavy rains, to retreat to Gingi where there were not sufficient provisions.

Dupleix continued his active intrigue with Nasir Jang's court where it was presently rumoured that Mir Asad and Murtaza Ali Khan were in the immediate favour of Nasir Jang and urged him to march against Pondicherry and Chanda Sahib, and that the latter had a design to seize the suspected Pathan Nawabs who were, consequently, on their guard. All the same Nasir Jang let Dupleix know, through Kazi Dayem, that he was not averse to negotiations, would let bygones be bygones and would even visit Pondicherry and become the friend of the French, adding that, if he were to give way to Dupleix's demands, he would be regarded as weak, feeble and helpless. Dupleix replied in suitable terms to this secret offer, protesting that he had ever been Nasir Jang's well-wisher and had not himself sought his enmity, but had always desired the country merchants and inhabitants to be at peace. He even offered to stop all fighting if the negotiations for peace should once begin.

According to the *Tuzuk-i Walajahi*, Mir Dayem Ali Khan, the sardar of the advance guard of Nasir Jang's army warned his master against the intended treachery of the Afghan Nawabs and the evil disposition of Raja Ramdas, even on the very eve of his assassination. Nasir Jang even gave an order for the killing of Muzaffar Jang; but Ramdas bribed the executors and contrived to delay their action. Early the next morning the Nizam mounted an elephant, unarmed and without being protected by any armour; he was surrounded only by a few torch-bearers and bandars; and he rode, as the day dawned, towards the elephants of Abdul Nabi Khan and Himmat Bahadur Khan and salaamed to them. But they pretended ignorance of his presence; and he saluted them a second time with a loud voice; and he followed up with the words that it was incumbent on them, brothers of the same faith, to fight the stranger. Then Himmat Bahadur aimed with his musket at the Nawab and shot him through the heart. In the confusion that ensued, Muhammad Ali departed for Trichinopoly with only Gazanfar Ali Khan and a single guide. He was joined by a dozen servants of his at Tiruvannamalai. At Ranjangudi, its Jaghirdar, Mutabir Khan Tahir, pretended under cover of hospitality to receive him in the fort, with a view to get him secured. It was only by the presence of mind of Gazanfar Ali Khan, who held the Jaghirdar in firm grip, that Muhammad Ali was enabled to escape and the rescuer also quickly rejoined his master in safety.

These were the circumstances under which the French attacked Nasir Jang's camp on the fateful day of 16th December, 1750. Muzaffar Jang who was immediately raised to the Nizamat, conferred according to the *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*, on Dupleix the title of Zafar Jang, granted the French the jaghirs of Gingi, Tiruviti and other places, while Law, D'Auteuil and other French captains were given suitable titles, mansabs and presents. Himmat Bahadur Khan was given the title of Rustam Jang and the jaghirs of Raichur and Adoni. Abdul Nabi Khan got the jaghirs of Gandikotta, Gooty, and Gurramkonda; and Abdul Karim Khan secured the jaghir of Sira; and Ramdas Pandit got the title of Raja Raghunath Das; while Abdul Rahman got the title of Muzaffar Khan. Muzaffar Jang also wrote a friendly letter to Muhammad Ali Khan at Trichinopoly according to the plan and counsel of Dupleix and Januji, the Maratha, and sent it along with letters from the latter.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN SOUTH INDIA.

(1736-1746)

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The year 1736 is one of the significant years in the political history of South India. In this year the Nayak queen of Madura, Mīnākṣī, died after a brief rule of about five years.¹ This year again witnessed the downfall of the kingdom of the Nayaks of Madura, and the practical extinction of their rule. And this indeed had far-reaching consequences as we shall see in the sequel. Mīnākṣī was the consort of Vijayanagara Chokkanātha who ruled from C 1706-32 and who died in 1732. As he had no male issue to succeed him, his wife and queen Mīnākṣī succeeded her husband as the ruler of the Nayak kingdom of Madura. She took Vijayakumāra in adoption, and this prince was the son of one Bangāru Tirumala who belonged to a branch line of Tirumala Nayaka. After this adoption Bangāru Tirumala was bent upon deposing Mīnākṣī and enthroning his son. In the meantime the Nawab of Arcot had sent his son Safdar Ali, and his son-in-law, Chanda Sahib, to demand tribute from the Nayaks of Madura and the ruler of Tanjore, and in case of refusal to overpower them in a battle. They were first sent on a commission in 1734. Bangāru Tirumala was nothing but an opportunist. He took advantage of the visit of Safdar Ali and befriended him as against Mīnākṣī. Safdar Ali did not take this seriously but entrusted the task of aiding Bangāru Tirumala to Chanda Sahib and went back. Mīnākṣī scented the danger, and as a clever diplomat, endeavoured to buy off Chanda Sahib and received him in her palace². Subsequent events show that a reconciliation had been effected between Mīnākṣī and Bangāru before Chanda Sahib was allowed to have his own way. So Chanda Sahib had to go back to Arcot. But his mind was set firmly on the possession of Madura and Trichinopoly. With the boldness characteristic of an adventurer, Chanda Sahib reappeared at Trichinopoly in 1736 to vanquish Mīnākṣī and assume himself the reins of government of the Nayak Kingdom. He succeeded in getting Mīnākṣī under his control, and consequently her territories. An army was sent at his suggestion to Dindigul then in possession of Bangāru Tirumala. Dindigul fell, and next he sent his army to Madura.

1 The date of the death of Mīnākṣī has been a matter of dispute among scholars. Prof. V. Rangachari is of opinion that she died in 1737. (*Ind. Ant.* 1917, p. 218). But S. C. Hill in his able study entitled YUSUF KHAN, THE REBEL COMMANDANT places the death of the queen in 1736 (p. 26). And this has been accepted by R. Satyanatha Aiyar in his *NAYAKS OF MADURA*, (pp. 232-4).

2 Wilks, *Mysore*, I, p. 155. (Second ed, 1869).

Bangāru Tirumala offered him a battle which was fought at Ammaiya-Nayakanur.³ Discomfited Bangāru placed himself under the wings of the Raja of Sivaganga. Chanda Sahib felt quite secure of his position, and then proceeded to imprison the queen. On this Minākṣi is said to have taken poison and died.⁴ The Muhammadans became virtual masters of the Madura kingdom; Bangāru Tirumala made a feeble attempt to restore the Nayakship and called in the aid of the Mahrattas. Before he could do anything, he was murdered by Anwaruddin. Vijayakumāra, the adopted son, was in no way better. He also sought refuge with the Raja of Sivaganga. Thus came to an end the glorious rule of the Nayak kingdom of Madura after a lease of life for more than two centuries. [For more details the reader is referred to Indian Antiquary 1917, pp. 241-7 and 272-5; also Nelson THE MADURA COUNTRY, pp. 261 ff. See also Satyanatha Aiyar, op. cit. ch. XIV.]

Though these events brought fresh hopes and new aspirations to Chanda Sahib he felt he had firmly set his foot on the Nayaks and he was thenceforward the master of all Madura kingdom. He strengthened his hold on Trichinopoly and was enjoying a reign of peace though for a comparatively short time. After this time Safdar Ali Khan paid a visit to his brother-in-law Chanda Sahib, and both of them spent some days at Pondicherry.⁵ They had in the meantime met the Mahrattas along with Mir Asad Khan, the diwan of Safdar Ali. When both of them left the Mahrattas, Mir Asad remained with Mahrattas under pretence of being a hostage for the sums the Nabob had agreed to pay them. The real truth seems to be that a deep rooted misunderstanding had been on foot between Chanda Sahib and Safdar Ali. But still they moved as friends for all practical purposes. The Nawab went back to Arcot, and Chanda Sahib remained at Trichinopoly. Sometime after when Chanda Sahib was at Arcot he was told by the Nawab that Mir Asad had negotiated a successful treaty with the Mahrattas by which they were to pay thirty-two lakhs of rupees of which seven lakhs were due from him. It was a surprise to Chanda Sahib, for a treaty in which he was involved, to be concluded without his knowledge. This drove Chanda Sahib into a rage and he wrote back to the Nawab to mind his own business and he was a better judge of his own affairs. He left Arcot even without formal leave-taking and was soon back at Trichinopoly. This left no option to the Nawab but treat Chanda Sahib as an open enemy and help the Mahrattas in rooting him out of his new position. In the course of their march the Mahrattas demanded the promised contribution of seven lakhs,

3 Taylor: Or. His. Mss. VOL. II, p. 24, now a village very near Kodaikanal Road Railway Station.

4 Taylor: op. cit. p. 235.

5 The narrative that follows is based on the Public Despatches to England 1741-42, Records of Fort St. George, pp. 11-14.

which he naturally refused. Soon they blockaded the city stationing garrisons along the roads leading to the fort so as to cut off any fresh supply of provisions or ammunition into it. All the tributary princes of Madura Nayaks and the Raja of Tanjore strengthened the hands of the Mahrattas by their ready assistance, animated by the common object of overthrowing the Muhammadan domination in the Tamil Districts. Being very much hard pressed for provisions, Chanda Sahib came to terms and offered to pay not seven but twelve lakhs. It transpires from the reading of the circumstances that Fateh Singh one of the Mahratta Generals began to entertain some sympathy for Chanda Sahib and informed his colleague Raghuji Bhonsle either to accept the sum, or take the town. Safdar Ali Khan was not for any peace with Chanda Sahib. In fact he was so afraid of the negotiations that he shut himself in the fortrees of Jinji and resented the Mahratta action. So also did the Raja of Tanjore and the tributary princes.

Meanwhile Chanda Sahib had appealed to his brother Bade Sahib at Madura to come to his assistance. Bade Sahib set out with five thousand horse and seven or eight thousand foot and intimated this fact by a letter to his brother. The letter, unluckily for Chanda Sahib, fell into the hands of the Mahrattas who sent a huge cavalry force to meet Bade Sahib on the way and vanquish him. Bade Sahib was killed with thousands of his men. When this intelligence reached Chanda Sahib, it added only fuel to the fire. He was in utter despair and delivered the city into the hands of Mahrattas. He then stipulated with them to take eight lakhs of rupees for his ransom, and receive the sum from his wife who was at that time at Pondicherry. This was agreed to and when the wife was approached she pleaded she had not enough money on hand but she would raise more sum if her husband were taken to her. The Mahrattas were not satisfied with this evasive reply and Chanda Sahib was not suffered to continue in his erstwhile earned territory. He was made a state prisoner and sent away with his son to Satara, the then Mahratta captial. Here he remained in confinement for eight years.

The conquerors of Trichinopoly could not at once decide what to do with this newly acquired province. Raghuji Bhonsle is said to have even directed Murari Rao to place Bangāru Tirumala on the throne. The Mahrattas were at first willing to restore it to an heir of the late Nayak queen if he could give sufficient security demanded of him. Finding that the Nayak heir could not meet with their demands⁶, the Mahrattas took possession of it and placed Murari Rao Ghorepare, the chief of Gooty, in charge of the kingdom with four thousand horse. They took care however to instruct the new Viceroy to continue to pay

⁶ For the end of the Nayak rule of Trichinopoly, see Note (1) on p. 70 of the *Tusuk-i-Walajah* of S. Md. Hussain Nainar, vol. I. (published by the Madras University).

the customary tribute to the Nawab of the Carnatic, that which had been paid by the Nayak princes of Madura. This was all in 1741. Murari Rao, if one has to judge of his actions, was another edition of Chanda Sahib. Like him he played the part of a daring and unscrupulous adventurer. He thought or took a hint that the Nawab was not friendly to him and that he had been negotiating with king of Mysore to 'dispossess the Mahrattas of Trichinopoly.' With this view he wrote to the English for a supply of ammunition and stores, knowing as he did that Raghujī Bhonsle had acknowledged previously the English for a just and upright people.⁷ The English who pursued a policy of non-interference in Indian political matters found a pretext to excuse their compliance with the request of the Viceroy at Trichinopoly.⁸

This leads us to enquire of the movement of the Mahrattas southwards, and what prompted them to repeat their incursions into Southern India, well-nigh after a generation. One was the request made by Bangāru Tirumala after the death of Minākṣi to help him against the onslaughts of Muhammadan invaders into the Nayak kingdom. The other was the view held by Raghujī Bhonsle and the anti-Peishwa party at the court of Sahu that expansion of Mahratta dominion should be sought more in South India and the Carnatic than in North India. The party at Sahu's court opposed to Baji Rao stigmatised an invasion of Hindusthan and advised as an alternative the reduction of Kolhapur and the reconquest of the Carnatic. Thirdly, the expedition of Raghujī Bhonsle was sent 'at the request of the Hindu Rajas of the South and in particular of the Mahratta prince Pratap Singh of Tanjore, the descendant of Vyankaji, the half-brother of the great Sivaji; they were threatened with extermination at the hands of Dost Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic.'⁹ The fourth cause was their right to collect one-fourth of the revenues, which is called *chauth*. The political situation in the south tempted them more than ever to make a raid and that with profit. The sudden changes that unsettled the settled conditions of the Carnatic and the Nayak kingdom of Madura and Tanjore, the rapidity with which these events moved, bidding almost a farewell to time-honoured institutions of the land, and the consequent uncertainty that hang on the administrations of South India made the Mahrattas repeat their incursions and make best of the bargain. The fifth was probably an invitation from Safdar Ali of Arcot. Safdar Ali felt nervous at the high-handed and daring activities by which Chanda Sahib had been adding territory after territory. He perhaps felt that in the march of time he would prove a source of annoyance if not danger, and sought help of the Mahrattas.

7 Fort St. David Consultations, 1743, p. 3.

8 Public Despatches to England 1741-42, p. 15.

9 Cambridge History of India Vol. IV (1937), p. 403; see also C. H. I. Vol. V., p. 116.

Sixthly it is suggested with an air of plausibility that they had been bought off by the son of Nizam-ul-mulk by name Nasir Jang who was then in charge of his father's viceroyalty and planning an insurrection to set up himself in power. Actuated by an ambition to be independent of his father Nizam-ul-mulk who had been away at Delhi from 1737, Nasir Jung courted the alliance of the Mahrattas.

Whatever might have been the real motive the fact was that there was a Mahratta expedition to the South. It was led by two able Mahratta generals Fateh Singh and Raghuji Bhonsle, both near relations of Sahu, the chief force being that of cavalry. Dost Ali who heard of the advancing Mahratta host was taken aback by this unthought-of intelligence and made suitable preparations to defend his kingdom. The two armies met at a valley about 800 yards in width, called Damalcheruvu Pass. All efforts of the Nawab of Arcot were in vain. The Mahratta soldiers easily proved more than a match to a host of Dost Ali. They got hold of a local Hindu chief Chikka Rayulu and acting to his suggestion they surprised him at the rear. In the battle that ensued the Nawab of Arcot was beaten and slain. This success of the Mahrattas was indeed a matter for congratulation to them unprecedented in the annals of South Indian history. This encouraged the Mahrattas to further raids and plunder in the other parts of the Carnatic and elsewhere. The people suffered from utter insecurity of life and property and they resorted to European settlements and entrusted them with all their belongings. In fact the European settlers had created a spirit of confidence in their neighbourhood and attracted to them people who were in perpetual dread of the ravages of invaders like the Mahrattas. Even Safdar Ali was compelled to send his mother, his beguin and his young boy of four years to the English at Madras for safe custody as he suspected some harm being done to them. This was on August 21, 1741. It may be remembered that his family was at Pondicherry for some time in 1741. What interests us at this juncture is that Safdar Ali negotiated for terms with the Mahrattas, little taking note of the fact that they were the cause of his father's death. Apparently Safdar Ali was not made of steel. He offered the Mahrattas a large sum of money, said to be a crore of rupees, in case they withdrew from his kingdom and left him untouched. This was a welcome move from the point of view of the Mahrattas. For their aim was not so much lust of territory as lust of wealth. It is said that they went back to Poona only to return soon.

One success after the other attended the invading Mahratta host. Highly elated by these victories, they further proceeded south together with their far-flung bands of cavalry. At Trichinopoly they found Chanda Sahib fairly settled.

We shall again revert to the history of the Nawab of Arcot. Mention has been made of the repercussions as a result of the death of Dost Ali in the battle

with the Mahrattas. The position of Safdar Ali was that of a two-edged sword. He was to satisfy on the one hand the Mahrattas who were prepared to withdraw from his kingdom on payment of what is said to be a crore of rupees. It is but natural that it was a heavy strain on his already impoverished treasury. He could not find the wherewithal in spite of the inactions of his unscrupulous minister to replenish it, as his subjects had been put to a severe strain by the successive invading hosts. In fact he came out of Jinji to Arcot after hearing that the Mahrattas had passed beyond his kingdom. On the other hand Safdar Ali had not yet been recognised as the *de facto* Nawab. The Nawab of Arcot was ordinarily deemed a subordinate of the Nizam. The Nizam of the time was Nizam-ul-mulk. It was a custom for the Nizam to recognise the accession of a new Nawab to the throne. After Dost Ali's death Safdar Ali was undoubtedly the legal successor.¹⁰ But so long as the recognition did not come from the Nizam his position could not be deemed to be valid or legal in the strict sense of the term. As the writer in the Cambridge History of India remarks with authority Safdar Ali was in constant dread of his not getting due recognition and there were bazaar rumours to that effect.¹¹ With this element of uncertainty hanging heavily on his shoulders Safdar Ali went to Vellore in the autumn of 1742 to claim the customary contribution from the Commandant of the place. This Commandant was no other than his own cousin by name Murtáza Ali. The conduct of Murtazá Ali on this occasion reveals much more clearly than ever that there were internal dissensions of a very serious character in the family of the Nawab, and also between the Nawab and his feudatories. This is reflected in Murtaza Ali planning to usurp the throne of Arcot by poisoning his own cousin,¹² the Nawab Safdar Ali whom he knew to be in rather peculiar difficulties. Murtaza Ali soon found himself foiled in his plans to get rid of his cousin. But he decided to carry the plan through, and unscrupulously he had him murdered. When Murtaza Ali endeavoured to assume the reins of government at Arcot, he discovered that public opinion was strongly against him. He realised any further stay at Arcot would ultimately cost him even life. So he made good his escape to his own place, Vellore, in the guise of a woman. The army and ministers of the late Nawab proclaimed the young son of Safdar as Nawab. It may be recalled that this son was placed under safe custody by Safdar Ali with the English at Madras, suspecting injury to his life.

The protracted and continual state of disorder which the Carnatic presented for some years past induced Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah who had his

10 There was another son of Dost Ali by name Husain Ali Khan who is said to have his headquarters at Tiruviti in South Arcot District. (Fort St. David Consultations 1740 pp. 16 and 18 Records of Fort St. George.)

11 p. 118.

12 See pp. 75-78 of *Tusuk-i-Walajah* for a reliable account of the incident.

capital at Hyderabad to face the situation squarely. He did not recognise the accession of Safdar's son to the throne of Arcot as he had his own nominee being one of his officers as the Nawab. By doing so he thought much of the disorder might be removed. He also felt the necessity of visiting the capital of the Carnatic to purge it of all dissensions, internal feuds and internecine intrigues. It is said that as many as 18 Commanders of districts had assumed the title of Nabob Accordingly leaving Hyderabad in January 1743, Nizam-ul-Mulk was on the scene. After restoring peace, he directed his march towards Trichinopoly.¹³ For Trichinopoly was always deemed a weak spot in South Indian political horizon. It was the key position to the Nayak kingdom of Madura and also to the Nawab of Arcot. Hearing that a Mahratta garrison had been stationed at Trichinopoly, Nizam-ul-Mulk thought any amount of restoration of order would not be permanent if Trichinopoly continued to be the bone of contention between more than two contending parties. This was probably the cause, to venture a conjecture, why Nizam ul-Mulk, after a brief halt at Arcot, resolved to recover Trichinopoly from the Marhattas. So he led his army to that city and laid seige. The seige dragged on for about six months, after which Murari Rao Ghorepade had to yield, and promise to leave the Carnatic for good. The Nizam took possession of Trichinopoly on 29th August 1743 and the flag of the Emperor of Delhi was hoisted on the top of the fortress. He placed the city in charge of Khwaja Abdullah Khan and then went back to Arcot. Here the political conditions were so confused that he had to stay on to the comencement of April 1744.¹⁴ In the meanwhile Nizam had heard that his nominee to the Nawabship was dead, and had in April 1744 a trusted friend of his appointed as Nawab. This was Anwar-ud-din Khan. This appointment which was effected in 1744 did not receive approval at the hands of the public or officers of the late Nawab, most of whom were in possession of key fortresses and held jagirs. In the confusion that prevailed as a result of the new appointment of Anwar-ud-din, the young son of Safdar Ali was also murdered at Arcot.¹⁵ Nor was Anwar-ud-din happy or secure. He was also afraid of his deposition at any moment. To add to these worries, he heard while in camp at Tanjore (Nov. 1745) of an invasion by the Mahrattas; and he joined the subhas (Nawabs) of Corrapah (Cuddapa) and Cundanore (Kurnool) in the beginning of December 1744. Nizam-ul-Mulk also sent a cavalry force amounting to ten thousand. With all these preparations the

13 See Note on pp. 82-84 of the *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* for the capture of Trichinopoly by Nizam ul-Mulk.

14 See Yusuf Husain Khan: Nizam ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I (1936) pp. 259-3. There is a slight difference in the narrative given in vol. IV of Cambridge History of India. According to this account the seige lasted for about five months and Murari Rao left the fort on 25th August.

15 Madras Consultations, 1744.

Nawab who suddenly took ill, recalled his son Mahfuz Khan from Trichinopoly and sent him as the head of the forces. He soon felt inferiority complex to the Mahratta superior force and negotiated to pay a good sum if they would not proceed to action in the field. But the Mahrattas were very particular about the delivery of Trichinopoly back to their possession. It appears that there was no further action and the Mahrattas must have been satisfied with the promised sum. This was perhaps due to the turn of events in North India which compelled their active interference and participation.¹⁶

Tanjore: Among other kingdoms of South India, Tanjore occupied a unique place. Its history under the Mahrattas goes back to the epoch of Sivaji Chhatrapati, and his celebrated Carnatic campaign. The effect of this campaign was that Tanjore and its neighbourhood were allowed to be enjoyed by his half-brother Vyankoji. From this time to the year 1736 the kingdom flourished under the guidance of the Mahrattas. But with the year 1736 a period of anarchy set in¹⁷. The downfall of the Nayak kingdom of Madura had its own effects on the Tanjore Mahrattas. This opened the way to Muhammadan invasion and aggression. The first invasion of Tanjore was by Safdar Ali and Chanda Sahib in 1734. In the fall of the Nayak kingdom Tanjore lost an ally. Tukkoji was a contemporary king of Tanjore while Minākṣi was in charge of Madura kingdom. There is evidence to show that Tukkoji rendered all possible assistance to the Hindu princess at Trichinopoly first against her own Poligars and next against the Muhammadan invaders. But when once Chanda Sahib had got established in Trichinopoly by fair means or foul, the Mahratta ruler at Tanjore could not sleep in peace. Added to this was the disorder that set in Tanjore itself as a result of Tukkoji's death. A number of sons, legitimate and illegitimate, claimed the throne. Ekoji proclaimed himself successor. He was ill and forty years old when he ascended the throne. While his succession was being disputed by his brothers and half brothers, Chanda Sahib appeared on the scene and blockaded Tanjore in 1736. After a well contested battle, the Muhammadan adventurer had to own defeat and retreat. But Ekoji died a year after his succession. Perhaps he was a victim of the many conspiracies which harassed the royal family at Tanjore. Whatever this may be, the fact remains that Sujana Bai, queen of Ekoji, succeeded her husband and continued to pull the reins of administration for two years and according to another account three years. Her own advisors were evil-minded and were not faithful to her. One Kāṭṭu Rāja who proclaimed himself son of Sarabhoji I and a pretender succeeded in deposing the queen and himself enjoying the crown. But he was soon found out and

16 Despatches to England, 1743-46. p. 43 and p. 106.

17 See in this connection K. R. Subrahmanyam : Mahratta Rajas of Tanjore, ch. VI.

driven. He appealed to the French for support and promised to give them Karikal in return. In the meantime the queen had been imprisoned and her favourites impaled by Saiyid the Khilledar of the Fort. This ushered in a period of unrest when the pretender Shahuji took advantage of it. He once more assumed the government at Tanjore in 1738 and ruled perhaps for a year. For we hear that under the pressure from Chanda Sahib, Shahuji ceded Karikal to the French in February 1739 and confirmed it two months later. It may be thus inferred that Chanda Sahib had already entered into a friendly alliance with the French. On this Shahuji looked to the Dutch at Negapatam and the English at Fort St. David for help. Meanwhile events at Tanjore took entirely a new turn. According to the Press List of Ancient Dutch Records 1657-1825, No. 282 (quoted by Mr. K. R. Subrahmanyam) Chanda Sahib had made Shahuji a prisoner, the news being broadcasted that he was the son of a washer-woman of the fort. Pratap Singh one of the sons of Tukkoji,¹⁸ born to his wife Annapurna was proclaimed Raja of Tanjore. Pratap at first did not agree to this arrangement as he was especially a friend of the pretender. But Shahuji himself is said to have advised Pratap Singh to accept the offer and wait for good times. On this Pratap Singh became the Raja in 1739, as attested to by the Tanjore inscriptions.

Before we proceed further, attention should be drawn to the Tanjore District Gazetteer (Vol. I, 1915 pp. 44, 44-5) where a certain Saiyaji¹⁹ is said to be a second son of Tukkoji who was in exile in Chidambaram and who implored the French at Pondicherry for help. He is said to have succeeded the queen for a short while, and to have been deposed twice, the second being about 1739 or early 1740. For according to Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary, Pratap Singh was already Raja of Tanjore in March 1740. (I. 117) But the very existence of a person like Saiyaji has been questioned by a recent writer,²⁰ and if there was a figure like that, he was certainly not a legitimate son of Tukkoji.

Though Shahuji at first agreed to Pratap Singh accepting the Tanjore throne, still even in 1740 there is documentary evidence to show] that he began to intrigue against Pratap Singh. Saiyid planned at the usurpation of the throne to his daughter. Had he continued in power, as he had been for four years together, the political history of Tanjore would have been completely changed. But that was not to be. Saiyid's death and the weakness of Shahuji strengthened the position of Partap Singh more than ever. He had little or no sympathy with the movements of Raghujji Bhonsle. Nor had he any trust in Murari Rao

18 See for an explanatory and full note on the days of confusion in the Tanjore succession after 1735 Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari's learned *note* pp. 38-9 J. I. H. Vol. VIII Part I (Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai), particularly about Tukoji and his successors.

19 Ibid, for Saiyaji and Kattu Raja.

20 * K. R. Subrahmanyam, op. cit. pp. 45-6.

whom he treated as an ambitious adventurer. Murari Rao led an expedition against Tanjore but was repulsed as he deserved it. It has been said in the foregoing pages that after recovering Trichinopoly from Murari Rao the Nizam went to Arcot. But a student of the history of Tanjore will note that Nizam ul-Mulk went to Tanjore before he actually left for Arcot. The Raja of Tanjore dared not oppose the great subedar of Deccan. He therefore treated him to peace and promised to pay in cash a million rupees and a further payment of three and a half millions. This was acceptable to Asaf Jah who withdrew to Trichinopoly on his way to Arcot. It is said that when he actually left Trichinopoly it was October.²¹ Thus Partap Singh was allowed to have his own way though Shahuji continued to give him some trouble occasionally.

About the middle of the year 1745 the Raja of Tanjore thought of dispossessing the French of Karikal and led an expedition to it. When the town was surrounded by the Tanjore cavalry force, Dupleix, who came to know of this, sent an armament for the relief of their Karikal settlement. It is stated that 'they sent proposals of Accommodation to the King of Tanjore whereby they afterwards obtained a suspension of Arms for a time.'²² It is reported that the Nawab of Arcot paid a visit to Tanjore in November for what purpose we do not know. While he lay encamped there, he received orders from the Nizam to leave for Arcot, intelligence having been received of the impending Mahratta invasion.²³

First Anglo-French War in the Carnatic.

The War of Austrian Succession (1744) marks an important epoch in the history of South India. For the only part of India affected by the war was the Carnatic. It has been well said that this war prepared the ground to Dupleix for experiments and to Clive for accomplishment.²⁴ The Europeans who came out as traders found themselves hard pressed for territories and realised the importance of territorial possessions. On the coast there were three settlements, Madras under the English, Pondicherry under the French and Negapatam under the Dutch. Though all of them were not explicitly for interference in the country government, the avidity for territorial expansion led them slowly but surely to take active part in the politics of the country government. The Dutch, for example, were negotiating with the Nawab for permission to erect a Fort at Porto Novo for which they were prepared to pay a price.²⁵

During this period the English Governor was Richard Benyon who assumed charge on 23 January 1735 and continued for nine years until he resigned on the

21 Sec C. H. I. Vol. IV, p. 384.

22 Despatches to England 1743-46, p. 82.

23 Ibid, p. 106.

24 C. H. I. Vol. V., p. 117.

25 Despatches to England 1743-46 p. 49.

17th January 1744. The Company had great regard for his able administration. We have already seen that Safdar Ali was a friend of the English; and placed his whole family in Madras under their custody. Consequently he visited Madras often and the last was in August 1742. Every time he received suitable presents. The Nawab's family and the Governor were shocked at the tidings of the murder of the Nawab by Murtaza Ali.²⁶ A few days later the army of Arcot announced the young son of the Nawab Sahib Jadda as Nawab. This elevation was celebrated in Madras accompanied by a procession. The young Nawab granted a gift of five villages to the English, with the licence to coin Arcot rupees and pagodas. The governor encouraged additional territories to the Company and discouraged Muhammadan settlements at least in the Black Town.²⁷ Nicholas Morse succeeded Benyon as Governor. During his government, war broke out between England and France. Hardly two years and a half after he became the Governor, Madras was bombarded by the French and Morse was carried prisoner to Pondicherry. Soon he was released and summoned to England by the Company. He came back to Madras, led a retired life and died in 1772. It is important to note here that early during his government, Robert Clive arrived in India, 31st May 1744, as a writer. This more or less synchronised with the outbreak of war between England and France. Though the war was declared in March 1744, tidings of it came to Madras only in September. The Council began to watch the movements of the French, especially from and to Pondicherry and established quick communication overland with Bengal. They further asked Bombay to get ready two swift despatch-boats. When M. Dupleix proposed neutrality, Morse refused to give any such undertaking. On the 22nd July 1745 there arrived the English squadron at Fort St. David under the able command of Curtis Barnett and to Madras on the 30th August. Being acquainted with these tidings, the Nawab Anwaruddin who was against any war, came to San Thome and had a consultation with the officers of Fort St. George. The result of this meeting was that Barnett who would have otherwise bombarded Pondicherry refrained from it. But in January 1746 provocation came from the French. Dupleix appeared before Fort St. David and spying ships of English squadron retired to Pondicherry. Governor Morse reported it to the Nawab on 17th March and Anwaruddin acquainted the English of prompt action taken by him against the French. The French were warned not to precipitate hostilities. Towards the end of April poor Barnett died and Edward Peyton became the Commander.²⁸ The outbreak of the Anglo-French War was thus imminent.

²⁶ See *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*.

²⁷ See also H. D. Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras II*, chh. XX and XXI.

²⁸ *Ibid.* ch. XXIV.

Let us now turn to the French in the Carnatic. From the year 1736, if not earlier, the French were regarded as serious rivals in commerce and the English drew attention to this fact of the Directors who intimated that an annual report of the movements of the French and their commerce should be submitted to them.²⁹ This sort of perpetual competition continued to strain the relationship between the two European nations and both powers began to fortify and arm themselves strongly. Dupleix assumed charge of administration of Pondicherry in 1742 and La Bourdonnais was then the governor of Mauritius. With a view to injure the growing English trade French vessels of war were in the Indian waters manned by La Bourdonnais. But soon the squadron was recalled. If the Anglo-French war had broken out at this time, it would have been of great advantage to the French. But the declaration of war came only four years later when it was equally advantageous to the English. In fact Dupleix was definitely for pursuing a policy of neutrality, and he had expressed it on several occasions. But La Bourdonnais treated this policy of inactivity with contempt. But he could not disobey Dupleix also. In the meantime Dupleix befriended Anwaruddin, the Nawab of Arcot, with alluring promises. In March 1745 the Nawab¹ wrote to both powers to live in peace.³⁰

Three weeks later the Nawab further wrote to the English that he had granted Moghal colours and passes to natives and to strangers (implying by strangers the French) and such ships should not be touched. But the English cleverly managed the Nawab and won his sympathy and support. It had been brought home to him that "the presents the French proposed to make him would very poorly compensate the Loss he would otherwise sustain by a Breach with us ; it plainly appeared to him that the schemes the French were laying were with a view solely to their own benefit and therefore it became the less difficult for him to resolve to engage no farther with them than would suit his own purposes".³¹ Disappointed in his designs Dupleix had no other recourse than attack Fort St. David. The English retaliated by blockading Pondicherry by sending their squadron. In the meantime La Bourdonnais got ready a squadron and sailed to the Indian waters. Though Dupleix looked upon him as his rival and did not heartily cooperate with La Bourdonnais, the latter had the hardihood to capture Madras.³²

²⁹ Pub. Des. from England 1737

³⁰ Madras consultations, 1745.

³¹ Pub. Des. to England 1743-46. p. 83.

³² For details see H. Dodwell : Dupleix and Clive, Ch. I. ; see also Love : *op. cit.* ch. XXV : Surrender of Madras.

HYDER ALI'S RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

1769-'75.

(Based mainly on the records in the Imperial Record Department).

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Wilks, in his estimate of Hyder, says that 'he had no passion good or bad to disturb the balance of the account'¹. Between 1769-'75 Hyder became convinced that as matters stood, he must join the other combination opposed to the British. We cannot also deny that he had just grounds to complain of the English Government.

The second article of the treaty of 1769 that ended the first Anglo Mysore war provided that 'in case either of the contracting parties shall be attacked, they shall from their respective countries, mutually assist each other to drive the enemy out'. No doubt this article was very inconvenient to the E. I. Co., giving them all the embarrassments of an offensive alliance without any of its advantages. But this ought to have been an argument against the conclusion of the treaty and not an argument against its observance after it had been concluded. This treaty of 1769 was naturally regarded by Hyder as the most important part of his plan of resistance to the Maratha invasion which might come at any time. The Maratha State, under the wise guidance of Madhava Rao, the greatest of the Peshwas, had recovered from the effects of the stunning blow at Panipat. Twice before, in 1765, and in 1767, Hyder had to oppose the invasion of Madhava Rao and he knew that this most formidable enemy would again invade his country and try permanently to occupy the largest portion of it. In view of this Maratha menace and the genius of the Maratha leader, Hyder could not expect success unaided. This treaty of 1769 was therefore the sheet anchor of his foreign policy.

When therefore in January 1770, Madhava Rao was in the field accompanied by organised garrisons and a field force, Hyder sent a Vakil demanding British aid. Madhava Rao also sent his Vakil to Madras. But the Government of Fort St. George decided that 'it must be our endeavour to remain neutral'². In their letter to the Bengal Government they argued as if the treaty of 1769 was non-existent and there was no obligation derived from it. They wrote that if Hyder was helped that would not be sufficient to crush the Marathas and would expose the Carnatic to Maratha ravages, but if the Marathas got British help they might blot the Mysore State out of existence and thus become more dangerous and if Hyder found the British willing to assist the Marathas he would

¹ Wilks—*History of Mysore*, Vol II p. 379.

² Secret Proceedings—Letter from Fort St. George 13th February, 1770,

accommodate matters with them and turn in his anger upon the Carnatic. "Our greatest apprehensions at present are", I wrote the gentleman at Fort St. George "that affairs will be settled between them"³. They feared that if the campaign ended before the campaigning season was over, the Marathas might enter the Carnatic. They protracted the time under various pretences amusing both. The Madras Government did not expect the campaign to last long. But though Madhava Rao was taken ill he left Trimbak Rao behind him to continue the campaign. Trimbak Rao was not an unworthy successor of Madhava Rao in command of the Maratha army. At Chercoolee on the 5th March, 1771, Hyder was completely defeated. Seringapatam itself was besieged. The desolating war continued for 15 months even after Chercoolee. A treaty was concluded ending the 3rd Maratha-Mysore war in June, 1772.

As the campaign continued the Madras Government ordered detachments to Trichinopoly and Vellore, with a view to put on the appearance of being in readiness should either of the two contestant parties invade the Carnatic. They wanted thus to keep alive the hopes and fears of both the parties⁴. But this attitude underwent a remarkable change when it became evident that the Marathas were trying to subjugate Mysore permanently. In that case the British would find their territory constantly exposed to Maratha ravages and devastations. The Government of Fort St. George now became apprehensive that they might subject themselves to the imputation of a breach of faith. But now the Nabob of Arcot showed his disinclination to cooperate against the Marathas. He had refused to execute the instrument of his participation in the treaty of 1769 and as the war dragged on, he showed more and more his desire to comply with Maratha request for help. But the Madras Government also became more and more conscious that good policy required them to assist Hyder.⁵ On the 12th June 1771, they wrote, 'Hyder Ali still continues to press us for assistance which we have it not in our power to grant, as it is impossible for us to attempt anything without the revenue and resources of the Carnatic, which are entirely under the control of the Nabob, who presses us earnestly to a junction with the Marathas to subdue Mysore. In this system he is warmly seconded by Sir John Lindsay, Crown representative at Arcot', the Nabob being taken especially under the protection of the Crown by the 11th article of the treaty of Paris.⁶ About the end of the year 1771, the Bombay Government instructed Mr. Sibbald, their Resident at Onore, to learn from Hyder Ali, whether he would deposit a sum of money adequate to the expense they might incur in affording him assistance. The Government of

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.—Letter from Fort St. George, 24th March, 1770.

5 Ibid.—5th January, 1771.

6 Ibid.—27th June, 1771.

Fort St. George also wrote on the 21st December, 1771, "we have desired he will inform us what supplies of money and what provisions he can furnish should the orders we expect from Europe authorize us to assist him".⁷

As we examine the records relating to the infraction of the Treaty of 1769, we find the Madras Government at no stage willing to abide by the terms of the Treaty. It pledged them to all the evils of an offensive alliance which they had been anxious to avoid. Throughout the war from January 1770 to June 1772, the Madras Government followed a line of conduct that amounted to a passive infraction of the treaty. The Nabob of Arcot and Sir John Lindsay, the royal ambassador, urged an active violation of the treaty by joining hands with Madhava Rao for the destruction of Hyder. Wilks writes, "the Government feeling the impossibility of executing the treaty in opposition to the Nabob and the representative of his Majesty and resolved not to destroy the power which they were bound by the treaty to defend, evaded the whole question, by representing both to Hyder and the Marathas the necessity of waiting for the result of a reference which they had made on the subject to their superiors in England".⁸ The line of conduct adopted by the Madras Government is thus sought to be justified. Some merit is actually claimed for this passive attitude because the intricate political system placed insuperable impediments that made it impossible to perform their engagements to Hyder. But if we look at the matter from Hyder's point of view a different interpretation is not unjustified. When a treaty is concluded, the contracting parties are expected to accept terms with full sense of responsibility, a clear knowledge of its implications and not unmindful of the constitutional difficulties and handicaps. The elementary principles governing inter-state relations were thus violated. To add insult to injury in the 24th month of this long-protracted war in which they were pledged to defend him, the Madras Government asked him what money and provisions he could furnish if they were to assist him and sometime after he was informed that the home government had prohibited assistance to either of the two contestants.

The infraction of the treaty of 1769 was not the only event that alienated Hyder from the English. British attitude regarding his supplies of military stores caused further ill feeling. After the conclusion of the treaty of 1769 by the Madras Government, the Government of Bombay deputed two men to enter into an agreement for what remained to be adjusted for the benefit of the Company on that coast. A treaty was concluded in 1770, by which it was arranged that the British were again to have a factory at Onore for pepper and sandalwood and an exclusive right was given to the Company for

⁷ Ibid.—21st December, 1771.

⁸ Wilks—History of Mysore, Vol. I p. 422.

purchasing the entire quantity of these articles "the amount of which (as expressed in the treaty) or as much of it as the Hon'ble Company choose to be made good in guns, Saltpetre, lead and in ready money."⁹ Repeated applications were made by Hyder in consequence of this treaty for warlike stores. In 1772, however, the Court of Directors disapproved of this treaty. After the intimation of this disapproval, the Government of Bombay evaded supplying him with military stores and Hyder naturally turned to the French, who began to supply him liberally. The Bombay Government was of the opinion that it would have been much better to supply him to some extent the articles he desired as otherwise the French were getting the profits of these highly charged articles at the same time that they were acquiring an ascendancy in his counsels.¹⁰ In March 1775, the Government of Fort St. George sent to the Bengal Government a resumé of the state of affairs in their part of the Deccan. They wrote that Hyder possessed a valuable extensive territory, a well-regulated government, a numerous well disciplined army, with a revenue said to amount to three crores. He had by then recovered the whole country he had previously lost to the Marathas, taking advantage of the confusion in their affairs following upon the death of Madhava Rao and the assassination of Narayan Rao. The French supplied him with military stores and French adventurers entered his service.¹¹ But for this the British were not entitled to make any complaints as they themselves were directly responsible for the pro-French turn of his policy. It cannot be denied that in 1771 when the Marathas were encamped in Hyder's territory, they proposed to compromise their differences with him provided he joined them in an attack upon the Carnatic. The offer might not have been sincere. But Hyder made known these proposals to the British Government and even went so far as to say that he was willing to forget the causes of personal animosity towards Muhammad Ali and to hope that the English would mediate a reconciliation; he authorized his envoys to propose as the condition of prompt and effectual aid the immediate payment of 20 lakhs of rupees and the cession to the English of the provinces of Baramahal, Salem and Ahtoor; and finally the ambassadors were directed openly to announce in the event of the rejection of all the advances, Hyder's reluctant determination to throw himself on the French for support (October 1771)¹².

The British helped Muhammad Ali to seize Tanjore by storm on the 17th September 1773. Calculating that this acquisition of Tanjore would bring about an estrangement between Muhammad Ali and the Marathas, Hyder once again made an attempt to enter into an alliance with the British and the ruler

9 Secret Proceeding—8th March, 1775.

10 Ibid.

11 Secret Proceedings—Letter from Fort St. George, 13th March, 1775.

12 Wilks—History of Mysore, I—p 425.

of Arcot. He made the first advances to an amicable negotiation and sent his deputies. He proposed a treaty that would renew the violated conditions of the Treaty of 1769, to be executed by the British, Muhammad Ali and Hyder. When the Government of Bombay seized the island of Salsette, thus making a war with the Marathas inevitable, Hyder naturally hoped that the Nawab of Arcot as also the President and gentlemen at Fort St. George would be more than willing to accept his offer. Muhammad Ali dragged on these negotiations, and even suggested some modification of the terms proposed, thus expressing his willingness to enter into an alliance provided the terms were modified. Hyder proposed the following terms :

"In case the Moguls (meaning in particular the Nizam) or Marathas should proceed against the country of my circar in order to remove and expel them therefrom a sufficient force with a commander of importance should be sent to act in conjunction and alliance with me, and make a war upon the enemy—and I also in case the Moguls or Marathas should attack the country of the Nabob Wallaujah or the English, will send the forces of my circar to act against the enemy in conjunction and alliance with them and drive them out. Whether peace or war be determined on towards the enemy, myself, the Nabob and the English are to be of one mind and to act entirely in concert, either in continuing the war or concluding of a peace.....The expenses of the troops to be paid in this manner.....To a European soldier 15 rupees.....and to each sepoy seven and a half rupees per month and the officer shall be paid as I may be advised from them at the time I require them. The pay of my troops to be to each horseman 15 rupees and to a sepoy 7½ rupees per month and the officer to be paid as I shall write from hence at the time.

"Whatever article etc. out of friendship may be wanted out of the dominions of each other shall be purchased by the subject of each without molestation on either side.

"If the Mogul or Maharatta chief with a design to create a misunderstanding between us, should begin a correspondence, they (the Nabob and the English) shall not take any measures in compliance thereto, but shall communicate the papers to me and I also if they write to me will from hence give advice thereof which must tend to the increase of sincerity and the confirmation of union between us.

"The security between us for these articles of Agreement shall be a solemn oath in the name of God, the saint of God and on the glorious Koran."¹³

The Nabob proposed the following terms....."In case the Maharathas or any other enemy should come into the country the above person (meaning Hyder) should send a sufficient force, with an officer of rank, who shall

¹³ Secret proceeding—23rd October 1775; copy of a paper sent by Hyder Ali Cawn,

act in conjunction and concert with my forces and those of the English Company in order to expel and drive out the enemy from my dominions. In like manner, whatever foe shall enter the country of the said person, I will send a sufficient force, under a leader of importance, who shall act in conjunction and unanimity with his army to effect his expulsion. The pay of the troops on both sides to be at the rate of 15 rupees per month for a horseman and 7½ for a sepoy and that of the officers to be settled at the time they are required—advices thereon being sent along with the auxiliary troops.

“With regard to the merchandize that may be wanted from each others' countries, it is necessary that the particulars thereof shall be first transmitted.

“If the Mahrattas or other chiefs in order to create a disunion between us should begin a correspondence neither side shall act in compliance therewith, but shall give mutual notice of the writings that come to them.

“No protection shall be afforded to the subjects or enemies of each other and those that have fled away in disgust shall be delivered up again.¹⁴”

“We should keep in mind the British comment on the treaty. “We are not aware of any advantages that could be derived from such a treaty either to the Nabob or the Company.....although its direct object is peace, it would ultimately draw us into hostilities and distant operations, in supporting Hyder Ali Cawn”.¹⁵

In the meantime, as internal dissensions increased in Maharashtra, Muhammad Ali could see for himself that there was no immediate danger from the Marathas. He now became lukewarm, his ambassadors Ali Nawaz and Fateh Ali began to amuse Hyder with their evasions and ultimately Hyder dismissed them with a civil letter. One of the ambassadors himself mentioned that they “wasted seven months in the hopes of the arrival of the treaty and Hyder at length thinking that the Nabob did not wish for a friendship established by a written negotiation and only meant to keep up appearances till an opportunity should offer for executing measures of a contrary nature, that it was his business therefore to be upon his guard and take measures on his part”.¹⁶ Hyder himself was quite outspoken. He told Aly Nawaz Khan that for seventeen months, he had been desiring a confirmation of friendship with the Nabob but the Nabob paid no attention. “Though the English have assisted Raghunath Rao yet whatever he gained by so poor a support? He will not be successful against the Poona army. Members of the Poona administration desire my alliance and assistance on the part of the son of Narrain Rao and have sent me envoys of consequence. What we agree upon will in time be known”.¹⁷

14 Ibid. From the Nabob.

15 Secret Proceedings—23rd October, 1775.

16 Secret Proceedings—23rd October, 1775—Verbal narration of Aly Nawaz Cawn.

17 Ibid.

When the Ambassadors returned they reported that Hyder would not seize Cuddapah, Kurnool, Adoni, and Raichur, after which he would reduce the whole country south of the Krishna, would form an alliance with other nations like the French and the Dutch who were opposed to the English, establish good relations with the Marathas and come to a rupture with Muhammad Ali and the English.¹⁸

Between 1769-'75 Hyder tried his utmost to remain on terms of friendship with the British and Muhammad Ali. But convinced now that this was impossible he definitely went over to the other side. It was the bungling diplomacy of the British and the shortsighted policy of Muhammad Ali that forced Hyder Ali into the arms of the Marathas and the French, thus making things so difficult for the British between the years 1779-'82. When we speak of the irreconcilable enmity that existed between Hyder, Tipu and the British, we should take the circumstances of the years 1769-'75 into consideration. Hyder had undoubtedly just grounds to complain of the English Government.

THE ORIGINS OF THE INDO-BRITISH RESIDENCY IN BURMA AND THE APPOINTMENT OF MAJOR HENRY BURNEY TO AVA, 1830

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The development of the office of a British Resident in Indo-Burmese relations was by no means a new idea in the history of the East India Company. Soon after the Company acquired Bombay (in 1668), it realized the necessity of keeping in touch with Maratha affairs through envoys and residents at the Royal Capital. After the Peshwas had established their authority at Poona early in the 18th century, the Company learnt to maintain a representative at the Maratha Durbar with the object of preserving friendship, watching the movements of the Maratha Imperialists, and extending British trade. The second stage in this policy was reached as the Subsidiary system developed and it became necessary to watch and control the subsidiary states like Hyderabad, Mysore, Oudh, etc. Regular Residents were appointed to the capitals of such states, and as the representatives of the suzerain power they sometimes exercised enormous influence over the Princes.

A new phase in the "Residency" idea was reached at the conclusion of

the Nepal War in 1816. A British Resident was now stationed at the Court of an independent Prince on the right of the Treaty of Sigowlee. Gardner, the first Resident in Nepal, was well qualified to soothe the bitterness of defeat felt by a noble foe, and succeeded in reconciling the Gurkha Government to the presence of a British representative at the Royal Capital.

In the relations with Burma the idea was of slow growth, not only because she was considered to be outside the pale of Indian politics, but also because there was want of interest in the Burma trade. Finally, however, when by Article 7 of the Treaty of Yandabo the privilege of appointing a British Resident to the Myodaw was extracted from the Burmese King, the right of maintaining a Burmese Resident at the Indian capital was conceded to the Burma Government. This article 7 was strongly objected to by the Burmese plenipotentiaries who negotiated the treaty, but the Company's authorities insisted upon it under the influence of the Nepal Treaty. The Treaty of Sigowlee had succeeded in establishing amicable relations between the two states through a resident; the same results were hoped for in the relations with Burma. It is interesting to notice, however, that no steps were taken to appoint a permanent Resident to Ava till 1830. The reasons are not far to seek; the Burmese military power was not considered to be dangerous; British and Indian merchants were expected to quit Burma and settle in British Burma; and the Commissioner of Tenasserim was expected to maintain diplomatic relations with Ava if necessary.

The Supreme Government very soon realized that it was mistaken in these expectations. The Burma problem was not by any means dangerous, but proved to be very annoying indeed. It was soon discovered, that the Treaty of Yandabo had failed to secure for the Company the many gains due from a vanquished foe, and that it was so defective, that the two parties interpreted it differently complicating matters still further. There was dispute concerning the frontiers towards Manipur, Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim. The article on the release of prisoners was disputed by the Burmese, who held that only military prisoners belonging to the Company were meant by it and not the subjects of the Company's allies detained in the country. To these difficulties may be added the unwillingness of the Burmese to pay the two remaining instalments of the Indemnity; the frontier dacoities and murders committed by Burman subjects in British Burma; the problem of the protection of British and Indian merchants and their trade in Rangoon; and finally the possible danger of a foreign European power obtaining a footing in Burma.

It was realized in 1830, that the non-enforcement of Article 7 of the Treaty was a mistake. This is most clearly confessed by Bentinck in his Minute of 30 December, 1829. He says :—

"It is to be regretted that at the close of the Burmese War, we had not adopted the same measures as those we did at the close of the Nepal War, for gradually removing from the minds of our opponents the sore and angry feelings left there by defeat, assuring them of the sincerity of our desire of cultivating friendly relations and keeping our government well informed of the real view and state of parties at the capital of Ava. I say, *gradually*, because it was not to be expected that a mission like Mr. Crawford's which remained at Ava but for a few weeks and which was avowedly deputed to make a treaty, the conditions of which ought to have been included in the Yandaboo Treaty, could accomplish all that was required. The very sound of the word treaty appears to have excited all the fears and suspicions of the Court of Ava, and the King himself, when told of the object of Mr. Crawford's Mission, is said to have cried out, What? is he come to make another Yandaboo Treaty with us?"

"There is every reason to hope that if an officer possessing some portion of the judgment, conciliation and talent of the late Resident of Khatmandu, had been fixed at the Court of Ava at the close of the war, our relations with that Kingdom might have been rendered as satisfactory as those which Mr. Gardner has established with the Nepalese under similar circumstances of defeat and humiliation and territorial cession on their part. It is remarkable too that the 7th article of the Treaty of Yandaboo distinctly provides for accredited Ministers residing at the Durbar of each in order to cultivate and improve the relations of amity and peace established between the two governments, and every person qualified by long residence in Ava and experience of the character of the Burmese.....and above all the worthy missionary Dr. Judson, gave it as his decided opinion.....that the permanent residence of a British Resident at the Court of Ava was very desirable".¹

Bentinck goes on to consider in the same Minute the objections advanced to such an appointment founded chiefly upon the circumstance of the distance and jealousy of the Court. In reply he says, "Indeed, one of the principal objects of such appointments is to remove this very jealousy and distrust, and to bring about a more frequent and amicable inter-communication between the two states....."

"In our present situation then, I think the most prudent and advisable measure will be for us to fulfil the stipulation in the 7th article of the Yandaboo Treaty, and to invite the Burmese Court to do the same on their part....."

It was this decision of the Supreme Government under Bentinck that led ultimately to the appointment of Major Henry Burney as the first regular Resident to the Court of Ava in 1830.

The appointment of Burney in 1830, as Resident in Burma was an

¹ Bengal Secret and Political Cons. Vol. 357 No. 29.

important landmark in the history of Indo-Burmese relations. A number of British envoys had in the past visited the Golden City, but the genesis, nature, and history of the Indo-British Residency in Burma, 1830 onwards, although distinctly a development of the historic past, stands out as a new departure, heralding an almost revolutionary change in the history of the relations between the two states. Before 1757, when the British in India were merely a trading body and not a sovereign power, the Presidents of their factories both in Bengal and Madras occasionally sent deputations to Burma with the object of discovering trade conditions in that country. In the year 1757, the Chief of the Negrais Factory deputed Ensign Lester to the Burmese capital. Lester had an interview with Alaungpaya the founder of the Konbaung dynasty. Most probably Lester obtained for the East India Company an "Akhwen dau" or royal license to trade in Negrais and Bassein. It was contrary to Burmese usage for kings to bind themselves down by contracts, and more so with foreign traders who were not supposed to have any political or royal standing. In 1759 took place what is sometimes called the "Negrais Massacre", and in 1760 Capt. Alves was sent by the Governor of Madras to procure compensation and redress as well as the release of English prisoners. He had a prompt audience of King Naungdaw-gyi (1760-1763) at Shwebo, the then capital, but although he succeeded in securing the liberation of the captives, he failed to obtain any compensation for the damage suffered.

In 1795 the Governor-General sent Capt. Symes as Envoy to Ava, with the object of preventing the French from obtaining a footing in Burma. This was the first attempt of the British towards direct political intercourse with Burma. Symes succeeded in obtaining merely a royal order, permitting a British Commercial Agent to reside in Rangoon "for the purpose of trade, and to forward letters or presents to the King".² In October, 1796, Capt. Cox arrived in Rangoon as Agent, and proceeded to the capital, but was not well received, and so returned to Bengal by the end of 1797.

In 1784 Arakan was conquered by Bodawpaya (1782-1819), and soon after there arose frontier disputes with the British authorities in Chittagong district. In 1798 the Burmese Governor of Arakan demanded that Arakan fugitives should be given up to him. The Governor-General, the Marquis of Wellesley, sent Symes again in 1802 to the Burmese King, but he was not well received, and Bodawpaya refused to enter into any new engagement with him. The British, however, feared, the Burmese were evincing friendly feelings towards their enemies the French, hence in 1803 Capt. Canning was sent to Rangoon to obtain reliable information on the state of French interests in Burma, and to observe the general conduct and feelings of the Burmese Court

² Aitchison, *Treaties etc.*, Vol. I. p. 265, The Royal Order, Clause 2.

towards the British Government. At first he was well received by the Governor, but soon he came into conflict with the Yewoon³ who directed all English letters to be opened before delivery. Canning refused to submit to this measure and left for Calcutta.

In 1809 Canning was again sent to Rangoon to explain to the Burmese authorities that the Isles of France⁴ had been blockaded by orders from England and that all vessels, whether from Burma or elsewhere, detected in communicating with them, would be confiscated. He was also instructed to watch closely the position of French interests in the country. Canning proceeded to the capital as well, and had an audience of the King. In September 1811, Canning was for a third time deputed to the Court of Ava because of the Chittagong frontier troubles, to explain that the Arakanese insurgents were neither instigated nor supported by the British Government, and to complain of outrages perpetrated by Burmese authorities in Arakan upon British subjects. Canning was able to accomplish nothing, and returned to Calcutta in August 1812.

