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JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

The Gurjara Empire in North India

BY

PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI Aiyangar, M.A., HON. PH.D.

INTRODUCTORY

AMONG the ancient kingdoms of India, Kashmir has the unique distinction of having a recorded history of its own. This history however is a comparatively late production, and, having been written in the twelfth century from such material as came into the possession or knowledge of the writer, labours from the disadvantages of a secondary work. Its value as a historical composition is in a great measure discounted, in regard to the earlier periods particularly, as Kalhana the author compiles his information from sources which are generally not indicated, and perhaps even of doubtful historical value. Such as it is, therefore, while we are in a much better position in respect of this kingdom than in regard to very many others, the possession of this history does not advance our knowledge of the history of India very far. When we come to the age of Harsha, however, we get on to some firm ground of history in regard to Kashmir. A dynastic change took place about that time, it may be somewhat earlier, and a new dynasty called the Kārkoṭaka dynasty came to power. With the beginning of this dynasty the Kashmir account gains in value as history, and we have the means of checking it in the coinage of the country, which is available in some quantity, and from references in dated Chinese annals. With the aid of these we may arrive at a chronological order for Kashmir which is not perhaps very far from the actual. In this particular period an error of twenty to twenty-five

years seems possible, and Kalhana perhaps antedates the reigns by about that period.

The first ruler of this dynasty, according to Kalhana, was a man of humbler origin from the point of a view of Kashmir royalty and it is to remove this bar sinister, that a descent from Nāga Kārkoṭaka had been invented, this fictitious descent actually giving the name to the dynasty. He made himself a very useful official, and gradually rose into favour with the last ruler of the Gonarda dynasty, Bāladitya by name, and rose to the rank of becoming a son-in-law of the monarch. Durlabha, as a result of this marriage, was able ultimately to succeed to the throne either because of the natural extinction of the previous dynasty or by usurpation. Durlabha apparently was the ruler of Kashmir when Hiuen Tsang visited the kingdom in about the years A.D. 631-633. There are numbers of coins of rude make bearing the inscription Durlabhadēva. This coinage may be ascribed to this ruler; even here we cannot be certain as his son bore a name somewhat similar, but as he had a different title, the probabilities are that the first Durlabha issued these coins. We have, however, more certain reference in the Chinese annals, which mention a Tu-lo-pa as the king of India, at some date within the period A.D. 637-649, and controlled the route from China to Kipin, that is, the Kabul Valley. From the somewhat full account that Hiuen Tsang gives of Kashmir during the period of his visit we can draw the inference that the country was peaceful and prosperous, and the authority of the ruler actually extended to include all the adjacent territories, the frontier reaching down to the plains. All the hilly portions of the Punjab seem to have been under Kashmir, and even the kingdom of Takshaśila seems to have been brought under control recently. Hiuen Tsang also notes that in religion Kashmir was not Buddhist, but much rather Hindu. According to Kalhana he had a long reign of thirty-six years, and was succeeded by his son, Durlabhaka, who had the title of Pratāpāditya.

Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II succeeded his father Durlabhavardhana. The Kārkoṭa copper coins with the legend Śrī Pratāpa are ascribed to him. They are of two varieties, and are found in some number, thus justifying to some extent the long period of rule ascribed to him; but of the actual events of the reign Kalhana records nothing of importance. He married Narēndraprabhā, the wife of a foreign merchant under somewhat romantic circumstances, and had by her three sons, Chan-

drāpīḍa, Tārāpīḍa, Muktāpīḍa, who ruled in succession after him. Barring the construction of certain buildings of minor importance, Kalhana records nothing more of value. He had a long reign of fifty years and was succeeded by his eldest son, Chandrāpīḍa.

Chandrāpīḍa finds reference in Chinese records as King Tchan t'o-lo-pi-li mentioned in the Chinese annals as ruling over Kashmir in A.D. 713 and again in A.D. 720. He applied in A.D. 713 to the Chinese Emperor for assistance against the Arabs. The second reference is that, in the year A.D. 720, the Chinese Emperor granted to this ruler the title of King. This second reference implies of necessity that Chandrāpīḍa must have been alive at least up to the previous year A.D. 719. According to Kalhana's dating his reign of nine years would fall between A.D. 666 and 695. This makes a difference of twenty-five years, Kalhana antedating. Chandrāpīḍa, according to Kalhana, had a noble character, and had been apparently remembered in Kashmir as an eminently humane administrator of justice. His name is associated with the founding of a number of temples to Vishṇu. His death is stated to have been brought about by the use of witchcraft on the part of a wicked brother of his, Tārāpīḍa, who succeeded to the throne. Tārāpīḍa who ascended the throne in this manner, succumbed to magic again used against him by the Brahmans whom he had oppressed. This intervention of magic in regard to the two rulers indicates that at the time belief in magic must have been current, and it must have been believed in largely. Thus, almost about a century after the founding of this dynasty, the Kashmir throne was occupied by a ruler, Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, the last of the three sons of Durlabhaka. Muktāpīḍa's reign is of some importance in Indian History, and, allowing for the twenty-five years' correction already noted, would begin somewhere about A.D. 725 at the latest.

According to Kalhana, Muktāpīḍa ruled for a little over thirty-six years, from A.D. 699 to 736. Notwithstanding this long reign no coins of Lalitāditya have come to light. But fortunately we have foreign notices with which we can check Kalhana's chronology in this particular. The annals of the T'ang dynasty refer to the name of Mu-to-pi, a king of Kashmir, who sent an embassy to the Chinese court during the reign of the Emperor, Hiuen Tsang, A.D. 713-55. This embassy is said to have arrived after the first Chinese expedition to Po-liu (Baltistan) which took place sometime between A.D. 736 and

747. It is unfortunate that the precise date of this invasion should not have been recorded, as then it would have provided us with a valuable confirmation of a correction in Kalhana's chronology. Adopting the correction already made on the basis of the reference to Chandrāpīḍa, Muktāpīḍa's reign must have commenced in A.D. 724, and, if we accept the thirty-six years' length of reign, would have terminated in A.D. 760. Whatever be the value of this precise dating we may accept the period as roughly correct. Muktāpīḍa is referred to as Mu-to-pi in the Chinese annals. But Aliberuni calls him Muttai which may have been formed from some Prakrit or Apabhramśa form of the name, Mukta, and seems to conceal the Prakrit or Apabhramśa form Muttapiṭ. We get another variant of the name in the Itinerary of Ou-k'ong who speaks of him as the founder of the Mungti *Vihara* where he stayed for some time. From the geographical details that he gives of this *Vihara*, it seems to refer to a monastery built by Muktāpīḍa. Since his name appears in the contracted form in connection with his buildings, such as Muktakēśvara and Mukta-svāmi, it seems probable that the *Vihara* built by him was called Mukta, which, in the Chinese transcription, has become Mungtis. Muktāpīḍa's appeal to China shows him as in imminent danger of an invasion of Kashmir from Tibet. He sought the assistance of the Celestial Empire for an auxiliary force of two hundred thousand men for which he agreed to provide provisions and encampment on the shores of the Mahāpadma Lake (Vular Lake). Incidentally it is also recorded that he was in alliance with the ruler of Central India, and together they blocked 'the five passes' leading from Tibet. This puts a different complexion on the character of his reign from that which the Kashmir account implies. Notwithstanding this difference, there is little room for doubt that the ruler referred to in these records is Muktāpīḍa and no other.

Who was this ruler of Central India who at the period of the threatened invasion from Tibet could have blocked the five passes along with the ruler of Kashmir against Tibet? A ruler who could block all the five passes leading from Tibet into India except on the Kashmir side must have been one whose authority extended over the central block of territory which constituted the Gupta Empire, and would include three separate geographical and political divisions. In other words, he must have been the one ruler over the whole terri-

tory comprised in the kingdom of Kanauj as under Harsha, the kingdom of Magadha, and the province of Tīrabhukti, leaving Puṇḍra farther east. This leaves out the passes to Assam which go too far east for the purpose. Hence this statement implies the existence of a powerful Central Indian ruler who might, without any violence to the words, be described as an imperial ruler. The same T'ang annals mention under date A.D. 731 an embassy from Central India from a ruler Icha-fan-mo, who is said to have sent his minister Seng-po-ta on the mission. Pauthier has identified Icha-fan-mo with Yaśovarman, and the suggestion seems quite acceptable from the point of view of Phonetics. This mission from Yaśovarman probably has had the same object as that from Muktāpīḍa, and hence the date given for Muktāpīḍa's mission, by H. Cordier from Chinese sources, of A.D. 733, may be accepted as correct. Thus then it becomes clear that during the years A.D. 731-733 Yaśovarman was the acknowledged ruler of Central India, and was in alliance with Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir, and both together had arranged to take common action against the powerful neighbouring state of Tibet to prevent its aggression across the mountain frontiers. The war between Muktāpīḍa and Yaśovarman, therefore, must have taken place later than the year A.D. 733 and we might even say later than the year A.D. 735. The year A.D. 735 therefore gives the lower limit of the war.¹ Having regard to all that Muktāpīḍa is credited with having done in the *Rajatarangini*, a further reign of about twenty years does not seem impossible, and therefore the period actually ascribed above to the reign of Muktāpīḍa, say A.D. 724-760, does not appear to be far from correct. Yaśovarman himself must have begun to rule earlier than Muktāpīḍa, and must have gradually built up an empire for himself in Mid-India. He could have done that only by succeeding to the position of the Later Guptas of Magadha, starting from his own ancestral estate, very much circumscribed at the time, the territory of the Maukharis. Although Maukhari greatness had vanished with the death of Grhavarman, there had been Maukhari chieftains of sufficient dignity to enter into marriage alliance even with Ādityasēna. In fact Ādityasēna's daughter was married to the Maukhari Bhogavarman, and the latter's daughter Vatsadēvi married Śivadēva II of Nepal, whose son Jayadēva

¹ For the chronological and other details, see Stein's translation of *Rajatarangini*, Bk. IV.

was a ruler of great influence and importance at the time. And this Jayadēva had in his turn married the daughter of the ruler of the East, Harsha by name, who came of the race of Bhagadatta, which means that he came of the royal family of Assam, and exercised authority over the kingdoms of Kāmarūpa, Puṇḍra, Oḍra, and Kalinga; in other words, all the east and south including within it Assam, Bengal, Orissa, and Kalinga.¹ What was left between the eastern ruler, and the extended Kashmir of the days of Durlabha, must have been included in the territory of Yaśovarman. That this was so is borne out to some extent by the Prakrit poem Gauḍavaho by one of the court poets of Yaśovarman, Vākpatirāja. The poem has for its subject matter the killing of a King of Bengal. The hero was no other than Yaśovarman. In the course of this narrative it makes much of the conquest of a Magadha ruler by Yaśovarman. So the two cardinal achievements of Yaśovarman are the conquest of Magadha, and the defeat which ended in the death of the ruler of Bengal. The latest date that we have for Yaśovarman is a reference in the *Tapagacchapattavali*, which gives the date An. Vik. 800 to 895 (A. D. 743-838) for Jaina Āchārya Bappabhaṭṭi who came in contact with Yaśovarman, and Vākpatirāja. The Jain account describes Yaśovarman as of Maurya descent, and describes Vākpatirāja as a Paramāra. It is not impossible that Yaśovarman continued to be ruler till about A.D. 744, possibly some years later. The war, therefore, between Mukṭāpīḍa and Yaśovarman might have actually taken place after this date. We may, therefore, tentatively take it that the war did take place in A.D. 745 and as a result of the war, the Central Indian power went out of existence, involving as a consequence the non-existence of anything like a central government claiming suzerain authority, and guaranteeing, to some extent, internal peace and providing the only efficient means of defence against external dangers.²

The middle of the eighth century, it must be remembered, was a period when the security of the Indian frontiers was very much shaken by the advance of the Arabs on the one side, and by the aggressive conquests of the Tibetans on the other. The Tibetan danger seems to have passed off without harm to India, probably

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, ix. 180 ff.

² For fuller information, see *J. Bom. Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1927: my article on *Bappabhaṭṭicharita* and the Gurjara Empire.

because of the rising power of China under the great rulers of the T'ang line. But the danger of the north-west frontier from the Arabs proved to be far more real, and after the fall of the Persian Empire, the Arab expansion seems to have taken the form of advance on two lines. The landward expansion took the time-honoured route towards Kabul and the north-west, against the Turkish tribes of the borders of the steppes. The southward expansion seems to have advanced through Kandahar and Baluchistan to the frontiers of Sindh by land, and from the ports of the Indus Delta from the sea. The Arabs had already effected a foothold in Sindh as early as A.D. 713 and this, together with their activities in the region round Kabul, must have been the direct cause of the embassy that Chandrāpīḍa of Kashmir sent to the T'ang monarch of China, Hiuen Tsang, his contemporary. The period, therefore, was one that called for the active vigilance of the Indian states and it is on emergencies like these that occasion is found for the formation of empires. Four powers stood forth to essay this, after Yaśovarman was put out of the way, and all the four of them happened to be, from the point of view of Hindustan and north-western frontier, frontier powers more or less. The chance of an imperial central position lay before that one among the four which could make itself master of the central region, the Madhyadēśa of the Buddhists or the Magadha Empire under the Guptas. The first effort was made by Kashmir to exercise this authority over the central region, and it was only when Kashmir failed for reasons peculiar to her own history that the triangular equipoise rose among the rising powers, of the Gūrjaras of Bhinmal, the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed, and the Pālas of Bengal. The century therefore from A.D. 750 to 850 is a century of this transformation, and we shall take up that tale.

Kashmir, the paradise of the Muhammadan emperors of India, lay to a very great extent outside the current of Indian History, because of its geographical seclusion for one reason. But notwithstanding this geographical fact, she did not remain in that isolation in all probability which, absence of really historical information, makes us ascribe to her history. Even so it has been brought into touch with the main current of Indian History in certain periods whenever the centre of gravity of the empire was near enough to her borders. Kashmir seems to have formed an integral portion of the Kushan Empire, and of the Asokan, if Buddhist tradition is to be believed.

It is not clear that she formed any part of the empire of the Guptas. But it had been brought into the main stream of Indian History with the invasion of the Huns, and the doings of Mihiragula. She does not appear to have played much of a part in the imperial organization of the age of Harsha proper, although it was in the reign of Harsha that she first extended her authority over the borders to take in subordination as feudatories three or four of the kingdoms of the plains according to the account of Hiuen Tsang. It has already been pointed out that the Kashmir contemporary of Hiuen Tsang, and therefore, of the Emperor Harsha, was no other than Durlabha, the grandfather of Muktāpīḍa. It was probably in his reign the expansion actually took place, and the two reigns following do not seem to be of much importance in the career of expansion of Kashmir. It was with the accession to the throne of Kashmir of Muktāpīḍa that the foreign relations of Kashmir took form. It was already pointed out that Chandrāpīḍa, his elder brother, had to send an embassy to China, soliciting imperial assistance against the Arabs. That could mean no more than that the pressure of the Arabs was real on one side of the frontier. That an embassy should have gone to China in A.D. 713, the year in which the Arabs first effected a foothold in Sindh makes the connection between the one and the other indubitable. The short reign of Tārāpīḍa could do nothing, if Tārāpīḍa was hardly worthy of his position. But with the accession of Muktāpīḍa the call upon Kashmir became clear. Muktāpīḍa seems to have realized clearly the dangers surrounding him. The Arab trouble had passed owing to changing circumstances at the Arab head-quarters. But the real danger was from Tibet. Muktāpīḍa attempted an alliance with the central power, and the alliance apparently served well as against Tibet. For one reason or another which is not clear to us, this alliance could not hold together, and we see the allies going actually to war, resulting in the overthrow of the central Indian power. Muktāpīḍa, therefore, has to stand as champion not only for Kashmir, but for the whole of India—India north of the Vindhya. If, as Kalhana says, he went to war against Bengal, it was not probably as a knight-errant seeking adventure, but as almost a necessary consequence of the conquest of Mid-India, which called for a settlement of the relations with the eastern frontier. That naturally would also have involved a war against Kalinga, as at this time what

was known to the Hindu historians as Kalinga went as an appanage of the ruler of Bengal. These two, the invasion of Bengal and the invasion of Kalinga, may be regarded as historical incidents in the conventional *dig-vijaya* that Kalhana ascribed to Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. Having settled these frontiers of his new responsibility on the east and south of his new conquests, he could return home as monarch of Kashmir and Emperor of India. He could turn his attention to the state of things across the mountains both on the side of Tibet and across the north-west in the territories still held by the Turkish tribes. That he undertook an invasion of these tribes, and, having gone too far into the desert regions, lost his life like a very hero of romance according to Kalhana, could only mean that he lost his life in an effort to subdue some of the troublesome tribes across the frontier, which took him to an unknown region and made him succumb to his thirst for war necessary though this war was. With his death Kashmir received a set-back in her imperial career. Muktāpīḍa could not have been the knight-errant that one would take him to be on a superficial reading of Kalhana. Though among his works of public utility, it is only temples, tanks and things of that kind that are ascribed to him, he must have been a capable monarch interested in the administration, and possessing the requisite amount of knowledge to transform that interest into channels of beneficent activity. He apparently undertook the reorganization of the administration, perhaps to meet the extensive needs of an enlarged kingdom. The administration of a larger empire, and the carrying on of war which a career of aggression must have necessitated would have involved the reorganization of the finances of the state. His financial administration must have been rigorous and even grasping, as Kalhana ascribes to him principles and maxims worthy of Alau-d-din, although it is put in a form much more in keeping with the character of a Hindu monarchy rather than in the gross form in which Alau-d-din is reported to have put it. The cultivator must be left enough to meet his needs adequately, but should not be left anything more to make his position attractive to the marauders from across the frontier. Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa's was indeed a glorious reign from the point of view of Kashmir, but his efforts at realizing an imperial ambition were too much for the role of Kashmir to play.

The period occupied by the new Magadhan Empire of Ādityasēna and his successors down to the end of the reign of Yaśovarman of

Kanauj was occupied in Kashmir by the reigns of the first five rulers of the Kārkoṭaka dynasty. Applying the correction of twenty-five years of antedating in Kalhana, which, on Chinese evidence, is proved very probable, the end of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa's reign comes to somewhere about A.D. 760. It was already pointed out that Yaśovarman's reign perhaps came to an end somewhat earlier possibly about the year A.D. 750. But he seems to have survived his defeat by Muktāpīḍa and continued substantially in power for some years longer. The end of his reign may be placed somewhere about A.D. 755,¹ so that the two great rulers may have passed out of Indian politics almost about the same time, and that is the middle of the eighth century. Lalitāditya's rule was followed by four reigns, namely, those of Kuvalayāpīḍa and Vajrāditya, his two sons, with a reign of one year and of seven years respectively; and again by those of Prithivyāpīḍa and Sangrāmāpīḍa I with periods of four years and a month, and seven days respectively. This brings us to the period A.D. 770, or possibly A.D. 771, when the other great ruler Jayāpīḍa came to the throne. Jayāpīḍa's reign, according to Kalhana, covered thirty-one years, which would mean that he ruled through the rest of the century. Jayāpīḍa's reign is of importance for our purposes, as it brings him into touch with the rulers of Kanauj, Central India and Nepal. Whatever be the truth regarding the kings actually mentioned by name, the details given by Kalhana regarding Jayāpīḍa's history, give us an idea of the condition of affairs in Northern India, and to that extent, at any rate, Kalhana's account of Jayāpīḍa is of very great value to the historian.

Jayāpīḍa came to the throne after a decade of weak rule of four successive rulers, the successors of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. After some years devoted to introducing order in the administration of Kashmir and otherwise putting his own affairs in order, he felt called upon to imitate the exploits of his predecessor, the great Muktāpīḍa, and started on a *dig-vijaya*, as the chronicler has called it. The first expedition took him to the kingdom of Gauḍa and to an attack on Puṇḍravardhana, 'a city at that time under the rule of the kings of Gauḍa and protected by a king called Jayanta.' We are told that in that city, he had a love adventure with one of the courtesans, by name

¹ According to *Baṭṭabhaṭṭīcharita* in *Prabhāvakacharita*; vide *J. Bom. Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1927.

Kamalā, with whom he happened to be living for some time. He had occasion to perform a feat of killing a lion single-handed which attracted the attention of the king, who found means to discover the real character of Jayāpīḍa. As a result he gave his daughter Kalyāṇa-dēvi to Jayāpīḍa in marriage.

Soon after he had an opportunity of rendering service to his father-in-law by killing the five Gauḍa chiefs and making his father-in-law sole sovereign of Gauḍa. That perhaps means that Bengal was distracted by anarchy at the time and was divided among five separate rulers, and Jayāpīḍa assisted to bring them back to union and loyalty to a single ruler in the person of Jayanta. Having done this, he set out on the advice of his minister Dēvaśarman, the son of Mitraśarman, who was the foreign minister under Muktāpīḍa, to return to his own country. On the way he defeated the Raja of Kānyakubja¹ (Kanauj) in battle and carried off the throne of the monarch with him. During his absence his throne in Kashmir was occupied by a usurper, his own brother-in-law, Jajjuga by name. After putting down the usurper by a victory on the field of battle, Jayāpīḍa settled down to introducing order in the administration after the usurpation, and found time to construct temples for religion and extend his patronage for learning. One great act of his in regard to the latter particular was that seeing that the study of the *Mahabhāṣya* had been interrupted in the state, he imported a number of pandits expert in the subject and resuscitated the learning of the great work, thus promoting the study of the science of grammar. He himself underwent a course in grammatical science under a teacher by name Kshīra, who may be the same as Kshirasvāmin, the commentator of *Amarakośa*. He was known among the learned as Pandit Jayāpīḍa. He looked for promoting learning and learned men, and in his court flourished such great men of learning as Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa, who was his *sabhāpati*, and Dāmodaragupta, the author of *Kuṭṭinīmata*. Vāmana was another great name, now identified with the author of the work *Kāvya Alankāra Sūtra*. There were besides the poets, Manōratha, Śankhadanta, Chaṭaka and Sāndhimat.

Having done these and other necessary acts to ensure sound administration, he started on another great expedition of conquest. He advanced at the head of a large army on an expedition eastwards

¹ Taken to be Vajrāyudha, ruler of Kanauj, mentioned by Rājaśēkhara in his *Karpūramanjari*. V. A. Smith, *Early History*, p. 392, and f. n. 4 (4th edn.)

till he reached the eastern ocean, where his design was to attack the king of that region called Bhīmasēna. We have to take Bhīmasēna to have been the ruler of Assam and Bengal extending down to the sea. Here again the knight-errant got the better of him, and instead of taking the enemy at the head of his army, he assumed the disguise of an ascetic, and entered the fortress with a few friends, and was betrayed by a Kashmir fugitive, a brother of the usurper Jajja, who happened to be there. He was thrown into prison. Feigning attack of a very contagious disease he was taken out of the kingdom and set free there, and thus he escaped. After some time apparently he found that the ruler of Nepal, Aramuḍi by name, was making efforts to get the better of him by diplomacy. Jayāpīḍa replied by actually invading his territory. The Nepal ruler retired before him till he encamped himself on the bank of a stream near its junction with the sea, which could only mean one of the innumerable mouths of the Ganges. Seeing the enemy's army arrayed on the other bank of the river, Jayāpīḍa thoughtlessly ordered the crossing of the river, at the time of the tide. When the whole of the army was thus entangled in the flood-tide, the enemy managed to take Jayāpīḍa prisoner. He was immured in a stone-built castle on the banks of the River Kālagandika, in all probability the Kāli-Gandaki, the two names of the Sarayu combined. It looked as though there was no chance of effecting his escape when the Brahman minister Mitraśarman came to his rescue. Collecting the remnant of Jayāpīḍa's force and placing them on the other side of the river, Dēvaśarman went to the King of Nepal and, pretending to be anxious to betray his master, obtained his permission to interview his own sovereign to find out where he had hidden the treasure. In the course of the interview, he devised means of escape for the king by suggesting that he might drop from the high-walled battlements of the castle into the stream and cross it by means of a float, which was to be his own dead body, as it would not burst like an inflated skin. Without telling the king about this latter part of the device, he wrote it on a slip of paper and committed suicide with the letter between his teeth. When the king saw it, he understood what was meant and used the dead body of his minister as directed therein. Thus escaping from this difficulty, he returned to his own territory of Kashmir. He undertook an invasion of the land of the Amazons (*Strirajya*) and returned victorious,

After this he did not go upon any more wars, but conducted the administration with great oppression and cruelty, as the chronicler reports. Notwithstanding his learning and previous good administration, he degenerated into a cruel tyrant and met with an unworthy end for a monarch of his character. His oppression of the Brahmans produced a reaction. Jayāpīḍa is said to have died as a result of the anger of a Brahman, Itṭila by name.

From this account of Jayāpīḍa's reign as given by Kalhana, we can draw the following inferences in regard to the general condition of India. Kashmir was separated from the territory of Nepal by the River Kāli-Gandaki. Even now the Kāli River is the western boundary of Nepal. In the earlier part of his reign, his Bengal contemporary seems to have been his father-in-law Jayanta, preceded by an anarchy, which showed Bengal divided among the five chiefs. The kingdom of Kanauj still retained some of its power and perhaps Jayāpīḍa's defeat gave the last blow to the tottering kingdom. The farther east was perhaps in possession of Bhīmasēna, who probably was a successor of Harsha, the ruler of Assam, Bengal, Orissa and Kalinga about ten years before. Stripped of all romance therefore, we find the eastern kingdom still retaining some power, while the kingdom of Gauḍa or Bengal seems to have been overwhelmed in the course of his reign by the Nepal ruler. It is probably this Nepalese invasion which brought about anarchy in Bengal which was the occasion for the people to elect a new sovereign. What exactly brought about the retreat of Nepal within its own borders, we are not enabled to understand. Jayāpīḍa was perhaps responsible for ultimately bringing about the end of the kingdom of Kanauj. Thus Bengal reduced to anarchy, Kanauj becoming a ready prey to whoever was able to take possession of it, the theatre was ready for the struggling powers on the more distant borders to fight for the imperial position.

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE

- A.D. 713. Chandrāpīḍa, Tchen-to-lo-pi-li of Kashmir applied for aid against the Arabs, to the Chinese Emperor (Hiuen Tsang, A.D. 13-755).
- A.D. 720. The Emperor granted Tchen-to-lo-pi-li the title of king. Klaproth : *Memoirs relatifs a la Asie*, vol. ii, 275, etc.; A. Remusat, *Nouv. Melanges Asiat*, vol. i, p. 196, etc.; Buhler, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. ii, p. 106. Max Muller's *India, Gauḍavaho*, and Reinaud's *Memoirs*.
Mu-to-pi, king of Kashmir, sent an embassy in the reign of Hiuen Tsang, (A.D. 713-755) and after the first Chinese expedition to Bāltistan

(Poliu) between the years 736-47, requesting a Chinese auxiliary force of 200,000 men against the Tibetans. He promised to find provision for this army and provide encampment for the army on the banks of the Vular Lake (*Mahāpadma*). The embassy also reported that, in alliance with the king of Central India, he had blocked the five routes of Tibet,—Levi and Chavannes, *J. Asiat*, 1895, p. 351, in addition to reference under item 1.

The embassy is dated in A.D. 733, for the additional information that the emperor received the embassy and recognized the king, but declined to enter into the alliance, see H. Cordier, *Histoire General De La Chine*, vol. i, p. 463.

Alberuni's Muttai is obviously in reference to this and Ou K'ong's *Moung-ti Vihara* probably has reference to him.

A.D. 731. Suggestion of identity by Pauthier of Ichafan-mo of Central India with Yaśovarman who sent his minister Seng-po-ta to the Chinese Court in 731.

A.D. 744. (*Sam.* 800). Jain *Tāpagacchapaṭṭāvaḥi* mentions Yaśovarman and his court poet Vākpatirāja.

The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the 'Arthasastra'

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CHAPTER IV—(concluded)

DOUBLE POLITICS (*Dvaidhibhava*)

(*Ar. Śas.* viii. 113; *Kama.* xi. 23-6)

LET us now examine the third of the six methods, i.e. the double politics. The various schools do not agree on the significance of the term (*Dvaidhibhava*). One sees in it simply the attitude of 'duplicity,' the other understands thereby a condition implying peace with one party and war with the other. The second interpretation is that of Kauṭalya. Here are the principles which Kauṭalya gives at the end of the chapter :—

'The party with which one bargains and the party bargaining should determine at the very beginning the object of bargain and set about bargaining afterwards. That is the method which conduces to prosperity.' Thus it is pure bargaining. War and peace are considered solely from the point of view of profit. The greater or lesser profit depends on the relative importance of the diplomatic situation.

'If one seeks to preserve under his control a superior or inferior power under the pretext that the enemy should be attacked, or if one seeks to root out the ally after destroying the other enemy, or to win over a party of the army of the enemy by allowing it to cross over to the other party; in that case one should bargain for an exceptional profit. After bargaining, if one is capable of doing harm to the enemy, one should attack. Otherwise one should conclude an entente or stop

and form alliance with the enemy who is to be attacked. Or finally one should offer an army full of traitors, malcontents and savage tribes.'

This forms a good example of the very complicated recommendations of Kauṭalya.

Several of the hypothetical cases mentioned by Kauṭalya, giving certain directions, are obscure. The anomalies in the published text are no less formidable. We have to guess through most of the things. The following passages however furnish some consistent ideas on the double politics :—

'If one finds he (the neighbour) will not attack me from behind, so he will not pursue the enemy, in case of famine he will organize my supplies of grains and provisions, he will extinguish the bristling thorns in my way, he will hasten the construction of my fortifications, forests and passages with his army, he will arrest the enemy by creating inextricable embarrassments or by an entente; receiving his part of the booty, he will inspire confidence to the other enemies, in that case one shall have recourse to double politics, and endeavour to have from, one of these neighbouring kings, an army in exchange for a treasury or a treasury in exchange for an army.'

Thus war or peace is only a question of bargaining.

THE WAR (VIGRAHA) IN ITS DIFFERENT ASPECTS

(*Ar. Śās.* vii. 103-12; cp. *Kam.* x. 27-31; xi. 1-10;

Manu, vii. 164-885)

After having examined three of the six methods separately Kauṭalya treats of others as simple modalities of the war. But this struggle is diplomatic and not an armed contest.

To the war proper, Kauṭalya devotes a separate section.¹ This section which would merit a special study should complete the researches of Oppert and Hopkins on the military art of the ancient Hindus. But we limit ourselves to aspects of diplomacy. In this respect, the pause (*Āsana*) and the march (*Yana*) are indeed aspects of the war. That is why Kauṭalya treats them simultaneously. We shall pursue the same method.

Kauṭalya thinks that the object of the diplomatic war is to avoid war. On this point he is completely in accordance with the masters of

¹ *Ar. Śās.* x, *Saṅgrāmikam*; cp. *Mhb.* xii, ch. 38 (49-56).

the schools of law,¹ who ordain that the war must be the last diplomatic means to be employed when all others have failed.²

Thus Kauṭalya is led to define mixed diplomatic situations such as the pause after the declaration of the war,³ etc. He has three forms of the pause,—not to stir (*sthāna*), to suspend hostilities (*Āsana*), and to remain indifferent (*Upēkṣana*).

According to Kauṭalya 'if the conqueror and his enemy are incapable of mutual destruction and desire the entente, they must adopt the policy of equilibrium or pause after the declaration of war or after the conclusion of an entente.' Or if he finds :—

'My ally and the friend of my ally have brave and loyal subjects, hostile to the enemy, the enemy behind and the ally of this enemy behind; I shall be capable of advancing by making the friend of my ally fight the ally of the enemy in the rear—then one should undertake an expedition by declaring war against the enemy in front.'

If he would again find :—

'I am not capable of leading an expedition alone, nevertheless I am obliged to make one, one shall take to it after having concluded an alliance with the equal, inferior and superior powers, in certain cases bargaining with the definite portions of the spoils and in other cases with indefinite portions. If one cannot combine them all, he must demand of one of the powers, provisions for his army in exchange for a definite portion or better one must impress the advantages of a combined action.

'If the profit appears certain then the parts will be fixed beforehand. Otherwise the portions will depend on the actual profit.'

Considerations on surprise attacks on the enemy: causes of decline: greed, and disaffection: combination and good management of the elements.⁴

In this chapter Kauṭalya is occupied with this question: 'Which of the two enemies should be attacked first, the weaker power immersed

¹ Cp. *Manu* vii. 107-8 and 198-9.

² Cp. *Ar. Śās.* vii. 100; *Mhb.* xii, ch. xlviii. 25; ch. xciv. 1; ch. cii (22).

उपायाः सामदानं च भेदो दण्डस्तथैव च ।

संयुक् प्रयुक्ताः सिध्येयुः दण्डस्त्वगतिकागतिः ॥

y. i, 345.

³ *Ar. Śās.* vii. 103-7, cp. *Manu* vii. 161 with *Medhātithi*, *Kulluka*, etc.

⁴ *Ar. Śās.* vii. 108-10.

in great misery or the stronger enemy which is a prey to lesser misery ?'

'He must attack the force which is known to be in great misery, for this is facile,' say the masters. 'No,' says Kauṭalya 'one must attack the stronger enemy who suffers least misery ; even that light misery becomes great in case of attack.'

'It is true that misery augments in proportion to its greatness. But if one does not attack the enemy who is in less misery, he shall ally himself with the enemy attacked to provide against the misery, and then attack from behind.'

If one shall have to attack at a time two attackable powers which of the two shall one attack first ?

'He who is in great distress but upright or he who is in less distress but dishonest and whose subjects are discontented ?'

'One must attack the enemy whose subjects are discontented. If one attacks him who is in great difficulties but straightforward, his subjects would uphold him, whereas if one attacks him who is in less misery but whose conduct is less upright, his subjects will remain indifferent. The discontented subjects will overthrow a powerful king, consequently one must attack him whose subjects are disaffected.'¹

Here Kauṭalya emphasizes forcibly the effects of the moral weakness of a sovereign, and on that question he is of the same opinion as the masters of other schools. Likewise even in war it is the moral force which decides the final victory.

Towards the end he makes some profound observations on one's allies in conducting an expedition.

The allies who are not honest but who profess to be honest men, should be watched, from time to time until their dismissal from their suspected position, or their women should be kept as hostages.

'There is reason to fear the equals who attain their goal, for the equals who attain their aim change their attitude even towards the superiors.

'The prosperous allies are unworthy of confidence, for prosperity deforms the spirit. If they get a small portion of the booty of the superiors, the allies seem to be satisfied. If they have no share in the booty, they sit on the knees of their allies and plunder the spoils doubly.

¹ Cp. Medhātithi on *Manu* vii. 164.

'When he has achieved his purpose, the chief (*netā*) should dismiss all his allies in groups (*Sāmaṇyika*). He should rather live himself than seek to conquer others. That would be best for the circle of states.'

CONDUCT OF AN ATTACKABLE POWER (*Yatavyavṛtti*)

(*Ar. Śās.* vii. 114-5)

In this section, Kauṭalya describes diplomatic struggles between attacking powers and attackable powers, every one of them trying to obtain an advantage over the other.

If a power runs the risk of being assailed by two enemies at a time, and that it desires to accept or reject the conditions of an entente, in the first case, it must bargain with one of the two powers by offering it double profits. While thus bargaining it must insist on his losses, his expenses, and inconveniences due to changes of place. Once the treaty is concluded it must bind that power by self-interest. In the second case he must have it attacked by others and create dissensions.

In case of urgency it must bargain with very little of profit ; if it finds good deal of advantages for the future, it should bargain by sacrificing even a great profit for the present. In the same manner Kauṭalya indicates always his preference for the permanent gain, and he is eager to always prove the advantage one has in possessing a good ally.

Then he classifies the allies according to their qualities :—

Those who commence feasible work (*Śakyārambhi*).

Those who commence work without blemish (*Kalyārambhi*).

Those who commence beneficent works (*Bhavyārambhi*).

Those who commence work to finish it faithfully (*Stihirakarma*).

And those who possess loyal subjects (*Anuraktaprayit*).

In case of rivalry, the acquisition of a strong and faithful ally decides the victory ; for that reason the conqueror is always counselled to convert the intermediary and neutral powers into real allies.

Same as the ally, the army is also a decisive factor for victory. The armies are classified according to their qualities¹ :—

(1) The permanent army (*Maula*).

(2) The mercenary army (*Bhṛta*).

(3) The army of corporations (*Śṛēṇi*).

(4) The army of the ally (*Mitra*).

¹ Cp. *Manu* vii. 185, Com.: *Mhb.* xv, ch. vii. 7, 8, 9.

(5) The army of savage tribes (*Aṭavi*); well-informed of time and places.

(6) The army of hostile savage tribes inexperienced both in time and places.

In an entente whose one condition is the release of soldiers, one should attempt always to keep for himself the best soldiers and give to his rival the inferior ones. Also when following the diplomatic policy one is obliged to give away the best men of his army he is counselled to take it back on the earliest occasion under pretext of military manoeuvres (*Danda vyasanga*).

Thus we see that attack was a mere sham. Generally war was diplomatic and very frequently, it terminated in an entente obtained by ceding soldiers, money, or an ally. One calculates the profit before all. And one is fully aware that a war of total devastation becomes very rarely profitable.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE ENEMY BEHIND

(cp. Manu vii. 210). *Pārṣṇigrāhacintā*,
Ar. Śās. vii. 117.

Leaving aside the attacking power and the attacked powers Kauṭalya devotes his attention to the enemies in the rear, who play a sufficiently great role in diplomatic combinations. He weighs the advantages of kings who attack in the rear and compares them with the two kings who are before them. Here the moral considerations play a great part for bringing about success.

'Of the two kings who attempt respectively to ruin a friend and an enemy, he who attacks the rear of the king, seeking to uproot a friend surpasses the other, inasmuch as he serves his friend. He who wishes to ruin his enemy must rid himself of those who threaten him in the rear. Otherwise he ruins his own party.'

The advantage resulting from the attack of the rear changes according to the moral quality of the attacked enemies. Kauṭalya gives them different names.

- (1) 'The enemy cutting his own root' (*Mūlahara*).
 - (2) 'The temporary enemy, the demoralized enemy,' etc.
- The enemies in the rear are divided into three classes :—
- (i) He who is effectively opposing is called *Varga*.
 - (ii) Those who are of both sides are *Pratīpēṣa*.

(iii) He who is placed between the conquering king and his enemy and who is weak, is called *Antardhi*.

The conquering king and the enemy try always to win over each to his own side the intermediary or the neutral king, even though the latter behaves like an enemy. Kauṭalya gives out the reason.

'Even an enemy when he can render service, is worth negotiating but not an ally who has no more amicable intentions.' When war becomes inevitable Kauṭalya advises the combatants to keep their presence of mind.

They must see the reality such as it is :—

'More than the attack in the rear and in the front, the battle of intrigue (*Mantrayuddha*) is advantageous.'¹

Still, in cases of necessity Kauṭalya prescribes the destruction of the enemy at any cost :—

'In an exhausting battle there is no success for both on account of losses and expenses.'

'The conqueror himself appears conquered, he has no more armies nor treasures' say the learned. 'No,' says Kauṭalya 'even in case of very great loss and equally great expenses, one must endeavour to destroy the enemy.'

He concludes the chapter with a few maxims in verse :

'In this manner the conqueror must organize his circle for his advantage by enriching his friends and his elements both in front and behind.' In all his circle, he must always appoint messengers (*dūta*)² (*Dūtapraṇidhi*) and also spies (*gūḍha*).³ He must strike having kept his plan hidden.

'He who does not hide his plan, even if occasionally successful, is sure to perish as a ship springing a leak on sea.'

RECOVERING DIMINISHED POWER (*Hīnaśaktipūranam*).

Ar. Śās. vii. p. 118.⁴

In this section Kauṭalya discusses the conduct of a power which is in a critical situation. First of all this power must employ the means of conciliation and of division.

¹ Cp. *Ar. Śās.*, p. 283, *Kūṭayuddha* and *Kāma*, ch. xxxi.

² *Ar. Śās.* 112.

³ Cp. *Kam.* xviii, xix; *Manu* vii. 63-4.

⁴ Cp. *Ar. Śās.* viii. (*Prakṛtyvyasanavarga*).

Sometimes it must pretend to be innocent and sometimes outraged to win over one of the enemies leagued against it.

‘Just as I, poor and innocent, have been attacked by that coalition of powers, so you will be attacked by them whether in good or in dangerous conditions. For force always corrupts the spirit and becomes the cause of ruin.’

‘When one can divide the allies, one must attack the weak after having won the chief or attack the chiefs after having conciliated the petty ones. Everywhere if one shall see an advantage, he must get them attacked by others and create a split; otherwise he should win over the chief by offering him prospects of great profits, and conclude an entente.’

But if one knows that the contractors of this entente are dishonest, one must break it up as soon as possible. In all these circumstances, the intermediaries who receive money from both sides (*Ubhayavēta*) are very appreciated as much for the conclusion as for the rupture of an entente.

The method of conciliation is afterwards explained in detail. One should win him who gives energy to all his group by sacrificing himself; him, who is resolute in action by showing humility and submission; him who has loyal subjects, by offering him a daughter in marriage or a subsidy; him who is greedy by offering him double profits; him who is afraid by giving him hostages; him who is bound by consanguinity to the king, by offering him an agreement; him who is allied to both parties, by acting in such a way as to please him and benefiting him by surrendering to him some profits, and finally him whose hostility is not durable, by rendering friendly and profitable service to him.

Beside these defensive tactics, the weak power must labour to rebuild its own elements. At first it must be reinforced by the concurrence of experienced men and by the utilization of sciences and experts.

It must keep watch over the improvement of the works of irrigation (*Setubhanda*,¹ which are the sources of agricultural wealth, of commercial paths (*Vanikpatha*), of economic prosperity, of mines, of materials of war, of forests, of parks for elephants and grounds for pasturages, etc.

¹Cp. *Sūtra*, iv, ii, 121-2.

If some of these advantages are lacking, it must attempt to secure them from an ally. If it has a weak army, it must strengthen it by recruiting on the one hand soldiers from the corporations, from the bravest clans, from the bands of robbers and savage tribes, and on the other hand spies dangerous for the enemy.

In this way with partisans (*Pakṣa*), policy (*Mantra*), materials (*Dravya*) and an army (*Bala*) one must free himself from the dependence to the enemy (*Paravagraha*).

Manner of deceiving the powerful enemy when one is attacked: conduct of him who is defeated in battle (*Danḍopanataṣṭam*).

Ar. Śas. vii. 119-20; *Sūtra*. iii. 235; *Raghu* xvii. 8.

A power placed in a dangerous situation must endeavour to ally with another, more strong or equal or even with one inferior but honest and enthusiastic. If allies are lacking one must support on a fortress of which even a powerful army, and the enemy would be unable to intercept the provisions, fodder, the combustibles and water, and be forced on the contrary to incur losses and expenses in attempting to reduce the fortress.¹

Thus protected, one must win a power intermediary or neutral, or a relation of the enemy or one of the chiefs imprisoned by himself, or an ally capable of attacking the enemy in the rear, or even among the enemies themselves, those who can be seduced so as to raise a revolt in his kingdom, and finally to destroy by arms, fire, poison or other secret means.

But if these means appear impossible, one must, according to some, attempt to come out by abandoning the fortresses and fling oneself on the enemy as an insect on the flame, for, according to the savants, he who is prepared to sacrifice even his life, can attain success.

But Kauṭilya pronounces against this desperate solution. He counsels rather the acceptance of a humiliating peace. The fitting attitude for him who is completely conquered in the war is to say:

‘That kingdom and myself are at your disposition.’

After one has obtained an entente, one must maintain the attitude of one who respects the conventions. The works of fortifications, the import of products, the marriage, the commercial enterprises, the capture of elephants, the visits to the places of sacrifice (*Satra*), to places of

¹ Cp. *Sūtra*. iv. 6 (10); *Mhb.* xii. 7 (4-5); *Manu* vi. 195.

pilgrimage and amusements (*Vihāragamana*) should be accomplished only after the authorization has been solicited.

'In the same manner, one must demand the authorization when one negotiates with an independent people or when annulling or evading an entente. Even if a good territory is offered he must not accept without permission.'

But under this mask of loyalty, one must always attempt to deceive the superior.

'In the absence of the master, he should visit secretly the minister, the high priest, the commander of the army or the heir-apparent, and one must endeavour to aid them as much as it lies in one's power. However while worshipping the gods or offering prayers, one must implore benedictions on his master and ever make a display of one's virtues of self-effacement.'

THE CIRCLES OF MEDIATORY POWERS (*Madhyama*) AND NEUTRALS (*Udāstna*)

(*Ar. Śās.* vii, pp. 124-6).

The diplomatic world of Kauṭalya has for its centre the conqueror and his enemy. Round them gravitate the circles of friends or foes and they form a sort of a political solar system. But that system is ever influenced by two other systems, that of the intermediary and that of the neutral who are studied at the end of the section.

Here again we find the same intrigues, the same efforts for winning over important allies, for ruining the elements of the enemy and for developing his own elements appearing as fundamental parts of diplomacy.

There is no difference between the case of the intermediary and that of the neutral. For a mediating king the third and fifth elements of states are the friendly elements while the fourth are enemies.

If these two series of elements are aided by the mediatory power the conqueror must come to agreement with him.

If the mediator helps nobody, then the conqueror must ally with the two elements. If the mediator seeks to win over an ally of the conqueror, the latter must defend his ally by provoking the allies of his ally, and dividing the allies of that mediator. Or he must excite the circle against him by saying :

'This mediator is become too powerful, and has grown only for our ruin. Let us ruin him by some combination.'

If this proposition is agreeable to the circle, he should reinforce himself by ruining the mediator. If not agreeable, one must seek to seduce the ally by soldiers and money and to win his cause by means of conciliation (*Sama*), division (*Bhēda*), punishment (*Danda*),¹ gifts (*Dana*), and thus win over the chief or the neighbouring chiefs who are hostile to mediator or those who live by mutual support or prosper in a common success or who being afraid of one another, dare not declare war. In the same manner, by gaining a second chief he must double his strength and by gaining the third chief he must triple his strength. Once reinforced in this way he should turn against the mediator.

If the mediator seeks to gain the neutral, the conqueror must separate them and must ally with one who is in better terms with the circle. The same method must be practised if the neutral seeks to gain the mediator.

The possible friends of the conqueror are :—

- He who marches with him towards a different object.
- He who marches with him towards a common object.
- He who approaches with the intention of allying with him.
- He who desires to march as ally.
- He who marches, stimulated by his own interest.
- Those who rise together in rebellion.
- He who desires to buy or sell soldiers (arms ?) or treasury.
- He who adopts a double policy.

Among all these the conqueror must help, with all his force him who has a common aim to combat the enemy.

If an ally attains great prosperity and becomes too independent, after having vanquished the enemy, he should be made to engage in a war with the elements of neighbouring states or to lose his territory, captured by one of the members of his family or by an imprisoned prince. Lastly he should act in such a way that he would remain submissive relying on his powers.

A politician must maintain his allies in a condition which is neither too high nor too low.

When an inconstant ally concludes a treaty for profit, the conqueror

¹ Cp. *Sūtra*. iv. 1, 26-37.

must seek to remove the causes of abandoning the same and prevent him from withdrawing from the alliance.

If an ally who is at the same time an ally of the enemy, is inclined decidedly on the side of the enemy, one must separate and destroy him and then destroy the enemy himself.

Kaṭalya concludes thus the chapter on diplomacy by two stanzas full of experience :—

‘He who is an expert in politics must have recourse to one of the several diplomatic means,—advance, ruin, repose, harassing and destruction. In this way he who realizes fully the interpretation of the sixfold method, plays as it were with kings who are caught in the net of diplomacy.’

CONDUCT OF HIM WHO IS VANQUISHED BY ARMS

(*Dandopanāyivṛttam*)

(*Ar. Śās.* vii, p. 121; *Viṣṇu* iii. 47-9 and 53)

Whoever, be a king or a commander of the army, desires to conquer must possess all the diplomatic means.¹

By means of conciliation and presents, one must flatter the weak : by employing dissension and punishment, one must reduce the strong.²

The compulsory (*Niyoga*), the optional (*Vikalpa*) or the combined (*Samuchaya*) use of the same process leads to the consolidation of the elements.³

‘One should practise conciliation by promising protection of the villagers, of forests, pasturages, and commercial routes, as well as by promising to re-establish those who have been expelled, who have run away, and who have done wrongs once to the conqueror.

‘One must practise the method of presents by offering territories, materials, young girls and a general amenity (*Abhaya*). One must take to the method of dissension by seducing the neighbouring chiefs, the chiefs of forests, the relatives of the enemy or imprisoned chiefs and by urging them to force the delivery of treasures, army and territories.

‘One must practise the method of punishment by means of an open

¹ Cp. *Br. nīti* v. 1-8.

² Cp. *Sūkra*. iv. 1, 26, 35-40.

³ Cp. *Manu* vii. 214-5; also *Raghu*, xvii. 49 Com.

battle, a treacherous or secret battle and by the assault of fortresses and thus capture the enemy.¹

The allies and the supporters are classed with care according to the advantages they offer.

He who procures various advantages (*Citrabhoga*).

He who procures a great advantage (*Mahabhoga*).

He who procures all the advantages (*Sarvabhoga*).

He who procures only one advantage (*Ekatobhoga*).

He who procures the advantages on both sides at the same time (*Ubhayatobhoga*).

He who procures advantage on all sides (*Sarvatobhoga*).

The conqueror must treat the different parties according to their intentions and their various capacities. He must be faithful to the faithful and offer protection to those who seek for it.

‘During troubles, one must deal more kindly to those who return voluntarily. One must give audience on demand and one must repair the abuses.

‘One must not pronounce words of humiliation, of menace, and of defamation. In promoting the sense of security one must conduct himself as a father. He who outrages the people must be executed publicly. For avoiding the suspicions of the enemy one must punish in secret. One must never covet the territories, property, children and women of an enemy killed. One must even restore his kinsmen in their respective places and one must reinstate on the throne the sons of the dead king. Thereby the conqueror would be obeyed from generation to generation.

Thus we see that conquest is not the last word in Kaṭalyan diplomacy. Loyal to the principles formulated at the commencement of his treatise, he discusses the problem of pacification of territories after conquest.

Thus *Labha* (the acquisition) is followed by *Palana* (the protection). Here he is in complete accord with the masters of schools of diplomacy as we know, from all the commentators on *Manu* vii. 56 :—

त्रैः सार्धं चिन्तयेत् नित्यं सामान्यं संधिविग्रहम् ।

स्थानं समुदयं गुप्तिं लब्धप्रशमनानिच ।

Medhātithi, the more ancient of all commentators on *Manu*, cites in

¹Cp. *Ar. Śās.* x, xiv; *Kāma*. xxi-xxxvi; *Sūkra*. iv. 7.

extenso the Kauṭaliya, while other commentators follow the Kāmandaki which is simply the *Arthaśāstra* in verse.

Towards the end of his treatise¹ Kauṭalya devotes a special chapter entitled 'Pacification of conquered territories' (*Labdhaprasaṃsana*).² This is a veritable document on the ethics of Hindu diplomacy. Kauṭalya evaluates and classifies the conquerors after the ideal of the acquisition of territories.³

The just conqueror (*Dharmavijayi*).

The greedy conqueror (*Lobhavijayi*).

The demonic conqueror (*Asuravijayi*).

The conqueror who is satisfied with simple obedience is called the just. The weak kings should seek his protection. The conqueror who is satisfied with the gain of territories and money is called the greedy. The weak kings should send him off by the gifts of riches.

The conqueror who is satisfied neither by the capture of lands and treasures, nor by that of sons and females of the conquered king is called the demonic. The weak kings should keep him at a distance by offering territories and money.

In this ethical conception, Kauṭalya is very far from Machiavelli with whom he has been compared in a superficial fashion. It is enough to cite his own words :—

'Having acquired a new territory, the just conqueror must cover the vices of the enemy with his own virtues and the virtues of the enemy by doubling his own. He must take care to satisfy his elements and do good to them by observances of his religious and secular duties,⁴ by recompenses, concessions, presents and by honours. He must keep words given to the partisans whom he has drawn from the enemy. He must give more to those who have already worked for him.

'He must adopt the same manner of living, the same costumes, the same language and the same customs as those of the conquered people.⁵

'In the celebration of the special cult of that country⁶ in joining

¹ *Ar. Śās.* xiii. 176.

² Cp. *Mhb.* xii, ch. 58. 68-73; Mallinātha on *Raghu* iv. 14; Manu vii. 201-3; *Vishnu* iii. 47-9, 53.

³ *Ar. Śās.* xii. 162; cp. *Mhb.* xii, ch. 58. 38-9; *Raghu* iv. 43, Com.

⁴ Cp. Gautama, *Dh. Śās.* x. 12-13.

⁵ Cp. *Yājñ.* i. 342.

⁶ Cp. *Sukra.* iv. iii. 9, 10; Manu. 1, 118,

the congregations (*Samaja*) and the festivals (*Utsava*) and amusements (*Vihāra*), he must follow the inclinations of the people. The spies should ever turn the attention of the chiefs of the village, of clans and of corporations to the misdeeds of the vanquished enemy and on the contrary, to the advantages and the blessings due to the new master and to his good graces ever present.

'The conqueror must render his elements happy, by festivities (*Bhoga*), concessions (*Parihāra*), protection and just solicitude. He must respect the gods and religious orders (*Āśrama*). He must make gifts of lands and goods exempt from charges, to men of letters, orators, the saints and the heroes. He must show favours by releasing prisoners (*Bandhanamokṣa*) by helping the unfortunate, the orphans and the sick. He must forbid the slaughter (*Aghāta*) of animals for the half-month during which are celebrated the ceremonies of *caturmāsya*, for four nights during the full moon and for the night during which appears the star of the anniversary of the king or the star of the country. He must prohibit the killing of little girls and new-born babies (*Yonibalabādha*), as well as castration (*Pumstvopaghāta*). In this manner he must establish the righteous customs (*Dharmavyavahāra*) by abolishing customs which are unjust (*Adharma*) and destructive of the financial and the military power.¹ Towards the end of the chapter Kauṭalya promulgates very liberal principles which elevate his diplomacy far above the level of cruel and sordid intrigues.

'The just conduct (*Dharmya*) practised or non-practised by others must be encouraged, the unjust conduct (*Adharmya*) must not be encouraged, even if it is practised.'²

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

THE diplomatic section of the *Arthaśāstra* presents a consistency which offers to its study a particular guarantee. We do not find the historical anomalies which disconcert us in the second book. Above all the exposition is more homogeneous than anywhere else. The order is perfectly logical, at least it becomes so if by a method justifiable in the case of a text known by a single manuscript of very ancient time,

¹ *Ar. Śās.*, pp. 409-10.

² Cp. Medhātithi on Manu vii, 56,

we invert the order of some chapters.¹ First come the organs of the state and their sphere of action and next the six-fold method of action.² The following chapters from 117 to 121 treat of special cases (urgent measures, conduct of the vanquished, etc.). The rest³ is devoted to the expansion of diplomatic relations from narrow circles of immediate enemies to the more extended circles of intermediaries and neutrals.

For elucidating the intentions of Kauṭalya we have added to that *ensemble* some paragraphs which do not form part of the diplomatic section proper (viz. ch. 11). The so-called Hindu Machiavelli, though very independent in thought, is not non-moral. It is evident from passages as the following: 'When the advantages procured by peace and war are equal one should prefer peace. Because in war are found exhaustion and expenditure, exile and sin (*pratyavāya*). The war is considered here as by the masters of the schools of *Dharma*, as the last recourse. And when employed the conquest must immediately be followed by conciliation (*Labdaprāśamana*). The victor who by a just use of conquest reconciles the generally conflicting demands of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kama*, is considered as having attained complete success *Sarvārtha siddhi*.'⁴

To whom should this doctrine, so coherent as a whole be attributed? Are we to follow tradition and recognize thither the hand of the minister of Chandragupta? In the enthusiasm of the discovery Mr. Shama Sastri believed the work in its entirety as having been written by Vishnugupta Chāṇakya, the chief minister of Chandragupta, towards 325 B.C. The opinion of Mr. Shama Sastri is sustained ardently by the great erudition of Mr. Jacobi who is carried away by the idea that we have in the treatise a capital monument of the state of civilization of the fourth century before the Christian era. Following their steps many indologists have accepted without reserve that the treatise belongs entirely to the Mauryan epoch.

We owe a great deal to the two scholars who have thrown considerable light on several remarkable facts pertaining to the epoch and to the personality of Chāṇakya Kauṭalya. But on carefully examining the different parts of the text we are obliged to declare their hypothesis untenable. In the section dealing with diplomacy which we have

analysed, the diplomacy is not that of a centralized empire but rather that of a divided feudality, in which each chief is in perpetual conflict with his equals for a hegemony which in its turn crumbles down by causing a new series of wars. This is the normal politics of an age of political atomism. It is just the contrary of the politics of a large empire. The diplomacy of Kauṭalya may be anterior or posterior to that of the Mauryas and does not contain any unerring traces of the centralized imperialism of Chandragupta.

The second book which appears to reflect an alluring picture of such an empire contains unmistakable traces of later interpolation. Unfortunately the name of Chāṇakya-Kauṭalya has so powerfully hypnotized the scholars that although some had studied this section in detail (*vide* Mr. N. Law in the *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, 1914) one is ever ready to discover new data of the civilization of the fourth century before the Christian era in that *Imperial Gazetteer* (as it has been called) of the Maurya Empire.¹ Mr. Hillebrandt for the first time pointed out the existence of a definite treatise and of a continuous tradition of a school of *Artha* and he affirms that the *Arthaśāstra* is the work of a school and not at all a manual written by an individual. To Mr. Hillebrandt go the honour and credit of having distinguished the personality of Chāṇakya-Kauṭalya such as it appears in the drama of *Mudrārākṣasa* where he plays the chief rôle; of the school of profit (*Artha*) Kauṭalya is not the only representative. Since then Hillebrandt has brought forward new arguments in favour of his theory in reply to Mr. Jacobi.²

The science of *Artha* is very ancient. Certain of its parts as the science of Law are pre-Buddhist.³ But the book of this school discovered by Mr. Shama Sastri is not a homogeneous work, all entirely of one age. It carries in its different parts unmistakable marks of different epochs. As is the case in India, the manuals of this species do not represent the work of one person but a product of successive generations. For example, the original texts of medicine compiled by Agniveśa and Atri are modified and augmented by Caraka and Dṛdhabala. The names of those who modified the texts are very rarely preserved. But even without having the names

¹ v., p. 83.

² Ch. 96, 116, 122, 123.

³ Ch. 124-6.

⁴ *Ar. Śās.* ch. 14, 145-6, p. 362.

¹ *Ucer das Kautilya-Śāstra und Verwandtes*, Breslau, 1906.

² *Zu Kautilya*, *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 69, 1915.

³ *Vide* Rhys. David, *Pali-Eng. Dict.*, 1921, S. V. Attha.

of those authors the traces of modifications are clear in the principal works of every school. Moreover in a land like India the climate necessitates the frequent recopying of manuscripts and it is well known that those transcriptions are the occasion not only of alterations in the text, but of considerable additions sometimes. Such was the case in particular when late compilers intended to secure for their work the confidence and respect of the posterity under the cover of a great name. Thus even admitting that a greater part of the *Arthashastra* belongs to the genius of Kauṭalya-Chāṇakya, it is not improbable that the work has been retouched from time to time.

Dr. J. Jolly¹ who has studied our text carefully had expressed himself against the view that ascribes the whole of the *Arthashastra* to the reign of Chandragupta. Dr. Jolly with the authority of a scholar versed in the literature of the two technical sciences, law and medicine shows the existence of indisputable later additions relating to law and metallurgy considered as a branch of the science of medicine. The three successive chapters of the work of the *Arthashastra* relating to the exploitation of the mines and the manufacturers (ch. xii), the Superintendent of gold and the bureau of goldsmith (ch. xiii) and the duties of the king's goldsmith (ch. xiv) indicate the addition of later experiences to more ancient ones.² Here the conclusion of Dr. Jolly is corroborated by the studies by Prof. P. C. Roy on the history of Hindu chemistry (1914-1909). The more ancient works of Metallurgy (*Lohaśāstra*) are attributed to *Paṇḍita* and to *Nagarjuna*. Now both are surely posterior to Kauṭalya. But this science as it appears in the *Arthashastra* seems to be more recent, especially because of the frequent use of mercury (*Rasapāka*, *Rasavidyā*).

In examining the legal portion of the *Arthashastra* Dr. Jolly speaks³ with greater force still that 'if the work is considered as having been written three centuries before Christ with all its legal parts (*Dharmaśthiyam*) all the accepted chronology of the school of Hindu Law collapses as a house of cards.' This idea is supported by the conclusions of Mr. Hopkins towards the end of his study on the 'Growth of Law and Legal Institutions'.⁴ Finally very recently Mr. Otto Stein

¹ *Kollektaneenzum Kautalya Arthashastra*, Z. D. M. G., 1914-15; *Text kritische Bemerkungen zum Kautalya Arthashastra*, Z. D. M. G., 1916-17.

² *Zur Datierungsfrage*, *Gottingen Nachrichten*, 1916.

³ *Ar. Śās.* and *Dharmaśāstra*, Z. D. M. G. 1913 and *Gottingen Nachrichten*, 1916.

⁴ *C. H. I.*, vol. i, ch. xii, p. 294.

discovered¹ that the pieces of evidence furnished by Megasthenes contradict those of the *Arthashastra*; so in reading the chapters relating to the horses and the royal elephants we shall see that to a solid fund of facts and ancient experiences have been added several later data. The *Arthashastra* describes not only of the horses of Sind but all those of Combodia and of Arabia (*Vanayu*). But the most definite argument against the theory of Mr. Jacobi is furnished to us by the examination of the geographical data.² All serious historians will hesitate to regard it as written in the fourth century B.C., a work containing names as Harahura and Kapisa, Kambhoja and Aratta, Bahlika and Vanāyu, Tāmraparni and Pāṇḍya Kavāta, Suvarṇakūḍya, China and Nepāla.

Most of these names appear in the chapters on the treasury and jewels of the king. Mr. Finot³ denies the antiquity of those chapters, but Dr. Jacobi has striven to prove that the Hindus had already colonised Indo-China almost three centuries before our era. Finally according to Mr. Pelliot⁴ it is almost impossible to establish the existence of the name 'China' before the foundation of the dynasty of T'Sin (250 B.C.).

Consequently we must give up the idea that the *Arthashastra* came entirely out of the head of Kauṭalya as Minerva from the head of Jupiter and that it had been written only for Chandragupta. On the other hand, we may consider our treatise as an inestimable encyclopædia of royal science and as a static symbol of the evolution of the Hindu spirit applied to the science of Government and of Wealth of which the *Arthashastra* is the most ancient and the most interesting document known till now.

It remains to explain why it is the only book and above all why it remained unknown until the period when Mr. Shama Sastri discovered it in a private library. How is it that despite the richness of the observation and experience and its practical utility for government, that the *Arthashastra* had completely disappeared. The explanation lies probably in the attitude of the Hindu mind towards *Artha*. The *Artha* is a positive science, comparable to medicine or alchemy. But it also touches the moral life of man. Now here the Hindu spirit is

¹ *Megasthenes und Kautalya*. Vienna. 1922.

² See App.

³ *B. E. F. E. O.*, 1912.

⁴ *B. E. F. E. O.*, iv, pp. 143-9, T. Oung Pao, 1913-14.

prone to deviate from the Real and to launch into the Ideal. On the one hand brutality and cruelty of the Kṣatriyas which we have seen to be systematized by the schools have been strongly combated by Jainism and Buddhism, both opposed to violence. It is striking that so far as those schools preserve clear notions of political sciences they give them a new meaning.¹ It is thus that *Sarvārthasiddhi*² according to the Buddhist tradition is applied to Buddha himself by his father foretelling his future of glory. Even the term *Chakravartin* which rarely occurs in the treatise of Kauṭalya recalling notions of circles, signifies among the Buddhists and the Jains, the religious conqueror. In practice also such inter-relations are met with. Mr. Jayaswal has indicated that the spiritual organization of the Buddhist community derived partly from lay organizations.³ In Brahmanical schools again the moral and abstract elements become stronger and stronger and reacted fatally on the *Arthaśāstra*. The transformation in this case was the prelude of its disappearance. While the positive scientific part shrinks the moral element gets the preponderance. And *Arthaśāstra* becoming devoid of originality thus came to be absorbed by other schools, e.g. Law and became finally merged into the Great Epics.

Towards the fourth century A.D. Kāmandaka gives an excellent poetical version of *Kauṭalya-Śāstra* but he passes over many characteristic elements. A century later Kālidāsa, who was a true genius not only in poetic sense but also for his knowledge of Hindu sciences⁴ knows the original treatise and reproduces even the expressions of the *Arthaśāstra*. But it would accentuate the moral note in giving a poetical outline of a good and bad king.⁵ His poet-successors like Bhāravi in his *Kirātārjuniya* (i. 11), and Magha in his *Śiucupala Vadha* (ii) and Bhatti in his *Rāmāyana* (xii), transform the *Arthaśāstra* into moral text maxims which are no more science or art. Finally the famous author Bana who was at the court of King Harṣa in the seventh century, condemns the *Śāstra* of Kauṭalya as being murderous to the core (*Maranātmaka*) and rejects it. Also the *Artha*

which Tiruvalluvar presents in the Tamīl poetic anthology of *Kural* is a moral text which has nothing common with the *Arthaśāstra* properly called, though it coincides with the hundred stanzas which are attributed to Chāṇakya (*Chāṇakyaśataka*). Some commentators of the middle age as Medhātithi and Mallinātha continue to study the original text of the *Arthaśāstra*. But the Hindu spirit in general rejects that philosophy which it finds cruel. What is remarkable is that the first official and effective protest against the Kauṭalyan mind came from Emperor Asoka (273–232 B.C.) the grandson of Chandragupta.

‘In conquering the territory which was not subject to me (*Avijita*) the murders, the deaths, the kidnapping of men which have taken place have been keenly and painfully felt by me, the king dear to the Devas. . . .

‘In effect the king dear to the Devas longs for the security of all creatures, the respect to life, peace and gentleness. Now it is these that the king dear to Devas contemplates as the conquest of religion (*Dharma Vijaya*). It is in these conquests of religion that the king dear to the Devas finds his pleasure in his empire and on all his frontiers to an extent of many hundred Yojanas.¹

‘All men are my children (*Savamuniśa mepajā*). As I wish for my children that they must enjoy all sorts of prosperity and happiness in this world and in the other I also desire the same for all men.²

The empire inherited by Asoka was naturally an empire based on the Hindu science of the *Artha* and the *Rajanti* as Mr. Buhler shows.³ But the transformation of Hindu politics by Asoka is equally indisputable. Even when he employs technical terms relating to political science, he is careful to make a new application by the addition of the word *Dharma*. For example, *Rajya*, *Vijaya*, *Yatra*, *Sambhandha*, *Mangala*, *Mahamatra*, become with him as *Dharmarajya*, *Dharmavijaya*, *Dharmayatra*, *Dharmasambandha*, *Dharmamangala* and *Dharmamahamatra*.

History will make clear if India had lost or gained in making this choice. But the fact is that it rejected mainly the path chalked out by Kauṭalya-Chāṇakya to enter into that of *Dharmakosa*.

¹ Vide Rhys Davids, *Pali-Eng. Dic.* 1921, S. V. Attha.

² Cp. *Buddhacarita*, ii. 17; vii. 1.

³ Introduction to Hindu Polity, *Modern Review*, July 1913.

⁴ Cp. Tucci, *Note on the Sources of Kālidāsa: A Review of Oriental Studies* vol. ix.

⁵ Cf. Formichi, *Raghuvamsa*, Introduction.

¹ 13th Edict, *Senart Inscr. of Piyadasi*, i. 308.

² *Senart, Ibid.*, ii. 145.

³ Z.D.M.G., xli; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 246.

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JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

The Gurjara Empire in North India

BY

PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR, M.A., HONV. PHD.

INTRODUCTORY

AMONG the ancient kingdoms of India, Kashmir has the unique distinction of having a recorded history of its own. This history however is a comparatively late production, and, having been written in the twelfth century from such material as came into the possession or knowledge of the writer, labours from the disadvantages of a secondary work. Its value as a historical composition is in a great measure discounted, in regard to the earlier periods particularly, as Kalhana the author compiles his information from sources which are generally not indicated, and perhaps even of doubtful historical value. Such as it is, therefore, while we are in a much better position in respect of this kingdom than in regard to very many others, the possession of this history does not advance our knowledge of the history of India very far. When we come to the age of Harsha, however, we get on to some firm ground of history in regard to Kashmir. A dynastic change took place about that time, it may be somewhat earlier, and a new dynasty called the Kārkoṭaka dynasty came to power. With the beginning of this dynasty the Kashmir account gains in value as history, and we have the means of checking it in the coinage of the country, which is available in some quantity, and from references in dated Chinese annals. With the aid of these we may arrive at a chronological order for Kashmir which is not perhaps very far from the actual. In this particular period an error of twenty to twenty-five

years seems possible, and Kalhana perhaps antedates the reigns by about that period.

The first ruler of this dynasty, according to Kalhana, was a man of humbler origin from the point of a view of Kashmir royalty and it is to remove this bar sinister, that a descent from Nāga Kārkoṭaka had been invented, this fictitious descent actually giving the name to the dynasty. He made himself a very useful official, and gradually rose into favour with the last ruler of the Gonarda dynasty, Bāladitya by name, and rose to the rank of becoming a son-in-law of the monarch. Durlabha, as a result of this marriage, was able ultimately to succeed to the throne either because of the natural extinction of the previous dynasty or by usurpation. Durlabha apparently was the ruler of Kashmir when Hiuen Tsang visited the kingdom in about the years A.D. 631-633. There are numbers of coins of rude make bearing the inscription Durlabhadēva. This coinage may be ascribed to this ruler; even here we cannot be certain as his son bore a name somewhat similar, but as he had a different title, the probabilities are that the first Durlabha issued these coins. We have, however, more certain reference in the Chinese annals, which mention a Tu-lo-pa as the king of India, at some date within the period A.D. 637-649, and controlled the route from China to Kipin, that is, the Kabul Valley. From the somewhat full account that Hiuen Tsang gives of Kashmir during the period of his visit we can draw the inference that the country was peaceful and prosperous, and the authority of the ruler actually extended to include all the adjacent territories, the frontier reaching down to the plains. All the hilly portions of the Punjab seem to have been under Kashmir, and even the kingdom of Takshaśila seems to have been brought under control recently. Hiuen Tsang also notes that in religion Kashmir was not Buddhist, but much rather Hindu. According to Kalhana he had a long reign of thirty-six years, and was succeeded by his son, Durlabhaka, who had the title of Pratāpāditya.

Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II succeeded his father Durlabhavardhana. The Kārkoṭa copper coins with the legend Śrī Pratāpa are ascribed to him. They are of two varieties, and are found in some number, thus justifying to some extent the long period of rule ascribed to him; but of the actual events of the reign Kalhana records nothing of importance. He married Narēndraprabhā, the wife of a foreign merchant under somewhat romantic circumstances, and had by her three sons, Chan-

drāpīḍa, Tārāpīḍa, Mukṭāpīḍa, who ruled in succession after him. Barring the construction of certain buildings of minor importance, Kalhana records nothing more of value. He had a long reign of fifty years and was succeeded by his eldest son, Chandrāpīḍa.

Chandrāpīḍa finds reference in Chinese records as King Tchan t'o-lo-pi-li mentioned in the Chinese annals as ruling over Kashmir in A.D. 713 and again in A.D. 720. He applied in A.D. 713 to the Chinese Emperor for assistance against the Arabs. The second reference is that, in the year A.D. 720, the Chinese Emperor granted to this ruler the title of King. This second reference implies of necessity that Chandrāpīḍa must have been alive at least up to the previous year A.D. 719. According to Kalhana's dating his reign of nine years would fall between A.D. 666 and 695. This makes a difference of twenty-five years, Kalhana antedating. Chandrāpīḍa, according to Kalhana, had a noble character, and had been apparently remembered in Kashmir as an eminently humane administrator of justice. His name is associated with the founding of a number of temples to Vishṇu. His death is stated to have been brought about by the use of witchcraft on the part of a wicked brother of his, Tārāpīḍa, who succeeded to the throne. Tārāpīḍa who ascended the throne in this manner, succumbed to magic again used against him by the Brahmans whom he had oppressed. This intervention of magic in regard to the two rulers indicates that at the time belief in magic must have been current, and it must have been believed in largely. Thus, almost about a century after the founding of this dynasty, the Kashmir throne was occupied by a ruler, Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa, the last of the three sons of Durlabhaka. Mukṭāpīḍa's reign is of some importance in Indian History, and, allowing for the twenty-five years' correction already noted, would begin somewhere about A.D. 725 at the latest.

According to Kalhana, Mukṭāpīḍa ruled for a little over thirty-six years, from A.D. 699 to 736. Notwithstanding this long reign no coins of Lalitāditya have come to light. But fortunately we have foreign notices with which we can check Kalhana's chronology in this particular. The annals of the T'ang dynasty refer to the name of Mu-to-pi, a king of Kashmir, who sent an embassy to the Chinese court during the reign of the Emperor, Hiuen Tsang, A.D. 713-55. This embassy is said to have arrived after the first Chinese expedition to Po-liu (Baltistan) which took place sometime between A.D. 736 and

747. It is unfortunate that the precise date of this invasion should not have been recorded, as then it would have provided us with a valuable confirmation of a correction in Kalhana's chronology. Adopting the correction already made on the basis of the reference to Chandrāpīḍa, Muktāpīḍa's reign must have commenced in A.D. 724, and, if we accept the thirty-six years' length of reign, would have terminated in A.D. 760. Whatever be the value of this precise dating we may accept the period as roughly correct. Muktāpīḍa is referred to as Mu-to-pi in the Chinese annals. But Aliberuni calls him Muttai which may have been formed from some Prakrit or Apabhramśa form of the name, Mukta, and seems to conceal the Prakrit or Apabhramśa form Muttapiṭ. We get another variant of the name in the Itinerary of Ou-k'ong who speaks of him as the founder of the Mungti *Vihara* where he stayed for some time. From the geographical details that he gives of this *Vihara*, it seems to refer to a monastery built by Muktāpīḍa. Since his name appears in the contracted form in connection with his buildings, such as Muktakēśvara and Mukta-svāmi, it seems probable that the *Vihara* built by him was called Mukta, which, in the Chinese transcription, has become Mungti. Muktāpīḍa's appeal to China shows him as in imminent danger of an invasion of Kashmir from Tibet. He sought the assistance of the Celestial Empire for an auxiliary force of two hundred thousand men for which he agreed to provide provisions and encampment on the shores of the Mahāpadma Lake (Vular Lake). Incidentally it is also recorded that he was in alliance with the ruler of Central India, and together they blocked 'the five passes' leading from Tibet. This puts a different complexion on the character of his reign from that which the Kashmir account implies. Notwithstanding this difference, there is little room for doubt that the ruler referred to in these records is Muktāpīḍa and no other.

Who was this ruler of Central India who at the period of the threatened invasion from Tibet could have blocked the five passes along with the ruler of Kashmir against Tibet? A ruler who could block all the five passes leading from Tibet into India except on the Kashmir side must have been one whose authority extended over the central block of territory which constituted the Gupta Empire, and would include three separate geographical and political divisions. In other words, he must have been the one ruler over the whole terri-

tory comprised in the kingdom of Kanauj as under Harsha, the kingdom of Magadha, and the province of Tirabhukti, leaving Pundra farther east. This leaves out the passes to Assam which go too far east for the purpose. Hence this statement implies the existence of a powerful Central Indian ruler who might, without any violence to the words, be described as an imperial ruler. The same T'ang annals mention under date A.D. 731 an embassy from Central India from a ruler Icha-fan-mo, who is said to have sent his minister Seng-po-ta on the mission. Pauthier has identified Icha-fan-mo with Yaśovarman, and the suggestion seems quite acceptable from the point of view of Phonetics. This mission from Yaśovarman probably has had the same object as that from Muktāpīḍa, and hence the date given for Muktāpīḍa's mission, by H. Cordier from Chinese sources, of A.D. 733, may be accepted as correct. Thus then it becomes clear that during the years A.D. 731-733 Yaśovarman was the acknowledged ruler of Central India, and was in alliance with Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir, and both together had arranged to take common action against the powerful neighbouring state of Tibet to prevent its aggression across the mountain frontiers. The war between Muktāpīḍa and Yaśovarman, therefore, must have taken place later than the year A.D. 733 and we might even say later than the year A.D. 735. The year A.D. 735 therefore gives the lower limit of the war.¹ Having regard to all that Muktāpīḍa is credited with having done in the *Rājatarangini*, a further reign of about twenty years does not seem impossible, and therefore the period actually ascribed above to the reign of Muktāpīḍa, say A.D. 724-760, does not appear to be far from correct. Yaśovarman himself must have begun to rule earlier than Muktāpīḍa, and must have gradually built up an empire for himself in Mid-India. He could have done that only by succeeding to the position of the Later Guptas of Magadha, starting from his own ancestral estate, very much circumscribed at the time, the territory of the Maukharis. Although Maukhari greatness had vanished with the death of Gṛhavarman, there had been Maukhari chieftains of sufficient dignity to enter into marriage alliance even with Ādityasēna. In fact Ādityasēna's daughter was married to the Maukhari Bhogavarman, and the latter's daughter Vatsadēvi married Śivadēva II of Nepal, whose son Jayadēva

¹ For the chronological and other details, see Stein's translation of *Rājatarangini*, Bk. IV.

was a ruler of great influence and importance at the time. And this Jayadēva had in his turn married the daughter of the ruler of the East, Harsha by name, who came of the race of Bhagadatta, which means that he came of the royal family of Assam, and exercised authority over the kingdoms of Kāmarūpa, Puṇḍra, Oḍra, and Kalinga; in other words, all the east and south including within it Assam, Bengal, Orissa, and Kalinga.¹ What was left between the eastern ruler, and the extended Kashmir of the days of Durlabha, must have been included in the territory of Yaśovarman. That this was so is borne out to some extent by the Prakrit poem Gaṇḍavaho by one of the court poets of Yaśovarman, Vākpatirāja. The poem has for its subject matter the killing of a King of Bengal. The hero was no other than Yaśovarman. In the course of this narrative it makes much of the conquest of a Magadha ruler by Yaśovarman. So the two cardinal achievements of Yaśovarman are the conquest of Magadha, and the defeat which ended in the death of the ruler of Bengal. The latest date that we have for Yaśovarman is a reference in the *Tapagacchapattāvali*, which gives the date An. Vik. 800 to 895 (A. D. 743-838) for Jaina Āchārya Bappabhaṭṭi who came in contact with Yaśovarman, and Vākpatirāja. The Jain account describes Yaśovarman as of Maurya descent, and describes Vākpatirāja as a Paramāra. It is not impossible that Yaśovarman continued to be ruler till about A. D. 744, possibly some years later. The war, therefore, between Muktāpīḍa and Yaśovarman might have actually taken place after this date. We may, therefore, tentatively take it that the war did take place in A. D. 745 and as a result of the war, the Central Indian power went out of existence, involving as a consequence the non-existence of anything like a central government claiming suzerain authority, and guaranteeing, to some extent, internal peace and providing the only efficient means of defence against external dangers.²

The middle of the eighth century, it must be remembered, was a period when the security of the Indian frontiers was very much shaken by the advance of the Arabs on the one side, and by the aggressive conquests of the Tibetans on the other. The Tibetan danger seems to have passed off without harm to India, probably

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, ix, 180 ff.

² For fuller information, see *J. Bom. Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1927: my article on *Bappabhaṭṭicharita* and the Gurjara Empire.

because of the rising power of China under the great rulers of the T'ang line. But the danger of the north-west frontier from the Arabs proved to be far more real, and after the fall of the Persian Empire, the Arab expansion seems to have taken the form of advance on two lines. The landward expansion took the time-honoured route towards Kabul and the north-west, against the Turkish tribes of the borders of the steppes. The southward expansion seems to have advanced through Kandahar and Baluchistan to the frontiers of Sindh by land, and from the ports of the Indus Delta from the sea. The Arabs had already effected a foothold in Sindh as early as A. D. 713 and this, together with their activities in the region round Kabul, must have been the direct cause of the embassy that Chandrāpīḍa of Kashmir sent to the T'ang monarch of China, Hiuen Tsang, his contemporary. The period, therefore, was one that called for the active vigilance of the Indian states and it is on emergencies like these that occasion is found for the formation of empires. Four powers stood forth to essay this, after Yaśovarman was put out of the way, and all the four of them happened to be, from the point of view of Hindustan and north-western frontier, frontier powers more or less. The chance of an imperial central position lay before that one among the four which could make itself master of the central region, the Madhyadēśa of the Buddhists or the Magadha Empire under the Guptas. The first effort was made by Kashmir to exercise this authority over the central region, and it was only when Kashmir failed for reasons peculiar to her own history that the triangular equipoise rose among the rising powers, of the Gūrjaras of Bhinmal, the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed, and the Pālas of Bengal. The century therefore from A. D. 750 to 850 is a century of this transformation, and we shall take up that tale.

