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Notice to Contributors

CONTRIBUTORS are requested to be so good as to address papers and correspondence to the Editor, *Journal of Indian History*, 'Srijāyavāsam,' East Māḍa Street, Mylapore, Madras.

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Journal of Indian History,
'Sri Jayāvāsam,'
East Māḍa Street, Mylapore,
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JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Ancient Indian Culture.¹

BY

H.H. THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.S.I.

GENTLEMEN,

It gives me great pleasure to be present amongst you this evening and to participate in the JUBILEE CELEBRATION of the Sanskrit College. Both my revered father and myself have been always keenly interested in the welfare of this College and watched its work with pride and pleasure. Started in 1876 at the expressed desire of my grandfather, it has passed through many vicissitudes; but in spite of these, it has continued to flourish and it now occupies a unique place in the educational system in the State. It is no doubt true that latterly it has been eclipsed in importance by other educational institutions which cater to modern needs. Nevertheless the work which this College has been doing is of inmeasurable value and its importance cannot be judged by numerical standards alone. For, this institution stands for all that is great, noble and eternal, in our ancient culture. It is the centre of Sanskrit learning, from which a knowledge of the rich store of our ancient heritage has radiated to all parts of the State and even outside. It has, in fact, preserved, for the use of future generations, the essence of those traditions and characteristics,

¹ His Highness the Maharaja's Speech on the Occasion of the Jubilee of the Maharaja's Sanskrit College. Reproduced with the gracious consent of His Highness. *Ed.*

on which the structure of our Indian civilization was built in the past. This College is thus rendering a national service of no mean order to the country. That this is not an unduly large claim will be clear, if we remember that in any reconstruction of our social, political or religious polity, we could not, and should not, cut ourselves off from all our historic past and that our future must have its roots deep in the past.

Besides, Sanskrit learning embodies a culture, a discipline, a type of humanism, which no other learning, old or new, dead or living, can present to our age. It is not from the stand-point of objective knowledge, the knowledge of the facts and laws of the world, that we should adjudge the value of Sanskrit learning. For, the Knower that stands behind that knowledge, the *Atman*, has also to be known, and it is this *Atma-vidya*, the knowledge of the self, to which the study of Sanskrit opens the way, in a sense which is true of no other literature to the same degree. And this is not a barren knowledge—it is indeed the supreme *Vidya*, the science of sciences. And its sovereign character is known by its fruits. For, in India, it has created and illumined the arts, and given birth to a distinctive civilization.

Oriental Art, to-day, is seen to be a new world in itself, the discovery of which is likely to usher in a World-Renaissance as creative as the sixteenth-century Renaissance in Europe. And much of what is unique in this Asiatic art had India for its fountain-head. And it is the spirit enshrined in Sanskrit literature that can alone reveal the inner meaning of that art, in architectural types of temple and pagoda, in sculptural *motifs* of the Nataraja or the Buddha, in generalized lines and curves of the Ajanta frescoes, or in the melodic systems of the *Ragas* and *Raginis*. It is the light derived from Sanskrit learning that illumines, interprets and recreates the marvellous world of Asiatic art in all its ramifications from the steppes of Central Asia to the coral strands and reefs of the Far Eastern Archipelago.

But deeper than all this is the need of the world to-day for that sovereign truth, which Sanskrit learning utters more clearly, more powerfully, than any other learning of literature—the truth which finds

in Bramha and the Peace of Bramha, in other words, in the oneness of man and all creations in the cosmic Reality and in the realization of that oneness, the sovereign cure for the malady of the world, a malady which an ill-directed pursuit of Science and Power has only aggravated, has indeed brought to a paroxysmal fury in our age. The emancipation of the man and the world of man from this illusion is the problem of our age, and this emancipation will not only be a fitting conclusion to the age-long history of human freedom, but will also usher in a Renaissance fruitful in works of Peace and in saving Power and Knowledge. Sanskrit Learning and the spirit enshrined in it, are of inestimable value to this world's emancipation and renaissance.

But, this makes it all the more necessary that all students of Sanskrit learning including the *alumni* of this institution should value this discipline of the spirit, this cultural ideal, more than the mechanical or formal elements, the *debris* of ages, with which all ancient learning must be loaded. A Pandit, trained in an institution like this, cannot be a Vidwan unless his whole mind and life are rightly attuned to this sovereign culture, which is the genius of India and of her Sanskrit learning. He must be a light-bringer, a bearer of this message of Wisdom, a living example of the true *Vidya* and the *Satyadharma*, of that conquest of matter by the Spirit, that independence of mind and character, and that fearlessness of conduct, which are of the very essence of Bramhanya. He must always be conscious that he bears a sacred responsibility, for by him and in him will the ancient *Vidya* be judged. And, if he thus fits himself for serving his fellow-men in the higher needs of the soul, he may rest assured that the Providence, which works ever in the dispensations of Society, will not abandon him, for is it not written—' *Yoga-kshēmam Vahāmyaham* ' ?

But, his greatest treasure in life will be that learning of which he is the custodian,—a blessing and a treasure of which none can deprive him. Let him live happy in the consciousness of his privilege.

In the brief, but comprehensive, report read on behalf of the

Committee this evening, two points of some importance emerge, viz., the future policy regarding the courses of studies to be followed in the College ; and secondly, the prospects of the students who take degrees here. With regard to the first point, you must all realize that the Sanskrit College alone cannot escape the consequences of the impact of Western civilization upon all our ideas and institutions. I do not propose to lay down this evening what shape the courses of study should take in future. Such questions must be left to the experts ; but this much I must say, that, whatever changes may be called for in this respect to suit modern conditions, every care should be taken that the essentials of our ancient culture are preserved, viz., that intimate, nay, almost filial, connection between the teacher and the taught, that thorough mastery of the subjects studied, that love of learning for its own sake and keenness to impart it to others without thought of reward, and, above all, that close association of religion and education, which has so large an influence on the formation of character. As regards the second point, I can assure you that my Government will view with sympathy any representations on this matter and on other matters pertaining to the improvement of the College, which the authorities of the College may make.

Gentlemen, the occasion that has brought us together this evening is a historic one. The continued existence of any institution for fifty years is in itself remarkable and it is all the more so in the case of this College devoted to the neglected study of Sanskrit and confronted with innumerable difficulties. I must therefore congratulate all those, who have been responsible for its efficient maintenance on the success of their efforts. I must specially congratulate the teachers, past and present, of this institution, to all of whom it has been mostly a labour of love to work for the good of the College. I wish the Sanskrit College all success and many more years of prosperous and useful work.

In conclusion, let me thank the students and staff for the welcome they have given to me on this occasion.

Forgotten Episodes in the History of Mediaeval India¹

BY

PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI Aiyangar

University of Madras

' HARSHA 's death must have loosened the bonds which have restrained the disruptive forces, always ready to operate in India, and led them to produce their natural result, a medley of petty states with ever-varying boundaries, and engaged in internecine war. Such was India when first disclosed to European observation in the fourth century, and such it always had been except during the comparatively brief periods in which a vigorous central government has compelled the mutually repellent molecules of the body politic to check their gyrations and submit to the grasp of a superior controlling force.' These are the terms in which the talented author of the *Early History of India* described the condition of affairs that followed the death of Harsha. The century following, namely, the period from A.D. 650 to 750 is comparatively barren of events so far as Hindu India as hitherto known, is concerned. There are, however, some few glimpses into the condition of India at the time from a few sources, the piecing together of which may give us an idea of the actual position of affairs during the period of the three or four generations from that of the great Emperor. From these it is found that an attempt, not altogether unsuccessful, was made to revive the empire of Magadha, so as to make it the dominant force at least in Mid-India. This empire perhaps held together for four generations when it passed on to another dynasty under Yaśovarman of Kanauj, of whom we have had but a few glimpses so far. It would be interesting, therefore, to pursue the painful process of building up from these stray glimpses a picture of the state of affairs, which would give us a fuller view of the

¹ This formed the introductory part of the course of Ordinary University Lectures on the Gurjaras by the Professor of Indian History and Archæology at the Madras University.

political condition of India in the century following the death of Harsha.

The death of Harsha, without leaving a successor with a title beyond question, would in the ordinary course of things have resulted in the empire breaking up into the separate kingdoms composing it. It would have been the legitimate ambition of each of these to achieve the imperial position in its own turn. Such, however, does not appear exactly to have been the case in this instance. It is generally taken that there was a usurpation, and the usurper fell a victim to the consequences of his own unroyal treatment of the ambassador from China. For this so-called usurpation and what followed in consequence our only source of information is such references as we find in the History of the Tang dynasty of China. As far as the available details take us, there is nothing clear to indicate that Arjuna, or Aruṇāśva as he is called, usurped the empire. It seems to be much rather that Aruṇāśva was the ruler of the province called Tirabhukti in that period, embracing within it the region between the Himalayas and the Ganges, and extending eastwards from the Gangetic Doab to the Kharatoya River. That would mean no usurpation in the ordinary sense of the term, unless by usurpation is meant the assertion of independence by a governor when the empire ceased to exist in consequence of the death of the emperor and the absence of a successor. This inference seems clear as, among the details relating to the Tibetan war, there is no indication of Aruṇāśva having mobilized the whole of the military resources of the empire against the Tibetan army under the Chinese Ambassador. There is a positive statement that Kumāra Bhāskara Varman of Assam supplied provisions and rendered other assistance of the kind, to the Tibetan army. This he could not have done if it was the empire that was at war with the Tibetans. Besides Magadha, south of the Ganges seems to have remained absolutely unaffected by the war.¹ It seems, therefore, better to regard the war as a local affair concerned only with a single province of the empire of Harsha which at the time, had set itself up as an independent kingdom.

This conclusion comes out clearly from the dispositions that Harsha made of his empire in the later years of his reign. We learn

¹ On this see Waddel's article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, for January 1911 and the *Indian Antiquary*, 1900.

from the *Harshacharita* and from Hiuen T'sang that one ruler that defied Harsha's power even after he established himself firmly upon the throne of the united kingdoms of Thanesar and Kanauj was Śaśāṅka of Bengal. Apparently the operations against him committed to the charge of Bhaṇḍi by Harsha did not have the result of crushing the enemy out of existence.¹ Far from it Śaśāṅka was still ruling over Bengal with considerable power till almost about the year A.D. 620. The only possible inference from this is that the punitive expedition against him ended merely in an agreement, the actual terms of which we do not know; but the fact that Śaśāṅka was still left in considerable power—perhaps even extended power—indicates that the terms were not all to the advantage of Harsha. The issue of the Ganjam grant in the Gupta *Samvat* 300, that is A.D. 619-20² would justify this inference. Up to the year therefore A.D. 620 Śaśāṅka lived and exercised his authority unimpaired over the eastern kingdom of Bengal and the adjoining territory.

Hiuen T'sang makes the statement in his description of Gaya, that Śaśāṅka uprooted the Bodhi tree there root and branch, and that a succeeding ruler, Pūrṇavarman by name, of the dynasty of Asoka repaired the damage and let the tree grow twenty feet. He further states that Pūrṇavarman was the ruler till some time before the visit of Hiuen T'sang. These remarks of the Chinese traveller warrant the inference that Pūrṇavarman became ruler in the region where Bodhi-Gaya is situated in succession to Śaśāṅka, and ruled till a short time before the visit of Hiuen T'sang.³ It seems probable that, after the death of Pūrṇavarman, Harsha annexed the territory to his own dominions, if he did not do that before, and this conclusion finds support in another remark of Hiuen T'sang that about the year A.D. 640, Harsha was returning from an expedition to Kongyodha.⁴ There is further support for this position in the fact that Kumāra Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa (Assam) issued a copper plate grant⁵ from Karṇāśvarṇa, the capital actually of Śaśāṅka. As this ruler and Harsha were on terms of a treaty alliance, and very friendly to

¹ *Harshacharita*, translated by Cowell and Thomas, p. 224.

² *Epigraphica Indica*, vi. 143.

³ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, ii. 115.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 349, *Life*, p. 159.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, xii. 65-79 and *Indian Antiquary*, 1914, p. 25.

each other, it would be safe to infer that *Kaṇvaśvarṇa* and a part of the territory of *Śaśāṅka* were made over to *Kumāra* by *Harsha* after the death of *Śaśāṅka*. It was probably in this general arrangement, that *Pūrṇavarṇa* became ruler of at least a part of *Magadha*, it may be the whole of *Magadha*. The death of *Pūrṇavarṇa* probably occasioned the need for *Harsha's* intervention in *Magadha*, and that is perhaps what is indicated in his expedition to *Kongyodha* referred to above. It seems, therefore, justifiable that the death of *Śaśāṅka* led to the annexation to the empire of *Harsha* of the extensive kingdom of *Bengal*, and that *Harsha* did not straightway annex it to the empire but made his own dispositions by dividing the territory of *Śaśāṅka* among the rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms or viceroyalties by rounding off their frontiers on a systematic basis. It seems, therefore, clear that the territory east of the *Doab* and extending from the *Himalayas* to the sea was, in the last years of the emperor, divided into the following viceroyalties—(1) *Tirabhukti* taking in the whole territory between the *Himalayas* and the *Ganges*, and westward of the *Kharatoya River* to the very frontiers of the *Doab*; (2) the territory of *Assam* to the east of the *Kharatoya River* taking in bits of *Bengal* in the near border; (3) *Magadha* with perhaps a considerable slice of territory added extending its frontiers up to the *Ganges* in its lower course; (4) *Bengal* itself must have been reconstituted by including in it all the territory in the lower course of the *Ganges*, and must have comprised in it the districts lying along the coast of what is now *Bengal* and all *Orissa*. This we find to be the actual disposition of powers in the century following the death of *Harsha* from such records as are accessible to us. *Tirabhukti* must have been a viceroyalty of very great importance, and so also *Magadha*. *Kāmarūpa* was undoubtedly a kingdom in alliance, subordinate alliance though it be. *Bengal* was perhaps a feudatory kingdom also, but may have been under the rule of a local dynasty, which may have been even that of *Śaśāṅka* himself. If *Harsha* made such a disposition of his territory during his life time, it is possible to infer that this territory broke up into four kingdoms on the death of *Harsha*, without leaving a successor.

Of these divisions of the empire in the east it was only *Tirabhukti*, or the region between the *Ganges* and the *Himalayas*, that was actually involved in the war against the *Tibetans* and the *Nepalese*,

who intervened on behalf of the Chinese ambassador *Wang Hiuen T'se*. The war went against the Indian ruler, who was taken prisoner along with his family, and was carried over ultimately to China by the ambassador, where he died. As far as the details of the war accessible to us go, we do not find that the neighbouring province of *Magadha*, the part of it south of the *Ganges*, or any other part of the empire was involved in it, except for the assistance that the ruler of *Assam* gave to the *Tibetans* by way of supplies, etc. Therefore it may be taken that the war was actually confined to the single province of the empire, which may for convenience be called the viceroyalty of *Tirabhukti*. Almost ten years after the war, the self-same Chinese ambassador, a high placed official of China, the Minister in charge of the Imperial Archives, visited India again on a tour of pilgrimage in the course of which he was able to proceed unmolested to all the Buddhist holy places within the sphere of a Buddhist pilgrim's beat. What was more he returned without molestation across the north-western frontier. The actual date of this pilgrimage is A.D. 657. In A.D. 657 therefore the country must have enjoyed a certain amount of peace and provided a sufficient amount of security for an official of the importance of *Wang Hiuen T'se* to pass through unmolested. More than this perhaps we may even presume that there was something like a common authority recognized though this need not necessarily be an inevitable inference. Was there such a power which may be taken to have exercised extensive authority over the region of *Mid-India* to be regarded more or less as a successor of the empire?

We have some records of a dynasty of rulers who affiliated themselves in their grants to the family of the later *Guptas*, though not to that of the imperial *Gupta* dynasty. One ruler by name *Ādityasēna* has left behind him half a dozen records of his, of which all but one are undated.¹

The dated one belongs to the year 66, obviously of the *Harsha* era, which would mean the year A.D. 672. Another feature of these records is that in some of them he does not give himself the suzerain titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, etc., while in some he gives himself those titles. The inference therefore is clear that he started as a subordinate

¹ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, Nos. 42-46.

ruler, and at some stage of his career he transformed himself into a suzerain power. This is confirmed by the fact that his father is referred to with no higher titles than that of a *sāmanta*, and nothing more is stated of him than that he was the intimate friend of Harsha. This reference to Mādhavagupta in association with Harsha in the records gives us the clue to an identification, which perhaps would throw light upon the connection of this feudatory family of the Guptas, with Magadha.

If this Mādhavagupta, the father of Ādityaśēna, was the same as the Mādhavagupta who figures in the *Harshacharita* as the friend and companion of Harsha, we may draw the inference that when Harsha rearranged the province in consequence of the death of Śaśānka, he may have appointed his friend to the viceroyalty of the important and even palatine principality of Magadha.

The Apsad stone inscription¹ of Ādityaśēna gives a list of eight generations of Guptas in the following order :—

Krishnagupta
|
Harshagupta
|
Śrī Jivitagupta
|
Kumāragupta
|
Damōdaragupta
|
Mahāsēnagupta
|
Mādhavagupta
|
Ādityaśēna

In regard to some of these the following points of historical interest are also noted. No. 4 Kumāragupta is said to have defeated the ocean-like army of Īśānavarman, and entered, as if plunging in water, the fire specially lighted in Allahabad. This means that he fought against Īśānavarman and ascended the funeral pyre, perhaps because he was defeated. His successor Damōdaragupta died in battle against the Maukharis, whose elephants caused the death of the Hūna soldiers. His successor Mahāsēnagupta defeated Susthitavarman's army, 'the fame of which deed of heroism was heard on the

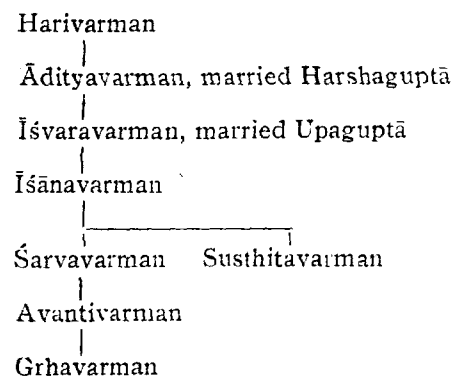
¹ Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, No. 42.

banks of Lauhitya.' Then come Mādhavagupta, whose friendship Śrī Harshadēva sought. Then followed Āditayśēna. Of these Mahāsēnagupta was probably a ruler connected by marriage alliance with the family of Harsha. Harsha's grandfather Ādityavardhana is said to have married Mahāsēnagupta, who from her name was probably a sister of Mahāsēnagupta. If so he must have been a maternal uncle of Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Harsha. Mahāsēnagupta is said to have defeated the army of a Susthitavarman. This Susthitavarman is taken to be the ruler of Assam and the father of Kumārabhāskaravarman by some scholars on the ground that the River Lauhitya is mentioned in the connection. This, however, does not necessarily follow. The River Lauhitya is not mentioned as anywhere near the scene of battle; it is merely mentioned as a place on the uttermost eastern frontier up to which the fame of the heroic deed had spread. It cannot, therefore, bear the weight of the inference that the Susthitavarman referred to is the ruler of Assam. There is undoubtedly an Assam contemporary of Mahāsēnagupta by name Susthitavarman. If this Susthitavarman had gone to war with Mahāsēnagupta, the fact is likely to be mentioned in connection with the embassy that came to Harsha from Assam.¹ The *Harshacharita* is not likely to have overlooked a detail like that. The probabilities, therefore, are that this Susthitavarman was a Maukhari ruler, though the name has not come down to us in any of the records or coins so far accessible, of this dynasty. Notwithstanding this want of direct reference, it would be more in keeping with the history of the relations between the Maukharis on the one side and the ruling dynasty of Thanesar on the other, to regard this Susthitavarman as a Maukhari, a brother probably of Śarvavarman rather than a son. Apart from that it is clear that this Mahāsēnagupta was the Gupta contemporary of Prabhākaravardhana. Where did he rule, and what was his kingdom? These are the points that we shall have to settle on the basis of such evidence as we have.

In the dynastic list of these Guptas, the first three names have no historical association. The next three names come into close connection with the Maukharis as almost hereditary enemies. The following

¹ *Harshacharita*, pp. 246-7. Trans C & T, p. 217. The translators adopt the reading Stithivarman. The *Nirnayasāgara* text gives the correct reading Susthitavarman.

two belong to a period following Harsha, which we have dealt with already in part. The Maukharis had their headquarters at Kanauj, and had a comparatively extensive kingdom.¹ Among them there are eight rulers in succession forming a dynasty up to the date of Harsha or Mādhavagupta. Their names may be set down in order as follows :—



The fourth Īśānavarman seems to be thought of as the ruler of this dynasty who really brought it into importance. Of the first we have no information; of the second and the third, the only useful information is that they married apparently two Gupta Princesses, and if we may assume from the name that they were related to the contemporary Gupta rulers, the queen of Ādityavarman must have been a sister of Harshagupta, and the queen of Īśvaravarman a princess perhaps similarly related to Jivitagupta. Whether that be so or no, Īśānavarman assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja, and was the son of Īśvaravarman by Upaguptā. It is against him that Kumāragupta fought and failed. His son was Sarvavarman, who styled himself Paramamāhēsvara and Mahārājādhirāja. We have already stated that Susthitavarman, must have been a successor of Sarvavarman, either a brother or a son, and as such fought against the Maukharis. Next follows Avantivarman, whose son Gṛhavarman was married to Rājya Śrī, sister of Harsha. We thus see that Susthitavarman may have been the contemporary of Mahāsēnagupta. Passing on to the family of Harsha himself, we find that Prabhākaravardhana was the son of Ādityavardhana by his queen Mahāsēnaguptā. The latter name Mahāsēnaguptā raises a presumption that she was a sister of Mahāsēna-

¹ Fleet, *op. cit.*, Nos. 47-52.

gupta who fought with Susthitavarman. If this should be correct Prabhākaravardhana took rank with Avantivarman, his son Harsha with Gṛhavarman, a position which seems to be warranted by what appears in the *Harshacharita*. Where did this dynasty of Guptas rule? Was it in Magadha?

We know that Mādhavagupta's successors were associated with Magadha. This would naturally raise a presumption that the family ruled in Magadha. We see in the *Harshacharita* and in the inscriptions that a certain number of Gupta princes played a prominent part in his reign. Of these three names are worthy of notice. The first is Dēvagupta whom Rājyavardhana destroyed according to the Madhuban grant of Harsha.¹ Rājya during his short life fought only two wars the one against the Huns and the other against the Maīva ruler who carried on a war against Gṛhavarman, his brother-in-law, killed him, and threw Rājyasrī into prison. Rājya had to conduct a war of reprisal against him. He conducted the war successfully, killed the Malva ruler, and returned victorious with his cousin Bhaṇḍi as his companion. When Rājya in his turn was assassinated by Śasānka, Bhaṇḍi led the army of his master successfully back to Thanesar and is said to have brought along with him a number of Malva notables in Chains.² It, therefore, seems indubitable that Dēvagupta was the ruler of Malva. Again the *Harshacharita* makes reference to two princes of Malva.³ Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, slightly older than the brothers, Rājyavardhana and Harshavardhana who were sent by their father to the court of Prabhākaravardhana.

Of these two brothers, Kumāra was made the companion of Rājya and Mādhava occupied a similar place with respect to Harsha. It is obviously this person to whom the *Harshacharita* refers as the Malva prince (*Malava Rājasūnu*) * when Bāṇa paid him the first visit.

The Mālava Rāja from whom these princes came to the court of Thanesar must have been in alliance, and related to the royal family, or else it would be difficult to understand that these princes should be

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, i. 67.

² *Harshacharita*, pp. 254-5. See also note on this subject by Rao Bshadur C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval India*, vol. i.

³ *Harshacharita*, p. 153 and Translation, 119.

* *Ibid.*, p. 87 and *Ibid.*, p. 66.

sent as pages in attendance. If Mahāsēnagupta, the mother of Prabhākaravardhana was the sister of Mahāsēnagupta he would then be sending his sons to the court of his nephew, and there would be certainly nothing undignified in it. It appears therefore that Mahāsēnagupta, the father of Mādhavagupta and Kumāragupta was the ruler of Malva being allied by marriage with the family of Thanesar and kept the peace with them while carrying on an unrelenting war against the Maukharis of Kanauj. The fact that the brothers Mādhavagupta and Kumāragupta were sent to Prabhākaravardhana's court was probably because there was another prince who succeeded to the throne with whom these princes could not have been as happy as at the court of Prabhākaravardhana. Dēvagupta whom Rājyavardhana punished must, therefore, have been the ruler of Malva in succession to Mahāsēnagupta. So then we can take it that Mahāsēnagupta and his predecessors ruled in Malva in all probability and were Gupta rulers of Malva.¹ After the conquest of Malva the dynasty came to an end in Dēvagupta, and the two princes belonging to the royal family were in the court of Harsha himself. Harsha made other arrangements to carry on the government. That accounts for the statement of Hiuen T'sang that there was a Brahman ruler in Malva. Dēvagupta and Kumāragupta get omitted in the inscriptions of Ādityasēna and his successors, because they were collaterals and Mādhavagupta had perforce to be mentioned as he was in the direct line. Even so the Apsad inscription has nothing more to say of him than that he was sought in friendship by Harsha. There is no other person who appears to have been as good a friend of Harsha as the Malva prince Mādhavagupta in the *Harshacharita*. We can, therefore, safely take it that the Mādhava of the inscription referred to is no other than the Mādhavagupta, the friend of Harsha according to the *Harshacharita*. This Mādhava was in the company of Harsha almost in all critical moments of his life. He was the one companion on whom Harsha rested his arms when fatigued by his wandering in search of his sister, as he had to go on foot in the last stage of it.² He seems to have been the person to whom he addressed the remark about the young gallant when Bāṇa first paid him a visit in his camp on the river Ajiāvatī. This Mādhavagupta, the father of Ādityasēna was clearly

¹ Mr. C. V. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, note referred to above.

² *Harshacharita*, p. 265. Translation, 235.

the Malva prince of the name. How did he come to be the ruler of Magadha?

This could only be by appointment of Harsha. As we have pointed out already Harsha must have made disposition of the territories in the eastern part of his empire after the death of Pūrṇavarman, and in the arrangements must have constituted the viceroyalty of Magadha, to which he probably appointed his trusted friend Mādhavagupta. Ādityasēna inherited the territory from his father. He probably assumed independent titles, and even styled himself paramount ruler some time after the Tibetan war when there was no chance of a revival of the empire. After the death of Śaśāṅka, Harsha must have reconstituted the province by creating a viceroyalty for the whole of the region of Tirhut carrying its eastern frontier up to the Kharatoya River. All east of it was within the kingdom of Kumāra Bhāskaravarman, whose authority extended even to this side of the Kharatoya river, as he issued a grant from Karnasvarna, near the capital of Śaśāṅka. The territory on this side of the Ganges, extending as far as the frontiers Orissa, was constituted as the province of Magadha, appointing Mādhavagupta to the charge of it. The kingdom of Bengal must have been reconstituted and with the addition of Orissa, and possibly a part of Kalinga, should have been formed a province by itself. That it was so under the empire is clear from the fact that Hiuen T'sang refers to Harsha's return from an expedition to Kongyodha which is referred to in the Ganjam inscription of Śaśāṅka. Arjuna or Aruṇāśva was apparently ruler of Tirabhukti, and his defeat and imprisonment as a result of the Tibetan war must have induced the others to seek their own safety. That was probably the occasion when Ādityasēna assumed independence which may be about A.D. 650. His inscription is dated A.D. 672 and gives him paramount titles; and these were probably assumed by Ādityasēna some time about the period when the Chinese ambassador Wang Hiuen T'se visited India on his third mission. The position thus founded by Ādityasēna continued intact through the reigns of his son Dēvagupta, his grandson Vishnugupta, and his great grandson Jivitagupta. The Deo Barnark inscription of the last makes reference to grants of Bālāditya, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman which he renewed by this grant. This is additional evidence that he was ruler over the territory not only of the two Maukharis, but even

of Bālāditya, in all probability the Mahārāja Bālāditya of Hiuen T'sang. The territory of Ādityasēna should have been the same as the territory over which the Maukharis ruled in this part, and supports the view put forward here that the earlier Guptas were rulers of Malva, and the father of Ādityasēna was transplanted in Magadhā.

What was really the position or the extent of the empire of Ādityasēna, if it is permissible to call it such? Of the few inscriptions that have come down to us relating to this period and of this dynasty the actual records of the dynasty do not give us any idea of the extent of his empire, or the character of his authority. But there is a record at Deogarh in Bihar,¹ in the heart of his territory proper, which states that he was ruler of a comparatively extensive empire, and that his authority at any rate, extended as far as *Cholapura*. He is said to have brought vast wealth obtained at the capital of the Chola, and with that, celebrated the third *Aśvamēdha*. He is further said to have constructed a temple of Vishṇu in the form of Narasimha, and in connection with this establishment the record purports itself to have been originally made. Unfortunately however, the record is found in a temple dedicated to Vaidyanātha, that is Śiva, and is in the Maithili characters of about the sixteenth century. As the record itself contains reference to a further establishment of Vishṇu in the form of the Primeval boar (*Varāha*), the document that has come down to us cannot be the original, but a comparatively late copy. One feature in it is worthy of note. Ādityasēna is said to have brought the wealth and built the temple referred to before, in the *Kṛitayuga*, that is in the golden age of the Hindus, and the queen's name is given as Koshadēvi, instead of Konadēvi which was her actual name. The latter feature can be explained as a copyist's error, and the former feature would mean that at the time the record was put in its present form, it was so ancient in the estimation of contemporaries that the temple was taken to be of immemorial foundation. Notwithstanding these defects, we may take it that the record is a copy of an older, and even genuine original. At the same time it must be admitted that the *Cholapura*, which would mean nothing else than the capital of the Chola country, may contain an error in transcription. It may not be safe, therefore, to draw the inference

¹ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 212, No. 6.

that he actually went to the Chola country, or laid the Chola under tribute. In the latter half of the seventh century, the Chola power may have existed, but in no high position in the Chola country proper. But there was perhaps a Chola country in the region extending from Kālahasti to Cuddapah, to which Hiuen Tsang refers in his *Chuliye*. Whichever be the Chola country under reference it would perhaps be unsafe to take it that Ādityasēna's authority, or even influence, extended as far south as the Chola country. But the mere general achievements ascribed to him seem possible from the other records of his, and would make the inference sustainable that he was a sovereign of very great influence in Magadhā and the surrounding territories, and that his influence and power were great enough for him to put forward a claim to imperial authority, without the claim being seriously called in question.

We have the date for Ādityasēna of A.D. 672 as was mentioned already, and according to a Nepal inscription,¹ he married one of his daughters to a Maukhari prince, by name Bhogavarman, which means that at the time of the dominance of Ādityasēna's influence in the central region of Hindustan, the Maukharis, had not gone quite out of existence. They were still in a position of sufficient influence and retained so much of their prestige, as to enter into marriage relations with the suzerain dynasty for the time being.

This Bhōgavarman's daughter married the Nepal prince, Śivadēva, and her son was a Jayadēva for whom we have a date in the Harsha Sam. 153, which would correspond to A.D. 759-60. At the time of the Tibetan invasion, Nepal was in alliance, perhaps a subordinate alliance with Tibet, the Tibetan ruler having married one of the princesses of Nepal. This Jayadēva of Nepal was the great grandson of Ādityasēna in the female line. Jivitagupta was his great grandson in the male line. We shall not perhaps be far wrong if we took it that Jivitagupta of the Deo Barnark inscription was almost a contemporary of this Jayadēva of Nepal. Therefore Jivitagupta's date would be roughly about the middle of the eighth century when according to Kalhana's *Rājatarangini* the Kashmir ruler, Lalitāditya, Muktapīḍa defeated, and overthrew completely the ruler of Kanauj, Yaśovarman. This perhaps indicates that the suzerainty of Ādityasēna

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, ix, 180.

and his successors gradually shifted from the Guptas of Magadha to the ruler of Kanauj, who might possibly have been of the dynasty of the Maukharis. This seems to be borne out by the statement in the inscription of Jayadēva of Nepal, referred to above, for the record mentions the fact that this Jayadēva married princess Rājyamati. Rājyamati is said to have been *the daughter of a Śrī Harshadēva, Lord of Gauda, Odra, Kalinga, Kosala and other lands, and was of the race of Bhagadatta*. The race of Bhagadatta was the race that ruled over Assam, as Bhagadatta was the son of Narakāsura, and the family of Kumāra Bhaskaravarman claimed descent from him. This Harshadēva must, therefore, have been the ruler of Assam, to which perhaps, he had added by his own efforts, or by those of his immediate predecessors, the province of Odra, Kalinga and Kosala, as Puṇḍra had already been added to the territory of Kumāra perhaps in the last years of Harsha. This description of Harshadēva's territory keeps clear of Magadha, and is almost along three frontiers of it. Therefore at the period of rule of Yaśovarman the rulers of Puṇḍra or Bengal must have exercised authority or rule over a considerable extent of territory along the eastern frontier, extending from Assam to Ganjam in the Madras Presidency. When Muktāpīḍa had overthrown Yaśovarman and started on his *digvijaya*, the first ruler he could attack was the ruler of Kalinga, according to the *Rājatarangini*¹ as the territory of Yaśovarman had already been subdued. In another of his adventures he had to get across to the ruler of Bengal to try his strength against. When he wanted to gain assistance against the Bengal ruler, having escaped from prison by stratagem, he could apply to the king of Nepal. Thus the reduction of Yaśovarman to subjection brought the Kārkoṭaka ruler into conflict with the ruler of Kalinga with none other between. Yaśovarman's authority must, therefore, have extended not only over the territory of Kanauj proper, that is, the ancestral kingdom of the Maukharis, but must have taken in the whole of Magadha. That again is an indication that the dominant authority passed from the family of Ādityasēna, that is, from the Guptas of Magadha, to Yaśovarman of Kanauj.

Of Yaśovarman we have hitherto known but little beyond what is contained in Kalhana's *Rājatarangini*. So far as that work is

concerned it mentions Yaśovarman only incidentally as an important ruler of Central India who had been overcome in war by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, in the course of a description of the incidents of the reign of the Kashmir ruler. It adds one more detail regarding Yaśovarman, namely that he was a patron of two great poets Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāja. Bhavabhūti is the well-known author of the three dramas, Mahāvīra Charitam, Uttara Rāma Charitam, and Mālati-Mādhava. Vākpatirāja describes himself as a pupil of this Bhavabhūti who ultimately succeeded to the position at court occupied by Bhavabhūti as poet laureate.¹ In his Prakrit poem Gauḍavaho (Gaudavahā, the slaying of the Bengal ruler), he is described in true epic fashion as a great ruler, a veritable incarnation of Viṣṇu, whose chief achievement and title to fame was his conquest of Gauḍa (Bengal) and the killing of the Gauḍa ruler, which forms the subject of the Prakrit epic. Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa who vanquished Yaśovarman in his turn claims to have overthrown and killed another Bengal ruler. From what has been said above, Harsha was the great ruler of Assam in whose territory was included Bengal and the province appurtenant thereto. He is given the name of Harish in the traditional history of Assam.² That probably was the ruler who was overthrown by Yaśovarman, and hence the great glorification that is made of this incident in the Gauḍavaho. In the *History of Assam* the dynasty of Bhagadatta is said to have come to an end either directly or indirectly with the ruler Harish. Is this not a variant of the name Harsha? There was a short succession of two or three rulers following this revolution, and another dynasty settled itself upon the throne. Has this not a reference to the death of the two successive rulers one of them having been put to death by Yaśovarman and the other by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa? If this should happen to be correct, Yaśovarman must have established an empire in succession to Ādityasēna in Mid-India, as his first title to greatness, according to Gauḍavaho, is the overthrow of a Magadha ruler. He extended this empire to include Vanga (Bengal) and all that formed part of it at the time. The empire, therefore, founded by the later dynasty of the Guptas in Magadha was continued under Yaśovarman and was put an end to by the overthrow of Yaśovarman by the ruler

¹ Translation by Stein, Book I, p. 145, etc.

¹ Gauḍavaho, 797-804. Introduction xxxiii.

² Vide Sir Edward Gait's *History of Assam*.

of Kashmir. This put an end to the suzerainty of the central powers, and it was now the turn of the frontier kingdoms to assert their power and establish an ascendancy if possible. Three powers stood out almost in competition to achieve this ascendancy, the frontier kingdom of Kashmir, the rising kingdom of the Gūrjaras in Maru or Marwar, and the newly established kingdom of Bengal in succession to the rulers of Assam. The latter half of the seventh century and the greater part of the eighth century were taken up with the revival of the Gupta empire in Magadha followed by that of Yaśovarman, possibly a Maukhari, and this central Indian Empire made way for the struggle between the Gūrjaras and the Pālas of Bengal and culminated in the establishment of the empire of the Gūrjaras at Kanauj.

NOTE

The poem of Gauḍavaho of Vākpatirāja, published so far, consists of 1209 *ślokas* in the Bombay Sanskrit series (No. 34). On the face of it it deals with the slaying of the Gauḍa king on the analogy of the poem Rāvaṇavadha. The poem therefore is expected to deal with the death of a Gauḍa king at the hands of the enemy presumably in war, or after a combat of some sort. In the form in which it is available to us it seems an incomplete poem. The 1209 *ślokas*, all that is available so far, do not carry us far into the narrative. The Editor, Mr. S. P. Pandit, sets himself up to consider whether it is a complete work or no, and adduces many arguments of value to prove that the poem is incomplete. He nowhere refers to the colophon of the work which states in clear terms, that what is printed, the whole of 1209 *ślokas*, is *Kathāmukha* or introduction which makes all discussion on this question superfluous. Obviously therefore, he had some reason to regard this colophon as not genuine or not forming part of the original. Even if it should be so, there is but little doubt that the part printed is nothing more than the introduction.

If the published part of the 1209 *ślokas* is the *Kathāmukha* that it pretends to be, there must be a hint at any rate of the Gauḍa monarch who died at the hands of the hero and some indication of the greatness of the achievement. The first 697 *ślokas* describe a sort of *digvijaya* of the hero, and what follows is merely an account of the author and the circumstances under which the poem came to be composed. Is it legitimate to expect any indication of the main topic

in the first as Mr. Pandit has done? This part has reference only to the anterior history of the hero and what follows is really the introduction to the main theme. In the first 697 *ślokas* there is frequent reference to the defeat and death of a Magadha king¹ and to an invasion of Vanga territory involving a defeat of the king.² There is no warrant for equating the *Magadadhiṣa* of the *ślokas* as equivalent to the Gauḍa, nor does the commentator do so in these cases. He falls into the blunder, so it must be called unfortunately, as the poem refers to Magadha, Vanga and Gauḍa separately only in *śloka* 844³ which states that *formerly*, Magadha-nāyaka was uprooted and dispossessed of his kingdom.

This was not all. The Magadha king fled from the field and was taken and killed, his queens having been taken prisoners and reduced to servitude. Hence this achievement against the ruler of Magadha stands out distinct as a separate achievement, and this is clearly indicated in the expression *purā* in *śloka* 844 meaning a former achievement of the monarch.

Following this comes the successful invasion of Vanga and the defeat of its ruler. Then the hero is taken to the Dakhan and the South, then against the Pārasikas and ultimately against the Himalayan regions almost on the lines of *Raghuvamśa*. In all this Gauḍa as such, or its ruler, finds no mention whatever.

Śloka 1184 describes Yaśovarman as *Chānakyacharita* meaning thereby that he was a proficient in the arts of statecraft and diplomacy. It is in *śloka* 1194 that we get the first direct reference to the Gauḍa ruler as the *śloka* states, your sword prospers by cutting the throat of the Gauḍa ruler.⁴

Does it not follow from this that, in the first half, Vākpatirāja merely describes the anterior history of Yaśovarman and then gives the actual introduction to the subject which he intended to treat in true epic form in the rest of the work whether it ever was written or no. It would be too much of an idiosyncrasy in an author of the eminence of Vākpatirāja to call his work Gauḍavaho and refer to the Gauḍa uniformly as the Magadha king. In what is actually no

¹ *Ślokas* 354, 414 and 696.

² *Ślokas* 417 and 420.

³ *nīlāviyo purā magadha-nāyaka*.

⁴ *Tuḥa dharmā sandhāniya-gayinda-mukta-halo asi jayayi Gauḍa gaḇa cchēdā valagga santhye āvali orra*.

more than the *Kathāmukha* or the introductory chapter,¹ Yaśovarman first of all conquered Magadha killing its ruler in war, and having established an empire in consequence in succession to that of Ādityasēna, went further and annexed to it Bengal though only for a very brief period of time. This seems the only legitimate inference from the Gauḍavaho in the form in which it is accessible to us so far.

¹ Cf. *Kathāmukha* in the *Kathāsaritsagara* of Somadeva.

The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the 'Arthasastra'

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CHAPTER IV

GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE DIPLOMACY OF KAUTALYA

I

THE BASIS (*Prakṛti*)

(*Ar. Śās.* vi. 96; *Kām.* iv; *Agnipur.*, ch. 238)

As the true founder of a system, Kauṭalya endeavours at first to determine the basis of diplomacy. He distinguishes seven elements which he calls *Prakṛti*. This expression is as old as the Sāṅkhya philosophy which is pre-buddhistic in its origin. True to the tradition and the special psychology of Hindu scholiasts, Kauṭalya takes hold of an old word and gives it a new meaning. In the last chapter¹ of his book, he describes his method of exposition (*Tantrayukti*) and remarks thus :—

'I call that my own definition, which has not been given in a similar form by others. For example, the first *Prakṛti*, the contiguous ground and the second *Prakṛti*, etc. . . .'

So the word *Prakṛti*, possesses a special significance. But we must remark also that Kauṭalya mentions first the Sāṅkhya in the group of the four systems of philosophy which he calls by the common word *Ānvikṣakī*. Besides there seems to be a close parallelism between the struggling primordial atoms which we find in the *Prakṛti* of the

¹ *Ar. Śās.*, xv, 180, p. 430.