These were all the embassies sent to Burma before the outbreak of the first war: from being of a commercial character at the start, they soon came to acquire a marked political complexion because of the British struggle with Napoleon.

After the first Burmese War, Crawfurd was the first envoy to be deputed (1826) on the principle and right of the Treaty with the Burmese King. He was appointed "Envoy and Resident Minister" at Ava. The immediate object of the Mission was to contract a commercial treaty, but it was also the desire of the Government of India to discover through Crawfurd "the feelings and deportment of the Burman King towards the British Mission"⁵, which useful purpose would "be accomplished by a temporary residence at the capital for a few months".⁵ Crawfurd, however, looked upon his Mission as merely meant to contract a commercial treaty, so that when this was accomplished he left Burma. Capt. Henry Burney was also appointed Envoy and Resident Minister under Article 7 of the Treaty of Yandabo, but his appointment was meant to be of a permanent nature, and it was intended to settle all questions at issue between the two states through the Resident.

The fact that Article 7 of the Treaty had been insisted upon by the British at Yandabo shows, that the Government of India counted upon solving any difficulties arising with the neighbouring country of Burma by diplomatic

3 Lit. Water Chief, *i. e.*, in charge of the shipping; he ranked next to the Governor.

4 Mauritius and the neighbouring islands east of Madagascar belonged to France. In 1810 Minto, the Governor-General of British India, captured these islands.

5 Bengal Sec. and Pol. Vol. 345, Cons. 6 April, 1827, No. 30, Resolution of the Vice-President-in-Council in the Secret Dept.

means. Between 1826 and 1830, however, no measures were adopted to take permanent advantage of this article. When Campbell evacuated Rangoon in December 1826, he left behind him Lieut. Rawlinson as Agent to watch over British interests in general, and to receive from the Burmese Government the instalments of the indemnity due from the King. Rawlinson, however, in this capacity was not an accredited Consul or Resident of the British Government and could not undertake the duties of such an officer, neither was he appointed under the Treaty of Yandabo.

Crawfurd gave it as his opinion that the right to maintain a Resident at the Burmese Court ought not to be given up, but at the same time he was not in favour of stationing a permanent Political Agent at Ava. In the following words he gave his reasons for his decided opinion :—

“I may here repeat, that a British Resident at Ava, distant by a navigation of 1200 miles (nearly 500 of it within the Burman territory, where every species of communication is placed under the most rigorous and vexatious restraint), from the authority he represents, and an object of perpetual jealousy to a Government indescribably ignorant and suspicious, could exercise little useful influence upon the councils of that Government, would have no means of furnishing his own with useful intelligence, and would, in a word, be placed in a situation amounting to little better than an honourable imprisonment.

“The circumstances which attended the residence of the present Mission at Ava afford confirmation of this opinion. During nearly a period of two months and a half, although a British force was still at Rangoon, I found myself compelled, by the temper of the Government⁶ to abstain from all correspondence. The same feeling was evinced at every station of our route, up and down; so that, in a period altogether of four months and a half, no communication could be made to the Government⁷ of our proceedings, with the exception of the casual and precarious one which was made by the route of Aracan”.⁸

Crawfurd also did not support the proposal of maintaining a Resident Agent at Rangoon: “The Agent of the British Government, in this case”, he said, “would be inevitably shut out from all communication with the Court of Ava, and become virtually and practically the representative of the Supreme Government of India to the Provincial Government of Pegu. His services would be of some value for the protection of British commerce at the port of Rangoon, but jealously and narrowly watched, he would be possessed, in his political capacity, neither of influence nor of utility”.

6 *i. e.* the Government of Burma.

7 The Government of India.

8 Crawfurd's Journal, Appendix No. II,

In spite of these decided views, Crawford held that political relations with Burma should be effectually maintained, and that, through the Chief Commissioner of Tenasserim.

The Government of India did not endorse Crawford's views. Even before Crawford's departure for Ava, although the Government did not favour the immediate establishment of a permanent resident at the Burmese Court, it did consider the wisdom of having such an officer at Rangoon. Government Resolution, 6 April, 1827, says:—"His Lordship-in-Council deems it sufficient to observe that under the present impression of the inexpediency of maintaining permanently a Resident at the court of Ava, it is not considered of any importance whether or not the Burmese Court consent to recognize a second local authority in Rangoon. The principal British authority, under whatever designation of Resident, Agent or Consul, may himself generally reside at Rangoon, and on the occasion of his proceeding to the capital on any special duty some subordinate authority may be left to officiate at Rangoon, an arrangement to which His Lordship-in-Council does not imagine the Court of Ava can have any possible objection".⁹

The Government of India was thoroughly dissatisfied with the fruits of the Crawford Embassy. In May 1827, it was decided to appoint Capt. Henry Burney as Consul at Rangoon. "Believing", wrote Amherst in his Minute, dated, Simla, 12 May, 1827, "that the creation of the office of Consul at Rangoon is necessary and expedient as a temporary measure for the protection of the interests of British commerce at that Port, and to ensure the due observance of the Commercial Treaty,¹⁰ as also that the officer so employed may act as Political Agent in subordination to the principal British authority on the Tenasserim coast, I concur in the proposed appointment and in the selection of Capt. Burney for the situation of Consul with the allowances he at present enjoys, *viz.*, Rs 1200 per mensem, and some consideration on account of a House or Office".¹¹

This appointment at Rangoon was not proposed to be of a permanent nature, because the Supreme Government expected, that the trade of Rangoon would ultimately shift to Amherst, where traders would be more secure under a comparatively stable government. Under the rule of the East India Company, three great ports, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras had already sprung up, and traders from all parts of India and the neighbouring world had drifted to them. Kyaikkami, renamed Amherst, was therefore, also expected to develop into a great port and thus displace Rangoon. It was with this object in view, that

⁹ Bengal Sec. and Pol. Vol. 345, Cons. 6 April, 1827, No. 30.

¹⁰ The Crawford Treaty of November 1826.

¹¹ Bengal Sec. and Pol. Vol. 346, No. 4, The Minute.

Crawford, the first Civil Commissioner of Tenasserim, selected this station and named it after the Governor-General, as the site for the capital of the new territory. In 1827, however, when Sir Archibald Campbell became Chief Commissioner, he transferred the headquarters to Moulmein for strategical reasons.¹²

While the Tenasserim authorities were intently waiting for final orders in connexion with the dispatch of Burney as Resident, the Supreme Government suddenly changed its mind, and decided to wait. It appears that in the cause of economy, the older and cheaper arrangement of a Political Assistant in Rangoon, appointed by and under the control of the Tenasserim Commissioner, was allowed to continue for the time being.

This state of affairs, however, did not last long. The question of the retention or disposal of the Tenasserim province had been under discussion between the Home Government and the Supreme Government in India since the signing of the Treaty of Yandabo. The great difficulty with Tenasserim was its inability to meet its military expenses. The financial figures were as under :—¹³

Revenue Receipts for 1826,	Rs. 165, 000
Civil Disbursements	Rs. 122, 000
	<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>
Surplus	Rs. 43, 000
Military Charges (Two Regiments) ...	Rs. 160, 000
The Expense for two Cruisers ...	Rs. 34, 000
	<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>
Total Military Charges ...	Rs. 194, 000
Receipt, Surplus ...	Rs. 43, 000
	<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>
Surplus Charge ...	Rs. 151, 000

Thus every year the Government of India had to bear an expense of over 1½ lacs of rupees for Tenasserim, and this charge was expected to increase, since buildings, barracks, fortifications etc., were required. In 1826 the Court of Directors had suggested the retrocession of the province to Burma, but the measure was not insisted upon, on the expectation that large numbers of the Burmese subjects would migrate into the ceded provinces. This migration was considerable at first, amounting to about 12,000 persons, but later no more arrived, and some of the original emigrants returned to Burmese territory.¹⁴

In 1828 the Directors again recommended the retrocession of the province, and on 25 November, 1828, Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of

¹² Burma Gazetteer, Amherst Dist. Vol. A, p. 11.

¹³ Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 680, pp. 243-283.

¹⁴ Ibid. pp. 319-343.

Control, drew up his memorandum in which he pointed out at some length "that the Tenasserim provinces are an undesirable possession, and regret may be expressed that we insisted upon their cession". But the problem was how to get rid of them without disparagement to British power and diplomacy. Among the expedients suggested were :—(1) To sell the province to the Siamese ; but during the war Martaban had been offered to them, and they had refused it ; (2) to create an independent state in Tenasserim ; but this would have entailed the difficult problem of its protection especially against Burmese aggression ; (3) to return it to the King of Burma : this would have been the easiest course, but there was the question of the inhabitants, who protested against the measure. It was felt, above all, that the Burmese Government should in no way be given to know, or allowed to suspect the anxiety of the British to get rid of the province.

The Government of India decided, first to discover through an Agent the attitude of the Burmese Government towards the retrocession of the province in exchange for Negrais or Bassein district, or money or both; the Envoy, however, was not to reveal the real object of the mission, but seek for an opportunity to get rid of the troublesome districts on the best terms while discussing with the Burma Government other questions at dispute, such as, the Manipur frontier, Dacoities, the Indemnity etc. Major Henry Burney, Deputy Commissioner of Tavoy, was selected for this task; but he was not to be sent as a representative of the Governor-General: Maingy, the Commissioner, was instructed to send him to Ava as his agent. Maingy, however, considered it unwise to depute Burney, from his side and in his name, to the Court of Ava which might look upon such a measure as an insult.¹⁵ The Supreme Government fell in with this view, and on 30 December, 1829, appointed Burney to be the British Resident at Ava in fulfilment of Article 7 of the Treaty of Yandabo. By this decision it was meant to establish a permanent Residency in Burma, and the Burmese Government was in turn invited to establish a Burmese Residency at Calcutta.

The objects of the new Residency to be established at Ava are to be clearly seen in the letter of Government instructions to Burney :—

"... it is the desire of His Lordship-in-Council that you should make no propositions but encourage the Burmese to disclose their views and make first overtures in all occasions, and that you should quietly make it your study to ascertain and report for the information of Government the state of parties at Ava and the real views of the King and Courtiers, and endeavour to obtain some influence over the Court, and above all to establish a free intercourse between yourself and our possessions both in Aracan and Tennaserim.

¹⁵ Bengal Sec. & Pol. V cl. 357—Bentinck's Minute, 29 December, 1829.

"But your first duty on your arrival at the capital of Ava must be to remonstrate against the delay in the payment of the 4th instalment, and against depredations... ..in Aracan and on the Salween."¹⁶

On the subject of Manipur, the instructions were to inform the Burmese Government the determination of the Governor-General to fix the Chindwin as the boundary between the two states. As to the Burmese claim to Moulmein, Burney was told to refuse to make it a subject of negotiation. Particular instructions were given as to the projected return of Tenasserim for a consideration, and more so because the Atwenwoons or Interior Ministers had been endeavouring through one Mr. Lane, a British merchant, to obtain the return of the province :—

"It is important, however, that you should endeavour to make yourself well acquainted with the real views and wishes of the Burmese Court with respect to our territory on the Coast of Tenasserim, for the retrocession of which you are aware that an overture has lately been made by the Burmese Interior Ministers through Mr. Lane a British merchant residing at Ava."¹⁶

Burney was carefully to refrain from expressing any opinion on any such proposition formally made, but endeavour to ascertain and report for the information of the Governor-General "what equivalent the Burmese Court is able or willing to give in exchange for a portion or whole of the Tenasserim provinces, and also whether the Burmese Court could be disposed to cede the island of Negrais with some part of the neighbouring country, including or otherwise the town of Bassein in exchange for a portion of our territory on the Tenasserim Coast".¹⁶

The interests of trade were not omitted : Burney was asked to "take the earliest measures which you may find it practicable to adopt, without exciting the jealousy or dissatisfaction of the Court of Ava, to open and establish a free intercourse between yourself and this Government by the way of Arracan as well as Rangoon... ..Your attention should be given to the trade of Ava¹⁷ with a view of reporting to his Lordship-in-Council the practicability of extending and facilitating British Commerce and the consumption of British manufactures".¹⁸

The instructions also dealt with the desirability of good relations being maintained between the two governments :—

"His Lordship-in-Council is convinced that you will use your best endeavours to satisfy the Court of Ava, that your appointment has originated in no other view than that cited in the 7th article of the Treaty of Yandaboo,

16 Bengal Sec. and Pol. Vol. 357, Cons. 8 January, 1830.

Govt. Letter of Instructions to Burney, 31 December, 1829, No. 32.

17 The Calcutta authorities called Burma by the name of its capital, Ava.

18 Bengal Sec. and Pol. Vol. 357, Cons. 8 January, 1830.

The Letter of Instructions to Burney, 31 December, 1829.

namely, to cultivate and improve the relations of amity and peace established between the two governments. You will use such arguments and reasoning as your own reading and experience may suggest to you for showing to the King and Court of Ava the advantage and convenience of the relations between the two states maintained unimpaired by means of Resident Ministers, a principle of policy which has been adopted by every civilised state, and you will make known the desire of the Governor-General-in-Council to afford a suitable reception to any Burmese officer of rank and consideration whom the King of Ava may be pleased to depute as his Resident at Calcutta."¹⁸

When Cox was appointed Resident at Rangoon in 1796, he was empowered to protect the interests of British subjects residing in Burma; Burney was also invested with the same authority in his letter of credentials:—

"And I hereby authorise you to receive complaints from all British subjects residing in the dominions of the King of Ava, in the subject of injuries sustained by them from the Government or subjects of Ava, and to make such representations thereon to the King and Ministers as you may judge advisable."¹⁹

It was, however, made clear, that "it is not the desire of the Governor-General-in-Council that you should interfere in any such matter whenever the established laws of the country are adequate to afford the parties redress."²⁰

Burney arrived in Ava on 23 April, 1830. He discharged his duties most successfully as Resident for nearly 8 years, and was succeeded in his office by Col. R. Benson. The idea of retroceding Tenasserim was soon given up. The Residency was ultimately withdrawn in 1840. The history of the Residency (1830-1840) is one of the most interesting and significant chapters in Indo-Burmese relations. During this period the Indian Government made great attempts to maintain, without resort to war, diplomatic relations with the Government of Burma through the Resident. The Burmese monarch was, however, interested in the Residency only so far as he could make use of it for his own purpose. The Residency was looked upon as a humiliating badge of the defeat in the War which had cost the King considerable territorial losses; so that every possible effort, other than war, was made to remove the Residency at least from the capital, and confine it to Rangoon. In 1839 ultimately King Tharrawaddy (1837-1846) succeeded in this attempt; but the Indian Government was not prepared to retain the Residency in the country unless it was honourably entertained at the capital. In the absence of this it was withdrawn in January 1840, and during the period between 1840 and the outbreak of the Second War in 1852, diplomatic relations between the two governments were at a stand still. In the reign of Mindon (1853-1878) they were resumed, and the Residency was re-established at the capital in 1862.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* The Letter of Credentials, No. 33.

²⁰ *Ibid.* The Letter of Instructions.

LORD MAYO'S RESOLUTION OF 14th DECEMBER 1870 —AN INTERPRETATION.

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On his assumption of office, Lord Mayo realised that that stage of financial disorganisation had been reached which required radical change. Analysing the causes of the existing situation he found that the uncertainty in the Budget arose from the lack of up-to-date systematised information of the state of revenue and expenditure in the Financial Department, the irresponsible demands of the Local Governments and the imperfect estimates by the spending departments. To remove the evil it was necessary to improve the mechanism of the Financial Department, to secure a permanent readjustment of the revenues and expenditure and to give to the Local Governments a motive for economy in framing their estimates and keeping within them. Lord Mayo came to the conclusion that the greatest necessity then was to make the Local Governments responsible for a part of the public expenditure, and to secure this end the Resolution of 14th December 1870 was issued.

Pointing out the inconvenience of the divorce of responsibility to provide ways and means from actual disbursement of the funds, the Resolution laid down the dictum that "it is expedient that, as far as possible, the obligation to find the funds necessary for administrative improvement should rest upon the authority whose immediate duty it is to devise such measures." Hence the departments of Jails, Registration, Police, Education, Medical Services (except medical establishments) Printing, Roads, Miscellaneous Public improvements, and Civil Buildings, which were considered to be of a local character, were transferred to the control of the Local Governments, as the expenditure in them had shown a tendency to rise, and also because the Supreme Government did not either "understand fully the Local requirements" or possess "the knowledge necessary to the successful development of local resources" to meet the growing charges in them. As the scheme had been adopted with a view to giving relief to the Imperial Exchequer, a fixed assignment less by a million than the budget provision for these heads in 1870-71 was made to the Local Governments, the balance to be provided either by retrenchment, re-distribution of expenditure or local taxation. The Local Governments were free to distribute the sum among the several departments at their discretion, and any savings made at the end of the year would not lapse to the Imperial revenues but would remain at their disposal. Separate budget estimates and accounts would be maintained for these services. They were to be known as "Provincial Services".

Certain conditions were imposed so as "to restrict the powers of the Local Governments within the limits assigned by the Secretary of State to the powers of the Supreme Government of India itself: and so prevent a Local Government from embarrassing its neighbours by capricious or injudicious innovations".¹ Otherwise the Local Governments were free to manage the administration and expenditure of the transferred services. It was hoped that "the additional powers of financial control" would "be accompanied by a corresponding increase of administrative responsibility." The Governor General in Council desired to "confine the interference of the Supreme Government in India in the administration of the "Provincial Services" to what is necessary for the discharge of that responsibility which the Viceroy in Council owes to the Queen and her responsible advisers, and for the purpose of securing adherence to the financial conditions now prescribed, and to the general policy of the Government of India".

The Resolution, as such, transferred financial control over eight services to the Provincial Governments, subject to certain conditions, which prevented the Local Governments from creating or abolishing any superior appointments, or any class or grade of officers, or from making any additions or alterations to the pay or allowances of officers that might affect the same class of officers in other provinces. The Local Governments were not free to invest their money where they chose, and were subject to all budgetary rules and restrictions. A lump sum was fixed for expenditure in the transferred departments, and they were given liberty to distribute it at their discretion among the different objects under those heads, though an estimate had to be submitted. The Local Governments could not raise any taxes without the sanction of the Governor-General in Council, could not increase the total charges on Provincialised Services and could make no other substantial alterations. The only extension, therefore, in their financial powers was the possibility of transferring the funds under one head to another within the limits of the consolidated allotment, without the formal previous sanction of the Government of India.

With regard to the entertainment of public establishments and grant of allowances and salaries, Sir Richard Temple, while explaining the scope of the Resolution in his financial statement, enunciated the principle that "the regulation of salaries, of rates of pay, even the lowest of allowances and pecuniary privileges must remain with the Supreme Government". He held that "strictness in this respect is essential", and so a check by the Government of India was indispensable to prevent excessive differences between one province and another which would lead to financial embarrassment.

The Supreme Government did not part "with any of those powers which

1 For Conditions see Hunter: *Life of Earl of Mayo*. Vol II p. 54.

are needed for the preservation of financial order throughout India".² No revenues, except the departmental receipts, were given to the Local Governments and thus what was conceded to them was only "control over certain allotted items of expenditure".³ Control of a general character was retained by the Government of India over the levy of Local Taxation. A measure of so partial a character does not deserve the high sounding title of a "Decentralisation Scheme". There was to be no disintegration either of finances or of administration. The Government of India did not relax any control which it could usefully exercise. To a great extent, the Resolution systematised the practice which had developed recently and was in vogue at the time.

However, the implication is not that the reform was either unnecessary or profitless. It served, on the contrary, the purpose for which it was adopted. While securing immediate relief to Imperial finances, it made for greater harmony and economy, generated by responsibility, in public administration. Not only was the Government of India able to reduce its budget by a sum of Rs. 350,00,000, but also of "all prospective charges beyond the reduced sum" granted to the Local Governments; and as the charges transferred were such as had shown a tendency to rise, the advantage to the Central Government was considerable. A hope was at the same time expressed that the projected system would "teach the people to take a practical share in provincial finance, and lead them up gradually towards a degree of local self-government".⁴ The procedure which was envisaged was the presentation of the provincial financial statement to the provincial Legislative Council and the formation of local Committees comprised of the non-officials and officials, which would manage the expenditure on local objects like sanitation, roads, etc. The inclusion of the scheme for local taxation with the delegation of financial powers to the Provincial Governments made it essential to associate the non-official element with the Government, for one important concern at this time was to raise taxes without creating discontent among the people. Some statesmen clearly realised the need of this step. Sir William Muir, who was then the Lt. Governor of the North Western Provinces, demanded a Legislative Council for his province, for, as he wrote, "if this Government is to be responsible for so large a local revenue, it should be armed with corresponding legislative power". He felt also that the relaxation of control by the Government of India "over several departments especially involving questions of finance" would require the substitution of the control by a Legislative and an Executive Council.⁵ Others

² Temple's: Financial Statement 1871-72,

³ Wingfield: Hansard Debates Feb. 24 1871, pp. 902-6.

⁴ Financial statement 1871-72.

⁵ Letter from N. W. P. to Government of India No. 1284A., 15 September 1870 (H. D. Public Pro. 22 October 1870 No. 50)

in England also were of the same opinion.⁶ The advanced Indian public opinion saw in the paragraph of the Resolution containing the pious hopes of the Viceroy the only redeeming feature of the proposal. But these hopes did not materialise. The provincial budget was not regularly laid before the Councils even where they existed, and no effort was made to increase their number or to extend the non-official element in them. Any control by the representatives of the people over finance was out of the question. The scheme contemplated promoting local self-government by strengthening municipal institutions. But it was a vain hope as the domination of the officials over them failed to evoke the cooperation of the people. Failing in the attainment of these desired results, the reform of 1870 may be said to be merely "advantageous to the imperial budget of British India".⁷ Thus the purpose of this measure could not be the establishment of autonomous provincial governments. It was merely an administrative measure designed to reduce the work of the Central Government and to minimise the chances of conflict with subordinate governments. Under the existing legal and constitutional system no considerable relaxation in the central control was possible, and as such was not aimed at.

MEMOIRS OF HYDER ALLY FROM THE YEAR 1758 TO 1770

by

ELOY JOZE CORREA PEIXOTO.

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The manuscript of these memoirs, now in the custody of the Mysore Archaeological Department, was purchased in London by the late Sardar M. N. Balaraj Urs of Mysore. Another manuscript of the same name and by the same author is known to exist in the British Museum, London. But the several corrections and interlineal additions in this manuscript suggest that this is perhaps the original draft of which the other is a fair copy. It contains 160 pages of foolscap and consists of 3 books of unequal size. In the margin the numbers 34 to 323 are marked which may perhaps refer to the Portuguese

⁶ Sir Charles Wingfield, Sir Charles Trevelyan etc.

⁷ Temple : Financial Statement 1871-72.

manuscript of Peixoto, translated here into English. The paper used is of French hand-make, belonging to the eighteenth century to which period we have also to refer the English language and spelling employed. The original Portuguese manuscript was written, as the author has himself said, in 1770 A. D. and is thus invaluable for the history of Hyder as a contemporary record from the pen of a person who was in the service of Hyder himself and, as such, must have had intimate knowledge of the anecdotes narrated.

Peixoto was a Portuguese Captain of Infantry in Goa. With the recommendation of the Viceroy of Goa he entered the service of Hyder in April 1758 A. D. as the Chief of the Van-Guard and of all the European Fusiliers and one regiment of Grenadiers. To the end of November 1767 A. D. he served in this capacity, taking part in most of the campaigns of Hyder and then left this service to return to Goa. In Madras the English tried to secure his services against Hyder himself. He declined the offer and took passage on a ship which, unfortunately, was wrecked near Ceylon. He then sailed on another ship which took him only as far as Tellichery. Here he had to stay for some time waiting in vain for help from Goa. Disappointed at last, he sailed to Bengal wherefrom he intended to travel by land through the North-western passes to Europe. But the restrictions imposed by the English in this behalf compelled him to sail back to the Coromandel coast. By this time the First Mysore war was concluded by the Treaty of Madras and Hyder was encamping in Kolar. Peixoto was prevailed upon to re-enter his service by some of the French officers at Pondicherry. They led him to the presence of Hyder who now employed him only on half of his original pay with charge over the Europeans with Firelocks. Peixoto, however, did not continue in this service for more than a year since he became disgusted at the gradual decay in Hyder's army and at the general disgrace of the Europeans who had been wasting their wealth in dissipation. By way of Tellichery he went down to Tanjore where he served for some time. He then left for Goa and took passage to Lisbon.

His anecdotes relative to the rise of Hyder Ali are chronologically arranged. The dates mentioned are generally in agreement with those known from other sources. The few differences, here and there, are minor only. The anecdotes themselves are sufficiently authentic and written with a healthy frankness and no undue partiality, whether in the case of the Europeans or in that of the Indians. Peixoto was neither a critic nor an eulogist, but a judicious chronicler praising or condemning according as praise or condemnation was due. While, on the one hand, his anecdotes find support from other sources and sometimes have themselves a corroborative value, there are, on the other hand, some among them which are entirely new to our stock of what we already know. These, for example, are : Hyder's matricide, his murder of king Nanjaraj, the humiliation of

the English at his hands during the conclusion of the First Mysore War, the luxury of the English Court in Bengal and the general dissipation and immorality of the Europeans in India. Though the contents mainly pertain to the military campaigns and genius of Hyder, there are some among them, incidentally mentioned and nevertheless important, which bear on Hyder's character and ability and on the contemporary politics of the other powers or states in so far as Hyder was drawn into it. The few errors that he has committed as for instance, his having mistaken Nanjaraj, the Sarvadhikari, and father-in-law of King Krishnaraj II for 'the second king', are such that could be condoned in a Portuguese author.

Of Hyder's parentage and early life, Peixoto has mentioned very little. Nor has he given any account of the circumstances under which he entered first the service of Nanjaraj as Nayak in the Mysore army.

Nanjaraj sent Hyder as the Governor of Dindigul with wide powers to subdue the place and bring the neighbouring territories also to his authority. Hyder executed this duty to the satisfaction of the King and secured 'much spoils and riches' of which the major portion he kept for himself. He was also allowed to augment, without limitation, his troops.

The next activity of Hyder was in Chennapatna during the year 1758 A. D. in which Peixoto joined his service. Hyder had employed the best English and French smiths for the preparation of gun powder, cannon balls and arms. An advance party was sent at the close of December 1758 A. D. against Chennapatna. The fort was taken. But in the meanwhile a huge Maratha army under Gopal Hari and Sripant arrived and besieged the place. The details given by Peixoto in respect of the long siege, differ from those known from other sources. In return for his services Hyder was lifted to the post of General-in-chief.

The misunderstandings that arose in the meanwhile between the king and Nanjaraj resulted in the retirement of the latter from service yielding his highest position in the kingdom to Hyder. Nanjaraj, however, tried to assert himself in Mysore and had the service of some of the ablest Europeans. But Hyder won over these officers by stratagem and compelled Nanjaraj to retire to Konanur. On this occasion he was bestowed the title 'Hyder Ali' and none was permitted to call him a Nayak thenceforth. Peixoto records that a poor man who violated this order was punished by having his tongue cut off.

The rise of Hyder to the highest position in the kingdom bred envy among some of the officers of whom Khanderao, a servant of Hyder himself was one. They could no longer tolerate the situation by which 'the very commands of the Raja were not obeyed unless they were ratified by Hyder'. They convoked the Marathas for help and fired at his house when the major portion of his army under Mugtum Saib was absent at Pondicherry. Peixoto,

too, was not present on this occasion. His statement, therefore, that a ball smote Hyder's old mother on the leg and that Hyder smote off her head when she cried out in pain, requires corroboration since he has recorded it obviously from hearsay. But then he would not, without some basis, accuse his hero of the worst of crimes inasmuch as he had no prejudice against him and, indeed, had such admiration for him that he would serve none of his enemies whatever the fortune he could have made thereby. On the other hand he re-entered Hyder's service in 1769 on only half of his original pay. While, thus, the matricide appears to be a probability, what makes us, conversely, doubt Peixoto's statement is the fact that, so far, none else, whether Muhammadan or Hindu or European, is known to have recorded it, though this circumstance itself is not difficult of explanation. Peixoto does not mention the defeat that Hyder sustained near Nanjangud at the hands of Khanderao. Nor does he detail the various manœuvres practised by Hyder on Khanderao. Hyder had practically subdued the whole kingdom and made Ramarao a prisoner at the time he appeared in Seringapatam. 'With his usual maxims' he dictated to the king his own terms. Khanderao was now handed over to Hyder and was imprisoned in a cage where he died after suffering many indignities. Ramarao, too, was blown up, being tied to the muzzle of a gun. Thus in 1761 A. D. Hyder once again made himself the sole authority in the kingdom. The king's name was worth nothing. Even Nanjaraj was prevented from entering Seringapatam.

With his position secure, Hyder now began his series of campaigns which resulted in the wide expansion of the territories of Mysore. His principal enemies were the Marathas with whom he was continually engaged in war. Peixoto's account makes it clear that had it not been for the tact and military genius of Hyder, Mysore would have fallen a prey to the frequent Maratha raids or succumbed to the aggressions of Nizam Ali.

Hoskote, Sira and Chikkaballapur fell to Hyder's hands in quick succession. The territories of 'Malle Rao' (Murari Rao) were next attacked. The latter was followed up as far as Sandur and all his forts like Kodikonda, Madakasira, Penugonda, Gooti and Midigesi were captured. The relations with the Raja of Chitaldrug resulted in the annexation of Bednur. The queen of the place, who was unworthy of her name, was captured with her paramour Lingiah. Peixoto does not mention of her having been sent as prisoner to Madhugiri. He says that when she appeared before him, he received her with ceremony and lodged her with his own women.

From Bednur Hyder marched as far as Mangalore conquering provinces. Many forts as far north as Gokarna fell to his hands. Yenur was besieged. Uda-parssu, a certain prince of the woods near Nileshwar, was surrounded in his capital and captured. When he was brought before Hyder he was persuaded by

gentle means to show the place where he had hidden his treasure. But he gave evasive replies and was hanged. The name of Udaparssu is not known from other sources.

The capture of Bankapur, which followed the reduction of Savanur, brought the Marathas on the scene. Their army was so huge that Hyder could not engage them in open war. But their activities made the situation critical for him. The war dragged on to the end of May 1765 when peace was concluded.

Coorg and Kadapa were next attacked. The invitation of Ali Raja of Cananore at this time encouraged Hyder to leave for his Malabar invasions towards the end of January 1766 A. D. He carried destruction wherever he went, setting the houses on fire and killing the Nairs indiscriminately. The Malabar chiefs submitted to him one after another. Balliapatam, Cherika, Colastria, Kottayam and several other places were captured. The Zamorin was made a prisoner at an annual feast and lodged in a house which was set on fire by the Nairs themselves.

Leaving the place in charge of a governor, Hyder returned to Coimbatore. The Nairs immediately besieged his governor at his pagoda. On receipt of the news Hyder marched back in great fury. The entire Nair country was plundered, their houses were burnt, and a universal massacre of the Nairs ordered. A price was set ranging from three to five rupees on the head of every Nair, man or woman, young or old. Many Nair women were captured and sent as presents to the governors and chiefs. Peixoto has recorded several incidents recounting the trials and indignities to which the Nairs were subjected.

The death of King Krishnaraj II made Hyder leave for Seringapatam by way of Palghat and Coimbatore. Sarvadhikari Nanjaraj now put forward his claim to the throne, threatening to go to war if the kingdom was not made over to him. He had also entered into secret relations with the Marathas. By stratagem, however, Hyder brought him to Seringapatam and imprisoned him in his own house. A son of the late king was placed on the throne to put an end to the murmur of the people, though in fact, nothing was being executed without his orders.

In 1767 Peixoto left Hyder's service and wandered widely in India till he rejoined his service in 1769. Some of his observations on Travancore, Padmanabhapura, the Andman and Nicobar islands, Bengal etc. are noteworthy. In the matter of the luxurious dinners given by the Bengal Governor he has said: "It is impossible that there can be made greater Daily Expenses at any other place or nation". While he was at Chandranagore the 'Grandeers' complained of the insolence which they suffered from the English. The Governor of Pondicherry told him that the English 'hath gained their greatest victory's more by words than by the violence of their arms'. Pondicherry, once the Garden of

Asia, had been destroyed by the British and now was being rebuilt in 'all perfection'. Tranquebar was a pleasant place with gardens and places of recreation. Negapatam was a great commercial place but 'not defensible'. The Dutch thought only of their commerce and their infantry was unworthy of the name of 'Military'.

Peixoto observes that the Treaty of Madras 'was less honourable to the English' and that 'the Nabob would not give them (English) battle in the plain and only strive to divide them, stop their convoys, corrupt their chiefs and other maxims which he uses with great fortune'. The English were ashamed of the treaty and some said that 'it seemed to them that the time was arrived in which the English Nation was to decline'. The account of the Hyder-Nama confirms the statement of Peixoto about the upper hand that Hyder had during the First Mysore War.

* * * * *

At this time misunderstanding rose between Hyder and his best friend Faizulla Khan. Hyder was so ungrateful as to forget all his services and subjected him to many indignities. He had no esteem for his own master Nanjaraj. At times he was very cruel and ordered, on a large scale, to cut the noses and ears of his prisoners or his own sepoys. A sepoy who had been condemned to death for having attempted the life of a general expressed that 'he was much contented to die rather by his own will than to die in the Nabob's service for 30 rupees which he was promised but which he never received entire and always was wanting more than the third part'. The Governor of Bednur who was chastised by him and demanded to pay an exorbitant sum committed suicide by saying that 'it was better to die than to suffer affronts from such ungrateful man as the Nabob'. Hyder was very greedy and all those suspected of having money were chastised till they gave up what all they had. Peixoto says "This form of preserving the multitude, the Nabob can only attain to, for they shew by their quietness with which they live, after so many oppressions of their money, honour and castes and are so much afraid of him on Earth as of God in Heavens'. Hyder did not spare even his overlord King from becoming a victim of his fiendish nature. The boy king 'showed a Royal presence of spirit' which indicated that he would not suffer for long his subjection. Hyder mixed up poison in the milk which he sent the king on the night of 2nd August, 1770. Next morning the king was found dead. Hyder pretended to be sorry and instituted no enquiry beyond effecting the arrest of the surgeon who attended the king during the previous night. Peixoto says: 'In this manner the Nabob shews his sorrow by the surgeon's prison and by the condemnation, utility to his treasury, where all the Nabob's interests do center'. Nanjaraj, the prisoner, bewailed now not only the king who died but also the

New King, for he knew full well that Hyder was a usurper. Moorish Governors had been employed all over the kingdom and only Hyder's orders were obeyed' in a manner that it was construed as 'Zeal for the common good of the people'. The income of the Royal Family hardly served for the daily expenses. The very silver vessels belonging to the palace had been taken away by Hyder.

Nor was the private life of Hyder void of his exercise of cruelty. His matricide had already been referred to. It was also his custom to kill all his female issues as soon as they were born. This statement of Peixoto finds corroboration by the evidence of Hyder-Nama. In addition to his three wives Hyder had as many as 4000 concubines who had been particularly housed at Bednur, Bangalore and Seringapatam. In the evenings he used to take his walk in the garden when these concubines stood in a row on either side of the path each with a nose-gay in her hands. He would take the nose gay from those he wanted for amusement during the night. Besides these concubines he often would amuse himself with also other private women, capturing them by force and threatening them with death if they would not yield themselves up. But he could not communicate with all the ladies of his harem. There were many occasions on which he suspected infidelity among several of them. He used to chastise his concubines on suspicion. On the 5th August, 1770 a certain concubine casually lifted her eyes at a servant. Hyder killed her with his own hand and ordered the servant to be skinned alive.

Hyder had two sons and one daughter. The latter had been preserved by Modin Saib without his knowledge and presented to him when grown up. Hyder intended that Ali Rājā should marry her. Tipu, his eldest son, was married in 1770 A. D. Peixoto says of him that he was 'as cruel as can be said, wretches and of worse actions that can be found in any person. No chief is desirous of accompanying him, for he is imprudent, for which reason his fortune will last no longer than his father lives, or his disgrace which he has hath, change into victories of which he runs great risks, for there is not one person of his servants, or in the other kingdoms that loves him. Naturally and if some make a shew outwardly, they make a virtue out of necessity'. Hyder's youngest son Carim Saib was a favourite with his father.

From Peixoto's account it would appear that Hyder had very little love even for his own religion. The Mohurram in 1770 was strictly ordered by him to be observed only with great moderation. Though a Mussalman he reared up hogs for sports in which he indulged a great deal. He loved tigers fighting with elephants, fire works and so on. He would on occasions, as for instance during the marriage festival of his son Tipu, let loose live tigers on the people and before they did much injury to them would shoot them down with remarkable aim and speed.

His army in 1770 had become very weak. The few Europeans who had been serving had become degenerate. Peixoto records several instances of their dissipated habits. They had no fear of god or precepts of religion. This circumstance disgusted Peixoto and, under the pretext of finding Europeans for his army, he left his service finally on 6th August 1770. At this time the Marathas had become very formidable in strength both by reason of their number and organisation, while Hyder's army was insignificant and had the custom mainly of fighting behind the walls or in woods. Since, however, a terrible war was expected, Hyder was making great preparations at the capital.

THE FIRST ENGLISH EXPEDITION TO NEPAL.

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The first English expedition to Nepal has been ignored by historians so far, and it has consequently been one of the least known episodes in the annals of British rule in India. It was in Verelst's time that this expedition was planned, and undertaken, and unsuccessfully though it terminated, it marks an epoch in the history of the early relations of the English with the Gurkha power.

Early in 1767, Jayaprakash Malla,¹ the Newar ruler of Kathmandu, while closely besieged in his capital by the Gurkha chief, Prithvi Narayan, made repeated requests² to the English for aid against his enemy. Mr. Rumbold, Chief of the Patna Factory, on being informed of "these repeated solicitations"³ wrote to the Governor on April 20, "Napaul.....has long been besieged

1 According to Kirkpatrick (vide his "Account of the Kingdom of Nepal" 1811 p. 270), it was Ranjit Malla of Bhatgaon, who applied for assistance, and "prevailed on the British Government to aid him with a military force for the purpose of expelling" the Gurkhas. From the official papers it is, however, clear that the appeal for help came from Jayaprakash Malla, the ruler of Kathmandu, and Capt. Kinloch was sent expressly to relieve him, and not Ranjit Malla, as stated by Kirkpatrick. It appears from the narrative of Father Guisepee (who was an eye-witness of the Gurkha conquest of Nepal) that the Raja of Bhatgaon had originally invited the Gurkha chief into Nepal, but he subsequently concluded an alliance with the Rajas of Kathmandu and Patan in order to fight with the Gurkhas (Vide. Asiatic Researches, Vol. II)

2 For an account of his career, Vide. History of Nepal (Translated from Parbatiya), edited by D. Wright, p. 228.

3 Letter from Mr. Golding to Mr. T. Rumbold, dated Bettiah April 6. 1767.

by the Goorcully Rajah. The inhabitants are now drove to the utmost extremities, repeated solicitations have been made for our assistance, and I am informed a Vakeel is now on his way hither.....I shall be glad to know from you whether on the Vakeel's arrival I may give him any encouragement⁴" This was the first official intimation received by the Governor about the Newar ruler's entreaties for assistance, and the Select Committee at its meeting of April 30 forthwith resolved to send an expedition to Nepal for the relief of Kathmandu, in case Prithvi Narayan refused to accept English mediation.⁵ Mr. Rumbold was directed to write to the Gurkha chief that unless he immediately raised the siege, withdrew his troops from Nepal, and desisted from molesting Jayaprakash Malla with whom the company was on terms of amity, the English would treat him "as a declared enemy".⁶ The Committee further authorized the Governor to order Capt. Kinloch "to march with all expedition" from Tippera⁷ to Patna "for establishing the peace and tranquillity of the country of Napaul." Mr. Rumbold was at the same time informed "Should Captain Kinloch arrive too late for the purpose required, we then leave it to your discretion to afford such succours as can be spared from the duties of the Factory and Collections."

The primary consideration which led the Governor and the Select Committee to espouse the cause of the Newars was economic. The prosperous trans-Himalyan trade of Bengal and Bihar had lately come almost to a standstill⁸ with the recent Gurkha conquest of the submontane regions of Nepal, and it was naturally apprehended that if Prithvi Narayan was allowed to conquer the whole of Nepal, Bengal would be totally deprived of the benefits of a lucrative trade with latter country as well as Tibet⁹. The importance of this trade would be apparent from the fact that Bengal exported to Nepal and Tibet large quantities of cotton, silk, and wollen goods as also salt and such other

4 Letter from Mr. T. Rumbold, April 20, 1767.

5 Beng. Sel. Com. April 30, 1767.

6 Letter from Sel. Com. to Mr. T. Rumbold, April 30, 1767.

7 Beng. Sel. Com. April 30. 1767.

" " " Feb. 5, 1767.

Capt. Kinloch had lately been sent on an expedition against the Raja of Tippera.

8 Beng. Sel. Com. April 30, 1767. Mr. Rumbold wrote to the Governor, "The trade from Napaul which formerly was very considerable has been entirely stopped by these troubles."

9 Kirkpatrick wrote in his "Memorandum respecting the commerce of Nepal". "There is good reason to believe, that, could a free and secure communication be opened between Bengal and Tibet, the wollen staples of Great Britain might be disposed of to the inhabitants of the latter country."

10 Beng. Pub. Cons. Oct. 31, 1769 (vide Mr. James Logan's memorandum).

necessaries, while it imported a variety of rare articles like musk, cow-tails, rock-oil, elephants, teeth, cassia, medicinal woods, catch, honey, wax, borax, and birds¹¹. The most valuable imports¹² were, however, gold and timber. The Company derived a plentiful supply of large timber¹³ from the forests of Nepal Tarai, while gold was another commodity for which Bengal largely depended on that country¹⁴. In fact, as Nepal annually exported an immense amount of gold¹⁵, it was popularly believed in India that this country was full of valuable gold mines¹⁶.

Verelst and the Select Committee thus readily consented to befriend the Newar prince for "opening a free communication¹⁷" with Nepal, and for promoting "a free intercourse and uninterrupted trade"¹⁸ with that country. In addition to the purely commercial considerations¹⁹, the necessity of frontier regulation in Bettiah was an additional factor which made it imperative on the part of the English to take early steps against the recurrent Gurkha incursions²⁰ from the adjacent Tarai. Thus, the interests of self-defence demanded a counter-offensive against the Gurkhas in support of the friendly Newar princes.

At first Verelst had hoped that the relief of Kathmandu might be secured by peaceful negotiations with the Gurkha chief. This is why Mr. Rumbold was advised to mediate between the warring parties, and was so informed²¹ by the Governor. In compliance with the instructions of the Governor, Mr. Rumbold sent a letter²² to Prithvi Narayan requesting him to accept the Company's mediation in his dispute with the Newars. No reply was, however, received from the latter for a long time, and when at last it came, it was considered unsatisfactory.

Bogle, memorandum on the trade of Tibet

Stavorinus, Voyage to the East Indies, I. p. 391.

11 Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 152.

12 Sel. Com. to Court, Sept. 26, 1767.

13 Beng. Sel. Com. February 19 and Oct. 7, 1766, March 3, 1767. Rennel's Journals, p. 69.

14 Fourth Report, 1773, p. 523.

Beng. Pub. Cons. Oct. 31, 1769. "The common current value of gold in Napaul (brought there from Thibet) is said to be 80 % less than it is at Patna".

15 Letter from Clive to the honourable committee of Treasury, and Correspondence, Aug. 28, 1767.

16 Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 717.

Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. Ms) p. 334.

Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. Ms), p. 781,

Khulasat (J. B. O. R. S. V. p. 608)

17 Letter from Sel. Com. to Mr. T. Rumbold, April 30, 1767,

18 Letter from Sel. Com. to Col. R. Smith, April 30, 1767.

19 Letter from Sel. Com. to Court, Sept. 25, 1767.

20 Letter from Mr. T. Rumbold, Jan. 3, 1768.

21 Beng. Sel. Com. April 30, 1767.

22 On May 28.

At its meeting of July 21, the Select Committee at last resolved²³ to sanction the proposed expedition to Nepal, not only because the Gurkha chief had failed "to accept our mediation, or reply to Mr. Rumbold's letter on the subject," but also because the Committee apprehended that the Raja of Kathmandu would be forced to surrender to the enemy, if prompt assistance was not afforded to him. Letters recently received from the Jesuit priests in Nepal had already confirmed the accounts of the acute distress in Kathmandu, given by the Vakils of Jayaprakash Malla, and there remained no doubt about the desperate position of the Newar prince who, according to the Jesuits,²⁴ could not be expected to hold out longer than the beginning of October, if not relieved. It may be pointed out that Verelst ultimately approved of the proposed expedition on the representation of Messrs. Rumbold and Kinloch that "the expedition to Nepal may be undertaken with great security as well as the utmost prospect of success."²⁵ But for their optimistic reports, it is doubtful if the Governor and the committee would have allowed a perilous expedition out of Bengal. That they were fully conscious of the grave risks of such an enterprise will be clear from the cautious instructions they gave to Mr. Rumbold. They wrote²⁶ to the latter, "We must positively insist upon your relinquishing the design unless you have the fullest conviction it must be attended with success. Should Captain Kinloch find in the progress of his march that the Rajah hath been forced to submission and that the enemy are in possession of his country, you will in such case direct him not to proceed, but take post in some convenient and secure station in the Bettea province.....The same step we will pursue should he encounter unexpected difficulties from the season, the situation of the country, or the power of the enemy."

From the contemporary records it is clear that Messrs Rumbold and Kinloch had underestimated the difficulties that must be encountered in a march to an unknown mountainous country like Nepal. They had doubtless been misled by the artful promises and high hopes held out by the Nepalese Vakils. Mr. Rumbold subsequently admitted this in a letter to the Governor,²⁷ In his obvious anxiety to expedite the march of the troops before the rains were over, Mr. Rumbold did not make sufficient independent inquiries about the proposed route, nor did he take adequate steps to ensure a regular supply of provisions to the troops on²⁸ the way. The expedition was thus commenced in undue haste.

²³ Beng. Sel. Com. July 21, 1767.

²⁴ Letter from Mr. T. Rumbold, Dec. 19, 1767.

²⁵ Beng. Sel. Com. July 21, 1767.

²⁶ Letter to Mr. T. Rumbold, July 21, 1767.

²⁷ Beng. Sel. Com. Jan. 12, 1768.

²⁸ The exact strength of the detachment with Capt. Kinloch is not given in the Committee Proceedings, but from a letter written by Mr. Richard Barwell to his father dated Feb. 28, 1768, it appears that the force consisted of 2400 sepoys, (Vide "The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell", Bengal: Past and Present, Vol. X. p. 29).

The fort of Hariharpur on the Vagmati river was soon obtained by Capt. Kinloch, but he could not continue his advance, as the river was in a flooded state. The troops had to be detained in the fort for a number of days while rafts were hastily prepared to make a bridge across the river. Before however, the rafts were ready, they were unfortunately washed away by a heavy downpour that further swelled the river, and made it impassable. Cooped up at Hariharpur, the sepoys were now in a rebellious mood. Provisions had run short, and there was little prospect of obtaining further supplies in the near future. Desertions became more frequent, and illness also caused heavy casualties. In despair Capt. Kinloch had to order a forced retreat. The Gurkhas now fell on the retiring army, and inflicted heavy losses. Although Capt. Kinloch "behaved with the fortitude and resolution of a good officer, exerting himself more than many would have been capable of doing in the same situation²⁹," he was powerless against the elusive mountaineers who made surprise attacks in the rear from places difficult of access, and harassed the English troops by cutting off supplies of grain, and intercepting the camp followers. Capt. Kinloch at last returned to the Tarai with a considerably depleted force³⁰, and was ultimately recalled by Mr. Rumbold on the refusal of the Governor and the Select Committee to send any re-inforcements³¹.

Capt. Kinloch's failure was due to no "misconduct" on his part, as was suspected by the authorities at Calcutta, but was chiefly the result of a combination of highly adverse circumstances over which he had little control. In the first place, he had to undertake the expedition during a most unfavourable season when on account of the rains it was difficult to carry an army through the thickly wooded forests of Nepal Tarai. In the second place, for want of an adequate number of coolies sufficient provisions could not be carried along with the troops, and Capt. Kinloch had to depend on the scanty supplies that were obtained on the way with great difficulty. The lack of provisions was, as Mr. Rumbold later confessed to the Governor, "the grand point that has been the means of frustrating the attempt³²." In the third place, the serious flood in the Vagmati river, but for which Capt. Kinloch would have reached Kathmandu, compelled the English troops to retreat precipitously from Hariharpur with disastrous consequences. In the fourth place, Capt. Kinloch was severely handicapped by

29 Letter from Mr. T. Rumbold. Dec. 19. 1767.

30 According to Mr. Richard Barwell, only 800 out of 2400 returned with Capt. Kinloch. (Bengal : Past and Present, X, P. 29).

31 Beng. Sel. Com. Dec. 11, 1767.

32 Letter to Mr. T. Rumbold, Dec. 11, 1767.

Letter to Court, Dec. 16, 1767 "We have reason to believe that there has been some misconduct in the officers or forgery in the intelligence which gave birth to this expedition, else Kinloch should have succeeded."

33 Beng. Sel. Com. Jan. 12, 1768.

the flight and desertion of a considerable³⁴ portion of his detachment. In the fifth place, sickness among the sepoys was unusually great owing to the unhealthy climate of the Tarai. In the last place, as Capt. Kinloch was himself entirely ignorant of the country, he laboured under a grave disadvantage in consequence.

While Capt. Kinloch cannot be held to have been personally responsible for the miscarriage of his expedition, it is difficult to overlook the extreme impatience and want of foresight which Mr. Rumbold displayed in his zeal for the cause of the Newar ruler. Firstly, the expedition was commenced without ample preparations. Secondly, an insufficient³⁵ force was spared to Capt. Kinloch. Thirdly, the number of officers sent with the detachment was most inadequate.³⁷ Fourthly, the sepoys were drawn from the Pargana battalions in which discipline was notoriously lax. Lastly, the command was entrusted to one who unfortunately had no knowledge of Nepal.

While Capt. Kinloch stayed on the borders of the Tarai in expectation of reinforcements, he occupied the lands adjacent to Bettiah, and captured a number of forts belonging to the Gurkhas not only to safeguard the frontier on that side, but also to secure an effective base for a fresh expedition to Nepal. The Select Committee approved³⁸ of the occupation of these lands as indemnity for the losses incurred in the last expedition.³⁹ The following advantages were expected to result from the occupation of these lands. Firstly, a considerable increase of revenue was anticipated. Secondly, immense quantities of fir timber could be obtained from these parts for the Company's use. Thirdly, Bettiah would be freed from the danger of Gurkha incursions. Fourthly, as the Gurkha Chief obtained large supplies of grain from this country, its loss was bound to operate adversely on his military operations in Nepal. Fifthly, as Mr. Rumbold pointed out to the Governor, "should you again think of opening the communication with Napaul, it will more easily be effected by

34 It appears that four entire companies deserted to the enemy.

35 "The miscarriage of the expedition may be assigned to one cause, the too great confidence of overcoming difficulties as soon as encountered, grounded on a mean opinion of the courage of the nations to which our arms are opposed" (Letter from Mr. R. Barwell to his father, Feb. 28, 1768.).

36 Mr. Rumbold was so confident of success that he wrote to the Governor, ".....a small force I am assured would be sufficient not only to raise the seige, but entirely to reduce the Qoorculey Raiah to obedience, (Beng. Sel. Ccm. Apl. 30, 1767).

37 The same over confidence was responsible for the appointment of an insufficient staff. "The number of officers on an expedition of this nature I suppose ought rather to have been increased than diminished, nevertheless through Capt. Kinloch's influence the officers were reduced to the lowest number possible." (Letter from Mr. Barwell, op. Cit.,)

38 Letter to Mr. T. Rumbold, Dec. 11, 1767.".....We would recommend the keeping possession of those lands you mention upon the borders of the Bettesah country....."

39 Letter to Court, Dec. 16, 1767.

having these countries."⁴⁰ Lastly, these lands would prove a sufficient compensation for the charges of the last expedition. Except that Bettiah was freed from the Gurkha depredations, no other benefit was actually derived from the possession of the newly obtained parts of the Tarai. The lands did not yield the expected revenue, and the Gurkhas continued to make incursions rendering the task of defence both costly and arduous.

Verelst and the Select Committee were severely disappointed at the unexpected miscarriage of the Nepal expedition. They ordered Mr. Rumbold to make the strictest enquiry into the causes of Capt. Kinloch's failure, and reminded him that they could not account "for the miscarriage otherwise than by supposing some misconduct in the officer, or forgery in the letters and informations given you by the Vaqueel and faquir⁴¹."

It is interesting to note that the Governor considered at this time the practicability of a second expedition to Nepal, and inquired⁴² of Mr. Rumbold what number of troops would be necessary for this purpose. The latter was strongly in favour of making a second attempt, and urged the Governor to sanction it without delay.

After prolonged deliberations, the Select Committee at its meeting of February 16, 1768, decided finally not to undertake another expedition for the present. A number of considerations seem to have led to this decision. The force recommended⁴³ by Mr. Rumbold was in the Committee's opinion "too considerable" to be spared specially at a time when on account of the war with Haidar Ali the Madras authorities were repeatedly asking⁴⁴ for reinforcements from Bengal. Besides, the zamindars of a number of parganas in Bihar were at this time in rebellion,⁴⁵ and Shitab Ray urged⁴⁶ the immediate despatch of a strong detachment to reinforce the six companies already sent⁴⁷ by Mr. Rumbold. The situation was doubtless grave, and it was not proper at the present moment to employ the Pargana sepoy elsewhere when their presence was necessary in the province itself for quelling the serious disturbances created by the hostile zamindars. Above all, the Committee hesitated to incur the additional expenses necessary for a second expedition without the previous approval of the Directors, and considered it more advisable immediately "to

⁴⁰ Letter from Mr. T. Rumbold, Jan. 3, 1768.

⁴¹ Beng. Sel. Com. Dec. 11, 1767.

⁴² Letter to Mr. T. Rumbold, Feb. 10, 1768.

⁴³ "One complete battalion, besides five or six companies," Vide Letter from Mr. T. Rumbold, Feb. 16, 1768.

⁴⁴ Letter from President and Council of Fort. St. George in the Secret Department Jan. 9, 1768.

⁴⁵ Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 17.

⁴⁶ " " " 18.

⁴⁷ " " " 28.

reimburse to the Company the charges of the last expedition⁴⁸ from the newly occupied territories⁴⁹ on the borders of Bettiah than to embark on another costly enterprise. As correctly anticipated by the Committee, the Directors subsequently wrote to them in their general letter of November 11, 1768, "As we look with a favourable eye on every attempt for the extension of commerce, we do not disapprove the expedition to Napaul, and are sorry it failed of success. You did right not to renew the expedition till the state of your forces would better admit of it, and to hold in your possession lands taken from the Goorkah Rajah, as an indemnification for the expenses we had been put to; and they may be of use, should it hereafter be thought proper to renew the attempt."⁵⁰

After the eventual conquest of Nepal by Prithvi Narayan any armed intervention in aid of the Newar princes was out of the question, and the authorities in Bengal decided at last to establish friendly relations with the Gurkha Chief in the hope of opening up trade between Bengal and the Himalyan countries. The Council at Calcutta at its meeting⁵¹ of October 31, 1769, resolved to accept the offer⁵² of Mr. James Logan "to take a journey" to Nepal, Tibet, and other neighbouring lands, and deputed him on a commercial mission to these countries. Complimentary letters⁵³ were accordingly despatched to Prithvi Narayan Shah, and to other hill chiefs informing them of Mr. Logan's impending deputation to them. The Governor particularly assured Prithvi Narayan Shah that because of their former ignorance of the true character of Newar Raja 'the English Sardars' had espoused his cause, "but now as he had been tried and found wanting, and as the praises of the Gurkha chief had been heard from every quarter," the English were no more inclined to assist the former, and were sincerely⁵⁴ desirous of entering into friendship "with the present Gurkha Government of Nepal." The Gurkha chief was further reminded that a free trade between Bengal and Nepal was bound to be of mutual advantage, and therefore ought to be encouraged.