Kashmir, the paradise of the Muhammadan emperors of India, lay to a very great extent outside the current of Indian History, because of its geographical seclusion for one reason. But notwithstanding this geographical fact, she did not remain in that isolation in all probability which, absence of really historical information, makes us ascribe to her history. Even so it has been brought into touch with the main current of Indian History in certain periods whenever the centre of gravity of the empire was near enough to her borders. Kashmir seems to have formed an integral portion of the Kushan Empire, and of the Asokan, if Buddhist tradition is to be believed.

It is not clear that she formed any part of the empire of the Guptas. But it had been brought into the main stream of Indian History with the invasion of the Huns, and the doings of Mihiragula. She does not appear to have played much of a part in the imperial organization of the age of Harsha proper, although it was in the reign of Harsha that she first extended her authority over the borders to take in subordination as feudatories three or four of the kingdoms of the plains according to the account of Hiuen Tsang. It has already been pointed out that the Kashmir contemporary of Hiuen Tsang, and therefore, of the Emperor Harsha, was no other than Durlabha, the grandfather of Muktāpīḍa. It was probably in his reign the expansion actually took place, and the two reigns following do not seem to be of much importance in the career of expansion of Kashmir. It was with the accession to the throne of Kashmir of Muktāpīḍa that the foreign relations of Kashmir took form. It was already pointed out that Chandrāpīḍa, his elder brother, had to send an embassy to China, soliciting imperial assistance against the Arabs. That could mean no more than that the pressure of the Arabs was real on one side of the frontier. That an embassy should have gone to China in A.D. 713, the year in which the Arabs first effected a foothold in Sindh makes the connection between the one and the other indubitable. The short reign of Tārāpīḍa could do nothing, if Tārāpīḍa was hardly worthy of his position. But with the accession of Muktāpīḍa the call upon Kashmir became clear. Muktāpīḍa seems to have realized clearly the dangers surrounding him. The Arab trouble had passed owing to changing circumstances at the Arab head-quarters. But the real danger was from Tibet. Muktāpīḍa attempted an alliance with the central power, and the alliance apparently served well as against Tibet. For one reason or another which is not clear to us, this alliance could not hold together, and we see the allies going actually to war, resulting in the overthrow of the central Indian power. Muktāpīḍa, therefore, has to stand as champion not only for Kashmir, but for the whole of India—India north of the Vindhyas. If, as Kalhana says, he went to war against Bengal, it was not probably as a knight-errant seeking adventure, but as almost a necessary consequence of the conquest of Mid-India, which called for a settlement of the relations with the eastern frontier. That naturally would also have involved a war against Kalinga, as at this time what

was known to the Hindu historians as Kalinga went as an appanage of the ruler of Bengal. These two, the invasion of Bengal and the invasion of Kalinga, may be regarded as historical incidents in the conventional *dig-vijaya* that Kalhana ascribed to Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. Having settled these frontiers of his new responsibility on the east and south of his new conquests, he could return home as monarch of Kashmir and Emperor of India. He could turn his attention to the state of things across the mountains both on the side of Tibet and across the north-west in the territories still held by the Turkish tribes. That he undertook an invasion of these tribes, and, having gone too far into the desert regions, lost his life like a very hero of romance according to Kalhana, could only mean that he lost his life in an effort to subdue some of the troublesome tribes across the frontier, which took him to an unknown region and made him succumb to his thirst for war necessary though this war was. With his death Kashmir received a set-back in her imperial career. Muktāpīḍa could not have been the knight-errant that one would take him to be on a superficial reading of Kalhana. Though among his works of public utility, it is only temples, tanks and things of that kind that are ascribed to him, he must have been a capable monarch interested in the administration, and possessing the requisite amount of knowledge to transform that interest into channels of beneficent activity. He apparently undertook the reorganization of the administration, perhaps to meet the extensive needs of an enlarged kingdom. The administration of a larger empire, and the carrying on of war which a career of aggression must have necessitated would have involved the reorganization of the finances of the state. His financial administration must have been rigorous and even grasping, as Kalhana ascribes to him principles and maxims worthy of Alau-d-din, although it is put in a form much more in keeping with the character of a Hindu monarchy rather than in the gross form in which Alau-d-din is reported to have put it. The cultivator must be left enough to meet his needs adequately, but should not be left anything more to make his position attractive to the marauders from across the frontier. Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa's was indeed a glorious reign from the point of view of Kashmir, but his efforts at realizing an imperial ambition were too much for the role of Kashmir to play.

The period occupied by the new Magadhan Empire of Ādityasēna and his successors, down to the end of the reign of Yaśovarman of

Kanauj was occupied in Kashmir by the reigns of the first five rulers of the Kārkoṭaka dynasty. Applying the correction of twenty-five years of antedating in Kalhana, which, on Chinese evidence, is proved very probable, the end of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa's reign comes to somewhere about A.D. 760. It was already pointed out that Yaśovarman's reign perhaps came to an end somewhat earlier possibly about the year A.D. 750. But he seems to have survived his defeat by Muktāpīḍa and continued substantially in power for some years longer. The end of his reign may be placed somewhere about A.D. 755,¹ so that the two great rulers may have passed out of Indian politics almost about the same time, and that is the middle of the eighth century. Lalitāditya's rule was followed by four reigns, namely, those of Kuvalayāpīḍa and Vajrāditya, his two sons, with a reign of one year and of seven years respectively; and again by those of Prithivīpīḍa and Sangrāmāpīḍa I with periods of four years and a month, and seven days respectively. This brings us to the period A.D. 770, or possibly A.D. 771, when the other great ruler Jayāpīḍa came to the throne. Jayāpīḍa's reign, according to Kalhana, covered thirty-one years, which would mean that he ruled through the rest of the century. Jayāpīḍa's reign is of importance for our purposes, as it brings him into touch with the rulers of Kanauj, Central India and Nepal. Whatever be the truth regarding the kings actually mentioned by name, the details given by Kalhana regarding Jayāpīḍa's history, give us an idea of the condition of affairs in Northern India, and to that extent, at any rate, Kalhana's account of Jayāpīḍa is of very great value to the historian.

Jayāpīḍa came to the throne after a decade of weak rule of four successive rulers, the successors of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. After some years devoted to introducing order in the administration of Kashmir and otherwise putting his own affairs in order, he felt called upon to imitate the exploits of his predecessor, the great Muktāpīḍa, and started on a *dig-vijaya*, as the chronicler has called it. The first expedition took him to the kingdom of Gauḍa and to an attack on Pundravardhana, 'a city at that time under the rule of the kings of Gauḍa and protected by a king called Jayanta.' We are told that in that city, he had a love adventure with one of the courtesans, by name

¹ According to *Bappabhaṭṭīcharita* in *Prabhāvakacharita*; vide J. Bom. Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1927.

Kamalā, with whom he happened to be living for some time. He had occasion to perform a feat of killing a lion single-handed which attracted the attention of the king, who found means to discover the real character of Jayāpīḍa. As a result he gave his daughter Kalyāṇadēvi to Jayāpīḍa in marriage.

Soon after he had an opportunity of rendering service to his father-in-law by killing the five Gauḍa chiefs and making his father-in-law sole sovereign of Gauḍa. That perhaps means that Bengal was distracted by anarchy at the time and was divided among five separate rulers, and Jayāpīḍa assisted to bring them back to union and loyalty to a single ruler in the person of Jayanta. Having done this, he set out on the advice of his minister Dēvaśarman, the son of Mitraśarman, who was the foreign minister under Muktāpīḍa, to return to his own country. On the way he defeated the Raja of Kānyakubja¹ (Kanauj) in battle and carried off the throne of the monarch with him. During his absence his throne in Kashmir was occupied by a usurper, his own brother-in-law, Jajjuga by name. After putting down the usurper by a victory on the field of battle, Jayāpīḍa settled down to introducing order in the administration after the usurpation, and found time to construct temples for religion and extend his patronage for learning. One great act of his in regard to the latter particular was that seeing that the study of the *Mahābhāṣya* had been interrupted in the state, he imported a number of pandits expert in the subject and resuscitated the learning of the great work, thus promoting the study of the science of grammar. He himself underwent a course in grammatical science under a teacher by name Kshira, who may be the same as Kshirasvāmin, the commentator of *Amarakośa*. He was known among the learned as Pandit Jayāpīḍa. He looked for promoting learning and learned men, and in his court flourished such great men of learning as Bhaṭṭa Udbhata, who was his *sabhāpati*, and Dāmodaragupta, the author of *Kuṭṭinimata*. Vāmana was another great name, now identified with the author of the work *Kāvya Alankāra Sūtra*. There were besides the poets, Manōratha, Śankhadanta, Chāṭaka and Sāndhimat.

Having done these and other necessary acts to ensure sound administration, he started on another great expedition of conquest. He advanced at the head of a large army on an expedition eastwards

¹ Taken to be Vajrāyudha, ruler of Kanauj, mentioned by Rājasekhara in his *Karphūramanjari*. V. A. Smith, *Early History*, p. 392, and f. n. 4 (4th edn.)

till he reached the eastern ocean, where his design was to attack the king of that region called Bhīmasēna. We have to take Bhīmasēna to have been the ruler of Assam and Bengal extending down to the sea. Here again the knight-errant got the better of him, and instead of taking the enemy at the head of his army, he assumed the disguise of an ascetic, and entered the fortress with a few friends, and was betrayed by a Kashmir fugitive, a brother of the usurper Jajja, who happened to be there. He was thrown into prison. Feigning attack of a very contagious disease he was taken out of the kingdom and set free there, and thus he escaped. After some time apparently he found that the ruler of Nepal, Aramuḍi by name, was making efforts to get the better of him by diplomacy. Jayāpīḍa replied by actually invading his territory. The Nepal ruler retired before him till he encamped himself on the bank of a stream near its junction with the sea, which could only mean one of the innumerable mouths of the Ganges. Seeing the enemy's army arrayed on the other bank of the river, Jayāpīḍa thoughtlessly ordered the crossing of the river, at the time of the tide. When the whole of the army was thus entangled in the flood-tide, the enemy managed to take Jayāpīḍa prisoner. He was immured in a stone-built castle on the banks of the River Kālagandika, in all probability the Kāli-Gandaki, the two names of the Sarayu combined. It looked as though there was no chance of effecting his escape when the Brahman minister Mitraśarman came to his rescue. Collecting the remnant of Jayāpīḍa's force and placing them on the other side of the river, Dēvaśarman went to the King of Nepal and, pretending to be anxious to betray his master, obtained his permission to interview his own sovereign to find out where he had hidden the treasure. In the course of the interview, he devised means of escape for the king by suggesting that he might drop from the high-walled battlements of the castle into the stream and cross it by means of a float, which was to be his own dead body, as it would not burst like an inflated skin. Without telling the king about this latter part of the device, he wrote it on a slip of paper and committed suicide with the letter between his teeth. When the king saw it, he understood what was meant and used the dead body of his minister as directed therein. Thus escaping from this difficulty, he returned to his own territory of Kashmir. He undertook an invasion of the land of the Amazons (*Strirājya*) and returned victorious,

After this he did not go upon any more wars, but conducted the administration with great oppression and cruelty, as the chronicler reports. Notwithstanding his learning and previous good administration, he degenerated into a cruel tyrant and met with an unworthy end for a monarch of his character. His oppression of the Brahmans produced a reaction. Jayāpīḍa is said to have died as a result of the anger of a Brahman, Ittila by name.

From this account of Jayāpīḍa's reign as given by Kalhana, we can draw the following inferences in regard to the general condition of India. Kashmir was separated from the territory of Nepal by the River Kāli-Gandaki. Even now the Kāli River is the western boundary of Nepal. In the earlier part of his reign, his Bengal contemporary seems to have been his father-in-law Jayanta, preceded by an anarchy, which showed Bengal divided among the five chiefs. The kingdom of Kanauj still retained some of its power and perhaps Jayāpīḍa's defeat gave the last blow to the tottering kingdom. The farther east was perhaps in possession of Bhīmasēna, who probably was a successor of Harsha, the ruler of Assam, Bengal, Orissa and Kalinga about ten years before. Stripped of all romance therefore, we find the eastern kingdom still retaining some power, while the kingdom of Gauda or Bengal seems to have been overwhelmed in the course of his reign by the Nepal ruler. It is probably this Nepalese invasion which brought about anarchy in Bengal which was the occasion for the people to elect a new sovereign. What exactly brought about the retreat of Nepal within its own borders, we are not enabled to understand. Jayāpīḍa was perhaps responsible for ultimately bringing about the end of the kingdom of Kanauj. Thus Bengal reduced to anarchy, Kanauj becoming a ready prey to whoever was able to take possession of it, the theatre was ready for the struggling powers on the more distant borders to fight for the imperial position.

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE

- A.D. 713. Chandrāpīḍa, Tchen-to-lo-pi-li of Kashmir applied for aid against the Arabs, to the Chinese Emperor (Hiuen Tsang, A.D. 13-755).
 A.D. 720. The Emperor granted Tchen-to-lo-pi-li the title of king. Klaproth: *Memoirs relatifs a la Asie*, vol. ii, 275, etc.; A. Remusat, *Nouv. Melanges Asiat*, vol. i, p. 196, etc.; Buhler, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. ii, p. 106. Max Muller's *India, Gaudavaho*, and Renaud's *Memoirs*.
 Mu-to-pi, king of Kashmir, sent an embassy in the reign of Hiuen Tsang (A.D. 713-755) and after the first Chinese expedition to Bāltistan

(Poliu) between the years 736-47, requesting a Chinese auxiliary force of 200,000 men against the Tibetans. He promised to find provision for this army and provide encampment for the army on the banks of the Vular Lake (*Mahāpadma*). The embassy also reported that, in alliance with the king of Central India, he had blocked the five routes of Tibet,—Levi and Chavannes, *J. Asiat*, 1895, p. 351, in addition to reference under item 1.

The embassy is dated in A.D. 733, for the additional information that the emperor received the embassy and recognized the king, but declined to enter into the alliance, see H. Cordier, *Histoire General De La Chine*, vol. i, p. 463.

Alberuni's Muttai is obviously in reference to this and Ou K'ong's *Moung-ti Vihara* probably has reference to him.

A.D. 731. Suggestion of identity by Pauthier of Ichafan-mo of Central India with Yašovarman who sent his minister Seng-po-ta to the Chinese Court in 731.

A.D. 744. (*Sam.* 800). Jain *Tāpagacchaṭṭāvaḷi* mentions Yašovarman and his court poet Vākpatirāja.

The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the 'Arthasastra'

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CHAPTER IV—(concluded)

DOUBLE POLITICS (*Dvaidhibhāva*)

(*Ar. Śas.* viii. 113; *Kāma.* xi. 23-6)

LET us now examine the third of the six methods, i.e. the double politics. The various schools do not agree on the significance of the term (*Dvaidhibhāva*). One sees in it simply the attitude of 'duplicity,' the other understands thereby a condition implying peace with one party and war with the other. The second interpretation is that of Kauṭalya. Here are the principles which Kauṭalya gives at the end of the chapter :—

'The party with which one bargains and the party bargaining should determine at the very beginning the object of bargain and set about bargaining afterwards. That is the method which conduces to prosperity.' Thus it is pure bargaining. War and peace are considered solely from the point of view of profit. The greater or lesser profit depends on the relative importance of the diplomatic situation.

'If one seeks to preserve under his control a superior or inferior power under the pretext that the enemy should be attacked, or if one seeks to root out the ally after destroying the other enemy, or to win over a party of the army of the enemy by allowing it to cross over to the other party; in that case one should bargain for an exceptional profit. After bargaining, if one is capable of doing harm to the enemy, one should attack. Otherwise one should conclude an entente or stop

and form alliance with the enemy who is to be attacked. Or finally one should offer an army full of traitors, malcontents and savage tribes.'

This forms a good example of the very complicated recommendations of Kauṭalya.

Several of the hypothetical cases mentioned by Kauṭalya, giving certain directions, are obscure. The anomalies in the published text are no less formidable. We have to guess through most of the things. The following passages however furnish some consistent ideas on the double politics:—

'If one finds he (the neighbour) will not attack me from behind, so he will not pursue the enemy, in case of famine he will organize my supplies of grains and provisions, he will extinguish the bristling thorns in my way, he will hasten the construction of my fortifications, forests and passages with his army, he will arrest the enemy by creating inextricable embarrassments or by an entente; receiving his part of the booty, he will inspire confidence to the other enemies, in that case one shall have recourse to double politics, and endeavour to have from, one of these neighbouring kings, an army in exchange for a treasury or a treasury in exchange for an army.'

Thus war or peace is only a question of bargaining.

THE WAR (VIGRAHA) IN ITS DIFFERENT ASPECTS

(*Ar. Śās.* vii. 103-12; cp. *Kām.* x. 27-31; xi. 1-10;
Manu, vii. 164-885)

After having examined three of the six methods separately Kauṭalya treats of others as simple modalities of the war. But this struggle is diplomatic and not an armed contest.

To the war proper, Kauṭalya devotes a separate section.¹ This section which would merit a special study should complete the researches of Oppert and Hopkins on the military art of the ancient Hindus. But we limit ourselves to aspects of diplomacy. In this respect, the pause (*Āsana*) and the march (*Yāna*) are indeed aspects of the war. That is why Kauṭalya treats them simultaneously. We shall pursue the same method.

Kauṭalya thinks that the object of the diplomatic war is to avoid war. On this point he is completely in accordance with the masters of

¹ *Ar. Śās.* x, *Sāṅgrāmikam*; cp. *Mhb.* xii, ch. 38 (49-56).

the schools of law,¹ who ordain that the war must be the last diplomatic means to be employed when all others have failed.²

Thus Kauṭalya is led to define mixed diplomatic situations such as the pause after the declaration of the war,³ etc. He has three forms of the pause,—not to stir (*sthāna*), to suspend hostilities (*Āsana*), and to remain indifferent (*Upēkṣana*).

According to Kauṭalya 'if the conqueror and his enemy are incapable of mutual destruction and desire the entente, they must adopt the policy of equilibrium or pause after the declaration of war or after the conclusion of an entente.' Or if he finds:—

'My ally and the friend of my ally have brave and loyal subjects, hostile to the enemy, the enemy behind and the ally of this enemy behind; I shall be capable of advancing by making the friend of my ally fight the ally of the enemy in the rear—then one should undertake an expedition by declaring war against the enemy in front.'

If he would again find:—

'I am not capable of leading an expedition alone, nevertheless I am obliged to make one, one shall take to it after having concluded an alliance with the equal, inferior and superior powers, in certain cases bargaining with the definite portions of the spoils and in other cases with indefinite portions. If one cannot combine them all, he must demand of one of the powers, provisions for his army in exchange for a definite portion or better one must impress the advantages of a combined action.

'If the profit appears certain then the parts will be fixed beforehand. Otherwise the portions will depend on the actual profit.'

Considerations on surprise attacks on the enemy: causes of decline: greed, and disaffection: combination and good management of the elements.⁴

In this chapter Kauṭalya is occupied with this question: 'Which of the two enemies should be attacked first, the weaker power immersed

¹ Cp. *Manu* vii. 107-8 and 198-9.

² Cp. *Ar. Śās.* vii. 100; *Mhb.* xii, ch. xlviii. 25; ch. xciv. 1; ch. cii (22).

उपायाः सामदानं च भेदो दण्डस्तथैव च ।

संयुक् प्रयुक्ताः सिध्येयुः दण्डस्त्वगतिकागतिः ॥

y. i, 345.

³ *Ar. Śās.* vii. 103-7, cp. *Manu* vii. 161 with *Medhātithi*, *Kulluka*, etc.

⁴ *Ar. Śās.* vii. 108-10.

in great misery or the stronger enemy which is a prey to lesser misery ?'

'He must attack the force which is known to be in great misery, for this is facile,' say the masters. 'No,' says Kauṭalya 'one must attack the stronger enemy who suffers least misery ; even that light misery becomes great in case of attack.'

'It is true that misery augments in proportion to its greatness. But if one does not attack the enemy who is in less misery, he shall ally himself with the enemy attacked to provide against the misery, and then attack from behind.'

If one shall have to attack at a time two attackable powers which of the two shall one attack first ?

'He who is in great distress but upright or he who is in less distress but dishonest and whose subjects are discontented ?'

'One must attack the enemy whose subjects are discontented. If one attacks him who is in great difficulties but straightforward, his subjects would uphold him, whereas if one attacks him who is in less misery but whose conduct is less upright, his subjects will remain indifferent. The discontented subjects will overthrow a powerful king, consequently one must attack him whose subjects are disaffected.'¹

Here Kauṭalya emphasizes forcibly the effects of the moral weakness of a sovereign, and on that question he is of the same opinion as the masters of other schools. Likewise even in war it is the moral force which decides the final victory.

Towards the end he makes some profound observations on one's allies in conducting an expedition.

The allies who are not honest but who profess to be honest men, should be watched, from time to time until their dismissal from their suspected position, or their women should be kept as hostages.

'There is reason to fear the equals who attain their goal, for the equals who attain their aim change their attitude even towards the superiors.

'The prosperous allies are unworthy of confidence, for prosperity deforms the spirit. If they get a small portion of the booty of the superiors, the allies seem to be satisfied. If they have no share in the booty, they sit on the knees of their allies and plunder the spoils doubly.

¹ Cp. Medhātithi on *Manu* vii. 164.

'When he has achieved his purpose, the chief (*nēta*) should dismiss all his allies in groups (*Sāmaṇyika*). He should rather live himself than seek to conquer others. That would be best for the circle of states.'

CONDUCT OF AN ATTACKABLE POWER (*Yātavyavṛtti*)

(*Ar. Śās.* vii. 114-5)

In this section, Kauṭalya describes diplomatic struggles between attacking powers and attackable powers, every one of them trying to obtain an advantage over the other.

If a power runs the risk of being assailed by two enemies at a time, and that it desires to accept or reject the conditions of an entente, in the first case, it must bargain with one of the two powers by offering it double profits. While thus bargaining it must insist on his losses, his expenses, and inconveniences due to changes of place. Once the treaty is concluded it must bind that power by self-interest. In the second case he must have it attacked by others and create dissensions.

In case of urgency it must bargain with very little of profit ; if it finds good deal of advantages for the future, it should bargain by sacrificing even a great profit for the present. In the same manner Kauṭalya indicates always his preference for the permanent gain, and he is eager to always prove the advantage one has in possessing a good ally.

Then he classifies the allies according to their qualities :—

Those who commence feasible work (*Śakyārambhi*).

Those who commence work without blemish (*Kalyārambhi*).

Those who commence beneficent works (*Bhavyārambhi*).

Those who commence work to finish it faithfully (*Sthirakarmā*).

And those who possess loyal subjects (*Anuraktaṭṭhā*).

In case of rivalry, the acquisition of a strong and faithful ally decides the victory ; for that reason the conqueror is always counselled to convert the intermediary and neutral powers into real allies.

Same as the ally, the army is also a decisive factor for victory. The armies are classified according to their qualities¹ :—

(1) The permanent army (*Maula*).

(2) The mercenary army (*Bhṛta*).

(3) The army of corporations (*Śṛēṇi*).

(4) The army of the ally (*Mitra*).

¹ Cp. *Manu* vii. 185, Com. : *Mhb.* xv, ch. vii. 7, 8, 9.

(5) The army of savage tribes (*Aṭavi*); well-informed of time and places.

(6) The army of hostile savage tribes inexperienced both in time and places.

In an entente whose one condition is the release of soldiers, one should attempt always to keep for himself the best soldiers and give to his rival the inferior ones. Also when following the diplomatic policy one is obliged to give away the best men of his army he is counselled to take it back on the earliest occasion under pretext of military manoeuvres (*Danda vyasanga*).

Thus we see that attack was a mere sham. Generally war was diplomatic and very frequently, it terminated in an entente obtained by ceding soldiers, money, or an ally. One calculates the profit before all. And one is fully aware that a war of total devastation becomes very rarely profitable.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE ENEMY BEHIND

(cp. Manu vii. 210). *Pārṣṇigrāhacintā*,
Ar. Śās. vii. 117.

Leaving aside the attacking power and the attacked powers Kauṭalya devotes his attention to the enemies in the rear, who play a sufficiently great role in diplomatic combinations. He weighs the advantages of kings who attack in the rear and compares them with the two kings who are before them. Here the moral considerations play a great part for bringing about success.

'Of the two kings who attempt respectively to ruin a friend and an enemy, he who attacks the rear of the king, seeking to uproot a friend surpasses the other, inasmuch as he serves his friend. He who wishes to ruin his enemy must rid himself of those who threaten him in the rear. Otherwise he ruins his own party.'

The advantage resulting from the attack of the rear changes according to the moral quality of the attacked enemies. Kauṭalya gives them different names.

- (1) 'The enemy cutting his own root' (*Mūlahara*).
 - (2) 'The temporary enemy, the demoralized enemy,' etc.
- The enemies in the rear are divided into three classes :—
- (i) He who is effectively opposing is called *Varga*.
 - (ii) Those who are of both sides are *Pratiṣeṣa*,

(iii) He who is placed between the conquering king and his enemy and who is weak, is called *Antardhi*.

The conquering king and the enemy try always to win over each to his own side the intermediary or the neutral king, even though the latter behaves like an enemy. Kauṭalya gives out the reason.

'Even an enemy when he can render service, is worth negotiating but not an ally who has no more amicable intentions.' When war becomes inevitable Kauṭalya advises the combatants to keep their presence of mind.

They must see the reality such as it is :—

'More than the attack in the rear and in the front, the battle of intrigue (*Mantrayuddha*) is advantageous.'¹

Still, in cases of necessity Kauṭalya prescribes the destruction of the enemy at any cost :—

'In an exhausting battle there is no success for both on account of losses and expenses.'

'The conqueror himself appears conquered, he has no more armies nor treasures' say the learned. 'No,' says Kauṭalya 'even in case of very great loss and equally great expenses, one must endeavour to destroy the enemy.'

He concludes the chapter with a few maxims in verse :

'In this manner the conqueror must organize his circle for his advantage by enriching his friends and his elements both in front and behind.' In all his circle, he must always appoint messengers (*dūta*)² (*Dūtapraṇidhi*) and also spies (*gūḍha*).³ He must strike having kept his plan hidden.

'He who does not hide his plan, even if occasionally successful, is sure to perish as a ship springing a leak on sea.'

RECOVERING DIMINISHED POWER (*Hīnaśaktipūranam*).

Ar. Śās. vii. p. 118.⁴

In this section Kauṭalya discusses the conduct of a power which is in a critical situation. First of all this power must employ the means of conciliation and of division.

¹ Cp. *Ar. Śās.*, p. 283, *Kūṭayuddha* and *Kāma.*, ch. xxxi.

² *Ar. Śās.* 112.

³ Cp. *Kam.* xviii, xix; *Manu* vii. 63-4.

⁴ Cp. *Ar. Śās.* viii. (*Prakṛtivyasanavarga*).

Sometimes it must pretend to be innocent and sometimes outraged to win over one of the enemies leagued against it.

‘Just as I, poor and innocent, have been attacked by that coalition of powers, so you will be attacked by them whether in good or in dangerous conditions. For force always corrupts the spirit and becomes the cause of ruin.’

‘When one can divide the allies, one must attack the weak after having won the chief or attack the chiefs after having conciliated the petty ones. Everywhere if one shall see an advantage, he must get them attacked by others and create a split; otherwise he should win over the chief by offering him prospects of great profits, and conclude an entente.’

But if one knows that the contractors of this entente are dishonest, one must break it up as soon as possible. In all these circumstances, the intermediaries who receive money from both sides (*Ubhayavēṭana*) are very appreciated as much for the conclusion as for the rupture of an entente.

The method of conciliation is afterwards explained in detail. One should win him who gives energy to all his group by sacrificing himself; him, who is resolute in action by showing humility and submission; him who has loyal subjects, by offering him a daughter in marriage or a subsidy; him who is greedy by offering him double profits; him who is afraid by giving him hostages; him who is bound by consanguinity to the king, by offering him an agreement; him who is allied to both parties, by acting in such a way as to please him and benefiting him by surrendering to him some profits, and finally him whose hostility is not durable, by rendering friendly and profitable service to him.

Beside these defensive tactics, the weak power must labour to rebuild its own elements. At first it must be reinforced by the concourse of experienced men and by the utilization of sciences and experts.

It must keep watch over the improvement of the works of irrigation (*Setubhanda*,¹ which are the sources of agricultural wealth, of commercial paths (*Vanikpatha*), of economic prosperity, of mines, of materials of war, of forests, of parks for elephants and grounds for pasturages, etc.

¹Cp. *Sūkra*, iv, ii, 121-2.

If some of these advantages are lacking, it must attempt to secure them from an ally. If it has a weak army, it must strengthen it by recruiting on the one hand soldiers from the corporations, from the bravest clans, from the bands of robbers and savage tribes, and on the other hand spies dangerous for the enemy.

In this way with partisans (*Pakṣa*), policy (*Mantra*), materials (*Dravya*) and an army (*Bala*) one must free himself from the dependence to the enemy (*Paravagraha*).

Manner of deceiving the powerful enemy when one is attacked: conduct of him who is defeated in battle (*Dandopanavṛttam*).

Ar. Śās. vii. 119-20; *Sūkra*. iii. 235; *Raghu* xvii. 8.

A power placed in a dangerous situation must endeavour to ally with another, more strong or equal or even with one inferior but honest and enthusiastic. If allies are lacking one must support on a fortress of which even a powerful army, and the enemy would be unable to intercept the provisions, fodder, the combustibles and water, and be forced on the contrary to incur losses and expenses in attempting to reduce the fortress.¹

Thus protected, one must win a power intermediary or neutral, or a relation of the enemy or one of the chiefs imprisoned by himself, or an ally capable of attacking the enemy in the rear, or even among the enemies themselves, those who can be seduced so as to raise a revolt in his kingdom, and finally to destroy by arms, fire, poison or other secret means.

But if these means appear impossible, one must, according to some, attempt to come out by abandoning the fortresses and fling oneself on the enemy as an insect on the flame, for, according to the savants, he who is prepared to sacrifice even his life, can attain success.

But Kautalya pronounces against this desperate solution. He counsels rather the acceptance of a humiliating peace. The fitting attitude for him who is completely conquered in the war is to say:

‘That kingdom and myself are at your disposition.’

After one has obtained an entente, one must maintain the attitude of one who respects the conventions. The works of fortifications, the import of products, the marriage, the commercial enterprises, the capture of elephants, the visits to the places of sacrifice (*Satra*), to places of

¹ Cp. *Sūkra*. iv. 6 (10); *Mhb.* xii. 7 (4-5); *Manu* vi. 195.

pilgrimage and amusements (*Viharagamana*) should be accomplished only after the authorization has been solicited.

'In the same manner, one must demand the authorization when one negotiates with an independent people or when annulling or evading an entente. Even if a good territory is offered he must not accept without permission.'

But under this mask of loyalty, one must always attempt to deceive the superior.

'In the absence of the master, he should visit secretly the minister, the high priest, the commander of the army or the heir-apparent, and one must endeavour to aid them as much as it lies in one's power. However while worshipping the gods or offering prayers, one must implore benedictions on his master and ever make a display of one's virtues of self-effacement.'

THE CIRCLES OF MEDIATORY POWERS (*Madhyama*)
AND NEUTRALS (*Udastna*)

(*Ar. Śās.* vii, pp. 124-6).

The diplomatic world of Kauṭalya has for its centre the conqueror and his enemy. Round them gravitate the circles of friends or foes and they form a sort of a political solar system. But that system is ever influenced by two other systems, that of the intermediary and that of the neutral who are studied at the end of the section.

Here again we find the same intrigues, the same efforts for winning over important allies, for ruining the elements of the enemy and for developing his own elements appearing as fundamental parts of diplomacy.

There is no difference between the case of the intermediary and that of the neutral. For a mediating king the third and fifth elements of states are the friendly elements while the fourth are enemies.

If these two series of elements are aided by the mediatory power the conqueror must come to agreement with him.

If the mediator helps nobody, then the conqueror must ally with the two elements. If the mediator seeks to win over an ally of the conqueror, the latter must defend his ally by provoking the allies of his ally, and dividing the allies of that mediator. Or he must excite the circle against him by saying :

'This mediator is become too powerful, and has grown only for our ruin. Let us ruin him by some combination.'

If this proposition is agreeable to the circle, he should reinforce himself by ruining the mediator. If not agreeable, one must seek to seduce the ally by soldiers and money and to win his cause by means of conciliation (*Sama*), division (*Bhēda*), punishment (*Danda*),¹ gifts (*Dana*), and thus win over the chief or the neighbouring chiefs who are hostile to mediator or those who live by mutual support or prosper in a common success or who being afraid of one another, dare not declare war. In the same manner, by gaining a second chief he must double his strength and by gaining the third chief he must triple his strength. Once reinforced in this way he should turn against the mediator.

If the mediator seeks to gain the neutral, the conqueror must separate them and must ally with one who is in better terms with the circle. The same method must be practised if the neutral seeks to gain the mediator.

The possible friends of the conqueror are :—

He who marches with him towards a different object.

He who marches with him towards a common object.

He who approaches with the intention of allying with him.

He who desires to march as ally.

He who marches, stimulated by his own interest.

Those who rise together in rebellion.

He who desires to buy or sell soldiers (arms ?) or treasury.

He who adopts a double policy.

Among all these the conqueror must help, with all his force him who has a common aim to combat the enemy.

If an ally attains great prosperity and becomes too independent, after having vanquished the enemy, he should be made to engage in a war with the elements of neighbouring states or to lose his territory, captured by one of the members of his family or by an imprisoned prince. Lastly he should act in such a way that he would remain submissive relying on his powers.

A politician must maintain his allies in a condition which is neither too high nor too low.

When an inconstant ally concludes a treaty for profit, the conqueror

¹ Cp. *Sūtra*. iv. 1, 26-37.

must seek to remove the causes of abandoning the same and prevent him from withdrawing from the alliance.

If an ally who is at the same time an ally of the enemy, is inclined decidedly on the side of the enemy, one must separate and destroy him and then destroy the enemy himself.

Kaṭalya concludes thus the chapter on diplomacy by two stanzas full of experience :—

‘He who is an expert in politics must have recourse to one of the several diplomatic means,—advance, ruin, repose, harassing and destruction. In this way he who realizes fully the interpretation of the sixfold method, plays as it were with kings who are caught in the net of diplomacy.’

CONDUCT OF HIM WHO IS VANQUISHED BY ARMS

(*Daṇḍopānāyivṛttam*)

(*Ar. Śās.* vii, p. 121; *Viṣṇu* iii. 47-9 and 53)

Whoever, be a king or a commander of the army, desires to conquer must possess all the diplomatic means.¹

By means of conciliation and presents, one must flatter the weak : by employing dissension and punishment, one must reduce the strong.²

The compulsory (*Niyoga*), the optional (*Vikalpa*) or the combined (*Samuchaya*) use of the same process leads to the consolidation of the elements.³

‘One should practise conciliation by promising protection of the villagers, of forests, pasturages, and commercial routes, as well as by promising to re-establish those who have been expelled, who have run away, and who have done wrongs once to the conqueror.

‘One must practise the method of presents by offering territories, materials, young girls and a general amenity (*Abhaya*). One must take to the method of dissension by seducing the neighbouring chiefs, the chiefs of forests, the relatives of the enemy or imprisoned chiefs and by urging them to force the delivery of treasures, army and territories.

‘One must practise the method of punishment by means of an open

¹ Cp. *Br. niti* v. 1-8.

² Cp. *Sūtra*. iv. 1, 26, 35-40.

³ Cp. *Manu* vii. 214-5; also *Raghu*, xvii. 49 Com.

battle, a treacherous or secret battle and by the assault of fortresses and thus capture the enemy.¹

The allies and the supporters are classed with care according to the advantages they offer.

He who procures various advantages (*Citrabhoga*).

He who procures a great advantage (*Mahābhoga*).

He who procures all the advantages (*Sarvabhoga*).

He who procures only one advantage (*Ekatobhoga*).

He who procures the advantages on both sides at the same time (*Ubhayatobhoga*).

He who procures advantage on all sides (*Sarvatobhoga*).

The conqueror must treat the different parties according to their intentions and their various capacities. He must be faithful to the faithful and offer protection to those who seek for it.

‘During troubles, one must deal more kindly to those who return voluntarily. One must give audience on demand and one must repair the abuses.

‘One must not pronounce words of humiliation, of menace, and of defamation. In promoting the sense of security one must conduct himself as a father. He who outrages the people must be executed publicly. For avoiding the suspicions of the enemy one must punish in secret. One must never covet the territories, property, children and women of an enemy killed. One must even restore his kinsmen in their respective places and one must reinstate on the throne the sons of the dead king. Thereby the conqueror would be obeyed from generation to generation.

Thus we see that conquest is not the last word in Kaṭalyan diplomacy. Loyal to the principles formulated at the commencement of his treatise, he discusses the problem of pacification of territories after conquest.

Thus *Labha* (the acquisition) is followed by *Palana* (the protection). Here he is in complete accord with the masters of schools of diplomacy as we know, from all the commentators on *Manu* vii. 56 :—

त्रैः सार्धं चिन्तयेत् नित्यं सामान्यं संधिविग्रहम् ।

स्थानं समुदयं गुप्तिं लब्धप्रशमनानिच ॥

Medhātithi, the more ancient of all commentators on *Manu*, cites in

¹ Cp. *Ar. Śās.* x, xiv; *Kāma*. xxi-xxxvi; *Sūtra*. iv. 7.

extenso the Kauṭaliya, while other commentators follow the Kāmandaki which is simply the *Arthaśāstra* in verse.

Towards the end of his treatise¹ Kauṭalya devotes a special chapter entitled 'Pacification of conquered territories' (*Labdhaprasamana*).² This is a veritable document on the ethics of Hindu diplomacy. Kauṭalya evaluates and classifies the conquerors after the ideal of the acquisition of territories.³

The just conqueror (*Dharmavijayi*).

The greedy conqueror (*Lobhavijayi*).

The demonic conqueror (*Asuravijayi*).

The conqueror who is satisfied with simple obedience is called the just. The weak kings should seek his protection. The conqueror who is satisfied with the gain of territories and money is called the greedy. The weak kings should send him off by the gifts of riches.

The conqueror who is satisfied neither by the capture of lands and treasures, nor by that of sons and females of the conquered king is called the demonic. The weak kings should keep him at a distance by offering territories and money.

In this ethical conception, Kauṭalya is very far from Machiavelli with whom he has been compared in a superficial fashion. It is enough to cite his own words:—

'Having acquired a new territory, the just conqueror must cover the vices of the enemy with his own virtues and the virtues of the enemy by doubling his own. He must take care to satisfy his elements and do good to them by observances of his religious and secular duties,⁴ by recompenses, concessions, presents and by honours. He must keep words given to the partisans whom he has drawn from the enemy. He must give more to those who have already worked for him.

'He must adopt the same manner of living, the same costumes, the same language and the same customs as those of the conquered people.⁵

'In the celebration of the special cult of that country⁶ in joining

¹ *Ar. Śās.* xiii. 176.

² *Cp. Mhb.* xii, ch. 58. 68-73; Mallinātha on *Raghu* iv. 14; *Manu* vii. 201-3; *Vishnu* iii. 47-9, 53.

³ *Ar. Śās.* xii. 162; *cp. Mhb.* xii, ch. 58. 38-9; *Raghu* iv. 43, Com.

⁴ *Cp. Gautama, Dh. Śās.* x. 12-13.

⁵ *Cp. Yājñ.* i. 342.

⁶ *Cp. Sukra.* iv. iii. 9, 10; *Manu.* 1, 118.

the congregations (*Samaja*) and the festivals (*Utsava*) and amusements (*Vihāra*), he must follow the inclinations of the people. The spies should ever turn the attention of the chiefs of the village, of clans and of corporations to the misdeeds of the vanquished enemy and on the contrary, to the advantages and the blessings due to the new master and to his good graces ever present.

'The conqueror must render his elements happy, by festivities (*Bhoga*), concessions (*Parihara*), protection and just solicitude. He must respect the gods and religious orders (*Āsrama*). He must make gifts of lands and goods exempt from charges, to men of letters, orators, the saints and the heroes. He must show favours by releasing prisoners (*Bandhanamokṣa*) by helping the unfortunate, the orphans and the sick. He must forbid the slaughter (*Aghāta*) of animals for the half-month during which are celebrated the ceremonies of *caturmāsya*, for four nights during the full moon and for the night during which appears the star of the anniversary of the king or the star of the country. He must prohibit the killing of little girls and new-born babies (*Yonibalaśadha*), as well as castration (*Pumstvopaghāta*). In this manner he must establish the righteous customs (*Dharmavyavahāra*) by abolishing customs which are unjust (*Adharma*) and destructive of the financial and the military power.¹ Towards the end of the chapter Kauṭalya promulgates very liberal principles which elevate his diplomacy far above the level of cruel and sordid intrigues.

'The just conduct (*Dharmya*) practised or non-practised by others must be encouraged, the unjust conduct (*Adharmya*) must not be encouraged, even if it is practised.'²

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

THE diplomatic section of the *Arthaśāstra* presents a consistency which offers to its study a particular guarantee. We do not find the historical anomalies which disconcert us in the second book. Above all the exposition is more homogeneous than anywhere else. The order is perfectly logical, at least it becomes so if by a method justifiable in the case of a text known by a single manuscript of very ancient time,

¹ *Ar. Śās.*, pp. 409-10.

² *Cp. Medhātithi on Manu* vii, 56.

we invert the order of some chapters.¹ First come the organs of the state and their sphere of action and next the six-fold method of action.² The following chapters from 117 to 121 treat of special cases (urgent measures, conduct of the vanquished, etc.). The rest³ is devoted to the expansion of diplomatic relations from narrow circles of immediate enemies to the more extended circles of intermediaries and neutrals.

For elucidating the intentions of Kauṭalya we have added to that *ensemble* some paragraphs which do not form part of the diplomatic section proper (viz. ch. 11). The so-called Hindu Machiavelli, though very independent in thought, is not non-moral. It is evident from passages as the following: 'When the advantages procured by peace and war are equal one should prefer peace. Because in war are found exhaustion and expenditure, exile and sin (*pratyavāya*). The war is considered here as by the masters of the schools of *Dharma*, as the last recourse. And when employed the conquest must immediately be followed by conciliation (*Labdaprāsamana*). The victor who by a just use of conquest reconciles the generally conflicting demands of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*, is considered as having attained complete success *Sarvārtha siddhi*.'⁴

To whom should this doctrine, so coherent as a whole be attributed? Are we to follow tradition and recognize thither the hand of the minister of Chandragupta? In the enthusiasm of the discovery Mr. Shama Sastri believed the work in its entirety as having been written by Vishnugupta Chāṇakya, the chief minister of Chandragupta, towards 325 B.C. The opinion of Mr. Shama Sastri is sustained ardently by the great erudition of Mr. Jacobi who is carried away by the idea that we have in the treatise a capital monument of the state of civilization of the fourth century before the Christian era. Following their steps many indologists have accepted without reserve that the treatise belongs entirely to the Mauryan epoch.

We owe a great deal to the two scholars who have thrown considerable light on several remarkable facts pertaining to the epoch and to the personality of Chāṇakya Kauṭalya. But on carefully examining the different parts of the text we are obliged to declare their hypothesis untenable. In the section dealing with diplomacy which we have

¹ v., p. 83.

² Ch. 96, 116, 122, 123.

³ Ch. 124-6.

⁴ *Ar. Śās.* ch. 14, 145-6, p. 362.

analysed, the diplomacy is not that of a centralized empire but rather that of a divided feudality, in which each chief is in perpetual conflict with his equals for a hegemony which in its turn crumbles down by causing a new series of wars. This is the normal politics of an age of political atomism. It is just the contrary of the politics of a large empire. The diplomacy of Kauṭalya may be anterior or posterior to that of the Mauryas and does not contain any unerring traces of the centralized imperialism of Chandragupta.

The second book which appears to reflect an alluring picture of such an empire contains unmistakable traces of later interpolation. Unfortunately the name of Chāṇakya-Kauṭalya has so powerfully hypnotized the scholars that although some had studied this section in detail (*vide* Mr. N. Law in the *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, 1914) one is ever ready to discover new data of the civilization of the fourth century before the Christian era in that *Imperial Gazetteer* (as it has been called) of the Maurya Empire.¹ Mr. Hillebrandt for the first time pointed out the existence of a definite treatise and of a continuous tradition of a school of *Artha* and he affirms that the *Arthashastra* is the work of a school and not at all a manual written by an individual. To Mr. Hillebrandt go the honour and credit of having distinguished the personality of Chāṇakya-Kauṭalya such as it appears in the drama of *Mudrārākṣasa* where he plays the chief rôle; of the school of profit (*Artha*) Kauṭalya is not the only representative. Since then Hillebrandt has brought forward new arguments in favour of his theory in reply to Mr. Jacobi.²

The science of *Artha* is very ancient. Certain of its parts as the science of Law are pre-Buddhist.³ But the book of this school discovered by Mr. Shama Sastri is not a homogeneous work, all entirely of one age. It carries in its different parts unmistakable marks of different epochs. As is the case in India, the manuals of this species do not represent the work of one person but a product of successive generations. For example, the original texts of medicine compiled by Agniveśa and Atri are modified and augmented by Caraka and Dṛdhabala. The names of those who modified the texts are very rarely preserved. But even without having the names

¹ *Ucer das Kautilya-Śāstra und Verwandtes*, Breslau, 1908.

² *Zu Kautilya*, *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 69, 1915.

³ *Vide* Rhys. David, *Pali-Eng. Dict.*, 1921, S. V. *Attha*.

of those authors the traces of modifications are clear in the principal works of every school. Moreover in a land like India the climate necessitates the frequent recopying of manuscripts and it is well known that those transcriptions are the occasion not only of alterations in the text, but of considerable additions sometimes. Such was the case in particular when late compilers intended to secure for their work the confidence and respect of the posterity under the cover of a great name. Thus even admitting that a greater part of the *Arthashastra* belongs to the genius of Kaṭṭalya-Chāṇakya, it is not improbable that the work has been retouched from time to time.

Dr. J. Jolly¹ who has studied our text carefully had expressed himself against the view that ascribes the whole of the *Arthashastra* to the reign of Chandragupta. Dr. Jolly with the authority of a scholar versed in the literature of the two technical sciences, law and medicine shows the existence of indisputable later additions relating to law and metallurgy considered as a branch of the science of medicine. The three successive chapters of the work of the *Arthashastra* relating to the exploitation of the mines and the manufacturers (ch. xii), the Superintendent of gold and the bureau of goldsmith (ch. xiii) and the duties of the king's goldsmith (ch. xiv) indicate the addition of later experiences to more ancient ones.² Here the conclusion of Dr. Jolly is corroborated by the studies by Prof. P. C. Roy on the history of Hindu chemistry (1914-1909). The more ancient works of Metallurgy (*Lohaśāstra*) are attributed to *Paṇḍjali* and to *Nāgarjuna*. Now both are surely posterior to Kaṭṭalya. But this science as it appears in the *Arthashastra* seems to be more recent, especially because of the frequent use of mercury (*Rasapāka*, *Rasavidyā*).

In examining the legal portion of the *Arthashastra* Dr. Jolly speaks³ with greater force still that 'if the work is considered as having been written three centuries before Christ with all its legal parts (*Dharmaśthiyam*) all the accepted chronology of the school of Hindu Law collapses as a house of cards.' This idea is supported by the conclusions of Mr. Hopkins towards the end of his study on the 'Growth of Law and Legal Institutions'.⁴ Finally very recently Mr. Otto Stein

¹ *Kollektaneenzum Kautalya Arthashastra*, Z. D. M. G., 1914-15; *Text kritische Bemerkungen zum Kautalya Arthashastra*, Z. D. M. G., 1916-17.

² *Zur Datierungsfrage*, *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1916.

³ *Ar. Śās.* and *Dharmaśāstra*, Z. D. M. G. 1913 and *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1916.

⁴ *C. H. I.*, vol. i, ch. xii, p. 294.

discovered¹ that the pieces of evidence furnished by Megasthenes contradict those of the *Arthashastra*; so in reading the chapters relating to the horses and the royal elephants we shall see that to a solid fund of facts and ancient experiences have been added several later data. The *Arthashastra* describes not only of the horses of Sind but all those of Combodia and of Arabia (*Vanayu*). But the most definite argument against the theory of Mr. Jacobi is furnished to us by the examination of the geographical data.² All serious historians will hesitate to regard it as written in the fourth century B.C., a work containing names as Harahura and Kapisa, Kambhoja and Aratta, Bahlika and Vanāyu, Tāmraparni and Pāṇḍya Kavāta, Suvarṇakudya, Chīna and Nepāla.

Most of these names appear in the chapters on the treasury and jewels of the king. Mr. Finot³ denies the antiquity of those chapters, but Dr. Jacobi has striven to prove that the Hindus had already colonised Indo-China almost three centuries before our era. Finally according to Mr. Pelliot⁴ it is almost impossible to establish the existence of the name 'China' before the foundation of the dynasty of T'Sin (250 B.C.).

Consequently we must give up the idea that the *Arthashastra* came entirely out of the head of Kaṭṭalya as Minerva from the head of Jupiter and that it had been written only for Chandragupta. On the other hand, we may consider our treatise as an inestimable encyclopædia of royal science and as a static symbol of the evolution of the Hindu spirit applied to the science of Government and of Wealth of which the *Arthashastra* is the most ancient and the most interesting document known till now.

It remains to explain why it is the only book and above all why it remained unknown until the period when Mr. Shama Sastri discovered it in a private library. How is it that despite the richness of the observation and experience and its practical utility for government, that the *Arthashastra* had completely disappeared. The explanation lies probably in the attitude of the Hindu mind towards *Artha*. The *Artha* is a positive science, comparable to medicine or alchemy. But it also touches the moral life of man. Now here the Hindu spirit is

¹ *Megasthenes und Kautalya*. Vienna. 1922.

² See App.

³ *B. E. F. E. O.*, 1912.

⁴ *B. E. F. E. O.*, iv, pp. 143-9, T. Oung Pao, 1913-14.

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prone to deviate from the Real and to launch into the Ideal. On the one hand brutality and cruelty of the Kṣatriyas which we have seen to be systematized by the schools have been strongly combated by Jainism and Buddhism, both opposed to violence. It is striking that so far as those schools preserve clear notions of political sciences they give them a new meaning.¹ It is thus that *Sarvārthasiddhi*² according to the Buddhist tradition is applied to Buddha himself by his father foretelling his future of glory. Even the term *Chakravartin* which rarely occurs in the treatise of Kauṭilya recalling notions of circles, signifies among the Buddhists and the Jains, the religious conqueror. In practice also such inter-relations are met with. Mr. Jayaswal has indicated that the spiritual organization of the Buddhist community derived partly from lay organizations.³ In Brahmanical schools again the moral and abstract elements become stronger and stronger and reacted fatally on the *Arthashastra*. The transformation in this case was the prelude of its disappearance. While the positive scientific part shrinks the moral element gets the preponderance. And *Arthashastra* becoming devoid of originality thus came to be absorbed by other schools, e.g. Law and became finally merged into the Great Epics.

Towards the fourth century A.D. Kāmandaka gives an excellent poetical version of *Kauṭilya-Śāstra* but he passes over many characteristic elements. A century later Kālidāsa, who was a true genius not only in poetic sense but also for his knowledge of Hindu sciences⁴ knows the original treatise and reproduces even the expressions of the *Arthashastra*. But it would accentuate the moral note in giving a poetical outline of a good and bad king.⁵ His poet-successors like Bhāravi in his *Kirātārjuniya* (i. 11), and Magha in his *Śūcupala Vadha* (ii) and Bhatti in his *Ramāyana* (xii), transform the *Arthashastra* into moral text maxims which are no more science or art. Finally the famous author Bana who was at the court of King Harṣa in the seventh century, condemns the *Śāstra* of Kauṭilya as being murderous to the core (*Maranātmaka*) and rejects it. Also the *Artha*

which Tiruvalluvar presents in the Tamil poetic anthology of *Kural* is a moral text which has nothing common with the *Arthashastra* properly called, though it coincides with the hundred stanzas which are attributed to Chāṇakya (*Chāṇakyaśataka*). Some commentators of the middle age as Medhātithi and Mallinātha continue to study the original text of the *Arthashastra*. But the Hindu spirit in general rejects that philosophy which it finds cruel. What is remarkable is that the first official and effective protest against the Kauṭilyan mind came from Emperor Asoka (273-232 B.C.) the grandson of Chandragupta.

‘In conquering the territory which was not subject to me (*Avijita*) the murders, the deaths, the kidnapping of men which have taken place have been keenly and painfully felt by me, the king dear to the Devas. . . .

‘In effect the king dear to the Devas longs for the security of all creatures, the respect to life, peace and gentleness. Now it is these that the king dear to Devas contemplates as the conquest of religion (*Dharma Vijaya*). It is in these conquests of religion that the king dear to the Devas finds his pleasure in his empire and on all his frontiers to an extent of many hundred Yojanas.¹

‘All men are my children (*Savamuniṣa mepajā*). As I wish for my children that they must enjoy all sorts of prosperity and happiness in this world and in the other I also desire the same for all men.’²

The empire inherited by Asoka was naturally an empire based on the Hindu science of the *Artha* and the *Rajantti* as Mr. Buhler shows.³ But the transformation of Hindu politics by Asoka is equally indisputable. Even when he employs technical terms relating to political science, he is careful to make a new application by the addition of the word *Dharma*. For example, *Rajya*, *Vijaya*, *Yatra*, *Sambhandha*, *Mangala*, *Mahamatra*, become with him as *Dharmarajya*, *Dharmavijaya*, *Dharmayatra*, *Dharmasambandha*, *Dharmamangala* and *Dharmamahamatra*.

History will make clear if India had lost or gained in making this choice. But the fact is that it rejected mainly the path chalked out by Kauṭilya-Chāṇakya to enter into that of *Dharmakosa*.

¹ Vide Rhys Davids, *Pali-Eng. Dic.* 1921, S. V. Attha.

² Cp. *Buddhacarita*, ii. 17; vii. 1.

³ Introduction to Hindu Polity, *Modern Review*, July 1913.

⁴ Cp. Tucci, *Note on the Sources of Kālidāsa: A Review of Oriental Studies* vol. ix.

⁵ Cf. Formichi, *Raghuvamśa*, Introduction.

¹ 13th Edict, *Senart Inscr. of Piyadasi*, I. 30B.

² *Senart, Ibid.*, ii. 145.

³ *Z.D.M.G.*, xli; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 246.

Vindhyavāsin¹

BY

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ONE Vindhyavāsin is referred to and criticized by Vasubandhu (A. D. 280-360) in his now lost work *Paramārthasaptati*. Paramārtha (499-569) in his *Life of Vasubandhu*,² Kumārila (620-680) in his *Ślokavārttika*,³ Śāntarakṣita⁴ (705-762) in his *Tattvasaṅgraha*, Kamalaśīla⁵ (cir. 762) in his commentary of the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, Haribhadraśūri II⁶ (cir. 779) in his *Saṣtravārtasamuccaya*, Vācaspati Miśra⁷ (cir. 841) in his *Bhāmali*, Bhoja⁸ (tenth century) in his *Rājamārtanḍa*, Guṇaratnasūri⁹ (cir. V. S. 1466) in his *Śaddarśanasamuccayavyākhyā*, and probably by many others.

We come across the name of Vindhyavāsin but we know but little about him. The Jainas mention him as one of the authorities on Sāṃkhya; Kumārila respectfully refers to his views, showing at once that Vindhyavāsin was no ordinary scholar. Śāntarakṣita, the famous Buddhist philosopher, in the beginning of the eighth century, refers to and criticizes his views in several instances in his *Tattvasaṅgraha*. Paramārtha¹⁰ the Buddhist scholar, who went to China in the beginning of the sixth century, describes in his *Life of Vasubandhu* that Vindhyavāsin defeated Buddhāmītra, the *Guru* of Vasubandhu in argument and obtained a reward of three lacs of gold. Vasubandhu at this

¹ Read before the fourth Oriental Conference at Allahabad.

² Paramārtha's account was probably based on an earlier work namely the *Life of Vasubandhu* of Kumārājīva which was translated by him in about A.D. 400.

³ *Ślokavārttika*, p. 393.

⁴ *Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 422. This work is to be published in about a month's time as Nos. xxx and xxxi in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*. (Since published. Ed.)

⁵ *Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā*, p. 636.

⁶ *Saṣtravārtasamuccaya*, p. 109.

⁷ *Bhāmali*, iv. 13, iii 53. Here one Vārṣaganya is mentioned. If he does not represent Vārṣaganya the *Guru* of Vindhyavāsin, Vārṣaganya will represent a disciple of Vārṣaganya who may very conceivably be Vindhyavāsin. But for the present this point is controversial.

⁸ *Rājamārtanḍa*, 4th *pada*, *sūtra* 22. Dr. Das Gupta is inclined to place the author in the same period.

⁹ *Śaddarśanasamuccayavyākhyā*, p. 104.

¹⁰ Dr. J. Takakusu, *A Study of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu* in *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 47 ff.

discomfiture of his *Guru* composed the *Paramārthasaptati* in opposition to the new Sāṃkhya doctrines taught by Vindhyavāsin, and criticized him mercilessly. From these facts we can easily conclude that Vindhyavāsin was one of the earliest authorities on Sāṃkhya, and an outstanding literary figure in his own days, and many centuries afterwards.

VINDHYAVASIN AND ĪSVARAKRṢṆA

Like many other ancient authors Vindhyavāsin also passed through many changes of fortune, at the hands of scientific research workers. Some Japanese scholar acting on Chinese authority identified Vindhyavāsin with Īśvarakṛṣṇa,¹ and he was congratulated² on this sensational identification by many eminent scholars, and a large section of students still believe in this identification.³ But from what we will show later on scholars will be able to judge whether this identification is a myth or a solid fact. The certainty or uncertainty of this identification could not have been determined in the absence of any work of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, but we are fortunate enough to find that the latter's views are recorded in his well-known *Sāṃkhyakārikā*. Now, if the views of Vindhyavāsin which we have so far been able to obtain concur with the views expressed in the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, then we have not a word of objection against the identification proposed by the said Japanese scholar. Indeed it is quite true that we have not been able to ascertain all the tenets of Vindhyavāsin because no work of his is unfortunately extant. But from whatever we have been able to glean from stray references we can easily ascertain that they are all antagonistic to the views expressed by Īśvarakṛṣṇa. For instance let us take the passage in Kumārila's *Ślokavārttika*.⁴

Here we find that between death and the next birth no intermediate existence was admitted by Vindhyavāsin. This being the words of Kumārila we need not doubt that Vindhyavāsin was the pioneer propounder of this view. That being settled let us turn to the view of

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 48.

² See for instance, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 355.

³ None of the Indian scholars however shared in this opinion. Drs. Belvalkar and Dasgupta challenged this identification. See *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 176 and *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. i, p. 218, note 3.

⁴ p. 704.

अन्तराभवदेहस्तु निषिद्धो विन्ध्यवासिना ।

Īśvarakṛṣṇa on this point. Īśvarakṛṣṇa devotes three full Kārikās¹ to establish the existence of a subtle body between death and the next birth. Now this is a point of vital difference between the respective views of Īśvarakṛṣṇa and Vindhyavāsin. Can we say even now that these two authors were identical? And why in a book of seventy-two stanzas giving the outline of the whole system of Sāṃkhya philosophy does Īśvarakṛṣṇa devote three stanzas on this a rather minor point? Is he indirectly refuting the views of Vindhyavāsin? Of course Īśvarakṛṣṇa cannot mention his name in his book nor bring in much discussion as his is professedly a work devoid of controversial matters, but probably he did put in a refutation because he had to represent the orthodox Sāṃkhya views of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*,² and Vindhyavāsin being an outstanding Sāṃkhya authority he could not but take some pains in establishing his point.

If this is not sufficient to explode the favourite identification of Vindhyavāsin with Īśvarakṛṣṇa, let us take another example where both these authors had expressed different views. We find in Kumāṛila's *Slokavārttika*³ विशेषदृष्टमेतच्च लिखितं विन्ध्यवासिना 'Vindhyavāsin has written that this is an example of inference of the variety of "particularly seen."'

This shows that Vindhyavāsin only admitted two kinds of inference विशेषदृष्ट and सामान्यदृष्ट. But when we refer to *Sāṃkhyakārikā* we find त्रिविधमनुमानम्⁴ which is explained by Māṭhara⁵ (cir. 500) as पूर्ववत्, शेषवत् and सामान्यतो दृष्ट. Now here also we find the views of Vindhyavāsin and Īśvarakṛṣṇa do not concur.

¹ *Sāṃkhyakārikā*, Nos. 39-41.

² Cf. *Ibid.*, No. 72:

सप्त्यां किल येऽर्थास्तेऽर्थाः कृत्स्नस्य षष्टितन्त्रस्य ।

आख्यायिकाविरहिताः परवादविवर्जिताश्चापि ॥

³ p. 393, also in the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 422. The commentary entitled *Nyāyaraśmīkāra* on the *Slokavārttika* on this point is:

विन्ध्यवासिनापि इदं विशेषदृष्टत्वेनोपवर्णितमिति युक्तमेव तदभिप्रायत्वं भाष्यस्येत्याह विशेषेति ।

⁴ *Sāṃkhyakārikā*, No. 5.

⁵ *Māṭharavṛtti* (Chowkhamba Edition), p. 13.

Let us take a third example. Śāntarakṣita says सादृश्यं विन्ध्यवासोष्टं¹ with reference to sound. According to Vindhyavāsin then the sound has the sameness of form. But what is the opinion of Īśvarakṛṣṇa on this point? It does not take much time to discover that because *Prakṛti* is endowed with the three qualities *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*, the sound also like all other manifestations of *Prakṛti* is also endowed with the three qualities, and this is exactly what Śāntarakṣita says² is the orthodox Sāṃkhya view. So here also there is no correspondence between the views of Vindhyavāsin and Īśvarakṛṣṇa.

Fortunately for us another opinion of Vindhyavāsin is recorded in Jain literature, on the interesting question of the *Bhoga* or the enjoyment of *Puruṣa*. In Haribhadrasūri's *Śāstravārttāsamuccaya*³ two quotations appear, one from Āsuri and the other from Vindhyavāsin. The same idea is echoed in Guṇaratnasūri's *Śaḍdarśanasamuccayavyākhyā*.⁴ The opinion of Āsuri is that the enjoyment of *Puruṣa* is nothing but the reflection of *Puruṣa* in the *Buddhi*, like the reflection of the moon in clear water. This is of course the view of the orthodox Sāṃkhya school. Let us now see what Vindhyavāsin's view is. He held that in the *Buddhi*'s own reflection in the *Puruṣa* consists his enjoyment just as a crystal changes colour when it comes in contact with the red *Japa* flower. Īśvarakṛṣṇa undoubtedly belongs to the orthodox Sāṃkhya school, and because Vindhyavāsin's opinions are diametrically

¹ *Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 636.

² Op. cit., p. 635:

सत्त्वरजस्तमः स्वभावत्वाद्भिगुणः सांख्यैरिष्टः शब्दः ।

³ 109 a and b— तथा चासुरिः —

विविक्ते दृक्परिणतौ बुद्धौ भोगोऽस्य कथ्यते ।

प्रतिबिम्बोदयः संच्छे यथा चन्द्रमसोऽम्भसि ॥

विन्ध्यवासोत्येवं भोगमाचष्टे—

पुरुषोऽबिकृतात्मैव स्वनिर्भासमचेतनम् ।

मनः करोति सान्निध्यादुपाधिः स्फटिकं यथा ॥

In the *Bhōjavṛtti* the same idea is expressed in another form, e.g.

अनेनैवाभिप्रायेण विन्ध्यवासिनोक्तं सत्त्वतत्त्वमेव पुरुषतत्त्वम् । iv. 22.

⁴ p. 104.

opposed to orthodox views the identification of Vindhyavāsin with Īśvarakṛṣṇa is certainly untenable. Some more known facts as well as Indian tradition preclude us from subscribing to this identification. For instance Kamalaśīla, quoting probably from the *Paramārthasaptati* of Vasubandhu gives us the valuable information that Vindhyavāsin was known by the name of Rudrila.¹ Further Kamalaśīla has always differentiated between Vindhyavāsin and Īśvarakṛṣṇa by mentioning their names and views separately.² Similarly, Guṇaratna also while enumerating the Sāṃkhya representatives mentions the two names separately.³ So also probably all other Indian scholars who had occasion to refer to the views of both Vindhyavāsin and Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Had the two names been identical the Indian scholars would not have failed to mention the fact. This is in fact an additional argument against the identification referred to above.

Probably it will not be fair to return to our subject before replying to the arguments offered by the said Japanese scholar, in favour of this identification. In the *Life of Vasubandhu* by Paramārtha it is mentioned that Vindhyavāsa, a Sāṃkhya teacher and a contemporary of the Gupta King Bālāditya defeated Vasubandhu's *Guru* Buddhāmītra in a discussion, and obtained from the king a reward of three lacs of gold. One hundred and fifty years later another less reliable Chinese account makes a pupil of Vārṣaganya, the author of a work called *Hiranyasaptati*.⁴ Now at this time the *Golden Seventy* of the Chinese is a by-name for the *Sāṃkhyakārika* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Because two authors are found for one work the conclusion is inevitable that the two names represent one and the same person.

The argument looks very probable and possibly convincing, but now we can detect a number of flaws in the argument. Let us not dispute the fact that Vindhyavāsin obtained from Bālāditya or Vikramāditya a reward of three lacs of gold. Nor need we dispute the statement of the later Chinese authority that a pupil of Vārṣaganya

¹ *Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 22.

वदता इदिलेनेव ह्यापिता विन्ध्यवासिना ।

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 17, 22, 636.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 102, 104.

⁴ Dr. J. Takakusu: *Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu*, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 47 ff. See also Dr. Belvalkar, *Māṭharavṛtti* and the date of Īśvarakṛṣṇa in the *Bhāṇḍarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 175.

(Vindhyavāsin) wrote a work entitled the *Hiranyasaptati*. It is quite likely that Vindhyavāsin wrote some such work, as stray quotations are found therefrom in very reliable and authoritative compositions of later times.¹ Kumārila also lends support to this view.² One of the works of Vindhyavāsin on Sāṃkhya tenets may quite conceivably be called *Hiranyasaptati* because the author obtained gold probably by its composition. But when this work is identified with the work of Īśvarakṛṣṇa or the *Golden Seventy* then the difficulty arises. The *Sāṃkhyasaptati* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa is called *Golden Seventy* in Chinese, and *Golden Seventy* may stand for *Hiranyasaptati*. The *Golden Seventy* in Chinese is published, and on comparison we come to know that it represents nothing but the *Sāṃkhyasaptati* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. But where is the work of Vindhyavāsin? This connecting link seems to have been lost, which fact gives rise to a number of difficulties. First of all, why should Īśvarakṛṣṇa's work be called *Hiranyasaptati* or *Golden Seventy* and on what authority? Īśvarakṛṣṇa did not get a reward of gold but still his work is known as *Golden Seventy* in Chinese.³ Does this show that the Chinese tradition on this point at least is unreliable? The two titles *Hiranyasaptati* and *Sāṃkhyasaptati* though they seem to have been altogether distinct works were confused by the Chinese tradition and the theory identifying Īśvarakṛṣṇa with Vindhyavāsin being based on a traditional error completely loses its value. That the Chinese tradition is also capable of committing such errors becomes evident when it ascribes the authorship of the *Paramārthasaptati* of Vasubandhu to Paramārtha, thus confusing the title of a book and name of an author. It should also be pointed out here that all Indian authors who have referred to these two scholars by name have done so separately, and were unaware of this identification. The Japanese scholar who proposed this identification should do well to investigate into the cause which gave rise to the confusion of the two titles above referred, and discover the source of the mischief before trying to give a rude shock to the chronology of the Sāṃkhya System, which is fairly established by Indian Orientalists.

¹ See *supra*.

² Cf. *Ślokavārttika*, p. 393 and the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 422 where Kumārila is quoted :—

विशेषदृष्टमेतच्च लिखितं विन्ध्यवासिना ।

³ *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 47 ff.

VINDHYAVASIN = VYĀDI

Attempts have also been made to identify Vyādi with Vindhyavāsin¹ as several Sanskrit lexicographers² have done. Hemacandra,³ Keśava,⁴ and others have distinctly identified the two, and the editor of the *Mātharavytti* in the Chowkhamba Series admits this as the most probable theory.⁵ But the idea can hardly stand. As Paramārtha tells us Vindhyavāsin was a contemporary of the great Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu and his words being very probably based on the *Life of Vasubandhu* of Kumārajīva who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century have got greater authority than Hemacandra who belonged to a much later age, or Keśava who was still later. Vyādi was certainly earlier than Patañjali (second century B.C.) who was indebted to the *Saṅgraha*⁶ composed by Vyādi; hence the identification of Vindhyavāsin with Vyādi seems to be altogether absurd.⁷

VINDHYAVASIN-VARSAGANYA

Paramārtha⁸ supplies very important information about another Sāṅkhya teacher by name Vṛṣagaṇa and designates Vindhyavāsin as one of his direct disciples. Vasubandhu⁹ criticizes a view which is said to be that of the followers of Vārsaganya by which he probably meant Vindhyavāsin and several of his compeers. Vṛṣagaṇa or Vārsaganya was held in great reverence, as Vācaspati Miśra in the

¹ *Mātharavytti* (Chowkhamba Edition), Introduction, p. 3.

² See for instance *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, 2, 3, 24-5 :-

अथ व्याडिर्विन्ध्यस्थो

³ *Abhidhānaciṇṭāmaṇi*, 3, 5, 6 :-

अथ व्याडिर्विन्ध्यवासी

⁴ *Kalpādrū* (being published in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*), p. 83 :-

मेधापर्यायजिज्ञाष व्याडिर्विन्ध्यनिवास्यपि ।

⁵ Op. cit., Intro., p. 3.

⁶ *Mahābhāṣya*, i. 2, 64, and Commentary on vi. 2, 36.

⁷ Mr. Hannes Skold in a recent article pointed out that the lexicographers have wrongly applied the epithet of Vindhyastha or Vindhyavāsin to Vyādi, but really speaking it should be applied to the grammarian Kātyāyana. *Indian Antiquary*, 1926, p. 185.

⁸ *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 47ff.

⁹ Stcherbatsky, *The Central Conception of Buddhism*, p. 89.

ninth century refers to his opinion and calls him *Bhagavān*.¹ But we cannot decide at the present time whether Vārsaganya represents a disciple of Vṛṣagaṇa or Vindhyavāsin, or whether Vārsaganya is another name of Vṛṣagaṇa, but I am inclined to take Vārsaganya and Vindhyavāsin as the names of one and the same person.

VINDHYAVASIN'S TIME

The date of Vindhyavāsin as will appear from the foregoing is necessarily dependent on the date of Vasubandhu. To discuss his date is to discuss the date of Vasubandhu, and this has been done by a number of excellent scholars. A complete review of all the theories may be obtained from V. A. Smith's masterly survey in his *E.H.I.*, third edition, pages 328 ff. Dr. J. Takakusu, writing in 1905, attempted to prove that Vasubandhu flourished in a period between A.D. 420 and 500, and said that this date is not only probable but may be taken as certain. But the French scholar M. Peri challenged it, and proved that he must belong to A.D. 280-360. Vincent Smith showed a leaning towards this view. M. Stcherbatsky, the famous Russian scholar of Buddhism, writing in 1923 opines² that the date of the Chinese translations of Asāṅga and Vasubandhu which alone, if correct, would be sufficient evidence to assign them to the fourth century. thus see that there are only two definite theories about the date of Vasubandhu, one placing him between A.D. 280-360 and another between 420-500. We shall here endeavour to show that the theory placing him between 420-500 is absurd; we are thus led more or less to accept the other theory, placing Vasubandhu in a period between A.D. 280-360. This stands the test of all arguments and does not run counter to any of the known facts about Vasubandhu and his contemporaries nor create a discrepancy in any other way.

The most important argument in favour of placing Vasubandhu between A.D. 420-500 seems to be that a contemporary of his Saṅghabhadra by name translated two works into Chinese in the year A.D. 488 and 489. These are the *Sāmantapāsādikā* of Buddhaghōṣa and the *Vibhāṣāvinaya*.³ Because Saṅghabhadra was living in the

¹ *Bhamati*, iv. 13.

योगशास्त्रं व्युत्पादयिताह स्म भगवान् वार्सगण्यः ।

² Op. cit., p. 3 n.

³ *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 51 and foot-note 2.

year A.D. 488 his contemporary Vasubandhu cannot be placed in the fourth century. This looks like a very formidable argument, but let us go into details and consult our available authorities.

Paramārtha¹ (499-569) informs us that Saṅghabhadra was invited by Vasurāta from Tien chu in order to defeat Vasubandhu in a discussion. When he came to Ayodhyā he composed a treatise to explain the principles of the Vibhāṣā and another work to refute the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu. After the compilation of these two works Saṅghabhadra challenged Vasubandhu to a discussion which the latter refused to accept. This is the abridged information about Saṅghabhadra and Vasubandhu given by Dr. Takakusu from Paramārtha's work.

Next to Paramārtha we get detailed information from Hiuen T'sang² (600-664) about the intellectual duel between Saṅghabhadra and Vasubandhu, which appears to be more to the point and quite natural. He says in his *Travels* that Saṅghabhadra, after perusing the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu, was so much enraged that he devoted himself for twelve years to the most profound researches subsequently composing an elaborate refutation of Vasubandhu's views in his *Nyāyānusārasāstra*. When it was ready he challenged Vasubandhu to a discussion. Vasubandhu tried to draw him to Magadha so that the discussion might take place before a company of learned men qualified to judge the respective merits of the two opponents. Saṅghabhadra was too old by that time and before this discussion took place died in a monastery at Matipura. Immediately before his death he sent all the MSS of his great work, accompanied with a letter to Vasubandhu requesting him not to destroy his composition.

This is all that we obtain of any value from H. T'sang about Saṅghabhadra. In this connection one fact should be remembered that this challenge was issued to Vasubandhu before Vasubandhu was converted to Asaṅga's Yogacara, which event took place, according to Takakusu, ten years before Vasubandhu's death: this appears also very reasonable because he composed a large number of Mahāyānic works, all written obviously after his conversion to Yogācāra.

According to the theory we are now examining, Vasubandhu was converted to Yogācāra in A.D. 490.³ Before this Saṅghabhadra

¹ J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 46.

² Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. i, pp. 193 ff.

³ Takakusu in J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 41.

gave a challenge to Vasubandhu for a discussion.¹ But how many years before? Let us take the shortest possible limit, say one or two years. The date of this challenge may therefore be taken as A.D. 488. Now let us inquire the whereabouts of Saṅghabhadra. But lo! he is not in India, he has gone to China, and is found quietly translating Sanskrit books into Chinese. There must be something wrong here: the date of the challenge must be earlier. Let it be say A.D. 480. No earlier date is however possible because Saṅghabhadra must have departed to another world after the talk of the discussion is over. Can this date be pushed forward to say A.D. 500? That also does not seem to be possible. Vasubandhu will no longer be a Hīnayānist, he is under this hypothesis required to live at least ten years after his conversion. Moreover Saṅghabhadra has to spend twelve years in writing his *Nyāyānusārasāstra*, before he gives out his challenge. Does this connection of Saṅghabhadra with Vasubandhu look like a myth because it does not stand the test of cold logic?

How then are we to solve this problem? That will depend on our settling another question, namely, 'Are the two Saṅghabhadras identical?' We will reply in the negative. There is no evidence to show that the same Saṅghabhadra who was a contemporary of Vasubandhu went to China to translate books into Chinese. Had it been so, we could reasonably expect this information from Hiuen T'sang. But his silence on this point compels us to postulate two Saṅghabhadras. From the account of Saṅghabhadra in Hiuen T'sang's *Travels* it is quite clear that this Saṅghabhadra never went to China. Going to China to translate Sanskrit works into Chinese is a different line altogether. Those who went to China did not shine much in the literary activity of India and those who became very great in India by their outstanding literary achievements never cared to do translator's work in China. Moreover, accurate records of nearly all the principal translators from India were kept in Chinese, and had this Saṅghabhadra the author of the *Nyāyānusārasāstra* been identical with the translator Saṅghabhadra the Chinese records would not certainly have failed to show it.

From the above we can easily refute the theory that Vasubandhu flourished in the period between A.D. 420-500. This being refuted

¹ J.R.A.S., p. 41. 'This event was while Vasubandhu was still a Hīnayānist and believed that Mahāyāna was not the Buddha's own teaching.'—Takakusu.

we have no other alternative than to accept the other theory (placing him, A.D. 280-360) which we consider deserving of universal acceptance.

The date of Vasubandhu having been fixed, it is quite easy to work out the time of Vindhyavāsin. Vindhyavāsin died before Vasubandhu, who appears to have been in full vigour even then inasmuch as he still had energy left to ransack the Vindhya regions where Vindhya-vāsin used to live, in his rage to combat and defeat the man who brought his master Buddhāmītra to shame.¹ Moreover, in his *Abhidharmakośa* Vasubandhu referred to the opinion of the followers of Vārsaganya among whom probably Vindhyavāsin was also included.² With these facts in hand we can fix the time of Vindhyavāsin by the following computation. Let us take Buddhāmītra as twenty years senior to Vasubandhu and fix his time as A.D. 260-320 and Vindhya-vāsin as ten years senior to Buddhāmītra and fixed his time as A.D. 250-310 with some degree or confidence.

VINDHYAVASIN AND VASUBANDHU

The relations between Vasubandhu and Vindhyavāsin, as can be gleaned from the account of Paramārtha, was not at all of a friendly nature. When Vindhyavāsin obtained his triumph over Buddhāmītra the *Guru* of Vasubandhu, Vasubandhu was away from Ayodhyā where the discussion took place. Eventually Vasubandhu heard of this affair and came to learn that Vindhyavāsin was dead. In his disappointment and rage he composed a work entitled *Paramārthasaptati* in which he severely criticized.³ Vindhyavāsin and the Sāṃkhya doctrines taught in his work which, as has been previously indicated, probably bore the title of *Hiranyasaptati*, and Paramārtha claims that this work of Vasubandhu was instrumental in totally destroying the Sāṃkhya theories. Unfortunately for us neither the *Paramārthasaptati* nor *Hiranyasaptati* are now extant, but a striking stanza in the *Tattvasaṅgraha* quoted by Kamalaśīla from some unknown work contains a polemic against Vindhyavāsin where the latter in so many words is designated as a forerunner. This *Śloka* in our opinion seems to be the first and only quotation available from the seventy stanzas of the *Paramārthasaptati*. The *Śloka* is :—

यदेव दधि तत्क्षोरं यत्क्षोरं तद्धीति च ।

वदता रुद्रिकेनैव ख्यापिता विन्ध्यवासिता ।⁴

¹ J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 47.

² J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 47.

³ Stcherbatsky : op. cit., p. 89.

⁴ *Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 22.

This *Śloka* is apparently the refutation of the cherished Sāṃkhya theory of *Satkārya* or the theory of the 'existent effect in the cause' and of course Vindhyavāsin being one of the earliest Sāṃkhya writers, even earlier than Īśvarakṛṣṇa, certainly believed in the *Satkāryavāda*, which is perhaps one of the chief contributions made by the Sāṃkhya system. Moreover this stanza shows that Vindhyavāsin had another name, and he was known as Rudrila also. In the *Paramārthasaptati* Vindhyavāsin is the object of attack, and hence this argument upholding *Satkārya* goes to him, and a refined abuse bestowed on Vindhyavāsin shows a stronger relation and a sense of personal injury that might have been perpetrated by the man who is made the object of the aforesaid attacks. Later scholars would describe *Satkārya* quoting Īśvarakṛṣṇa¹ rather than Vindhyavāsin because Īśvarakṛṣṇa professed to represent the orthodox view of the *Śaṣṭitantra*, and because here it is otherwise, we can take it for certain that the stanza above referred to really represents a quotation from the now lost work entitled the *Paramārthasaptati* of Vasubandhu.