Sāṅkhya,¹ and in the atomic diplomacy of Kauṭalya. Leaving aside this problem, tempting to students of pure philosophy, we shall analyse the conception of Kauṭalya.

These seven *Prakṛtis* are :—

1. The sovereign (*Svāmin*).
2. The ministers (*Amātya*).
3. The country (*Janapada*).
4. The fortresses (*Durga*).
5. The treasury (*Kośa*).
6. The army (*Danda*).
7. The allies (*Mitra*).

These are according to Kauṭalya the veritable elements of all sovereignty. But some centuries later Kāmaṇḍaka, who is a pundit and not a politician, gives in his *Nītisāra*, a resumé in verse of the *Arthaśāstra* and does not seem to realize the comprehensiveness of the definitions of Kauṭalya. Kāmaṇḍaka enumerates indeed the seven elements but in following his conclusions he narrows down the general idea of sovereignty (*Rājasampat*) to that of a kingdom (*Rājyam*). He forgets that the kingdom is already one among these elements and thus he confounds the part with the whole. But his excellent commentator Saṃkarāryya who seems to have studied profoundly the text of Kauṭalya, partly corrects the error of Kāmaṇḍaka by returning to the original conception of the elements (*Upādāna*) at their state of integration and of disintegration (*Viśleṣa*). The theory of seven elements appears also in Manu (ix. 294). Yājñavalkya (l. 352) in the *Mahābhārata* (lxix. 69-70) and the *Sukranīti* (i. 61). But in *Sūkra*² these *Prakṛtis* are defined as ten functionaries.

Finally the word *Prakṛti* finds a place in the lexicon of the *Amarakośa* :

स्वाम्यमात्यमुहृत्कोशराट् दुर्गबलानिच³

Then Kauṭalya characterizes every one of these elements, and the sovereign (*Svāmin*) appears as the centre of the whole system.

इश्वर प्रकृतेः प्रधानत्वात् स्वामिनं अधिकृत्याह

¹ Vide Dr. Brajendranath Seal, *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, *Sāṅkhya-Yoga* section.

² ii. 71-74.

³ Compare with *Arth. Śās.*, viii. 127 प्रकृतिव्यसनवर्गं Manu, ix. 295-297.

Here Saṃkarāryya (on Kāmaṇḍaka, iv, i) following Kauṭalya is in accordance with all the other schools. The first question put by Yudhiṣṭhira to Bhīṣma (*Mbh.* ch. 59, 8) on royal diplomacy was : 'Why a certain person who is subject to both birth and death, and who possesses the same qualities as others, is placed at the head of others?' In reply (*Mbh.* ch. 68) Bhīṣma represents royalty as the last remedy against anarchy (*Mātsyanyāya*). He tells how the social contract with the first king Manu secured the life and property of the people.¹ The same argument in favour of monarchy is given in Manu (vii), Kāmaṇḍaka (i, ii) and the *Sukranīti* (i) with simple variations. It is dangerous to affirm that such a one is borrowed from such another. They appear to have come from that mysterious source of Hindu wisdom—, oral tradition which transmitted a vast collection of floating truths long before the schools and the schoolmen.

Just because kingship is an exalted privilege it carries with it grave responsibilities. Nowhere is this point better developed than in the employment of time as indicated by Kauṭalya for the king. In the section on diplomacy he gives the first place wholly to the necessary virtues of the king (*Svāmi Sampat*).

There he follows the footsteps of his two great masters, Śūkra and Brhaspati. According to one stanza of the *Sukranīti* (i. 92)² the king has at first to discipline himself, afterwards discipline his sons, then his ministers, his officers and lastly his subjects. Also the *Brhaspatinīti* (i. 1) begins with the *Sūtra* ; आत्मवान् राजा³ and Kauṭalya seems to have written only one *Bhāṣya* (commentary) on this point in his first chapter on diplomacy. We find there a veritable catalogue of the royal virtues carefully classified :

(a) The qualities which attract partizans to the king (*Abhigāmika guṇāḥ*) : noble birth, luck, intelligence, heroism, habit of taking counsel from the aged, piety, sincerity, fidelity, gratefulness, magnanimity, great energy, promptitude, possession of powerful (or disciplined) vassals, resolution, aptitude of drawing near himself the broadminded people, and lastly love of discipline.

¹ The same history is repeated in the *Arthaśāstra* (i. 9) although it is presented as a pious fiction destined to terrify the detractors of kingship and to reclaim them to obedience.

² Cp. *Mbh.*, xxxiii. 56-60.

³ Cp. with गुणवतो राज्यं *Br. Nīti*, ii. 1.

(b) The intellectual qualities (*Prajña guṇāḥ*):¹ curiosity, attention, assimilation, memory, discernment, reasoned choice (*Ūhapōha*) and passion for truth (*Tattvābhiniṣeṣa*).

(c) The signs of energy (*Utsāhaguṇāḥ*): courage, pride (*Amarṣa* or impatience under humiliation), promptitude, competence (*Dākṣya*).

(d) The personal qualities (*Ātmasampat*): he must be prudent (or eloquent), spiritual, of good memory and vigorous intelligence, of imposing presence, master of himself, master of different arts (*Kṛtasilpa*); he must employ the punishment, etc. . . in moments of danger, do good to the good and harm to the wicked; be moderate, capable of preventing public dangers; he must see profoundly and ahead (*dirghadūradarsi*),² expert in what concerns the place (*Dīśa*), time (*Kāla*) and personal initiative (*Puruṣākara*), the treaties (*Sandhi*) and wars (*Vigraha*), the concessions (*Tyāga*), the reserves (*Saṁyamā*) and agreement (*Paṇa*); he must be sharp to discover the weak points of the enemy; measured in his emotions, dignified in manifestations of his fatigue, of his anger, etc.; free from passions, from irritability, greed, arrogance, indolence, inconstance, impatience and cruelty, and he must be ready to speak first with a smiling countenance, agreeable to the counsels of the ancients.³

This respectable list of virtues is almost entirely reproduced in verse by Kāmaṇḍaka⁴ and his excellent commentator Saṁkarāryya quotes from time to time the original text of Kauṭalya, drawing our attention to the alterations due to the requirements of the metre in Kāmaṇḍaka. Thus the group (a) is reproduced in Yājñavalkya i. 308, 310. The *Śukranīti* also contains the echoes of the phraseology of Kauṭalya. Lastly when the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁵ enumerates the catalogue of the virtues of an heir-apparent, it reproduces the list of choice virtues mentioned in the four groups of Kauṭalya. On the other hand,⁶ the counsels of the venerable King Dasaratha to his son Rāma, accepted as the succeeding prince by the people, are in perfect harmony with the principles of the Arthaśāstra⁷ such as they are formulated in the brief and profound paragraph entitled the conduct of a saintly king (*Rājarsivṛttam*).

¹ Cp. Śukra, iii. 58-59.

² Cp. Śukra, i. 643, also *Raghu*, viii, ix, xvii.

³ ii, 2, 30-44. *Rāmāyaṇa*, ii. 3, 42-45,

⁴ Śukra, iii. 69-75.

⁵ iv. 6-23.

⁶ i, 3,

'The ideal king must first conquer his senses by watching over the group of six moral enemies. . . . (*Arishadvarga*); he must acquire wisdom (*Prajñā*) by associating with the aged (*Brddhasaṁyoga*), he must see by means of his spies (*Cāra*), be attentive towards acquisition and energetic to consolidate what is thus acquired (*Yoga-kṣemasādhana*); he must defend the respective duties of the four orders (*Svadharmasthāpana*)¹ by proper administration; and attain self-mastery (*Vinaya*) by cultivating the sciences (*Vidyopadēśa*), he must endear himself to the people (*Lōkapriyatva*) by assuring them profits, and must regulate his conduct by considerations of general welfare' (*Hilēna Vṛtti*).²

This solicitude to win the goodwill of the people is the strongest guarantee against despotism. Therefore all the manuals on Niti insist on this point and Kāmaṇḍaka³ has faithfully conserved this tradition when he coins this significant title: The 'manner of winning the subjects' (*Prajāsamgraha*). For success in this line, the king must sacrifice his vanity, and then by the positive virtues of discipline, he will be able to conquer the whole world. His very enemies will be transformed into good friends. This idea is found also in Aśvaghoṣa who gives an ideal portrait of king Śuddhodhana, the father of the Buddha.⁴ It is developed later on in the poetic sketch of the great kings like Dilīpa, Raghu, Daśaratha, Atithi outlined by Kālidāsa in his epic of *Raghuvamśa*.

The king, even if he were to be perfect, cannot bear alone the burdens of Government. Hence the necessity of ministers,⁵ and other functionaries. Kauṭalya⁶ lays down as a principle that sovereignty depends on co-operation; a single wheel cannot suffice. The king must elect the ministers and follow their counsels.⁷ His predecessors, Bṛhaspati and Śukra both attribute the same importance to the ministers and to those who help them. Bṛhaspati, indeed, immediately after his first *sūtra* on the king, said that the king must choose as ministers those who are masters of themselves. The king must not do what he thinks right, if it had not the

¹ Cp. *Bhagavadgītā*, iii. 35.

² Cp. the ideal of Kalyāna and Hita sukha of Asoka's inscriptions, and Kalyānābhijana of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

³ iii. 35.

⁴ Cp. *Buddhacarita*, i. 9-14; ii. 6.

⁵ Manu, vii. 54; Viṣṇu, iii. 71.

⁶ *Ar. Śās.*, i. 3.

⁷ Cf. Yājñā, i. 311.

approval of the majority. He may, however, do it if men of experience recommend it.¹

Likewise the second book of the *Sukranīti* commences with a *śloka* which appears with a slight variation in the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*.² If, for a petty action, it is difficult to achieve the task alone, how could one without co-operation cope with the great task of Government? Therefore even if the king is versed in all the sciences, and expert in diplomacy, he should never discuss the problems of *Artha* without his councillors. Thus the second Chapter of the *Sukranīti*³ devotes the *ślokas* from 71 to 109 to the higher officials and the *ślokas* 110 to 176 to the smaller officials. That text rivals the second chapter, *Adhyakṣapracara*⁴ of Kauṭalya, on the same subject, if not in quality, at least in extent. The *Rāmāyaṇa*⁵ also, when it describes the ministers of King Daśaratha, summarizes the essential virtues of ministers according to the rules of Kauṭalya. But the latter is superior to all the other texts on that point because Kauṭalya conserves the different theories of divers schools on the subject of the creation of ministers.⁶

Bhāradvāja says :—

‘The king shall choose his ministers from among his companions of study for their purity (*Śauca*) and capacity (*Sāmartha*) are well known. He can have confidence in them.’

‘No,’ says Viśālākṣa, ‘such men, being playmates shall dominate the king: the ministers shall be chosen from those whose private character is known to the king who shares their vices and virtues. They will thus be afraid to injure the king who knows their hearts.’

‘But the danger is reciprocal,’ says Parāśara, ‘because the king will have to follow them in their bad as well as in good actions, since they know his secrets as well. So long as the king fears, lest the people should know his secrets, he is independent only in theory. Let those only be ministers who serve the king in his dangers, even at the peril of their lives, for their loyalty is proved.’

‘No,’ says Piśuna, ‘this is loyalty but not intellectual capacity (*Buddhiguṇa*). Those who are experts in the financial matters,

¹ *Br. Niti*, 1, 2, 4, 5 and vi. 5, 6.

² *Cp. Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 220.

³ i. 7, 9-10; ii. 100, 4.

⁴ lxxx. 1; *Manu*, vii. 55.

⁵ *Cf. Manu*, vii. 81 with *Medhātithi*.

⁶ *Ar. Śās.*, i. 4, 8.

who maintain steadily the level of profits and even produce a surplus, such men are to be appointed ministers, for their capacity is proved.’

‘No,’ says Kauṇapadanta, ‘such people are devoid of other ministerial qualities. The king must have hereditary ministers, for even if they act wrongly they will never abandon the king, for they know his glorious actions and respect the family relations which bind them (*Saganuhatvāt*). It is the same even in animal species: the cattle remains always with its own herd and leaves that with which it has no bond.’

‘No,’ says Vāṭavyādhi, ‘for these hereditary men would domineer over all and act as the king himself. The king shall choose, on the contrary, new ministers versed in politics. Such ministers would dare not offend the king since they would consider him as Yama, the god of Justice, the strong upholder of the sceptre of discipline.’

‘No,’ says Bāhudantīputra, ‘for a mere theorist of political literature would bring disasters through lack of experience in the matter of good and bad actions. The ministers shall be chosen from among those who are noble by birth, wise, honest, and pure,¹ heroic and loyal and chosen only on consideration of their virtues.’²

‘This,’ says Kauṭalya, ‘is just from all considerations: the way of working proves personal worth in general.’

Having thus fixed the method of choosing the ministers (*Amātya*), Kauṭalya³ indicates the criterion to be employed in the choice of councillors (*Mantrin*). The king shall verify the following points concerning them; domicile (*Janapada*) and local influence (*Avagraha*) by means of persons worthy of credit; technical ability (*Śilpa*) and knowledge of the *sāstras* by means of colleagues; wisdom (*Prajñā*), tenacity (*Dhārayiṣṇutā*) and skill (*Dākṣa*) by means of practical test (*Karmārambha*); eloquence (*Vāgmitva*), resourcefulness (*Pragalbha*) and ever-renewed talent (*Pratibhānavatva*) by way of discussions; endurance (*Klēśasahatva*), by means of the display of energy and heroism in case of danger; honesty (*Śauca*), amity (*Maitrata*), proved loyalty (*Dṛḍhabhakti*), by means of intimate association (*Samvya-vahāra*); conduct (*Śīla*), strength (*Bala*), health (*Ārogya*), powers of resistance (*Sattva*), application (*Yoga*), vigilance in work (*Astambha*),

¹ *Cp. Ar. Śās.*, i. 6 cited by *Medhātithi* on *Manu*, vii. 54.

² *Cp. Kam.*, iv. 24-37.

³ *Ar. Śās.*, i. 9.

constancy (*Acāpalya*) by means of intimate friends; affability (*Samprīyatva*) and absence of all hostile sentiment (*Avairitva*) by means of personal experience.

By such standard of choice of capable and responsible ministers, the *Arthaśāstra* places itself high above the picture of the primitive and conservative constitution that we find in the literature of the school of law (*Dharma*). It would, however, be an error to conclude that the tradition of the school of *Artha* is but a late and amplified version of ancient traditions of the school of law. For it is possible that the theory of Government, inasmuch as it concerns directly the school of *Artha*, is more faithfully and completely preserved in the literature of that school than in that of the school of law. Everything in the latter is summarized and subordinated to the central theme, the *Rājadharmā* which is but a section of the *Dharmaśāstra*.¹

The third element is the country whose ideal qualities are enumerated thus :—

'A beautiful country must be extensive, must support itself and support others, be able to defend itself, and be self sufficient in case of danger, to be redoubtable towards the enemies, to possess obedient vassals,² to be free from swamp, from rocks, from rock-salt, from unevenness, from thorny bushes, from forest shelters of tigers and wild beasts; to be pleasant, to have fertile furrows, to contain precious minerals, forest products, parks for elephants, pasturages for cattle; to be populous, to have hidden ways of access, to be rich in cattle,³ to be naturally irrigated, to be provided with routes on land and water, rich in valuable and various merchandise, capable of supporting military charges; having active agriculturists, intelligent masters and labourers, and a loyal and honest population.'

This description of an ideal country resembles the description of Milinda Panho (i. 2, v. 4). This classical Buddhistic work, in a dialogue between a conquering prince and a learned savant reproduces numerous reminiscences of the *Arthaśāstra* as understood at that time. The excellent commentator Medhātithi cites, so to say, word for word, this section of Kauṭalya in commenting on Manu (vii. 56). The expression *Sthāna* is defined by him as a synonym of a group comprising army, treasury, fortress and kingdom; but this seems to be a late

¹ Cp. Buhler, *Vāsiṣṭha Dh. Śūtra*. Intro., *S.B.E.*, xiv, p. xxvi.

² Cp. Manu, vii. 69; Viṣṇu, iii. 4, 5.

³ Cp. Yājñā, i. 320.

refinement. He accepts *Rāṣṭra* as synonymous with *Janapada* after Kauṭalya (ii. 24) and in his *Dēśaparyyāya*, he cites the authorized text of Kauṭalya almost with the same expressions. The commentaries on Manu (vii. 69), Yājñavalkya (i. 320) and Viṣṇu (iii. 4) show us interesting parallels. Kāmandaka¹ has simply given in verse the text of Kauṭalya.

The fortresses² have played a great rôle in primitive wars and naturally occupy an important place in the diplomacy of Kauṭalya. Curiously enough the description of an ideal country immediately followed by that of a fortress considered as a glorious crowning piece, is found in Kauṭalya as well as in the Milinda Panho (v. 4). The similarity is striking, if not in the phraseology, at least in contents especially in what concern the construction and decoration of fortress-cities. Leaving the architecture of the fortresses of Kauṭalya to the students of Hindu Archæology, we would give only the diplomatic utility of such fortresses.

Kauṭalya³ classifies these in four groups :—

(a) Those which are in an island or on a plain in the midst of a low country (*Audaka*);

(b) those which are on rocks or in caves (*Pārvata*);

(c) those which have no water-course or wells (*Dhānvan*);

(d) those which are in forests with the water-course known only to the inhabitants (*Vana*).

Among these (a) and (b) are defences of inhabited country, whilst (c) and (d) are those of desert or forest countries. This classification is faithfully preserved by Kāmandaka⁴ and is shown with slight variations in the following texts :—

Manu, vii. 70-71.

Mahābhārata, xii. ch. 87, 4-5.

Śukra, vi. 6.

*The treasury*⁵ : The treasury ought to have been acquired honestly⁶ by the king himself or his predecessors, must be rich in gold and silver, must possess divers and vast collections of jewels (*Ratna*) and coins (*Hiranya*), be capable of tiding over misfortunes and the stoppage of supplies of long duration.

¹ iv. 48-54

² ii. 21.

³ Cp. Kām., iv. 61-62.

⁴ *Ar. Śās.*, ii. 21, 22; cp. *Agni Purāna*, ch. 221.

⁵ iv. 59, 60.

⁶ Cp. Manu, vii. 80; Yājñā, i. 339.

*The Army:*¹ The army must be hereditary and permanent. The soldier must be obedient and contented. He must be able to support his family and children. Far from being demoralized, as it happens, in foreign service, the army must be redoubtable in all circumstances, accustomed to fatigue, experienced in several combats and in the science of arms, entirely loyal in adversity as well as in prosperity, having a common purpose, and being mainly composed of Kṣatriyas.

*The Allies:*² The allies ought to be hereditary, permanent, obedient, and loyal; they must act with promptitude and vigour.

The qualities of allies are developed by Kauṭalya in the section on alliances.³

These seven elements form the basis in the diplomacy of Kauṭalya, and these he has emphasized at the end of this section.

The king who is a master of himself develops the elements which were little prosperous. On the contrary a king who is not a master of himself, destroys his elements, even though they were prosperous and loyal.

Thus the king who has at his disposal only bad elements and who is not a master of himself, though he is the master of the four corners of the world, is exposed to assassination by his subjects or falling into the hand of his enemies.

Such a king, stupid, and devoid of character, is considered as easy to conquer. The diagnosis is formulated under the title:

‘Desirable qualities in an enemy.’

II

THE SPHERE OF ACTION

(*Ar. Śās.*, vi. 97; cp. *Kām.*, viii; Śukra, iv. 1; *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 232; *Yājñ.*, i. 344, Comm.; *Manu*, vii. 154-158, Comm.)

Having thus established the basis of diplomacy, Kauṭalya defines its jurisdiction which he calls the *mandala*, the circle of states. It is almost a commonplace of Hindu political literature to describe diplomatic relations in term of the number of states which play the rôle of allies or enemies, conformably to their mutual relations in space. It leads us to consider zones of friendship or enmity of different grades and

¹ Cp. *Kām.*, iv. 63-65; Śukra, iv. 7.

² Cp. *Kām.*, iv. 66-73.

³ *Ar. Śās.*, vii. 116.

shades. The centre of the circle is composed of the conquering king (*Vijigīṣu*), and his immediate enemy (*Ari*), and, on the circumference, the different *mandalas* of other states follow their orbits described in accordance with the laws of attraction and repulsion that are primordial and fatalistic.¹ This is probably the reflection of the ancient astronomical theories on the movements of stars and planets. The conception of *Mandala* is essentially dynamical.

The states are as follows:—

1. the central conquering state (*Vijigīṣu*);
2. the central enemy (*Ari*);
3. the primary ally of No. 1 (*Mitra*);
4. the primary ally of No. 2 (*Arimitra*);
5. the ally of the ally of No. 1 (*Mitramitra*);
6. the ally of the ally of No. 2 (*Arimitra-mitra*);
7. the enemies in the rear (*Pārṣṇigrāha*, those who catch the heels);
8. the friends in the rear (*Ākranda*);
9. the friends of the enemies in the rear (*Pārṣṇigrāhasāra*);
10. the friends of the friends in the rear (*Ākrandāsāra*).

Thus the first two are surrounded by the eight others and form with them the ten diplomatic zones. Kauṭalya adds to these two more exterior zones.²

11. the intermediate power (*Madhyama*);

12. the neutral king (*Udāsīna*).

In this way are formed the dozen royal elements (*Rajaprakṛti*).³

Every one of them possesses five out of the seven fundamental elements (*Dravyapakṛti*),⁴ without counting the king and the ally; this gives us sixty elements, plus twelve kings, making a total of seventy-two.

Kāmaṇḍaka discusses this question of *mandala* in chapter xviii by giving different definitions, in accordance with several schools which Kauṭalya has not mentioned; for example, the school of Manu; Guru (Brhaspati); Kavi (Śukra) Viśālākṣa, etc.

Here are some definitions⁵ of the essential elements given by Kauṭalya.

¹ Cp. Śukra, iv. 1, 8-11.

² Cp. Śukra, iv. 1, 20-12.

³ Cp. the commentaries of Kṣīrasvāmin and Sarvānanda on *Amurakōṣa*, iii. 2, *Kṣatriyavarga*.

⁴ Cp. Manu, vii. 156-157, Comm.

⁵ Cp. Mēdhātithi on Manu, vii. 155.

The conqueror is a king who is master of himself, who is possessed of the fundamental elements and who understands diplomacy.¹

The enemy is a king who is possessed of hostile qualities and resources.² The intermediary is a king who possesses the territories adjoining to those of the conqueror, and to those of the enemy, and who is capable of assisting, or injuring by joining the one or the other. The neutral king is one who is outside the territories of the three preceding kings, and who being very powerful is capable of assisting the three kings either by joining them or of injuring them by fighting.

These are the four great circles (*Caturmaṇḍala*). Each of them finds its power and success according to its wealth of elements. Power signifies force ; and success signifies prosperity.³

The power (*Śakti*) is of three sorts.⁴

1. Power of 'counsel (*Mantraśakti* : cp. मंत्रमूले विजयः): intellectual force.⁵

2. Power of lordship (*Prabhuśakti*) : force of treasury and of army.

3. Power of action (*Utsāhaśakti*) : force of heroism.⁶

Success (*Siddhi*) is defined likewise. For all the masters of the (*Maṇḍala*) there are three fundamental considerations :

1. The decline (*Kṣaya*).
2. The equilibrium (*sthāna*).
3. The prosperity (*Vṛddhi*).

In that respect what concerns good conduct and its opposite (*Nayāpanaya*) belongs to human action (*Mānuṣā*). That which concerns good luck and bad luck (*Ayānaya*) belongs to divine action (*Daiva*).

The world is governed by divine and human actions.⁷

The divine action cannot be foreseen. In consequence, to obtain a result which we did not expect is good luck (*Aya*). The human action can be foreseen. Consequently good success depends on the acquisition and consolidation of habits (*Naya*).⁸

Success is due to good conduct and failure due to its absence. Both

¹ Kāma., viii. 16-22.

² Cp. Śukra, iii. 1.

³ Br. Nīti, iv. 27.

⁴ Cp. Manu, vii. 205 ; Yājñā, i. 348.

⁵ Cp. Manu, vii. 210.

⁶ Cp. Raghū, viii. 19, Comm.

⁷ Cp. Manu, ix. 300.

⁸ Cp. Br. Nīti, vi. 1.

depend on human reason ; but the divine action surpasses them. The tranquillity (*Śama*) and the activity (*Vyāyama*) are the principles of acquisition¹ *Yōga*, and of consolidation *Kṣema*.² Activity secures the acquisition of the desired object.³ Tranquillity secures the consolidation of the fruits of action.⁴ Activity and the tranquillity have as a principle of operation the sixfold method (*Śāḍgunya*).

At the end of this section, Kauṭalya explains the conception of the *maṇḍala* and of the conquering king who is its centre.

'In the *maṇḍala*, the master of the circle constitutes the outer ring with those who are beyond, the radii with his neighbours, and the nave by himself.'⁵

The sixfold method to which Kauṭalya has first alluded is explained in the succeeding chapter of Kauṭalya which we propose to give in full.

THE SIXFOLD METHOD (*Śāḍgunya*)

Ar. Śās., vi. 98-99 ; cp. *Agni Purāṇa*, chs. 233, 239 ; Manu, vii. 159-180, Comm. ; *Mbh.* ch. xv, vi. 1-12 ; Śukra, iv. 7 (232).

Enumeration of the six-fold political methods, determination of decline, of equilibrium and of progress.

The source of the sixfold policy is the circle of elements.

The entente, the war, the equilibrium, the expedition, the alliance and the double relations, form the sixfold policy ; thus speak the masters. 'There are only two methods,' says Vāṭavyādhi. The war and the entente form the basis of the sixfold policy.

'Rather six methods,' says Kauṭalya,⁶ 'because of their different characteristics.' These are : in case of entente (*Sandhi*) reciprocal stipulation (*Paṇabandha*),⁷ in case of war (*Vigraha*) the attack, the balance of power (*Āsana*) which signifies indifference (*Upēkṣaṇa*), the expedition (*Yāna*) which shows expansion, the support (*Samśraya*) which consists in resting on another, the double relation (*Dvaidhibhāva*) which is to make peace with the one and war with the other ;⁸ such are the six methods.

He who is humiliated by the enemy ought to come to terms, and he who is powerful ought to make the war.

¹ Cp. Manu, vii. 99, 101.

² Cp. Gautama, *Dh. Sr.*, ix. 63.

³ Cp. Raghū, ix. 15, Comm.

⁴ Cp. Raghū, viii. 21, Comm.

⁵ Cp. Yājñā, i. 316.

⁶ Cp. *Mbh.*, xii, chs. 58, 60.

⁷ Cp. Kāma., xi. 35-40, Comm.

⁸ Cp. Manu, vii. 160, Comm.

'My enemy cannot ruin me and I cannot ruin him.' In that case we must apply the method of equilibrium.

When one is possessed of superior resources, one ought to undertake an expedition.

When one is deprived of force, he must look for support. In an action where success depends on support, one must practise the method of double relations. Such are the circumstances that determine these methods.

Among these methods, one shall stick to that which permits of development of one's fortresses, the embankments (for irrigation), the commercial routes, the colonization of deserted regions, the production of minerals, the reserves for elephants, etc., and at the same time ruin all these things of the enemy. This signifies progress.¹

One may see without anxiety the progress of the enemy by arguing thus: 'my progress will be more rapid and greater than his, whilst it will be contrary with the enemy.'

One must have recourse to the entente (*Sandhi*) when progress produces simultaneously equal results to both.

When one witnesses the failure of his own affairs and not those of the enemy, he must not remain idle for he is on the decline.

In course of time my decline will be less and will lead to prosperity, while it would be contrary to the enemy.'

When one knows that one may disdain his own (temporary) decline. One shall have recourse to entente when the decline produces simultaneously equal results to both.

When one perceives in his own efforts neither progress nor decline, it is the state of equilibrium (stagnation).

One may scorn his own equilibrium (stagnation) when one knows that his will be shorter and it will produce greater results while it will be contrary with the enemy.

'One ought to have recourse to entente when the policy of equilibrium produces simultaneously equal results to both,' say the masters. 'This is not unreasonable,' says Kaṭālyā.

One must stick to the entente in time of prosperity under the following conditions:—

'By employing the policy of entente (*Sandhi*), I may ruin the works of the enemy by my great activity, I shall enjoy the profits of my

¹ Cp. Medhātithi on Manu, vii. 160; Mallinātha on Raghu, xvii. 61.

activity or those of the enemy; profiting by the trust of the enemy in the entente, I shall ruin his works, by intrigue, magic and espionage in order to win the people who supply my adversary with the means of action; I shall offer favours (*Anugraha*), immunities (*Parihāra*) and facilities (*Saukaryya*) to profit by the prosperity of my works. Or my enemy being allied with a greater power will find himself ruined by his own enterprises; or fighting against another enemy, he will endeavour to obtain my alliance so that I would prolong his campaigns; or the enemy would harass the kingdom which, though allied with me, is hostile; or that the oppressed subjects of my enemy will come to me and thus I shall succeed in my enterprises. Entangled in his affairs and dragged down by a crisis, my enemy will be incapable of thwarting my affairs. Being allied with two of the adversaries of my enemy, I shall augment my resources; or if harassed by the enemy, I shall conclude an agreement; and then I shall break up the circle of the states and shall win them over to my side when they are divided; or, mastering the enemy by favours or punishments, I shall make him hateful for his ambition to dominate the circle of states and when he will be hated by all I shall destroy him.'

One shall hold by war to attain prosperity, in the following conditions: 'My country is full of warriors and of corporations, it is defended by the rocks, forests, rivers, fortresses, ways of unique access, thus it will be capable of resisting the efforts of the enemy on the frontiers while I screen myself behind impregnable fortresses: losing his energy in calamities and troubles, my enemy will be ruined during the calculated period, or whilst he would attack me in another direction, I may seduce his subjects (or induce them to come and settle in my country).'

One shall hold to the policy of equilibrium for prosperity in consideration of what follows. 'The enemy cannot injure my affairs nor I, his. It is as it were, a combat between a dog and a wild boar which could terminate only in fruitless efforts. Concentrating therefore in my own enterprises, I should try to prosper.'

One should undertake the expedition for prosperity after considering what follows. 'The destruction of the works of the enemy depends on the expedition, and it is in my power to safeguard my own enterprises.'

If one realizes that one is neither capable of ruining the affairs of

the enemy nor safeguarding his own affairs from ruin, then one shall rely on a stronger power with a view to pass from decline to equilibrium and from that to prosperity.

One should hold to the double policy for prosperity in the following conditions: 'On the one hand in observing the entente I shall promote my affairs and on the other hand by declaring war, I shall ruin the affairs of the enemy.'

In this way, in the diplomatic circle, one should endeavour to push his own enterprises from decline to equilibrium, and from equilibrium to prosperity¹ by means of these six methods.²

METHOD OF ALLIANCE (*Samsrayavyūtiḥ*)

Ar. Śas., vii. 100; cp. *Kām.*, xi. 24-27

Among these six methods, Kauṭalya discusses first the method of alliance. As befits a practical politician he views the problem from the utilitarian point of view. 'One must make alliance with a power stronger than the neighbour.'³ If there is none one must ally himself with the neighbours, and one must endeavour to furnish them in secret with money, army or a part of the territory. It is dangerous for the king is to ally himself with a strong power except in case of a sudden attack on the part of the enemy.'

When a king, in a moment of distress, is obliged to accept a humiliating alliance he is advised to break this alliance at the first opportunity, when his ally is in a disadvantageous situation.

When a king is placed between two powerful kings, he should lean on him who can defend him or on him who, notwithstanding his weakness, can serve as an intermediary.

He may also ally with both at the same time with a view to divide and then to destroy them by secret blows. A king placed between two powers (*Antardhi*) shall attempt to draw each of them to form a *maṇḍala* and after having seduced the one, he must destroy the other or both.

In spite of his utilitarian attitude, Kauṭalya is not indifferent to the moral value of an alliance.

'If one is about to be uprooted by two kings, one shall lean on the power whose conduct is more upright (*Nyāyavyūti*),⁴ a mediator king, a neutral king or one of their partizans.'

¹ *Mbh.*, xii, ch. 58 (31).

² Cp. Govindarāja on Manu, vii. 161; *Mbh.*, xii, chs. 68, 71-74.

³ Cp. Govindarāja on Manu, vii. 161.

⁴ Cp. Śukra, iv. 7, 288.

In conclusion Kauṭalya indicates as the solid basis of alliance, reciprocal sympathy.

'Those who like each other go together. That is the best way of making an alliance.'

METHOD OF ENTENTE (*Sandhi*)

Ar. Śas., vii. 101-102

Though war seems inevitable to Kauṭalya, we notice that he seeks always to avoid or arrest war by every kind of entente. We also see that the entente occupies the most important place in his system. He classifies with care in several chapters the ententes which result either from war or from peaceful combinations.

Since the quality of ententes¹ varies according to the power of the parties concerned, Kauṭalya classifies them as follows:—

1. equal;
2. inferior (of less strength);
3. superior (of more strength).

On this point, Kauṭalya makes a few observations: 'One should conclude an entente with an equal or with a greater power, but should make war with the inferior powers.'² 'If the stronger power does not accept the entente one should accept the position of the conquered.' If a king of equal power is not amenable to an entente, one must return to him all the harm he has done. The glow (*Tiṣas*) of fire and of glory makes union possible. A piece of iron which has not been heated in fire cannot be soldered with another piece of iron. If a king of inferior force remains always submissive, one must maintain the entente: for otherwise the strength growing out of suffering and resentment breaks out as fire in the forest and such a king brings round the circle of states to him. If while fighting one finds:

'The subjects of the enemy are greedy, impoverished, and oppressed, and yet do not come to me even when they are haunted by fear of war,'—one must make the entente even if he is the stronger party.

He must seek to pacify the troubles due to the war.

Even the stronger king should make the entente in case he is equally in danger with his adversary; or if he argues thus: 'I am greatly embarrassed, the enemy is less so and he can easily repair the troubles arising from his elements.'

¹ Cp. *Mbh.*, xii, ch. 58 (37).

² Cp. Mallinātha on Raghva, xvii. 56.

Afterwards Kauṭalya gives a classification of ententes which can be concluded by inferior kings when they are greatly humiliated.¹

A weak king attacked by a strong one who is supported by his circle, must yield immediately and make the entente by delivering the treasury, army, his person or a portion of his territory.

When one offers himself with an army specified beforehand, or with the best part of his army, it is called the entente in which one is the victim furnishing its own flesh (*Atmāmisa*). When one offers his general or the heir-apparent it is called the entente of a third person, (*Purṣāntara*); in that case one guarantees without delivering himself.

If one has the choice of withdrawing alone with one's army, that entente is said to be of 'invisible person' (*Adṛṣṭapuruṣa*) where one saves his own life and also that of the general.

The notables² and the high class ladies (*Mukhyastrī*)³ of the court in the two first species of the entente, must be delivered as hostage. In the latter forms of the entente the settlement with the enemy is in secret. Such are the forms of the entente founded on the surrender of an army (*Danḍa*).

When the treasury only is delivered and one is allowed to preserve the rest of his elements, his is an entente of money (*Parikraya*), which depends on chance.

When one is to submit to heavy and varied charges it is called the entente of confiscation (*Upagraha*): this is harmful in space and in time and exposes the state to bankruptcy (*Atyaya*).

The entente of gold (*Suvarṇa*) is that which can be easily borne, in point of view of indemnity, which is beneficial for the future and which does not require women hostages, which is founded on complete accord (*Ekibhava*) and which results from mutual confidence.

The opposite kind of entente is called the entente of upturned cups (*Kapāla*), owing to the excessive indemnities (*Atyādāna*) which are exacted.

In the two first cases, one shall have to give up the forest products, elephants and horses with their harnesses. In the third case one should offer one half only by pretending bankruptcy. In the fourth case one should stop payment. Such are the ententes based on the

¹ Cp. Kām., ix. 2-20.

² Cp. *Ar. Śās.*, p. 314.

³ Cp. *Manu*, vii. 213; *Mbh.*, xii, ch. 57 (41).

surrender of the treasury (*Kośa*). The surrender of a part of the territory to save the other parts is called the entente by cession or by order (*Ādiṣṭa*). This is advantageous for him who desires the extirpation of thieves and secret criminals in the surrendered parts of his territories. The private entente of profit (*Ucchinna*) is that which demands the cession of all the territory and its total exploitation, the capital only being excepted. This is advantageous for him who desires to create troubles in the enemy's country.

The liberation of the territory by the payment of revenues is called the entente of imposts (*Apakraya*). The liberation of revenue by the cession of territory is called the entente by homage (*Paribhāṣaṇa*). One must prefer the first form. The two last ententes based on the revenues of the land must be concluded only when one is powerless. Such are the ententes based on the surrender of territories (*Deśa*):

These are the three different classes of entente for the inferior powers.

The entente between superior and inferior powers, following a war, is not the only one comprised in the system of Kauṭalya. There is also the entente between equals for peaceful purposes.

We could see it easily if we were to read the sections 101 and 102 and also 111, 112 and 116. The form and conditions of the entente change according to circumstances, but it is not necessary to change the definition of the entente, as Mr. Law has done in his *Interstate Relations in Ancient India*, pp. 39-40. The complication of his exposition is due to the fact that he translates *Sandhi* as 'an agreement of peace.' Thus he is obliged to change the definition in each case. But if we define *Sandhi* as entente, in the general sense of the word, everything becomes simple. Without attributing our interpretation to Kauṭalya, a risky method, we shall explain his system according to his own statements:

(a) Entente for obtaining the allies and money (*Mitra-Hiranya Sandhi*, *Ar. Śās.*, vii. 116).

(b) Entente for obtaining the territory (*Bhūmi Sandhi*, *Ar. Śās.*, vii. 116).

(c) Entente for colonizing the uninhabited territories (*Anavasita Sandhi*, *Ar. Śās.*, vii. 116).

(d) Entente for common enterprises (*Karma Sandhi*, *Ar. Śās.*, vii. 116).

(e) Entente of definite or indefinite periods and entente for betrayal (*Paripañitaparipañitāpasṛta Sandhi*, *Ar. Śās.*, vii. 111-112).

The common traits of the different ententes are :

(a) The existence of two parties: apparently amicable but who attempt ever to take advantage of each other.

(b) The greater profit results always from superior intelligence, and the depth and extent of experience.

(c) Thus there is always a silent combat during which the ally becomes an enemy, or when the enemy becomes an ally.¹

According to Kauṭalya profit is always the ultimate criterion.

In discussing this problem, Kauṭalya presents us with his observations on the diplomatic relations. All his conclusions mark him as a wise statesman. At first he admits of three different kinds of ententes:²

(a) *Sama Sandhi*: equal entente, for example: 'you and I shall gain the allies together.'

(b) *Viśama Sandhi*: un-equal entente, for example: 'yourself alone will have the allies.'

(c) *Ati Sandhi*: deceitful entente, for example, when one has the advantage to beguile the other completely.

After this he directly expresses his opinion on this question.

(A) Entente for having allies and gold.³

'Which is preferable, immediate and small gain or deferred and important gain? The small and immediate gain is preferable inasmuch as it would serve the enterprise from the point of view of the place and time,' say the learned. 'No,' says Kauṭalya, 'the gain, which is deferred without being lost, which produces good consequence and which is ultimately important, is preferable.' In exceptional cases only the first should be chosen. 'When one can balance the advantages of constant gain or partial gain, and can judge in advance his own interest, he should undertake an expedition with other powers combined and well-organized.'

The reasons which determine the preferences of Kauṭalya are very remarkable, and these are expressed with the ardent conviction of an experienced politician.

'Which of the two is preferable (an ally rich in men or rich in gold)?'

¹ Cp. Śukra, iv. 1, 8-9; *Mbh.* xii, ch. 139 (109).

² *Ar. Śās.* 289.

³ Cp. Yājñā, i. 351; Manu, vii. 208-209.

'An ally rich in men is preferable, for he shall be the source of military glory and when he enters into action, he secures success. Such is the opinion of the learned.'

'No,' says Kauṭalya 'it is preferable to have an ally rich in wealth, for the possession of wealth ensures a constant use whilst the possession of an army is only for temporary employment. Moreover with wealth, one could procure an army as well as other things which are desired.'

'Which of the two is preferable, an ally who possesses wealth or one who possesses territories?'

'An ally who possesses wealth is preferable. Being conscientious, he will be brought round to meet the expenses,' say the learned.

'No,' says Kauṭalya, 'the allies and wealth are the results of the acquisition of territory, and consequently an ally who possesses territory is preferable.'

(B) Entente for gaining territories:—

'Which is better, a rich territory adjoining that of a permanent enemy or a small fertile territory adjoining a temporary enemy?'

'A rich territory contiguous to that of a permanent enemy is preferable, for if it is prosperous it enriches the army and the treasury which are the two means of defence against the enemy: such is the opinion of the masters.'

'No,' says Kauṭalya, 'to have a permanent enemy means to have an ever-increasing enemy. For a permanent enemy, whether well or badly treated remains always an enemy, whilst the temporary enemy can be appeased by active good treatment or cessation of bad treatment.'

'Which is to be preferred, an isolated territory or non-isolated one; or a territory, which is protected by an external army (*Dandadhārana*) or one which protects itself (*Ātmadhārana*)?'

'That which protects itself is preferable, because it is supplied by gold and the army, collected by itself. On the contrary that which is defended by an external army is under military occupation (*Danda-sthāna*).

'What is to be preferred, the acquisition of a territory belonging to a stupid king or a wise king?'

'We must prefer the acquisition made from a stupid king because

that territory is easy to acquire and to maintain, for it cannot be retaken.'

'It is the reverse that results when the king is wise and possessed of loyal subjects.'

(C) Entente for colonizing uninhabited countries : (cp. *Raghu*, xv. 29, Comm.).

'Of the two colonizers, he who colonizes a land of recognized fertility and ever ready to produce better fruits, is the better.' 'Of two lands—one with mines and another with rice, that which contains mines fills the treasury. The rice land fills the treasury and the granary at the same time. The fortifications and other works are dependent on the production of rice. On the other hand, a mining country containing largely vendable substances is superior.'