All efforts to remove the misunderstanding caused by the last expedition,

48 Beng. Sel. Com. Feb. 16, 1768.

49 Letter to Court, Feb. 29, 1768.

50 Letter from Court, Nov. 11, 1768.

51 Beng. Pub. Cons. Oct. 31, 1769.

52 Vide Mr. James Logan's Memorandum. (Home. O. C. No. 1 of Oct. 31, 1769.)

53 Cop. I. 1769-70. No. 103. (To Raja Jassa Goshmal).

" " 104. (-do- -do-),

" " 105. (To Goransen)

" " 106. (To Prithvi Narayan).

" " 107. (-do- -do-),

" " 108, etc.

(To five other Rajas).

54 Cop. I, 1769-70. No. 107. Letter to Prithvi Narayan Shah, Nov. 13, 1769.

and come to an agreement with Prithvi Narayan Shah on the question of trade proved abortive, and Mr. Logan's mission⁵⁵ undertaken with every hope of success produced no tangible results. Being preoccupied in consolidating his new conquests in Nepal, Prithvi Narayan Shah had evidently no time for commercial negotiations, besides he was just at present greatly annoyed with the English for having occupied the Bettiah Tarai which belonged to him by virtue of his conquest of Makwanpur.

THE TREATIES OF ALLAHABAD, 1765.

Dr A. L. Srivastava, M. A., Ph. D., Bikanir

After his final appeal to arms, which culminated in his overthrow on the battle-field of Kora, Shuja-ud-daulah, having been abandoned by his Maratha allies and his own troops, including the notorious Samru, and reduced to the last extremity, resolved to throw himself on the generosity of his erstwhile foes, the English, and personally wait on General Carnac without any condition or agreement¹.

The Preliminary Negotiations with Shuja-ud-daulah.

Shuja-ud-daulah stayed on near the English camp, anxiously awaiting the decision of the Calcutta Council, and there was an exchange of visits, formal courtesies and entertainments between him and the Commander-in-chief. Behind the cover of these social formalities diplomatic business was also transacted and negotiations were set on foot for settling the preliminaries of a peace with the Wazir. The latter being naturally anxious to know the terms to be granted to him, Carnac asked for the Committee's instructions in the matter. The Select Committee, while approving of the Commander-in-chief's suggestion that "every appearance of insult and violence to a person of Shujah Dowlah's character ought to be carefully avoided" instructed him not to enter into any definite agreement till the arrival here of Lord Clive who was shortly to proceed to the camp with the object of immediately "establishing peace on a lasting solid foundation." Meanwhile the General was asked to negotiate and settle the

⁵⁵ Letter to Court. Jan. 25 1770.

⁵⁶ Letter from Surgeon Jas. Logan to the Governor, August 25 1769. This letter, which contains valuable information regarding the trans-Himalyan trade of Bengal and the Gurkha conquest of Nepal, deserves to be quoted in full.

¹ Bengal Select Committee's letter to President and council, Fort St. George, Dated 6th. July, 1765.

preliminaries, and the points which were sought to be secured for the Company and on the basis of which negotiations were to be carried on were recommended as follows :—Firstly, Balwant Singh should be pardoned and re-installed in the State of Benares ; secondly, Najaf Khan should be restored to the Kora district and all those who had either joined or assisted the English in the late war should be favoured and encouraged ; thirdly, Shah Alam's honour, safety and means of subsistence should be guaranteed and finally, Mir Qasim and Samru should be surrendered or put to death by Shuja-ud-daulah, But this last condition was not recommended as essential, as the Nawab Wazir was to be bound by ties of gratitude and not by compulsion. The Commander-in-chief was further instructed to stipulate with Shuja-ud-daulah for the establishment of English factories and complete liberty of trade for them in his *Subahs*, but the Committee made it clear that they “mean not to support this privilege by any military force, nor to introduce troops or garrison into his (Shuja's) country².” Informal talks were now commenced on the basis of the above instructions.

Negotiations were proceeding slowly through the medium of Rajah Shitab Rai. Although the Commander-in chief, in pursuance of the Committee's instructions, deferred coming to a definite settlement with the Wazir, he gave him hopes of the return of Oudh to him and informed him that he would be required to pay war indemnity. The Nawab felt grateful when the Commander-in-chief promised the restoration of his *Subahs*. “Shujah Dowlah”, wrote Carnac to the Calcutta authorities, “seems to me to have so much confidence in our generosity that he would not, I believe, have made the least scruple of going down to Calcutta, if it had been desired of him. He expressed the utmost readiness to accompany me to give Lord Clive the meeting at Patna.”³ But as regards war indemnity, he pleaded poverty and it was only after long negotiations and much difficulty that the General could make him promise to pay a sum of fifty lakhs of rupees.⁴ After he had made the promise, the Wazir set to work to make arrangements for payment and the Commander-in-chief reported to the Board a fortnight later that “Shujah Dowla has nearly got ready a deposit of money bills, jewels and plate to the value of ten lacks in part payment of the fifty which I stipulated with him for as an indemnification⁵”. The next important problem that needed skilful handling was the fate of Mirza Najaf Khan. This “gallant youngman”, writes Carnac “has lately been very active in our service,” and he was disliked

2 Ben. Sel. Com.'s letter to Carnac, dated 10th June, 1765, *Vide* Ben. Sel. Com. Progs. of 1765, pp. 51 A and 51 B ; also letter no. 13 in letters issued by Sel. Com., 1765, pp. 8-9.

3 Carnac's letter to Sel. Com. dated Allahabad, 8rd July, 1765, *Vide* Ben. Sel. Com. Progs, of 10th August, 1765, p. 126.

4 *Ibid* pp. 125-128.

5 Carnac's letter to Sel. Com., dated Allahabad, 18th July, *Vide* Ben. Sel. Com. Progs of 3rd August, 1765 (Vol. of 1765) p. 129.

both by Shuja-ud-daulah and the Emperor. It was not without great diplomatic exertion that the General eventually succeeded in persuading Shah Alam to agree to allow Najaf Khan to hold the districts of Kora and Allahabad under him.⁶ Thus were the important preliminaries settled by the tact and firmness and generosity of Carnac, and Clive had merely to put the seal of his approval upon them. Shuja-ud-daulah's anxiety was now over and with the permission of the Commander-in chief, he called his mother and family to Allahabad.⁷ A few days after he and Carnac proceeded to Benares to receive Lord Clive who was coming to conclude a treaty with him and the Emperor.

Clive starts for Allahabad

On 21st June 1765 the Bengal Select Committee had approved of Lord Clive's resolution of establishing cordial friendship with the "country power" by a personal interview with Shuja-ud-daulah and other chiefs. Echoing his sentiments and policy the Committee authorised his Lordship in conjunction with Carnac "to stipulate such conditions with Shujah Dowlah, to form such connections with the country powers and to pursue such means as you (Clive) shall judge necessary to the Company's interest, the public welfare and obtaining a safe, honourable, advantageous and lasting peace." His attention was invited to the instructions about the preliminaries communicated to Carnac on the 10th June, recommending that the Wazir should be reinstated in *all his dominions* with a view to convert it into a strong and safe barrier against the Marathas, that an agreement should be made with Shuja-ud-daulah for carrying on trade and establishing factories in his country and that a grant of Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa should be obtained from the Emperor. Clive was further authorised to include any other conditions, if he thought it desirable.⁸

In pursuance of the above resolution, Clive left Calcutta for Allahabad on 25th June and on 1st July the Select Committee set forth in clear terms the main objects of his Lordship's mission: "We have invested his Lordship in conjunction with you" wrote the Committee to Col. Carnac "with full powers to negotiate with Shujah Dowlah and the country powers and you will perceive from the tenor of our instructions that our great aim is to obtain a lasting and *honourable peace, to revive our languishing commerce, to impress the natives with a sense of our justice and moderation and to reduce those heavy military charges which have hitherto rendered our extraordinary successes and even the cession of rich provinces fruitless to the Company.*"⁹

6 Carnac's letter of 3rd July, 1765 referred to above.

7 Carnac's letter of 18th July, 1765, referred to above.

8 Sel. Com's. letter to Clive, dated Fort William, 21st June 1765, *Vide* Ben. Sel. Com. Progs. of 1765, pp. 80-83.

9 Ben. Sel. Com's letter to Carnac, dated 1st July, 1765, *Vide* Ben. Sel. Com. Progs. of 1765, p. 94.

The Conferences with the Wazir and the Emperor.

At Benares, Clive had a conference with Shuja-ud-daulah. The amount of indemnity as settled by Carnac was approved of and the mode and time-limit for payment were discussed and finally laid down. Of the fifty lakhs of Rupees stipulated upon Shuja-ud-daulah agreed to pay ten lakhs in cash and ten lakhs more in jewels at the time of the conclusion of the treaty, five lakhs on being put in possession of his country and the remaining twenty five lakhs in 12 months.¹⁰

Two or three meetings of the conference were enough to conclude this important business and now Clive decided to hasten to Allahabad in order to discuss terms with the Emperor and expedite the conclusion of treaties with him and with the Wazir. His desire was to fix the royal tribute from Bengal at Rupees 20 lakhs annually; but as Carnac¹¹ had been in favour of 26 lakhs—the sum demanded by the Emperor and promised by the late Nawab Mir Jafar sometime back—he agreed to the latter sum, if Shah Alam were to insist on it. "I think 20 sufficient," he wrote to Sykes, "however as we intend to make use of his Majesty in a very extraordinary manner for obtaining nothing less than a *Sunnud* for all the revenues of the country, 6 lakhs of rupees will be scarce worth our disobliging the King, if he should make a point of it."¹² With these settled views, Clive, accompanied by Carnac, Shuja-ud-daulah and Munir-ud-daulah, left Benares on the 4th August and arrived at Allahabad on the 9th and held more than one conference with the Emperor the same day. By an agreement between him and the Fort William authorities in December, 1764, Shah Alam was promised to be put in possession of the whole of Shuja-ud-daulah's dominion save the State of Balwant Singh, which, by way of fulfilling his part of the agreement the Emperor had conferred upon the Company by an imperial *farman*.¹³ Now he expressed his strong dissatisfaction, when he was informed that he would have to content himself with only two districts of the Wazir's *subahs*, namely, Kora and Allahabad. Although he acquiesced in this, he wrote to Clive requesting that all business relating to Bengal should be settled through Shitab Rai and the tribute might be paid month by month, that he should not be pressed to appoint Najaf Khan, who was unfit for business, as his manager for the districts of Allahabad and Kora, and that as he was anxious to march to Delhi after the rainy season an English officer with a powerful force

¹⁰ Ibid p. 145.

¹¹ Carnac had been offered a present of two lakhs of rupees by Shah Alam (see Forrest, Clive ii. 283).

¹² Clive's letter to Sykes, dated Benares, 3rd August, 1765. *Vide* Forrest's Clive, II. pp. 281-282.

¹³ *Ben. Sec. Cons. of 6th December, 1764, Vol. II. 747 & Shah Alam's Farman of 4th Rajab, 6th year of the reign (Vide Ben. Sec. Con. Vol III 8-9).*

might be deputed to accompany him¹⁴. On Clive's arrival at Allahabad the Emperor presented in Persian a paper of his demands that as agreed to by the late Nawab of Bengal the Company should pay him tribute at the rate of 26 lakhs of rupees annually for Bengal, Bihar and Orrissa, together with an annual sum of 5½ lakhs of rupees in commutation of the income of the *jagirs* of imperial officers in those provinces and that the Company should further discharge the arrears of tribute, that is 32 lakhs and put him in absolute possession of Kora and Allahabad districts.¹⁵ He was, however, persuaded to relinquish the *Jagir* and arrears items, though not without reluctance. He was further constrained to agree to allow Najaf Khan a handsome stipend from his own revenues from Bengal and to grant *sanads* (patents of appointment) of *Nizamat* (governorship) and *Diwani* for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to Najm-ud-daulah of Bengal and to the English East India Company respectively¹⁶.

The grant of Diwani to the Company, 12th August, 1765.

The terms as finally settled were that Shah Alam was to be put in possession of the districts of Allahabad and Kora, yielding an annual revenue of 10 Lakhs and 18 lakhs respectively, that he was to appoint Mirza Najaf Khan (whom he distrusted) as the manager of these districts and allot to him an allowance of two lakhs of rupees out of the tribute from Bengal, and that he was to reside and hold his court in the Allahabad fort under the protection of the Company. Further, he was to issue imperial *farmans* conferring diwani of the three provinces on the Company and recognising Najm-ud-daulah as Nawab, while Clive on behalf of the Company bound himself to remit regularly the annual tribute of 26 lakhs of rupees to the royal treasury. Although, like the term requiring the Emperor to reside at Allahabad, it was not reduced to writing, it is certain that Clive promised to appoint a part of the English army to conduct the Emperor to Delhi at the end of the rainy season of 1766.¹⁷

Shah Alam gave away to the company what was hardly his to give, and this epoch-making document merely recognised and registered what had long ago become an accomplished fact. And yet, paradoxical though it may appear, the Fort William authorities and Clive had since 1760 been very anxious to secure some such recognition of their position in Bengal by a fiat of this imperial phantom. However powerful, the company's position in Bengal before the royal grant was that of an usurper in the eyes of European powers as well as the Indian world. "Low as the fortune of the Mogul had fallen," rightly remarks the historian H. Beveridge, "he was still nominally supreme and

14 CPC. I. 2687.

15 Letters from Carnac and Clive to Sel. Com. dated Allahabad, 12th August, 1765, *Vide* Ben. Sel. Com. Progs of 1765, pp. 147—8.

16 *Ibid.*

17 CPC. I. 2688 ; Shigaraf-nama, 3b.

continued to be appealed to as the valid disposer of kingdoms, long after he had ceased to have any real authority within them. It was desirable, therefore, that the Company in appropriating the whole civil and military power of the three provinces should obtain his sanction."¹⁸ The *farman* of the 12th August not only appointed the Company *Diwan* of the three eastern provinces, which carried with it the duties of the settlement of land, collection of all kinds of revenues and administration of civil justice, but also thereby conferred upon her for the first time the status of an Indian power. Its importance, therefore, cannot be over-estimated.

The treaty with Shuja-ud-daulah, 16th August, 1765.

The treaty of friendship and alliance between Nawab Njam-ud-daulah and the English East Indian Company on the one hand and Shuja-ud-daulah on the other was formally concluded on the 16th August. By the first article of this treaty "perpetual and universal peace, sincere friendship and firm union" were established between the contracting parties. The second article laid down that in case of the invasion of the dominion of any one member of the party, the others should help him with a part or the whole of his force. "In the case of the English Company's forces being employed in His Highness' (Shuja's) service, the extraordinary expense of the same is to be defrayed by him." Nothing was, however, to be paid to the Wazir's troops, if they were employed on a similar mission in the Company's service. Thirdly, Shuja-ud-daulah agreed never to entertain or receive Mir Qasim, Samru or any other European deserters of the Company in his *Subahs* and to deliver up all future European deserters from the Company. Fourthly, he bound himself to cede the districts of Kora and Allahabad to Emperor Shah Alam II. Fifthly, he guaranteed Balwant Singh of Benares all his *Zamindari* he possessed at the time of his joining the English on the condition of his paying him the same revenue as heretofore. Sixthly, he agreed to pay to the Company a war indemnity of fifty lakhs of rupees, of which 12 lakhs in cash and 8 lakhs in jewels were to be paid immediately, 5 lakhs one month after the conclusion of the treaty and the remaining 25 lakhs by monthly instalments, the whole to be discharged in 13 months from the date of the treaty. Seventhly, the fort of Chunar was to remain in possession of the English until the last instalment of the indemnity was paid off by the Wazir. Eighthly, the Wazir allowed the Company to trade duty free in his country. Ninthly, Shuja-ud-daulah promised to forgive and not to molest all those subjects of his who had in any way assisted the English during the late war. Tenthly, it was agreed that as soon as the treaty was executed all the Company's troops, except those necessary for garrisoning Chunargarh and for the protection of the

Emperor at Allahabad, should be withdrawn from Shuja-ud-daulah's dominion. And finally the parties solemnly bound themselves to observe the terms of the treaty faithfully.¹⁹ The treaty was "signed, sealed and solemnly sworn, according to their respective faiths by the contracting parties" at Allahabad and it was approved by Shah Alam II who affixed his own seal to it.

Except in regard to article number 8, which, as originally drafted, allowed the establishment of English factories with their concomitants (*e. g.* gumastas and troops) in Shuja-ud-daulah's dominion, little difficulty was encountered in the negotiation and settlement of the above terms. Dreading the consequences of establishment of factories, the Wazir strongly opposed the inclusion of that part of the article, and Clive, therefore, agreed to the omission of the objectionable clause. Forwarding a copy of this treaty and the *sanads* of the Diwani grant to the Select Committee at Calcutta, Clive and Carnac wrote on 20th August that Shuja-ud-daulah "cheerfully consented to every condition except that of our maintaining factories in his country, the consequences of which he dreaded...²⁰". "It gives us the real concern to acquaint you," they added, "that Sujah Dowla expressed the greatest reluctance at consenting to the 8th Article. He frankly confessed that our encroachments in Bengal with regard to trade and the great abuses and exactions committed by the Company's servants and others countenanced by them made him apprehensive of the consequences in his own dominions and that he dreaded much our having Factories, etc. would, if anything could, cause a rupture betwixt us; in short the Nabob expressed so much uneasiness about the word *Factories* particularly, that at last we agreed to leave it out, as you will observe in the treaty, and indeed we cannot help thinking from the appearance of things at present, that we had better withdrawn the factory of Benares altogether when Bulwund Sing's engagement to the Company expires²¹".

*The agreement between the Emperor Najm-ud-daulah and the Company,
19th August, 1765.*

On the 19th August an agreement was made between the company and Najm-ud-daulah on the one hand and the Emperor on the other relating to the tribute to be paid to the latter from Bengal.....

Reflections on the Treaties of Allahabad.

The treaties of Allahabad constitute a landmark of supreme importance in the annals of the English East India Company and introduce an epoch of far reaching consequences in that of India in general and Oudh in particular.

¹⁹ I. O. Cons., 1765, pp. 848-42. Most of the Persian authorities such as Siyar, T. M., Kalyan, etc., give a general description of the terms of the treaty. Only Khair-ud-din p. 162, gives the terms in detail. There are a few mistakes in the enumeration by all these authorities.

²⁰ Clive and Carnac's letter to Sel. Com. dated Allahabad, 20th August, 1765, *Vide* Ben. Sel. Com. Progs, 1765, p. 149.

²¹ Powis MSS, quoted by Forrest, *Vide*, Clive, II 289-90,

They clearly defined the relations of the company with her neighbours and laid the foundation of an honourable and lasting peace with them. In fact they brought about a momentous change in the Company's status in India. The imperial *farman* conferring upon the company the Diwani of the three eastern provinces and rightly designated as the Magna Carta of that trading organisation, with it conferred upon it the legal position and status of an Indian power and a definite place in the body politic of the Mughul Empire. The English became absolute masters in the eyes of the Indian world, of certain of their possessions ceded to them by the late governors of Bengal and Karnatik, not by right of cession or conquest but by reason of the Imperial decrees issued at Allahabad. The documents embodying the settlement of these weighty problems and privileges must claim a premier rank among the treaties of the East India Company with Indian powers.

The settlement with Oudh was the most permanent achievement of the conference. In the treaty between the Company and Shuja-ud-daulah the observant eye can detect the germ of a subsidiary alliance, a policy that subsequently immortalised the period of Lord Wellesley's Governor-Generalship. Though Shuja-ud-daulah was nominally recognised as an equal power with the company at the time of the treaty, he became in effect a subordinate and protected ally, if not a tribute-paying vassal, and some of the articles furnished a plausible plea of interference with his administration and with some of his pet schemes. The British treatment towards him was not so much due to generosity for a fallen enemy as to the dictates of policy. Clive and Carnac held that Shuja-ud-daulah alone was capable of interposing a strong barrier between the Company's possessions and its probable enemies and invaders and that his restoration to Oudh would be the best security of Bengal's frontier. It is unnecessary to emphasise that these considerations were primarily responsible for the results and that magnanimity of the Company's principal agents played but a secondary part. Opposed to the extension of their conquest, the Company's one supreme object at this juncture was the permanence and safety of their possessions of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. By reason of his hereditary position, natural talent and experience, Shuja-ud-daulah was thought to be the only person "capable of interposing an effectual barrier" between those *Subahs* and the Marathas who had long been anxious to acquire a foothold in them.

The settlement made with the Emperor is even more striking. It reduced Shah Alam to the status of a mere pensioner of the Company. The political arrangement with him was less satisfactory and naturally it did not evoke the chorus of praise with which the solution of the problem of relationship with Shuja-ud-daulah had been received. Considering the peculiar circumstances of

the case and the difficulties of Clive, it can at best be pronounced to have been a temporary political expedient. But even as such it is open to criticism on political and moral grounds. Without any stretch of imagination it could have been seen that Shah Alam, who was still nominally the Emperor of the whole country, would not resist the temptation of marching to Delhi and occupying his ancestral capital and throne. Indeed, within a year of the treaty, he got tired of the galling tutelage of Colonel Smith, the Head of the Company's troops at Allahabad, and this together with his natural desire to be a full-fledged sovereign, and the failing health and resignation of Najib-ud-daulah the dictator at Delhi, obliged him to eagerly lend his ears to the Maratha overtures for installing him on his forefather's throne, and before the year 1771, had rolled into eternity, he was at the gates of the imperial capital. Clive's political arrangement was thus broken and Warren Hastings was faced with an ugly situation on the assumption of the office of governorship in April, 1772. As regards the charges that Clive treated in a cavalierly fashion a monarch in distress and that he threw away a golden opportunity of establishing the Company's rule over Delhi and the whole of India by not taking possession of the capital in the name of Shah Alam, these may be dismissed as the objections of the political theorist. Even if he had been given the whole of the Allahabad province, it is doubtful whether Shah Alam would have preferred to remain for ever as the Company's pensioner at Allahabad to the prospects and the glamour of ruling at his ancestral metropolis. However feasible from the military point of view, an expedition to Delhi would have been nothing short of a great political blunder, as it would have united the whole of the country against the Company. A real and great moral objection against the arrangement is that it violated the terms of a former treaty with the Emperor without any special reason save the plea of expediency. Only a few months before the treaty of Allahabad the Fort William authorities (Spencer and Council) had entered into an agreement with Shah Alam II, promising to put him in possession of the whole of Shuja-ud-dualah's dominions, if the Emperor granted to the Company the State of Benares, then in the possession of Balwant Singh. Shah Alam had fulfilled his part of the agreement and issued a *farman* conferring the *Zamindari* of Benares on the English on the same terms and rights as it had been enjoyed by the ex-Wazir²². At Allahabad, however, he was told that he would have now to content himself with only two *Subahs* and he had to acquiesce without delay. It is interesting to note that during the course of the negotiations Clive solemnly pledged his word for an armed assistance to the Emperor in his enterprise to march to Delhi and regain his ancestral throne, if a necessary sanction for the same could be obtained from

²² Shah Alam's Farman dated 4th Rajjab of 6th year of his reign, referred to above.

the King of England. On Clive's suggestion a letter was drafted and a Muslim envoy of noble birth named Aitisam-ud-din was sent to England along with Captain Swinton to represent Shah Alam's case before His Britannic Majesty. After 2 years and 9 months' absence Aitisam-ud-din returned from London without having realised the object of his mission. He was not allowed to approach George III and the presents, valued at a lakh of rupees, sent by the Mughal Lord and intended for the king of England, were made by Clive, as if they had been offered by him and from his own pocket, without any reference to the name of Shah Alam of India. No wonder that Aitisam-ud-din and Swinton charged Clive with "breach of faith". (Lord Clive *bad ahdi wa dagha namud*).²³ To the modern student of the period, the story of His Lordship's act makes a sickening study and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that he played this dirty trick to make Shah Alam agree to the harsh terms he was dictating without strong protests from him.

REVOCATION OF LORD HEYTESBURY'S APPOINTMENT.

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The subject of this paper is unfamiliar to many students of modern Indian History. The reason being that the general books on the subject do not contain any reference. Even one who has wider reading does not know beyond this much that Lord Heytesbury was selected for the Governor Generalship of India in the year 1835 but before he could sail his appointment was cancelled. We come across only casual references in works like 'British Government in India' by Curzon and 'Life of Sir Charles Metcalfe, by Edward Thompson. In Kay's 'Life of Sir Charles Metcalfe' we come across the following passage "one of the first acts of the new ministry was to revoke Lord Heytesbury's appointment. He had received the usual valedictory entertainment from the East India Company, he had drawn the outfit allowance granted to every new Governor General, he had made every preparation for his voyage to India by the *Jupitar*—but he had not sailed. The Whigs were just in time to arrest his departure. They determined Lord Heytesbury should not be Governor General (p. 294).

²³ Aitisam-ud-din was the first educated Indian, and not Rajah Rammohan Roy, as is commonly but wrongly believed all over the country, to go to England.

The above passage excites one's curiosity as to why the appointment of a Governor General, who had been appointed by a former Government headed by Sir Robert Peel should have been cancelled. Some important constitutional issues were involved in the question which were emphasised at the time the cancellation was announced. Should the power of cancellation vested in the crown, have been exercised? Did it mean that the Governor General should have been a man of the party in power? Was it not an encroachment on the powers of the Court of Directors, so far as patronage was concerned?

Let us first try to know a little about the antecedents of Lord Heytesbury, for that would prove that he was not a man of mean repute and it was not on grounds of competence that his appointment was revoked.

Baron Heytesbury—William A' Court (1779-1850) was the eldest son of Sir William Pierce Ashe A' Court Bt. MP. for Aylesbury. In the year 1801 Lord Heytesbury was appointed secretary of the British legation at Naples. He held various responsible posts. He was appointed the 1st Commissioner of affairs at Malta. He served as ambassador at the courts of Spain and Portugal and finally he was transferred to Russia where he remained till the year 1832 (Dictionary of National Biography Vol. XXVI p. 328). His services on the continent were very highly spoken of.

Thus we see that the man chosen for the post of the Governor General belonged to a good family and had distinguished himself in foreign and political service. Besides it was not that the appointment had been thrust upon the Court of Directors by Sir Robert Peel. A resolution had been passed by the Court of Directors of the East India Company on the 28th of January, 1835 appointing the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Heytesbury, G. C. B. Governor General of India and it was accompanied by a request to his majesty that according to the 42nd section of the Act 3rd and 4th William 4th Cap 85 approbation should be granted (Letters to Board of Control Vol. 13 p. 239). Rev. G. Tucker, one of the Directors of the East India Company writes in his memorials. "Lord Heytesbury's appointment was the free and unbiassed act of the court. It devolved upon me to have the honour of proposing him to my colleagues and I did so, not hastily, not under the domineering influence of the Government, but deliberately after enquiry and after satisfying myself that his Lordship was likely to do ample justice to the high and responsible trust which it was proposed to comfide to him (pp. 449-50).

On the 5th of February, Lord Ellenborough, the then president of the Board of Control informed the Court of Directors that 'His Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify his approval of the appointment of Lord Heytesbury to be Governor General of India'. (Letters from Board of Control Vol. 10 p. 164).

The Court of Directors also in their despatch of 27th February 1835, to the Government of India and Bengal, announced that they had appointed the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Heytesbury G. C. B. Governor General of India (India and Bengal Despatches, Vol. III p. 1020).

Thus we see that the appointment of Lord Heytesbury was in every way complete. But the Government of Sir Robert Peel came abruptly to an end in April 1835 and was succeeded by a whig cabinet with some slight modifications under Lord Melbourne. Its first act was to revoke the appointment of Lord Heytesbury.

So far as the legality of the step was concerned, it could not have been questioned. The power of recall or revoking appointments was first vested in the crown in the year 1784. Such a power was intended as a provision against misrule, and during the period of more than fifty years since Parliament first gave to his majesty authority to remove the servants of the company, there had been only one instance which occurred during Lord Granvilles administration in the year 1806. Sir George Barlow was appointed Governor General of India by the court but it was not approved by the crown. In this case there was a previous interchange of sentiments between the King's ministers and the court and the act of revocation was accompanied by an exposition of the grounds upon which it had been advised and could be justified. Not one reason however was given for setting aside in so abrupt and unprecedented a manner the appointment of Lord Heytesbury. Change of Government should not necessarily have meant the revocation of the appointment of a Governor General. Lord Minto had been appointed in July 1806 but did not sail till February 1807, when the Government had undergone a change. Lord William Bentinck was appointed under the administration of Mr. Canning but before he could sail the administration was changed twice. Yet his nomination remained unchanged. When the question was debated in the House of Commons, Marquis of Lansdowne pointed out on June 29, 1835 that Sir Robert Peel had also been appointed the Governor of Bombay. Besides Mr. Macaulay had been appointed a law member by the Government preceding Sir Robert Peel's. None of these two appointments had been cancelled.

The Court of Directors lodged a strong protest against such an action of the Government. In their letter to Sir John Hobhonse, who had now become the President of the Board of Control, dated the 6th of May 1835, they mentioned, "The court do not forget that the nomination of Lord Heytesbury was made and his appointment completed during the late administration. But this fact connected with his removal by the present ministers, fills the court with apprehension and alarm as respects both India and

themselves. It has always been the court's endeavour in their public acts and specially in their nominations to office, to divest themselves of political bias, and in the same spirit they now consider it to be their duty frankly and firmly to express their decided conviction, that the vital interests of India will be sacrificed if the appointments of Governors are made subservient to political objects in this country and if the local authorities, and through them, all public servants are led to feel that tenure of office abroad is dependent upon the duration of an administration at home and further that the revocation of an appointment such as that of Lord Heytesbury for no other reason, so far as the court can judge, than that the ministry has changed, must have the effect of lessening the authority of the court and consequently impairing its usefulness and efficiency as the body entrusted with the Government of India". (Letters to Board of Control Vol. 13 pp. 402-4).

The Court of Directors felt that they had been virtually set aside as a useless organ of administration. They considered themselves independent of all political influence and deemed India above party politics. The step taken by the Government meant that East India Company and its possessions were to be made subservient to political convenience in England.

Feelings were all the more bitter because no reasons had been assigned for the treatment meted out to Lord Heytesbury. Sir John Hobhonse said in the House of Commons, ".....that unless the House of Commons should force them by a decided vote against them, they would not consent to inform the House why it had revoked the appointment of Lord Heytesbury." (Hansard June 29, 1835). He even stressed the fact that the Court of East India Proprietors had not called any meeting for the purpose of considering any subject of importance. The Court of Proprietors, thus did not consider this matter as important.

There was one thing which appeared very incongruous to the Court of Directors. And this point was brought out by them in their letter to the President of the Board of Control. "The astonishment of the court upon the occasion is increased by reference to a letter which they received only a few months since (dated the 1st of October last) from one of the present ministers, then President of the Board, in which the court were informed that His Majesty's ministers declined to approve of the appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe to be Governor General as a temporary arrangement and they deemed it their duty to intimate their decided opinion that in reference to the present state of India no time should be lost in appointing a permanent successor to Lord William Bentinck. And now that the court have taken that course the permanent appointment which with the king's approbation they made is suddenly vacated, and you inform us that it is not the intention of the king's ministers to

recommend the approval of any other successor to Lord William Bentinck, previously to the arrival of his lordship in England." (Letters to the Board of Control, Vol. 13. pp. 402—4)

On the basis of the material available one can conclude that the only reason for the conduct of ministers was that they had no confidence in Lord Heytesbury and no arguments of the Court of Directors could have persuaded them to have confidence in him. This is evident from the following passage also, "Palmerston, however, on resuming the foreign office was believed to have used his influence to set aside this nomination and to procure the appointment of Lord Auckland, then first Lord of Admiralty. The supposed objection to Heytesbury was his known sympathy with Russia at a moment when distrust of Russian designs on the North West Frontier was about to become the key-note of Anglo-Indian Statesmanship (Political History of England Vol. XII by G. C. Brodrick and J. K. Fotheringham p. 412). This point was also stressed in the House of Commons during the debate on the subject. It was mentioned that Lord Heytesbury was supposed to entertain political opinion not exactly consonant with those of the Government.

Nothing else can be very definitely asserted so long as the entire mass of despatches that passed between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control as well as the secret papers concerning the transactions of the British Cabinet are not looked into. The Court of Directors felt offended because it meant that the patronage of India was made subservient to political parties at home. They also realised that the Board of Control was exceeding its powers which implied only political control.

There is no doubt that the incident was the first and the last of its kind. Similar events might have happened behind the stage subsequently, but we are not aware of them. Revocation of Lord Heytesbury's appointment did not have any repercussions on Indian politics. May be if he had come the history of subsequent years might have been a little different. The British Government in India might not have suffered so acutely from Russophobia.

FINANCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN OUDH AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, FROM 1785 TO 1793.

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It is a generally known fact that in the early years of the East India Company's establishment of empire in India, Oudh had served them as a prolific source of income. In fact, Warren Hastings' financial dealings with Oudh formed some of the principal grounds for his impeachment. Those dealings have been dealt with in greater details in a book on "Warren Hastings and Oudh" by Dr. C. C. Davies of Oxford, which is awaiting publication. I shall deal here chiefly with the period immediately following the departure of Warren Hastings.

One of the first acts of Cornwallis in India was to arrive at a settlement with Oudh. For this purpose he interviewed Haider Beg at Calcutta during February-March 1787. He explicitly declared to the minister the principles on which, in his opinion, it would be expedient to continue friendly relations between the two Governments. They were, (a) on the part of the Company, their government would totally abstain from interfering in the management of revenue, commerce, and internal government of Oudh, but that they would undertake the entire conduct of the sarkar's political negotiations with its neighbours as well as the defence of Oudh from all external enemies; and (b) that the Oudh sarkar would defray all civil and military expenses incurred by the Company in keeping the above engagements.¹ Negotiations were completed by the end of March and a new financial settlement came into force in October, with retrospective effect from March 1, 1787. In the meantime the sarkar had paid into the Company's treasury by the end of February Rs. 18,59,758-10 which included refunds ordered by Cornwallis to the extent of Rs. 1,86,594-3-11. According to accounts the arrears due on March 1, 1787 amounted to Rs. 34,92,940-7-1. By the new arrangement only Rs. 12,30,505-0-2 of this was accepted as due, the rest written off the accounts.²

By the new arrangement³ the Oudh sarkar engaged to pay to the Company Rs. 50 lakhs a year which, Cornwallis had estimated, would cover the expenses of the two brigades and the regiment at Lucknow, the residency, and the allowances to Saadat Ali and the Rohilla sardars for which the Company

1 Ross : Cornwallis Correspondence Vol. 1. 261-2—Cornwallis to Select Committee of the Court of Directors, Mar. 4, 1787.

2 Ben. Sec. Con. Nov. 20, 1789. In discharge of this the sarkar paid separately during July-Aug. 1787 a sum of Rs. 11,18,972-6-10 the balance of Rs. 1,11,533-9-4 was carried over to the new accounts; Ben. Lett. vol 25—C'Wallis to Select. Comm. of Ct. of Dir. May 17, 1787.

3 Aitchison : Treaties Sanads etc. (1930) Vol. 2. No. L.

government were gurantee. It was agreed that in case any considerable change in the number of the subsidiary force took place, readjustment in the subsidy would accordingly be made. The qists (instalments) were fixed as follows.—

In cash every month....Rs. 3,25,000.....	Total Rs. 39,00,000
In drafts in August.....	5,00,000
Do. do. in the last month of the year.....	6,00,000

Total Fyzabad Rs.	50,00,000

Cornwallis observed⁴ that the sums obtained from Oudh during the previous nine years averaged Rs. 84 lakhs per year. It is to be noted that formerly the current dues amounted to between 30 and 40 lakhs a year, the extras added later were responsible for making the actual figures so high. By Cornwallis's arrangement the initial sum engaged to be paid, viz. 50 lakhs, was higher than the nominal engagements of the previous years, but the effective demands were, until at least Cornwallis's departure, much more regulated and restricted.

It took Cornwallis a year to put into order the accounts with Oudh. After October 1787, when the new settlement came into force, the accounts for next ten years show considerable relief. Debits, credits and balances tallied and very few extra demands were allowed. Owing to the Company's extraordinary expenses on account of the war with Tipu, the Oudh sarkar offered to help the Company and in June 1791 the governor-general took loan of 12 lakhs of rupees, repayable in 4 instalments by the end of August 1793⁵. But owing to the distressed state of Oudh this loan was repaid before time.

In spite of better regulated accounts the Oudh sarkar became since 1787 rather irregular in its payment of the Company's qists. Letters between the governor-general and the residents show that the ministers were almost invariably late in paying, and only did so after repeated requests. On the other hand, when pressed they suddenly made an effort and liquidated a large part of the arrears. At the end of the first year of the new sttlement (March 31, 1788) the arrears amounted to Rs. 7,61,173-12-10, reduced next year to Rs. 3,43,324-0-6. On March 31, 1790 the arrears stood at Rs. 3,07,502-4-11, and a year later at Rs. 3,51,099-6-7. In the beginning of 1792 Haidar Beg became seriously ill, the payments became still more irregular and the balance due of March 31, 1792 increasd to Rs. 5,98,033-0-5. Haidar Beg died in June and a short period of confusion followed. The Nawab's personal expenses and debts kept on increasing and the ministers could not pay the Company's dues regularly. As a in measure of relief Cornwallis August 1792 gave the sarkar

⁴ Ben. Sec. Con. Apr. 20, 1787—G. G.'s minute.

⁵ Ben. Pol. Con. Jna. 21, 1791.

credit for six lakhs remaining out of the 12 lakhs lent by Oudh in 1791 but which were repayable in 1793. Yet the balance on March 31, 1793 stood as high as Rs. 9,21,607-14-2, the highest between 1788 and 1797. Haidar Beg's successor, Raja Takait Rai, made great efforts and reduced it to Rs. 3,62,683-4-9 on October 1793, just before Cornwallis's departure from India.

It will be noticed from the above survey that the period upto 1793 can be divided into two sections with regard to the financial relations between the two governments—(a) upto 1686 and (b) 1786-93. During the first period very large sums of money were realised from Oudh. That province had undoubtedly been used as a fruitful financial resource for the Bengal government when the latter were in monetary distress. Such was the case during the whole of the period of Warren Hastings's administration. Under the subsequent government of Macpherson, who was highly unscrupulous, indiscriminate patronage added considerably to the Company's receipts from Oudh. During the whole of Cornwallis's administration England was at peace with her principal enemy in those days, *viz* France, and that helped him in carrying out his honest intention of not laying extra burdens upon the sarkar. War broke out again, however, in 1793 and the Company's finances in India began to be unfavourably disturbed, and before long its repercussions were felt in Oudh.

ADMINISTRATIVE INTERFERENCE IN THE SALTPETRE TRADE OF INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

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(Extracts)

Students of Mughal history are familiar with numerous instances of complaints of foreign merchants against frequent administrative interference in their trade in different articles, of which saltpetre was an important one. But no systematic and critical study of the nature and the extent of this interference in saltpetre trade has yet been attempted. Mr. Moreland has, of course, pointed out that "the trade was subject to frequent interference on the part of the authorities" and observed that such "official interference" was one of the difficulties "attending the trade".¹ But we must distinguish between administrative *control* of the industry and trade for *state* purposes² on the one hand, and *interference* therein on the other, varying according to the influence of personal equation or decline in administration and consequent disorders.

1 Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 122.

Prohibition, if based on a sound and conscious policy, is good and beneficial to the state and the country, but irrational prohibition, guided by nothing but motives of private illicit gains can never be justified. The latter indicates a low level of administrative morality and sets up a chronic tendency to corruption and to evasion of authority, from the high to the low, and the indigenes to the foreigner. Yet, such being the case in the history of India at that time, wherever we turn—from Agra to the Carnatic, or from Bengal to Gujarat,—the tale is everywhere the same.

A critical study of contemporary English factory correspondence, as given in Sir William Foster's monumental series, 'The English Factories in India' continued by Sir Charles Fawcett, and of the accounts of the foreign merchants, agents and travellers, help us to know how and to what extent administrative interference reacted adversely on Indian saltpetre trade of the period.

In the first place, we notice everywhere the tendency on the part of the provincial governors and the officials to interfere in the saltpetre trade, occasionally under the pretence of imperial orders, but often on their own initiative—either by local extortion or by detention of saltpetre caravans or *cafilas* or boats. This evil was aggravated by the system of farming out saltpetre; which prevailed in Gujarat and Bijapur, in the middle of the seventeenth century. Owing either to practical abeyance or decline of imperial authority, the unrestrained subordinate officers became very exacting. What Job Charnock wrote of Patna in 1679 was true also of other parts of India. He observed: "Here is one order or Government. Every petty officer makes a prey of us and abuseing us at pleasure to screw what they can out of us."³ The English factors remarked significantly, "The Governor's underlings were as bad as he."⁴

Secondly, administrative changes like new appointments and transfers of officials, etc. affected the course of saltpetre trade. The privileges granted by one governor might be cancelled by his successor. Thus one had to begin afresh with a new man, and the resultant evils in delay and expense were aggravated by other circumstances. Here we must distinguish between ease-loving and backboneless governors like Murad and Shuja, under whom the prospects of the English Company might brighten up, and strong and otherwise efficient men like Aurangzeb, Shaista Khan, or Mir Jumla, under whom the Company had to suffer numerous vexations.

Thirdly, to cope with the corruption of the high officials (e. g. the

² This subject has been dealt by me in a paper entitled "The organisation of the saltpetre Industries of India in the Seventeenth Century." In the forthcoming Winternitz No. of I. H. Q. 1938.

³ Master II, 272-6. For widespread disobedience of Aurangzeb's orders, see *Muntakhab-ul-Sabab*, E. and D. VII.

⁴ Foster, *English Factories*, 1646-55, 150.

Governor) and to secure a royal *farman* for the release of their detained goods, the English had to spend money at the imperial court. This they considered to be the lesser of the two evils. The Surat factors pertinently remarked (March 28, 1654): "...they daily expect from Agra a royal *farman* ordering the release not only of the Ahmadabad saltpetre but also that stopped at Patna by the Governor there. Though such a *farman* means an outlay at Court, it is better to spend money thus than to bribe the local officials, who are never satisfied".⁵

Lastly, there was even no certainty that the royal mandate would be always obeyed. When in 1646 Aurangzeb as Governor of Gujrat forbade the transport of saltpetre, the English factors at Swally Marine (March 30) did not expect its speedy release. As the Emperor was far off at Lahore, and the Court was usually dilatory, it was impossible to get a timely redress. Even if a royal warrant was given, the English factors thought it very doubtful whether it would be obeyed⁶.

AN EARLY CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF MODERN INDIAN RENASCENCE.

Proof. Shanti Prasad Verma, M. A, Indor.

Serampore Mission—Late in the evening of October 14, 1799 Col. Bie, the Danish Governor of Serampore received at his residence four weary travellers on their way to the British Settlement of Kidderpore. Marshman, Ward, their two friends and Willam Carey settled down at Serampore and started a press there. The settlement attracted a good deal of public attention. There was a constant succession of visitors to the Mission house and much time was spent in discussing religious questions with them.

Education came as a side-issue. Schools were started for feeding the missionaries and their press. But it was the education work which obtained a real success. Missionary work had hardly received any response. By 1817, forty-five schools for Indian children had been established in a circle of about twenty miles around Serampore, where 2000 students received the elements in their own vernacular. In 1818, the first college was established in India, at Serampore, 'for training of Indian and European youth in Eastern and Western science and literature.' These institutions were started with

⁵ Foster, *English Factories*, 1651-54, pp. 251-2.

⁶ *Ibid*, 1646-50, p. 34, pp. 78-9. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, V. 324.

a motive : evangelization through native agency. They had their roots in religion. But since no restrictions were imposed, and they favoured vernacular education rather than Anglican, and imparted a knowledge of Western sciences too through the medium of vernacular they brought about a veritable awakening in the minds of the Indian youth.

College of Fort William—In April 1801, William Carey received an invitation, through Chaplain Brown, to join the College of Fort William founded by Wellesley, as the professor of Sanskrit and Bengali. The College was founded in order to educate the civil servants of the Company in the languages, laws and institutions of the country, so as to establish the British Empire in India on the solid foundation of 'ability, integrity, virtue and religion'. The College of Fort William became the meeting ground for the best European and Indian intellects.

Beginning of Modern Bengali Literature.—The first fruits of the contact were visible in the revival of the Bengali literature. Carey's translation of the Bible in Bengali had little of the literary value attributed to it by a section of writers.

Introduction of Printing.—To the Western influence, if not to Western missionaries, the revival of the modern literature of Bengal is due. But it was the Western missionary who brought her the new type, for however ulterior purposes. Halhed's Grammar, 1778, was the first book printed in India through the exertions of Sir Charles Wilkins, the Caxton of Bengal, a Bengal civilian and oriental scholar.

The progress made in the art of printing made it easier for the various books compiled and translated under the aegis of the college of Fort William to be circulated among the Indian youth.

Among the early bees who brought the pollen-dust of the Western civilization, David Hare was the most important. Born in Scotland, 1775, he had come to Calcutta in 1800 and settled as a watch maker. He dedicated his life to the moral and intellectual rejuvenation of Bengal. There was no activity for the upliftment of Indian Society in which David Hare did not have a hand. The full significance of Hare's work can only be understood against the back-ground of the state of education in Bengal. The old system of village schools had entirely broken down due to the growing poverty of the people, lack of Government support, destruction of old village system and the absence of the government patronage of the educated classes. "Important, however," wrote A. D. Campbell, "as the present education of the natives is, there are few who possess the means to command it for their children. In many villages where formerly there were schools there are now none and in many others where there were large schools, now only few children of the most opulent are

taught, others being unable from poverty to attend, or to pay what is demanded." (Select Committee Report, Vol. I 1832).

The Government of the land failing to satisfy the growing desire of the Indians for learning English, a number of individuals came to the help. In Calcutta, Mr. Shelburne started a school, in which some eminent men of Bengal, Dwarkanath Tagore, his brother Ramnath Tagore and others had their elementary education. A number of other schools were started under Ram Mohan Napit, Krishnamohan Basu, Bholu Dutt, Shiboo Dutt, Aratoon Peters. The movement culminated in the establishment of the Hindu College.

The movement for the spread of English Education among the Indian youth was not confined to Bengal only. In 1818, Jai Narain Ghoshal founded the School in Benares under the management of Rev. D. Corrie and taught English, Persian, Hindustani and Bengali languages. In 1817 the Calcutta School Book Society was founded with a view to the promotion of the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives, by the diffusion among them of useful elementary knowledge.

'Native' Literary Societies.—A very marked and decided movement among the better classes of the Indians was the formation of literary Societies. They were formed with the express desire of attaining western knowledge. One of them was Native Literary Society. It aimed at developing a wider social outlook. It was to bring together the respectable and opulent men of the country and develop social intercourse amongst them.

Radhakant Deb (1783-1867)—Two names stand uppermost. Radhakant Deb and Ram Komal Sen were both born in March 1783, and took a leading part in all the movements of reform. Radhakant belonged to a great Zamindar family, but early in life he broke away from the life of inaction and self-indulgence led by cadets of opulent families at that time, and concentrated his energies, his time and his resources to the cultivation of literature and to the great work of disseminating knowledge.

Ram Komal Sen (1783-1844)—Ram Komal Sen was more highly strung. Born of less affluent circumstances he was essentially a self-made man. He too was connected with all the general activities for the amelioration of society through education—with the Hindu College, the Calcutta School Book Society, the Calcutta School Society, the General Committee of Public Instruction.

"Young Calcutta"—The most powerful influence in creating the new spirit was Derozio a teacher of the Hindu College. He started the Academic Association. He was the master spirit of the new era. His students became leaders of the new movement. The whole fabric of Hindu prejudices was broken down. There was a good deal of disorderliness and rowdiness too. There were uproarious meetings where Hindu deities were ridiculed and beef-dishes

freely partaken. Wine booths were frequented. Independence meant open defiance of the authority of their elders and moral courage meant contemptuous reviling of the ancient faith. "The junior students", wrote the biographer of David Hare, "caught from the senior students the infection of ridiculing the Hindu religion, and when they were required to utter Mantras or prayers they repeated lines from the Iliad". But this was only one side. Their moral conceptions and feelings were far above the antiquated ideas and aspirations of the age. "Such was the force of his instructions that the conduct of the students out of the college was most exemplary, and gained the applause of the out-side world, not only in a literary and scientific point of view, but what was of still greater importance, they were all considered men of "Truth." And what was most highly commendable about them, they had the courage of their convictions. K. M. Banerji was ex-communicated. Russick Krishna Mullick was drugged by his own parents, and compelled to leave the house.

Characteristics of the new movement—The debates were carried in the homes. "The question of religion", writes Sibanath Sastri, "was threshed out, not only in the college, but also within their homes. Old grandmothers were shocked to hear their grandsons vilifying the gods; and fathers were dismayed to find that their sons, expected to offer cakes and balls of overboiled rice to their ancestors had turned traitors to their ancient faith! Home persecution was the result in many cases but youth always reacted to it with courage, good sense and humour. Among the characteristic features of the new movement may be included (a) a spirit of enquiry and criticism (b) a great hatred against priesthood and religion, (c) too often, pride and overweening conceit and open contempt of parents and elders, and (d) a generous desire to impart knowledge to youthful countrymen. Deeply drunk in the writings of Tom Paine, Gibbon and Hume they criticised whatever came in their way and against reason. If they defiled Hindu gods, they were no respectors of Christianity. There was a sincere enthusiasm among Derozio's students, and many of them spent their mornings and evenings in carrying to their less happily situated brethren the elements of education.

Alexander Duff 1830.—The Indian awakening once more roused missionary hopes in England. Their earlier efforts had met with colossal failure. Abbe Dubois, after thirty one years of strenuous efforts to convert the Hindus and 'watering the soil of India with tears' found that the seed sown by him had fallen upon a naked rock and instantly died away. After seven years of strenuous street-preaching, Carey had secured a convert, but he had given him the slip before he could be baptised. The great and startling success of the Hindu College once more attracted their attention. In 1825, the Assembly, convinced that 'a spirit of enquiry and a desire of improvement had been generated among the higher

classes of the native population of India, agreed to establish a central Seminary of education at Calcutta, with branch schools in the surrounding district. The Head Master was asked to give lectures, distribute fitting tracts and use every effort to cultivate acquaintance with intelligent and educated natives. The choice of the Assembly fell on Alexander Duff.

Alexander Duff's contribution to the Indian Renaissance is too much exaggerated by George Smith who published two lengthy volumes on his life. George Smith attributes all the Indian awakening to Duff, which is clearly wrong.

Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833).—The man who seems to symbolise and typify the Bengal Renaissance to-day is Ram Mohan Roy. He is called the father of the Indian Renaissance. Born in 1772 he was early infused with the spirit of religious mysticism. When a child of 14, he wrote a tract against idolatry, and was turned out of the house. He went to Tibet and came back with a deeper study of religion. In his childhood he came in contact with the best writings of Hindus, Buddhists and Mohammedans, and was influenced by them all. In 1814, he retired from a petty job in the Revenue Department with a vast wealth, and started the 'Atmiya Sabha' for carrying on religious discussions with his friends. He also employed his time in the translation of the Upanishads. He felt a great disgust at the condition of Hinduism, but had a great faith in its *spirit*. He was attracted by the western science and learning, but repelled by the lack of reason behind its religious doctrines, like Trinity and Christ atoning with his blood for the sins of humanity. In 1820 he wrote the 'Precepts of Jesus' and emphasised the moral aspects of Christianity. It evoked an organised protest from the missionaries, who were not prepared to see their mythology being criticised. Ram Mohan's denunciation of Christianity increased in vigour. From 1824 to 1828 he gave a helping hand to his Unitarian friend, Mr. Adam, and carried on a vigorous propaganda in favour of Unitarianism. Mr. Adam's Church failing to receive any response among Indians, Ram Mohan Roy was induced in 1828 to organize a Hindu Theistic Church, where people from all religions might gather. As a result was established the Brahma Sabha.

Islamic awakening.—There was a flutter in the ranks of the Muslim Society too. The leader of the Islamic awakening was Syed Ahmad. Born in Rae Bareilly, 1786, he began life as a free booter. About 1816 he gave up robbery and began a study of the Sacred Law under a famous doctor of Delhi, Shah Abdul Aziz. In 1819 he started as a preacher, denouncing the abuses of the Muslim faith and soon obtained a zealous and turbulent following, particularly among the Rohillas. In 1820 he moved south and was hailed as a great spiritual prophet. In 1822 he made Patna the centre of his activities. He nominated four Khalifas and a high priest. In 1830 he went to the extent of declaring himself the Supreme Khalifa. In 1831 he died fighting a 'holy war' against the Sikhs in

Punjab. The movement called by him 'Tariqabi-Muhammaddiyah' or the way of Muhammad but derided by his adversaries as the Wahabi did not die with the founder. Its strength depended on three factors—a burning hatred of the infidel rule, a consuming passion on the part of its preachers for the purification and reform of Islam and the solidity of its organization. On account of these, the movement continued to progress under the guidance of his successors.

Indian journalism.—The general activity of the period led to the growth of Indian journalism. The 'Darpan' was the first Bengali newspaper, published at Serampore on May 23, 1818. It ventilated the public grievances and served as a check on the Government officials. In 1821, Ram Mohan Roy started the '*Brahmanical Magazine*' in order to voice the feelings of those who had suffered from the activity of the missionaries. This paper had a 'rapid, fiery and malteoric' life of three years. Journalism gradually became a favourite instrument of propaganda. In 1821 the orthodox section of the Hindu Society brought out the '*Chandrika*'. In 1823, Ram Mohan brought out the "*Kaumudi*". In 1829, '*Bangoduta*' was started under the management of R. Martin, Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and Ram Mohan Roy. Most of these journals were quite fearless. They freely criticised both the social vices and the policy of the Government. The Vernacular Press in Bengal acted as a great lever in raising the Hindu mind.

Two currents of thought—The period under review manifests a strong tendency to go back to the past. Ram Koyal Sen and Ram Mohan Roy are symbolic of the two different currents of reform—like the twin currents of the Muslim period, three hundred years back—the one going to the ancient *form* of religion and the other to the ancient *spirit*, the one to the *alienation* of the new forces and the other to *unification* with them. Ram Mohan Roy was a greater friend of the English than Radhakant Deb or Ram Koyal Sen. The Mughal government had allied itself closely with the latter current of thought and had thereby given it a great strength. It is true that the fusion had made the Mughals shed off a good deal of their foreign element: but by the inevitable price of that self-surrender alone can an outside power hope to rule for a long time a country with the rich heritage of a vital culture. The British, with characteristic indifference to matters except those which touched their pocket, failed to understand the ideologies then prevalent in the country. Lord Bentinck, under the advice of missionaries who had little knowledge of India, did a number of foolish things. The Indians were excluded from higher services. A foreign language was imposed on them as their media of instruction. Their culture was ridiculed. Measures for endangering their religion were openly encouraged. Since then the gulf between Great Britain and India has widened more and more.

SECTION VIII

MARATHA HISTORY

GANESH SAMBHAJI

Ganpatrao Gopal Khandekar

Ganesh Sambhaji commenced and ended his public career in the service of the *Peshvas*. The first time that a complaint was made against him was by Govind Ballal, the founder of the Kher family of Sagor and Jalon. Ganesh was, like Gopal Rav Ganesh and Gopal Rav Bapuji, ordered to cooperate with Govind Ballal¹ and the latter reported to Bhau Sahib that Ganesh Sambhaji had been quarrelling with the Bundelas. But careful perusal of Bhau Sahib's replies of October 11, 1760, would, however, show that he did not think so about Ganesh Sambhaji.

Shortly after the Panipat disaster, an impostor personating Bhau Sahib appeared at Narvar. Ganesh Sambhaji like many others met and helped him taking him to be the real Bhau Sahib². But later on, he could have detected the man and stopped his mischief. He was rightly censured for not having done his duty.

In a letter received on the 19th June 1761 by the Peshva, Malhar Rav Holkar reported that Ganesh Sambhaji was disobedient and reluctant to carry out state orders. Again, in another report received the same day Malhar Rav noted that Ganesh Sambhaji had ignored the orders received from the *Huzoor* asking him to come with Paharsingh for the settlement of matter relating to the latter's *mamlat*.