VINDHYAVASIN AND ĪŚVARAKṚṢṆA

From the foregoing it will be apparent that among the two Sāṃkhya scholars Vindhyavāsin and Īśvarakṛṣṇa, we are in favour of assigning to Vindhyavāsin an earlier period than that of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. In order to strengthen this theory we shall here endeavour to state our reasons after having fixed A.D. 250-310 as the date of Vindhyavāsin. Īśvarakṛṣṇa must have flourished before Paramārtha (A.D. 499-561) as his *Sāṃkhyasaptati* was translated into Chinese by him. This work was accompanied with a commentary by an unknown author whom we can now identify with Māthara. I have elsewhere² discussed his date and shown that the time of Māthara cannot be later than circa A.D. 500. Thus Īśvarakṛṣṇa will have to be pushed back by at least one generation or thirty years. By the discovery of the *Nyāyapraveśa* of Dīnāga which is now being edited by the famous Orientalist Principal A. B. Dhruva for the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, we have been able to discover

¹ See for instance the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 18, where Kamalaśīla in stating the Sāṃkhya theory of *Satkārya* quotes from Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṃkhyakārikā*.

असदकरणादुपादानप्रहणात्सर्वसंभवाभावात् ।

शक्तस्य शक्यकरणात्करणभावाच्च सूक्तार्यम् ॥

² Foreword to the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, vol. I (No. xxx in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*), pp. lxx ff.

that Diñnāga criticized a view of Īśvarakṛṣṇa as expressed by him in the *Sāṃkhyasaptati*.¹ Now Diñnāga was a direct disciple of Vasubandhu whom we have placed in a period between A.D. 280-360. Diñnāga was a Hīnayānist but read both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna literature under the preceptorship of Vasubandhu. Diñnāga being a disciple of Vasubandhu should be a generation later, but the latest date of his birth, that we can assign to him would be about A.D. 340 and as he lived for seventy years, the year A.D. 410 will be the year of his death.

As Īśvarakṛṣṇa is criticized by Diñnāga A.D. 340-410 we may reasonably expect him to be earlier than Diñnāga or else his contemporary. This idea is also strengthened by the fact that Diñnāga is the first scholar to refute the views of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Vasubandhu could have criticized him, but he does not do so, but criticizes Vindhyavāsin instead, as the most formidable representative of the Sāṃkhya school. It appears therefore that Īśvarakṛṣṇa flourished some time before Diñnāga and some time after Vasubandhu, or in other words, he was intermediate between Vasubandhu and Diñnāga.

Further, merely because Vasubandhu failed to mention Īśvarakṛṣṇa it is not reasonable to place him at a later period. Now Īśvarakṛṣṇa is found indebted to Vātsyāyana,² who refers to Vijñānavāda and Śūnyavāda³ of the Buddhists and hence belongs to a period approximately between A.D. 250-300. Īśvarakṛṣṇa therefore must be later than Vātsyāyana (250-300) and also later than Vasubandhu (280-360) as has been shown previously, but earlier than Diñnāga (350-410). That being so, we can reasonably expect to find Īśvarakṛṣṇa as an older contemporary of Diñnāga. A confirmation to this theory comes from an unexpected quarter, namely a late Tibetan authority, entitled the *Paṅ Sam Jon Zan*. Therein it is related that a Brahman named Īśvarakṛṣṇa played mischief with Ācārya Diñnāga, while he was composing his famous work, the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. The Ācārya being enraged

challenged him to a discussion, either staking his own doctrines. Īśvarakṛṣṇa was vanquished several times, and without fulfilling his promise recited some uncanny incantations which burnt all the belongings of the Ācārya.⁴

This being established we can fix Īśvarakṛṣṇa's time with some degree of confidence. Īśvarakṛṣṇa, being an older contemporary of Diñnāga, must be at least ten years senior to him. That brings us down to A.D. 330 as the date of his birth and if we allow a sixty years' span of life to him, in that case the year A.D. 390 would be the year of his death.

We can thus establish that Vindhyavāsin (A.D. 250-310) was much earlier than Īśvarakṛṣṇa (A.D. 330-390) and can controvert the theory advanced by some Orientalists that Vindhyavāsin and even his *guru* Vṛṣagana must be reckoned as the successors of Īśvarakṛṣṇa.

¹S. C. Vidyabhuṣana, *Indian Logic*, pp. 274-5, where a translation of the Tibetan extract is given in full.

¹Cf. *Nyāyapraveśa*, p. 5—सङ्घातपर्यायत्वात् etc., and *Sāṃkhyakārikā*, No. 17—पराधीनश्च क्षुरादयः सङ्घातत्वात् etc.

²Cf. तल्लिङ्गलिङ्गिपूर्वक on the *Nyāyasūtra* No. 5 and *Sāṃkhyakārikā*, No. 5. — तल्लिङ्गलिङ्गिपूर्वकमाप्तश्रुतिराप्तवचनं तु ।

³*Nyāyasūtra*, 4. 1. 48 ; 4. 2. 31-2. For further information on the date of Vātsyāyana and Īśvarakṛṣṇa see B. Bhattacharyya : *Foreword to the Tattvasaṅgraha*, pp. lviii, ff and lxx, ff.

Akbar's Tomb

BY

THAKUR RAMSINGH, M.A.

Pleader, Indore, C. I.

(Literal translation of the last chapter of the *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri*, the rubric of which is this, 'Remarks on the mausoleum of His Majesty Emperor Jalaluddin Mahomad Akbar of the Paradise abode, may God ever illumine his Reason.')

IN the first place there is the vestibule in which to the extent of twenty-thousand elephants and horses could take their stand and around this, there are roofed mansions all of which, with their arches, are decorated. The gateway, which gives ingress, is thirty yards by thirty yards and the height of this stage is 120 yards and over it the six-storied building is erected, and all from the roof to the bottom is decorated with geometrical designs which are illuminated in gold and lapis lazuli. On all four sides of the arched mansion there are four minarets which are constructed of stone, being carried to three stories upside. The distance between the gateway, that gives ingress and the building where His Majesty of the Paradise abode is resting, is about half a Farsakh (league). The floor of the parterres is done in red stone and on both sides of the parterres trees of cypress, wild-pine, plane and areca-nut palms, are planted. And at the end there is constructed an arrow-like tank from which flow various canals giving rise to fountains that reach the very head of the tomb of His Majesty, so much so that twenty fountains play thereabout. The water in each fountain rises up to one yard. The structure raised over the building, which contains the tomb of His Majesty, is of seven stories and each storey is smaller than the storey below it and the seventh storey has been constructed as the dome over all and this storey is made of stone. The entire structure of the mansion and the garden cost Rupees one hundred and eighty lakhs, and high above the tomb of His Majesty these distiches of poetry are written in bold characters:—

'The painter of the essence of water and earth and the embroiderer of the jewel of pure soul created the two worlds through His

beginningless plenty, one of them was ordained to be noumenal and the other phenomenal.

Then He bestowed this temporary inn (world) upon the kings and leaders who deserved the crown and the treasury, so that from their Justice the world may become more prosperous than a garden in spring-tide. With those that keep the path of God before their vision, the strangers and their kinsmen are on the same footing. The king who lived like this in the world is verily the shadow of the Spirit of God.

For two and sixty years over nine hundred (962 Hijere) lived King Akbar as the shadow of the Lord of Glory. He sat on the throne of gold and (speaking relatively) the skies became abject.

He adorned the world by dispensing justice and giving relief, and, owing to this, the heart of the people of the world became glad. Great personages from all sects gathered round the foot of his throne.

When he threw his glance of kindness towards the dust, its essence became better than the pure spirit.

He conquered a country with a single charge in a battle and with a nod of his brow he gave away the same at a banquet.

His graciousness is as universal as that of God and in every undertaking he attained the aimed result.

Anybody who took refuge at his threshold was safe to move, like a thought from the fish to the moon (from the Nadir to the Zenith).

His fame could not be confined to the world like a hidden secret which cannot be confined to a heart. The face of the world became so perfect that the Creator of World Himself praised it as such. He ruled the world in such majesty for two and fifty years.

As he made this world flourishing with justice he left for the other world as an enlightened soul. Previous to him there had been other kings ruling over seven regions but now he conquered the seven heavens as well.

With the wise who possess prudent hearts this world of mud and water is like an inn. Do not seek any favour from the substratum of the nine spheres as it has never been kind to any one. One should not expect favour from the spheres which are full of enmity, because favour cannot come in action from the malicious. The world itself is grief and a wave of the mirage when can a thirsty lip get satisfied with it?

The world has made abundant covenants, but, which of them has it not broken in practice at the time?

Nobody can remain in the world for ever and nobody has saved his life from the hand of Death.

How happily has said that perfect sage and subtle analyser, who had gathered the store of the essence of wisdom (*Sadi Shirazi*) when saying that "Brother mine, the world cannot remain constant with any one, attach your heart to the Creator of the world and that is enough." King Akbar attained success by dispensing justice and he made the world like the Paradise above.

The world became happy in his reign and the space and time became obedient to him. But the world devoid of kindness and a promise-breaker, ousted his kindness from its heart through enmity. Owing to the unkindness of this world, he took his way to the ever-lasting world.

His soul was ever happy through the truth and from him the celestial world was prosperous. Be it said in the name of the King of kings of the everlasting kingdom, whose being is free from non-existence and from whom all the kings on the face of the earth get their crown, throne and signet, that He drew forth from non-existence His evident existence. His hand is the manifestation of kindness and beneficence. All and every, big and small, are the candidates for His kindness and His threshold is the guiding point of adoration for every body noble or plebeian.

The Dahra garden, situated on the brink of the Agra City was laid out by His Majesty the Emperor Jalaluddin Mohomad Akbar of the Paradise abode, in the beginning of his reign. Four tanks were constructed in this garden and each tank is about one-fourth Farsakh (League) in length and breadth and on the bank of each tank a high building was completed and old tall cypress trees are in abundance in this garden. There is a circular palace situated on the bank of the River Jumna which has twenty-five pillars, all of them are illuminated in gold on the lining of 'Tunga' and are embellished with ruby, turquoise and pearl and the roof of the palace is wainscoted with wood covering like a dome and is illuminated with gold. The roof of the dome from the concave is decorated with geometrical designs and is unique in the world as a work of art. If occasionally His Majesty is inclined to see the fight of the libidinous elephant, neelgaw, ram or camel, etc., he takes his seat in this palace as it is next to the ground floor. His

Majesty often sits in the third storey which is next to the River Jumna, with his high grantees and gives them wine from his own cup. The grantees have been ordered to take their seats in this building. The inspection pavilion, which is the place for the audience of the nobles and the plebeians, is a building which has been latticed in gold illumination. Beneath the palace, a large-roofed mansion has been made and in this mansion chancels were made of gold and in them stand princes and grantees who are commanders from one thousand to twenty-five thousand. The flooring of this mansion is of gold embroidered and woollen carpets measuring thirty and forty yards and on the upside of this mansion there are canopies of velvet and embroidery cloths of gold thread in three layers so that the heat of the sun may not have unbearable effect. This inspection pavilion which is embroidered in gold is an accompaniment alike in journey and at home. In every uninhabited spot (encampment) when the anchor is thrown down these are set in order. Three thousand maunds of the Indian gold and silver equivalent to thirty thousand maunds of Irak (Mesopotamia) has been spent in making the latticed chancels.

The garden at Sarhind was completed in the regime of Jahangir. The following is a quotation in the words of the Emperor Jahangir himself, wherein it is said that 'As I reached Sarhind I ordered Khwajah Awaisi Hamdani, who is one of my nobles, to lay out here the plan of a garden in the midst of which there may be a big tank. And as his skill in the construction of building and planning of the garden was accurate I was much pleased. The sum total of it is this, that when I entered the garden I found myself in a serpentine parterre on the other side of which scarlet roses being planted, there is constructed a big tank in the midst of the garden. There is a high building eight by eight, a square spot, on which twice twenty persons can sit together and in the circuit round about this building in every place three storied mansions high are made of the same kind which are all decorated with geometrical designs. There are seen about two thousand water fowls in the tank and the varieties of flowers when in blossom in this garden, are very pleasing to the sight.'

THE TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

The present building, containing the tomb of Emperor Akbar the Great, is not the same that existed at the death of that Emperor

There is an inscription that sets forth that the existing building was erected in the reign of Jahangir. The *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* has been quoted by Sir H. M. Elliot in his *History of India*, vol. vi, on page 439, wherein it is said, in connection with the *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri*, that 'this is the name given to the work of Khawaja Kamgar Ghairat by Gladwin, who has abstracted from it copiously in his *History of Jahangir* printed at Calcutta in the year 1788. He calls the author Kamgar Husseeny. The author of the *Critical Essay* on various manuscript works and James Fraser in his abridged *Moghul History*, prefixed to his Life of Nadir Shah, also calls it the *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri*, and Muhammad Tahir Inayat Khan, in his Preface to the *History of Shah Jahan*, says the author calls it by that name; but the author himself gives no name to the work and native writers, as in the *Ma'asir-i-Umra* and the *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, usually speak of it simply under the name of *Jahangir-Nama*. Khawaja Kamgar informs us that in consequence of the incompleteness of the Emperor's Autobiography, he had long contemplated supplying its deficiencies by writing a complete life himself; when he was at last induced to undertake it at the instigation of the Emperor Shah Jahan in the third year of his reign A.H. 1040 (A.D. 1630-1631).' The italics are by the Translator.

* * * *

'The *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* is divided into chapters devoted to the different years of the reign, there being but few other rubrics throughout the rest of the volume. The author of the *Critical Essay* observes of it, that it resembles the *Ikbāl-nama* in its paucity of minute details. About one-sixth of the volume is devoted to the proceedings of Jahangir previous to his accession.'

Professor Beni Prasad of the Allahabad University after supporting Sir H. M. Elliot *in toto* says on page 456 of his *History of Jahangir* that he used the manuscript of the *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* in the Khuda Baksh Khan Library, Bankipur. He also says that the *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* was not printed till 1922. My manuscript from which the above-mentioned article on Akbar's tomb has been translated gives its name as the *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* in the body of the text in the very beginning. The work in my possession commences from the incidents of Jahangir's birth and ends with the installation of Jahangir by his father a couple of days before his death, and with the burial of

the Emperor Akbar in the Dahra Garden Mausoleum, situated on the brink of the then Agra City. The Mausoleum is still named as the 'Dahra Garden' by some of the living octogenarians of Agra at the present date, though European historians like Dr. James Fergusson, Dr. Havell, Mr. Vincent Smith and Mr. Keene, have quite forgotten the name of the 'Dahra Garden' and substituted 'Sikandra' in its place. My manuscript also says, with others, that the *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* was written in the third year of Shah Jahan's reign. The central building, containing the tomb of the Emperor Akbar is spoken of in my manuscript as having a dome (*Gumbad*) on the uppermost storey (three years after the death of Jahangir), but the existing building has no dome. This shows that the dome was removed later on to make room for a roofed terraced flat as the highest storey or that the word *Gumbad* denotes a dome as well a roofed terraced flat. It is quite conceivable that the tanks are not visible now owing to the length of time. Likewise the mansions eight by eight mentioned in my translation are not traceable. The Archaeological Department of the Government of India may institute an enquiry regarding the tanks and mansions. I wrote twice to the Librarian of the Khudabaksh Khan Library at Bankipur, but no reply has been received, regarding the query, whether the *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* in that Library, stops short at the installation of the Emperor Jahangir? Before closing this note I beg to acknowledge the ungrudging assistance I have got from Babu Ramdayal Sahib, Financial Secretary to the Jaora Durbar, for the explanation of some important archaic words absent in modern Persian dictionaries.

Sir William Norris at Masulipatam

CHANGE OF PLANS

(Continued)

BY

HARIHAR DAS, B.LITT (OXON), F.R.HIST.S.

THE patience of all was exhausted, and the only remedy seemed a radical change of plan. On June 6, it was unanimously resolved to take the first suitable Company's ship that might touch at Masulipatam to transport the embassy to Surat. This resolution was confirmed at a later meeting held on the 21st. Later events still further justified this decision. Writing on June 12, to Sir Nicholas Waite, Sir William says, 'After many artificial delays used by the Governor of Goomdore (in whose Government only we could be provided with cows) and no proprietor of cows could be induced or durst stir a step without leave, when he was so far pressed at last as the being told if he did not immediately grant his *Dusticks* pursuant to the King's command it would be taken for an absolute refusal, he had the confidence then to declare plainly he would grant no orders either for cows or cooleys.' In consequence of this and other refusals and because the season was so far spent the Council resolved to 'take the opportunity of the first proper ship in the Company's service arriving at Masulipatam to transport His Excellency, retinue, presents and baggage forthwith to Surat.' Sir William therefore desired Waite to inform the Governor of Surat and also the Mogul of this decision. He leaves all arrangements for his arrival, reception and stay at Surat in Sir Nicholas' hands. Lastly he intimates that the Consul at Masulipatam proposed that a bill for four or five thousand pounds should be drawn upon the Surat factory for expenses already incurred on behalf of the embassy.

Nothing of importance is now recorded till June 19, when the Goosbardar had an interview with Mr. Mill concerning the intended departure of the embassy by sea to Surat. There is a characteristic ally oriental flavour in the record of what then took place. The Goosbardar stated that he had to obey the Mogul's orders to convey

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the Ambassador by land and therefore the latter would not be allowed to go by sea. On Mr. Mill reiterating the intention of going by sea the Goosbardar replied that if it were carried out both he and the Governor would be hanged by the Mogul's orders. The same afternoon Mr. Mill saw the Governor who at first adopted a pleading pose. If the Ambassador would only go by land, coolies, cows, everything necessary would be provided. He could provide 'thousand cows in four days and as many coolies, hackeries and carts as there should be occasion for.' Mr. Mill remained firm, then the Governor tried threats; he could (and would) put a stop to the affairs of the Company, and the supply of cloth and other articles. He added that everybody would inform the Mogul that the Ambassador had never intended to come to court at all and had now run away.

At a subsequent date, June 21, Mr. Mill recapitulated to the Council the reasons for sending the embassy to Surat which he had given to the Mogul authorities:—that the *Hassabul-Hookums* and *Dusticks* had not arrived by May 25: the Governor of Goodore in defiance of his master's orders had refused transport; the roads from Masulipatam were now impassable, which would not be the case at Surat; and that Sir William's decision was now unalterable.

Meanwhile at Surat there was great and growing anxiety. The President and Council had heard nothing from Sir William since January 19, and in a letter dated June 22, pointed out how disastrous the long delay was to the New Company's interests, affording as it did fresh opportunities for mischief to their enemies in the Old Company.

The change of plan was itself a confession of failure. Naturally the first impulse of the Council at Surat was to disclaim any share in the blame for that failure. This comes out in a letter from them dated July 1. They show pained surprise that Sir William had ever landed at Masulipatam. Obviously, they wrote, whoever gave that advice had a private interest to serve by embarrassing or retarding the embassy: or else had an inconceivable ignorance of the impossibility of finding the conveniences required on that part of the Coast of Coromandel. That, they added, was also the opinion of the servants of the Old Company. They further remark: 'The inhabitants and other strangers of India were and are still surprised that Your Excellency should land at Matchlapatam with any prospect of attaining

the Mogul's Camp without very great hazard and loss of time, when had Your Lordship come to this his ancient port, where have the Emperor's expresses going out and returning every four days and exceed not nine days in their journey, unless the overflowing the rivers in the times of the rains, or some other accident impedes their travelling, you could not have failed to reach the camp with all necessities suitable to your character within forty days after landing.' They added that if Sir William could have embarked on the *Rook* frigate he would have reached the camp before the rains began, thereby saving the Company much expense and avoiding reflections on their conduct and the known prudence and integrity of His Excellency. From these not very helpful generalities they descended on some practical details intended to meet the situation as it then was.

Further evidence of the strained relations between the Ambassador and the Consul is to be found in the record of a meeting on July 4 at Masulipatam. The *Tankervill* under Captain Newman had arrived on June 28 and Sir William desired the President to arrange for him to embark in her for Surat. The President replied that His Excellency must await the arrival of the *Sommers*. To this Sir William rejoined that, if his request were not acquiesced in, he would, at the first opportunity, return to England. At another Council four days later it was announced that the *Sommers* had arrived but the members expressed doubt about their authority to provide a ship for the Ambassador and requested him to make a formal demand for one. This he did next day when the Council decided that the *Sommers* was most fitted to convey him to Surat. Eight days later Captain Douglas of the *Sommers* demurred to the proposal and was warned that to refuse would be at his own peril.

Meanwhile things at Surat had been becoming equally unpleasant. Waite on July 20 wrote a protest against President Stephen Colt and his Council for their embarrassing tactics whereby the Ambassador's negotiations had been retarded, great expense caused and his arrival at the Mogul's camp delayed. He accused them of false and unjustifiable practices in opposition to the English Company at Surat and elsewhere, as well as threats even against his own life.

Owing to the season the passage could not now be made before August. The various Mogul Governors had become alarmed by the

resolution to proceed by way of Surat as they feared the Mogul's anger when he should learn from Sir William how the embassy had been delayed by them. They, therefore, encumbered him with promises of help to prosecute the journey by land, knowing, however, that the rivers were already too swollen by the rains to allow of his passage. These failing to change his resolution, they threatened to prevent his embarkation, but found the threats as impotent as the promises.

Ultimately Sir William did embark on the *Sommers* on August 15, although the actual sailing did not take place till the 26th. Meanwhile there was much correspondence between various officials and himself. This illustrates the Ambassador's difficulties, beset as he was with conflicting interests in India and charged with the duty of operating a policy directed from England. A short résumé will best help the reader to understand them :—

Under date July 23, he writes to Sir Edward Littleton in Bengal criticizing the advices received from England regarding the sale of calicos, silks and other stuffs. If the bill prohibiting their import into England were passed it would reduce the Indian trade and might call forth retaliation on the part of the Mogul. It would stultify his own mission as well as the other bill for continuing the Old Company as a Corporation. No embassy to promote trade, or Corporation to carry it out, could effect its object if the country sending them out should legislate against trade itself.

About the same time there is a long letter from him to Sir Nicholas Waite and the Council at Surat. In it he recapitulates the events of the past few weeks and expresses his confidence that Sir Nicholas will have all in readiness for his journey to the camp and that he will arrange with the Governor for a suitable reception on the arrival of the *Sommers* at Surat. In this connection he expresses the belief that 'a very handsome and distinguishing present' to the Governor would make the latter 'our fast friend and ensure him to our interest.' He also hopes the Old Company's factors and agents being Englishmen will be present to receive him at his landing. Commodore Littleton, with whom Waite has already had some passages at arms regarding disloyalty to the Ambassador and too great intimacy with the Old Company, is marked out in this letter for summary treatment; Sir William, to maintain his character as King

William's representative, intends 'to clap Commodore Littleton in irons' and send him home.

On August 10, Sir William receives a letter in flattering language from Assed Khan. The latter hopes he will not go to Surat by sea as the Mogul had already been informed that he intended to travel by land. He had, therefore, sent a second command to the Governors to give him all necessary assistance. The letter closes thus, 'Dear Brother, give ear to me and come by land yt my word to ye King may not prove a Lye.' Other letters of the same time show that the decision to go by sea had now alarmed the minds of the Mogul officials who feared that it would lead to disclosures of their own share in the hindrances that had caused it.

On the 12th and 14th Sir William replied to Assed Khan expressing his appreciation of the latter's friendship and kindness but explaining that he had been forced to arrange for the journey by sea owing to repeated hindrances and refusals, that the baggage and equipment had already been embarked and he himself gone on board before Assed Khan's letter arrived. The second of these letters shows that Sir William possessed all the suave courtesy needed by a diplomat accredited to an Oriental court. 'Your Highness will be more fully satisfied of the necessity I lay under of going to Surat, when I have the happiness to see you, which words cannot express how much I desire. The delays and disappointments I have met with here have been the more irksome because they kept me so long from the most noble, victorious and great Asad Chawn whose friendship I shall esteem dearer than my life.'¹

As already noted the embarkation took place on August 15. Notice had been sent to the Governor and officers, and all the English gentlemen of the place were present, save only those connected with the Old Company, these having had special orders to take no notice of the event. Tillard in his diary gives a vivid and picturesque description of what took place:—'15th ditto his Excellcy . . . went aboard ye ship *Sommers*, Capn John Douglas Comdr, for Surratt. He went thro' ye town in great splendour, viz: first, from ye great house, called King of Golconda's to ye consull's . . . He went under ye canopy of ½ a dozen Rundells, on black man to each, ye

consull following him wth 2 over his head, their his Excellcy's brother Jno [sic] Norris Esq., wth 2 over his head, after him ye councill wch were onely* Mr. Jno Graham and myself, ye rest being dead. After ym follow'd ye factors and writers, and all ye English Nation then in town, exceptng ye old Compa servts, wch never would take any notice of ye Ambassr. Before his Excellcy went his gentlemen, Mr. Mills and Mr. Hales, wth Mr. Harlewyn, Paymaster to ye Embassyy who carried ye sword of Justice before his Excellcy, and before ym went all my Lords Livery servts, there going onely 4 by his side; and before ym went a compa of soldiers wch they took out of ye ship, the barge crue [sic] going first of all with velvett caps and could wastcoats, well armed. My Lord had ye Union and King's flag likewise before him, which he ordered to be burnt so soon as he came into ye Consull's house—I suppose because they were old and torn.'¹

On August 19, Sir William addressed a long letter to the Court of Directors from on board the *Sommers*. In it he explains his reasons for sailing to Surat and makes serious complaints about Consul Pitt's conduct. To the latter he attributes the failure of his original plan of marching from Masulipatam to the Mogul's camp. 'It is not only in this particular and many others that I have suspected the Consul here not to act for your interest as far as the success of the embassy may be conducing to it.' He wrote in similar terms to Secretary James Vernon and caused both letters to be read to the Consul before being sealed up. These letters possess exceptional interest because of the clear and detailed account of recent events which they give.

The same day he wrote to the President and Council at Masulipatam. This letter complains of the Consul's behaviour and requests that sailing orders be given at once as he has already been aboard four days. Sir William's letter of August 19, to the Court of Directors complaining of the Consul, was read to the latter and Mr. Tillard.²

¹ See Diary, p. 85.

² Tillard writes in his diary: 'ye 26th August ye ship Somers departed this road with my Lord Ambassr on board in order to go for Surratt; the reason why his Excellcy took this method to go for ye Camp was occasioned by ye impudence of ye governrs in and about this town of Metchlepn, who refused givg Dustick and necessary assistance for carryg his prests and retinue over land; and, ye rains coming on, thought he might be sooner to ye Mogull by way of Surratt.' Whereas Manuchi's story about the impediment offered to Sir William by the Mogul's

¹ See *Factory Records*, misc., vol. 19, India Office.

It was replied to by Pitt, Tillard and Graham. The reply begins 'We have perused your letter to the Directors, so full of reflections and censures on the reputation of the Consul, that upon second reading we could hardly persuade ourselves it was wrote by an Ambassador,' and goes on to deny the charges made. Regarding the delay in receiving sailing orders for the *Sommers* of which he had also complained they add. 'My Lord you cannot charge any delays upon us for your stay in the Road on the *Sommers*, for want of a dispatch for nothing is ready to answer our giving it to the honourable Directors, for Your Excellency cannot but believe they will expect invoices of what is laden for account of the embassy.'

Sir William's answer to this letter shows that his temper was still warm, for he declares that the next time he writes to the Director's he will 'inform them how rudely you have all behaved yourselves to me.'

A letter from the Camp written on August 23, by Emancouli Beg shows that the Indian mind was still clinging to the thought of a journey by land from Masulipatam. He states that news has been received of the arrival of guns and presents as well as the *Hasbul-Hookum*. He declares his intention of setting out to meet the Ambassador in ten or fifteen days and states that the latter's arrival is being eagerly expected by Assed Khan. He hopes further that Sir William will travel by land to the confusion of his opponents who have privately instructed their agents to persuade him otherwise to his advantage.

A dispatch from the Court of Directors, dated September 3, 1700, expresses anxiety at not having had direct news from Sir William for some time. It refers to the disrespect shown by the Old Company to the Presidents of their various factories and points out that the Act of Parliament empowering the Old Company to continue as a Corporation had put the New Company in a serious position. It was therefore all the more necessary that there should be obtained from the Mogul confirmation of their Presidents' positions as being King's ministers and consuls, giving them exclusive power to hoist the English flag and grant passes for the English to all Governors and officers through-

officers and its causes does not seem to correspond entirely with Sir William's own account of the events occurred prior to his departure from Masulipatam or Tillard's account just given. See pp. 380-82, *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India*, 1653-1708.

out the Mogul's dominions. Regarding the pirates it states that ten had been recently executed in England, many more at the Barbadoes and other plantations, while others were in prison awaiting an early trial.¹

Mr. Stephen Colt and others on September 5, recorded in a letter their opinion that Sir William must have had private orders to delay the embassy as it could not otherwise have been necessary to remain about twelve months at Masulipatam. They suggested that perhaps a hope had existed that the interval might have allowed of a Union between the Companies which would have put the embassy in a more advantageous and honourable position.

Again on September 7, the Court of Directors wrote acknowledging receipt of his letter by the *Degrave* and expressing satisfaction with his actions therein recorded. They wrote on the same day to Sir Nicholas Waite acknowledging his reports of the ill usage received by Sir William from the Old Company's agents and asking for names, stations and qualities of the delinquents.

The members of the Old Company at Fort St. George reported on October 4, that Sir William had passed there in one of the New Company's ships bound for Surat. They seem at the same time to have expressed the opinion that he would be unable to do anything to the prejudice of the Old Company. It is recorded that no salutes were fired as the *Sommers* passed Fort St. George. Ceylon was reached on October 22, after delays from contrary winds. The *Canterbury* was met homeward bound and letters, minutes, etc., sent by her.

Leaving Sir William now to continue his voyage round to Surat we may note a few of the happenings elsewhere. At Surat early in October Sir Nicholas Waite and others resolved to give an undertaking on receipt of the *Phirmaunds* that two ships would be appointed to convoy the Surat merchants and protect them from pirates. Hostility between the two Companies was still further demonstrated by a protest on October 19 on the part of President Colt and others against allegations made by Sir Nicholas that they were pirates. At the same time they boasted that the Old Company would soon be able to grapple with the New Company and that in a year's time Sir Nicholas would be deprived of his Consular power. They also courteously informed

¹ See Addl. MS., 31,302. British Museum.

him that they regarded him merely as Chief of the New Company and not as Consul at all. There was also a report that on November 5 the 'Rashpoots' had burnt down some 'apartments' in the garden of the house prepared by Sir Nicholas for the Ambassador. Indeed mischief seems to have been at that time committed almost nightly which 'the effeminate Govr. and his crew but lightly regards.' From London the heads of the Old Company wrote in a boastful strain to President and Council at Fort St. George as follows:—

'The New Act for our continuance will very much alter the face of affairs there as it hath done here. We can tell you that the interest of the New Company does very much decline and wee think wee and our friends stand upon so good a foot that the day will come when the agents of the New Company must give an accompt for their irregular and unjust actions and so must the Ambassador wherein he exceeds his Majesties Commission which he hath done sufficiently and as you well observe he hath proceeded more like the Ambassadors of the New Company than the Kings.'

Sir William anchored at Surat on December 10, after a voyage of nearly four months. He had a mixed reception. On the one hand the Mogul's men-of-war fired a salute which was duly returned. A resident of Surat assured him that this was 'a particular respect never remembered to have been practised before, for one of ye Mogulls men of warr in their cheife port to give ye first salute.'¹ On the other hand Dutch merchantmen did not salute. Two English ships at Swally Bar flew the Union Flag, Sir John Gayer being on the *Tavistock*, the other being the *Loyal Merchant*. They were ordered by Sir William to strike the flag and asked how they dared fly it in the sight of His Majesty's flag, but, as he remarked, they seemed 'resolved to act in open defiance to my character.' The Consul next day reported that the Governor and his son had been bribed by the Old Company's agents with '3 lacs of rupees' not to receive Sir William with honour.

Two days after his arrival Sir Nicholas Waite described to him the general state of affairs at Surat. Several important merchants were clamouring for 80 lacs of rupees due to them by the Old Company and claiming to have the matter laid before the Mogul. The Consul

¹ See Diary, vol. ii, MS. Rawl; C. 913, Bodleian.

told him that 'from ye highest to ye lowest all were mercenary except 2 of ye Greate men att ye Camp who are known never to accept of a Gratuity,' and that the Mogul himself 'values nothinge soe much as a good summ of money paide into his Treasury.' Sir William told the Consul that as King's Ambassador he expected a great reception but was informed that the Old Company had done all they could to disparage him.

It was resolved at a Council held in his cabin on December 13, that a great reception should be given him and a money present made to the Governor of Surat. A little later he records that the Governor had sent a message to him saying that 'If I came from merchants he durst not receive me as from a Kinge without Losse of his heade unlesse I give him a sight of ye Ks King's letter to ye Greate Mogull.' It was decided that the King's letter should be read both in English and Persian.

At a Council six days later payment of 3,200 rupees to the Governor and his son was arranged for in order that the two might go down to Umbra, five miles below the city, to receive His Excellency and conduct him to his house. There the King's letter and Commission would be shown them. The Governor would then be able to assure the Emperor and Grand Vizier that the Ambassador had been truly commissioned by the King of England and could certify the same to all Governors as Sir William passes through their governments on his way to Court. All this being communicated to the Governor he replied that the Emperor's orders did not oblige him to meet His Excellency outside of the city but only to conduct him safely out of that Government: that as the Old Company asserted Sir William to be only Ambassador for the New Company he as Governor dare not receive him publicly unless he was assured that he brought the King's letter for the Emperor. Further, he demanded money if he were required to acknowledge the Ambassador. Sir Nicholas, to whom this reply was made, resolved to await His Excellency's decision. Meanwhile the presents were held in readiness lest Sir William's reception should in any way be prejudiced by delay.

Towards the end of the month several discourtesies were offered the Embassy. The French Commander refused to lend him boats: the Customs House officers inspected his presents on being sent ashore

'most narrowly.' The *Tavistock*, an English ship then in port, sailed away without saluting, this by the order of Sir John Gayer. The French Commander expected him to salute first, which would not have become the 'King's Jack.' And a house hired for him to which additions costing 1,600 rupees had been made was burnt down, as it was believed by persons inspired from the Old Factory. Was ever an Ambassador so let and hindered as he?

The Climacteric of Talikota

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THE climacteric of Talikōṭa cannot be properly appreciated without a full knowledge of the political facts and tendencies of the half-century following that battle. It is no longer correct to say that 'Here (after the battle of Talikōṭa) my sketch of Vijayanagar history might well end,¹ and thus began the third (fourth) dynasty, if dynasty it can be appropriately called,'² or to refer to 'the history which need only be shortly summarised.'³ It is customary to regard Talikōṭa as the Waterloo of the Vijayanagar Empire, and the lead of the late Mr. Robert Sewell seems to be still in the ascendant. It is therefore necessary to estimate rightly the effects of the battle of Talikōṭa on the Empire of Vijayanagar.

Our general position may be indicated at the outset by a few short extracts from the original authorities. Ferishta observes: 'The kingdom of Beējanuggur since this battle has never recovered its ancient splendour.'⁴ Ramraj, in the year 972 (A.D. 1564), opposed the kings of the Deccan, and was slain; after which period no *such* raja has sat on the throne.'⁵ Thus it is clear that, at the time Ferishta wrote (about 1611), Vijayanagar did not follow the aggressive foreign policy of the hero of Talikōṭa, who bestrode the narrow Muhammadan world like a colossus and made the Dakhan Sultans bow to him 'in a bondman's key'. Further, the extracts quoted above cannot be taken as evidence for the theory of the independence of the imperial feudatories soon after 1565,⁶ as will be shown in the sequel. William Finch, referring to the period 1608-11, notes: 'Alongst the seaside toward the cape is the mightie king of Bezeneger (Vijayanagar), under whom the Portugals hold Saint Thome and Negapatan, but are not suffered to build a castle.'⁷ A Jesuit observer wrote in 1583: 'In spite of that

¹ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 1900, p. 209.

² *Ibid.*, p. 213.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁴ Briggs, *Ferishta* (R. Cambray & Co.), vol. iii, p. 131.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 352.

⁶ Sewell, p. 206.

⁷ Foster, *Early Travels in India* (Oxford University Press, 1901), p. 182.

(the destruction of the city of Vijayanagar) the sovereign of this kingdom was not so shaken that he lost all his power and wealth, because he owns a large state and good many elephants and cavalry and a numerous army.' (Quoted by the Rev. Fr. H. Heras).¹

Let us first analyse the evidence of Ferishta and of another chronicler of his type (the unnamed author of the *History of Golkonda* ²) and understand the effects, according to them, of Tālikōṭa on the foreign policy of Vijayanagar. These Muhammadan authorities make us believe very strongly that the post-Tālikōṭa history of Vijayanagar for nearly half a century was not fundamentally different from its history before 1565; parallels in pre-Tālikōṭa history can be easily found to the happenings in the period following Tālikōṭa. The information supplied by them may be arranged under the following heads.

A. SIEGES OF PENUKONDA

There were three sieges of Penukōṇḍa by the Muhammadans, all of which had to be raised. In 1577 Ali Ādil Shāh marched to the Hindu capital and blockaded it for three months. Though the Rāya retreated to Chandragiri for the safety of his treasures, his energetic action compelled the Sultan to abandon the siege. According to Ferishta, the cause of the Hindu success was that the fidelity of a chief on the opposite side was corrupted by a bribe of twenty-four lakhs of rupees and five elephants. The Ādil Shāh consequently retired to Bankāpūr and thence to Bijapūr.³ In 1579 he besieged Penukōṇḍa again, and his desire 'to wrest it out of the hands' of Śrīraṅga I (usually II) was not fulfilled owing, it is said, to the combination of Vijayanagar and Golkōṇḍa armies.⁴ In 1589, after his capture of Gaṇḍikōṭṭa, Muhammad Kuli Kutb Shāh besieged Penukōṇḍa, but the siege had to be raised, thanks to the exertions of Jagadēva Rāya.⁵

B. RAIDS INTO VIJAYANAGAR TERRITORY

In 1593 was made a dash for Mysore, but the Muhammadan army was recalled consequent on the rebellion of Ibrahim Ādil Shāh II's brother.⁶ In 1589 happened the counter-raid into Udayagiri territory

¹ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. xiv, p. 131.

² Briggs, vol. iii, pp. 337-484.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 434-5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 454; S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 229-30.

⁶ Briggs, vol. iii, p. 176.

by Afzal Khān, the Golkōṇḍa Governor of Koṇḍaviḍu, and the plundering expedition to Kājahasti.¹

C. MUHAMMADAN ESTIMATE OF VIJAYANAGAR'S POWER

This is clear from the desire of the Sultans to make alliances with Vijayanagar, from their undertaking campaigns against the latter after a combination among themselves, and from the flight of Muhammadan rebels to the Hindu capital.

In 1566 was made a joint request to Tirumala by the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golkōṇḍa for help against Bijapūr, but Ahmadnagar's demand of two lakhs of *huns* from Tirumala angered him and called forth the disapprobation of Golkōṇḍa, which remonstrated against that astonishing requisition and emphasized the necessity of conciliating a useful ally. When that demand was, however, reiterated, Tirumala refused it and treated Ahmadnagar as his enemy. These negotiations, though abortive, throw some light on the position of Tirumala in the year following the battle of Tālikōṭa.² In 1594 Burhān Nizām Shāh concluded an alliance with Venkāṭa I against Ibrahim Ādil Shāh II.³ But it should not be forgotten that Tirumala forced the Ādil Shāh to retreat from Āneguṇḍi in 1566 by a successful appeal to Ahmadnagar,⁴ and that in 1579 Śrīraṅga compelled Bijapūr to raise the siege of Penukōṇḍa with the help of Golkōṇḍa.⁵

Though the capture of Adōni in 1568 substantially increased the military reputation of Ali Ādil Shāh, he deemed it hazardous to extend his conquests southward without the help of allies and made an alliance with the Nizām Shāh.⁶ In 1572 another alliance was concluded between Bijapūr and Ahmadnagar, defining their respective spheres of aggression.⁷ Between 1580 and 1589 'a treaty of perpetual amity and friendship' was made by Bijapūr with Golkōṇḍa which was cemented by a marriage alliance with the object of maintaining their conquests intact.⁸ Lastly, we are told that 'it had been always an understood principle with the Mahomedan kings of the Deccan not to invade the Beejanuggur territories *without the general consent of the whole*.'⁹

¹ Briggs, vol. iii, pp. 455 and 460.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 184 and 286.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 434-5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 254-5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 418-20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 435.

Further, the chiefs disloyal to the Sultans hoped for and obtained help from Vijayanagar. Soon after the accession of Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580) some of his nobles, who did not like his minister, thought of maturing their plot against the latter in the Hindu capital.¹ About 1592 a plot against the Sultan of Golkonda was organized at Penukonda.² The other features of the Hindu conflict with the Muhammadans, such as the aggressions of Vijayanagar and the territorial acquisitions of the latter, will be considered in another connection.

The sieges of Penukonda and their failure remind us of the attempts against the imperial city under the Saṅgamas. The attack on Kālahasti is reminiscent of that on Kānchi in 1481. The 'rights and apologies' of Venkata I are similar to those of Sāluva Narasimha and Bukka I; the 'victories' of Islam are like those of earlier times. Though such features of the Hindu-Muhammadan struggle are to be accepted provisionally, if at all, the strength of the Vijayanagar Empire emerges clearly from the aggressions of Venkata I and the revolts of chiefs against the Sultans, some of which were instigated by him and his predecessors. Apart from the victories claimed for the Emperors of Vijayanagar in their inscriptions and in Hindu literature, the Muhammadan authorities mention the numerical superiority of the Hindus, with the result that the co-religionists of the former 'found it impossible to give them battle.'³ Moreover, the heavy losses of the Muhammadans are sometimes recorded.⁴ It is too much to expect a clearer account of the strength of Vijayanagar from authorities like Ferishta. But the abandonment of the city of Vijayanagar and the concentration on Penukonda pushed the zone of war southward, and the importance of the Raichūr Dōab was transferred to the southern side of the Tungabhadra line, though not immediately after Talikōṭa.

HINDU LITERATURE

Tirumala's victories over the Sultans are recorded in two Telugu works, the *Ramarajiyamu* of Venkaiya and the *Vasucharitramu* of Bhattu Mūrti; the latter authority mentions three defeats sustained by the Nizām Shāh and other Sultans, one of which was at Penukonda and another near the Krishnā, with the result that the enemies were expelled beyond that river.⁵

¹ Briggs, vol. iii, p. 147.
² *Ibid.*, p. 459.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 462-3.

⁴ S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 213 and 216.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 456.

The *Ramarajiyamu* says that Śrīraṅga Rāya invaded the territories of Bijapūr, Ahmadnagar, and Golkonda and 'resuscitated the glory of the Karnāṭa empire which had waned.' A victory over the Nizām Shāh is claimed for Rāma, his younger brother.¹ The *Lakshmitvilāsam* of Rāyasam Venkatapati records that Śrīraṅga defeated 'the large armies of the Kutb Shāh and captured his royal insignia.'² We find, however, the *Annals of Hanḍe Anantapuram* mentioning, after Śrīraṅga's successful attack on Kalyāṇi and Kulburga, a counter-invasion by the Sultans which ended in the defeat and imprisonment of the Emperor and in their conquest and administration of 'the whole country north of Penukonda.'³ But it must be noted that the account apparently gives a defence of Hanḍe Malakappa Nāyudu's opportunism, and it is not easy to determine whether we have not here an instance of local patriotism falsifying history. The unnamed Muhammadan historian refers to 'Kupoory Timraj, son-in-law of the celebrated Ramraj' becoming a prisoner of the Sultan of Golkonda in 1579, but not to the imprisonment of the Emperor Śrīraṅga.⁴ Moreover, Ferishta says nothing in support of the statement of the *Annals*. Lastly, the imprisonment of Śrīraṅga is ascribed to the period between the cyclic years Manmatha and Vikāri (1595-96 and 1599-1600). So the reference cannot be to Śrīraṅga I, the predecessor of Venkata I. The *Payaticharitramu* mentions the conclusion of a treaty between Śrīraṅga and the Kutb Shāh in consequence of the former's interview with the latter. Though that work was dedicated to a Muhammadan chief in the service of Golkonda, there is no reference in it to the imprisonment of Śrīraṅga.⁵

According to the *Ramarajiyamu*, Venkata inflicted a bloody defeat on the Kutb Shāh on the banks of the Peppār and fixed the Krishnā as the boundary between the two kingdoms.⁶ The *Raghunāthābhyaṇam* of Rāmabhadraṁbā refers to the services of the Tanjore Nāyak, Raghunātha, to Venkata in defeating the Muhammadans.⁷

INSCRIPTIONS

Śrīraṅga's Krishnāpuram copper plates of 1575-76 refer to his conquests of Koṇḍaviḍu, Vinukonda, Udayagiri, and other forts.⁸ His inscription of 1576 mentions him as residing at Udayagiri and

¹ S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 213.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 231-2.

³ S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 236.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁶ Briggs, vol. iii, pp. 437-8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁸ *E.I.*, vol. xi, pp. 326-36.

records his conquest of 'the inaccessible' fortress of Koṇḍaviḍu.¹ Another record of the same year (Dhātu, Amritālūr, Guntur) states the remission of taxes on merchants, weavers and others, 'on account of a plunder suffered by the people.'² In 1577 and 1583 Śrīraṅga claims to have taken 'all countries' and received tribute from Ceylon.³ His Ahōbālam inscription of 1584-85 says that in Bahudānya (1578-79) he defeated the Kutb Shāh.⁴ The Aminābād inscription of Amin-ul-Mulk, dated in 1592-93, enumerates the Kutb Shāh's conquests from Vijayanagar in 1580 and says that he was ruling over the Koṇḍaviḍu province.⁵ In 1592 and 1609 Veṅkaṭa I claims to have 'levied tribute from all countries' including Ceylon.⁶ The Siddhout inscription of 1605 mentions the defeat of the Muhammadans by Veṅkaṭa at Penukoṇḍa.⁷

The relations of the Vijayanagar Empire with the Dakhan Sultanates indicated by the evidences detailed above show that, after the battle of Tālikōṭa, foreign policy was conducted by the Hindu Emperors vigorously, even with credit, with this difference that the debatable land was no longer the Raichūr Dōab, but the region to the south of it along the Tuṅgabhadra-Krishṇā line. Two other features of the history of Vijayanagar during the half-century following Tālikōṭa which deserve consideration are the extent and time of Vijayanagar's territorial losses in the north and the internal condition of the Empire.

TERRITORIAL LOSSES

Immediately after Tālikōṭa the chief trans-Tuṅgabhadra-Krishṇā acquisitions of Rāmarāja, viz., Raichūr and Mudgal, and 'all the districts which had been taken from Ibrahim Kootb Shah in the reign of Ramraj' are said to have been seized by the Sultans.⁸ In 1568 Adōni was captured by Ali Ādil Shāh after 'several indecisive actions.'⁹ In 1573 Dhārwar and Bankāpūr fell after a resistance to him for six and fifteen months respectively.¹⁰ The succeeding years to 1577-78 witnessed the capture (1575) and refortification of Chandragutti and the subjugation of some of the chiefs of Malabar and the settlement of the new conquests in that region.¹¹

¹ C. P., No. 23 of 1911.

² 134 and 128 of 1918.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 239-40.

⁴ 564 of 1915; S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 248-9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-8.

⁷ 629 of 1920.

⁸ S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 233-4.

⁹ 208 of 1916 and 92 of 1923.

¹⁰ Briggs, vol. iii, p. 415.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-41.

Till 1579 Golkonḍa was engaged in the reduction of Rājamahēndri and places to the north of it. It was in that year that the conquest of the cis-Krishṇā territories of Vijayanagar in the east began, the immediate cause of it being the attack on Koṇḍapalli by some 'Hindu chiefs'. Haidar-ul-Mulk reduced Vinukoṇḍa, Cumbum, and Bellamkoṇḍa and laid siege to Koṇḍaviḍu, which surrendered, after a protracted siege, to Haidar's successor, Shāh Mir, with the result that Golkonḍa acquired the province of Koṇḍaviḍu, 'including two or three sea-ports.'¹ This was followed a decade after (in 1589) by the capture of Nandyāl, Kurnool (?), and Gaṇḍikōṭṭa. 'Most of the petty rajas of Beejanuggur had now bent their necks to the Mahomedan yoke.'²

Thus the whole of the Guntur district and parts of the Bellary, Kurnool, Cuddapah, and Nellore districts, as well as portions of the West Coast, passed on to the Muhammadans. There is no doubt that by 1580 Vijayanagar had lost the whole of the Guntur district; there are found in it thirteen inscriptions (Madras Collection) of Śrīraṅga ranging from 1572 to 1580 and none after the latter year during the period under survey, but such is not the case in the other districts where inscriptions of later years are found: in Bellary to 1592 and in Kurnool, Cuddapah, and Nellore to the end of our period (1614). So the Muhammadan conquest and government of 'the whole country north of Penukoṇḍa', recorded in the *Annals of Hanḍe Anantāpuram*, cannot be accepted.³

But the above-mentioned conquests must be viewed in the light of the frequent revolts of Hindu and other chiefs against Muhammadan authority, sometimes instigated by Vijayanagar, and the attempts of the latter power to recover them.

A. REVOLTS AGAINST BIJAPUR

Ghalib Khān, Governor of Adōni, revolted in 1584.⁴ In the same year the chiefs of Malabar refused to pay tribute, and an expedition under Bulal Khān was sent against them. His failure, imprisonment, and escape were followed by the refusal of the Regent of Bijapur to direct his attention at once to that quarter.⁵ A second expedition under the same general was sent in 1587, but he was soon recalled.⁶ Another effort in 1593 fared no better owing to the rebellion of the

¹ Briggs, vol. iii, pp. 436-8.

² S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 232.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 453-4.

⁵ Briggs, vol. iii, p. 157.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-61.

Sultan's brother at Belgaum which resulted in the attack on Bankāpūr by the Malabar chiefs.¹ 'The zemindars throughout the kingdom of Beejapoor were ripe for revolt.'² In 1595 Bijapūr was about to lose Adōni.³

B. REVOLTS AGAINST GOLKONDA

In 1580 Ali Khān marched into the province of Konḍaviḍu, besieged Cumbum, ravaged Konḍapalli, and attacked Nizāmpaṭam, but was finally killed.⁴ The Aminābād inscription of Amin-ul-Mulk, dated in 1592-93, mentions the revolt of some Hindu and Muhammadan chiefs against the Sultan in the cyclic year Khara (1591-92) and their capture of the Konḍaviḍu district. The rebellion was put down by that general.⁵ The Muhammadan historian describes the revolt of three *jaghirdars*, a Muhammadan and two Hindus, their refusal to pay tribute to the Sultan of Golkonda, and their plunder of his country near Konḍaviḍu, with the result that Amin-ul-Mulk conducted a successful expedition and the rebels joined Vijayanagar.⁶

C. VENKATA'S ACTIVITIES

In 1589 Venkata invaded Golkonda, and the subsequent siege of Penukonda by the latter had to be abandoned. He followed up his success by ravaging the province of Konḍaviḍu and attempting to recover Gaṇḍikōṭṭa from Sunjur Khān. The Muhammadan historian notes Venkata's initial failure on the battle-field, but the siege of Gaṇḍikōṭṭa was carried on for three months. The Hindu forces became so numerous that two Muhammadan armies 'found it impossible to give them battle, but confined their operations to plundering and cutting off supplies.' The Muhammadans became panic-stricken at the sight of 'a red bullock' driven into their ranks by their enemies. The Hindus took advantage of the situation and attacked the Muhammadans, who escaped total destruction by retreating, but sustained heavy losses, with the result that Rustam Khān was 'disgraced, on his return to Hyderabad, by being dressed in female attire, after which he was banished the kingdom,' and that the Sultan resolved to attack Penukonda and 'to lay in ashes all the enemy's towns in his route.' In the subsequent invasion the idols of Kājahasti were destroyed and Muhammadan prayers were read in the

¹ Briggs, vol. iii, pp. 175-6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 187.

³ S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 240.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 448-50.

⁶ Briggs, vol. iii, pp. 400-61.

temples of that town. 'These edifices may well be compared in magnificence with the buildings and paintings of China, with which they vie in beauty and workmanship.' Though the Muhammadan historian says that his co-religionists carried on war for 'several years' south of the Krishnā, he does not record any further substantial results. These events happened in 1591 before Amin-ul-Mulk's expedition.¹

Venkata marched a second time to Konḍaviḍu between 1591 and 1603 with an army of 'two hundred thousand horse and infantry and one thousand elephants,' but no battle was fought, and he submitted to the Sultan, confessing that the real object of his presence in that region was to see the lake at Cumbum, according to the Muhammadan historian!²

The only reasonable conclusion from all this evidence appears to be that South India between north latitudes fifteen and sixteen became the bone of contention between Vijayanagar and Bijapūr and Golkonda, and played the part that the Raichūr Dōab had played in earlier times. No doubt the territories on both sides of that region became the theatre of predatory warfare now and then.

REVOLT OF VIJAYANAGAR FEUDATORIES.

Ferishta says: 'The country (Vijayanagar Empire) has been seized on by the tributary chiefs, each of whom hath assumed an independent power in his own district.'³ This statement is generally taken to support the independence of the feudatories of Vijayanagar soon after the battle of Talikōṭa, but the reference is clearly to the time when Ferishta wrote. His account of the fortunes of Vijayanagar after Talikōṭa does not substantiate that view as it mentions the revolt specifically of two chiefs, and they belonged to the northern frontier.

Adōni came under a principal officer of Rāmarāja after his death, and it was that independent chief who came into conflict with Ali Ādil Shāh in 1568.⁴ The chief of Dhārwar, originally an officer of Rāmarāja, paid an annual tribute to Tirumala till his own subjugation by the Ādil Shāh in 1573.⁵ The ruler of Bankāpūr, another assistant of Rāmarāja, became independent after his master's death, but appealed to Tirumala against the Ādil Shāh in the same year. According to Ferishta, the Rāya gave the following reply to that appeal:

¹ Briggs, vol. iii, pp. 454-60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 134.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 466-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

'By his wickedness and evil example most of the dependents on his house had become rebels and departed from their duty, so that it was with difficulty he could support himself at Penkonda and Chundergeery. He promised (however) to issue his orders to all his vassals to assist him, though he could not rely on their obedience.'¹ But Ferishta does not mention the revolt of any of the major feudatories of the Empire, but rests content with naming two minor chiefs, without substantiating the weighty words he puts into the mouth of Tirumala. The unnamed Muhammadan historian says that 'most of the petty rajas of Beejanuggur had now (1589) bent their necks to the Mahomedan yoke.'² Moreover, Ferishta does not make clear whether all the chiefs conquered by the Sultans could be regarded as disloyal to Vijayanagar.

THE CASE OF MADURA

It is believed that the battle of Tālikōṭa straightway converted Madura into a potential rebel praying for imperial misfortunes. Some literary and epigraphical evidences are let in which relate to the half-decade preceding the accession of Venkaṭa I. At times the period is taken to the close of the sixteenth century or to the beginning of the next.

According to the *Chikkadēvarāya Vamsāvali* of Tirumalarya, Venkaṭa was involved in a war with Virappa Nāyaka, and Madura was besieged by the imperial army under Tirumala, the nephew of the Emperor, who, however, received a bribe from the Nāyak and retired to his viceroyalty of Seringapaṭam, with the result that Rāja Uḍaiyār decided on dispossessing him of it.³ Further, the Pudukkōṭṭai plates of Śrī Vallabha and the battle of Vallaprākāra they describe are taken to establish Virappa Nāyaka's disloyalty in 1583.⁴ Lastly, the Siddhout inscription of Maṭla Ananta, dated in 1605, which enumerates his achievements, says that he 'led the campaign against the Drāviḍa king of Madhura.'⁵

With regard to the first piece of evidence, we are not sure whether the reference is to Virappa Nāyaka (1572-95) or to his great-grandson, Muttuvirappa Nāyaka I (1609-c. 1623). The latter possibility is confirmed by Rāja Uḍaiyār's seizure of Seringapaṭam from the Viceroy Tirumala in 1610 and by the ideas of independence which Muttuvirappa

¹ Briggs, vol. iii, pp. 136-7.

² S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 302-3.

³ *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. i., pp. 61-88.

⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1916, p. 148.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 453.

cherished beyond a shadow of doubt. The much-discussed battle of Vallaprākāra does not enable us to ascribe it confidently to 1583.¹ As regards the Siddhout inscription, it is to be noted that the staunch imperialist Ananta is said to have 'protected the flying armies of the Madura chief from destruction'²—a version different from the one given above.

The alleged disloyalty of Madura is sometimes contrasted with the conspicuous and admirable loyalty of Tanjore and with the less noisy but none the less substantial good will of Mysore towards the Empire. But the literature produced by the Tanjore and Mysore courtiers, breathing sentiments of profound loyalty, has not received the much-needed corrective of Madura literature. Moreover, the Jesuit writers of the period say that Mysore was the first rebel against Vijayanagar, that Madura followed her example in the time of Muttuvirappa Nāyaka I,³ and that in 1611 the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji, all of them were unpunctual in the payment of their tribute and sometimes insolently refused it.⁴ That Madura was no *sui generis* is abundantly clear. Inscriptions from 1565 to 1610 testify to the imperial hold on Madura, but those after 1610 implicitly tell a different story, which is explicitly confirmed by contemporary foreign records.⁵

Thus there were only sporadic instances of minor feudatory revolts to 1610. There is no satisfactory evidence for the view that the battle of Tālikōṭa reduced the Empire, 'so solid and compact,' to a number of warring atoms, and introduced 'a state of anarchy.'⁶ Further, it is necessary to avoid the fallacy of 'After Tālikōṭa, therefore because of Tālikōṭa.' The occasional expression of feudatory restlessness and even disloyalty may be better ascribed to the murder of Sadāśiva Rāya by Tirumala's son, noted by Caesar Frederick,—and there is no reason to doubt it⁷—than to the battle of Tālikōṭa. Tirumala's difficulties can be understood in that light. His attempt to repopulate the capital⁸ shows that he was not as demoralized as might be

¹ *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 101-2.

² S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 248-9.

³ Bertrand, *La Mission du Maduré*, vol. iii, p. 42.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁵ *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 72-3, 80-81, 87, 95-6 and 99.

⁶ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 209.

⁷ *Hakluyt's Voyages* (Everyman's Library), vol. iii, p. 216.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

supposed by the defeat near Tālikōṭa. This is perhaps in harmony with Caesar Frederick's statement that Rāmarāja was betrayed into the hands of his enemies by his two trusted Muhammadan lieutenants.¹ Tirumala probably thought that the effects of treachery could be undone. The Italian traveller's references to the unwillingness of the barons and nobles to acquiesce in the usurpation of Tirumala and to the consequent existence of 'many kings and great division' in the Empire are descriptive of the first effects of the shock of Sadāśiva's murder, which is put down by the same authority as the primary cause of the Empire's troubles.²

CONCLUSION

The battle of Tālikōṭa was undoubtedly the climacteric of Vijayanagar. It necessitated the abandonment of the imperial capital and resulted in the loss of the Raichūr Dōab, and the zone of Hindu Muhammadan conflicts was ultimately pushed one degree of latitude southward. The *Rāmarājyamu's* reference to Śrīraṅga's restoration of the waning glories of the Empire reminds us of the difficulties of Tirumala, which must have been caused in a large measure by the folly of Sadāśiva Rāya's murder. Tirumala must have been confronted with the troubles incident to usurpers, which were perhaps intensified by their occurrence shortly after the battle of Tālikōṭa. The decisive success of Krishnadēva Rāya and the plenitude of the ubiquitous Rāmarāja's dictatorial might were gone beyond recall. But for nearly half a century after Tālikōṭa, the imperial authority, owing to the exertions of Tirumala, Śrīraṅga I, and Veṅkaṭa I, the last in particular, was a living and potent force in South Indian politics, and anti-Muhammadan resistance was offered effectively and even creditably, thus the Empire continuing to render to South India the great services, political and cultural, associated with the other dynasties of Vijayanagar. But some of the results of Tālikōṭa could not be undone. The glorious capital was irretrievably lost, and the door was thrown open to the penetration of the Muhammadans farther south. Though the power and prestige of the Empire suffered some diminution, yet an almost equal struggle was carried on with the Muhammadan states, and provincial insubordination exhibited itself with potency only after the death of Veṅkaṭa I. Tālikōṭa was the climacteric, but not the grand climacteric, of the Vijayanagar Empire.

¹ *Hakluyt's Voyages*, (Everyman's Library), vol. iii, p. 212.

² *Ibid.*, p. 216.

Chronology of the Paramara Rulers of Malva

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AMONG the several Rajput kingdoms into which India was parcelled out in the mediæval times the Paramaras of Mālva were an important one specially because the kings in the line were great patrons of learning and sometimes very learned people themselves. An attempt is made in this article to present their chronology with the help of all their inscriptions so far discovered and their dates found in several MSS.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Upendra	...	950-975
Vairisimha	...	975-1000
Siyaka (Harsha)	...	1000-1030
Vākpati (Muṇja)	...	1030-1052

(*Subhita*, a Chahaman king usurped the throne for some time during the reign of Muṇja).

Sindhurāja	...	1052-1056
Bhoja	...	1056-1111
Jayasimha	...	1111-1116
Udayāditya	...	1116-1144
Lakshmadeva...	...	1144-1150
Naravarman	...	1150-1190
Yaśovarman	...	1190-1199
Jayavarman	...	1199 <i>For a few months only.</i>
Ajayavarman <i>alias</i> Ballāla	...	1200-1205
Vindhyavarman	...	1205-1235
Subhaṭavarman	...	1235-1260
Arjunavarman	...	1260-1274
Devapāladeva	...	1274-1294
Jayatugideva or Jayasimha II	...	1294-1314

Jayavarman II	...	1314-1324
Jayasimha III	...	1324-1342
Arjunavarman II	...	1342-1348
Bhoja II	...	1348-1360
Jayasimha IV	...	1360-1375

All the geneologies of the Paramāras of Mālva begin with Upendra also called Krishnarāja. After him the following kings¹ are said to have ruled in direct succession up to Vākpati-Muñja: Vairisimha I, Siyaka I, and Vākpati I, Vairisimha II, Siyaka II, or Harsha, and Vākpati II or Muñja. In my article entitled 'New light on the early history of the Paramāra rulers of Mālva' published in the proceedings of the last Oriental Conference held at Madras, p. 303 ff, I have shown that in certain geneologies of the early Paramāras the three names of Vairisimha, Siyaka, and Vākpati are wrongly repeated. I need not repeat those arguments here. I have also given in the same paper the chronology of the first three rulers of the family: I have shown that the earliest date found of the third ruler of the family, Siyaka, which is also the earliest date² of a Paramāra king so far discovered is V.S. 1005 and his latest date³ is V. S. 1029. The earliest date of Siyaka's successor Vākpati-Muñja is V.S. 1031.⁴ Hence we can determine the period of the reign of Siyaka from about V. S. 1000 to V. S. 1031. Now allowing approximately twenty-five years to the reign of Siyaka's father Vairisimha and similar twenty-five years to the reign of Vairisimha's father Upendra-Krishnarāja, the founder of the family, we can suppose that the family had begun to rule in about V.S. 950. Thus the chronology of the first three rulers is this: Upendra from V. S. 950 to 975, Vairisimha from 975 to 1000 and Siyaka from 1000 to 1030.

Of Vākpati-Muñja, who, as said above, succeeded Siyaka, we have so far found only two inscriptions, one as noted above of V. S. 1031 and the other of V. S. 1036 from Ujjain⁵ copper-plates. But we have found a date of V. S. 1050 for him from a MS. called *Subhāshitaratna*.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 233 and the *Paramāras of Dhar and Mālva* by Luard and Lele, p. 2.

² From unpublished Harasola plates.

³ Dhanapala's *Pailachchi Kośa*, v. 198.

⁴ Indore plates, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. vi, p. 51.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. xiv, p. 160.

*sandoha*¹ by Amitagati. We know that Muñja was killed by Tailapa² of the Deccan Chālukya family, who is said to have died in V. S. 1054. Hence we have to suppose that Vākpati-Muñja was killed sometime between 1050 and 1054. Let us suppose that he was killed in 1052. The period of his reign can thus be fixed from V. S. 1030 to 1052.

In the Sevaḍi copper plate inscription³ of V. S. 1176 of Chāhamāna Ratnapāla Śobhita, son of Lakshmaṇa of the Chāhamāna family of Naḍḍula, is styled as lord of Dhāra. Śobhita's time⁴ as shown by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is from V. S. 1039. It is possible that the Chāhamāna king Śobhita defeated Muñja and became for sometime lord of Dhāra between 1039 and 1050. For we know it for certain that Muñja was ruling over Mālva in V. S. 1050 as stated above.

Vākpati-Muñja was succeeded by his younger brother Sindhurāja. Of this king no dated record is found. A fragment⁵ of a stone inscription is recently found at Dharampurī in Dhar State which seems to have been engraved in the time of Navasāhasāṅkadeva which, as we know, from Parimala's *Navasāhasāṅka Charita*⁶ is the other name of Sindhurāja. But this fragmentary inscription is of no chronological use to us. From some inscriptions and *Prabandhas* of the Chalukyas of Gujarat we see⁷ that Sindhurāja was killed by the Gujarat Chalukya king Chāmuṇḍarāja. According to Gujarat chronicles Chāmuṇḍarāja reigned from V.S. 1052 to 1066. So Sindhurāja must have been killed sometime before 1066. We have reason to suppose that Sindhurāja's reign was short. Let us suppose that he reigned from V.S. 1052 to 1056.

Of Bhoja, who succeeded his father Sindhurāja, six inscriptions have been found: two copper plate inscriptions both dated V.S. 1076 (one in the month of Māgha and the other in Bhādrapada) are found in Bānswārā⁸ and Beṭmā⁹ respectively. A third copper plate

¹ v. 922.

² *Early History of the Chalukyas* (Hindi) by R. B. Ojha, p. 75.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xi, p. 808.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵ Unpublished.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, 1907, p. 162.

⁷ *Nagari Pracharini Patrikā*, vol. i, pp. 121-4.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xi, p. 18.

⁹ Unpublished.

grant¹ found in Indore is dated V.S. 1078. An inscription dated V.S. 1091 is found on the pedestal of a Saraswati image² now preserved in the British Museum but which originally must have belonged to the now famous Bhoja Śālā at Dhār. A copper-plate inscription, dated V.S. 1103 is found at Tilakvādā³ in the Baroda State which purports to belong to the time of Bhoja. The sixth inscription from a copper plate grant found at Kaḷavaṇa⁴ is unfortunately undated. From a MS. of *Rajamrigaṅka*⁵ also we get a date V.S. 1099 for Bhoja. We thus see that the earliest date⁶ so far discovered of Bhoja is 1076 and the latest is 1103. The earliest date of Jayasimha⁷ who succeeded Bhoja is 1112. We thus see that the dates of Bhoja above-mentioned are of little use to determine the period of his reign. We can only say that he died sometime before 1112. Dr. Buhler⁸ supposes that he ascended the throne in 1067, but according to tradition Bhoja⁹ ruled for 55 years 7 months and 3 days. Though such accounts are not always true we can suppose that Bhoja ruled for 55 years from V.S. 1056 to 1111.

Bhoja was succeeded by Jayasimha whose relation with him is not known. Of Jayasimha only two inscriptions have been found: one of V.S. 1112 as noted above and the other of V.S. 1116 from Paṇāherā¹⁰ in the Bānswārā State, discovered by R. B. Gaurishankar Ojha. The earliest inscription¹¹ of the next ruler Udayāditya is dated 1116. Hence it is clear that Jayasimha died in 1116 and in the same year Udayāditya succeeded him. Jayasimha therefore reigned from 1111 to 1116.

Of Udayāditya four inscriptions have been found: one as noted above is dated 1116 and is found in Udayapur, the other¹² of 1137 is

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 53.

² *Rupam*, 1924.

³ *Proc. First Ori. Conf.*, vol. ii, Library Miscellany, vi.

⁴ *Ann. Rep. A. S. W. C.*, 1921-22, p. 118.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 232.

⁶ In *Bom. Gaz.* I, i, 160, note, is given a date V.S. 1070 for Bhoja. But its source is unfortunately not so far found.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 48.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 282.

⁹ *Bharata Ke Prachina Rajavamsa* (Hindi) vol. i, p. 124.

¹⁰ Unpublished. See *Ann. Rep. Raj. Mus.*, 1916-17.

¹¹ *J. A. O. S.*, vol. vii, p. 135.

¹² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 83.

also from Udayapur, the third¹ of 1143 is from Zālrapāṭaṇa and the fourth inscription² is also found in Udayapur, but it gives us no date. Udayāditya was succeeded by his elder son Lakshmadeva, but no date or inscription is found of him. Lakshmadeva was succeeded by his younger brother Naravarman whose earliest inscription recently discovered by Mr. Garde is dated V.S. 1151.³ Thus between 1143 and 1151 we have to accommodate the remaining period of the reign of Udayāditya and the reign of Lakshmadeva and possibly also the earlier portion of the reign of Naravarman. We may suppose that Udayāditya died in 1144, his reign having begun in 1116 and that his son Lakshmadeva ruled from 1144 to 1150.

Of Naravarman as many as nine inscriptions have been discovered, four of which are fragmentary⁴ and give us no dates. Of the remaining five the earliest of 1151 is as said above from Udayapura, the second of 1161 from Nagpur,⁵ the third of 1164 from Madhu-karagadh⁶ and the fourth of 1167 is from a copper-plate grant⁷ recently discovered by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the collection of the late Dr. Da Kunha in Bombay. The fifth inscription, dated V.S. 1190, is mentioned in the *Bombay Gazetteer*,⁸ but with all my enquiries the whereabouts of the inscription are not known.⁹ But we have found a date V.S. 1190 for Naravarman from a MS. of Mammāsavāmi's *Ratnasūricharitra*. The earliest date of the next ruler Yaśovarman is V.S. 1199 from his Dhār plates.¹⁰ We can therefore without any difficulty fix the period of Naravarman's rule from V.S. 1150 to 1190.

Of Yaśovarman three inscriptions are found, one as said above of V.S. 1191, the other of 1192 from Ujjain plates¹¹ and the third and

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, 1914, p. 23.

² The first half of this inscription giving the geneology of the Paramaras up to Udayāditya was discovered long before and published in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 233. The other half is this year discovered by Mr. Garde, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Gwalior.

³ Unpublished.

⁴ From Ujjain, Dhar, Un and Bhilsa, all unpublished.

⁵ *Ep.*, *Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 182.

⁶ *Transactions of R. A. S.*, vol. i, p. 226.

⁷ *Ann. Rep. A. S. W. C.*, 1920-21, p. 54.

⁸ Vol. I, i, p. 173.

⁹ It is probably a mistake for a date found in a MS. noticed below.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xix, p. 352.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

the latest of 1199 from Zālarāpāṭan.¹ Yaśovarman is said to have been succeeded by Jayavarman, but no inscription is known of his. A copperplate grant of Mahākumāra Lakshmivarman² is found of V. S. 1200. So this is clear that Yaśovarman ceased to reign in V. S. 1199. The period of his reign can be thus easily fixed from V. S. 1190 to 1199.

After the death of Yaśovarman there was a great confusion in Mālva and the chronology of his successors cannot be easily fixed. The records which are found lead us to believe that Yaśovarman had three sons Jayavarman, Ajayavarman and Lakshmivarman. We have reason to suppose that the eldest son Jayavarman succeeded him in due course in the year 1199 when his father died. But within a few months of his accession he was deposed by his younger brother Ajayavarman. But the third son Lakshmivarman resenting this act of Ajayavarman's, but not being able to depose him, only seized some territory and upholding the claims of Jayavarman founded a parallel line.³ In this line besides Lakshmivarman two rulers Harishchandra-varman and Udayavarman ruled as direct descendants. Of Lakshmivarman a copper-plate grant of V. S. 1200 is found, of Harishchandra-varman, a copper plate grant⁴ of V. S. 1236 and of Udayavarman, a copper-plate grant⁵ of V. S. 1256 is found. These grants are not sufficient to prepare their chronology.

To add to this confusion a king named Ballāla is said to have been the ruler of Mālva sometime after the death of Yaśovarman as is evidenced by some inscriptions and *Prabandhas* dealing with the history of the Chalukyas of Gujarat.⁶ Ballāladeva, king of Mālva, is said to have joined the party of the Chāhamāna king Arjorāja of Sāmbhar and the Paramāraking Vikramasimha of Chandrāvati which opposed the accession of the Chaulukya Kumārāpāla to the Gujarat throne. Ballāla and his party were defeated and Ballāla after a life of wandering was captured and executed by Yaśodhavala, an accomplice of Kumārāpāla. In none of the geneologies of the Paramāras of Mālva the name of Ballāla is found. We do not know to which family

¹ Unpublished; see *Ann. Rep. A.S.W.C.* 1904-5, No. 2097.

² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 353.

³ See *Paramaras of Dhar and Mālva* by Luard and Lele.

⁴ *J.A.S.B.*, vol. vii, p. 736.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xvi, p. 254.

⁶ *Paramaras of Dhar and Mālva*, p. 34.

he belonged. Under these circumstances I may suggest that Ajayavarman, who as said above, usurped the throne of Mālva by removing his elder brother, might have assumed this name. Now the Vaṇnagar inscription¹ of the Chalukya Kumārāpāla, which is dated V. S. 1208 refers in v. 15 to a victory over Ballāladeva of Mālva and adds that the defeated king's head was suspended at the gate of Kumārāpāla. We have, therefore, to suppose that Ballāla or Ajayavarman must have been killed sometime before 1207. We may suppose that the event took place in 1205. Thus the reign of Ajayavarman or Ballāla extended from V. S. 1200 to 1205.

We have now to accommodate between 1205 when Ajayavarman *alias* Ballāla was killed and 1267 the earliest date² found of Arjunavarman the reigns of Vindhavarman and Subhavarman and also a portion of the reign of Arjunavarman. This has to be done by rough calculation only. We shall, therefore, suppose that Vindhavarman ruled from V. S. 1205 to 1235 and Subhavarman ruled from V. S. 1235 to 1260.

Of Arjunavarman besides the Piplianagar plates of 1267 three more inscriptions are known. Two copper-plate inscriptions³ dated 1270 and 1272 are found in Bhopāl and the third inscription on stone dated V. S. 1273 (*Śaka* 1138) is found at Dharampurī⁴ in Dhar State. The Bhoja Śālā inscription containing a portion of the drama *Pārijātamañ-jari* by Madana⁵ discovered by Mr. Lele in Dhar belongs to the time of Arjunavarman but it gives us no date. Arjunavarman's death must have taken place sometime between 1273 and 1275. For in an inscription of V. S. 1275 found at Harasaudha⁶ in Central Provinces *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhīraja Parameśvara* Devapāladeva is said to be the ruler of Dhārānagarī. We shall therefore suppose that Arjunavarman died in V. S. 1274. His reign thus extended from V. S. 1260 to 1274.

Arjunavarman was succeeded by Devapāladeva, who was the younger brother of Mahārājakumāra Udayavarman of the parallel line founded, as said above, by Harishchandravarman. Thus in Devapāla both the families were combined and Mālva began once more to be governed by one ruler after a period of seventy four years.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 293.

² *J. A. S. B.*, vol. v, p. 378.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, pp. 101-12.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 311 and *J.A.O.S.*, vol. vi, p. 536.

⁵ *J.A.O.S.*, vol. vii, pp. 23 and 32.

⁶ Unpublished.

Of Devapāladeva four inscriptions have been found, the earliest one, as noted above, is of V.S. 1275, the second of 1282 is from Mādhātā plates¹ the third,² of 1286 is on a stone from Udayapur and the fourth³ dated V.S. 1288 (or 1289) is on a stone also found in Udayapur. Two dates are found from MSS. referring to the reign of Devapāladeva: one of 1285 from Āśādhara's *Jinayajñakalpa* and the other of 1292 from *Trishastismṛiti* by the same author. This second date found in the MS. is important for it is as will be seen the latest date found of the king. The earliest known date of the next ruler Jayasimha II is V. S. 1295 found in a MS.⁴ of *Karmavipakapustika*. This enables us to fix the period of Devapāla's reign from V.S. 1274 to 1294.

Of Jayasimha II, also called Jayatugideva, the earliest date is 1295 as noted above. The second date also found in a MS. of *Dharmamṛitaṭṭha* by Āśādhara is 1300. The next known dates are 1311 from an inscription⁵ found in Udayapur, 1312 from an inscription found in Rāhatgadh⁶ in C. P. and [13] 14 from an unpublished inscription found in Atru⁷ in Koṭā State. This is the latest date known of Jayasimha II. He was succeeded by Jayavarman II whose earliest date known is 1314 from a stone inscription found at Mori⁸ in the Holkar State. We can therefore easily decide that Jayasimha II died in V.S. 1314 and Jayavarman II succeeded in the same year, Jayasimha's reign, therefore, extended from V.S. 1294 to 1314.

Of Jayavarman II only two inscriptions are found, one of V.S. 1314 as noted above and the other of V.S. 1317 from Mādhātā.⁹ The earliest date of his successor Jayasimha III is 1326.¹⁰ We can therefore say that Jayavarman II ruled from V. S. 1314 to 1324.

Of Jayasimha III only one inscription of V.S. 1326 noticed above is found. But a MS. of *Sukṛtasagara* gives him a very useful date

of V.S. 1340. The next known date of a Paramāra ruler is V.S. 1366 of the time of Jayasimha IV.¹ But R. B. Gaurishankar Ojha has shown that between Jayasimha III and Jayasimha IV two kings—Arjunavarman II and Bhoja II had ruled over Mālva.² He has found a stone inscription at Kuvālji Kuṇḍa in Koṭā State of V. S. 1345 which states that the Chāhamāna king Hamira of Rānthambhor defeated the Mālva king named Arjunadeva. Secondly in the *Hamīramahākāvya* (ix. 8-19) it is stated that Hamira defeated Bhoja, king of Dhar, who was equal in power to the great Bhoja. These statements show that sometime before 1345 the date of the Kuvālji Kuṇḍa inscription Hamira defeated Arjunavarman II and that sometime before 1358 when Hamira is said to have died he defeated Bhoja II. We shall therefore approximately prepare the chronology of these later Paramāra rulers thus: Jayasimha III from V.S. 1324 to 1342; Arjunavarman II from V.S. 1342 to 1348; Bhoja II from V.S. 1348 to 1360 and lastly Jayasimha IV from V.S. 1360 to 1375.

Jayasimha IV was the last ruler of the family. By the end of the fourteenth century the Muhammadans most probably under Muhammad Tughlak completely seized Mālva and ended the Paramāra family which had so gloriously ruled over Mālva for four hundred and twenty-five years.

¹ Noticed in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 84.

² *History of Rajputana*, vol. i, pp. 203-4; *Ann. Rep. Rajputana Museum*, 1920-21, p. 2.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 103.

² Noticed in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 83.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See Cat. of MSS. in Jaisalmere Bhandar, *G.O.S.*, p. 26.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 84.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Unpublished. See *Ann. Rep. A.S.W.C.*, 1905-6, p. 56, and R. B. Ojha's *Indian Palaeography*, p. 182, n. 6.

⁸ Unpublished. See *Ann. Rep.*, *A.S.W.C.*, 1907-8.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 117.

¹⁰ Unpublished. Noticed in *List of N. Inscriptions*, No. 232.

The Forged Bonds of the Nabob of the Carnatic

BY

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE C. G. H. FAWCETT, I.C.S.

IN an article published in this Journal last August, an account was given of a conspiracy against David Haliburton, a member of the Board of Revenue at Madras, in which the prime mover was Avadhanum Paupiah, Brahmin, the influential dubash of the Acting Governor, John Holland, and his brother Edward John Holland. The plot led in 1789 to Haliburton's removal from his office and banishment to a small frontier post, but he eventually succeeded in getting reinstated; and in 1792 Paupiah was convicted of conspiracy and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. A Madras correspondent pointed out that Paupiah's name was introduced by Sir Walter Scott in his novel *The Surgeon's Daughter*. His career is of some interest; and I have recently been able to gather some further information about him, which throws further light on his intriguing activities.