Of two powers one possessing a park rich in forest products and another of a park for elephant, the first has the source of all sorts of enterprises which serve for investment of large capital. (*Prabhūtanidhānakṣama*). The reverse is the case with forests rich in elephants, say the masters.

'No,' says Kauṭalya, 'it is easy to plant an ordinary forest, in many parts of the country, but it is not so for forests of elephants; and the destruction of the enemy depends above all on elephants.'¹

'Which is better, a country peopled in groups, or a country having a scattered population ?

'The country of scattered people is better, for it facilitates administration and is not susceptible for intrigue with the enemy. It would be the contrary in a country where the population is in groups. The latter does not share the difficulties and if it is discontented, it becomes very dangerous.

'Which is better, the country which is defended by fortresses or that which is defended by the people ?

'The kingdom defended by the people is better. The state depends on the people (*Puruṣavad hi rājyam*). A barren country is like a barren cow : what can it produce ?'

At the end of this section² Kauṭalya gives two new terms or entente :

The verbal entente (*Abhihita Sandhi*).

The open entente (*Anibhṛta Sandhi*).

¹ Cp. *Mēdhātithi* on *Manu*, viii. 399.

² *Ar. Śās.*, p. 298.

(D) Entente for common enterprises (*Karmasandhi*). In that form of entente as in all others, the parties concerned endeavour to outdo each other in profit-making.

At the close of this section, Kauṭalya formulates some general principles. The so-called allies are really rivals from the point of view of profit. For in the system of Kauṭalya, the sense of the term ally or enemy changes always according to circumstances :

'The success of enterprises of the enemy lies in the decline of the rival chief. Their non-success is to his advantage. In case of equal enterprises the conqueror suffers stagnation.'

'A small gain and a great loss, that is the decline. The contrary is the prosperity. Equality in profits and losses, that is stagnation.'

'Therefore in the works of fortifications, etc. . . . one shall endeavour to attain superiority by undertaking works of less expenses at the beginning, but of great profit for the future.'¹ In case of works with mines, the choice of Kauṭalya is remarkable.

'If it is a question of mines, he who digs a mine of great yield, and of easy communications which occasion little expenses at the commencement, is superior to the other.

'Which is better, a small mine of very valuable products or a big mine productive of little value ?'

'A small mine of very precious products is preferable for the diamonds, the gems, the pearls, the corals, the gold, the silver and other similar products admit of securing a great quantity of things of small value,' say the masters.

'No,' says Kauṭalya, 'for the products of small value are immense and inexhaustible, their possessor could purchase the small mines of precious products.'

When there is a question of recruiting among two different peoples the preference of Kauṭalya is no less interesting.

Between a multitude of indolent persons and a handful of heroic men, better to have a small number of brave men. The result of the battle depends on the heroes. A few brave men defeat many weaklings, who once beaten cause the rout of their own army, say the masters.

'No,' says Kauṭalya, 'a multitude of indolent persons occupied in various works, other than those in camps, form the auxiliaries of the army in the battle and cannot be crushed by the enemy : moreover

¹ *Ar. Śās.*, p. 301.

they serve to spread terror by number. These indolent persons can, by the effect of discipline, catch the infection of courage, whilst the braver are few and it is impossible to increase their number.'

(E) Entente with definite terms, entente of indefinite terms, false entente.

In the course of the combined march, the partisans attempt always to take advantage of the other through weak points in the engagement.

(a) Entente of definite terms (*Paripāṇita*).

'You march against his country, I march against that country'—it means definite place.

'You fight during that length of time and I, during this length,—it means definite time.

'You effect so many works and myself so much'—it means definite object.

Thus with place and time, with time and purpose, with place and purpose, with place, time and purpose, are brought out the seven types of entente.

(b) Entente of indefinite terms (*Aparipāṇita*).

The enemy who has vices or troubles, passions and meanness, indolence and ignorance, may be surpassed if one discerns how to profit by vagueness due to the non-fixation of the place, time and purpose. One must strike at the vulnerable points of the enemy under entente, while declaring to him 'we are allies.'

This is what is called the indefinite entente.

Next Kauṭalya gives an exposition of the four different stages in the evolution of the entente.¹

(a) The desire to accomplish that which is not accomplished (*Akṛtacikīrṣā*) signifies the realization (*Paryāṣaṇa*) of one entente which does not exist, by the prosecution of peace and other methods, and by the stabilization (*Avasthāpana*) (of this entente) according to the relative forces of equal, inferior or superior powers.

(b) The confirmation of that which is already accomplished (*Kṛtaślēṣaṇa*) signifies: the development of the entente concluded by means of amities and benefits (*Priyahita*) on both sides, by the accomplishment of the given pledges, by its execution and by its conservation, so that this entente is not dissolved through the enterprise of the enemy.

¹ *Ar. Śās.*, vii. 111-112, p. 280.

(c) The destruction of that which is accomplished (*Kṛtavidāṣaṇa*) after the manœuvres of the enemy against the entente, have been tested by the spies and the traitors; denunciation of the entente.

(d) The revival of a ruined entente (*Avastīṇakriyā*) signifies, the reconciliation effected by those who remove the grievances, for example, by the servants or friends. Kauṭalya, as a true politician, admits the value of any sort of individual in diplomatic negotiations. In this respect he appears remarkably courageous and rid of all prejudices. His predecessors advise us to forego the services of certain men, such as one who is bankrupt, who has lost his power, who misuses his talents, who is covetous, who has passion for vagabondage, who is wanting in confidence and who has many enemies. But Kauṭalya considers this as due to fear or lack of professional spirit and lack of patience towards the men. Whoever has a positively outrageous conduct should be abandoned; whoever annoys the enemy should be accepted; he who does equal harm to both, should be politically examined. This is the right attitude.

His tolerance embraces even his very deserters. He studies them with great care and classifies them.¹

(a) He who deserts his masters on account of their vices and returns on account of their virtues, he who abandons on account of the virtues of the enemies and returns on account of their vices, after due considerations should be reconciled.

(b) He who abandons or returns on account of his own faults and neglecting the virtues of both parties, abandons and returns without reason. Such an individual is too unsteady, and should not be taken back.

(c) He who abandons his master by reason of his faults and returns to him from the enemy by reason of his own faults must be examined according to the reasons of his returning.

(d) 'He who is employed by the enemy or desires to harm by reason of his vicious nature, or who knowing that he would be ruined by the destruction of the enemy, comes back to me through fear of vengeance; or he who abandons me and my enemy when we determine to ruin each other; and comes back afterwards by reason of his aversion for cruelty: such an individual having good intentions, should be welcomed.' In this way the Kauṭaliya employs all sorts of individuals

¹ Cp. *Kām.*, xiv. 46-48 and *Mādhātīṭhi* on Manu, vii. 186.

for strengthening his cause, and when they appear unnecessary or dangerous he destroys them without any scruple. His detachment of spirit is indeed amazing.

CONCLUSION (*Sandhi Karma*) AND ABROGATION

(*Sandhimokṣa*) OF ENTENTES

(*Ar. Śās.*, vii. 122-123)

Under this title Kauṭalya gives towards the end a few interesting details about ententes:

'A treaty based on the integrity and the oath is unstable (*Calā*) but a treaty based on hostages (*Pratibhū*) and securities (*Pratigraha*) is stable (*Stihāvara*),' say the teachers.

'No,' says Kauṭalya, 'the entente based on the integrity and oath is stable in this world as well as in the other. It is only in the interest of this world that hostages and securities are admitted from the point of view of force. "We are united." It is in these terms that the ancient and virtuous sovereigns were in the habit of making allies. To avoid the non-observation of the entente, the kings allied themselves with oaths, swore by the fire, by the water, by the plough, by the stones of ramparts, by the shoulders of elephants, by the back of the horse, by the forefront of a chariot, by the arms, precious stones, grains, perfumes, poisons, gold (*Svarṇa*) and coins (*Hiraṇya*): "these objects," they said, "kill or abandon him who violates the oath." In anticipation of the violation of the oath the nobles, the holymen and the chief hostages (*Pratibhū*)¹ are imprisoned. In this case he who can secure as hostages those who can influence the enemy has an advantage over the other. The reverse case is disadvantageous. "The imprisonment of friends or nobles of the enemy is called the security (*Pratigraha*)."

'In that case, he who gives to the enemy a dangerous minister has an advantage over the other. The contrary case is disadvantageous. The enemy strikes surely and unexpectedly at the weak points of him who reposes entirely on the promise of security.

'In an entente based on the gift of children, whether sons or daughters, he who gives girls as hostages has an advantage on the other, for

girl can help to capture the enemy or to conquer him. The reverse results for him who gives a son.'¹

Then Kauṭalya makes an evaluation of the different types of princes given in hostages and finally furnishes a great number of means by which a prince in hostage can escape and break off the entente:

'A king whose power is increasing, should attempt to break up the entente. The spies who accompany the prince in hostage disguised as artisans or artists (*Karusilpiviyanjanah*), by working with the enemy, shall effect the escape of the prince by digging an underground passage during the night. Actors, dancers, singers, instrumental musicians, buffoons, minstrels, swimmers and jugglers, established beforehand in the service of the enemy, must use their power to serve the prince given in hostage. They must also arrange so as to be able to visit the prince's apartments at any hour, to stay there and to go out. Then the prince can escape under one of those disguises during the night.

'For the same, he could utilize prostitutes (*Rūpajīvā*) disguised as ladies.'²

'One shall escape also in carrying their instruments, utensils, or refuse, or by using the cooks, pastry-cook, swimmer, porter or massage man, maidservant, hair-dresser, tailor, servant ;³ one shall escape by carrying again some unnecessary things.

'If one is on the point of being captured, one shall endeavour to escape by the politic means, as by the gift of wealth, etc., or by employing poisoned food or by substituting another corpse to the body which the prince intends for the sacrifice of God Varuna, or finally by setting fire.'

In the diplomatic system of Kauṭalya the espionage plays a significant rôle. He devotes several chapters to the organization of espionage. In the first book, chapter vii (*Gūḍhapuruṣōtpatti*), he gives the organization and the classification of espionage. In chapter viii (*Gūḍhapuruṣapraṇidhī*), he defines the employment of spies and all the disguises and subterfuges, without omitting false students, false mendicants, and false artists, employing secret codes (*Gūḍhalekhyā*) with symbolical signs (*Samjñālipi*).⁴ Thanks to the complicity with the minister, the spies can create confidence by communicating some

¹ Cp. Śukra, iv. 5, 122,

¹ Cp. Śukra, ii. 32.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 203-204.

² *Ibid.*, v. 14-15.

³ Cp. Manu, vii. 153, Comm,

information on foreign affairs. The king employs them also for testing the sincerity and honesty of all these functionaries¹ including the ministers. They are useful not only in the internal affairs of the kingdom² but also in all sorts of diplomatic intrigues in the state's neighbours, enemies, intermediaries or neutrals³ (*Kṛtyākṛtya-pakṣaraksanām*).⁴

In fact the work of Kauṭalya has become the greatest authority on espionage. That is why Mēdhātithi, when treating of espionage, cites entirely one of the chapters of Kauṭalya, in commenting on the term (*Pañcavarga*).⁵ However it seems that Mēdhātithi employs another version of the *Arthasastra*. This explains the divergences which are seen in certain of his quotations. In reality the king must have depended so much on the espionage for realizing the diplomatic situations that he was called (*Cāracakṣu*). 'He who has for eyes the spies.'⁶

¹ *Ar. Śās.*, i. 6.

² Cp. *Ar. Śās.*, iv, *Kaṇṭhakaṣṭhāna*; Manu, ix. 252-269; Kāma, ix. 86-89.

³ *Ar. Śās.*, i. 9-10.

⁴ vii. 1, 119-120 309; cp. Mēdhātithi on Manu, vii. 104; *Rājatar.*, v. 247; *Yājñā*, i. 337.

⁵ Manu, vii. 154; cp. Vallauri, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, vol. vi, pp. 1346-1347.

⁶ Cp. *Mbh.*, xii. ch. 86 (21); *Viṣṇu*, iii. 33-35.

(To be continued.)

Akbar's Cavalry—(1) The Zat and Sawar Ranks

BY

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IN 1573, Akbar fixed the grades of the officers of the empire, and decreed that their salaries be paid in cash.¹ Of these office-bearers the chief were the *Mansabdars* or holders of places of rank and profit. 10,000 was the highest and 10 the lowest *Mansab* that was granted, and commands above 5,000 were reserved to the princes of the royal blood. The *Mansabs* were given in accordance with the merit of men, and the soldiers they commanded.² A *Bisli* (commander of twenty) had to be ready with his twenty soldiers at the muster before he could be promoted to the next rank,³ and every *Dahbashi* (commander of ten) had to muster three *Sihaspah*, four *Duaspah*, and three *Yakaspah* troopers, that is ten troopers with twenty horses, and the other *Mansabdars* in the same proportion.⁴

In 1595, a new classification was introduced by the addition of *Sawars* to the original *Mansab*. A *Mans-abdar* whose *Sawars* were equal to his *Mansab* was put into the first class of his rank; one whose *Sawars* were one-half and upwards of his *Mansab*, was put into the second class; and the third class contained those whose *Sawars* were less than half the *Mansab*, or who had no *Sawars* at all.⁵ Officers above 5,000 were exempt from this division. Both Smith and Irvine restrict the second class to those whose *Sawars* were half the *Zat* rank.⁶ But in this they certainly commit a mistake, for we find *Mansabdars* with 3,500 *Zat*, 3,000 *Sawar*, and 3,500 *Zat*;⁷ 2,000 *Sawar* mentioned in the *Akbarnama*, and these according to the *Ain-i-Akbari* must have been in the second class.

¹ *Akbarnama*, English Translation (Beveridge), vol. iii, p. 167.

² *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, p. 166.

³ Lowe, *Badauni*, vol. ii, p. 193.

⁴ Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 251.

⁵ *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, p. 1031; *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 238.

⁶ *Army of the Moghuls*, p. 6; *Akbar*, p. 364.

⁷ *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, pp. 1239, 1249.

A good deal of controversy has been raging about the meanings of the words *Zat* and *Sawar*. Blochmann thinks that the *Zat* indicates the nominal rank, while *Sawar* connotes the actual number of horse-men; ¹ Irvine regards both the ranks as actually existing; while Mr. Ram Prasad Tripathi goes to the other extreme, and regards the *Zat* as the actual rank, and the *Sawars* as an honour which had no actual existence in horsemen, but 'indicated the rate of allowance, which was given to an officer honoured with the additional distinction.' ² All the possible alternatives have thus been laid before us, and supported by the arguments brought forward by the writers named above. It is our business therefore to examine the main arguments advanced and come to one conclusion or the other.

'Blochmann's view is hardly tenable. It is perhaps due to the fact that he has not perceived that the little *Mansab-i-Zat* is nothing more than the *Mansab* of 1573. That these two words are identical in significance can be proved by means of instances from contemporary history. In 1593, that is two years before the introduction of the new classification, Mirza Shahrukh was made a commander of 5,000, ³ that is, according to the rules of 1573, as given by Badauni and Abul Fazl, he was expected to keep 5,000 horsemen, and 10,000 horses. In the forty-first year of his reign, that is, one year after the introduction of the changes of 1595, the Emperor was much pleased with the Mirza and made him a commander of 5,000 *Zat*, 2,500 *Sawar*. ⁴ Are we to suppose that Akbar's pleasure was signified by a decrease in the command of horsemen kept by the Mirza? In 1001 Higri, Rai Sal Darbari was a *Mansabdar* of 2,000 and Ram Dass Kachbwaha one of 500. ⁵ In the forty-seventh regnal year, Rai Sal was made a *Mansabdar* of 2,500 *Zat*, 1,250 *Sawar*, ⁶ and in the fiftieth regnal year Ram Dass Kachbwaha was made a commander of 2,000 *Zat*, 200 horse. ⁷ Are we again to conclude that the real command of these men was largely decreased, while their mere dignity was raised? Blochmann's view leads to some other strange conclusions too. In his scheme of

¹ Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 241.

² *Proceedings of the Meetings of Indian Historical Records Commission*, i, p. 160.

³ *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, p. 991.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1069.

⁵ Nizamuddin, quoted by Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, pp. 532, 534.

⁶ *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, p. 1215.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1253.

Mansabdars, third class commanders, who had no *Sawars* at all, would either have no place, or be the enjoyers of mere sinecures. Facts recorded in the *Akbarnama*, however, do not justify any such assumption. Qulij Khan, ¹ Zain Khan ² Koka, and Sadiq Khan ³ were without *Sawars*, and at the same time famous generals of the Empire.

Moreover that the *Zat* rank connotes the keeping of a large number of horsemen can be conclusively proved by means of examples from the *Padshahnama* of Abdul Hamid. In the reign of Shah Jehan, Asaf Khan was granted the mansab of 9,000 *Zat*, 9,000 *Sawar*, *Duaspath Siaspath*, and his salary was fixed at sixteen *crores*, twelve *lac dams* or 40½ lacs. ⁴ In the reign of Alamgir, the pay of a *mansabdar* of 9,000 was Rs. 4½ lacs, and this might have been approximately the pay in the reign of Shah Jehan also. If we put the pay of a *Duaspath Siaspath* commander as double that of a commander of mere *Sawars*, ⁵ we have nine lacs as the pay of Asaf Khan, and the rest of the sum must be the pay of the soldiers serving under him. The pay of 9,000 *Duaspath Siaspath*, however, does not go above twenty-two lacs, sixty-eight thousand rupees and the rest of the sum must therefore be the pay of the soldiers under the *Zat* rank. The same point can be established by a reference to the salary of Prince Dara. ⁶ After deducting the pay of the Prince and his *Sawars* the sum of thirty lac remains, and this must be the pay of the soldiers under the *Zat* rank. Further if we take into consideration the statement of Bernier that the *Mansabdars* were neither paid for nor kept the number of soldiers indicated by their rank, the sum remaining for the *Zat* rank would be still greater.

Mr. Tripathi goes to the other extreme, and his view is quite the reverse of that of Blochmann. For him *Sawar* is a mere honour and *Zat* the actual rank. The theory he has formulated hangs on two slender pieces of evidence. The first in an extract from the third *Ain* of Book II. The passage that he quotes has been thus translated by Blochmann.

'The first class contains such as furnish 100 troopers (*Sawars*). Their monthly salary is Rs. 700. The eleventh class contains such as have no troops (*Sawars*) of their own in accordance with the statement

¹ *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, p. 1076.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Padshahnama*, vol. i, Persian edition, p. 253.

⁵ *Padshahnama*, vol. i, p. 113, quoted by Blochmann in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 245.

⁶ *Padshahnama*, vol. ii, p. 715.

made above that the Dakhili troops are nowadays preferred. This class gets Rs. 500. The nine intermediate classes have monthly allowances decreasing from Rs. 700 by Rs. 20, for every ten troopers which they furnish less.¹

This according to Mr. Tripathi gives a scale of Rs. 2 per additional horse or *Sawar*, and it was in this manner that all the *Mansabdars* with *Sawars* were paid. How hollow are the foundations of this theory will be seen if we exactly interpret the above passage, which means nothing more and nothing less than that a 100 *Zat* 100 *Sawar* or a first class commander of 100 got Rs. 700, a 100 *Zat*, and 50 *Sawar* got Rs. 600; and a 100 *Zat* without any *Sawars* or a third class commander got Rs. 500 as his *Zat* salary. This view is borne out by the figures in the table given on p. 248 of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The only difference to be noted in this case is that instead of the three ranks to be found in other grades, we have eleven in this case.

If we take Rs. 700 as the *Zat* pay of the first class commander of 100, his net salary should be 900 rupees and not Rs. 700 as given in the table. If, however, it be argued that the first class commander received Rs. 200 more than his friend of the third class on account of the honour of 100 *Sawars* at the rate of Rs. 2 per *Sawar*, we are undoubtedly led to believe that the difference in the *Zat* pay of the commanders of the same *Mansab* but of different classes was due to their receiving or not receiving extra pay for their nominal *Sawar* rank. That this view is wholly untenable can be shown by means of the following examples from the *Ain-i-Akbari*:—²

Rank	Class	Salary
4,500	1st	26,000
"	3rd	25,700

The difference between the *Zat* salary of the first and third class commanders is obviously Rs. 300 only. But the difference in their nominal *Sawar* rank cannot at any time be less than 2,251, and might at others go up to 4,500. Thus the difference in their pay ought to have been at least Rs. 4,502, and might have gone up to Rs. 9,000 at the rate of Rs. 2 per *Sawar*. Again the fact that the *Zat* pay of all the commanders of the second class was in spite of the difference the number of *Sawars* always the same would go hard against any

¹ Blochmann, — *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 238.

² *Ibid.*, p. 248.

such view. A theory therefore that explains only one case out of sixty-six and leaves the rest unexplained can hardly be called a true explanation of facts.

Having disposed of Mr. Tripathi's first piece of evidence, we might now take up the evidence that he gives from the account left by Hawkins. 'The custom is,' wrote Hawkins, 'they are allowed so much living to maintain the post, which the king hath given them, that is, they are allowed twenty rupias by the month, and two rupees for every horse fame, for the maintenance of their stable. As thus: a captain of 5,000 horse that hath 5,000 horse to maintain in the wars, hath likewise of fame other 5,000 horse . . . allowed upon every horse by the month two rupias and this is the pay which the greater part of them are allowed.' According to Mr. Tripathi the words 'of fame' that occur in this passage refer to the *Sawar* rank for which the officer received an allowance at the rate of Rs. 2 per *Sawar* per mensem.

That this interpretation by Mr. Tripathi is wrong will be clear from a reference to the passage, where the words 'of fame' have been even before this used by Hawkins. In his discourse on the government of the Great Moghal he writes, 'They that be of the fame of 12,000 horsemen belong to the king and his mother, and eldest son. . . . Dukes be nine thousand fame, marquesses five thousand fame. . . . All they that have these numbers of horsemen are called *Mansabdars* or men of livings or lordships.'¹ In the next thirteen or fourteen lines he gives the names of the *Mansabdars* and their ranks and ends the passage by saying, 'The rest be from 2,000 downwards till you come to twenty horses, two thousand, nine hundred, and fifty.' If we take into consideration one or two points, it will be obvious that in the above passage Hawkins does not refer to the *Sawars* of Mr. Tripathi's theory. There was, in the first instance, absolutely no rule confining the number of *Sawars* to be given to *Mansabdars* to twenty men. According to the *Ain-i-Akbar* a Bisti could have ten *Sawars* or sometimes have no *Sawars* at all. Further it would be really quite strange that a man should classify commanders not according to the number of men they kept, but mere honour which had absolutely no existence in real horsemen. Moreover in the above passage the rank of Prince Khurram is put down at 9,000. This cannot be his *Sawar*

¹ Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 98-99.

rank for we know for certain that the number of his *Sawars* before 1615 was not above 6,000¹ and Hawkins left India in 1613. Both the grounds on which Mr. Tripathi relies, thus fail to support his view.

That the view of Mr. Tripathi does not rest on any sound basis can further be proved by re quoting the examples from the *Padshah-namah*. The annual salary of Dara, a *Mansabdar* of 20,000 *Zat*, 20,000 *Sawar*, 10,000 *Duasbah* *Siaspah* was ten million rupees. That the *Mansabdars* under Shah Jehan neither kept the number of men indicated by the *Zat* rank, nor were paid for that number is a well-established fact which few would deny.² It would therefore but be reasonable to suppose that Dara was expected to keep about 10,000 men and was paid for that number from the royal treasury. The total of the pays of the soldiers, the *Zat* salary of the prince, and the sum given at the rate of Rs. 2 per *Sawar* per mensem does not reach above three millions per annum and thus Dara is left a surplus of about seven million rupees which can hardly be explained by the theory of Mr. Tripathi. The same difficulty comes in on the examination of the salary of Asaf Khan.

An examination of the views of Mr. Tripathi and Blochmann naturally leads one to the conclusion that both the ranks *Sawar* as well as *Zat* were actual. In Akbar's reign *Mansabdars* seem to have been expected to keep—whether they kept or not is a different question—as many horsemen as were indicated by their *Zat* rank, and were paid for these from the imperial and local treasuries. *Sawars* were additional soldiers given to *Mansabdars* specially favoured by the Emperor and were a sort of honour. From the *Zat* salary the *Mansabdar* maintained his household, and kept the specified establishment. Higher *Mansabdars* must have maintained a number of horsemen for the horses assigned to them.

The view thus established tallies in most respects with that of Irvine. One difference from his theory, however, has been noted in the beginning of the article, and one more might be recorded at this place. Irvine lays it down as a general rule that from the *Zat* salary the *Mansabdars* had to maintain some horsemen, besides their transport and household. To me it seems that only the higher *Mansabdars* did so, for the lower ones it was an impossible undertaking.

¹ Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 193

² *Bernier's Travels*, p. 212, Oxford Edition.

I shall give an example from the *Ain-i-Akbari* to substantiate the contention. The monthly salary of a *Mansabdar* of 50 was Rs. 230 and the cost of his establishment was Rs. 186½. Deducting this from his salary we get Rs. 43½ as his net income. He had eight horses in his charge and if for these he kept even two horsemen his own net income would be badly reduced. In that case even an *Yakaspah Iraqi* whose monthly salary was Rs. 30 would be better off than the poor *Mansabdar* of 50.

The next question to consider is as to the motives leading to the innovations of 1595. These are not far to seek, and can be best studied from the political situation in that year. Akbar though the lord of Northern India does not rest satisfied with what he had secured, and wants to conquer the Deccan Sultanates whose very presence as independent powers is an offence to him,¹ desires to drive out the Portuguese from India, and guard the frontiers against the Persians from whom Kandhar has just been captured. Salim is a further element of danger, and he cannot but feel that if Salim's military power were greater than his own, he would at once capture the throne. Akbar seems to feel the need of a greater army, and probably therefore introduces a new scheme which is at once economical and efficient.

That the addition of the *Sawar* rank to the original *Mansab* was a wise measure can hardly be doubted. To his placing the newly raised additional forces under the old *Mansabdars* without increasing their *Mansab* there were two alternatives; first the creation of new *Mansabdars*, and second, an increase in the *Mansabs* of the old commanders. Both of these were inferior on account of the greater expenditure they involved, to the scheme that Akbar devised. An example would make the matter clear:—

(a) In the case of a first class commander of 4,500 the total monthly cost to the State would be Rs. 26,000 (the salary of the *Mansabdar*) + (4,500 × Rs. 16-10-8) 2 = Rs. 1,76,000.

If the State would have created a new *Mansab* the total cost would have been Rs. 25,700 × 2 (the salary of 2 third class *Mansabdars*) + Rs. 4,500 × 2 × Rs. 16-10-8 (the salary of 9,000 troops) = Rs. 2,01,400.

The monthly cost for a new commander would thus be Rs. 25,400

¹ 'Father Xavier's Letter,' *Indian Antiquary*, February 1924.

monthly, and 3,04,800 annually in excess to that in case of a commander with *Sawars*.

(b) If the *Mansab-i-Zat* of an old commander would have been increased the cost to the State would have been Rs. 55,000 (the salary of a commander of 9,000) + Rs. 16-10-8 $\times$ 9,000 = Rs. 205,000.

This again would have involved the expenditure of Rs. 29,000 monthly, and 258,000 annually more than in the case of a first class commander of 4,500.

That the state gained much by the new order of things will have been made clear from the above example. On the other hand those who were given the *Sawar* rank were materially benefited. They keep $\frac{1}{10}$ th part of the pay of the soldiers put under them,¹ and this must not have ill compensated the *Mansabdars* for the pains they took in commanding the new forces.

The addition of the *Sawar* rank besides being a good measure from the economic point of view settled satisfactorily the question of rank and dignity. If Mirza Shahrukh would have been made a *Mansabdar* of 13,000 his position would have been officially regarded as superior to that of Prince Salim, who held the rank of 12,000. The scheme of Akbar while giving men like Shahrukh the command of 7,000 + 6,000 kept them in rank below the Prince. It reserved to the royal scions the nominal dignity that counted for much in Darbars, Kornish, Taslim, and the grant of the *Zat* salary, but gave the real power to trusted commanders, who while remaining in mere rank below such Princes as the infant Khusro, were the mainstays of the Empire and directed the operations of the army in wars.

¹ Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 265.

Mir Jumla and Ram Singh in Assam

(Mainly based on Assamese Chronicles or Buranjis)

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The Mir Jumla Couplet.—Every student of Indian history knows the couplet about Warren Hastings:—

*Hati par howdah, ghora par jin,
Jaldi ao, jaldi ao, Saheb Hasting.*

Mir Jumla who invaded Assam in 1662, had previously played a very important part in the affairs of the Deccan and of the Mogul capital. His meteoric rise to affluence and power from the position of a mere fortune-hunter from Persia, his *debut* at Golconda, his prime-minister-ship in the Court of Emperor Shah Jehan, his strategic *coups* in the war of succession, his assistance to Aurangzeb with his 'twenty maunds of diamond' ultimately placing the latter on the throne, made Mir Jumla the most conspicuous figure in Mogul India, and created round him a very magnetic and influential personality. When such a man appeared on the plains of the Brahmaputra Valley, and carried his arms to the farthest limits of Assam, he naturally left a very deep impression upon the minds of the people, and the result is a couplet which we have found in two separate manuscript Assamese *buranjis* or chronicles,¹

*Khata-khota Majumkhan, nukhe chap dari,
Beharaka bhang Jaibo Guahati bari.*

which, when translated into English will be approximately as follows:—

Short and robust Majum Khan,²
With rounded beard in his face,
First will vanquish Cooch Behar,
To Gauhati then he'll pace.

¹ *Buranjis*, Nos. 1 and 3, referred to in the list of authorities, *post*.

² Mir Jumla appears under various designations in Assamese chronicles,—Majum Khan, Amir Jumla, Mirja Mulla, or simply Khan-i-Khanan. 'Mir Muhammad Said Ardastani, surnamed Mir Jumla, and afterwards Muazzam Khan, Khan Khanan Sipahsalar, was born in Ardistan near Ispahan, and came to India as the personal attendant of a Persian merchant,' Bernier, p. 16, footnote.

A Prediction.—This is how the couplet originated. Mir Jumla stood at the borders of Cooch Behar and Assam with 60,000 horse, and despatched two messengers to the Barphukon at Gauhati, demanding the evacuation of that place. According to the custom of the Ahom Court the messengers were served daily with provisions and necessities. One day, a deer was added to the articles of food. The Mogul ambassador retained the other provisions and let loose the deer, and told our men as follows :—

‘Now, listen to me. I will tell you a story. Two flocks of peacocks were engaged in fighting, flying from one branch to another. From there they flew upon a hill. As they were engaged in a long and continuous flight commencing from midday, they were all exhausted with fatigue. A herd of elephants witnessed this fight, and their leader said,—“It will be disastrous, if we remain here; let us move from hence.” Another elephant retorted,—“Why should we leave this place? If the birds fly upon our bodies, do you think we shall not be able to kill them?” Then the birds, engaged in scuffling together dropped upon the herd, and wounded and pierced the eyes of several of the elephants, which being seized with fright at this sudden and unexpected attack, dispersed in confusion to all possible quarters. They fell on pits, on beds of thorns or got themselves bogged in morasses. Most of them perished in the scare, and only a few could depart with their lives. The elephants met this calamity because they ignored the sage counsel of their leader. But stirred and agitated by our elephants, horses and foot-soldiers the waters will be converted to blood, the forests to sands, and the deer will come out in herds; for, Mir Jumla, who is short and stout and has a rounded beard in his face, will proceed to Gauhati after the conquest of Cooch Behar.”¹

The story with slight textual variation appears also in *Buranji*, No. 3, with the following concluding verses :—

हाती घोडार आन्दोलत जल स्यंघडत ।

जलर शोनित जंगल बाला ।

यूथे यूथे आइवो पहर पाला ॥

खाटा खुटा मजुमखौं मुखे चाप डाडो ।

थाता बेहार भंगे जाइवो गुयाहाटोवाडो ॥

¹ We quote the last few lines constituting the metrical ending of the fable from

And its fulfilment.—The Barphukon discovered from the trend of the fable that Mir Jumla meant mischief, and accordingly sent messages to the Ahom King Jayadhwaja Singh (1648-1663) at Gargaon. The prediction made by the Mogul diplomat and story-teller was fulfilled.—‘Mir Jumla made his way into Cooch Behar by an obscure and neglected high way.’¹ ‘On the 27th of Rubby-at-Avul (December, 1661) Mir Jumla took possession of the capital of Cooch Behar, and in compliment to the reigning Emperor, changed its name to Alungir Nagar.’² The Nawab then invaded Assam, entered Gargaon on the 17th of March, 1662. The Ahom king fled to the ‘Pestilential hills of Namrup,’ and earned for all ages the unpatriotic epithet of the ‘Bhaganiya Raja’ or the Deserting King. A treaty was concluded, which was favourable to the invaders. But the great Khani-Khanan Mir Jumla died in March 1663 on his way back to Dacca, and Aurangzeb wrote to the valorous commander’s son Mahammad Amin Khan,—‘You mourn the death of an affectionate parent, and I the loss of the most powerful and the most dangerous of my friends.’³

Dead Bones unspared.—We shall give an instance of the accuracy of details noticeable in Assamese chronicles, as seen from the manner in which facts narrated there are confirmed by the accounts of Mogul historians. During Mir Jumla’s residence in or about the Ahom capital he excavated several tombs or *maidams* of Ahom nobles and princes, in which were deposited their personal belongings, their garments and their jewels. We reproduce the following passage from the *Fathiya-i-ibriyya*, the official Persian account of the invasion given by Shahabuddin Talish.⁴—

‘The common people bury their dead with some of the property of the deceased, placing the head towards the east, and feet towards the west. The chiefs build vaults for their dead, and place therein the

Buranji, No. 1. हस्तो घोडा पदातिर घञ्जायत जल शोनित होयवो, जंगेल होईवो बाला । यूथे यूथे आइवो पहर पाला ॥

खाटा खुटा मजुमखौं मुखे चाप डाडि । बेहारक भंगे याईवो गुयाहाटो बाडि ॥

¹ *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. iii, p. 180.

² *Stewart’s History of Bengal*, p. 325.

³ *Bernier’s Travels*, p. 173, and *Mill’s History of India*, vol. 2, Book III.

⁴ The extract is taken from *Assam and the Ahoms in 1660*, by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., published in the *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society for December, 1915*.

wives and servants of the deceased, after killing them, together with necessary articles for a few years, including various kinds of gold and silver vessels, carpets, clothes and food-stuffs. . . . From the vaults which were dug open (by the Moguls) nearly ninety thousand rupees on all accounts were realized.'

The first part of the above passage describing the contents of the tomb of an Ahom noble is thus supported in an Ahom chronicle.—We read in Lt.-Col. P. R. T. Gurdon's *Short Note on the Ahoms* (p. 10),—'A Buranji (*Ahom Chronicle*) describes how at the funeral of Raja Gadadhor Singha who died in A.D. 1696, a number of living persons, who had been the deceased's attendants were interred with the corpse, together with many articles of food, raiments and ornaments.' Though Shahabuddin wrote of Assam thirty years prior to Gadadhor Singha's death he only speaks of a custom obtaining in both these periods.

The second part of the passage quoted from the *Fathiya-i-ibriyya* describing the exhumation of the remains of Ahom tombs by the Moguls, is confirmed in an Assamese chronicle.¹—

'During Mir Jumla's stay in upper Assam he came to learn from some Assamese people who became friends with the Moguls that the tombs or *maidams* of the kings had vast wealth, and he accordingly employed his men to dig open the graves. Our men pointed out the mouths of the tombs, after which Mir Jumla carried on his excavations. The tombs of Barjana Gohain, Lachit Gohain yielded huge treasures; and their bones were also extracted and removed. During the months of *Baisakh*, *Jaistha* and *Ashar*, the grave of Burha Raja (Pratap Singha, 1603-41) was unearthed, and untold wealth was recovered from there: his bones were also removed. On the seventh of *Baisakh*, 1584 *saka*, the tombs of the Nariya Raja (Sutyengpha, 1644-48), Bhaga Raja (Surampha, 1641-44) and Khora Raja (Sukhampha, 1552-1603) and Gargayan Raja (Suklenmung, 1539-1552) were excavated and their treasures and bones were removed. The king Jayadhwaja Singha heard this, and expressed his sorrow, saying, "I have not been able even to protect the bones of my forefathers."'

¹ *Buranji*, No. 1, *vide* list of authorities, *post*. For further particulars, regarding Ahom tombs *vide* Sergeant C. Clayton's 'Description of the Tomb of an Ahom Noble' in *J.A.S.B.*, June 1848, where we read,—'Rudra Singha (1696-1714) is said to have prohibited the burying alive of the queens, guards, attendants, slaves, elephant, etc., at his decease.'

The Valour of Assamese Soldiers.—The terms of the treaty concluded between Mir Jumla and the representatives of the Ahom king were certainly favourable to the invaders.¹ From the humiliating nature of the treaty it is evident that Assam did not play her part so well in the game. The Assamese were not lacking in vigilance or courage or military craft. They dealt occasionally heavy blows on the invaders; and Mulla Darvish of Herat, 'that master of eloquence' who accompanied Mir Jumla during the expedition has thus celebrated the bravery of the Assamese people in an elegant *qasida* or ode.²

'The Rajah of Assam brought to the field an army,
Whose large number became a cage on earth;

[They were] tumult-raising and sudden (in attack) like the eyes of the fair sex

Hurling arrows and (other) missiles, and making a (firm) stand in the battle-field,

Their bodies full of life, they robbed lives on plains and hill.

All of them were terrific, like the demon Ifrit in the river.

If one of them made a charge on the battle-field,

Their bodies would be severed from their heads, and their heads from the bodies (before they left it)

They seem to be Ahrimans come out of hill,

Or some heart that has escaped from the chains of captivity.

They are strong-lived to such a degree that if they are turned to dust

Their veins do not become the least slack.

All of them are without light like the eye-balls of the blind,

All of them are like poisonous plants in quality and effect.

Jayadhwaja Singha's Delinquency.—Then, why could not the Assamese do justice to the valour and martial ardour attributed to them by successive generations of visitors? There were men and money, and all the requisite materials for a victory: but the Assamese army were at that time a body without a head. There was no military commander of supreme genius who could marshal and co-ordinate the materials, to bring out and organize the unexplored energies of the

¹ Gait's *History of Assam*, p. 136; Prof. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. iii, p. 201. An Assamese *pulhi* giving an account of the tribute to be paid by Assam to Delhi goes to the extent of saying,—'The Nawab Mir Jumla invaded the country and conquered it, and the king Jayadhwaja Singha fled to Chorai Khorong in Namrup'; *vide* Gait's *Progress of Historical Research in Assam*, p. 17. See also Mir Jumla's letter to Aurangzeb on the terms of the treaty, etc., published by the present writer in *Sadhana*, vol. ii, p. 117.

² *J.B.O.R.S.*, December 1915, Prof. Sarkar's *Assam and Ahoms in 1660*, p. 184.

people rendering them efficient for the issues of the war, to rouse national consciousness to a point when all subordinate considerations would be relegated to the background. The absence of such a leader and commander was felt even then, and the king's inefficiency in facing manfully and tactfully the critical juncture in the history of his country was recognized by his contemporaries. The king Jayadhwaja Singha was too unchivalrous to attend to the serious duties of a king. A manuscript chronicle¹ specifically pins the whole blame on the king when it says,—‘The fisher women and *Poharis*² said to the king at Doalguri Road during his flight to Namrup,—“O lord, you have paid your attention only to pleasure and dalliance. If you had only put during these fifteen years of your reign fifteen piles of earth at proper places, your fate would not have been like this. Where are you fleeing leaving us in the lurch?” The king was extremely aggrieved to hear this admonition from the lips of the female hawkers. The same unknown chronicler refers to the absence of able generalship at the time of Jayadhwaja Singha when he describes the proceedings of the war-council convened by King Rudra Singha (1696–1714) at North Gauhati, to discuss the proposal to invade Bengal with a view to restore to Assam the territories extending up to the river Karatoya, long held in fee by the sovereigns of Kamrup.—

‘The Barpatra Gohain in support of the king’s proposal said,—“The territories bordering on the Karatoya are ours.”³ The enemies

¹ *Buranji*, No. 2.

² One living in the Brahmaputra Valley would see on the roads of towns and villages female hawkers or *Poharis* with baskets on their heads, loaded with fish, lime, brinjals, pineapples, ginger, rice, paddy and other garden and agricultural products for sale or barter.

³ This patriotic assertion of territorial rights by Rudra Singha and his ministers is not without any historic foundation. ‘In the *Jogini-Tantra* Kamrup is said to include the tracts lying between the Karatoya on the west and Dikrang on the east . . . that is to say, it included roughly the Brahmaputra Valley, Bhutan Rangpur, Kuch-Bihar’ (Gait, p. 10). According to Hieun-Tsang’s account Kamrup extended on the west as far as the Karatoya (p. 24). Western Kamrup or Kamata had its western boundary at the Karatoya (pp. 40–41). Biswa Singha king of Kuch-Bihar about the year 1515 extended his rule as far as the Karatoya (p. 47). During the reign of the Ahom King Suhungmung (1499–1539) in the war with Turbak, the invaders were completely defeated. ‘Turbak was trans fixed by a spear. . . . The Ahoms followed hard on the fugitives as far as the Karatoya River’ (p. 91). The Ahom general Kancheng Barpatra Gohain washed his sword, drenched with the blood of the enemies in the waters of the Karatoya where he excavated a tank in commemoration of his victory. Haliran Dhekial Phookon writing so early as 1829 says that the Karatoya was made by

have got possession of them only on account of our indifference and inaction. The duty of a king is to destroy the enemy, and to recover lost possessions with a view to preserve the ancient boundaries of his kingdom. We have a large fleet and naval soldiers, and abundance of war-materials. If the king orders, the enemy will be crushed and destroyed.” The Bura Gohain then added,—“The king’s proposal is reasonable, and what the Barpatra Gohain says is equally reasonable.” The ancestors of our king, had, by virtue of their prowess and courage crossed the boundaries of Rangamati, and washed their swords at the Karatoya-Ganga. They found it inconvenient (to fix the boundaries of Assam at the Karatoya), so they made the river Manas the western limit of Assam, and established a garrison at Gauhati. In the reign of Jayadhwaja Singha there was an abundance of provisions and men, still he acquired the title of the “Deserting King”; arms and ammunitions, materials and supplies are torpid and impotent, the followers and subordinates of the king are symbols of life and animation; they alone can infuse into the immobile war-provisions a dynamic force.’