On this occasion the charges brought against Ganesh Sambhaji were very serious. But the extenuating circumstances should not be lost sight of. Gopal Rav Ganesh while reporting from Kurah Jahanabad on the 14th May 1761 to the *Peshva* had mentioned that Ganesh Sambhaji had rendered good service in subduing "two or four places including Charkhari etc.," for which purpose he had to send a detachment of troops to his aid³. From a letter dated, Gangorani, the 28th May 1761 from Vitthal Shiv Dev, who had himself taken part in the Panipat campaign, it is evident that the *Peshva* had still confidence in Ganesh Sambhaji, who was asked to take Vitthal Shiv Dev with him for the proposed reduction of Gohad⁴. Again if "the Raja Pagarsingh" and "Ganesh Pant Anna", alluded to in a letter dated the 17th May 1761 from Dado Janardan to the *Peshva*⁵, be respectively the Paharsing, under reference, and Ganesh Sambhaji,

1 Letters Nos. 212 and 215 in Rajvade's Vol : 1.

2 E. g. Letters Nos. 300, 296 and 302 dated 1761 and 1763 in Rajvade's Vol. 1.

3 No. 263 *ibid*.

4 No. 270, Part 27 of the Peshva Daftar. The place has long since been in the Gwalior State.

5 No. 264 *ibid*.

it is clear that it was not easy to bring Paharsingh to terms. Ganesh Sambhaji had told Govind Samraj "*Subahdar*," as disclosed from the latter's letter dated the 26th May 1761 to Malhar Rav⁶, that the draft for Rs. 125,000 in favour of the said "*Subahdar*" would be paid in the ensuing Kartik or Margashirsha if the state of his (Ganesh Sambhaji's) *amal* went on well. Even paltry sums of money (Rs. 400) could not be forthwith paid either by Ganesh Sambhaji, who had never held a *Saranjam*, or even by Balaji Govind, who had always been a full-fledged *Saranjamdar*, to Ganesh Vedanti, in whose favour the required drafts had been issued, but who complained from Muttra on the 7th May 1761, to Nana Purandare, regarding the delay being made in the payment⁷.

As early as the 18th July 1755 Ganesh Sambhaji, who had been asked to join Malhar Rav reported to the *Peshva* the nature and extent of his activities and protested against Raghunath Rav Dada Sahib's taking away most of the army to the south, thus exposing the Maratha power in the North to danger.⁸ In his letter dated Kalpi, the 8th February 1760, addressed also to the *Peshva*, Ganesh Sambhaji complained that the reinforcements, requested for from Ujjain, had not arrived, and reported details of the death of Dattaji and Jankoji Sinde's encounters with the Abdali.⁹

On the 13th November 1761 Tryambak Ram Fudnis writing from Malhar Rav Holkar's camp at Mukandbari, to the *Peshva* invited the latter's attention to the "the two or four" reports he had previously submitted to that high authority in the matter. Further he accused Ganesh Sambhaji of obstruction in his official duties, of misappropriation of public funds at Jhansi, of extortion, of collusion with Shuja-ud-Dowlah whose service he wanted to join. The report proceeds, "Ganesh Sambhaji, disobeying the orders of the *Sarkar* has alienated the Bundelas including the chiefs of Orcha and Datia. Being certain that he would be employed by Shuja-ud-Dowlah he has obtained *parvans* from the Emperor Shah Alam, and styles himself in writing as Ganesh Rav Bahadur." He summoned the son of Keshav Rav Harkare to his house, and demanding three lakhs from him put him in confinement. For two days the latter was given no food, which he took on the third day in confinement, having agreed to surrender all that he had had, if he was set free. He failed to come to the succour of Jagannath Dhondhaji when the latter was deputed to repel the chief of Bhadavar who had attacked Bind. On the other hand he imprisoned him on false charges on his arrival at Jhansi.

Ganesh Sambhaji has one Pratap Shah Nisar, as his manager, who guides him. During the past two years he has collected twenty four *lakhs* from the

6 No. 272 *ibid.*

7 No. 141 in Part 40 of the *Peshva Daftar*.

8 No. 47 in Part 2 of the *Peshva Daftar*.

9 No. 185 in Part 21 *ibid.*

Taluqs of Kalpi, more or less than fifty *lakhs* on account of the attachment of Bundelkhand, and ten to twelve *lakhs* in the shape of fines from the State of Jhansi, and under false pretences of increased expenditure, has appropriated this whole amount for himself. In the year Sitain (1759) he took advances of four *lakhs* from some bankers at Poona, and paid the sum to the *Sarkar* for the *mamlats* assigned to him. Those persons, however, to whom he sublet the *mamlats* realised only two *lakhs*, and he appropriated the rest, which means that the *Sarkar* has received only two *lakhs*. In the year Ihide (1760) drafts for rupees three *lakhs* and a half from Delhi and other places were paid off, but other such drafts, namely those drawn in favour of the *Shete*, and with a view to making the necessary provisions for the fort at Gwalior, have not been paid. The revenue for the current year, which he has collected, has not been paid to the *Sarkar*, which he has appropriated to himself. The attachment of Bundelkhand still continues. Unless Ganesh Sambhaji is punished the chiefs will not be reconciled, nor will the administration continue to be a paying concern to the *Sarkar*. Again on the 28th February 1762 Tryambak Ram reported to the *Peshva* ".....Due to Ganesh Sambhaji the *Sarkar* has lost territory worth a *kror* of Rupees a year.....He met Shuja-ud-daulah and betrayed the home secrets to him.....The writer had no wish to leave him, but has left for the sake of his life....."¹⁰.

The indictment, which is terrible, is quoted at length, so that the different charges brought against Ganesh Sambhaji may be made clear. Balaji Govind in reporting to the *Peshva* and Dada Sahib, respectively on the 1st February 1762 and the 21st March 1763¹¹, and Kasi Narsi to Dada Sahib on 21st March 1763¹² corroborated much of Tryambak Ram's statement. Naro Shankar, writing from Pedgam, on the Southern bank of the Bhima, on the 18th November 1764, "instructed Khando Pant and Chimnaji Pant to attack Jhansi"., and referred to the trouble created by Ganesh Sambhaji¹³. Govind Raghunath on the 27th April 1767 writing from Nag-jhokar incidentally told Vishvas Rav Lakshman, that he doubted Ganesh Sambhaji's sincerity.¹⁴

Such is the dark side of the picture. The doubts that arise in connection with it may be summed up. Chimnaji Rangnath, who from Ganesh Sambhaji's camp at Pahari, in *Prant* Jhansi, where he had "been detained" owing to the unsafe condition of the roads, wrote on the 29th June 1761 to Mahipat Rav for the information of a much higher authority "that the news of the defeat of

10 No. 37 *ibid.*

11 No. 32 and 46 *ibid.*

12 No. 45 *ibid.*

13 No. 74 *ibid.*

14 No. 175 *ibid.*

the Marathas at Panipat had encouraged the Bundela chiefs, Hindupat and Khetsingh to throw off Maratha allegiance¹⁵". Gopal Rav Ganesh, who had been a colleague of Ganesh Sambhaji and communicated about the same time to Chinto Pant Daji that he, Balaji Govind and Ganesh Sambhaji had been directed to proceed in the *Anterroad* to restore order there and that he would cross the Jamuna on an auspicious day, and in co-operation with the addressee begin the work¹⁶. Is it possible that had Ganesh Sambhaji committed all the various delinquencies, attributed to him by Tryambak Ram, both Chimnaji Rangnath and Gopal Rav Ganesh, who certainly had charge of responsible duties, could not have come to know of at least some of them, and had both of them known these, how is it that they did not say a word about any of them in their communications? Is it not also worth enquiring that had the delinquent really extorted *lakhs* by wholesale oppression and appropriated the treasurs for himself, could he not have easily maintained so large a body of troops as would have ensured the safety of his own family, especially when he was sure of support from Shuja-ud-daulah. Unfortunately, for the family of Ganesh Sambhaji, as is proved by documentary evidence, towards the end of the Maratha rule at Poona, they lost "Seven Camel loads" of their records from their house in that city, where the *Peshva* had once dined in the same room. Both Rao Bahadur G. S Sardesai and Pro. D. V. Potdar, who are very kind to the present writer, have done their best to secure for him much published valuable material, which, however, he regrets is by no means complete. As it is, in dealing with the impeachment he has to rely wholly on the source, which has enabled him to quote it, namely the Selections from the *Peshva* Daftar, brought out by the Rao Bahadur, for whose timely suggestions for accuracy as regards part of the discussion in this paper, he is very grateful.

There is only one record, forthcoming from Ganesh Sambhaji himself for his defence, namely the representation he had addressed to Dada Sahib in 1766, "seeking to regain his favour by offering his submission". The introductory and concluding parts of this document are, however, so mutilated as to render the context of even the intervening portion very difficult to understand thoroughly. The purport of it seems to be:—For a year and a half he had been in the service of Shuja, and had to do his bidding. He had also incurred debts from him, which could not be paid. That made his position worse. Still, in a sense, he thought he continued to be in the *Sahib Seva* (the service of the Peshva), and had therefore gone. Otherwise he would have approached the feet of the addressee, in Malva. So early as he was enabled to explain to Shuja the matters, committed to his care, he would take leave of him, and come to

15 No. 7 in *ibid.*

16 No. 8 in *ibid.*

seek the service of the addressee. Many complaints might have been made against him, but he looked forward to an opportunity of placing his own case before the *Swami* (addressee), who wielded all authority to do justice to him. He had to go to Shuja under compulsion¹⁷.

This representation could not have secured any useful purpose. It is difficult, however, to see also if the impeachment led to any result humiliating to Ganesh Sambhaji, as anticipated by the impeacher, except, perhaps, that in 1763-64 he (the former) was ordered by the *Peshva* to make over the three *Parganas* (1) Hamirpur, (2) Gadbai and, (3) Narsingarh, in Bundelkhand, and two *Parganas*, (1) Derapur and (2) Mangalapur in the *Anterved* to Bhairo Anant, on whom these, with also some others, were bestowed "in Saranjam."¹⁸ Ganesh Sambhaji had held the *Parganas* merely as a *mamlat*, in the capacity of a *Kamasdar*. In 1762-63 Naro Ballal Buskute and Naro Shankar had been ordered to hand over respectively (1) the *Sarkar* of Hande and (2) *Pargana* Jainabad to Tryambak Shivdev¹⁹ almost in the same way. As late afterwards as 1767-68 the *Sanad* issued to Tukoji Holkar and Mahaji Sinde, regarding certain affairs in Bundelkhand²⁰ refers to a sum of Rs. 1,00,000" paid to the *Pathan* by Ganesh Sambhaji". This was, however, to be recovered from "Raja Hindupat" Bundela, as stipulated in the *Sanad*, which does not find fault with Ganesh Sambhaji. When it is recalled that "Ragho Keshav" (belonging to a branch of Ganesh Sambhaji's family), in the service of Ali Bahadur, having gone over to, Sinde, his house at Nimw (in the Satara Collectorate) "was attached"²¹ under the orders of the *Peshva* (1765-66), it is unconceivable why Dada Shaib, who had himself gone on an expedition to the North, or even Madho Rav Holkar who, as already seen, in June 1761 wanted to punish Ganesh Sambhaji, who purposely detained Tryambak Ram in his camp for the purpose, whom Ganesh Sambhaji met, and who on the 14th November 1765²² reported that fact to Dada Sahib, did not or could not mete out any punishment to him. It is noteworthy that on the other hand Madhav Rav attributed his conduct to the peculiar circumstances of the times, and perhaps taking into consideration his services to the *Peshva* extending over a period of nearly 40 years (1722-61) practically absolved him from all blame, and even recommended his son, Vishvas Rav Ganesh, for being entertained by Dada Sahib in his service. Above all when in 1777 Ganesh Sambhaji was, as will be seen in due course, honourably reinstated in the *Peshva's* service and posted

17 No. 161 in *ibid.*

18 No : 194 Vol. 1 for the Diary of Peshva Madhav Rav I.

19 No . 199 *ibid.*

20 No : 3000 in *ibid.*

21 No : 166 *ibid.*

22 No : 100 in Part 29 of the Peshva Daftar,

again to Bundelkhand; when Nana Fadnis, who, it is well known, was a good judge of men and matters, was at the helm of affairs, all his faults, whatever they might have been, may be considered to have been condoned.

In the masterly preface to the first volume of his series, the "*Marathyancha Itihasachin Sadhane*" the late Savant Mr. V. K. Rajvade vigorously attacked Ganesh Sambhaji, as being perhaps, next to Govind-Ballal, responsible for the Panipat disaster.²³ Since the publication of the volume much material has come to light, and it has shaken the foundation of some of Mr. Rajvade's views.

Lastly Mr. R. V. Nadkarni in his able contribution to the *Vividha-Dnayana Vistar* reviewing Part 29 of Selections from the Peshva Daftar, "Affairs of Northern India, Peshva Madhav Rav I" also attacked Ganesh Sambhaji, in the November-December number of that well-known magazine:— Taking advantage of the absence of Holkar from the North, Shuja occupied all the out-posts of the Marathas in Bundelkhand. In these depredations several *Rastra-drohi Gharbhedes* were his accomplice. Ganesh Sambhaji, who was a Karhad Brahman, and was the *mamletdar* of Jhansi, wrote letters to the Emperor and Shuja intimating his readiness to surrender the fort at Jhansi. Jhansi being the gate to Malva and Bundelkhand, the Marathas naturally feared that it would be difficult to hold Malva if that place was surrendered. At last, Shuja assailed the fort and took it on the 1st February (1762). The discussion regarding Tryambak Ram's indictment of Ganesh Sambhaji may usefully be considered in relation to Mr. Nadkarni's criticisms.

Tryambak Ram, as already noticed, reported the circumstances under which Babu Rav Konher had handed over Jhansi and the fort there, to Ganesh Sambhaji. Probably Babu Rav Konher is the same Babu Rav, whom Ganesh Sambhaji alluded to in his report of the 8th February 1760 (referred to) as the person posted to the Jhansi *Prant*, whom he had been directed to help. From Tryambak Ram's report of the 28th February 1762 (also referred to) it is clear that by intrigue Babu Rav Konher had got back Jhansi from Ganesh Sambhaji. And it follows that when the town and the fort fell to Shuja both the places were in the possession of Babu Rav Konher and not in Ganesh Sambhaji's.

A brief sketch of Ganesh Sambhaji's public career and of his private life would form a very appropriate epilogue to this paper. He came of the Khandekar family of the village Burumbad, which is situated in the Sangameshvar *Taluq* of the present Ratnagiri Collectorate in the Kokan. From Emperor Aurangzib's times the family had held hereditarily the office of the *Kulkarni* of that village and also of four others in the neighbourhood, from their benefactors the Mavalankar Sardesais. It is not known when Ganesh Sambhaji

was born, and when and where he was educated, or when he was invested with the sacred thread, or married. Of his two younger brothers Gopal Sambhaji spent his life in serving the *Peshvas*, who appointed him to positions of trust and responsibilities (1759-1782). Vasudev sambhaji served Holkar. Three sons of Ganesh Sambhaji may be said to have done something, (1) Malhar Rav Ganesh came more or less in contact with many eminent Indians, living between 1779 and 1801, like Ahilyabai, Anandibai, and Tukoji Holkar (who received him standing up). Between 1784 and 1788 he served Raja Umrav G who employed him for negotiating some matters with Mahadji Sinde, and later on for four years Raja Tiket Rai of Lucknow²⁴. (2) Jagannath Rav was taken by Mahadji in his service being eventually attached as duty officer to Gopal Rav Bhau, in which capacity he saw some of the actions fought between his commander and Holkar²⁵. Madhav Rav served Malhar Rav Holkar III in the Khasgi Department and with the Minister Balaram was on more than one occasion severely harassed by the army for pay²⁶.

The Sketch.

(1) 16th December 1722. Genesh Sambhaji was deputed to Ramchandra Mahadav for employment as Subah of forts Kille haya on an annual *moin* of Rs. 200/ ²⁷, a *sanad* being issued in that behalf.

(2) 14th October 1733. Was recommended by Mahadji Ambaji (Purandare) to *Peshva* Baji Rav I and his brother Chimnaji Appa (probably for promotion) as a capable man, who had mobilized a force of foot of two or three hundred strong near Mahipatgarh ²⁸. Shahu Maharaja's campaign against the sides of Janjira was in progress at the time.

(3) 5th February 1748. Was *Kamasdar* of *pargana* Dharamपुरi in *Sarkar* Mandav²⁹. *Kamasdars* in those days were responsible for the military as well as the Civil control of the part of the country given to their charge

(4) 1753. Exercised a recognised authority, very probably as *Kamasdar*, in *pargana* Bhikangaon* in *Sarkar* Bijagarh and Hande³⁰.

(5) 1757. Was *Kamasdar* of Pargana Jafnapur,† (39)

24 An unpublished letter dated, Lucknow, the 30th May 1801, from Malhar Rav Ganesh.

25 An unpublished letter dated Magh Vadya 9th "from near Jamner" from Jagannath Rav.

26 Pages 119-20 of the *Kasfiyat* of the Holkars, published by Mr. K. N. Sane.

27 No : 310 Part 30 of the Peshva Daftar.

28 12 miles North East of Khed, facing Hatotghat. No : 101, Part 3 of the Peshva Daftar.

29 An unpublished letter from Ganesh Sambhaji

* Bhikangaon and Bijagarh have long since been in the Indore State.

30 Letter dated the 21st November 1754 from *Peshva* Nana Sahib to Ramchandra Ballal Bhuskute *Kamasdar* of Pargana Bhikangaon and *Sarkar* Bijagarh and Hande.

† Long since in the Aurangabad District of the Nizam's Dominions.

(6) In addition to the duties of the above mentioned office, he was entrusted with the management of the three *parganas* (1) Jafrabad (2) Sakarkhedle and (3) Rajni out of the territory conquered from the Nizam⁸¹.

While discharging all these duties he has also to watch and report to the *Peshva* the movements of the Nizam, his brothers and high officers, as may be seen from his letter dated the 23rd September 1757⁸², from which an idea can also be had of how difficult it sometimes was for responsible officers.

(7) The 29th and the 30th December 1759. The *Lashkar* (army) under him passed Ujjain on its way to upper India.⁸³

(8) Some time prior to the 8th January 1762. Defeated Raja Umrao Gir Gusain (brother of "Maharaja Anup Gir, *Himmat Bahadur*) in an action.⁸⁴

(9) About the 3rd May 1766 ? Was reported by Nana *Fadnis* to the *Peshva* to have arrived with an army of 5000 strong into Berar from Bengal.⁸⁵

(10) Between March 1768 and the 13th September 1770 he held the high and distinguished position of *Subahdar* in Orrisa⁸⁶, from Raja Janoji Bhonsle. During his short regime in that remote part of the country the Junior Rani of Dhar sought the *Peshva's* support for appointing Ganesh Sambhaji as the Minister of that Daulat⁸⁷. *Raja* Janoji in writing to the Governor of Bengal on July 2, 1768, spoke of the new *Subahdar* "Ganesh Sambhaji, who is a man of great knowledge, and tried courage, and is perfectly polite in his manners, has been deputed from hence with a well appointed army. Doubtless he has already arrived at Cuttack, and begun an amicable correspondence on the subject of the payments"⁸⁸. The *Subahdar* had himself written on April, 1, 1768, to the Governor "..... His master.....has called the writer from a remote country to take possession of the Government of Orissa considering the share the writer has had in many transactions with English gentlemen in Hindustan. A body of 50,000 horse will be attached to the English cause; provided that the Governor maintains a sincere harmony and discharges the *chauth*, according to the original agreement, as long as the Province of Bengal continues under His Excellency's influence and power....."⁸⁹.

31 Page 67, Vol. 1 of *Peshva Nana Sahib's Diary*.

32 No : 86 in Mr. Rajvade's Vol. I.

33 An unpublished letter from Raghunath Tanaji Prabhu Pradhan Deshpande of T. Nagothane, *Taluq Avchitgarh, Prant Cheul*.

34 Letter dated the 8th January 1762 from Raja Bahadur Naro Shankar appearing in *Parasnis' Bharat Varsha Books 1-2*.

35 No : 172 in Part 38 of the *Peshva Daftar*.

36 Vide No : 1166 & 360 respectively in Vol. II & III of "Calendar of Persian Correspondence" read together.

37 No : 105 in Part 39 of the *Peshva Daftar*.

38 No : 1027 in Vol. 11 of "Calendar of Persian Correspondence."

39 No : 892 in *ibid*.

On October 30th 1768 he wrote to the Governor "........It is now eight months since the writer arrived in the *Subah* with 20,000 horse⁴⁰".

(11) The 7th October 1777. Was deputed to take over the control of the State of Raja Sarjet Singh, son of Hindupat Bundela. Balaji Govind was ordered to make over "Mahoba including the Tappa of Srinagar" for the seat of his residence, during the period of the control⁴¹.

(12) Sometime during the hot season, 1779. Was killed in a surprise attack by the force of Balaji Govind under the command of Dado Narayan (Mahajani) near Patan⁴², the old capital of the Narsingarh State, now in the Bhopal Political Agency, in Central India.

Probably Balaji Govind had been offended by having to part with, even though temporarily, a considerable piece of territory, and fell foul of Ganesh Sambhaji.

THE 'NATIONAL' CHARACTER OF THE 'HISTORICAL' MARATHAS

D. V. Kale, M. A., Poona.

The Title Defined—The paper proposes to discuss the 'national' as distinct from the personal or private character of the Marathas, that is to say with the traits of the Marathas, as organised into a political unit. That unit did not of course include the whole of the Maratha 'nation' within its fold, in the modern sense of the word. The Marathas had their own social and religious groups before, like the castes and the warnas which were common to all the Hindus in India. They, however, made a further advance during the time that they were politically organised into a self-conscious group, and which is indicated by that beautiful word 'Swarajya'.

The Maratha is misunderstood—The Marathas like almost every other community in India, have been much misunderstood and even maligned. Innumerable instances can be pointed out where under the pretext of instituting a sociological inquiry, western writers have made very disparaging statements.

40 No : 1166 in *ibid*.

41 Near Hamirpur in Bundelkhand. No : 564 in Vol. II of the Diary of Peshva Madhav Rav. II.

42 An unpublished letter dated, Lucknow the 30th May 1801 from Malhar Rav Ganesh.

Fraud and subservience—Mr. Grant¹ credits the Hindus with very little tenderness of mind. According to him 'they exhibit shocking barbarity of punishments, a want of sensibility for others, want of benevolence, deficiency of natural affections and a number of other vicious tendencies'. Others patronisingly speak with disapprobation of the Hindu who is 'naturally patient, supple and insinuating above all other Asiatics'. The Marathas cannot be free from the blemish of these unmanly virtues even if they enjoyed Swarajya for more than a century. Capt. Broughton attributes to the Marathas 'want of fidelity'. He gives his own reasons. 'This may be the effect of wandering and unsettled kind of life they lead; they have had no home, but in a camp.'² He goes on, 'I have never been able to discover any quality or propensity they possess which might be construed into a fitness for the enjoyment of *social* life. They are deceitful, treacherous, narrow-minded, rapacious and notorious liars.' Elphinstone is supposed to know better, and his remarks about the Marathas in their native country may be examined. 'Taking the whole as a nation' he says, 'they (Marathas) will be found to be *inferior* to their neighbours, in knowledge and civilization, in spirit, in generosity and perhaps in courage; but less tainted with pride, insolence, tyranny, effeminacy, and debauchery; less violent, less bigotted, and (except while in armies on foreign service) more peaceable, mild and humane.'³ The nature of this criticism will be clearly understood from another quotation of the same author. 'Those settled in their country and unconnected with courts, and armies, bear a much better character, being sober, industrious and encouragers of agriculture. It must indeed be remembered, both of this class (Marathas) and of the Brahmans we see the very worst of the whole, and that it is among those at a distance from the seat of Government that we are to look for any virtue that may exist in the nation.'⁴ This is significant enough. Those of the Marathas who knew what it was to deal with the Britisher were naturally unwilling to be friends with the recent conquerors of their country or 'usurpers' as they might regard them. Captain Little⁵ writes of the known jealousy of the Maratha Government, by which their emissaries were encouraged to deprive strangers of the means of acquiring information of their country. This was in 1792.

Divested of these prejudices the character of the Marathas, emerges to be a very moral and an honourable one. Elphinstone's testimony by itself is very suggestive. In his life⁶, he is quoted to have said 'the Marathas in Orissa

1 Cf. Mr. Charles Grant—State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects—East India Company's Report, 1832, Appendix I

2 Broughton—Letters etc. p. 79.

3 Report on the territories etc. p. 7.

4 Ibid. p. 6.

5 p. 241.

6 Rulers of India series p. 24.

were not rude, but showed us no respect'. Is that not exactly what we would expect of men who had enjoyed self-government? Lord Cornwallis in one of his despatches to the secret committee¹ writes that, 'the Marathas were fair and showed openness in preliminary negotiations.' What higher tribute can be expected from a political contemporary. We now proceed to note the leading characteristics of Marathas as best revealed from the Indian and original sources.

Their Civic Sense—First, of their fitness as neighbours and inhabitants in a foreign country under changed circumstances. There are various instances of the excellent civic sense of the Marathas. The Judge at Cawnpore publicly recorded the remarkable fact that during two years of the stay of Bajirao II at Bithoor there had been no perceptible increase in the business of his office from this addition of the Marathas to the inhabitants of the district. Not a single crime, had been, during that period substantiated against any of the Maharaja's followers.² No comment is necessary.

The great sacrifices made by the Marathas—In the same cause the Marathas had to sacrifice, a great deal more. They had to sacrifice literature, history, science, art and everything that brings dignity and fame to a people. Sir Jadunatha Sarkar explains the absence of any history of the Marathas written earlier than in the 18th century.³ This piecemeal process of objections and refutation cannot be pursued without wasting very much of our time, nor is it necessary to continue it any further for the development of our theme. Let us pause for a while and see if we can draw some helpful conclusions, before adducing some more evidence and some other views on the same point.

The real causes of the downfall of Marathas—The real causes of the downfall of the Marathas have been so far coloured by the prejudices of authors who are either unsympathetic or too sympathetic. Many a sincere student has, therefore, been led to make an unsparing inventory of the supposed want of positive virtues and the unaccountable profusion of vices. Nobody had the patience to go into details and examine the real nature of the last catastrophe, which really began with the sudden and simultaneous removal of such eminent personalities like Ahilyabai Holkar, Mahadji Shinde, Savai Madhavrao and Nana Fadnis from the stage. That was merely an accident and an accident which irreparably impaired the important personnel of the kingdom. That was essentially an age of personalities and these were the personalities who had successfully performed the task of rehabilitating the Maratha empire after the calamity of Panipat—the fifth of the unbroken series of capable generations which made the fortune of the Marathas ever since their rise.

1 Ross Vo. II p. 484.

2 Itihās Sangraha Sphut Lekha p. 11.

3 Modern Review, April 1918, p. 413.

A new scientific approach—And yet there is another scientific approach to the problem of the downfall of the Marathas. Let it be noted that the territory under the political domination of the Marathas was practically undeveloped till they colonised it and made it their home. The history of its colonisation and further development covers barely three centuries—a pretty short time—before they were confronted by their political destiny and faced by the wars they had to wage for their independence. The Maratha kingdom in its ultimate analysis thus presents a sorry spectacle of a rugged unfertile territory, economically undeveloped and again politically quite young. It had established neither an economic nor a political machine which was peculiarly suited to its genius and needs and had to borrow considerably in the interest of indigenous development. This young undeveloped chieftdom had to undertake heavy responsibilities beyond its strength. Several conditions conspired to raise the Marathas to giddy heights when their state had not really grown up to maturity. And this led inevitably to the tragedy which is so much regretted on all hands.

Regimentation of the Maratha Society—That the Maratha State was born and bred in war would be readily admitted. The individual during all the time had no other alternative but to submit himself to the interests of the whole. The whole history is thus one long transition stage, throughout which the state was organising itself on military basis to resist the attacks of hostile neighbours. Obviously it assumed the form of the second of the three classes of organisations suggested by Spencer and had never reached the final or industrial stage, like many modern states which are but in the quasi-military stage, even today.

In this transitional stage all established conventions were upset and the older forms of civilization disturbed. The Maharashtrian like every other Hindu was no doubt organised in caste groups, the jatis 'with a sort of moral government amongst themselves¹'. But the jati or the village, however excellently organised it might have been, could not unite in effectively checking the whirlwind of Malik-Kafur in Deccan. The new situation consequently gave rise to a newer regimentation of society. The armies organised for opposition crossed the lines of the jati and the warna. The new organisation was not an extension of the already existing groups but an entirely new arrangement to which a jati subordinated its distinctions and claims. The economics of self sufficiency had to be left behind. The function of classes had to be redistributed and the simple division of labour in the happy village life became unsuitable to the changed condition. The group system was of no use in the new regime. The warlike occupations were naturally favoured and the industrial occupation was

1. Grant Duff—Vol I p. 13.

despised as vulgar. Evidently the condition of society was not conducive to the growth of indigenous industry of art of a high order.

Poor property and 'standard of Comfort—The Marathas were handled roughly by circumstances. An inhabitant on the border land of the Nizamshahi and Adilshahi the Maratha of the Swarajya, must have always been put to the sword and fire. His life though favourable to energy and hardihood, developed little of personal property or means of comfort on any permanent scale. The Maratha house was a wooden structure with wattle and daub or equally flimsy walls, wooden and earthen utensils, a few pieces of cloth and nothing more. His property was kept at so low a level that he scarcely felt any pangs to burn it himself or allow it to be burnt by others. This simplicity of life secured mobility, which was extremely valued from a purely military point of view. In 1778, we find that Madhavji Shinde attached property of some subjects of Miraj for serving in the army of Kolhapur state, then at war with Poona. It makes a sad reading through the inventory of the attached effects¹. Houses of upper classes were rarely built in stone till about the middle of the 18th century and the Shaniwar palace was probably the first of its kind. The injunction of Shahu against it are too well-known to need repetition. Houses could be pulled down and the ground cleared in times of war. We are told that houses round about Shaniwar were pulled down to accommodate the *mandap* for Vishwasrao's thread ceremony². The flimsy structures would no doubt be allowed to be pulled down without pangs, as new ones could easily be substituted for them.

Simplicity in ceremonies—The same simplicity dominated ceremonial life. Tukoji-Holkar's son was to be married at Wafgaon (1781-82). Hundreds of villages were asked to contribute their quota to the ceremony as was the custom then. But the things demanded give a clear idea of the life of those days³. Wealth might not be wanting, when lakhs were spent in giving alms in charity. And yet wicker-work, pottery and wood-work and tree leaves featured prominently throughout in the list of required things. Let it be observed that the list of pottery includes 'Randhanis' or cooking utensils. By conscious or unconscious process the individual had rendered himself so light, mobile and incapable of being an encumbrance to the whole, in times of crisis. The Maratha state was organised for war. The Maratha as an individual was happy to surrender himself to it, or he must have been wiped out of existence.

Loyalty and obedience—This much for the reaction of the transitional stage on his physical environment. How did it affect his mental plane? We

1, Khare Vol. VII-2218.

2. Sane—Pant Pradhan—Shakavali p. 10.

3. P. D. IV p. 283-237.

know that excessive loyalty was demanded from him. The best exposition of the highest political theory of the Maratha state, the Adnapatra of Ramachandrapant Amatya, lays stress upon loyalty of the servants and the people. They must show deference to authority; obedience is the essence of loyalty.

The Marathas and Science—Absence of scientific spirit among the Marathas has been given as one of the causes of their downfall. But the critics use the word science, in its purely modern sense of the mechanical, chemical and generally industrial advance made in the last century. This last advance was admittedly made in the West. But before 1800, before 1750 at any rate, there was not much difference in the achievements of the East and the West.¹ And if there was any difference between the two, superiority lay on the side of the East. Science, to take a rough view, proceeds from the consciousness of a particular environment and consists in remedies found out in mastering it. Invention and science in Maharashtra, one may say, on being acquainted with the peculiar history of the developments in the East, were striving to make life as simple as possible while they strove, in the West, to make it as complex and comfortable as possible. Throughout their history, the Marathas retained their institutions of old and their life of few wants and fewer comforts. But that was also the course of history through the world before 1800.

Centrifugal tendencies—Out of many reasons that have been adduced as leading to the loss of the liberty of the Marathas, there are some which refer to their inherent characteristics. Thus the analysis made of the different statements by Mr. Potdar as regards the first kind of the defects reveals four important defects.²

(1) Love of personal independence, and extraordinary partiality to self-interest.

(2) Absence of a sense of unity, want of mutual confidence.

(3) Want of discipline.

(4) Entire absence of patriotism.

This list is made out to account for the centrifugal tendencies displayed by the Marathas and says in other words that they did not know the value of and consequently did not practice, teamwork.

It is indeed remarkable that nothing in this list indicates any moral turpitude. The same can be said of many others drawn for the purpose. Mr. Rajwade for example strongly criticises what he terms 'disloyalty to the established power in very strong terms.'³ Mr. Khare regrets the absence of an institutional sense in Maharashtra. He says that Marathas respect persons and not institutions. The oath which anybody takes before another is dissolved

1 Industrial Commission's Report—1st Paragraph and Malariya's Minute, p. 2489.

2 Marhata wa Ingraj-Review p. 11

3 Rajwade, Introduction, p. 7

at the death of either. The survivor does not stop to think as to the significance of his oath and the necessity of continuing to observe it in respect of his own word¹.

For one thing, these defects were not peculiar to the Marathas. They were to be found in all their contemporaries. Secondly it may be argued that they are to be attributed to their ignorance of the requirements of the political role they were called upon to fulfil. The new schedule was not ready with them and they did not get the time for developing it. The surroundings in which they moved had acquainted them with only tangible persons. They cannot be charged with wanton dishonesty, as has wrongly been done by several of their detractors.

Marathas and team work—The Marathas were a hardy race and capable of individual action, and what we see or know of their life in history of today leads us to suppose that they were not capable of a joint action. Perhaps they never learned to value it. Possibly it was not a part of their genius to submit themselves to the restrictions on the liberty of personal action. Their political life proved to be so short that they had no time to learn some of the essential uses of team work. Though pushed on by the irresistible tide of expansive politics to the very confines of India their rules and principles of association remained those which had regulated society for thousands of years. The older association was also based upon the direct community of interests, but those relations had gone on for so many years without any variation that their direct operation had ceased to be felt. The conscious need of cooperation had been obviated and that instinct had been dulled long since.

Absence of co-operation among Maratha officers—Another reflection that saddens the heart is the singular absence of any co-operation between officers of the same rank. Some of the blame may be laid at the doors of communications between the distant outposts that served the empire. But even the relations between those responsible officers whose work brought them together were not such as could be considered exemplary. Jayaji Shinde and Malharrao Holkar whose names were inseparably associated in the Delhi contract of 1750² and who were destined to work together for several years could not pull on well. The Peshwas did not cultivate good relations with their colleagues, the Ashtapradhanas; were rarely on very good terms with the brothers who co-operated with them as their Karbhari. There were few joint offices. But that of the Karbhari, when it was divided between Sakharambapu and Nana Fadnis and later also between these and Morobadada, followed the ridiculous

1 Ichalkaranji Itihasa p. 64 note.

2 Raj. I—1

practice of requiring three copies¹ being made of despatches to be sent to the Peshwa Darbar. The toleration which they showed in the religious sphere was not yet established in the political sphere. And the self was not considered capable of being subordinated to any other higher considerations. Personality dominated politics and every other thing where group action was very valuable.

We thus see the Marathas inherited all the disadvantages of a military society without its typical advantage and the necessary condition for success, a sense of unity. With wider and longer experience, they would have fared better. They had no time to learn their political trade and met a far more powerful and experienced enemy before whom they had to succumb. A glance at the History of England would convince how high their political experience was before they came to India and how still higher it was when they last confronted the Maratha.

We may briefly summarise the position taken in the preceding exposition. The following chiefly are the considerations which have led to a misrepresentation of the character of the Marathas :—

1. The political prejudices of the Moghals and the English who had to suffer most from the Maratha activity.
2. The jealousy felt by these that the Marathas obtained an easy empire at a cheap price is the cause of their belittling the Marathas.
3. Maratha low classes were mostly before the eyes of the critics.
4. The so-called downfall of the Marathas was so much magnified in the consideration of even their sympathisers that they tried to lament the lack of a number of civic and political virtues in the Marathas without any justification.

The following things may be said in extenuation :—

1. Camp life, the necessary concomitant of the military character, was certainly responsible for some vicious tendencies.
2. Moghal invasions forced the predatory tendencies as the only defence for the Maratha homes and religions.
3. They had to carry great struggle for existence in the very infancy of the Maratha power against adversaries, who were much more than a match for them.
4. The Maratha polity was a shortlived experiment and was forced to close its life long before it had time to attain to majority. The last fate of the Marathas has to be described as an accidental death rather than a downfall or natural extinction which follows a steady process of gradual decline.

5. The Maratha polity reared itself upon an entirely undeveloped part of the Deccan and the energies of the Marathas were divided between making

¹ From extracts from 'Forrest's Selections Imperial Records' in possession of Mr. Bardesai.

it both habitable and respectable. The nature of the country made their first undertaking unsuccessful and the second risky. In the midst of this struggle of their, they had to fight against overwhelming odds which left them very little time. This accounts for their poor achievements in several fields. There is nothing that can substantiate the idea that there were certain inherent and incorrigible defects that made them incompetent rulers.

A VINDICATION OF VENKAJI BHONSLE

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(1) *Introduction—*

The early career of Veṅkāji shows that unlike his famous half-brother he came under the full control and complete influence of his father. Shāhji in the early part of his career was an opportunist, but his allegiance to Bijāpur between 1636 and 1664 was steady, in spite of his self-assertion on two occasions. Similarly Veṅkāji, though loyal to the Ādil Shāh, seized the Tanjore principality in 1675, contrary to the wishes of his master. Further the cultural traditions of the South developed in the court of Shāhji at Bangalore were continued by Veṅkāji at Tanjore. There is a striking similarity between the Karnāṭak career of the father and the career of his favourite son.

Veṅkāji was born about, 1630 and was not much younger than Sivāji.¹ His career was comparatively uneventful till his conquest of Tanjore. In 1658 he captured S'ri Sailam², and in 1663 accompanied his father during the latter's visit to Poona and its environs³. In 1664 he inherited his father's position and property⁴. In 1665 he fought with conspicuous bravery on the side of Alī Ādil Shāh against Jai Singh and Sivaji⁵.

(2) *Conquest and Administration of Tanjore—*

Though his father had by his invasions between 1659 and 1662 weakened Tanjore and prepared the way for Veṅkāji's triumph, it was the latter that finally conquered that principality more than ten years after his father's death. Though the death of Alī Ādil Shāh in 1673 and Chokkanātha Nayaka's conquest of Tanjore in 1674, followed by the intransigence of his deputy, facilitated

1 Balkrishna, *Sivaji the Great*. Vol I, Part I pp 180-1; [K. R. Subraminian, *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*, p. 19)

2. Balkrishna, p. 144.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

5. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, 1929, pp. 134 and 314.

the task of Veñkāji, he proceeded cautiously, delayed his attack on the town of Tanjore for a year, captured it in 1675, made a military demonstration as far as Trichinopoly, restored the Nayak prince to his ancestral throne and retired to Kumbhakonam.⁶

It was in consequence of the incapacity of the restored Nayak prince to organise an orderly administration that Veñkaji re-entered Tanjore and usurped the throne.⁷ The letter of Fr. Andre Freire to Paul Oliva dated 1676 describes Veñkaji's administration. 'Becoming absolute master of the kingdom, he seeks to make himself loved by his subjects, and has already succeeded in his attempt. The justice and wisdom of his government begin to heal the wounds of the preceding reign and develop the natural resources of this country. By repairing the canals and tanks, he has fertilised extensive fields, uncultivated for many years, and the last harvest has surpassed all expectations.⁸' Further to strengthen himself against Madura and Bijāpur, he endeavoured to conclude an alliance with the French in 1676.⁹

(3) Sivāji's *Coromandel* Objective—

A consideration of this question will give the proper perspective for appreciating Veñkāji's attitude towards Sivāji.

(a) *Partition*—

Though the partition question cropped up at the interview between Sivāji and Veñkāji, its precise nature is not clear. Sabhāsad differs from other chroniclers, and the assertions of the latter overlook the fact that the Tanjore principality was the self-acquired state of Veñkāji. Mr. Sardesai's suggestion that Sivāji aimed at destroying the feudal obligations of Veñkāji to Bijāpur and bringing him under his own political control is a part and parcel of his theory that Sivāji soared high above his pan-Marāṭha ideal and struggled hard for the establishment of the *Hindi-pad-Pudshahi*.¹⁰ We can seek enlightenment from Sabhāsad's observation that "the Raja entertained in his heart the desire of conquering the Karnatak from Tungabhadra Valley to the Kāveri"¹¹ and from the letter of Bombay to the Company, dated 16. 1. 1678, that "Sevagee Raja, carried on by an ambitious desire to be famed a mighty conquerour, left Rairi.....at the latter end of the last faire Montzooone"¹²

(b) *Plunder*—

Prof. Sarkar's theory has been disposed of by Dr. Sen,¹³ and Sivāji's

6. R. S. Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 166-9.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

8. Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, Vol III, p. 249.

9. Kalppelin, *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales et Francois Martin*, p. 169.

10. Sardesai, *The main currents of Maratha History*, 1933, pp. 72-3.

11. Sen, *Siva Ohhatrapati*, p. 119.

12. *English Records on Shivaji*, Poona, 1931, II. 272.

13. *Studies in Indian History*, pp 141-5.

diplomatic preliminaries and his grand army of veterans, military and civil,¹⁴ show that he contemplated no *Mulkgiri*.

(c) *Annexation*—

Dr. Sen¹⁵ has shown with reference to Martin's *Memoirs* that there is no mistaking the territorial ambition of Sivāji. As regards the date of origin of this idea of Sivāji's, he mentions M. Baron's letter of 20. 12. 1675,¹⁶ but from, Kaepelin's notice¹⁷ it is clear that Sivāji entertained the idea of Karnātak invasion before 26. 8. 1675.

Sivāji's definite territorial policy is further supported by his letter to Langhorne, Governor of Fort St. George, containing a request for a loan of engineers. "Since my arrivall into the Cornat country I have conquered severall Forts and Castles, and do allso intend to build new workes in several Forts and Castles".¹⁸ Above all, Fr. Andri Freire's letter of 1678 says: "Sivāji made himself master of it (Vellore) and thereby became sovereign of a large part of the kingdom (of Vijayanagar) as he had already been master of Jinji. He could not hope to maintain peaceful possession of it for long; he had to defend himself against the Mughal power which had been irresistible till now. With this prevision he applied all the energy of his mind and all the resources of his dominions to the fortification of the principal towns. He constructed new ramparts around Jinji; dug ditches, erected towers, created basins and executed all these works with a perfection which European art would not have denied. He did as much for the other citadels whose position promised real advantages, destroyed all those he considered useless, constructed a large number of new ones in the plains and on the hills, and put all these fortresses in a state of preparedness for a siege of several years. *Such works necessarily exhausted his treasures.*"¹⁹ Still Prof. Sarkar maintains that "gold and not land was his chief object".²⁰

(d) *A second line of defence*—

Dr. Sen²¹ is half inclined to support Ranade's thesis. But Sivāji's position in Mahārāshṭra was not such that he could think of an alternative line of defence. Though Jinji sustained the Marāṭhās under Rājārām for a few years, they ultimately fell back on Mahārāshṭra. Did Sivāji foresee this as well?

14 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp 291-2.

15 *op. cit.*, pp 142-5

16 *Ibid.*, p 139

17 *op. cit.*, p 155

18 *English Records*, II. 251

19 Bertrand, *op. cit.*, p 271.

20 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p 309.

21 *Studies*, p. 145,

(e) Revival of Vijayanagar—

This theory is based on Sivāji's silver plate grant to the widow and two sons of Srīraṅga III, donating "probably a hundred villages"²², and on his issue of a unique imperial gold coin, *pon*, discovered at Phaltan, in imitation of the *ṣagoda* of Vijayanagar. But these epigraphic and numismatic evidences merely show Sivāji's humanity towards the family of an emperor who had come to grief and his submission to the numismatic tradition of Vijayanagar. If he had really wanted to step into the imperial shoes of Srīraṅga III, who died in 1672²³, he would have postponed his coronation in 1674, or recrowned himself after his Coromandel adventures.

An examination of the objective of Sivāji's Coromandel endeavours shows that the attempt to discover his ulterior motives is futile, and that his palpable objective was the conquest and administration of the Karnāṭak in order to strengthen his own military and political position, partition of his paternal Jaghirs being only a side issue.

(4) Sivaji-Venkaji Collision—

Fr. Andre' Freire's letter²⁴ of 1678 represents Venkaji as the victim of his half brother's ambition, diplomacy and cupidity. After his escape from the clutches of Sivāji and after the latter's departure from the Coromandel Coast, he fought Sāntāji with impetuosity and almost succeeded, when by strategem the latter's defeat was converted into a pyrrhic victory. As he was further confronted with the hostility of Chokkanātha Nāyaka, he came to terms with Sivāji.

Prof. Sarkar's observation that "the Jesuit letter for 1677 is mostly wrong and based on distant rumour"²⁵ is hard to understand. The record was composed at Viraṅam (Viraṅamūr, Jinji Taluk, South Arcot Dt.), and the Jinji province was a district of the Madura Missison. Its contents agree remarkably well with the other foreign and indigenous sources except in a few cases, which may be considered here.

(a) Capture of Jinji—

The Jesuit statement is that Sivāji fell on Jinji "like a thunderbolt" and

22 *Vijayanagara Sescentenary Commemoration Volume*, p. 187.

23 A letter of Fort St. George to the Company, dated 16-12-1672, says, 'Another cloud begins to gather towards the mountaines where the old Gentil King of Cornatta, whose harsh carriage to his great ones was the loss of this countrey, being newly dead, a brothers sonn succeeds in his rights' (*English Records*, I 334) This passage sets at rest all speculations regarding the final date of Srīraṅga III, and supports my contention that the feudatories of the empire should not be made the scape-goats for that emperor's failure (*Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, 1924*, pp. 374-5).

24 Bertrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-71.

25 Sarkar, *op. cit.* p. 412.

seized it "at the first assault" and that his easy success was due to his taking advantage of the disunion which prevailed there. Though Bhim Sen²⁶ says that Jinji was captured by treachery, Manucci²⁷ attributes Sivāji's success to his "valour and determination". The letters of Fort St. George do not support the charge of treachery, and Martin's account is to be taken with a grain of salt.

(b) Sivāji's *treatment* of Venkājī—

Fr. Andre Freire speaks of the treacherous imprisonment of Venkājī, his escape, and Sivāji's seizure of the country to the north of the Coleroon, which was entrusted to Sāntāji and a Brahmin adviser (Raghunāth Pant). Sabhāsad says that Vinkājī's flight was due to his knowledge that Sivaji would employ force to make him come to terms²⁸. Martin observes, "The first conversation gave evidence of amity and tenderness only, then it came to the negotiation when Ecugy discovered that his brother would not let him go unless he had satisfied him about his claims.....on receipt of the information (that Vinkājī had fled) Sivaji caused Ecugy's men who were in his camp to be arrested.....(and) took possession of a part of the lands of Gingy which belonged to Ecugy."²⁹ A Fort St. George record says that Sivāji "waxed very angry and bad him (Vinkājī) begone"³⁰, and arrested a few of his men. Though the Jesuit reference to the imprisonment of Venkājī is not confirmed, it is clear that a few of his followers were taken into custody and that his territory north of the Coleroon was seized.

(c) *Pyrrhic Victory*—

The Jesuit version is corroborated by other accounts. Sabhāsad says, "A bloody battle ensued. By virtue of the king's righteousness and good luck Hambirrao defeated Vyankaji."³¹ Martin remarks; "A great battle was fought on the 26th of the month (November, 1677) between the armies of Siveagy and Ecugy...The two parties retreated and the loss was almost equal".³² Fort St. George to Surat, dated 20 and 29. 11. 1677, describes the engagement, "The battle held from morning till night in which Santogee was worsted and fled 3 quarters of one of these leagues, being pursued one fourth of a league. When being returned to their severall camps, Santogee, consulting with his captains what the importance and shame would be, resolved to dress and saddle their horse againe, and so immediately rode away by other wayes, and in the dead of the night

26 Patwardhan and Rawlinson, *Source Book of Maratha History*, Vol. I, p. 168.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 182.

28 Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, p. 126.

29 Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, pp. 303-4.

30 *English Records*, II, 241.

31 Patwardhan and Rawlinson, *op. cit.* p. 139

32 Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji* p. 317

surprised them fast at rest after soe hard labour, their horses unsadled, and made a great slaughter of them"³³.

(d) *Sieze of Vellore*—

It last for a year, according to the Jesuit writer. There is a slight inaccuracy here as the siege went on for about fourteen months. Another inaccuracy is, the statement that Sāntaji reformed Sivāji at Vellore. But Prof. Sarkar's total condemnation of the record in question is surprising. Dr. Sen understands its historical value, though he does not include it in his *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, and notes that the Jesuit letter "substantially corroborates the Maratha account"³⁴ of Sivāji's Karnāṭak expedition.

(5) *Last years of Venkaji*

The vindication so far attempted cannot close without notice of the deterioration of Venkaji's reputation for Civil administration. Prof. Sarkar says that he was "no unworthy brother of Shivaji",³⁵ but does not refer to his later maladministration. Fr. Andre Freire's letter of 1682 gives the following picture. "I shall say little about Tanjore; the tyranny of Ekoji (Venkaji) continues his work of destruction there. After plundering the people he has fallen on the *pagodas* of his own idols. There never was seen so much temerity in a pagan, but he is a pagan who has no other god than his cupidity. To satisfy it he has appropriated the treasures of his pagodas and their large properties. The Brahmins came in vain to lament and represent to him that their gods had been abandoned without offerings, because the paddy fields whose produce was intended for their worship had been taken away from them. He replied that the gods did not eat and that offerings of fragrant flowers would suffice. It can be judged from this how Ekoji treats his unhappy subjects."³⁶ Fr. Britto's letter of 1683 describes Venkaji's land revenue administration. "Ekoji takes away four-fifths of all the produce. As if this were not enough, he enforces payment in cash, and as he is careful to fix the price himself much above what the owner can realise, it happens that the sale of the whole harvest is never sufficient to pay the tax. Accordingly the cultivators are burdened with a crushing debt and often they are obliged to prove their inability to pay, when they have to pay, by submitting to barbarous tortures.....However, in the kingdom of Jinji tyranny is even more frightful and revolting.....Expression fails me to tell you how horrible it is."³⁷ His misrule should be attributed to his costly peace with Sivāji, to the floods of 1677 and 1680, to his wars, and to his territorial losses. One should pause before

33 *English Records*, II. 264

34 See, *Administrative system of the Marathas*, 2nd edition, p 11.

35 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p 314.

36 Bertrand, *op. cit.*, p 306

37 *Ibid.*, p. 336

one complains against "the deliberate falsification of history by later Maratha writers."³⁸

Still Venkaji was better than his companion at Jinji. He should be given sufficient credit for serving the traditions of South Indian culture which had its day under his successor,³⁹ and following again in the footsteps of his father.⁴⁰

THE RELATIONS OF BOMBAY WITH THE MARATHAS DURING THE COMPANY'S WAR WITH AURANGZEB, 1685-1690.

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The East India Company acquired Bombay in 1668 with the sole object of carrying on a lucrative and peaceful trade with the peoples on the mainland. The standing orders to the agents were to maintain peace with all neighbours, to be neutral in the quarrels and struggles of the country powers, and to obtain privileges of trade from all; but resolutely to defend the colony against all enemies. It was found impossible to keep entirely aloof from the affairs of the princes, and Bombay was gradually drawn into the politics of her neighbours. It is not proposed in this article to give an account of the hostile relations between the Company and the Moghul power during the period 1685-1690, but to enquire summarily, from original sources, into the nature of the relations between Bombay and the Marathas during the course of the hostilities with Aurangzeb.

In the year 1685 the Company embarked on experimenting a new policy in their relations with the country powers. So long they had styled themselves merely traders to whom war was abhorrent, and had tried their best to maintain the principles of the quiet policy laid down by Sir Thomas Roe in 1616. Bombay was desirous of acquiring the two neighbouring islands of Henery and Kenery; but on 22 April, 1681, the Court of Directors prohibited military enterprise. For this very reason, wrongs and insults from the Moghuls, the Marathas and the Siddis were meekly borne. But now all this was to change. Trade was still to be the sole aim; but oppressions from the country powers were to be combatted by force of arms. This new policy brought

38 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 314

39 K. R. Subramanian, *op. cit.*, pp 29-35

40 Patwardhan and Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp 22 and 118.

them into conflict with the Moghul who thus became the common enemy of the English and the Marathas. An enquiry then into the relations between the Marathas and the English during the period of the Company's war with the Moghul would be interesting.

In 1684, the Court, under the chairmanship of Sir Joseph Ash, declared, that though the aim of the Company was trade and not conquest, it was necessary to have forts for the protection of their stocks. With this end in view, orders were sent to construct a fortified wall round Madras and a fort in Bengal. In 1686, Sir Josiah Child became for the third time the chairman of the Court, and under him the new policy was pursued with great zeal. James II, who was a considerable shareholder in the Company, was willing to do all he could to advance her interests. The country powers were now to be given to understand, that the Company would henceforward treat with them as an independent power, and if aggrieved by any prince, would have resort to force of arms if necessary. Sir John Child¹, the President of the Surat Factory, was given the imposing title of "Captain General and Admiral of all forces by sea and land in the northern parts of India, from Cape Comorin to the Gulf of Persia". To be free from the control and exactions of the Surat governor, he was to fix the seat of government at Bombay, and Surat was to be reduced to a simple factory with Bartholomew Harris as president.

As early as April 1684, the Directors asked the Surat officials to vindicate the honour of their nation against the insolence of the Portuguese as well as of the Moors², and in the face of impending struggle peradventure it may be prudent to temporise with the Moghul and Sambhaji until we have righted ourselves with other two, and until you have made Bombay so formidable that the appearance of it may fright the Moghul's government and Sambhaji Raja.....³" Thus the Marathas too were to be resisted if they interfered in any way with the rights and privileges of the Company.

In January 1685 Surat wrote home to say that Aurangzeb was no

1 Writers of Indian history have generally followed Bruce in considering Sir Josiah Child and Sir John Child to be brothers. The Stracheys' in their "Keigwin's Rebellion", however claim, that they were neither brothers nor did they bear any relationship whatever to each other, and that their families were quite distinct. The following letter, however, as it does, conclusively proves that they were kinsmen if not brothers:—

Sir John Child to Sir Josia Child, dated 30th November 1683, Surat: "Bambay I should be glad to see flourish, but must wait God's time and yours; it labours under abundance of troubles from the Siddi and our very naughty neighbours the Portuguese. They have lately forbid all provisions going to our island, and afford it all the injury they can. They are at war now with Sambhaji Raja.....Your very much obliged humble servant and kinsman". (O. C. 5005),

2 i. e. the Siddis; sometimes the term is applied to Mahomedans in general.

3 L. Bk. Vol. 7, dated 7 April, 1684.

friend of Christians, the governor of Surat was very abusive and exacting, the Carwar factory was in trouble, and Sambhaji was fast sinking.¹

As the English began seriously to think of resisting the oppressions of the Moghul, they naturally looked for an ally; and Sambhaji being at the same time engaged in a war with the Moghul, they gave definite instructions to Surat and Bombay to keep on good terms with him, and endeavour to get assistance from him. No definite offensive or defensive alliance was entered into as allies to prosecute a war with the Moghul, but having a common foe to face the English General did all he could from time to time to get the Marathas to help him.

In October 1685 the Directors wrote to Surat that they had decided to take firm measures both against the oppressions of the Moors and the impudence of the interlopers, and they asked the Surat officials to 'enter into a close confederacy and friendship with Sambhaji Raja, and maintain always a strict friendship with him.'²

The Secret Committee of the Directors gave distinct orders concerning hostilities on the western coast. All merchant fleets of the enemy were to be seized, but "not a penny was to be embezzled till condemned", and no custom was to be paid to the Portuguese at Thana unless compelled to. They thought so highly of their endeavours that war with the Portuguese even at the same time was of no account: so Salsette and the islands adjacent to Bombay were to be recovered, since according to the treaty of Whitehall (1661) they had been claimed by the English.³

A strict confederacy with Sambhaji was expected to be of value not only for defence but for the overthrow of their enemies the Moghul, the Siddis and the Portuguese. These fond expectations, however, did not materialise. They were unaware of the gulf that lay between the great Sivaji the departed monarch and his son Sambhaji as to character and personality. However, terms were now to be offered to Sambhaji, which the Company had repeatedly denied to his father.