In the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society at Bombay there are some ponderous tomes, containing Parliamentary Papers of 1802 to 1821 relating to the affairs of the Nabobs of the Carnatic and their immense debts. This is a subject on which much might be written; and any history of Madras would be incomplete without a description of the intense interest and controversy that it engendered both in that Presidency and in England. There had been a settlement of some of the debts between 1784 and 1804, in which no less than five million sterling were paid away, and whereby many of the Company's servants acquired large fortunes.¹ But there still remained large claims of private creditors, and in 1805 Commissioners were appointed to investigate them and make awards binding both on the Company and the creditors. The Commissioners in London had under them three Commissioners in Madras to make investigations there and report to them. These were members of the Company's service specially sent from Bengal, so as to be disinterested in the issue

of the claims.¹ How necessary this was is clear from the extent to which the Company's servants and other British subjects in Madras had lent money to the Nabobs, or otherwise invested in their bonds, in spite of the most stringent orders against it, culminating in 1784 and 1797 in Parliamentary prohibitions on the subject.² Some idea of the enormous speculation of this kind that even highly placed officers indulged in can be gained from the fact that among those who held such bonds were a Judge of the Supreme Court, the Advocate-General, the Solicitor for the Company and the Madras Commissioners' own Registrar, Mr. Brodie.³

It was notorious that a large number of forged bonds in the names of various Nabobs of the Carnatic were in circulation in the Presidency. Thus a Mr. Babington is stated to have collected bonds for above two crores of pagodas (£8,000,000), which were offered for sale at prices less than the charge for brokerage on the nominal amounts of the bonds.⁴ This led to an agitation by the holders of genuine bonds, who feared a depletion of the funds available for their repayment, if spurious claims succeeded. On their complaint, the Madras Government in 1808 appointed a Committee to enquire into these alleged forgeries. It reported that they undoubtedly existed; that the Nabob's books had been tampered with to support fabricated bonds; and that Avadhanum Paupiah, who was a claimant to a very large amount, had instigated such fabrication. On the other hand, the Committee rejected the charges of fraud and forgery that had been brought by Paupiah and others against one Reddy Row, an officer of the Nabob, who had been appointed to aid the Commissioners in their examination of the Durbar books.⁵ The Committee refer in this report to Paupiah as a person whose character and intrigues were well known to the Company and the Board of Directors.⁶

Paupiah's interest in the matter mainly arose from his having 'farmed' a part of the Tinnevely District for some three years. In this he was associated with Thomas Parry, a Military Officer in the service of the Nabob.⁷ His formal agreement with the Nabob about

¹ Carnatic Parliamentary Papers, 1811, p. 231, para 15; p. 377.

² Wheeler, p. 380.

³ C.P.P. 1811, No. III, pp. 243, 246; 1811, No. IV, p. 24; and 1814, pp. 18-28.

⁴ C.P.P. 1811, No. III, pp. 41, 42.

⁵ C.P.P. 1811, pp. 41-47.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁷ C.P.P. 1818, p. 30.

¹ Wheeler's *Short History of India*, p. 381.

it was in 1798;¹ and he became a claimant for no less than twenty-six lakhs of pagodas (£1,040,000) under alleged bonds of 1796 to 1798.² He and Reddy Row were probably at first associated in manufacturing some of the forged notes,³ but in 1808 they had become bitter enemies. There was evidence that Paupiah was anxious to secure the reinstatement of one Subba Row, a dismissed employee of the Nabob, in order to facilitate further fabrication in support of some of his forged bonds; and with that object he tried to bribe the Nabob, but was thwarted by Reddy Row.⁴ The latter was instrumental in getting the Government to enquire into the alleged forgery by Paupiah and Subba Row of a bond for 46,000 pagodas. This was referred to the same Committee for report, and on July 11, 1808, they recommended a prosecution.⁵ On July 20, Government passed orders accordingly.⁶ Meanwhile the Madras Commissioners on July 11, had started their formal enquiries. The first claim that they took up for investigation was one on a bond for 38,500 pagodas put forward by Reddy Row. This was done because, it was proposed to employ him and certain other Durbar officers 'in a ministerial capacity of a very delicate and confidential nature', and it was therefore thought desirable 'to determine, as soon as possible, the amount of their personal interest in the bonds.'⁷ Paupiah on July 9, lodged an objection that this bond was a forgery,⁸ but the Commissioners rejected it as time barred and held that the charge of forgery was false and malicious. They accordingly recommended an additional prosecution against Paupiah for conspiracy.⁹

At this stage, things certainly looked very bad for Paupiah, but he and his friends—he had an influential backing of Europeans, including his old associate Parry—were not easily beaten. On July 22 they forestalled the proposed prosecution by bringing a charge of conspiracy against Reddy Row and Ananda Row, the writer of the

¹ C.P.P. 1807-16, p. 576.

² C.P.P. No. III, p. 276; C.P.P. Report of the Commissioners, 1807-16, pp. 401, 576.

³ C.P.P. 1814, p. 29, last para.

⁴ C.P.P. 1811, No. III, pp. 42, 43, 50, 58, etc.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 276, para 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 357, 380.

bond for 38,500 pagodas, which was then still under the Commissioners' investigation.¹ The two accused were committed for trial by a Bench Magistrate, Mr. Maitland. He was one of the supporters of Paupiah, and was considered by Government and the Commissioners to have been swayed by bias; but he had before him the sworn evidence of two alleged eye-witnesses of the forgery, and probably acted, as he subsequently declared, in the conscientious conviction that considerable frauds had been committed by Reddy Row and others.²

The trial took place before Sir Thomas Strange, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and a jury. The accused were defended by the Company's law-officers and the Judge summed up strongly against the prosecution. But on December 9, 1808, the jury brought in a verdict of 'Guilty.'³ A few days later the grand jury sanctioned the indictment of Mr. Batley, a Secretary of the Nabob, for perjury in his evidence at the trial, and of Batley and Reddy Row for conspiracy and fraud. The trial of Batley for perjury took place in January 1809; and again, in spite of his being defended by the Company's law-officers and a summing up in his favour by the Chief Justice the jury brought in a verdict of 'Guilty.'⁴ The Chief Justice, however took the exceptional course of not passing any sentence upon Reddy Row and Batley, and released them on their own recognizances pending a reference of the cases to the King. A similar course was adopted by him upon the jury's conviction of Batley and Reddy Row at a third trial in March 1809. His two letters on the subject are among the papers I have mentioned.⁵ He there states that he believed the accused to be innocent and that he therefore submitted their cases to His Majesty not as objects of his mercy, but as suitors for his justice.⁶ The Advocate-General moved for a new trial in the first case against Reddy Row on the ground that the verdict was against the weight of the evidence and the opinion of the Judge, who tried the indictment; but in view of the action taken by the Chief Justice, it was subsequently abandoned.⁷ The motion was stoutly opposed

¹ C.P.P. 1811, No. III, p. 56; C.P.P. 1814, p. 31.

² C.P.P. 1814, p. 31.

³ C.P.P. 1811, No. III, pp. 117-167.

⁴ C.P.P. 1811, No. IV, pp. 93-101.

⁵ C.P.P. 1811, No. IV.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ C.P.P. 1811, No. III, p. 375; No. IV, p. 20.

by Mr. Marsh, the counsel for the prosecution; and an address was presented to him by some twenty English inhabitants of Madras, calling him 'the eloquent advocate of the Rights of Juries and complimenting him upon his able argument against the motion.'¹ On the other hand some other English merchants wrote to the Commissioners, expressing regret at the obstruction that had been offered to their investigations.²

The Commissioners had undoubtedly been much troubled by the action of Paupiah's supporters in obtaining the intervention of the Supreme Court, and in February and March 1809 they appealed to the Government of Madras for protection.³ They naturally took the view that the juries' verdicts were prejudiced and against the weight of the evidence, in which they were supported by the opinion of Sir Thomas Strange. The Madras Government fully concurred and took prompt steps for the removal of some of the persons who had—they held—been obstructing the Commissioners. The Magistrate, Mr. Maitland, was removed from his office.⁴ Mr. Parry, who had been permitted to reside in India only so long as his conduct was unobjectionable, was ordered to proceed to England at the first opportunity.⁵ Mr. Roebuck, a partner of Mr. Maitland and Mint Master at Madras, was transferred to Vizagapatam, where he died, a broken man, shortly afterwards.⁶ The proceedings were reported to the Governor-General in Council, who endorsed the action taken by the Madras Government and even proposed that an Act of Parliament should be passed to transfer from the Supreme Court at Madras to that of Bengal the cognizance of all questions connected with the claims against the Nabobs of the Carnatic under investigation by the Commissioners.⁷ This proposal was not adopted by the authorities in England; but the Court of Directors otherwise fully approved of the view and action taken by the Governments of Madras and Calcutta.⁸

The opposing addresses to Marsh and the Commissioners that I have mentioned illustrate the factions that had arisen over this question.

¹ C.P.P. 1811, No. III, p. 257.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 253, 261-4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 202-4, 389. He is referred to as a man of great gifts and charitable disposition. C.P.P. 1811, No. III, p. 259 and 1814, p. 6. He was a keen supporter of the Madras Hunt: see Dodwell's *The Nabobs of Madras*, pp. 138, 225.

⁵ C.P.P., p. 231, Part 16, pp. 363, 364.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

As remarked by the Court of Directors, the whole settlement of Fort St. George was 'convulsed' by these disputes;¹ and there must have been an atmosphere of conflict and excitement not usually connected with that station. This discord extended even to the Supreme Court and the Governor-in-Council. Mr. Justice Sullivan, to whom I have already alluded as a creditor of the Nabob, rather gratuitously, delivered a judgment disagreeing with some rulings of the Chief Justice in the Sessions cases;² while Mr. Petrie, a Member of Council, who appears to have unceasingly opposed the Governor, wrote a strong minute against any Government interference in the matter.³ In addition to the removal of civil officers already mentioned, there was in May 1809 a similar punishment imposed on a number of officers in the Madras Army, who were suspended by the Madras Government for the acute insubordination that had given trouble for sometime.⁴ In a letter that was written by Lord Minto to the Chairman of the East India Company in 1809, he deplores the disorders, civil and military, which then disturbed the Government of Fort St. George, as being the only exception to the tranquillity of India.⁵ The view of the authorities in India that the juries' verdicts were erroneous was finally endorsed by His Majesty, who granted pardons to the three convicts. These were apparently received sometime towards the end of 1810.⁶

If the story had ended here, then undoubtedly there would have been strong grounds for that view. But in the meanwhile there had been some sensational events at Madras. In June 1810 Reddy Row poisoned himself.⁷ This was apparently due to anticipation that his guilt would shortly be revealed and that the powerful protection he had received from the Commissioners and Government would be withdrawn. Some of the Durbar officers, who had been sent with Reddy Row to aid the Commissioners, confessed their participation in extensive fabrication of the records, which affected the claims of Reddy Row among others. These confessions were made to Mr. Brodie, the

¹ C.P.P. 1811, No. III, p. 377.

² *Ibid.*, p. 266; No. IV, p. 24.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 258, 259. Cf. Thornton's *History of the British Empire in India*, vol. iv, p. 136. He was removed from the Council by the Court of Directors in September 1810; see C.P.P. 1811, No. V, p. 1.

⁴ Thornton's *History of the British Empire in India*, vol. iv, pp. 134-140; C.P.P. 1811, No. V, pp. 15, 16, etc.

⁵ C.P.P. 1811, No. III, p. 232.

⁶ C.P.P. 1814, pp. 4, 20, etc.

⁷ C.P.P. 1811, No. III, p. 387.

Registrar of the Commissioners. But he concealed them for some months, and even went so far as to suggest that he should be authorized to institute an investigation into the frauds committed by the durbar's servants and others in forging bonds and falsifying records. This naturally created the suspicion that he wanted to conceal frauds, in which he and his friends were interested, and it was proposed to remove and prosecute him.¹ It was only because of an accidental slip on his part that the concealment came to the knowledge of the Commissioners in December 1910, and further enquiries showed that their confidence in the innocence of Reddy Row was completely misplaced. The result was that on the very day that the pardons were read out in the Sessions Court, Ananda Row, the co-accused of Reddy Row, was charged with a further fraud and fabrication and was eventually convicted and sentenced to two years' imprisonment.² The Government of India in 1812 acknowledged that the verdict convicting Reddy Row had proved to be right, although they still maintained that it was against the weight of the evidence.³

In the end, therefore, the protagonists in this controversy, Messrs. Abbot, Maitland and Parry, were shown to have been fully justified in their complaints that the Commissioners had improperly supported Reddy Row. They had a hard fight, and bombarded Government with letters for over four years. Their protege Paupiah escaped his threatened prosecution by his death in January 1809,⁴ and the indictment against his co-accused was abandoned in May of the same year.⁵ That there had been forgeries to an enormous extent is conclusively shown by the result of the enquiries of the Commissioners in England. Up to February 12, 1821, they disallowed claims to the extent of 26½ million pounds out of a total of about 29 millions.⁶ It is interesting to note that they found most of Paupiah's bonds to be forgeries or to have been fully satisfied; on the other hand his many creditors obtained awards on some of his bonds for over £125,000.⁷ Similarly all Reddy Row's bonds (including the one for 38,500 pagodas in respect of which he was convicted) were found to be forgeries or

¹ C.P.P. 1814, pp. 25, 26.

² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

⁴ C.P.P. 17th Report of the Commissioners, p. 52.

⁵ C.P.P. Report of the Commissioners, 1807-20, pp. 401, 524, 574-7; 16th Report of the Commissioners, 1820, pp. 12 and 18.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷ C.P.P. 1811, No. III, p. 374.

without consideration, and his heirs appear to have obtained merely £441 on account of arrears of pay due to his brother Ananda Row.¹

The papers I have mentioned throw some further light upon the two Hollands, whom Paupiah served as Dubash. Mr. Charles Darke, a merchant of Madras, who had failed in 1777,² wrote in 1789 to John Holland, asking him to intervene with the Nabob for the payment of his debt as he was in great need of money. This letter contained some remarkable allegations that attracted the notice of the Court of Directors; and in 1791 they called for a report about them.³ In a letter of December 23, 1791, Mr. Darke makes some startling accusations against the Hollands. He says, for instance, that John Holland was given a lakh of pagodas as a bribe for ordering a detachment to help the Nabob in some military operations, and that his brother extorted a further large sum by intimidation. He mentions that a Committee was appointed by the Government to investigate the charges against the Hollands, and that the Nabob adduced evidence before it that he had through Paupiah paid them over four lakhs of pagodas. The papers, however, afford no evidence that either of the two Hollands was eventually prosecuted. Edward John Holland who had been summarily deported by Lord Cornwallis in April 1790,⁴ is shown by a diary of the Hon'ble C. A. Bruce, Lord Elgin's brother, to have been at Vienna in 1800.⁵ It might have been thought that he was keeping out of England for fear of prosecution; but these papers make it probable that in May 1801 he had come to London in connection with his claims against the Nabob.⁶ In 1816 an award was made for £18,258 in his favour and he is there described as 'of Devonshire place in the Parish of Saint Marylebone in the Country of Middlesex.'⁷ Therefore the surmise that I made in my previous article that both the brothers managed to escape the due penalty of their misdeeds seems borne out by this further evidence.

P.S.—My acknowledgments are due to the Editor of the *Times of India* for permitting me to republish the above article, which appeared in its issues of January 19 and 20, 1927.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 318, 319, 400; 17th Report of the Commissioners, 1821, p. 26.

² Dodwell's *The Nabobs of Madras*, p. 137.

³ C.P.P. 1803, pp. 151-4.

⁴ Hickey's *Memoirs*, vol. iii, p. 360.

⁵ *Journal of Indian History*, August 1926, pp. 196, 197.

⁶ C.P.P. 1803, p. 143.

⁷ C.P.P. Twelfth Report of the Commissioners, 1817, p. 23.

Reviews

THE OCEAN OF STORY

[*The Ocean of Story*.—Being C. H. Tawney's translation of *Somadeva's Katha Sarit Sāgara*, now edited with Introduction, fresh explanatory Notes, and terminal Essay, by N. M. Penzer, vol. v, 324, pp. London: Chas. I. Sawyer, Ltd., 1925.]

THIS new volume of Mr. Penzer's great work may be called the *Pañcatantra* volume, as it contains, *inter alia*, Somadeva's interesting extract from the *Pañcatantra* and as this circumstance has caused Mr. Penzer to discuss in his first Appendix the history of the *Pañcatantra* in India and the rest of the world, which discussion has been supplemented by Prof. Edgerton, of the University of Pennsylvania,¹ the author of *Pañcatantra Reconstructed*, with a comprehensive genealogical table of works derived from the *Pañcatantra*, and by Sir A. Denison Ross with a scholarly foreword on the Persian versions of that Indian collection of tales. A special instance of the migration of fables is contained in Mr. Penzer's second Appendix on an Indian Replica of the Tale of Rampsinitus, which story seems to have found its way from Egypt to India in Ptolemaic times. The index is very copious and conveys a good idea of the many interesting subjects treated in this volume of the *Ocean of Story*.

WURZBURG.

J. JOLLY.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY JOHN COMPANY

BY

SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.]

[The Bodley Head, London, 12s. 6d.]

GREAT historians fall under two categories—the specialist who throws light on a great event or a great period, and the generalizer who by a new synthesis interprets the whole course of a nation's or world's history. In these days of swelling historical material, the specialist is carrying everything before him. A great French historian has

¹ Now of Yale—ED.

specialized for a whole lifetime on the history of the French Revolution, while a great English historian's studies are mainly concentrated on the Civil War period in English History, and these are two of the greatest historians of our time.

The book before us is by one such specialist who has selected for himself a great subject. Sir William Foster has worked for more than thirty years in the archives of the India Office, and to-day he is the Historiographer to that historic Office. During a busy lifetime he has edited with marvellous care and erudition many volumes of records of the East India Company, and now he is engaged in writing independent treatises on the history of that great Company. Three years ago he published an entertaining volume on the East India House which was well received. In the present book we have an equally attractive collection of sketches dealing with the domestic history of the Company from its beginnings in 1600 to its dissolution in 1858.

The history of the East India Company is a fascinating subject in many ways and has a great deal of romantic interest attached to it. That Company was incorporated in 1600 for trading with the East Indies, but it eventually became the sovereign of an empire unequalled in world's history. The immediate object of the Company was to procure from India pepper (a much needed commodity in those days) without resorting to the Dutch who had charged exorbitant monopoly prices on it in Europe. England had already heard about the great possibilities of Indian trade, mainly from the letters of the English Jesuit, Fr. Stephens (the author of *Krista Purāna*, a Marathi Classic) but the menace of the Dutch monopoly was needed to supply the motive power to launch forth such a difficult enterprise. In course of time, the English Company not only shattered the trade monopoly of the Dutch and other European nations but was subsequently compelled to take sides in the political quarrels of the native potentates, and this eventually led to the expansion of the Company's dominion in India and to the final supremacy of Britain in the whole sub-continent. Such a singular achievement by a few Englishmen abroad had its natural reaction on the history of their mother country. In the seventeenth century the English policy towards Holland and other European powers was swayed mainly in the interests of England's eastern trade, whilst in the eighteenth, the support of the Company's

possessions in India engrossed the attention of the leading statesmen in England. Directly or indirectly her Indian trade increased the wealth of England and enhanced her prestige in Europe. Nor was this all. English society was affected by this in many ways. The humble writer whom the Company sent into India often returned as a proud 'Nabob' ready to buy off his lord's manor and he (or his son) was found not unworthy of the hand of his lord's daughter. The far-reaching social and economic results of the Indian connection have not been properly explored by competent scholars, but it is a subject well worth the attention of historians like the author under review.

Sir William's sketches relate mainly to the domestic history of the Company. They deal with details, not with general politics or international complications. The author's object is evident from his motto—

I don't pretend to paint the vast
And complex picture of the past,
.....
For detail, detail, must I care
(Ce superflu, si necessaire !)

But the details of Sir William's sketches are presented in such a charming manner that the most casual reader will not be wearied.

The East India House, whether located in Smythe's house in Philpott Lane or in the commodious Crossby House or in the palatial mansions in Leadenhall Street, was one of the attractions of the city of London and played an important part in the history of London in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In that place were held the meetings of the Honourable Court of Directors, and these meetings attracted considerable attention since most of the financiers in London were in one way or other interested in the Company's profits and dividends. To the ordinary man, it was the warehouse of eastern commodities, strange spices and beverages, and to the women folk 'whose fashions were their passions' the India House was the repository of choice chintzes and elegant silks and muslins which were so popular with them in those days. The Company had not only vast warehouses but for some time had its own dockyard at Blackwall. It employed numerous people in these places as well as in its Indian factories, and numerous people in and around the City were considerably interested in the Company's fortunes.

In many other ways did the Company attract the curiosity of the London people. It introduced into England all sorts of tropical beasts and fowls, elephants and monkeys "prattling birds called mynnas", zebras and rhinoceroses. Charles II took great delight in these outlandish birds and beasts, and the Company took special pains to procure such objects for the royal menagerie and aviaries, then located in St. James Park. Even more interesting than this was the first appearance of coloured human beings in England. Two ambassadors from the King of Bantam visited England in 1682, and were received with great pomp in London. Banquets were given in their honour and on their departure they were knighted as a mark of royal honour. To John Evelyn (diarist) they 'resembled in countenance some sort of monkeys' and they appeared no better to the contemporary poet, John Dryden.

The Company was solicitous for the well being of its employers and pensioners. It maintained a hospital and chapel at Poplar for the good of those who suffered physical hurt in the course of its service. The hospital was well looked after and provision was made for the spiritual as well as bodily well being of its inmates. Since 1800, the Company maintained also a college at Haileybury for the training of young men recruited for Indian services. All these institutions changed hands at, or soon after, the assumption by the Crown of the direct administration of India, in 1858. Haileybury College still stands in the delightful County of Hertfordshire, a monument to the wealth and magnificence of the great Company that founded it, and still bears on its walls the portraits of Thomas Malthus and other great men connected with that institution. But to-day it is an ordinary public school and has no connection whatever with India.

The author sketches also the lives of various persons connected with the Company—of John Woodhall, its venerable Surgeon-General, of John Deane, the brave sailor who went through strange vicissitudes in fulfilment of what he deemed his duty to the Company, of John Bruce, the Company's first historiographer, and last but not least, of Warren Hastings, who rescued British dominion in India at a time of sore trial.

Indeed Sir William has, true to his word, cared for detail, and we can assure him that his details are not superfluous but necessary, all the more so because he has woven them into a fine fabric, delightful

as well as enduring. With his sympathetic insight, thorough knowledge and delicacy of expression, Foster has made as interesting as romance what might have been dry-as-dust in the pages of a less gifted writer. His book therefore will interest not only the antiquarian and the biographer, but also the historian and the sociologist of the future.

But details, however good, are not sufficient; we want also, and urgently, 'the vast and complex picture of the past.' The records of the East India Company are among the best historical material (probably the best) in existence, and have been utilized in the past by such scholars of repute as Robert Orme, John Bruce (Foster's two predecessors as Historiographer), H. H. Wilson, Sir George Birdwood, and Sir William Hunter. Yet, we have not got a comprehensive history of the great Company, which has contributed to England's greatness as much as any other institution. Let us hope that scholars like Sir William Foster will before long supply this much felt need.

P. J. THOMAS.

RULERS OF INDIA—HARSHA

BY

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D.

[Calcutta University Readership Lectures, pp. 190 and index: The Oxford University Press, price Rs. 3-8.]

It is a pleasant and agreeable surprise that the 'Rulers of India' have been resuscitated after so many years, and the series begins anew with a good and eminently readable monograph on Harsha. There are seven chapters in the book and a frontispiece shows some of the coins of the king. A plate is attached which is a copy of a copper-plate inscription having the signature of Harsha. The book appears to be at once popular and erudite; for, though professing, and in form appearing to be a series of lectures, the book also abounds in footnotes, detailed references to the primary and secondary sources utilized, and scholarly appendices at the end of different chapters. Some of these may look rather 'archæological.' But this is as it should be; no writer on Harsha could refuse to tackle such questions as Harsha's relationship with the Maukhari Kings, the

contemporary kings of the Gupta lineage, the identity of Sasānka, the extent of the kingdom of Kumāra Bhaskaravarman the friend and ally of Harsha and similar subjects. Some of Doctor Mookerji's conclusions appear to be very reasonable; for example, that the war between Pulakesin II and Harsha must have taken place before 612 A.D. Opinion will however differ as to whether he should have introduced the problematic theory of Yasodharman of Malwa being the father of Yasovati and thus, the maternal grandfather of Harsha. This is discussed in a note, but it does not appear to be relevant in a book intended for the general reader; at best, it would have been sufficient to have indicated the existence of such a theory in a footnote.

Apart from such matter, the main text of the book in all the chapters is above controversy.

The possibility of a long and vivid historical work of some magnitude on the life and times of Harsha was foreseen and clearly pointed out by Vincent Smith as early as 1904 in his *Early History of India*. A few writers have since then, essayed to utilize the abundant sources available for this period, e.g. Ettingausen, in France (1906) and C. V. Vaidya and K. M. Panikkar (1921, 1922) in India. We must acknowledge that Doctor Mookerji has utilized these sources to a greater degree than the previous writers. It would appear that 'Bana' has been thrashed to yield the last grain, and history has been discovered even in his descriptive passages. Still, we would remark that there could be a more thorough and systematic utilization of the sources, taken all together. A monograph on Harsha may contain a better and more exhaustive study of the times when the king lived. The chapters V and VI, 'The Economic Conditions' and 'The Social Life' could easily be fuller. We would have liked to find more pages devoted to Harsha's dramatic works in a book which is professedly an historical biography. The author's note on the Gupta art at the end of chapter V looks as if it is an unrelated essay; it might have been better knit, and woven closely into the texture of an account of the artistic remains of the period and a sketch of its characteristic art developments. The period of Harsha saw the close of the 'Classical' period of Indian Art and the beginning of the mediæval 'Romantic' period and as such is most eventful. A sketch of the art history of the period would be most welcome. The more particular reader will also miss in the book a separate chapter on Yuan Chwang, the second

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largest figure that fills the canvas of the history of the first half of the seventh century. We do not think that an account of his life and peregrinations would be out of place. There may be longer notice of I-tsing and of the Greater India in the Far East. The Buddhist Indian teachers of China and the East Indies linking up India and the rest of Asia may be mentioned; and we would like to hear the echo of the controversies in the halls and court-yards of Nālanda and Nāgarahāra.

But these are perhaps tasks that could be fulfilled only in the future. In spite of the shortcomings indicated above Doctor Mookerji's Harsha is the best of the accounts so far written on the great King Harsha and his times.

R.R.

SELECTIONS FROM THE STATE PAPERS OF THE
GOVERNOR-GENERALS OF INDIA—LORD
CORNWALLIS 1786-93

EDITED WITH BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION
BY

SIR GEORGE FORREST, C.I.E.

[Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1926. Vol. I. Introduction, pp. 212; and Vol. II. Documents; pp. 208 with a plan of Seringapatam.]

THE late Sir George Forrest could not, on account of illness, see through the press the story he wrote of the campaigns of Medows and Cornwallis against Mysore (1790-92) and of the Parliamentary debates, correspondence, etc., that led to the proclamation of the Permanent Settlement. The account is given here as it was left by him, except for the supply of a few obvious omissions in the text. The introduction starts with the coming into office of Sir John Macpherson who had rendered himself notorious as the secret agent of the Nawab of the Carnatic in the negotiations that led to the appointment of Sir John Lindsay by the Home Government as Minister Plenipotentiary to Arcot and by his subsequent dismissal from the Madras Service by Lord Pigot. We are then told of the negotiations that led to the forcing of the acceptance of the Governor-Generalship on Lord Cornwallis the first Governor-General appointed after the whole power of Government had been transferred to the Board of Control and who was expected to carry out the chief aims of Pitt's Act. To reform the

Company's servants in India was an easier task than to suppress a still more scandalous evil, the deeper-rooted "muddy source" of which lay in the corruption of the Court and the party-leaders, the Directors and Proprietors of the Company in England. Cornwallis did his best to remove the discontent of the Company's officers in the army, settled with the Nizam the cession of the Guntur Sircar, as well as the English relations with the Nawab Vizier of Oudh. But soon his greatest pre-occupation came to be with Tipu Sultan; and the bulk of the introduction is devoted to the English relations with and war in Mysore. The campaigns of General Medows, a veteran soldier, are sketched at some length, while naturally enough the movements of the Governor-General after he landed at Madras with substantial reinforcements are most elaborately treated.

The treaty negotiations that Tipu concluded with Cornwallis resulted in the forcing of peace conditions on 'the prostrate armies of the Sultan'; however these harsh conditions were considered moderate by Munro, then a rising officer, who wrote thus; 'Everything is now done by moderation and conciliation. At this rate we shall be all Quakers in twenty years more.'¹

Cornwallis, who was sent out to India to pursue a policy of strict neutrality and non-interference except for self-defence, was obsessed with the notion that the utter ruin of the kingdom of Mysore would prove of serious injury to British interests, to which Munro replied in his own way in a letter to his father—'It (peace) can never arrive while Tipu exists, while his power remains unimpaired, so far from being able to extend our territory, we shall be perpetually in danger of losing what we have. Why then not remove, while we can, so formidable an enemy?'²

The Introduction notices Cornwallis's missions to Nepal and Assam and closes with an account of the measures which led to the settlement of the Bengal revenue in perpetuity and of the code of regulations framed for the guidance of the Courts in Bengal. Small mistakes, which could have been easily avoided by a reference to the sources of information, have crept into the book here and there (e.g. Tyagadrug, known to Orme, Wilks and other early writers as Tiagar, has been put in the text as Tragar on p. 63 and noted as being eight miles from

¹ Gleig, *Life of Sir Thomas Munro* (1830), vol. i, p. 131. ² *Ibid.*, p. 123.

Trichinopoly, whereas Wilks from whom the point is taken¹ definitely says that Tiagar is distant about eighty miles from Trichinopoly). These are however very minor mistakes which crept in probably on account of the author's inability to see the matter through the press himself.

Sir George gives us a very good pen-picture of the Parliamentary debates over the war and the precedent tripartite treaty and of the way in which Fox assailed Dundas and the treaty with the Marathas in his most vehement manner.

In the Documents volume are given the main items of correspondence, minutes and despatches relating to the war with Tipu, the Maratha affairs, the land revenue settlement, general administration and Oudh. Cornwallis's letter to the Directors, dated April 5, 1792, describing the advantages of the arrangements made with Tipu by treaty is worth close study, as well as his minute dated September 18, 1789, in which he skilfully put forward his view in favour of the right of the Zamindars to property in the soil. He skilfully evades any casting of doubts on the attitude that the Zamindars might adopt towards their tenants under the proposed system, by saying that 'the experience of what they are or have been under one system, is by no means the proper criterion to determine what they would be under the influence of another founded upon very different principles.'² The publication of the important items in the documentary literature relating to the English revenue policy in Bengal embodied in the books recently published by Messrs. Ascoli, Firminger and Ramsbotham, helps us to easily follow up the trend of the correspondence of Cornwallis relating to this field. The correspondence on the army affairs and on the improvement of the civil and judicial services has been chosen with great care. One desideratum in this volume is the supplying of prefatory notes to each section of records which would explain the trend of the development of policy and action, such as is given in similar source books. We would commend this to the attention of the publishers, and urge on them the desirability of their pushing forward this series by bringing out, under equally distinguished editors like Forrest, the State-papers of the more important at least among the subsequent Governors-General.

C. S. S.

¹ 1869 ed. vol. ii, p. 177.

² p. 94, vol. ii.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT AND OF THE EVENTS LEADING TO IT

WRITTEN IN PERSIAN

BY

CASI RAJA PANDIT

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

LT.-COL. JAMES BROWN IN 1791; AND NOW EDITED WITH AN
INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND APPENDICES

BY

H. G. RAWLINSON

[Published for the University of Bombay by the Oxford University Press, 1926.
pp. 65. Rs. 2].

THIS edition of a forgotten but valuable English translation of the contemporary account of the Panipat campaign from the pen of an eyewitness who was moreover much concerned in the negotiations preceding the battle, is by Mr. H. G. Rawlinson who has done much valuable work in the field of modern Indian History and is now engaged in the work of sifting and cataloguing the records in the Peishwa's Daftar at Poona. Casi Raja Pandit was a Deccani Maratha Brahmin, an employee of the Oudh Nawabs, Safdar Jang and Shuja-ud-daula, and was equally at home in Persian and in Marathi. His account has been judged by a competent critic as being on the whole veracious, 'very clear, comprehensive and rational,' though he was suspected of writing under Holkar's influence. The original Persian manuscript of the account has perished! and its translation by Lt.-Col. James Browne, Resident at Delhi (1782-85) and author of *India Tracts* (1788) was almost inaccessible, being buried away in a forgotten volume of the *Asiatic Researches*.

Casi Raja gives a very favourable estimate of the ability in civil administration of the Bhao Saheb, the Maratha *generalissimo*; but a very poor opinion of his strategic and military skill and his diplomatic skill in gaining allies. Casi Raja was himself the instrument of much of the negotiations that passed between the Bhao Saheb and the Nawab Vizier and knew the weaknesses of the former. His unfavourable estimate of Maratha generalship and his condemnation of the Bhao Saheb for abandoning guerilla warfare and shutting himself

up in Panipat, have been generally accepted by historians from Elphinstone to Sydney Owen; and his remark that 'Providence made use of Ahmed Shah Durrani to humble the unbecoming pride and presumption of the Marathas' is now proved to have arisen a little from prejudice, perhaps unconscious. Mr. Rawlinson shows in his Introduction how the Bhao Saheb's policy was not to dissipate his energies in guerilla warfare, but to force his opponents to accept battle in the open field, and how, had the Peishwa come to his help in time as was desired by Visvas Rao, the fate of the battle might have been different. The defeat of Panipat was to the Marathas from the bravery displayed by them 'as honourable as a victory.' The Editor gives as appendices the itinerary of the Maratha army in the campaign as given in Mr. Sardesai's *Maratha Riyasat*, a small bibliography of the campaign, the narrative of the battle as given in the *Autobiographical Memoir of the Early Life of Nana Farnavis* (translated by J. Briggs, 1829) and two letters showing the trend of the Bhao Saheb's strategy. Two plans of the battle are also given.

We hope this book will prove the first of a series of historical records edited by capable scholars and will be followed by authentic editions of works now inaccessible like the *Autobiography of Nana Farnavis*.

C. S. S.

ENGLISH LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY

L. F. SALZMAN

[Illustrated. Oxford University Press, 1926. pp 287.]

MEDIEVAL English society, particularly from the twelfth century onwards, though marked with disease, poverty and cruelty, had its own note of joy, humour and laughter, the humour manifesting itself in the practical joke and the indecent story, and showing itself in art also. The division of society into the clergy and laity, and of the latter into three classes—nobles, traders and labourers—was hedged in with the corporate sense, in which the status of every man was fixed by his place in some community, manor, borough, guild, learned University or convent. The author, who has already brought out some books on life in the middle ages describes in a different chapter life in country, town and home, the church, the condition

of women, the facilities for travel and wayfaring and devotes special attention to the description of education and literature, art and science, law, industry and trade. He traces the village from the Saxon *tun* through the Norman and Plantagenet manor down to the Elizabethan parish, stressing the growth of the idea of private ownership of land. The development of town-life and particularly of its ills like taverns, is illustrated from accounts like the twelfth century description of London by William Fitz Stephen and the fourteenth century poem of *Piers Plowman*. The process of the drawing apart of the social classes began with the increase of wealth in the fourteenth century and was intensified with the rise of 'a new rich class' lacking the old traditions. The growth of the Universities trained and subtilized the crude intellect of the country; while the friars gave to English religion a new spirit and new methods. There was no very distinct line between the grammar-school and the University. The tradition and society of lawyers formed a highly characteristic product of the Middle Ages, closely comparable to the Universities, according to the high authority of Mr. G. M. Trevelyan; and their importance is only a little lower than that of Parliament men.

The book treats of the part played by foreigners in the development of English trade and industry, of the follies of women, of the merits of the good wife and of the almost equal part played by women with men in love and war, house and field, sport and business. The treatment is generally good, though in places overburdened with detail. A bibliography at the end indicates a few books which will be useful to students and teachers. The illustrations are numerous and interesting; and the extracts from contemporary sources of information are judicious and full.

C. S. S.

EARLY EUROPEAN BANKING IN INDIA WITH SOME REFLECTIONS ON PRESENT CONDITIONS

BY

H. SINHA

[Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1927. pp. iv and 274.]

EVEN in the last decades of the eighteenth century, banks had been founded by the Calcutta Agency Houses which did business not only as merchants and agents but also as bankers for the mercantile community,

planters and the Civil and Military Services. Messrs. Alexander & Co. founded in Calcutta about 1770 the Bank of Hindustan which was the earliest European banking house in India. There were four severe runs on this bank in 1791, 1819, 1829 and 1832, the last of which it could not survive owing to the failure of its parent Agency House. Similarly the Calcutta Bank started by Messrs. Palmer & Co., could not survive the failure of that Agency House in 1829. The Bengal Bank, quite unconnected with the later Presidency Bank of Bengal, was in existence between 1790 and 1800 and even earlier according to the author, enjoying some sort of recognition at the hands of Government which allowed it to register and liquidate some kinds of Government bills. 1786 saw the opening of the General Bank of India, which, according to Mr. Sinha, was the first joint-stock bank in India with limited liability, 'long before the incorporation of similar institutions in England'—though this last claim requires further substantiation. The question of the limited liability of the shareholders of a bank was not free from legal doubts for a number of years. The deed of agreement of this Bank which has been quoted at length is comparable with the present-day memorandum and articles of association of joint-stock concerns. 'The principle of limited liability' here enunciated, is claimed to be 'entirely foreign to the genius of the people.'

The General Bank met with considerable success from the beginning and reduced the Bengal Bank to an inferior position in the bid for Government patronage. It became the virtual banker to Government, though the latter continued to have its own treasury; and the independent treasury system only vanished away with the amalgamation of the Presidency Banks in the Imperial Bank of India in 1921. The author explains the scheme of the Bank Post Bills requiring acceptance before payment and drawn up in sets of three and not in sola. The notes of both the Bengal and the General Banks are examined and contrasted with the earliest *goldsmiths' notes* of England and the earliest Bank of England notes and also with the corresponding indigenous instrument of the *Darsani Dhanijog Hundi*.

Mr. Sinha traces clearly the movement for a scheme of paper currency first mooted in 1772, the need for a uniform paper being then much greater than now owing to the hopeless confusion of the different mint rupees in circulation. The Government of Warren Hastings enjoyed a very low credit and 'the notes of an impecunious govern-

ment, prone to raid its reserves could not circulate.' The then adviser of Government, Sir James Steuart, regarded a state bank as impossible and suggested a scheme similar to that which came into operation when in 1787 the General Bank was made the banker of the Company. The General Bank did its business fairly efficiently, though it never reached 'a steady dividend-paying stage' and did not build up reserves with a view to equalize dividends. The monetary crisis of 1790-91 brought forth a proposal from the chiefs of the Agency Houses for the issue of inconvertible currency notes against the Company's paper and for the recognition of bank-notes as legal tender; but these were not accepted. The various difficulties that both Government and the Calcutta Money Market had to contend with, one traced till the opening of the Bank of Bengal under the name of the Bank of Calcutta in 1806. There now dawned a new era of banking in India. Its notes alone were recognized by Government and it enjoyed great reputation from the very beginning, on account of the dissolution or failure of the previous banks. Its charter (1809) is declared by Mr. Sinha to run much along the lines of the plan for a General Bank of India outlined by Sir James Steuart in 1772.

The history of banking in Bengal down to 1909 has been traced elaborately in its own organization and in its relation to Government and the currency system with the help of old state records and newspapers and the records of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the Imperial Bank. In the second part of the book the author traces the decline of indigenous banking—maintaining that the same causes of political and economic upheaval destroyed the indigenous banks and constructed the European banks; but these processes were distinct, though simultaneous (p. 171). The functions of the *banyans* and the *shroffs* gradually changed under the new conditions. The European banks added an important function to the general duties of a bank, viz., the issue of notes which was then a most urgently needed want in the rotten and chaotic state of the currency. The indirect effects of such bank-notes were extensive, especially for the maintaining of the value of Government securities. This close connection between Government and the banks benefited both. The sound organization of a strong money-market and the stressing on the need for a discount market under the ægis of a strong central institution were proved to be necessary by the history of early banking in Calcutta; and these needs

have been repeated by the recent Royal Currency Commission. The issue of notes by banks was a common enough feature in those days; and the demand for a reversion to that system, with modifications, has been made also by the Commission and by others. Mr. Sinha discusses other important problems like the proper relations of the Imperial Bank to Government and other banks, the need for industrial financing and for the introduction of a gold currency which alone will create confidence in the people and wean them from their hoarding habit, a State Land Bank, the provision of greater facilities for the development of banking habits, etc., including the need for a better co-ordination of the indigenous and English systems. The treatment has not been uniformly clear, especially in places in the first part; but the conclusions are generally sound and valuable, specially as concerns the treatment of the system of indigenous banking. The information contained in the book is confined mainly to the Presidency of Bengal; and as a reviewer points out elsewhere there were banks started in Bombay about half a century earlier than in Bengal while the Dutch had set up an Indian Bank as early as 1746. The doings of the banks have not been fully portrayed in Government records and proceedings which only throw much light on the relations of these institutions with Government. We are still very much in the dark with regard to the banks' activities in financing private and mofussil trade. With these limitations the book is a useful addition to our knowledge of the early currency and banking development of British India.

C. S. S.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WESTERN
WORLD FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE
FALL OF ROME

BY

H. G. RAWLINSON

[Second Edition. Cambridge University Press. 1926. pp. viii and 196, with a map of India and Central Asia and four illustrations. 8s. 6d. net.]

THIS is practically a reprint, with no appreciable alteration or addition of the first edition published in 1916. It traces Indian relations with the West from the times of Solomon and even earlier; and it carries on the story in the closely packed, succinct and compact manner of

writing, characteristic of the author who as early as 1912 contributed an article on Foreign Influences in the Civilization of Ancient India to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* and later incorporated it as the last essay in his *Indian Historical Studies* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1913). The bulk of the material has been gathered from the Western classical writers direct and from McCrindle's translations of them. We wish he had thrown some light and tried to construct a narrative of the probable influences mutually operating between Ancient Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley from the base of the Boghaz Koi Inscriptions, the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, etc. The book brings out in clear outline the spread of Hellenistic culture in North-western India. It is very few writers that have dwelt upon this subject, and only one of them has in recent times attempted to describe it at length (G. N. Banerjea, *Hellenism in Ancient India*. Butterworth, 1919). The last chapter of Mr. Rawlinson's book, being a very good summary of the effects of this intercourse between India and the Eastern Mediterranean world, should be valuable in particular to the student of Indian history and culture.

C. S. S.

PRINCIPLES OF INDIAN *SILPAŚĀSTRA*

BY

PROFESSOR PHANINDRA NATH BOSE

Visvabharati University

[Published in the Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series.]

THANKS to the late much lamented pundit and scholar Mahamahō-padhyaya T. Ganapati Sastri, and other scholars, a vast literature treating of the science of *silpa* has been made accessible to earnest students of Indian art and architecture. Besides others which have been positively lost beyond redemption, there are still valuable manuscripts in the different libraries which await publication. The science of *Silpaśāstra* is a very important one, for it is the acid test of a nation's greatness in respect of culture and civilization. Such a vast and useful subject could not be treated with any justice in a small volume like the one under review. And still the attempt is a welcome one.

The whole volume of literature extant on the art and science of

Silpaśāstra has been classified into three main divisions *Vastuśāstra* or the science of architecture, *Silpaśāstra* or the science of sculpture, and *Citra-sūtra* or the science of painting. The author has taken each of these divisions and has examined them from the sources of information available. The chief works from which references are often made are the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇam*, *Sukraniti*, *Māyasastra*, *Pratimā-māna-lakṣaṇam*. The last work is a manuscript attributed to the Sage Ātreya. Professor Bose seems to take it as a Buddhistic work, and quotes largely from it. Something like an elaborate study has been attempted on the *Vastuśāstra*. But the chapters dealing with the science of sculpture and painting only contain elementary details which at least form an introduction to a detailed study of the subject.

The opening chapters on the origin of *Silpa* and the Indian *Silpaśāstra* are interesting but do not exhibit the serious labour of an earnest researcher. According to our author the history of Indian art and sculpture begins with images and sculptures of Buddhistic origin. Even these artists might have been inspired by the Greek model. There were no temples or images before the Buddhist period, because there are no remains of the images of purely Hindu gods of such an early age. These are statements that have no legs to stand on when tested in the light of various details of literary evidence. It would be out of place to discuss these points in a short review like this. The last chapter on the 'Contribution of Indian Art' is indeed a disappointing section. Even in a short study of this great subject, we expected that Dr. Bose would elaborately deal with the greatness and significance of Indian art, and the real contribution it has made to advance Indian culture and its place in the progress of world civilization. We are not able to understand why this important section is dismissed with two pages.

The one redeeming feature of the book is the two appendices, one giving the text of *Māyasastra*, and the other quotations from the manuscripts on the subject in the Visvabharati Library. The printing of the book is far from satisfactory. There are a large number of mistakes in spelling of ordinary words, and also mistakes in transliteration of Sanskrit words which by a more careful proof-reading would have been avoided. In spite of these defects the book would serve as an introductory handbook to students of the Indian *Silpaśāstra*.

V. R. R.

ECONOMIC ANNALS OF BENGAL

BY

MR. J. C. SINHA

Dacca University

[Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London. Price 12s. 6d. net.]

THE beginnings of the eighteenth century witnessed very important developments in the domain of Economics in India. It was the era of transition from the old order of things to the new. The Economic history of Modern India like that of Ancient India has yet to be written. So far there is no authoritative study of a period or periods of Indian History from the economic standpoint. An endeavour has been made in the book under review to study critically the different economic questions which exercised the minds of Hastings and Cornwallis who happened to be at the head of the administration at this particular period. This is not a loose and popular study of a great question. On the other hand Professor Sinha has based all his facts on rare and valuable documents, most of them being manuscripts in the Imperial Records Office. As such it is a serious study of a serious problem.

The learned author of the work has chosen for his study a period, 1757-93, which is one of the most trying ones in the annals of modern history of India. It was a period when the political horizon was in a muddle and confusion, when political intrigues were rampant, and when there was no settled order and peace which are so much essential for the satisfactory settlement of economic and industrial questions. The first chapter is an introduction rapidly surveying the economic conditions prevalent in Bengal from 1707 to 1757, when the English Company became an important political body, as a consequence of the English victory at the battle of Plassey.

But the most interesting and valuable chapters are the third and the fourth where the economic reforms of Hastings, and Cornwallis have been treated in a connected whole. After a complete study of the book, it is clear that the author has mainly pitched upon two difficult topics, the history of Bengal commerce, and the problem of currency in the period under review. In dealing with commerce the author has not failed to mark the inland trade from the foreign trade. The different items of trade, their character and volume are discussed with a wealth of detail.

Equal, and perhaps more attention, is paid in the discussion of the currency problems which were nothing but complex. There was no uniform currency. There were different kinds of rupees in circulation in one and the same district, and there was no settled exchange ratio. It could not be positively said whether monometallism or bimetalism suited the land. Each was given a trial and found wanting. In this short period bimetalism was adopted three times. Neither Hastings nor Cornwallis could solve the problem to any satisfactory extent.

The concluding chapter is a thought-provoking one. Professor Sinha points out that as a result of the Company's monopoly in manufactures and the consequent oppression of the weavers, most of the indigenous industries decayed resulting in the destruction of the industrial spirit of the people in the long run. They became dependent more and more on agriculture. The learned professor concludes: 'The ameliorative measures of Hastings and Cornwallis, however beneficial in other ways, did not really compensate the people for the loss of the industrial spirit and the destruction of capital.' The book is written in lucid and clear English, and the printing and the get-up leave nothing to be desired.

V. R. R.

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES

BY

DR. B. C. LAW, M.A.

[Published in the Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series.]

THE history of ancient India is still in the making. In spite of decades of research by both Western and Eastern savants, our knowledge of ancient Indian historical facts is still meagre. There are still knotty problems that await final solution. One such intricate subject is the state of India in prehistoric times. It is generally admitted,—and we are afraid on very slender evidence,—that there was a tribal stage out of which evolved the state consciousness. Dr. Law, a distinguished student of ancient Indian literature, has been devoting himself to this particular subject for several years past, and the present work is the outcome of his strenuous labours.

The book contains a study of five ancient tribes—the Kasis, the Kosalas, the Āśmakas, the Magadhas, and the Bhojas. The author has

left no source unexploited in the matter of treating each of these kingdoms. The history of each country or Janapada is begun from the Vedic times and carried on to the historical period with a wealth of detail all culled out from both Sanskrit and Pali literature. After completely reading every page of the book, if we would ask ourselves the question, whether we can admit of different tribes occupying these territories, the answer seems to be more on the negative side. Let us, for example, take the chapters on the Kasis and the Kosalas.

As for the Kasis, whether from *Anguttara Nikaya* the Epics, the *Purāṇas* or the Chinese version of Timiao, it is not possible for us to say that the term Kasis was the name of a tribe. It would appear from the *Harivamśa* that the sons of Kasa, King of the Anenah dynasty were known as the Kasis. Again there is no mention of Kosalas as the name of a people in literature. The origin of the term 'Kosala' from Kusalam as given in the *Buddhagosa* is indeed interesting. As the author himself has pointed out the term plural कोशलान् is used in the *Ramayana* not to denote the peoples but the Kosala regions. These and other facts confirm more and more our supposition that the terms Kasis, Kosalas, etc., did not represent the name of any separate tribe but offshoots of a great family of princes like the *Ikshvakus*. Hence it would be fitting if the book is entitled 'Ancient Indian Kingdoms.' These small states seem to have been independent, each striving to absorb the other either by conquest or by marriage relations.

The book is a careful study of the different kingdoms. The author has perhaps exhausted all the available sources of information. It is an encyclopædia of information on the respective kingdoms. The printing and get-up are good.

V. R. R.

POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF SOME NOTABLE MINISTERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

EDITED BY

PROFESSOR F. G. C. HEARNshaw

[Macmillan & Co., London.]

THIS consists of a series of eight lectures delivered at the London University in the spring-term of 1926. As the Editor's preface shows,

the lectures enjoyed a wide popularity and attracted larger audiences than any course ever given at the University. We have no difficulty in believing the statement as the subjects treated of were men that played a prominent part in Victorian England, whose memory has not as yet passed into history altogether. The lecturers were professors of distinction who have apparently paid special attention to the subjects they treated. In those circumstances, it will be small wonder if the lectures proved very acceptable, and an appreciative audience is only a matter of course.

The lecturers do not attempt presenting a full biography or a complete study of the subjects they have taken for treatment. Their object seems to have been clearly limited to the political principles that guided each one of these great men who played their parts in the rough and tumble of political life in England. A treatment on this principle necessarily involves many omissions and comparatively few commissions, and it would be hyper-criticism to point out omissions in respect of details or see commissions of error by way of statement that the lecturers chose to make. In the nature of the case either of them would be easily possible, as the one is a matter of views, and the other, though belonging to the realm of matter-of-fact, would be out of accord, as the purpose of the lectures was not exhaustive treatment.

Without going into the details of each one of these lectures, which would take up too much space for a review, we may say generally that each of the lecturers has done his part on the whole very well. They have been able to put their finger on the principles that underlay the action of most of these prime ministers, and have been able to give apt illustrations that give unmistakable indication of the principle underlying their action. The lectures are uneven in point of length, but this can hardly be helped where different lecturers deal, each with his own particular subject. It would be invidious to mark out that which seems better than the others in this respect or that. We may say as a whole that the course of lectures pleases us in the reading, and we daresay they would similarly provide pleasant reading to those that care for it. The organizers have done well in arranging the courses, and of publishing the lectures themselves when they were delivered. Such courses are bound to stimulate interest, and may lead perhaps to further study of the subjects by University students, and when this is attained the object of the lecturers is attained thereby.

BUDDHIST INDIA (Vol. I. No. 1)

AN ILLUSTRATED BUDDHIST QUARTERLY

EDITED BY

D. A. DHARMACHARYYA

AND

B. M. BARUA

WE welcome to the ranks of journalism this Quarterly, *Buddhist India*, which takes upon itself to expound the teaching of Buddhism, and its saving features in the land of its birth, where it has almost been completely forgotten. Buddhism which now is a living religion of half Asia, and a very considerable population of the world, though it originated and received its early development in India, has become so completely forgotten, and its literature not so readily available in Sanskrit as to be cultivated very much in the country. A revival in the study of Buddhism and Buddhist history is undoubtedly welcome in our present state of knowledge of both. Those responsible for this journal have taken care not to make the journal an organ of any particular Mission. Buddhist journals are not too many, and an English Quarterly for the purpose of establishing the cultural link between 'India and the Far East, and thereby between the East and the West' is a welcome addition. It is also to be the vehicle for the dissemination of the results of the latest research concerning Buddhism. The first number before us holds out promise of success.

It begins with the invocation to the Buddha followed by a life, and then there is an account of the Pali Tripitaka. There is an interesting article on Buddhism as a universal religion. There is an important study on Śāntarakṣita, a Buddhist Śāṅkarāchārya, by Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, the editor of the *Tattvasaṅgraha*. There are other interesting articles of a more or less popular character among which mention may be made of the popular exposition of the railings of Barhut Stupa by B. M. Barua. There are miscellaneous notes on Buddhist art, archæology, etc., together with reviews, and editorial notes. We wish this interesting periodical all success.

JIGNYASA

BY

VAIDYA VISARADA NATESA SASTRI

AND

E. G. SUBHRAMANIA SARMA

ANOTHER Quarterly has also made its appearance with the December of last year, *Jignyasa*, from Madras. This journal seems deliberately intended to counteract what is called Western methods of research in Indian studies. It is edited by Vaidya Visarada Natesa Sastri and E. G. Subhramania Sarma. The first part is introduced to the public with a foreword by our much-respected countryman, Prof. K. Sundararama Aiyar of Kumbakonam. The journal has three articles, (1) Elements of Realism and Idealism in the Philosophy of Sankara, (2) an article on the Vrittikāra, and (3) one on Āchārya Sundarapāndya. All these and the foreword alike lay emphasis upon the fallacious methods of research pursued by Oriental scholars in respect of matters Indian, and lay themselves out to correct these errors by pursuing apparently what they consider to be the right method. We admit that in the work of research as it is pursued at present by Western scholars and Eastern, on matters of Indian history and culture, there may be much that is wrong in regard to the conclusions for which many good reasons may be urged in explanation. But as to the method, we are not aware of that sharp distinction that is actually drawn in this journal between the so-called Western and Eastern. Eastern scholars and critics even before the European advent were not altogether unaware of the methods of research inaugurated by Western scholars about a century and a half ago. The only difference is perhaps that in olden times research was pursued perhaps with access to texts and teachers to a far greater degree than at present, and all the defects of modern research may perhaps find satisfactory explanation in this. But if one could judge of the methods of research sought to be inculcated in this journal, it would seem clear that the scope adopted is narrow, necessitating results being inevitably fallacious. Without going into details and labouring the point, we may merely point out that the date ascribed to Sankarāchārya in the sixth century B.C. may seem quite all right on the basis of the evidence adduced, but it is entirely forgotten that the evidence of Buddhism and Buddhists themselves must be held equally valid, and the conclusion that

goes against Buddhist testimony cannot be altogether correct. If Sankarāchārya were almost contemporary with Buddha, there would be comparatively little of the kind of the Buddhism that Sankarāchārya had to combat against. That could be easily made by pushing Buddha's date backwards by a number of centuries. It is there that the evidence of Buddhism itself would go against this conclusion.

While we approve of the effort to let in all the evidence available on the Sanskrit side which is emphasised in this journal, we must protest against research that does not take into account, even in matters having reference to Brahmanical culture alone, the light that the history of the heretical systems may throw upon this. Such light ought to be welcomed and held to be valid. While therefore welcoming the journal as likely to be a valuable addition, we would wish very much that those responsible for it would lay themselves out for a wider and more comparative study even on Eastern lines, so that the results that they may achieve may be much less one-sided than they happen to be.

THE LIFE OF BUDDHA ON THE STUPA AT BARABUDUR

(ACCORDING TO THE LALITAVISTARA TEXT)

EDITED BY

N. J. KROM,

Professor, Leyden University.

[Published by Martinus Nijhoff. The Hague, 1926.]

It is now generally accepted that the Buddhist monument at Barabudur is one of the wonders of architecture, and a miracle of stone work. Descriptions of the great monument have been made from time to time of a more or less complete character, but it remained for the enterprise of the Dutch Archæological Department and the publishing house of Martinus Nijhoff to bring out a magnificent album of some hundreds of plates in two volumes and a letter-press in Dutch in a single but large enough volume some years ago. An English version of the letter-press was promised, but the War which upset so much else upset this as well. An earnest of this English promised version is this work by Dr. Krom, in which he selects one section from the whole big monument bearing upon the life of Buddha. He compares the incidents in the life as they are depicted on the monument and as they are described in the Sanskrit text of the life, *Lalitavistara*. He

finds the similarity rather close, and incidents are found to correspond almost to every illustration contained in the monument, thus exhibiting that the *Lalitavistara* text that is available to us forms perhaps the basis of the monument, such as it is in Java. Thus we have here monument supporting the text, and the text explaining the monument.

This magnificent creation of human hands is ascribable to the glorious days of Sri Vijaya in the eighth and ninth century A.D. Indian emigration from South India datable even to the centuries before Christ went across to the east both the island region and the continent across. Sumatra seems to have been the objective of these voyages, and made a great impression on the mind of South India, as is evidenced by passages in the Tamil poem *Manimēkhalai*. It was there that the foundations of a kingdom were laid early, and all religions which had their birth and prosperity in South India found a reflex in Sri Vijaya, the modern Palembang. About the middle of the eighth century, this kingdom grew into an empire under a dynasty of rulers known to historians as the Śailēndra. It is to the court of these Śailēndra rulers and their capital Palembang that I'Tsing went as providing the climatic and academic advantages for prosecuting his life work, accurate translations of Buddhist sacred books that he collected by his long years of travel in India. This empire under the Śailēndra extended outside the island of Sumatra, and reduced the neighbouring islands to subjection, among which was Java in the immediate neighbourhood. Barabudur is a product of this glorious epoch of this glorious dynasty of Śailēndras. At a period somewhat later, the Śailēndra influence and power grew so great that these Śailēndras came into touch, diplomatic and commercial with the celestial empire of China on the one hand, and the Chola empire of Rājārāja the Great on the other.

The monument at Barabudur is taken to be Mahayanistic in character, and is traditionally taken to be the work of a Buddhist by name Gunadharma, and gives in the single monument an epitome of the Bauddha universe almost similar to that which is said to have been built at the Chakravālakottam, according to *Manimēkhalai*. Dr. Krom has done his work exceedingly well; the illustrations are magnificent, and the letter-press for the 120 pictures given are clear and illuminating. We shall be looking forward to the whole work promised, with interest and expectancy.

'HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL INDIA' (VOL. III.):
DOWNFALL OF HINDU INDIA

BY

C. V. VAIDYA, 1926.

WE must congratulate Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, the veteran Mahratta scholar, and retired High Court Judge, Indore, on his great enterprise and good luck in bringing to a close his attempt at writing the History of Mediæval India, for the period A.D. 600 to A.D. 1200. In the comparatively difficult period of Hindu India, the period that Mr. Vaidya has chosen is perhaps the most difficult in many ways. Nothing daunted by the vastness of the enterprise or by the difficulties involved, he has attempted the task on the whole with success. The part before us continues the good work which he has already given us in the two previous parts, the third forming in size as big a part as the two others put together. The learned Rao Bahadur has dealt with the period with his usual learning and critical acumen. While for certain parts there is a plethora of material, there are parts which suffer from lack of reliable material, and in both alike Mr. Vaidya had exhibited critical ability and great industry.

It is a great pity that the work should have suffered damage by fire before it was hardly published. We only hope that the demand for the book from students and scholars alike would be sufficient to encourage his publishing another edition to compensate him at least partially for the loss that he sustained and for the labour that he bestowed upon the work. While one would wish him compensation for the loss certainly, one must bear in mind it oftentimes proves that labour is its own reward in such enterprises. We congratulate Mr. Vaidya most cordially upon the completion of this great work of his.

TWILIGHT OF HISTORY

BY

DAVID GEORGE HOGARTH, C.M.G., M.A., D. LITT.

[Earl Grey Memorial Lecture. Oxford University Press.]

PROFESSOR Hogarth here takes up for treatment that period of history which comes after the glorious epoch of Cnossian civilization and the coming in of what perhaps is the Achæan-Greek civilization, according, at any rate, to some authorities. The period of about five

centuries following is generally regarded as a period of decadence and darkness. This period Professor Hogarth examines with a view to find out if there were justification for this characterization. He regards neither of them as a correct characterization, and if we are to accept his dictum in the matter, it is usually a period of economic civilization as distinct from the artistic, both on the Minoan and on the Achæan side. The accepted archæological classification does not show that division to be sufficiently marked, so that one might clearly mark off where one period ended and the other period began. It is really a question of development of the artistic in character from the merely artistic to the utilitarian. This change would indicate that what probably served for the enjoyment of the few had really been, both by natural development and by the influences of foreign impact, transformed into something more utilitarian and calling for production in the mass. The artistic forms on vases, plates, and articles of sorts assume a more regular and somewhat more geometrical shapes, it may be of the conventional kind even, and cease to be natural. Hence he would call this period of commercial products as indicated by articles that turn up at archæological excavations, rather by the name twilight of history than by darkness. It is not the darkness before the dawn as archæologists call it, it was rather the dawn before the break of day. He demurs to the invading army being called barbarian because it is unproved. He does not find evidence that the older civilization was swept out of existence to make room for a new. It is much rather a gradual transformation of an older into a later, and of an artistic into an economic civilization. That is the theme of his lecture. His lecture, short as it is, sheds a flood of light upon the darkness, and opens a new vista for archæologists to pursue.

TATTVASANGRAHA

BY

ŚĀNTARAKSHITA

[Gaekwad's Oriental Series]

THIS is a work of Mahāyāna logic written by a Māhayāna Buddhist teacher, Śāntarakshita, who flourished in Bengal in the reign of Gopala of the Pala dynasty, took himself to Tibet, and was responsible for the introduction of Buddhism there, and was instrumental in bringing

about the advent of Guru Padmasambhava, with whom is associated the introduction of Indian Buddhism and Indian philosophy into Tibet. This would give Śāntarakshita a date in the eighth century A.D. quite early in the century, if Tibetan tradition is to be believed. He is responsible for the building of the monastery of Sam-ye in Tibet in A. D. 749, and died thirteen years after in A. D. 762. The positive date has some difficulties to get over, but there could be no difficulty in regard to the century in which he actually lived.

The work *Tattvasangraha* constituting Volume XXX of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series consists of two parts, Śāntarakshita's text with his disciple, Kamalaśīla's commentary, Kamalaśīla undoubtedly being a younger contemporary of Śāntarakshita. The historical importance of this work consists in this ;—that the work gives us a conspectus of the advance that logic had made in the eighth century A.D. Both the author and the commentator alike, the latter much more than the former, criticizes the work of their predecessors in the subject, and the commentator in particular gives precise references to names and works of those criticized from which one gains an idea of the authors of the various schools and their works, and to some extent their relative position with respect to Śāntarakshita and his work. There are as many as sixty-four of these authors and commentators put under requisition, and we gain some definite knowledge of these from the work itself. Thus it makes a very important contribution to the cultural history of India by giving us an idea of the hierarchy of teachers in the subject up to the period of Kamalaśīla. We gain a more or less correct picture of writers contemporary with the author, and of those that lived just before him.

The work is well edited with an English introduction by Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, and a Sanskrit one by Embar Krishnamacharya, both of the Library Department of His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda. It is likely to prove a work of great value to the student of Indian history and culture, as several others of the series we have had occasion to look into.

NOTE.—*The Editor regrets that reviews on the Doctrine of Buddha by George Grimm, and the Early History of the Spread of Buddhism by N. Dutt could not be included in this number as they were received too late for this issue.*

Obituary

E. HULTZSCH AND F. E. PARGITER

It is matter for great regret that this issue of the *Journal of Indian History* should be under the necessity to make as many as four obituary notices of scholars interested in Indian history in several of its departments.

The first and foremost is Professor E. Hultzschi, who retired as Professor of Sanskrit at Halle only recently. In Dr. Hultzschi's death Indian history loses one of its great pillars in the field of epigraphy. He came to India in the latter half of the eighties as the Epigraphist to the Government of Madras specifically, though the mantle of the late James Burgess and J. F. Fleet, as experts in the field of epigraphy, fell on to his shoulders very early in his career. Burgess retired a few years before Hultzschi's arrival in India to take up a chair of mathematics elsewhere, an office which he held with distinction for wellnigh a quarter of a century. Fleet was still in the heyday of his work and fame as an epigraphist, a pre-eminence which he held almost to the day of his death. Hultzschi as Epigraphist to the Government of Madras made the publication of South Indian Inscriptions his own, and was a great authority in Indian epigraphy apart from the distinctly South Indian. His interest in the study of Sanskrit and South Indian languages was great, and his range of knowledge in Indian epigraphy was comparable to that of Bühler and Keilhorn among the dead, and Sten Konow among the living. The number of inscriptions that he collected during his twenty years of work in India was indeed very large, of which it is only as yet a part that has been made available to the public. After retiring from here, and letting the mantle of his office fall on the shoulders of two of his successors who were his assistants, and whose training in epigraphy was entirely owing to him, he took up the Chair of Sanskrit in the University of Halle in Germany, which he occupied till about two or three years ago when he retired from it. All through the time when he was occupying the Sanskrit Chair, his interest in epigraphy never flagged. He kept a keen and watchful eye to work in the various departments connected

with epigraphy, and had a word of encouragement for all items of work done in any one of these branches. We have had the pleasure of constant correspondence with him for over a quarter of a century, and have had his encouraging approval for all work done in South Indian history by us ever since the appearance of the two Chola papers in the first years of the century. In the years of his retirement he was occupied with works on Sanskrit literature of which two stand out, *Rūpavatāra* based on manuscripts found in the Government Manuscripts Library here, and an edition of the *Māghasandēśa*, not to mention catalogues of Sanskrit, etc., manuscripts in the Government Manuscripts Library here, of which he had issued three parts. His greatest work, however, is a revised edition of the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, first issued by Cunningham long long ago. It was entrusted to Hultzschi first. From him the Government of India took it over, and a young Indian scholar, the late Mr. Laddu, was at work on it and carried it some little way, when he was carried off in the prime of life, after the first Oriental Conference at Poona in 1919. The Great War made further work on it impossible, as Hultzschi could no more be put into requisition during the period of the War. It was, however, destined to get into his hands after the establishment of peace, and the work could make its appearance only a short time before the death of Hultzschi. The volumes of South Indian Inscriptions, a model publication of the kind, a number of his articles in the *Epigraphia Indica*, and his edition of the Asoka Inscriptions stand out prominent monuments of his labour extending over forty years in the field of Indian epigraphy continuously. It is matter for the deepest regret that he should have passed away, but he was old and has had the taste of ill-luck and misfortune in life, though the two of his sons passed unscathed through all the vicissitudes of war. It is matter for regret to his friends that death should have anticipated the celebration of his *Festschrift* which should have come off had he been spared to us just for a while longer. A higher destiny had willed it otherwise; let his soul rest in peace!

Next comes Mr. F. E. Pargiter, retired judge of the Calcutta High Court, then S. M. Edwardes, another retired member of the Indian Civil Service, and lastly V. K. Rajavade, well-known among the labourers in the field of Mahratta history. Rajavade's contributions lay perceptibly in collecting the material for a fuller history of the

Mahrattas. This has hitherto been impossible to attempt with the material at our disposal. Edwardes was all his life a student of Indian history in all its sequestered branches, and an indefatigable worker. He was carried away in the prime of life for a European to the great loss of serious students of history. We remember the remark made by Lord Willingdon when he was Governor of Madras that Mr. Edwardes had intellectual qualifications which were a great asset to the service to which he belonged, and it was a great pity that he had to retire far sooner than his time owing to a kind of illness which made further continuance in office risky, and concluded that he was designed by nature and culture for a higher position than he was able to rise to by the time he was called on to give up office by the imperious demands of personal health.

F. E. Pargiter also belonged to the ranks of the Indian Civil Service, but he came from Bengal, unlike Edwardes who belonged to Bombay. His interest in Indian history and culture exhibited itself in his work on the *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa*, which consisted of an edition and a translation for the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series issued by the Bengal Asiatic Society. He made the study of the *Purāṇas*, in their historical aspects, peculiarly his own, and his works bearing on the various aspects of that subject were many. Within recent times, he produced his classic on the subject in the dynasties of the Kali Age, an authoritative version of the texts on the dynastic chapters of the *Purāṇas*, compared, collated, and correctly edited, the number of manuscripts compared being sometimes as many as over sixty. Without mentioning the various articles that he contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, his continued labours in the subject of what he called Kshatriya tradition as distinct from the Brahmanical, although perhaps he overdrew the distinction very much, culminated in his great work, *Ancient Historical Tradition*. He took an important part in the work of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, and held some of its offices as Secretary, Member of Council, and Vice-President before he passed away in the fullness of age and achievement.

THE LATE MR. S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O., I.C.S.

It is a loss to Indian historical workers that Mr. Stephen Meredyth Edwardes, formerly of the Indian Civil Service, and for some time

Joint Editor of *The Indian Antiquary* should have died at the early age of fifty-four, on New Year's Day, 1927. Mr. Edwardes, being the son of a clergyman and an Oxford don, was a student at Eton and later at Christchurch, Oxford and passed the examination for the Indian Civil Service in 1894. He entered service in the Bombay Presidency, becoming closely associated with the city, rising to be Commissioner of Police and then the Commissioner of the Corporation of the City. As early as 1904, Government appointed him a Special Collector under the Bombay Improvement Trust Act. He became early acquainted thoroughly and at first-hand with the habits and customs of the heterogeneous elements of the City population, writing a number of papers and books on them 'becoming thus the greatest authority of his time on that famous city.' He was for a time the President of the Anthropological Society of Bombay; he compiled and edited the *Bombay City Gazetteer* and was connected with the drawing up of the *Bombay Census Report* in 1901. From out of his rich experience of the city he drew an interesting mass of materials and condensed them into a book—*The Bombay City Police: An Historical Sketch 1672-1916* (Oxford University Press 1924)—in which he clearly traced the great difficulty always experienced in that city, of preserving life and property. In the course of his Police Commissionership Mr. Edwardes accomplished much—'establishing the *Police Gazette*, issued three times daily with all details of recent crimes, setting up many new stations, teaching English to the Indian constabulary, controlling motor traffic and the Mecca pilgrimage; improving the Finger-print Bureau; looking after derelict girl-children; and finally during the Great War clearing the City of undesirables.' He also wrote two other books on Bombay,—*The Rise of Bombay* and the *By-ways of Bombay*—which lifted the veil from many dark corners of the city's labyrinths and many dark steps in its expansion.

In 1918 after a short tenure of office as Municipal Commissioner, he retired¹ from service owing to ill-health, but continued in his retirement to do much literary and other work. He was Secretary for a time to the Indo-British Association started by Lord Sydenham to oppose the grant of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and was in 1921

¹ His services were well appreciated by Governors like Lord Sydenham and Lord Willingdon and he received a C.V.O. and a C.S.I. in recognition of his merit.

one of India's representatives at the Geneva Conference on traffic in Women and Children.

Chosen as Joint-Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* in the beginning of 1923, he showed himself indefatigable in his writings and contributions to that Journal, taking up a large portion of its reviewing work, besides writing articles frequently. He was entrusted rightly enough by the Oxford University Press with the task of revising for a fourth edition the late Dr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*—a task which involved the sifting of all material accumulated by research and collation since 1914 when the third edition was published; while the archaeological excavations at Taxila and elsewhere necessitated the preparation of additional notes as well as slight chronological and other emendations in the text. Likewise Mr. Edwardes revised in 1923, Dr. Smith's *Oxford History of India*, his *magnum opus* in spite of its obvious defects in proportion and stress in places—though the work of revision here was comparatively small and consisted chiefly in correcting errors and adding new information. Particularly in the British period he had to put in various suggestions and amendments made by Dr. W. Crooke, C.I.E. and by Sir William Foster, the editor of documents in the India Office, like the series (in progress) *English Factories in India*, which their expert knowledge of the history of the period had shown to be necessary.

Mr. Edwardes edited for the same publishers in two volumes the classical work on the *History of the Mahrattas* by J. G. Grant-Duff, which still continues to maintain its own authoritative reputation on many points. Shortly before his death he wrote a new book—*Babur, Diarist and Despot* (published by A. M. Philpot, 1926) which is a clever and entertaining sketch of the great founder of the Mughal Empire, based largely on Mrs. A. S. Beveridge's translation of that monarch's amazingly modern diary. The quotations that Mr. Edwardes gives in this last book illustrate in an attractive manner the various phases of Babur's character and the many episodes of his romantic life.

Mr. Edwardes was thoroughly conversant in the folk-lore and intricate historical episodes of Western India—as seen in his account of Umaji Naik, a Ramusi Chief of Purandhar Fort and his rendering of an account, by a soldier of fortune, of the Marathas as they were at the close of the eighteenth century. He was an acknowledged authority

on the early history of Bombay and of the details of the evolution of its revenue and administrative organization. His life was active and crowded with literary work up to the moment of death. During his last years especially, the output of books and articles from his pen was rapid and voluminous. Besides his association with *The Indian Antiquary*, he was closely connected with the Royal Asiatic Society of which he became the Secretary only a few months before his death.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

THE LATE MR. V. K. RAJAVADE

Mr. V. K. Rajavade, B.A., who recently died of heart-failure at Dhulia on January 31, 1927, at the age of sixty-two, was one of the greatest researchers, Mahārāshṭra ever produced. Many certainly excelled him in intelligence and careful handling of the subjects they chose to deal with. But none surpassed him in indefatigable industry and self-sacrifice.

He was educated at the Elphinstone College, Bombay, and the Deccan College, Poona. He took his degree of B.A. from the latter in 1890. He started his career as a teacher for which perhaps he was ill-fitted and which at any rate was not congenial to him. So he fortunately chose another line of action. He devoted himself with characteristic vigour to historical studies in which in the long run he won distinction. He took great pains in collecting original historical documents, *bakhars*, local *Mahatmyas*, often carrying loads of them on his shoulders and walking bare-footed. He made the first real efforts to rescue original historical papers in the possession of the *jahāgirdars* and private individuals. Many of them were actually being eaten by ants and so but for his unremitting efforts would have been inaccessible to posterity. By publishing them, he brought them within the reasonable reach of research students. To give the details within the scope of this notice is impossible.

Mr. Rajavade was a penniless man. He took pride in being so. When he was obliged to post not-paid letters, he made no secret of his inability to pay and often explained the fact frankly to the addressee.

He had a great self-sacrificing spirit for had he chosen to pass his days in luxury he could have secured a good job in the prime of his

life. In happier circumstances he might conceivably have made a still greater collection, but on the other hand, a happier life might have deprived him of the incentive to write essays after essays.

To the end he worked with undiminished strength of intellect. His contributions to several journals, which included many valuable papers, are too numerous to catalogue here. But his series of twenty-two historical volumes, embodying original letters and accounts, called by him *khand*s (detached portions) are the most popular of his works. In addition, he found time to write papers such as his essay on Rāmādāsa. Of late he was interesting himself in diverse subjects, such as philology, philosophy and ancient history.

Besides publishing many books, Mr. V. K. Rajavade induced other scholars to co-operate with him and work in his line. He inspired many a teacher with his enthusiasm for research.

Mr. Rajavade was one of the founders and was one of the main props of the Bhārata-Itihāsa-Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala of Poona, the well-known historical Society, which has in its possession some very valuable copperplate grants and numerous historical documents.

Mr. Rajavade had his unconquerable prejudices too. He was very eccentric. He was many a time carried away by his imagination.

At times he tried to show mastery over subjects to which he found no time to devote, and with no means to prosecute their studies. He tried to explain authoritatively certain eras and expressions in copperplates, which experts in India and on the Continent declared to be forgeries. Still Mr. Rajavade had not the good sense to yield.

Mr. Rajavade's volumes contain no index. The letters in them are neither properly sorted nor systematically arranged. But the material is there. The letters can be sorted now. Rajavade's volumes could have been conveniently much abridged. But the author could not be persuaded to do so in his lifetime. He was very sensitive on the point. It says much for his friends and publishers that they tolerated him as long, and as well, as they did.

Some of his volumes have become rare and must be reprinted. But before the work is undertaken care must be taken to omit letters repeating information.

In his palmy days Mr. Rajavade was over-zealous. The result was that he spent his energy in copying numerous letters, which are neither

of interest nor of much use. Funds being limited a good many letters of special interest collected by him remain to be published.

He was a widower. He has left no issue.

The study of original letters was not only advanced but radically transformed by him. There can be little doubt that in spite of his oddities, he rendered enormous service to the history of the Marathas. His death is rightly mourned by Maratha writers on history.

Y. R. GUPTE.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

The Allahabad University Magazine

December, 1926—

DR. J. J. MODI: 'Oriental Studies' being the Presidential Address of the Fourth Oriental Conference, held at Allahabad on November 5, 1926.

MD. HAFIZ SYED: 'Optimism in Indian Thought'.

MD. HAFIZ SYED: 'Khenajah Altaf Husaiyn Hali'.

The Calcutta Review

January-February 1927—

MR. MAHENDRANATH SIRCAR: 'The Vedantic Conception of God'.

MR. HARIHAR DAS: 'The Affairs of India and Siam' being the hitherto unpublished despatch of the Judge of the Court of Admiralty to King James II written on the affairs of India in July 1688.

March 1927—

MR. J. CASSIDY: 'The Story of the Persian Cromwell' an account of the life and achievements of Mir. Irways, the Great Duke of Kandahar protector of the Persian Empire by a Swedish Officer, originally published in 1724.

DR. C. V. RAMAN: 'The Promotion of Research in India'.

Bengal Past and Present

VOL. XXXII. PART II

October-December, 1926—

MR. R. M. RAMSBOTHAM: 'Major-General Stringer Lawrence' being a note on the second of the three portraits which Gainsborough painted of the General who was the Father of the Indian Army and the master of Clive.

MESROAB J. SETH: 'Armenian Journalism in India' being a note on the Journal (*Azdarar-Intelligencer*) started in Madras in July 1794 by the Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon, the founder of modern Armenian Journalism.

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 133

B. N. BANERJEE: 'The Mother of Nawab Siraj-ud-daula'.

H. W. B. MORENO: 'The Life of Lala Babu'. A saint of Modern Bengal (1775-1821) and a disciple of the famous Vaishnava teacher Krishnadas Babaji.

Mr. B. N. BANERJEE: 'The Mother of the Company.'

The Maharaja's College Magazine, Vizianagram

VOLUME VI. NO. 2

January 1927—

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI: 'A Study in South Indian Ethnology: Some features of Social Organization.'

K. RANGACHARI: 'Marriage and Legitimacy.'

K. R. SUBRAHMANYAM IYER: 'Jesus Christ'—A Visvakarma Brahmana.'

N. VENKAT RAO: 'The Date of Nannaiya Choda Deva (in Telugu).'

The Jaina Gazette

VOLUME XXIII. NO. 1

January 1927—

B. A. SALETORRE: 'Mudibidri—An Ancient Jain City of Tuluva.'

HIRALAL JAIN: 'Periods in the History of Jainism.'

R. D. JAIN: 'The Attributes of the Soul.'

The Visva-Bharati Quarterly

January 1927—

PROF. CARLO FORMICHI: 'The Dynamic Element in Indian Religious Development.'

J. K. SEN: 'Oriental Philosophy in the Light of Art.'

CHAMPUPATI: 'Kabir.'