Rajah Ram Singha in Assam.—On the death of Jayadhwaja Singha, Chakradhwaja Singha (1663–70) ascended the Ahom throne. Being highly sensitive to his prestige and dignity, the new king resolved to free the country from the burden of the heavy indemnities payable annually to the Mogul Court. A new army was raised, and trained on new lines and principles. The king personally supervised the military manœuvres and practices. Lacit Barphukon was placed at the head of this newly mobilized force. Gauhati was wrested back from the Moguls. The Mogul forces under Raja Ram Singha, the heroic son of Aurangzeb’s firm and resolute Rajput adherent Mirza Jay Singha of Ambar, were after a series of engagements defeated at the naval battle of Saraighat, near Gauhati in 1670.¹ The chivalrous Rajput commander Raja Ram Singha was deeply impressed by the dash of the Assamese soldiers, their tact, courage and tenacity in the battle-field, and the invincible leadership of the Assamese general, and he said,—‘Glory to the king! Glory to the councillors! Glory to

Kancheng Barpatra, the western boundary of Assam. During the reign of Rudra Singha the Manas River was the western limit of Assam.

¹ For a complete and authoritative account of the battle of Saraighat, see Sjt. Hem Chandra Goswami’s article of that name in *Usha*, vol. i.

the commander! Glory to the country! One single individual leads all the forces! Even I, Ram Singha, being personally on the spot, do not find any loophole and opportunity.'

A Patriotic Bluff.—During the earlier stages of the war, Ram Singha and Lacit Phukon fixed the boundary of Assam, by retaining the limits arrived at between Momai Tamuli Barphukon (Lacit's father) and Ahleyar Khan in the reign of Pratap Singha.¹ They both regarded the ancient boundaries as pillars of gold and silver; and Ram Singha delivered the following oration,—'As long as the sun and the moon remain in the sky, no one will be able to alter the boundary. But, may I ask, where was this valiant general (Lacit Phukon) when Mir Jumla over-ran the country?' The Assamese ambassador Kaupatiya Madhavacharan thundered forth a Himalayan bluff,—'In the eastern region there is a kingdom named Nara, which was bound by a treaty to pay annually to the Ahom monarch a stipulated tribute of horses, clothes, elephants and money. The king of Nara disregarded the terms of the treaty, and Lacit Phukon was despatched by the Ahom monarch to extort the tribute from the refractory king. The Ahom general devastated the country of Nara, and exacted from its unwilling lord the tribute. On hearing of the arrival of Mir Jumla in Assam, the Assamese commander hurried back from Nara, pursued the Nawab, but on reaching Kaliabar, he learnt that Mir Jumla had been gathered to his fore-fathers.'² But though there is a tribe, known as the Naras, in the neighbourhood of Assam, with which the Ahoms came occasionally into conflict, we have not heard of any Nara expedition during the reign of Jayadhwaja Singha, and Lacit was then only a junior officer of the Ahom Court, and history is mute regarding his alleged association with any frontier warfare! It should be remembered that subsequent misunderstandings between the Ahom and the Mogul camps developed fresh hostilities on both sides, which were set at rest only by the decisive battle of Saraighat.

Why was Mir Jumla sent to Assam?—Both Mir Jumla and Ram

¹ At the conclusion of the hostilities with the Muhammadans in the reign of Pratap Singha, 'a treaty was negotiated (in 1638) under which the Barnadi in the north bank of the Brahmaputra and the Asurar Ali on the south were fixed as the boundary between the Ahom and the Muhammadan territories.' Gait, pp. 115-16.

² *Buranji*, No. 1.

Singha were great figures in the Mogul administration. But why did not Aurangzeb despatch inferior commanders to invade Assam, and retain these able soldiers and councillors for more urgent imperial purposes? There is a suspicion in some quarters that the Emperor, after sitting on the throne looked upon Mir Jumla with fear, thinking that the man who had materially helped him 'to wade through slaughter to a throne' might also remove him from that giddy eminence. Bernier explicitly states (p. 171) in this connection that 'Aurangzeb justly apprehended that an ambitious soldier (like Mir Jumla) could not long remain in a state of repose and that, if disengaged from foreign war, he would seek occasion to excite internal commotions.' So off to Assam and Arracan and the pestilential airs and floods and mosquitoes and inclemencies of the eastern regions of India! Various motives and reasons are ascribed for the invasion of Assam by Mir Jumla. Bernier seems to think (p. 171) that the invasion of Assam had already figured in the imagination of Mir Jumla, who intended to carry his victorious arms to the mountainous steppes of China and thereby earn immortal fame; so the Emperor's orders to invade Assam gave him the official sanction to pursue his own ambitious project. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., states with authority in his *History of Aurangzeb*¹ that 'Mir Jumla was appointed Viceroy of Bengal with orders to punish the lawless Zemindars of the province, specially those of Assam and Magh (Arracan) who had caused injury and molestation to the Muslims.' The king of Arracan had already exasperated the great Mogul by harbouring his only surviving brother and rival Sultan Shuja, and 'Aurangzeb desired that Mir Jumla, the new Viceroy of Bengal, should after conquering Assam lead an army into Arracan to recover Shuja's family if possible.'² Charles Stewart is however of opinion that the provocation for this

¹ Vol. iii (p. 178).

² Prof. Sarkar quotes as his authority for this passage *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 405 and 84 and Orme's *Fragments*, p. 59. During the earlier part of Jayadhwaja Singha's engagements with the Muhammadans, referred to by Stewart, *post*, he won victory over them. A cannon was found at False Point bearing the following inscriptions: श्री श्री स्वर्गदेव जयध्वजसिंह महाराजेन यवनं.....इदं यत्नं

प्राप्तं.....१०. Which has been translated by Gait as follows,—'The king Jayadhwaja Singha having vanquished the Muhammadans at Gauhati obtained this weapon in *saka* . . . 80.' He surmises the *saka* era to be 1580, or A.D. 1658.

invasion of Assam was given by Jayadhwaja Singha himself. He says in his *History of Bengal*, p. 324.—‘The prince of this country (Assam) Jydeġ Singh (Jayadhwaja Singha) had during the civil wars (wars of succession to the throne of Delhi) sent an army down the Brahmaputra; which had plundered and laid waste the country as far as Dacca, and carried away with them a number of the inhabitants as slaves. To avenge these insults, and to re-establish the fame of the Mogul Government, was an object of great solicitude to Mir Jumla; who as soon as he was satisfied with regard to the prince Shuja, in the year 1071 (A.H.) collected, in the neighbourhood of Dacca, a numerous army, well equipped with artillery and warlike stores, and accompanied by a strong fleet of war-boats.’

The Offence of Ram Singha.—We have got some idea of the complicated motives of Mir Jumla’s invasion of Assam. But why was Ram Singha selected to lead the expedition provoked by King Chakradhwaja Singha’s bold and chivalrous attitude against the indignities¹ he had received in the hands of Mogul ambassadors? It was Ram Singha who under the orders of the Emperor, had looked after Shivaji when that great empire-builder was a ‘guest’ in Aurangzeb’s palace at Agra. Jay Singha invaded Bijapur, and at his instance Aurangzeb wrote to Shivaji inviting him to the imperial court. We read in the *Life of Shivaji Maharaj*, by Messrs. Takakhav and Keluskar,—‘Jay Singha advised Shivaji to proceed to Agra without any anxiety, promising that his son Ram Singha would look after his comforts and safety. Upon these assurances Shivaji resolved to visit Agra. Shivaji’s restless and undaunted spirit pining in the luxuries of the Mogul Court resembled the grains of dynamite cribbed and confined in a German howitzer, ever ready to burst and explode, producing a terrific boom and commotion, and blowing to smithereens all surrounding objects. Shivaji by a bold and original stratagem threw dust into the eyes of the wily Emperor and escaped from the surveillance and

¹ The indignities were (1) the insistence by the Moguls of the literal compliance of the terms of the treaty with Jayadhwaja Singha. Prof. Sarkar may be quoted. ‘The Mogul Government also dealt in an ungenerous and grasping way with the Ahom king in money matters.’ (2) A *buranji* states that king Chakradhwaja highly resented the Emperor’s present of a *Sirpao* to him, and the Mogul messengers’ insistence on his wearing in their presence that token of imperial favour. It should be remembered that the memorable battle of Saraighat, where Ram Singha was defeated, took place in the early months of the reign of Chakradhwaja’s successor King Udayāditya.

humility to which he was subjected; and the suspicion naturally fell upon his Hindu custodian Ram Singha as having loosened the strings of the caged bird. The Maharatta historians continue,—‘Ram Singha did not quite escape a certain measure of suspicion. Chitnis asserts that Ram Singha connived at Shivaji’s escape. Some Mahratta Brahmans who were caught admitted under torture that Shivaji had escaped with the connivance of Ram Singha. But when Jay Singha heard that he protested his son was innocent of such faithlessness to the Emperor. But Aurangzeb would not listen to all that, and Ram Singha was forbidden to appear at court. Jay Singha who had served the Emperor so well in his struggle for the throne, and in his campaigns in the Deccan took to heart his son’s humiliation. He hurried to the defence of his territories, intending to recover his independence. But the valiant Rajput chief, an offspring of the renowned Kachhwahas of Ambar, died on his arrival at Burhanpur, on the tenth of July, 1667.¹ And the culprit Ram Singha was placed at the head of an expedition against the Raja of Assam as a punishment for his alleged connivance at Shivaji’s flight from Agra.²

Warning to Ram Singha.—But Ram Singha’s mother and his wife, with the instinctive sagacity of Rajput women foresaw the disastrous consequences of the expedition to Assam. The unknown Assamese *buranjist*, ever eager to record the faintest gossip about great Mogul personalities connected with Assam,³ thus writes:—

‘When Ram Singha was in Assam he heard the story that the Emperor Aurangzeb in a fit of anger asked his son Krisna Singha to entertain him (the Emperor) by playing with tigers. Krisna Singha agreed and two tigers were released within a net. Krisna Singha,

¹ We take these details of Jay Singha’s end from Bernier’s *Travels*, p. 35 n and 190-191.

² ‘Service in Assam was extremely unpopular, and no soldier would go there unless compelled. Indeed, there is reason to believe that Ram Singha was sent to Assam as a punishment for his having secretly helped Shivaji to escape from captivity at Agra.’ Prof. Sarkar’s *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. iii, pp. 213-214, and Manucci, iii, 153.

³ From *Buranji*, No. I. Two Assamese chronicles of the Mogul Court have been recently discovered, one by Mr. Benudhor Sarmah in the India Office, London, and the other by the present writer in the American Baptist Mission at Gauhati. They relate to the pre-Assam activities of Ram Singha, Mir Jumla and Jay Singha.

armed with his shield and sword, saluted the Emperor, and leaped into the arena. The brutes rushed at him, but the Rajput "gladiator" escaped being mauled and torn to pieces by a deft manoeuvre of his shield. When he was next attacked, he with his sword, cut one tiger into two pieces, dashed off at its fellow, and killed it as well. Then the surrounding people rent the sky with acclamations, shouting,—"Glory to thee, O Krisna Singha, son of Ram Singha, thou art a true Kshatria's son." Ram Singha's widowed mother and his wife sent a letter to him in which they wrote,—“The Emperor contrived the death of Krisna Singha, by making him wrestle with tigers. Such a friend is the Emperor! We have received enough tokens of gratitude for the conquest of contries for the Emperor (by Jay Singha and Ram Singha)! Never think that by your invasion of the eastern country (Assam), we will gain more. We are told that there is universal *nama-kirtan* (religious music and recital) in that country. By invading it, oh, how long could Mir Jumla thrive? So take heed, and do as you think proper.” Shaista Khan said to the messenger,—“Well, tell Ram Singha that for the fear of Assam, the honour and prestige of the Nawabs and Rajas have remained in tact. If that country be invaded and subjugated then we shall be dishonoured as well.”¹ On the receipt of this message Ram Singha became disheartened. It should be remembered that the letter was received by Ram Singha on the eve of the battle of Saraighat in which the Mogul forces were completely defeated and routed by Lait Phukon and ‘Hadira, opposite Goalpara, now become the Ahom frontier out-post’ on the west.

¹ I would like to give the original sentence of the *Buranji* :—

चास्ताखाँ बोले, रामसिंहक कोवि, आसाम देशके सशये नबाव राजा सकल
मान मर्यादा गोट रहिसे । त क मारि बशकरिले आमार सकलरे भास भागे ।

Shaistakhan, uncle of Aurangzeb, became Governor of Bengal after the death of Mir Jumla. His famous escape from Shivaji at the Poona Fort has made him a well-known figure in Indian History. The meaning of his message to Ram Singha is probably as follows :—

The existence of the powerful independent kingdom of Assam has made the Emperor careful in his dealings with his chiefs and lordlings, as he has to count upon their help in times of emergency, when he projects an invasion of Assam. The position of the Governor of Bengal is of supreme importance under the circumstances.

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The Rise of Daud Khan Rohilla

OR

AN EARLY HISTORY OF THE ROHILLAS IN INDIA TILL
THE DEATH OF DAUD KHAN

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Condition of India after the Death of Aurangzeb.—The Mughal Empire had a glorious history from the reign of Akbar, who may be regarded as its real founder, to that of Aurangzeb. The royal treasury was replete with money and jewels, which dazzled the eyes of the various foreign visitors. The people were prosperous, and there was universal toleration. A great advance of culture, marked by the erection of magnificent structures and the production of the finest works of art, was made. But this prosperity had already begun to decline in the reign of the last of the Great Mughals, Aurangzeb. A series of rebellions broke out in different parts of his Empire, as a result of his religious policy, and the Mahrattas in particular became enemies of the empire. The death of the old orthodox warrior aggravated the situation. As usual the sons of the Emperor contended for the throne, and by coaxing and lavish distribution of presents, bounties and preferments, enlisted the nobles and soldiers under their standards. Bahadur Shah emerged successful from the struggle. His reign was short, but was crowded with revolts and rebellions in all quarters. The Rajputs withdrew their support and as Eradut Khan writes in his memoirs, 'Now openly shewed their designs to struggle for independence, in close alliance with each other to bind which Jeysingh had espoused the daughter of Ajit Singh.'¹

In the north there was another tale to tell. Seeing the utter weakness of the Empire, the Sikhs formed designs to avenge the

inhuman miseries they had suffered at the hands of their Musalman rulers. Finding themselves strong in the hilly regions of the Punjab, they raised the standard of revolt under the leadership of Banda, and swept the neighbourhood of Delhi, 'committing excesses, razing all edifices, as mosques, colleges, mausoleums and palaces, killing or taking prisoners the faithful of every age and sex, and plundering with the most cruel severity.'¹ The degenerate nobility, pampered in luxury, could not find courage to meet the Sikhs, and so fled away from the capital with their families and goods. The Emperor left the Rajputs and proceeded against the northern enemy, whom, however, he could not thoroughly suppress.²

In the south the Mahrattas, though disconcerted by the death of their leader, Shivaji, assailed Alamgir with success and had been able to free their fastnesses from the Muslim control. Their aggressions were daily increasing, and 'the Mahrattas' as Prof. Sarkar says, 'were an open sore which drained the life-blood of the Empire and steadily reduced its size.'

At the same time, the 'weakness of the central government emboldened the provincial governors to defy imperial prohibitions,'³ and they made themselves rich by heavy exactions from the merchants and the peasants. Guardians of peace became its disturbers; and when they had made themselves rich and strong, gradually shook off the imperial authority and established their independence. The court was the hot-bed of intrigue, profligacy and luxury. High offices of state were given to the buffoons, minstrels and favourites of the mistresses. Career was not open to talent. The public service was a means of gratifying sycophants, kinsmen, and comrades in revelry. Vice and sloth under the later Mughals drove out efficiency and fidelity. Merit was eclipsed by immorality; and so the capable and efficient nobles had to look somewhere outside the court for appreciation and remuneration. Finding themselves insecure against capricious dismissal and degradation, their property and family honour unsafe, they resorted to their last hope of 'asserting their independence and establishing provincial dynasties of their own.'⁴

¹ Scott, *Memoirs of Eradut Khan*, pp. 58-9.

² *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, MSS, p. 167.

³ Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. v, p. 414.

⁴ Scott, *Memoirs of Eradut Khan*, pp. 80-90.

¹ *Memoirs of Eradut Khan*, translated by Scott, p. 58. *Turikh Muzaffari*, Allahabad University MSS, pp. 162-163.

The army, once the boast of the Mughals and the dread of their enemies, was disorganized, degenerate and ill-equipped. Long wars in the Deccan had consumed the flower of the fighting class and now the residue was left in misery. Its spirit was utterly broken. In discipline, mutiny and a constant desire for bounty were its chief features. Luxury had crept into its ranks, so it was quite useless for sustained action. Owing to the civil wars it had grown in numbers, so much that in the reign of Bahadur Shah, writes Eradut Khan, the memoir writer, 'the army was now increased to one hundred thousand horse, and soldiers of every cast (caste) and sect flocked in crowds to the imperial standard, where they were received with proper encouragement and amply paid.'¹ But the old solidarity was gone, and deprived of the support of the Rajputs, it could not stand against the Hindu and Muslim rebels.

The economic impoverishment of India had already begun. Owing to the unusual drain of wealth from Northern India to finance the southern wars, the peasantry was left destitute.² Coupled with this, the exactions of the local chiefs and provincial governors sucked the blood of the poor farmers. Many new cesses and taxes were imposed upon the agricultural and the industrial classes which killed village industries and ruined the people who lived by them. Mechanical skill found no patrons, and peace which is the first requisite for its healthy growth was absent from the land. There was no security for the wages earned by hard labour, and without this the incentive for work was lost. Trade could not be peacefully carried on as the roads were not safe. Caravans were looted by bands of raiders who inhabited the villages on the high roads. Agriculture could not flourish, and writes Bhimsen the chronicler, 'the ryots have given up cultivation'. When their hereditary occupation was gone, they became robbers and highway men and made the situation all the worse.

Lastly, there was a great deterioration in the character and capacity of the rulers who came to occupy the throne of Akbar and Shahjahan. 'The native genius of Akbar, the genial moderation of Jahangir, the sagacity, energy and refined taste of Shahjahan', and the puritanical continence of Aurangzeb, had changed into weakness, irresolution and capriciousness of the later Mughals. They had no taste for the dull

¹ Scott, *Memoirs of Eradut Khan* p. 42.

² Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. v, p. 445.

routine of state business, and passed their time in the harem in the company of buffoons, minstrels and sycophants. Jahandar Shah was notorious for his debauchery and drunkenness. He was foolish enough to go about publicly in the bazar with his mistress Lalkunwar, whose highhandedness had offended all the nobles of the court.¹ With such rulers at the head, the court and the public could not long remain unstained with immorality. Public corruption, immorality of the rulers, inefficiency of the state officials, weakness of the army, and the growing disorder in the provinces, all combined to bring about the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

When such was the state of the court and the army, when economic poverty was eating into the vitals of the tenantry, 'all classes of lawless men began to raise their heads in the north and south'. Their suppression was a task almost impossible for the local officials. The emperors, if they could get release from the luxuries of the harem, were not free from the pressing inroads of the Sikhs and the Mahrattas. In such times, the centrifugal forces, ever so conspicuous in Indian history, began their action. 'The proud Zemindars, whose grandfathers had been ruling princes before the coming of the Mughals, the Afghan families settled in various districts and still dreaming of their lost empire in India, claimants to principalities dispossessed by order of Aurangzeb, predatory tribes . . . and the turbulent Rajput peasantry . . . all rose in defiance of the government and began to lay hands on their weaker neighbours.'²

It was in such disturbed times that Daud Khan, the progenitor and founder of the Rohilla power in India, migrated from his mountain home in Roh to fish in the troubled waters of India. We will now trace his history in the subsequent pages.

The Rohillas.—But before proceeding with the history of Daud Khan, it is proper that we should understand the term 'Rohilla'.³ The Rohillas, it has been accepted by almost all the writers, were inhabitants of the mountainous region called Roh which extends from the Indus to the Hindukush, and includes Bajaur, Kabul, Kandahar and

¹ Scott, *Memoirs of Eradut Khan*, pp. 80–83.

² Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. v, p. 451.

³ The origin and descent of the Afghans have been thoroughly discussed by Bellew, Tate, Ferrier and Elphinstone, and so the readers are referred to their works for further information.

Ghazni. From remote antiquity they have occupied this land, and tradition ascribes them a descent from the Israelites of Syria and Palestine, from where they were driven out by Bakht Nasra. These dispossessed tribes migrated to the east and settled in the provinces of Ghor and Ghazni. This tradition has been accepted by almost all the Afghan chroniclers, and Hafiz Rahmat Khan, in his book *Kholasat-ul-Insab*,¹ has given a general genealogy of all the tribes, tracing their descent direct from Abraham, the Patriarch of Palestine.

In India the inhabitants of these regions are generally called by three different names, Rohillas, Afghans and Pathans, the first of which is usually applied to the people settled in Rohilkhand, Dholpur and the Deccan.

The Afghans generally use their tribal names to denote their families and dynasties, and it seems strange that the successors and followers of Daud Khan and Ali Muhammad Khan should be called Rohillas. Possibly, as Mr. Tate suggests,² the low origin of Daud Khan, a slave or the freedman of Shah Alam Khan, about whose parentage and family nothing certain was known, might have compelled him to call himself a Rohilla in the absence of any distinguishing eponym. His followers also went by the appellation of their commander, and so eventually Katehar came to be called Rohilkhand, the land of the Rohillas.

The Afghans of Roh are hardy men, fierce and enterprising. They are agriculturists, traders, soldiers and robbers, 'whose hands can wield indifferently a cloth measure, a spade, a sword or rifle.'³ India has always been a field for the enterprise of these Afghans, who at times flocked in large numbers to serve in the army of the rulers here. After the battle of Panipat in 1556, they scattered all over the country and some of them settled in Katehar also. But during the confusion consequent upon the death of Aurangzeb, and the rise of Nadir Shah in Persia, many Afghan adventures of Roh migrated into India to seek employment or a safe refuge from the persecutions of Nadir Shah. One such early emigrant was Daud Khan, then a dependent in the family of Shihabuddin Khan at Tor Shahamat in Roh.

Shihabuddin Khan.—Excepting a few faint glimpses in the works of

¹ *Kholasat-ul-Insab*, Rampur MSS., pp. 8-20.

² Tate, *Kingdom of Afghanistan*, p. 23, foot-note.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

his descendants,¹ very little is known about the life of Shihabuddin Khan, the ancestor of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. He was a God-fearing pious Afghan Shaikh of Roh, an inhabitant of Posheen Shorawak in the Kandahar District, which was the original home of the tribe of Barhaitch to which he belonged. He was a Budalzai, one of the sub-sections of Barhaitch. It is recorded that in² his youth he visited the districts of Attock and Lunger Kot, where had already settled some of the families of his tribe, and 'from among them he selected his bride.'³ Usually he lived in the hilly land of Chach Hazara. Though often rapt in meditation, he moved from place to place and paid occasional visits to the plains. With growing age increased also his solitary rambles in the woods and valleys, where he passed months in prayer and meditation without paying even a chance visit to his family. By hard meditation, he came to possess the power of working miracles, and was reputed all round as a great saint,⁴ and after death came to be venerated as a Pir. At a good old age he died and was buried on the main road from Peshawar to Kabul, near the village Shahider. 'On account of his sanctity he obtained the appellation of Shaikh Kuti Baba,'⁵ because he called himself 'kuta' or dog of the Almighty.

[He had three sons,⁶ Pai, Adam and Mahmud, the last of whom took the appellation of Shaikh Moti Baba, and migrated from Posheen Shorawak to reside at Tor Shahamat, of which place he became the

¹ The main authorities for this account are *Kholasat-ul-Insab*, *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, *Gul-i-Rahmat* and *Akhbar Husain*, all written by the descendants of Shihabuddin Khan. The MSS. consulted were those of the Rampur State.

N. B.—The account in the subsequent pages has been derived from the original authorities. So far as it was discussed by any English writer, Sir John Strachey relying mainly upon Hamilton has brushed it off in a few paragraphs of his book. I have consulted an Urdu work *Akhbar-ul-Sanadid* by Najmulghani of Rampur rather freely, but conclusions are my own and differ generally from those of Ghani who is at places very uncritical.

² *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, f 4 b; *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 4; *Kholasat-ul-Insab*, p. 22, Rampur MSS.

³ *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, f 4 b *Eliot*, English trans, p. 5.

⁴ *Kholasat-ul-Insab*, MS., p. 35.

⁵ *Eliot*, p. 6.

⁶ Ghulam Ali Khan in his book *Imadussiadat* writes, 'He had two sons, elder Husain Khan and younger Shah Alam Khan.' The statement is wrong, as Shah Alam Khan and Husain Khan were the grandsons of Shihabuddin Khan. Hafiz Rahmat Khan's *Kholasat-ul-Insab* is the most reliable authority on this point. Also Waliullah, *Tarikh Farraukhabad*, Rampur MS., pp. 77-81. *Kholasat-ul-Insab*, MS., pp. 40-41.

Sajjadanashin. He had five sons,¹ the youngest of whom was Shah Alam Khan, the father of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. Moti Baba also followed the example of his father and passed his days in devotional exercises. 'His character was held in high veneration' by the fierce Afghans, who respected him for his piety, generosity and sympathy.

Shah Alam Khan.—Shah Alam Khan was the youngest son of Moti Baba. He got a fairly handsome property in the partition of the patrimony. It is stated in *Farah Baksh*, which Hamilton copies, that Shah Alam Khan and his elder brother Husain Khan came to Katehar in the reign of Shah Jahan and settled there as petty traders but having had indifferent success returned to their paternal land.² But this account remains unsupported by Hafiz Rahmat Khan or his descendants. Nothing can with certainty be said on this point, but silence on the part of those who were in a position to know better means something. It is not improbable that he came to India on occasional commercial trips as a horse-dealer, in which capacity we find him later on coming to see Daud Khan. But a settlement in Katehar seems to be a fancy of the writer of *Farah Baksh* who has often uncritically given such other unauthorized and unsupported statements. Certain it is, nevertheless, that Shah Alam Khan was in Roh when Daud Khan, the Rohilla adventurer, came to Katehar and began his military career which ultimately led to the foundation of Rohilla power in the vicinity of the Mughal capital.

Early Life of Daud Khan.—A shroud of mystery envelopes the origin of Daud Khan. Chroniclers with diverse motives have given various conflicting statements, but leaving aside one or two³ all agree in ascribing him no direct descent from Shihabuddin Khan. Some

hold that he was a slave¹ of Shah Alam Khan, while others describe him as an adopted son. The authors of *Gulistan-i-Rahmat* and *Gul-i-Rahmat* say that he fell to the share of Shah Alam Khan in the division of his patrimony, 'who, having no issue, treated him with care and affection and left the whole management to him.'² The author of *Akhbar Husain* gives a different story. He writes, 'Shah Alam Khan had no issue for a long time, and as the desire of a child immensely rankled in his heart, he brought up a boy handsome, good-natured and intelligent, as his own son and named him Daud Khan.'³ There are some others who erroneously call him either a soldier or an adopted son of Shihabuddin Khan.⁴ Anyway, he was well educated by Shah Alam Khan, and being intelligent and ambitious, he could not reconcile himself to the peaceful surroundings of rural life, and hence turned his eyes to the usual career of an Afghan, the profession of arms, for which India, when civil wars were convulsing the whole land from north to south, offered a wide field. He came to India in the first year of the reign of Bahadur Shah, which was, as has been shown before, a favourable moment for such an adventurer. With or without the permission of his patron, he left the comfortable home in Roh, and proceeded to Hindustan to enlist under any one who would give him fair terms. The *Imad-us-Saadat*, has an interesting story relating to this period of Daud's life. It says that he tried hard but could get no employment for sometime, and then wrote to Shihabuddin⁵ that he would go to the Deccan in search of service. On this Shihabuddin Khan sent him a *hundi* of one thousand rupees asking him to keep two hundred rupees for his own expenses and with the remainder to purchase some mares at the Hardwar fare and send them home. Daud Khan went to Hardwar and purchased mares worth seven hundred rupees, but sent home only two of them, and kept the rest with him. Some more Rohillas gathered round him, among whom he

¹ Five sons: 1. Azad, 2. Shahdad, 3. Hakim, 4. Hasan and 5. Shah Alam.—*Kholasat-ul-Insab*, MS. p. 43.

² Hamilton: *Rohilla Afghans*, p. 32. He writes, 'In the 1084th year of the Higer (A.C. 1673) two brothers Shah Alam Khan and Hussein Khan, having forsaken their native mountains, settled in Kuttaher, where they procured some employment under the officers of the Moghul Government, but nothing further is related of them worthy of notice.' Also *Hadeeqat-ul-Aqalim*, p. 139 (Lucknow ed.). In *Farah Baksh*, Rampur MS, it is slightly different. He writes, 'Shah Alam Khan came in the reign of Shah Jahan and engaged in trade.' *Farah Baksh*, p. 21. Rampur MSS.

The difference is due perhaps to the different MSS used.

³ Shero Prasad, author of *Farah Baksh*, and Hamilton call him the son Shah Alam Khan. Also *Hadeeqat-ul-Aqalim* MS., p. 139.

⁴ *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*, Rampur MSS., p. 494.

⁵ *Gulistan-i-Rahimat* f. 6a. Rampur MSS. *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 10. *Alid-Uuni* MS.

⁶ *Akhbar Husain*, Rampur MS., p. 9.

⁷ Adopted son of Shihabuddin—*Imadus-Saadat* (Lucknow ed.), p. 40.

⁸ Soldier—Waliullah, *Tarikh Farrukhabad*, Rampur MS., p. 77.

⁹ The unreliability of the story is evident from the fact that it makes Shihabuddin live at the time, though he was dead long ago, as is shown by *Kholasat-ul-Insab* and other works. The book was written early in the nineteenth century and so his testimony cannot be regarded as original.

distributed those mares, and began the career of a highway man. A rich Hindu had come to bathe in the Ganges and had with him only a small retinue of foot-soldiers. While going back on his chariot, accompanied by a cart and the retainers, he was followed by Daud Khan and his companions. For two days they could not dare to reveal their real purpose, but after the third stage, finding him with only six or seven retainers, the rest having been left behind with the luggage cart, they rushed upon him and put to the sword the unsuspecting weak liveried followers of the Hindu. The master too could not escape the fate of his poor servants, and was soon cut to pieces. He got some gold ornaments on the person of the Hindu, and gold mohurs and many other valuable articles in his luggage. The Nagor bullocks too formed part of the booty. Then leaving the main road leading to Bareilly, he entered the thick forest with the booty acquired in his first enterprise, and there wandered from place to place like a robber. Gradually he collected a following of 80 horsemen and 300 foot-soldiers, and built a mud fortress therein.¹

This romantic account invites attention. Many a man, who founded a dynasty in mediæval history, began his career in a similar way. His Afghan character sought gratification in robbery and plunder. But this story can hardly be accepted as the whole truth. The information of the writer from whom it comes cannot be relied upon as genuine and first-hand. But it is the most plausible account of his early career and in the case of silence on the part of the other chroniclers and authorities, we might accept it as a possible occupation of the adventurer before he entered the service of Madar Shah. To India he may have come with the pretence of buying horses at Hardwar, but his aim seems to have been to settle in this country. Fortune favoured him and he adopted Katehar, the province nearest to Hardwar as the field for his adventures.

The Situation in Katehar.—Situated on the left bank of the Ganges and stretching to the foot of the Himalayas, where it suddenly merges into the malarial tracts called Tarai, the usual abode of fierce tribes, Katehar had been from remote antiquity the home of independent

¹ *Imadus Saadat* (Lucknow ed.), p. 40.

Waliullah: *Tarikh Farrukhabad*, pp. 78-79. Rampur MSS.

The story in both the books is the same. Perhaps one has copied from the other. There is similarity in other points also.

turbulent Rajput chiefs. Its geographical situation favours rebels. Safe from invasions by the Imperial forces for more than six months in the year owing to the broad waters of the Ganges, they could with impunity withhold the Imperial revenues. The royal representative at Muradabad was too weak by himself to crush them without help from the capital. This security had turned the heads of the zemindars, and defiance of the royal authority became an established practice with them. Muhammadan rulers, ever since their advent into this country, had to face the constant revolts of the intractable Katehariya Rajputs.¹ Mughal authority had been felt under the Great Mughals, and then we hear of very few insurrections. But in the last days of the Emperor Aurangzeb, rebellion raised its head again. 'In 1679 Muhammad Rafi was appointed to the governorship of Katehar, and during his rule the Kateharias and Jangehars rose in revolt, with the result that when Aurangzeb died . . . all Rohilkhand was in a state of complete anarchy.'² Civil wars between the sons of the late Emperor for the throne relaxed the hold of the Central Government, and there began an interminable war for lands and boundaries among the various zamindars, and a revolt against the authority of the Faujdar.

The province was divided into two Sarkars, with a Faujdar stationed at Muradabad, who was always a grandee of the Empire, and was usually a soldier of reputation. At this time, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur³ nephew to Chin Kulich Khan (afterwards the famous Nizam-ul-mulk) was appointed to the Faujdari of Muradabad by Bahadur Shah when he emerged successful from the fratricidal war. He was not feared by the many zamindars who were in possession of big estates all over the province. Narpal Singh was the zamindar of Pipli; Kirat Singh of Akbarabad; Kunjan Singh of Rajpur; Khem Karan of Ratangarh; Madar Shah and Lachman Singh of Mudkar in

¹ After the death of Muhammad Tughluq the zamindars (then called Muqaddams) of Katehar rose in revolt against his weak and degenerate successors. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* gives information about many such revolts and the invasions of the imperial armies. (*Elliot*, vol. iv, pp. 14, 49-50). This continued till the establishment of the Mughal rule when the strength and stability of the empire gave them no opportunity to raise their head. But with the degeneracy of the later Mughals, their rebellions became constant, until they were driven out by the Rohillas.

² *Gazetteer of Budann*, p. 145.

³ Irvine, *Later Mughals*, vol. i, p. 131.

Pargana Burseir; and Arjun Singh that of Aonla. Badaun was the seat of the governorship till the reign of Shahjahan, when it was transferred to Bareilly, and Badaun sank into insignificance. Bareilly was the seat of a Faujdar whose authority was supreme in the vicinity of the head-quarters. Shahjahanpur was in the possession of the successors of Bahadurkhan Daudzai, the founder of the city, and was the chief stronghold of the Pathan power in the south, but it was still under the nominal authority of the governor of Badaun and Bareilly. The Tarai lands were administered by the Raja of Kumaun, who had not yet sunk low in degeneration. It was the safe resort of the Zamindars and Rais when pressed hard by the royal army. Owing to its distance the Tarai could not be well controlled from the seat of Empire in Delhi.

A desire to extend their limited possessions led the Rajput chiefs of Katehar to fight amongst themselves.¹ Quite unmindful of the bloodshed and the loss and inconvenience to their subjects, they fought against their neighbours for a small strip of land, with characteristic pertinacity. Little regard, in such times, was paid to the welfare of the poor peasants, who were compelled to fight for their chiefs, in whose quarrels they had little interest. When villages and hamlets were burnt to ashes, the life and property of the farmers was sure to be in jeopardy. Night raids on hostile camps disturbed the calm repose of the peace-loving hardy agriculturists. Their savings earned by hard labour in sun and rain were plundered in the night; their sons and wives were captured to work as slaves in the household of the victorious enemy. All this was done not for their betterment certainly, but for the gratification of the beastly greed of their chiefs. Under such circumstances, that incentive to work which comes with security and the prospect of an undisturbed possession was stifled; and the province richly endowed by nature was turned into a desert.

Politically, the constant civil strifes of the Rajput chiefs weakened their resources for combating an external foe; and combined action, either defensive or offensive, was unknown to them. True, they were secure in their mud forts in the heart of impenetrable forests, amidst glens and valleys, but a powerful invader was sure to crush them one by one, as ultimately happened when the Rohillas took possession of

¹ This description cannot apply to the vigorous periods of Muhammadan rule, particularly under the Great Mughals.

the province. In the time of the Tughluqs and Saiyads, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the whole of the province was almost always in the possession of one sole Muqaddam. But now this small tract was divided among a dozen zamindars and more, who could not individually muster even a few thousand soldiers. Their revenues were meagre, and they could not sustain a long siege. When such was their state, it is easy to imagine the rise of an adventurer, bold, persevering and tactful who appropriated the whole country to himself and 'drove the Rajputs across the Ganges.'

Their interminable warfare led them to appoint foreigners and adventurers with their small followings. These soldiers of fortune hired themselves out now to one and then to another. Money was their chief motive. Their treachery and defection at the most critical moment very often decided the issue of a battle. Their income was always increased by the vast booty falling to their share in the plunder of villages near the battle-field. Their employers gave them villages and mahals in Jagir for their maintenance. The leaders of these mercenaries acquired the status of zamindars themselves, and by waging wars on their own account, added considerably to their original holdings. In this way Daud Khan began his career in Katehar and got a large Jagir in the vicinity of Aonla.

Daud Khan's Service with Madar Shah.—As has been previously shown, Daud Khan began a predatory career and collected a large following of similarly placed Afghans, who swarmed the plains of Northern India like ravenous vultures in search of prey. A strong, daring and capable leader in the person of Daud Khan led them on to bold enterprises, and in a very short time became the terror of the whole land. From his mud fortress in the bushy forests, he rushed out frequently like a falcon, with his followers, and preyed on the petty zamindars of the neighbourhood. But this predatory activity could not last long, for his name was very soon famous for bravery all over the province, and hence he was taken into service by one Rajput chief or another. His services were always welcome to the contending chiefs who settled their private quarrels by force of arms. In this way Daud Khan passed a few years, till he was engaged,¹ about the time that Farrukhsiyar came to the throne, by the zamindar

¹ *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, f. 6b; *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 7; *Akhbar Husain*, p. 10; Rampur MSS.

of Mudkar, whose name was Madar Shah,¹ a Rajput brave and courageous in battle. He was perhaps the most powerful chief in the neighbourhood, for his help was sought in settling the disputes between other zamindars. He kept a large force of Rajputs and Musalmans, and was feared by the other Rais. To add further to his strength, he employed Daud Khan and his followers, and assigned some villages for their maintenance.

There he was constantly engaged in fighting the wars of his master and his confederates. Very soon after, Khem Karan, the zamindar of Ratangarh, attacked Kanchan Singh of Rajpur, and plundered the town. Kanchan Singh complained to Madar Shah and wanted his help against the offender. The latter dispatched a large force composed of Rajputs and Pathans, under his two sons, Chattra Singh and Parbat Singh, and deputed Daud Khan as well for their assistance. The allied armies were successful over the hosts of Khem Karan. The vanquished fled from the field of battle, and the victors plundered the baggage of the retiring army, and the villages in the enemy's territory. Bakauli was looted by Daud Khan and his comrades,² and it is mentioned by some chroniclers, that he captured there a boy of about eight or nine years, whom he adopted and named Ali Muhammad Khan,³ and who ultimately became the Nawab of Rohilkhand and the founder of the Rohilla nawabship in Katehar. Much booty, besides, fell to the share of the mercenary band of the Pathans. This was one of the many engagements he fought in the service of this powerful chief. This Afghan force under Daud Khan added more to the lustre of Madar Shah; but Daud's fame, too, could not long remain concealed. He was reputed for his courage and bravery all over the province, and was held in esteem by the chiefs of the neighbourhood.⁴ He came

¹ The author of *Akhbar-ul-Sanadid*, the Urdu work referred to above, calls him 'Madar Sahai' saying that 'Madar Shah' is an uncommon name for the Hindus. But in '*Tarikh Unwan Khandan-i-Bangash*,' an Urdu history of Farrukhabad written in the later eighteenth century, 'Madar Shah' is given as the name of the Raja of Jalaun and Sipri. I conclude that this was a common name and so have kept it as it is in the chronicles.

Tarikh Unwan Khandan-i-Bangash, Allahabad University MSS., p. 15.

² *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, MSS. f 7a.

³ *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, f 7a; *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 7; Rampur MSS.

⁴ *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 7; Rampur MSS.

'Daud Khan was a brave man and in the wars of the zamindars had earned a great name.'

according to the statement in *Gul-i-Rahmat*, with 200 men in the service of Madar Shah,¹ but hearing of his bravery and capacity for leadership bands of Pathan adventurers, prompted by the ambition of a military career, swelled the ranks of his followers.² Brothers in adversity, co-sharers in prosperity, all stood shoulder to shoulder, and by treachery, deceit or faithful service made themselves rich and powerful. It is not certain how long he lived at Mudkar, for the chroniclers most indefinitely write, 'served under many big zamindars and Rajas'. However, he had in a very short time acquired a considerable estate in the rewards given to him by his employers, both in land and money, and fixed his headquarters at Buniya Beoli. At this time he commanded a force of about five hundred men,³ both horse and foot, for whose upkeep he required a large income.

Hamilton, perhaps wrongly, reverses the sequence of events noted above and writes, 'Daood . . . collecting together some followers, offered himself and was admitted as a volunteer into an army sent by the vizier to oppose the incursions of the Mahrattas, who were . . . laying waste the country between Narwar and Gwalior, and extending their depredations towards the banks of the Jumna.—On this expedition Daood distinguished himself by his bravery; and being on a particular occasion, detached from the main army, had the address to surprise and cut off a party of the enemy, bringing in with him some elephants and other spoils.'

'As a reward for this service, Daood, on the return of the royal forces, obtained a grant of a little district in the territory of Budaoon, which forms part of Rohilkund; but a retired life ill suiting (with) his active and enterprising spirit, he presently recruited his little force, consisting of the first followers of his countrymen, and with these rendered many services to the neighbouring Rajahs and Zimeendars. . . .'⁴ This seems to be a mistake arising from the identification of Daud Khan Rohilla with Daud Khan Panni, who was also an Afghan, and who had distinguished himself in the Deccan campaigns against the Mahrattas. The contemporary chronicles would certainly have mentioned him as deserving of royal favours, if he had taken an active part in the Deccan

¹ *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 7; Rampur MSS.