In reply to all these instructions, Child wrote optimistically of the prospects of the Company in the coming struggle, and a true and dutiful servant as he was, he promised to put the orders of his masters into execution⁴.

These warlike schemes were first put into operation in Bengal. They failed signally there, and by March 1689, the Moghuls cleared that province of all the Company's servants. On the west coast, the Company aimed at keeping up a mask of friendship towards the Moghul till the result of the Bengal

1 Surat to the Directors, 23 January, 1685.

2 L. Bk. Vol. 8, London to Surat, 28 October, 1685.

3 *Ibid.* 31 March, 1686.

4 O. C. 5504.

expedition was known. Meanwhile, under the orders of the Directors, Bombay was to be made "as strong as money and art could make it".

While Child was preparing to strike the blow, Sambhaji on the mainland was being hard pressed by the Moghuls. The Siddi¹ also had succeeded in capturing several Maratha forts on the sea coast, and this caused much uneasiness in Bombay because the balance of power was disturbed thereby. The Siddi also asked for guns from Bombay, and this placed the government of the island in a precarious position, for friendship was still to be maintained with the Moghul in the west, since the opportune time to break with him had not yet arrived².

In October 1686, the successes of the Siddi quite alarmed Bombay, leaving the government no alternative but to take some steps to secure their own island. "We are credibly informed", they wrote, to Child at Surat "that the Siddi after having such success at Danda Rajapuri and other places is resolved to attack Kenery. If he do it, it will infallibly be resigned to him by treachery, and may prove of ill consequence to this island. This we think fit to advise your Excellency, praying your direction about it, whether or no you think fit to send a man to the Raja (Sambhaji) to propose to him to give the said Kenery into our hands till he becomes master of his country, and then to return to him again; or any other proposal that you shall think fit, which must be done speedily or not at all, for certainly the Siddi will have it. Penn is certainly in danger of being lost³".

This serious situation resulted in negotiations with Sambhaji's government, for in March 1687, Bombay wrote again to the General at Surat, "We have received a letter from the Peshwa concerning Sambhaji Raja and us. He says that the old one (Peshwa) is dead and a new one made. He would have us send a boat for him to come and converse with us, but that is only to get a peshcash⁴ from us as being a new made officer⁵".

But these attempts, with regard to Kenery at least, bore no fruit, and the Marathas did not hand over the island to Bombay. However, the Siddi, notwithstanding his great successes elsewhere, failed to capture Kenery.

In May 1687, Child and Council arrived in Bombay and made it the seat of their government. From here Child began his preliminary operations, but under a screen: open hostilities were to be the last resort. He sent four ships under Capt. Andrews with secret orders to seize all the Moghul and

1 He was chief of Janzira, and was by contract with the Moghul Emperor bound to protect pilgrim ships going to Mecca.

2 Campbell's Histl. Material. Bom. Gaz. XXVI, Pt. I, pp. 98, 99.

3 F. H. S., Vol. I, Bombay to Surat, 18, October, 1686,

4 A present.

5 C. H. M. Bom. Gaz. pp. 102, 108.

Siamese ships that he might meet with ; and a ship to Surat, with orders to bring thence to Bombay all the factors and property belonging to the company. To Bartholomew Harris, the General wrote, that war was to be made against the Moghul for very substantial reasons : "we want a firm footing in the Moghul dominions on this side, and if we get it here, we shall have it in other parts too, especially because he has become so strong by his conquests, and Sambhaji also is losing against him¹".

Before finally throwing off the mask, in obedience to his Masters' orders, Child once again made an effort to get Maratha aid. To the Directors he wrote, 'We sent over to the 6th current, Mr. George Weldon and Mr. Robert Graham, and are treating with Sambhaji Raja, which we hope may prove very advantageous to your honours²'. Anderson in his 'The English in Western India' says that Child succeeded in making a treaty with Sambhaji, by which the Raja agreed to give the English Rs 50,000 and 2000 khandies of rice, on condition that they protected the creeks and mouths of the rivers along the Maratha coast (1687)³. But the instructions from home were for "friendship" and "confederacy", which meant joint action against the common foe. This was not attained. The next year Child wrote to the Directors that his endeavours in treating with Sambhaji did not have the wished for success.⁴

It must be remarked that a real confederacy between the English and Sambhaji was at this time not possible. Neither party was in a position to effectively help the other against the Moghul : the English, who had been so long purely traders, could not afford to send men to the aid of Sambhaji, whose troops could at best carry on a guerilla warfare against the hordes of Aurangzeb. The only way the Company could help him, was by supplying him with ammunition, and protecting his coasts against the enemy fleets, both of which they did. Again the aim of the English in trying to enter into an alliance with Sambhaji was not to protect the latter against Aurangzeb, but to get as much help and protection as they could from him. Sambhaji, however, was not in a position to lend any effectual help in money and provisions, for the plains soon fell into the hands of the enemy, and before the end of the year (1689) he himself was captured and executed.

On 12 December, 1689, Child wrote to the Directors about the impossibility of either uniting with the Marathas or of obtaining any help from them. "At present there is no certain news where Raja Ram is", he said, "but on this part of India he does not appear nor any force of his in the field to

1 O. C. 5641, 24 December, 1687.

2 Ibid, 26 September, 1687.

3 Anderson, however, does not cite any authority for his statement.

4 F. R. Vol. 3. Bom. 9 January, 1688.

withstand the Moghul and his forces. Rairee.....and most of his strongholds are fallen into the Moghul's hands.....All the country about us that was the Raja's is the Moghul's now ; there only stands out for the Raja near us the little island Kenery, a castle to the northward of Chaul near the seaside called Kolaba, and another castle on the mainland called Paddangarh to the southward of Chaul.....they (the Marathas) have been with us for assistance and would feign borrow money etc. We have given them all good words, may be, and keep them encouraged what we can for the present, but in all appearance they will not hold out long, and indeed they have no means to do it, and should we trust them, they will certainly deceive us".¹

This then was the state of the Marathas, and this the attitude of besieged Bombay towards them. A confederation between the two was not possible.

Before the end of the year, Child sent Messrs. Weldon and Navarro with an Indian merchant Miyan Namazi to Aurangzeb's court then at Bijapur, craving for peace. Aurangzeb severely reprimanded the envoys for the ungrateful conduct of the Company, but at their request he granted them a new firman "expressed in terms and with conditions more humiliating and more oppressive than any which had occurred from the first settlement of the English factory in India. The Company was to be now admitted not as the subjects of an independent sovereign, or as having a retreat at Bombay at which they could be protected, but as criminals whose Chief had been proscribed, and themselves admitted to live in vassalage or slavery only". The Company agreed to make good all the losses of the Moghuls, pay a fine of Rs. 150,000, and dismiss Sir John Child from service. But two weeks before the firman was delivered, Child died at Bombay (Feb. 1689), and his death facilitated the mission of the envoys.

¹ O. C. 5691, 12 December, 1689.

PROGRESS OF MAHARASHTRA UNDER THE PESHWAS

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The Marathas under the Peshwas made long strides in every branch of human activity. Brahmins by caste they realised the value of learning in its entirety and knew the proper place in the cultural advancement of a country of fine arts such as architecture, music, dancing, gardening etc. and also of other nation building activities including construction of roads, water-works, plantation of trees etc. They had also to pay attention to and develop all branches of administration. Luckily for them the King Sahu, the head of the Maratha Empire having been brought up in the Moghul Court, was a lover of fine arts and was deeply interested in the all round progress of the state. Encouraged by him the Peshwas felt enthusiastic to undertake these works when they could snatch peaceful hours in the midst of constant warfare and state intrigues.

Architecture—First of all they devoted their attention to town-planning and State-buildings. Satara the old Capital of the Marathas, situated on the slopes of a hill-fort, though secure from foreign attacks, could not command a sight befitting the capital of a growing Empire. Poona being more central and on the plains, Bajirao I decided to make it his Capital. He started building his citadel outside the old village of Poona in 1729 and made it his headquarters in 1738 even before it was completed. During all the prosperous years of the Peshwa's regime, improvements, renovations and enlargements of the citadel continued. It was a six storied building with a magnificent Court Hall called गणपती रंगमहाल and encircled by a dependable rampart. The building was two hundred yards in length and one hundred and fifty yards in breadth, consisting of ten squares of which four were very spacious. Bajirao II was very fond of erecting new buildings. Besides Shaniwar palace he had four big mansions in the city, a glass Mansion and water-girded palace (जलमंदिर) just outside the city.

Balaji Bajirao, the third Peshwa, found it expedient to have a mansion of his own at Satara in 1753 where the head of the Maratha Empire lived. It is very curious to note in this connection that there were not sufficient number of skilled craftsmen in Maharashtra to execute this work. Therefore the Peshwa had to import three carpenters from Gujrath on higher wages, indicating the superiority of Gujrath over Maharashtra in cultural advance. At centres of pilgrimage and holy places including Benares, Nasik, Pandharpur,

Theur and Vaduth the Peshwas had buildings of various designs for their own use on day of festivals.

On temples and ghats they spent crores of rupees. There is a beautiful spot at a distance of 25 miles from Poona in a thicket of banyan trees with murmuring brook meandering through it which might have been noticed by Balaji Bajirao on his own way to Satara. Enchanted by its sight he thought of having a temple of having a temple of Shiva an aqueduct and a Dharmashala for visitors, which he had constructed. The place is called Baneshwar and is frequented by lovers of nature and devotees of Shiva from far and near. Nasik and Trimbak the two holy places on the river Godavari are of all-India fame. Pilgrims in large numbers visit them annually. At Nasik they built one spacious ghat and palace while at Trimbakeshwar they erected a magnificent temple dedicated to God Shiva on a place previously occupied by a Mosque in the Mahomedan period.

The glorious example that Peshwas set was faithfully followed by their Sardars, nobles and Statesmen all over Maharashtra. They heightened the natural beauty of the country by various works of art in their own way, the chief among them being Nana Phadnawis the distinguished statesman and the Rastes. Nana spent lacs of rupees over palacial buildings, temples and ghats on the rivers Krishna, Bhima, Godavari and Ganges. In Benares he constructed a wada in the Deccani style and threw a bridge across the river Karmnasha with the help of one Baker, a European Engineer. Maratha Sardars and Statesmen amassed much wealth in their campaigns outside Maharashtra, a portion of which they spent on building projects that would add to the grandeur and glory of their homeland. Rastes, the kinsmen of the Peshwas accumulating very large fortune in the capacity of Sawkar as well as Sardar, with religious fervour lent their energy to the development of Wai, a holy place on the river Krishna, and Nasik on the river Godavari and the ancient city of Benares with commendable success. Both of them rank foremost among the places worth visiting in Maharashtra. Poona which was a petty market place when Bajirao I selected it as a site for his capital, he and his successors turned into a big prosperous city befitting the fame and glory of the Empire they founded. New officers were entrusted with planning and development of the town. They laid out new wards, containing plots for the buildings of Sardars, Sowcars, Merchants, Noblemen and artisans. Poor and Middle-class persons received loans from the state and merchants concession in duties on merchandise. Those who added to the magnificence and prosperity of the city were voluntarily honoured by the rulers with titles, abdagirs etc. New industries for the manufacture of articles of luxury and necessity being patronised by the court, attracted artisans from all parts of India. Poona has still maintained its reputation for brocades

and gold and silver laces. They were also induced to come from provinces noted for various industries and prevailed over to settle in the city. Facilities were offered at Nasik, Dharwar and other old towns in Maharashtra and Karnatak to artisans and industrialists. In Aurangabad a town annexed from the Nizam, the Peshwas laid out new wards called Amadanagar and Devgiri, the latter being the name of the ancient capital of the Yadav Kings. Anandwalli and Gangapur were the new towns founded by the Peshwas not very far from Nasik.

Adequate water-supply is a primary necessity of the people living in a large city. Poona before being raised to the rank of one of the largest cities in India had to depend for water-supply on the small river Mutha which went dry in summer and its water was insufficient to meet the requirements of the public even in other seasons. Fully aware of hardships of the citizens in this respect the Peshwas constructed the big Parwati tank near Poona and Katraj tank at a longer distance, from the latter of which water was supplied to different parts of the town. Nana Phadnawis and Rastes at their own cost supplied the city with water from neighbouring resources. In their solicitude for urban population the Peshwas never neglected the interest of the village folk for whom they constructed tanks and dug wells at Jejuri, Diva, Indapur, Natapute and other places in which even a Saint like Bramhendra Swami was not slow to participate.

Fine Arts—As in other arts Maharashtra in those days lacked in sculpture, and fresco and other paintings. Madhavrao I had in his court a painter named Mankoji whose services were availed of by Raghoba in the decoration of his buildings at Anandwalli and Trimbak. Nana Phadnawis had tried to obtain pictures from Jaipur and Jodhpur, the old and cultured Hindu States through Mahadji Sindia but without success. He even made inquiries about them at Delhi and Agra the centres of Mughal art and culture. But as Agra was laid desolate and Delhi had met the same fate with the fall of the Moguls Nana's efforts proved unfruitful.

In the reign of Sawai Madhav Rao Peshwa, Mr. James Wales a well-known English artist on a visit to Mr. Mallet the English resident at the Peshwa's court happened to stay in Poona for about four years. During his sojourn he drew portraits of Sawai Madhav Rao, Nana Fadnavis, Mahadji Sindia, Parashuram Bhau and other great persons at the Poona Court. Highly impressed by them Sawai Madhavrao at the instance of Mr. Mallet founded a school of arts in his palace with Mr. Wales as its Superintendent, under whom several pupils were trained prominent among them being Gangaram Tambat. In Madhavrao Peshwa Mr. Mallet found a man of taste, lover of art and

worshipper of nature. He took Madhavrao along with him to Mahableshwar the noted hill station of Maharashtra in 1791 to enjoy its scenery.

Learning—In times of old, public instruction did not form a part of State duties. It was entirely left to private initiative. An educated man probably without any means started a school on his own responsibility relying mainly on the support of villagers who sent their children to learn three Rs. at his feet. The Peshwas however earmarked every year a large sum of money which they gave out as *dakshina* to learned Brahmins in the month of Shravan, when thousands of Brahmins from one end of the country to the other rallied to Poona. Nearly four years prior to the death of Bajirao I the *dakshina* amounted to Rs. 16,354 only. Within the next fifteen years in the reign of Balaji Bajirao alias Nana Saheb it rose to 18 lacs of rupees. The number of Brahmins was on an average between thirty to forty thousand. The grant each Brahmin received ranged from Rs. 25 to 40. They were generally well versed in the Vedas, Nyaya, Vyakarana, Mimansa and Alankaras. The places to which they belonged, included Shringeri, Kanchi, Shrirangpattan, Kumbhakonam, Tanjore, Rameshwar, Banaras, Kanoj, Gwalior and Mathura. They were examined by learned Pandits in their respective branches of learning and were rewarded according to merits. This process continued uninterruptedly from year to year and gave an impetus and acceleration to ancient learning lying in decay for centuries under the alien rule of Mahomedans. In this manner new alien Pandits, Sastris and Vaidikas came to Maharashtra. Among them were born new poets, religious preachers and haridasas who enriched Marathi literature and spread true principles of Hinduism and culture to the remotest parts of the country. The great poetic works of Moropant may be ascribed to the revival of learning under the patronage of the Peshwas. At Ganesh Festival in the month of Bhādrapad, haridasas upto fifty to sixty in number from various places including Aurangabad, Paithan, Sangameshwar, Shevagaon, Bhingar, Puntambe and many others visited the Peshwas' court and were amply rewarded with due regard to their merits.

Music and Dancing—The king Shahu was a great patron of arts at whose insistence the Peshwas procured musicians from Delhi, Sironj and other cities in the North. To get the best of the lot the king sanctioned rupees five to seven thousand. From Karnatak equally famous in this respect were imported female singers and dancers. After the death of Shahu, Nana Saheb Peshwa appreciating the high class entertainment which music provided, sent for musicians and artists of Aurangabad the seat of Mahomedan culture in the Deccan. As time went on Nana Saheb not relying upon foreigners preferred to have his own singers and dancers at his court. With this view he engaged a band of such men with young girls under them for training; one Atmaram Rajaram

being the officer in charge of this department. On the occasion of the Ganesh Festival singers, dancers and players on instruments of great fame were specially invited from different places and duly rewarded. Raghunathrao the younger brother of Nana Saheb with a liking for fine arts supported a large number of men and women accomplished in this art under the supervision of Gulabrao Khoja at Anandwalli. At the court of Sawai Madhavrao Peshwa there were two very distinguished musicians, of whom one was Bhavai Gujarathi, and the other Vynakat Narsi. Bajirao, the last of the Peshwas paid a lump sum of Rs. 1,292 to Trimbak Atmaram Gavai and appointed Dawalkhan on a monthly salary of Rs. 140 as Darbar Musician.

Zoo at Satara and Poona—A small beginning of a Zoo was made by the King Shahu at Satara. He had a good collection of dogs of noble breed. As regards horses he tried to get them from Iraq and Arabia *via* Punjab through the negotiations of Bajirao I and his younger brother Chimajiappa. Through his ambassador at the court of Srinagar he made an attempt to secure bisons musk-deer and Humey bird. At a cost of Rs. 5,000 he ordered his secretary Nilo Ballal to purchase two falcons; and others were asked to be in quest of tigers and tigresses. Two female elephants purchased at Rs. 500 at Aurangabad were later on added to this already a rich collection.

The progress of the Zoo at Satara was stopped soon after the death of Shahu in 1749, with the transfer of power thereafter from Satara to Poona. Accordingly a new Zoo was established at Poona in the latter half of the reign of Nana Saheb Peshwa who started with a modest beginning made by his father Bajirao I. Nanasaheb issued orders to his Vakils with the Sardars and at other courts making them send rare birds and beasts of best kind available in their parts. Thus within five years after Shahu, Nanasaheb was able to have a full-fledged Zoo including tigers and other animals. It was divided into various departments with a number of officers to look after each. In the reign of Madhavrao I the collection grew so rich that at the desire of the King Rama Raja he could easily spare one tiger for him. As the times of Sawai Madhavrao were comparatively peaceful and propitious the Zoo added to its attractions one lion, one bison, large number of parrots, Chandol birds, peacocks, deer, stags, hundreds of hares and a score of tigers. Major Price who visited Poona in 1791 writes about the Zoo as follows: "The zoo of the Peshwa is the best of its kind. The beasts therein are excellent. A lion and a rhinoceros are in an excellent condition." The Zoo was situated on the plains stretching between Parwati tank and Parwati hills at the south of the city.

Medical Help—The Health Department on modern lines was nowhere in existence in the 18th century and much less therefore in India. The medica

men called Vaidyas lived mostly in capitals. Out of them those in services of the kings were called Rajvaidyas. They manufactured medicines on their own formulæ and gave the benefit of them to the poor and middle class men in charity. By them the rich were taxed heavily, and the poor were practically spared. Religious differences had no place so far as medical service was concerned. Hindu and Mahomedan Kings availed themselves of Vaidyas and Hakims without distinction as occasions required. Accordingly the Nabab of Hyderabad had engaged the services of Bharmana, a Hindu Vaidya, while Nanasahab Peshwa was administered medicines by a Mahomedan Hakim in his illness. European physicians also had succeeded in securing admission to the Maratha court since the days of Bajirao I, Dr. Sandow being the pioneer. In course of time the Peshwas having been convinced of the necessity of a special medical establishment for their own use had engaged many Vaidyas chief among whom was Rajeshwar drawing a monthly salary of Rs. 150 in 1772. Like the Peshwas their Sardars had their own Vaidyas. Shukdeo Misra was a Vaidya at the court of Mahadji Sindia and Shivaram Bhat with the Mantris of Islampur.

Although the Peshwas and their Sardars could not undertake to make medical help available to the rural area they offered every sort of facility and even financial aid in some form or another to the Vaidyas treating villagers charitably and teaching pupils freely. They were granted villages, lands or were given donations in kind or in coin. In this way Shivaram Vasudeo Vaidya was granted a village, Ransod Naik Vaidya of Bassein a garden, a Christian physician of Revdanda Rs. 25/- in cash and a Khandi of Paddy and Appabhat Vaidya of Wai an Inam land.

Orchards and Gardens—Before Shahu in Maharashtra there were very few gardens and orchards worth the name. It was only at Aurangabad that flowering trees and fruit trees of rare qualities could be found. Smarting under this shortcoming he arranged to bring a large number of seedlings of various descriptions to Satara and instructed Bajirao I to distribute them in the rural area for plantation through his subordinates. The city of Satara was soon encircled by gardens. Bramhendraswami—the spiritual Guru of Shahu and of early Peshwas living in a village Dhawadshi in the hilly tract near Satara laid out his own garden which contained with the best kind of mango trees, select plants and other rare vegetation secured from distant places very enthusiastically.

Shivapur near Poona has still an ancient Mango grove famous for its fruit. Anxious for the plantation of these trees in the country-side very widely, Shahu asked Bajirao and his brother Chimnajiappa to distribute ten thousand mangoes throughout the villages where they would germinate into large trees. After the death of Shahu his work was carried on vigorously by the later Peshwas. The desire of Bajirao I and Chimnajiappa

in this matter was fulfilled by Nanasaheb, whose plan is made explicit in the following letter. "In the times of Rao and Appa mango-trees were planted in villages. After them nothing has been done. Therefore orders should be issued to Junner, Poona, Khandesh, Gangathadi and Baleghat. Let there be two hundred new seedlings planted every year. Don't mind if revenue suffers to the extent of ten to twenty thousand rupees. The loss is sure to be recompensed by the increase in mango produce. It is accompanied by fame and piety. It breeds no hatred but ultimately is sure to be profitable." The result of their endeavours in this direction can be estimated from the large number of gardens in Poona and the neighbourhood in 1747 and also in 1791. In 1747 Poona and its surroundings possessed 31 gardens owned by the Peshwas, their Sardars and other dependents, chief among which being those of Malharji Holkar, Ranoji Sindia, Tai (the wife of Bajirao I) and Bai (the wife of Nanasaheb). In 1791 the gardens of the Peshwas in Poona and around rose to thirteen, the best being that of Moroba Dada Phadnawis.

Agriculture—Agriculture was assiduously promoted. To the needy persons Tagai loans were advanced either in coin or in kind from State Stores existing almost in every village: 'At Kasbe Pal Haveli the houses of people were burnt in conflagration. To them paddy was given as a Tagai loan and collections of revenue suspended for the year! 'In 1750-51 Ragho Govind gave Rs. 1,500 as a Tagai loan to Kasbe Muravade in Patod Paragana on condition of repayment within two years. 'Laxman Hari (Govt. officer) was informed not to harass Ibrahimji a khot of Kasbe Gowale this year for Tagai payment, because crops had failed.' Irrigation received due attention of the State. In Baglan twenty five thousand rupees were ordered to be spent on reparation of water dams at the instalment of Rs. 5,000 a year. Two thousand huns (होन) were sanctioned for the reparation of Tungabhadra canal. Land improvement scheme of Naro Anant Parchurey Mahajan of Kasbe Guhagar was approved, under which rocky land had to be improved with the supply of good earth from other soils. Those who undertook this work were to enjoy half the portion as Inam land and assessment on the other half to be reduced to half for twenty years.

Armaments—When the Marathas had left mountain fastnesses and stepped into plains to combat with the enemy they discovered the weak points in their armaments. It was destined for Bajirao I to encounter Mahomadians on equal terms. His formidable opponent was Nizamulmulk in whose armaments artillery figured prominently; while those of Bajirao were conspicuous by its absence. Labouring under this disability the latter had to go through a long process for gathering strength to beat the enemy. To overcome this weakness Bajirao immediately created his own artillery and placed it under the command of Yashwantrao and Madhavrao Panse. But the superiority of

Nizam's artillery due to Bussey, a French General, remained unchallenged for several years until the Peshwas won over Muzafarkhan trained under Bussey and serving the Nizam. When Muzafarkhan proved treacherous, he was succeeded by Ibrahimkhan who in 1761 on the battlefield of Panipat gave a gallant fight against his coreligionists, remaining true to his masters.

I have so far discussed some salient features of the Peshwas' administration which I confidently hope will give a clear idea of the progress Maharashtra attained under them in the 18th century. To dilate upon this subject further on I am afraid will violate the limits of a paper to be read before such a distinguished gathering faced with a heavy agenda. To those who may be anxious to get themselves acquainted with details on every aspect of Maratha life in the 18th century I will humbly refer to my work on the same subject in Marathi called Peshwekalin Maharashtra

"THE PESHWA BAJIRAO AND NIZAM-UL-MULK ASAF JAH" 1730-1738

M. V. Gujar, B. A.

The Nizam exerted himself to consolidate his authority in the Deccan. By the treaty of 1728—known as the treaty of Mungi—Shevgaon, the Nizam recognised Shahu as the King of the Marathas entitled to Chauth and Sardeshmukhi in the six subhas of the Deccan; but he began to look round for means to neutralize the effects of this treaty, by his diplomatic manipulations. The only means to effect this end was to drive the Maratha Kamavisdars from his domains. It was to accomplish this end that he tried to win over the Maratha Sardars who were hostile to the Peshwa Bajirao.

Shripatrao Pratinidhi, Kanoji Bhosle, Trimbakrao Dabhade-Senapati and his associates felt humiliated at the success of the Peshwa. The Pratinidhi and Kanoji Bhosle opened secret correspondence with the Nizam, and demanded a Jagir in Berar (S. P. D. X. 39, 81, 62). This gave the Nizam an opportunity to foment dissensions in the Maratha Court. The Peshwa knew the far-reaching nature of Nizam's designs. The Nizam revived the internal dissensions of the Maratha leaders to strengthen his own position. At the end of October 1730, the opposition between the Peshwa and Trimbakrao Dabhade-Senapati had grown more intense (S. P. D. X. 66, 67, 68). The Senapati had for sometime been smarting under the humiliating treatment meted out to him by the

Peshwa who had concluded an agreement on September 15th, 1729, with Udaji Pawar which vitally affected his interests in Gujarat (His. Dh. St. P. 58). The Senapati felt that his past services in that part of the country were totally ignored and his power and influence crippled by the Peshwa (S. P. D. XII 18, 21, 26, 39). In these circumstances, Trimbakrao Dabhade and his associates in Gujarat were compelled to open secret correspondence with the Nizam in order to strengthen their position. Trimbakrao Senapati pressed the Nizam to join him to crush the Peshwa Bajirao. This gave the Nizam an excellent opportunity to take advantage of the internal dissensions of the Maratha leaders. He decided to avoid war as long as possible. In order to avoid the payment of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi in the six subhas of the Deccan, he seriously thought that measures should be adopted to prevent Dawalji Somwamshi and Fatesingh Bhosle, both officers in charge of the collection—from entering the territory. The Nizam also thought that he should give the Marathas free hand in Malwa and Gujarat so that the opposing Mughal forces would inflict enormous losses upon them. With a view to keep the Peshwa busy with the internal difficulties, the Nizam wrote back to the Senapati promising him all possible help. This secret correspondence commenced at the beginning of November, 1730 (S. P. D. X. 72).

The Marathas overran Malwa and their efforts were crowned with success. The immediate result of their victorious campaign of 1728-29 was that the Mughals lost their hold over the Southern part of Malwa. Raja Shahu assigned this province to Bajirao and his brother Chimnaji Appa (M.I.T.P. 169). This was apparently the signal for the general dismemberment of the Mughal Empire. The disruption of the Empire was fraught with danger for Nizam's security. The Nizam, therefore, realized that he was not destined to remain in undisturbed possession of his newly acquired independent principality. Forced by circumstances, the Nizam had to open correspondence with Muhammad Khan Bangash,—the Subedar of Malwa, with the aim in view of seeking his co-operation in an attempt to bring the Marathas to their knees and expel them from the Imperial dominions. Muhammad Khan Bangash was appointed to the governorship of Malwa on September 19th, 1730. He proceeded towards Malwa *via* Agra. When he reached Sadhaura (172 miles North of Ujjain) in December 1730, he received an urgent letter from the Nizam, congratulating him on his appointment to the Subedari of Malwa, and asking for an interview in order to concert measures against the growing power of the Marathas, and their expansion in the Imperial territories. In reply, the Bangash promised to meet the Nizam at the earliest possible moment. He expressed the hope that the Nizam, as the great champion of Islam would exert himself to stop the Marathas at the ferries on the Narmada

as they intended ravaging the whole of Malwa at the instigation of Raja Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur and the Hindu Zamindars of that province (J. A. S. B. 1878 p. 309). But the Marathas had already crossed the Narmada. The fighting between the Marathas and the forces of Bangash round about Dhar went on till February 26th, 1731. The Bangash received a letter from the Nizam on February 25th, 1731, asking him to proceed towards the Narmada. The Bangash at once set out in that direction, (J. A. S. B. 1878 p. 310-311). The Nizam had won over Trimbakrao Dabhade and his associates to his side. The Nizam was anxiously expecting news from these Maratha leaders who had promised to join him on the Narmada.

The Nizam and the Bangash met about March 17, 1731. For twelve days the Bangash was the guest of Nizam, during which time they formed plans to re-establish the authority of the Emperor in the territories occupied by the Marathas (J. A. B. S. 1878 p. 311-313). The Nizam was bent on taking advantage of the dissensions in the Maratha ranks. He, therefore, had to favour Dabhade, Bande, Gaikwad and Udaji Pawar, who were then opposed to the Peshwa. The Nizam formed this coalition against the safety of the Maratha state. The definiteness of the Peshwa's aim had impressed upon his mind the desirability of undertaking a campaign against Trimbakrao Dabhade-Senapati at the earliest possible moment as delay would further strengthen the cause of the Nizam and the Bangash. The Peshwa regarded war with the Senapati as an inevitable issue. He made ready for immediate military operations to prevent Senapati's forces from joining those of the Nizam. The Peshwa by forced marches overtook Trimbakrao Dabhade and his associates at Dabhai. Trimbakrao Dabhade after an obstinate battle fought on April 11, 1731, was defeated and slain and all his troops dispersed.

After consultations, the Nizam and the Bangash left for their respective provinces. From the Narmada the Nizam went towards the territories of Mohan Singh of Awagarh. He on his way was apprised of the defeat and death of Trimbakrao Dabhade-Senapati, in the battle of Dabhai. His plan of presenting a common front to the Peshwa Bajirao was thus frustrated. He was now apprehensive that Bajirao might turn towards his country. He therefore crossed the Akbarpur ferry, passed near the fort of Mandu and reached Surat. Some three months later the Nizam made peace with Bajirao and gave him a free hand in the North at the expense of the integrity of the Mughal Empire (M. I. T. P. 216) (J. A. S. B. P. 313-14).

The Nizam could not suffer Malwa to pass under the domination of the Marathas. He tried his utmost to deliver the Empire from the danger of being dismembered by the Marathas. He kept the Emperor constantly informed about the projects of the Peshwa Bajirao. He asked the Emperor to give him

a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs by way of monetary aid, for which he was ready to undertake to clear the provinces of Malwa and Gujarat of the Marathas. He contended that he had to resist the fierce attacks of the Marathas single-handed without any kind of help from the Imperial Government. He reminded the Emperor of the days of Aurangzib when all the revenues of the Mughal Empire were employed in the Deccan to crush the growing power of the Marathas. He suggested that the various Subedars of the Mughal provinces should co-operate and organize resistance to the growing power of the Marathas in each and every district of the Deccan, Gujarat and Malwa. He pointed out that this was the only way to preserve the integrity of the Empire, because it was impossible to weaken their power in a battle or two as the Marathas did not fight pitched battles (Gulshan-i-Ajaib). The letter which the Nizam wrote to the Emperor runs thus:—"Your Majesty has done well to have written to the Nizams of Gujarat and Malwa to co-operate with your devoted servant (Nizam) to chastise the marauders. By the grace of Almighty God your servant is hopeful that his great exertion in the path of "jihad" will be productive of good results in the present as well as in future life. If Maharaja Abhyasingh does not give protection to Bajirao and abstains from treacherous collusion, your servant by the help of the Almighty will be able to destroy and capture Bajirao. If Abhyasingh acts in accordance with your orders and undertakes to chastise the enemy in his province, the faction of Bajirao will be dispersed and he will be ruined" (Gul-i-Ajaib). Maharaja Raj Rajeshwar Abhyasingh the ruler of Jodhpur had been asked by the Emperor to take up the Governorship of Gujarat in 1729. He spent a year at home in making preparations and reached Ahmedabad in October 1730. His governorship in Gujarat ended ingloriously in two years in his surrender of chauth to the Marathas and his return home with failure. Thus the Nizam ignominiously failed to stem the tide of Maratha onslaught and destroy and capture Bajirao.

The Emperor appointed Sawai Jai Singh to be the Governor of Malwa on September 28, 1732, and his governorship lasted upto August 3, 1737. The Mughal were not successful in warding off the invasions of the Marathas. After the rains of 1732, the Maratha leaders—Shinde, Holkar and Pawar entered Malwa. They defeated Sawai Jai Singh and compelled him to make peace. In February 1733, an agreement was signed between Sawai Jai Singh and the Marathas according to which the former promised to pay six lakhs in cash and to cede 28 parganas in lieu of chauth (S. P. D. XIV 2). Then Khan Dauran-Amiru-l-Umara Samsamud-Daula decided to lead an expedition against the Marathas in the winter of 1733. He wanted some one else to take his place so he sent his brother Muzfarkhan against the Marathas in February 1734. He made preparations for his expedition and left Delhi on March 20,

1734. He marched towards Malwa to drive the Marathas away across the river Narmuda but he had to retire towards the capital without fighting the Marathas who had returned to the Deccan. (Siyar p. 467—Irvine II 279). The Nizam had made preparations at Burhanpur where he waited for the news of Muzfarkhan. The Nizam intended to attack the Marathas from the south, but his plan was frustrated when Muzfarkhan returned on June 11, 1734.

After the rains of 1734, when the Marathas entered Malwa, Vazir Qamruddin Khan, Mir Bakshi, Khan Dauran decided to lead expeditions in two different directions against the Maratha invaders. They set out from Delhi in November 1734. The Vazir's troops suffered heavy losses, so the Vazir returned to Delhi on May 9, 1735 (S. P. D. XIV 21, 22, 23). The Marathas surrounded the combined armies of Khan Dauran, Sawai Jai Singh, Raja Abhayasingh and Durjansal of Kota, and cut off their supplies. Then the great Maratha army entered the almost defenceless territory of Rajputana. The Mughal generals failed to prevent the Marathas from ravaging the country. At last Khan Dauran, decided to act on the advice of Jai Singh and make peace with the Marathas. Khan Dauran met the Maratha leaders on Mrch 22, 1735, and offered 22 lakhs of rupees as chauth of Malwa (S. P. D. XIV 24, 26, 27).

The Mughal Court consisted of noblemen belonging to two parties. Khan Dauran and Sawai Jai Singh were the leaders of Hindustani party. Vazir Qamruddin Khan and Sadat Khan the Nawab of Oudh were the leaders of Turani party. The Turanis were jealous of the influence of Hindustanis. Now Sadat Khan got an opportunity to poison the ears of the Emperor. He censured Sawai Jai Singh and Khan Dauran for promising to pay the Marathas Rs. 22 lakhs as chauth of Malwa. Sadat Khan said to the Emperor "Jai Singh has ruined Malwa by coming to an understanding with the Marathas. Jai Singh cannot prevent Marathas from ravaging the country. So Malwa should be assigned to me. I will do my utmost to repulse the attacks of the Marathas, I do not ask for money to raise an army. I am rich. The Nizam is my friend. We two will prevent the Marathas from crossing the Narmada" (S. P. D. XIV 47). Khan Dauran repeatedly suggested to the Emperor that the only way to save the Empire was to accept the demands of the Marathas and conciliate them as they could not be subdued by fighting. Sadat Khan intended to co-operate with the Nizam to check the inroads of the Marathas into the Imperial territory; but their union and cordiality were misrepresented to the Emperor by Khan Dauran. The Emperor was made to believe that there was grave political danger to the Empire from the Union of the Nizam and Sadat Khan. Khan Dauran said to the Emperor "Sadat Khan is a hypocrite. If he and the Nizam combine then the Turanis would set up another Emperor" (S. P. D. XIV. 47).

The Peshwa decided to march into Hindustan and left Poona on October 3, 1735. The Emperor also made preparations for the Imperial expedition against the Marathas and summoned Sadat Khan to the Court to join the Mughal army (S. P. D. XXX 134). When the Peshwa went to the North, the Nizam apprehended that the Peshwa's achievements would endanger his position. The Nizam therefore grew anxious and opened correspondence with Sadat Khan and other nobles in the Court, who were his relatives. He urged them to make efforts to defeat the Peshwa Bajirao in his object. The Nizam gathered an army and was ready to measure his strength with the Marathas (S. P. D. XV 43,40). But Sadat Khan on his way to Agra was obliged to fight against the zamindar of Adaru. His forces suffered heavy losses, so he abandoned the plan of joining the Imperial expedition against the Marathas (S. P. D. XIV 40,41, XXX 143). The Emperor had mustered all his available troops to crush the Marathas, but he did not succeed in defeating them. He became anxious to make peace with the Marathas (S. P. D. XIV 50,51). Thus the Nizam's opposition to the Peshwa Bajirao proved feeble.

Khan Dauran and Sawai Jai Singh desired to arrange a lasting peace between the Marathas and the Empire. The peace talks began in February 1736, and the Peshwa offered to Jai Singh his own terms. The Peshwa claimed the hereditary grant of the Sardeshpandya of the six Subhas of the Deccan. The Emperor accepted this condition. When the Nizam heard about the proposed arrangement he resented it as a direct blow to his authority in the Deccan. He apprehended that the grant of Sardeshpandya of the six Subhas of the Deccan to the Peshwa might in future result in his asking the Emperor to bestow on him the Viceroyalty of the Deccan also.

The negotiations came to nought as the Peshwa's pretensions and demands went much beyond any he had previously advanced. Vazir Qamruddin Khan and Sadat Khan, were against the policy of complete surrender. They offered their services to maintain the integrity of the Empire. They appealed the Emperor not to acquiesce without resistance. The Emperor planned a fresh expedition and summoned Jai Singh, Abhay Singh and Sadat Khan to the Court to join the Imperial forces, moving against the Marathas (S. P. D. XV 18). The Peshwa just after the failure of negotiations, made preparations to start a campaign in Hindustan. Malharrao Holkar and other Maratha captains were sent in the direction of Agra to devastate the country of Sadat Khan. They invaded the Doab and their sphere of activity extended to the vicinity of Agra. Safdar Jang the nephew of Sadat Khan met the Marathas near Jalesar. He drew the Marathas near the main army of Sadat Khan by slow and cautious retreat. When the Marathas drew near their army the forces of Safdar Jang and Sadat Khan surrounded them and forced them to fight a pitched

battle. The forces of Sadat Khan were superior in number, so the Marathas rapidly retreated. Malharrao Holkar suffered severe defeat (S.P.D.XV 27, 17). The Peshwa Bajirao was anxious to mitigate the effect of the recent disaster. He therefore led his cavalry stealthily and by forced marches into the environs of Delhi, (March 28, 1737) defeated the Imperialist generals and thus compelled the Emperor to come to terms (Brah 27).

The Nizam had been looking with no friendly eye on the Maratha expansion. Any disaster to the Marathas would have converted his envy into hostility. The news about the disaster that befell the Maratha forces led by Malharrao Holkar, reached the Nizam on March 31, 1737, while he was encamped at Burhanpur with his great army. (S. P. D. XV 17). The Nizam was encouraged to see the Moghal forces triumphing over the Marathas. He therefore made a plan to move in the direction of the Narmada to attack the disheartened Maratha forces returning to the Deccan. (S. P. D. XV. 22).

After the rains of 1736, the Marathas entered Malwa. The Nizam was then moving towards Burhanpur. He reached Burhanpur on December 20, 1736, and had been waiting there to hear from Delhi. When Bajirao went to the North, the Nizam thought that Sawai Jai Singh would take the Peshwa to Delhi and introduce him to the Emperor. The Nizam apprehended that the Emperor at the request of Bajirao might appoint another person to the governorship of the Deccan. He therefore wrote letters to the noblemen and the Emperor informing them that he was coming to Delhi to espouse their cause and to expel the Marathas from Malwa. Vazir Qamruddin Khan and his associates were in favour of inviting the Nizam to devise means of saving the Empire from total dismemberment. The Emperor was by this time convinced that the only person who could ward off the invasions of the Marathas and prevent them from crossing the Narmada was the Nizam. The Emperor summoned the Nizam to his aid, writing a letter of conciliation in order to show that he had no ill feeling towards him. On receipt of the letter, from the Emperor, summoning him to the Court, the Nizam decided to go to Delhi (S. P. D. 26, XV 27, 37). The Nizam duped Raja Shahu and the Peshwa. They on the other hand were receiving letters from the Nizam, informing them that he wanted to be at peace with the Marathas and was going to Delhi to dispel the rumour spread by his enemies in the capital that he had acted disloyally to the Emperor (S. P. D. XV 26).

The Nizam left Burhanpur on April 7th, 1737. He crossed the Narmada near Handia some time early in May. The news of the Nizam going to Delhi spread in Malwa and as a result the Zamindars in that Province became recalcitrant. They refused to pay the dues to the Maratha agents. The Nizam reached Sironj on May 10. Yar Muhammad Khan, son of Dost Muhammad Khan of Bhopal and some other zamindars joined his party (S.P.D. XV-27, 40).

42). Now Bajirao was returning to the Deccan. So the Nizam stopped at Sironj to sense the Peshwa's movement. Pilaji Jadhav on his way back to the Deccan, met the Nizam on May 28, and presented him the robes sent by the Peshwa. The Nizam too duly honoured the Maratha General. At the request of the Nizam, Pilaji Jadhav asked his son Satvaji to escort for some marches upto Duraha the army of the Nizam. The Nizam also sent "Shirpav" to the Peshwa to honour him (S.P.D.XV 42, 44, 44, 48). The Nizam abstained with great skill from revealing his hostile intentions towards the Marathas. He sent the Maratha section of his army back to the Deccan in order to make the Peshwa and his generals believe that the Nizam desired to do nothing that would provoke hostilities (S.P.D. XV 49). Raja Shahu believed in the friendly professions of the Nizam. The former wanted to be at peace with the latter (S.P.D. XXX 66-A). Moreover the expansion of the Maratha power in the North formed an essential part of the schemes of Bajirao. So in his relations with the Nizam, the Peshwa's conduct was solely guided by considerations of expediency (S.P.D.XIV 32).

The Nizam left Sironj on May 29, and reached the neighbourhood of Delhi by July 2, 1737. Before starting for Delhi, the Nizam made necessary arrangements in his dominions in the Deccan. He made his son Nasir Jang Deputy Subedar of the Deccan during his absence. He stationed Abdul Rahim Khan and Anarulla Khan with 5 thousand troops at Aurangabad. He appointed Shujyat Khan as Subha in Berar. Orders were issued by the Nizam to all the high officials and the nobility to offer their allegiance to Nasir Jang (S.P.D.XV 26). The Nizam was very well received at Delhi, by his son Ghaziuddin Khan Firuz Jang and Vazir Qumruddin Khan. An agreement had been reached in August 1737, between the Nizam and the Emperor according to which the former promised to stop the Marathas from advancing beyond the Narmada. In return for his services the Nizam was to be rewarded with five subhas and one crore of rupees. He declared with pride that in case the Marathas persisted in their depredations even the grant of chauth from the Deccan would be withdrawn. He was made the Vakil-i-Mutlaq (regent plenipotentiary). His son Ghaziuddin received Malwa and Akbarabad. It was proposed that the remaining three subhas of Prayag Gujerat and Ajmere were to be granted to the Nizam's friends and adherents (S. P.D. XV 53). Thus Khan Dauran and Raja Jai Singh who were pro-Maratha and favoured a peaceful settlement, lost their influence and ascendancy in the counsels of the Emperor. The Peshwa therefore had to measure his strength with the Nizam.

After the rains of 1737, the Nizam started on his march from Delhi towards Malwa to drive the Marathas out of the province and to bring it under his control. He had with him nearly 60 thousand troops and a well-equipped train of artillery. He passed through Etawah and Kalpit and entered the

territory of Bundelkhand where the Bundela chiefs joined him. He passed through Bundelkhand in order to alienate the Bundelas from the Marathas and win them over to his side. Among other chiefs who accompanied the Imperial army were his son Gaziuddin Khan, the Rajas of Datia, Orcha and the son of Jai Singh of Jaipur. Various other Rajas including the Aher landholders and Rohila chieftains joined him. Safdarjang and the Raja of Kota formed his rear line. The Nizam reached Bhopal in December 1737. Here he came to know that the Maratha generals Shinde, Holkar and Pawars had defeated and killed Mir Mani Khan, the faujdar of Shahjahanpur in a severe battle near Darai sarai (S. P. D. 56, 58 XXX 207-Brah. 134,33).

Being apprised of the Nizam's movements, the Peshwa Bajirao made straight for Sironj at the head of a huge army of 80,000 horsemen. On December 7, the Peshwa arrived at Pahanlia. A week later, the distance between the two rival armies was of 40 *koses* only. The Peshwa was soon joined by Ranaji Shindia, Malharrao Holkar and the Pawars. The rival armies met in the neighbourhood of Bhopal. On his way to Bhopal, the Nizam sent his own heavy baggage to Raisin fort and made ready for fight. On December 13, the Nizam reached Bhopal. He was overawed by the Marathas. He abstained from attacking them and took up a strong position in the neighbourhood of the Fort, with a tank on his rear and a rivulet on his front and thus prepared to defend himself against the Marathas. On December 15, 1737 the Nizam sent ahead the Rajputs and the Jat forces under Sawai Jai Singh's son and Sabha Singh Bundela. The Nizam ordered forward his own artillery. The Maratha forces led by Ranaji Shindia, Dilaji Jadhav and Sayaji Gujar attacked the Rajput and the Jat forces. The Marathas boldly faced the artillery fire. They killed 150 Rajputs. The Marathas lost 50 or 60 men only. But the number of wounded on the Maratha side was 200 to 400 men and 500 to 700 horses. Neither party gained any advantage in this indecisive skirmish.

The Marathas then surrounded the Imperial army. They created disorder in the Mughal army by continuously throwing burning rockets into the Fort. The Marathas surrounded and sorely straitened the supplies of the Nizam's army. There was famine in the Nizam's camp. Grain was at four seers a rupee. Elephants and horses of his army starved. The Rajputs and the Nizam had become distrustful of each other. The Rajputs could not flee away as the Nizam had kept all their luggage in the city. The Nizam had been waiting for help from the Deccan and Delhi. On receiving the request for additional forces from the Nizam, the Emperor told the Qazie Qamuruddin Khan and Khan Dauran that they should accompany him, when he himself marched against the Marathas. Nasir Jang who had assembled forces 20,000 strong to march into Malwa could not leave Aurangabad as he apprehended that

Raghuji Bhonsle who had recently defeated Shujyat Khan, the Subha of Berar, would create trouble. Chimaji Appa at the suggestion of Bajirao had already taken up post on the Tapti in order to prevent any help from Nasir Jang, coming to his father's rescue. Thus the Nizam was cut off from all possible reinforcements. The army of the Nizam had actually begun to starve. The Marathas cut off all the supplies of the Mughal army. The situation in the Nizam's camp became desperate. On January 5th, the Muslims ate up the artillery oxen, while the Rajputs utterly starved. The Nizam now decided to make peace. He called Ayamal the Dewan of Jaipur and sent him with Sayd Lashkar Khan and Anwarullah Khan to the Maratha camp to discuss terms of peace with the Peshwa. (Brah. 33,34,35,36,134. S.*P. D. XXX 207, S. P. D. XV 56,57,58,59 S. P. D. XXII, 368, 369).

The Peshwa Bajirao could not take advantage of the helplessness of the Nizam's army and engage them in general action as the artillery of Nizam repelled his advance. Bajirao was a military strategist and a tactician. He carried out the plans of his campaigns with a swiftness and assurance, which struck his enemies with awe. He displayed wonderful rapidity of movement and this often enabled him to prevent combination of overwhelming forces against him. The Nizam made a plan to attack the Marathas after his forces and the forces under Nasir Jang in the Deccan combined; but the Peshwa by his wonderful rapidity of movement foiled the Nizam's plan. The surprising victories at Delhi and Bhopal bear imperishable testimony to the Peshwa Bajirao's military genius.

At last the peace terms were settled. The Nizam agreed to grant to Bajirao the whole of Malwa and sovereign rights over the territory between the Narmada and the Chambal. He promised to obtain confirmation of the treaty from the Emperor and to use his best endeavours to get 50 lakhs of rupees from the Emperor as reparations. On January 6, 1738 the Nizam wrote down with his own hand and signed the convention accepting the demands of the Peshwa. The convention was signed at Puraha Sarai 64 miles from Sironj (Brah. 35, 36, 116). The Nizam accepted the Maratha domination in Malwa.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, ALLAHABAD, 1938
EXHIBITION SOUVENIR

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FOREWORD

The complete catalogue of the exhibits presented to the public on the occasion of and in connection with the Second Indian History Congress held at Allahabad on October 8 to 11, 1938 has been compiled by Messrs. Ram Chandra Tandan and O. P. Bhatnagar, to whose untiring cooperation in the work of collection and arrangement, the exhibition itself owed much of its success. To Rai Bahadur Braj Mohan Vyas who organised and personally supervised the work and to them, the reception committee owe a very deep debt of gratitude. Few people probably are in a position to appreciate the amount of work entailed in collecting, receiving, registering, arranging and then returning to destination such exhibits, many of which were literally of priceless value. As for the public the number of those who visited the exhibition is in itself sufficient indication of their appreciation.

Rai Bahadur Braj Mohan Vyas in his opening address has drawn attention to some of the more outstanding exhibits. Space prevents any addition to the number, though many additions could readily be made. He has also mentioned the names of some of the more outstanding exhibitors. Of these there were so many who merit this description that it might be invidious to add to their number. Suffice it to say that the committee desired to present to the public an exhibition which was comprehensive in scope and representative in character, and that the fruition of their efforts was due to the ungrudging cooperation and goodwill of exhibitors of high and low

degree and from far and near alike. To all of these, their warmest thanks are due. As for the catalogue, it is a matter for regret that it was not possible to get it compiled by the date of the exhibition owing to pressure of time. The committee hope, however, that it will have some permanent value for all those interested. For those who saw the exhibition it will at least help them to realise the value not only of what they actually saw, but of what they perhaps missed.

DIGBY L. DRAKE-BROCKMAN

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Photo by M. L. Vishwakarma, Allahabad.

INTRODUCTION

It is possible to make some claims on behalf of the Exhibition. The success which attended it, is however due entirely to the very liberal response from exhibitors all over India. We have already offered our thanks to them individually. We would wish to take this opportunity of thanking them once again, for the kind co-operation extended to us.

Indeed the response from the exhibitors was so generous and it came in such unstinted measure that it was necessary for the organisers to make a strict selection of exhibits. The material which was placed at our disposal would have been sufficient to fill up another show.

The Souvenir now presented includes all the important items sent to us by the various exhibitors and, it is hoped will serve for a permanent record. It was not possible to present any catalogue of the Exhibits at the time of the Exhibition, as they kept arriving practically up to the moment of its opening, advantage has been taken of this late issue to make it as complete as possible.

Of the eight sections into which the Exhibition was divided, the first was devoted to terracottas. More than a dozen sites were represented, the largest number of pieces being from Kausambi and belonging to the collection in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. A preliminary selection of the Kausambi terracottas was made by Mr. Vasudev Sharan Agarwal, Curator of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra, whose services had been kindly loaned for the purpose by the Education Department of the United Provinces. Dr. Stella Kramrish, who happened to be present at the session of the Congress very kindly undertook to give final arrangement to the section. Mr. S. C. Kala rendered valuable help in the proper mounting of the terracotta pieces, and in generally looking after this section. To Dr. Kramrish and to these gentlemen our sincere thanks are due.

Owing to obvious limitations and the difficulty in moving heavy objects of art the Sculpture section had to be drawn mainly from the exhibits of the Allahabad Municipal Museum. These, however, covered a wide range of periods and styles and were again selected and listed by Mr. Vasudeva Sharan Agarwal of the Muttra Museum,

Among other antiquities were included a number of rare articles from the Hyderabad and the Baroda States. The Buddhist metal images from Mahudi in Baroda Raj, belonging to the third century A. D. were of great antiquarian interest.

The Numismatics section was in the direct charge of our convenor Rai Bahadur Pandit Braj Mohan Vyas. Here again the contribution of the Allahabad Municipal Museum, specially of the coins from Kausambi was an important one. The Hyderabad State sent many valuable coins. The collection of rare punch-marked coins exhibited by Babu Durga Prasad of Benares, a reputed Numismatist were a great attraction. Babu Durga Prasad personally displayed his cabinet of coins every morning and evening while the exhibition was on and very kindly explained the exhibits to enquirers.

The fourth section, devoted to Epigraphy, contained quite a rich collection of copper plates, and estampages of inscriptions. The contributions of the Provincial Museum Lucknow, the Mayurbhanj, the Jhalawar and the Patna States deserved special notice. Mr. M. M. Nagar of the Sarnath Museum very kindly undertook to arrange these exhibits and was frequently available for the guidance of the visitors. He has earned our sincere thanks.

We had a large number of valuable Records and Documents arranged under the fifth section. The Imperial Record Department New Delhi sent us a large number of records under one of their own Superintendents, Mr. Kumar who kept an eye over the entire section throughout the duration of the exhibition and as such was of immense help to us. The Punjab Record Office Museum, Lahore also sent us a big collection and their assistant record officer also helped us ungrudgingly in displaying the records. Amongst private collections, Prof. Datto Vaman Potdar of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal Poona, Sardar Ganda Singh of the Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar and Mr. Gauri Prasad Saksena, Lucknow deserve special mention. They brought with them a unique collection of records. The sixth section was devoted to manuscripts and calligraphy. Palm-leaf illuminated manuscripts from the Mayurbhanj State, Naurasnama by Ibrahim Adil Shah II from the Hyderabad State, and Anwar Suheli from the Balarampur Estate, deserve very special mention. Manuscripts from the private collection of Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan of Patna, were of rare artistic merit. The collection under

this section included elegant specimens of the Hindu and Muslim penmanship.

The seventh section was subdivided into old and modern paintings sections. Many of the old miniatures representing the various schools presented in this section were literally priceless. Amongst the contributors the Bharat Kala Bhawan of Benares takes the place of honour. Its Curator, Rai Krishna Dass along with his assistant Mr. Vijaya Krishna took great pains in selecting pictures and arranging them for this section. Without their help it would have been difficult to arrange the section properly. The Allahabad Municipal Museum, the Provincial Museum Lucknow, and the Hyderabad and the Gawalior States sent in beautiful collections of old paintings. Amongst individual contributors, special reference must be made to the collection of Khan Bahadur Syed Abu Mohammad, Allahabad who owns a number of unique Persian miniatures, to Mr. Bijoy Singh Nahar, Calcutta and Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan of Patna, who lent valuable old paintings to the exhibition from their well-known collections. The modern paintings included a representative collection of the modern artists of India obtained both directly from the artists and by courtesy of the Allahabad Municipal Museum. We are specially grateful to Professor Nicholas Roerich and his son Mr. Svetoslav Roerich for sending their most valuable paintings to the Exhibition. Our thanks are greatly due to Mr. R. N. Deb who with the help of Mr. Manohar Lal and Mr. Vijayanand Pathak beautifully arranged and took charge of this section.

The last section was devoted to exhibits of a miscellaneous character.

A useful adjunct to the Exhibition was the bookstall set up for the display of modern publications on historical and antiquarian subjects. Thanks to the co-operation of various learned bodies and universities who sent their publications for show and to that of the publishers in this country as well as abroad the bookstall proved a great attraction. Mr. M. K. Rehman of the Kitabistan, Allahabad very kindly helped in the arrangement of the stall and to him our sincere thanks are due.

Our grateful acknowledgments are due to the Director-General of Archaeology, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit for allowing us the use of a number of photographs taken by his photographer on this occasion.