The Muslim Review (Calcutta)

VOLUME I. NO. 2

October-December 1926—

S. KHUDA BAKSH: 'Harun-ar-Rashid.'

B. DE: 'A Judgment of Sultan Sikandar Lodi.'

MESROAB J. SETH: 'Was the Calcutta "Black Hole" a myth?'

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI: 'The Punjab Records in the Imperial Record Department at Calcutta.'

1926-27—

PROF. F. EDGERTON: 'The Hour of Death.' A note on its importance for man's future fate in Hindu and Western religions.

M. T. PATWARDHAN: 'Persian Prosody.'

H. G. BENGARI: 'The Main Outlines of the History of Dāsakuta.'

PROF. S. K. BELVALKAR: Translation of 'Senart's Introduction to the *Bhagavad Gita*.'

PANDIT P. SHARMA: 'Historical Position of Nama Deva I.'

The Modern Review

January 1927—

PROF. B. K. SARKAR: 'A Preface to the Hindu Categories of International Law, Section 4.'

C. T. MODI: 'The Kadva Kanbis and their peculiar Marriage Customs.'

February 1927—

A. V. THAKKAR: 'The Aboriginal Tribes of India.'

RANJIT PANDIT: 'Buddhist Remains in Afghanistan.'

B. N. BANERJEA: 'The College of Fort William.'

Prof. J. N. SARKAR: 'The Historian V. K. Rajavade.'

March 1927—

M. P. N. MAJUMDAR: 'The Bhils of Gujarat.'

A. K. MAZUMDAR: 'A Theistic Interpretation of Sankhya Philosophy.'

Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research

VOLUME IV. No. 11, 1926

The Anglo-American Conference of Historians in 1926.

Migration of Historical Manuscripts.

Indian Antiquary

January 1927—

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI: 'The Promotion of Dravidian Linguistic Studies in the Company's Days.' Read in the Indian Historical Records Commission, at the Lahore Session. Brings out the part played by the East India Company in promoting the Dravidian

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 135

Linguistic Studies in Tamil, Telugu, Canarese and Malayalam and enumerates a number of works produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in South India.

R. R. HALDER: 'Yasodhavala Paramara and His Inscription.' February 1927—

MUHAMMAD ISMAIL: 'Himyaritic Inscription from the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay.'

H. M. JOHNSON: 'Svetambara Jaina Iconography.' This supplies the need of a Svetambara corollary to the contribution of Burgess on the Digambara Jaina Iconography.

M. H. GOPAL: 'The Date of Asoka's Rock Edicts.'

Journal of the American Oriental Society:

VOLUME XLVI. No. 4.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD: 'On Vedhic Dhena,' "Prayer," "Song."

Ceylon Journal of Science (Archæology)

VOLUME I. PART III

A. M. HOCART: 'Archæological Summary': Notes on Ceylon Architecture, and Sculpture with twenty-one plates.

A. M. HOCART: 'On the Origin of the Tope': 'The Satapatha Brahmana is cited to support the view that the tope represents the universe consisting of the earth, atmosphere, and the vault of heaven, surmounted by the region of the sun and the moon, and the abode of the Gods.'

A. M. HOCART: 'The Throne in Indian Art': discusses the probable motif in the lotus, lion and the diamond throne, in South India and Ceylon.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

January 1927—

O. C. GANGOLY: 'The Cult of Agastya and the Origin of Indian Colonial Art': Traces the movement of Agastya Cult into the regions of Further India.

S. SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR: 'Gandaraditya.' Arrives at the conclusion that this saint-king ascended the throne in A. D. 948 and ruled till 956 when he was killed by Vira Pandya.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.

January 1927—

- G. V. SITAPATI : 'The Korni Copper-plate grants of Anantavarma Chodaganga.'
- S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRIAR : 'Bhavabhuti and his identity' : Considers that evidence is favourable to the identity of Bhavabhuti with Umbeka, Suresvara and Visvarupa.
- H. HERAS : 'Who were the Sulikas?' Identifies the Sulikas of the Haraha Inscription of Isanavarman with the Cholas of South India.
- R. SRINIVASARAGHAVA AIYANGAR : 'Coins of Kavaliyadavalli Treasure Trove Case.' In the course of the contribution the writer points out that mints existed at Nellore and Kanchipura which issued the coins described.
- M. RAMAKRISHNAKAVI : 'Tapasavatsaraja : Gives a short account of this important unpublished work with extracts, from photographic copy obtained from Europe.

Indian Historical Quarterly

December 1926—

- L. FINOT : 'Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China : ' traces the main lines of the History of Buddhism in Annam, British Malaya, Siam, Cambodia and Burma the East and Western part of Indo-China.
- S. C. SEN GUPTA : 'Siege of Bednore, 1783' : Translated from Tipu Sultan's Memoirs in the India Office Library and accounts of two English eye-witnesses.
- N. L. DEY : 'Rasatala' : Concluding portion of the series on Rasatala which the author endeavours to identify with Central Asia. Besides tradition, a comparison of the physical features of the country and the condition of the people of Rasatala as described in the Hindu works and as recorded in the Avesta and the works of travellers support the identity. The author cites the similarity of the following :—Bhogavati, Bakhdhi, Aksu, Asma, Bali-Alaya, Balkh, Manimayi, Maymeni, etc., and regards that the similarity in the names of towns, rivers and mountains is not accidental.

Journal of Oriental Research

January 1927—

- S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI : 'Problems of Identity in the Cultural History of Ancient India.' In this portion of the contribution the writer identifies Āchārya Sundara Pandya with Kubja Pandya and assigns him to *circa* 650 A.D. As an alternative it is also suggested that Āchārya Sundara Pandya is perhaps identical with Tirujnāna Sambandar himself contemporary of Kun Pandya. This inference that Āchārya Sundara Pandya was one of the earliest makers of the Mīmāṃsa Śāstra and that Kumārila and Sankara derived much valuable material from his *Vartika*, it is held cannot any longer be considered debatable. This contribution should be read along with that of Āchārya Sundara Pandya by E. G. Subramanya Sarma in the first number of *Jignyāsa*.
- S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI : 'Bhadanta' : Seeks to derive the root of this expression from Bhad conveying the sense 'to be auspicious or happy.'
- O. K. ANANTALAKSHMI : 'Indra the R̥gvedic Ātman.'
- K. A. SANKARAN : 'Kuntaka's attitude towards the theories of Devani and Rasa.'
- K. G. SUBRAMANYAM : 'The Authorship of Uṇādi Sūtras.' It is held that the existing list of Uṇādi Sūtras could not be wholly ascribed to Śakaṭāyana's authorship. Additions were made by grammatical writers after Pāṇini, the Uṇādi Sūtras being Unti-Paniniyan and Post-Paniniyan but never Paniniyan.
- T. R. CHINTAMANI : 'The Date of Śrikanṭha and his Brahma-Mīmāṃsa.' This is an attempt to prove that the view that Śrikanṭha was a contemporary of Sankara is wrong and that he was long posterior to Ramanuja and flourished after the middle of the thirteenth century of the Christian era.
- A. S. KRISHNA RAO : 'The Place of Praśastapāda and Dignāga in the evolution of Vyāpti.'
- A. V. VENKATARAMA AIYAR : 'The Vyāghras and their identification.' The writer examines the position and identity of Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntara, Vyāghra of the Uchchakalpa dynasty and Vyāghradeva of Ganj and Nachna inscriptions and after discussing present views attempts to indicate the trend of Vākātaka history, and chronology, in a new light.

Jignyāsa

VOL. I, PART I

- K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI: 'Elements of Realism and Idealism in the Philosophy of Sankaracharya.'
- K. G. NATESA SASTRI: 'The Vrittikāra': Considers on the strength of various reasons that the Bodhāyana of the Vaishnavas is not the Upavarsha of the *advaitins*, that the Vrittikāra pre-supposed by the Sankara School cannot be the Bhagāvān Upavarsha, that the views of Bodhayana, the Vrittikāra of the Vaishnavas do not agree with those of the Vrittikāra of the Sankara School and that Bodhayana must have come after Sankaracharya.
- E. G. SUBRAMANYA SARMA: Sets forth reasons to prove that Āchārya Sundara Pandya could not be Kūn Pandya or Tirujnāna Sambandar as suggested by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri in the first number of the *Journal of Oriental Research*.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

December 1926—

- H. HERAS: 'Relation between the Guptas, Kadambas and Vakatakas.'
- M. GANGULI: 'A Survey of Indian Architecture.'
- N. C. MEHTA: 'The Pictorial Motif in Ancient Indian Institutions.'
- A. BANERJI-SASTRI: 'Asura Institutions.'
- M. N. RAY: 'Ostracism in Ancient Indian Society.'

Journal of the Department of Letters

CALCUTTA, VOL. XIV

- N. C. CHATTERJEE: 'The Conception of Positive Law in Ancient India.'
- JYOTISHCHANDRA GHATAK: 'The Date of *Mrichchakatika* from Astrological Data.' Arrives at the conclusion from the references to the Yavanas and the prevalence in full force of the conception of the Mars-Jupiter adversary system that the third and the second centuries is the lowest possible limit for the *Mrichchakatika*.
- L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR: 'A Brief Account of the Malayalam Phonetics.'
- BRUCE HANNAH: 'Problems of the Ancient Egyptian Chronology.'

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 139

- H. C. RAY: 'Notes on War in Ancient India.' In the portion published the writer deals with the subject in three sections devoted to (1) the influence of Indian geography on wars and military movements, (2) the army, (3) Numerical strength of Indian Armies. The subject is to be concluded in a subsequent instalment which is promised.
- N. K. MAJUMDAR: 'Laghumanasam of Munjala.' Gives a brief account of Laghumanasam of Munjala, a Karana-Grantha.
- P. C. BAGCHI: 'On the Purvas.' Proves that the Purvas of the Jains were not completely lost but were gradually accumulated to the present canonical literature of the Jains in the course of its developments.
- T. DASGUPTA: 'Aspects of Bengali Society.' Deals with the various aspects of Bengali Society such as art, warfare, costume, architecture, etc.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

January 1927—

- F. W. THOMAS: 'Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkistan.' This contribution illustrates the importance of the treasures of Sir Aurel Stein recovered from the sands of the Chinese Turkistan. The writer here discusses the importance of one of the Tibetan Manuscripts unearthed from the famous hidden library of Tun-huang. It relates to the Ha-za people who occupy an obscure position in history.
- S. LANGDON: 'Six Babylonian and Assyrian Seats.'
- A. H. SAYCE: 'Hittite Legends.'
- W. H. MORELAND: 'The Mogul Unit of Measurement.'

Bengal Past and Present

VOL. XXXIII, PART I

- E. COTTON: 'The Early Life of Warren Hastings.'
- N. K. BHATTASALI: 'The English Factory at Decca.'
- M. J. SETH: 'The Hindoos in Armenia 150 Years before Christ.' Gives a brief account of the Hindu colony which existed in Armenia and flourished from the middle of the second century B.C. to the middle of the fourth century A.D. The authority of Zanoza's *History of Taron* is relied on.

The Illustrated London News

January 15, 1927—

G. E. SMITH: 'The Elephant Controversy.' Cultural links between Asia and Central America in the eighth century A.D. Holds the view that the elephantlike forms of the Mayan buildings in Central America are definitely of Indian origin and the result of cultural contact of Indo-China and Java in the days following the Indian Gupta phase of artistic expression.

Indian Art and Letters

VOL. II, No. II

ASIT GHOSH: 'Old Bengal Paintings.'

RÉNE GROSSET: 'Recent Archæological Discoveries in Indo-China.' Gives an outline account of the valuable work accomplished by Ecole Française D'Extreme Orient in recent years as given in the lectures delivered by Mr. V. Goloubeff at the Musée Guimet, Paris.

SIR J. WOODROFFE: 'The Indian Magna Mater.' Deals with the worship of the Great Mother as the grand multiplier, as conceived and worshipped by Shaktas.

R. G

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 Française 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*, 3, 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, Myslapore.
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 Paracharini 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, Rajahmundry.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daily Hall, Cenotoph Road, Bangalore.
19. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
20. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla, Bombay.
21. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
22. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Durudatta Bhavana, Lahore.
23. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archæological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
24. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
25. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

The Numerical Strength of Akbar's Cavalry

BY

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THE AHADIS AND DAKHKILIS

IN addition to *Zat* and *Sawar* troops that were paid by the *mansabdars* themselves, and of which we had something to say in our last article, Akbar kept under service two other classes of horsemen, that had direct connection with the Imperial Treasury, and the officers of which seem to have been selected by the Emperor himself. Of these the *Ahadis*, instead of being put under many *mansabdars*, had a great Amir as their chief, were allowed fairly large salaries, and acted as the immediate servants of the Emperor.¹ The *Dakhilis*, on the other hand, though recruited and paid by the State itself,² did not stand in rank and prestige above other troopers, and were placed under such *mansabdars* as the State thought fit to appoint over them. An example of the service of this class of troopers is to be found in the third volume of the *Akbarnama* where out of the 10,000 horsemen assigned to Prince Salim 5,000 received *jagirs* in Bengal, 4,000 near Lahore and the rest were paid monthly from the State Treasury.³ According to Father Monserrate, the troops paid by the State numbered 45,000 in all. Of these 12,000 might have been *Ahadis*⁴ and the rest *Dakhilis*.

¹ Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, pp. 231, 249-50.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 231, 254.

³ Chapter CXIX.

⁴ *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, p. 308.

DR. HORN'S ESTIMATE AND ITS CRITICISM

If the number of the *Zat* and *Sawar* troops be as well known as that of the above-mentioned standing Army of 1581, it would be quite easy to get at the correct numerical strength of Akbar's Cavalry. Dr. Horn has tried to achieve his task by a very simple method. He has totalled the *Zat mansabs* of the fortieth year of Akbar's reign, added to the number thus gained the strength of the *Ahadis*, and thus arrived at 384,758 + 12,000 as the grand total of Akbar's Cavalry.¹ Dr. Ram Prasad Tripathi regards this method good enough and tries to substantiate the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Horn by setting forth some more evidence in its favour. We shall here first examine the view of Dr. Horn and then come to the evidence put forward by Dr. Tripathi.

As regards the estimate of Dr. Horn, it can hardly be called even approximately correct. The reasons for coming to this conclusion may be set down as follows:—

In the first place, we have no adequate means of knowing the number of officers alive at any one time. Blochmann no doubt gives the biographies of many *mansabdars*; but even among these there are some about the date of whose death absolutely nothing has been said by the biographer. Moreover the biographies of a good many *mansabdars* are not even given. Such being the case, the number of the *Zat* troopers serving at any one time in Akbar's reign can only be a matter of conjecture, and the total arrived at by Dr. Horn can only be said to be of very doubtful accuracy.

Secondly, even if a reliable list of the *mansabdars* living at any one time be available, it would not be easy to find out the real strength of Akbar's cavalry. Among the *mansabdars* there were many who were, if we are to take their profession into consideration, absolutely unconnected with the army. 'Civil servants, judges of canon law, superintendents of post, excise, and custom, and even clerks, and accountants of the higher grades, were all ranked as *mansabdars*, that is, members of the army. Their names were arranged in the gradation list of the army, they were paid by the *Bakshis* or military paymasters, and their promotion took the form of an increase on their nominal command.'² For instance, Hakim Humam, though a *mansabdar* of

¹ *Proceedings of Historical Records Commission*, vol. v, p. 61.
² Sarkar, *Mughal Administration* (2nd edition), p. 11.

600, was only the head of Akbar's kitchen department;¹ and Sadr Jehan Mufti, and Hakim Ali of Gilan, though both *mansabdars* of 700, were respectively the religious and medical officers of the Empire.² Such examples can be multiplied at pleasure, and there is no source of knowing about the total of the commands held by such men. In lower ranks such persons must have been in pretty large numbers.

Thirdly, the existence of the *Dakhili* troops makes it all the more difficult to arrive at an exact estimate of the numerical strength of Akbar's cavalry. In 1581 they must have numbered about 28,000; but what might have been their number in 1595 cannot be said with certainty. As Abul Fazl tells us, they were at that time preferred to other classes of troops, and their number therefore might have been largely increased to satisfy this preference of the Emperor. In the 3rd volume of the *Akbarnama*, we find Prince Salim and Prince Khusro at the head of a very large number of such troops. Of the *mansabdars* placed under Prince Salim, Jagat Singh was a *mansabdar* of 900, Sakat Singh, Rai Manohar and Bahadur Khan Qurdar, commanders of 400,³ and Sharif Sarmadi, a commander of 200.⁴ Similarly the men put under Khusro were Imperial *mansabdars* of various standings. To find the exact number of horsemen under Akbar, therefore, the strength of the contingents of *mansabdars* like Prince Khusro should certainly be subtracted from the grand total of the *mansabs* of any year. Dr. Horn does not seem to have done so, nor could he do so, because the total of the *Dakhili* troops in the fortieth regnal year of Akbar is quite unknown.

Finally, the existence of the *Sawar* rank would make any total of mere *Zat* troops insufficient for arriving at an exact estimate of the strength of Akbar's Cavalry. That the *Sawars* are not a mere honour has been shown in our last article, and if that be the case, the number of troops serving under that rank should be added to the total of the *Zat mansabs*. Dr. Horn has admittedly not done so.

Having disposed of the estimate of Dr. Horn which on account of the insufficient materials that he had to work upon, cannot but be regarded as inaccurate we might pass on to the view of Dr. Tripathi.

¹ Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 474.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 466, 468.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 492, 494, 495.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 516.

CONSIDERATION OF THE VIEW OF DR. TRIPATHI

Dr. Tripathi has something to urge in favour of Dr. Horn's view. He thinks that the sum of the figures of cavalry given for each *Subah* supports the statement of Dr. Horn. This is no doubt true; but the method of arriving at the strength of Akbar's cavalry cannot be said to be correct. The figures that we arrive at by totalling the troopers assigned to every province include not only the army proper, but also the men allowed to *Kroris*, tax-collectors, and *faujdars* for the administration of *parganas* and *sarkars*.¹ Such men can hardly be called soldiers, and the *Padshahnama* of Abdul Hamid while giving us the total of Shah Jehan's army rightly excludes them from the paid army of that Emperor.²

The two other pieces of evidence that Dr. Tripathi brings forward while they cannot be said to support the view of Dr. Horn which is in itself incorrect, have an independent value of their own. Both Hawkins and Jourdain, as the doctor tells us, are of opinion that 'the army of Jehangir ranged from three to four lacs.' This can further be supported by an extract from the writings of Rev. Terry. According to him the total of *mansabs* was about a million, but those who had the pay of 5,000 were bound to have 2,000 (according to the edition of 1655 even less than that) at command, and so in proportion all the rest.³ This would give four lacs or so as the strength of the cavalry under Akbar and would thus approximately support the assertion of Jourdain and Hawkins. In some respects Jehangir's reign was merely a continuation of the reign of Akbar, and there is nothing that can lead us to the conclusion that in the ending years of Akbar's reign, the cavalry must have been less in numerical strength than that in the reign of his son. The histories of Jehangir's reign, as Dr. Tripathi has rightly pointed out, do not mention any increase of the army, nor was there any great political commotion that might have rendered necessary any great extension of military strength. From a consideration of the remarks of the afore-mentioned travellers, therefore, we might reasonably conclude that the cavalry under Akbar was not less than three lacs in number.

¹ For an examination of the truth of the statement, I would refer the reader to *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. ii, where even the smallest *mahal* is credited with having possessed some army.

² Vol. ii, p. 715.

³ Forster, *Early Travels*, p. 327.

EVIDENCE FROM MONSERRATE AND BLOCHMANN

As to the remarks of Monserrate and Blochmann which Dr. Tripathi thinks go against the above conclusion, they are plainly misunderstood by the learned writer. Monserrate says nowhere that the cavalry of Akbar ranged from 45 to 50,000, nor can we believe that Blochmann ever held the idea that Akbar had only 12,000 horsemen at his disposal. Monserrate's words are: 'There are 45,000 cavalry, 5,000 elephants, and many thousand infantry paid directly from the royal treasury. In addition to these there are troops whose command is inherited from father to son like an hereditary state; these troops are paid by their commanding officers out of the revenues of the provinces which they hold from the King.' The meaning of the above extract can only be that Akbar had 45,000 standing cavalry besides the contingents of *mansabdars*. The passage is interpreted in this sense by Dr. Smith too. The following extract from *Relacam do Equebar*, which seems to be 'the unknown contemporary authority, that Von Noer has relied on makes the matter still more clear. 'When Equebar joins his forces,' writes Monserrate, 'and has no rebels to oppose him, he is very powerful. Besides the troops which his captains bring into the field, he must have 5,000 war elephants, 40,000 cavalry and an infinite number of infantry. He has many captains who can muster 12,000 or 14,000 horse and many elephants; others of 6,000 or 4,000 horse and below that number.'² In this passage Monserrate obviously refers to the fact that besides the contingents of *mansabdars*, Akbar had 40,000 cavalry paid from the royal treasury. Blochmann too speaks of the standing cavalry, and not of the contingents of *mansabdars* which he thinks always fluctuated,³ when he says that the number of horsemen was 12,000. The reason that he gives for coming to this conclusion is that the Emperor had 12,000 horse in the Imperial stables. This conjecture of Blochmann is, however, far from correct, because the horses supplied to soldiers were taken care of by them and not by the State. It was the *Bargirs* only who were not entrusted with the keeping of horses.⁴ The number of horses in the imperial stables, can therefore hardly be an

¹ Hoyland, *Monserrate's Commentary*, p. 89.

² *J.A.S.B.*, 1912, p. 210.

³ Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 245.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

index of the number of cavalry employed and paid by the Emperor. Hence the only fact, and that no doubt of much importance, which we can in this connection get hold of by perusing the works of Monserrate and Blochmann is that Akbar had a part of his cavalry paid directly from the imperial treasury. As to the number of soldiers paid through the *mansabdars*, neither Monserrate nor Blochmann has anything to tell us.

CONCLUSION

In short the utmost that can be said is that Akbar had a large cavalry which was most probably about 300,000 in number. Of this about half a lac was paid directly from the royal treasury, and the rest through *mansabdars*. What the precise number of horsemen serving under these officers was is to this time a mystery to us. The materials that might help us in clearing this matter are not forthcoming, and in their absence an attempt to have the exact number of *Zat* and *Sawar* troops must inevitably reduce itself to a mere conjecture.

The 'Kingdomes and Provinces Subject to the Great Mogoll'.

BY

W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E., LATE OF THE I.C.S.

WHEN in India in the years 1616-17, Sir Thomas Roe sent home under this title a brief topographical account of the Mogul territories, which is reproduced in the new, and most welcome, edition of *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India* (Oxford University Press, 1926). Sir William Foster, the editor, points out that Roe's description differs from the topographical account of the Empire given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, and observes that his list seems to have been of a historical nature, 'enumerating roughly the states which had fallen under the sway of the Mogul Emperors.' As an alternative hypothesis, I suggest that the list in question gives the administrative charges to which appointments were made by the Emperor himself. If this hypothesis can be established, the list can be regarded as a definite contribution to our knowledge of the Mogul administrative system, because no other contemporary record of these charges appears to be in existence. My suggestion is based on the fact that Roe's list of 'Kingdoms and Provinces' bears a distinct resemblance to a list of administrative charges which I compiled for my own use from the chronicles of the period. In this article I propose to examine the nature of the two lists, and to set out the extent of agreement and difference, leaving the validity of the hypothesis to the judgment of students.

From Roe's own account it is clear that he took the names of kingdoms and provinces 'out of the King's register', while his other topographical details were from other sources, 'as near as by description I could gather them.' The words 'I took out of the King's register' suggest that Roe saw the register himself, but, judging from his own account¹ he had made little progress in speaking Persian, and there is no reason to suppose that he had studied the written language, so it is more probable that he sent an interpreter to see the register and copy

¹ *Embassy*, p. 340.

out the names. His interpreters were not a very satisfactory lot, and in any case there was room for misreading, especially as we may assume the register to have been written in office-script; while the list, as we have it, is a fair copy¹ so that errors may have crept in at a later stage also. In order to interpret the phrase 'the King's register', we must glance at the structure of Mogul administration. The well-known administrative dyarchy had been in operation for some time, and the fundamental distinction is exhibited in the phrase *mulkī wa mālī*, which occurs so often in the chronicles, and which in the jargon of modern secretariats may be rendered as 'general' and 'revenue' administration. General business was done in the Presence (*Huzūr*) by the Emperor himself with the aid of the vakīl, while revenue business was transacted in the separate Ministry, the *Dīwānī*, though cases requiring the Emperor's personal orders would be brought to the Presence: *Dīwānī* thus stood to *Huzūr* much as the Board of Revenue stands to the Government in some provinces at the present day. It is safe to say that the list of provinces and districts set out in the *Ain*, with its intimate details of revenue matters, came from the *Dīwānī*, and it may be referred to the register 'in charge of the *Dīwān*', which Pelsaert² mentions in connection with the grant of assignments to the Mogul's officers. The contents of Roe's list show, as has been said above, that it was not based on this *Dīwān*'s register, and we must look for his source in *Huzūr*, as indeed is implied by the phrase 'the King's register'. Now it is possible that a register of territorial acquisitions, such as Sir W. Foster suggests, may have been kept in *Huzūr*, though I know of no evidence on the point, but to anyone who has studied the details of appointments given in the chronicles it is certain that there must have been a register showing the names of the officers appointed by the Emperor to take charge of the general administration: there were, as we shall see, something like sixty separate charges and a register of appointments would be indispensable, as is the Civil List to the appointments Secretary at the present day. The hypothesis I put forward is that Roe's list is based on such a register of appointments.

Roe's list is compiled on a basis of topographical contiguity, and covers the Empire in the form of an irregular ellipse. Starting at Kandahār in the far West, it runs across the North of India to Bengal,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. lxxii.

² *Jahangir's India*, p. 54

with one large gap between Agra and Bihār: at the coast it drops South and runs West from Orissa to Gwalior, then makes a loop to the Deccan, and finishes with Ajmer, where it rejoins the original line near its starting-point. The arrangement differs from that followed in the *Ain*, which begins at Bengal, runs West to Agra, then drops to include the southern provinces, returns to the direct line at Delhi, and finishes with Kābul, Kashmīr, and Kandahār, all of which were regarded at that time as a single province. Neither list is entirely satisfactory, but each is quite workable from the administrative standpoint, and there is no reason for surprise in the fact that the order of the two lists differs: the principle of administrative uniformity was not established so firmly in the seventeenth century as it is now. In any case, it is not a simple matter to devise a perfect list of Indian provinces on a basis of contiguity, and from the standpoint of convenience Roe's list is no worse than the order followed in the Atlas of the *Imperial Gazetteer*; the general line is, at least, sufficiently clear to be of use in identifying some of the names which, as we shall see, have become mutilated.

Turning now to my own list, Akbar's instructions contained in Book III of the *Ain* show that for the general administration of the Empire he relied on two grades of officers, the Viceroy of the Province, whom he called *Sipāhsālār*, but who was usually known as *Sūbadār*, or in later times *Nāzīm*, and the Commandant or *Faujdār*, who was placed in charge of 'several parganas', with the primary duty of keeping the peace. It has usually, I think, been assumed that there were *Faujdārs* everywhere, and ten years ago I accepted the suggestion¹ that the unit charge was the *sarkār*, or revenue district. Study of the chronicles however showed² that, while a *Faujdār* was sometimes in charge of the area of a *sarkār*, the relation was by no means invariable, so that the local unit of general administration within the province could be described only as a *faujdārī*, while the *sarkār* must be regarded as belonging definitely to the revenue department. Search for a contemporary list of *faujdāris* proved unsuccessful, and I collected materials for one by tabulating all appointments and other references in the *Tuzuk* (supplemented by the *Iqbalnāma*), and the *Badshahnāma*, that is to say, the official records for a period of forty years in the first half of the seventeenth century. In the course of

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1918, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, 1922, p. 23.

this work I learned that faujdārīs were in fact not universal, the duty of keeping the peace being performed in some places by officers with other designations: there was therefore no complete network of faujdārīs covering the whole Empire, but there was a complete network of administrative charges to which the Emperor personally appointed officers with varying designations, but all of them responsible for keeping the peace, and carrying on the general administration. Analysis of the data gives the following cases:—

1. In the large settled provinces in the north, there were faujdārīs which appear to cover the whole area; but in one or two cases it seems that the Viceroy himself held direct charge of his headquarters, while the faujdār were posted at other centres.

2. In some small provinces, there is no mention of a faujdār during a period of forty years, and we hear occasionally of the Viceroy in person doing faujdār's work. The most probable explanation of these facts is that a separate Faujdār was deemed to be unnecessary, and that the Viceroy was directly responsible for the peace of his province.

3. There were a few areas, not called provinces, to which the Emperor appointed a Governor (Hākim, or Zābit), who had no faujdār, and did the work himself. I call these sub-provinces.

4. In unsettled country, the charge of the peace was usually in the hands of a Fort-Commandant (*Qilādār*). This is an obviously convenient arrangement, for in such country the fort was the dominant fact: while it stood, the administration had some sort of security, but when it fell, there was anarchy till it was reconquered. In some chronicles, though not in those I have specified, such charges were described as 'Qilādārī and Faujdārī', a designation which I take to represent the actual position correctly.

5. Lastly, there are cases where the assignee (*jāgīrdār*) was clearly required to do Faujdār's work, and we occasionally meet the designation 'Jāgīrdārī and Faujdārī'. 'Appointment to a jāgīrdārī', which is occasionally recorded, must be distinguished from 'grant of a jāgīr': the former phrase denotes an office, while the latter does not, and I take it that in such cases the faujdārī was included in the jāgīrdārī, that is to say, that in tracts where local conditions rendered this course desirable, an officer was stationed with a free hand to keep the country in order and make what he could out of it; or, in some cases,

that a recognized hereditary chief was entrusted with administrative powers by virtue of his position.

Taking together faujdārīs, small provinces, sub-provinces, fort-commands, and these special assignee-ships, it is possible to cover the whole of Jahangir's Empire with a network of administrative charges: it is not always possible to lay down the boundaries between charges, but it is possible to enumerate the centres where an officer, appointed directly by the Emperor, was stationed with the charge of the general administration, but not usually concerned with the revenue business, though he would have to intervene in cases when non-payment of revenue was regarded as amounting to rebellion. My list gives these centres, but, before setting it out, I must indicate its possible weaknesses.

1. While the chronicles record these appointments with some degree of regularity, they are not complete records. We find occasional gaps: A is appointed to a particular post, and the next relevant entry shows that C succeeded B in that post; hence the record of B's appointment must have been left out. There are more of these gaps in the *Tuzuk* than in the *Bādshāhnāma*, and they are by no means confined to appointments; I take it that Jahangir often tired before he had finished the day's work, or that he skipped some days altogether, and started fresh when he returned to his book. At the same time, seeing that such high appointments did not last longer than about three years on the average, it is definitely improbable that a particular charge should escape mention throughout a period of forty years, so that my list ought to be very nearly complete.

2. There are some indications that charges varied with needs and conditions, so that it is dangerous to argue too far back or forward. Thus no faujdār is recorded south of the Narbada till late in Shahjahan's reign: the country remained disturbed, and we hear only of a few qilādārīs, but then faujdārīs come into the record, presumably when the administration was firmly established. In Aurangzeb's reign again, many new faujdārīs appear, and I think it must be taken as certain that there was a gradual increase in the number of charges, while it is possible (though this is not recorded), that some were abolished, and we have several instances of two charges being combined under a single officer.

3. Allowance must be made for the chroniclers' preference for

variety over precision in diction. They liked to ring the changes on names, and there is no *a priori* probability of their choosing the official name when any alternative was available: I do not, for instance, think it necessary to distinguish four charges in the expressions 'Jaunpur', 'Sarkār-Jaunpur', 'Jaunpur-and-those parts', 'Jaunpur-and-the-neighbourhood'.

4. Finally, it is not permissible for me to claim that my compilation is absolutely flawless. The chronicles are not indexed for designations, when they are indexed at all, and it would be rash for any individual to assert that he had noted correctly every single entry in their voluminous pages.

After this lengthy preface, I proceed to compare Roe's list with mine. My charges are given in the spelling of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Roe's in his own spelling; the numbers in parenthesis refer to his list as now printed. I take the provinces in Roe's order, and treat as a province any area which had a Viceroy under Jahangir, even though it is not shown as a separate province in the *Ain*. My charges are faujdārīs unless otherwise specified.

I. KANDAHAR. A single charge, the holder being sometimes described as 'Viceroy and Fort-commandant', while at other times the Fort-commandant was a separate officer. Roe's (1) Candahar.

II. TATTA, or LOWER SIND. A small province with no record of any high officer except the Viceroy. Roe's (2) Tata.

III. MULTAN. Five charges, viz., Multān, Bhakkar, Siwistān (sub-province), Qabūla, Uchh. Roe has (4) Multān, and (3) Buchar, while his (5) Haagickan can safely be identified with Siwistān, the frontier sub-province towards Persia. In revenue administration, Hājkān and Siwistān were adjoining sarkārs,¹ and the sub-province might bear the name of either, or both. Qabula and Uchh, not mentioned by Roe, are discussed later.

IV. KABUL. A single charge (excluding Peshāwar, which is mentioned below). Roe's (6) Cabull.

V. KASHMIR. A single charge. Roe's (7) Kyshmier.

VI. PESHAWAR (fort). In revenue matters, Peshāwar was under Kābul, but in general administration the Fort-Commandant received orders direct from Huzur, an obviously convenient arrangement,

¹ *Ain*, text, pp. 557-8.

since he was frequently cut off from Kābul by trouble with the tribesmen. May be identified with Roe's (8) Bankish with chief city Beishur, reading, with Sir W. Foster, Bangash, Peshāwar.

VII. PUNJAB. Charges at Attock (fort), Lahore, and a number in the hill-country. Roe has (9) Atack, and (11) Pen-Jab with chief city Lahor. As to the hill charges my notes are defective, because, when I compiled them, I was interested mainly in the plains, and I had not Roe's list before me. It is certain that small charges were numerous in this country, which was usually disturbed, and difficult to move about in, while disturbance in it might cut Kashmir off from the Empire; there are cases on record where the charges were combined and separated from time to time in a perplexing fashion. The only charges I have noted are Jammu, Kangra, and 'the northern hills', but the name Kangra seems to cover at least two charges. One of them is probably Roe's (14) Nagarkutt: Jammu may be his (12) Jenba, though Sir W. Foster's identification with Chamba is equally possible. Against 'the northern hills', and the second Kangra charge we have Roe's (13) Peitan (Pathankot), (15) Syba, and (16) Jesual.

There remains Roe's (10) Kakares. The Ghakkar country ought to be a separate charge. I have no record of an actual appointment to it, but we meet the Chief occasionally co-operating in police-work with the Emperor's forces, and I have taken this region as one of those where the faujdārī went with the jāgirdārī.

VIII. DELHI. My charges are: Delhi, Doāb, Sambhal, Hissār, Sirhind, and Mewāt; the last was under Agra for revenue purposes, but was policed from Delhi. Roe has (17) Delly, (18) Mevat, and (19) Sanball. The absence of Hissar, Sirhind and the Doāb is discussed later on, together with Roe's insertion at this point of (20) Bakar.

IX. AGRA. My charges are: Agra (two charges), Alwar, Fatehpur Sikri, Dholpur, Narwar, Kālpī (jāgīr), Koil, Kanauj, and Etawah. Roe has three only, and then comes the gap in his list to which I have referred. The two Agra charges are usually described in the chronicles as 'this-side', and 'that-side-of-the-water': when held by one officer, the name used was 'both-sides', with some variants such as 'Agra-and-the-neighbourhood'. I identify them with Roe's (21) Agra, and (22) Jenupar, reading Jamnapār for the latter name. Jamnapār ('across-the-Jumna') is a natural variant for

'that-side-of-the-water', and the map shows that the charge would extend to the Kālī Nadi (Roe's 'river of Kaul'). The alternative identification with Jaunpur involves a violent topographical displacement, and, as Sir W. Foster's note shows, the river of Kaul is not easily accounted for. Roe's (23) Bando is a puzzle, which is discussed later on. His list then jumps to (24) Patna, leaving out the rest of Agra and the whole of Oudh and Allahabad. My list for these two provinces is as follows:—

X. OUDH. Oudh (Awadh), Lucknow, Gorakhpur, and Bahraich.

XI. ALLAHABAD. Allahabad, Karra, Jaunpur, and the forts of Kalinjar and Chunār. Any theory of Roe's list must account for the omission of this famous tract of country: my theory is that whoever looked at 'the King's register' accidentally skipped some pages at this point.

XII. BIHAR. I have found no executive charges in this province during Jahangir's reign, though in later times we find Monghyr, Tirhut and others. Roe has (24) Patna, a name often used for the province as well as for its capital.

XIII. BENGAL. There were three charges in Bengal, but they are not named in the *Tūzūk*. In the next reign there were still three, and it is permissible to take their names, viz., Dacca (headquarters), Rājmahāl, and Kuch Bihār, as representing Jahangir's charges. Roe has (25) Gor, (26) Bengala, (27) Roch. Gor, or Gaur, is the old capital city which was superseded by Rājmahāl: Bengala is the headquarters charge: Roch may be read as Kuch (the capital K having been misread as R, as suggested in Sir W. Foster's note). Blochmann's suggestion that the name represents Arakan is inadmissible, because Arakan could not have been in any of the King's registers, unless it were a register of diplomatic relations with foreign rulers.

The line has now reached the Eastern limit of the Empire and drops south to

XIV. ORISSA. This is a single charge: Roe's (28) Vdeza.

XV. GONDWANA was not a province, there being no Viceroy, but there was a Faujdār of Gondwāna: Roe's (29) Kanduana.

XVI. GWALIOR. For revenue purposes Gwalior was included in the province of Agra, but its position in the general administration was distinctive. The Fort contained the principal State prison, and

its command was held by one of the most trusted nobles, whose rank was at times higher than that of the Viceroy of Agra: the Commandant of the Fort also policed the neighbouring country until, on the death of Saiyid Khān Jahān, Shahjahan appointed a separate Faujdār. Roe's (30) Kualiar.

The line has now returned to the edge of Agra, and drops south.

XVII. KHANDESH. A single-charge province: Roe's (31) Ckandes.

XVIII. MALWA. I have found no divided charge in Jahangir's reign up to the date of Roe's list; a little later we meet Sārangpur, which may, or may not, be a new charge. Roe has (32) Malva, but nothing corresponding to Sārangpur.

XIX. BERAR. A single-charge province: Roe's (33) Berar.

XX. GUJARAT. My charges are, Ahmadābād (headquarters), Sorath (sub-province), Pattan, Baroda, and Broach; Surat also became a sub-province, but this was after Roe's time. Roe has (34) Guzratt, which is Ahmadābād, and (35) Sorett. He has not Pattan or Broach, but I take Baroda to be represented by his (36) Narwar. Sir W. Foster has shown the difficulties in taking this to be the Narwar near Gwalior (which I have enumerated under Agra). Readers familiar with Persian office-script will recognize the similarity of the two names: the first is written b-r-w-d-h, and the second n-r-w-r; the only difference between b and n is the position of a single dot, often omitted in writing, while d with the 'tail' which conventionally represents h is easily read as r.

XXI. AJMER. The position in this province is so exceptional that I reserve it for later discussion. My list is inadequate, while Roe's is obviously incomplete, containing only (37) Chytor, though possibly (20) Bakar belongs to this province.

The circuit of the Empire is now complete, and the comparison so far stands as follows. Neglecting Ajmer, my list comprises 58 charges, but 17 of these belong to the country between Agra and Bihār, which Roe's list ignores, leaving 41 for comparison. Accepting the identifications I have offered, 29 out of my 41 names appear in Roe's list, while he has 5 in the Punjab hills while my tentative list has 4: apart from these, I have eight names not in his list, while he has two names not in mine. The differences in the Punjab hills have already been discussed; my list is probably imperfect, jurisdictions

certainly fluctuated in this region, and there is obviously room for discrepancies between an official list relating to a particular year, and a compilation from twenty years' incomplete data.

My eight surplus names are as follows. In Multān, Qabula and Uchh are entered on the basis of single references¹ in 1609-10, or some years before the date of Roe's list; neither name reappears in any of the chronicles I have examined for this purpose up to 1720, and it is, to my mind, highly improbable that a permanent charge should escape mention over so long a period. It is more probable either that these were special temporary charges, or that, if originally permanent they had been absorbed before Roe's time, and in either case he would not have found them in the King's register.

In Delhi, there are three surplus names, Doāb, Hissār and Sirhind. 'Doāb' at this time meant what is now called 'the upper Doāb', that is, the country north of Koil (Aligarh), with Meerut as chief town. It was certainly a permanent charge (sub-divided under Aurangzeb into two or more), and I cannot account for its omission from Roe's list, unless it was a transcriber's slip. The case of Hissār and Sirhind is in one respect exceptional. The two charges which were sometimes held by one officer, comprised some of the most important reserved land, (*khalisa*), and the faujdāri was commonly held by one of the revenue officers, the Dīwān or the Amil. This feature is, so far as I know, unique at this period, though it appears elsewhere at the end of the century, when the administration was going to pieces; and it is conceivable that in this tract the general administration was left in the hands of the revenue officers, in which case it would not be entered in the King's register, because the responsibility for the appointment would rest on Dīwānī, not Huzūr. This, however, is conjecture: all that is known is that, in fact, the faujdāri was usually in the hands of the revenue officers.

In Mālwa, Sārangpur may be a later creation as has been pointed out above. The remaining two surplus names are Pattan and Broach in Gujarāt. Both must be regarded as permanent charges, and they must stand as obstacles to the hypothesis I have suggested, unless some explanation of them can be found.

Roe's surplus name (20) Bakar is an entire puzzle. Taken by

¹ *Tuzuk*, i, pp. 160, 170.

itself, and assuming that the k was the Arabic kāf, usually represented in English by q, it might be a misreading of a very badly written Hisār, but then we have the chief city given as Bikanir, and I cannot conjecture how Roe got this name, for, assuming that he had Bakas before him, nobody would have given him Bikanir as the capital. I cannot explain this entry on my hypothesis, or on any other; but it is possible that Bikaner, that is North-western Ajmer, is meant, and that it was, or had been, policed from Delhi. This subject is referred to below under Ajmer. Roe's (23) Bando is also a puzzle. He knew nothing about it except that 'it confineth Agra to the West.' Reading east for west, and taking Agra as referring to the province, Sir W. Foster identifies it with Bānda in Bundelkhand; but this town dates only from the nineteenth century¹ and it is not likely that a charge would be named from an obscure village, while most, if not all, of the country near Bānda was policed from Kalinjar fort. Looking for it to the west of the Agra charge, where Roe places it, the nearest name on my list is Alwar, and it is possible that careless reading of bad writing might turn Alwar into Bando, but I cannot assert this identification with confidence, and can offer no alternative suggestion.

This then is the case which I submit to the judgment of students. Roe's list has a strong general resemblance to the list of administrative charges compiled from the chronicles of the period: there are certain discrepancies, some, but not all, of which can be explained conjecturally on lines suggested above, or possibly on other lines which have not occurred to me; making allowance for the known facts, can Roe's list be taken as, probably, a list of the administrative charges existing in his time, and drawn (with obvious omissions and blunders) from 'the King's Register' in which these appointments were recorded? To this statement of the question I have only to add the request that students who reject this hypothesis will give their views as to the nature of the register which Roe consulted, for 'the King's register' is the dominant fact.

I turn now to Ajmer, because, while no comparison between lists is possible, the facts are in themselves interesting to students of the Mogul administration. To begin with, Roe's list is obviously incomplete, whatever hypothesis may be made as to its origin. It

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer*, vi, p. 356.

contains only (37) Chytor, and, on one dubious reading, (20) Bikaner: there is no trace of Ajmer itself, or of Ranthambhor, Jaipur, Jodhpur, or Jaisalmer. This fact suggests to me that Roe's list has been accidentally curtailed, the last page or pages of the King's register having been ignored; in a register based on local contiguity, Chitor would be the first entry for the province, because it adjoins Baroda, my reading of Roe's (36). The doubtful Bikaner is placed much higher up, under Delhi, and on my hypothesis this would mean that it was, or at one time had been, policed from there. This is possible: the town of Bikaner is much nearer Ajmer, but for much of the territory Delhi is about equally convenient, and there may have been difficulties in communication between Ajmer and Bikaner. The entry is however too doubtful for detailed discussion of this question to be of any use.

My list, based on the chronicles, is only a little better than Roe's, being limited to Ajmer, Sambhar, and Ranthambhor (fort). The explanation of its brevity is to be found, I think, in the peculiarities of the local administration. To begin with, there is no record of the appointment of a Viceroy to the province during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan, though the post appears under Aurangzeb, whose relations with the Rajputs were less cordial. For nearly every other province the chain of viceregal appointments during those reigns is almost complete; and since the average tenure was between two and three years, there ought to have been fifteen or twenty appointments recorded for Ajmer. Further, I have found no mention of a Viceroy coming to meet the Emperor on his visits to Ajmer, though such visits of ceremony are as a rule punctiliously recorded. We must conclude then that in these reigns there was no Viceroy, and the absence of one can be readily understood. The bulk of the province was held technically in *jāgīr* by the Rajput Chiefs, but, unlike other assignments, their holdings were permanent, and were continued to the heirs, who were formally accepted by the Emperor. The principal Chiefs were either present at Court, or were represented there by their confidential agents, and disputes between them were settled in Huzūr, so that a Viceroy at Ajmer would have been only a nuisance to the administration, and would certainly have been regarded as a nuisance, or something worse, by the Chiefs. I have found no case during these reigns of interference in the internal affairs of a Chief's

holding, and the position of a Faujdār would have been in practice impossible. A constitutional purist might have said that the Chiefs held the '*jāgīrdārī* and *faujdārī*', to use the designation referred to above, and on my hypothesis 'the King's register' would have contained entries of Chitor, Jodhpur, and the rest: the actual position was probably nearer to that described by Francisco Pelsaert¹ who wrote that the people in mountainous tracts 'know nothing of any King, or of Jahangir; they recognize only their Rajas.'

This view of the position of Ajmer is borne out by an incident recorded in the reign of Aurangzeb.² Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur having died without direct heirs, Aurangzeb sent troops to occupy the country, and at the same time appointed from the Court a Faujdār and various other officers to take charge of the administration; that is to say there were no imperial officers on the spot. Probably then my list is complete in the sense that it gives all the charges in Ajmer to which Imperial officers were at this time appointed, though it does not give the charges which were left in the hands of Rajput Chiefs. At Ajmer there was the fort and some land reserved for the Emperor: at Sambhar there was the salt-revenue to be safeguarded,³ while the fort at Ranthambhor was in a military sense the key to the whole province. Imperial officers were required at these places, and they were appointed: the rest was Chief's country, where Imperial officers were not stationed, and were not wanted.

In conclusion, a few words may be said on a question which will probably have occurred to some readers. What was the official name for the administrative charges discussed in this paper? I believe the answer to be the word *Nāhiyatī*, a word which, so far as I know, occurs only in one passage in the literature of the period, and which has never to my knowledge been satisfactorily explained. The passage in question⁴ is an enumeration of the three cases in which a particular official form of order, the *Farmān-i-shabti*, was appropriate; the first case may be rendered as follows:—

'1. The exalted dignities of *Vakīl-ship*, *Viceroy-ship*, *Guardianship* of Princes, *Amīrulumra-ship*, *Nāhiyat-ship*, *Vazīr-ship*, *Bakhshī-ship*, *Sadr-ship*.'

These are obviously precise designations of posts or ranks to

¹ *Jahangir's India*, p. 58.

² *Tuzuk*, ii, p. 194.

³ *Maāsir-i-Alamgīrī*, p. 172.

⁴ *Ain*, i, 194.

which appointments were made by the Emperor himself. In ordinary language *Nāhiyat* means a tract or territory; so far as I know, it was not used as a specific designation in the *Dīwānī*, and in the chronicles I have noted only its general use for 'tract' or 'country,' generally in the plural from *Nawāhī*. In this passage alone I have found it in what, from the context, must clearly be a specific sense, some particular local areas to which the Emperor made appointments in solemn form. It will be noted that *Faujdārīs*, *Qilādārīs*, and *Jāgirdārīs*, to which the Emperor certainly appointed, are not in the list: no other high appointment is missing from it; and it appears to be reasonable to suggest that the single surplus designation represents the missing thing, and that in Akbar's time *Nāhiyatī* was the official description of what I have called administrative charges.

The Historical Material in The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-1761)

BY

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I

INTRODUCTORY

ANANDA Ranga Pillai¹ belonged to a family of prominent merchants who had made themselves conspicuous both at Madras and at Pondicherry. His father Tiruvengada Pillai who was previously trading at Madras, emigrated early in 1716 to Pondicherry at the instance of his brother-in-law Nainiya Pillai who was *courtier* or chief native agent for the French at Pondicherry. Chevalier Hébert who was the Governor of Pondicherry in the years 1708-13 and 1715-18 saw that the depression in French trade caused by the death-like coma that seized the French Company in the first two decades of the eighteenth century had resulted in the ruin of their credit as well as commerce,

¹ In a Telugu work entitled *Ananda Rangarāṭchandam*, a work on prosody dedicated to Ananda Ranga Pillai and written by one Kasturi Rangayya Kavi (published by Messrs. V. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Sons, Madras, 1922), we have an account of the genealogy and family of Ranga Pillai. He was born at Yayapuram (Ainavaram?) near Perambore. His father Tiruvengadam Pillai was a clever and prosperous merchant and skilled in dealing with European merchants. His mother was Lakshiammal; and he married Mangathayi, daughter of a merchant, Seshadri by name; he had four daughters, Lakshmi, Swarnambal, Janaki and Tripurasundari, and two sons, Muthu Vijayananda Ranga (born on a Thursday, *Prabhava*, *Dhanur Masa*, *Suddhashtami* and *Revati Nakhsatra*) and another Kumara Vijaya Tiruvengadam Pillai. The introduction which gives us these details also narrates how Ranga Pillai's father Tiruvengadam Pillai grew to be powerful at Pondicherry and helped in securing justice and honour for his relative, Guruswami Pillai, from the French King himself as against the Governor of Pondicherry. Ranga Pillai's knowledge of the various European races settled in India and their languages is set forth in exaggerated terms. The latter portion of the account maintains the same flattering vein and gives him a prominent share in all the achievements of Dupleix and the French—the release of Chanda Sahib, his successes, the fall of Nasir Jang, the establishment of French influence at the Nizam's Court, etc. The description is too exaggerated and flattering to be taken at its face value and is in the ordinary mode of the praise of literary patrons.

and strove to the small extent that was in his power to raise funds and improve trade. The invitation extended to Tiruvengadam Pillai to settle at Pondicherry was among such measures. After a period of eclipse in the favour of the French Governors, due to the disgrace of Nainiya Pillai and the ill-treatment of his son Guruva Pillai by M. Hēbert, Tiruvengadam Pillai who had meanwhile returned to Madras, was reinvented to Pondicherry and brought with him five other influential merchants. About the same time the French Company was reorganized under the name of *The Perpetual Company of the Indies* (1723) after John Law, the Scotchman, made his famous and ill-fated attempt to pull France out of her financial difficulties.¹ The reorganized Company fitted out to Pondicherry three vessels laden with a large amount of bullion which enabled the latter place to retrieve its lost credit and pay off the debts of the Old Company (1721). It was now that Tiruvengadam Pillai and Guruva Pillai, the disgraced *courtier*, who had meanwhile gone to France and personally laid his grievances before the Regent, the Duke of Orleans, were restored to their previous positions by M. de la Prévostière who became the *ad interim* successor to M. Hēbert in 1718 and continued in office till his death in October 1721. Governor Lenoir who was Governor for the first time in the years 1721-23, built up with great effort French credit with the native merchants, in spite of the lack of a steady and continuous supply of goods and bullion from home.² M. Beauvillier de Courchant who succeeded Lenoir, took care not to undo the work of his predecessor. What with these efforts and the loyal co-operation of Guruva Pillai who died however prematurely in 1724 and of Tiruvengadam Pillai who lived for two years longer, the nearly extinct commerce of Pondicherry began to revive rapidly; and in the years following it made still greater progress.³

¹ G. B. Malleon, *History of the French in India* (1893 ed.), pp. 43-58.

² J. Burgess, *The Chronology of Modern India, 1494-1894* (1913), pp. 164-165.

³ M. Lenoir who replaced M. Beauvillier as Governor for the second time in September 1726, was able to transmit to Europe in the course of 3 years merchandise valued nearly 31 lakhs of rupees; and this is a testimony to 'the great commercial progress made by the settlement and to its entire recovery from the state of nullity and depression into which it had fallen in 1722 and 1723. . . . With its prosperity Governor Beauvillier had begun, and after him to a far greater extent, Lenoir had carried on, those improvements in the town which had been in contemplation ever since the time of Martin.'—Malleon, *History of the French in India*, pp. 59-60.

M. Lenoir who succeeded again as Governor had always a high regard for Tiruvengadam Pillai and allowed his young son Ananda Ranga Pillai 'whom he considered a promising young man' to continue the work on which his father had been engaged. The latter was appointed to be the chief native merchant of the French trading-house at Porto Novo.¹ Ranga Pillai established according to Sir Frederick Price large trading-houses at Lalapettai and Arcot 'which were soon carrying on a brisk business in the exchange of European goods for the merchandise of the country'. Governor Dumas who succeeded Lenoir in 1735 had a very high opinion of Ranga Pillai and placed confidence in him to such an extent that almost before he completed his first year of office, he came to raise Ranga Pillai to that position in which the latter felt a desire to maintain a diary to the regular writing of which he attached great importance.²

¹ The station was at first occupied by the Portuguese towards the close of the 16th century. Later the Dutch obtained a *cowle* for it from the Bijapur Governor of Gingee in 1643, and with a short break of 1678-80, remained in continuous occupation of the place till 1825. In 1745 they transferred to this place their factories at Cuddalore and Fort St. David. In 1781 the English seized Porto Novo; but they returned it back to the Dutch after the conclusion of peace. Again it was taken by the English in 1795 and restored to the Dutch in 1818. By a treaty of March 1824, it was finally handed over to the English in the next year along with the other Dutch possessions in India. The Danes had also a small trading-factory at the place, near the river-bank. The English made a settlement (i.e., a factory) there in 1683; but their attention was centred on Kunimedu; and their factory fell into neglect; and they never acquired any sovereign rights there. In 1749 Chanda Sahib gave the town to Madame Dupleix. Sir Eyre Coote drove the French out of the place after his victory of Wandewash in 1760; and it was raided by Haidar Ali who fought the famous battle of Porto Novo in its vicinity (1780-81)—See Francis, *South Arcot Manual*, pp. 279-281; Hodgson's *Report on the Dutch Settlements* (1818). The first mention of the place is according to *Hobson-Jobson* (new ed., p. 727) is in Bocarro's *Decada* (c. A.D. 1613); and the name was perhaps intended to mean New Oporto rather than New Haven. The Tamil name is Parangi (Feringhi) Pettai (European Town); and the Muhammadans call it Muhammad Bandar.

² Thus when he sent his younger brother, on the occasion of his first mission on behalf of the French Government to Madras, he gave strict instructions to the latter to keep a regular diary and note in it everything of importance that occurred. (Vol. i, Introduction, p. 12). And we see that after the death of Ranga Pillai his nephew, Tiruvengadam Pillai, continued to maintain a record which ran to the beginning of 1770 and is still in the possession of his family. The full titles and honours to which Diarist attained were as follows:—

'Courtier de la Compagnie Francaise des Indes; Chef des Malabars' a Pondicherry; Mansubdar de Trois Mille Chevaux; Commandant du Fortret Jaguirdal, du District de Chingleput.—taken from A. Gallois Montbrun's *Notice sur la Chronique en Langue Tamile et sur la vie D'Ananda Rangapillai* (1849).

Till 1846, i.e., till after more than a century after the Diary began to be regularly written, its existence was unknown, when it was unearthed by M. Gallois Montbrun,¹ whose son was Mayor of Pondicherry for a long time. The efforts of French scholars did not seem to have made any progress further than transcriptions and translations of selections and extracts from the Diary; nor did M. Vinson, the most prominent of them, proceed beyond the close of the first Anglo-French War in his book *Les Français dans l'Inde* (1894).

The Government of Madras adopted, at the suggestion of Lieut.-Genl. H. Macleod, the Consular Agent at Pondicherry at the time, and Professor (afterwards Sir) G. W. Forrest² who was the Director-General of Imperial Records at Calcutta (1894-1900), ordered a transcription of the Diary. The first transcription was made from the incomplete copy of M. Montbrun and not from the original. A later and more faithful transcription was made by Mr. K. Rangachariar, Assistant to Sir Frederick Price and Superintendent of Records in the Secretariat, Fort St. George, who discovered that some of the original volumes of the Diary were missing and not traceable and also that 'portions of M. Montbrun's copy, of which no originals could be found, had disappeared since General Macleod's transcription was made.' A statement is given by Sir Frederick Price³

¹ The copy which M. Montbrun made was imperfect; he apparently made only selections from the Diary. He later supplied a portion of the blanks by a supplemental volume which was not available to Sir Frederick Price when he began editing and translating the Diary. M. Ariel made another copy of the Diary which he presented to the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. A translation was made in 1870 by M. Laude of that portion of the Diary which gives an account of the siege of Pondicherry in 1748 by Admiral Boscawen. M. Julien Vinson, the well-known Tamil scholar and Professor of the Special School of Living Oriental Languages at Paris, translated portions of the Diary in 1889; and he followed up this first production by publishing in 1894 another volume amplifying these under the title of *Les Français dans l'Inde*. This does not go beyond 1748 and refers only to a few selected topics. Refer also to Montbrun's *Life of Anandaranga Pillai* quoted above.

² Forrest in the course of examining the documents at Fort St. George which threw light on Clive's part in the Carnatic struggles, incidentally examined the relevant records in the Pondicherry Archives. It was on one of these visits to Pondicherry that the Diary was brought to his notice; and it was mainly his suggestion that induced the Madras Government to obtain a copy of the Diary and arrange for its translation and publication. [Page viii of Preface to Forrest's *Life of Lord Clive*, vol. i (1918).] Forrest often quoted in this work from Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, five volumes of which had been published then. Forrest attached great historical value of the *Diary* and regarded Ranga Pillai as a shrewd observer.

³ pp. xvi and xvii of the Introduction to vol. i of the *Diary*.

of (1) the originals of the Diary now extant showing the periods for which they were available; (2) copies in the possession of M. Montbrun for which no originals could be found; and (3) portions of the Diary for which neither originals nor copies were forthcoming. The principal lacunæ occur from November 1738 to June 1740; from October 1750 to April 1751; from December 1753 to September 1754; and from September 1758 to January 1759. It is very doubtful if the copy made by M. Ariel for the Paris National Library should contain the missing portions;¹ and possibly without much doubt these breaks represent lost volumes.

The Translation as it has appeared has been provided with a table of contents prefixed to each chapter and with amplified marginal notes on each page.

I. THE FIRST YEARS OF THE DIARY

The first volume of the Translation published by the Madras Government in 1904 carries on the narrative of the Diary to April 22, 1746, from its beginning in September 1736. It begins with an account of the grant made to the French at Pondicherry by the Nawab of Arcot, Dost Ali Khan,² of permission to coin money of their own. The farman was received with much ceremony and many salvoes of

¹ M. A. Singaravelu, Curator of the Old Historical Records at Pondicherry has promised to throw information on this point by examining the records of the Société de Histoire de l'Inde Française.

² The Nawab secured the *farman* from the Emperor Muhammad Shah which empowered the French to mint the current coin of the realm. The letter addressed on this occasion by Dost Ali to Dumas runs thus: 'The reputation you have acquired of being a true and faithful friend is known everywhere. In the view therefore to gain your friendship, I grant you permission to coin rupees at Pondicherry, of the coinage of Arkat, conformably to the Parwana which I send you.'—quoted from M. l'Abbe Guyon's *Histoire des Indes Orientales* by Malleson (p. 73). The moneys coined by the Arcot Nawabs were the *pagoda* and the *rupee*. From the time of Sa'dat-ullah Khan, *huns* with Persian letters on the reverse were struck at Arcot; and the Nawab Walajah (Muhammad Ali) struck coins, known as the Walajahi, Kuruki, Star and Feringhipet pagodas (*huns*). There were silver rupees struck besides (Sir Walter Elliot, *Coins of Southern India* (1886), p. 144).

The French rupee was coined at the rate of 2,335 per 100 seers; the expenses of coining amounted to Rs. 16 per 1,000. The gold pagoda was equal in value to about 9 shillings sterling. 320 rupees were considered equal to about 100 pagodas. The reputation of the Indo-French money became very great; and the annual amount struck off did not fall short of five or six millions of rupees. (See Ranga Pillai's *Diary* for December 1736 about the mint accounts and Malleson, p. 73). About the time of the starting of the mint the market for a seer of silver varied from seven pagodas five fanams to seven pagodas six fanams.

cannon, but not without a large *nuzzur* to the Nawab and various presents to his *Durbar* amounting in all to about 40,000 pagodas. The Diarist who did not show a high appreciation of Dumas about his time says: 'If M. Lenoir had been Governor now he would not have spent so much money'; (September 10, 1736). Nor was he satisfied with the arrangements made for the working of the mint through a merchant, Sungu Seshachala Chetty under the influence of Kanakaraya Mudali, Ranga Pillai's predecessor in the office of the Company's Chief Dubash and *Courtier*. He speaks grievously of the fact that while Governor Lenoir negotiated hard for the acquisition of the right of coinage, Governor Dumas was the recipient of the honours and the glory, which included a decoration with the Order of St. Michael and the title of Chevalier.

The Diary from July to November 1738 has its interest for us centered in the occupation of Karikal, the original object of Dumas being to purchase it from the Rajah of Tanjore. A daily post was established between Pondicherry, Tanjore and Karikal. The failure of the peaceful mission that went to the Rajah of Tanjore to secure possession of the place is attributed to Governor Dumas 'who mismanaged the whole affair from beginning to end'. The French were however enabled to seize the port with the help of Chanda Sahib who made over the place to them in February, 1739—there prevailing entire confusion at the Tanjore Court at that time in the shape of rapidly succeeding revolutions.¹

News of the invasion of Nadir Shah and the sack of Delhi reached Ranga Pillai who wrote an account of what he heard of the revolution in his Diary for May 23, 1739, with the exclamation: 'If such indeed be the fate that befell the Emperor of Delhi, need we wonder at the calamities that overtake ordinary men!'²

II. THE INVASION OF THE MARATHAS (1740)

The interest of the Diary is greatly enhanced with the first approach of the Maratha invaders. On May 15, 1740, it reports that a body of Maratha cavalry, 40,000 or 50,000 strong marched

¹ Burgess, *Chronology of Modern India*, pp. 177-8.

² Page 94 of vol. i. The *Diary* says that between 100,000 and 150,000 men perished in the course of the invasion according to the estimate which reached the Armenian merchants and that the Nizam was secretly in league with the invader.

against Cuddapah and worsted a body of cavalry led by Abd-un-Nabi Khan; and that the enemy were moving in the direction of the (Damalcheruvu) Pass,¹ while Nawab Dost Ali Khan was marching with all his foot and horse to attack the enemy. News to the same effect was despatched by Imam Sahib to Governor Dumas and the Diarist also received letters to the same effect and describing the depredations of the Marathas.² Ananda Ranga Pillai took care to send his agent with an escort of the Company's sepoys to bring away his broad cloths and other goods from Arcot, as many from that place and from Wandiwash, Gingi, Vālikondapuram and Vellore were evacuating their houses and entreating accommodation in Pondicherry. Letters from Madras stated that many had already similarly fled there with much treasure. The wife of Nawab Dost Ali came to Pondicherry for refuge from Wandiwash; and a few weeks later came the wife of Safdar Ali, his sisters and his young son who were all very hospitably received by the Governor. Safdar Ali³ who had been recognized as Nawab by the Marathas in August, secretly concluded a treaty with them by which they consented to evacuate the province on the secret understanding that they should

¹ Dost Ali was hemmed in and slain in the Damalcheruvu Pass, along with his younger son (May, 1740); his Dewan, Mir Asad, was taken prisoner.

² Col. Mark Wilks [*Historical Sketches of the South of India* (2nd ed., vol. i, p. 156)] says that Safdar Ali, the elder son of the Nawab, and Mir Asad, the Dewan, becoming jealous of Chanda Sahib's power, secretly negotiated with the Marathas inviting their invasion, without the knowledge of the Nawab. Chanda Sahib was the son-in-law of the Nawab and along with Safdar Ali really managed the affairs of the government. He acquired Trichinopoly in 1736 and was confirmed the governor of that region. This invasion is stated by Orme to have been instigated by the Nizam; but this is not likely as the Nizam was then absent at Delhi and too deeply engrossed in the affairs there.

³ The object of Safdar Ali and Mir Asad was frustrated. Dost Ali's defeat and death at the hands of the Marathas dislocated their plans which presumed that the aged Nawab would shut himself up in Arcot or Vellore and that the invaders would pass, according to previous compact, to the pretended attack of Safdar Ali and Chanda Sahib and leave the former free. Dost Ali took the field with a few forces and perished before either Chanda Sahib or his son could join him. Safdar Ali had advanced as far as Arcot when he heard this news; and with fear for his safety he shut himself up in Vellore, trying to negotiate with the enemy through the medium of Mir Asad who had fallen into their hands in the battle. The Marathas quickly saw that any price might now be exacted from Safdar Ali by the simple threat of selling themselves to Chanda Sahib.

Safdar Ali sent gifts to the Governor of Pondicherry and a letter of grateful thanks for French services to his family. The contents of the letter are given by the Diarist in his entry for July 7, 1740. This letter gives the details of the battle between Dost Ali and the enemy and an account of the fall of the Nawab.

receive a large portion of the districts in possession of Chanda Sahib as the price of his effectual removal. The Maratha army quitted the Carnatic; and Chanda Sahib, deceived by appearances, sold off the provisions which he had accumulated in Trichinopoly on the first alarm of invasion.¹

The Marathas, according to Ranga Pillai, remained quiet during October and November and pretended to be making terms with the Nawab for the payment of tribute. They then gave out that they were preparing for a battle with Chanda Sahib at Trichinopoly. They actually swooped down on Tiruvannamalai and raided the surrounding country from which many inhabitants escaped to Cuddalore and captured a convoy of treasure which was being sent to Arcot. The Diary gives detailed news as to the capture of Porto Novo by the Marathas in the last week of December and an account of the depredations of the Maratha soldiery, their raid into the Dutch factory of the place and their plunder of it and of the town, the total estimate of the value of the plunder being about 150,000 pagodas.² This account is based on the contents of a letter received by the Diarist from Porto Novo and mentions the imprisonment by the Marathas of the Dutch Deputy-Governor Astruc and several other Dutchmen who were released later.

The siege of Trichinopoly begun by the Marathas about the middle of December, was in fair progress when detachments of the Maratha soldiery marched into the Cuddalore territory, pillaged the town of Tirupapuliyur and moved towards Sadras raiding places on the way. At Sadras they were repulsed from the Fort by a volley of cannon shot. They then turned back pillaging as usual the villages on their route. (29th January—2nd February, 1741.) All obstructions in the suburbs outside the walls of Pondicherry were cleared for purposes of defence. Couriers arrived at

¹ He had also sent his wife for safety to Pondicherry; and he himself accompanied Safdar Ali on a state-visit to Pondicherry in September. Ranga Pillai, commenting on Chanda Sahib's declining to join Safdar Ali in paying a return visit to the Governor, says that it arose from a desire not to go under the wing of another and to be dealt with independently and with due honours (*vide* p. 131 of vol. I). Afterwards Chanda Sahib visited the Governor separately and received a return visit. But unfortunately there is a blank in the original Diary which barely mentions these visits and adds that Chanda Sahib accompanied Nawab Safdar Ali to Arcot and then, with the latter's permission, conducted his forces to Trichinopoly. (Note for September 17, 1740).

² A reverse is said to have been sustained by the Marathas at Porto Novo. (Burgess, *Chronology of Modern India*, p. 180).

intervals bearing letters from Raghuji Bhonsle; but their contents were not known to the Diarist. In March, he details news of the probable fall of Trichinopoly where Chanda Sahib could not hold out any longer, of the efforts made by Safdar Ali and others to subscribe a large sum with which to buy off the Marathas from the siege and of the refusal of the latter to cease operations in the absence of orders from their chief. (Diary for the 15th March—which tells us that Nawab Safdar Ali, his mother, Chanda Sahib's wife and others subscribed among themselves 22 lakhs of rupees; and that the wives of Chanda Sahib and Badē Sahib¹ wrote to the Marathas offering to pay this amount, but without effect.)

The Diary for the 27th March, 1741, relates how Badē Sahib advanced to the relief of Trichinopoly with a large convoy of provisions and horsemen and foot, and how the Marathas intercepted him with a body of 2,000 cavalry near Dindigul from which he sallied out and routed them; later how Raghuji Bhonsle marched with 10,000 horse and invested the camp of Badē Sahib at Manalparai and how in the battle which ensued Badē Sahib and Sadaq Sahib, the son-in-law of his elder sister fell. The Diary further tells us that the Marathas sent the corpse of Badē Sahib in a palanquin to Chanda Sahib.² In a subsequent letter recorded by Ranga Pillai, he tells us that Badē Sahib was alive and did not die from his wounds.

We also note how the Pindaris who attached themselves as irregulars to the Maratha armies of a later date in large numbers³ accompanied Raghuji Bhonsle in this expedition and how they and the Poligars and the Kallars of Maravan Tondaiman scaled the walls of

¹ One of the brothers of Chanda Sahib who was in charge of Madura and who had also sent his wife for safety to Pondicherry.

² Orme narrates this event as if there was only one encounter between Badē Sahib and the Marathas, and how the latter cut off his head and sent it as confirmation to his brother. 'Another detachment attacked Sadaq Sahib approaching from Dindigul with 1,500 horse and 3,000 foot, who were likewise defeated after a sharp fight which ended with the death of Sadaq Sahib.' (*History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, 4th edition of 1803—Madras, Reprint of 1861—vol. i, p. 44.)

³ Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (p. 712)—say that the Pindaris seem to have grown up in the wars of the later Muhammadan dynasties of the Deccan and in the latter part of the 17th century attached themselves to the Marathas in their revolt against Aurangzib. The supposed earliest reference to them is their helping Dunnaji Jadu as against Zulfiqar Khan in the campaign of 1706-7 in South India.

Trichinopoly from all sides on the 25th March;¹ and Chanda Sahib submitted to the Marathas at midnight of the same day and was disarmed and kept a prisoner. The Fort was placed by the Marathas in charge of Murari Rao, assisted by 14,000 of their best troops. Chanda Sahib and his son were sent close prisoners to Satara in the neighbourhood of which they were confined in a strong fort.

Nothing of much importance is noted in the Diary except that Dumas retired from the Governorship and embarked for France on the 20th October accompanied by La Bourdonnais and his squadron which had come from Mascareigne (Isle de France) of which he was Governor from 1735 to 1746. Dupleix, the new Governor, landed at Pondicherry on the 14th January, 1742; and a few months later a flag and a kettle-drum were received by the Governor from the Emperor of Delhi in an imposing reception.

III. DOMESTIC REVOLUTION IN THE CARNATIC

On the night of Saturday, the 13th October, 1742, Nawab Safdar Ali was murdered in bed by order of his cousin Murtaza Ali Khan, the governor of Vellore; and the Dewan, Mir Asad, was heavily chained and imprisoned. These tidings reached Pondicherry on the 16th October. The Diarist reports the movements of Murtaza Ali Khan who was installed as Nawab by his partisans and also chronicles the news from Madras where Nawab Safdar Ali's widow and mother were staying as well as his young son, Muhammad Said² who, as soon as he was proclaimed Nawab, recompensed the English for the hospitality shown to him by granting them as a gift³ five villages in the neighbourhood of Fort St. George and the liberty of coining Arcot rupees and pagodas.

The revolution at Arcot did not long favour Murtaza Ali. Murari Rao of Trichinopoly declared against him; and the army broke into

¹ Orme distinctly says that Chanda Sahib delivered up the city and himself on the 26th March, 1741.

² Orme (vol. i, p. 45) says that Safdar Ali had sent the women and children of his family, together with his treasures to Madras, preferring the English by the advice of Mir Asad who suspected Dupleix. He also made several visits to Madras (*vide* H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras* (1913), vol. ii, pp. 282-4).

³ This grant was possibly ordered by Nawab Safdar Ali, but it was not actually made until a month after his death. Ananda Ranga Pillai refers to this grant as a rumour in his entry for 26th October 1742.

open mutiny. Terrified at the demands of the soldiers, Murtaza Ali escaped from Arcot to Vellore in women's cloths; and the son of Safdar Ali was duly proclaimed Nawab by the Dewan Mir Asad. Ranga Pillai records the camping of Mir Asad with his men at Vazhudavur in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry and the doings of the ill-disciplined soldiery of the Nawab. He says: 'The havoc previously committed by the Mahrattas was nothing compared with this. It is true they plundered and pillaged, but the people managed to save at least something from their hands, and so continued to eke out a living. But now the country has been utterly laid waste.'¹

IV. THE INVASION OF NIZAM-UL-MULK

The next noteworthy event chronicled was the advance of the aged Nizam-ul-Mulk to Arcot in the last week of February. He came with an enormous number of horse and foot—'as though the sea was rising and flooding the land'—the camp extending from the banks of the Pennar,—taking in Vellore—to the dam of the Kaverippakkam tank.' According to the reports which reached him, the object of the Nizam's expedition was to transfer the possession of Trichinopoly to the Mysoreans. But nobody knew what would happen; and Dupleix put Pondicherry in a state of defence, mounting cannon on the walls, storing powder and shot in convenient places and forming a volunteer corps of Europeans.

After intimidating into submission the petty chiefs of the country and appointing one of his chief officers, Khoja Abdulla Khan,² to administer the Carnatic and take charge of the young son of Safdar Ali the Nizam moved down on Trichinopoly. The mere weight of his name and numbers compelled Murari Rao to evacuate the Fort (29th August, 1743). The Diarist tells us that Murari Rao who was promised the possession of the hill fort of Penukonda, gathered renown from this exploit; and the Nizam carried on operations with only a semblance of reality, but without ever actually offering battle. 'By these means, Āsaf Jāh who is an astute man, gained his object, but at the same

¹ Entry for the 2nd February, 1743.

² Orme distinctly states that Khoja Abdulla was appointed Nawab of Arcot and all its dependencies. This person left with the Nizam on the latter's return to the Deccan, leaving one of his dependents in charge of Arcot—probably his son—Wilks says that the Khoja was only to be deputy

time Murāri Rao gathered renown.¹ The Diary notes that both the French at Pondicherry and the English at Madras sent presents to the Nizam and at the same time strengthened their own fortifications. In December 1743, Dupleix issued an order to the effect that all the officials should build houses at Mortāndi Chavadi on the outskirts of Pondicherry and that the new town should be styled *Dupleixpettai* and that any one who called it by its old name should be liable to a fine—an early illustration of his love of self-glorification.

The Maratha danger reappeared quickly even before the Nizam returned from the Carnatic. A letter to Dupleix from the son of the French agent at Arcot in February, communicated the news that the Marathas² were besetting the army of the Nizam and had got through the passes and the country round Arcot had been deserted by the people. The troublous times were attributed by the Diarist to the appearance of a great comet (no doubt that known as the Cheseaux's).

The Nizam returned to Golconda in March 1744 and publicly confirmed in the Nawabship Khoja Abdulla who had accompanied him. But this was followed by the latter's sudden death.³

V. THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF ANWAR-UD-DIN

Anwar-ud-din Khan,⁴ the founder of the second Carnatic Dynasty, was now appointed in his stead by the Nizam and took charge of his duties at Arcot in April; he made Mahphuz Khan his elder son deputy-nawab, and appointed Muhammad Ali, his younger son to the governorship of Trichinopoly, having got the Nizam's permission beforehand to make these appointments. He came to the Carnatic with the

¹ This piece of news was later confirmed by a letter addressed to Dupleix by Imam Sahib, an officer of the Carnatic since the time of Dost Ali, who had extensive money dealings with Pondicherry. The Governor was greatly rejoiced at this. Imam Sahib had made himself a favourite at the Nizam's court and had advised the Nizam to march into the Carnatic.

² The news, according to the Diarist, states that the Marathas had even killed Nazir Jang (of course false).

³ The Khoja was found dead in his bed the morning after he was confirmed. The hand from which death came could never be discovered. (Orme, *History of Indostan*, vol. i, p. 52—no doubt based on contemporary sources including Paupia Brahmin's *History of the Carnatic up to 1749*)—Orme Manuscripts quoted in H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. ii, p. 286, n. 5.

⁴ He was the son of an erudite lawyer Anwar Khan, had served with distinction at Surat and elsewhere under Ghazi-ud-din, the father of Nizam-ul-Mulk and was latterly governor of the districts of Ellore and Rajahmundry from 1725 to 1741. He was in charge of the city of Golconda during the Nizam's absence in the Carnatic.

suspicion of having poisoned his predecessor. He was accompanied by Safdar Ali's son Muhammad Said who was specially commended to his protection by the Nizam, who expressed a desire to raise the boy to the Nawabship when he should come of age.¹ The impropriety of this charge of the boy to the care of Anwar-ud-din is severely commented on by Orme;² and the family and relations of Dost Ali were very much chagrined at the nomination of Anwar-ud-din by the Nizam to be Nawab, in spite of his repeated promises that the boy should have his father's post.

The story of the assassination of the boy, Muhammad Said, commonly known as Sahib Zada (June, 1744) by a body of Pathan soldiers, which produced another revolution in the ruling family of the Carnatic, is told in detail by Ranga Pillai (entry for 4th July) who gives the details of the outrage and says that the Pathans were incited by Murtaza Ali Khan who had for a long time waited for an opportunity of the kind. Some suspected Anwar-ud-din himself as having practised on Murtaza Ali to bring about this murder. He strongly denied all connection with the murder;³ but he was not able to exculpate himself in the opinion of his subjects who 'complained loudly of the avarice and parsimony of his government, and contrasted it, much to his disadvantage, with that of their former Nabobs'. Among the people suspicion was mutually divided between Anwar-ud-din and Murtaza Ali.⁴ Finally the Nizam conferred upon Anwar-ud-din the

¹ Fort St. George to the Directors; September 5, 1744. The letter quotes this piece of information.

² Orme suspected the Nizam of having dissembled throughout this transaction, and wrote thus: 'The general joy with which the youth was received eclipsed all the homage that was paid to the sovereign power of his guardian; and it is supposed that the provisional Nabob did not behold without jealousy these demonstrations of the public attachment to the son of Subder-ally (vol. i, p. 55).

³ The Fort St. George Despatch to England said that Murtaza Ali hired the Pathans to assassinate the Nawab (Anwar-ud-din), Sahib Zada and some others, intending to seize upon the government; and that in the *turban* of one of the assassins was found an obligatory note signed and sealed by Murtaza Ali Khan for 200,000 rupees to be paid to them on their executing the deed; and that the Nawab escaped, though there was a second attempt on his life which miscarried also. The same Despatch tells us that the Nizam was greatly displeased with Anwar-ud-din whom he first suspected, but was convinced of his innocence when the note of Murtaza Ali Khan was produced in which the Nawab's name was also mentioned as one of the victims (P. to England, vol. xiv, September 5, 1744) quoted in Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. ii, pp. 287-8.

⁴ Elphinstone, *The Rise of the British Power in the East* (ed. by E. Colebrooke, 1887, p. 81. He bases his information on Orme and Wilks.

Nawabship which he continued to hold till his death in 1749 at the battle of Ambur. He was however held in no great estimation by the people ; and an Indian of note, Papaiya Brahman, the Younger, wrote of his government as being 'the most spiritless, covetous, severe and unjust' among all the late rulers of the Carnatic and says that 'the whole body of superior, inferior and meaner ranks of subjects in the province, continually lamented for having so bad a Government over them'.¹

Shortly after these events, rumours of an approaching English squadron reached Pondicherry ; and in September a ship which was approaching was suspected to be English ; preparations for defence in case of a sudden alarm were practised.² In September 1745 the Nawab Anwar-ud-din visited Pondicherry, accompanied by his Dewan, Sampati Rao and several other officers. He was received with great honours and pomp (September 10 and 11, 1745) ; and the result of this was to renew the friendship existing for long between Arcot and Pondicherry ; this was to stand Dupleix in much good stead in the coming war.

¹ H. D. Love, vol. ii, p. 288.