² *Akhbar Husain*, p. 11; Rampur MSS.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Hamilton, *Rohilla Afghans*, pp. 33-34.

wars. There is no reference met with regarding this in the succinct but continuous account of his career in the Rohilla chronicles. In view of the above, it seems clear that Hamilton has mistaken him for Daud Khan Panni. There is no evidence that Daud Khan the Rohilla, had any concern whatsoever with the royal authority in his life, and a Jagir from the emperor would, therefore, be out of the question. As will be seen later, he associated himself closely with Azmatullah Khan, the Faujdar of Muradabad, and through him farmed the revenue of some villages. But at this time, when he was hiring himself out to different chiefs, he could not have got anything from the state.

Death of Shah Alam Khan.—When he was thus securely established in the service of Madar Shah, and had fixed his residence at Buniya Beoli, many ambitious Afghans, and his neighbours and kinsmen of Roh flocked to him. At this time came also Malik Shadi Khan, Painda Khan, Dundi Khan, Sardar Khan, and Sadar Khan Kamalzai, all Afghans of Roh, who became famous generals in the service of his successors. There came to him about 500 Afghans from Roh, who settled in Katehar under his leadership, thereby increasing his strength considerably.

Hearing the story of his greatness, his old patron Shah Alam Khan¹ also left his peaceful home, and braved the risks of a journey to the distant Katehar. Whether emotion or self interest was his motive, it is difficult to say. Perhaps a kind regard for his old ward, now in affluence, might have prompted him to leave his home in such old age. After a toilsome journey he came to Buniya Beoli, and was received by Daud Khan with the respect due to his age and position. He remained there for a short time, and at his departure for home, Daud Khan gave him a large sum of money. Shah Alam Khan went back, but a few years after came again and was received warmly. This time he had come with the intention of taking Daud

¹In *Imadus-saadat* and *Tarikh Farrukhabad* of Waliullah the time of Shah Alam Khan's arrival is placed in the days of Ali Muhammad Khan after the death of Daud Khan. They blame Ali Muhammad for his murder writing that Shah Alam Khan called him the son of his slave which provocation led him to order his assassination. This is improbable as the other authorities are explicit about the time saying that Hafiz Rahmat Khan was only four years old. In the case of Shah Alam's murder in the time of Ali Muhammad Khan five years after the death of Daud Khan, we will have to put some other age of Hafiz. The mistake is due to their wrong information. *Imadussaadat*, p. 40, Waliullah; *Tarikh Farrukhabad* MSS., p. 79.

Khan back to Roh, for his affairs there were suffering for want of an efficient supervisor. But Daud could not leave his hard-won acquisitions and for ever separate himself from a career of fame and ambition. He persuaded Shah Alam Khan to leave him alone, and giving him a large amount at the time of departure, promised a sum of rupees 2,000 a year regularly, which would compensate him for the loss of his personal services.

On this promise Shah Alam Khan left him and returned to Roh, but on his way he was detained by certain horse dealers, to whom Daud Khan owed some money. This plan proved quite successful, for the conscientious old man left all his goods with the merchants at Delhi and returned to Katehar to expostulate with Daud. Money was duly sent to the merchants and the goods were released; but Shah Alam Khan could not now leave his old ward to oppress the poor and deceive the rich. The God-fearing conscience within him was touched and he could not bear the idea of the impotent curses of the oppressed poor against Daud Khan. All excuses and persuasions of Daud were of no avail. In the end Daud Khan resorted to violence and ordered a few of his men to assassinate the old pious, good intentioned man in the gloomy silence of a dark night in the forest near Budaun.

Daud Khan was invited by the Amil of Budaun, a representative of Muhammad Khan Bangash, Nawab of Farrukhabad, to assist him in a contest with certain zamindars of the vicinity. Daud Khan was quite glad to assist his co-religionist and compatriot against the Hindu zamindars. He set out to join him with Shah Alam Khan in his company, whom the four assassins, who had been hired by Daud Khan, attacked in the darkness of the night when he was quite alone and severed the head from the body. The darkness of the night could not conceal this hideous crime, and when news reached Daud Khan, he feigned sorrow at the event; but tears could not wipe off the stain on his character. Orders were issued to find out the culprits, and his body, in the meantime, was buried in the jungle outside Budaun, on which a mausoleum was raised afterwards by Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the son of the deceased.¹

A different version is met with in the pages of *Akhbar Husain*,² which absolves Daud Khan entirely from the guilt. It mentions that

¹ *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, f 8 and 9; *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 8; Rampur MSS.

² *Akhbar Husain*, p. 12, Rampur MSS.

Shah Alam Khan was attacked by a party of thieves while going from Budaun, whither he had come with Daud Khan, with his goods and money to his native land, and was killed with two or three men more in the encounter. Daud Khan tried hard to trace out the culprits, but they could not be found. The authors of *Gulistan-i-Rahmat* and *Gul-i-Rahmat* represent that the perpetrators of the crime met with divine vengeance, for three of them were killed the next evening, and one became a leper who survived to tell the tale of his guilt.

On such intricate questions nothing can be said with certainty, but we cannot acquit Daud Khan of complicity in this crime. He was provoked by the insistent demand of Shah Alam Khan to go back to Roh, and fearing lest the old man should call him a slave before his followers, in which case his honour and prestige were in danger, he might have adopted the secret means to clear his path from similar obstructions in future. There is always a conflict between power and principle, and ambition waits not to consider the softer emotions of a weak man. His whole career was one of adventure, treachery and rapine. He was bound by no filial gratitude to the old man whose house he had left to try his luck in Hindustan. To get rid of him and to escape being constantly reminded of his late dependence on an old man's generosity, he may have resorted to secret assassination, so that 't might pass as an accident and give no offence to the other Afghans who were closely related to Shah Alam Khan. The *Akhbar Husain* perhaps adopted the version given by Daud Khan and his associates. His treachery against the Rajah of Kumaun later on, and his early career strengthen the suspicion against him.

This event happened some time about the last days of the reign of Farrukhsiyar, on Friday 9th Zilhijja,¹ of an unknown year. Shah Alam Khan left behind a son, Rahmat Khan (Hafiz), then a child a few years old. His goods were sent to Tor Shahamat by the merchants at Delhi when they had got their money.

Service with Raja of Kumaun and death of Daud Khan.—Daud Khan lived for a short time longer in the service of Madar Shah, and then joined Azmatullah Khan at Muradabad in expectation of royal favour and more lucrative employment under the Mughal Emperor. He farmed the revenue of some villages from the government and passed his days in prosperity with his followers.

¹ *Gul-i-Rahmat*. Rampur MSS., p. 9.

Then a few years after, he entered the service of Raja Debi Chand of Kumaun, who had succeeded to the throne in A. D. 1720. He was made commander of the forces stationed on the plains at Kashipur. The acquisition of Daud Khan with his followers increased the strength of the Raja, who was 'led to believe that the Raja of Kumaun was one of the greatest princes in the world.' Naturally his ambition turned towards the occupation of the Tarai lands lying south of his dominions, which had once formed part of the kingdom of Kumaun. He was seeking reasonable *casus belli* to invade the imperial lands and snatch them from the hands of the degenerate Mughal emperors. At this time one Sabir Shah who professed to belong to the royal family raised the standard of revolt against the legitimate authority in the Tarai lands and collecting a large number of Afghans, invaded Katehar, but he was repulsed by Azmatullah Khan. He went to Kumaun and sought help from Raja Debi Chand, promising that he would give Katehar to the Raja when he was seated on the throne of Delhi. The Raja thought himself strong enough to raise the pretender to the throne in place of Muhammad Shah, and so proclaimed him Emperor of India. Daud Khan was ordered to combine with Sabir Shah and the Adhikari of Kashipur against the imperial army. Azmatullah Khan was deputed by the Imperial Government to quell the disturbance, and he came to the field with 15,000 men and 12 elephants. Besides, he had secretly bribed Daud Khan to desert the Raja when the engagement had begun.

Amity and avarice proved stronger than fidelity.¹ The persuasion was effective, and when the two armies met at Nagina, Daud Khan rously left the field and stood aside to watch the events of the day.

The forces of Kumaun were routed and the Adhikari represented the treachery of Daud Khan to Raja Debi Chand. The Raja called the Pathan general to his court, and pretending ignorance of his late action, increased his pay and accorded him a hearty reception. After thus securing him in his power, he ordered his legs to be cut off and the sinews to be drawn out, which caused his death. He was buried near Thakurdwara by the officers of Debi Chand, and his family was

¹ *Akhbar Husain* MSS., p. 13.

² He played treacherous to Raja Debi Chand either for fear of Emperor or love of Azmatullah Khan.

allowed to retreat unmolested to Muradabad. The treachery was justly punished and thus ended the life of Daud Khan after a stormy career of about sixteen years in India in the year A. D. 1724 or 1725.¹

He left behind him his adopted son Ali Muhammad Khan and his own son Mahmud Khan, the former of whom was raised to the command of the small army by Dundi Khan and others, and was taken into the service of Azmatullah Khan in consideration of the sacrifice of his adoptive father.²

Daud Khan's Character.—Daud Khan was a brave and adventurous Afghan, unscrupulous in adjusting means to ends. He was a natural leader of men who rose from a humble trooper to the independent command of a large number of Afghan soldiers and officers. In his wars he was almost always successful, and his fortitude, courage and military skill were amply rewarded by his employers. His life was one of constant struggles and engagements. Beginning life as a robber he ended it as a treacherous general guilty of serious defection and dereliction of duty. The greatest stain on his character is the murder of his patron Shah Alam Khan, who was entitled to gratitude from him. But with all his defects, he was a great soldier and general who laid the foundations of the Rohilla power in Katehar.

¹ *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, MS. f. 10 b; *Gul-i-Rahmat*, p. 10.

² *Gul-i-Rahmat*, pp. 10-11; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, f. 11a, Rampur MSS.; *Akhbar Husain*, p. 14.

Dr. Aiyangar on the Vakatakas

BY

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[We publish with pleasure the following critical note of Mr. Y.R. Gupta on our papers on the Vākātakas. We have taken the liberty to add a few notes which it is hoped will meet with his approval.—*Ed.*]

DR. VINCENT A. SMITH had contributed an interesting article to the *J.R.A.S.* for 1914 in which he dealt with many doubtful points in the history of the Vākātakas in a most capable manner. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar later on published two articles, one on 'The Vākātakas and their place in the History of India,' one in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*¹ and the other on 'The Vākātakas in Gupta History' in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*,² in which he brought forward a wealth of evidence from the *Purāṇas* and a work written by Rāmadāsa, to bear out the facts that the two dynasties, the Guptas and the Vākātakas were fighting for sovereignty and that though the latter could boast of a succession of rulers as proved by the expression '*kramaprāpta*' in the legend on their seals, the former in the end succeeded in the bid for paramount power. Somehow or other a reconciliation was brought about between the two dynasties, the result of which was that the political relations passed on smoothly. Even the greatest of the Gupta emperors did not, in the Doctor's opinion, invade the territories of the Vākātakas,³ though he swept past to the south. This shows that friendly relations between these two dynasties existed. To crown all the renowned daughter of Chandragupta II was espoused by Rudrasēna II. The marriage alliance had also a political object, viz. that of securing Chandragupta's flank⁴ against the Śaka satraps of the west, who were later on uprooted. Dr. Aiyangar's attention might be drawn to Dr. Smith's remarks in

¹ Vol. v, part i, 1923-24, pp. 31-54.

² Vol. xv, No. 2, p. 153ff. I am furnished with an offprint of it, of which pages are quoted in this paper.

³ The Vākātakas in *Gupta History*, p. 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*

the *J.R.A.S.* for 1914 and to my foot-note 3 on page 58, *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xx, 1924, No. 1. One is inclined to think that the credit is due mostly to the early Imperial Guptas for their enlightened policy of conciliating an earlier great power and to cement that friendship. Had they pushed too far, probably they would not have succeeded. But even if their efforts would have been crowned with success, their military power would have been much weakened and their throne would have been tottering to the detriment of the dynasty and of Northern and Central India by their domestic fight.

The duty of training the offspring of Rudrasēna II and Prabhāvatī-guptā fortunately devolved upon Kālidāsa, the greatest court-poet of Chandragupta II, who, to commemorate his friendship with his eminent pupil began one of his poems of extraordinary merit, viz., Mēghadūta by the mention in the very first stanza of Rāmagiri, which in Dr. Aiyangar's opinion was his capital¹ but which being a very sacred place probably was only much frequented by the Vākātaka rulers. Curiously enough a fresh grant edited by me in the *J.A.S.B.*² was issued from the feet of the God of this very Rāmagiri (*Rāmagiri-svāminah padamālā*). Dr. Aiyangar will do well to elucidate this point.

The short account of the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī-guptā, given by Prof. Pathak in the *Indian Antiquary* (and we may now say the article on them by the Professor and Mr. K. N. Dikshit in the *Ep. Ind.*)³ proved beyond dispute that Dēvagupta was only a nickname of Chandra-gupta II. This was a great point gained in regard to the history and relations of the two formerly rival dynasties.

A great service to the history of the dynasty of the Vākātakas has been done by Dr. Aiyangar by identifying the Vindhyaśakti of the *Purāṇas* with the Vindhyaśakti, the ancestor of the Vākātaka rulers. Much confusion reigned regarding the belief that Vindhyaśakti was a Yavana in contradiction to the Ajanta record where he is described as a *dvija* or 'twice-born.' The Doctor has on the whole succeeded in establishing the identification though some details may not carry conviction. The readings of the Ajanta inscriptions,

¹ The Vākātakas and their place in the *History of India*, p. 46.

² Vol. xx, New Series, 1924, No. 1, pp. 53-62.

Vol. xv, pp. 39-44.

proposed on p. 37 of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* are ingenious enough. For 'svabāhu-vīryy (ārjila) sarvalokaḥ,' it is proposed that we should read 'svabāhu-vīryyārttita-śatrulokaḥ.' The epigraphical difficulties, however, in support of the supposition are insuperable. *Ta* and *ja* and *sa* and *śa* in the period under discussion can hardly be misread one for the other. The words before—*kānām*, viz. *Rājā Mahēndra iva bhuvi Vindhya* have been supplied. But it is too much to take it for granted that there are traces of so many letters. The Doctor's general conclusion, however, that Vindhyaśakti came of the family of the Vindhyaśakas, or Vākātakas is reasonable and remains unchallenged.¹

Another interesting point which is elucidated by him is the identification of the 'kings of the Bhōjas' with the Vākātakas. The country over which the Vākātakas ruled is evidently Vidarbha or Berar, the people of which province from the time of the *Aīlarēya Brāhmaṇa* are known as the Bhōjas.² This explains the fact why in literature the name Vākātaka nowhere occurs. Further Rāmadāsa in his commentary Rāmasētupradīpam on Pravarasēna's 'Sētubandha Kāvya' says that according to some Pravarasēna was Bhōjadēva. It should be noted (I would point out) that the tradition in the Deccan, viz. Kālidāsa flourished in the reign of King Bhōja is extremely well explained by the supposition that Pravarasēna was a Bhōjadēva that is 'a king of the Bhōjas.' For Bhōjadēva in this sense, through utter ignorance, Bhōjadēva (properly speaking King Bhōja and not the king of the Bhōjas) of Dhārā was substituted. The name 'Vākātaka' in short was a clan name or a family name.

From the study of the Kshatrapa coins, it is evident that the period extending from A.D. 305 to A.D. 348 is marked by the abeyance of the office of a Mahāksatrapa. A collateral dynasty set itself up with the inferior rank of a Kshatrapa. There is a cessation even of this inferior position from A.D. 332 to A.D. 348. According to the *Purāṇas*, Pravarasēna I, extended his authority into the territory of the Vindhyaśakas, at the expense clearly more or less of the Kshatrapas.

¹ The material points in the two suggestions are really not affected. If the readings are certain in regard to the first the suggested-reading is superfluous; but are they? In *re* the second what is wanted is 'Vindhya' before *kānām*. The suggested reading is on the basis of equivalent length for the first half of the verse. (*Ed.*)

² The Vākātakas in *Gupta History*, p. 7.

There is another break between the years A.D. 351 A.D. 364 during the reign of Prithvisēna I, who perhaps extended the Vākātaka territory. Simhasēna's titles were Rāya Mahā-Kshatrpa and Mahārāja Kshatrpa. The latter transformation might be due to the Vākātaka title Mahārāja.¹

Dr. Aiyangar remarks :—'Chandra-gupta was responsible for the foundation of the empire. The Vākātakas made it possible for him to do so by desisting from hostility and even actually countenancing the effort. Was there a larger motive in the foundation of the empire, and did contemporaries see any general advantage in the gradual rise of Chandra-gupta I to this position?'² If we read between the lines, in the Doctor's opinion here was an attempt to found an Indian or rather a Northern and Central Indian empire or a 'federation of states' of these provinces against outsiders or at least against Scythians. His further elucidation of the problem before us is welcome.

Thus it will be seen that Dr. Aiyangar has thrown a flood of light on the history of the Vākātakas and the Guptas.

Now I must do the unpleasant duty of drawing the readers' attention to small mistakes, which have crept into his articles, omissions and differences of opinion, and shortcomings of his article. On 'The Vākātakas and their place in the history of India' and other places he writes the name of the Dowager queen as Prabhavati-guptā.³ In her Poona and Riddhapura plates the spelling is Prabhāvati-guptā. Prof. Pathak and Mr. K. N. Dikshit have shown that it is quite in accordance with the rules of grammar.

Dr. Aiyangar believes that Samudra-gupta's conquests do not include any part of the Deccan proper. He observes that 'Ērāṇḍapalli' and 'Daivarāshṭra', two places located by Dr. Fleet in Western Deccan indefinitely, have since been satisfactorily identified with places on the east coast region of Kalinga.⁴ My acquaintance with the Kalinga country is not thick and I do not propose to discuss the identifications. But I am inclined to agree with Dr. Fleet in believing that 'Ērāṇḍapalli' and 'Daivarāshṭra' or rather 'Dēvarāshṭra' lay in the Deccan. 'Ērāṇḍapalli' is apparently 'Ērāṇḍol' in the East Khandesh District,

¹ The Vākātakas and their place in the *History of India*, pp. 48-49

² The Vākātakas in *Gupta History*, p. 11.

³ This is a mere slip due to over sight in proof. (Ed.)

⁴ The Vākātakas in *Gupta History*, p. 2.

which I am informed abounds in remains of the Gupta period. The form Yēraṇḍavallipur (a corruption of Ēraṇḍavallipur) occurs in a work written more than 250 years ago.¹ In Daivarāshṭra or more correctly Dēvarāshṭra apparently parts of the modern Khānāpur and Kahād Talukas of the Satara District of the Bombay Presidency were included. There is still a village called Dēvarāshṭrē in the Khānāpur Taluka six miles from the Kuṇḍala station on the S.M.R. line. Curiously enough, the holiest object there, a *ling* of Śivā, is called Samudrēśvara in the grants made. What grounds are there for disbelieving that the god was not named after Samudra-gupta? At any rate the names Dēvarāshṭra and Samudrēśvara are sufficiently tempting for identifying the region round Dēvarāshṭra with 'Daivarāshṭra' or 'Dēvarāshṭra' of Samudra-gupta's time, and the god enshrined there (though he may not occupy perhaps the very site) as suggesting a reminiscence of the great conqueror.² If the above identification be correct, Dr. Aiyangar's statement, viz. that 'it is certain that Samudra-gupta's southern invasion kept clearly and deliberately outside the frontiers of the territory of the Vākātakas' will have to be modified. For 'Kuntala' he has used the word 'the Mahratta country.' A more accurate term would be 'the Southern Marāṭhā country.' The River Kṛishṇā nearly formed the boundary of 'Kuntala.' Probably Kuṇḍala itself is a reminiscence of 'Kuntala.' It will thus be seen that the country called 'Dēvarāshṭra' was not out of the list of conquests of Samudra-gupta. Dr. Aiyangar on p. 1 of his paper on 'The Vākātakas in Gupta History' refers to the kings of Āryāvarta vanquished by Samudra-gupta. I wish to draw his attention to Mr. K. N. Dikshit's paper read before the 'First Oriental Conference'³ held at Poona.

He has referred to Nachanē-kī-talāi inscription of Vyāghradēva,⁴ the feudatory of Prithivishēna, which is the oldest one of the Vākātaka dynasty and which was assigned to the fifth or the sixth century A.D.

¹ Account of the sixth Conference of the Bhārata-Itihāsa Samśōdhaka-Maṇḍala, p. 202.

² The identification suggested is quite possible, but what about the name of the ruler given in the Allahabad Pillar inscription? Till that could be identified with a contemporary Vākātaka or a known feudatory of his, the identification suggested will remain open to question.

³ Proceedings and transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, *Ancient History*, p. cxxiv.

⁴ *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. xxi, p. 97f. and Gupta Inscriptions, p. 233ff.

by Dr. Bühler. Another record in practically identical terms was discovered near Gañja¹ in the Ajaigarh State in Bundelkhand. The writing is distinct and we are enabled to correct minor inaccuracies in Dr. Fleet's transcript. Dr. Sukthankar who has edited the record observes :—' We do not possess exact dates for any of the kings of this (Vākāṭaka) family, nor can we form any clear idea of the extent of the country ruled over by them.'² But the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatī-guptā now enable us to point out definitely a portion anyhow included in their territory. The Chammak plates too came from the same taluka. Vaṭapura mentioned in them corresponds to Vaḍagāon, Kīnihikhēṭaka to Kīnhī, Kīnokhēḍa or Kīnagāon, Kōllāpur to Kōlāpur and Kaṇaṇja to Kārañjē.³ The dates too can be approximately ascertained as it is proved that Prabhāvatī-guptā was the daughter of Dēvagupta, who was none else than Chandra-gupta II. Dr. Sukthankar assigned the Gañja inscription to the seventh century A.D. In the light of recent discoveries, however, referred to above, the date must be corrected.⁴

Dr. Aiyangar on p. 53 of his article on 'The Vākāṭakas and their place in the History of India' refers to the Pushyamitras among the enemies of the Gupta emperors (in particular of Skanda-gupta), who made common cause with the Vākāṭakas to overthrow the power of the former. Prof. H. R. Divēkar, a student of the late Dr. Arthur Venis of Benares, has shown in the *Sarasvati* in Hindi that Dr. Fleet's reading 'Pushyamitrān' is clearly wrong. The actual reading of the text is 'Yudhyamitrān' 'yudhi-amitrān', meaning enemies in a battle. I had the pleasure of listening at Benares to Dr. Venis's arguments in favour of his student's suggestion. This happened shortly after the images bearing the Gupta inscriptions had been unearthed. If Dr. Aiyangar has based his arguments regarding the 'Pushyamitras' on the Paurāṇic references, the point should have been emphasized and authorities quoted.

On p. 51, vol. v, part i, of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Dr. Aiyangar has arrived at certain conclusions on the assumption that the Mehrauli pillar inscription is of Chandra-gupta I. In his

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, pp. 12-14.

² *Ibid.*

³ Rao Bahadur Yadava Madhava Kale's *History of Berar*, p. 66.

⁴ See a note on Vyāgra in the *Indian Antiquary* for Dec. 1926. (*Ed.*)

opinion 'the wars between the Kshatrapas and the Guptas began almost with the emperor and the Bāhlikas across the seven mouths of the Sindhu could be regarded as the Śakas and the Parthians of that region. This may account for the revival of the power of the Śakas after A.D. 340 which the assumption of the title Mahākshatrapa would seem to bear witness to. The Mehrauli pillar is certainly in the Gupta characters but it does not necessarily follow that it must be of a Chandra-gupta, much less of Chandra-gupta I. I would like to invite the Doctor's attention to Mahāmahōpādhyaya Haraprasad Śāstri's article on the Mandasor inscription of Naravarmman. He remarks :—¹ 'The Mehrauli pillar inscription mentions a king named Chandra, who had conquered the Vāhlikas after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus and the Vaṅgas. Nowhere in a Gupta inscription do we find any mention of any conquest of the Panjab or of Afghanistan by Chandra-gupta II or any other successor of Samudra-gupta. The Susunia inscription supplies us with a king named Chandra with the family title Varmman, who belonged to Pushkarana in Western India, but had dedicated a wheel of Vishṇu close to the Vaṅga country. The Mehrauli pillar itself is the very *dhvaja*, another ensign of Vishṇu, the dedication of which is recorded in the inscription itself, and it also speaks of a conquest of Bengal. The natural conclusion is to state that Chandra of the Mehrauli pillar inscription and Chandavarman son of Simhavarman of Susunia inscription are one and the same person. In the former record the family name was omitted in order to satisfy the needs of the metre.'² If the Mahāmahōpādhyāya's identification is correct, Dr. Aiyangar's arguments are untenable.

Prabhāvatī-guptā lived to a good old age. In the Riddhapur plates the expression *sāgravarsha-diva-putrapō(au)trā* occurs, which as I have already pointed out, should not be understood too literally. But there can be little doubt that the queen saw sons and grandsons and that she was regent for her sons. The names of her sons occurring in the grants are these :—Divākarasēna, Pravarasēna and Dāmōdarasēna. Divākarasēna is assumed by Dr. Aiyangar on page 6 of his article 'The Vākāṭakas in Gupta History' as the princely name of Pravara-sēna II. But on the same page he observes :—'This obviously refers to Pravarasēna II, who in this grant (a short notice of which I

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xii, pp. 315-321.

² Note was taken of this ; but the matter is too long for discussion here. (*Ed.*)

published)¹ is given the name Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna which means that his princely name was Dāmōdarasēna while he assumed the title Pravarasēna when he ascended the throne. Prabhāvatī-guptā had two sons, Divākarasēna and Dāmōdarasēna and she was the regent for the first and in all probability for the second as well. On page 42 of his article on "The Vākātakas and their place in the History of India" he says "Divākarasēna is probably an elder brother of Pravarasēna II." On page 5 of his former article Pravarasēna II is made the son or at any rate the successor of Divākarasēna, while on pages 32 and 35 of his latter Dāmōdarasēna is given as the name of Pravarasēna II. How can all these statements be reconciled? I have in my article in the *J.A.S.B.* rather left the question open. I may be allowed to reassert my statements:—It (the present inscription) notes the fact that Prabhavati-guptā was the mother of Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna, (*Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna-janani*). The question arises whether Divākarasēna was the same person as Dāmōdarasēna. In Dr. Vincent A. Smith's opinion "Divākarasēna may possibly have succeeded (Rudrasēna II) under the title of Pravarasēna (II), but it is more likely that he died young and that Pravarasēna was his brother." (*J.R.A.S.*, 1924, pages 327–328). He may either have been dead by this time so that the queen avoided his remembrance, and omitted his unhappy name from permanent records after he departed from this world or he may be the same person as Dāmōdarasēna. The possibility that she had three sons, viz. Divākarasēna, Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna in the name of all of whom she ruled is not altogether precluded.² Dr. Aiyangar should reconsider the question of his identifications in the light of Dr. Smith's remarks and the assertions made above.³

The Doctor has tried to show that Chandra-gupta's influence dominated in the reign of Rudrasēna II, the regency of Prabhavati-guptā and a considerable part of the reign of Pravarasēna II on the strength of the Prākṛit Kāvya Sētubandha which had been begun by Pravarasēna and which received a critical revision at the hands of

Kālidāsa at the instance of Vikramāditya (Chandra-gupta II). This can perhaps be better inferred from the wording of the queen in her own grants, which extol to the skies the glories of the Guptas, the maternal ancestors while the only facts noted about the Vākātakas are that she was wedded to Rudrasēna (II) of the family and was the mother of her sons (by him) or to use the very expressions 'she was the chief queen of Rudrasēna II, and the mother of Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna.'

In the foot-note on page 33 of his article on 'The Vākātakas and their place in the History of India,' Dr. Aiyangar says:—'It is just possible to assume that Rudrasēna II did not rule.' But his very next sentence contradicts this assertion. It runs:—'But this assumption will be in direct opposition to the explicit statement of these records that Prabhāvatī was the crowned queen of Rudrasēna II.' We have to rely on the statements in these historical documents and we are justified in drawing conclusions only in their absence. It is beyond the shadow of a doubt that Rudrasēna II did rule. The omission of his name from the record in question must be accounted for on a different ground.

On page 9 of his article on 'The Vākātakas in Gupta History,' the Doctor remarks:—'The fact that the home territory of the Vākātakas was intimately associated with Bhōjakāṭa, the city built in the vicinity of the Paurāṇic capital Kuṇḍinapura by Kṛishṇa's brother-in-law Rukmi goes only to confirm the identification that the Vākātakas were Bhōjas, Vīdarbhas and even Krathakaisikas as well.' Rao Bahadur Y. M. Kale has been fortunate to identify the localities definitely and thus has placed scholars under a new obligation. He has shown that the village of Kuṇḍinapura, inhabited by 400 to 500 persons marks the site of the ancient capital of the same name, the ruins extending to Umraoti.¹ Bhōjakāṭa can be identified with Bhātakuli, 8 miles from Umraoti.² Bhāndak near Chandrāvati is also believed by some to have been the capital of the Vākātakas.

Dr. Aiyangar remarks:—'Harisēna's is the last reign of which we have any knowledge, and the region which is peculiarly the dominion of the Vākātakas passes into the hands of the new dynasty of the Chālukyas. The Vākātakas thus provide as it were a bridge that fills

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. liii, p. 48, *J.R.A.S.*, for January 1924 and the Vākātakas in *Gupta History*, p. 6.

² Vol. xx, N.S., p. 56.

³ With the greatest pleasure. I had no knowledge of the Riddharpur Plates when the first identification was suggested. (*Ed.*)

¹ *History of Ecgar*, pp. 447 and 458.

² *Ibid.*

the gap between the Āndhras and the Chālukyas in the history of the Deccan.¹ These statements will have to be considerably modified in view of the references to the Nalas in the records of Kīrtivarman of the Chālukya dynasty² and especially on the strength of a more substantial discovery of a copperplate grant in the possession of the Bhārata-Itihāsa-Saṁśodhaka-Maṇḍala of Poona,³ which is being edited in the *Ep. Ind.* by me. It was found along with the one of Prabhāvatī-guptā. It is engraved in the same box-headed characters. They are not much removed in date from those employed in the earlier grant of the queen. The grantor is Bhavattavarman of the Nala race whose banner was distinguished by 'Tripatākā.' It was issued from Kadambagiri apparently Kalamba in the Yeotmal taluka, Berar. It is evident, therefore, on *prima facie* grounds, that the Nalas exercised authority over the territory which was under the sway of the Vākātakas, long before the Chālukyas were masters of the situation. The Nalas apparently appropriated a part of the Vākātaka dominions. It is clear then that the Nalas too played a part in the drama. To study critically the later history of the two dynasties, the Guptas and the Vākātakas and to clear up some of the obscurities which still surround the whole problem, we must know more about the Nalas, who rose on the horizon and with whom the Guptas and the Vākātakas or at any rate the latter must have come into contact.

¹ 'The Vākātakas in Gupta History,' p. 12.

² *Vide* the Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency, p. 6 and the *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 49.

³ *Vide* pp. 115-116 of the Quarterly of the Maṇḍal.

Napoleonic Wars in the East

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A STUDY of the Great European War (1914-1918) naturally produces a desire to find a parallel incident in History with as varied interest and as far-reaching results as the late war furnished. Even to a casual reader, one such parallel may be obtained in the great French Revolution and the consequent cataclysm which involved the whole civilized world of the day. Making allowances for the long space of time intervening between the two great episodes of human history as also for the rapid progress, constructive as well as destructive, that human skill and power of imagination have brought to bear upon the present-day civilization, the Revolutionary era produced results as complex and as difficult of solution as the late war. It seems that the social eruption of 1789 had more justification in its origin than the whirlpool of 1914 ushered in by national greed for territorial and colonial expansion, commercial and maritime rivalry, and military despotism. But the later developments of the Revolution of 1789 were as much destructive of peace and order, life and property, and productive of as much international chaos. Both the episodes called forth the utmost sacrifice, patriotism and determination of the several combatant parties engaged against one another. It is well known that in the Napoleonic Wars, England alone remained undefeated and unconquered, and in the end overthrew the grasping despotism of Napoleon. The heroism and sacrifice that England manifested on the occasion, the great national debt she incurred for keeping her head aloft more than 125 years ago, will ever remain bright in the pages of History and will not be dimmed by the brilliant achievements of 1914-18 effected in the full bloom of civilization and prosperity. The difficulty arising from the imperfect nature of communication in those days, though common to all parties, was more felt by the English people who had already established living interests in the different parts of the globe. Nor were those whom the call of Empire building

kept at a distance from the principal scenes of operation less mindful of the supreme need of their country, and they did their bit by preserving their country's interest at distant places under conditions more trying than they are to-day.

The part that India has played in the late war, the actual number of combatants that she furnished for the different theatres of the war, the equipment in gold and ammunition that she sent to help England, evoked praise and recognition even from the severest critics of India. But the almost unaided, yet successful, effort that the few servants of the East India Company and their Indian Sepoys made to maintain the British interest in India and in the East amid circumstances of unparalleled difficulties and complexities though but feebly recognized by History at this distance of time, is yet a fact the weight of which a grateful English posterity ought always to admit. During the years 1814-18 India spoke with one voice and 'bled herself white'. The energy of the Native States and of the Indian people together with their resources flowed into one channel and made for the achievement of one common object. To it may be compared the situation in 1798. Though Indian gold was undoubtedly a common factor a century and a quarter back as well, and though the loyalty and even the eager moral and material support of some section of the Indian people could always be counted upon, the British power in the country was as much threatened by a dreaded French invasion as it was by the hostile interests of the Native States of the country. The British power was yet to be established as the paramount authority in the country and it was indeed at the time in the throes of a perilous crisis, political and economical. In the south the enmity of Tipu Sultan was open and avowed. The power of the Nizam was hopelessly weak and a considerable body of French troops first under M. Raymond and later on under M. Perron had established French influence at the Court of Hyderabad. This body numbering 14,000 people seem to have concentrated under its control all the different French interests in the country for the benefit of France. Thus writes Lord Wellesley to the Rt. Hon'ble John Dundas on the matter¹—'The corps of Raymond in the Nizam's State consist of 14,000 men and though discipline is not of a very high order the numerical strength of the body is menacing,

¹ The letter of the Earl of Mornington to the Right Hon'ble Henry Dundas, dated February 23, 1798—*Wellesley Despatches*, vol. i, pp. 4 and 5.

The chief officers are French men of the most virulent and notorious principles of Jacobinism, and the whole corps constitutes an armed French party of great zeal, diligence and activity. No positive proof has yet appeared of a direct correspondence of this corps with the French Government, but it seems to be unquestionably certain that they communicate with Tipu Sultan and with the French troops in his service. The dangers to be apprehended from the existence of this corps are not to be estimated by a consideration of its actual state of discipline or even of its actual number, or degree of its present influence over the councils of the Nizam. I consider it as the basis of a French party in India, on which according to the opportunities of fortune and variation of events, the activity of the enemy may found a strength of the most formidable kind either in peace or war. If the war is to continue in Europe without extending to the continent of India in the first instance, the danger of French intrigue acting with such instrument as I have described would be greatly aggravated. But if the war should extend to the continent of India and if we should be under the necessity of calling forth the strength of our allies to assist us in any contest with Tipu, what assistance could we expect from the Nizam the main body of whose army would be officered by French men or by agents of France? However despicable the corps of Raymond may now be in point of discipline or effect in the field, would it be wise to leave such a large body of men in readiness to receive whatever improvement the ability, assiduity and zeal of French officers sent from Europe for that express purpose, might produce into the constitution of the corps so prepared by correspondent principles and objects to meet the most sanguine expectations of their new leaders? Under these circumstances, the corps which perhaps has now little efficiency other than that of a political party might soon become in the hands of our enemy as efficient a military force as it is now in that view wholly useless either to the Nizam or to us.' Thus the weakness of the good-natured Nizam and want of organization in his State made him an ally not only useless but for the time being a source of anxiety.

Equally perplexing was the state of affairs at Poona. The power of the Peshwa was reduced to a most deplorable condition owing to intrigues of all kinds being rampant at his Court. The Peshwa was smarting under the domination of Daulat Rao Scindhia. The

Marhatta affairs slowly drifted into that condition which ultimately brought about the second Marhatta War and which taxed the company's resources simultaneously with the Napoleonic wars. There was also present a body of French soldiery at Poona apart from a considerable force under the Scindhia who had been pursuing an independent and ambitious course of policy in Central India. In the Court of the Scindhia the French had more than influence, they had a real power. Indeed this systematic introduction of French officers into the services of all native powers has been described by Mr. Wickam as the fixed policy of France, adopted with the view of establishing the most certain means for subverting the foundation of English power in India. Though the attitude of the Scindhia was shrouded in uncertainty, the company's Government could not count upon his support, rather his enmity might be expected. Anyhow he was to be humoured and flattered, for on him depended some hope of withstanding the other great difficulty of the English at the time viz. the invasion of Northern India especially of Oudh by Zemaun Shah¹ and his eventual co-operation with Tipu. For the moment this difficulty seemed impending, and if the support of the Scindhia could not be obtained, the English could only be on the defensive in the north for danger in the south was more pressing. It was thus the G. G. instructed Sir J. H. Craig the English officer stationed in Central India:—'The progress of the French arms in Egypt, our actual situation with Tipu and the doubtful posture of affairs at Poona must contract the means of our reinforcing the army under your command. We must therefore be satisfied in the event of Zemaun Shah's approach, with a system of operations strictly defensive. I have, however, no reason to doubt, that your army will very soon be augmented to the number of nearly 20,000.'² Again Lord Wellesley writes in his dispatch, 'The reports of Zemaun Shah's progress which hitherto have been vague and contradictory, have now become more uniform and consistent. Zemaun Shah is now advanced to Lahore and appears determined to prosecute his design of proceeding at least as far as Delhi.'

¹ Zemaun Shah—King of Cabool, son of Timoor Shah. He was the governor of Hirat during the lifetime of his father. Later on he together with Agas Mahomed made a stand to stem the progress of the Russian forces in Central Asia.

² *Wellesley Despatches*, vol. i, under date October 27, 1798, p. 315.

Nor did the complexities of the situation end there. The possession of the adjacent islands like Ceylon, Java, etc., by foreign powers pointed to the necessity of keeping a strict watch on them, and their occupation by the English may be considered as purely defensive steps for the preservation of the Company's interests in India. It is for this reason that the Governor-General puts the following in his minute: ¹ 'I am persuaded that the possession of Ceylon either in the hands of France or of her bond-slave Holland would enable the French interests to rise in India, within a very short period, to a degree of formidable strength never before possessed by them. The possession of Ceylon is universally held to be indispensable to the preservation of our power on the continent and of our commerce on the seas of India.' The Governor-General also dwells at length on the value of the Cape of Good Hope¹ as an English possession, as a frontier English depot against any foreign power. 'Its value,' writes Wellesley, 'as a naval outpost is still more important. Its possession by the enemy would furnish him easy means of pouring in troops upon the coast of Coromandel or Malabar. An enemy's squadron stationed at the Cape could not fail to intercept the greater part of our trade to and from the East without being under the necessity of making any very distant cruises. The army stationed at the Cape might always be looked upon as a part of the Indian force. The Indian trade and the Empire would be jeopardized with the Cape in possession of the enemy unless England would have another corresponding station on the southern continent of Africa. Moreover Ceylon without the Cape could not be long maintained in the English hand.' Equally great was the anxiety of the Company about the weak hold of the Portuguese on Goa which might furnish a foothold to an intending French army of invasion.²

It was, however, the strained relation with Tipu which required immediate solution. The Prince's conduct may appear justifiable from a view-point of his own notion of independence, but it could not but produce misgivings in the minds of the British Empire-builders in India, and they could not consider Tipu's movements in various

¹ Letter of the Marquess of Wellesley to the Right Hon'ble Henry Dudas. *Wellesley Despatches*, vol. i, pp. 33 and 34.

² *Memoirs and correspondence of the Marquess of Wellesley*, Edited by R. R. Pearce. *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 2.

directions as anything different from French ambition in the country. James Mill regards the story of the growth of Tipu's power since the treaty of Seringapatam (1792) as an exaggeration and a myth.¹ He argues by saying that between 1792 and 1798 the English power in the country had grown beyond any doubt and that Tipu's negotiations with the French, if at all, and the ultimate results thereof were matters too insignificant to engage the serious attention of the Company's statesmen, and moreover the difficulties they had overcome in 1791 they would do, if necessary, with greater success in 1798. The force of these arguments lie very much in their humanitarian and charitable principles, but Empire-building depends more upon a cautious and far-sighted policy than on an enlightened policy of forbearance and toleration. The need of the time could not possibly make the English charitable.

Again Tipu had entered into an alliance with the English and hence his open overture to the French, though attended with little success, was an overt act of hostility. The landing of his emissaries in the Isle of France and the subsequent foolish proclamation of the Governor-General Malartic to the citizens of the Isle of France leave no doubt in the matter. Mill refuses to believe in the authenticity of the proclamation, for all interests pointed to the necessity of Tipu's negotiations with the French being kept strictly confidential. But it must not be forgotten that the French were determined to injure the English at any cost, and the parade of such a proclamation meant that the French intended to place before the world at large that they had secured the sympathy and co-operation of a great native power of India. Perusal of a part of the proclamation very much clears the situation.² 'Having for several years,' thus runs the proclamation, 'known your zeal and your attachment to the glory of the Republic, we are very anxious, and we feel it a duty to make you acquainted with all the propositions which have been made to us by Tipu Sultan through his ambassador whom he has despatched to us. This prince has written particular letters to the Colonial Assembly, to all the generals employed under this Government and has addressed us a packet for the Executive

¹ Mill, *History of British India*, vol. vi, p. 85.

² Proclamation of General Malartic, translated from original French, *Despatches of the Marquess of Wellesley*, vol. i, Introduction, pp. 8 and 9.