They appear as plates II (2), III, IV, VI, VIII, XI-XIV, and XVI. Photographs appearing as plates II (1) and IX were very kindly supplied by the Curator of the Patna Museum, Mr. S. A. Shere, and the photograph appearing as plate XV was kindly provided by Mr. Vijaya Krishna, Custodian of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares. To both these gentlemen our sincere thanks are due. To the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University we are indebted for the loan of the block of Tulasidasa's *Panchnama*, which appears as plate X, and to Mr. H. K. Ghosh of the Indian Press, Allahabad for the loan of blocks appearing on plates V and VII.

We shall be failing in our duty if we do not express our gratefulness to Sir Digby L. Drake-Brockman, Sir Shafaát Ahmad Khan, and to Khan Bahadur Syed Abu Muhammad and other members of the Exhibition Committee who individually and collectively took the keenest interest in the organization of the Exhibition, and to whose efforts and influence mainly, we owed the collection of such valuable and varied material as was put on view.

For providing a temporary roof for all very valuable exhibits we are deeply indebted to Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava who very kindly placed at the disposal of the Exhibition authorities the use of the spacious premises, forming part of the Old Pioneer Buildings at 1, Bund Road. For the outer embellishments of the building we owe our thanks to Mr. Sarju Prasad.

It would have been impossible to shoulder responsibility for the handling of such priceless historical and artistic material if our Superintendent of Police Mr. E. F. G. Chapman had not readily agreed to help by providing, throughout the period the exhibits were in, a posse of armed police guards and plain-dress officers who kept a constant watch over the Exhibition premises. Mr. Chapman has placed us under deep obligation.

Last but not the least, we offer our thanks to Mr. Jamuna Prasad and his band of volunteers who were immensely helpful in controlling the rush of visitors and who, in the absence of a printed catalogue at the time, quickly got up their parts as guides for the various section of the Exhibition.

R. C. TANDAN.

O. P. BHATNAGAR,



GROUP PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN AT THE OPENING OF THE EXHIBITION

Standing from left to right are: Sir Digby L. Drake-Frookman, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, the Hon'ble Shri Sampurnanand, Rai Bahadur Pandit Braj Mohan Vyas and Rai Krishna Das

THE OPENING OF THE EXHIBITION.

The Indian History Congress Exhibition organised in connection with the second session of the Indian History Congress was opened in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of scholars at 1, Bund Road, Allahabad, in front of the University Senate House by the Hon'ble Shri Sampurnanand, Minister for Education, U. P., on October 8, 1938, at 8-30 a. m. The Hon'ble Minister, on arrival, was received by Sir Digby Drake-Brockman, chairman, and other members of the Exhibition Committee. The Hon'ble Minister took his seat on the *dais* in a specially erected *pandal* along with Sir Digby Drake-Brockman and the president-elect of the Indian History Congress, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

The proceedings began with a speech by Rai Bahadur Pandit Braj Mohan Vyas, convener of the exhibition.

The Rai Bahadur said :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the organisers of this exhibition I express our deep sense of gratitude to the Hon'ble Shri Sampurnanandji, the Minister for Education, for finding time amidst his multifarious duties to come over to Allahabad to open this exhibition. This has been a source of great encouragement to all of us. His solicitude for everything which is connected with education is known to all of you. Let not our feelings be judged by the paucity of words in which I am expressing them. I am also deeply beholden to the numerous Indian states, museums, and learned associations all over India who have sent most valuable exhibits for the exhibition. I am conscious that but for the interest Sir Digby Drake-Brockman, Khan Bahadur Syed Abu Muhammad, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan and other friends have taken, it would not have been possible to gather so many valuable exhibits of a representative character. The contribution of private persons has, by no means, been meagre, and without their help we would not have been able to put up such a show. As the Congress authorities have been pleased to put me in charge of the exhibition, I possess an intimate knowledge of the various exhibits that have been received and I

can speak with some confidence that perhaps the uniqueness of this exhibition stands unrivalled. I find it difficult to single out any particular section and give it a place of preference over the others. Each section is very well represented and contains exhibits of the finest order, but there is one specialty about this exhibition to which I invite your particular attention. I do not remember to have come across any exhibition in which terracottas have been so richly represented. Perhaps I will not be wrong when I say that so far there has been no such exhibition of terracottas in any place in India. Terracottas, as historians amongst you would be fully aware, have a special value and significance in the field of archaeology and they represent the indigenous art of the period of the locality where they are found. As a matter of fact a long connected history of the social habits, manners and customs, of the people could be definitely traced with the help of these, apparently lumps of burnt clay. You would be glad to learn that the terracotta collection in this exhibition represents more than a dozen sites, the most important of which is the ancient site of Kausambi, an old historical place about 50 miles from here, which some of you have already seen, day before yesterday, and might have seen even earlier. It is a matter of sincere congratulation that the Government of India have thought fit to excavate this ancient site. The excavations were started last year by the Archaeological Department, thanks to the efforts of its able Director-General, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. But with the limited time and funds at his disposal much could not be done. I have every hope that the excavations will be resumed soon this year. Kausambi and its potentialities do not need any introduction from me to the historians. It is an ancient site about which an eminent archaeologist, who can speak with some authority, has said, that if it is properly excavated it might yield results not produced so far on any ancient site in India or elsewhere. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that its excavation will amply repay the labour and money spent on it. I cannot too strongly urge that the Government of India will see their way to establish a local museum devoted solely to the valuable antiquities which this ancient site will yield, as they have done in the cases of Taxila, Harappa, Mohenjodaro and other places. It does not need any argument to convince that antiquities of any particular place can be studied to their best advantage if housed near their place of origin. The Allahabad Municipal Museum houses most valuable sculptures,

terracottas, seals, beads etc., found at this site even without any excavation. Seals containing names of private individuals in early Brahmi characters of the time of Asoka have been found and can at any time be seen at the Allahabad Municipal Museum. It is a pity that the present accommodation in the Museum, which is housed in one of the wings of the Municipal Office, is so inadequate that these valuable exhibits cannot be properly displayed. But I have every hope that with the help of the Hon'ble Minister of Education, the Municipal Museum will soon possess a suitable building of its own. A proper excavation of this site does not need any further emphasising from me.

The terracotta section of this exhibition which predominantly contains Kausambi terracottas has been arranged by no less a person than Dr. Stella Kramrisch, a preliminary selection having been made by Mr. Vasudeva Sharan Agrawal, curator, Curzon Museum of Archæology, Muttra. We are deeply beholden to them for their selfless work.

The section devoted to ancient Indian paintings is again a unique one. The rich collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan of Benares has been further added to by the valuable paintings sent by some of the Indian states and museums and the paintings now on show in the galleries of this exhibition can easily stand comparison with any other collection in the whole of India.

Owing to obvious limitations the exhibition could not display heavy pieces of sculpture, but the small collection which has been put up is a rich one, and with three exceptions belongs entirely to the Allahabad Municipal Museum.

The value of the numismatics section has been enhanced by the rich collection of punch-marked coins which have been exhibited by Babu Durga Prasad of Benares, a numismatist who does not need any introduction from me. The work which he has done in this line will always stand out as a valuable contribution in the field of numismatics. Even if there had been no other collection of coins in this section, I could mention it with a sense of pride.

The section devoted to modern Indian paintings is representative, and although the number of exhibits has been deliberately fewer than what it could easily have been, no school of painting has been left unrepresented. Gaganendranath Tagore, Nandlal Bose, Shailendra De, Jamini Roy, Asit Kumar Haldar and many other artists of repute have been represented in this section in an adequate measure.

We had almost despaired of putting up a good show in the section devoted to epigraphy, but thanks to the Provincial Museum Lucknow, and the Mayurbhanj State and other institutions and private collectors who have very kindly sent copper-plates and estampages in good numbers, we have been enabled to set up a section which will be found interesting as well as instructive.

The Government records sent by the Imperial Records Department Delhi and the Punjab Government are most valuable. No less important are the contributions made to this section by Mr. Potdar of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Poona, and by the Khalsa College, Amritsar.

It is almost an impossible task to narrate in detail the various valuable exhibits which have been sent to us for exhibition and it is also a difficult task for me to acknowledge the help given to us by the various institutions and distinguished persons who have contributed generously to make this show a success. But I cannot refrain from making a special mention of Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan, of Patna, Rai Krishnadas, of Benares, Mr. Bijai Singh Nahar, of Calcutta, and Khan Bahadur Syed Abu Muhammad, of Allahabad, whose contributions have been spontaneous and generous.

It was particularly very kind and thoughtful of Prof. Nicholas de Roerich and his son Mr. Svetoslav Roerich to have sent magnificent paintings for this exhibition. It is really unfortunate for us that owing to his illness Dr. Roerich was prevented from coming over to attend this exhibition. His presence would have been a source of great encouragement and pride to all of us, for Dr. Roerich is always ready to help in any cause relating to art and culture.

Special mention may be made of four exhibits of outstanding merit which can verily be called the jewels of this exhibition, so far as the manuscript section is concerned, and I would earnestly request all lovers of art to make it a point to see them.

1. Anwarsuheli, illustrated with paintings of the Akbar School by M. Abdul Rahman of Lahore, sent by the Balrampur Raj.
2. Illustrated palm-leaf manuscript of Prajna-paramita of the Pal period, lent to us by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares.
3. Panch-nama in the handwriting of Goswami Tulasi Das, lent by the Benares State.
4. Palm-leaf illuminated manuscript, lent by the Mayurbhanj State.

I very much regret that it has not been possible for us to place in your hands a catalogue of exhibits in this exhibition, which would have added to its utility and usefulness and would have facilitated reference. This was an impossible task as exhibits have arrived until late in the evening yesterday, which left us almost no time to label them, but a complete catalogue will be published and may be found useful as a permanent document indicating where the valuable exhibits could be found and seen.

I am very sorry to have taken up your time in narrating all these details, because I am aware that you would be more anxious to see these exhibits rather than hear my speech and I shall very soon relieve you of this strain.

I cannot conclude without expressing my thanks to my colleague and collaborator Mr. Ram Chandra Tandan who has worked days and nights to make this exhibition what it is today. I do not indulge in platitudes when I say that I do not know how I would have been able to work without him. Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar, who is another silent worker, has not spared himself in any way to arrange this exhibition. I am thankful to these gentlemen for their cooperation and help which both of them have most ungrudgingly given me.

In the end, I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the trouble that you have taken in coming over here to see this exhibition, and I formally request the Hon'ble Shri Sampurnanandji to open and bless this exhibition.

Requested by the chairman of the reception committee to declare the exhibition open, the Hon'ble Shri Sampurnanandji, delivered the following speech :

Friends,

While it gives me much pleasure to open this exhibition, I am conscious none-the-less of my own shortcomings and unsuitability for the work, a consciousness which is increasingly borne in upon me when I think of the galaxy of scholars, historians who have made a name for themselves in the field of historical researches, who are attending this conference. I take it that your invitation to me to open the exhibition is, besides being a token of your kind regard for me personally, a proof that you, at any rate, do not believe in the canard that Congress governments are opposed to higher education and inimical to culture and research.

The value of exhibitions like this cannot be gainsaid. One wishes we had more of them, even though on a necessarily smaller scale. As

Sir Malcom Hailey, as he then was, observed at the meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore in November, 1925 :—

It certainly appears to me that there is everything to be gained in this country from directing the minds of students to the actual documents and remains, whether in stone or metal, which give the most definite data on which history is based. There is no finer training in the analysis of evidence: and in India particularly does it seem to me necessary to encourage a mental attitude which makes for a critical discrimination between the tested fact and the readily assumed belief. There is, in the daily life of the community, a somewhat embarrassing tendency to take statements at second-hand, and to accept as verities propositions or indeed expressions of fact which often rest on a foundation that would dissolve on the simplest analysis.

History for many of us is an uninteresting and uninspiring string of names, names of obscure towns and villages, of magic men practising forgotten faiths, of wily courtiers and debased courtezans, of homicidal maniacs and ruthless free-booters. It is a long-drawn out story of sadism, barbarity, and selfishness, with occasional flashes of heroism and self-sacrifice, beauty and spiritual greatness to relieve the perpetual gloom. Indian history, as taught in our schools, is particularly depressing. But, surely, if things had been as bad as they are painted, humanity would have ceased to exist long ago, and the earth would have been revolving to the happy drone of the insects whose hegemony is seriously challenged by this freak of evolution.

But this gloomy picture would quickly evaporate, if people had easier access to the original records—not only the written word but coins, paintings, sculpture, architecture—and knew how to use them, for it is true here, as elsewhere, that we can find and see a thing only if we know how to look for it. If these original sources were made available in reprint and facsimile, to teachers and students as they are in other countries, it would be possible to hear the throb of the human heart behind the beat of the war-drum and discern the toiler in field and workshop, the humble house-wife, and the village priest-cum-schoolmaster, the girl drawing water at the well and the lusty shepherd singing love-songs as he guides his flock along field and foot-path, to discern all those who make up the real pageant of history and make possible the palaces and the intrigues and the mass-murders which fill the pages of the ordinary text book.

If history were studied with the proper perspective much of the exclusiveness and race-prejudice, communal bitterness and false pride which separate man from man would automatically disappear. The

historian, as such, is not a political propagandist : we do not ask him to falsify facts and torture records to yield evidence in support of untenable doctrines, although, unfortunately, examples are not lacking in this country and elsewhere, of scholars who have prostituted their learning in the service of the wielder of temporal power. We do not want this, but surely we have the right to expect that the historian will so present facts that the essential factors which bind man to man and endow him with a common cultural heritage shall be brought prominently into relief.

If properly arranged, historical exhibitions and museums, which are really permanent exhibitions, can be of immense value in helping us to study epochs of civilization. You can have a collection of coins in one place, of painting in another, of clothing in a third, of armours in a fourth, and so on. But if we could divide history into epochs—I know such division would be, to some extent, arbitrary and there would be some overlapping—and bring together all cultural manifestations of that epoch in one place, one would obtain a more connected picture and a better idea of sequence and development. It might not be impossible to link up with contemporary remains from other countries and thus visualize the growth and evolution of world culture.

All this requires steady effort and a rich imagination, a clear view, a scientific mind, and a patient spirit of research. There is plenty of material available in the country for such research. The resources of our own provinces are still comparatively untapped. There is plenty of material above ground and under ground, in private collections and *matha* libraries, tucked away in *bethans* in the houses of pandits and maulvis, in *bastas* in the houses of families with literary and service traditions, in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, on stone, copper-plate, *tal patra* and paper faded and moth-eaten, rich material waiting for the historian's touch.

Of course, all delving into material of this kind is not research. A good deal of what passes for research in this country and elsewhere is useless raking up of old rubbish and is not of the slightest use to any body. I shall give you an example of how persevering and painstaking one can be even on what is really fruitless labour. Some of us were discussing the Gita some years back. Suddenly a bright young man asked as to how many times the letter *ॠ* occurs in the book. We were non-plussed. That is also a species of research which sometimes

manages to win recognition. It might interest you to know that as a matter of fact the letter occurs only once **भषायाम् मकरश्चास्मि**.

Properly studied, history should help us to form an idea of what is behind all these historical phenomena, of the forces whose interplay creates epochs and uses personalities as pieces on a chess-board. If we fail to grasp this central thread, history degenerates into a story of disunited events, which cannot serve as a guide for future conduct. As to what that thread is—whether it is an unfoldment of the spirit, a law of Karma, a dilectical process of development, spiritual or material—I shall not hazard an opinion here. But I am sure it is something that it is an antidote against pessimism and defeatism.

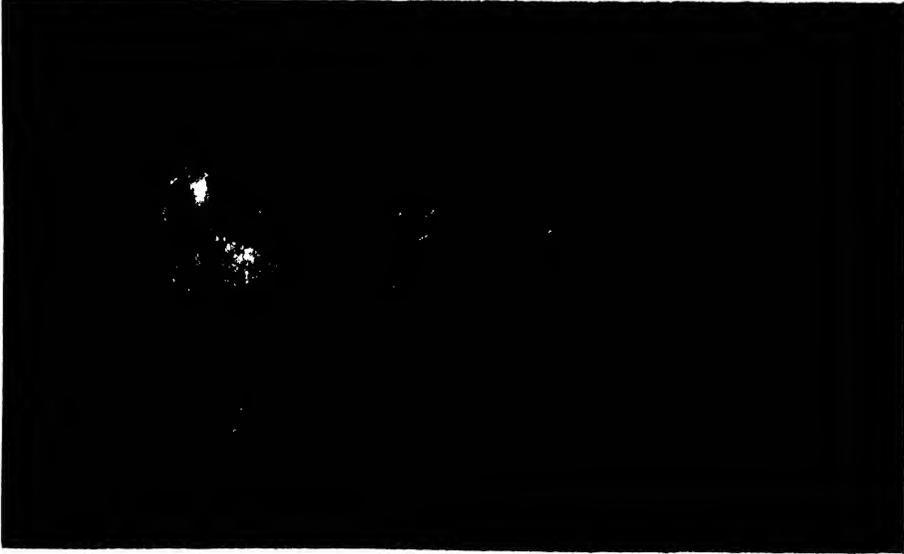
I congratulate the organisers of this exhibition and all those individuals and corporations, who have helped and cooperated to make it a success. They have rendered a great service to the cause of historical research and study and I am sure our knowledge of Indian history—I venture to say, the knowledge, even, of specialists like you, gentlemen—will be the richer for having had the opportunity to study this collection.

We are today in the midst of a wonderful epoch, it is an age of national renaissance, political, economic and cultural. The Indian people is breaking the spiritual and material chains that have so long bound it and dwarfed its stature. We are experiencing the birth pangs of a new national personality, a personality rich in the cultural heritage it has inherited in the sacred soil of this country, which combines in itself the best elements from all those strains which have made India their home and hope. We look to this New India to save itself and save humanity, to usher in an epoch in which man shall work not for himself but for society and in which exploitation and profiteering, the degradation of man by man, shall not exist. Surely, the historian has an important part to play on this stage, as a faithful guide and a friendly critic, as an impersonal student of men and minds, and as a citizen who is vitally interested in the well-being of the world in which we live.

The Hon'ble Minister of Education was next escorted to the building in which the exhibition was arranged and he duly declared the exhibition open. He was shown round the various sections by Rai Bahadur Pandit Braj Mohan Vyas.



TERRACOTTA PLAQUES
(Sunga, Gupta, and Kushan)
By courtesy of the Municipal Museum, Allahabad.



A TERRACOTTA FEMALE TORSO

(*Early Maurya*)

By courtesy of the Patna Museum, Patna



A TERRACOTTA FEMALE BUST

(*Gupta*)

By courtesy of the Gwalior State.

SECTION I

TERRACOTTAS

(a) By courtesy of the Municipal Museum, Allahabad.

Pre-Sunga Period.

1. Crudely modelled figurine ; primitive type.
2. Female bust with applique eyes ; primitive type.
3. Mother-goddess with pinched face and horizontal pointed arms ; primitive.
4. Female bust representing mother-goddess, probably from Muttra (grey terracotta).
5. Bust of mother-goddess wearing heavy ear-rings and double necklace with crescent symbol (late Maurya).
6. Female head, pressed out of a mould (late Maurya), probably from Muttra.
7. Male head with beard showing an Iranian (Maurya period).
8. Bust of a female, probably mother-goddess ; primitive type ; soapstone (from Bhita).

Sunga Period.

9. Plaque showing a standing female, holding a lotus with stalk (*leela-kamala*).
- 10-15. Female busts with conspicuous head-dresses and elaborate ornaments holding lotuses above the right shoulder, similar to No. 9.
16. Female torso of soapstone, showing beautiful girdle and arrangement of hair on the back, a miniature copy of the famous Didarganj Yakshi.
17. Fragment showing a female holding out a mirror.
- 18-20. Plaques showing beautiful female figures.
21. Female torso, a well draped figure.
22. Small plaque fragment of soapstone, showing a standing couple (*dampati*)
23. Plaque showing an amorous royal couple seated on a costly throne.
24. Plaque showing an amorous couple standing against a sofa, and a female attendant holding a mirror with a pair of birds.

25. Beautiful plaque showing a bacchanalian group consisting of a female holding a pot (*madhu-ghata*) and a male holding a cup (*madhu-patra*).

26-27. Mould and its positive showing the ravishing by a male of a female.

28. Fragmentary plaque showing a couple with a female holding a rope entwined round two smaller figures poised in the air.

29. Female bust.

30. Female bust, showing elaborate head-dress.

31. Female torso, showing the woman holding lotus buds in her right hand.

32. Torso, similar to the above.

33. Female bust with a band of rosettes, arranged round the head.

34. Female bust with wig-like head-dress.

35. Fragment of a torso, showing a female feeding a parrot with mangoes held in her hands (*shuka-krīda*).

36. Female figure holding a fan (*vyajana-dharini*).

37. Plaque fragment showing the middle portion of a female body.

38. Female bust with elaborate ornaments.

39. Female bust showing fan-like head-dress.

40. Beautiful female head.

41. Female head with circular ear-rings.

42. Female bust with prominent ear-rings and four necklaces.

43. Plaque showing an amorous couple.

44. Plaque fragment showing the torso of a male figure holding a lotus.

45. Fragment showing a male person and the horns of a deer.

46. Fragmentary plaque showing two elephant heads.

47. Polished plaque fragment showing lion and elephant fight.

48. Beautiful plaque fragment showing a lion attacking an elephant.

49. A fine clay tablet showing a garden scene with four figures.

50. Soapstone piece representing probably a jackal hunt.

51. Soapstone piece showing head and fore-part of a lion.

52-55. Toy carts (*mrich-chhakatikas*).

56. Cart fragment showing a pair of bulls.

57. Fragment showing a cart drawn by four horses.

58. Fragment showing a spread-out tail of a peacock.

59. Round piece, probably fragment of a bangle, showing a female figure with folded hands (*anjali-mudra*).

60. Water-strainer.

61-64. Disc, probably a measure of weight.

65. Chariot with two horses.

66. Fragment of a toy cart depicting a pleasure party.

67. Fragment of a soapstone disc, carved with a double band and on the inner side with another band in which floral patterns are shown alternating with mother-goddesses of the Lauriya Nandangarh gold-leaf type.

Kushana Period.

68. Dancing girl (*nartaki*) in a beautiful pose.

69. Bacchanalian scene showing an intoxicated female in a drooping posture supported by a male companion.

70-71. Finely moulded male figurines.

72. Torso showing the anatomical representation of human intestines.

73. Crude figure of a dwarf emerging out of a tree trunk.

74. Squatting male figure.

75. Pot-bellied squatting old anchorite.

76. Crude female figure with circular base.

77. Male bust pressed out of a mould.

78. Male bust.

79. Male head with head-dress of foliage pattern.

80. Female head, crudely modelled, with big circular ear-rings.

81. Female head, having a bicorned head-dress.

82. Figure of a monkey with clapping hands.

83-85. Heads.

86. Head-dress (*ushnisha*).

87. Fragmentary head of a bull.

88. Elephant uprooting a tree.

Gupta Period.

89-90. Big heads

91. Female bust with Asoka foliage over head.

92. Female bust with honeycomb hair from Bhita.

93. Male figure having frizzled locks.

94. Male head with conspicuous turban.

95. Female head with a heavy protuberant hair-knot, representing probably a Hun woman.

96. Female bust with charming features, also a Hun woman (from Bhita.)

97-98. Female busts, same type as 96 above.

99. Female head.

100-1. Female feet.

102. Male head.

103. Torso of a corpulent ithyphallic dwarf.

104-6. Alligator-shaped sprouts (*makara-mukha-pranalika*).

107. Clay seal showing the *Dharma-chakra* between two deers and mentioning the name of the Dharma-chakra-pravartana Vihara (from Nalanda).

Mediæval.

- 108. Clay seal showing Gaja Lakshmi.
 - 109. Female bust with prominent ears.
 - 110. Clay seal showing goddess Lakshmi between a pair of jars worshipped by two elephant-headed deities.
 - 111. Durga with a trident (*trisul*) and sword in hand.
 - 112. Seven Mothers (*Saptamatrika*), a panel from Sarnath.
- N. B.*—Unless otherwise shown the finds come from Kausambi.

(b) By courtesy of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

Ghosi Group (Kushan period).

- 1. Nagi
- 2. Durga controlling the demon Mahishasur, the symbol of riotous energy.
- 3. Head with tenon representing a vigorous but crude style of art.
- 4. Head with forehead dot, large ear pendants and prominently set eyes.
- 5. Head with prominent eyes.
- 6. Head with tenon, having a projecting band of hair, large ear-rings, forehead dot, prominent eyes and nose.
- 7. Bust of a female figure showing her left hand protecting the left ailing eye.
- 8. Standing male figure with wig-like ears. Necklace and prominent nipples, both the hands being placed on the breast.
- 9. Head modelled by hand, with a double fillet binding the hair.
- 10. Head with tenon coloured red.

Sahet Mahet Group (Gupta period).

- 11. Head with diadem, long-drawn eyes and thick lips, the ears being concealed under two dots of curly hair.
- 12. Head with large ears resembling those of an elephant, nose and skull damaged.
- 13. Head with ringlets and protruding lips.
- 14. Head with curly hairs and ear-rings.
- 15. Bust of a female figure with prominent breasts.
- 16. Head with flat hair and curved nose, concave at back.
- 17. Head with forehead and left eye broken.
- 18. Head with ringlets looking sideways.
- 19. Head with ringlets and ear-rings.
- 20. Head with long ringlets, and heavy ear-rings, right eye and left cheek damaged.

21. Head with long ringlets.
22. Head of a monkey.
23. Head with shaggy hair.
24. Fragment of a head with short curly hair.

(c) By courtesy of the Curzon Museum of Archæology, Muttra.

Muttra Group.

1. Great mother-goddess with piglike face. (pre-Mauryan).
2. Bust of great mother-goddess similar to No. 1, wearing *mrinala kundala* in left ear.
- 3-5. Three mother-goddesses mounted on a single block.
6. Standing great mother-goddess with prominent breast, navel and girdle.
7. Standing great mother-goddess of ancient people, wearing a lotus embossed wig (Maurya period).
8. Mother-goddess with elaborate head appendage consisting of plumes and lotuses. Single piece pressed out of a mould, elongated face (late Mauryan).
9. Goddess Vasudhara with triple fish symbol.
10. Head of an Assyrian with long pointed cap and peaked beard.
11. Shiva's bull, Nandi ; inscribed (Kushana period).
12. Kamadeva, the God of Love, standing in a flowery field with bow and arrow in both hands (Kushana period).
13. Mother and child (Kushana period).
14. Four-armed goddess Mahishasurmardini (Gupta period).
15. Female child with beautiful coiffure (Gupta period).
16. Clay-cart toy figurine (about 1st cent. B. C.),

Peshawar Group.

17. Female torso,
18. Male bust, wearing *chhanavir* ornament.
19. Female bust.
20. Female head.

(d) By courtesy of the Archæological Museum, Sarnath.

1. Right hand, holding the stalk of a flower. Made of concrete, covered with fine lime.
2. Fragmentary head with nose, lips, cheeks and chin remaining. Made of coarse concrete, covered with plaster.
3. Fragmentary head showing nose, lips, cheeks and chin. Made of coarse concrete with lime plaster.

4. Figurine showing a standing female holding a child in her left arm ; lower part and hands missing ; probably Hariti.
5. Figurine representing a female standing, holding a stringed instrument (*vina*) perhaps Saraswati.
6. Head with shaven hair, dilated eyes, behind a hole.
7. Head wearing a cap with long ears and oblique nose.
8. Bust of a figurine with her hands on the chest and a knot of hair, now partly broken, over her head.
9. Torso of a figure as if seated on a chair ; head, hands, and legs broken and waist tied with a thick garment ; traces of left hand on the hip.
10. Bust of a female figurine with prominent breasts, large ear-rings and a jewelled fillet ; knot on the head ; hands broken.
11. Bust of a female figurine with large ear-rings and a fillet on the head ; prominent knot of hair on head.
12. Torso of a flying female figure (Sunga period).

(e) By courtesy of the Patna Museum, Patna.

1. Torso of a female. It is in round, exhibiting perfect modelling (early Maurya). It is a rival of the Patna Museum Didarganj statue.

(f) By courtesy of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares.

- 1-2. Fragments of two terracotta plaques from Kausambi depicting the abduction of Vasavadatta (Sunga period).
- 3-5. Terracotta heads from Bairant, Benares district.

(g) By courtesy of the Hyderabad State (Deccan).

Maski group.

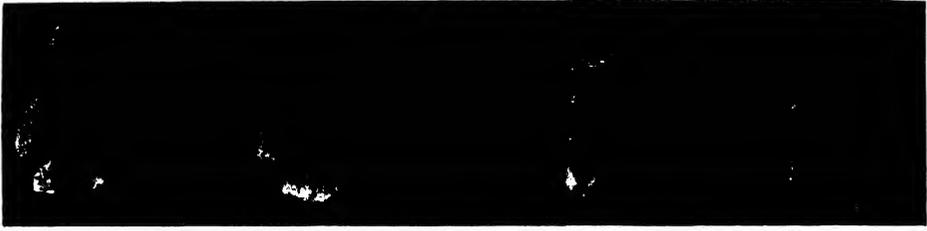
1. Human head.
2. Headless bust.
3. Fragmentary figurine.
4. Crowned head.
5. Crowned bust.
6. A dwarf.
7. Horse (fragmentary).
8. A beautiful human head (broken).
9. Torso of a female.
10. Andhra seal.
11. An impression of a seal on plasticine.



SHALABHANJIKĀ

(*Gupta: Nāgād*)

By courtesy of the Municipal Museum, Allahabad



I



II



III



IV



V



VI



VII

SOAPSTONE FIGURINES AND SEALS AND TERRACOTTA
PIECES FROM KAUSAMBI

I, V, VI, by courtesy of the Municipal Museum, Allahabad, II, III, IV,
by courtesy of R. C. Tandan, Esq., Allahabad; and VI by
courtesy of O. P. Bhatnagar, Esq., Allahabad.

(h) By courtesy of the Gwalior State:

Pawaya Group.

1. Beautiful bust of a lady. (Gupta period).
2. A torso with a gown of printed cloth.
3. Head of a comical figure.

(i) By courtesy of the Baroda State.

Amreli Group.

- 1-19. Terracotta figurines.
- 20-21. One terracotta mould and its plaster cast.

(j) By courtesy of the Mayurbhanj State.

1. Seal showing a Buddhist *stupa*.

(k) By courtesy of R. C. Tandan, Esq., Allahabad.

1. Plaque showing a standing female, holding lotus (*leela-kamala*) (Sunga period).
2. Standing female figure with conspicuous head-dress (Sunga).
3. Plaque fragment showing a moulded nude person (Sunga).
- 4-5. Fragments showing female heads pressed out of an identical mould (Sunga).
6. Fragment showing the fight of an elephant and a winged lion (Sunga).
7. Fragment of an elliptical plaque showing the head and forepaw of a gargoyle.
8. Disc showing a human head inside a carved medallion, probably representing the Sun-god (Kushana period).
9. Fragment of a plaque representing an amorous scene (*nivi-mochan*) (Kushana).
10. Female head (Gupta period).
11. Female head from Bhita, Ghosi type.
- 12-14. Female heads (Gupta).
15. Pot-bellied nude dwarf.
16. Fragment of a lion with prominent manes.
- 17-19. Hun heads.
20. Female bust, primitive type.
21. Male torso, from Rae Bareilly district (Gupta).
22. An interesting but unidentified object from Rai Bareilly district.
- 23-27. Five inscribed seals from Kausambi.
28. Fragment of a plaque representing a Greek philosopher and a youth in a dancing pose (Gupta).

N. B.—Unless otherwise shown the finds come from Kausambi.

(l) By courtesy of S. C. Kala, Esq., Srinagar (Garhwal).

1-2. Heads from Kausambi.

3. Female head from Bhita.

(m) By courtesy of Seth Murari Lal Kedia, Benares.

1-9. Figurines from Masone, District Ghazipur.

(n) By courtesy of O. P. Bhatnagar, Esq., Allahabad.

1. Fragment of a toy cart, from Kausambi, (Sunga period).

SECTION II

SCULPTURES AND OTHER ANTIQUITIES

A. Sculptures.

(a) **By courtesy of the Municipal Museum, Allahabad.**

Sunga Period.

1. Standing Yakshi from Bharhut, Nagod State.
2. Railing pillar carved with a Yakshi figure; Bharhut.
3. Railing fragment depicting an unidentified Jataka story; Bharhut.
4. Plaster cast of railing medallion; Bharhut.
5. Relief carved with an elephant with two riders carrying the ashes of the Buddha in an urn; Bharhut.

Kushana Period.

6. Fragment carved on both sides showing a beautiful female bust, made of typical Muttra red sandstone.

Gandhara School.

7. Standing Buddha with conspicuous drapery.
8. Relief showing three scenes from the Buddha's life, the first one being the presentation of honey by a monkey.
9. Jamb fragment showing the forepart of a lion, and a human being in front of him, most probably Hercules and the Nemean lion.
10. Fragment showing the Buddha amidst a group of followers (Pannalal collection).
11. Relief showing a burning pyre, probably the Buddha's cremation, (Pannalal collection).

Gupta Period.

12. Door-jamb carved with the figure of a beautiful Yakshi standing on her vehicle, from Nagod.
13. Buddha Head.
14. Full-blown lotus.
15. Kuvera holding a goblet (*madhupati*) and purse, from Nagod.

16. Door-jamb carved with the figure of goddess Ganga on her vehicle of crocodile (*makara*).

17. Swami Kartikeya carved in a niche on a portal (*torana*).

18. Four-faced phallus (*lingum*) of Shiva, Allahabad District.

19. Pestle from Kausambi.

Mediaeval Period.

20. Four-armed Vishnu with the ten incarnations (*avataras*) carved around.

21. Hara-Gauri.

22. Fragment showing the Buddha in teaching attitude (*vyakhyana mudra*), Gaya stone.

23. Kali, Gaya stone.

24. Parvati holding a discus (*chakra*) and mace (*gada*), shown as Vaishnavi.

25. Four-armed Vishnu.

26. Goddess Mahishasura-mardini.

27. Male head, probably Vishnu. (Panna Lal collection).

28. Scenes from the Buddha's life, Gaya stone.

29. Four-armed Shiva and Parvati, Gaya Stone.

30. Stele Showing Jain Tirthankaras.

31. Stele showing a Jain Tirthankara.

32-33. Pillar fragments carved with standing female figures.

34. Yaksha and Yakshi seated under a Jaina wish-granting tree (*kalpadruma*).

35. Saptamatrika (Seven Mothers) with Virabhadra and Ganesha.

36. Statuette of Revanta, son of Surya, riding on horse, Gaya stone.

37. Jaina Yakshi under a mango tree.

(b) By courtesy of the Baroda State.

1-2. Two stone images, one of Brahmani, and the other of Parvati.

3-5. Three specimens of wood work of mediaeval Gujerat.

(c) By courtesy of Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan, Patna.

1. Stone figure of Shiva (Gupta period).

B. Other Antiquities.

(a) By courtesy of the Allahabad Municipal Museum.

1. Assorted beads from Kausambi.

2-9 Ivory and terracotta seals from Kausambi.

b) By courtesy of the Patna Museum, Patna.

Bronze Images

1. Balarama. Brahmanical God. Dated in the 9th regnal year of King Devapala (cir. 826 A. D.).

2-3. Tara (Vasudhara). Inscribed. The name of the artist who was a resident of Śrīmad Apanka Mahavihara is given on the images. Both the images were prepared in the 32nd regnal year of King Rajyapala (cir. 930 A. D.).

4. Shiva-Parvati. Inscribed. Dated the 32nd regnal year of King Rajyapala. Cast by the same artist as mentioned in figures 2 and 3 above.

5. Prajnaparamita. Inscribed. Dated the 31st year of King Mahipala (cir. 1000 A. D.).

6. Steatite disc. Toy wheel, recovered from a depth of 14ft. Inscribed in the oldest form of Asoka letters giving the name of the owner Vishakha (*Vi-sa-kha-sa*).

(c) By courtesy of the Hyderabad State (Deccan).

From Maski.

1-15. Neoliths, whet stones, polishers and pounding stones.

16-74. Pieces of painted pottery.

75-81. Beads of cornelian, crystal, lapis lazuli, and other stones.

82-84. Crucibles.

85-102. Yoni-lingas, Ganesha, and soft stone cylinders.

103-127. Flakes.

128-144. Axes.

(d) By courtesy of the Baroda State

1-3. Buddhist metal images from Mahudi in the Mihsana district, Baroda Raj. (cir. 3rd cent A. D.).

4. An important seal in the negative of Shiladitya I of Valabhi (cir. 7th cent. A. D.) from Amreli.

5-6. Necklaces containing beads from Amreli.

7-20. Conch shells and earthen bangle pieces from Amreli.

21-27. Plaster cast of figurines from Amreli.

28-43. Pottery and pot-sherds from Amreli.

44-47. Stone figurines from Amreli.

48-49. Lead weight and lead piece, from which coins were struck.

50-51. Two dice, one black and the other white.

(e) By courtesy of the Mayurbhanj State

1. Stone seal representing a conch with Brahmi inscription of the 2nd cent. A. D.

2-5. Four garlands of quartz and cornelian beads.

(f) By courtesy of Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan, Patna.

1. Gold plaque representing Shiva-Parvati, 3rd cent. B. C., from the Mauryan level at Patna.

(g) By courtesy of Rana Parakram Jang Bahadur, Allahabad.

1-3. Three Nepalese bronzes.

(h) By courtesy of R. C. Tandan Esq., Allahabad.

1. A small roll of heavy metal sealed with plaster, with a hole passing through it, probably an amulet (*kavacha*), from Kausambi.

2-6. Necklaces of cornelian, quartz, and steatite, beads and pendants.

SECTION III

NUMISMATICS

(a) By courtesy of the Allahabad Municipal Museum.

The Allahabad Municipal Museum exhibited nearly 600 ancient coins, prominent among them being the coins of Kausambi. Several of these have not yet been published. The collection of Kausambi coins in the Allahabad Museum, is perhaps unrivalled. Only a few are mentioned below :

Kausambi Coins.

1. Early uninscribed cast coins of the lanky bull type of Kausambi of the 3rd century B. C. are too well known to need any detailed introduction: *vide*, John Allen's *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, 1936 edition, Plate XV, coin No. 14. The uniqueness of the coin exhibited was that on the top of the head of the bull was inscribed the word "Kosambi" in Brahmi characters.

2. Two denominations of the lanky bull type of Kausambi coin have so far been published: *vide* the above mentioned *Catalogue*, Plate XX, coin No. 14; and Plate XXI, coin No. 3. The coin exhibited was a third denomination, almost half of coin No. 3

3. As above, but a lion instead of a lanky bull. Three denominations of this coin were exhibited.

4. Please refer to uninscribed cast coin No. 16, Plate No. XI. This is a round coin. The coin exhibited was square with certain other symbols on the obverse. This coin, too, had two denominations.

5. A large number of silver *Kakinis* and *Ardh Kakinis* were also exhibited.

Other ancient coins.

A very large collection of ancient Indian coins recovered from other parts of India were exhibited, prominent among them were the coins of Ujjain and Mathura, an unpublished coin of Vavaghosha (an unknown king) in early Brahmi characters deserves special mention. The coin was obtained at Mathura.

Muhammadan Coins.

A very large collection of Mughal copper coins including some very rare

and un-published ones were exhibited, the most prominent among them were the following :

1. Jahangir-cum-Shahjahan (silver). The most remarkable thing in the above coin is that the calligraphy on the Jahangir side is exactly the same as is found in Jahangir's coins, whereas the calligraphy on the Shahjahan side is exactly the same as is generally found on the silver coins of Shahjahan. It was remarked by some historians who visited the exhibition that it is in the Persian records that Shahjahan issued such a coin in the name of his father Jahangir. The fact remains to be verified.

2. Several denominations of Murad Bukhsh ; Mint Surat ; Year Abad.

3. Jahangir ; Mint Kashmir,

Besides the coins mentioned above, about a dozen seals from Kausambi were exhibited the important ones being as follows :

1. A soapstone seal containing inscription of a private individual *Bha-Kha-La-Sa* in early Brahmi characters of the time of Asoka.

2. Brass seal containing inscription of *Bar-Barik*.

3. Seal of semi-precious stone, containing inscription in Brahmi characters: *Garh Pati Nagas*.

(b) By courtesy of the Gwalior State.

Set I—Coins of the Nagas of Padmavati (9) and Mihirabhoja of Kanauj (3).

1. Bhava Naga. Bull to right (copper).

2. Bhim Naga. Peacock to left (copper).

3. Brihaspati Naga. Bull to right (copper).

4. Deva Naga. Wheel type (copper).

5. Ganapatindra Naga. Bull to left (copper).

6. Pum Naga. Bull to left (copper).

7. Skanda Naga. Bull to Right (copper).

8. Vasu Naga. Peacock (?) (copper).

9. Vrisha Naga. Squatting man (?) (copper).

10. Mihira Bhoja of Kanauj. Vana Vikata (silver-washed copper).

11. Mihir Bhoja of Kanauj. Vikata Baladeva (silver-washed copper).

12. Mihir Bhoja of Kanauj. Altar and attendants (silver-washed copper).

Set II.—Scindia Coins.

1. Mahadji. Ujjain (H. 1312: regnal year 36) (silver).

2. Daulat Rao. Ujjain (r.y. 17) (silver).

3. Baija Bai. Ujjain (r.y. 23) (silver).

4. Jankoji Rao. Ujjain (r.y. 23) (silver).
5. Jankoji Rao. Esagarh (Chowri type) (silver).
6. Jankoji Rao. Basodat (copper).
- 7-9. Jayaji Rao (silver).
10. Jayaji Rao. Ujjain (copper).
11. Jayaji Rao. Sheopur (copper).
12. Madhava Rao (silver).

(c) By courtesy of the Baroda State.

- 1-2. Silver punch-marked.
- 3-4. Copper punch-marked.
- 5-8. Tribal coins (2 potin, 1 lead, 1 copper).
- 9-14. Avanti coins (5 copper, 1 lead).
- 15-18. Kshatrapa coins (1 lead, 1 copper, 2 potin).

(d) By courtesy of the Hyderabad State

- 1-10. Old coins from Maski.
- 11-20. Old coins from Paithan.

(e) By courtesy of the Mayurbhanj State.

- 1-6. Real Kushana coins.
- 7-13. So-called Puri Kushanas.

(f) By courtesy of the Patna State.

- 1-14. Bull and horseman type (copper). No legend, probably belong to Ohind.
- 15-27. Bull and horseman type (copper). Ataudin Mas'aud Shah (A. D. 1241-46).

Legend : *Obv* : *Suritana Sri Atachina*; *Rev* : *Sri Hamira*.

28-32. Copper coins of some mediaeval dynasty of Northern India. Bull and horseman type. No legend.

33-34. Chauhan(?) Bull and horseman type (copper). Legend : *Samanta*.

(g) By courtesy of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

Twelve boxes of electroplated casts of coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
Box No. 1: (a) Bactria and India (230-120 B. C).

1. Euthydemus I, King of Bactria, cir. 220 B. C. (silver).
2. Eukratides, King of Bactria and North-West India, cir. 175 B. C. (silver).
3. Antialkidas, King of the North-West Frontier and Taxila (silver).

4. Archebios (silver).
5. Archebios (copper, square).
6. Apollodotos, King of North-West India (copper, square).
7. Apollodotos, (silver).
8. Menander, King of North-West India (silver).
9. Antimachos Nikephoros (silver).
10. Philoxenos (silver).
11. Hippostratos, King and goddess type (silver).
12. Hippostratos, King and horseman type (silver).
- (b) *Indo-Scythians (120-110 B. C).*
13. Maues (Moa), Zeus and Nike type (silver).
14. Azes, King and Pallas type (silver).
15. Spalyris (Splahores) with Spalagadames (copper, square).

Box No. 2 : Kushanas (Cir. A. D. 85-300) (Gold).

1. Double stater of Vima Kadaphises.
2. Vima Kadaphises, half-length figure of king and Siva.
3. Vima Kadaphises, head of king in frame, small.
4. Kanishka with goddess Nanashao on reverse.
5. Kanishka with Ardoxo on reverse.
6. Huvishka with Miro on reverse.
7. Huvishka with Ardoxo on reverse.
8. Vasudeva with Oesho on reverse.
9. Vasudeva, Siva and bull type.
10. Kanishka, later Kushana type, with trident in hand.
11. Saka, later Kushana.
12. Kidara.

Box No. 3 : Imperial Guptas (Gold).

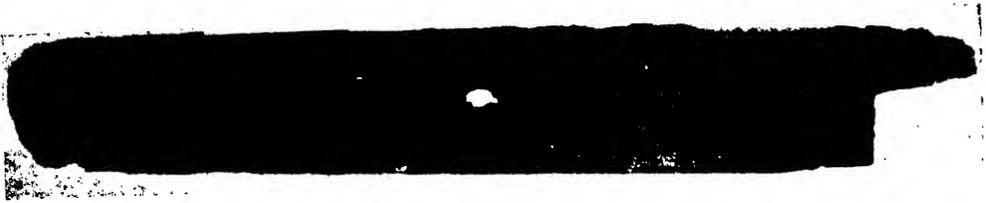
1. Samudragupta, (A. D. 335-380), King and queen type.
2. Samudragupta, standard.
3. Samudragupta, Kacha.
4. Samudragupta, Tiger.
5. Samudragupta, Lyrist.
6. Samudragupta, Asvamedha.
7. Chandragupta II, (A. D. 380-414) Archer type.
8. Chandragupta II, Lion-slayer (killing with sword).
9. Chandragupta II, Lion-slayer (shooting with bow).
10. Chandragupta II, Horseman, with symbol on 1.
11. Chandragupta II, Horseman, with crescent behind the head.
12. Chandragupta II, Couch type.



TANTRIC FEMALE DEITY

(Medieval)

By courtesy of the Municipal Museum, Allahabad.



PALM-LEAF PAINTINGS

(16th-17th centuries)

By courtesy of the Mayurbhanj State.

Box No. 4: (a) Imperial Guptas (Gold).

1. Kumaragupta I, (A. D. 414-445) Horseman type.
2. Kumaragupta I, Peacock type (Var. B.)
3. Kumaragupta I, 'Pratapa' type.
4. Kumaragupta I, Elephant rider type.
5. Skandagupta, (A. D. 455-480), King and Lakshmi type.
6. Skandagupta, Archer type.
7. Puragupta, (cir. A. D. 480-485), Archer type.

(b) Mediaeval Hindu dynasties (Gold).

8. Vira Sinha Rama (date?)
9. Kumarapala Deva (cir. A. D. 1019-1049)
10. Kirtivarma Deva of Bundelkhand (cir. 1055-1100)
11. Govindachandra Deva of Kanauj (cir. 1112-60)

Box No. 5 : Sultans of Delhi.

1. Muhammad bin Sam (A. D. 1193-1205) mint Ghazni (gold).
2. Shamsuddin Altamsh (1210-1235), mint Delhi (silver).
3. Jalaluddin Raziya (1236-1239) 635 H. (silver).
4. Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246-1265) mint Badaun (silver).
5. Ghiyasuddin Balban (1265-1287), mint Delhi (gold).
6. Mu'izuddin Kaiqubad (1287-1290), mint Delhi (gold).
7. Shamsuddin Kaiumurs (1290 A. D.), mint Delhi (silver).
8. Shihabuddin 'Umar (1325 A. D.), mint Darul-Islam (silver).
9. Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq I (1320-1325), mint Deogir Fort (gold).
10. Muhammad II bin Tughlaq (1325-1351), mint Deogir (gold).
11. Muhammad II bin Tughlaq, mint Delhi (silver).
12. Abubakr Shah (1388-1389) (gold).

Box No. 6 : Sultans of Delhi (concluded).

13. Alam Shah, son of Muhammad V (A. D. 1445), (silver).
14. Sikandar II Lodi (1488-1517), mint Delhi (copper).
15. Sher Shah (1540-1545); mint Bhanpur (silver).
16. Islam Shah (1545-1552), mint Shahgarh (copper).
17. Ibrahim Shah Suri (A. D. 1554), 962 H. (copper).
- 18-20. Durrani (?) (gold).

Box No. 7 : Mughal Emperors of India.

1. Babur (1526-1530) (silver).
2. Humayun (1530-1556), mint Agra (silver).
3. Akbar (1556-1605), couplet type; mint Agra (gold).
4. Akbar 5-mohar piece, (gold).

5. Akbar, mihrabi mohar (gold).
6. Jahangir, (1605-1628), couplet type, mint Agra (gold).
7. Jahangir, 5-mohar piece (gold).
8. Jahangir, Zodiacal—Taurus (gold).
9. Jahangir, fine inscription, mint Agra. (gold).
10. Shah Jahan (1628-1658), mint Ahmadabad (gold).
11. Murad Baksh in Gujerat (1657-58), mint Surat (silver).
12. Shah Shuja in Bengal (1657-60), mint Akbarnagar (silver).

Box No. 8 : Mughal Emperors of India (continued).

- 1-2. 200-mohar of Shah Jahan, mint Shahjahanbad, 1064 H (gold)

Box No. 9 : Mughal Emperors of India (continued)...

13. Aurangzeb (1658-1707), mint Akbarabad (silver).
14. Azam Shah (A. D. 1707), mint Ujjain (silver).
15. Kam Bakhsh (1707-8), mint Gokak (silver).
16. Shah Alam Bahadur (1707-12), mint Ilahabad (silver).
17. Jahandar Shah (A. D. 1712), mint Lahore (silver).
18. Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719), mint Islamabad (silver).
19. Farrukhsiyar, mint Khujistabunyad (gold).
20. Farrukhsiyar, mint Murshidabad (gold).
21. Rafiuddarjat (A. D. 1719), mint Kambayat (silver).
22. Shah Hahan II (A. D. 1719) mint Lahore (silver).
23. Muhammad Ibrahim (A. D. 1720), mint Shahjahanbad (silver).
24. Ahmad Shah Bahadur (1748-1754), mint Shahjahanbad (gold):

Box No. 10: Mughal Emperors of India (concluded).

25. Alamgir II (1754-1759), mint Ujjain (silver).
26. Shah Jahan III (1750-60), mint Mah Indarpur (silver).
27. Shah Alam II (1759-1806), mint Awadh (silver).
28. Bedar Bakht (A. D. 1788) mint Muhammadabad (gold).
29. Muhammad Akbar II (1806-1837), mint Shahjahanbad (silver).
30. Bahadur Shah (1837-1858), mint Shahjahanbad (silver).

Kings of Oudh

1. Commemoration medal struck by Ghaziuddin Haider, first King (1814-1827) (silver).
2. Mohar of Muhammad Ali Shah (1837-1842), third King (gold).
3. Half-mohar of Wajid Ali Shah (1847-1856), last king (gold).

Box No. 11 :

1. Cast of Bhitari seal of Kumaragupta II written in Sanskrit prose, in Gupta characters. The upper part shows a representation of Garuda, the

vehicle of Vishnu. This record extends the early Gupta genealogy by two generation, *i. e.* Narsinhagupta and Kumaragupta II, and supplies the names of three queens which were not known before, namely Anantadevi, Vatasadevi., and Mahalakshmi.

Box. No. 12: Miscellaneous.

1. Ten-rupee piece of Shah Alam II, mint Surat (silver)
2. Shah Alam II, mint Abdullanahar, Pihani (silver).
3. Vima Kadphises, King seated side saddle on an elephant (gold).
4. Huvishka, King riding an elephant to the right (gold).
5. Sasanka, cir. A. D. 600-625 (silver).
6. Double rupee of Muhammad Shah Alam (silver).
7. Medal of Shujauddula (silver).

(h) By courtesy of B. Durga Prasad, Benares.

1. The coins of the Magadha Empire, 5th to 2nd century B. C. three types.
 2. The coins of the Kosala Kingdom, 7th or 8th Century B. C. to 6th century B. C.; three types.
 3. The coins of the Panchal Kingdom, 6th century B. C.
 4. The coins of the Suraseni Kingdom, 6th century B. C.
 5. The coins of Kurukshetra, 5th and 7th century B. C.; two types.
 6. The coins of the Gandhara Kingdom, 5th century B. C.
 7. The coins of the Gandhara Kingdom, 5th century B. C.
 8. Some very early silver punch-marked coins of 8th or 9th century B. C.
 9. Copper punch-marked coins of early times.
- In all about 400 coins were exhibited.

(i) By courtesy of Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan, Patna

1. Gold coin of Akbar; three-Mohur; unique specimen.

(j) By courtesy of H. Syed Mohammed Sa'id, Allahabad.

1. Silver coin of Balban.

(k) By courtesy of R. Subba Rao, Esq., Rajahmundry.

- 1-2. Two gold coins of Vizianagar kings.
- 3-6. Four gold coins of East Ganga kings.
- 7-8. Two Kushana copper coins.
- 9-14. Six Satavahana lead coins.

(l) By courtesy of R. C. Tandan Esq., Allahabad.

1-12. A dozen ancient copper coins from Kausambi.

(m) By courtesy of Prof. Datto Vaman Potdar, Poona.

1. Assortment of gold, silver, and copper coins.

ADDENDA TO SECTION III

Note :—In addition to coins listed in the Numismatics section, the following coins from the Hyderabad State were also received :

I. Sixteen rare silver coins of the Mughal Kings.

New Mughal mints discovered for the first time by H. E. H. the Nizam's Archaeological Department.

1-2. The only two known coins from Udgir mint—a town on the Vikarabad Parli Railway. They were struck by Aurangzeb in 1098 A. H. and by Farrukh-siyar in the first year of his accession.

3. The only known coin from Islamnagar mint. It was struck in the name of Aurangzeb.

4. The only known coin from Parenda mint, an old fortress near Goa. It was struck by Aurangzeb in the 43rd year of his reign.

5. The only known coin from Ramchandra Nagar mint struck in the name of Shah Alam I.

6-8. The only three known coins from the mint Koilkunda ; No. 6 struck by Aurangzeb, while the latter two by 'Alamgir II.

9. The only known coin from Jetpur mint. Struck by Ahmad Shah in the seventh year of his reign.

10. The only known coin from Naik Daruzzafar Bijapur mint. It was struck in the name of Aurangzeb in the early forties of his reign. The mint is different from 'Daruzzafar Bijapur' because coins from the latter mint representing every year of the 5th decade of Aurangzeb have been discovered.

11-12. Mr. R. B. Whitehead says, "I found Gulbarga Mohars of dates 1098, 31st regnal year to 1111, 44th regnal year". Coins 11-12 are dated A. H. 1114. viz., 47th regnal year.

13-14. R. B. Whitehead says that Golconda mint was closed during the reign of Aurangzeb in 1099 A. H. But the coins No. 13 and 14 are the only known coins which prove that the mint was active even after that because these coins were struck by Ahmad Shah in A. H 1166 at Golconda.

15. Mr. R. B. Whitehead says that coins were struck at Mumbai (*i. e.* Bombay) by Farrukh-siyar. Coin No 15 is the only known one which proves that the Mumbai mint was started earlier by Farrukh-siyar's predecessor Abul Fateh Jahandar Shah.

16. Unique variety of Rafi-ud-Darjat from Bankapur.

II. Four copper coins of Barid Shahi Kings of Bidar (1487-1619 A. D.)

Discovered for the first time by H. E. H. the Nizam's Archaeological Department.

1-4. Barid Shahi Kings ruled from 1487-1619 A. D. But it is extremely doubtful whether they struck coins. These coins are the only known coins of this dynasty and their attribution is quite safe.

III. Seven rare gold coins of the Mughals.

1. The only known coin of its type issued by Shah Jahan from Kabul mint.

•2. The only known gold coin issued from Bombay mint. It was struck by Muhammad Shah.