² Diary for September 29, 1744 and October 31.

(To be continued.)

Siva Bharata and the new date of Shivaji's birth

BY

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THE hitherto accepted date of Shivaji's birth is April, A.D. 1627 (the exact day being uncertain and for a time a matter of controversy). This date is given by many *Bakharkars* and from them by Grant Duff (he gives only the month and that May, by mistake) the first great historian of the Marathas. Recently, however, a new date has been found and it has been accepted by many researchers. This new date viz., February 19, A.D. 1630, was first discovered in the *Bṛhadiśvara* stone inscription, brought to general notice by the veteran researcher in Maratha history—V. K. Rajawade. But this inscription was incised only in A.D. 1803 a very recent time and hence it did not attract much attention. But the same date with further details as to the day was found mentioned in the *Jedhe Śakāvali*, a memorandum of dates recorded in the Maratha family of the Jedhes, a family which rendered distinguished service to Shivaji, his father and his son and which resides at Kāri a village near Poona in one of the twelve Mavals or Sahyādri range valleys. This *Śakāvali* with the new date of Shivaji's birth in it was placed before the public by Lokamānya Tilak in A.D. 1916. The *Śakāvali* is a reliable document coming from the very part of the country where Shivaji lived and rose, and is drawn up to the Śaka year 1619 or A.D. 1697. It is thus nearly contemporaneous with the first Bakhar available on Shivaji's life, viz., that of Sabhāsad (written in Śaka 1616). Naturally this new date attracted serious attention in Mahārāshṭra and was accepted by some noted researchers like the late Vasudev Shastri Khare. But when the same date was found given in a third document, viz., *Śiva Bhārata*, an extensive Sanskrit poem on the exploits of Shivaji written in the life-time of Shivaji himself by a contemporary poet, discovered at Tanjore by S. M. Divekar of Kalyan, the new date recommended itself to many scholars and it has now been generally accepted in Mahārāshṭra as a more probable date, as stated by a committee of the *Bharata Itihāsa Maṇḍal* of Poona

specially appointed to consider the question. This poem has just been published by Mr. Divekar with a learned preface by Mr. D. V. Apte of Poona and can be had at the Bharata Itihasa Mandala, Poona (the price being Rs. 6). This poem not only gives a different date for the birth of Shivaji, but gives a greatly different account of the early life of this hero of Mahārāshtra, an account which will probably compel us to recast the history of that early life, and will, to put it strongly, indeed revolutionize our ideas on the subject. We will try in this paper to show how this new date is preferable to the earlier one and how the account of some important events in the early life of Shivaji will have to be rewritten. It may be added that this new date has been quite recently found mentioned in a fourth document, viz., an album of horoscopes collected by Purohit Shivram of the noted Chandu family of astrologers in Jodhpur territory. It was found by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha, Superintendent of the Ajmer Museum, in one of his research tours. R. B. Ojha sent the horoscope with its new date for publication to the 'Maratha' of Poona and it was published in its issue of March 7, 1926.

No doubt can be entertained about the authenticity of these four documents found at such divergent places as Tanjore, Mahārāshtra and Rajputana by such reliable persons as Rajawade, Tilak, Divekar, and Gaurishankar Ojha who cannot be supposed to be in league or to have had any motive. Indeed there can be no motive in putting forth a different date for the birth of Shivaji, e.g., in making him at the time of his coronation or death forty-two and fifty years old instead of forty-five and fifty-three. The same may be said even of the various events in his early life. There can thus be no room for suspicion, perhaps natural, which some scholars entertain about 'recent discoveries in Mahārāshtra'; so far at least as these four documents are concerned, three of them being discovered hundreds of miles away from Mahārāshtra, viz., at Tanjore and in Rajputana; one of them being an inscription on stone. The only question, therefore, which has to be solved is how far these documents give reliable and correct information as tested by general probability, their internal examination and external evidence.

The oldest of these documents, viz., Śiva Bhārata is a poem imitating the Mahābhārata in style and description and written by a contemporary poet named Paramānanda, probably before the death and

perhaps coronation of Shivaji. It purports to be composed by Shivaji's command and to be first recited (in modern language published) at Benares, before Benares Pandits, by the author himself. The poem is in powerful Sanskrit written by a poet of great imagination and although the descriptions and dialogues are all imaginary, yet they are so full of details that no modern poet could have concocted a poem like this and pretended that it was written in Shivaji's time and by his order. The florid descriptions of fighting in battles may be given up as unhistorical; the poet could not have described them from personal knowledge nor from state documents like war dispatches. He gives, however, names of captains on both sides which strike us as real, though they, in Mahābhārata fashion, fight duels with maces often. The speeches or soliloquies too must be treated as unreal but they contain mention of events which must really have happened as will be shown later on. It, therefore, may be conceded that this document though a poem has a great historical value being written by a contemporary author. That 'Kavindra' Paramānanda was a court-poet with Shivaji appears certain from a Sanskrit document found at Rajapur and published in Itihāsa Mandala (seventh report, p. 295). Jayarāma Kavi, we know, was a poet who attended Shahaji's court and who wrote a poem on Shahaji's life known as Rādhāmādhava Champu. There is thus a great likelihood that Paramānanda, court-poet of Shivaji, was asked by him to compose a poem, at least that Paramānanda did write it in praise of Shivaji's exploits while Shivaji was still alive. It is not unnatural that the poem was found in the palace library at Tanjore where the descendants of Shivaji's brother ruled; indeed the poem was traced by Mr. Divekar by its mention in Burnell's catalogue of the famous Tanjore Sanskrit library.

This poem may be taken to have been composed in about A.D. 1670. The next document, viz., the Jedhe Śakāvali is a terse historical document, a memorandum of dates prepared in the historical Jedhe family, a family intimately connected with the life work of Shivaji and also of his successors. It contains about 250 entries beginning with Śaka 1540 (A.D. 1618), date of birth of Aurangzeb, a correct date, and ending with Śaka 1619 (A.D. 1697) when the Moguls invested the fort of Chanji (Jinjee) where Rajaram had taken refuge. These entries appear to have been regularly made from time to time from official papers kept in the Jaghir. The date given for Shivaji's birth is detailed

(' *Śaka* 1551, *Śukla Samvatsara*, *Phalgun Vadya Tṛitiya*, Friday, *Nakshatra Hasta*, *Ghaṭi* 18, *pala* 31, *Ganda*, G. 5, p. 7; on this day Rājāśri Shivaji Raje was born at Shivaneri') and shows that the entry has been copied from some horoscope of Shivaji then known, or obtained from an official source or some official note. This entry could, of course, not have been made on the very day of the birth, but must presumably have been made some years later. The several dates (e.g., the dates of five births of princes) given in this memorandum are borne out by historical evidence and the entries pertain to many events which are very important. It may, therefore, be accepted that this memorandum has the value and importance of an official record.

Still more value as an official record has the Bṛhadīśvara stone inscription brought to light by Rajawade and already published both by Rajawade and by Mr. Sambamurti Rao, B.A., B.L., pleader of Tanjore at Tanjore in A.D. 1907. It was inscribed no doubt in recent times, i.e., in A.D. 1803; but it was recorded by order of Sharafoji, the then representative of the Tanjore ruling branch of the Bhonsle family; and it was prepared by the Secretary of the Mahārāja as the statement at the end shows. It must have been prepared from state papers of the Tanjore court. Strangely enough on an examination of the initial contents of this inscription, it appears that it closely corresponds with the account given in Śiva Bhārata. Perhaps both were prepared from the same sources. Even if it be supposed, as is probable, that the account of Shivaji and his ancestors was taken by this inscription writer from Śiva Bhārata, there are additional particulars given in this inscription which show that there were other papers also before this writer. Thus the names of about twelve ancestors of Shivaji before Maloji are mentioned in this inscription while Śiva Bhārata commences with Maloji only; secondly Śiva Bhārata states that Maloji was killed in the battle of Indapur fought with the Adilshah, but the inscription mentions the chieftain of Kolhapur as his opponent. These and some other statements giving information in addition to that given in Śiva Bhārata, to be noticed later, make it clear that the writer of the inscription had other state papers before him.

Lastly the horoscope of Shivaji given in the collection of horoscopes made by Shivaram of the noted Chandu family of astrologers of Rajputana, must have been obtained by him from official sources, either Maratha or Rajput. According to Rai Bahadur Gauri

Shankar Ojha who discovered this horoscope, this collection was made by the astrologer Shivaram before Samvat 1777 or A.D. 1720, the date of his death (see his note published in the *Maratha* of March 7). Shivaram, it may be added, from the date of his birth five years later than that of Shivaji, was almost his contemporary and died forty years after him.

From the nature above detailed of the four documents giving the new date of Shivaji's birth and their official character or source of information, it follows that the chances are in favour of this new date being the correct one. It is more probable that the Bakharkars have caught hold of a wrong date than that this Śiva Bhārata or the Jedhe memorandum of dates should have made a wrong statement. And Śiva Bhārata is contemporaneous with Shivaji and is the oldest of all these various documents. The oldest Bakhar is that of Sabhāsad and it is dated A.D. 1694 and it gives no date for Shivaji's birth. Our question, therefore, reduces itself to the query whether the new date is inconsistent with the events in the life of Shahaji and the early life of Shivaji; and whether it is inconsistent with any statement made in Śiva Bhārata itself. This leads us to a historical examination of the events of the period as recorded in this poem and in the several Bakhars and in Mahomedan accounts; an examination which compels us, as we have said in the beginning, to recast the history of Shahaji and Shivaji in many points. It will also appear, how the account given in Śiva Bhārata is a simple one and how it gives the go-by to some strange and improbable stories, concocted in popular imagination and recorded by the Bakharkars, in connection with the lives of Shahaji and Shivaji.

The first imaginary story to be given up is about the marriage of Shahaji and Jijabai. Sabhāsad merely says that Shahaji's first wife was Jijabai. But the Śivadigvijaya Bakhar which contains many imaginary legends and unnecessary Sanskrit quotations relates the story of a quarrel between Maloji and Jadhavrao who, having promised to give his daughter Jija to Maloji's son Shahaji, refused, at the instance of his wife to carry out the promise, on the ground that Maloji was not his equal and that eventually Nizamshah interfered and created Maloji a Panchahajari Sardar and gave him many Perganas in Jaghir, and, thus removing the objection of Jadhavrao, brought about the marriage. Subsequent additions to the story relate that Maloji, to attract the

attention of the Nizamshah to the quarrel, resorted to Dhārānā practices. The story of Śiva Bhārata is entirely different and is simple; namely that Maloji died when Shahaji was only five years old and that when Shahaji grew a good youth, Jadhavrao gladly gave him his daughter in marriage. The story of the Digvijaya is plainly improbable. In the first place Maloji, though not equal in actual rank, was an equally good Maratha, and he was married to Dipābai, daughter of the Nimbalkars of Phaltan, as great Mahratha Sardars as Jadhavrao. It is inconceivable that Jadhavrao's wife could have any objection to give her daughter in marriage to Dipābai's son. Maloji was a Raja already. Indeed the title was in the family for long.¹ Maloji was rich enough to build a great tank on the Śambhu Mahādeva hill and the present stupendous temple of Ghrīṣṇeśvara Mahādeva at Verul. He was again already a Jaghirdar of the Nizamshahi state having obtained Poona and other Perganas for valuable military services rendered, as is generally believed. It would be interesting to discover original papers relating to the time of the acquisition of the Poona Jaghir by the Bhonsles. For Śivabhārata states that the Bhonsles had already a Jaghir and Maloji obtained more in recognition of his military service. At any rate from his riches, his connection with the Nimbalkars of Phaltan, his hereditary title as Raja, and his Jaghir he could not be an objectionable father-in-law for Jijabai. We may safely give up the story given in Śiva-Digvijaya and later Bakhars, and

¹It appears that Babaji, father of Maloji Bhonsle, used the title of Raja. See document No. 367 Rajawade Khanda xv, dated Ś 1519 Mārgaśīrsha. This paper shows that in Śaka 1519 or A.D. 1597, Babaji had, in his jaghir Kasba Pedgaon Pargana, Pande Pedgaon in Nagar District. This was probably the original Jaghir of the Bhonsales. Maloji acquired hereafter other Parganas as evidenced by another document in the possession of these Rājōpādhyes or family priests of the Rhonsales, namely No. 371, dated Ś 1528 or A.D. 1606 and also No. 370. In the statement of Śiva Bhārata that Maloji entrusted his ancient Jaghir to ministers for management and himself went to reside in his new jaghir, there is probably a reference to these two jaghirs.

No. 372, dated Ś 1529, vol. xv, *ibid.*, is an order from Malik Amber to the officers of Pandia Pedgaon Pargana and of Kasba Chambhargonde continuing to Damodarbhāt and another the inam given to them by Maloji deceased and Vithoji. This shows that in Ś 1529 or A.D. 1607 Maloji was dead and that the Bhonsales had in their jaghir Chambhargonda. If Shahaji was five years old at the time of Maloji's death before Śake 1529 Śrāvana, he may be taken to have been born in Śake 1524 or A.D. 1602 (Sarkar gives A.D. 1594). The Brhadīśvara inscription gives Śake 1531 which is evidently a misreading for Śake 1521 and is thus earlier by three years.

accept the simple account of Śiva Bhārata, that Jadhavrao, of himself, gave his daughter in marriage to Shahji some years after Maloji's death without any quarrel.

The second incident, of which a simpler and more credible account is given in Śiva Bhārata, is the birth of Shivaji at Shivanēri fort. Sabhāsad gives neither the date nor the place of the event. It simply records that Shivaji was born of Jijabai, when god Śambhu appeared in a dream and said (to Shahaji) 'I am myself born. Famous deeds have to be done. Keep your son with you for twelve years. Then allow him to go wherever he likes. Do not restrain him.' The author of *Śivadigvijaya* giving a more detailed account states 'Shahaji went to the Vijapur Darbar for service after he had fought with the Moguls and handed over the puppet Sultan and the Begum; he re-obtained his previous Jaghir and many other villages also, in Ś 1548 (A.D. 1626). He could not take with him Jijabai who was much advanced in pregnancy and therefore kept her in the fort of Shivanēri with Dadaji Konddev. He also sent Balkrishna Hanmante, Shankaraji Nilakant and Raghunath Ballal, three reliable officers, to help her'. The difficulty of explaining how Jijabai was at Shivanēri fort when Shivaji was born is thus got over by this later Bakharkar in an entirely strange manner. He believed that Shivanēri fort was in Shahji's possession, Dadaji Kanddev being the keeper thereof in his behalf, and that this event happened after Shahji's last fight for the Nizamshahi against the Moguls. But this is clearly a transposition of events; for this fight took place in A.D. 1636, i.e., six years after Shivaji was born at Shivanēri. The fort was no doubt in Shahaji's possession when this fight took place, for we find it a condition in the treaty between the Moguls and Adilshahi that 'Shahaji should not be admitted to office under Bijapur unless he ceded Junnar, Trimbak and other forts still in his possession'.¹ But when Shivaji was born, whether in Ś 1549 or Ś 1551, Junnar and its fort Shivanēri were not in the possession of Shahji, and Nizamshahi was yet in tact.

Almost all the Bakhars make this strange transposition of events, being written more than a hundred and fifty years after the event. The '96 Kalami' Bakhar gives the above story with more absurd details. It is dated Ś 1702 or A.D. 1780. It states in effect that when Shahaji fled from Mahuli at night, breaking through the army of

¹ See text of treaty printed at page 122, Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. 1.

Jadhavrao, he marched towards Vijapur with his pregnant wife Jijabai and his son Sambhaji, that he was pursued by Jadhavrao, that Jija being advanced in pregnancy could not run with the fugitives and that she was heartlessly left behind by Shahaji who remarked that he was being pursued by her father and that he did not, therefore, want her. 'Lukhaji Jadhav found her abandoned and being advised to protect or conceal her from Mahomedans, he took her to the Shivneri fort then in the possession of Shahaji. There Shivaji was born in Ś 1549 *Kshaya Samvatsar Vaishakh Sudh 5 Monday*.'

Rajwade Bakhar (written for Sawai Madhavrao in Ś 1704) repeats the same absurd story. The Śivacharitra of seven Prakaraṇas written by Malharrao Chitnis makes the same mistake, relates the same story of Shahaji giving up Mahuli and fleeing towards Bijapur pursued by Jadhavrao, an event which it places in Ś 1548 (A.D. 1626). It, however, makes Shahaji more alive to his duty as a husband and himself keep his pregnant wife Jija at Shivnēri fort with four ministers, viz., Balkrishnapant Hanmante, Shankarji Nilkanth, Sonajipant and Raghunath Ballal Korde. 'Shivaji was then born at Shivnēri in Ś 1549 *Prabhav Samvatsar Vaishakh Sudh 2 Thursday*.' 'Marathi Sāmrajyachi Chhoti Bakhar', written in Ś 1739 (A.D. 1817) gives the same story with the heartless abandonment of Jijabai by Shahaji as also Pratinidhi Bakhar written in Ś 1766 (A.D. 1844).

Śivaji-Pratāpa written in Ś 1751 (A.D. 1829) gives a still more absurd and poetic account. It does not refer to the fleeing of Shahaji from Mahuli pursued by Jadhavrao but begins with some battle between Jadhavrao and Malik Amber (who was already dead!!!). The latter being defeated, Shahaji, who apparently was an ally of Amber was pursued by Jadhavrao who, however, knowing that Jijabai was with the army and being pregnant could not run, gave orders for the pursuit of Shahaji alone. The father and daughter met and bewailed their fate which had made them enemies. Jadhavrao at the request of Jijabai sent her to the Shivnēri fort. Finally the Shedgaonkar Bakhar of Ś 1766 (A.D. 1854) is entirely out of tune and jumbles the events into a heap without any order as to time. 'Jadhavrao took the Badshahi princess and her son in his charge and returning to Daulatabad began to rule in their name. But eventually he and other ministers conspired to destroy Nizamshahi and calling in Aurangjeb, handed over the kingdom to him. Shahaji was in great favour with

Mahomedshah and remained with him in Ś 1549. 'His wife was in Shivnēri fort and she gave birth to Shivaji in Ś 1549 *Prabhava Samvatsar Vaishakh Sud 3 Saturday, Rohini Nakshatra and Karka Lagna*. The birth of the child was in the seventh month of the pregnancy. As god Śambhu himself was born he did not remain long in the womb.'!!!

The above extracts from the different Bakhars, which give details, show that they are hopelessly incorrect in the matter of the dates of events, and transpose them in wrong order. They cannot explain how Jijabai came to be at Shivnēri. The account which Śiva Bhārata gives is more correct as to the sequence of events and is simple and more credible. It states that first Shahaji, disgusted with Fatekhan, the son of Amber, left Nizamshahi service and went over to Adilshah; that he was again called back to Nizamshahi in consequence of its being attacked by the Moguls, that at this time the fort of Shivnēri was under Viśvasarao, a trusted officer of the Nizamshahi, that he gave his daughter in marriage to Sambhaji, eldest son of Shahaji, that the marriage was celebrated in the fort and that Shahaji kept thereafter his pregnant wife there and proceeded against Daryakhan, the Mogul invader. This happened in Ś 1551 *Phalgun* (February, A.D. 1630). The Nizamshahi was destroyed long after this, and Shahaji then seized Junnar and Shivnēri and tried to set up a kingdom (for himself but apparently, as we know, in the name of a puppet Nizamshah) and 'Maratha Sardars of ninety-six families joined him (who probably joined him as he had set up a Nizamshah). He fought for three years but finally gave up the contest at the suggestion of god Śiva in a dream.' This account is also given in the same way in the Bṛhadiśvara stone inscription of A.D. 1803. We may, therefore, be sure that it is not a concocted story, it is certainly as old as 1803 and very probably as old as A.D. 1670 the probable date of Śiva Bhārata. Let us see how far this account is corroborated by contemporaneous history recorded by Mahomedans.

According to all authors Shahaji finally became servant of Vijapur in Ś 1558 or A.D. 1636.¹ He had fought for three years for independence according to Śiva Bhārata and we find Prof. Sarkar giving the same date for Shahaji's setting up Murtiza Nizamshah,

¹ Vide *Modern Review*, 1917, p. 247—Sarkar.

viz., September 1633. We know Shahji finally surrendered Murtiza at Mahuli, not, of course, because of a dream, but owing to the pressure of investment of the fort of Mahuli and the giving up of himself by the Nizamshahi queen. These events which happened from 1633 to 1636, the Bakharkars place before Shivaji's birth which they give in A.D. 1627 and thus hopelessly transpose the events. They further commit the mistake of bringing in Jadhavrao at the investment of Mahuli in A.D. 1636 though he had been murdered already in A.D. 1630 (middle of Sarkar). Śiva Bhārata mentions the murder of Jadhavrao in its proper place, viz., after the birth of Shivaji when both he and Shahji had returned to Nizamshahi service for its protection. (The Jedhe Śakāvali appears to place the event before Shivaji's birth in Śake 1551 (A.D. 1630) but it is plain that the entry is made after that relating to the birth of Shivaji in Phalgun Ś 1551; and its date being *Sravana*, it must belong to the following Śaka year 1552 and falls thus in the middle of A.D. 1630). The famine of 1552 Śake is mentioned both in Jedhe Śakāvali and Śiva Bhārata.

Let us now go on to test the sequence of events given before the middle of A.D. 1630 by Śiva Bhārata. It first gives the death of Malik Amber, then that of Ibrahim Adilshah and the succession of his son Muhammad. These events, we know, took place in A.D. 1626 and 1627.¹ Between A.D. 1626 and A.D. 1633 the date of the fall of Nizamshahi, both Jadhavrao and Shahaji changed masters more than once; but we do not find any possibility of Jadhavrao (for Moguls) attacking Shahaji (for Nizamshahi) in A.D. 1627. Śiva Bhārata states that Shahaji left Vijapur service and returned to Nizamshahi to protect it against the Moguls, and we do find Moguls attacking Daulatabad in the interval between A.D. 1627 and 1630. But there is no mention of a fight between Jadhavrao and Shahaji in this. Śiva Bhārata states that Shahaji had proceeded against Daryakhan at the time of Shivaji's birth. Now the correct name of this general appearing in Śiva Bhārata is almost a guarantee that its account is genuine. For Sarkar states on Mahomedan authority that 'in A.D. 1628 Fathekhan (son of Amber) treacherously sent Shahaji and a party of Śiledars to make a raid in East Khandesh and create a diversion in the rear of the Moguls. But an imperial officer Daryakhan Ruhela who held a large jaghir

¹ See Grant Duff, revised edition, vol. i, p. 79, note.

there, attacked the raiders and expelled the whole party from the Doab of the Tapti and the Pūrna.'¹ The same Daryakhan is said in Śiva Bhārata to have been successfully attacked by Shahaji again about the end of 1629 and there is nothing improbable in this. For we are told hereafter of the treacherous arrest of Fathekhan by the Nizamshah at the instigation of Hamid Khan in league with the Moguls 'probably early in A.D. 1630' (ditto.)

Lakhaji Jadhavrao was murdered after this by Hamid Khan and Shahaji retired to his Poona Jaghir 'plundering on the way' and seized some Adilshahi territory also (ditto). It was on this occasion that Murari from Bijapur attacked him, seized Poona and ravaged it (ditto and B.S.). 'Shahaji took refuge with Shrinivasa, governor of Junnar, for a time and then began to acquire territory for himself from Junnar and Sangamner to Ahmadnagar. (B.S.) This was followed by Nizamshah releasing and reinstating Fathekhan in 1631' (ditto.). In this interval Shahaji who had gone to the Moguls and entered their service (December 1630-Sarkar) was ordered to conquer Junnar and stay at Nasik. He was also given Fathekhan's Jaghir. But it was directed to be given back to Fathekhan by the Emperor and Shahaji gave up the Moguls (1632). Fathekhan hereafter murdered the Nizamshah and set up a puppet. Shahaji then seized again the districts of Nasik, Junnar and Sangamner and some parts of the Konkan for another puppet. He then attacked Daulatabad joining the Bijapuris who had advanced against Fathekhan. Finally the Moguls also attacked Daulatabad and eventually taking it sent the puppet there a prisoner to Delhi, gave Fathekhan a Jaghir and divided the Nizamshahi territory between themselves and Vijapur. Here ended the Nizamshahi kingdom in A.D. 1633, the fall of which is bewailed even by Śiva Bhārata and the causes of its fall are given by it in detail.

From the above summary of events as given by Prof. Sarkar from Mahomedan accounts, the story of the birth of Shivaji at Shivnēri in February 1630 is not inconsistent, but is indeed in consonance with it. Let us now test it in the crucible of probability only as compared with the story given by the Bakharkars, even forgetting their blunder in showing that the birth of Shivaji in A.D. 1627 took place after the fall of Mahuli in A.D. 1636. We may grant that Jadhavrao who was with

¹ *Modern Review*, September 1917, p. 248.

the Moguls from before A.D. 1626 (date of Amber's death), had a fight with Shahaji who remained with the Nizamshahi in A.D. 1627. But it would not be probable that Shahaji had his pregnant wife with him at any time in his excursions. His place of residence was Poona or Verul or Daulatabad or Pedgaon. It was not the custom in Shahaji's or even Shivaji's days for Marathas to take their women with them on military excursions. The custom began with Sadashivrao Bhau and Nana Saheb Peshwa who imitated imperial Mogul fashions. It is inconceivable that in his expedition into territory north of Shivrneri and far north of Poona, Shahaji had his wife, especially his pregnant wife, with him. Secondly it is difficult to believe that he would abandon her heartlessly. As we shall show later on, their relations were cordial as stated in Śiva Bhārata and not embittered as is usually supposed. The test of probability, therefore, is against the story of Shahaji in his supposed flight in A.D. 1627 in his excursion to the north of Junnar having his wife with him or his abandoning her heartlessly. He could again himself have arranged for her being kept safe if she was with him. The story of Śiva Bhārata relating to the birth of Shivaji on the other hand has every appearance of probability. Having returned to Nizamshahi service in A.D. 1629, Shahaji was offered for his son in marriage a daughter of Vishwasrao, keeper of Shivrneri fort on behalf of Nizamshah. Their marriage relations were hereditary. Shahaji's brother Sharifji being married to a lady of the Vishwasrao family. The marriage took place at the fort in December 1629 or January 1630. And Shahaji kept his pregnant wife who must have gone there even when pregnant for the marriage of her son, for delivery and himself proceeded against Daryakhan a second time.

There might arise some doubt about the credibility of the Śiva Bhārata story on the score of the age of Sambhaji at this time. The Brhadīśvara inscription gives Ś 1547 as the year of his birth (p. 14) and thus he was in Ś 1551 only in his fifth year. It gives Bijapur as the place of his birth and Shahaji was in Bijapur service in Ś 1547 or A.D. 1625. Prof. Sarkar presumably from Bakhars gives A.D. 1623 as the date of Sambhaji's birth (p. 247 M.R.) and this would make him seven years old at the time of marriage. The Śiva Bhārata states that Shahaji had six sons from Jijabai but two only Sambhaji and Shivaji continued the line. This means that four sons died in childhood. The Brhad-inscription states that Sambhaji was the first and Shivaji the

last; this is not authorized by the Śiva Bhārata nor is this likely for in that case at least six years should have elapsed between the births of Sambhaji and Shivaji. We may take Shivaji to be the fourth child; as this fits in with Sambhaji's birth in Ś 1547 and Shivaji's in Ś 1551. But ordinarily speaking more than four years must pass between the birth of the first and the fourth child. And taking a lower period we may believe that Sambhaji was as taken by Prof. Sarkar about seven years old at the time of his alleged marriage. But our answer to the doubt that may be raised is that marriages even in the fifth year of the boy among Marathas in those days,¹ as even in these, is not an uncommon event and hence there is nothing improbable in the account of the Śiva Bhārata. It must further be remembered that Śiva Bhārata gives no date for Sambhaji's birth.

We will lastly and thirdly discuss another event in Shivaji's life and that is his being sent from Bangalore finally to Poona to live separately in independent possession and enjoyment of the Poona Jaghir. Now all Bakharkars agree in saying that Shivaji was so sent in his twelfth year. Indeed the story of all is that god Śiva directed Shahaji in a dream to set up Shivaji independently after twelve years and not to interfere with him in his work (Sabhasad and others). This dream, of course, cannot be considered historical. But the twelfth year is given by all and even the Śiva Bhārata gives the same story and year of age. Now the Brhad-inscription adds the information that this was done in Ś 1562 while Śiva Bhārata gives no date. This is indicative of the fact that the inscription-writer had other papers before him besides Śiva Bhārata as stated before. An original paper found and published by Rajawade, Khand (vol.) xv, No. 437, dated *Aśvin Sudh* 8, Ś 1561, viz., a Sanad issued to Brahme of Chakan shows that the Pargana was about then transferred to Shivaji ('Sahiba halli Pargana majkur arjani jhala ahe'). This shows that the Pargana was not only in fact put into the possession of Shivaji but it was also probably transferred from the name of Shahaji to that of Shivaji in that year.

We know that it was usual in those days to obtain Inams and Saranjams in the name of minor sons and even women of the family.

¹ Sambhaji son of Shivaji was born in Ś 1579 (Jedhe) and was married about A.D. 1664 (Ś 1586) as pointed out by Mr. Bendre of the Bhārata Itihāsa Maṇḍala from a *Nivadaṇḍapatra* published in *Vatanpatras*, etc., selected by Wad from Government Record, p. 83, to Jinbai, daughter of Pilaji Rao Shirke.

Thus for instance when Shahaji entered Mogul service in A.D. 1631 while he himself received a Mansab of 5,000, his son Sambhaji who was a minor, a boy of eight or ten years, received a Mansab of 2,000 personal and 1,000 horse.¹ Whether or not the Poona Pargana was already in Shivaji's name or was now transferred to him from Bijapur, Shahaji retaining for himself and his other sons the Jaghirs in Karnatak, it is certain from the above paper that Shivaji was formally put into possession of the Poona Jaghir and set up as an independent Jaghirdar with all the necessary paraphernalia, viz., a Peshwa, or Minister, a Sabnis, etc., and a small force at this time. What object Shahaji had in doing that it is difficult to determine. Our view is that Shahaji saw the independent spirit of the boy and desired to allow him to achieve what he himself had dreamt but not dared; he may also have wished to keep himself and his other sons safe from the scrapes into which Shivaji would probably fall. At any rate he wished to have separate estates for his three sons and sent Shivaji to Poona. Jijabai accompanied him, not because she was put away as a disliked wife. We have already shown that she was never disliked by her husband, the quarrel between Shahaji and her father began long after the marriage and for a different cause entirely as described in Śiva Bhārata as also Brhad-inscription, viz., a sudden *melee* at the gate of Nizamshah's Darbar-hall between Khandagale and Duttaji son of Jadhavrao in which the Bhonsles assisted Khandagale and Duttaji was killed. Out of this quarrel between Jadhavrao and Shahaji, popular imagination subsequently invented the story of a quarrel before marriage and the story of the heartless taunting and abandonment of Jijabai by Shahaji given by the Bakharkars. We think that Jijabai who had six sons born to her from her husband cannot be called a disliked wife, and that she would not have left her husband except for love of Shivaji her son who being placed at tender age, at the head of a Jaghir required a loving elderly person to guide and restrain him. So far as history shows co-wives among Hindu princes do not leave their husbands, much less would the good and virtuous Jijabai, nor would Shahaji have put her away because he had a younger wife.

These observations we make in passing; what is pertinent here to see is that when Shivaji was sent to Poona in independent possession

¹ Dow, *Badshahnama*, vol. iv, p. 15.

of that Jaghir, his age was twelve. Śiva Bhārata says he had arrived at the twelfth year. शिववर्मा यदा वर्षं द्वादशं प्रत्यपद्यत (Chap. X.—i). (Hindus usually speak of the running year of age while Europeans speak of the completed year.) Now we know from the paper already noticed, viz., a sanad of the Brahmes of Chakan that Shivaji was in possession of the Jaghir in *Asvin*, Ś 1561. He was born according to Śiva Bhārata in *Phalgun* Ś 1551, which means that when he went to Poona he had nearly completed ten years, was in fact in the tenth year. How could he be said to be in the twelfth year, much less to have completed the twelfth year? The date of birth given in Śiva Bhārata, it may thus be argued, is not consistent with its own statement that he was sent to Poona in his twelfth year, a statement also made by all Bakharkars. Our first answer is that this mention of the twelfth year is a general conventional statement and not an exact statement of Shivaji's age. It echoes the general idea among the Hindus, prevalent until modern times, and when English ideas had not yet come in, viz., that a boy becomes active from his twelfth year; indeed he deserves to be half independent at that age. When an old man is very active amongst us, we say in Marathi, the man moves 'as if he has just entered on his twelfth year', (त्याला बारावें वर्ष लागलें आहे). Nay our idea about a man's coming of full age is also lower than the Western idea. We believe that when a boy enters on his sixteenth year, he deserves to be treated as a man fully independent. (प्राप्तेतु षोडशे वर्षे पुत्रे मितवदाचरेत् ॥) If an ordinary boy is considered fully developed at sixteen and half so at twelve, for princes of precocious growth, the tenth year would not be too early to be entrusted with management. Some Peshwas led armies at that age.

And our second answer is that given by Mr. D. V. Apte of the Itihāsa Maṇḍala, Poona, viz., that Brahme's sanad (No. 437, *Rajawade*, vol. xv, dated *Asvin*, Ś 1561) does not show that Shivaji was then actually in Poona. It certainly shows that the pargana (Chakan) was assigned in that year to Shivaji probably in Vijapur revenue records, the wording being 'the pargana has been at present given to you (Shivaji).' It also bears the famous seal of Shivaji used down to the end of his reign (प्रतिपच्चन्द्ररेखेव वर्षिष्णुर्विश्ववर्दिता । शाहसूनोः शिवस्यैषा मुद्राभद्राय राजते ॥). This pargana from the previous document No. 436,

dated *Pausha*, Ś 1559 was, two years earlier, in the name of Dilawarkhan who issues the sanad to the Brahmes and this fact almost conclusively proves that Pargana Chakan was obtained during the interval by Shahaji in the name of his son Shivaji and consequently it was treated as Shivaji's with a separate seal for him. But this does not necessitate Shivaji's being actually sent to Poona to enjoy the Jaghir at that time. He may have been sent in Ś 1562 as the Brhadīśvara inscription states or in Ś 1563, in Shivaji's twelfth year of age as Śiva Bhārata states. (Śiva Bhārata gives no date for this event.)

It may be added that we have evidence that Shahaji set apart Karyat Mawal for Shivaji even earlier than this. *Itihāsa Manjari* or collection of important documents by D.V. Apte at page 55 gives a document issued by Shivaji in Ś. 1600 to Moro Vithal Honap, Desa Kulkarni of Karyat Mawal wherein is recited an interesting account of the Karyat. It states 'Pargana Majkur (Poona) was given by Nizamshah to Maharaj (Shahaji). During Maharaja's rule Nizamshahi was destroyed when Poona was given in Mokasa (Jaghir) to Maharaj (Shahaji) by Adilshahi, Maharajasaheb (Shahaji) gave Karyat Mawal to Sahib (Shivaji) and Sāndasa Khurd to Mambaji as Mokasa from himself.' This shows that Shivaji had Karyat Mawal assigned to him already in A.D. 1636 (Ś 1558). At that time Shivaji was at Bangalore and not in Poona. Therefore it need not follow from Bhrame's sanad issued in Shivaji's name and with his seal that he was actually then at Poona. It proves, however, Shahaji's idea of creating a separate Jaghir for Shivaji and when he was thought fit to take charge of it, he was actually sent to Poona to administer it, probably in his twelfth year, i.e., in Ś 1562 or Ś 1563 (A.D. 1641).

To conclude, the contemporaneous evidence of Śiva Bhārata supported by that of the Jedhe Śakāvali, the Brhad inscription and the horoscope given by the noted Jodhpur astrologer is more reliable than that of later Bakhars; it is also in consonance with the sequence of events as definitely known from contemporaneous Mahomedan accounts and it is not inconsistent with any statement in Śiva Bhārata itself. The story as to how Shivaji came to be born at Shivnēri fort related by Śiva Bhārata is again more probable than the one given by the Bakharkars who wrote more than a hundred years after Shivaji's death and who hopelessly transpose events from A.D. 1636 to A.D. 1627. Further it is not possible to suggest that

Śiva Bhārata gives a new date in order to bring in better positions of planets astrologically considered. For no such better positions come in from the new date; and if Śiva Bhārata states that five planets were Uchcha or ascendant, when Shivaji was born, it simply repeats the conventional praise of poets like Kālidāsa and Bāṇa (ततो ग्रहेः पञ्चभिस्त्वसंस्थैः । सर्वेष्वूचस्यानस्थितेष्वेवंग्रहेषु भेजे जन्म—हर्षच. । 84). For there is only one Uchcha planet in the new horoscope.¹ Nor is it possible to suggest that a false date and a false horoscope was specially promulgated to protect Shivaji from evil anushtānas (magical proceedings), of adversely-minded persons, as sometimes is suggested. For it is clearly forgotten by these suggestors that with the belief in magical anushtānas is also fortunately coupled the belief that these can have no effect against princes—a belief which has saved the birth-dates of all kings from being falsified; consequently correct birth-day celebrations of kings and chiefs are held even now and were held everywhere in ancient times. It is our firm belief, therefore, that no attempt was made to falsify Shivaji's birth-date. It would be interesting to discover an old paper mentioning a birth-day celebration of Shivaji, for it would conclusively decide this controversy. Until this happens, however, the evidence of Śiva Bhārata must preponderate and the new date must be accepted.

This controversy is no doubt more or less academic. Yet it has importance in two ways. To those who celebrate even now the birth-date of Shivaji, it is important to know whether the birth took place on *Phalgunā Vadya* 3 or on *Vaishakh Shudhā* 2 though the year is not now of importance. Secondly along with the new date, Śiva Bhārata gives a new account of Shivaji's early life as also the life of Shahaji, an account which, as we have shown above, is more consistent and probable than the one at present current based on the various Bakhars. We may give here this new account of Śiva Bhārata in a condensed form. Maloji distinguished himself in the service of Nizamshah and obtained honour and Jaghir. He had no sons for a long time and built a tank on Sambhu Mahādeva hill and the temple of Ghriṣṇeśvara at Verul. He had in late age two sons born to him by

¹ Prof. G. S. Apte, Madhav College, Ujjain, a well-known Indian astronomer has kindly tested the Jodhpur horoscope for us and found it to be as given by Shivaram.

the favour of a Fakir and named after him Shahaji and Sharifji. He died when Shahaji was only five years old and Vithoji his brother brought up the boys. Shahaji was given in marriage Jijabai by her father Jadhavrao willingly and without any quarrel. Shahaji, when grown up, distinguished himself in a battle with Adilshahis in the days of Amber and was given further honour and the Jaghir of Poona. Later, however, Amber and his cousins became jealous of his greatness and he retired to his Jaghir. At this time he was won over to Adilshahi and fought with Nizamshah. When the Moguls attacked Nizamshah after Amber's death in A.D. 1626 and the death of Ibrahim Adilshah who had favoured Shahaji in A.D. 1627, he returned to Nizamshahi service and went against the Moguls in A.D. 1628. (His jaghir of Poona was devastated by Murari of Vijapur in revenge and Poona was even burnt and ploughed by him.) Jadhavrao whose feud with Shahaji had begun earlier, owing to his son Dattaji being killed by Khandagale assisted by the Bhonsales in a sudden quarrel in a melee at the gate of Nizamshah's Durbar Hall and left Nizamshah's service also returned at this time. Vishwasrao, the governor of Shivnēri fort on behalf of Nizamshah at this time, gave his daughter in marriage to Shahaji's eldest son Sambhaji and the marriage was celebrated in the fort (probably December, A.D. 1629). Shahaji left his wife Jija, advanced in pregnancy then, at the fort and went against Daryakhan of the Moguls, in behalf of Nizamshah a second time. Jijabai gave birth to Shivaji at Shivnēri on 19th February, A.D. 1630, at the fort during Shahaji's absence and after his return, he held rejoicings and gave alms. In *Śrāvana* after this (August 1630) Jadhavrao was murdered at the gate of the Nizamshah's Durbar Hall by Hamid Khan, an evil advisor of the Nizamshah, who at his instance had imprisoned Fathe Khan Amber's son. Thereupon Shahaji retired from Nizamshahi service through a sense of insecurity and seized Junnar, Sangamner, etc., for the Moguls in whose service he entered for a time but he left that service soon and set up a principality for himself. When Nizamshahi fell in A.D. 1633 under the combined attack of Delhi and Bijapur, Shahaji set up a new Nizamshah and in his name for three years ruled over a large tract of country. He was eventually subdued at Mahuli and finally entered Bijapur service in A.D. 1636 with his jaghir of Poona and Supa and some jaghir in Karnataka, and finally settled at Bangalore. Shivaji in his childhood lived with his father

and mother and Jija always kept the company of her husband. Shivaji thus lived at Shivnēri, Junnar, Sangamner, Poona, Mahuli, Bijapur and Bangalore, but always with his father and mother. Shahaji used to visit Bijapur now and then from Bangalore. His jaghir of Poona was managed by his trusted servant Dadaji Kondadev. Shahaji had already given Karyat Mawal to Shivaji as Mokasa and he transferred Poona jaghir to Shivaji's name about Ś 1561 or A.D. 1639. Two or three years later about A.D. 1641 when Shivaji was in his twelfth year Shahaji sent him to Poona with his servant Dadaji under the guardianship of his mother Jija whom he also sent finally to Poona. Jijabai was not a disliked wife; she bore six sons to Shahaji (probably three before Shivaji and two after him) and left her husband only for watching over her dear son. Shahaji himself meanwhile remained at Bangalore and went often to Vijapur on business of state and conquered many a chief in Karnatak for Adilshah. Hereafter Śiva Bhārata goes on at once to the treacherous arrest of Shahaji by Mustafa Khan sent by Ali Adilshah effected through Baji Ghorpade and other Maratha captains who suddenly attacked Shahaji's camp one early morning. Shahaji was wounded in this conflict and taken to Bijapur. This event happened as we know in A.D. 1648. (See *Jedhe Śakāvali* also).

While Shivaji lived with his father at Bangalore, Śiva Bhārata states, he was taught the three R's along with Ekoji his step-brother (who was younger than himself by one year only) and other sardar boys. When he went to Poona in independent possession of that jaghir (with regular officers, Peshwa and others, appointed for it) with his mother, Shivaji for about four years (1642 to 1646), Śiva Bhārata states, learnt the *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, politics and military exercises under able teachers. At sixteen he was a warrior, a statesman, a leader of brave men, a tactician in battle and a man versed in the art and practice of *Rājanīti* or politics and above all a Hindu patriot who had resolved to free his country from thralldom to a foreign religion and a foreign yoke. We need not wonder at this as we know that there are born from time to time men of precocious intellect, power and force of character. Mill and Shankarācharya were learned men at sixteen and Harsha (see our history of *Medieval Hindu India*, vol. i, p. 5) and Akbar were emperors *de facto* at that age. Shivaji may have commenced his career a little before. Śiva Bhārata does not record any acts of conquest or expansion of territory by Shivaji till the arrest of

Shahaji. Nor does it give the reason why Shahaji was arrested. But we can find it from the fact recorded in Śiva Bhārata that Shahaji was released on condition of his elder son Sambhaji giving up Bangalore and his second son giving up Sinhagad.

We must transport ourselves into pre-Peshwa days and picture to ourselves the situation of the country at that time. Poona was not then, an important town, the important towns being Junnar, on the north, in Nizamshahi and Wai on the south, in Adilshahi. Poona acquired importance in the days of the Peshwas and in modern time by the Bombay Governor making it his summer capital and by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway consequently passing by it. In the days of Shahaji and Shivaji it was a small town in the midst of jungly Mawals for which the Bijapur or Nizamshahi government did not much care being on their border. Such frontier places and districts were usually given in jaghir to strong and troublesome Sardars. But to keep watch over them important forts were kept in the possession and control of the suzerain power. Torna, Purandar and chiefly Sinhagarh were such forts and they were under the direct control of Bijapur. These were first seized by Shivaji who aspired to free himself and his moderate state from domination from these suzerain forts. Bijapur being roused by these acts of aggression suspected Shahaji and called him to court. But, as Śiva Bhārata states in a soliloquy of Adilshah, he did not pay heed to these calls and did not attend court. He was, therefore, arrested as stated above. Shivaji was sixteen years old when he seized Sinhagarh in about A.D. 1646 or a year or so before Shahaji was arrested in 1647 (Jedhe) or A.D. 1648 (Sarkar) and released on surrendering Sinhagarh and Bangalore.

In the soliloquy of Shivaji at the time of this arrest and in the speech of Adilshah hereafter to Afzulkhan whom he calls for conquering the ever advancing Shivaji, there are two references to Jawali and its ruler Chandraraj. We will close our paper with noticing these as they give us some new information and show that Shivaji was at 16 both a statesman and a general. Shivaji is made to say in his soliloquy, 'I have conquered Jawali famous among people and established in it Chandraraj who desired it.' This is a fact not yet known. It seems from this that old Chandraraj of whom we will speak presently had been dispossessed by some one and that he by the help of Shivaji got the place back. This shows how Shivaji first tried to conciliate

powerful Maratha Sardars and win them over to his side against Bijapur. In the speech of Adilshah to Afzul, Śiva Bhārata makes Adilshah say, 'Shivaji has seized Jawali after conquering Chandraraj, his son and his minister.' We have elsewhere shown, from a paper recently found, namely a letter of Afzulkhan to local Maratha Sardars, that old (Kadim) Chandraraj had died and some unauthorized person had seized Jawali. It, therefore, seems that the old Chandraraj, who was in favour of Shivaji and who was re-established therein by his aid, subsequently died childless and his widow, with Vijapur's consent, through Afzulkhan the local Suba, adopted a boy. This adopted son was then recognized ruler of Jawali and his real or own father was the actual *de facto* ruler; who was naturally called Chandraraj. He was most probably himself of the Chandraraj family. He, it seems, opposed Shivaji's ambition, naturally enough, his son given in adoption being recognized and put in possession by Afzulkhan. Shivaji, therefore, found it necessary to again attack Jawali as is well known and conquered it, Chandraraj the father dying in the conflict. The son, the real owner, fled to Rairi where being invested by Shivaji he submitted to Shivaji (Jedhe). Śivabhārata consequently mentions Chandraraj and the son separately. The Bṛhad inscription describes this Chandraraj as Janaka (real) father of a boy given in adoption, an important epithet. From this epithet, it is clear that the inscription-writer had other papers before him besides Śiva Bhārata.

The Hoysalas' Establishment of the Chola King¹

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

AMONGST the titles borne by the Hoysala Viranarasimha II and his successors is one, *Chōlarājyapratishthāchārya*, which signifies that he was the 'establisher of the Chōla king in his kingdom.' This title is mentioned in connection with him in the words *Śōla-maṇḍala-pratishthāchāryaṇ eṇnum kīrtti nilai-niṇṇutti alladu ik-kālam ūduvudillai*. "This trumpet shall not be blown unless (I shall) have maintained (my) reputation of being 'the establisher of the Chōla king in his kingdom'" that are put into his mouth in line 3 of the Tiruvēndipuram inscription (EI. vii, 160 ff.) of A.D. 1231-32 which relates how his generals, Appaṇa and Samudra-Goppayya,³ acting under his orders,

¹ In this article, the abbreviation EI stands for *Epigraphia Indica*; and EC for *Epigraphia Carnatica*. The inscriptions in the volumes of this publication are cited as EC. V, Channarāyapaṭṭaṇa 197; EC. IV, Nāgamaṅgala 98, etc.

² This title is usually interpreted as meaning "establisher of the Chōla kingdom" and it is so translated, for instance, by Dr. Fleet on p. 507 of his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* and by Dr. Hultzsch on p. 161 of EI. VII. Considering however that the form *Chōlarājyapratishthāchārya* is found used in EC. IV, Nāgamaṅgala 98 and other inscriptions and the fuller form *Chōlarājarājyapratishthāchārya* in EC. V, Arasikere 183, there seems to be no doubt that the correct meaning of the word is 'establisher of the Chōla king in his kingdom.' This is shown by the word *āchārya* also (= *purohita*; priest) that is found at the end of the word; see also the verses given on p. 200, n. 1.

The Kannaḍa poet Janna or Janārdana also, who was a minister, governor of a small division, and *daṇḍanāyaka* under the Hoysala Viranarasimha II as also his court-poet, has, in his *Anantanāthapurāṇa*, paraphrased the title *Chōlarājyapratishthāchārya* as *Chōlakulōddharāṇa* 'uplifter of the Chōla family' which also shows that the former title is concerned more with the relation of the Hoysala king with the Chōla king than with his relation with the Chōla kingdom.

³ As pointed out by Mr. Rice (EC. XII, Introd., pp. 9, 10), this exploit is referred to in an inscription at Arakere (EC. XII, Gubbi 45) wherein the two generals are called Appayya and Gōpayya. The *daṇḍanāyaka* Appayya is mentioned in *ibid.* Tiptūr 48, too, dated on 27th June, 1216 A.D. mentions a *mahāpradhāna* Goppaṇa (read so instead of Goyvaṇa—as printed) *daṇḍāyaka* and a *mahāpradhāna* Appaṇa—*daṇḍāyaka* who seem to be identical with the above two generals. They seem therefore to have held office under Narasimha's father, Viraballāla II also.

carried war into the country of Kōpperuṇjīṅga and forced him to set free the Chōla king Rājarāja III whom he was keeping in captivity.

Dr. Hultzsch who edited this inscription there has pointed out that the above-cited words show that the title was borne by Viranarasimha prior to the establishment of the Chōla king which is described in this inscription. He also pointed out that the title *Chōlarājyapratishthāchārya* and the title *Makararājyanirmūlana* (uprooter of the Makara kingdom) are applied to Viranarasimha in a Harihar inscription¹ (E.C. XI, Dāvānagere 25) of A.D. 1224, and that a *virakal* inscription (at Jōladāḷu; EC. VI, Chick-magaḷur 56), dated in A.D. 1222, mentions that Narasimha was 'marching against the Raṅga in the south,' that is, against the island of Śrīraṅgam. And he therefore concluded that the conquest of Śrīraṅgam and of the intervening Makara country took place, apparently, between A.D. 1222 and 1224, and that Narasimha assumed the titles *Makararājyanirmūlana* and *Chōlarājyapratishthāchārya* at some time between A.D. 1222 and 1224 on account of this conquest.

This conclusion, though accepted and repeated by later writers (for instance, by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri on pp. 150-151 of the *Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology for 1909-1910*, Part II), is, however, a mistake; and an inscription at Lālanakere (EC. iv, Nāgamaṅgala 29) and another at Āladahaḷli (EC. V, Arasikere 183) as also the opening verses of the *Jagannāthavijaya* indicate that it was in the reign of Viraballāla II that the Hoysala forces first conquered the Makara kingdom and established the Chōla king in his kingdom.

The *Jagannāthavijaya* mentioned above is a *champu-kāvya* written in Kannaḍa by a poet named Rudrabhaṭṭa who seems to have been a protégé of the Chandramauḷi-paṇḍita who is mentioned in it. This poet has mentioned neither the year in which he wrote the book nor the name of the king who was reigning at that time. In the beginning, however, he has, like the Kannaḍa poets Pampa (in his *Bhārata* or *Vikramārjunavijaya*) and Ranna (in his *Gadāyuddha* or *Sahasabhtma-vijaya*) composed benedictory verses that have a two-fold meaning and

¹ As a matter of fact, these two titles, or very similar ones, are found applied to Viranarasimha II in two other inscriptions that seem to have been written before 1224, A.D. one at Sivara (EC. V, Channarāyapaṭṭaṇa 197), dated in Śaka 1145 Svabhānu (on Chaitra-su 11, Sunday, saṅkramaṇa and vyatīpāta), and one at Kallukere (EC. VII, Channagiri 72), dated in Śaka 1143 Vikrama (on Vaisākha-su 5, Sunday).

refer both to a god and to the king; and as these verses¹ allude to the king having a queen Umā and another named Padmā, to his having defeated Kāma, and to his having the title *paramēśvara*, the authors of the *Karṇāṭaka-kavicharite* (I, 211) have correctly inferred from these details that the king referred to here is Viraballāla II who is moreover known to have had under him an officer named Chandramauḷi who was a *mahāpradhāna* and *maneveggade* (Superintendent of the Household) in A.D. 1186 (EC. V, Arasikere 127). One of the epithets used in these verses is *rājarāja-pratishṭhā-niratam* which indicates that Viraballāla had established Rājarāja, i.e., the Chōla king Rājarāja III, in his kingdom.

The Lālanakere inscription referred to above gives the titles of Viraballāla as *Samasta-bhuvanāśraya*, *Śrī-prithvī-vallabham*, *Mahārājā-dhirājam*, *Paramēśvaram*, *Parama-bhaṭṭārakam*, . . . *Magara-rājya-disāpatṭa* *Adiyama-gharaṭṭa*, *Chōlarājya-pratishṭhāchāryam* . . . *Pāṇḍya-gaja-keśari*, *śrīmat-pratāpa-chakravarti*, and also describes his son Narasiṃha in the following verse

ā rājāgrāṇi Yādavēndra-tilakam Ballāla-dēvamge gam-
bhīra-śrīy ene sanda Padmalā²-mahādēvi-nijātmōdara-

¹ I reproduce here the second, third and fourth of these verses :

ari-Kāma-dhvamsi nāgavrajamaya-katakam rājarāja-pratishṭhā niratam ilā-
kramodānchita-niravadhi-gāṅgēyakam dvīṭi-puradhvam |
sa-rata-krōdhām vṛishāṅkam vibudha-nutan Umā-kāminī-jīvitēśam
paramaīśvaryaśpadam rakshisuge vasudheyam yuddha-raṅga-Tripētram ||
jana-chittāhlāda-padam sakala-dharanibhṛin-mastaka-nystamāgir
pinam uchchaṇḍa-pratāpōdayam ari kumudābhōga-vidhamsiyāgir |
pinam udyan-maṇḍalāgram sale ghana-padavi-śōbheyam perchisuttir
pinam olpam pett udāttam beḷaguge jāgamam śrī-jagannātha-Sūryam |
ari-raudram kara-dairghyam ullasad-ahinālaṅkṛitam mūrti sākshara-sēvyam
nija-vidye viśva-vinutam padam sadālipriyam ||
vara-dānam nata-bhadra-lakshana-padam padmānushaṅgitvam ā gire pemp
achcharyi āda dēva-Gaṇapam rakshikke bhū-chakramam ||

² This Padmalā-mahādēvi is the same as the Queen Padmā mentioned above. She was, as is stated in the above verse, the mother of Viranarasiṃha II. The word Padmalā (in Kannaḍa, *Padmal*) is formed from the word Padmā by the addition of the suffix *lā* which is very similar to the suffix *ilā* mentioned in Pāṇini 5.3.79, and is probably identical with the suffix *lā* that is mentioned in the Vārttika, *u-varṇāl lā ilasya cha*, thereon.

Similarly—formed words are—Śāntalē (this is the name borne by two of the queens of the Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana) from Śāntā, Chandalē from Chandrikā

kshīrāmbhōnidhiyal samudbhavisidam vīraṃ Nṛisimham budhā-
dhāram Chōla-kuḷaikaraksha Magarōrvipāla²-nirmūlakam

as the 'sole protector of the Chōla family' and the 'uprooter of the Magara king.' And it relates that when Viraballāla was ruling at Dōrasamudra, his feudatory Mallanāyaka made a grant to the Mallikārjuna temple there in the Śaka year 1140 Bahudhānya, on Bṛīhavāra, the *thirteenth tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha, at the time of uttarāyana-samkrānti and vyatipāta.

This date has been discussed by me on p. 11 (No. 15) of my book, *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*; and it has been shown there that its English equivalent is Saturday, 25th January, 1214 A.D. in case Bṛīhavāra is interpreted as Saturday, and that it is Thursday, 11th January, 1218 A.D. ('1118' in my book is a misprint for '1218') in case it is interpreted as Thursday. The above-mentioned Saturday, however, cannot be the day intended here; for Rājarāja III, who was established in his kingdom by Viraballāla, commenced to reign only in June 27th–July 10, 1216 A.D. (see Kielhorn in EI. VIII, App. II, p. 24) and could not therefore have been established on the throne by him in or before January, 1214. A.D. Mallanāyaka's grant to the Mallikārjuna temple, therefore, must have been made on Thursday, 11th January, 1218 A.D. and the titles *Magararāja-disāpatṭa*, *Chōlarājya-pratishṭhāchārya* and *Pāṇḍya-gajakēśari*, applied to Viraballāla in the inscription, must have been assumed by him before that date.

The Āladahallī inscription referred to above is dated, Śaka 1161, Bahudhānya, Vaiśākha-śuddha 2, Budhavāra, and relates that, when the Hoysala Śrī-Viraballāla-dēva, who had the titles *Samasta-bhuvanāśraya*, *Śrī-prithvī-vallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, . . . *Pāṇḍya-gaṇḍasaila-Vajradāṇḍa*, *Makararāja-rājya-nirmūlana*, and *Chōlarāja-rājya-pratishṭhāchārya*, and who was ruling at Dōrasamudra over the earth, came to Bārakūru, his feudatory, the *mahāpashyita* Ankeya-nāyaka obtained permission from him to stay at Bārakūru. Now, Śaka 1161 corresponds to Vikārīn and not to Bahudhānya (which corresponds to Śaka 1141) and there was no Hoysala king named

(name of the queen of the Raṭṭa Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Lakshmidhara I of Saundatti), Bhāgalē from Bhāgā-dēvi, Hariyale from Harihara-dēvi, Lakkale from Lakshmi-dēvi, and Achale, Echale, Bommale, Honnale and Duggale from Achavve, Echavve, Bomnavve, Honnavve and Duggavve respectively.

² So read instead of *Magadhōrvipālanirmūlakam* as printed by Mr. Rice.

Ballāla who was ruling in that year. Mr. Rice has therefore suggested (EC. V, p. 428 of the Romanized text) that '1161' is a mistake for '1261' and that the inscription belongs to the reign of Ballāla III. This is, however, incorrect; and the title *Pāṇḍya-gaṇḍasaila-Vajradanḍa* 'a thunderbolt to the rock that is the Pāṇḍya king' shows conclusively that the inscription belongs to the reign of Viraballāla II. Like the titles *Chōlarājya-pratishṭhachārya* and *Makararājya-nirmūlana*, this title *Pāṇḍya-gaṇḍasaila-Vajradanḍa* too is, as we saw above, first found in connection with the Hoysala kings in the Lālanakere inscription mentioned above; and later, we find it, or the similar title *Pāṇḍya-gaja-kēsari*, *Pāṇḍyarāja-disāpaṭṭa*, and *Pāṇḍyarāja-pannaga-Vainatēya*, regularly used in the inscriptions of Viraballāla's son Viranarasimha II and in those belonging to the early years of his grandson Sōmēśvara. We thus find the title *Pāṇḍyarāja-disāpaṭṭa* used in connection with Sōmēśvara in an inscription at Gōvindanahallī (EC. IV, Kṛishṇarājapet 63) which relates that when King Sōmēśvara was in the Pāṇḍya country which he had 'acquired through his great valour' (*prabatatara-pratāpa-prasara-vaśīkṛita-Pāṇḍya-maṇḍalam*), he, being pleased at the prowess of his generals, the *daṇḍanāyaka* Bōgayya and his brother, the *daṇḍanāyaka* Mallayya, presented to them the village Teṅginakatta with its eleven hamlets that they may give it away to Brāhmaṇas, and that these generals did so at Sētu (Rāmēśvaram) on a Tuesday corresponding to 6th May, 1236 A.D.

Ten years later, however, we find in an inscription at Rāyasetṭipura (EC. III, Maṇḍya 62), dated Tuesday, 12th March, 1247 A.D., the title *Pāṇḍyarājya-sthāpanāchārya*, instead of the title *Pāṇḍya-rāja-disāpaṭṭa*, used of Sōmēśvara, which indicates that the Pāṇḍya king had, in the meanwhile, been beset with troubles, ceased to be the enemy of Sōmēśvara and had actually invoked, and got his help to ward off other enemies. And thereafter, we find this title or the similar title *Pāṇḍyarājya-pratishṭhachārya*, *Pāṇḍya-samuddharāṇa*, *Pāṇḍyarājya-samuddharāṇa*, *Pāṇḍyakula-samuddharāṇa*, or *Pāṇḍyarāja-rājya-vallari-vasanta*,¹ used regularly in the inscriptions in connection with Sōmēśvara and his successors Narasimha III and Ballāla III.

Ballāla III thus never had any title like *Pāṇḍya-gaṇḍasaila-Vajradanḍa*; and the use of this title therefore indicates conclusively that

¹ See EC. XII, Tiptūr 12; III, Tirumakūḍlu-Narasīpura 78 and 97; IV, Kṛishṇarājapet 9 and Nāgamaṅgala 97 respectively.

the above-mentioned Āladahallī inscription belongs to the reign of Viraballāla II. Whether the figure 1161 in the inscription is a mistake for 1141, or whether the Śaka year associated in the inscription with the *saṃvatsara* Bahudhānya is said to be the 1161st (instead of the 1141st) according to some usage¹ current at that time, is a thing which we cannot now determine; but there does not seem to be any doubt that the inscription belongs to the reign of Viraballāla II and is dated in the year Bahudhānya which corresponded to K. Y. 4319 or A.D. 1218-19. The English equivalent of the date mentioned in the inscription is therefore Wednesday, A.D. 17th April, 1219; and this inscription, too, shows that Viraballāla had assumed the titles *Pāṇḍya-gaṇḍasaila-Vajradanḍa*, *Makararājya-nirmūlana* and *Chōlarājya-pratishṭhachārya* before that date.

As we have seen above, the epithets *Chōla-kulaikaraksha* and *Magarōrvīpala-nirmūlaka* are used in the above Lālanakere inscription in connection with Ballāla's son Narasimha. This, and the use of the titles *Magararāja-disāpaṭṭa* and *Chōlarājya-pratishṭhachārya* in connection with Viraballāla himself in that inscription, indicate that it was Narasimha who led the Hoysala army, conquered the Magara kingdom and established the Chōla king on his throne and that it was because of these exploits of the Hoysala army led by Narasimha that he and his father Ballāla assumed the above titles.

This is brought out quite clearly by the following verses :—

jātā Vikramapāla-Pāṃsa-Makara-prōddanḍa-Hoysāryamā
yad-yajñē paśavaḥ śarāḥ paridhayaḥ sangrāmabhūr maṇṭapaḥ |
sva-krōdhō 'rapir idhmam unmada-ripu-grāmāḥ pratāpō 'nalō
mantraḥ kōpa-karāḷa-karkkaśa-vachāś Chōla-pratishṭhā phalam ||
khaḍgam Vikramapāla-Pāvusa-śirō-mastishka-paṇkāvīḷam
prakshubhyān-Makarōshṇa-rakta-sarītā prakshālyā virōddhataḥ |
prōdyad-vairi-kadamba-pāṃsu-pihitam Chōlam pratishṭhāpya yaś
Chōla-sthāpana-Pāṇḍya-khaṇḍana iti prakhyāta-kīrtir bhuvī ||

that are found respectively in the above-mentioned Gōvindanahallī inscription and a copperplate inscription found in the Bēlūr temple (EC. V, Bēlūr 74), and belonging to the reign of Sōmēśvara and his son Narasimha III. It is said explicitly in these verses that it was

¹ It is interesting to note that there is a similar difference of twenty years between the Śaka years that are actually mentioned in EC. VIII, Soraba 213 and Śravaṇa-Bēlgola 52 and that ought to have been mentioned there according to the generally prevalent usage.

Narasimha, who, after killing Makara (i.e., evidently, the king of the Makara country), and Vikramapāla, Pāvusa (or Pāmsa), and other officers (of the Pāṇḍya king?), reinstated the Chōla king in his kingdom and assumed the titles *Cholasthāpana* (i.e., *Chōlarāja-pratishthāchārya*) and *Pāṇḍyakhaṇḍana* (i.e., *Pāṇḍya-gaja-kēsari* or the like). As we know from the Lālanakere inscription that these titles were assumed by Narasimha before January, 1218 A.D., it follows that the expedition referred to in the above verses must have been led by Narasimha before that date, in A.D. 1217 or a little earlier. The names Vikramapāla, Pāvusa and others mentioned in these two inscriptions point likewise to the conclusion that the expedition referred to in them is different from the one referred to in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription; for in this latter inscription, the chief enemy officers killed by the Hoysala forces are said to have been Viragaṅganādālvāṇ, Chinattarayaṇ and Parākramabāhu and not Vikramapāla, Pāvusa, and others.

The above-mentioned verses leave no doubt that the Hoysala forces led by Narasimha on the expedition in question were opposed by, and vanquished, those of the Makara and Pāṇḍya kings and that it was on account of this conquest that Viraballāla and his son Narasimha assumed the titles *Magararāja-diśapattā* (*Magararāja-nirmūlana*) and *Pāṇḍya-gaja-Kēsari* (*Pāṇḍya-gaṇḍasāila-Vajradāṇḍa*), which, like the title *Chōlarāja-pratishthāchārya*, are for the first time applied to him in the Lālanakere and Āladahallī inscriptions mentioned above. The Pāṇḍya king who was ruling at that time was Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I who ascended the throne in 1216 A.D. (see Kielhorn in EI, VI, 314) and who claims in his inscriptions to have 'taken the Chōla country.' This must have been done soon after his (and the Chōla king Rājarāja III's) accession to the throne, towards the end of A.D. 1216 A.D. or the beginning of 1217 A.D.; and the Chōla king having apparently appealed to Virabhallāla, the 'Emperor of the South',¹ for help, the latter sent his son Narasimha with an army and had the Chōla king re-established in his country.

It is therefore very probable that (as Dr. Hultzsich has said on

¹ The titles *dakṣiṇa-chakri*, *tenkapa-chakri* and *dakṣiṇa-chakravarti* all meaning 'Emperor of the South' are applied to Ballāla II in Channarayapaṭṭa, 179, Bālūr 72 and 77, and other inscriptions.

p. 162 l.c.) it is this expedition of Narasimha that is referred to in the Jōlādālu inscription mentioned above. Dr. Hultzsich's opinion that it is dated in 1222 A.D. does not however seem to be correct. In the first place, he has himself quoted (l.c., p. 162, n. 10) Dr. Kielhorn's opinion that there is no day in 1222 A.D. that corresponds fully to the date, Śaka-varsha 1144, Chitrabhānu, Āśvija-śuddha 10, Maṅgalavāra, cited in the inscription since Āśvija-śuddha 10 corresponded to Friday, 16th September, 1222 and the *tithi* on the preceding Tuesday (13th September) was su-7 and not su-10. Secondly, the wording of that inscription, *svasti samasta-bhuvanāśrayaṃ śrī-prithivīvallabham śrī, mahārājadhirāja-paramēśvaram parama-bhaṭṭārakam. . . niśanka-pratāpa-chakravarti Hoysana śrī-Viraballāla-dēvana magam Viranārasimha-dēvanu tenkalu-Raṅgana mēle naḍev andu*, seems to imply that Narasimha's father Viraballāla was living at that time, that the event recorded in the inscription, namely, the death of a Kālagauḍa, took place in his reign, that is before 16th April, 1220 A.D., on which day his successor Narasimha was crowned (see EC. V, Channarayapaṭṭa 172) and that therefore the year Chitrabhānu mentioned in the inscription is the mean sign Jovian year of that name (see in this connection, pp. 3 ff. of my *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*). As in this mean sign Chitrabhānu, Āśvija-su 10 ended at 14 gh. 16 p. after mean sunrise on Tuesday, 12th September, 1217 A.D., this Tuesday is, in all probability, the equivalent of the date mentioned in the inscription.

We learn then from this inscription that Narasimha was marching against Śrīraṅgam in the beginning of September, 1217; and we learn from the Lālanakere inscription that he defeated the forces of the Pāṇḍya and Makara kings and re-established the Chōla king in his kingdom before 11th January, 1218, after a short campaign of about three months. This evidently was the first occasion on which the Hoysalas established the Chōla king in his kingdom; for it was after this expedition that Viraballāla assumed the title *Chōlarāja-pratishthāchārya* as well as those of *Magararāja-diśapattā* and *Pāṇḍya-gaja-kēsari*.

We do not know exactly on how many other occasions Viranarasimha re-established the Chōla king, in the time intervening between January, 1218 A.D. and the expedition referred to in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription. We learn, however, from an inscription at

Naulē¹ (EC. V, Channarāyapaṭṭana 211) that he did so on one occasion at least, when, after his father's death and his accession to the throne, he set forth on a *digvijaya* beginning with the east, and, after destroying the Magara king, re-established in his kingdom the Chōḷa king who had offered his submission. Regarding the Makara kingdom, too, it is probable that he conquered it on other occasions besides those referred to in the Tiruvēndipuram, Naulē and Jōḷadāḷu inscriptions. Thus, the Kallukere inscription mentioned above (p. 2, n. 1) contains the following verse

āneya nāyakange neṇad-āneya-nāyakan allad ānan emb
i-nuḍi yēvud endu Narasiṃha-mahīpati nūru-gāvudam |
tān irad etti mūḍaṇa-diśāvarad uddhataram poraḷchi nūr
āneyan oḍḍid ā-Magaran-āneḡaḷam piḍitandan aśvadiṃ ||

wherein it is said that Narasiṃha on his horse fought with the Makara king who had brought a hundred elephants to the battle-field and captured them after defeating the enemy in the east. An inscription at Kembāḷu (EC. V, Channarāyapaṭṭana 203), dated in Śaka 1146 Svabhānu (Āśvīja-ba 11, Sunday) relates that Viranarasimha, who was marching against the Makara kingdom, was at that time encamped in Chuḍavāḍiyakoppa and wore, amidst much rejoicing, an emerald necklace received from Munivarāditya; and another at Hāranahallī (EC. V, Arasikere 123; dated in Śaka 1156 Jaya, Vaiśākha-su 11, Friday) relates that Narasiṃha was encamped at Ravitadāṇada-kuppa preparing to march against the Pāṇḍya king (and against the Makara kingdom which he had to pass through on his way).

The expeditions referred to in these three inscriptions seem to be quite different from those mentioned in the Jōḷadāḷu, Naulē and Tiruvēndipuram inscriptions.

Narasiṃha therefore established the Chōḷa king in his kingdom on at least three different occasions and overran the Makara kingdom at least six different times.

¹ āsīd Ballāḷa-dēvē pariṇata-vayasi sthāpya rājyē Nṛsiṃham
svar-yātē tasya rakshan śirasi vinihitam śāsanam sarvam āpya |
vīra-śrī-Narasimha sthira-pada-kamalam samyag āśṛitya tishṭhan
kāṅkshan . . . sukīrtim daśa-diśi vitatām rājya-lakshmīm samagrām. ||
tataḥ paṭṭābhishiktō Vīra-narasimha-bhūpaḥ sakala-dig-jayārtham pravṛittah
pūrvaṃ-pūrva-diśāvaram gatvā prati-pravṛittah Magararājyam nirmūlya śaraṇā-
gata-Chōḷam rājyē pratishṭhāpya (read so instead of śaraṇāgata-chōḷa-rājyam
pratishṭhāpya as given in the edition).

It is doubtless this *dig-vijaya* and the horses, elephants, and jewels won therein that are referred to in the above-mentioned Sivara inscription.

Reviews

'CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR'

BY

RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B.A.,
Retired Deputy Commissioner.

[Published under the orders of Government at the Government Press, Nagpur, 1926, price, Rs. 3 (4s.), pp. lv, 308 and 8.

CONSEQUENT upon the conference of Orientalists held at Simla in July, 1912, the Government of India promised to assist the Local Governments in the matter of publishing *Catalogues raisonnés* of ancient manuscripts. The Central Provinces Government took up the idea and started a scheme, the genesis of which may be traced to Gough's Papers relating to the collection and preservation of the records of ancient Sanskrit literature, published in 1878, and even earlier, in the labours of Dr. Kielhorn and Dr. Bühler, and the former edited the material collected in the Central Provinces in the form of a classified alphabetical catalogue which was published in 1874. The material thus brought to light was confined only to certain towns, and the collections in the more remote regions were left untouched. A later effort made in 1903 proved abortive, since the collector of MSS deputed by the Bombay Government neglected the province as 'wholly wanting in a literary class.'

The present Catalogue is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the Brahmanical records, of which the manuscript collections of the Pandits of Saugor and Ratanpur may be noted, besides the fine collection of the Bhonsles of Nagpur; and the second dealing with the Jain records of which the five temple Bhandars at Karanja in the Akola District of Berar is to be noted as containing some very rare works and which the editor examined with the help of Mr. Hiralal Jain. The owners, the subject-matter and the names of the authors of the manuscripts are given after a laborious process of verification with

the help of previous Catalogues like those of Aufrecht and others. Some few records, mostly Jain, are furnished with supplementary notes; while at the end there are a few extracts which 'caught the eye and appeared important from linguistic, historical and other points of view.'

The introduction by the editor would claim for the provinces as its own products, great literati like Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Buddhist Mādhyamika philosophy, Guṇādhya, Śarvavarma, Hemādri, Bhāskarāchārya, Lakshmidhara and others too many to enumerate here. More than 8,000 manuscripts of Sanskrit and Prakrit have been examined in the present edition; and prominent attention has been given to the Karanja collection, the oldest MS of which is the *Upasakachara* of Samantabhadra with a commentary by Prabhāchandra, dated V.S. 1415. Digambara writings predominate in this collection. Besides a fairly exhaustive series of notices of great Jain writers from Kur'akundācharya, the editor shrewdly points out that Pushpadanta, the author of an epic (*Mahapurāṇa*) and the protégé of Bharata, the minister of King Subhatungarāya of Manyakheta, lived in the time of Krishna III (A.D. 939 to 959) and possibly completed the work by Śaka 887, and wrote later his other works the *Yaśodhara Charita* and the *Nāgakumāra Charita*. Among the Brahmanical records is a fourth *śataka* of Bhartrihari till now credited only with three *śakas*. Both the Brahmanical and Jain records deserve more minute and intense examination, and we should welcome any further attempt that may be made to extend the search for manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar.

C. S. S.

'KAUTILYA', Vol. I.

BY

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAYA, M.A.

Lecturer, Calcutta University.

(Published by R. Cambray & Co., Calcutta, Price Rs. 7-8).

THIS is an attempt at an elucidation of the political and social principles of Kauṭalya, the foremost political thinker of Ancient Hindu India. Since this great work was discovered, there have been many scholars at work, each studying the work from his own view point. Still the Kauṭaliya opens a vast field for further work and will engage a number of scholars for a long time to come. The book under review is more

an exposition of Kauṭalya's social and political life than a critical and historical study. The author proposes to place before the public two volumes on the subject, and this first volume is on the art of good government. The object of the author set forth in the opening pages of the book, namely to present the guiding principles of the greatest Arthaśāstra teacher as to the ends and functions of government, and we have no doubt he has succeeded in his endeavours to a great extent.

Professor Bandopadhyaya has no doubt attempted to trace the evolution of the Kauṭaliyan institutions from very early times, and has also tried to compare them with similar institutions from mediæval English History. On this side we are afraid enough has not been done. But more cannot be expected from a treatise which purports itself to be a study of the Kauṭaliya treatise. What he has to say, he says clearly and in an unambiguous style. It would have been better if the author had adopted the term 'Kauṭalya' instead of 'Kauṭilya', and had furnished us with a lengthy introduction of a critical examination of the theories already propounded examining them in the light of sober facts. None the less, the work is the best of its kind and hence has a value of its own. For the books on the subject so far published do not present in a handy volume the true views of Kauṭalya on the art of good government, and this purpose is served by the book on hand. Though carefully printed, occasional misprints of words mar the work. In other respects the book is an attractive volume that deserves careful study by all those interested in Hindu culture.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

'HISTORY OF INDIAN AND INDONESIAN ART'

BY

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

[London, Edward Goldston, 1927.]

DURING recent years the study of Indian art as such has been receiving the attention of scholars to a far higher degree than hitherto. Notwithstanding the fact that archaeologists have been devoting much labour to the study of these monuments and other works of art systematically for very much more than half a century, the credit of having made this departure of studying Indian archaeological material from the view-point of the artist may be said to have been initiated by Mr. E. B. Havell more than a score of years ago. In the nature of

the case the progress in the studies has been slow as was inevitable. A considerable accumulation of material is a prerequisite to any satisfactory study of art as such. This collection of material has been receiving vast additions within recent years, thanks to the various archæological expeditions under the lead of Sir Aurel Stein and others in North-western India as well as the French school at Hanoi and the Dutch school in Batavia. In India itself it is Calcutta that has given the lead in this particular, and the school of Mr. O. C. Gangooly and his confreres deserve credit. The Calcutta University itself under the inspiration of the late Sir Asutosh Mukerji has now a Chair of Indian art. It is thus clear that there has been for some time a rising interest in the study of Indian art, and it is in the fitness of things that there should be a corresponding output of literature to meet this demand. Among a number of works of value may be mentioned prominently two or three recent publications which attempt a systematic treatment of this important department of Indian studies during the last year or two. The outstanding work is that of Codrington and Rothenstein, *Ancient India*, the first volume of the series of three as yet published; next comes Mr. N. C. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting*, and last but not less important therefore, the work under review, Mr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. This is a comprehensive treatise which attempts to give a general conspectus of all works of Indian art, not only as they are found in its homeland of India, but also in its ramifications outside of India, particularly in the eastern direction, Indonesia including the Islands and peninsula and to some slight extent even China and Japan. Mr. Coomaraswamy has long been an enthusiast for this subject and is the author of many other works bearing on this and connected subjects of Indian culture. He has had opportunities, such as very few have had, of an extensive study of the subject and, what is more than this, he has got that sympathy and understanding which is, more than all, necessary for the useful study of a subject like this. We have in a work of about 213 pages his disquisition on the subject followed by a bibliography running through about fifteen pages, quite comprehensive, though not altogether exhaustive. Then follows his description of the plates which run up to 128. This again is followed by a supplement of about eight maps and a general index of a little more than thirty pages. Then come the illustrations in 128 plates, as was already

noted, but containing four hundred illustrations beginning with the Limestone Statute found in Mohenjo-daro and ending with Painted Cloth of Modern Times woven in the Islands of the Archipelago. The student interested in art has thus placed before him a volume containing as much as one could reasonably demand for an introduction to the subject to enable him to pursue his studies in the subject. He would find all that he may reasonably want for guiding him through a somewhat difficult but interesting subject.

Mr. Coomaraswamy deals with the subject with his usual perspicacity and comprehensiveness under the various periods ordinarily recognized as divisions marking developments of Indian culture. He divides the subject also to some extent into various branches of art giving the necessary separate treatment without forgetting at the same time the more comprehensive outlook. The illustrations are well chosen and are exceedingly well executed. They are typical for the actual subjects with which each deals and give a good idea of development. It would be difficult to do justice to a vast subject so well treated in the comparatively short span of a review article, but it may be pointed out that Mr. Coomaraswamy raises a protest against the current theory that all works of art are more or less imitations, particularly in regard to the actual nature of the so-called Gandharan art and its relation to the rest of the artistic work of India generally, more so in the department of Buddhist art. While he does recognize that there are elements borrowed here and there and the influence of Asiatic Greek art traceable in certain particulars, he shows good reasons for regarding that Indian art as such is Indian pre-eminently as a whole. We believe this opinion has come to be generally recognized even by European scholars who have paid special attention to the subject. He further points out the possibility of the existence of previous monuments of an easily destructible character, which is generally not given adequate recognition, and is able to see that much that is otherwise inexplicable in works of art in a more permanent material to sources of indigenous character.

The historical part of his work is generally sound, though here and there one might note small blemishes from the point of view of strict students of history. The work is printed and got up in a style quite suitable to the character of the theme it deals. The work appears to have been printed in Germany and shows unfortunately a number of

blemishes of the printer. We pass over the minor ones which may be readily corrected by any intelligent reader. But there are some of a more serious character to which attention may be drawn. Apart from mere mistakes of spelling or omissions as such, certain names are made to appear differently, which is of a far more serious character. We come across on page 38 the name Vidyādurrapuram. The correct name is Vidyādharpuram. Similarly on page 68, we come upon the name Pellēsvaram in the Tanjore District in footnote 3. The correct name is Paṭṭiśvaram which is another name for Dhēnupura containing the Dhenupuriśvara temple. There are a few others of that kind. Errors of another character, we find on page 16; B.C. 618 is given as the date of the death of Ajataśatru according to Jayaswal. We very much fear that the date is perhaps almost a century too early according to Jayaswal. His date to the *Buddha Nirvāṇa* is B.C. 544-43. On page 66 in footnote 3 Caṣṭaṇa is said to be an Andhra king. Perhaps it would be more correct to call him a Śaka king. These are merely small blemishes, but they are pointed out here as errors of a character which are likely to confound the unwary reader.