Directory in France. He desires to form an offensive and defensive alliance with the French and proposes to maintain at his charge as long as the war shall last in India, the troops which may be sent to him. In a word he only waits the moment when the French shall come to his assistance to declare war against the English whom he ardently desires to expel from India.' Sometime after Tipu's power had been overthrown, the Governor of Bombay, the Hon'ble Mr. Jonathan Duncan, received a letter dated November 12, 1799, from Mr. Alexander Davidson to the following effect: ¹ 'I have the honour agreeably to my instructions from the Captain of His Majesty's ship the *Brave* to inform you of my arrival here in charge of the French Republican Corvette La Surprise, prize to the *Brave*. This corvette was proceeding from the Isle of France to Europe with General De Brie and two Mahammadan Ambassadors from the late Tipu Sultan to the French Republic. There is great reason to believe that there was and perhaps still may be presents to a considerable amount in charge of these Ambassadors for the French Directory.'

The Governor of Bombay wrote to His Excellency the Governor-General that the names of the Ambassadors were Bismillah and Abdur Rahim, and that they had with them the following presents according to their own declaration for the Directory: 5 Sirpeaches; 5 Jeeghas; 5 Necklaces and 5 Rings, but they said that they had destroyed them. On November 16, 1799, the Bombay Courier issued the following: 'The trinkets and Nuzzars to the Directory and their wives and the Khelauts were delivered up by Tipu's Ambassadors on Thursday the fourteenth instant and they landed on the same day.'

The above places beyond doubt Tipu's active propaganda for obtaining French co-operation and assistance, and though the help he derived from the Mauritius falsified all his calculations, he could not forego till the last the hope of considerable help from France. He received from the Isle of France a contingent of barely 150 men, the very scum of the population of the place, Negroes, assassins, old jail-birds, etc., who on their arrival at Seringapatam planted the tree of liberty there adorned by a tri-colour flag and fraternized with Tipu as citizen Tipu. Even the Wellesley despatch makes a very poor

¹ Extract of a letter from Lt. Alexander Davidson, Prize master of the Corvette to the Hon'ble Jonathan Duncan Esqr.—Selections from *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. iii, pp. 40 and 41.

estimate of the contingent thus raised : ¹ 'The Ambassadors aided and assisted in a levy of 100 officers and 50 privates for the service of Tipu. Few of the officers are of any experience or skill : and the privates are the refuse of the lowest class of the democratic rabble of the Island.' Whatever the strength of the force might have been, Tipu Sultan's overt act of hostility, according to the known law of nations, remains unquestioned. Moreover the fact of his having sent Ambassadors to the Porte, to Cabul, to Persia, Egypt and France for enlisting support in every possible direction to oust the English from India was never seriously challenged.

The Company's interest in India became still more precarious owing to dramatic and almost electric developments in Egypt. A letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors despatched on June 18, 1798, to the Governor-General in Council apprised the latter of the sailing of the French armament from Toulon.² 'Although the ultimate object of this armament,' reads a part of the letter, 'has not been ascertained, it is not improbable, from many circumstances that have transpired, and from the spirit of the daring adventure by which the French have been actuated during the present war, that its destination may be for India either by way of Red Sea or by Bussora, Egypt being taken possession of on the way. His Majesty's Government have therefore ordered immediate reinforcement to be sent to East India and His Majesty's fleet, in case the French be not defeated in the Mediterranean, has been ordered to the Straits of Babelmandeb to intercept the French.' The letter also refers to Tipu's negotiations with the Governor of the Isle of France and warns the Company's servants to take note that the publication of the proclamation might have been a feint on the part of the French with a view to embroil the Company with Tipu. 'For,' proceeds the letter, 'our Empire in the East has ever been the object of jealousy to the French and the present French Government is likely to make an attempt of reducing our power in the Indian world. Such a venture without the assistance of one or other of the Indian powers seems almost impossible. Therefore Tipu appears to be the fittest instrument to be employed in the

¹ Wellesley Despatches, vol. i, p. 81.

² Extract of a letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal, dated June 18, 1798, received in Bengal in September 1798, Despatches, vol. i, pp. 62 and 63.

furtherance of such ambitious projects. It would, therefore, be neither prudent nor politic to wait for actual hostilities on his part. We, therefore, recommend if steps have not already been taken, to adopt the necessary measures to bring Tipu to a satisfactory explanation. If his complicity with the said proclamation be considered conclusive, to take the most immediate and decisive measures to carry arms into the enemy's country. If it shall appear necessary military organizations amongst our civil servants and others in this country may be prepared to act on any emergency.' Whether India was the direct and immediate object of this enterprise it is difficult to conclude. Napoleon himself is almost silent on it. He cared for great names which, says he, could only be made in the East. Egypt itself was a position of great strategic importance. The country, as Napoleon always held, was the real point of correspondence between Europe and India—'the place where France ought to establish herself to ruin England.' 'From thence,' says M. Thiers ¹ 'could a command of the Mediterranean be ensured which was to be made into a French lake. Once established in Egypt, Napoleon would have in his power to do two things : either create a navy in the Red Sea and proceed to destroy the settlements of the English in the Great Indian Peninsula or make Egypt a colony and a magazine.' In any case the Indian trade could not fail soon to transfer itself to Egypt and desert the Cape of Good Hope. All the caravans of Syria, Arabia and Africa already crossed each other at Cairo ; thus whether Egypt were made a point of departure for the purpose of attacking the English settlements or whether it were made a mere magazine, it was certain to bring an enormous trade into its true channels and to make those channels lead to France.' It was this bright picture which fascinated the imagination of the Directory. Sorel in his *History of the French Revolution* lays special emphasis on the commercial aspect of the enterprise and on the fact how it would create a diversion which would decoy the English fleet from the European waters for the defence of their Eastern possessions.² England would thus be left more or less defenceless to fall an easy prey into the French hands. The following is the order of the Directory in the matter : 'The army of the East shall take possession of Egypt. The Commander-in-Chief shall chase

¹ M. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution*, p. 779.

² Sorel *L'Europe Et La Revolution Francaise*, part v, p. 339.

the English from all their possessions in the East which he could easily reach. He shall have the Isthmus of Suez cut through: and he shall take all the steps necessary to assure the free and exclusive possession of the Red Sea to the French Republic.¹

The Governor-General himself did not put much faith on the immediate approach of the French by way of Egypt. He writes on August 29, 1798 to Rear-Admiral Rainer,² 'I wish to call your particular attention to the preparations the French were making in the Mediterranean for fitting out a considerable naval force for the embarkation of troops. Various accounts are given of its destination; the strange report of its being destined for the conquest of Egypt, and after the success of that wild adventure, for the more extravagant project of conveying aid by Suez to Tipu Sultan; and this is not likely of producing much impression upon a person of your Excellency's experience. But some of my letters state an opinion to which I am much inclined to give credit, that at least a part of this force is probably destined for an expedition to India by the ordinary passage round the Cape of Good Hope. A variety of circumstances combine to render it probable that the French army may attempt to send a force for the joint objects of reducing the Mauritius and of aiding Tipu Sultan. With these sentiments I take the liberty of requesting your Excellency to direct your most serious attention to the coast of Malabar and as soon as you shall deem it expedient to detach any part of your squadron to that quarter.' The *Calcutta Gazette*, dated August 23, laid before the public a translated extract from the *Journal de Frankfort* relating to the extraordinary project of the French proceeding to India through Egypt.³ The Gazette commented on it in the following words:—

'It may be scarcely necessary to say that we place no faith in the account, or that we may give it the same credit that we allowed to the rafts a mile long, yet upon so singular an enterprise it is satisfactory to collect all the information that has appeared. A further article on the subject from *Courier Du Bas Rhin* of April 14, the

¹ Proceedings of the Directory quoted by M. Thiers.

² The Earl of Mornington to His Excellency Rear Admiral Rainier, Fort William, December 13, 1798. *Wellesley Despatches*, vol. i, p. 398.

³ *Calcutta Gazette*, Editorial Comments, Selections from the *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. iii, pp. 202 and 205.

latest continental Gazette that reached India reads as follows: 'It is only in the absolute ruin of its absolute power that we can crush this superb rival; as long as Britain shall dispense the treasures of Bengal what foreign power can be insensible to the seducing influence of wealth? What means is there to prevent the rupees of Orissa purchasing the perfidy of kings, and subsidizing their hungry battalions? It is by uniting our efforts in concert and striking at the very root of the source of their riches. Europe and Asia must resound in the same blows, India must be subjugated by crossing the waves of the Red Sea and our conquest in the East must extinguish the hope of our enemy of repairing in that quarter the wreck of its throne in Europe.'

Like the German press during the late war which spread stories of English atrocities in India to discredit the English in the country and to rouse discontent, if possible, among the Indians themselves, the French also during the Napoleonic wars did not hesitate to describe at length the misfortune of India under British rule. There is unmistakable proof of the fact that the French in their designs in India had built some of their hope on the great aid which they might have expected from British subjects. It was with this expressed object that general De Caen with a military staff was sent to Pondicherry. In this connection an extract from the proceedings of the Council of Five Hundred may be read here with interest: 'In oppressed India not a step can be taken without discovering the train of English guilt. In that fair country favoured of heaven, but desolated by man, the English gave a few years ago a dreadful example how far despotism may go when joined with inhumanity and avarice. Debasement of coinage for the furtherance of the English trade was only one of the indirect blows which killed the native enterprise of the time. . . . A short time afterwards, Bengal was visited by a horrible drought. Rice grew only in some parts and then in a small quantity; of this the English took possession; they monopolized with avidity whatever provision was to be found and held it in reserve for themselves and their sepoys. Thus secured they disdained to attend to a numerous people who were threatened with the approach of famine. It came accompanied by despair, and followed by the most fearful of deaths. For many days the Indians, consumed by hunger, but still meek and suppliant, were seen wandering like plaintive ghosts around these fortresses where

their tyrants revelled in abundance. A vast silence soon reigned throughout, and public ways and places were covered with dead bodies, and the rivers rolled them by thousands to the astonished seas. Three millions of men perished; and their wretched remains, abandoned without interest, so corrupted the atmosphere as to create a pestilence which had nearly destroyed the unfortunate nation.'¹—(Extract from the writings of the Abbe Raynal). With the above may also be read an extract from the *Berlin Telegraph* which described the Earl of Moira as being descended from the House of Plantaganet, and that he, having had blood of royalty in his veins, would assert independence in India and commence a new line of English kings. Lavish praises are bestowed on him and 'the lofty merits, he possesses,' concludes the letter, 'entitles him to independence and royalty.'

Thus it will be seen that the company's attention was not only directed towards the preservation of their trade and power in the country, but mainly towards the growing power of Tipu, the French intrigue in the country and the menacing nature of the French enterprise in Egypt. However visionary the Egyptian expedition might have been regarded in this country at the outset, its real significance could not have long remained unseen. Not only in Europe but in India as well vast preparations were being set on foot to baffle the enemy. The energy and the coffers of the company were taxed to their utmost limit to meet the magnitude of the danger. The French contingent in the Nizam State must be disbanded and made absolutely harmless. The Governor-General's tactics in completely disarming them without any bloodshed and bringing the entire military organization of the Nizam State under the Company's supervision has been recognized by historians as statesmanship of a very high order. Complete and elaborate arrangements were to be effected to take the offensive against Tipu who is said to have received at this time a letter from Napoleon written from Cairo. The letter reads thus:—'You have already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea with an innumerable and invincible army full of the desire of releasing and relieving you from the iron yoke of England. I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muscat and Mocha, as to your

¹ *Calcutta Gazette*, Editorial comments, Selections from the *Calcutta Gazettes*, vol. iii, pp. 202 and 205,

political situation. I could wish you would send some intelligent person to Suez or Cairo possessing your confidence with whom I may confer. May the Almighty increase your power and destroy your enemies,' etc.—Sd. Bonaparte.

Tipu was no longer to be allowed to go unpunished for his intrigues with the French. The difficulties which had thickened round Lord Cornwallis in 1791 demanded for some time the special attention of the Governor-General. We need not enter here into a study of the last Mysore War which called forth on both sides generalship, sacrifice and patriotism of a very high order. The company was not to remain content with the reduction of the power of Tipu alone; it must exert itself to render every possible relief to the Home Government and make all preparation for the eventuality of a French invasion of India. The *Calcutta Gazette* dated November 21, 1798, notified the general approbation of the Governor-General on the raising of volunteer corps from amongst the European, Portuguese and Armenian residents of Calcutta. It was so honorable to the character of the settlement and so conformable to that spirit which secured the British Empire in Europe against the combined efforts of all its enemies. The Rt. Hon'ble Henry Dundas had sent instructions to the Governor-General for the working out of such organizations in India.¹ 'If it be true,' thus wrote the President of the Secret Committee, 'that a successful invasion of England would prove fatal to us, it is still more peculiarly true to His Majesty's subjects settled in India. A successful attack upon our possessions in India and the overthrow of the British interests there would be a death's wound to every prospect which the Company can entertain. Why then are not they, so far as is consistent with their avocations and duties, learning to devote some leisure hours in each week, in order to learn the use of arms and to form themselves into corps, under the authority of the Government, for the purpose of your adding to your European strength in India and preparing themselves, in case of the last extremity to sacrifice their lives in defence of those interests upon which everything essential in life must depend? This is an advantage which, in the day of difficulty, no other nation but ourselves have the means of resorting to.'

¹ *Wellesley Despatches*, vol. i, p. 65.

Thus 125 years back volunteer corps and defence of the realm forces were raised in the same way as during the eventful years of 1914-1918. An expeditionary force was as well sent to Egypt to co-operate with the Turkish and English interests in that country against the French.¹ News reached this country from London to the following effect: 'The Turks were infinitely surprised at the appearance of the Sepoys in Egypt, more particularly when they saw them lay aside their shoes and enter their Mosques, in performance of the same religion. When they found an army of the Muhammedans descending the Nile they thought their Prophet was working a miracle in their favour.' The *Bombay Courier*, May 1, 1802, makes mention of the return of the officers who had left to join the army in Egypt. It remarks that their reception by the Arabs in general and the chief in particular was in the highest degree hospitable and the latter professed himself warmly and sincerely attached to the English character. In the same way the *Calcutta Gazette* reports the arrival in the Hugly of a commerce transport, having on board a detachment of the Bengal Artillery lately serving in Egypt. His Excellency the Governor-General entertained at breakfast General Baird and the officers of the army returned from Egypt. It is thus significant that the spirit which fired the imagination of the Canadian, the Australian and the South African in the late war was also present among the servants of the company more than a century back, although the expedition to Egypt may be regarded as only a defensive measure. The part that the Indians played in the drama must not also be lost sight of, for apart from the question of a few serving in the army, their general loyalty and solicitude for British success much facilitated the Company's work at the crisis.

The voluntary subscriptions that the European residents of the country raised to help their mother country speak again of the same healthy spirit. A public meeting of the British residents in Calcutta was held on July 19, 1798, under the Chairmanship of the Sheriff

¹ The Egyptian Expedition sent under Major-General Baird. It contained altogether 3759 Europeans and 4127 Indians. Of the Indians Bengal contributed in Horse Artillery and Volunteers 815 men, Madras nearly 300 and Bombay 1756 besides Engineers, Pioneer Corps and public and private followers—*Memoirs of Wellesley*, Edited by R. R. Pearce, p. 26 and Appendix No. 1. pp. 445 and 446.

and passed two resolutions, viz.¹: 'We shall be at all times ready with our lives and fortunes to support His Majesty's Government against all his enemies and further to assure His Majesty of our utter abhorrence of those principles which the tyrannical rulers of France have so fatally laboured to introduce in their own unhappy country. Further resolved that books be opened for the purpose of receiving subscriptions of all such persons as shall be desirous of entering into voluntary contributions for the support of His Majesty's Government in Europe and that the amount thereof be remitted to Europe.' A total sum of £130,785 was raised from Calcutta alone. The principal contributors were Sir R. Chambers, Mr. J. Hare, Mr. W. A. Brooke, Sir J. Craig, Major G. R. Smart, each subscribed £1,000, Sir Charles Cockerell, Mr. S. Speke, Mr. W. Cowper, Mr. Stephen Bayard, £1,000 each annually during the war. Corps of Engineers, £1,250 annually, Lt.-General Sir A. Clark and the Governor-General £2,000 and £3,000 respectively annually during the war. Subscriptions of £500 and upwards were very numerous from Indians as well as Europeans. The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay exhibited a similar spirit of noble and patriotic feeling. It is worthy of note that even the poorly paid soldiery stationed in India contributed their quota. Thus His Majesty's Seventy-sixth Regiment stationed at Dinapur donated one month's pay: non-commissioned officers and privates two weeks' pay: the officers of the Twenty-seventh Regiment of Dragoons stationed at Cawnpur offered one month's pay: the Seventy-fourth Regiment at Wallajahbad voted one month's pay for the defence of Great Britain. It is highly interesting to note that the leading Indian citizens of Calcutta headed by Gour Churn Mullick, Nemoy Churn Mullick, Ram Kissen Mullick, Gopy Mohon Tagore, Kaly Churn Halder, Rasik Lal Datta, Gokul Churn Datta and others convened a meeting in imitation of the English citizens of Calcutta and resolved: 'As we take a sincere interest in whatever concerns the prosperity of the British Empire, and as we can in no other manner show our attachment to that nation under whose protection we live than by contributing aid to the public service, that books of subscription be opened to receive the voluntary contributions of the native inhabitants of Calcutta, and that the sum subscribed be applied in the same manner and under the same

¹ Selections from *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. iii, pp. 190-199 also p. 34.

restrictions as the subscription of the Europeans are appropriated.¹ The Governor-General was pleased to write Home that the plan for the raising of subscription from Indian gentlemen originated in their own spontaneous solicitude for the safety of the British Empire and was not suggested by any interference of the Company's servants.

All possible measures for maintaining the internal security of the Company's possession in India were duly undertaken. Though there was no 'Defence of the Realm Act' all precautions were adopted to segregate and intern enemy subjects and suspected aliens. A police notification of the time may here be read with interest:² 'All Frenchmen and other natives of countries at war with Great Britain or in alliance with France and now residing in Calcutta or its vicinity, who have not already reported, are hereby directed to attend in person and deliver in their names, etc., at the Police office without delay. Persons entertaining foreigners of this description in their service are required to report the same and to give notice when such persons quit or are dismissed from their service. No Frenchmen or other natives of countries at war with Great Britain or in alliance with France and now residing in the town, will be allowed on no account to leave or to pass the limits of Calcutta without the permission of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council for which application is to be made through the Magistrates at the Police office. All Frenchmen and other foreigners of the above description coming from any of the foreign settlement to Calcutta are required to produce at this office a written permission of their being absent from such settlement; and are hereby informed that, in the event of their entering the town without such permission, they will be immediately taken to custody.'

The defeat and death of Tipu, the subsequent occupation of Mysore by the British troops, the Battle of the Nile and the subsequent dissipation of Napoleon's power in the East relieved the Company of much of its anxiety, and as well reduced the pressure upon her trade and on her resources in men and money. With the storming of Seringapatam a garrison order, Fort St. George, dated June 3, 1799, informed the public of the reception of the standard of

¹ Selections from *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. iii, p. 208. A sum one lakh and sixty thousand rupees was raised.

² Selections from *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. iii, p. 5. Police Notification, May 19, 1800. (Sd.) John Miller, First Clerk.

Tipu Sultan on May 4, 1799.¹ The colours of the French Republic were also taken on the same day from the French corps in the service of that prince. A breath of relief pervaded all throughout the Company's possessions in the East on the destruction of the dangerous power of Tipu. 'The glorious victory of the Nile,' however, produced a greater sense of security. It seemed as if a horrible nightmare which was choking the very breath of the English in the East was gone. In just gratitude the Company's servants in Bengal subscribed a sum of £1,074-10-0 to the fund raised for the benefit of the sufferers in Lord Nelson's victory. At a court of the Directors held on Wednesday, April 24, 1799, the following was unanimously passed, 'Resolved that the thanks of the court be given to Rt. Hon'ble Rear Admiral Lord Nelson for the very great important services he has rendered to the East India Company by the ever memorable victory obtained over the French fleet, near the mouth of the Nile on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd August, 1798. Further resolved that in testimony of the high sense this court entertain of the very great and important benefit arising to the East India Company from his Lordship's magnanimous conduct on that glorious occasion, that this court request his Lordship's acceptance of a sum of £10,000.' Lord Nelson's reply to the above flattered the just vanity of the Directors.² 'I was this day honoured with your letter of May 3rd conveying to me the resolutions of the Hon'ble East India Company. It is true, Sir, that I am incapable of finding words to convey my feeling for the unprecedented honour done me by the Company. Having in my younger days served in the East Indies, I am no stranger to the munificence of the Hon'ble Company, but this generous act of theirs to me so much surpasses all calculation of gratitude, that I have only the power of saying that I receive it with all respect. Give me leave, Sir, to thank you for your elegant and flattering letter, and that I am with the greatest respect your most obliged and obedient servant, (Sd.) Nelson,' addressed to Sir Stephen Lushington, B.A., Chairman of the Court of Directors. The Directors further entertained Lord Nelson at the London Tavern in a great banquet on the occasion of his victory. In return for the toast proposed, Lord Nelson referred

¹ Selections from the *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. iii, p. 237.

² Nelson's Letter:—Preserved in *facsimile* in the Relics of the Hon'ble East India Company by William Griggs, p. 33.

among other things to the death of an inveterate foe and the establishment of peace in India and the consequent frustration of the object of the arch enemy, the French. In India, a proclamation was issued by the Governor-General fixing February 6, 1800, as a date of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the happy deliverance of His Majesty's dominions in Europe from the destructive designs of the enemy . . . as well as for the prosperous issue of the late 'just and necessary war' in Mysore.

Hereafter the Company entered into a period of comparative peace and security. Their undivided attention could now be devoted to the cause of their trade and to the taking up of those offensive measures in the important strategic stations in the Indian Ocean so that they might not be turned into profitable bases of operation by the French. In 1797 expeditions were planned to be sent to Ceylon, Malacca, the French settlement of the Mauritius and the Spanish possessions of Manilla.¹ Though the latter undertakings had to be given up for the time being, the first expedition ended in the eventual occupation of Ceylon. It is a mistake to think that the French were so pre-occupied in the continent of Europe that they had neither time nor enough resources to turn their serious attention to the East, and that the British interest in general and the Company's trade in particular went on unhampered after the destruction of Tipu's power and the collapse of the French fleet in the battle of the Nile. A casual notice may here be taken of the enormous losses on the Eastern seas sustained by the English at the hands of the French naval power stationed in Asiatic waters. A *Calcutta Gazette* extraordinary dated October 27, 1799, announced that the undermentioned persons were made prisoners of war by the French and that they had been exchanged: Robert Ferguson, officer of the *Endeavour* taken off the Isle of France, Benjamin Brown, Commander of the *Greenwich* taken off Batavia, J. H. Lawrence, Commander of the *Brisk* taken off Batavia: Robert Sadler, officer, the *Princess of Wales*. The captivity of the officers also signified the loss of a good percentage of the ships they served. The *Madras Gazette*, September 13, 1800, notified the seizure of the Company's ship *Armenia* by the French privateer *Clarisse* off Madagascar. An extract from the minutes of the Bombay

¹ *Memoir's of Wellesley*, R. R. Pearce, vol. ii, p. 115.

Council, December 20, 1800, reads as follows: 'The Governor in Council sincerely regret the loss of so valuable an officer as Captain Hall who fell in the late action of the Cruiser *Intrepid* with an enemy's privateer in the Gulf of Persia.' On October 16, 1800, news were received in Calcutta of the capture of the Honourable Company's ship *Kent* by *La Confiance*, French privateer. In March 1802 the ship *Highland Chief* was captured by the French *Brig Substitute*. Late in 1803 the Company's freighted ship *Athena* was captured by two French frigates in the Bay of Bengal. The *Bengal Hurkura*, December 3, 1804, notified the capture of the ship by the French privateer *Caroline*. On January 31, 1805, Captain Barbour late of the *Pigeon*, writes to say that his ship was taken off Vizagapatam by the French frigate *La Psyche*. On February 7, 1805, Captain Waters notified the capture of his ship by *La Psyche*. Six days after the *Psyche* captured the *Thetis*. On December 12, 1805, the Calcutta Council made an estimate of the losses in shipping sustained within a short period of a little above a week preceding that date as amounting to eleven lacs of rupees. The principal ships of merchandise lost were the *Melville*, the *Waldegrave*, the *Commerce* and the *Phoenix*, and the Council remarked that the total loss to the mercantile community was of a very serious nature. On July 3, 1809, the Company's ship *Ceylon*, *Windham* and *Astella* maintained an unequal and losing fight with a superior enemy force and effected a clever escape. The *Calcutta Gazette* dated October 18, 1810, announced a decisive naval engagement in the harbour of Port South East, Mauritius. The enemy's frigates *Bellome*, *Minerva*, *Victor*, *Venus*, *La Manche* and *La Astre* were engaged by His Majesty's ships *Sirins*, *Iphigenia*, *Nereide* and *Magicienne*. The *Sirins* and *Magicienne* being mud bound were ordered to be destroyed. The *Nereide* was left a perfect wreck and later on taken possession of by the French. It was an unqualified English defeat. On July 9, 1814, news reached Calcutta through the *Dolphin* arriving from Penang of the capture by the French of the ships *Bertsey*, *Mary* and of the *Brig Favourite*, all from Bengal. Even to an indifferent reader this partial list would give an idea of the enormous shipping losses sustained in the Eastern waters, as also of the great insecurity prevailing all around.

It must not, however, be concluded from the above list that the

Company and the English were alone the sufferers on land and sea. The French undoubtedly suffered heavier losses. Their possessions in India, Pondicherry and Chundernagore were early captured and the French inhabitants of the places taken as prisoners of war. Reference has already been made to the capture of the French Republican Corvette *La Surprise* which intended to despatch Tipu's ambassadors to France. On April 2, 1800, the public curiosity in Calcutta was gratified by the appearance in the Hughli of the long-expected *La Forte*, prize to His Majesty's ship *Sybilie*. A Fort William notification dated November 26, 1800, announced the capture of the French privateer *L'Adele* by His Majesty's *Brig Albatross*. On December 4, 1800, His Majesty's ship defeated and captured the French ship *Malartic* which had previously captured two English vessels the *Mermaid* and the *Rebecca*. With the renewal of the War of the Third Coalition and almost contemporaneously with the battle of Trafalgar, notification of the capture of the French ships *L'Eugene* and *L'Hirondelle* in the Eastern Seas was served. The *Calcutta Gazette*, January 8 and February 14, 1804, notified the capture of the French Privateer *L'Espiegle* off Cochin and of the Privateers *Les Freres*, *Unis* and *DeCaen* in the Bay of Bengal. The *Bombay Courier* extraordinary, dated November 11, 1804, announced the remarkable achievement of His Majesty's ship *Concorde* which made a simultaneous capture of *La Fortune* and *Le Meme*. A proceeding of the Directors of the East India Company dated August 16, 1805, expressed gratitude and voted liberal rewards to the members of His Majesty's ships, stationed in the Chinese Sea for beating off the French squadron under admiral Le Nois in that sea. A message from the Cape of Good Hope dated January 28, 1806, signed Major-General D. Baird, announced the conquest of the Cape by the joint effort of an expeditionary force from India and the British naval squadron in the Indian Ocean.

The *Calcutta Gazette*, Thursday, 1808, notified that in consequence of intelligence having been received by the Company's Government of a rupture between Great Britain and Denmark, a detachment of troops from the garrison of Fort William under Lt.-Col. Carey took possession of the Danish settlement of Serampore at six o'clock, January 28. The Danish ships in the river Hughli were also on the same day taken possession of. A letter

dated Amboyna, March 6, 1810, conveyed the intelligence of the surrender of Amboyna with a garrison of 1500 Javanese and several guns to a detachment of the Madras artillery and European regiment in conjunction with 300 seamen and marines from His Majesty's ships. On August 26, 1810, His Majesty's forces aided by a regiment sent by Lord Minto commenced a brilliant and successful operation in Java. The enemy's camp was easily stormed and captured by the irresistible gallantry of the British forces. The whole of Java submitted to the English. An order in Council dated January 1911 reads as follows: 'The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council has the satisfaction to announce to the public the intelligence of the surrender of the Isle of France to the arms of His Majesty and the Company on December 3, 1810. Ordered that a royal salute be immediately fired from the ramparts of the Fort William.'

The next place to fall in order of time into the hands of the English was the island of Bourbon. On August 23, 1810, the *Calcutta Mirror* had the following in its issue of that date: 'It is with much satisfaction that we are enabled to gratify the curiosity of our readers with many interesting particulars of the operation terminating in the surrender of Bourbon to the British arms. . . . At the end a flag of truce was sent by the enemy from St. Denis to treat for the surrender of the island.' Officers, mostly from Calcutta, were then appointed for the Government of the island. A *Bombay Gazette* extraordinary, 1811, reports of a naval action off the coast of Mauritius in which the English ships *Astrea*, *Phœtic*, *Galatea* and the *Brig Race Horse* engaged the French *Renomme*, the *Nereide* and the *Cholorine*. The latter were worsted with considerable losses and the British scored a great victory. Again, here, it will be seen what a considerable strength the French commanded in the Eastern seas, what strategic maritime stations they came to possess in their eventful career and what tremendous exertions His Majesty's forces and the Company had to resort to in thoroughly subduing them and in making them absolutely powerless.

In the midst of these constant engagements and pre-occupations, the English in the East did not lose sight of the jovial side of human nature and neglect the ordinary and formal amenities of life especially those connected with war. The Truce of Amiens was a matter of universal rejoicing throughout India and Ceylon. It was

also the occasion of a most splendid entertainment given to about 800 ladies and gentlemen at the New Government House, Calcutta.¹ Several distinguished Indian gentlemen were also present as guests. The ramparts of the Fort William, the shipping in the river and all the principal buildings facing the Esplanade were brilliantly illuminated. An extensive illumination was exhibited in the environs of the New Government House whereas the maidan was all resplendent with a magnificent show of fire-works. On February 3, 1809, the Governor-General in Council was pleased to order the firing of a Royal Salute from the ramparts of the Fort William and *feu de joie* at sunset by the troops in garrison in honour of the great victories of the allies in Spain. On July 30, 1814, a Royal Salute and three volleys of musketry were ordered in honour of the splendid success of the allies. A public thanks giving was arranged for April 13, 1815, in honour of the great victory and for the peace so necessary for the good of mankind.² In the Government House a most magnificent entertainment was given to about 700 ladies and gentlemen in honour of the general peace. The most attractive illumination and display of fireworks on the occasion were exhibited at the mansion house of His Highness—Nawab Delwarjung at Chitpore. Peace and contentment soon prevailed all around and in the midst of the general prosperity and uniform success that marked the progress of the English in the East, henceforth, the losses sustained in the great undertaking against Napoleon were forgotten. At the same time a just feeling of pride surged in the bosom of those who had so eagerly responded to the call of patriotism and sacrifice. The brunt of the whole affair undoubtedly fell on the East India Company, and the paper may be closed here with a quotation from E. P. Robinson (the *Trade of the East India Company from 1709-1813*) whose thorough appreciation of the Company's work for the British Empire deserves mention.³ 'Throughout the century there are repeated offers of men and ships fully equipped at the Company's expense. Not content with fighting unaided its country's battles in India, the Company wished to have a share in the victories which England

secured in all parts of the world. If ever British troops landed in India to fight the battle not of the Company but of the nation, the Company always paid and supported them from the time of debarkation. The Company voluntarily provided 10,000 tons of shipping to the Government for six months in 1803 and considered that its interests were so closely connected with the growth of British influence that it presented Lord Nelson with a large sum of money as an expression of gratitude for the victory of the Nile. The bitter attacks with which its actions are frequently assailed, the accusations of corruption and of selfish motive, lose much of their force when it is remembered how great a proportion of England's triumph in the eighteenth century should be attributed to the self-denying patriotism of this mighty corporation.'

¹ A lively description of the celebration is preserved in the *memoirs of Wellesley*, R. R. Pearce, vol. ii, pp. 273-282.

² Selection from *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. iv, p. 364.

³ Robinson, *the trade of the East India Company*, p. 147.

Reviews

THE KAUVERI, THE MAUKHARIS, AND THE ŚANGAM AGE

BY

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN

[Published by the University of Madras, 1925.]

STUDENTS of South Indian History are aware that the question of the age of the Tamil Śangam has been for some years engaging the attention of scholars and that though no final solution could be said to have been reached, dates ranging from second to eighth century A.C., have been proposed by them from several standpoints. Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan's main object in the above monograph is to approach this problem from a new point of view, namely, the invasions of North India by South Indian monarchs. He takes his stand primarily on Karikālan's and Śenguttuvan's invasions of the trans-Gangetic regions detailed in *Śilappadhikāram* and enquires when they would have been possible. He thinks that these incursions could not have taken place during the heyday of North Indian supremacy such as the age of the Great Mauryas (B.C. 225 to 230) or during the time of Pushyamitra Sunga (B.C. 184-148) or again of the imperial Guptas in the fourth and fifth centuries A.C., and so eliminates them. He concludes after a cursory review of North Indian History that the invasions would have been possible only in one of the three weak periods of Northern India. (1) B.C. 208-184 during the time of the successors of Asoka, (2) B.C. 148 to A.C. 1, i.e., after the death of Pushyamitra and (3) the third century A.C.

In the first place, the dates above suggested are themselves spread over so many centuries that we can hardly consider them very 'helpful in a search for the valid solution of the Śangam Age;' secondly, though he has proposed these dates, as he has not investigated them in detail, he writes in several places as though he himself does not, seriously believe in them. Regarding the first period, B.C. 208 to 184, he says, 'The history of the period is so unsettled that we do not know if the invasions were possible,' (p. 56). As regards the second

period, B.C. 148 to A.C. 1, he says, 'A dynasty so powerful as this one (the Sātavāhanas) was, would not easily have consented to allow a Tamil king to go north on a mission of conquest' (p. 50). *Re* the third century A.C., he himself admits that 'it is so obscure that no valid conclusions can be drawn' (p. 57), and 'to place the Śangam here is simply to thrust an inconvenient problem out of the way without finding a solution for it.' (p. 53).

The fact is that though the author started with a new and fruitful line of enquiry he has simply played with it instead of pursuing it in right earnest. The real attempt must have been to investigate all these periods in detail from the standpoint of the political condition of Northern India and examine the history of the Āndhras or Sātavāhanas in their relation to northern and southern powers as well. But instead of doing this he runs after the Will O' the Wisp of a Maukhari.

In one of the stanzas of the *Kaṭṭupparani* relating to Karikālan a certain Mukhari is said to have been punished with the loss of an eye when he did not follow the example of other feudatories in personally working at the embankment of the Kaveri. Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan says that 'No king of the name of Mukhari being known to have ruled in South India, we are forced to cast our eyes farther afield who that Mukhari could have been' (p. 4). He therefore identifies this Mukhari with an imaginary North Indian Maukhari king of Magadha during this period. But on page 72, he himself draws our attention to the existence, on the banks of the River Ponni itself, of a chief of Mukhari (Kaṇakkadhikāram) and a certain Mukhari-nāḍālvān mentioned in a Tamil inscription of Ceylon. It is thus more natural and appropriate to take it that the Mukhari referred to in the *Kaṭṭupparani* to be a southerner—preferably a dweller on the banks of the Ponni or the Kaveri. After all, as he says, the identification of Mukhari with Maukhari 'is not an integral part of the age of the Śangam' and it is therefore all the more surprising that he should have dealt with the question at such inordinate length. Much more irrelevant, however interesting, is his excursus into the early history of the Kaveri.

On the whole, there is a large amount of clever writing, curious learning and ingenious reasoning which however cannot compensate for the fundamentally weak investigation of the central theme.

A. V. V.

HISTORY OF BURMA

BY

G. E. HARVEY

[From the earliest times to March 10, 1824, the beginning of the English Conquest.
Longmans, Green & Co.]

ALL those who have worked at the history of Burma would easily realize the great difficulty in bringing out a scientific history of this country. There are many dark spaces to be filled which involves the patient ransacking, not only of a great deal of Burmese material but also the thorough examination of large numbers of Chinese, Portuguese and Dutch records as well as several English state papers and documents. It is, therefore, hardly an exaggeration to state that Mr. Harvey's book on Burma is a great achievement.

Hitherto the chief authority on Burmese History based on original sources has been the work of Sir Arthur Phayre published nearly half a century ago which was accurate and to a considerable degree impartial. The chief defects of this work are that it is based on much more scanty material and that it is uncritical. Again Phayre's work is not up to date and a great deal of material not available to him such as those of inscriptions and Chinese sources, have been brought to light in recent times thanks to the labours of the Archæological Survey. Mr. Scott in his 'Burma from the Earliest times to the Present Day' has attempted a popular account of Burmese history from the earliest times. This cannot compare with Mr. Harvey's work being more or less a light work. Harvey's book is that of a mature scholar endowed with much industry and necessary sympathy for the Burmese people. The long notes in the appendices show wide research and the text itself is thoroughly referenced and documented.

In a little more than three hundred pages, Mr. Harvey has attempted the difficult task of writing the history of Burma tracing it from its beginning through the dynasty of the temple builders (1044-1287), the Shan dominion, the Taungoo dynasty and the Alaungpaya dynasty. It has been usually supposed that there is very little of historical material in Burma itself. Mr. Harvey's book, however, shows that the native material is fairly abundant. The inscriptions, although scarce between the fifth and the tenth centuries, are available for the following

period. The Glass Palace Chronicle, for instance, which has been largely drawn upon by Mr. Harvey provides delightful reading and shows what remarkable capacity the Burmese have for making their historical records readable. As Sir R. C. Temple has observed in the detailed preface to this book, the capacity of the Burmese 'for relating a story well is remarkable and makes their historical records enticing reading.'

It is perhaps unnecessary to enter into the details of the work. It is true that some portions of the work such as the account of Arakan and the Shan States is rather meagre. The discovery of fresh Epigraphical records such as those noticed in the latest report of Burmese Archæology may lead to the writing of a larger account of this part of the book. As Mr. Harvey himself says perhaps some better equipped writer will tell this story and portray the life of which only glimpses are obtainable now.

The get up of the book is excellent and the illustrations add considerably to the value of the work. In addition to the genealogical tables of the dynasties (pp. 364-67) a very comprehensive bibliography is furnished which should be of immense use to all interested in the study of the subject.

R. G.

A HISTORY OF INDIA, PART II—THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

BY

H. L. O. GARRET AND SITARAM KOHLI.

[*A History of India*, Part III, L. F. Rushbrook Williams, Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., Price Rs. 3.]

It would be remembered that this series was projected more than twelve years ago with the object of setting out the main outlines of Indian History in a manner suited to the requirements of the students of the Intermediate Examination. The first part comprising the history of the Pre-Mussalman period was written by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar as early as 1914 and for some reasons which are unknown, the subsequent parts had been locked up until their publication early this year by Messrs. Garrett & Kohli and Rushbrook

Williams respectively. During this interval several attempts have been made to bring out short accounts of the whole period so as to meet the requirements of the College Students, the most important of these being the work of the late Mr. Smith entitled *College History of India*. Another attempt was made by Mr. E. B. Havell to cover the same ground in his *A Short History of India*.

The writers of the second part Messrs. Garret and Kohli follow the plan of Mr. Smith, and have carried the period from the rise of the Muslim power to its downfall in 1761 when even the semblance of Moghal control terminated. They divide the subject into four books of rather unequal length which deal respectively with the period of Muhammadan invasions. The Sultanate at Delhi, the Bahmani kingdom, the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar and the Moghal Empire. The subject is treated in a masterly manner and the results of the latest researches of scholars are incorporated. The reference to the authorities are given at the foot-notes and include the results of recent research. The only defect of this portion seems to be the inadequate space given to treatment of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar and its significance in South Indian culture. A prominent omission among the authorities of this period is to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Sources of Vijayanagar History*. The chronological chart and the illustrations are thoroughly good and inviting. The only error that we have detected in the work so far, occurs on page 316 (line 13).

In Part III, Prof. Rushbrook Williams, till recently Director of Information to the Government of India, continues the narrative of the British period in three books entitled respectively (1) Sea-Power, (2) British Supremacy in India, (3) The Growth of Modern India. Prof. Rushbrook Williams writes in a fascinating style and presents the subject matter in an orderly manner with profuse quotations from contemporary records. The subject is treated with considerable sympathy and insight which are not usually to be met with in ordinary text-books. The final book which narrates the Growth of Modern India and especially the concluding chapter entitled, 'India in the Twentieth Century' are particularly interesting. Another feature of this work is that the authorities are given at the end of each chapter instead of at the end of the work as in the case of Part I. One of these authorities is, viz. Mrs. Besant's Book, *How India Wrought for Freedom* figures as *How India Fought for Freedom?* The portion on nation

builders (p. 301) should have been more elaborately treated. In other respects, the get up of the book and the illustrations are very good. The work is eminently suitable for use in the college classes and the general public. In the light of recent researches, however, we may suggest the first part of the series by K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar has to be rewritten incorporating the latest views and discoveries such as those for example of the Punjab and Sind valley.

R. G.

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION TO THE DAWN OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

BY

B. K. THAKORE, I.E.S. (RETIRED)

[Revised edition, 1926—Bombay, D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co.—1926—pp. xiv, 495 and xxvii.]

THIS revised edition of Professor Thakore's book is welcome, since it gives an account of the working of Dyarchy in what is called its first phase. The second *triennium* of Dyarchy has also something to its credit, according to our author, if it should have really taught the country once and for all, 'the futility of idealogue intransigency' and shown that not root-and-branch non-co-operation but responsive co-operation is the right policy to pursue in working the Reforms. The Muddiman Reforms Inquiry Committee has very fully illustrated the features of the Dyarchical system so far as it had then gone. Of course we cannot agree that there has been a complete failure, both of the Central and Provincial Legislatures in organizing themselves into stable political parties; certainly there has been some work done even by our parties. The Central Legislature is still a subordinate partner along with the irresponsible executive; while in the provinces 'the ministers are more like Government officials and administrators and not yet tribunes of the people.'