3-6. The only known gold coins of Aurangzeb from Golconda bearing the regnal year 20, 21, 30 and 29 and A. H. 1086

7. One of the ten known gold coins issued by Muhammad Shah of Bijapur.

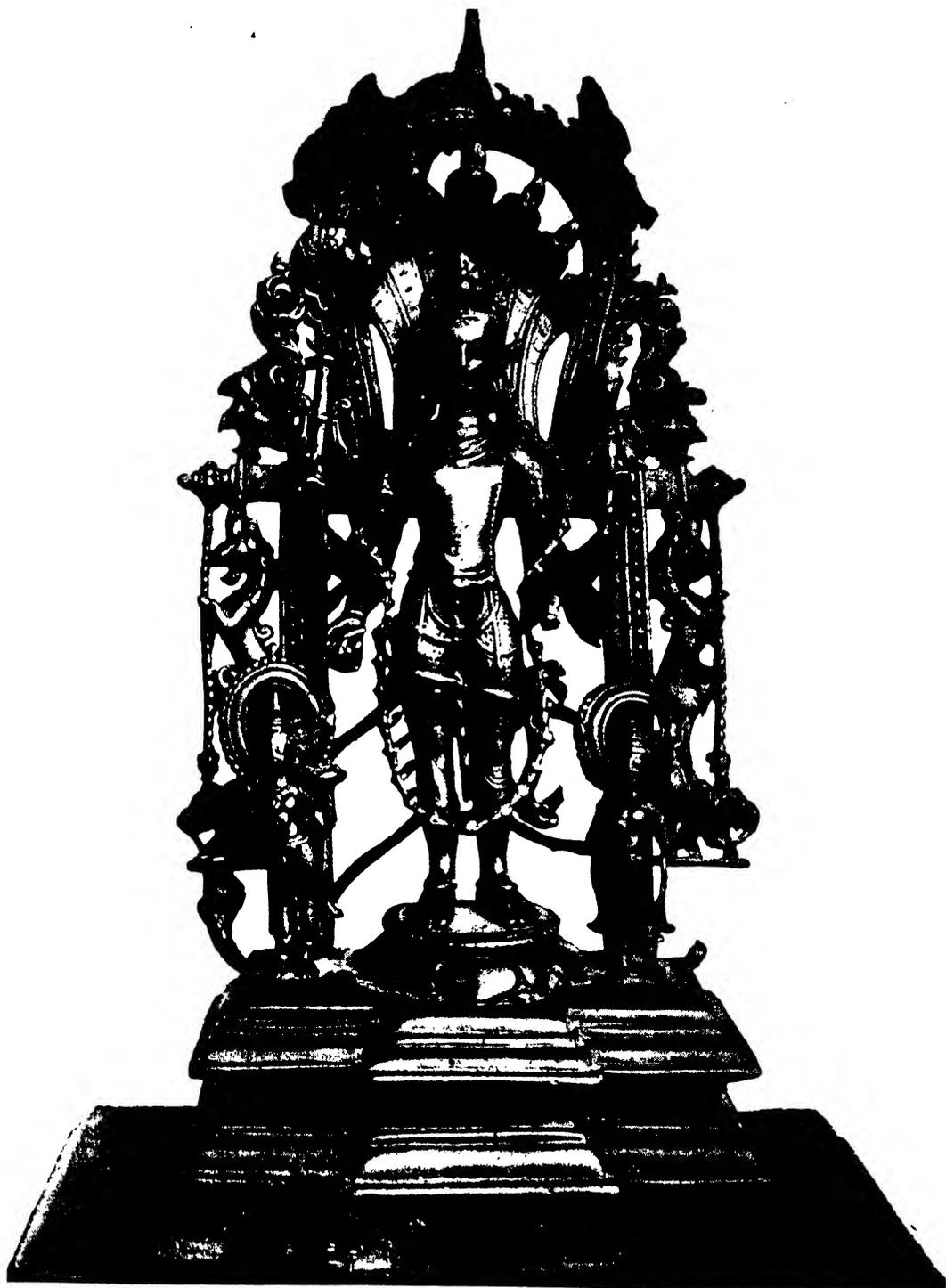
IV. Unpublished copper coins of Qutb Shahi kings of Golconda.

1-6. Varieties of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1612), from Hyderabad mint.

7-8. Varieties of the same king from Golconda mint.

9-10. These two coins are varieties of Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-1672 A. D.) and bear his name, followed by the epithet *Padshah-i-Ghazi*.

11-12. Varieties of the same king bearing no name but the legend. These coins have been discussed by Mr. G. Yazdani, in one of his learned articles.



BRONZE IMAGE OF BALARAMA

(9th Century).

By courtesy of the Patna Museum, Patna.

SECTION IV

EPIGRAPHY

(a) By courtesy of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

Copperplates.

1. Copperplate of King Gosaladevi recording in Sanskrit the grant by the latter of a village to a Brahman in Samvat 1208 (A. D. 1151). Found in town Bangarmau in Unao district.
2. Plate of the reign of King Govindachandra recording in Sanskrit and Devanagari that Vatsaraja of the Singara family granted a village to a Thakkura in Samvat 1191. (A. D. 1134). Found in Kamauli near Benares.
3. Inscription recording the grant by king Govindachandra of Kanauj of a village Dhusa to his family priest in the Vikrama year 1172 (A. D. 1116). From Kamauli near Benares.
4. Copperplate of Maharaja Kirtipala of Uttarasamudra recording the grant of two villages to a Brahman in Samvat 1167 (A. D. 1111). From Bhatpur, district Gorakhpur.
5. Inscription in Sanskrit of King Govindachandra Deva of Kanauj granting a village to Vilhakaya Dikshita in Samvat 1162 (A. D. 1106). Found in Kamauli near Benares.
6. Inscription of King Chandradeva of Kanauj of Samvat 1148 (A. D. 1090) recording the grant of village Bodagava to a Brahman.
7. Record of the grant of village Bhujangika to certain religious students by a Mahasamanta Baladarma Deva (cir. 7th century A. D.)
8. Copperplate of King Harsha recording a transfer of village from an individual on a charge of forgery to two other Brahmanas in the year 25. (A. D. 631-2) Found near Madhuban, Azamgarh district.
9. Inscription of King Harsha of Kanauj containing his sign manual and recording the grant of a village in his 22nd year (A. D. 628-29). Found in village Banskhera, Shahjahanpur district.
10. Copperplate inscription in Sanskrit of Maharaja Lakshmana of Samvat (probably Gupta) 158 (A. D. 477) recording the grant of a village to a Brahman. From Pali near Kosam in Allahabad district.

Estampages of Inscriptions.

1. Chandravati plate of king Chandradeva, of Samvat 1148 (A. D. 1190) recording the grant of the village of Bodagava to a Brahmin.

2. Sahet-Mahet plate of Govindchandra of Vikrama Samvat 1186 recording the grant of six villages to the community of Buddhist friars residing in Jetavana of Sravasti.

3. Fragmentary sandstone inscription from Budaun. It is inscribed on two adjacent sides and belongs to the year 909 A. D. It mentions the name of Devapaladeva, of Kanauj.

4. Stone inscription of the reign of Sikandar Lodi dated in Vikrama Samvat 1549. It records the construction of a bridge by Buddha, the minister of Khan Gadna, apparently a vassal of Sikandar Shah, son of Sultan Bahlol Lodi.

5. Estampage of Bhitari Seal of Kumaragupta II.

6. Estampage of Banskhera copperplate inscription of King Harsha.

7. Simra copperplate of Paramardideva of Chandel dynasty of Vikrama Samvat 1223 (A. D. 1167) inscribed on three large size plates. It is in three parts.

8. Maukhari stone inscription of Vikrama year 611 on a sand-stone slab consisting of twenty-two lines. It records the reconstruction of an old Siva temple by Suryavarman, son of the Maukhari king Isanavarman.

9. Inscription on a stone Siva-linga. It records the gift for worship of Prithivisvara Mahadeva by Prithvisena, a minister of the Gupta Emperor Kumaragupta I, and is dated in the 117th year of the Gupta era (A.D.436).

(b) By courtesy of the Municipal Museum, Allahabad.

1 Estampage of inscriptions on the Asoka Pillar in Allahabad Fort.

(c) By courtesy of the Andhra Itihasa Samsodhak Mandal, Guntur.

1. Prakrit inscription engraved on a marble slab in the Amareshwara temple, Amaravati (Guntur), records gift of Buddhist nun to local Chaitya.

2. Inscription in Telegu verse on marble slab in the Amareshwara temple, Amaravati, records the gift of a lamp by Appana Peddi. Saka 1122.

3. Inscription on a pillar in the Ammavaru shrine in the celebrated Vishnu temple, Srikakulam (Krishna), registers gift for a lamp. Saka 1091.

4. Famous Inscription of the Vijayanagar king, Krishnadeva Raya, on a stone in the inner compound of the Amareshwara temple Amaravati, district Guntur. Saka 1437 Yuva.

(d) By courtesy of the Nahar Museum, Calcutta.

1 Rubbing of a pillar inscription of Rajyapala, of Pala dynasty of Bengal.

(e) by courtesy of the Jhalawar State.

Estampages of Inscriptions.

1. Stone inscription of Gargratpur (Gangdhar) of the time of Raja Narvmi, Samvat Vikram 840.
2. Stone inscription of Chandrawati Patan, Chandramoli Mahadeo (Shitale-shwar) of the time of Raja Durgan, Samvat Vikram 746.
3. Stone inscription of Gopinathji's temple, Patan, of the time of Raja Uya Ditya, Samvat Vikram 1143.
4. Stone inscription of village Berla (Gangdhar) of the time of Jhala Dayal Dasji, Vikram Samvat 1687.
5. Stone inscription from Kotah State of the time of Raja Shivagan, Vikram Samvat 795.
6. Stone inscription from Merta (Jodhpur) of the time of Raja Bauk, Vikram Samvat 840.
7. Stone inscription from Bundi State of the time of Raja Surya Mahach, Vikram Samvat 1561.
8. Stone inscription from Banswara of Arthuna, 1136 A. D.
9. Stone inscription (in Persian) from Dharangdhra (Kathiawar) of the time of Ahmad Badshah, 740 Hijri.
10. Stone inscription from Sayla (Kathiawar) in Persian, Hijri 840.
11. Copy of Mohammad Sahab's document, Hijri 7.
12. A document written on 'bhojpatra' by Raj Rana Zalim Singhji, from Nathdwara.
13. Stone inscription from Tibet of the time of Buddha which was presented by Lt. Col. R. A. E. Benn.

(f) By courtesy of the Mayurbhanj State.

Copperplates.

1. Keshari copperplate grant of Maharajahdhiraj Satru Bhanja Deva of the Bhanja dynasty of Orissa whose capital was at Khijjinga Kotta. (modern Khiching in the Mayurbhanj State), date about 10th and 11th century A. D.
2. Talcher copperplate grant of Subhakara Deva of the Bhauma dynasty.
3. Kukuranga copperplate grant of Dandi Mahadevi of the Bhanja dynasty, date Harsha era 287.
4. Copperplate grant of Birakishore Deva of the Khurda family, date 18th century.
5. Copperplate grant of Joyvarma Deva, a feudatory of Unmatta Keshari Deva of the Bhauma dynasty of Orissa. Bilingual—Persian and Oriya.

(g) By courtesy of the Patna State.

1. Four copperplate grants. (Three sheets each).

(h) By courtesy of Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares,

1. Three copperplates, probably in some code script.

(i) By courtesy of B. C. Krishna Rao, Esq., Rajahmundry.

1. Three copperplate grants (unpublished) of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty.

(j) By courtesy of Dr. M. Rama Rao, Rajahmundry.

1. An old Telegu inscription found on the doorway to the western entrance of the Balbrahmesvara temple, Alampur (Raichur).

2. A Canarese inscription found on a stone in the compound of the Balbrahmesvara temple, Alampur (Raichur).

3. Stone inscription registering the gift of a lamp to god Markandeya by the minister Peggada.

(k) By courtesy of R. Subba Rao, Esq., Rajahmundry.

Copperplates and Estampages.

1. The Jirjingi C. P. Grant of Indra Varma.
2. The Parnalavaku C. P. Grant of Vijayaditya VII.
3. The Chicacole C. P. Grant of Raja Raja Ganga.
4. The newly discovered Murupaka C. P. Grant of Anantavarma Choda Ganga.
5. Impressions of C. P. Grant of Madhukaravarma.
6. Impressions of C. P. Grant of Devandravarma.
7. Impressions of C. P. Grant of Anantavarma.
8. Impressions of C. P. Grant of Vajabasta III.
9. Impressions of C. P. Grant of Anantavarma Chodaganga.
10. Impressions of C. P. Grant of Devendravarma Raja Raja Ganga.
11. Impressions of C. P. Grant of Vijayaditya VIII, 1st set.
12. Impressions of C. P. Grant of Vijayaditya VIII, 2nd set.
13. Impressions of C. P. Grant of Indravarma of 39 G. Era.
14. Impressions of C. P. Grant of Polomburu plate of Chalukya Jayasimbha I.
15. Impressions of the C. P. Grant of Polomburu plates of Vishnukumdin Madhavavarma III.
16. Impressions of C. P. Grant of Polomburu plates of Ammaraja Vijayaditya II.
17. Impressions of C. P. Grant of stone inscription found at Ramireddipalli.
18. Impressions of sculptures found at Ramireddipalli.
19. Impressions of stone inscription found in Rajahmundry water works.
20. Impressions of sculpture found in Rajahmundry water works.

(1) By courtesy of the Hyderabad State.

Estampages of Inscriptions.

1-10. Inscriptions of Asoka from Maski, Gavimath, Palki Gundu (H. E. H. the Nizam's Archaeological Department Series Nos. 1 to 10).

11. Muhammad Tughlaq's inscriptions, Kalyani.

12. Marathi inscription of Muhammad Tughlaq's reign. It records the installation of a Saivite image with the permission of the Kazi, notwithstanding the objections of some Vaishnavites (Published by Mr. R. M. Joshi in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, H. E. H. the Nizam, for the year 1935-36).

13. Inscription from the Jami Masjid, Golconda. It establishes that Qutb Shah I of Golconda had not declared himself independent till 924 A. H., and considered Mahmud Shah Bahmani as his over-lord, while according to all chroniclers, he assumed the regal titles in 910 A. H.

14. Musa Burj inscription from Golconda. This is a Qutb Shahi inscription which records that in 1037 A. H. the Mughal army had raised seige from Golconda owing to the death of their commander, Mir Miran and peace was effected by the Mughals. But the Mughal chroniclers maintain that Abdullah Qutb Shah had sued for peace. (Published by Mr. G. Yazdani, in the *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica*, 1923-24).

15. Ismail Adil Shah's inscription. Originally belonged to Raichur Fort, at present in the Hyderabad Museum. This inscription establishes that the Adil Shahi rulers had not assumed the regal titles till 916. A. H. According to Ferishta, the Adil Shahis had assumed the regal title in 895 A. H. (1511 A. D.)

16. Mallu Adil Shah's inscription. Originally belonged to Raichur, at present in the Hyderabad Museum. This inscription establishes that the Adil Shahi rulers had not assumed the regal title till 941 A. H. (1535 A.D.) the year in which Mallu ruled for a period of six months, while according to Ferishta the Adil Shahis had declared their independence in 895 A. H. (1511 A. D.)

17. Nadi Ali from Mir-ka-Daira Hyderabad. This inscription is a very good specimen of *Thulth* script. (Published in the *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica* by Mr. G. Yazdani)

18. Inscription from the Chaukhandi of Hazrat Khalilullah Shah Sahab, Bidar. This inscription is a unique specimen of bold script. (Published by Mr. G. Yazdani, in the *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica*).

19. Inscription from Miyan Mushk's Masjid, Puranapul, Hyderabad. This inscription is a fine specimen of *Riqa* script. (Published by Mr. G. Yazdani, in the *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica*).

20. Inscription from a tomb at Golconda. This inscription is a very good specimen of *Kufi* script. (Published by Mr. G. Yazdani in the *Epigraphica Indo-Moselemica*).

(m) By courtesy of the Gwalior State.

1. Estampage of an inscription on the Heliodoros Pillar at Besnagar, district Bhilsa, Gwalior State.

2. Estampage of an inscription of Chandragupta II from Cave No. 7 at Udayagiri, district Bhilsa, Gwalior State.

3. Estampage of an inscription of Mihirabhoja of Kanauj in the Gwalior Archæological Museum.

(n) By courtesy of the Baroda State.

1-6. Six inked impressions of stone inscriptions from Baroda. Two of these are described as below :

(a) Bijalkuva Mahadeva Stone Inscription from Patan.

This fragmentary inscription is incised on a stone slab now built into the well of a modern shrine called Bijalkuva Mahadeva. The *prashasti* of which it is a portion is mentioned in *Prabandha-Chintamani* and was incised on the *Kirtistambha*. The contents of this fragment prove that Siddharaja, the famous king of Gujarat, either got a canal dug out from, or directed the course of, the river Sarasvati to fill up the said lake for irrigation and other purposes.

(b) Navalakhi Vav Inscription in the Lakshmi Vilas Palace compound at Baroda.

It records that the Navalakhi Vav was designed and completed by Nasir-ud-Dunya-wad Din, the august Amir on the first Rajab, in the year 807 A. H. (1405 A. D.).

(o) By courtesy of Dr. M. Rama Rao, Guntur.

1. An old Telugu inscription on the doorway to the western entrance to the Balabrahmesvara temple, Alampur (Raichur district).

2. Canarese inscription found on a stone in the compound of the Balabrahmesvara temple, Alampur. (Raichur district) Chalukya Vikrama Era. Registers the gift of a lamp by Mahamandalesvara Malla Maharaj a subordinate of the Western Chalukyan king Tribbhuvanamalla Vikramaditya VI.

3. Inscription on a stone unearthed during the excavations in the compound of the former District Judge's bungalow; Saka 994, said to correspond to the 12th year of Vishnu. Registers the gift of a lamp to god Markandeya by the minister Bhimana Peggada.

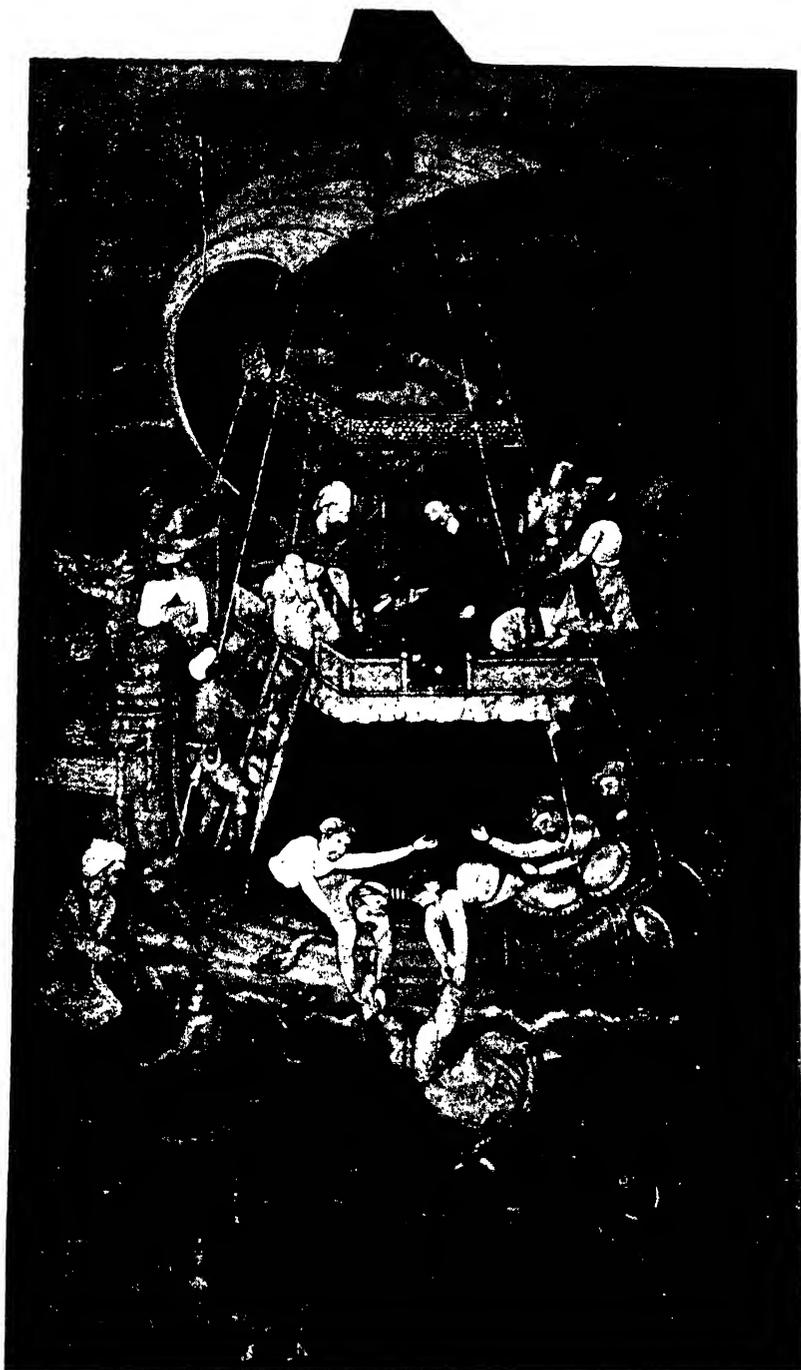


ILLUSTRATION FROM THE *Amcar Suheli*
Mughal (16th century)

By courtesy of the Bahampur State.

अज्ञानकीवत्तमो विजयते
 तस्यापि संप्रतरे द्विसथापयति नाश्रितासिद्धिद्वय
 विधेयैः प्रयोगैश्च यथासतः ॥ तस्यै ज्ञानो रक्षयश्च
 तमुनस्य समाना ॥ मुतज्ञो हि लागि विनुतामपि ह्येमाना ॥
 अस्मिन्नायति नाश्रमं स्यात्प्रयति नान्तरी ॥ अमानमतिवकीप्रो
 वदन्ती प्रयति नासरा ॥ ॥

(Faded handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page)

Tulsi-Nama BEARING TULSI DAS'S AUTOGRAPH

By courtesy of the Benares State.

SECTION V

RECORDS AND DOCUMENTS

(a) By courtesy of the Imperial Record Department, Delhi.

1. Copy of a treaty with Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowlah of Oudh. (Pub; 9 Sept. 1765; No. 1).

2-6. Copies of farmans from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam granting the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company and copy of an agreement between the Company and the Nawab of Murshidabad, the previous Diwan, in connection with the above grant. (Pub. Cons; 9 Sept. 1765; Nos. 2-6).

7. Proclamation of peace concluded between the East India Company and Nawab Vazir Shuja-ud-Dowlah in the year 1765 and ratified by King Shah Alam. (Pub. O. C.; 9 Sept. 1765; No. 12).

8. A statement of the fifty lakhs to be paid by Shuja-ud-Dowlah. A statement of King Shah Alam's debt to the Company. (These statements are written in the hand of Lord Clive). (Pub; 9 Sept. 1765; No. 13).

9. Letter from Major A. Polier, reporting that the Nawab Vazir Shuja-ud-Dowlah is dying. (Sec.; 6 Feb. 1775 No. 3.)

10. Letter from Major A. Polier, reporting the Nawab Vazir's (Shuja-ud-Dowlah's) death, and communicating his last request. (Sec.; 6 Feb. 1775; No. 4).

11. Translation of a letter from Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowlah written just before his death, requesting the English to support his son Nawab Asaf-ud-Dowlah. (Sec.; 6 Feb. 1775; No. 5).

12. Copy of articles of agreement between Nawab Najm-ud-Dowlah of Bengal and the King of Delhi. (Pub. Cons.; 9 Sept. 1765; No. 8).

13. Translation of an agreement on the part of the Rohilla Sardars with the Vazir, the terms being that the Vazir is to free the Rohilla country

of the Marathas either by peace or by war, and that the Sardars are to pay him forty lakhs of rupees for his assistance. (Sec.; 23 July 1772; No. 3).

14. Translation of a letter from the King giving General Carnac a present of two lakhs of rupees. (Pub. Cons.; 25 Sept. 1765; No. 7).

15-16. Lord Clive's proposals for appropriating the legacy of 5 lakhs of rupees conferred upon him by Nawab Mir Jafar and the present of 3 lakhs of rupees made to his Lordship by Nawab Najm-ud-Dowlah to the benefit of the Company's invalid servants and widows of those who lost their lives in the Company's service. Among the enclosures are translations of three certificates concerning the legacy of lacks (attested 12 Jan., 1767) given by Nawab Najm-ud-Dowlah, his mother, *i. e.*, wife of Nawab Mir Jafar and Maharajah Nund Kumar. (Pub. Cons.; 14 Apr. 1766, No; 2 and 20 Jan. 1767; Nos. 6-i-ii).

17. Letter from Warren Hastings to the Council intimating the cession of Kora and Allahabad to the Nawab Vazir of Oudh in consideration for a sum of 50 lakhs of rupees and also his having settled certain other matters with the Nawab. (Sec.; 23 Sept. 1773; No. 3).

18. Minute by Brigadier-General Sir Robert Barker, commander-in-chief, on the formation of a militia for the internal protection of the country and the collection of revenues. (Sec.; 28 Jan. 1773; No. 2).

19-20. Minutes of the Board on *dadney* purchases, establishing liberty of trade, and prohibiting any attempt to force advance upon weavers. In Warren Hastings' handwriting. (Pub.; 12 Apr. 1773; Nos. 6-8).

21. Recommendation from the Governor-General to Nawab Asaf-ud-Dowlah of Oudh for the grant of certain *jagirs* to Rajah Kullian Singh. (Sec.; 17 Apr. 1775; No. 1).

22. Governor-General's minute regarding the introduction of a paper currency. (Pub.; 1st May 1780; No. 24).

23. Regulations for Treasury notes. (Pub.; 8 May, 1780; No. 19).

24. Minute of the Governor-General, reporting the death of Sir William Jones, deploring his loss, and suggesting that all materials left by him for the Digest of the Hindu and Muhammadan Laws may be asked for from his executor. (Pub.; 2 May 1794; No. 1).

25. Letter from Muhammad Elich Khan requesting the protection of the English for himself and the new Nawab. (Sec.; 6 Feby. 1775, No. 6).

26. Copy of minute of the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay on Native Education dated the 2nd February 1835. (Pub.; 7 March 1835; No. 15).

27. Lord Auckland's minute on the promotion of education among the natives of India. (H. D. G. G's Cons.; 24 Novr. 1839; No. 10).

28-29. Original notes and minutes on the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India by Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General, the Hon'ble A. Ross and the Hon'ble Lt. Col. W. Morrison, C. B. Members of the Supreme Council, and Mr. H. T. Prinsep, secretary to the Government of India in the general department. There are notes and remarks in pencil on Mr. Prinsep's Minute by the Hon. (afterwards Lord), T. B. Macaulay member of the Supreme Council. (Pub.; 7 Mar. 1835; No. 19 & K. W.).

30. Trade of the Native States in India with the United Kingdom of Great Britain placed on the same footing with certain exceptions as that of the British possessions in the East Indies. (For.; 25 Novr. 1853; No. 39-41).

31-34. Introduction of postage stamps in supersession of the system of money payments as postage. These papers show what attempts were made at the time to print the stamps in India. (Pub. Con.; 18 Mar. 1853; No. 1; 1 July 1853, Nos. 1-3; 12 May 1854; Nos. 44-45; 19 May 1854; No. 64).

35. Proclamation issued by Nana Sahib to incite the Indian troops during the Mutiny, 1857 together with translation received from Mr. Wynyard, the then judge at Gorakhpur. (Pub. Con.; 7 Aug. 1857; No. 137).

36. Letter from Capt. W. Richardson submitting a report of his voyage from London to purchase slaves for fort Marlbro. (Pub. Con.; 22 Augt. 1765; No. 1.)

37. Letter from the Minister to the King of Rangam (Rangoon) intimating that the King has granted Lord Clive some ground in his city to make a factory and bank-shall to repair and rebuild ships. (Pub.; 1 Feby. 1768; No. 2 a-16).

38. Letter from the President and Council of Fort St. George, enclosing a copy of the verdict of the inquest held on the death of Lord Pigot and a bill of indictment against the late administration and other for wilful murder, and reporting that their sessions have had to be adjourned, pending the determination of certain points of law, on which they desire a reference to the judge of the Supreme Court (Pub. 3 Novr. 1777; No. 1).

39. Copy of the verdict of an inquest held at Fort St. George from the 11th May, 1777 to the 7th August, 1777, on the body of Lord Pigot. (Pub.; 3 Novr. 1777; No. 2).

40. Bill of indictment against Mr. George Stratton and others for the murder of George Lord Pigot. (Pub.; A.; 3 Novr. 1777; No. 3).

41-47. Abolition of Sati rite in the dominion of Raja of Nagpur. (Pol.; 24 Sept. 1832; No. 43; 14 Jany. 1833; No. 45; 3 July 1837; No. 39; 14 Augt. 1837; Nos. 52-3; 25 Sept. 1837; Nos. 104-106; 13 Novr. 1839; Nos. 6-8; Pol. Desp. from Court No. 3 dated 30 Jany. 1839, para 52).

48-49. Suppression of human sacrific in some hill tracts of Orissa, namely, Kalahandi, Bastar, and their dependencies, etc. (For.; 3 Jany. 1851; Nos. 114-115; and Pol.; 23 March 1855; Nos. 114-115).

50. Human sacrifices in certain districts of Central Provinces. (Pub. A.; 30 May 1868; No. 141).

51-52. Act for the prevention of the murder of female infants. Suppression of human infanticide among the Rajputs. (Pub. A.; 7 May 1870; Nos. 14; A; 20 Augt. 1870; Nos. 96-98).

53. Suppression of human sacrifice in the hill-tracts of Orissa. (Pol.; 19 Octr. 1855; Nos. 84-85).

54. Capture of Tantia Topi's family by Sindhia Subah of Bhind. (Sec.; 24 Sept. 1858; No. 123).

55. A genealogical table of the Bhonsla family from which both the Satara and Kolapur Rajas derived their origin. (Pol. A.: 1871; Nos. 563-74).

56. Origin, progress and present state of the Pindaris and the Mahrattas, 1811, 21. (For. Misc.; Vol. No. 124).

57. Major-General Sir John Malcolm's minute on the Revenue and Judicial administration of the Southern Maratha country and the genealogy of the Maratha chiefs, 1829, (For. Misc.; No. 204).

58. Mr. H. T. Prinsep's narrative of Alexander's expedition to India, cir. 1842. (For. Misc.; No. 346).

59. Public despatch from the Court of Directors, No. 1 of 3 Jany. 1853, referring for the consideration of the Government of India a plan by Mr. Julius Reuter for the establishment of a direct and uninterrupted communication between the electric telegraph in India and those in Europe.

Persian Documents.

60. From Madho Rao Sindhia. Request that the Nawab Vazir may be asked to restore the salary and the *jagir* of Mir Mahomed Amjad who has been rendering good services to rich Hindu pilgrims from the Deccan. (Persian; 14 Aug. 1790; No. 204).

61. From Maharaja Raghuji Bhonsla, informing the Governor-General

that his mother will shortly set out on a pilgrimage to Benares, Gaya and Prayag and requesting him to direct the *talluqdars* of those places to afford her every facility in the accomplishment of her object. (Persian; 27 Aug. 1791; No. 409).

62. From Munni Begam. Sends a letter to Sir John Shore for transmission to Warren Hastings congratulating the latter on the occasion of his acquittal from impeachment. Bears the Begam's seal. (Persian; 5 Novr. 1795; No. 312).

63. From His Majesty Shah Alam Has learnt from the Governor-General's letter that he is leaving for Madras with a view to punishing Tipu for his having invaded Travancore, the territory of an ally of the English. Bears the seal of His Majesty. (Persian; 8 March 1790; No. 50).

64. From Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia. Says that by order of the Peshwa he seized and imprisoned Nana Farnavis on 12 Rajab, 31 Decr. 1797. Bears the Maharaja's seal. (Persian; 5 Feby. 1798; No. 88).

65. From Maharaja Sivai Partab Singh of Jaipur. Informs the Governor-General that Vazir Ali has arrived in his country and is now in his custody. Bears the Maharaja's seal. 1799 A. D. (Persian; 17 Sept. 1799; No. 260).

66. From Ali Ibrahim Khan, Judge at Benares, Reports that the Mahrattas have released Shah Alam from the room in which he was confined by Ghulam Quadir Khan after having been blinded by him. (Persian; 24 Oct. 1788; No. 501).

67. From Tipu Sultan. Says that he has deputed his *vakils* to the Governor-General in order to negotiate a treaty of peace with the East India Company. Bears the seal of Tipu Sultan. 1792 A. D. (Persian; 12 Feb. 1792, No. 114).

68. A representation from the inhabitants of Benares saying that they have nothing to complain against Captain Hawkin and that they desire that the Captain may continue to reside in their midst. Bears the seals and signatures of the prominent citizens of the town. (Persian; 12 May 1785; No. 17).

69. From Nana Farnavis, minister of the Peshwa. Received 14 Novr. 1785. Asks the Governor-General to send military assistance to the Peshwa and the Nizam against Tipu. (Persian; 14 Nov. 1785; No. 24).

70. From Nawab Asaf-ud-Dowlah of Oudh. Complimentary letter written in characteristic *shikastah* style. Bears the seal of the Nawab Asaf-ud-Dowlah. (Persian; 3 Nov. 1784; No. 86).

71. From Bahu Begum, mother of Nawab Asaf-ud-Dowlah. Complains against the behaviour of her son. Seeks the assistance of the Governor General in sending the coffin of her late husband (Nawab Shujaud-Dowlah) to Karbala. (Persian; 15 Nov. 1778; No. 117).

72. From Daulat Rao Sindhia. Says that Rao Baji Rao, the elder son of Raghunath Rao has been installed Peshwa in succession to Madho Rao who is dead. Nana Farnavis would not at first agree to the measure out of selfish motives but had to acquiesce when he found that none of the chiefs would support him. (Persian; 9 Sep. 1796; No. 328).

73. From Haidar Beg Khan, a minister of Nawab Asaf-ud-Dowlah. Expresses pleasure at the recovery of the King of England from his illness. Sends a *nazr* of 101 gold mohurs to be forwarded to the King of England and Rs. 10,000 to be distributed among the poor. Bears the seal of Haidar Beg Khan. (Persian; 11 Aug. 1789; No. 175).

74. From the Peshwa (Narayan Rao) says that he will stick to the terms of the treaty and asks the Governor-General to do the same. (Persian; 12 Dec. 1778; No. 138).

75. From Chait Singh, Raja of Benares. Sends a *hundi* for 1½ lakhs of rupees on account of Benares revenues through his *vakil* Shaikh Ali Naqi. Says that he is in financial difficulties and requests the Governor-General's assistance in the adjustment of his affairs. (Persian; 13 Nov. 1778; No. 112).

76. From Raja Kalyan Singh. Requests the Governor-General to procure the release of his *jagir* at Allahabad and to obtain him the *nazranah* from the Dutch factory. Asks for an advance of Rs. 50,000 in order to enable him to make a pilgrimage to Allahabad. (Persian; 15 Dec. 1778; No. 141).

77. From Maharaja Kishanraj Wodeyar of Mysore. Expresses his gratitude to the Governor-General on being released from his confinement and placed on the *masnad* of his 'ancestors after the victory of the English over Tipu at Seringapatam. Bears the Maharaja's seal. (Persian; 12 July 1799; No. 198).

78. From Nawab Saadat Ali Khan of Oudh. Intimates that Vazir Ali Khan, the murderer of Mr. Cherry, has been arrested in Jaipur and made over to Mr. Collins. Bears the Nawab's seal. (Persian; 21 Dec. 1799; No. 435).

79. From Nawab Saadat Ali Khan of Oudh. Intimates that Vazir Ali Khan after having killed Mr. G. Cherry, agent of the Governor-General, and four other gentlemen at Benares has absconded. Bears the Nawab's seal. 1799 A. D. (Persian: 12 Feb. 1799; No. 25).

80. Treaty with King Christian VIII of Denmark for transferring the Dutch Settlements in India to the English, dated 22 February, 1845.

81. Original letter from Her Majesty Queen Victoria to the King of Burma on his accession to the throne of Burma. Bears the original signature of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Specimens of repairing work done in the Imperial Records Department.

82. A book exhibited as a fine specimen of inlaying work. This book was hopelessly damaged by larvae.

83. Manuscripts illustrating evil effect of using white tracing paper in repairing important documents. (Pub. Corres.; 20 Jan. 1773; No. 3; Pub. Corres.; 16 May; No. 5). Tracing paper subsequently peeled off and replaced by chiffon. (Pub. Corres.; 28 Jan. 1785; No. 1; Pub. Corres.; 29 Feb. 1780; No. 7). Other methods of repairing documents (Pub. Corres.; 10 Apr. 1780; No. 24).

84. Repaired manuscript volumes illustrating how the isolated, worm-eaten and damaged sheet can be mended and made up into sections with guards to have a durable and flexible binding. (Index to Register of Deeds, Vol. I., 1781-1788).

(b) By courtesy of the Punjab Record Office Museum, Lahore.

1. Holograph report by (Sir) Herbert Edwardes dated the 15th October 1846, on his negotiation with the envoys of Sheikh Imam-ud-Din, Governor of Kashmir.

2. Original warrant for the confinement of the Prema conspirators in the Delhi Jail, dated the 1st October, 1847.

3. Defeat of the adherents of Dewan Mulraj, near Dera Ghazi Khan, by (Sir) Herbert Edwardes, April 27, 1848.

4. Proceedings of a meeting of the Board of Administration held on the 17th December 1849 to arrange a division of work between the members.

5. Copy of a demi-official letter written by Sir Henry Lawrence on the 29th March 1849, announcing the annexation of the Punjab.

6. Warning conveyed by Sir Henry Lawrence to Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir.

7. Office orders drafted by Sir John Lawrence defining the procedure for dealing with appeals to the Chief Commissioner, dated the 19th December 1858.

8. An interesting view of the military situation on the 21st June 1857, by General Nicholson.
9. Sir John Lawrence's letter to Sardar Khan Singh Rosa, dated the 15th June 1857.
10. Original warrant for the execution of the Nawab of Ferozepur Jhirka for complicity in the murder of Mr. Fraser, dated the 19th September 1835.
11. Lord Dalhousie's approval of the hill-station of Dalhousie being called after him, dated the 2nd June 1854.
12. Letter from Sir John Lawrence to Lord Canning, dated the 14th August 1858.
13. Constitution of the Chief Court of the Punjab dated the 19th February 1866.
14. Oaths of the first two judges appointed to the Chief Court of the Punjab, constituted February 19, 1866.
15. Oath of allegiance of an old Lieutenant Governor (Sir D. F. Mcleod) dated the 10th January 1865.
16. Proclamation dated the 29th March 1849 declaring the annexation of the Punjab to the British Empire.
17. Form of permit and rules for visitors to Kashmir in 1867.
28. "The Illustrated London News", dated the 15th March 1851, showing an interview between Lord Dalhousie and Maharaja Gulab Singh at Wazirabad in 1850.
19. Letter from Maharaja Dalip Singh to Sir John Lawrence, dated the 4th September 1854.
20. Autographs of European officers in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh :—
 - (a) General Avitabile ;
 - (b) General Court ;
 - (c) G. F. C. Gorman *alias* Gordon ; and
 - (d) W. H. Campbell.
21. Signature of Maharaja Sher Singh in English.
22. Persian copy of the Tripartite Treaty of 1838.
23. A Farman of the Emperor Aurangzeb granting rent free land.

24. *Parwanah* of the Sikh times granting a *jagir*.
25. Specimen of an old *Jagir Sanad* of 1853.
26. Mutiny *jagir* signed by Sir John Lawrence.
27. Final receipt for the purchase of Kashmir, dated the 30th March, 1850, signed by the Board of Administration.
28. Summons to a witness to attend at the trial of Bahadur Shah, ex-king of Delhi.
29. Treaty of 1809, between the British Government and Maharajah Ranjit Singh.
30. Three treaties of 1846, viz., two between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar and one between the British Government and Maharajah Gulab Singh.
31. Office copy of the treaty of March 1855, between the British Government and Amir Dost Muhammad Khan of Kabul.
32. Letters of condolence from Amir Sher Ali Khan of Kabul at the death of Lord Mayo, dated 1872.
33. Letter dated 3rd December, 1857, from General Mansfield (Lord Sandhurst) to Sir John Lawrence, partly in Greek characters.
34. Original Mutiny telegrams, dated the 11th and 12th May, 1857.
35. Letter from H. R. H. Prince Albert to Sir Henry Lawrence, dated the 6th July, 1846.

(c) By courtesy of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

1. Farman of Jahangir, dated 1027 A. H.
2. Farman of Rafi'us-shan, son of Shah Alam Bahadur, dated 1122 A. H.
3. Farman of Aurangzeb, dated 1081 A. H. (14th regnal year), granting 100 *bighas* of land for maintenance to some ladies.
4. Farman of Wajid Ali Shah, last king of Oudh, dated in the first year of his reign (corresponding to 1264 A. H.), granting a piece of land near Iron Gate to Nazim Ali Khan Bahadur Sherjang and his descendants.
5. Farman of Amjad Ali Shah, dated in the first year of his reign (corresponding to 1258 A. H.) granting a piece of land in Khas Bazaar to Nazim Ali Khan Bahadur and his descendants.

6. Farman of Shah Alam II, dated 1179 A. H., granting 220 villages and 5 *bighas* of land in Qasba Kakori, district Lucknow, to Munshi Bhawani Prasad, Zorawar Singh, and Kirpa Ram.

(d) By courtesy of the Sikh History Research Department, Khalea College, Amritsar.

1. Plan of the site of the Gurdwara of Guru Nanak in Baghdad, drawn by Kartar Singh Kartar.

2. *Hukam Namah*, dated Bhadon 2, 1753 Vikrami (1696 A.D.), granted by Guru Govind Singh to Bhais Tiloka and Rama, ancestors of the Phulkian families of Patiala, Nabha and Jind; photograph, printed, the original being with the Maharaja of Patiala.

3. Maps of the Ludhiana District, showing political divisions of the country at the outbreak of the first Anglo-Sikh War, 1845-1846, and showing the territories of the Lahore Darbar and of the friendly state of Kapurthala, south of the Sutlej.

4. Letters of Maharaja Duleep Singh, dated October 7, 1885, and March 9, 1886, addressed to a relative in the Amritsar District. Photographs.

5. Plans of the Sikh Ordnance captured by the Army of the Sutlej under the command of H. E. the Hon'ble General Sir Hugh Gough, Bart., and H. E. the right Hon'ble Sir Henry Hardinge, during the campaign of 1845-46, with elevations and carriages, drawn by Ralph Smyth, London.

(e) By courtesy of the Mayurbhanj State.

1. Paper *sanad* of Maharaja Krishna Bhanja Deva, who was murdered by Khan-i-Durqani in 1660 A. D.

2. Paper *sanad* of Maharaja Sarbeswar Bhanja Deva, who ruled in Mayurbhanj from 1688 to 1711 A. D.

3. Paper *sanad* of Maharaja Birabikramaditya Bhanja Deva, who ruled in Mayurbhanj from 1711 to 1728 A. D.

4. Paper *sanad* of Maharaja Raghunath Bhanja Deva, who ruled in Mayurbhanj from 1728 to 1750, and who fought with Aliverdi Khan the Nawab of Bengal in 1740-41 A. D.

5. Paper *sanad* of Maharaja Chakradhar Bhanja Deva, who ruled in Mayurbhanj from 1750 to 1761 A. D.

6. Paper *sanad* of Maharaja Damodar Bhanja Deva, who ruled in Mayurbhanj from 1760 to 1796 A. D

7. A document written in Kaithi and dated 1833, dealing with the history of the Mayurbhanj State.

(f) By courtesy of Professor Datto Vaman Potdar, Poona.

Original Documents, Letters, Farmans, etc.

1. An original order of Maloji Raje; Marathi, Modi, with seal and *marattib*, dated *Shuhur-San: Sab'a wa tis'in wa tis'a-mi'at*. (A. 997; Sh. 1518; A. D. 1596); Grant to a Pedgaon temple.

2. A contemporary copy of an original order of Shahji Bhonsle; Marathi, old Modi, dated 10th Rabi-al-Awwal, *Ihdā was Khamstn wa alf*. (A. 1051; Sh. 1572; A. D. 1650); about Moroba Gosavi Maharaj of Chinchawad, Poona.

3. An original *Diwan* order with seals, Fort Panhala, about a Kulkarni *inam*, dated 1st Rabi-al-Akhir, *Shuhur-San: Tis'a wa tis'in was tis'a-mi'at*. (A. 999; Sh. 1520; A. D. 1598).

4. An original property division deed, dated Sh. 1560, Shrawan Sudi 8, (A. D. 1638, July, first fortnight). Signatures of the Brahmins at the end—Miraj side.

5. An original order of Jijabai (Shivaji's mother), with seals, dated 4th Jumādā-Akhir, *Shuhur-San: Khamstn wa alf*. (A. 1050; Sh. 1511; A. D. 1649), restores to Moroba Gosavi Inamdar one mango tree included by *karkuns* in Jijabai's mango grove at Poona.

6. Original order, with seals, of Parsoji Raje Bhonsle, regarding a temple at Pedgaon, dated 21st Jumādā Awwal, *Shuhur-San: Alf* (A. 1000; Sh. 1521; A. D. 1599).

7. Original grant with seals, to a Pedgaon Brahmin by Burhan Nizamshah and Ma Sahib, *Shuhur-San: Khamsa-'ashar wa alf*, (A. 1015; Sh. 1536; A.D. 1606).

8. Original grant, with seals, by Rustum Zaman, to Momins of Cheul, dated 5th Rabi-al-Akhir, *Shuhur-San: Khamsa wa arba'in wa alf*. (A. 1045; Sh. 1566; A.D. 1614).

9. A letter in the hand of Bhao Saheb Peshwa, the Maratha leader of Panipat, to Malhar Rao Holkar.

10. Another autograph letter of the Bhao to Malhar Rao.
11. An autograph letter of Nana Saheb Peshwa (Balaji Bajirao).
12. Nana Fadnis's letter to Gangoba Tatya Chandrachud, Holkar's Diwan, the last six lines being in Nana's own hand.
13. Raghoba Dada Peshwa's letter to Gangoba Tatya, the last six lines being in the hand of Raghoba.
14. A very important letter, with a full autograph of Nana Fadnis, to Haripant Phadke, written from Sironj about two months after the battle of Panipat, and giving a pathetic account of the last moments of the encounter and after.
15. Letter of Sakharam Babu to Gangoba Tatya, the last seven lines being in Babu's hand.
16. Full letter in the hand of Vithal Shivadeo Vinchurkar to Gangoba Tatya.
17. Letter of Janoji Bhonsle of Nagpur to Gangoba, the last two lines in Janoji's own hand.
18. The well-known Jedhe chronology, a most important and unique find, recording nearly two hundred dates and giving 1630 as the birth-date of Shivaji.
19. A Nizamshahi *farman*, with seals, recording grant to Moroba Gosavi of Chinchawad, *Shuhur-San : Tis'a-ashara wa alf*, (A. 1019; Sh. 1540; A. D. 1618).
20. Nizam-ul-mulk's precepts for Nasir Jung, dated 4th Jumādā Akhir, (A. H. 1161; Sh. 1670; A. D. 1748).
21. A paper detailing the meaning of *Vakil-i-mutlaq*.
22. An official note of Nana Fadnis recording offerings when fire broke out at the Satkhahi and Kothi of the Shanwar Wada palace. Bears Nana's *makhlesi*.
23. Nana's note to Govind Rao regarding Tipu's affairs, Nana's own hand in places.
24. Offerings to deities during Tipu's campaign, Nana's *makhlesi*.
25. Earthquake in Maharashtra, Nana Fadnis' official note, A. D. 1792.
26. Precepts of wisdom.
27. News-letter; Nana's office; Tipu's campaign.

28. A budget for *id* expenses for Sidi Gardis of the Peshwa; A. D. 1796; Nana's office.
29. A letter from Balaji Janardan *alias* Nana Fadnis to Mahadji Scindia.
30. Instructions to Haripant Phadke, Nana's collector; Tipu's last campaign.
31. Nana's official note on an expert deer player (*sic*) seeking service with the Peshwa Sawai Madhava Rao.
32. Balaji Vishwanath Peshwa's official order calling the Shetye Mahajan of Poona, together with seals. *Shuhur-San* : '*Ashara wa mi'at wa alf* (A. 1110; Sh. 1631; A. D. 1709).
33. An autograph letter of the poet Moropant to Vithoba Dada Chaturmase.
34. A *Diwan* order with seals regarding Momins of Mamle Cheul, *Shuhur-San* : *Sab'a wa alf* (A. 1007 ; Sh 1528 ; A. D. 1606).
35. A photo copy of a Sanskrit sale-deed when Emperor Jehangir was in Ahmedabad, (Sh. 1539; A. D. 1617).
36. An autograph letter of Moroba Dada Fadnis to Appa Gondhalekar.
- 37-50. Nana Fadnis's office memos about various matters, to Appa Gondhalekar (A. D. 1773).
51. Persian *sanad* about village Gondhali.
52. Tukoji Holker to Gaboji Deo Maharaj, Tukoji's handwriting at the end.
53. Tukoji Holkar to Nilo Gopal (A. D. 1785), Tukoji's handwriting with his seal at the end.
54. Letter from Khanderao Gaekwar Himmat Bahadur promising annual allowance of one hundred rupees if Sardari continues unaffected; autograph endorsement at the end (Sh. 1678; A. D. 1756).
55. Torgal Sardesai (Lingaya Jaygauda) wants *Shastric* guidance for foundation of a Siddhi Vinayak temple at Navalgunda in Carnatic; his own lines at the end (Sh. 1689; A. D. 1767-68).
56. An account sheet of debt of Rs. 21, 978 to the Peshwa from Dev (Chinchawad Sansthan) between Sh. 1660 and 1666 (A. D. 1738 to 1744).
57. Letter by Balvantrao Malhar Chitnis of Satara, Chitnis' lines at the end, (Sh. 1750; A. D. 1828).

58. Letter assuring Dev Maharaj that General Perron's army will not molest Chinchawad Sansthan, as per instructions.
59. Letter of goodwill from Yeshwantrao Mahadeo Khasnis to Dev Maharaj, Yeshwant's autograph being at the end.
60. Letter to Dev Maharaj from Mudhoji Bhonsle assuring his devotion and promising annuity etc. (Sh. 1698; A. D. 1776), ending in Mudhoji's hand.
61. Letter by Moro Ballal, about Mosi village, for Dev Sansthan, last lines in Moro Ballal's hand.
62. An autograph letter by Moraji Nalage, a Maratha by caste, (Sh. 1685; A. D. 1763-64).
63. Anandrao Raghunath assures Dev about continuance of Baner village to Sansthan, last lines in writer's hand.
64. An autograph letter of Baswaji Patil Takpir to Dev Maharaj.
65. Letter by Yeshwantrao Dabhade Senapati to Dev Maharaj, concluding endorsement in Senapati's own hand.
66. Naro Shankar Sachiva communicates order about grant of *rozmurra* to Dev Maharaj, dated the 11th Jama-dil-Akhir, *Shuhur San : Ihdā wa 'ashara wa mi'at wa alf* (A. 1111 ; Sh. 1632 ; A. D. 1710), with seal.
67. Sadashiv Mankeshwar to Dev Maharaj about the Potalgi dispute of Chincholi (Sh. 1735; A. D. 1813), Mankeshwar's own hand at the end.
68. An important letter in own hand of Naro Appaji Tulsibagwale, Mayor of Poona, to Dev Maharaj about a Chinchawad dispute and an inquiry, (Sh. 1692 ; A. D. 1770).
69. An autograph letter by Shivaji Vithal Vinchurkar agreeing to the grant of a yearly allowance of two hundred rupees to Dev Maharaj during Sardari period (Sh. 1689; A. D. 1767).
70. Letter informing Dev Maharaj that Sakharam Bapu's *ambari* is exchanged for a new one (Sh. 1691; A. D. 1769).
71. Letter from Janoji Bhonsle Sena Saheb Subah to Dev Maharaj about yearly allowance of five hundred rupees on Mahur, Janoji's own hand in the end (Sh. 1678; A. D. 1756).
72. Balaji Vishwanath's order to Hari Yadav about Dev Maharaj at Chincholi, with seal; *Shuhur-San : 'Ishrtā wa mi'at wa alf*, (A. 1120 ; A. D. 1708).

73. Nilkanth Mahadeo Purandare requesting Dev Maharaj to pay rupees one thousand to Fort Purandar, Purandare's autograph at the end.
74. Bahiro Moreshwar Pradhan orders *inam* grant out of Rajbhog to Dev Maharaj in continuation of Maharaj Shabaji's grant. *Shuhur-San* : 'Ashara wa mi'at wa alf (A. 1110 ; A. D. 1709), with *maratib* and seal.
75. *Ajnapatra* by Baswantrao Khaskhail, with seals, about a Bhosari dispute, *Shuhur-San* : *Sitta wa arba'in wa mi'at wa alf*, (A. 1146 ; A. D. 1745).
76. *Ajnapatra* by Madhav Rao Pandit Pradhan. with seals, about Bhosari dispute between Lande and Gavane (Sh. 1690; A. D. 1768).
77. *Ajnapatra* by Madhav Rao Ballal Peshwa, with seals, settling family dispute about *mauza* Ravet, *inam* of Dev (A. D. 1761).
78. Order from Darunimahhal Pahitawada (Sakwarbai of Satara) about Bhosari dispute, not to trouble Dev Maharaj, perhaps Sakwarbai's own writing at the end; *Shuhur-San* : *arba'in wa mi'at wa alf* (A. 1140 ; A. D. 1739).
79. *Ajnapatra* by Raja Shahu, conferring old *inams* on Dev Maharaj, refers to older *sanads* (Sh. 1636 ; A. D. 1710) ; with seals, of Bahiro Moreshwar and Gadadhar Prahlad Pratinidhi.
80. *Theur*, old and new, details of measurements etc. (Sh. 1701; Fasli 1189; A. D. 1779).
81. A *dastak* of Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao, with seal, *Shuhur-San* : *Ithna wa tis'in wa mi'at wa alf*, (A. 1192 ; Sh. 1713; A. D. 1791).
82. Govind Pathak to Dev Maharaj; mutual accounts (Sh. 1653; A. D. 1731)
83. Raja Shambhu Chhatrapati's *Ajnapatra* to restore to Bhangire his possessions in Poona district; refers to Balaji Pradhan (Sh. 1670; A. D. 1743), ; with seal.
84. Damaji Gaekwar to Baji Moreshwar about dues (*fazil*) worth Rs. 284,001 to be paid to the latter. Agreement note. Conclusion in Damaji's own hand (Sh. 1672; A. D. 1750).
85. Grant to a newly built Rama temple at Tampli, Pande Pedgaon, (Nizam's Dominions) ; (Fasli 1228; A. D. 1818) ; with seal.
86. Hari Rao Holkar to Kamavisdar Wafgaon about temple worship there; *Shuhur-San* : *Ithna wa arba'in wa mi'atayn wa alf* (A. 1242; A. D. 1841); with seals,

87. *Patranama* or a statement of evidence about Pandit Desh Kulkarni of Pavas, from date 1532 to 1726 (194 years).
88. Satavaji Jadhava Rao grants remission, with seal.
89. *Inampatra* to Joshi Rairikar (Sh. 1649; A. D. 1727) from Naro Pandit Sachiv, with seals of officers.
90. A *pharkhat*, of Joshi Rairikar (Sh. 1696; A. D. 1774).
91. Mudgal Bhat Panditrao confirms *inam* grant to Joshi Rairikar (Raj Sh. 41; A. D. 1714). At the end, *ashirvad* in Balbodh in Panditrao's hand, with Panditrao's seals.
92. Raja Shahu confers *inam* on Chaturbhuj and Vishwanath Joshi, (Raj Sh. 54; A. D. 1727); with seals of Raja Shiv, Bajirao Ballal Pradhan, and Shrinivas Parashuram Pratinidhi.
93. Sale-deed of Vatani Wada of Joshi Rairikar to Rameshwar Dikshit, (Sh. 1664; A. D. 1742); bears signatures in original of witnesses, with some seals.
94. Bajirao's letter to Joshi confirming grant of *mauza* Nigadi; conclusion in Bajirao's own hand; *Shuhur-San : Tis'a wa 'ishrin wa mi'at wa alf* (A. 1129; A. D. 1728).
95. An *Abhayapatra* by Bajirao Ballal Pandit Pradhan about Nigadi as in 94 above (A. D. 1716); with seals.
96. Yeshwantrao Dabhade Senadhurandhar Senapati, about Nigadi Joshi, (A. D. 1734); with his seals and *maratib*, probably in his own hand.
97. A *Dayabhag Patra*, partly in Sanskrit, partly in Marathi, Balbodh, (Sh. 1660; A. D. 1728), with Joshi Rairikar as original witness.
98. Bapuji Shripat Deshpande to Poona Deshpande etc. regarding Nigadi *inam* of Joshi, *Shuhur-San : Tis'a-'ashara wa mi'at wa alf* (A. 1119; A. D. 1718). Original, with seals, of Bapuji Shripat.
99. *Chaknama* (Sh. 1650; A. D. 1728) about Joshi's Wada at Poona, with seals of officials and witnesses in original.
100. *Sanad* granting *mauza* Nigadi Tarf Khedabare to Tan Mahale and Jiv Mahale, barbers but soldiers also. Jiv Mahale was Shivaji's bodyguard at the Afzal Khan affair. They are spoken of as "brave soldiers" or *mardane* and old and devoted servants, by Raja Shahu, soon after his accession in Sh. 1626 (A. D. 1709.)