On page 123 Vijayanagar is said to have been founded by Harihara II in A.D. 1379. The city was founded long before that, the city having been in existence for half a century before him at least. The credit of Harihara was that he declared himself to be emperor of the south as against the Muhammadans, and the date A.D. 1379 may not be incorrect for that.

Coming to the subject-matter of the treatise itself, we find Mr. Coomaraswamy following Monsieur Goulebew in ascribing the great rock-face panel at Mahabalipur popularly called Arjuna's penance to the coming of the Ganga. We fear that notwithstanding the general acceptance that the new theory has met with at the hands of scholars, it would be difficult to prove it on any reasonable basis of picture writing. A picture writer would certainly attempt to make the most striking features of a story appear in the picture so as to suggest at the mere sight the whole story itself. In the *Gangāvataraṇa* the favour that Śiva is said to have done to the devotee King Bhagirata consisted in his receiving the flowing stream of the Ganga on his head to let her down slowly again, so that she may not vanish into the bowels of the earth as she did at her first descent. Otherwise for the coming of the Ganga itself Bhagirata obtained the boon not from God Śiva according to the story.

In the picture the figure that is shown as bestowing the boon is undoubtedly Śiva and not Brahma. The actual favour done by Śiva which is really the crucial point is not at all indicated in the picture. Whereas in the incident of Arjuna's story at the crucial point, it is the turn for Śiva to appear and give him the boon that he wanted, the famous *Paśupata Astra*. The presence of Śiva and his attitude towards the ascetic Arjuna are as clearly indicated as the circumstances of the case would admit in the crucial part of the scene. But the real indication comes from another part of the picture. A stream is a very desirable feature, if not indispensable, of the hermitage of a Rishi which is the most eligible spot for the performance of undisturbed penance. The sculptor has made use of a natural channel for the purpose of transforming it into a river running close to the hermitage showing the inhabitants of the locality in all their avocations at the river—the animals, human beings and all other kinds of attendant details. Just above this on the left side could be seen a galloping boar with two hunters striding along behind it; tall, well-made men carrying big bows in their hands ready strung for use. The boar is the only animal that shows fright and gallops for all it is worth. The other animals of the vicinity are all of them quiet and familiar in their surroundings. This gives the correct indication that what is intended was Arjuna's penance, and Śiva's kindness in bestowing the boon that Arjuna sought of him, a present of his *Paśupata Astra*. The Pallava court of the time was familiar with the recently published work of Kirāta Arjuniya, the author was in residence at the Pallava court at the time and the work was commented on by a Ganga king also of about the time. This must have made a deep impression and this particular incident is taken hold of by contemporary Tēvāram hymnners as a typical indication of Śiva's favour to those that devote themselves to him, and worship him. This has been pointed out by us in our papers on Mahābalipuram published in the *Indian Antiquary* almost ten years ago. Another point is that Mr. Coomaraswamy remarks on foot-note 1 that the rock-cut shrines of Māmallapuram are said to have been called after the heroes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the references are given 'as pages 75-77 of Professor Jouveau-Debreuil's work on *Architecture and Iconography*, vol. i.' The French Professor does not make that statement in regard to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is the *Mahābhārata* heroes that he gives. That association of the *Mahābhārata* heroes is

due to the fact that the most important feature of the locality is Arjuna's penance. One other feature that we notice is, a comparatively strange omission in a work like this, is the feature that the stories of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* which are found carved on reliefs in Sumatra and Java, places in Indonesia, is a feature which is characteristic of Chālukyan architecture; and this is found in perhaps the most glowing examples in the temples constructed by the Hoysalas in Mysore, such as Halabīḍ, Bēlūr or Somnāthpur. There is a considerable similarity between this feature of Hoysala temples and what one finds in the larger temples in the Islands and in Cambodia. We have not come across any reference indicating this similarity as far as we can remember. We have not indicated these blemishes to find fault with the work but much rather to indicate where exactly the author might reconsider his position. We have no hesitation in congratulating the author upon the excellence of his work and commend it to all those interested in this somewhat recondite subject on Indian studies as perhaps one of the most satisfactory handbooks by way of introduction.

STUDIES IN INDIAN PAINTING

BY

N. C. MEHTA, I.C.S.

[Taraporavala Sons & Co., Bombay.]

THIS is a work which forms a companion to the one reviewed above, *Indian and Indonesian Art* by Ananda Coomarasami. It attempts to bring together a certain amount of new material for the study of Indian Painting which has already been done in several classical works by different authors, the one challenging comparison with this being *Mughal Painting* by Lawrence Binyon. The chief merit of this work is that it publishes illustrations not hitherto published and lays emphasis upon a part of the subject which has already come to receive some recognition at the hands of students of this subject, namely, that *Mughal Painting* is not all the result of influence of Persian painting. In order really to understand the elements that had gone to the building up of the art under the great Mughals, one has to recognize the continuous Indian tradition which showed itself from the days of Ajanta and perhaps even earlier and continued right down perhaps to

the eighteenth century. We might recognize a Pahari school in the sub-Himalayan region and a Gujarat school during the period for which corresponding representations of other Indian schools are not forthcoming. Mr. Mehta traces the history of the art from the time of Mahendravarman through such remnants of Mediæval Painting as were made accessible to him relating to mediæval Gujarati hitherto classed as Jain painting, as do others that study Indian art with classifications, such as Hindu, Jain and Buddhist from the point of view of art alone is false and misleading. While the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist may have differed from the point of view of religions, the background of life, ordinary and artistic, was the same among all the three. It would be much better to call it Indian or Hindu. These separate religions sometimes find patronage at different periods of Indian History and this patronage occasionally exhibits itself in works of art. While therefore there is room for a study of these separate sections, it is high time that it were generally recognized that the study as a whole must be pursued as a unitary study, the study of Indian art or the study of Indian painting.

It is on this understanding that the question actually arises how far the Mughal art in the Court of the great Mughals could be regarded as modelled on the Persian. The Persian art of the days of Shah Tamasp and the works of Bihzad may have exercised their influence, but there are other influences that made the art of the Mughals Indian, though not altogether without traces, and important ones at that, of Persian influence. It is now generally recognized that while Indian art does certainly borrow, the artistic genius of the country was living enough so to influence it and alter it as to make it characteristically Indian. Mr. Mehta has important chapters on secular painting in Gujarat and Jaipur Painting. He has a chapter on the Bundela school and another on the court art of Tehri-Garhwal, which gives some indication of the neglected regions which he has discovered. The work is a very useful addition to the already excellent handbooks bearing on the subject, in itself. In the reproduction of specimens, Mr. Mehta has in some particulars excelled his predecessors, some of those that can be found in exact copies perhaps in similar works of art. But the reproduction is nearer the original, at any rate, and gives a better impression of the original.

Before closing this short review a word must be said about the

excellent work of the printers whose part of it is very creditable to them. Messrs. Taraporavala Sons & Co., of Bombay, are the first Indian firm perhaps to adventure into producing works of an artistic character; at any rate, one such, we remember, the *Women of India* by Mr. Rothenstein. This work marks a great advance in respect of the reproduction of the illustrations than even its predecessor. We congratulate them upon their contribution to this important work on Indian Painting.

'DOCTRINE OF THE BUDDHA'

BY

GEORGE GRIMM

[Published by Offizin W. Drugulin, Leipzig.]

THIS is a remarkable work, and its production and publication give a clear sign of the times. Europe after the war is in the throes of a reconstruction, and European society, which is often described as being constituted on a basis of pure industrialism, shows signs of running to excess in many departments of human well-being. One of the vital weaknesses of this state of society is the absence of a restraining moral force which has been the means of keeping society within the bounds of discipline. According to the talented author of this work, what Europe wants is the discipline of a controlling spiritual force, which in this age of nescient science, has become non-existent; if it does exist, such a spiritual influence exercises no force whatsoever. The search for a religion that would appeal to people in such a frame of mind by the author resulted in his discovery that the teachings of the Buddha, unalloyed by the natural outgrowths of later developments in it would meet the present need. The doctrine of Buddha thus divested of its outgrowths seems in the opinion of the author to offer to him the only cure for the spiritual ills of the West. Such, at any rate, according to the author, is the idea with which he has proceeded to the comparatively difficult task of unravelling from the tangle of outgrowths and importations the actual teaching of the founder of Buddhism.

In this search for the Holy Grail, the learned author has marked out for himself, as incorporating the unalloyed teaching of the Buddha the literature in Pali bearing on Buddhism. He apparently is not

aware, or, being aware he is disregarding, of the contention, that for the actual teachings of the Buddha Sanskrit works prevalent in the North is about as valuable, if not more, because they have the character of a continuous unbroken tradition of the land of its origin. Notwithstanding this, there is justification for his choice. Sanskrit Buddhism, as it might for brevity be called, though undoubtedly based on material as old as is found in Pali literature still underwent a course of expansion over practically half of Asia, and having been exposed to external influences to a far greater degree than the scriptures in the Pali language, may be regarded as inferior as a source of the real teachings of the Buddha. In any case, it would not be a profitless venture first to thrash out the whole of the Pīṭaka in Pāli and disentangle the teaching of the Buddha, at any rate, as a first step in the process. A similar process of separation of the actual teaching of the great founder from Sanskrit literature would be equally desirable, and the result of the comparison between the two would take us nearer to the actual teaching of the Buddha, perhaps not by the simple process of merely taking that as the teaching of the Buddha which is contained both in the Sanskrit and in the Pāli scriptures. In any case, it is a laudable attempt. In the altruistic effort of providing for people on the borderland of agnosticism, if not atheism, a religion which would satisfy the nescient science of the twentieth century, the author hit upon the teaching of the Buddha as meeting the want. With such a living ambition as this, the author proceeds to his work. He examines the Pāli Nikayas carefully, goes to the root of every doctrine taught in them, and himself lays bare what in his judgment are the fundamentals of the teaching of the Buddha. He then attempts to expound this simple teaching, and exhibits in the course of his exposition close similarity of this teaching to the findings of modern philosophers like Schopenhauer. The work attempts merely the exposition of the 'Four Great Truths', the *Chatvāri Ārya Satyaṇi*. The whole of the exposition is thorough-going, is supported by authorities with precise references for verification, so that a serious student of religion has before him all the material to form a judgment of his own upon the question under discussion. In the ultimate result, one is surprised to find that the exposition of the learned German savant of the twentieth century does no more than arrive at the actual exposition of the teaching of the Buddha, or, as it is put in

the quaint language of the text, the teaching of 'the Path of the Piṭakas' in the Tamil classic, *Maṇimekhalai* in Book XXX of the work. It is not to be understood that the work of the German scholar is a mere copy or paraphrase or even an elaboration of this classic, but that the agreement is in the substance of the teaching; the modern scholar has undoubtedly to adopt a method very different, and radically different from, that of the ancient poet. But, none the less, the coincidence of the substance of the teaching is remarkable.

The work of George Grimm deserves well of all those who are serious-minded enough to make an investigation into the relative merits of the various systems of living religions, and we commend it, with the greatest confidence, as a reliable modern exposition of the ancient great doctrine of the Indian founder of the new religion of his time.

'THE THIRD BRITISH EMPIRE'

BY

ALFRED ZIMMERN

[Oxford University Press, price, 6s. net.]

THIS is a course of lectures under the auspices of the Julius Beer Foundation delivered at the Columbia University, New York, in 1925. It deals with the character of the British Empire as it exists to-day. It is called the Third British Empire as the character of that Empire has changed from time to time and two stages in this onward growth have already been passed, and, since the Great War, it has distinctly entered upon the third stage. The first empire the talented author marks as having come to a close with the struggle of the Colonies in America for independence dating it in 1776 or thereabouts. Since then, the empire underwent a change of character. It maintained the remnants of its outlying possessions and added new ones to them. The empire was based upon British sea-power and stood for democracy and responsible government in the ultimate development. That position has been strained to the utmost by the Great War, so that, with the advent of peace at the end of the war, the empire has changed its character so thoroughly that the old empire might be said to have ceased. This empire of the British which has survived the war is what the author calls the Third Empire. The question that he propounds to himself at the outset is that while as a

result of the war other empires in Europe have vanished, such as the German Empire, the Austrian Empire, the Russian Empire, and the Turkish Empire, the British Empire seems to continue intact, and this strange phenomenon he proceeds to examine in all its aspects.

He devotes the first of his five lectures to an examination of the character of this Third Empire, what it stands for and how its character has changed in the process of evolution under stress of events like the Great War itself. As he points out, British foreign policy in the nineteenth century can be summed up in the four watch-words—'glorious isolation, naval supremacy, workshop of the world and benevolent trusteeship'. He examines all of these four cardinal factors of the foreign policy and comes to the conclusion that radical changes have taken place in all of them. Great Britain can no more regard herself as a distinct factor with a policy of her own and separated completely from the rest of Europe. The idea of unquestioned naval supremacy is fast wearing away and she has ceased, in many particulars, to be the workshop of the world. Even in regard to the government of coloured races, she does not put forward the benevolent trusteeship as pointedly as she used to do before, so much so that an observer examining the British system will find that it is 'no longer gloriously isolated and proudly self-sufficient, but as dependant as other members of the world's political society, upon the co-operation of other states'. The British Empire, therefore, seems to feel that international co-operation is as much of a vital necessity to her as to others after the war, and it is this British feeling conjointly with a similar feeling among other European states, very much more stricken by the war that has brought about the League of Nations, which as an institution to-day, is something very different from the Hague Conferences and conferences of that kind which were organized, with the same laudable object of avoiding war.

According to Professor Zimmermann, 'the League Covenant differs from earlier documents of a somewhat similar character in three all-important respects: its signatories are far more numerous, constituting the overwhelming majority of the world's governments; its provisions are more far-reaching, including the establishment of a permanent administrative, deliberative and eventually also a judicial organization; and, last but not least, it is based, implicitly if not avowedly, upon an agreed philosophy of government'. He points out that the

League is not an executive body and therefore does not pretend to undertake any centralized direction. The League allows entire freedom to the States in the pursuit of their own policy till such a pursuit threatens to result in war. This naturally involves certain steps to be taken for securing this condition more or less of a positive character. Thus the League has assumed the character of an association for mutual protection. What is more than this, the League has become in the short period of the seven years of its existence a standing agency of co-operation in matters of concern to all civilized peoples. These concerns though they do not strike the eye readily are, none the less, matters vital to the maintenance of civilization; and it is here that the co-operative method of the League has already shown possibilities of beneficent collaboration. The ideas that led to the creation of this League of Nations have germinated, so far as the British Empire is concerned, in a way to transform the British Empire, at least so far as the more important members of it are concerned, into a mere *entente cordiale* of British Dominions. The four great factors of British policy in the nineteenth century have changed, 'glorious isolation' becoming a co-operative system of international defence, the workshop notion giving place to comparatively free exchange of commodities and the very principle of British 'benevolent trusteeship' itself is getting to be governed by the mandate system so that the British Empire of to-day, the Third British Empire as the Professor has named it, is fast developing into a British League of Nations within the general league so far as Britain and her dominions are concerned.

But then, the British Empire has to deal with non-white peoples and that subject occupies the third lecture. The tie of material interests among the Dominions is fast giving place to the more spiritual one of a common political tradition, common political institutions, and a common political outlook on public affairs. With the advance of this idea the relations of Great Britain to the non-white peoples have undergone a similar change. Even here racial distinction and racial discrimination are fast giving place, thanks to the influence of the principles involved in the mandate article of the Covenant. In the case of the great majority of these coloured races, the preliminary training is felt to be over and the principle of equality between the coloured and the non-coloured is becoming gradually to be accepted. Notwithstanding the embarrassments that Great Britain seems to feel in giving effect to this

principle of equality which did not appear to give so much trouble, say to the French and the Italians, the principle is still gradually gaining ground. The actual embarrassments are the question of colour superiority and eugenics which the Professor calls graphically, the 'brother-in-law complex'. These he passes over as sentimental and belonging to a region which need hardly be brought into the discussion. The question is one, according to him, of 'ordinary common place, political and social rights—for justice, for civil equality, for tolerance and for courtesy'. The Japanese claim to assert the principle of equality to races in international society was accepted by the majority of the League of Nations, but was not accepted by President Wilson, Chairman, on the ground that on a matter of that importance, unanimity was required to give effect to it. The Professor winds up his lecture with the following:—'I look forward to the day, not, I hope, far distant, when the representatives of India, acting on behalf of the British delegations, will re-introduce this Japanese proposal before the League of Nations Assembly. When the principle of racial equality—equality in international society and before the League of Nations—has been solemnly accepted by the representatives of fifty nations and inscribed in the world's charter, the apologists of the new slavery, of whom the world is hearing too much, will be effectually silenced. At the same time, the greatest physiological obstacle in the way of the world's peace will have been removed. Moreover, we of the British Commonwealth will have shown that we are prepared to stand by our profession that the Third Empire is a true Commonwealth of Nations.' Let us hope that this Commonwealth will be realized sooner rather than later.

The next lecture deals with international co-operation. In regard to this important subject, the position is summed up by Culbertson in his Report on Colonial Tariff Policies:—'If international economic relations are to remain unregulated', he says, 'if the security of each nation is to depend on its having political control of the markets and sources of raw material that its economic life requires, it means war; first commercial war, then military war'. Even here the professor finds British tradition progressive, idealistic and international and suggests as the line of advance 'concerted action to work out a programme of economic disarmament in the many fields which economic militarism has invaded by the natural method of a world economic conference',

and concludes his interesting lecture with his conviction 'that this is a task in which Britain should take a leading role. We were the first to see the possibilities of the great Industrial Revolution a hundred and fifty years ago. We should be the first also in this post-war era to see the possibilities of international economic co-operation which involves nothing less than a change of outlook in the whole management of the public affairs of the world'.

The last lecture takes up the important subject of Empire and Nationality. The author finds the tendency to be to banish the notion of nationality from politics into the region of culture and civilization. He claims in fact that the English have de-politicized nationality, and has the following regarding the subject ;—'The movement for cultural self-determination which we find springing up within the British Empire is perfectly sound, healthy and indeed inevitable. It is a movement which has manifested itself in Ireland, in Wales where there is now a very active native drama, in French Columbia, in Dutch South Africa, and has spread, of course, throughout India. Such a movement with the emotional ardour in the spiritual awakening that it implies is far healthier than the more insistence on political action along nationalistic lines which has led to so many wars in Europe and which may so easily lead to further wars in Asia'. He concludes this important lecture with the following eloquent sentences :—'If, as I believe, the British Commonwealth surmounts its present difficulties which I am not the least to underrate, if it survives to play a pioneering part in future world affairs, it is because its foundations are securely laid on the rock of human nature ; because we have tried to develop institutions which correspond to what men and nations really are, rather than to any artificial scheme in our own minds. We have tried to be true to the laws of life, not simply to the rules of politics and the schemes of constitution-makers, to those laws which relate political science, the specialism of the scholar, to the deeper realm of ethics and of psychology.'

'We of the Third British Empire know that empires and constitutions are nothing in themselves. They exist to serve men and nations, not to mould them or to exploit them.' It is to be hoped the Empire will prove true to it and the British nation will rise to the high level of the enlightened ambition to which expression is given in the eloquent words above.

This small book of less than a hundred and fifty pages is so interesting and thought-provoking that everybody that takes interest in active politics would do well to look through. We looked forward to this clear *exposition* of a complex subject from the learned author, and we were not disappointed. We commend the work to our readers, with great pleasure.

'MEMOIR OF THE LIFE OF THE LATE NANAFARNAVIS'

Compiled from family records and extant works

BY

A. MACDONALD

[Oxford University Press for the University of Bombay]

THIS is an account of the life of the great Mahratta statesman by an officer who lived in the stirring times in India when Nana was at his highest, and had survived him for some years. This work by Capt. Macdonald was compiled from personal knowledge, conversation with those that played each his own particular part, and various records in original, such as family records, etc., in Mahratti, and as such partakes of the character of a first-hand compilation by one that is not much removed either in distance or in time. This interesting account of the complicated history of the great character who, having begun life at nineteen continued to influence the destinies of the Mahratta people through the most critical phase of their history attaining to an eminence which made him the sole arbiter of the destinies of India in the last years of the eighteenth century. The writer is obviously one that had intimate knowledge of affairs in the Mahratta country, and writes the biographical account with sympathy and with a touch of hero-worship which is generally regarded as absolutely essential to the writer of a biography. He traces the intricacies of the history of the Mahrattas in all the important transactions of which, ever since the days of Madhava Rao the Great, Nana Farnavis bore his share, while in the latter part of that history, he played the principal part. The complicated tangle is expounded with clearness and understanding as the writer had first-hand knowledge of what took place on the side of the British more or less intimately. While the writer does not show himself to be particularly inclined to gloss over anything in

the character or the transactions of his hero, he gives the Mahratta statesman credit for patriotic intentions and good character. Notwithstanding his intimate knowledge, the account in certain places still remains a tangle difficult for the ordinary reader to see through. He winds up the narrative with this character for Nana Farnavis :—' The life of Nana may be said to have been entirely public and its events have been so fully recorded as well as the motives for his conduct that it is unnecessary to enlarge on his character. In private life he was a man of strict veracity, humane, charitable and frugal; his whole time was regulated with the strictest order, and the business personally transacted by him almost exceeds credibility.

' In regard to civil government whilst he continued in power he endeavoured to follow the system of Madhava Rao Balhal, but overwhelming business, and the frequent distractions which prevailed produced great laxity in the superintendence.

' In his person, Nana was tall and thin, his complexion was rather dark and his demeanour grave; but his look intelligent, quick and penetrating as will be perceived by references to the enclosed picture, the original of which is an exceedingly well painted picture in oils, preserved with great care at Manaoli, his family Jaghir by his widow of whose immediate history more will be added.' Thus this life partakes of the character purely of the public life of the great statesman notwithstanding the statement of the author that during the period of his active life there was practically nothing left to add that can be regarded as private. Notwithstanding the unfavourable outward impression that a mere reading of history may produce upon the careless reader, the Nana in spite of weaknesses had a character very different can be inferred from an autobiographical note left by him which had been translated by Lt.-Col. John Briggs and published in volume ii of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1827. The autobiography goes up to the time of the Nana's entry into service under Madhava Rao, but gives one clearly to understand the kind of man that was in him. Mr. Rawlinson has done service to Indian History by printing this as well as Kasi Rao's *Account of the Battle of Paniput* already reviewed in this Journal, and the Bombay University deserves the thanks of those interested in Indian History for having made themselves financially responsible for the publication.

GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES XXIX

' NYAYAPRAVEŚA ', PART 2

ISSUED BY THE

CENTRAL LIBRARY, BARODA

THE enterprising Library Department of the Gaekwad of Baroda has brought out the second part of this important work, an introduction to Buddhist logic, generally ascribed to Dignaga of Kanchi, though one set of scholars, not without good authority, regard it as the work of one of his direct pupils, Śāṅkarasvāmin. The work had hitherto been known only in bits quoted in various commentaries on the subject and, in a comparatively fragmentary condition, in its Sanskrit texts. We are now in possession of a Chinese version, a Tibetan version, and a Sanskrit version. The Sanskrit is in course of preparation for publication by Principal A. B. Dhruva of Benares in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. The Tibetan text is what is published here by Vidhusekhara Battāchāryya of the Viśvabhāratī. As forming part of the whole work, it publishes the Tibetan text with the necessary apparatus for comparison with the other texts, copious explanatory notes, and indexes to enable comparative study of a satisfactory character. It is provided with an introduction and the usual preface.

The introduction deals with the work itself. There has been a certain amount of confusion in regard to the name itself. Two works were known from the catalogues of Chinese manuscripts, one *Nyāyapraveśa*, and another a *Nyāyadvāra*, to be brief. In certain of these catalogues, the latter was ascribed to Nāgārjuna, and was regarded as a separate work. Professor Bhattacharyya here shows conclusively that the work known as *Nyāyadvāra Tarkasāstra* or *Nyāy Tarkadvāra Śāstra* are both one and the same. The confusion seems to have been brought into the question by the Chinese calling the work *Nyāyapraveśa*, the Tibetan *Nyāyadvāra*. By a comparison of a certain number of names the learned professor comes to the conclusion that the *Nyāyapraveśa* and the *Nyāyadvāra* are different names of the same work. The other work referred to above, *Nyāyadvāra Tarkasāstra* or the *Nyāy Tarkadvāra Śāstra* which the late Mahamahāpādhyaya Vidyabhushana regarded as one proved to be different. The *Nyāyapraveśa* or *Nyāyadvāra* is in prose with only two verses, one at the beginning, one at the end. The other is a verse treatise.

composed of twenty-eight *Karikas* without one line of prose, the ascription of this work to Nāgārjuna is due to misreading or misinterpretation of Chinese characters.

In regard to the authorship of the work, the position is this. The Sanskrit text we have does not mention the name of the author. There are two Tibetan versions, one of them translated straight from a Kashmir Sanskrit text which is what is published in this part. This manuscript mentions at the end that this *Nyāyapravēṣa Dvāra*, a work of Mahācārya Dignāga, is completed. The text of the second version which was made in Tibetan from the Chinese translation of Hiuen T'sang similarly contains that the *Pramāṇa Śāstra* named *Nyāyapravēṣa*, the work of Dignāga, reaches its completion. The *Pramāṇa Samucchaya*, another work of Dignāga is a compilation, according to his own statement, from his other works, so that it may serve as a ready hand-book. The Tibetan version of it commences with this statement after the propitiatory verse. But in a comment that he himself has contributed to the work, it is said that this work *Pramāṇa Samucchaya* has been compiled from works like *Nyāyadvāra*, and others of his own composition. So far, therefore, as the Tibetan side of the evidence is concerned, it is complete, in making the *Nyāyapravēṣa Dvāra* the same as *Nyāyapravēṣa* and ascribing it to Dignāga as the author. This is confirmed by a commentator Jinendra Buddhi in his commentary *Viśālamati* on the *Pramāṇa Samucchaya*. In this work, not only is his *Nyāyapravēṣa* ascribed to Dignāgachārya, but his definition of *Pratyaksha* is quoted therefrom. This only confirms the statement of Haribadhrasūri where he quotes the first part of *Pramāṇa Samucchaya* known as *Nyāyapravēṣa Vṛitti*, early in the twelfth century.

The Professor next proceeds to confirm this from quotations from Kumārila's *Ślokavarttika* and the commentary of Parthasarathi Miśra in a passage where *Pratyaksha-Viruddha* is discussed. Similarly Parthasarathi Miśra refers to the example 'my mother is a barren woman' in his discussion of Kumārila's three-fold *Śabda-Viruddha*. This example is given in the same words in the *Nyāyapravēṣa* and in the *Mañimekhalai*. Then follows another important point, the example given for *Loka-Viruddha* which according to Professor Bhattacharyya consists in the statement that what the word calls 'the moon is not the moon' (Sans. *Śaṣṭi na chandraḥ*). This example is not found either in the Sanskrit text of the *Nyāyapravēṣa* or in the published Tibetan

version which was made from Kashmir, or at the very best Northern India. This is found in the Chinese version and is also quoted in Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu*, a commentary on the *Nyāyapravēṣa* with a slightly different reading *a-chandra* for *na-chandra*. It must be noted here that this example occurs in the *Mañimekhalai* under the same heading.

Further the commentator Dharmottara on Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu* actually mentions the name of Dignāgachārya as the author of the *Nyāyapravēṣa*. Thus it becomes clear that there is a considerable volume of evidence, Indian and Tibetan, that makes the *Nyāyapravēṣa* a work of Dignāga. But as against this the Chinese version of the *Nyāyapravēṣa* distinctly states that Bhodhisatva Śankarasvāmin was the author of the *Nyāyapravēṣa*. This is, of course, followed in the Japanese account. Kuhei-ci, a disciple of Hiuen T'sang in the commentary on the *Nyāyapravēṣa* makes a similar statement. But it is strange that Hiuen T'sang who translated the *Nyāyapravēṣa* himself should not have mentioned the name Śankarasvāmin who was undoubtedly a great disciple of Dignāga. He must have considered the work *Nyāyapravēṣa* an important one as he carried it home from India and took it for translation himself. Neither is Śankarasvāmin's name mentioned by I-tsing where he speaks of logicians whose works were read by students in India. He refers to Jina's eight *Śāstras* and the name Jina is an error for Dinna, which is the name of Dignāga. Among the eight works on logic which I-tsing ascribes to this Dignāga, Śankarasvāmin's name does not figure in any one of them. The professor, therefore, gives up the job as hopeless how the error could have arisen among the Chinese and Japanese scholars to ascribe the *Nyāyapravēṣa* to Śankarasvāmin instead of to his preceptor Dignāga. One explanation seems possible, and that is that probably the work was actually taken to China either by Śankarasvāmin himself, or by some immediate disciple, who, having learnt it from Śankarasvāmin, taught the work as that of his master. The work might have been taken to China from South India, and hence the difference noticed above, regarding the example to illustrate *Loka-Viruddha* not being found in the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, but found only in the Chinese. The same example is given in the *Mañimekhalai*, and therefore that must have been the text prevalent in Kanchi. That there was communication between Kanchi and China about that time is clear from the fact that an Indian priest by name Bodhi Dharma, who

is described as the third son of a king of Kanchi in South India, is said to have gone to China in A.D. 527 and taught the Chinese the dogmas of the Dhyāna school. The Chinese version therefore seems to be based on a South Indian Sanskrit text while the Tibetan version published in the work under review is based probably upon the North Indian. We welcome the publication as a very important addition to the literature of Indian culture, and we look forward with some expectancy to the publication of the other part.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

VOLUME XVIII (4)

- JADUNATH SARKAR: 'A Hindu Traveller in Southern India.'
 H. HERAS: 'Asoka's Dharma and Religion.' After explaining Asoka's Dharma the paper concludes that the Asokan inscriptions contain nothing to prove that he was a Buddhist, his religion being based on Hinduism and influenced by Jainism.

Journal of the Mysore University, July 1927

- S. V. VENKATESVARA: 'Critique of South Indian Art.' This is a short introduction to the study of the South Indian Temple, and examines the site, form, plan, animal forms in reliefs, symbolisms in number, etc., of the South Indian temples, as well as the symbolism in Hindu Iconography.
 S. V. VENKATESVARA: 'India in the Second Century B.C.' Co-ordinates the scraps of information available from numismatics, epigraphy and tradition and gives a glimpse into the social life of this period.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (London Institution)

VOLUME IV, PART III

- W. P. YETTS: 'A Chinese Treatise on Architecture.'
 J. CARPENTIER: 'Remarks on the Identification of some Jataka Pictures.'
 J. KATS: 'The Ramayana in Indonesia.'

Indian Historical Quarterly, March 1927

- H. HERAS: 'The Final Defeat of Mihirakula.'
 V. V. SHARMA: 'Sudhālēpavidhānam.' (Methods of plastering walls for painting.) Gives some account of an early text on fresco-painting with text and English rendering.
 U. N. GHOSHAL and N. DUTT: 'Taranatha's History of Buddhism in India' (translated from German).

- M. M. BOSE : 'The Kalinga Edict.'
 S. K. DAS : 'The Origin and Development of Numerals.'
 M. N. BANERJEE : 'On Metals and Metallurgy in India.'

Indian Historical Quarterly, July 1927

- B. M. BARUA : 'Maskari as an Epithet of Gosala.'
 R. BASU : 'Vijayanagara in Bengal Tradition draws attention to the references to Vijayanagara history and culture in contemporary Bengali and Sanskrit Literature.'
 S. V. VENKATESVARA : 'Origins of Hindu Iconism.'
 BALAKRISHNA : 'The object of the article is to point out the mass of light thrown by Hindu Literature on the rise and genesis of the State.' It is concluded that the Hindus by following the deductive and historical methods in their discussion have given all possible solutions to the problems of the statal evolution long before the ancient Greeks or the modern Philosophers.
 S. R. DAS : 'The Origin and Development of Numerals.' (Concluding portion.) It is concluded that the numerals with zero existed in the first century B.C. in India in a perfect form at a time when there is no evidence to show that they existed in any other country.
 R. KIMURA : 'The Mahayana and the Hinayana works known to Nagarjuna.'

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April 1927

- C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS : 'The Unknown Co-founders of Buddhism.'
 E. H. JOHNSON : 'The Text of Buddha-Charita.' Cantos 1 to 3.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

VOLUME XIII, PART I

- R. C. CHANDA : 'Notes on the Muhammadan Conquests of Orissa.'
 M. GANGULY : 'Notes on Indian Architecture.'
 H. S. AHMED : 'Zibunnisa Begum and Diwani-Mukhfi.'
 BANERJI-SASTRI : 'Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.'

Jignyāsa

VOLUME I, No. II

- A. SASTRI : 'Ācharya Sundara Pandya.' Discusses the identification proposed by Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri in the January number

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 231

of the Journal of the Oriental Research and proves that Ācharya Sundara Pandya must have lived long after Śankara at the time of Amalānanda.

- K. G. NATESA SASTRI : 'Śrīkanthāchārya.'

Journal of the Department of Letters

VOLUME XV

- NARENDRANATH LAW : 'The Spiritual Culture of the Hindus and the Interpretation of their Civilization.'
 U. GOSHAL : 'Kautilya's Place in the History of Hindu Political Theory.'
 CARL FORMACHI : 'The Upanishads as the Landmark in the History of Indian Thought.'
 K. CHATTOPADHYAYA : 'The Identification of the Rigvedic River Sarasvati and some connected Problems.'

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute

VOLUME VIII, PART IV

- V. R. R. DIKSHITAR : 'The Art of War as practised in South India.'

Bengal Past and Present

- SIR E. COTTON : 'Benoit De Boigne.'
 J. C. SINHA : 'The Company's Trade in Bengal in the Days of Cornwallis.'
 B. K. BASU : 'The Passing Away of Shujah-ud-Daulah of Oudh (1754-75).'
 B. BENERJI : 'Zinat-un-Nisa.'

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

July 1927—

- S. K. DE : 'On the Date of Subhasitavali.'
 MD. NAZIM : 'The Hindu Shahiya Kingdom of Chind.'
 H. R. DIVEKAR : 'The Dual Authorship of the Kavya-prakasa.'

K. R. Cama Orient. Inst., No. 9

1927—

- J. J. MODI : 'The Birth-place of Zoroaster.'
 C. FORMICHI : 'Meditative and Active India.'

J. A. S. B.

XXI, 1925, No. 5

A. S. RAMANATHA IYER: 'The Martyrdom of St. Thomas.'
 MD. ABDUL AZIZ: 'The Deccan in the 15th Century.'

XXII, 1926, No. 1

C. W. GURNER: 'Some Textual Notes on Āśvaghosha's Buddh
 Charita.'

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*, 3, 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, Rajahmundry.
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.
21. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
22. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.
23. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archæological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
24. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
25. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
26. *The Shrine of Wisdom*, Lincoln House, Acacia Road, Acton, London, W. 3.
27. *Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

A History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān (Based on Original Persian Sources)

BY

ABDUL AZIZ, *Barrister-at-Law*

ABBREVIATIONS

Āīn.—Abu'l Faḡl, *Āīn-i-Ākbarī*, 3 vols. (Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow, 1893).

Āīn. B. & J.—Abu'l Faḡl, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, 3 vols., translated by H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett.

A.S.—Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambo, '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* or '*Shāh Jahān Nama* (*Bibliotheca Indica*).

B.N.—Mulla 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāh Nama*, 2 vols. (*Bibliotheca Indica*).

E. & D.—Sir H. M. Elliot and Prof. John Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, 8 vols., 1867–77.

E.F.I.—*English Factories in India*.

I.G.—*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 26 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909).

Irvine, Army.—William Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls : Its Organisation and Administration*. (London, 1903.)

M. L.—Muḥammad Hāshim Khān ("Khāfi Khān"), *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, 2 vols. (*Bibliotheca Indica*).

M. U.—Nawāb "Ṣamṣam-ud-Daula" Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'aṣir-ul-Umarā*, 3 vols., (*Bibliotheca Indica*).

Qazwīnī.—Muḥammad Amīn bin Abu'l Ḥasan Qazwīnī (otherwise known as Mīrza Amīnā Qazwīnī), *Padshāh Nama*.

Tuzuk.—*Toozuk-i-Jehangeeree*, edited by Syud Ahmud (Ally Gurh, 1864.)

Tuzuk, R. & B.—*Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, or *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, translated by Alexander Rogers, and edited by H. Beveridge. 2 vols. (London, 1909 and 1914.)

NOTE (1) 4,000/3,000, etc.—The *manṣab* or rank of 4,000, etc., personal and 3,000, etc., horse.

(2) Titles are always given within inverted commas, except when a man's title is better known than his name, in which case his title is freely used as a name.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

In spelling Oriental names I have followed the System of Transliteration adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Names of places well known to us to-day I have left unchanged, following as far as possible the spelling in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xxvi (Atlas). In certain names of persons, which the reader will readily distinguish, I have followed the popular pronunciation: Any other course seemed to me more pedantic than scholarly.

NOTE ON CHRONOLOGY

A. THE MUSLIM ERA

The Muslim or the *Hijrī* era began on July 16, 622 A.C. The year, which is lunar, consists of the following twelve months, and comprises 354 days (or, in a leap year, 355 days, with 30 days to *Zu'l-hijj*):

Muḥarram	30	days.
Ṣafar	29	"
Rabī' I	30	"
Rabī' II	29	"
Jumāda I	30	"
Jumāda II	29	"
Rajab	30	"
Ṣha'bān	29	"
Ramazān	30	"
Ṣhawwāl	29	"
Zu'l-qa'd	30	"
Zu'l-hijj	29	"
(or 30 in leap year).		

It must be remembered, however, that the rule according to which the months have alternately 30 or 29 days, is true only approximately and in long calculations. Variation in latitude and longitude sometimes makes a difference in the number of days in a month, so that a month may begin a day earlier in one place than in another. The actual appearance of the moon plays an important part in the determination of Muslim dates. We often have two consecutive months of 30 or of 29 days in practice. Thus is explained much of the prevailing confusion about *Hijrī* dates.

It must also be noted that the day, according to the Muslim Calendar, consists of the period from sunset to sunset (and neither from sunrise to sunrise, which is the Hindu practice, nor from midnight to midnight, which is the modern European method of calculation); so that 'Friday evening' 'or Friday night' in the mouth of a Muslim historian means the evening or night occurring between Thursday and Friday, and not the one between Friday and Saturday.

B. THE *Ilāhī* OR DIVINE ERA

This era, although established in the 29th year of Akbar's reign, had retrospective effect, and began with the year of his accession, 963 A.H. (1556 A.C.). The reckoning was solar; and the year, which began on March 11, consisted of the following months:—

Farwardīn	(Māh-i-Ilāhī).	Mīhr	(Māh-i-Ilāhī).
Ūrdībihisht	(„ „).	Ābān	(„ „).
Khurdād	(„ „).	Āzar	(„ „).
Tīr	(„ „).	Dai	(„ „).
Amurdād	(„ „).	Bahman	(„ „).
Shahrīwar	(„ „).	Isfandārmuz	(„ „).

The number of days in a month varies from 29 to 32.

C. THE CHRISTIAN ERA

All the Christian dates I have given are Old Series, which was then current in England.

CHAPTER I

DEATH OF JAHĀNGĪR AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SUCCESSION

SECTION 1

DEATH OF JAHĀNGĪR

In the autumn of 1627 A.C., while Jahāngīr was on his last pleasure-trip to Kashmir, suddenly his old complaint, asthma, returned. He

rapidly lost strength and went about on a *palkī*, being unable to ride. One day the pain became severe and his life was despaired of. He said that his end was approaching; and there were signs of disturbance at the court. But this time the Emperor rallied. Soon, however, he lost appetite: natural scenery made no appeal to his senses. Even the taste for opium, his life-long companion, was gone; and he could take nothing but a few cups of wine. It was obvious that the Emperor had not long to live.

At this time Prince *Shahryār*,¹ who was of the royal party, was suffering from *dā'-uṣ-ṣa'lab*² (fox-evil); he had lost all the hair of moustaches, brows and eye-lashes which badly disfigured his face. The court physicians could render no help. He sought permission to proceed to Lahore at once to have the benefit of medical treatment there, and, in spite of *Nūr Jahān*'s entreaties to the contrary (who dreaded developments on the Emperor's demise), persisted in his resolve and left Kashmir. At his request Prince *Dāwar Bakhsh*,³ nicknamed *Bulāqī* (son of the late Prince *Khusrau*), whom the Empress *Nūr Jahān* had, for political reasons, placed in his custody, was taken from him and put under the charge of *Irādat Khān* ("A'zam *Khān*")—*Mir Bakhshī*.

The Emperor tried to amuse himself by wandering about, and visited *Maḥḥī Bhawan*,⁴ *Ajwal*⁵ and *Vernag*. About this time return to Lahore was ordered. The Emperor had a shoot on the way at *Bairam Galla*.⁶ The peculiar charm of this favourite hunting-ground lay in the fact that here there was a high hill, at the foot of which the Emperor and party used to be stationed. The beaters brought the game from the other side of the hill right up to the ridge,

¹ See table on p. 240.

² Various translated as 'scald' or 'alopecia'. According to *Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ* and the author of *Mulakhkhaṣ* he had syphilis also.

³ See table on p. 240.

⁴ *Maḥḥī Bhawan* is probably *Bhawan* or *Bawan*—4½ miles from Islamabad—where, Dr. A. Neve tells us (*Tourist's Guide to Kashmir, Ladakh, Skardo, etc.*, 86), the water abounds with fish.

⁵ All the texts have *Ajwal*. *Achibal* is probably meant, with its beautiful pleasure-garden and encamping ground. For the *Achibal Garden* see C. M. Villiers Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, 189-98. *Achibal* is 7 miles, and *Vernag* 19 miles, from Islamabad.

⁶ This is modern *Baramgalla*—a small village, shut in by mountains—next stage after *Thana Mandi*, going to *Srinagar*, and 10 miles from the former.

and as soon as the quarry was seen it was shot and fell helplessly over the precipice, which stood sheer, the Emperor enjoying the fun.

On this occasion a beater brought a deer on to the top; the animal took his stand on a piece of stone, from where he was not clearly visible to the Emperor below. The man rushed forward to drive the game from his shelter, but lost his balance in the attempt, pulled by the roots the bush at which he grabbed, fell headlong, and came down a misshapen corpse. The Emperor's mind, already unhinged, was upset by the incident; the hunt came to a close, and *Jahāngīr* retired to his camp. The mother of the deceased wailed and moaned before him: cash presents would not console her. The Emperor's mind knew no rest; in fact he never recovered from the shock.

The imperial party marched from *Bairam Galla* to *Thana*,¹ and from *Thana* to *Rājaur*.² It left *Rājaur* in the afternoon—as usual. On the way the Emperor asked for a cup of wine, but, not finding it to his taste, rejected it. His ailment took a turn for the worse; when he reached the next stage (*Chingīz Hatī* or *Chingīz Hatī*)³ he was sinking. In the latter part of the night the condition became critical. Towards morning he could breathe with difficulty, and on Sunday, the 28th *Ṣafar*, 1037 A.H. (=15th *Ābān*, 22nd Regnal Year = 28th October, 1627), at about 9 a.m., the great Emperor—great with all his weaknesses and limitations—died in his 60th lunar, 59th solar, and 22nd regnal, year,⁴—and left behind him a welter of contending forces and conflicting ambitions.

SECTION 2

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUCCESSION

The death of *Jahāngīr*, as usually happened in such cases, left the Empire in a condition of unstable equilibrium.

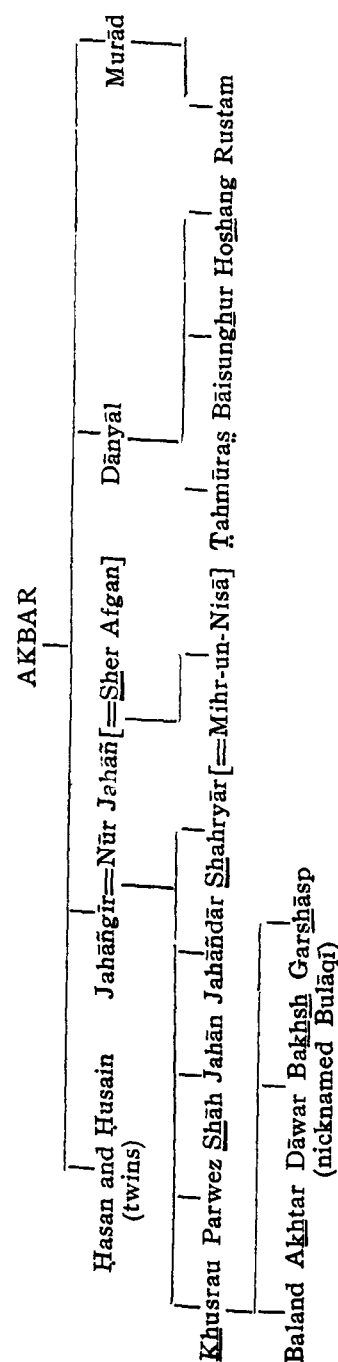
¹ Known to tourists of modern Kashmir as *Thana Mandi*: 33° 2' N., 74° 11' E.

² Modern *Rajauri* (33° 25' N., 74° 21' E.), capital of a state of that name. For information about *Rajauri* state see *Journal of Punjab Historical Society*, vol. ix, part II, pp. 131-60, and Cunningham and Mojmudar, *Ancient Geography of India*, 148-49.

³ Modern *Chingas Serai* or *Changas Serai*, situated in 33° 14' N., 74° 20' E. All these places are on the road from *Gujrat* to *Srinagar*, and are to be found on the Government of India Survey Map sheets (4 miles to an inch).

⁴ He was aged 58 y., 1 m., and 29 d. by the solar, and 59 y., 11 m., and 12 d. by the lunar, calculation.

To understand the events that followed it in quick succession, we must have before us the following genealogical table:



Out of the sons of Akbar, omitting the twins who died early, Murād (with his son, Rustam) and Dānyāl had predeceased their brother, Jahāngīr; so also had the latter's sons, Khusrau, Parvez and Jahāndār. So the struggle for the throne could only be between Shāh Jahān, Shahryār and Khusrau's sons (of whom only Dāwar Bakhsh and Garshāsp remained); while among remoter heirs and possible claimants were the sons of Prince Dānyāl: Tahmūraṣ, Bāisunghur and Hoshang—all still alive. Shāh Jahān was by far the ablest of all the possible candidates for the crown, and had once been nominated heir, while Shahryār had a general reputation for being worthless (*nāshudant*);¹ and Khusrau's sons were further removed, though in direct line of descent from Akbar. But Shahryār, being the husband of Nūr Jahān's daughter by Sher Afgan (named Mihr-un-Nisā), was backed by the Empress, who, by placing a figurehead on the throne, looked forward to another long rule for herself like the one which had just terminated.² And Shāh Jahān's disobedient and rebellious conduct during the closing years of Jahāngīr's reign had disgusted the latter, and diminished his chances of succession.

At the time of Jahāngīr's death, Dāwar Bakhsh, Tahmūraṣ, Bāisunghur and Hoshang were with the royal party in Kashmir, while Shahryār was, as we have seen, on the way to Lahore. Shāh Jahān's sons, Dārā Shukoh, Shāh Shujā' and Aurangzeb, who after long negotiations had been sent to the Emperor as security for their father's good behaviour, had accompanied the Emperor. The royal party also included the Empress Nūr Jahān, her brother Āsaf Khān, Irādat Khān ("A'zam Khān"), Mir Bakhshī, and Khawājā Abu'l Hasan.

Judging from the Empress's ascendancy and undisputed power during the latter years of Jahāngīr's reign, and from the fact that Shāh Jahān was at this time far away in the Deccan, one would think Shahryār had as good a chance as he could have wished. And on reaching Lahore before the royal party, while, on the one hand, of course he missed the chance of being declared Emperor forthwith, which Nūr Jahān undoubtedly desired; he got, on the other, an opportunity to prepare for a determined fight against the supporters of

¹It appears from Qazwīnī that it was Shāh Jahān who gave him that nickname.

²Qazwīnī.

Shāh Jahān's claims with all the military advantages and equipment that the capital of the Punjab at this time afforded,—of which we shall have to speak more fully later.

But fate willed otherwise. The most important factor in the situation, as it turned out, was Āṣaf Khān, the elder brother of Nūr Jahān and father-in-law of Shāh Jahān, who had already been suspected of secret sympathy with the rebellious prince.

It is thus clear that the struggle for the throne lay really between Shāh Jahān and Shahryār, so that the other princes were only pawns in the game: and as we shall see they were used as such. We are now in a position to follow the course of events:

As soon as the Emperor breathed his last, Āṣaf Khān took prompt action, and, grasping the whole situation with the eye of an experienced statesman, speedily decided to proclaim Dāwar Bakhsh Emperor and took Irādat Khān and other nobles into his confidence. So he lost no time in taking Dāwar Bakhsh out of custody and offering him the throne of the Indian Empire. Poor Dāwar Bakhsh would not believe him, but Āṣaf Khān convinced him of his good faith by taking solemn oaths. Then Āṣaf Khān and Irādat Khān proclaimed him Emperor and resumed the journey.

Nūr Jahān was alarmed; she sent repeatedly for her brother, on pretence of taking counsel, but really with a view to taking him and his colleagues prisoner; but he was too wary to play into her hands so readily, so he put her off on one excuse or another, and bade his friends beware.

Nūr Jahān, completely checkmated and undone, saw nothing for it but to follow in the rear with her husband's remains in front of her and the sons of Shāh Jahān seated in the same *hauda* with her, surrounded by the small band of attendants who still continued loyal.

This plan of making Dāwar Bakhsh a stopgap and a scapegoat was dictated by the peculiar circumstances of the case: Shāh Jahān was far away, and his immediate coronation, which would have definitely squashed all opposition, was out of the question. Nor could he come in time to fight the issue, which was sure to be decided before he arrived. And nobody could be expected to draw the sword for an absent hero, however popular: such battles were fought for personalities, not for causes. It would have been absurd waging battle against Shahryār without the knowledge and authority of a

properly constituted sovereign. Dāwar Bakhsh offered a convenient figurehead, and the frightful fraud practised on the unsuspecting boy, who neither claimed, nor intended to contest, the throne, was of course no consideration in the game. Needless to say, Āṣaf Khān's position would have become awkward if Shahryār had had the sense to take Dāwar Bakhsh along with him to Lahore, which he could very easily have done.

Further, the fact of Shāh Jahān's sons being in the custody of Nūr Jahān was yet another reason for nominating Dāwar Bakhsh to the throne and disarming Nūr Jahān's suspicion and hostility against the father of those boys; though it is more than doubtful that she was deceived. In fact that is why, as we shall soon see, Nūr Jahān was isolated at the earliest possible opportunity, and a sedulous watch was kept over Dāwar Bakhsh.

To resume: the same day Āṣaf Khān called for Banārsī, a Hindu, who was Superintendent of the Elephant Stables, and, holding out promises of imperial favour, ordered him to fly 'like wind' to Prince Shāh Jahān with the news; and as there was no time for a letter he handed him his signet by way of his credentials. He instructed Banārsī to place the ring before Shāh Jahān and, after informing him of the course the events had taken, to beg him to proceed to Agra immediately, as matters did not admit of the least delay. Banārsī lost no time and started on his long journey by relay of horses.

Next day (Monday, Ṣafar 29=October 29), at Bhimbar,¹ Āṣaf Khān overtook Khawāja Abu'l Ḥasan, *Dīwān*, who was marching one day in advance, and won him over to his side with all the nobles who were with the latter. Here the last honours were paid to the Emperor's remains, which were then sent to Lahore in charge of Maqṣūd Khān, who, on the following Friday (November 2), consigned them to the earth in Nūr Jahān's Garden—the *Shahdara* garden of to-day, where the famous mausoleum stands.

In the neighbourhood of Bhimbar the *Khuṭba* was read in the name of Dāwar Bakhsh.²

¹ Bhimbar (32° 58' N., 74° 8' E.) is close to the boundary between Kashmir State and Gujrat District—exactly due east of Jhelum.

² This fact is mentioned only in *Tūzūk*, 422

By this time most of the nobles had joined hands with Āṣaf Khān ; for even those who had so far been sitting on the fence, when they saw his plans succeed, plumped on his side. So Āṣaf Khān, when he learnt that Nūr Jahān still entertained ambitions of empire for Shahryār and was guiding his policy and operations by writing secret letters, and feeling, as we have seen, the security of his own position, thought the time was ripe for another step forward : He brought Nūr Jahān over to his camp, and barred all access to her allowing only a few maidservants on whom he had complete reliance. This precaution was obviously necessary seeing that a word, a gesture, of warning to Dāwar Bakhsh would have undone the whole plot. He took the three princes from her ; yet, for fear of disillusioning Bulāqī, thought it prudent to place them in the safe keeping of Ṣādiq Khān, his cousin and sister's husband.

Now we must turn to the events at Lahore. Here the moving spirit was Shahryār's wife (Nūr Jahān's daughter by Sher Afgan). She had inherited some of her mother's fire and ambition, and her imperious talent for organization and control. She often gave the lead to her husband in this desperate struggle. Under her directions Prince Shahryār, as soon as he heard the news of Jahāngīr's demise, set up as Emperor, appropriated the Imperial Treasury and proceeded to put an army into shape. He disbursed no less than seventy lakhs of rupees¹ in one busy week. Thus by lavish gifts of cash titles and honours to men old and new, he brought together a goodly force of 15,000 horse. Fortunately for him the Emperor Jahāngīr had proceeded to Kashmir with a small number of nobles and men, all in light marching order, dismissing many of the nobles to their estates and leaving others at Lahore along with the heavier arms, elephants and artillery, to await his return. This shaped things to the hands of Shahryār, who was not slow to take advantage of the God-given opportunity. These, along with the arms and accoutrements belonging to the nobles stationed at Lahore, were freely requisitioned by Shahryār to equip his army, which was placed under command of Bāisunghur (son of Prince Dānyāl), who, having been in charge of Khwāja Abu'l

Hasan in the royal camp, had run away on the day of Jahāngīr's demise and joined Shahryār in Lahore. This army, materially so well-equipped but untrained and inexperienced, Shahryār sent across the water, where the succession to the throne of Agra was to be finally decided. Āṣaf Khān's men did not exceed 10,000 all told. And these were without armour and the heavier arms. But he had a compact and disciplined force, and further had this advantage, that families of many of the nobles who fought on his side, were now virtually prisoners in the hands of Shahryār, having been left at Lahore ; so that the *umara* under him had reason to fight with a will.

Āṣaf Khān, undismayed by the enemy's advantage and superior numbers, disposed his men in the following order of battle :—

He himself on one elephant, Dāwar Bakhsh on another, Ṭahmūraṣ and Hoshang on a third, with Mūsawī Khān (*ṣadr*), Mir 'Abdul Hādī and Mir Khālīl Ullāh (sons of Mir Mirān Yazdī) and Khānlū (son of Zu'l-Faqār Khān Qarāmānlū), who was a fresh arrival from Persia, occupied the Centre.

Khwāja Abu'l Hasan, Rāja Jagat Singh (son of Rāja Bāsū), Allāh Verḍī Khān, Mukhlīṣ Khān and some Sayyids of Bārha¹ constituted the vanguard.

The *Altamish* (troops between vanguard and centre) was led by Shāista Khān, assisted by Sher Khwāja, Sayyid Hizabr Khān, Khwāṣ Khān, Sayyid Ja'far and Sayyid 'Ālam Bārha (with the *manṣabdars* of *jalau*, who were under him) and a few Rajputs.

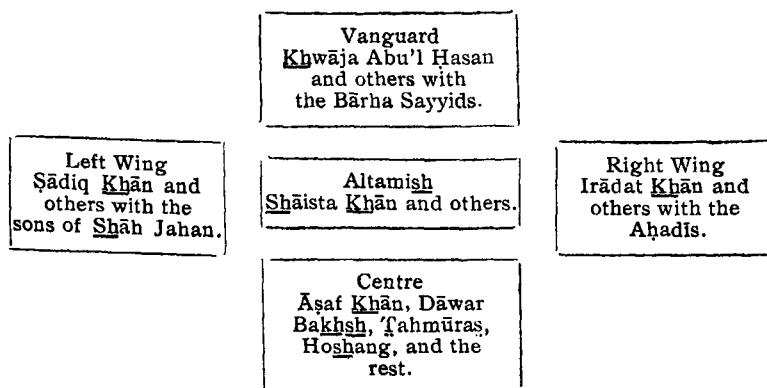
The Right Wing was composed of Irādat Khān, Mirza Shujā' (son of Mirza Shāh Rukh), Muruwwat Khān Turkmān, Sharf-ud-Dīn Husain ("Himmat Khān," son of Yūsuf), Fakhr-ud-Dīn Aḥmad ("Tarbiyat Khān"), Mullā Murshad ("Makramat Khān"), Hakīm Jamālā-i-Kāshī, and Bahādur Beg with all the *Aḥadts*.

The Left Wing was under the command of Ṣādiq Khān, under whom were Khān Zamān, Shāh Nawāz Khān, Mu'tamad Khān (author of *Iqbal Nama*), Rāja Roz Afzūn and a few others. The sons of Shāh Jahān on one elephant were also stationed here.

¹ Out of this sum some forty-five lakhs were afterwards recovered and re-deposited in the Treasury.

¹The Bārha Sayyids enjoyed from the time of Akbar the right to fight in the vanguard. (Irvine, *Army*, 225.)

The accompanying plan shows the arrangement of Āṣaf Khān's army at a glance :—



The battle was joined some 3 *kos* (say, about 5 miles) from the city of Lahore, on the banks of the Ravi, on Sunday, the 11th Rabi' I, 1037¹ (=28th Ābān). On the very first impact, without a bullet or an arrow being shot, Bāisunghur's raw recruits lost their footing and were soon on the run.

Shahryār, meekly following his wife's directions, had come out of the fort at the head of some two or three thousand picked horsemen, with the intention of joining Bāisunghur, but Afzal Khān² (who was Āṣaf Khān's man, and who had so far succeeded in completely hoodwinking Shahryār as to have wormed his way into his friendship and confidence) dissuaded him from bearing a hand in the fight, and kept him waiting for the issue. Of a sudden a Turkish slave came headlong from the battle-field with the unwelcome news that the day had gone against him. It is proof of Shahryār's dense stupidity that he, instead of seeking asylum from the terrible consequences of defeat, turned and walked into the fort, as if conscious of his utter resourcelessness when away from his wife. He crept ignominiously into the imperial seraglio, where he had taken up his abode since he heard of Jahāngir's death.

¹ According to the calendar 11th Rabi' I, 1037, fell on a Saturday. But see prefatory note on 'Chronology (The Muslim Year).'

² The *Mir Sāmān* of Jahāngir, who, before the Emperor's death, had proceeded to Lahore in advance of the others with the Imperial Armoury and Workshop.

Next day the victors approached and encamped outside the city walls on the side of Mahdī Qāsim Khān Garden.¹ Here Afzal Khān joined Āṣaf Khān to get thanks for his nefarious work; and many of Shahryār's followers hastened to seek refuge with him and to curry favour. In the evening Āṣaf Khān sent his son, Shāista Khān, with Irādat Khān and Afzal Khān, into the fort, where they took charge of the Imperial Armoury and the Treasury, and passed the night in the palace courtyard.

Next morning the nobles went inside the palace and placed Dāwar Bakhsh on the throne. Fīroz Khān and Khidmat Khān, eunuchs, pulled out Shahryār from his hiding-place and fittingly entrusted him to Allāh Verdi Khān.² His hands were tied with a sash stripped from his waist, and in this condition he was brought before Dāwar Bakhsh. The usual bows being duly performed he was put in prison.

Two days later Shahryār's eyes were put out. One day after that again Ṭahmūraṣ and Hoshang were taken into custody.³

Āṣaf Khān wrote to Shāh Jahān communicating the happy tidings of victory, congratulating him, and begging him to hurry up and assume control.

Thus ended Shahryār's brief struggle for the throne, half-hearted, pitiful and tragic. His petty ways lend no dignity either to his ambition or to his efforts, and rob his ignominious end of the saving grace of a tragedy. His ambition is factitious and his personality uninspiring.⁴

¹ Judging by Abdul Latif's account (*Lahore*, p. 26 and Footnote), this extensive garden, founded by Qāsim Khān, an *amir* of Akbar's court, stood about the place marked as Shish Mahal in *I.G.*, xxvi (Atlas), Pl. 59—opposite the south-west corner of the city of Lahore. To those who know modern Lahore this would be where Bradlaugh Hall and the Punjab Veterinary College stand to-day, right up to the Ravi.

² "Mu'taqid Khān," the royal game-keeper, who invented a gigantic net. We say 'fittingly,' for this time a remarkably big game had fallen into his net.

³ This is the chronological order of events as given in the *Tuzuk*, which seems to us more logical and likely than that given by all the other contemporary historians (Muḥammad Amin Qazwīnī, 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lahorī and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ), who probably copy from one another.

⁴ This is what we gather from the histories. The court annalists, and every other historian who follows them, have given this dog a bad name of set purpose to have him hanged, drawn and quartered. We have no wish to be unfair to this unlucky prince. It is indeed refreshing to find the author of *Intikhab-i-Jahāngir* speak of Shahryār as 'the most beautiful of all the princes' (E. and D., vi, 450). And this is supported by the photo of what seem to be a contemporary

We might have witnessed a more seemly struggle if Nūr Jahān, the prime mover, had not been so handicapped at the outset. In fact it is probable that if Shahryār had not foolishly left the royal party, and both the trump-cards (Shahryār and Dāwar Bakhsh) had remained in Nūr Jahān's hands, Āṣaf Khān would have been hard put to it to carry out his daring plan; for we must remember that Shahryār had a stronger claim than Dāwar Bakhsh. The odds are that Nūr Jahān would have carried the day.

As it is, we can only admire Āṣaf Khān's unscrupulous skill and courage. Nūr Jahān's star was set after a long and brilliant career—a curious medley of mysterious romance and majestic ambition.

During the brief reign of Dāwar Bakhsh at Lahore levees were arranged for him every day, when he was placed in the *jharoka* to give audience; Āṣaf Khān kept Dāwar Bakhsh amused with elephant-fights and other engagements, so as not to give him time for thought or suspicion. All the time, however, Āṣaf Khān, with the help of his son, kept a sharp look-out on Dāwar Bakhsh's doings. He was never allowed to leave the fort; and nobody, who could possibly be expected to hint a warning, was permitted to approach him.¹

Now about Banārsī:—He flew from Chingiz Hatli and, after twenty days' breathless journey, reached Junair² (then on the border of Nizām-ul-Mulk's territory) on Sunday, 19 Rabi' I³ (= Novem-

drawing of Shahryār given in *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar, 1911*, 100, where his prepossessing appearance, healthy physique and intelligent look lend no countenance to the historians' wholesale condemnation. Again, Captain Hawkins, who saw Shahryār at Agra when he was only seven years of age, says of him that "there is great hope of this child to exceed all the rest." (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, iii, 47).

¹ Bhagawān Dās, *Shāh Jahān Nāma* (Punjab Public Library MS.), p. 237.

² This is, in all probability, the modern Junnar, headquarters of the *tāluka* of the same name in Poona District, Bombay—situated in 19°12' N., 73°53' E., sixty-five miles north of Poona City. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar (*India of Aurangzib compared with the India of Akbar*, 151) identifies 'Jooner', given in *Chahār Gulshan* as a *sarkār* in the Aurangabad province, with the modern Junnar. So apparently all three are the same.

³ This is an excellent illustration of what was said in the prefatory note on 'Chronology (The Muslim Year)'. On p. 246 above we found that the 11th Rabi' I fell on a Sunday: here we find that the 19th Rabi' I was also a Sunday. This is impossible unless we assume that the date of the lunar month varies by a day or so in different parts of a country. We thus notice that the month of Rabi' I was one day in advance in the Deccan this year compared with the dates observed at Lahore.

ber 18, 1627)—seven whole days after the battle for succession had been fought and won by Āṣaf Khān. Turning a little out of his way, Banārsī, in obedience to Āṣaf Khān's directions, sought Mahābat Khān (who had only recently entered into an alliance with Shāh Jahān) and announced to him the purpose of his errand. They lost no time in waiting on the Prince. Shāh Jahān came out of the seraglio: Banārsī kissed the ground and delivered his message, producing Āṣaf Khān's ring for testimony. Shāh Jahān was sorry to hear of his father's death—so at least the historians politely assure us, one and all,—which we may perhaps believe, seeing that there was a note of tragic pathos in Jahānḡir's later life, and that Shāh Jahān was not by any means dead to the finer human feelings. But the Prince, so far away from the centre of things, and with so many rival claimants in the field (some with Nūr Jahān's powerful influence behind) could ill afford to lose any of his precious time in formal mourning. It was accordingly decided, in consultation with Mahābat Khān and others, that the party leave for Agra on Thursday, the 23rd Rabi' I (=November 22,)—the date fixed by the astrologers in attendance;¹ and as no reassuring communication had yet been received from Khān Jahān Lodī, Governor of the Deccan, the direct route was not considered safe and it was decided to proceed by way of Gujarat.

A reply was promptly despatched to Āṣaf Khān by hand of Amān Ullāh and Bāyazīd to the effect that Banārsī had duly arrived, and that Shāh Jahān was proceeding apace to Agra by way of Ahmadabad.

Shāh Jahān at once assumed the rights and privileges of sovereignty. The first thing he did was to send a messenger to Khān Jahān Lodī magnanimously offering pardon for his misbehaviour² and indulgent terms of peace.

The next imperial act concerned the governorship of Gujarat. The governor of this province at this time was Saif Khān, the man who had successfully fought against Shāh Jahān's rebellious hosts under

¹ It is worthy of note that the Mughal emperors, enlightened and cultured as they were, never embarked on an important undertaking without having ascertained from their astrologers the date, hour and minute, on which, according to their calculations, the enterprise must be undertaken to ensure a successful issue. The present case is a fairly typical one. At this moment of emergency the Prince could easily, and would surely, have overruled the astrologers' pronouncement, if the consultation had only been a matter of form. It appears that there was real belief in astrology behind this practice.

² More about this in a later chapter.

'Abdullāh Khān in Gujarat. Honest and consistent, and afraid of the consequences of his previous conduct, he had not the courage or the hardihood to send a message of welcome to Shāh Jahān, when the latter approached the frontier of his province. We are also told that Saif Khān was seriously ill¹ at this time, which was possibly the only reason for this discourtesy. But Nāhir Khān ("Sher Khān"), who had fought side by side with Saif Khān in the selfsame battle of Bālūd,² and like him owed his title and rank to his bravery and enthusiasm in the imperialist cause, took advantage of the circumstance, and was unscrupulous enough to submit a petition to Shāh Jahān professing unswerving loyalty and allegiance and accusing Saif Khān of disaffection.

Orders transferring governorship of Gujarat from Saif Khān to Nāhir Khān were immediately issued and the latter was commanded to seize Saif Khān and bring him to court forthwith. But these orders were rescinded at the intercession of Mumtāz-uz-Zamānī, whose elder sister was married to Saif Khān, and who was much attached to her; and Rīzā Bahādūr ("Khidmat Parast Khān") was told off to hasten to Ahmadabad and fetch Saif Khān at once, making sure that no harm befell him. The messenger also carried the warrant of Sher Khān's appointment as governor.

Shāh Jahān pushed on by forced marches and crossed the Narbada at the Bāba Piāra ferry. On the 29th Rabī' I (=28th November) the Festival of Lunar Weighment (on completion of 37th year of his age) was celebrated outside the city of Sīnor³ on the banks of the Narbada. But that day was to be distinguished by a more substantial cause for rejoicing than the formal one of periodical festivities. Another petition of Sher Khān arrived reporting, on the authority of a letter from some Gujarati Hindu mahajans living at Lahore, that the forces of Āsaf Khān and Naṣṭhudanī came into collision outside Lahore, and that the latter sustained a defeat, and was now in prison.⁴

¹ According to a statement in *E. F. I.*, 1624-29 (p. 207), he had been 'newly cutt for the stone.'

² For details of this engagement see *Tūzūk*, 364 (*Tūzūk*, R. and B., ii, 265), and Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 367.

³ This must be to the south-east of modern Baroda and Dabhoi, since Baroda, Dabhoi and Sīnor are all given as *mahals* in the *sarkār* of Baroda in the Gujarat province in *Āīn*, ii, 122 (*Āīn*, B. & J., ii, 255).

⁴ It is strange that in those times of slow movement and defective communication the news should have travelled such a long journey faster through a private

This news, coming on a day of such happy auspices, seemed providential and was a signal for real rejoicing. We can well imagine the camp resounding with paeans of joy and beating of drums and blaring of trumpets. Shāh Jahān, who had from the beginning viewed his position with a dignified ease and seemed to have possessed confidence in his luck and ability, saw the last lingering clouds of doubt roll away from his soul's horizon. The change from a wandering, graceless rebel to the undisputed Lord of the Indian Empire was indeed intoxicating. The world must have suddenly worn for him the aspect of some wonderful fairyland, some land of ideal beauty beloved of the poets, 'apparelled in celestial light, the glory and the freshness of a dream.'

On this day also Sayyid Daler Khān Bārha, a veteran fighter and another imperialist hero of the Bālūd battle, paid his respects and got increase of *manṣab* to 4,000/3,000.¹

As soon as "Khidmat Parast Khān" reached the outskirts of Ahmadabad, Sher Khān came out to receive with befitting ceremony the *farmān* and *khil'at* sent by Shāh Jahān. Saif Khān, weak and ailing, was duly handed over to him. He was taken to court, pardoned and set at liberty.

About this time Āsaf Khān's letter confirming the news of his victory must have reached Shāh Jahān; but the only value it now possessed was corroborative.

As Shāh Jahān's camp approached, Sher Khān hastened to Maḥmūdābād² (12 *kos* or some 17 miles from Ahmadabad) with Mīrza 'Īsā Tarkhān, Mīrza Wālī and other nobles, to greet his new lord and patron, and offered 1,000 ashrafis as *nagr*.

On the 17th Rabī' II Shāh Jahān broke journey at Kānkriya lake outside Ahmadabad City, and, as there was now no cause for hurry, and perhaps the rapid journey had proved somewhat trying, stopped

agency than through the official messenger sent by Āsaf Khān. It is partly, of course, to be explained by the fact that the commercial circles in general, and the Hindu mahajans in particular, were delicately sensitive to the changes in the political barometer at such critical times, and were deeply interested in the vicissitudes of politics.

¹ This means 4,000 personal and 3,000 horse. This form of notation will be followed in future.

² This is modern Mehmabad (for which see *I. G.*, xvii, 272).

here eight whole days. The following appointments were made and announced here :—

Sher Khān was granted increase of rank to 5,000/5,000, and confirmed as governor of Gujarat with the usual presents.

Khawāja Jān ("Khawāja Jahān") was appointed *Dīwān* of Ahmadabad.

On the 18th Rabi' II, M Irza' Isā Tarkhān's rank was increased to 4,000/2,500, and he was nominated to the governorship of Tatta and dismissed thither.

Mu'taqid Khān, Jamāl Nūhānī and Sayyid Mubārīk were left at Ahmadabad; and Sayyid Daler Khān Bārha and some others accompanied the royal camp, which left for Agra on the 25th. Sher Khān was permitted with every honour to return as soon as the camp cleared the outskirts of Ahmadabad.

During this interval Shāh Jahān sent several messengers to Āṣaf Khān at Lahore in reply to the latter's messages and reports. The most important of these was "Khidmat Parast Khān", who was the bearer of the famous autograph letter of Shāh Jahān, part of which ran to the following effect: 'At this time, when heaven and earth are full of tumult and unrest, it will be advisable if Dāwar Bakhsh, son of Khusrau, and his brother [i. e. Garshāsp,] and Shahryār, and the sons of Prince Dānyāl [i. e. Tahmūraṣ and Hoshang] are made to wander in the desert of non-existence, and the minds of well-wishers of the Empire set at rest.'¹

In obedience to an earlier message, Āṣaf Khān, now armed with proper authority, had the *khutba* read in Shāh Jahān's name in the Hall of Private and Public Audience at Lahore, on Sunday, the 22nd Jumāda I, and Dāwar Bakhsh was seized and thrown into prison. Next day (Monday) "Khidmat Parast Khān", having performed the long journey by relay of horses in 9 days, arrived, and delivered the fateful *farmān*.²

¹ *Tūzūk*, 425.

² The text of *B. N.* (our prime authority for the whole of this period) seems to be on this point (I, ii, 79) totally corrupt and unreliable. We have followed the clear account given in Qazwīnī, which is substantially corroborated by that in *Tūzūk*, *Qarniyya*, *A. S.*, and the *Mulakhkhas*. Khāfi Khān (*M. L.*) is careless and inaccurate; and Shāh Nawāz Khān (*M. U. I.*, 714) is romancing when he says that when Rīza Bahādur ("Khidmat Parast Khān" arrived Dāwar Bakhsh and Garshāsp were engaged in a game of chess, and the former cried out, *Rīza ni āmad, qazā-i-mā o shumā āmad*. Dāwar Bakhsh was taken into custody, as we have seen, on Sunday, the 22nd; and "Khidmat Parast Khān" arrived, according

On the night between Tuesday, the 24th Jumāda I (=22nd January, 1628) and Wednesday, the 25th Jumāda I (=23rd January) all the five princes were executed accordingly.¹

We cannot help pitying the fate of Shahryār and the other unfortunate princes. The blinding of the former was an act of wanton cruelty for which we find no political or other justification. Āṣaf Khān has to answer for this barbarous outrage at the bar of history. We get here the first insight into this statesman's true character, which we shall not forget when we come to consider his personality and merits.

The fate of the other princes, especially that of Dāwar Bakhsh is truly woeful when we remember that none of these preferred any effective claim to the throne. The sons of Dānyāl had neither sufficient influence nor proximity to the deceased Emperor to justify Shāh Jahān's bloody order. And the way in which Dāwar Bakhsh was deceived and immolated is full of tragic pathos, and furnishes yet another suggestion about the temper and quality of the man who was now to wield unbounded influence in the counsels of this great Empire.

About the fate of Bāisunghur history is silent, except that there are two faint echoes—one alleging that he fled towards what we now call the Afghan frontier,² the other that he took refuge in the deserts of the Tatta province.³

When Shāh Jahān approached Mewar, Rāna Karan (who had succeeded his father) came forward to receive him, and paid his respects (4th Jumāda I) at Gogunda⁴—the spot where he, with his father Rāna Amar Singh, had attended on him on a previous occasion.⁵ Shāh Jahān received him kindly: among the presents he bestowed on the Rāna was a *dhakdākī quṭbī* ruby worth Rs. 30,000. The Rāna retained his rank of 5000/5000 and his *jāgīr*, and was given leave to return.

to *A. S.* and *Mulakhkhas*, on the 24th, and, according to Qazwīnī and "Ināyat Khān," on the 23rd.

¹ The merits and morals of this holocaust of the bluest blood in the country will be considered when we come to discuss Shāh Jahān's character and that of his minions.

² Blochmann, *Death of Jahangir, his Character, and the Accession of Shah Jahan* (*Calcutta Review* for 1869).

³ Bhagwān Dās, *Shāh Jahān Nāma* (P. P. Library MS.), p. 238.

⁴ 24° 46' N., 73° 32' E., 16 miles north-west of Udaipur.

⁵ *Tūzūk*, 135 (*Tūzūk*, R. & B. i 275-76) and Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 243.

On the 8th Jumāda I the Festival of Solar Weighment (on completion of 36th year) was observed on the banks of the tank of Māndal.

On the 17th Jumāda I Shāh Jahān reached Ajmer and put up in the pleasure-house built on the banks of the Anā Sāgar Tank by orders of Jahāngīr. Shāh Jahān went from there on foot to the shrine (as Akbar and Jahāngīr used to do before him) and, after paying a visit, distributed alms and presents among the attendants and devotees of the shrine, and other deserving people about town; and fixed stipends and allowances for them.

Here orders were given that to the west of the mausoleum a marble mosque be erected on a site, selected for the purpose, worthy of the great saint who sleeps there. The prince had vowed some time ago to build a mosque here if he succeeded in subjugating the Rāna. This vow was thus fulfilled on the first favourable opportunity.

Mahābat Khān, who, as we have said, had entered into an alliance with Shāh Jahān before the news of Jahāngīr's death arrived, had accompanied the Prince from Junair. A touching episode is told about him by Shāh Nawāz Khān (*M. U.*, iii, 399-400): He had little to expect, and a great deal to fear, from Āṣaf Khān, who was now undoubtedly the coming man. So, when Shāh Jahān was inside the mausoleum, Mahābat Khān placed the Holy Qur'ān on the tomb of the Saint and said, 'It was my cherished desire that you should become Emperor. God be thanked that my wishes have been fulfilled. If conformably to your promise you are willing to pardon my offences take an oath on the Qur'ān and make the great Khwāja [Khwāja Mu-'in-ud-Dīn Chishtī—the saint from whose honoured dust the mausoleum derives its sanctity] your surety; or permit me this moment to proceed to Ka'ba and retire from active life. Otherwise Āṣaf Jāhī [i. e. Āṣaf Khān] comes and my life will be forfeit.' Shāh Jahān satisfied him with the necessary guarantees; and then, at his request, granted the province of Ajmer and adjacent territory as his *jāgīr*.

On the journey from Ajmer to Agra the following nobles, among others, came to greet and tender congratulations: Anī Rāi, Rāja Bhārtia, Sayyid Bahwa, Nūr-ud-Dīn Qulī, Khān-i-Ālam, Bahādur Khān Uzbek, Rāja Jai Singh, and Muẓaffar Khān Ma'mūrī.

Finally on the eve of Thursday, the 26th Jumāda I (= 24th January, 1628), Shāh Jahān reached Bāgh-i-Dahra,¹ a suburb of the

¹ Various called 'Bāgh-i-Nūr Jahān' (after Nūr Jahān) or 'Bāgh-i-Nūr Manzil' (after Jahāngīr)

Metropolis. People crowded from far and near to welcome him and witness the triumphal entry of their future sovereign.

Qāsim Khān, who was in charge of Agra fort and the Imperial Treasury, came forward to pay homage.

Next morning (the 26th Jumāda I), the Prince, riding an elephant, entered the city of Agra under showers of gold, followed by a large number of officers and *manṣabdārs*, and went up to the square in front of the Fort gates. The floor of the streets and every bit of available space on the two or three-storeyed houses on either side swarmed with spectators, as we can easily imagine.

The date fixed by the astrologers for coronation was Monday, the 8th Jumāda II (= 4th February, 1628)—some eleven days off. So Shāh Jahān returned and took up his abode in the residence on the banks of the Jumna, where he had used to live as Prince, to await the auspicious day.

SOURCES.

The following are the chief authorities that have been used for this chapter:—

Mu'tamad Khān, *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahāngīrī* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), 291-305.

Tāzūk, 420-26.

Qazwīnī, last 9 folios of the Introduction of the Manuscript in my possession.

B. N., I, i, 69-82, 86-87.

A. S., i, 202-23.

Mulakhkhas. (Folios of my MS. not numbered.)

Bhagwān Dās, *Shah Jahān Nama* (Punjab Public Library MS.), p. 237-38.

M. L., I, 388-94.

Sujān Rāi, *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh* (my MS.)

M. U., various articles.

E. & D., vol. vi and vii.

E. F. I., 1624-29.

R. Sewell and S. B. Dikshit. *Indian Calendar*.

Wüstenfeld and Mahler *Vergleichungs-Tabellen und Christlichen Zeitrechnung*.

Among the authorities for this chapter the first place, naturally enough, belongs to contemporary histories, which are:—

(1) *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahāngīrī*, the author of which himself took

part in the battle on the Ravi, so that his narrative is mostly that of an eyewitness.

(2) *Tuzuk*, the relevant part of which is written by Mirza Muhammad Hādī. The account here corresponds so closely to that in No. 1 that it seems to be copied from the latter.