Mr. Thakore treats of special problems, like the Native States, communalism which has put forth two very ugly manifestations, communal riots and communal greed for jobs, and the Indianization of the Army which will be the prime requisite of a self-governing

India. As regards the final shape that the developed Indian Constitution may take, whether the type will be unitary or federal, he would deprecate the fissiparous tendencies growing and diminishing the strength of the central institutions, and likewise would he be for the retention of the larger Native States as separate governments under hereditary constitutional monarchy, in perpetual subordinate alliance with British India, rather than they should be included in a federal system. In this edition each chapter is enriched with a bibliography and fairly elaborate notes, though the use of smaller type has not been an unmixed advantage.

C. S. S.

STUDIES IN THE LAND REVENUE HISTORY OF BENGAL 1769-1787

BY

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM, I.E.S.

[The Oxford University Press, 1926. pp. v and 205.]

THE period 1765-1773 marked in the matter of revenue collection by the substitution of an untrained and foreign (English) agency for a skilled, though corrupt, native agency, was followed by an attempt at centralization in a Controlling Committee of Revenue at Calcutta with six Provincial Councils and a body of native *amils*; but the result proved financially to be no better, the fault being not so much with the administrative machinery as with the method and degree of assessment. Mr. Ascoli calls the next epoch 1781-1786 one of completion of centralization, when the Committee of Revenue was placed in full control and Collectors, though reviewed, were denied any interference. The reforms of 1786 laid the foundations on which the Permanent Settlement came to rest subsequently.

Mr. Ramsbotham has embodied in this book, the Amini Report and the Report on the Kanungos, both being documents of first-class importance for the revenue history of the period. The Amini Report was made in 1778 to Warren Hastings and was 'the first technical

and professional explanation of the system employed in collecting the land revenue of Bengal, that was placed before the Company.' It classifies and explains the various branches of the public revenue, analyses the different kinds of landholders and the different forms of land revenue as well as the various hereditary and temporary agencies for the collection work. It further goes into the details of the accounts of district administration and pleads for 'expert and continual supervision by responsible officers of the revenue collections.'

The other report on the Kanungos submitted in 1787 by Mr. J. D. Patterson, Registrar of the Kanungo's office is here published for the first time along with a previous shorter report on the same subject made by the same officer, six years previously. In the explanatory note on the Kanungo, Mr. Ramsbotham traces with great clarity the office and its growth and shows how the officer, by the time that the company became Diwan, held in his hand all the vital information necessary for the efficient collection of land revenue. After the conclusion of the Perpetual Settlement, the office both *Sadr* and *Mufassal* was abolished, to save the actual expense, though it was still considered necessary to continue it in Banares and the Upper Provinces where, in 1808, elaborate regulations were prescribed for their appointment and service.

The author to whom Mr. Ascoli was indebted for many valuable suggestions in the arrangement of his book *Early Revenue History of Bengal and the Fifth Report (1917)*, is a high authority on the administrative and revenue history of Bengal during the eighteenth century. The two reports that he has now edited are valuable links in the chain of the complex revenue history of Bengal, culminating in the Permanent Settlement; and he has enriched his work with a great quantity of information culled from the voluminous records of the various Committees of Revenue that worked between 1772 and 1786 preserved in the Bengal Record office. We wish it very much that the learned author should bring out a companion book publishing the valuable records bearing on the famous Grant-Shore and Shore—Cornwallis controversies, thus illuminating the complex revenue history of the next stage.

C. S. S.

'REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF
H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.'

BY

MR. YAZDANI

A.D. 1921-24 (1331-33 F.)

Calcutta, 1926

THE Report presented by Mr. Yazdani, who during this period was partly away in Europe on a deputation to study the diverse phases of Moslem architecture in Islamic countries, points out the marked influence of Turkish engineers in the growth of a vigorous style of military architecture in the Deccan from about the latter half of the fourteenth century, and the consequent similarity that the Deccan fortresses bear in their arrangement to mediæval European fortresses. Three forts—Elgandal, Qandhar and Parenda—were surveyed; and an extensive programme of conservation was carried out, the most important measures being, as usual, the protection of the Ajanta Frescoes carried out under the direction of Prof. L. Cecconi and Count Prisini; and it is surmised that deterioration in the frescoes has been stopped for at least a century to come. The tombs of Aurangzib and Malik Amber in the Aurangabad district, have also been cared for; while in the Warangal District, the thousand-pillared Mandapa at Hanamkonda has been preserved. Two monographs in epigraphy have been published, which will be noticed in due course, one, a Canarese record of Bodhan, and the other an inscription of the Kakatiya Queen Rudramba. The coin-cabinet of the department has been enriched, especially with some *padma tankas* of the later Yadava kings of Devagiri. The appendices contain an account of the Parenda Fort with the inscriptions in it, and also a note by Mr. T. Srinivas on the coins in the cabinet of the Hyderabad Museum. The illustrations of views from the Ajanta Frescoes and the Parenda Fort and the coins acquired are, as usual, good.

C. S. S.

'A CONSTRUCTIVE SURVEY OF UPANISHADIC
PHILOSOPHY'

BY

R. D. RANADE

[*Encyclopædia of Indian Philosophy*, vol. ii.]

THIS is the first fruit of a projected *Encyclopædia of Indian Philosophy* in sixteen volumes, and is by Professor R. D. Ranade of Poona. Professor Ranade has issued a pamphlet descriptive of the project containing information regarding the scope of the work and the names of contributors to the different volumes and sections. Of the sixteen volumes the last is, of course, the index, and the three preceding ones are intended to contain sources of information for the other volumes. The work actually would comprise twelve volumes. It is a great project and all the available Indian talent is enlisted for the accomplishment of this great work. It is intended to begin from the beginnings of Indian philosophy in the early Vedic period, and brings it through all the gamut of the scale down to the most modern developments. The project deserves the sympathy of all who can assist in one way or another, so that the scheme may reach its completion without a hitch. Each volume would be on an average of about 700 to 800 pages, and will, as far as may be, self-contained both in respect of the division of the subject and of treatment. This vast project is one of a variety of enterprises in this branch undertaken by the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, constituted as an All-India body for the purpose of promoting the study of philosophy and religion. This would include publications both in Indian and European thought. There is to be a research branch attached to it for doing the necessary preliminary work with a number of branches all over the country with members, fellows and all the paraphernalia of a learned organization with schemes of finance for carrying the objects into effect. Ambitious as the project may seem, it is quite capable of fulfilment if there should be the co-operation that is possible. If all the resources of India could be called into requisition for the purpose effectively, it would be comparatively easy to accomplish the task and realize all the other ambitions of an academy of this character. We wish the enterprise all success. Mr. Ranade's work, *A Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy*, is the first fruit of this project, and we publish the following review of the work by a sympathetic and well-informed friend of ours with pleasure.

EDITOR.

1. We congratulate the Indian Public and the author of the book under review on the publication of this excellent volume. Several eminent scholars have worked at the *Upanishads* for a long time and Max Müller's translation of the *Upanishads* in the Sacred Books of the East Series and his introductions to several other works mark an epoch. But there have not been many books on the Philosophy of the *Upanishads*, taking them as a whole and adopting the historical method, except perhaps Paul Deussen's brilliant treatise. Many of the books on the *Upanishada* Philosophy by Western scholars have not dealt with the subject from a sympathetic point of view—the point of true Mystic Realization. The author is already well known as a Sanskrit scholar in the department of philosophy and the treatise under review is worthy of his eminence and scholarship. He has brought to bear upon the subject his vast knowledge, the historical method of comparative religion and the evolution of spiritual ideas and methods of realization. He claims, we think rightly, that the blissful static mystic self-realization taught in the *Upanishads* is amply justified by truths of modern science and modern historical research in comparative religion and philosophy. He approaches the subject from a universal and not from any sectarian or narrow point of view without at the same time losing sight of the interpretations of the main texts adopted by the orthodox in India. English educated classes, if religiously inclined, will find the book most useful and illuminating. Whether we agree with the ultimate final views of the author on mystic realization or not, it should be stated that the subject is handled in a most impartial way.

2. The author has prominently brought out the view that all the three great Schools of Vedanta find ample justification for their being based on the *Upanishads*, and he has collated all the important Sacred Texts relied upon by the three great founders and given both the originals and their translations in Chapter IV (Roots of Later Philosophy). This is a very great step in the right direction and the chapter is most valuable.

3. It has been thought in some quarters that the *Upanishads* have not brought out clearly the moral and ethical Ideal. We hope with the author that hereafter the charge would not be sustainable. Readers may refer to Chapter VI. He has demonstrated that the *Bagavad Gita*, itself based clearly on the *Kaṭa*, *Mundaka* and *Śvetāśvatara*

Upanishads, brings out the spiritual activism and the theistic mysticism as the ultimate goal which is so much talked of by Western thinkers. The *Īśāvāsya Upanishad* has laid the basis for disinterested performance of work without attachment to worldly selfish fruits, and that such disinterested work, as worship of God, leads to God realization.

4. Readers of Galloway on religious experience and the Gifford Lectures volumes by Ward, Pringle, Pattison and the treatises of Bosanquet, Royce, Bradley, Mactaggart and Bergson are well aware that the ultimate in religious experience is a controversial matter, and we need not be surprised if the absolute monists, qualified monists and dualists are not agreed as to the nature of the ultimate final realization in Hindu religion. When it is once established that the *Upanishads* themselves give the common basis of true religious experience, the quotations given in the last chapter on the everlasting eternal infinite, blissful mystic realization, preceded by moral and ethical grandeur, fully justify the different interpretations. They will amply repay perusal.

5. We would simply give a few examples here:—

(i) Brahman which is the light of all lights, which the seekers after *Atman* experience ;

(ii) After having crossed the bund of Phenomenal Experience, even though a man may be blind, he ceases to be blind . . . night becomes day . . . the spiritual world is suddenly and once for all illumined.

(iii) There is neither sunset nor sunrise.

(iv) The *Atman* cannot be realized except by one whom the *Atma* chooses ; before such a one the *Atman* reveals his proper form.

(v) Just as a mirror which is cleared of its impurities becomes lustrous and capable of reflecting a lustrous image, even thus the mystic sees Himself at the height of his spiritual experience and reach the goal.

(vi) Great and lustrous is that incontestable being, yet He is subtler than the subtle, farther than the farthest and yet quite near to us, being shut up in the cave of our heart.

(vii) The knots of the heart are broken, all his doubts are solved and the effects of his actions annihilated when once he has seen God who is higher than the highest.

(viii) When the individual self is embraced by the Universal Self he knows nothing outside nor anything inside. He has attained an end

which involves the fulfilment of all other ends, being verily the attainment of *Atma* which leaves no other end to be fulfilled.

(ix) The Brahman was before Him, behind Him, to His right and left, above and below.

(x) It was verily the All.

(xi) Brahman is truth, knowledge, infinite bliss and infinity.

(xii) 'Infinity alone is bliss—when one sees, hears, understands nothing else, that is the infinite. The infinite is above, below, behind, before, to the right, to the left,—I am above, below—The Self is above—He who knows this truly attains this.'

(xiii) He enjoys Brahman and His auspicious attributes. He attains equality with Brahman. He attains and becomes Brahman. He sings. I am (His) food. I am the enjoyer (of Him) I see the Brahman as all.

6. The author has most lucidly explained the several methods adopted in the *Upanishad* for expounding philosophic religious truths and mystic realization under several headings with copious illustrations.

(i) *The enigmatic method*.—(a) Pointing to a synthesis of opposites underlying the apparent contradictions, adopting a cryptic method, using a single (*Tajjalām*) word explaining that God is the origin, end and life of all.

(b) God is knowledge and non-knowledge, and so on.

(ii) *Aphoristic method*. Compressing all the materials of thought in short sentences. (Ex.) *OM* is all that exists.

(iii) *Etymological method*. (Ex.) *Purusha* is really *Purisaya* that is inhabiting the citadel of heart.

(iv) *Mythical*. Parables are introduced to teach a moral, or philosophic or religious truth.

(v) *Analogical*. (Ex.) The analogy of drum or the lute, in order to explain the process of apprehension of the soul.

(vi) *Dialectic*. (Ex.) Disputations in Janaka's Court with Yāgñayalkya.

(vii) *Synthetic*. (Ex.) In *Chāndōgya*, six philosophers giving six explanations all afterwards uniting in *Vaiśvānara Vidyā*.

(viii) *Monologic*. (Ex.) Some sages lose, in soliloquies, regarding spiritual realization. (Ex.) The *Antaryāmi Brahmana*. The several impasses—immanence of the Eternal All-seeing God.

(ix) '*Ad hoc*' or *temporizing*, i.e. the teacher gives only what the pupil needs for the moment.

(x) *Regressive*. Successive questions being put. Every new question carrying us behind the answer to the previous question. It is also shown that sometimes the teaching is given in the spirit of poetry and poetical outbursts.

7. Regarding the theory of *Māya*, the author has stated everything impartially and nothing more is desired. He has most clearly brought out the germs of the *Māya* theory in the *Upanishad*, and has stated, 'Let no man stand up and say that we do not find the traces of the Doctrine *Māya* in the *Upanishads*,' though we may be permitted to say that when once it is admitted that the word *Māya* is used in many of the *Upanishads* in the sense of power, wonderful power, and in the sense of *Prakṛiti* or matter, and further that it is not clear whether *Māya* is said to inhere in the Supreme or individual soul, the theory of *Māya* developed by the later absolute monistic school is altogether different from the one found in the *Upanishads*.

One feature of the book is that the author has not dealt with the interpretations adopted by the *Vedānta Sūtras* on many of the texts and subjects of the *Upanishads*. Even granting that the *Sūtras* perhaps teach a system different from the *Upanishads*, it would have been better if a chapter had been written on the subject as, after all, that would be the interpretation adopted by orthodox Hindus taking into consideration the theistic mysticism and work without attachment taught by the *Gīta*.

9. The author seems to hold views directly contrary to the Hindu orthodox on the *Mantra Śāstre*, and we would be content with the remark that Sir John Woodroffe seems to be much more sympathetic and that his attitude is probably more correct from a religious point of view.

10. We may close this review with the observations of Prof. L. R. Farnell in his latest volume of *Gifford Lectures* on the 'Attributes of God' which is probably the best of all the books covering the same ground. With reference to the predominant school of Hindu thought, monistic idealism, according to which 'a permanent unchanging God could have no relation to the movement and activity of life, for according to its narrower view permanence is excluded from activity. But the Greek mind achieved the deeper theory, that

the power which caused change and movement might itself remain unchanged and unmoved and therefore such a power might be interpreted as a divine creator and the source of life activity.' May we insert instead of the words '*Greek mind*' the words 'the *Upanishads* as interpreted chiefly by the theistic mysticism of the *Gita* and the *Vedānta Sūtras*.' The book supplies a decided want and it is the best book on the philosophy of *Upanishads* that has so far appeared. We hope that a cheap edition will be printed to place it well within the reach of the college students and the English educated community as also students of Hindu religion and comparative systems of thought.

S. G.

'HISTORY AND HISTORICAL PROBLEMS'

BY

ERNEST SCOTT

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[Oxford University Press]

THIS work is based upon a course of lectures delivered by the author to the teachers of history in Melbourne with a view to creating an 'interest in the method and processes of history, as well as in the matter of which it is composed.' The work falls into ten chapters, of which two have reference to the purpose of History and Historical Method; the next five chapters have to do with the relation of history with other subjects, such as Geography, Biography, Physical Science, Education and Patriotism. There is one chapter devoted to varieties of History, another to Historical Problems, and the last to, what is entitled, the Living Force of History. Each one of these subjects is handled with ability and presented in a way to interest even an audience of laymen. It is full of instruction to students of history and must be stimulative of thought to those engaged in the work of history itself. The author starts with an attempt at defining the purpose of history, and gives the definition in general terms that history is (1) 'the sum of human experience clarified by criticism,' and (2) 'that it is a great school of human character.' History, as everybody knows, clarifies, criticizes, compares and co-ordinates experience and then presents it to those who care for it. In order to make this experience useful, it

has to be acquired by all, and the acquisition is not in the acquisition of the facts of experience but in a mental habit for which the facts provide the mere material. As Lord Acton said, 'The gift of historical thinking is better than historical learning.' In other words, the utility of this experience is in the capacity to form correct judgment, which consists in an 'orderly marshalling and presentation of materials, the sifting of evidence, the discrimination of truth from falsehood and error, the selection of salient and relevant things from the mass of irrelevant and unimportant details, the estimation of character, the art of narrative, the comprehension of motives and principles,—these processes are surely developed more effectually through the study of history than by any other means.' If that is so, it becomes clear that the methods of history are not the exclusive property of the historian.

As has been clearly pointed out by F. J. Teggart in his work *Processes of History*, 'historical method is the same whatever the history investigated—whether that of the stellar universe, of the earth, of the forms of life upon earth, or of man. It comes to be seen that in each case the problem is the same, namely, to show how things have come to be as they are; that in each case the investigation presupposes the antecedence of innumerable series of historical events; that in each case the enquiry is based upon the assumption or axiom that things have come to be as they are through the continued operation of natural processes, and that these processes are to be discovered only through examination of what has happened in the past.' A historian has got two things to do. He has to find the truth, and then expound it in a way to be interesting and attractive. Neither of these operations is easy. Paradoxical as it may seem, the whole truth about the things with which history has to deal is, rarely if ever, contained in written form. 'History has its overtones, like music, which are caught only by the practised ear.' A historian must live in the period about which he chooses to write, as otherwise he will lapse into a mere compiler between whom one of the radical differences is 'that a historian has absorbed the material about his chosen subject to an extent that enables him to write with that intimacy of acquaintance which cannot be derived merely from rapid and cursory reading.' The method is somewhat like the method of the successful advocate who elicits evidence from witnesses, but more difficult as the

witnesses are not present to the historian. Some even of the best historians have not escaped the influence of their times in writing the history of an earlier period. The danger is so real that according to Professor Pollard 'The best historian is one who can forget the present. A historian ought to exhibit that peculiar quality of Gibbon as a historian which consists in the thoroughness with which he absorbed his material and the art with which he moulded his work into a masterpiece of English prose.' According to Mr. Scott, then, historical work involves 'the investigation of the truth about the past by (1) the establishment of fact and probability; (2) the criticism of authorities whose testimony enables the facts and probabilities to be established, the comparison of their evidence; (3) the estimation of character and motive; (4) strict chronology and regard to the sequence of events; (5) the analysis of causes; (6) the avoidance of the fallacy of seeing the past as a mirror of the present; (7) the endeavour to see things which occurred in the past from the point of view of those who saw them, which means that we should not judge them exclusively from our point of view, since that may be one which would have been impossible for them; (8) the understanding of the philosophical basis of the action of historical personages, that is, of the ideas by which they were actuated; (9) the construction of narrative; (10) the practice of the virtuous habit of verification.'

While there are many bad ways of writing history, there are two good ones, and both of them have this feature in common that they demand a thorough absorption of the material by the mind before writing. Their difference consists in the method of writing. One of them consists in the historian producing the result of his study of the historical material in an artistic work of his own entirely, such as that of Gibbon. The other form of it consists in writing history in such a form that the historian incorporates in his writing the real essence of his sources by judicious selection of passages to be woven in his narrative. The result in both cases is the production of bright pictures without jerkiness of movement. But neither of this kind of writing would be possible unless the writer has complete command of his material, so that the evidence has been absorbed and fused into his own consciousness. He then sets about to produce an artistic work, the art of the historian being different from that of the creative genius. A historian

merely employs the methods of the artist. 'He should give shape, but only to that which is already [there, not to that which his fancy may mirror. Philosophical history is a desert; fanciful history an idiot asylum. We must therefore demand that the artistic designer should have a positive tendency of mind and a strictly scientific conscience. Before he reasons he must know; before he gives shape to a thing he must test it.' Such work can be turned out only after very great labour and by one possessed of a capacious memory whatever may be the mechanical aids to it otherwise available.

He then considers the relation between history and geography, and after an examination of the various views, arrives at the conclusion that while 'race, education, religion, language, occupation, the subtle influences of tradition and history, all exert their weight and any attempt at isolation of the geographical element is far more likely to generate fallacies than to yield dependable results.' Then he takes up the question of history and biography and combats the Carlylean dictum that history is a series of biographies. History is nowadays regarded as an 'intelligent interpretation of a vanished age, so that we may understand not only the leading motives of the leading actors on the stage, but the general tendencies of the time, the essential springs of change, the element of strength and weakness, of progress, recuperation or decay which may be inferred from the recital of political transactions or from the analysis of social and economic fabric, and above all, so that we may form a just view of the political and social problems of the age.'

In his chapter on history and science, the author points out that the advance of scientific studies has affected historical studies in two ways, namely: (1) it has imparted a scientific spirit to historical investigations; and (2) it has influenced the work of historians by certain lines of scientific thought. It is a result of this that we have come to view the events of history as 'phenomena of social development and history itself as an aspect of sociology.' 'The essence of the scientific spirit,' wrote Huxley, 'is criticism,' and the more the spirit of criticism permeates historical study, the more will it assert its value as a study essential to human welfare. The question whether history is a science is an oft-discussed question, and is not likely to be answered definitely one way or the other. The intermediate view that it is both a science and an art is perhaps nearer correct in the sense

'that it has in view action which touches the earth, and the idea which touches the skies.' Another definite view is that history is a science like the moral sciences, but not like the physical. These views turn round upon different notions of the word 'science'. History may be regarded as a science inasmuch as it has to present evidence, criticize that evidence, and as a result of that criticism arrive at conclusions, and to this extent it may be regarded as unified knowledge, and as such a science; History has also at the same time to present pictures of the past, analyse character, probe motives, and requires skill in the narration. So far as these are done successfully, it may be regarded as an art. After all it is only a question of points of view towards historical material. In the words of the author 'there is historical writing by modern authors which is as precisely accurate and as carefully wrought in its arrangement of evidence as the most fastidious scientific mind could desire, and is at the same time touched with the magic of style, and aglow with imagination. The high accomplishment of the historian who excels in both the scientific and the artistic attributes is, however, not frequently attained. Perfect achievement in this vocation is not to be expected to be more common than in poetry, mathematics, philosophy, or any other study in which soundness of matter combined with imagination is desirable.'

He then passes on to the place of history in education. What is to be history teaching in educational institutions and universities, and what sort of it, and how much of it, is to be taught is a question which has been exercising the minds of educationists, and one demand more than others is to make history teaching interesting. In regard to this, it is pointed out that 'you can make history teaching so interesting that no history is left, but only a soothing syrup compounded of romance, imagination, poetry, coloured pictures, legends, fairy stories, anecdotes, Harrison Ainsworth's novels, plasticine models and notes of exclamation. The intellectual discipline that should be imparted by the study of it may be smothered by frills and frivolities.' The outstanding merit of history teaching is that it provides one of the most efficient methods of forming the mind. 'Sound teaching in the subject needs to keep a course between the desert where no flowers bloom and the swamps of romanticism where amphibious creatures wriggle about. Good history teaching should include some constructive

work. The art of narrative can be taught through the study of history more effectively than by any other means.' This narrative must be constructed from evidence acquired from a variety of sources, and historical skill consists in selecting what is relevant and interesting and from this *didjeda membra* constructing a narrative. This 'brings out the originality of the student, taxes his ingenuity, imparts a sense of relevancy, sharpens his discernment.' History is of use as providing the means of studying character. The really 'valuable thing in the study of character is to get to understand why men and women acted as they did, how they were bent by storms, diverted from the path of intention by stress of events, how they were deflected by the invitation of expediency, how inherent weakness, with subversive force or subtle insinuation, determined them.' Understanding is the main aim of this branch of historical study, and to 'view a historical situation as it presented itself to those who had to face it and to do something in regard to it is a valuable effort of imagination conducing to sound and tolerant judgment.' Apart from the mere instruction imparted, the weighing of evidence has a valuable educative discipline. While it may be admitted that historical knowledge is good, history teaching ought to inculcate certain intellectual virtues and habits. This involves discipline of mind as well as learning. In the words of J. W. Allen, 'We want to make it easy and even habitual to suspend judgment. We want to make it absolutely impossible to hold opinions based upon grossly insufficient knowledge of the facts. We want a habit of thinking of conclusions as more or less probable rather than as true or untrue. We want to develop a realistic imagination of the number of different views that may be held on almost any really complex question.' History teaching must further awaken curiosity in the student. 'Teaching that does not evoke curiosity is a failure, and that which endeavours to suppress it is an offence.' Connected with this is the teaching of the subject as a humanizing power, which in the words of Mr. Trevelyan shows how the 'study of the past controversies of which the final outcome is known, destroys the spirit of prejudice, and brings home to the mind the evils that are likely to spring from violent policy, based on want of understanding of opponents.' This humanistic view of history is closely associated with the moral efficacy of a study of history which consists in the view that the only real moral history is true history, and the

search for truth is itself a moral act. Incidentally reference is made here to national and international history, and it is pointed out that either of them could be made as good as the other from this point of view, the crux of the problem being in the rigorous search for truth and nothing but truth.

Passing on to the subject of history and patriotism, it is admitted that the correct teaching of history will have the effect of stimulating patriotism. At the same time pointed attention is drawn to the fact that the 'pressing of it into a patriotic mould has been one of the most fruitful causes of the manufacture of much pestilentially bad history.' The principal object of history is to ascertain truth, and when this is done no good cause is likely to be damaged nor a bad cause ameliorated. Truth-telling is its business first and foremost. Attention is drawn here to a remark of the historian Ranke whose admirable historian represses the 'poet, patriot, the religious or political partisan, to sustain no cause and write nothing that would gratify his own feelings or disclose his private conviction.' When a German divine who wrote about Luther met him in Berlin and greeted him with warmth as a confrere, 'Pardon me, Sir,' said Ranke, 'there is great difference between us; you are in the first place a Christian, I am in the first place a historian.' This means that detachment is absolutely necessary for the historian as to be detached is hardly the same as to be remote. At the same time history requires to be studied sympathetically to be understood, and without that sympathy, it would be rather difficult to make others understand. While therefore sympathy must be regarded as an essential element in the study and teaching of history, the treatment of it with sufficient detachment none the less is essential. The discussion concludes with the remark 'History should be wholly patriotic in its uplift; but it is bad history that sets patriotism before truth, and bad patriotism that desires such disservice.' Discussing the varieties of history in the next chapter, he discusses the various problems connected therewith. The general position is summed up in the following paragraph:—

'The historian is compelled to put into a page or a paragraph material which he has gathered from a wide range of sources, and this involves the simultaneous exercise of several mental processes. His statements must be true to fact, they must convey the essential purport of his evidence, and they must be related in good narrative

form. He must seize the salient things, disregard the details which seem to him to be unimportant, and blend the whole in a piece of writing which carries forward his story. To find a form of words which shall be true, loaded with information, essential, and at the same time readable, requires a command of art more complex than that involved in any other form of literature. Frequently there are gaps in the evidence, and the historian has to wrestle with probability; or he may be confronted with discrepancies which he has to resolve; or he may find a piece of testimony concerning a point which, if true, is important, but he may doubt its truth, and be unable to find corroboration of it. There is hardly a subject on which a historian can write, as to which he will not be compelled to make up his mind on some points of extreme necessity.' Discussing the qualities that ought to be prominent in a historian's equipment, Macaulay is quoted with approval in regard to the possession of a disciplined imagination, as it is in the use of that that 'history calls for the gifts of the artist as well as for the orderly and analytical qualities of the scientific mind, the keenness and industry of the investigator, and the reflective insight of the philosopher. Imagination is the highest of historical endowments because it enables the breath of life to animate the dry bones, but it is a peril and a delusion without the discipline of scientific training.'

The next two chapters are concerned with the two topics,—the Problems of History and its Living Force. In summarizing the various problems that confront the historian and the various pitfalls to be avoided, the author says:—'Historians, then, are liable to the same failings, the same disposition towards fondness for their own ideas, as are other people; and even those who have a bias against bias do not escape errors of other kinds. The test of dependableness, indeed, is not absence of bias, but the presence of good faith. The writer of honest intent will take care that no piece of evidence known to him or accessible to him, is neglected. He will be prompt to rectify a conclusion in the light of freshly discovered facts. He will state points of view even when he does not approve of the conduct which they explain. He will endeavour to present a case as it was seen by those who were concerned in it, so that their motives, so far as discoverable, shall be fairly disclosed. He will base his judgment upon verified facts, and will not prejudice an issue by suppressions, by

twisting truth in the manner of unfair controversialists, by failing to give the "other side" when there is another side which ought to be heard. It is this good faith which makes sound history, not the dehumanizing of the historian by making him deciduous in respect to opinions, feelings, sympathies and aversions.' He then points out that to the historian the subject presents itself as an infinite range of problems in the solution of which he has to exercise his mind upon arriving at generalizations. 'This process of generalization 'calls for a very rare kind of intellectual effort.' 'Great knowledge and imagination in combination are requisite to draw from the multitude of facts those conclusions which show the coherency of them, their veritable meaning, and their moral import.' He further points out to the very general question of the value of history, and gives the only possible answer, the moral grandeur of finding the truth because it is truth. In discussing the living force of history, he quotes Bismark with approval that 'Mistakes committed in statesmanship are not always punished at once, but they always do harm in the end. The logic of history is a more exact and a more exacting accountant than is the strictest national auditing department.' The encouraging feature of history is that a knowledge of the past has this exceptionally beneficent and fruitful advantage 'that you see, set in the clear light of historical truth, examples of every possible type. From these you may select for yourself and your country what to imitate, and also what, as being mischievous in its inception and disastrous in its issues, you are to avoid.' 'With the study of history in all its forms,' writes Mr. Marvin, 'our interest in the future has been immeasurably enhanced.' The living force of history consists not only in the forms of Government which have been developed, the institutions which have been established, and even continually adopted to the service of society, but in the way it works in the psychology of peoples, and in the innumerable utilities which have been placed at our service by the discoveries and the labours of our forbears! The work concludes with the following remark that history has an 'influence upon living generations—educationally as a discipline with its own value for the forming of intellectual habits; scientifically as a field of knowledge of inexhaustible richness, and a method for the investigation of truth.' We say amen, and apologize for the length of the review. The subject is of such considerable importance and the misimpressions

regarding the subject so prevalent that we thought it worthwhile exhibiting the ideas of one that has apparently bestowed considerable thought to the subject with sufficient elaboration to do him just in the first instance, and to the subject itself next. It is to be hoped that the subject will receive the attention that it richly deserves.

'THE LIFE OF ŚRĪ VYĀSARĀJA BY SOMANĀTHA'

BY

B. VENKOBA RAO, B. A.

Mysore Civil Service.

THIS is a Sanskrit work in the form of a *Champu*, that is, a prose work with poetical pieces thrown in so as to constitute one continuous narrative. It is a style of *kāvya* which Sanskrit poets affect very much.

The work has for its subject the Madhva ascetic Vyāsarāja, the founder of the Vyāsarāja Māṭha, which continues to flourish as one of the well-known religious houses of the Madhvas, who regard four among them as recognized ones. The author Somanātha was a student of Āchārya Vyāsarāja, and was therefore a younger contemporary. He lived in the days of Achyutarāja, and the work was written almost about the same time as the chronicle of Īṇis. It is, however, much more valuable than the Portuguese chronicle in that it deals with matter with which either the hero or the author was directly connected. Naturally a contemporary work of this character would labour from defects peculiar to itself. Notwithstanding this defect, the work is of great value, and as, at the present time, we have the means for checking it satisfactorily, it may be used as a source of history for the comparatively dark period of the latter half of the fifteenth century and the more or less well-known period of the first third of the sixteenth. Unfortunately, however, the work is published from a single manuscript which being in the possession of a private owner, required considerable effort and tact to secure. The credit of making this available to the public is due to two officers of the Mysore

Service, both of them members of the family of the late Dewan Sir P. N. Krishnamurti. It is matter for great regret however that Mr. Srinivasamurti who secured the manuscript died before he could make arrangements for its publication, and Mr. Venkoba Rao who actually published it died within a few weeks of its publication.

The period of history covered by the life of Vyāsarāja corresponds to the period of the rise of the Sāluva chieftain, Narasimha, to power. For many years during his reign Āchārya Vyāsarāja stayed under his auspices in Tirupati, and sometimes even at his court. He enjoyed the confidence of his successor *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagar, Narasa, and of his son, the great Krishnadēvarāya. The Āchārya's active life thus corresponds to the best period of Sāluva Narasimha's life, and those of Narasa and Krishnadēvarāya. During the latter period in particular, he was intimately associated with Vijayanagar itself.

For this period, the only satisfactory accounts so far available are our own *Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History* and the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* published by the Madras University. The authorities have been in great bulk, the literature of the period, while a large number of inscriptions have been from time to time made public throwing welcome light on various points. The work under review being the life of an important person who played an influential part in the court itself, provides information on many points on which it was wanted, and thus fills a very important gap in our sources of knowledge for the period.

Vyāsarāja was born about A. D. 1446 and died about the year A. D. 1539, so that his life covered the best part of a century, while his active life was one of almost about seventy years extending from the period of the death of Mallikārjuna, the Emperor, down to almost the end of the reign of Achyutarāja. Vyāsarāja was born of parents in the village of Baṇṇūr on the banks of the Kaveri not far from Śrīranga-ṭṭaṇam. He is early taken charge of for purposes of education by the saintly Brahmanya Tirtha, and in due course and at the command of the teacher, he goes out on a pilgrimage first to Kanchi, and then stays with the Madhva Āchārya Śrīpādarāja at Muḷbagal. At the suggestion of the latter, he proceeded to the court of Sāluva Narasimha at Chandragiri. Owing to certain untoward occurrences at the temple of Tirupati, this Āchārya had to remain there for a number of

years, noted down actually as twelve years. This prolonged stay near the court, his great learning and disinterested character made him a person often looked upon as guide and philosopher by successive rulers of Vijayanagar, so much so that under Narasa, he became the regular adviser to the Court. He lived in Vijayanagar afterwards in one of its suburbs, and his mutt became a sort of university to which all seekers of the light of learning went. In the days of that great patron of learning, Krishnadēvarāya, himself an author and a man of learning, Vijayanagar became a centre of learning and people flocked to the court for exhibiting their learning and receiving their rewards from the great patron. It is here that great disputations were held, among them being one in which Vyāsarāja had to meet the great Vallabha Āchārya, the founder of the Śuddha Advaita school, of Gujarat. Later on, Vyāsarāja seems to have lived for a little while at Bēhur, the old capital of the Hoysalas. It was in this period that Somanatha, the author who completed his education, the latter part under Vyāsarāja himself, was advised by some friends to take upon himself the work of composing the life of Śrīvyāsarāja, which he did. When he submitted it to the assembly of learned men at the mutt of Vyāsarāja himself, the work received the approval of the Āchārya.

Mr. Venkoba Rao, the editor, has spared no pains to collect together all the historical matter scattered through the work and exhibit it in a critical introduction, in which he has made ample use, for purposes of comparison, of the two works already referred to, and the *Sāluvaabhyudaya*, another Sanskrit classic bearing upon the rise of the Sāluva, that is, Sāluva Narasimha to power. The new work throws considerable light upon obscure points on which light was wanted. To give but one instance, we are let into the secret of what actually took place during the last five years of Krishnadēvarāya's rule, for which we had hitherto no satisfactory material. Similar instances, where the work gives new but welcome light, could be mentioned in some number. We conclude the review, however, with the expression of our sincere appreciation of the efforts of the two lamented officers of the Mysore Service, to whose efforts we are indebted for this welcome source of historical information, not being in a position to offer them our congratulations on the happy completion of their labour of love.

MADHURĀVIJAYAM OR VIRAKAMPARĀYA CHARITA

BY

GANGADEVI

THIS Sanskrit work, of which there is only a single manuscript available to us was published some time back, and had remained for about a couple of years already out of print. The present publication is a new edition by Pandit Harihara Sastri of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Publication Department. It is matter for regret that the Pandit was not able to secure another manuscript, and hence the edition is almost a re-print of the previous edition except for comparatively minor emendations and corrections here and there. The work is an important one in many ways, and it is matter for satisfaction that the Pandit thought it worth his while issuing a new edition, imperfect as it is.

This is one of a class of historical poems of which a few have come to notice recently. The work is of a class with Bilhana's *Vikramārkadēva Charita* and Bana's *Harsha Charita*. The late Dr. Bühler accepted these two works as specimens of the historical literature of the Hindus, and controverted the position that the Hindus had no historical sense. A number more have been discovered of that character, of which is the *Ragunāthabhyudayam* of Rāmabadrāmba and *Achyutarāyabhyudayam* of Tirumalāmba, both poetesses of acknowledged merit. There is also a classic *Saluva-bhyudayam*, another poem of a historical character. Of these it is only *Achyutarāyabhyudayam* that has been published in part. *Madhurāvijayam* differs from either of these poems of poetesses in this, that the authoress, Gangādēvi was not a woman like the other authoresses devoting themselves to learning almost with a professional interest. She was the wife of prince Kampana, who is the hero of the poem. It is a unique example of a poem by a princess attempting to celebrate the exploits of her own husband.

The poem is cast in the form of heroic poems of the kind. It provides a considerable amount of historical material of value relating to a period for which reliable information was hitherto scanty. This poem gives the first glimpse from an Indian source, except, of course, the coins of the Sultans, relating to the dynasty of Muhammadans

of Madura, and of the occupation of various other centres in the Tamil country by the Muhammadans. The story begins with Kumāra Kampana's birth, and the charge laid by Kumāra's father to him to go forth and conquer the south of India from the Muhammadans. Kumāra Kampana seems to have been the prince entrusted with the charge of the great province with the capital at Muḷbagal in the Mysore State now. Therefrom he proceeded, first overpowering the Sambuvarāyan rulers of Marakatanagara (Virinchipuram) not far from Vellore, and then took possession of the whole of Tonḍamaṇḍalam. Therefrom he marched southwards, defeated the Muhammadans, at Śrīrangam, and then again at Madura thus succeeding in the effort in which the last great Hoysala ruler, Vīra Bellala III fell. The poem is incomplete, and does not give us the whole of the story, which we know from other sources. It is as a successful result of this campaign of prince Kampana that Madura, Śrīrangam and other holy places of the south were restored to their ancient state of glory and holiness, thereby symbolizing the victory of the Hindus over the conquering Muhammadans who had established cantonments in various parts. The work is of considerable historical value and even of great literary merit, and Pandit Harihara Sastri deserves the gratitude of those interested for having given a new edition of it to the public, though only a reprint.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary

September 1926—

- A. S. RAMANATHA AIYAR: 'A Note on Bhaskara Ravivarman's Date.' Examines K. N. Daniel's conclusions on the date of this king and holds the view that the Chera Bhaskara Ravivarman flourished in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. His date of accession is determined to be A.D. 978.
- Y. R. GUPTA: 'The Kshaharatas, were they exterminated? or have they left any traces in the population of Dekhan?', questions the truth of the claim that the Kshaharatas were exterminated by Gautamiputra as claimed in his inscriptions. The Kshaharatas are identified with Kharatas, now a shepherd community in Dekhan, the term Kharata being a shortened form of Kshaharatas.

October 1926—

- H. SKÖLD: 'The Relative Chronology of Panini and the Pratisakyas.' This paper attempts at establishing the precise age of Panini by examining present position.
- A. S. RAMANATHA AIYAR: 'A Note on Queen Minakshi of Madura.' Examines a recently discovered copper plate grant of Minakshi of Madura. The importance of this record consists in as much as it carries the rule of Minakshi to February 1739. The hitherto known date is 1736 or 1737. The grant confirms the date given by *Maduraittalavaralaru*.

November 1926—

- A. VENKATASUBBAIYA: 'Vedic Studies.'
- S. M. EDWARDS: 'The Population of Bombay, Remarks concerning the Origin and Growth.'

December 1926—

- S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR: 'Vyāghra, the Feudatory of Vakataka Prithivisena.' Sets forth different lines of evidence to prove the identity Vyāghradeva of the Nachna and Ganj Inscriptions with

Vyāghrarāja of Mahakāntara of Samudragupta pillar inscription, questions the identity of this chief propounded by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil.

- T. K. JOSEPH: 'St. Thomas of South India.' Sets forth reasons to conclude that St. Thomas never visited South India, questions the truth of tradition that he went to South India and died at Mylapore. It is held that St. Thomas died at Arachosia.

Indian Historical Quarterly

September 1926—

- N. G. MAJUMDAR: 'A New Brahmi Inscription from Mathura.' This inscription in Brahmi in one line testifies to the existence of a king called Vishnumitra in the first century B.C. It is suggested that he is identical with the Vishnumitra of the coins. (Cunningham, *C. A. I.*, part vii, No. 21, page 84).
- K. G. SANKARA: 'The Early Pallavas of Kanchi.' Attempts to rearrange the genealogy of the early Pallavas of Kanchi of the copper-plate charters. Holds that present arrangements are incorrect. His theories include one that the Pallavas of Bhāradvāja-gotra who ruled at Kanchi including the donors of Prakrit plates should have ruled after Kumaravishnu whom he is inclined to identify with Vishnugopa, the adversary of Samudragupta. It is also held that Simhavishnu and his descendants belong to a collateral Pallava dynasty ruling at Amaravati as feudatories of E. Gangas of Kalinga. Trilochana is identified with Nandivarman and Karikala is assigned the period immediately preceding Simhavishnu.
- E. J. THOMAS: 'Buddhist Education in Pali and Sanskrit Schools.'
- N. N. LAW: 'The Jānapada and the Paura.' Examines the evidence bearing on the political functions of these bodies.

Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society

June 1926—

- DR. STEN KONOW: 'The Inscription of the so-called Bodhgaya Plaque.' The inscription has been read as *Ko (thumasa) Samghada (sa) sa sa kiti*, 'the work of Sangadasa the Kauthuma.'
- N. GANGULI: 'The Indian Architecture from the Vedic Period.'

- H. HERAS: 'Notes on the Historical Carvings at Vijayanagara.' Draws the attention of scholars to some carvings of historical importance at Vijayanagara. Three of the panels are reproduced. Identifies one with Friar Louis, the first ambassador of Albuquerque.
- C. K. VENKATARAMANA AYYA: 'Kalidasa and Bhasa in the Light of some Western Criticisms.'