101. A note on Jiv's descendents.

102. *Abhayapatra* by Ramchandra Nilkantha Kaul of Pat Panhala to Kasi Rangnath, *Shuhur-San : Thalātha-'ashara wa mi'at wa alf* (A. 1113; A. D. 1712) ; with seal.

103. Sankrant Tilgul letter by Yekoij Dalvi and others, with Dalvi's seal.

104. Raja Sambhaji's *Ajnapatra*, granting of Khaunkhoti to Purushottam Narayan (Raj Shake 7 ; A. D. 1680), with seal of Moreshwar Amatyā.

105. *Kaulnama* from Diwan Vishalgad, *Shuhur-San : Thamāna was Sab'in wa mi'at wa alf* (A. 1178; A. D. 1777).

106. Raja Shahu grants Asandoli (Raj Sh. 33; A. D. 1703); with seals of Nilo Moreshawar and Parashram Trimbak.

107. Moraji Shivdeo orders about Khaunkhoti (Sh. 1685; A. D. 1763); with seals.

108. Sale of Kulkanna of Wasur, refers to Muizzudin's siege of Panhala, (Raj Sh. 23; A. D. 1693); with seals.

109. Mahajan of Wasur ; *Shuhur-San : Arba'a wa tis'in wa alf* (A. 1094 ; A. D. 1693). Hajir Mayale's name and seals.

110. Kaul Swari Vinayak Parashuram to Hari Purushottam Bapat, regarding *mauza* Mosor ; *Shuhur-San : Tis'a 'ashara wa mi'at wa alf* (A. 1119 ; A. D. 1718), with seals of Vinayak Parashram.

111. A letter bearing the seal of Fathesinh Bhonsle.

112. A letter of Parashram Trimbak Pradhan with his own lines at the end.

113. An order by Gadadhar Prahlad Pratinidhi to give to Kasi Ranganath Pawar land in *mauza* Tekoli in exchange for that in *mauza* Gholsavde; affected by ghosts, the conclusion in Gadadhar's own hand; *Shuhur-San : Ihda wa 'ashara wa mi'at wa alf* (A. 1111; A. D. 1710.)

Original Persian Documents.

1. Adilshahi *farman* to Afzal Khan and Abdul Qadir (Vishalgad), refers to Shivaji Maslehat, (*Shuhur* 1061 ; A. D. 1660).

2. Adilshahi *farman*, (*Shuhur* 1029; A. D. 1628) by Mustafa Khan about Govinda Keshav Harakara.

3. Mustafa Khan's *farman*, (*Shuhur* 1032; A. D. 1631) about Govinda Keshav and another Harkara.

4. *Mustafa Khan's farman*, (*Shuhur* 1032; A. D. 1631) about Navi Suvji of Somaji Shivaji, Tapa Hot Khawba.

5. *Mustafa Khan's farman*, (*Shuhur* 1041; A. D. 1640) in favour of Rango Narayan (Potdar's ancestor), Navi Sinda-e-Kothi.

6. *Mustafa Khan's farman* (*Shuhur* 1034; A.D. 1633) in favour of Rango Narayan Navisinda-e-Kothi and Govind Keshav Harkar and Kito Keshav Navisinda.

7. *Farman* by Muhammad Ibrahim Adil Shah, confirming various *inams* on Moroba Joshi of Chinchawad, *Shuhur-San: Tis'a wa arba'tn wa alf* (A. 1049; Sh. 1571; A. D. 1648), mentions Shahaji Bhonsle as Maharaja and Farzand etc.; with seals.

8. *Farman* by Ali Adil Shah to Kanhoji Jedhe, asking him to join Khan Afzal Khan against Shivaji who is to be defeated and reduced completely, *Shuhur-San: Tis'a wa Khamstn wa alf* (A. 1059; A. D. 1658); with seals.

9. Paper about Dadaji Lotankar being punished, through Kanoji Raje, Kanoji Raje Prabhanvalikar's seal in Marathi.

(g) By courtesy of the Benares State.

1. *Panchnama* Goswami Tulasi Das, executed for acquiring a piece of land in Bhaḍaini (Benares), registered under Shah Jehan's seal; dated 13th Kuar, Sambat 1669 Vikrami.

(h) By courtesy of Sardar Ganda Singh, Amritsar.

1. *Hukam Namah* or letter issued by Banda Singh on Poh 12, Sambat 1767 Vikrami (December, 1710) after his escape from the fort of Lohgarh, asking the Khalse to immediately collect under his banner.

2. *Mazhar Namah* or Proclamation, dated Rabi-ul-Awwal 1126 A. H. (1714 A. D.), issued by the residents of Kiri Pathanan, Basdi Umar Ghazi, in the Parganah of Kahnuwan, regarding the raid on that village by the Sikhs under Jagat Singh during the time of Banda Singh.

3. Photograph of the treaty between the East India Company and Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore, 1809.

4. *Akhbar Ludhiana*. Persian newspaper, edited and published at Ludhiana, under the direction of the British Political Agency, and also some original news-sheets.

5. Proclamation of Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India, dated August 19, 1839, giving an account of the expedition to Afghanistan.
6. *Lahore News* for 1841—a bundle of nine news-sheets.
7. Photograph of an autograph letter of Lord Hardinge to Sir Frederick Currie, dated Camp Bhyrowal, December 12, 1846.
8. A letter from Prince Sahdev Singh, son of Maharaja Sher Singh, dated November 28, 1846, to Col. Henry Lawrence, explaining his financial difficulties and asking for help.
9. *Roznamcha-i-Sarkar Khalsa*, or Diary of the Lahore Darbar for the year 1847 A. D., 4 Vols.
10. *Hisab-i-Afwaj-i-Sarkar Khalsa dar Peshawar*. An account book, a *bahi*, of the army of the Lahore Darbar posted at Peshawar under the superintendence, of the assistant resident, George Lawrence, for the year 1905 Vikrami (A. D. 1848).
11. A letter from Mamdot, dated July 9, 1848, offering services to the East India Company for the expedition to be sent against Diwan Mulraj, Governor of Multan.
12. *Akhbar Darbar Lahore*. News from Lahore from 25th September 1848 to 25th January 1849, dealing with the Second Anglo-Sikh War.
13. *Muraslat Mausuma*, or letters addressed to Henry Lawrence, Resident at Lahore.
 - to John Lawrence, Commissioner, Jullundar, and Officiating Resident, Lahore.
 - to Major George McGregor, Personal Assistant to the Resident.
 - to Maulvi Rajab Ali, Munshi of the Residency.
 - to Rai Kishan Chand, Vakil.
14. *Rubkars*, or Judgments, etc., for the year 1852-53.
15. Photograph of an autograph letter of Lord Dalhousie to Sir Fredrick Currie.
16. *Ishtihar* issued by the Government for the information of the people during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58. Three sheets.
17. A letter from Bhai Jasmer Singh, of Arnauli, dated November 4, 1872, asking for certain papers from the Government regarding the Kaithal suit.

18. The Viceroy at Darbar Sahib, or particulars relating to their Excellencies Lord and Lady Ripon's visit to the Golden Temple at Amritsar, November 13, 1884, with a group photograph.

19. *Dastur-ul-Amal* Sri Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, dated September 12, 1859.

(i) By courtesy of Gauri Prasad Saksena, Esq., Lucknow.

1. Farman of Akbar, regarding grant of land in village Gobri Bahraechi, district Lucknow, dated 980 A. H.

2. Farman of Jahangir, regarding grant of land in village Mallawan, district Lucknow, dated 9th year of the reign.

3. Farman of Shahjahan, regarding grant of land in pargana Kakori,, district Lucknow, dated 1047 A. H.

4. Farman of Aurangzeb. The Royal Order issued to Syed Shahamat Khan through Prince Muazzam to check the rebellion of the Afghans through the Khyber pass. It bears the seal of Prince Muazzam through whom the order was issued.

5. Shah Alam's letter to Prince Akbar II relating to the occasion described by Colonel Hugh Pearse in his book *Life and Military Services of Viscount Lake*, on page 200 as follows :

"Shah Alam, who professed great joy at the removal of his Maratha and French masters, announced his wish to confer the highest available distinction on his deliverer, and with this design in view it was arranged that Lake should be led into the imperial presence by no less a personage than Mirza Akbar Shah the heir-apparent."

6. Pages of the *Illustrated London News* :

(a) One page, 615, dated June 24, 1865, showing the illustration of arms etc., taken from the Bhootias at the storming of Dewanagir, Bhootan.

(b) One page, 113, dated August 2, 1873, showing the illustration of the statue of General Sir James Outram.

(c) One page, 237, dated August 30, 1862, showing the illustration of the Outram shield exhibited by Messrs. Hunt and Roskell.

(d) One page, 624, dated June 26, 1858, showing the illustration of a bronze statue of the late Viscount Hardinge.

(j) By courtesy of R. Subba Rao, Esq., Rajahmundry.

1. Four Persian Farmans.

2. Four English letters that passed between the Hon'ble East India Company, the Nizam Asaf Jah, and Kandegula Jogi Pantulu in the 18th century.

SECTION VI

MANUSCRIPTS AND CALLIGRAPHY

(a) By courtesy of the Hyderabad State.

1. *Dhoan-i-Bekhudi*. Written by Ni'amatulla, at Hyderabad, for the library of Muhammad Qutb Shah, in 1024 A. H.
2. *Sih Nathri Zuhuri*. Written by Muhammad Sihab, in 1158 A. H.
3. A treatise on theosophy written in *Nastaliq* style, by Ala-ud-din Muhammad Hiravi, at Daulatabad, in 1046 A. H.
4. *Mathnawi Suzo-Gudaz*, by Mulla Naui, with six Deccan school illustrations.
5. *Mathnawi Nai-nama*, by Mulla Jami, with seal of Burhan Nizam Shah.
6. A treatise on astronomy, written in *Nastaliq* style, with illustrations and diagrams.
7. *Nauras-nama*. A treatise on Indian music by Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur. The manuscript is beautifully illuminated.
8. *Mathnawi Sahrul-Bayan* by Mir Hasan. Contains fifty illustrations of the Deccan School.
9. *Sih Nathri Zuhur*, written in *Shikasta* style by Muhammad Sihab in 1158 A. H.
10. *Insh-i-Tamhis*, with four illustrations.
11. Persian *Qita't* in *Nastaliq* style, by Abdul Baqa Masawi.
12. An Urdu poem of Muhammad Qutb Shah. Four calligraphy pieces on a long strip.

(b) By courtesy of the Mayurbhanj State.

1. Palm-leaf manuscript giving the boundary and details of Pirs Parganas, dated 1132 Amlisal (1732 A. D.)

2. Palm-leaf manuscript dealing with the history of the Mayurbhanj State upto the end of the 18th century.

(c) **By courtesy of the Benares State.**

Sanskrit Manuscripts.

1. *Durgapath*, in seven parts, with *Kavach* and *Kil*. A prayer for the goddess Durga. Manuscript in a scroll, written by Ghasi Ram.
2. *Ganesh Stotra Kavach*. Manuscript in a scroll, golden letters.
3. *Panchmukhi Hanumat Kavach*. Manuscript in a scroll, silver letters.
4. *Durga Kavach*. Manuscript in a scroll.
5. Palm-leaf manuscript written in Oriya, or some South Indian language.
6. *Jat Karm Paddhati*. A manuscript on astrology, Sambat 1476.
7. *Shabdalo*k. *Nyaya Shastra* written by Shri Lal in Sambat 1307.
8. *Valmiki Ramayana*, Ayodhya Kand. Written by Goswami Tulasi Das.

Persian Manuscripts.

9. *Masnavi Sabai Mulla Jami (Haft Aurang)*. Poems, in seven parts, in the handwriting of Mahmud, son of Faqih Ahmad. 954 A. H.
10. *Tahfatul-Hind*. A history of Aurangzeb's regime, by Mirza Jan, son of Fakhruddin Mohammad, in seven parts, written in 1254 A. H.
11. *Rubaiyat-i-Bedil*. Contains *rubayis* in Persian, in the handwriting of Mohammad Waris, son of Baqar Sidiqqi. 227 years old.
12. *Kulliyat Shams Tabrez*. Contains *qasidas*, *ghazls*, *rubayis* and other poems on different subjects, written by Abdul Fatteh in 1010 A. H.
13. *Ain-i-Akbari*. Constitution of administration in Akbar's regime by Abul Fazl. 138 years old.
14. *Kirshab Nama*. Stories in verse from the times of Zuhag to those of Faridun kings of Iran. 352 years old.
15. *Mirat-ul-Alam*. History of the prophets, philosophers, kings of Ajan, Mohammad Sahib, and several Indian kings, written by Maharaja Dip Narain Singh of Benares, scribed by Sheikh Niamat Ali, in 1214 Fasli (1795 A. D.)
16. *Ajaibul Makhlugat*. Description of different sorts of animals, plants,

angels, etc., in different islands of the world. By Zakaria Bin Mohammad, with poems on eight separate sheets. 121 years old.

17. *Fann-i-Hai-at Batarz Batlimus*. A book on astronomy by Lal Mohammad. 121 years old.

18. *Diwan Ali Hazin*. Contains *qasidas* (46), *moqatiat* (63), *ghazals* (1444), *rubaiyat* (484), *masnavis* (7), and miscellaneous poems (773). Written by Desraj, in 1182 A. H.

(d) By courtesy of the Balrampur State.

1. *Padmavat Bhasha* in Persian script, illustrated with costly paintings in gold, written in the time of King Mohammad Shah, at a cost of Rs 15,475.

2. *Anwar Suheli*, in Persian, illustrated with 27 costly paintings, transcribed by M. Abdul Rahim of Lahore, 1005 A. H., valued at Rs. 60,000.

(e) By courtesy of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares.

1. Calligraphic panel by Mir Ali. 16th century.

(f) By courtesy of the Municipal Museum, Allahabad.

1. *Gulistan* of Sa'adi, being the personal copy of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and bearing his seal and autographed note showing entry of the manuscript in the Emperor's library. Beautiful specimen of *Nastaliq* handwriting.

2-13. Twelve specimens of fine Persian calligraphy.

(g) By courtesy of the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad.

1. *Yusuf-Zulekha*. The manuscript is in the Persian *nastaliq* script. The work was written by Sheikh Nisar of Sheikhpur, in Hijri 1200, (V. S. 1847 ; Sh. 1712 ; A. D. 1790) as mentioned in the introductory verses and gives the well-known story of Yusuf and Zulekha on the model of *Padmawat*. It is a fine specimen of the Avadhi language of the 18th century.

(h) By courtesy of the Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar

1. *Guru Granth Sahib* or the Holy Scripture of the Sikhs, in Persian script.



COLOPHON OF THE *Anwar Suheli* MANUSCRIPT



ANOTHER ILLUSTRATION FROM THE *Anwar Suheli*



PORTRAIT OF SHAH JEHAN

(Mughal : 17th century)

By courtesy of Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan, Patna.

2. *Goshti Baba Nanak*, written by some follower of Meherban and Harji descendants of Prithia, the elder brother of Guru Arjun, the fifth *guru* of the Sikhs. Gurmukhi manuscript.

3. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* by Sujan Rai. Persian manuscript. History of India from the time of Yudhishtir to that of Aurangzeb. The book was written in the 22nd year of the spiritual reign of Guru Govind Singh.

4. *Tarikh-i-Jahan-Kusha-i-Nadiri* by Muhammad Mahdi-bin-Muhammad Nasir Astrabadi. Persian manuscript history of the reign of Nadir Shah.

5. *Aggra*—Var Hakikat Rai. Gurumukhi manuscript.

6. *Tahmas-Namah* or *Tarikh-i-Tahmas* by Tahmas Khan. Persian manuscript, 1191 A. H. (1779 A. D.) Memoirs of Tahmas Khan with accounts of the invasion of Nadir Shah and of the times of Mir Mannu, Murad Begum, Zabita Khan, and Najjaf Khan.

7. *Haqiqat-i-Bina-o-Arui-i-Firqah-i-Sikhan*—Rotograph of the Persian manuscript in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. A short history of the origin and rise of the Sikhs from the time of Baba Nanak to the conquest of Multan by Taimur Shah Abdali, King of Kabul.

8. *Ibrat Namah* by Ali-ud-din Mufti. Persian manuscript (1854), in three parts.

9. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*. Persian manuscript (1167 A.H.). A history of the reign of Ahmad Shah.

10. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*. Rotograph of a Persian manuscript. History of Alamgir II (1174 A. H.).

11. *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-daula* by Nuruddin Hassan Sayyad. Rotograph of the copy in the British Museum. History of Nawab Najibuddaula Najib Khan Rohela.

12. *Risalah Nanak Shah* by Budh Singh. Rotograph of a Persian manuscript. History of the Sikhs written by Major James Browne, in 1784.

13. *Jang Namah Sardar Hari Singh Nakwa* by Ram Dayal. Gurmukhi manuscript.

(i) By courtesy of Professor Datto Vaman Potdar, Poona.

1. Canarese palm-leaf manuscript; *Bhagwata Dasham Skandh*; translation by Nityatm Shuka Yogi; incomplete.

2. *The Kashika* with *Prishtha Matra*, about 500 years old ; Sanskrit ; incomplete.
3. Shripati Das's *Man Charitra* ; Marathi ; incomplete.
4. *Viveka Darpan* by Giridhar ; Marathi poetry.
5. *Viveka Sindhu* and *Paramartha Bodh* by Mukunda Muni disciple of Ramchandra, disciple of Hari. Reveals Mukund as different from Mukund Raj. Sanskrit manuscript.
6. Marathi *Bad* or miscellany, also records historical dates and poems about the Peshawas (*Pant Pradhanakhyanam*).
7. A Hindi miscellany, incomplete, contains *Gyan Pachisi*, medical prescriptions, *bhesh-ko-anga*, *chopais*, etc. Contains references to Kabir and Kamal.
8. *Devi Bhagwata*; Bengali; printed on palm-leaf; A.D. 1895; Bangabda 1313 ; Calcutta.
9. *Sangeet Mimansa*; by Maharajadhiraj Kalsena. Sanskrit; incomplete.
10. *Kayastha Shravani*, by Gaga Bhatta; Sanskrit.
11. *Lilavati Prakasha Vritti*, by Bhattacharya; Sanskrit.
12. *Lilavati Prakash*, by Vardhaman, (*Dravya Padartha Grantha*); Sanskrit; complete.
13. *Lilavati* ; Prakrit.
14. *Ashouch Prakarana*, by Ramchandra, following Bhattoji. Dikshit's opinion ; Marathi prose; Sh. 1710 (A. D. 1788).
- 15. *Tithi Nirnaya*, by Ramchandra, follows Bhattoji Dikshit; Marathi prose; Sh. 1710; complete.
16. *Jati Viveka (Kathakalpataru)*; Marathi verse ; two pages.
17. *Sharangdhar*, a work on medicine; Marathi.
18. *Mukti Mandan* by Raghavrank; Marathi verse ; complete; Sh. 1714 (A. D. 1682).
19. *Simhasan Battishi*; old Gujerati; Samvat 1616. (Sh. 1482; A. D. 1559) pages 2 to 65; *Prishtha Matras* ; Poetry. A rare manuscript.
20. Pages of *Dnyaneshwari*; old Marathi.
21. A few pages from Vishnudashnama's *Mahabharata*; Marathi; very old.

22. A Marathi miscellany; poetry; by Jay Ram, Gosavi Nandan, and others.
23. *Nama Ratna Mala*; old Marathi work; incomplete.
24. Panipat *Bakhar*, probably by Raghunath Yadav Modi.
25. A collection of forms of complementary address to important persons. (*Mayanas*)
26. A *Bakhar*, describing the achievements of Babaji Pant Dewan Angria, about Sh. 1721.
27. One page from *Lahu Ankusha Bakhar* by Devraj Gosavi Nasikkar, written for Narayanrao Peshawa.
28. A *lavani* in one page; Modi.
29. A page of Sanskrit verse describing conversion of foreign dates into Shake dates.
30. *Ganesh Vijay*, by Ganesh Yogi; Marathi prose; Modi.
31. A page of an illustrated manuscript of *Bhagwata*, in Sanskrit.
32. A page from Naina Pathak's *Ashwamedha*.
33. *Samayanaya*; Sanskrit; astronomical work by Gaga Bhatta; written for Sambhaji; copy dated Sh. 1668.
34. *Ramayana* in Marathi verse, by Krisnadas; *Mudgal Yuddha Kanda*.
35. Miscellaneous papers of accounts, sheets, from Nasirabad in Khandesh; *Shuhur* 1107-1121 (A. D. 1707-1720).
36. Miscellany; Marathi verses by Gosavi Nandan.
37. Manuscript covers formed from pieces of old papers.
38. *Ba-us-sa-tin-i-sulatin*; Marathi; Modi.
39. Unpublished and very rare manuscript of verses by Sheikh Mohammed of Shree Gonda (died Sh. 1565).
40. A *Mahanubhava* manuscript, in ciphers; also *Rukmini Swayamvara*; 22 Gudhas, in Sakal *lipi*.
41. A *Mahanubhava* manuscript in Sakal *lipi* of *Mahabhashya Pradipa*.
42. A *Mahanubhava* manuscript; Devanagari; *Vastra Haran Gadya*.

43. Marathi verse, contains *Harischandrakhyān* by Nama Vishnudas Sh. 1597 (A. D. 1675.). Rare.

44. A *kaifiyat*, describing a struggle between Raya Jaising of Jinji and Nawab of Arcot ; Marathi ; Modi.

45. Translation of *Khulase-Ilm-Araj* by Madhavrao Munshi of Satara, A. D. 1825; Marathi ; Modi.

46. Illustrated roll of *Devi Mahatmya* ; Sanskrit.

47. Marathi manuscript calenders for Sh. 1676, 1681, 1693, 1674, 1692, and 1725.

48. A Persian manuscript on astronomy.

49. *Bhrigu Vamsha Mahakhya*, by Sabaji Pandit Pratapraj ; Sanskrit; incomplete.

(j) By courtesy of Sardar Ganda Singh, Amritsar.

1. *Gur Pranali*. Geneological account of the Sikh Gurus. Gurmukhi manuscript. 1908 Vikrami (1851 A. D.).

2. *Gur Bilas, Daswin Padshahi* by Sukha Singh. Gurumukhi manuscript. Life-history of Guru Govind Singh.

3. *Shir-o-Shakar* by Daya Ram. Persian manuscript, Memoirs of the author bearing on the affairs of D'Boign and Louis Bourguin.

4. *Sher Singh Namah* also called *Halat-i-Punjab* by Mohammad Naqi Peshawari Persian manuscript history of the events which took place at Lahore from the death of Maharajah Ranjit Singh to the assasination of Maharajah Sher Singh.

5. *Baitan Sher Singh Khan* by Nihal Singh. Manuscript. An account of the assasination of Maharajah Sher Singh in Punjabi.

6. *Kaifiyat-o-Karnaw Jat-Sar-guzasht-i-Bazurgan-Sahib-i-Riasat Tiwana* by Sher Muhammad Khan Tiwana Malik. Persian manuscript. 1864.

7. *Khulasa Ahwal-i-Khandan-i-Rajah-i-Kishtwar* by Sita Ram. Urdu manuscript.

8. *Tarikh-i-Jhang Sial* by Nur Muhammad Chela. Persian manuscript.

9. A history of Rohilla Afghans. Persian manuscript.

(k) By courtesy of Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan, Patna.

1. *Bhojapatra* (birch bark) manuscript in Sharada characters. 13th or 14th century.

2. Illuminated Sanskrit manuscript of *Kedar-kaṭha*. 19th century.
3. Illuminated *Bostan*. 16th-17th century.
4. Illuminated *Alamgir-namah*. 18th century.
5. Illuminated *Dewan-e-Hafiz*. 16th century.
6. Illuminated *Yusuf Zulekha*. 18th century.
7. The *Quran*, in Kufi characters. A. H. 550.
8. The *Quran*, written on gilt leaves. 16th century.
9. The *Quran*, written in gold. 17th century.

(l) By courtesy of Bijoy Singh Nahar, Esq., Calcutta.

1. A Jain manuscript leaf from *Asankham*, written in gold characters, dated Samvat 1512 (A. D. 1455), written at Patna by Kamla Sanyama Gani, disciple of Jinabhadra Suri.

(m) By courtesy of Khan Bahadur Syed Abu Mohammad Sahib, Allahabad.

1-6. Six specimens of Persian calligraphy.

(n) By courtesy of Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Allahabad.

1. *Ayin-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl, transcribed in beautiful *nastaliq* hand by Sheikh Faizi Rahmatulla, 1102 A. H.

(o) By courtesy of Principal Sita Ram Kohli, Hoshiarpur.

1. *Kitab Naqal Parwanajat Campu-i-Mualla* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

(p) By courtesy of Prof N. L. Ahmad Andheri Bombay.

1. A manuscript of mixed contents, written in beautiful *nastaliq* by Muhammad Fazil, between 1690 and 1992 A.D. The manuscript contains the *Seh Nasr-i-Zahuri*, eight pamphlets of *tughra* Kashmiri, and a long *masnavi*, entitled *Naz-o-Niaz* by Fani, composed in 1641-42 A.D.

(q) By courtesy of Kanhaiya Lal Khattri, Esq., Benares.

1. An illuminated Sanskrit manuscript of *Bhagvad-gita* together with other smaller works,

(r) By courtesy of Haji Syed Mohammad Said, Allahabad.

1. Manuscript of *Diwan-e-Hilali*.

(s) By courtesy of Maulvi Maqbul Ahmad Samadani, Allahabad.

1. A Persian history of Iran and Hindustan up to the reign of Jahangir.

(t) By courtesy of Gauri Prasad Saksena, Esq., Lucknow.

1. *Zafar Nama*. A history of Timur from his birth to death (1336-1405 A. D.) by Sharafuddin Ali Yardi (died A. D. 1454). Written in a beautiful *nastaliq* hand and dated 972 A. H. (1564 A. D.)

2. *Muntakhhut-Tawarikh*. A history of the reign of Akbar, by Abdul Qadir Badauni, who completed it in the year 1596 A. D. The present copy was compared with another copy at Shahjehanabad in the year 1137 A. H. (A. D. 1724) and again compared with the copy in the possession of Mirza Muhammad, son of Motimad Khan Bahadur, in the year 1158 A. H. (A. D. 1745).

3. *Waqaya*. Annals of Indian history in Persian, from the time of Babur upto 1202 A. H. (1787 A. D.). Author's name and date not given. Bears seal of an old library and date 1255 A. H.

4. *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*. A history of Kashmir in Urdu from the time of Asoka to the time of Raja Ranbir Singh (1857 A. D.) by one Kirpa Ram written according to the wishes of Mr. Roberts, the Governor of the Punjab, whom he was sent to receive at Sialkot by the Raja. A great portion of this history is devoted to the geographical condition, natural products and handicrafts of Kashmir.

Calligraphy.

1. *Qit'a* by Muhi in *nastaliq* style.

2. *Qit'a* by Yusuf-al-Rizvi in *nashk*.

3. *Qit'a* by Muhammad Ubaid in *nashk*, dated 1034 A. H. Bears the seal of Ahmad Shah.

4. *Qit'a* by Mansa Ram in *nastaliq*.

5. *Qit'a* by Hamid Ali in praise of Mohi-ud-dowlah, in *nastaliq*.

6. *Qit'a* by Syed Ghulam Hasan Rizvi, in *nastaliq*.

7. *Qit'a* by Hafiz Nasrulla, written at the request of Asaf-ud-dowlah, Nawab of Oudh.

SECTION VII

PAINTINGS

A. Old.

(a) By courtesy of the Municipal Museum, Allahabad.

Irani.

1. Battle scene. 16th century. Folio from a manuscript.
2. Feast. 16th century. Folio from a manuscript.

Moghul.

3. Portrait of a Muslim saint, Shah Husain. 17th century.
4. Portrait of a Mughal prince, probably Aurangzeb. 17th century.
- 5-6. Portraits of Mughal grandees. 18th century.
7. Portrait of a Mughal warrior. 18th century.
8. Line drawing of an unknown personage. 18th century.
9. Seduction. 18th century.
10. Portrait of Shah Jehan. 19th century.
11. Amorous scene. 19th century.

Rajsthani.

12. The lifting of Mount Govardhana. 17th century.
13. A scene from Rukmini Svayamvara. 18th century.
14. Another Scene from Rukmini Svayamvara. Toilet of Rukmini. 18th century.
15. Portrait of an unknown personage. 18th century.
16. The Dwarf (*Vamana*) incarnation of Vishnu. 18th century.
17. Profile line-drawing of a Rajput lady. 18th century.
18. Key sketches of *Ragamala* series. 18th century.

19. Comrades. 18th century.
20. Goddess seated on a lotus, surrounded by eight Lords of Direction (*dihpals*). 18th century.
21. Tori Ragini.
22. Offering a cup of wine. 19th century.
23. Rescue of a heroine. 19th century.
24. The swing (*jhoola*) festival. 19th century.
25. Laila and Majnoon. 19th century.

Jain.

26. Penances of a Jain Tirthankara. 18th century.
27. Heaven and hell. 18th century.

Kangra.

28. Raja with female attendants. 18th century.
29. Child Krishna and the make-believe moon. 18th century.
30. Scenes from the *Ramayana*. 18th century.
31. Enjoying the rains (*Varsha vihara*). 18th century.
32. Portrait of a Raja going on a hunt. 18th century.
33. Krishna and Radha. 18th century.
34. Colour-besmeared heroine—a Holi scene. 18th century.
35. Love scenes of Radha and Krishna. 18th century.
36. Krishna in dishabille. 19th century.
37. Maharani Mandial of Guler. 19th century.
38. Radha and Krishna. 19th century.
39. Krishna decorating the feet of Radha with colour (*mahavar*). 19th century.
40. Expectation. 19th century.
41. Milk-maid. 19th century.

Tanjore School.

- 42-51. Two panels containing 12 Hindu deities. 19th century.
52. Portrait of a priest. 19th century.

53. *Ramapanchayatana* with a saint and a devotee on either side. 19th century.

Nepal School.

54-62. Group of Mahakalas and Kali, on linen. 19th century.

63-65. Dirghayu Pancha Bhagini (18th century), and Shmashana Pati, and Amitayu, on linen. 19th century.

66-68 Goddesses—Singhamukhi, Rikshamukhi, and Vyaghramukhi. 18th century.

69-71. Two Taras and one Bajrapani Mahakala. 19th century.

Tibetan.

72-95. Twenty four Tibetan banners (*tankas*) representing various Buddhist deities. 17th to 19th centuries.

96 Line-drawing copy of Bagh cave mural painting by Asit Kumar Haldar.

(b) By courtesy of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares.

Jain.

1. Three folios from illustrated palm-leaf *Prajna-Paramita* of Pala period. 11th century A. D.

Mughal.

2. Portrait of Raja Birbal. 16th century.

3. Portrait of Shahjehan. 17th century.

4. Taimur holding court. 17th century.

5. Jahangir and Prince Khurram (afterwards Shah Jehan), by Manohar. 17th century

6. Prince Dara Shikoh being weighed against gold. Line-drawing. 17th century.

7. A Mughal grandee. Line-drawing. 17th century.

8. Prince Shujah, by Rao Chatarman. Line-drawing. 17th century.

9. Meeting of two princes, probably Prince Murad and Nazar Muhammad of Balkh. 17th century.

10. A Mughal beauty. 17th century.

11. Aurangzeb hunting a *nil-gai*.
12. Saint Sheikh Phool ; signed 'Bishandas' ; Jahangir period.
13. Emperor Jahangir. Line-drawing. 18th century.
14. Emperor Aurangzeb. 18th century.
15. The Flame of Beauty. 18th century.
16. A Mughal beauty ; 18th century.
17. Panghat. 18th century.
18. Two Faqirs. Line-drawing. 18th century.
19. Mian Mir and Mulla Shah. 18th century.
20. Nawab Roshanuddaula. 19th century.
21. A later Mughal Emperor. 19th century.
22. Madonna and Child by Ustad Ram Prasad. Modern.
23. Mughal Beauty by Ustad Ram Prasad. Modern.
24. Prince Parwez, by Ustad Ram Prasad. Modern.
25. Emperor Farrukh-siyar and Rajbai, by Ustad Ram Prasad. Modern.
26. Worship of Shiva by Umi, by Ustad Ram Prasad. Modern.

Irani Painting.

27. An Irani beauty. 16th century.

Rajput.

28-30. Illustrations from *Ramcharitamanasa* by Tulasi Das, *cir.* 1800.

(a) Boar-hunting.

(b) A view of Ayodhya Nagari in aerial perspective.

(c) **By courtesy of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.**

1. Jami Nuruddin Abdul Rehman, a celebrated Persian poet. Mughal. 18th century.
2. A personage squatting and smoking a *hukka* pipe. Mughal. 18th century.
3. Zeb-un-nisa. Mughal. 18th century.
4. Nanda and Kanhaiya and other family people. Rajput. 18th century.
5. Raja Newal Rai, minister of mansur Ali Khan, Safdar Jang, 2nd



MEETING OF TWO PRINCES

(Mughal : 17th century)

By courtesy of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares.



THE POET JAMI

By courtesy of Y. M. Kale Esq., Buldana.

Nawab Vazir of Oudh. He was slain in 1750 A. D. in a battle fought against Ahmad Khan. Lucknow. 18th century.

6. Laila Majnun. Mughal. 18th century.

7. Female, said to be a betel-seller of the time of Wajid Ali Shah, last king of Oudh (1847-56). Lucknow. 19th century.

8. Bahu Begam, mother of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula, who died in 1815. Lucknow. 19th century.

9. Dhanya Mahri, maid-servant of Nawab Nasiruddin Haidar of Lucknow, whom she is said to have poisoned to death. Lucknow. 19th century.

10. Ravan standing in worship before a goddess seated on a lotus with a winged lion behind. Rajput. 19th century.

11. Vishnu with Garuda worshipping a goddess seated on a lotus with a winged lion behind. Rajput. 19th century.

12. Durga fighting with a demon riding on an elephant. She is seen flying in the air on a winged lion. Rajput. 19th century.

13. Some ferocious deity, probably Kali, sucking the blood of demons. Rajput. 19th century.

14. Kali or some other deity sucking the blood of persons destroyed by the goddess Durga. Rajput. 19th century.

15. Brahma worshipping a goddess, probably Durga, seated on a lotus and followed by a winged lion. Rajput. 19th century.

16. Two personages standing with folded hands before a goddess, probably Durga. Her vehicle, the winged lion, is placed behind. Rajput. 19th century.

17. Nawab Saadat Ali Khan Burhanul-Mulk, first Nawab Vazir of Oudh. Lucknow. 19th century.

18. Nawab Asaf-ud-daula, Vazir of Oudh (1775-1797). Lucknow. 19th century.

19. Nawab Aghamir, minister of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar who built the Karbala near the Wingfield Park. Lucknow. 19th century.

20. Ganga Baksh, dacoit in fetters said to have been beheaded at Abkari Darwaza. Lucknow. 19th century.

21. Munshi Kundan Lal, Meer Munshi of Muhammad Ali Shah and Amjad Ali Shah. Lucknow. 19th century.

22. **Makka Darogha.** Lucknow. 19th century.

23. **Maharaja Balkrishna ; on vellum.** Lucknow. 19th century.

24. Pencil drawing of Mirza Chaubal, a celebrated actor and mimic of the time of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, first king of Oudh (A. D. 1824-1827). The Mirza is standing with a sword in the right hand ready to offer resistance. Lucknow. 19th century.

(d) By courtesy of the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow.

1. Baz Bahadur and Rupmati.
2. Mughal Prince and Princess.
3. Personification of a *ragini*, playing on flute.
4. A *yogini* with two disciples.
5. A lady on a terrace overtaken by storm (*Abhisarika*).
6. A lady seated on a throne before whom a group of women are playing music.
7. Prince and princess.
8. A lady lying on a lawn, reading a letter (*Vasakashayya*).
9. Jodhbai before two female ascetics.
10. A painting of two ladies playing *pachisi*.
11. A gathering of saints probably Christian.
12. Prince's court.
13. A lady worshipper.
14. Ladies at a game of chess on Dewali night.
15. Satyabhama giving away Krishna to Narada.

(e) By courtesy of the Punjab Record Office Museum, Lahore.

1. Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Darbar. A rare contemporary picture. Pencil sketch.
2. Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Raja Hirasingsh driving in a *palki*.
3. Raja Dinanath, Finance Minister to Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

(f) By courtesy of the Gwalior State

1. Baji Rao Peshwa.

2. A Maratha Sardar.
 3. A Deccani Brahman Sardar.
 4. A scene in a harem.
 5. Another harem scene.
 6. A standing damsel.
 7. Changiz Khan.
 8. Umar Khayyam.
 9. Raja Birbal.
 10. Mulla-do-piyaza.
 11. Return of Rama and his brother to Ayodhya after wedding.
 12. Ladies welcoming Rama at the palace gate.
- 13-15. Illustrations from *Barahmasa* :
- (a) *Chaitra*.
 - (b) *Margashirsha*.
 - (c) *Ashadha*.

(g) By courtesy of the Hyderabad State.

Deccan Miniatures.

1. Shiva and Parvati. 19th century.
2. Krishna playing on flute. 19th century.
3. Pima-mati, mistress of King Abdulla Qutub Shah. 19th century.
4. Khurshed Begum, wife of Shiraz-ul-mulk. 19th century.
5. Deccan princess—Chand Bibi. Hunting scene. 19th century.
6. Darwesh. 19th century.
7. Raja Chandoo Lala and Raja Balaparsad. 19th century.
8. Bhagmati. 19th century.
9. Ibrahim Adil Shah II. of Bijapur. 17th century.
10. Taramati. 19th century.
11. Asaf Jah I. 19th century.
12. Mir Ullum Bahadur. 19th century.

(h) By courtesy of the Jodhpur State.

1. Emperor Shah Jehan.
2. Emperor Aurangzeb.
3. Ragini Tori.
4. Shahzada Khusrau and Shahzadi Shirin (on either side of a leaf).
5. Maharaja Mansingh and the Naths.
6. Battle scene from the *Mahabharata*.

(i) By courtesy of the Benares State.

1. *Rasa-grah Nakshatra*. Album containing 30 paintings.
2. *Raga-Ragini* Album. Two volumes :
Volume I. Containing 50 paintings
Volume II. Containing 36 paintings.

(j) By courtesy of Shri Ram Ratna Pustakalaya, Benares.

1. The Taj. Ivory miniature. Modern.
2. A Sikh chief. Ivory miniature. Modern.

(k) By courtesy of Khan Bahadur Syed Abu Muhammad, Allahabad.

1. Nawab Amir-ud-daula who commanded the Oudh forces.
2. Nawab Siraj-ud-daula of Oudh.
3. Nawab Rosban-ud-daula Bahadur of Oudh.
4. Maharaja Chet Singh of Benares.
5. Maharaja of Benares.
6. Prince Birjis Qadr.
7. Babu Kunwar Singh of Benares.
8. Old Persian miniature.
9. Old Persian miniature. Majnoon in the desert. *Reverse* : Specimen of Mir Ali's calligraphy.
10. An old Persian miniature.

11. Mughal portrait of St. Ibrahim Adham showing Angels bringing food from Heaven.
12. An old Persian miniature.
13. Emperor Aurangzeb.
14. Emperor Akbar. *Reverse* : Abdul Rahim's calligraphy.
15. Portrait of Birbal. *Reverse* : Mir Khalil, calligraphist.
16. An old Persian pencil-sketch.
17. A Mughal painting.
18. Prince Jehangir with his tutor.
19. Prince Jehangir with his tutor, being put to oral test by Abul Fazl and Faizi.
20. Dara Shikoh on horse-back.
21. An old Hindu painting.
22. King Humayun.

(l) By courtesy of Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan, Patna

- 1-3. Three Indo-Persian paintings on gold. 16th or 17th century.
4. One Indo-Persian kaleidoscopic painting. 16th or 17th century.
- 5-6. Two Mughal paintings. Jahangir school.
7. One Mughal painting on mica.
8. Portrait of Shah Jehan. Mughal.
9. Laila and Majnoon. Kangra.
10. Shirin and Farhad. Kangra. 18th century.
11. A painting of the Patna school. Late 19th century.
- 12-13. Two illuminated leaves with cover paintings.

(m) By courtesy of Bijoy Singh Nahar, Esq., Calcutta.

1. A Jain painting from *Kalpasutra*. Birth of Lord Mahavira.
2. Kurukshetra Battle scene from Persian manuscript by Khizir, son of Niyaz, who died about 1650 A. D.
3. Toilet scene. Kangra School.

4. Portrait of Prince Muhammad Mokimuddin, grandson of Tipu Sultan. 1852 A. D.

(n) By courtesy of Mr. Justice Mukandi Lal, Tehri (Garhwal).

1. A sketch—*Proshitapatika*—drawn by Mola Ram (1750-1833) in Sambat 1869 (A. D. 1812).

2. A sketch of *Shishir Ritu*, drawn by Mola Ram in Mughal style.

3. A coloured portrait of a Garhwali courtier of the early 19th century, painted by Mola Ram.

4. A coloured portrait of Jwala Ram (1788-1848 A. D) worshipping his family goddess Bhuvaneshwari painted by self.

5. Dance of Shiva. A sketch drawn by Jwala Ram, son of Mola Ram in 1834, being a leaf of a sketch book containing 64 leaves, the sketches having been drawn for his friend Bachuwa goldsmith of Havalbagh, a place four miles from Almora.

6. Balarama ploughing and Krishna flirting. A sketch. One of the leaves in the above manuscript.

7. Sketches of seven Himalayan birds drawn by Jwala Ram, male *munal* drawn on 17.12.1828, female *munal* drawn on 28.11. 1828, and *Koli Fenchuwa* on 28.12. 1828 at Haldwani and Kilpuri in the Nainital district.

8. Panch-bakra Mahadeva. A painting by Shibrām (1790-1855), another son of Mola Ram.

9. A photo of a page of Mola Ram's manuscript. A history of the kings of Garhwal written in 1803. This page gives the account how Mola Ram's ancestors came to Srinagar (Garhwal) in 1658, with Sulaiman Shikoh, a son of Dara Shikoh.

10. Another page of the same manuscript. This page shows that Mola Ram had his own school of paintings and his studio.

11. Mola Ram and his master. The master is his own father Mangat Ram.

12. Hardayal Khattri and Mangat Ram.

13. Mastani Begum.

(o) By courtesy of Sardar Ganda Singh, Amritsar.

1. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa.

2. Maharaja Hira Singh Saheb of Nabha.
3. Maharaja Daleep Singh Bahadur, son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

(p) By courtesy of Rai Rajeshwar Bali, Daryabad.

1-12 Representations of the twelve seasons (*Barahmasa*); Rajput.

(q) By courtesy of Professor Datto Vaman Potdar, Poona.

1. A bound book of *masvida* pictures.
2. A picture of demons riding different animals.
3. A jungle woman and her husband removing a thorn from the *shikari* woman's foot.
4. A woman playing on sitar, which attracts peacock.
5. A night scene in a palace.
6. A Padshah.
7. A Hindu Raja.
8. A characteristic dance.
9. A Pauranik king.
10. Mashir-ul-mulk.
11. Nizam-ul-mulk Bahadur.
12. Haripant Taty Phadke.
13. Govindrao Krishan Kale (Maratha Vakil at Nizam's court) and his colleague Govindrao Bhagwant Pingle.
14. Sardar Appa Balvant Mehendale.
15. Teg Jung Paigawale Bahadur.
16. Mohamed Shah Padshah and in front Khan Sadullah Khan and Daya Bahadur.
17. Dattaji Scindia on one side; on the back side an elephant and *mahaavat*.
18. Ibrahim Lodi Padshah; on the back side Dara Shikoh.
19. Emperor Iltut-mish; on the back side Tana Shah *Padshah wali-e-Deccan*.
20. Baba Lal Das and Aurangzeb's sons; on the back side Akbar worshipping fire.

21. Abul Fazl ; on the back side Akbar hunting a lion.

22. A fighting scene ; on the back side Sultana Begum and Ahmed Shah Durrani.

23. Thirty two illustration of sexual poses.

(r) By courtesy of Y. M. Kale Esq., Buldana.

1-2. Two albums containing Mughal and Deccani paintings.

(s) By courtesy of Rana Parakram Jung Bahadur, Allahabad.

1-4 Scenes from the *Ramayana* in oils, on large canvas. Patna School. 19th century.

(t) By courtesy of S. C. Kala, Esq., Srinagar (Garhwal).

1. Remembrance. By Mola Ram. Garhwal School.

2. The Churning of the Ocean (*Samudra-manthan*). By Mola Ram. Garhwal School.

(u) By courtesy of Syed Maqbul Ahmad Samadani, Allahabad.

1. Rani Man Bai (Shah Begam) Jaipuri. By Aqa Raza. 18th century. Mughal.

2. Sultan Khusrau by Abul Hasan Isphani. 17th Century. Mughal.

(v) By courtesy of Lala Pannalal, Allahabad.

1. Fort Allahabad. Ivory miniature. Patna School.

2. Study of a bird. Mughal. 19th century.

3. A portrait. Patna school ivory miniature.

(w) By courtesy of Gauri Prasad Saksena, Esq., Lucknow.

1-6. A set of six pictures illustrating the pedigree of Amir Timur.

7. Portrait of a Mughal grandee.

8. Aurangzeb, reading the *Quran*.

9. Ranjit Singh on a charger.

10. Mohammad Ali Shah, Nawab Vazir of Oudh. Ink-sketch.
11. Amjad Ali Shah, Nawab Vazir of Oudh. Pencil-drawing.
12. Asaf-ud-dowlah, Nawab Vazir of Oudh. Ink-sketch.
13. Wajid Ali Shah, Nawab Vazir of Oudh. Pencil-drawing.
14. Ali Naqi Khan, Nawab Vazir of Oudh. Pencil-drawing.
15. Standing portrait of a Mughal noble.
16. Shah Jehan and Dara Shikoh visiting the Prince's tutor at Lahore.

B. Modern.

(a) By courtesy of H. E. Professor Nicholas de Roerich, Naggar, Kulu, Punjab.

1. Compassion.
2. Snow Maiden.
3. Himalayas.

(b) By courtesy of Svetoslav Roerich, Esq., Naggar, Kulu, Punjab.

1. Autumn Trees.
2. Gallardias.
3. Lilies.
4. Mira.

(c) By courtesy of D. P. Roy-Choudhry, Esq., Madras.

1. Vulture's Paradise.
2. Beggars of the Barren Land.
3. Study in Green and Gold.

(d) By courtesy of Shrimati Amrita Sher-Gil, Simla.

1. South Indian Villagers going to Market.
2. The Bride's Toilet.

(e) By courtesy of Bireshwar Sen, Esq., Lucknow.

1. The Message of Fire.

(g) By courtesy of Pandit Shambhunath Mishra, Allahabad.

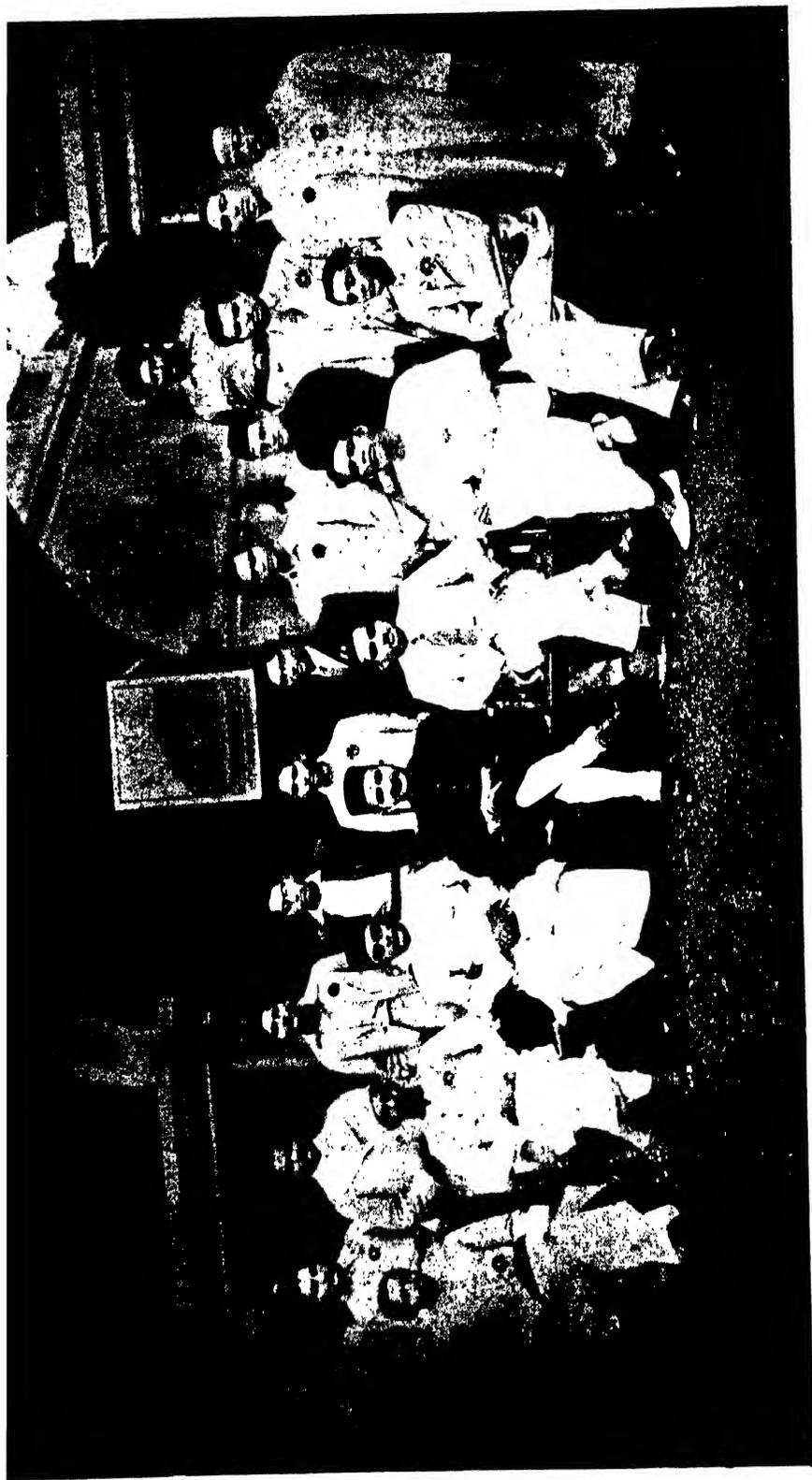
1. Expectation.

(h) By courtesy of the Municipal Museum, Allahabad.

1. Light Falls on the Ganges by Gaganendranath Tagore.
2. Himalayas by Gaganendranath Tagore.
3. Evening in the Village by Gaganendranath Tagore.
4. Goldmohurs by Gaganendranath Tagore.
5. Evening on the River bank by Gaganendranath Tagore.
6. Near Kalimpong by Gaganendranath Tagore.
7. Chaitanya by Nandlal Bose.
8. A Poem by A. K. Haldar.
9. Scene from the *Meghaduta* by Shailendranath De.
10. Gajendra Moksha by Shailendranath De.
11. Holi by Shailendranath De.
12. Radha by Shailendranath De.
13. Death of Haridas by Kshitendranath Majumdar.
14. The Maiden by Kshitendranath Majumdar.
15. Toilet by Jamini Roy.
16. Mural Decoration by Jamini Roy.
17. Yashoda and Krishna (mural) by Jamini Roy.
18. A Village Hut by L. M. Sen.
19. Portrait of A. K. Haldar by L. M. Sen.
20. Mother and Child by Abdur Rahman Chughtai.
21. A Study in oils by S. Bose.
22. Saraswati by R. Vijaivargiya.
23. Madan Shringar by R. Vijaivargiya.
24. Umbrellas by Manishi De.
25. Dotiyal by Manishi De.
26. Dusk by Shambhunath Mishra.

AN INTERIOR VIEW OF THE MODERN PAINTING SECTION





GROUP PHOTOGRAPH OF OFFICE-BEARERS AND VOLUNTEERS OF THE INDIAN HISTORY
CONGRESS EXHIBITION, 1938.

Seated from left to right are Messrs Vijai Krishna, V. N. Pathak, R. C. Tandan (*Secretary*), B. M. Vyas,
Rai Bahadur (*Contener*), O. P. Bhatnagar (*Joint Secretary*), R. N. Deb and S. C. Kala.

27. Radha and Krishna by B. N. Jijja.
28. Dhritarashtra by B. N. Jijja.
29. Gloaming by Shardendu.

(i) By courtesy of R. C. Tandan, Esq., Allahabad.

1. Mother India by Amrita Sher-Gil.
2. Pass in the Himalayas by Anagarika Govinda.
3. The Poet's Dream by Shambhunath Mishra.
4. The Cowmaid of Jaipur by R. Vijaivargiya.

(j) By courtesy of Ramchandra Vyas, Esq., Allahabad.

1. Dante's Inferno by Anagarika Govinda.

SECTION VIII

MISCELLANEOUS

(a) **By courtesy of the Mysore State.**

Photographs of Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore.

BELUR.

1. Chennakesava Temple—North-east view. Contains the finest sculptural work of the Hoysala style. 12th century A. D.
2. Chennakesava Temple—An external shrine. The animals on the friezes and the dancers on the railings are in graceful attitudes.
3. Chennakesava Temple—A pillar in the hall. Faced with the image of a handsome attender.
4. Chennakesava Temple—Frontal friezes. The oblong panels near the top depict mythological events.
5. Chennakesava Temple—Frontal friezes. Another view.
6. Chennakesava Temple—Sculptured screen on front wall. Emperor Vishnuvardhana, the builder, in court. Bracket figures on top : lady and parrot ; beauty and the mirror.
7. Chennakesava Temple—Another sculptured screen. Emperor Narasimha I in court. Bracket figures above : dancer ; musician.
8. Chennakesava Temple—An image of Kesava. A fine image of Vishnu, the Almighty preserver.
9. Chennakesava Temple—Mahishasura-mardini. Eight-armed Durga, the great goddess, dancing and fighting the buffalo-demon.
10. Chennakesava Temple—Bracket figure in the hall. Dancer in an interesting pose.
11. Chennakesava Temple—Bracket figure in the hall. The dance begins.

12. Chennakesava Temple—Ceiling. A single flat slab with a lotus showing the Man-lion group.
13. Chennakesava Temple—Bracket figures. Huntress ; modesty.
14. Chennakesava Temple—Ground plan.
15. Chennakesava Temple—Narasimha pillar. Finely sculptured stone pillar. Each pillar has its own design.
16. Chennakesava Temple—North door-way.
17. Chennakesava Temple—Krishna with the flute. A fine image of the boy-god in a graceful pose.
18. Chennakesava Temple—Bracket figure. Lady dressing her hair.
19. Chennakesava Temple—Inner door-way. A finely carved pierced screen serves as a ventilator.
20. Chennakesava Temple—Portrait statue. Emperor Vishnuvardhana, the great patron of Hoysala art.
21. Chennakesava Temple—Central dome of hall. Elaborately sculptured with a pendant lotus showing Vishnu as Man-Lion tearing the demon Hiranya-Kasipu.

HALESIDDA.

22. Hoysaleswara Temple—North view. A two-shrined temple of Siva with the outer walls fully sculptured. 12th century A. D.
23. Hoysaleswara Temple—South door-way. Ornamental pavilions and door-keepers.
24. Hoysaleswara Temple—North-east view. Sculptured friezes and pierced stone windows.
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