- P. C. DIVANJI: 'Madhusudhana Sarasvathi, his Life and Works.'
- B. C. LAW: 'Rajagrha in Pali Literature.'
- C. CHAKRAVARTHI: 'The Original Site of Meharauli Pillar.' This is regarded as being situated at Hardwara and that Sultan Firoz Shah removed it to its present position in Delhi.
- B. M. BARUA: 'Ājivaka, What it Means?'
Do. 'Gateways of Bharat Stupa.'
- D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'Can we fix the date of Kālidāsa more accurately?' Concludes that Kālidāsa flourished in the second and third quarters of the sixth century.

- G. RAMDAS: 'Trikalanga.' Questions the interpretation of the term as meaning three Kalingas. According to Ramdas Trikalanga means high Kalinga and conveys the same idea as Mel Kalinga or Mekal, the name of the region lying west of Kalinga.
- R. SUBBA RAU: 'Pedavegi Plates of Nandivarman II.'
- M. RAMAKRISHNAKAVI: 'King Nanyadeva on Music.'

- P. PELLLOT: 'Indian Influences in the Early Chinese Art in Tun-Huang.' Report of a lecture by Professor Paul Pelliot at the India Society in November 1925 followed by discussion.

- HODIVALA: 'Five Lectures on the Parsi History.' Dealing with various aspects of Parsi History and the dates of Hormazdyar and Ramjar and Neryosang Dhaval.

- KHUDA BUKSH: 'The Arab Academies and their Professors.' Translated from 'Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer,' by F. Wustefeld.
- J. SARKAR: 'A Forgotten Aspect of the Mughal Empire.' Draws attention to the constant communication in the days of the Mughal rule between India and the Islamic lands of the Middle East and Central Asia especially to the return current from India and the part played by the Rajput and the Indian Mussalmans, Mansing, Jaising and Jaswant Sing in trans-Indian military outposts.
- D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'Ancient Monuments on Mount Abu.' Discusses the importance and the styles of the monuments of this Mount in Rajputana.
- A. F. M. ABDUL ALI: 'Notes on the Early History of the English Factory at Decca.'
- S. KHUDA BUKSH: 'Islam and Toleration.' Emphasizes the view that Islam was tolerant and gives a list of cultural achievements in Mathematics, Philosophy and Medical science which could not be possible without toleration and sympathy.
- A. F. M. ABDUL ALI: 'Notes on the life and times of Ranjit Singh.'

- C. FORMACHI: 'The Dynamic Element in Indian Religious Development.'

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

VOLUME XXI, No. 3

STEN KONOW: 'A European Parallel to the Durgapujā.'

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)

October 1926—

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI: 'The Later Śatavahanas and Śakas.'

F. G. PETERSON: 'Note on Kālidāsa.' It is held that the poet was born in Vidharba, about A.D. 370, wrote his three plays and *Kumarasambhava* at the Court of Chandragupta II between A.D. 390 and 410 and the *Mēgaduta* and *Raghuvamśa* at Bhōjakata between A. D. 410 and 430.

G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL: 'La Tholaz Aryenne du Malabar.' Announces the discoveries of monuments in the Sumerian style, datable about 1000 B.C. in Malabar. Illustrative photographs of the monuments are given.

Bengal, Past and Present

July to September 1926—

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM: 'The Death of Lord Pigot, Governor of Madras.' Gives extracts from the Records of the Government of India.

B. K. BASU: 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Social Relaxation.'

American Oriental Journal

September 1926—

W. E. CLARK: 'Some misunderstandings about India.' The popular view that the Indian Civilization is essentially spiritual and dominated by mysticism and asceticism is here examined in detail and it is held inaccurate, as Indian energy throughout her history had been equally devoted to political organization, economic life and every kind of secular enterprise and achievement.

W. H. HOPKINS: 'The Original Ramayana.'

W. F. ALBRIGHT: 'Notes on the Topography of Ancient Mesopotamia.'

Modern Review

October and December 1926—

I. WINTERNITZ: 'The Poet Aśvaghosa and his School' (translated by B. Ghosh from the original German work of Dr. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*).

B. K. GHOSH: 'Origin of Indian Drama.'

B. K. SARKAR: 'A Preface to the Hindu Categories of International Law.'

OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, 3, Mission Row, Calcutta.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst St., Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, 'The Ashrama', Luz, Mylapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
14. *Muslim Review*, 3, Government Place, Calcutta.
15. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
16. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York.
17. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajmundry.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotoph Road, Bangalore.
19. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
20. *Yoga-Mimansa*, Kun'javana, Lonavla, Bombay.

GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

बृहत्तर-भारत परिषद्.

DR. KALIDAS NAG, the Honorary Secretary of the Greater India Society, has written to me to issue an appeal on behalf of this society, and as one in full sympathy with its aims and objects. I have pleasure in publishing the following note for the information of the readers of this valuable journal.

Atmanam Viddhi of the *Upanishads* is the motto of this Association, the aims and objects of which are :—

(1) To organize the study of Indian Culture in Greater India, i.e. (a) *Serindia* or Central Asia, (b) *India Minor* (Afghanistan, etc.), (c) *Indo-China*, or Burma, Siam, Laos, Cambodia, Champa, etc., (d) *Insulindia*, or Sumatra, Java, Bali, Madura and the islands of the Malay Archipelago, (e) China, Corea and Japan and (f) other countries of Asia, such as Iran and Western Asia.

(2) To arrange for the publication of the results of the researches into the history of India's spiritual and cultural relations with the outside world, and gradually to arrange for the issuing of a regular organ of the society.

(3) To create an interest in the history of Greater India and connected problems among the students in the schools, colleges, and Universities of India by instituting systematic study of these subjects and to take proper steps to stimulate the same.

(4) To popularize the knowledge of Greater India by organizing meetings, lantern lectures, exhibitions and conferences.

(5) To form branch centres in different parts of India and to encourage systematic collection of books, pictures, models, lantern-slides, periodicals, monographs, statistics, etc., forming the nucleus of a Greater India Library and Museum.

(6) To institute endowments and prizes to encourage research into the history of Indian cultural expansion.

With these and other objects the society has been inaugurated on October 10, 1926, at Calcutta. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., is the President of the Society. Among the Patrons are Pandit

M. M. Malaviya, Vice-chancellor, Benares Hindu University, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, C.I.E., and Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, Kt. There is besides an influential body of the Academic council consisting, among others, distinguished scholars like Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar of the Madras University, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Dr. R. C. Majumdar of Dacca University and Dr. N. N. Law, editor of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*. The first general meeting of the society will be held sometime about April 1927, when the final list of the office-bearers and members would be presented.

Membership of the Greater India Society is free to all lovers of India, to all serious students of the Indian cultural expansion and to all sympathizers of such studies and activities. The privileges of membership are the following :—

(1) Donors, honorary members and associate members will get all publications of the society free. Other members will get them at half-price.

(2) Members and associates, making inquiries relating to Greater India and connected problems would get replies, hints, suggestions of studies, bibliographies and other information, provided that stamped and self-addressed envelopes reach the Secretary.

(3) Members and associates may submit any manuscript showing original and useful study, before the Academic Council, and in case of approval, such studies, etc., would be published either directly by the society or under the supervision of the society.

Note.—The Minimum subscription of donors and honorary members is Rs 100, of an associate Rs. 12 annually, corresponding member Rs. 6 annually and student member Rs. 3.

V. R. DIKSHITAR.

Notice to Contributors

CONTRIBUTORS are requested to be so good as to address papers and correspondence to the Editor, *Journal of Indian History*, Sri Jayavāsam, East Mada Street, Mylapore, Madras.

Contributors of articles to this journal will greatly oblige the editor if they will leave the upper half of the first sheet of manuscript blank, for the convenience of the editor, in entering instructions to the press regarding titling, style of printing, submission of proofs, etc. Such instructions, when sent separately, are liable to result in confusion and delay.

Contributors will also greatly lighten the task of the editor, as well as lessen the cost of composition and correction, by observing the following suggestions :—

1. In preparing copy, please leave a margin of at least three inches on one side. The revision of a crowded manuscript is exceedingly troublesome and laborious. When the last sheet of the article has been finished, the last footnote or other interpolation added, and the last subtraction made, please number the folios consecutively with the actual numbers from one to the end.

2. Write plainly, especially proper names and foreign words. If foreign characters are to be employed, let them resemble as closely as possible the type in our fonts. If roman or italic characters with diacritical points are used, see that the points are distinct and rightly placed. Words to be printed in italics should be once underscored. Words to be printed in CLARENDON TYPE may be once underscored with blue pencil. Typewritten copy always needs to be carefully revised, with especial attention to mechanical faults and to the punctuation.

3. Indicate paragraphs clearly by a wide indention at the beginning; or, if the break is an after-thought, by the usual sign (P). Begin all larger divisions of an article on a fresh sheet of paper. It is hardly necessary to say that the proper construction of paragraphs is far more than a matter of external appearance.

4. Punctuate the copy precisely as you wish it to appear in print. Double marks of quotation (" ") should be used for included quotations, definitions and the like, and single marks of quotation (' ') for actual quotations.

5. In citing the titles of books, give the title in full where it

first occurs. In subsequent citations the work may be referred to by the significant words of the title; but abbreviations which may not be at once understood are to be avoided, and, above all, entire uniformity should be observed throughout the article. Where some conventional system of citation is in general use, as in the case of the Vedas and the Brahmanic literature, the established custom of scholars should be followed. Titles of books will be printed in italics; titles or articles in periodicals, in quotation marks, with the name of the periodical in italics. But the well-established method of abbreviating the titles of the journals of the five principal oriental societies (*JA.*, *JAOS.*, *JASB.*, *JRAS.*, *ZDMG.*) should be adhered to.

6. It is desirable, for reasons of economy as well as good typography, that footnotes be kept within moderate limits. References to footnotes should be made by brief series of natural numbers (say from 1 to 10), not by stars, daggers, etc. As to the manner of inserting footnotes in the copy, good usage differs. A convenient for author, editor and printer is to insert the note, with a wider left-hand margin than that used for the text, beginning the note on the line next after the line of text to which it refers, the text itself being resumed on the line next after the ending of the note. But if the note is an after-thought, or if it is long, it is well to interpolate it on a fresh sheet as a rider.

7. Contributors are requested to kindly remember that additions and alterations in type after an article is printed in pages, are, in many cases, technically difficult and proportionately costly, the bill for corrections sometimes amounting to as much as the first cost of composition, and that such alterations entail a most trying kind of labour, not only on editors and compositors, but on the authors themselves as well, and they are accordingly advised that a careful preparation of their manuscript in the manner above indicated will save both the editor and themselves much unnecessary trouble.

Remittances, correspondence relative to subscriptions, and notice of change of address should be addressed to—

THE MANAGER,

Journal of Indian History,

'Sri Jayāvāsam,'

East Māda Street, Mylapore,

MADRAS, S.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

An Outline of the History of Kashmir (being Chapter of 'A Guide to Kashmir Monuments')—(concluded)

BY

RAM CHANDRA KAK

Superintendent, Archaeology in Kashmir

SIKANDAR-BUTSHIKAN (A.D. 1390-1414)

ON Sikandar's accession to the throne, Islam adopted a more defined aggressive attitude. His predecessors had not been troubled with any scruples of conscience when expediency had urged upon them the necessity of stretching a point in favour of their Hindu subjects. Qutub-d-Din performed a sacrifice and bestowed grants of land upon the Brahmans and other religious corporations, to avert an impending famine. The very birth of his son Sikandar was attributed to the efficacy of the magic pill of a Hindu ascetic. Sikandar himself was married to a Hindu lady Sri Sobhā, and during the earlier part of his reign, was content to follow in the foot-steps of his tolerant predecessors. But his liberal patronage of literature attracted a host of foreign scholars who, being uncompromising zealots, were naturally shocked at the amicable relations that existed between the believers and the non-Muhammadan infidels. That the influx of these foreign literati was not viewed without a good deal of misgiving by the Kashmirians, we perceive from the description of the incident by Jonaraja in the following verses: 'As the storms uproot the trees and the locusts annihilate the paddy crops, so the villainous followers of this religion destroyed the faith of the Kashmirians. Tempted by the honours and the riches which the

king lavished upon them and by the beauty of the country, the Mlechchhas entered Kashmir as locusts in a goodly corn field.' 'As the fledgling pigeon is surrounded on all sides by crows, so was the king surrounded by Yavanas, who became his preceptors, his retainers, his servants, his favourites and even his relatives.' Among the foreigners was Mir Sayyid Muhammad Hamdāni, son of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdāni (Shāh-i-Hamdan) who is said to have obtained complete mastery over the young king's mind and exercised it for the purpose of purging Kashmir of all heterodoxy.

But in spite of all the pressure that the Maulvis brought to bear upon him, the king persisted in keeping his hands clear of all religious persecution. Fate, however, had ordained otherwise for the unlucky inhabitants of the valley. The king reluctantly yielded at last to the specious arguments of his minister Suhabhaṭṭa, who had originally been a Hindu, but since his conversion to Islam hated his former co-religionists with the deep-rooted and implacable hatred which only a renegade can feel. All traces of king's reluctance, whether real or simulated, were washed away as soon as he had once given his consent. The die was cast; a gigantic campaign of persecution was instituted; temples were shattered to pieces; stone images ground to powder; idols of metal were melted and coined into money. The high-caste Brahmans were given the alternative of death or conversion. Even exile was denied to them. It is said of Charles IX of France when he ordered the massacre of St. Bartholomew that 'he who was hard to convince, was now hard to restrain. He rose, bade us to be silent, and with a face of fury, with great oaths (after his sort) said that as we found it good to kill the Admiral (Coligny), he wished it too; but that with him we must massacre all the Huguenots in France, lest one should be left to reproach him afterwards.' Charles himself took part in the massacre and is said to have taken a gun and fired at the flying wretches shouting 'kill, kill' at the top of his voice. Sikandar seems to have undergone a similar mental convulsion. From the evil hour that he started on the inclined plane of persecution, his perpetual cry, hourly increasing in its vehement intensity was 'slay, burn, destroy'. No shrine was too sacred to be despoiled, no

¹ Kitchin, *History of France*, vol. ii, p. 312.

image too divine to be desecrated, and no man so old as to be respected, no woman so feeble as to be pitied, no Brahman so learned as to be spared if he refused to give up Hinduism. In Sikandar religion ran amok. Many bent before the storm but those who did not bend were ruthlessly broken. Cremation of the dead was interdicted; the wearing of caste-marks was prohibited, and orders were issued prescribing the residence of any but Muhammadans in the country. When the people began to leave the country in large crowds, the king and his minister permitted them to proceed to the frontier and then closed all passages of exit. There they were caught in a trap, driven back like cattle, and given the king's favourite alternative of death or conversion. The majority succumbed—but a number—more honour to them because they were so few—gave up their lives as willing martyrs to their cause. Kashmir was transformed into a fearful witches' cauldron. Fire and sword reigned supreme. Every hill and every dale resounded with wailing and lamentation when the poor panic-stricken people were not too benumbed with the fear of the awful shadow that clouded their lives, to give vent to their misery. There is not one religious edifice in Kashmir, whether Hindu or Buddhist, which does not bear some mark of Sikandar's handiwork. No consideration of sanctity or popularity or even significance, proved a sufficiently strong bulwark to ward off destruction. The great shrines of Chakradhara and Vijayesa were razed to the ground; Mārtāṇḍa and Avantipura temples so irreparably ruined that even the manner of their destruction is, to this day, a matter of conjecture. Jonaraja whose feelings would naturally be more embittered against the turncoat Suhabhaṭṭa, than against his master Sikandar, tells us that 'there was no city or town, no village or forest where an abode of the gods escaped destruction by Suhabhaṭṭa. All the images of the gods were broken (with no more consideration than if) they had been mere stones, but no misfortune was seen (to befall) the perpetrators (of the deed) as (had always been the case) of yore'.

The year A.D. 1398 is memorable in the annals of Hindustan for the invasion of Timur and his Tartar hordes. The empire of the Tughlaks had for many years been tottering to its fall. On the elevation, in 1394, of the minor Mahmud to the throne of Delhi, the provinces of Gujarat, Khandesh, Malwa and Jaunpore threw off the feeble yoke of the Sultan of Delhi, and asserted complete independence.

While the different chieftains were parcelling out the empire between themselves, the Tartar hurricane burst over their heads in one tremendous thunderclap and involved them all, princes and peasants, oppressors and the oppressed, in one common ruin. Kashmir was not an indifferent spectator while this tragedy was being enacted. Timur rewarded Sikandar for his neutrality with the gift of a couple of elephants, whose uncouth shape and extraordinary bulk seem to have considerably exercised the imagination of the simple Kashmiris. On Timur's return from Delhi, Sikandar marched out to meet him, but hearing that he was expected to make a present of 'three thousand horses and one hundred thousand pieces of gold as an offering' ¹ he quietly retraced his steps and contented himself by sending excuses.

Another expedition more creditable to his arms was his invasion of North-West India, in which he subdued the city of Ohind and married the daughter of its chief Firoz. This lady was the mother of Sikandar's illustrious son Zainu-l-Abidin. Both these events took place long before Sikandar had earned or deserved the title of *Butshikan*. The assistance he rendered to the Gakkhar freebooter Jasrat Khan who had been captured by Timur and taken by him to Samarkand and who had, on his captor's demise, made his escape to India, in obtaining possession of certain tracts of the country in the north of the Punjab, and his marriage of his own two daughters with the rulers of Sind and Ohind, belong to the latter part of his reign.

The reign of terror which Sikandar had inaugurated in Kashmir continued with unabated vigour even after his death in 1414 through the good offices of his minister Suhabhatta. This worthy was the *de facto* ruler until a virulent attack of consumption relieved him of his life, and the country of the blight which his life had caused. As he grew older and as the painful disease he was suffering from undermined more and more his sinking frame, his irritable nerves demanded greater and greater excitement. Innocent recreation is not for such as him. He had tasted blood and his demand was for more and more blood. The Hindus were mercilessly harrassed. When their sufferings grew beyond their power of endurance, many of them committed themselves to the flames, some took poison, some hanged themselves and many

¹ Briggs, *Ferishta*, vol. i.

precipitated themselves down vertical cliffs and so found relief from the troubles of this world. By the execution of Laddaraja, a popular nobleman, he put his own life into temporary jeopardy. For a time 'he went about in fear of the people like a bird fallen from his nest', ¹ but he soon tided over the storm, and resumed his butchery. 'Thus he passed three or four years in inflicting tortures on the Brahmans, in the defamation of their scriptures, in the contemplation of treason, and in taking physic' ² until death stepped in between him and his victims.

ZAINU-L-ABIDIN (A.D. 1421-1472)

Zainu-l-Abidin ³ succeeded to the throne of his feeble brother Ali Shah in the year A. D. 1421 at the early age of seventeen, but his youth by no means stood in the way of his vigorously putting his heel upon all the abuses in the country. His one mission in life was to redress the wrongs and heal the wounds which his father and brother had inflicted upon the unhappy Hindus of the valley. In this he was entirely successful. But as his activities were extended to the overhauling and readjustment of the entire administrative machinery, his character will be better understood, if we briefly mention his reforms under detailed heads, the place of honour being without question, reserved for his proclamation of 'peace and goodwill to all mankind'.

An idea of the complete barbarism to which Kashmir had been reduced by Sikandar will be gained from the fact that when Zainu-l-Abidin was suffering from a severe boil, no physician could be found willing or able to attend him. At last one Siryabhatta was induced, after promise of personal safety, to treat the king. Refusing to accept any reward for the successful treatment, except the boon of mercy for his co-religionists, he was made Chief Justice and High Treasurer, with injunctions to ameliorate the condition of the Hindus. This he did with a very natural enthusiasm. The destruction of Hindu scriptures was forthwith stopped. The Pandits who had fled were

¹ *Jonaraja*, Bombay edition, verse 352.

² *Ibid.*, verse 890.

³ The relatively long account given here of Zainu-l-Abidin's reign is due to the fact that Jonaraja and Srivara, who were his contemporaries and court historians, have left us extremely detailed information of his multifarious activities and interests.

the rulers of Gandhāra, Jammu and Rajauri and the Gakkhar tribes of the northern Punjab. It is certain that he assisted Jasrat Khān Gakkhar in spreading his authority over the greater part of the Punjab.

To estimate the abstemiousness of Zainu-l-Abidin's character and the extent to which the transcendental philosophy of Vasishṭa had tinged his mind, it is only necessary to say that he, a Muhammadan ruler, married a single wife, and remained faithful to her throughout his life. This may not sound a very extraordinary achievement to modern ears but those who know the numerical strength of the harems of the oriental potentates will appreciate the fact better. But, as Solon said, no man can be considered happy till he dies; Zainu-l-Abidin's last years were embittered by the mutual jealousy of his factious and dissipated sons, which on more than one occasion, broke into actual warfare and necessitated the exile of the one or the other. The king was moreover crushed with the bitterest course that can ever befall a human being, much more, an autocratic king,—'outliving one's age'. He had outlived his wife, his friends, his colleagues and his usefulness. He felt his authority slipping away from his hands, his sons were openly rebellious, his personal attendants were daily deserting him, everybody was waiting expectant for him to make his exit from the stage which he had filled so long. The mighty monarch, the benefactor of humanity, the patron of arts and sciences, was forgotten in the presence of this decrepit old man whose aged limbs shook at every sound and who spoke in a hesitating and apologetic treble. He refused to see anybody, shut himself up in a room, spent his few remaining days in hearing from Srivara the Mokshopāya 'the way to salvation', that panacea of Hindus for all the physical evils and mental worries. At last, after a long eventful reign of more than half a century, merciful providence relieved him of the life which had grown a burden to him. While yet a beardless boy, he had fought his way to the throne; before he had reached the prime of his life he had seen nearly all his aspirations crowned with the most unprecedented success; and ere he felt old age creeping upon him, he had drained the cup of disappointment to its dregs. There are few more pathetic figures in the annals of India than this solitary old man refusing to be consoled for a life of earnest endeavour, splendid achievement and irreparable failure. No wonder that he wrote a Shikāyat accusing his destiny of flirting with him with a false show of happiness which he had, Tantalus-like,

been ever persuading and never quite overtaking. Still less wonder is it that he flew for refuge to a philosophy which taught that life was vanity and the world an illusion.

So died Zainu-l-Abidin, commonly called 'Bad Shah', 'the great king', *par excellence*, of Kashmir.

HAIDAR SHAH

After his death in 1473 the dynasty of Shāh Mīr did not produce any sovereign of outstanding ability. Haidar, the son and successor of Bad Shah whose disgraceful behaviour had precipitated the declining king to his grave, was a habitual drunkard, and an unfeeling tyrant. He started anew the cruel persecution of the Hindus which his father had taken such pains to abolish. His administration of justice was whimsical and arbitrary to the extent of making children suffer for the sins of their fathers. Notwithstanding his drinking and his cruelty the king was not uncultured, at least when he had slept off the fumes of liquor. Indeed he is said to have had a great fondness for fiddling; and when a great conflagration broke out which reduced a considerable part of the city to ashes, Nero-like, he 'ascended the palace to see his own five-chambered house in flames, and felt happy and sank into the pleasure of drink.'

HASAN SHAH

He was succeeded by his son Hasan who opened his régime by the establishment of the laws of his grandfather and the release of all political prisoners. He also, imitated his grandfather in the erection of numerous public buildings and is said to have issued a new and peculiar kind of coinage. But the bane of his life was his Sayyad wife, who subjected him completely to her will, and used her power in forwarding the interests of her numerous kith and kin who rose to such predominance that Malik Ahmad, the Chief Minister, was forced to expel the whole gang of them from Kashmir. They were, however, soon recalled and after bringing about disgrace and imprisonment of the minister, assumed absolute power, which they misused frightfully. The king's death occurred shortly after, not without a suspicion of the Sayyids' foul play.

The accounts that we have of the century which intervened between the first enthronement of Muhammad Shah, the infant son of Hasan, and

the annexation of Kashmir to the Mughal empire, are dreary and profitless to a degree. The bewildering rapidity with which the kings were raised to the throne and deposed, reminds one or more of the shifting, scenes of a bioscope than of the course of every-day life. No less than twenty sovereigns, including the usurper Mirza Haidar of Kashgar ruled during this period. Of these Muhammad ruled four times, Nazuk Shah thrice and Fath Shah twice. Before the dethroned prince was well out of the country he was recalled and reinstated. There was no rule and there was no ruler except in name. The country was a pandemonium in which all the forces of disorder and lawlessness celebrated a mighty and prolonged carnival. Every person was a man-at-arms and ready to hire his sword to him who had the longest purse. The only real national movement was the resistance offered to the Sayyids in the first year of Muhammad Shah's first reign. These foreigners had woefully wronged the Kashmiris who considered their very existence in the country as a standing affront to their self-respect. All united in the common cause. The Raja of Jammu lent them his aid and the Sayyids, though they had invoked the aid of Tartar Khan, the Lodhi Governor of the Punjab, were mercilessly slaughtered. But no sooner was the motive for union removed than the Kashmiri noblemen fell out among themselves regarding the distribution of the loot.

The names of Magre and Tsak loom large over a crowd of tribes and clans who exercised arms as a profession and who contended for the possession of supreme power. Magres were native while the Tsaks were foreigners, probably of Darad origin, who had become neutralized in Kashmir. Gradually all the parties were merged into these two fractions and there ensued a tug-of-war which ended only with the Mughal occupation of the country, though the Magres were playing a distinctly losing game from A. D. 1560, when Ghazi Tsak outside the pageant prince Habib Shah and occupied the throne himself.

The first reign of Fath Shah is notable for the introduction into Kashmir of the Nurbakhshi sect of Islam by one Shams-ud-din of Iraq. They were vigorously put down by Mirza Haidar. This celebrated Mughal *condottieri* conquered Kashmir twice and ruled it from 1541 to 1551. His first invasion was from the side of Ladakh, to which country he had accompanied Sikander Khan of Kashgar on a crusade against the infidels in A. D. 1533. Though he penetrated into Kashmir

and occupied the city for a time, during which his soldiers behaved with ruthless barbarity, he was eventually compelled to come to terms and make his retreat towards Tibet. His second invasion was effected at the time when Sher Shah was chasing Humayun out of Hindustan. This time he conquered Kashmir on behalf of Humayun and struck coins in the latter's name. Among other things he occupied his time in writing his valuable *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* which is a history of the Mughals of Central Asia and which also gives an account, unfortunately very meagre, of the Kashmir of his day.

Of the dynasty of Tsaks little need be said except that 'they were fit for the gallows here and hell hereafter'. The inhuman ferocity of Ghazi Shah the first ruler of this dynasty cannot be explained except on the supposition of his being subject to fits of mental aberration. He is said to have killed a hundred men daily. This may be an exaggeration, but it is a fact that he not only slaughtered his own son and eighteen grandsons for an alleged attempt at murder, but even had a small urchin of seven killed for stealing a fruit. His sins, however, soon brought their own retributions; he was attacked by a virulent form of leprosy which spread all over his body and innumerable worms were seen eating away his flesh.

Yusuf Shah, the last independent sovereign of Kashmir, or perhaps it would be more correct to say the last but one, was anxious to make his submission to Akbar, but his ministers stood in the way and openly defied the Emperor's envoy. The first Mughal invasion under Raja Bhagwan Das resulted only in a treaty by which the Kashmir king bound himself to pay tribute to the Emperor. But Akbar, who had set his heart upon the full and unqualified conquest of the valley, refused to ratify the terms. A second army was set on foot. Yusuf was taken prisoner and endowed with a small jagir in the distant province of Behar. His son Yaqub fought hard and persistently for the throne of his father but was at last compelled to the yield, and made to join Yusuf Shah in his inglorious retreat.

The advent of the Mughals in 1586 ushered in the modern age of Kashmir. The conditions of the new rule were entirely different from that had obtained at any time in the mediæval age. The country now formed part of a mighty empire and became for more than a century the pleasure garden of the most magnificent court that India has ever seen. The Subhadars having learnt the art of government at the seat

of an empire which was made up of a vast aggregate of nations and countries, possessing diverse languages, manners, customs and religions, naturally displayed far greater breadth of vision, and statesmanship in the conduct of their administration than was the case with indigenous rulers and their ministers whose limited power and narrowness of jurisdiction only served to increase their rancorous animosity against one another. The re-alignment and construction, by Muhammad Kasim Khan, Akbar's Engineer-in-Chief, of the great empire-route *via* Gujrat, Bhimber and Shupayan, which ensured the regularity of communication and safety of traffic and transit, with the mainland of India, marks a revolution, scarcely less far reaching in its results than the opening of the Jhelum Valley Road in our own day. Kashmir was brought in touch with the current which permeated the policy and administration of an extensive empire, and in the presence of far mightier issues forgot its own petty jealousies. Its people, the most impulsive in the whole of India, basked in the sunshine of Akbar's benign rule, whom they almost deified, and with the characteristic inconsistency of a mob sang hallelujahs over the extinction of cruel tyranny, to the existence of which they themselves had in no small measure contributed. The Emperors themselves bestowed paternal care upon the valley and its inhabitants. To be sure, I must not be understood to say that this period of a century and more was for Kashmir a long round of unqualified pleasure. There were governors who in their eagerness to amass fortunes were not always scrupulous in the employment of righteous means only; but they were not many, for the Emperor's punishments of such delinquents were sharp and severe. But what I really do mean to say is that this century was, on the whole, one of the happiest periods in the history of the country.

Among the writers to whom we owe our knowledge of this period Abul Fazl the 'guide, philosopher, friend' and chronicler of Akbar, and the Emperor Jehangir himself are the most important and exalted. The former tells us that 'the country is enchanting and might be fittingly called a garden of perpetual spring surrounding a citadel terraced to the skies and deservedly appropriate to be either the delight of the worldling or the retired abode of the recluse. Its streams are sweet to the taste, its waterfalls music to the ear, and its climate is invigorating. The lands are artificially watered or dependent on rain for irrigation. The flowers are enchanting. Its spring and

autumn are extremely beautiful. The houses are all of wood, and are of four stories, some of more, but it is not the custom to enclose them. Cattle and sundry stores are kept in the lower storey, the second contains the family apartments, and in the third and fourth are the household chattels. On account of the abundance of wood and the constant earthquakes, houses of stone and brick are not built, but the ancient temples inspire astonishment. At the present day many of them are ruins. Woollen fabrics are made in high perfection, especially shawls which are sent as valuable gifts to many climes. But the bane of this country are its people. Yet strange to say, notwithstanding its numerous population and the scantiness of the means of subsistence, thieving and begging are rare. Besides plums and mulberries, the fruits are numerous. Melons, apples, peaches, apricots are excellent. Although the grapes are in plenty, the finer qualities are rare; and the vines bear on mulberry trees. The mulberry is little eaten, its loaves being reserved for the silkworms. The eggs are brought from Gilgit and Little Tibet. The food of the people is chiefly rice, wine, flesh and various vegetables,—and the last mentioned, they dry and preserve. Rice is cooked and kept overnight to be eaten. Apparel is generally of wool. There are artificers of various kinds who might be deservedly employed in the greatest cities. The *bazar* system is little in us, as a brisk traffic is carried on at their own places of business. The people take their pleasure in skiffs upon the lakes, and their hawks strike the wild fowl in mid-air and bring them to the boats; and some times they hold them down in the water in their talons and stand upon them, presenting an exciting spectacle.

. . . The carriage of goods is effected by boat, but men also carry great loads over the most difficult country. Boatmen and carpenters drive a thriving trade. The Brahman class is very numerous. 'Although Kashmir has a dialect of its own, their learned books are in the Sanskrit language. They have a separate character which they use for manuscript work, and they write chiefly on *Tuz*, which is the bark of a tree. . . . The majority of the narrow-minded conservatives of blind tradition are *Sunnis* and there are some *Imams* and *Nurbakshis* who are perpetually at strife with each other. They are chiefly from Persia and Turkestan. . . . The most respectable class in this country is that of Brahmans, who, notwithstanding their need of freedom from the bonds, tradition and custom, are true worshippers of God.

'They do not loosen the tongue of calumny against those not of their faith, nor beg nor importune. They employ themselves in planting fruit trees, and are generally a source of benefit to the people. . . .

'Srinagar is the capital and is 4 *farsakhs* in length. The rivers *Bihat*, *Mar* and *Lachma Khul* flow through it. This has been a flourishing city from ancient times and the home of artificers of various kinds. Beautiful shawls are woven, and they manufacture woollen stuffs extremely soft. *Durmah*, *Pattu* and other woollen materials are prepared, but the best are brought from Tibet. . . .

'In the village of Pampur, one of the dependencies of Vihi, there are fields of saffron to the extent of ten or twenty thousand *bighas*, a site that would enchant the most fastidious.

'Adjoining (the city) is a large lake called Dal . . . on its surface numbers of floating islands are constructed which are cultivated, and fraudulent people will at times cut off a piece and carry it away to a different position. . . . Saffron is also cultivated in Paraspur.

'The system of revenue collection is by appraisement and division of crops, assessment for crops having special rates and cash transactions not being the custom of the country. Some part of the *Sair Jihat* (miscellaneous taxes other than land revenue) cesses, however, are taken in cash. Payments in coin and kind were estimated in *Kharwars* (*Shali*) rice. Although one-third had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares were actually taken out. Through His Majesty's justice, it has been reduced to one-half. . . . The revenue, therefore, amounted to seven crores, forty-six lakhs, 70,411 *dams* (Rs. 18,66,760-4-5). . . . ' *Ain*, Book VII, ii, pp. 347-371.

Akbar himself visited Kashmir thrice and was so enamoured of it that he designated it his 'private garden'. His abolition of the apitiation tax on the Hindus, the restoration of their lands and the permanent land settlement, are still remembered with gratitude by the people of the valley. His most notable monument in the country is the magnificent rampart of the Hari Parbat fort, or as it was then called, the fort of Nagar Nagar, which he made the military cantonment of Srinagar. But it was in the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, translated by Jarrett, vol. ii, pp. 347-71.

that Kashmir became the real pleasure garden of the empire. Jahangir himself states that he considered it 'bad taste' to stretch carpets on the green sward of the valley.

The best account we have of the visit of a Mughal Emperor and the condition of Kashmir in the latter part of the seventeenth century, is from the pen of Francois Bernier, the celebrated French physician-traveller, who accompanied Aurangzeb to Kashmir in 1664. I have summarized his account below :—

'That scarcity of provisions may not be produced in the small kingdom of Kachemire, the king will be followed by a very limited number of individuals. Of females he takes only ladies of the first rank, the intimate friends of Rauchenara Begam, and those women whose services cannot be dispensed with. The *Omrahs* and military will also be as few as possible. . . . The king has a few of the choicest elephants for his baggage and the women of the *Seraglio* . . . also a few mules. . . . Porters supply the place of camels. . . the king alone has no fewer than six thousand . . . and it is calculated that there are at least fifteen thousand porters already collected at Bhimber; some sent by the Governor of Kachemire and by the neighbouring Rajas, and others who are come voluntarily in the expectation of earning a little money. A royal ordinance fixes their pay at ten crowns (Rs. 20) for every hundred pounds weight. It is computed that thirty thousand will be employed; an enormous number, when it is considered that the king and *Omrahs* have been sending forward baggage, and the trades-people articles of every sort, for the last month.

'The whole kingdom wears the appearance of a fertile and highly cultivated garden. Villages and hamlets are frequently seen through the luxuriant foliage. Meadows and vineyards, fields of rice, wheat, hemp, saffron and many sorts of vegetables, among which are intermingled trenches filled with water, rivulets, canals and several small lakes vary the . . . enchanting scene. The whole ground is enamelled with our European flowers and plants, and covered with our apple, pear, plum, apricot and walnut trees, all bearing fruit in great abundance. The private gardens are full of melons, *pateques* or water-melons, water parsnips, red beet, radishes most of potherbs and others with which we are unacquainted.

'The capital of Kachemire bears the same name as the kingdom. It is without walls and is not less than three quarters of a league in

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length and half a league in breadth In the town there are two wooden bridges thrown over the river ; and the houses, although for the most part of wood, are well built and consist of two or three storeys. . . . Most of the houses along the banks of the river have little gardens, which produce a very pretty effect, especially in the spring and summer, when many parties of pleasure take place upon the water. Indeed most houses in the city have also their gardens ; and many have a canal, on which the owner keeps a pleasure-boat thus communicating with the lake.

'In truth the kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated. . . . Jehan-guyre became so enamoured of this little kingdom as to make it the place of his favourite abode, and he often declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose Kachemire.

'I was quite prepared to witness the emulous contest between the *Kachemire* and the *Mughal* poets. We were no sooner arrived than Aurangzeb received from the bards of both nations poems in praise of this favoured land, which he accepted and rewarded with kindness. . . .

'The *Kachemires* are celebrated for wit, and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the *Indians*. In poetry and science they are not inferior to *Persians*. They are also very active and industrious. The workmanship and beauty of their *palkeys*, bedsteads, trunks, inkstands, boxes, spoons and various other things are quite remarkable, and articles of their manufacture are in use in every part of the *Indies*. They perfectly understand the art of varnishing, and are eminently skillful in closely imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood by inlaying with gold threads so delicately wrought that I never saw anything more elegant or perfect. But what may be considered peculiar to *Kachemire* and the staple commodity, that which particularly promotes the trade of the country, and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture, and which gives occupation even to little children. . . .

'The people of Kachemire are proverbial for their complexions and fine forms. They are well made as the Europeans, and their faces are neither the *Tartar* flat nose nor the small pig-eyes that distinguish the natives of *Kacheguer*, and which generally mark those of Great Tibet. The women especially are very handsome ; and it is from this

country that nearly every individual, when first admitted to the court of the *Great Mogol*, selects wives or concubines, that his children may be whiter than the *Indians*, and pass for genuine *Mogols* ¹*et seq.*

The decline in the fortunes of the Mughal Empire was accompanied by the decline in the prosperity of the valley. The *rois fainçants* who succeeded Aurangzeb lost all hold of their distant possessions. In 1739, Kashmir was annexed to the kingdom of Kabul by the terrible Nadir Shah, and it remained subject to the dominion of the Afghans until Ranjit Singh wrested it from the Amir Dost Muhammad in 1819. In 1846 on the defeat of the Sikhs it was transferred to Maharaja Gulab Singh by the British Government. Since then it has been under the Dogra rule.

¹ Bernier's *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 390.

It is not improbable that the practice of payment at the harvest time first came into vogue during the eighteenth century. The chief received his revenues in kind and it was a matter of convenience for him to pay his troops in grain at the harvest time. But the practice seems to have lingered on for sometime after even when the system of payment of cash salaries had been introduced by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

The *Mahdār* and *Faslanādār* soldiers were both paid in cash, with this difference that, in the case of the former the salary was calculated for each calendar month, while in the other case it was calculated for the duration of the two harvesting seasons in the year, i.e. the *Rabbi* and *Kharif*. Ranjit Singh continued this practice so long as his co-religionists were not reconciled to the system of monthly cash salaries. It is noteworthy that the older practice was long looked upon with favour as it led the Khalsa soldier to imagine that like the chief himself he had a share in the revenues of the land and was thus distinguishable from the ordinary soldier drawing a monthly salary from the State treasury.

It may also be mentioned that although the expressions *rozīnah* and *yūmiya* (or daily allowance) also occur here and there in the Khalsa Darbar records, it was probably only in the case of charitable and religious institutions, such as poor houses (or indigent persons) and temples, etc., that the allowances were actually paid day by day. These daily allowances were, as a rule, charged to the *Sair* or town duties of the place where the grantee happened to be.

Time of payment of salaries.—As said above, the *faslanādār* soldiers were paid twice a year in the months of *Jeth* (May-June) and *Bhadon* (September-October), i.e. a combined salary of three months in the first case and of nine months in the second. For the *māhdār*s, on the other hand, there was no fixed date for the payment of their salaries. The modern practice of distributing the salaries at the end of each month was not known under the Sikh government. Oftener than not, the greater part of the army was in arrears. Speaking of the Moghul army, Mr. Irvine remarks that the soldiers were almost always in arrears even in the best days of the Moghul government. In later times, the case was, it seems, even worse. Thus, on page 14 of his book, Mr. Irvine reproduces the following quotation from a Muhammadan writer:—‘The troops are wretchedly paid, twenty or

thirty months of arrears being no rarity.’ On page 137, *daftar* ii of his diary of Ranjit Singh, Sohan Lal mentions that when Jahan Dad Khan vacated the fort of *Attock* in A.D. 1812, the Maharaja had to pay about one lac of rupees to the garrison which they claimed as their pay and arrears.

Under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, however, matters seem to have much improved, and in spite of occasional irregularities, one finds that there was, as will presently be seen, some sort of a system which the government observed in regard to the date of disbursement of the salaries of the troops. It is necessary to point out that the following schedule has been prepared after a careful examination of the pay rolls and other papers extending over a period of nearly thirty-five years of the Sikh Government. The combined salaries for the months of:—

(i) *Bisakh* to *Saṁwan* (May-August) were paid in *Ausj-Katik* (October-November).

(ii) *Bhadon* to *Asuj* (September-October) in *Poh-Magh* (January-February).

(iii) *Kartik* to *Maghar* (November-December) in *Bisakh-Jeth* (May-June).

(iv) *Poh* to *Magh* (January-February) in *Har* (July-August).

(v) *Phagan* to *Chet* (March-April) in *Sawan-Bhadon* (August-September).

From these data it will be seen that, as a rule, the salaries were paid about six months after the due date. But with all these delays, it may be remarked, the troops never raised a disturbance on this account. The reasons are not far to seek. In the first place, the troops were getting their salaries almost all the year except in the months of March, April, and December. In the second place, the practice of making frequent advances and loans¹ or *musa'adat* as well as the occasional distribution of rewards and gifts provided compensation and to a large extent mitigated the distress of the soldiers.

The mode of disbursement.—The department of military accounts² was divided into three sections, each of which was responsible for the accounts of the particular class of troops assigned to it. Each of

¹ These advances were recovered at the time of periodical disbursement. In the pay rolls, we find almost invariably, two sub heads against each name, i. e. the *Sābiqa* or the previous, and *hal* or the present showing under each head the amount credited to the man.