(3) Qazwīnī was the first of the official histories written to Shāh Jahān's order. It has not yet been published, and consists of: (i) *Introduction*, which covers the life of Shāh Jahān as Prince from birth to coronation; (ii) *Discourse*, dealing with the first ten years of his reign; and (iii) *Appendix*, giving a list of celebrities of the period.

(4) *B.N.*, the famous and best-known court chronicle of the first twenty years of Shāh Jahān's reign. It follows Qazwīnī closely in the part common to both.

Both Qazwīnī and *B.N.* are careful and well-written. These are undoubtedly our best authorities for the reign of Shāh Jahān as far as they, respectively, go.

(5) *Qarniya* by Muhammad Tāhir ("Ināyat Khān," poetical name, 'Āshnā'), son of Zafar Khān, son of Khwāja Abu'l Hasan (mentioned in this chapter). This book is professedly a summary, in plainer language, of the *Badshahnāmas* of Qazwīnī, 'Abdul Ḥamid Lāhorī and Muhammad Wārīs, and is a history of the first 30 years of Shāh Jahān's reign—hence the name. It adds nothing to what the previous historians have related, and is not free from slips (although I possess a good copy); yet it is highly valuable for purposes of corroboration and reference in a field where MSS. have always slight variations of dates and facts, and printed texts are not always based on the best MSS.

(6) *A.S.*, the only complete history of Shāh Jahān's life and reign, from his ancestry and birth to his deposition and death. But here there is not the same scrupulous accuracy or attention to details as we find in Qazwīnī and *B.N.* Yet it is fairly reliable and, on the whole, satisfactory.

Among the rest may be mentioned:

Mulakhkhas—a MS. in my possession, undamaged and complete, yet without name of book or author, giving an epitomized history of Shāh Jahān. It begins abruptly with the 17th year of Jahāngīr's reign and terminates with Shāh Jahān's demise.

It was probably written late in the reign of Aurangzeb. The writing is a bold ordinary *nasta'liq*. It is not easy to say which particular

book has been abridged by the author. The MS. begins thus under a brilliantly coloured '*Unwān*':

” حمد و ثنا نثار بارگاه کبریا که اشکال بر قلمون بمنصیه ابداع تکوین نموده و وجود بشر را بعنایت دانش و نطق بر جمله ذیجیات تشوق کرامت فرمود و درود نامحدود.“

I have not seen this MS. mentioned in any catalogue or found a reference to it in any available bibliography. I have designated this book as *Mulakhkhas*, by which name I shall refer to it in future.

The language of the text shows neither judgment nor style. The book can be only used for purposes of comparison and corroboration.

Bhagwān Dās, *Shāh Jahān Nāma* (MS. in Punjab Public Library, Lahore)—a small volume of 239 numbered pages. Written, probably, in Shāh Jahān's reign, it is only a *Shah Jahān Nama* by courtesy, since it closes with the succession of Shāh Jahān. The author seems to have intended to write another volume on the reign of Shāh Jahān (p. 232–33), though he does not seem to have done so. Bhagwān Dās's narrative, as far as it concerns Shāh Jahān's struggle for succession, inspires no confidence in the author's sense of responsibility as a historian. So probably we have not missed much in the volume the author has left unwritten.

M.L., Sujān Rāi, *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh*, and *M.U.* are general histories, and are based as far as our period is concerned, on the contemporary records discussed above. We must add that Khāfi Khān fails to maintain the standard of accuracy and clearness which we expect of a historian of his position and repute.

E.F.I., 1624–29, is full of fugitive references to the political events of the period. Thereports of the factors no doubt contain valuable raw material for an aspect of the economic history of India for the period—material which is not obtainable in Persian chronicles of the day. But as far as political history is concerned the reports and comments of the John Company agents are, generally speaking, grossly misinformed and historically worthless. The dates are almost invariably inaccurate and narratives mostly confused. I have not thought it safe to place any reliance on their versions where they are uncorroborated.

Sewell and Dikshit, *Indian Calendar*, I have found particularly useful for comparing and checking dates.

(To be continued)

Some Interesting Constitutional Points from 'Periyapurāṇam'

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THE *Purāṇam* is a work of the eleventh century A.D. Its author Śēkṇīlār was minister to the Chola king and possessed a sound knowledge of the world. As an official, he had access to state records. As a pious Śaiva, he was well-versed in Śaiva literature and traditions. These credentials are enough to establish the truthfulness of his statements. Whether his facts were true of his time or of the earlier periods to which he assigns them, they are interesting by themselves.

Śēkṇīlār says that Kannappa, the hunter youth of the wilds near Kālahasti, was accepted by his tribesmen as the successor to their chiefship, of his old father, Nāgan.¹ It is an old custom among several of these tribes to elect their chiefs and you find its survival to-day among the hill-men and coastal fisher-folk.²

Hereditary succession seems to have been the rule in the territorial states. When Aiyadigaḷ (= Aryavarman)³ the Pallava king abdicated his throne on account of old age and with a view to spend the rest of his life as a pilgrim, his son succeeded to the throne. When there was a dispute about the succession, or, when there was no near heir to the deceased king, the ministers had the power to fill up the vacancy by a suitable candidate. When Śengōrporaiyan abdicated, Chēramān Perumāḷ was requested by the ministers to succeed to the throne. A very curious custom of choosing a king, by lot as it were, when there was a vacancy and no near heir to the throne, was to send round the

state elephant with a garland and allow it to choose a suitable candidate. Irrational as it may seem, this story is told with reference to the great Karikāla, a prince born, and the Śaiva saint Mūrti⁴ a commoner, and a stop-gap king after the *Kannāḍa interregnum* and before the Pāṇḍyan restoration. These stories may be taken for what they are worth. It must be added, however, that their method of choice is sanctioned by our grandmothers' stories, and folklore is not an altogether negligible source for the corroboration of facts.

The high kingly ideals that Śēkṇīlār sets forth in his work were at any rate kept by the kings before them as guides for their conduct. Umāpati⁵ speaks of the king's prosperity as depending on prosperous cultivation much as Avvai the Tamil poetess has put it. The rule of Manu about one-sixth of the gross produce for the king seems to have been observed by the then Chola king. We know however from other sources that there were a number of petty imposts besides, which were abolished by Kulottunga I.⁶ Irrigation and road-making were looked after by the kings as important for the state. In this connection, some of the names of the channels of irrigation like Viracholan, Uyyakonḍān, Muḍikonḍān and Rājēndran channels throw much light on the amount of interest the kings took in the matter of irrigation.

Śēkṇīlār considers the king as responsible for the evil deeds in his state.⁴ The king must guard his people from evil due to himself, his relations, thieves, wild beasts, and enemies.⁵ This golden ideal of *Nītisāra* is laid down by the author for his as well as for the other kings of Tamil India. The story of Manuchola⁶ who held justice as dearer than his son's life which he sacrificed to do justice to a bereaved cow, must have been an inspiration and example to every king that read the great *Purāṇa*. How great the ruler must be who allowed every aggrieved individual to go to him freely and represent his grievance by ringing the bell of justice at the palace-gate? The protection of the people in the performance of their *Dharma* and the destruction of the tyrants who prey upon the people in various ways, these are the onerous duties of every just king.⁷ Śēkṇīlār holds out Chēramān Perumāḷ as an ideal ruler.⁸ For one reason, he was

¹ *Periyapurāṇam*, i, 262.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 753 the *Purāṇa* of Ādibaktan, the fisher-chief.

³ For the dates of the Śaiva saints, see my article on 'The Age of the Nāyanārs in the *Journal of Oriental Research*.

⁴ *Periya.*, i, 361.

⁵ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, ch. vi.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i, 48.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i, 42, 303, 312.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 7.

⁹ *Periya.*, i, 265.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i, 48.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, ii, 677.

intensely pious and as a consequence he never did injustice to any and regarded his own comforts as of no importance.

With the same enthusiasm as Dante, our poet considers monarchy as necessary to a state.¹ In fact, that has been a great superstition for centuries in our land and repeatedly emphasized in our literature. Sambandha² prays for the prosperity of the Brahman, the Cow and the King. The righteous rod of justice is a familiar phrase to every Tamil boy. But, our poet was very particular in laying down that the princes must have a sound religious and military education.³ Though the king was absolute in theory, he had to follow his *Dharma* as laid down in the *Smṛtis*. There would be an outcry if he went against the time-honoured rules. The learned Brahmins were the guardians of the *Smṛtis* and the *Dharma*. In criticizing them now a days we apply our modern canons and lose sight of their age and purpose. Besides, the kings chose wise and learned men as ministers who must have considerably reduced the king's share in the administration. Śēkkiḷār makes us understand that the Pandya king Neḍumāran had a number of ministers, the chief of whom was the Brahman Kulachirai.⁴ So the fear of God, the regard for custom and the ambition to do justice and win a place in Heaven—these operated as salutary restraints on the caprices of the monarchs.

One other check upon the so-called autocracy of ancient times was the large measure of self-government enjoyed by the local bodies. Whether there was village self-government before the eighth century or not, we know that it existed in a large measure from the time of Sundara.⁵ There is reference to the Sabha in a hymn of Sundara. Śēkkiḷār mentions two more Sabhas in the *Chandī* and *Nilakāṇṭha Purāṇas*.⁶ These Sabhas contained only learned Brahmins and so were not democratic in composition. It might be that the non-Brahmins voted for but evidently they did not sit in them.⁷ The connection in which the above three Sabhas are mentioned is in three judicial disputes. The Sabha or hall is associated with the oldest and typical temple of Tamil Nāḍu, namely Chidambaram, where Śiva is said to have danced the *Ānanda-Tāṇḍavam*. The

¹ *Periya.*, i, 36.

² *Periya.*, i, 42.

³ *Tēvāram*, vii, 22.

⁷ Inscriptions of the time give the opposite impression. Judicial Boards were composed of Brahmins obviously.—*Ed.*

² *Tēvāram*, iii, 67.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 617.

⁶ *Periya*, i, 157, 446.

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procedure for hearing and deciding disputes seems to have been far advanced for the time. The plaintiff is given. The defendant makes a statement. The plaintiff is asked next to let in evidence. He is examined first and then come his witnesses. Documentary evidence is produced by the plaintiff, and, what is more interesting the signatures in the document are identified.¹ This was the procedure in Śiva *vs.* Sundara which the Sabha of Veṇṇainallūr (South Arcot District) had the honour to try. This system of Sabhas might have been universal in Tamil Nāḍu as inscriptions tend to prove.

The Tamil Nāḍu has from very early times been divided into a number of kingdoms each of which contained a number of provinces or districts. Thus in order may be mentioned Tonḍai, Chēdi, Nāḍu, Chola, Pandi, Kongu and Malai Nāḍus.

Tonḍai was also called Tunḍaka Nāḍu. It was divided into twenty-four Koṭṭams² of which our author mentions Puliūr³ and Puḷai Koṭṭams. The Puliūr Koṭṭam for example contained a number of Vaḷanāḍus one of them being Kuṇṇai.

Nāḍu Nāḍu was also called Munaippāḍi Nāḍu and its chiefs were called Munaiyar. It was also called Magadaz and its capital was Pāṭaliputra.⁴ Chēdi Nāḍu is sometimes referred to as a part of this Nāḍu. It was also called Milāḍu and its people Malaiyālar. Its chief was Malayamān with Kovalūr as his capital. Malayamān takes his name from the *Malai* or hill-land as Tonḍaimān and Adigamān take their names similarly from their places. Chidambaram being on the border between Nāḍu Nāḍu and Chola Nāḍu was sometimes in the one and at other times in the other. The custom of crowning of the Chola by the Tillai 3,000 mentioned in *Kūṟṟuvān Purāṇa* is full of significance and establishes a close relationship between them and the Chola.

Chola or Punal Nāḍu is the country irrigated by the Kaveri. In this there were many sub-divisions. Kānāḍu⁵ bordered the Coleroon and Mērkānāḍu was to the west of it. Maḷa Nāḍu⁶ was somewhere

¹ *Periya.*, i, 79.

² It is conjectured by some that this Puliūr Koṭṭam gave its name to Telugu *Vēngī Rashtra* (= *Gauṇas* = 400). It may be noticed, by the way, that we call the Tenugus, Vaḍugus or Northerners, whereas they call themselves Tenugus or Southerners.

⁴ See *Aṭṭar Purāṇam*.

⁵ *Tēvāram*, vii, 54.

⁶ *Periya* ii, 123.

Ibid., i, 557.

about Anbil and Pāchil and contained a distinct sect of Brahmans. The Maḷava chief of Kolli figures in *Sambandhar Purāṇam*. Kōnāḍu¹ was the present Trichy Taluk with its capital at Koḍumbai and was the state of a Vēḷar chief.² Miḷalai Nāḍu of the Kuṟumbar, a chief of whom was a contemporary saint of Sundara, was important in the seventh century and its capital had a beautiful and big temple and contains to-day a peculiar sect of Brahmans with top-knots like the 3,000 and called முக்காளி or (Mukkanti?). Marugal Nāḍu of Saint Siruttupai covered a few of the southern taluks of the present Tanjore District. In a hymn of Sundara³ several of these sub-divisions of the Chola Nāḍu, about a dozen of them, are given with their chief towns. These sub-divisions are also called Nāḍus. Thus the word Nāḍu is used to denote divisions of varying dimensions and degrees of independence as Īḷa and Pāṇḍi Nāḍus, Kōnāḍu and Maḷa Nāḍu, and Veṇṇi and Nāṅgūr Nāḍus. Sometimes Miḷalai Nāḍu is called Miḷalai Kūṟṟam, so also Veṇṇi Nāḍu. The word Koṭṭam is once used instead of Kūṟṟam to locate Tiruvaiyāru of the Kaveri Koṭṭam.⁴

Pāṇḍi Nāḍu is also known as Tennāḍu and Kanni Nāḍu.⁵ The latter is significant as it was the land of Mīnākshi, a distorted story of whom is told by Megasthenes. Probably this land of Kanyākumārī had female succession to the throne in very ancient times.

Malai Nāḍu or the Nāḍu of hills was the Chera country. Śēkkiḷār calls it the land of Paraśurāma and its capital was Vanchi or Koḍungolūr or Mahodai on the coast, graphically pictured by a hymn of Sundara.⁶ Kongu had two divisions in the time of the saint and was full of hills, deserts and forests and Marava hunters. Besides these divisions of Tamilaham, must also be mentioned Pōttappināḍu the land of Kaṇṇappa to the west and north of Kālahasti where in Śēkkiḷār's day Tamil was slowly giving way to Telugu, and Īḷa Nāḍu or Ceylon of Manthoṭṭa and Trincomalee sung by Sambandha where there were Tamil immigrants from ancient times.

¹ King's Nāḍu as it contained Uraiṇūr. ³ *Tēvāram*, vii, 5.

² Kānāḍu and Konāḍu are two divisions of what is Pudukottai State now. Koḍumbai is Koḍumbaḷūr on the High Road from Trichinopoly to Dindigal.—*Ed.*

⁴ *Tēvāram*, vii, 15.

⁵ *Periya.*, i, 633.

மருகல், கொண்டல், குறுக்கை, கரங்கல், கறையூர், மிழலை, வெண்கனி, பெருங்குறி, புனை, வேளுர், மீனத்தூர், கரகை வெண்ணிக்கடற்றம்.

⁶ *Tēvāram*, vii, 5.

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A few words about the military organization will close this article. There were the usual four parts of the Indian army, the chariots, the elephants, the horse and the foot-soldiers. Mention is also made of mechanical chariots and we cannot now say what is meant by them. The usual weapons of warfare,¹ the sword, the dagger, the spear, the discus, the pestle, the bow and the arrow, are described. Martial music was necessary to inspire the soldiers in the field. Several of the musical instruments are mentioned by our painstaking and full-knowledged Śēkkiḷār for which suitable English words are not easy to get.

¹ *Periya.*, i, 224.

The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai

BY

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II

I. THE DECLARATION OF WAR WITH ENGLAND

It was in the last week of August 1745 that despatches¹ were received by Dupleix communicating the intelligence of war with England. A few days after this Nawab Anwar-ud-din arrived in Pondicherry where he was received with great pomp and shown over the fortifications. Ranga Pillai estimates the Nawab's age at eighty or eighty-five years. The visit was a political one;² and the Nawab was accompanied by his Dewan Sampati Rao, Bangāru Yāchama Nāyak, Damalcheruvu Venkaṭapathi Nāyak and other chiefs. The significance of this visit was known a few months later.

News of war reached Madras in the middle of September; and the English³ began to strengthen their fortifications, watching, mounting

¹The frigate which conveyed these despatches was wrecked on a rock when approaching Mascareigne (see note 2, p. 268); a few survivors collected these, got into a boat and delivered them to M. de la Bourdonnais who forwarded them by another ship to Mahe whence they were sent on by land to Pondicherry through some Brahmans. Ranga Pillai's record of the contents of these despatches have unfortunately perished in the original.

²Thence the Nawab went on to Fort St. David and Uḍaiyārpālaiyam. His tour was in some measure calculated to raise contributions from the European settlements [H. Dodwell, *The Madras Despatches* (1744-1755); (1920) p. 19.]

³From about the September of the previous year, the Madras Council had been observing Pondicherry and arranging for rapid communication overland with Bengal. They ordered the building of two swift despatch-boats at Bombay; and Governor Morse, in reply to M. Dupleix's letter of November 23, proposing that peace should be preserved eastward of the Cape of Good Hope by mutual agreement, replied by a P. Consultation of November 26 that he was not authorized to enter into any such compact. A squadron under Commodore Curtis Barnett left England for the East secretly a month after the war was declared and other ships followed in the months of October and the next February. Barnett arrived off Fort St. David in July 1745 and reached Madras towards the close of August. Soon after Commodore Barnett reached the Coromandel Coast, the Nawab, who had previously written to Madras to forbid hostilities with the French (received on July 14, 1745) now repeated his injunction (August) and got the same reply—that Morse 'will not be the first to disobey your Commands in this Respect, provided there is the same deference paid to them by the French. Otherwise I

artillery on the Fort walls and equipping the batteries on the sea-shore with guns. Dupleix was anxious to receive accurate information as to the doings at Madras, particularly during the time that Barnett's squadron was on the coast.

It was in November 1745, that Pondicherry was swept by three severe cyclones,¹ the first of which caused great damage (night of November 3) inundating the town and destroying three newly-formed suburbs. Two lesser cyclones followed on November 23 and 27, the former date being a New Moon Day and Tuesday, under the influence of the star Kēṭṭai.

In February 1746, news came from Mahe that a squadron of five to ten French ships was on its way hither and was in all likelihood heading for the roadstead of Pondicherry. The English were also apprised of this fact from Anjengo and Tellicherry. The Diarist calculated (entry for February 5, 1746)² that the English had in all twenty-two sail including the prizes taken from the French, 'so that when their fleet encounters ours, the enemy would be two and a half times stronger. Taking this into consideration, should a force advance on Cuddalore, the English would be obliged to keep about five or six of their fleet for the protection of that place, and two or three might be required to remain at Madras. This would reduce the enemy's ships by half their number, and when they then met ours, the latter should be able to deal with them effectively and reach the roads here.'³ This is the explanation for the detailing of a force of 500 men towards Cuddalore whose inhabitants were thrown into a panic. Four English ships⁴ neared Pondicherry, sailing in pursuit of a fugitive

(Morse) may presume it is not your Excellency's design to put any restraint upon me to my Diservice and to the Advantage of the Enemy. . . the Commanders of his Majesty's ships are not under my direction, I cannot oblige myself to answer for their conduct.' (Madras letter to the Nawab, dated July 16, 1745). Anwar-ud-din, after the second reply, came to San Thomé, accompanied by one of his sons and Dewan Sampati Rao and received two of the Council. The subject of their conversation is not on record. Barnett, perhaps influenced by these circumstances, refrained from attacking Pondicherry, though he might have easily done so. On the approach of the North-east Monsoon, he sailed for the Archipelago.

¹Alfred Martineau's *Les Cyclones a la Côte Coromandel* (Pondicherry, 1917), pp. 4-8, extracting from the original of the Diary (T. iit, pp. 289, 280 et 292).

²The French had adopted the New Style of dates long before it was used by the English who followed to Old Style down to 1753. Hence the discrepancies between the dates of the Diarist and those of Orme, etc.

³*The Diary*, vol. i, p. 297.

⁴Dupleix's demonstration against Fort St. David was withdrawn as a consequence which fact is noted in a Madras P.C. dated January 31, 1744.

Portuguese ship coming from Chandranagar; precautions were taken against a possible assault on Pondicherry; while the English at Fort St. David requested the English captain to retaliate by an attack on the batteries of the French town (February 8). The attack did not take place; and the Diarist shrewdly remarks: 'The object of the English in acting as they have done is to imitate the course followed by the French near Fort St. David, who made but a show of warlike operations; and in this respect they have outdone them.' Nevertheless he eulogizes Dupleix's skill and writes of the Madras Governor as being 'a worthless fellow and a man devoid of wisdom'; and he continues: 'Although Pondicherry receives no ships, her Government lacks funds, the enemy has seized her vessels, she is feeble and wanting in strength, and her inhabitants are in misery; although she has all these disadvantages, no sooner is mention made of her than the Nawabs, and other magnates in the interior become alarmed. . . . All this is owing to the ability, readiness and luck of the present Governor, M. Dupleix.'¹ Pondicherry was not perturbed by the threatenings of the English ships and her inhabitants went about fearlessly, even crowding on the beach at nights when the English ships in the roadstead were brilliantly lit. Dupleix wrote a letter to Nawab Anwar-ud-din, complaining of English troops encamping in his territory close to Pondicherry and planning to attack it and promising not to do violence or retaliate unless the English should give occasion; and he added: 'If at any time the English should give us occasion to fight, we cannot then remain passive. Should therefore an encounter take place within your territories, you must not blame us. We write to you beforehand in order that you may not blame us afterwards. Be it known to you that it is the English who have compelled us to write this letter to you.'² (Diarist's entry for

¹ *Diary*, vol. i, pp. 299-300. Dupleix's 'method of doing things is not known to any one, because none else is possessed of the quick mind with which he is gifted. In patience he has no equal. He has peculiar skill in carrying out his plans and designs; in the management of affairs and in governing; in fitting his advice to times and persons; in maintaining at all times an even countenance; in doing things through proper agents; in addressing them in appropriate terms; and in assuming a bearing at once dignified and courteous towards all.' The Diarist goes to the extent of comparing him with Aurangzib and Louis XIV.

² Compare this with Governor Morse's letter to the Nawab, dated March 17, explaining how he had held to his engagement notwithstanding French provocation to which the Nawab replied on April 1, as follows:—'I received your agreeable Letter acquainting me that you and the Gouverneur of Tēvanapatam (Fort St. David) pay a great regard to my Orders, and have made use of no Hostilities to

March 18, 1746). Shaikh Rahim-ullah, the Nawab's representative of the country near Fort St. David, wrote to Dupleix a letter asking for French help in seizing the fourteen villages forming the suburbs of Fort St. David, according to the order that he had received from the Nawab. This letter was answered on the next day (April 2) after it was received to the effect that French assistance would be given if the Nawab himself should write to Dupleix direct.¹

Dupleix was also at pains to keep on good terms with the Danes just then. A French ship which was attacked by English ships in the roadstead of Tranquebar was attempted to be protected by the Danes who had, in the words of Ananda Ranga Pillai 'obliged the French in everything that they asked.' He showed great honour to the Deputy Governor of Tranquebar who halted at Pondicherry on his way from Madras.

II. THE APPEARANCE OF LA BOURDONNAIS

Commodore Barnett, the commander of the English fleet, died at Fort St. David (May 10), after a few days of illness; and the command of the English squadron devolved on Captain Edward Peyton who was far less capable than his predecessor. But for this change of command, the fortunes of Madras might have been different; and the Diarist gleefully recorded that 'public opinion now says that the tide of the victory will henceforward turn in favour of the French as it has hitherto flowed on the side of the English.' He said that the Goddess of Fortune had departed from Madras to take up her residence at Pondicherry where Dupleix was making vigorous preparations for defence and collecting stores for a large army. He was expecting the

his Majesty's Sea Port Towns, and desiring that the Gouverneur of Pondicherry may be enjoined to behave in like manner. This pleases me highly, and I assure you that your Behaviour in every respect is very satisfactory to me. You may depend upon it that the Gouverneur of Pondicherry shall not be suffered to behave in a different manner. I have sent him my *Taukeed* in such a way as is necessary upon this occasion. Pray believe me to be your Friend and let me have the pleasure of hearing frequently of your Welfare.' (*Madras Records, P. C.*, vol. lxxvi, April 3, 1746). For some nights in March, the town-gates of Pondicherry were closed earlier than usual for fear of a possible English attack. The Nawab's assurances to Dupleix sent through his Deputy, Shaikh Rahim-ullah, described below, seems to produce an impression of inconsistency and a desire to please both parties without being sincere to either. Mahfuz Khan, a son of the Nawab, came to Valudāvūr near Pondicherry and received a French deputation; he was welcomed into Pondicherry with the same honours as his father got and he later sent to the French two brass cannon from Trichinopoly (February-March).

¹ *Res.* of the Pondicherry Council of April 2, as reported by the Diarist.

fleet that La Bourdonnais had fitted out, carrying three thousand and three hundred men which left Bourbon and Mauritius at the end of May.¹ On June 12, Ranga Pillai heard the news that five Europe ships reached Mascareigne² in February, bringing orders to M. de la Bourdonnais that he should attack the English and the latter fitted out the recent arrivals and other ships for hostilities and sent advance intimation to Dupleix that he would reach Pondicherry by the end of May. It was also known that the coming ships would touch at Karikal where some boxes of silver would be disembarked. Dupleix had therefore sent some soldiers and Mahe sepoys to Karikal in order to strengthen it against attack. From the beginning of June, his eyes were continually straining to look out for the coming fleet; and Ranga Pillai was sure that by June 30, the squadron would certainly be in the roads of Pondicherry.³ At last news was received from the Dutch Council of Negapatam on June 21 that the French squadron was well on its way up the Coromandel Coast and would reach Pondicherry in a day or two. At last the precious squadron reached the Pondicherry roadstead in the night of July 8 after having given battle with some apparent success to the English men-of-war under Captain Peyton, a little to the south of Negapatam.⁴

¹ *Memoir pour le Sieur de la Bourdonnais* (1755); and Julien Vinson's *Les Français, dans le Inde Dupleix et Labourdonnais* (1894), p. 25, footnote.

² Bourbon, now called Reunion, was sometimes known as Mascareigne, after its reputed discoverer Mascarenhas; and the name of Mascarene Islands is still applied to the whole Archipelago. Ranga Pillai, more often than not, meant by Māsukkarai (the Tamil equivalent of Mascareigne) only Mauritius (Isle de France) occupied by the Dutch and called after Prince Maurice of Nassau and later seized by the French about 1725. Bourbon was the less important of the islands. M. Vinson was the first to see that in the *Diary Māsukkarai* meant very often the *Isle de France*, vide (1), Vinson, *Les Français dans L'Inde*, p. 14, note and (2) Price's Appendix I to the English Tr. of the *Diary*, vol. i.

³ See entry for the 12th June, 1746, p. 61 in vol. ii of the *Diary* (English Trans. by Price and Rangachari, 1707); *ibid.*, p. 68 where the Diarist records (June 13); 'The eyes of all here are fixed upon the sea looking for the appearance of the tradeships. The non-arrival of these is a divine punishment for the manifold vices of the townfolk. But He knoweth that they can endure the strain no longer, and I trust that He will look upon them with compassion and restore them to happiness.' (pp. 112-3.)

⁴ According to the Diarist the combat lasted from four in the afternoon to seven in the evening; and La Bourdonnais fired some five thousand rounds repulsing the six English ships which escaped, owing to their having the advantage of the wind. The French suffered severe losses and their boxes of ammunition in two ships exploded. 'It is said that two English ships were either sunk or damaged beyond repair and that their crews perished.' (*Diary*, vol. ii, p. 113.)

A few days after the arrival of the fleet under M. de la Bourdonnais Ranga Pillai heard among the latest news items received from France that Dupleix had proposed that he should be transferred to Chandernagar which should be the head-quarters of the French settlements instead of Pondicherry, or should be constituted an independent Government like Mascareigne and that he had offered, in the event of the acceptance of his proposals to serve as Governor for the full term of his life. The orders of the Company were expected to be favourable to Dupleix's wishes and to be sent by the seven ships which were shortly expected from Europe; and he would be most probably succeeded by M. de Leyrit from Mahe.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN DUPLIEX AND LA BOURDONNAIS

Misunderstandings began between Dupleix and La Bourdonnais even within a few days after the latter's arrival; and the Diarist notes in his entry for July 13, that the two were at heart jealous of one another's rights and privileges, though they preserved an outward appearance of amity.¹ La Bourdonnais held that the control of the

Orme (*Military Transactions*, vol. i, fourth edition, Madras Reprint, 1816, p. 62) says that the English had greatly the advantage in the weight of their cannon, (they had twenty-four pounders as against the eight and twelve pounders of the French) though the number of their men did not amount to one-half of that of the French squadron. Peyton had his squadron nearer to the wind than that of the enemy; and the fire of the smaller French cannon did very little execution. One of the French ships was dismasted and shattered and had to be sent away to Bengal for repair. Peyton did not venture on a second engagement and made the next evening for the harbour of Trincomali—See Mill's *History of India* (1858), vol. iii, p. 45 and Beveridge's *A Comprehensive History of India* (1865), vol. i, p. 413; and Vinson, pp. 25-26; and Malleson, *The French in India* (1893, p. 196) and Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive* (1920), p. 11.

The arrival of La Bourdonnais' fleet created great joy in the minds of the citizens of Pondicherry. In the previous year no ship arrived from France, and none was despatched likewise from Pondicherry; while those bound for China, Manilla and Acheen were all captured by the English. There was complete depression in trade; and the arrival of this fleet was like the 'discovery of a hidden hoard or lost treasure to them.'

¹ M. de la Bourdonnais resented the beating of the *tambour* accorded only to officers of inferior degree; and not the *tambour-auxchamps* which was accorded to officials of high degree. That Dupleix was not given a similar honour when he first landed at Pondicherry was made the ground of a precedent. He preferred a complaint against this to Dupleix who would not comply with his request, saying that he himself was an independent Governor and was vested by the King with command of the fleet. Dupleix maintained that La Bourdonnais ceased to be independent when he set foot on shore and became his own subordinate.

Dupleix, in the course of a private conversation with the Diarist (July 16, 1746) expressed that La Bourdonnais had an ungovernable temper and was

military operations rested wholly with him and that he was not bound to consult the Governor in matters connected therewith. 'Thus business is transacted between them with but little cordiality. The future development of this remains to be seen.'¹

The news that reached the Diarist in the days following consisted first of the arrival of envoys from Tanjore and the Raja of Sivaganga for negotiating an alliance between these chiefs and the French, and of the Dutch at Negapatam receiving some of the wounded English and giving sail-cloth, cables and other necessary materials for repair of the English ships which were being refitted at Trincomali. The arrival of the French fleet frightened many merchants and inhabitants of Fort St. David and Cuddalore² (including Orkandi Rangappa Nayakan, the *dubash* of Mr. Hinde, the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David) to send their valuables to Porto Novo to which now removed the Dutch traders and artisans of that place who had betaken themselves to Cuddalore during the late Maratha inroad. The people of Madras also were greatly concerned; many of the wealthy merchants were removing their families and goods to Arcot; and the Governor Mr. Morse, was 'much broken in spirit'; but 'vigorous arrangements are

a babblers and that according to the version of his own officers it was his neglect that permitted the escape of the English ships after the engagement off Negapatam and that all of them could have been easily captured. (*Diary*, vol. ii, pp. 128-130 and pp. 166-7.) La Bourdonnais states in his own *Memoirs* that being without provisions and having on board a great number of sick and wounded men, he could not pursue the enemy. In his letter to Dupleix, he wrote thus: 'The fear of missing Pondicherry, the large amount of money for you on board, and, more than that, the scarcity of food, of which many ships had only four and twenty hours' supply, made me contemplate the frightful situation in which I should be, if I were to fall to the leeward of the place; this determined me to bear up for Pondicherry.' (Quoted by Malletson; foot-note on pp. 127-8). This explanation, Dupleix said, 'I suppose, must be accepted'; but he added that under similar conditions in the future the English should not be let off thus and that the French should fight to the last. 'One side must be destroyed by the other; there should be no alternative.'

¹ Diarist's entry for the July 14. 'Almost at once (i.e. after La Bourdonnais landed at Pondicherry) the ancient dislike which he and Dupleix had cherished for each other flamed up into activity... within the week Dupleix too was abusing La Bourdonnais to all who would listen to him'—Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 11.

² To obviate the risk of a possible appearance of the English fleet on his rear and draw it within fighting distance, La Bourdonnais proposed to attack Fort St. David; and if an English fleet should bear up to assist the Fort he would then attack it, to which Dupleix said that the place was not worth the attack (Malletson, *The French in India*, pp. 134-5).

being made for the defence of the fort and the ships are being brought nearer the shore and are being supplied with arms and ammunition.'¹ The Diarist also heard that the properties of the late Commodore Barnett were being transferred from Fort St. David to Madras and that three ships laden with treasure had sailed from Madras for Bengal. He also noted the chief points of talk going on of the plans of war and other topics of political interest, such as 'the friendly relation subsisting between the authorities at Negapatam and the English, the construction of ships by the latter at Trincomali, a cruise of the squadron commanded by M. de la Bourdonnais to seek the English; the prospect of the destruction of all the English ships of war, the desirability of capturing Madras and of hoisting the French flag there—were it only for four days—in order to retrieve the name of the French...'²

The plans of both Dupleix and La Bourdonnais were twofold, including the destruction of Peyton's squadron and the capture of Madras—the latter being 'an old ambition of La Bourdonnais.' The defeat of Peyton was the necessary preliminary to be achieved; a large quantity of munitions of war including several 18 pounders were shipped;³ and La Bourdonnais embarked on August 3, declaring before his officers that he would either destroy Peyton's squadron and bring him prisoner or meet a like fate. On hearing this governor Morse wrote to Nawab Anwar-ud-din and to his Dewan saying that he

¹ *Diary*, vol. ii, p. 127. In Madras Major Knipe's design for strengthening the west front of the Fort was taken up on hand by Mr. Joseph Smith, an Engineer; but owing to the rains of the wet season of 1745 and the expensiveness of the designs the work was not vigorously pushed on; and at the time of the French attack in September only the wet ditch with its escarp and counter-scarp walls on the west had been finished. The original design was eventually completed after the restoration of Madras to the English in 1749 and before Lally's siege of it in 1759. The garrison of Madras consisted only of about two hundred Europeans 'good and effective', besides the gun-room crew of about one hundred men and the militia and the peons of Pedda Naick. 'When full allowance, however, for these omissions, has been made, it is evident that Madras, abandoned by the British Squadron and deprived of a military commander of energy and experience, was not in a condition to cope successfully with the force of some three thousand and four hundred men, which M. de la Bourdonnais was able to bring against it.' (Love, *Vestiges*, vol. ii, pp. 351-2). In it is given the Muster-roll of the Madras garrison, September 1, 1746, taken from *The East Indian Chronologist*, an anonymous work published at Calcutta in 1802.

² *Diary*, vol. ii, p. 158.

³ Dupleix to La Bourdonnais, July 20, 1746, quoted by Malletson, p. 134 (foot-note).

suspected that the French had designs on Madras, that war at sea alone had been proclaimed between the English and the French, that the latter should not attack the former on land and that as towns possessed by either party lay in the territories of the Nawab, neither the English nor the French could attack these without his permission. Also the Nawab despatched two messengers to Madras and two others to Pondicherry with instructions to send him news of all that might happen.¹ Dupleix, we learn, was prepared to grant passes of safety for native vessels provided they did not carry goods belonging to the English; but he returned an evasive answer to the Nawab's letter which reached him on August 13 and required him not to endanger the security of Madras.² Meanwhile La Bourdonnais anchored off Negapatam, where after making apologies for having purchased from the English the French ships that they had captured, the Dutch Governor and Councillors entertained him with great hospitality (August 17). Even when the guest was still at table news was brought to him that five English men-of-war were in sight, on which the French Admiral immediately returned to his ship. The French waited for the morning to engage the enemy; but no English ships could then be seen for some time. The French squadron cruised about till it fell in with the enemy.³ The two squadrons were three days in sight of each other after which the English ships, availing themselves of the advantage of sailing better than the French, disappeared; and La Bourdonnais returned to Pondicherry with his squadron (August 23) thinking that the English fleet would remain on the coast 'at least with the hope of deterring him from attempting any operations against the English settlements.'⁴ La Bourdonnais

¹ Letter of Subbaiyan, the French Agent at Arcot, which reached Pondicherry on August 18.

² The reply was to this effect—'No harm to the inhabitants of Madras is contemplated by the ships of war. On the contrary they have come there to punish the enemies of its people' (*Diary*, vol. ii, p. 201.)

³ Even as Peyton approached he saw that the French ships now showing a new tier of guns. He refused action and not falling in with any reinforcements, sailed for Pulicat (August 22). 'He there received news that Madras was threatened by the French, but fortified himself for repeated flight by another council of war and sailed for Bengal. He had not even taken the trouble to write to Madras when he touched at Pulicat' (*Dupleix and Clive*, p. 12).

⁴ La Bourdonnais thought Peyton more courageous than he was in fact. He supposed that Peyton had withdrawn 'only in order to fall upon the French when, with half their people ashore, they were besieging Madras. Indeed his

spoke with Dupleix regarding his plans for an attack on Madras; he was ill with fever and diarrhoea and had to be bled in the arm. Rumours of the differences that had arisen between the two got abroad; and our Diarist¹ heard from M. Desmarets on the 29th that La Bourdonnais demurred to fighting the English on land and required the written order of the Pondicherry Council to that effect; that high words ensued between the two and that the Councillors were summoned, but declined all responsibility stating that the Governor and La Bourdonnais had not consulted them when they first planned the undertaking.

The Council held on 26th discussed the plans for laying siege to Madras; the next day a deputation waited on La Bourdonnais,² and the Council sat for three hours after its return. The Diarist at this stage could only say that there would be certainly war, but could not be sure of any details. But things were so uncertain between the two leaders that on August 28 the Diarist wrote, 'We know that the enterprise against Madras, has for the time being, been abandoned.

presence on the coast would have made the siege of Madras an exceedingly rash undertaking. . . . He longed to attack Madras, but shrunk from accepting the responsibility of possible failure.' (Dodwell, p. 12.) News of Peyton's arrival off Pulicat reached Madras after two days; and the Madras Council sent a sloop to him with an urgent appeal for assistance. 'But Peyton escaped this appeal by the haste of his departure.'

¹ The prospects of his becoming the *courtier* (Chief Dubash) in succession to the late Pedro Kanakaraya Mudali and in preference to the latter's brother Lazar Tanappa Mudali who was backed up by the priests and to Annapurnaiyan who wanted to work through Madame Dupleix by means of bribes, had by this time become almost certain; but he did not openly profess his sense of elation at this.

It was on August 25, which was the French King's Birthday, that the metrical ode in Telugu composed in the Diarist's honour by Kasturi Rangayya (*Anandarangarāṭṭchandam* referred to already) a noted scholar of Trichinopoly, was set to music by Trichinopoly Mangapati Aiyar. 'Dancing-women were taught to sing it, and they gave a performance of it this night at the garden-house of Muthaiya Pillai in Sēdai Street before a public assembly, consisting of my friends and others.' (Diarist's entry for August 25, 1746), vol. ii, p. 238.

² Dupleix wanted to have d'Auteuil, his own man, lead the land-forces against Madras; but La Bourdonnais understood his motive well enough and 'pleaded illness as an excuse for not setting out on the expedition on which the Governor has so strongly set his heart, but would not consent to any other person being appointed in his stead.' At the same time the Governor sent a letter to Nawab Anwar-ud-din asking politely for help with 3,000 men in attacking Madras, thus attempting to pre-justify his own action. (See letter of La Bourdonnais to Dupleix, August 26, in his *Memoires*, No. 27.)

The object of this expedition is to scour the sea between Madras and Negapatam until the setting in of the monsoon and attack any English ships that may be sighted. The fleet will then, it appears, sail for Mascareigne. I have written what rumour says.¹

Thus was the situation uncertain in Pondicherry, on the eve of the starting of La Bourdonnais' expedition, with both Dupleix and La Bourdonnais not willing to shoulder the entire responsibility.

¹ *Diary*, vol. ii, p. 252. It was even said that the project of Dupleix to seize Madras and become its Governor would end in failure.

(To be continued.)

Trade of Bengal from the Earliest Times down to the Great War

BY

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ANCIENT TRADE OF BENGAL

IN remote antiquity when India had her ancient civilization, Bengal attained a high level of prosperity as an agricultural, commercial and manufacturing country. So far back as the Epic period (1400–1000 B.C.) when the Aryans were engaged in conquering the whole of the valley of the Ganges and the Jumna from Delhi to Bengal, that portion of them which settled in Bengal, gradually penetrated not only in Southern Behar, Malwa, the Deccan and Gujarat on commercial enterprises but also extended their maritime activity towards the islands in the Eastern Seas. Reliable evidence there is to prove that for 'full thirty centuries Bengal stood out as the very heart of the Old World maintaining her position as one of the foremost maritime countries'—a fact which has been corroborated by no less an authority than the late Prof. Bühler, a great German Orientalist. The testimony that history bears to the commercial enterprise of Bengal during the Buddhistic period (320 B.C.–A.D. 500) derived from Indian literature and art including sculpture and painting, now scarcely wins belief and acceptance. But it is an incontrovertible fact that Bengal of that period not only carried on her trading voyages on the Eastern Seas but, also according to Mr. R. Sewell, a well-known historian, 'towards the shores of the Persian Gulf, Greece, Rome and Egypt'. Fa Hien and Hiuen-Tsiang, two famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited Bengal between A.D. 400 and 640, testified to the fact that Bengal formed a great maritime tract of India with Tamralipti (modern Tamluk) as its seaport, and that its people were rich and prosperous owing to their trade. Numerous wealthy merchants and ship-owners resided here and carried on an extensive over-sea trade. Indigo, mulberry and silk formed the chief commodities of export from Tamralipti. Hiuen-Tsiang was so much enchanted with the civilization

of ancient Bengal that in one of his works¹ he says: 'Though there be torches by night and the shining of the stars, yet how different is the bright cool moon! Just so the bright light of holy men and sages of In-tu (India) guiding the world as the shining of the moon has made Gangaridae (Ancient Bengal) famous for its *Commerce* and philosophy.' Hur Lun, the Corean, remarked: 'Tamralipti is the place for embarking for China from East India.' 'That Bengal as a trading country was known to the ancient people bordering the Mediterranean sea,' will be seen from the fact that its muslin-fabrics of the 'most delicate texture and extreme beauty' were much in request among them under the name of 'Gangetika'—a term which suggests their origin on or near the banks of the Ganges. The author of the *Periplus*, our earliest authority on the trade of India, enumerates a great variety of Bengal cotton fabrics among her exports. About this time Champa (modern Bhagalpur) also formed a commercial centre of Bengal from which merchants could sail for *Subarnabhūmi* or the Burmese Coast. But by far the most important emporium of ancient Bengal was Tamralipti.

DOWNFALL OF TAMRALIPTI

The port of Tamralipti survived for several centuries but was eventually absorbed in the ancient kingdom of Rāḍha (present Western Bengal). About the year A.D. 1130—a few years before the Ghorian invasion of India—the downfall of the port of Tamralipti commenced which afterwards remained as an obscure frontier-town of the Ganga kings, open to attack and devastation.

TRI-BENI AS A PORT OF BENGAL

After the fall of Tamralipti, the chief centre of trade of Bengal was shifted to Tri-beni, now in the Hooghly District, which, during the rule of the Ghor, Slave and Khilji dynasties, enjoyed a great commercial reputation and was often referred to as 'Tri-pani' or 'Firuzabad'. Pliny mentions that 'the ships assembling near the Godavari sailed from thence to Cape Palinurus, thence to Tentigale, opposite Falta,

¹*Si-yu-ki*: Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen-Tsiang by Samuel Beal, vol. i, p. 69, Trubner, 1884.

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thence to *Tri-beni* and lastly to Patna.' Ptolemy also notices *Tri-beni* as a great commercial town. The famous Pandit Jagannath Tarkapanchanan, the Sanskrit tutor of Sir William Jones, was a native of this town. Tri-beni lost its importance probably towards the beginning of the fourteenth century and the seat of the Muhammadan government of South-west Bengal was transferred from Tribeni to Satgaon, four miles inland on the River Sarasvati.

SATGAON AS A PORT OF BENGAL

This Satgaon or Sapta-gram (the city of seven sages) was the traditional mercantile capital of Bengal from the Pauranic Age (A.D. 500 to 1000) to the time of the foundation of the town of Hooghly by the Portuguese. With the transfer of the capital from Tribeni to Satgaon the trade of the former was naturally transferred to the latter. In course of time Satgaon became an important *entrepôt* from which goods, both local and imported, were distributed all over Bengal, partly by pack-bullocks but chiefly by boats. About this time Sonargaon (in the Dacca district) was also an important trading centre in East Bengal. It was famous for the manufacture of a fine description of muslin. To what perfection the art and industry of the weavers of this district reached, can be judged from the fact that, according to W. W. Hunter, they used to employ no fewer than 126 distinct implements for their work. With the decay of Sonargaon practically the whole commerce of Bengal was concentrated in Satgaon and consequently its sea-borne trade greatly developed, attaining its zenith in the first half of the sixteenth century.

ITS SEA-BORNE TRADE

Cæsaró Federici who visited this place about this period remarked that the sea-borne trade of this city consisted of 'rice, cloth of bombast of diverse sorts, lacca, great abundance of sugar, mirabolans, dried and preserved, long pepper, oil of zerbeline and many other sorts of merchandise.' After the middle of the fifteenth century when the Portuguese came to Bengal for the purpose of trade they were attracted by the grandeur of Satgaon, which they called 'Porto Piqueno' (or the Little Port of the Ganges) and established their factory there.

OTHER PORTS OF ANCIENT BENGAL

Though the maritime activity of Bengal was chiefly centred in Satgaon in the sixteenth century yet it was not the 'only' port of Bengal at this period. Ralph Fitch, who visited Bengal in 1586 mentions the name of 'Tanda' where there was 'great trade and traffic of cotton and cotton-cloth'. Another was 'Bacla' which had 'store of rice, much cotton-cloth and cloth of silk'. The third was 'Sripur' with its 'great store of cotton-cloth'. But perhaps the most important commercial centre of Bengal, next to Satgaon, at this period, was the city of Gaur. As this place was surrounded by the net-work of rivers, it naturally gave a great impetus to boat-building and maritime activity, ample evidence of which we get in the time of Pala kings of Bengal. Under the Muhammadan kings of Bengal, Gaur continued to grow in prosperity and importance. During the reign of Hussain Shah (A.D. 1498-1520), the commercial splendour of Gaur reached its zenith—brilliant accounts of which have been given by foreign travellers such as Varthema, De Barros, Manuel de Faria Souza, etc. According to some old Bengali MSS., there were several Arab merchants who settled in Gaur for the purpose of commerce and spoke highly of the vastness of its sea-borne trade. Bengal in the sixteenth century was also famous for her salt trade, the centre of which was Sandwipa (an island near the mouth of the Meghna) whence 300 ships were yearly laden with salt.

DECAY OF SATGAON; BETOR: A SMALL PORT

The decay of Satgaon as a wealthy mercantile port commenced in the latter end of the sixteenth century with the silting up of the Sarasvati River, thus making the navigation of ships inconvenient. About 1570 its commercial importance was visibly dimmed. Its merchant princes who amassed enormous wealth by trade left the town one after another. Several went to Hooghly and some to Betor (close to Howrah) to profit by its growing trade. The Portuguese also about this time removed their factories to Hooghly. Satgaon, thus being deserted by all, lost completely its *sea-borne* trade. But its *inland* trade which consisted of 'Quilts of Sutgonge' wrought with yellow silk continued to linger on up to 1620.

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HOOGHLY AS A PORT OF BENGAL; HIJILI AS A SEAPORT

During the first thirty years of the seventeenth century, the fall of Satgaon became complete and even its inland trade was mostly diverted to Hooghly. About this time Hijili (now in Midnapore District) became a great commercial port of Bengal and carried on trade with 'Negapatam, Sumatra, Malacca and diverse other places in rice, cotton, wool, sugar, long pepper, great store of butter and other victuals.' It is interesting to note here that though Satgaon declined during the beginning of the seventeenth century yet in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries it again came into prominence owing to its paper manufacture—an industry which declined owing to the introduction of paper manufacture in jails and was finally killed by the import of cheaper machine-made stuff from Europe.

We have noticed before that Hooghly became the centre of Bengal trade in the early part of the seventeenth century. In 1632 the Portuguese were driven out of Hooghly under orders of Emperor Shah Jahan and the commercial ascendancy of the Portuguese from that date got a great blow. Hooghly after this became the seat of the Mughal *Faujdar* and of the Imperial Custom House. The English East India Company settled there in 1651¹ and established a factory.

EXPANSION OF THE ENGLISH TRADE IN HOOGHLY

In fact Hooghly was the place where the foundation of the Company's trade in Bengal was placed on a strong footing. The gradual expansion of this trade will be evident from the fact that in 1668 the stock in trade of the Company was valued at £34,000; in 1675 at £65,000; and in 1682 it rose to £230,000. We also find that in 1675 the Company's exports from Bengal were valued at £430,000 and the imports at £860,000 besides private trade. It is further noticeable that in 1678 the cost of the cargo of bullion and goods which arrived at Hooghly *per ship Falcon* was valued at more than £40,000.

NATURE OF EXPORTS BEFORE THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY

The principal articles of the English trade in Bengal since their establishment at Hooghly were 'rice, oil, butter, hemp, cordage, sail-cloth, raw silk, silk-fabrics, salt-petre, opium, turmeric, neelaes'

¹ According to W. W. Hunter, in 1640.

(indigo-dyed cloths), gingham, sugar, long pepper, bees-wax, cassumber, white cummin seeds, bamboo, dry ginger, mustard, cotton, muslins, taffaties, ivory and spices (from the Eastern Archipalego).

DADANI SYSTEM OF CONTRACT

The articles required by the Company were obtained through the influential Indian merchants by regular contracts. This system of entering into contracts with the local merchants was known as *Dadani* system of Contract. The word 'dadani' comes from the Persian term *dadan*, to 'give'. Hence, this word means 'an advance made to a craftsman, a weaver or the like by one who trades in the goods produced'. This system of procuring goods went on up to 1752 but as the honesty of these contractors was doubted by the Company, it was abolished in 1753. Since then the Company appointed *Gumastahs* or native agents to provide trading commodities from different markets in Bengal, known commonly by the name of 'Aurangs'.

BEGINNING OF THE EXPANSION OF THE COMPANY'S TRADE IN BENGAL

In the latter half of the seventeenth century the Company's trade in Bengal continued to expand. They made so large a profit by their trade that besides Hooghly they gradually started several other factories notably at Kumarkhali, Jangipur, Bauleah, Malda, Radhanagar, Cossimbazar and Chandrakona. In addition to these they built a factory amidst the salt-petre grounds at Patna to supply this article to England which was much in request there on account of the civil war between Charles I and his Parliament. But subsequently this salt-petre trade of Patna was prohibited by Aurangzib.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TRADE IN MUSLINS; INTRODUCTION OF MACHINERY CRIPPLES BENGAL TEXTILE FABRICS

The principal articles of trade which fetched the East India Company in Bengal a very big sum of money were muslin and silk fabrics. The excellence of these handloom manufactures of Bengal reached such a high pitch and commanded such a world-wide celebrity under the Imperial patronage and fostering care of Jehangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzib and several other Mughal Emperors and Viceroy that it attracted the attention of Europe and at last the 'wear of Bengal muslins' became common in England since 1670. In delicacy of texture, in purity and fastness of colour and in grace of design, these Bengal

muslins may still hold their own against the world. History records that Princess Jahanara, the illustrious daughter of Emperor Shah Jahan, was attired in the costliest Dacca muslin when her clothes caught fire. But the popularity of the aforesaid fabrics among the Englishmen at home excited great alarm and uneasiness among the English weavers and artisans and at their instance a series of legislative enactments were passed in England from 1701 downwards to restrict the sales of Bengal muslins in England. These laws, though they somewhat checked the expansion of their sales, yet could not entirely kill them. The result was that they continued to flourish in England till the end of the eighteenth century when they were ousted from that country under the competition of cheaper piece-goods from Manchester made by machinery. In India, also, the Company carried on an extensive export-trade in muslins with Pegu and countries to the eastward till the Burmese War.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SETTLEMENT AT CALCUTTA

In 1690 the English East India Company removed the 'centre of their trade' from Hooghly to Sutanati where they founded Calcutta. Though a change was thus effected in the centre of trade yet their commercial connection with Hooghly did not entirely cease. The Company had their agents at Hooghly where a great part of their purchases was made. The Imperial Custom House, moreover, was at Hooghly so that, both the sea-borne and internal trades had to pass through it, either to pay custom[duty or to get free passes.

GROWTH OF CALCUTTA AS A COMMERCIAL CENTRE

The removal of the trade centre of the English East India Company from Hooghly to Calcutta in 1690 marks the beginning of a very interesting and important period in the annals of the English trade in Bengal. It heralded a period in which the trade of the East India Company was established on a fixed basis and their policy of 'armed industrialism' definitely formulated. With the adoption of the right 'commercial policy' and the foundation of the right 'centre of trade' the growth of Calcutta became assured and gradually it focussed the entire trade of Bengal. Between 1711 and 1712 this trade was greatly retarded by the hostilities of the French fleet. In spite of this check the trade of Calcutta continued to grow and Sir C. C. Stevens in his paper 'On the Port of Calcutta', said that 'in the year 1727 the shipping of the port of Calcutta amounted to ten thousand tons'.

THE STATE OF EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TRADE ABOUT THE TIME OF
THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY

The Company's trade in Bengal again suffered heavily during the wars between 1740 and 1757 but revived about 1758. About this time the whole volume of the English trade was diverted to Calcutta, the result being that the importance of Hooghly entirely ceased.

The sea-borne trade of Bengal got a great impetus at the hands of Englishmen with the consolidation of the British power in Bengal following upon the decline of that great Empire founded by Babar—the Great Mughal—in 1526. According to Sir C. C. Stevens 'in 1759 thirty vessels sailed from Calcutta aggregating about four thousand tons burthen'.

SHIP-BUILDING IN CALCUTTA DEVELOPS

As this sea-borne trade continued to increase, as a necessary corollary the ship-building began to be brisk after 1770, teak-wood being chiefly used. But another calamitous event led the East India Company to revive ship-building in Bengal: it was the famine which overtook the Carnatic on account of Hyder Ali's invasion of 1780 which necessitated the transport of grain from Bengal to the English settlements on the Coromandel Coast. So Calcutta soon became the centre of regular ship-building.

SHIP-BUILDING IN BENGAL UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY CEASES;
INDIAN SHIPS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. A FRENCHMAN'S
APPRECIATION

From 1781 to 1821 more than two hundred and thirty-seven ships were built at the Kidderpore Docks at a cost of more than two millions sterling, to the great displeasure of the shipbuilders of Liverpool. The decline of this ship-building in Bengal began after 1840 and we find that in April 1863 it was finally abolished. In this connection, perhaps, it will not be out of place here to quote the opinion of a famous French scholar, F. Baltazar Solvyns about the quality of the indigenous ships used by the people of Bengal for trade in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. He speaks in his *Les Hindous* (1811): 'In ancient times the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels and the present Indians can in this respect still offer models to Europe

so much so the English have borrowed from them many improvements which they have adopted with success to their own shipping. . . . The Indian vessels unite elegance and utility, and are models of patience and fine workmanship.'

SILK INDUSTRY OF BENGAL UNDER EAST INDIA COMPANY

About the time when the ship-building under the East India Company was developing, they also turned their attention to foster the production of silk. As early as 1767 we find the Governor, Mr. Verelst, urging the *Zamindars* gathered at Murshidabad for the ceremony of the *Punya*, 'to give all possible encouragement to the cultivation of mulberry.' Gradually Bengal silk became an important article of trade under the Company.

BENGAL FAMINE OF 1769-70: ITS EFFECT ON AGRICULTURE

Just at the time when the East India Company were busy with the improvements of the sea-borne trade of Calcutta and with the production of Bengal silk, the agricultural life of Bengal got a great blow by the outbreak of a terrible famine which swept away one-third of the population of Bengal. Its effect on the 'sturdy peasantries of Bengal' was simply staggering. One-third of the lower valley of the Ganges fell out of tillage and became waste. Lord Cornwallis in his letter to the Court of Directors, dated August 2, 1789, and also in his minute of September 18, 1789, says that 'one-third of the Company's territories in Bengal was turned into a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts.' It is not within the province of this article to deal exhaustively with the effects produced by this famine. The *Reports of Famine Commissions of 1880 and 1898* speak eloquently on the subject.

BENGAL TEXTILE INDUSTRY SUFFERS ON ACCOUNT OF FOREIGN
COMPETITION ABOUT THE BEGINNING OF
NINETEENTH CENTURY

Within three decades after this agricultural collapse the textile industry of Bengal also got a severe shock. It rapidly began to decline under the competition of cheaper goods from Manchester. Since the inventions of Arkwright and Crompton the English manufacture of cloth for India has made such gigantic strides that it has all but completely supplanted the Bengal industry. By 1813 the value of private

trade in muslins had fallen to two lakhs of rupees and in 1825 the trade received a severe shock from the introduction of British thread which has since been used almost to the entire exclusion of country yarn. So Bengal by the beginning of the nineteenth century instead of holding the proud position of supplier of cotton goods to Europe sank into a position entirely dependent on Europe for her own supplies—thus proving how hereditary skill and primitive manual labour, however efficient they might be, are impotent before the mechanical contrivances. However, it is satisfactory to note that the cotton weaving trade in Tipperah, Dacca, Patna, Santipur, Farashdanga, Rangpur and Dinajpur still bear good reputation.

STEADY GROWTH OF THE TRADE OF THE PORT OF CALCUTTA

In the eleven months from June 1811 to April 1812 the import and export trade of the port of Calcutta was estimated at about nine millions and a half sterling, being carried in 600 vessels aggregating 150,000 tons. The following were the principal articles of export and import from and to Calcutta:—

Exports:—Rice, *Goor*, sugarcane, dates, sugar, *pan*-leaf, tobacco, indigo, cloth, silk, mats, curds, vegetables, fish, pottery, bamboos and straw.

Imports:—Rice, mustard-seed, gram, salt, indigo seed, linseed, iron, steel, brass and copper utensils, *ghee*, spices, cloth, thread, cocoanut oil, umbrellas and pedlars' wares.

Since then up to the recent years the growth of the port has been steady.

FORMATION OF BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CALCUTTA TRADES ASSOCIATION, ETC.

To protect and develop the trade of Calcutta under the British rule the Bengal Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1834. Other societies connected with the trade and commerce of the city are the Royal Exchange, the Bengal Bonded Warehouse Association, the Calcutta Trades Association, and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.

FURTHER GROWTH OF CALCUTTA

The military situation created by the Mutiny of 1857 demanded the completion of a great railway system and by 1864 the East India Railway was opened for traffic from Calcutta to Delhi. The

gradual extension and construction of canals in Northern India which followed the Mutiny added year by year to the sphere of influence of Calcutta as a seaport and distributing centre. To meet the requirements of the increasing trade thus centred in Calcutta it became necessary to improve the condition of the port. Accordingly some old existing canals near Calcutta were deepened to afford safe boat route through Sundarbans for the benefit of trade. Up to the close of the year 1877-78 a capital of £36,034 had been expended by Government on the Calcutta canals. The Hijili Tidal Canal in the Midnapur District was also dredged and it is interesting to note that the net profit of the Company from these canals during 1877-78 was about £9,200. Since then the profit from these canals have gone up by leaps and bounds. New jetties and wharves have also been constructed along the Calcutta shore of the river for the convenience of the loading and discharge of cargo. Docks at Kidderpore have further been built to which railway waggons now bring merchandise alongside the steamers. At the same time the service of steamers between Calcutta and Assam have greatly benefited the tea-estates which increased their produce with great rapidity. The reduction of freights between Calcutta and Burma has also stimulated the trade of Calcutta, monopolized the commerce, not only of Lower Bengal, but also of the entire river systems of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra.

FORMATION OF PORT TRUST

The port of Calcutta was all along under the management of Government; but in 1870 a Port Trust was formed. The Strand Bank lands were in due course made over to them on an yearly quit rent of Rs. 37,392. Its Commissioners were at first twelve but subsequently were increased to fifteen. In 1889 the Port Commissioners were made Conservators of the Port.

COASTING TRADE OF CALCUTTA

Since 1857 the coasting trade of Calcutta has been greatly influenced by the extension of communications and by the development of direct steamship communications with other Indian ports. The chief ports with which Calcutta carries on coasting trade are Rangoon, Moulmein, Akyab, Bombay and Madras. The imports are

cotton goods and salt from Bombay ; rice and mineral oil from Burma ; sugar, vegetable oil and oil-seeds from Madras ; and the exports are grain, pulses, coal, jute, gunnies, spices, tobacco and tea. Besides these ports those of Orissa also form great centres of coasting-trade with which large steamer companies such as the India General and the Calcutta Steam and River Steam Navigation Companies carry on an extensive commerce.

CULTIVATION OF TEA AND JUTE IN BENGAL

(a) Tea

While the improvement of Calcutta, as a port, was going on rapidly on all sides the Company turned their attention to the cultivation of tea and jute. The cultivation of tea began so late as 1856 and the European capital was at once directed to this industry. The discovery of the tea plant growing wild in Assam is generally attributed to two brothers named Bruce who brought back specimens of the plant in 1826 after the conquest of the province from the Burmese. In January 1834 Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, appointed a Committee 'for the purpose of submitting a plan for the introduction of tea culture in Bengal'. In 1877-78 the total number of tea-gardens in Bengal was 221. In 1882-83 the total number of gardens increased to 300. More than three-fourths of the Bengal tea come from Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts. The cultivation, however, is rapidly extending to other parts of Bengal on the East Coast of the Bay of Bengal.

(b) Jute

Considering its present dimensions the jute industry of Bengal is of very recent origin. The first jute mill in Bengal was started at Rishra in 1855. The original out-turn was 8 tons per day. In 1909 it had grown to 2,500 tons per day, it is now 3,000 tons per day and it shows every indication of growing and expanding year by year. Another interesting thing about the jute industry in Bengal is that, although it is practically a monopoly of Scotchmen from Dundee, the industry itself owes its inception to an Englishman, George Acland who was a midshipman in the East India Marine Service. The proximity to Calcutta with its numerous facilities for export overseas and the many means of communication with the interior, both by railway and

river, have led to the establishment of several jute mills along the Hooghly River from Budge-Budge to Naihati. The record of jute industry in Bengal may well be said to be one of uninterrupted progress. For some interesting information regarding this subject *the Romance of Jute* by David Wallace may be profitably consulted.

INDIGO IN BENGAL

Indigo is one of the oldest of the Bengal staples grown by European capital. In several districts in Bengal indigo-planting was worked by a system of advances to the cultivators which plunged them into a state of hopeless hereditary indebtedness to the planters. The Land Law of 1859 (Act X) by defining and improving the legal status of the cultivator throughout Bengal gave a death-blow to this system in districts where it had been abused. Moreover the indigo riots of 1860 caused great depression and damage to this industry in Bengal. In Bengal its cultivation has greatly declined since the first half of the nineteenth century. English indigo-planters have forsaken the Districts of Hooghly, the 24-Pargannas, Dacca, Faridpur, Rangpur and Pabna now dotted with sites of ruined old factories. Upto 1890 this industry was still carried on in Nadia, Jessore, Murshidabad, Maldah and Midnapur, but since synthetic indigo was put upon the market in 1897 the natural indigo of Bengal has declined altogether.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT AND SMALL INDUSTRIES

The *Swadeshi* movement was the outcome of the 'Boycott of British Goods' resolution which first made its appearance in Bengal on the 7th August 1905. The discussion of this resolution as a 'political weapon' does not come within the scope of this paper. But this much is certain that many petty indigenous industries which were fast disappearing from the land again resuscitated. For instance in the 24-Pargannas District this movement led to the establishment of several new manufactories, more especially in the suburbs of Calcutta where tanneries, bone-crushing mills and factories for the manufacture of ink and Portland cement have sprung up. Saw-mills and rope works have also been started by Indian enterprise while manufacture of umbrellas, tin boxes and steel trunks have been taken up. Another enterprise conceived in a genuine *Swadeshi* spirit is the Bengal Pharmaceutical works which Mr. Cumming describes as

'one of the most go-ahead young enterprises in Bengal'. The kerosine-oil tin manufacture is also a result of the *Swadeshi* movement in this district. Twenty years ago not a single tin was made in Bengal but now there are at least five factories with modern stamping machines to manufacture it in this district. Mr. G. E. Lambourn, I.C.S., says that in the Maldah District the *Swadeshi* movement gave impetus to the manufacture of silk fabrics. Mr. L. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., testifies to the fact that in the Hooghly District 'there has been a revival of indigenous industries owing to the stimulus given by the *Swadeshi* movement to the use of country-made goods'. In other Bengal districts also this movement has given life to several nascent Indian industries.

EFFECTS OF WAR UPON TRADE

During the eight months ended November 1916, as compared with the corresponding period of 1915, the value of imports increased by over Rs. 12½ crores to Rs. 101·6 crores, and the total exports, including re-exports and the value of wheat and tanned cow hides, exported on Government account, advanced by over Rs. 31 crores to nearly Rs. 157 crores. The exports of Indian merchandise showed an increase of Rs. 28 crores or twenty-three per cent, and re-exports, of Rs. 201 lakhs. The grand total of imports, exports and re-exports amounted to nearly Rs. 259 crores as against Rs. 216 crores. Imports of treasure (private and Government) increased by Rs. 15·46 crores to Rs. 24·2 crores. Gold bullion rose by Rs. 332 lakhs to Rs. 677 lakhs but sovereigns fell by Rs. 5 lakhs to Rs. 44 lakhs. Imports of silver increased by Rs. 12·19 crores to Rs. 16·85 crores. Exports of treasure decreased by Rs. 1·07 crores to Rs. 4·68 crores.

THE EFFECT OF WAR ON (a) JUTE

During the Great War the demand for jute was so great that the jute trade entered upon a unique period of prosperity. The natural consequence was that the values of gunnies rose quickly. The mills were also carrying large stocks of cheap jute secured during the slump in raw jute after the outbreak of war, when the continental market disappeared. The disappearance of the continental demand and the absence of freight gave the Calcutta mills a complete hold on the

market in raw jute for a long period. Another factor which favoured the mills was the good supply of labour. The stoppage of railway and other large projects during the Great War released a mass of labour which drifted to the mills. The local jute mills thus made profits undreamt of in the years of peaceful progress.

(b) SILK

As a result of the Great War the silk trade has showed in some degree signs of revival from its decadent state both as regards its volume and value. The value of exports during 1915-16 improved by Rs. 12 lakhs to Rs. 28 lakhs, of which raw silk accounted for Rs. 24 lakhs. The increase in total exports was due to larger shipments to the United Kingdom, France and Italy. The export of silk manufactures in 1914-15 was valued at Rs. 4½ lakhs.

NATIONAL SHIPPING IS ESSENTIAL TO THE COMMERCIAL LIFE OF BENGAL

There was a time when Bengal was a rich country on account of her national and indigenous shipping. But now she is without this most important organ of national life. There can hardly be conceived a more serious obstacle in the path of her industrial development than this almost complete extinction of her shipping and ship-building. The sea-borne trade of Bengal is continually expanding with the result of increasing our dependence on foreign shipping and for this we have, on a rough estimate, to pay a price of about 25 crores of rupees a year. We have trade relations with every quarter of the globe. The total value of this trade is about 344·2 crores of rupees, that of imports being 161·8 crores and exports 182·3 crores, and the entire trade lies at the mercy of foreign shippers who are at liberty to impose on us whatever freights they wish to charge for the use of their ships. In this present state of things it is idle to expect that Bengal industry and commerce can advance materially, handicapped as they are by the want of a fully developed shipping. It therefore behoves all who are interested in the growth of trade in Bengal to be fully alive to the importance and necessity of reviving and restoring on modern lines a lost industry that rendered to her such brilliant commercial service in the past and with which are so vitally bound up the prospects of the economic advancement of Bengal.

A Sketch of the History of Afghanistan

BY

CAPTAIN G. B. FYLDES, M.C.

(*The Sikh Regiment, Aden.*)

THE History of Afghanistan as we know that country to-day does not properly begin till the eighteenth century. Before that date it was split up amongst other kingdoms or added to some larger empire. However, to gain a proper perspective of the Afghanistan of modern times, it is necessary to trace its early history.

The best time to begin seems to be that at which the inhabitants first embraced the Muhammadan religion. This occurred towards the close of the ninth century, when the country consisted of a number of small states generally under the suzerainty of King Abdul Malik of Bukhara. On his death in 961 a war of succession broke out. One of the aspirants to the throne—Alpetagin—established himself in Ghazni. He was succeeded by his famous son Subaktagin—who captured Kabul and Kandahar; and acquired Khorassan and the country as far as the Indus around Peshawar—and his still more famous grandson Mahmud.

Early in his reign Mahmud added Afghan Turkistan and Badakshan to his patrimony. But he is chiefly memorable for his frequent invasions of India. The first was in 1000 and the last in 1027. The other important events of his reign were a successful war with his father-in-law—the King of Bukhara—the subjugation of the Ghilzais, who, in the end, were to destroy his successors; the conquest of Kashmir, Samarkhand, Khiva, Kafiristan and Persia. On April 29, 1030, Mahmud died. He was one of the Great Captains of all time. In addition to being a soldier he was a patron of the arts and learning. The wealth and treasures accumulated by his victories—especially those in India—enabled him to transform Ghazni into a magnificent city, and to establish and endow a university there.

Mahmud had founded a great empire; he was unable to found a similar dynasty. During subsequent reigns this great legacy gradually dwindled. Finally the last of his line—Khusru—was deposed by Allah-ud-Din, a chief of Ghor, who was a member of that Ghilzai tribe which had been so severely crushed by Mahmud.

Allah-ud-Din was succeeded by his nephew Muhammad Ghori who,

in 1189 invaded India. He was defeated in this campaign, but was victorious two years later; and in subsequent years penetrated as far as Delhi and Bengal. His successor was Kutb-ud-Din, who had been one of his Generals. He contented himself with ruling in India; Afghanistan, after various vicissitudes, passed into the hands of one Muhammad Khan.

Now it was that Chengiz Khan came on the scene. This man was a Tartar of the Mongol race which had its habitation north and east of the Caspian. In 1219 he drove Muhammad Khan from the throne, and when he died his Empire extended from the China Sea to the Dneiper River.

On the death of Chengiz Khan the country again came under Bukhara. In 1251 Kabul and Ghazni were captured by the King of Delhi. Nearly a hundred years later we find another Afghan ruling in Kabul, but only as Viceroy for the Mongol King in India.

At the close of the fourteenth century Timur Beg—Tamerlane of tradition—over-ran Afghanistan from the north. From then onwards it was broken up till the time of Babur, who was born in 1482. He was a direct descendant of Timur's. At the age of twelve he succeeded his father as King of Firghana. In his early years he was subject to many changes of fortune, and concentrated all his efforts, with varying success, on re-creating a united Empire in Central Asia. By 1505 he had lost Firghana; twice captured and twice lost Samarkhand, but was more or less firmly seated on the throne at Kabul which he had secured by a *coup d'état* on finally being driven from Samarkhand. With Kabul went Ghazni, but Kandahar belonged to another descendant of Timur's. However, Babur eventually added it to his own Kingdom, but his reign in Afghanistan was one of continual wars and rebellions, victories and defeats. He is of course most famous for his conquest of India and the foundation there of a great empire and a glorious dynasty. He was the first victor on the field of Panipat which yet twice again was to be the scene of decisive battles in Indian History.

On Babur's death in 1530 another long period of travail began for Afghanistan. This lasted till the beginning of the eighteenth century.

In 1649 Herat and Kandahar had been lost to Persia. Towards the close of this century a national spirit began to make itself felt in the country in general, but especially among the Ghilzais. Finally in

1708 Mir Wais headed a successful revolt. When he died in 1725 he had greatly extended the Kingdom, and all the Afghan tribes—except the Abdalis of Herat—acknowledged his supremacy; and he had succeeded in welding them together as no one had done before. The conception of Afghanistan had begun.

Two reigns of little importance intervene between the death of Mir Wais and the capture of the country by Nadir Shah the Persian in 1738. On his death, nearly ten years later, the Afghan Chiefs unanimously elected one of their own number, Ahmad Khan Abdali—who had been one of the late Emperor's most trusted Generals—as King, and he was crowned in Kandahar. Ahmad Khan assumed the title of Dur-i-Duran, and changed the name of his clan to Durani. He at once began the work of consolidating his kingdom by driving out Nadir Shah's garrisons of Persians from Kabul and Ghazni. Thus for the first time did an Afghan really rule his own country as we know it to-day. Afghanistan was born. By the end of his reign he was also paramount power in the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan on the south; and as far as the Oxus on the north, Meshed on the west and Kashmir on the east.

Ahmad was followed by his son who transferred the capital to Kabul but lost various outlying portions of the Kingdom. When he died in 1797 a struggle for the throne ensued which ended in the victory of one Zaman, a Barakzai—a tribe of the Durani. In 1801 Zaman was deposed by his brother Mahmud who was himself ousted for a time by a third brother—Shuja. In 1809 however, by the help of Fateh Khan, one of the Chiefs of the Barakzais, Mahmud forced Shuja to flee to India, and remained in power till 1817. Then, fearful of Fateh Khan's growing power and popularity he had him murdered. This foul deed roused the Barakzais. Dost Muhammad, Fateh Khan's brother, drove the murderer to Herat and became all powerful in Kabul. Other members of the tribe held Kandahar, Jelalabad and Peshawar. The latter place was captured by the Sikhs in 1823. Shuja made an abortive attempt to regain his throne in 1833.

We now come to the story of our own dealings with Afghanistan. Dost Muhammad sought our help in regaining Peshawar without avail. He therefore allied himself with Persia, which country at that time was virtually in Russian control. This alarmed the Indian Government and Burnes was sent on a mission to Kabul in 1837. He

met with no success and returned to India the next year. Lord Auckland then decided to counter this alliance by the questionable expedient of replacing Shah Shuja on the throne. War was declared against Dost Muhammad on October 1st, 1838. Little opposition was met, but bad staff and supply work resulted in heavy losses on the lines of communications through Sind and Baluchistan. Kabul was reached in August 1839.

It very soon became obvious, that if Shah Shuja was to remain on his throne, the British Army must continue in Afghanistan. This was a contingency which had not been expected. Notwithstanding this however the force was greatly reduced and it was scattered in small detachments in various places. Our position was maintained with increasing difficulty during 1840 and the spring and summer of 1841. This was largely the result of the policy adopted by Sir William MacNaghten—our Envoy—and despite the fact that Dost Muhammad had surrendered and had been sent to India. Burnes was murdered on November 2nd, and by the end of the month our forces were closely confined in their untenable camp. The climax came in January 1842 with the annihilation of our army on its retreat from Kabul. MacNaghten himself had been assassinated on Christmas Day.

After our prestige had been restored by the re-conquest of Kabul, Dost Muhammad was allowed to return. He continued to reign till his death in 1863.

The second Afghan War was also caused by the fear of Russia. Sher Ali, who had eventually succeeded Dost Muhammad, was by no means entirely blameless, but it must be admitted that even this war was not entirely creditable to Britain. It ended in 1880 with the march of Lord Roberts from Kabul to Kandahar.

Since then it has been our policy to maintain friendly relations with Afghanistan. King Abdur Rahman was well disposed towards England and his country was left to manage its own internal affairs, while a watch was kept on foreign policy. At the treaty which concluded the Third Afghan War of 1919, Afghanistan was recognized as entirely independent. From that time under its energetic and enlightened ruler it has made rapid progress. It is to be hoped that in the future the relations, between England and India on the one hand, and Afghanistan on the other, will be still further cemented by King Amanullah's historic—because unprecedented—tour in Europe.

Reviews

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE RELATIONS OF INDIAN STATES WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

BY

K. M. PANIKKAR

WITH A FOREWORD BY

THE RT. HON. LORD OLIVIER, K.C.M.G.

[Martin, Hopkinson & Co., London, 1927—pp. xxxi & 169.]

THE publication of this book has come at an opportune time when the relations of the Indian states with the Government of India are being discussed with a view to their being placed on a more satisfactory footing which will be more in consonance with their future status as integral elements of a reconstituted India. Many Indian Ruling Princes have implicitly countenanced and some have explicitly declared their assertion of the claims of India to full Dominion Status; and most of them are convinced of the inevitable and necessary adjustment of their own rule with the organic constitutional structure of British India. The questions of their standardization both in respect of size and situation, population and resources and of their inter-relation to the Provincial and Local Governments of British India are very complex problems, difficult to unravel and possible of solution only with the progress of time and events.

Mr. Panikkar, himself a talented scholar and journalist, analyses and interprets the historical and constitutional evolution of the place that Indian states occupy in the Indian Polity; and he would declare that history affords no analogy for this peculiar growth, which is 'neither feudal nor federal, though in some aspects it shows similarities to both which have misguided alike the statesman and the political thinker.' He would define the factors that have converted the Indian States into an integral part of the Imperial Polity as the stretch of Royal Prerogatives, the implications understood to underlie treaty rights and obligations and military and strategical considerations. Besides these three main grounds Government have always been

following a policy of direct intervention in states on occasions when they themselves deem it expedient and necessary to interfere. This claim was put forward in the most unequivocal manner in the letter of the Viceroy to the Nizam, so late as March 22, 1926, and was indicated in the correspondence carried on recently between the Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana and the Maharana of Udaipur.

In the Company's days a marked distinction was made between the dependent vassal-states and the independent treaty-states, and the British power did not for long openly proclaim its transition from the position of *primus inter pares* to the assertion of superiority, much less of undisputed sovereignty. The distinction itself was nevertheless observed by Bentinck and Dalhousie, the latter of whom applied his Doctrine of Lapse only in the case of distinctly subordinate and feudatory states and brought in other considerations in the case of the annexation of independent states. 'This useful and historical distinction was however forgotten in the search for uniformity of practice.' In the author's opinion it is this standardization, which meant in other words the application of the practice appropriate in the case of lesser chiefs to the greater ones also, that has made many Indian Princes lose their treaty-rights and has approximated them to the type of feudal subordinates. The era which closed with the grant of *Sanads* of Adoption by Canning and Lawrence, was full of bitterness and mistrust because of the operation of this factor. The principles of loyalty to the British Crown and the one-sided obligation, implied in these *Sanads* are too glaringly leaning on the British side not to provoke just resentment on the part of the Rulers of some states. The enforcement of feudal rights like the settlement of disputed successions, the wardship of minors, the control of their education and the more potent authority to depose, dispossess and degrade has been the uniform practice of the Suzerain Government which has recently popularized the method of veiling depositions under the cloak of (enforced) abdications.

Mr. Panikkar supplements his illustration of the enforcement of these feudalistic rights with a sketch of the interferences with the states made on grounds of military, international and imperial considerations, all of which have affected the sovereignty of the Princes and have complicated legal and other bearings. This growing curtailment of the original treaty-rights possessed by Indian Rulers has been

justified by Anglo-Indian writers like Aitchison, Malleon and Lee-Warner, on various grounds, constitutional, legal and supra-legal and political. Mr. Panikkar has clearly shown that the character of most of these encroachments is fundamental and is a grave injury to the 'guaranteed prerogatives of the major Indian sovereignties.' The sovereignty of the Indian Rulers which Lee-Warner would define as semi-sovereign, while clearly allowed in internal affairs by treaties, has been injured by intervention undertaken for securing 'the essential minimum of good government' which is the *sine qua non* of all British rule and more often for securing the political advantage or the trade interests of the British—the interventions being occasionally veiled in the guise of nominated ministers.* He has also taken pains to demonstrate how the sovereignty of the bigger states is unimpeachable, and how the British Government itself has officially come to this point of view in declaring that the Chamber of Princes should be composed of 'the Ruling Princes of India exercising full sovereign powers'. And lastly he points out the danger of the principles guiding the conduct of the Suzerain Power becoming crystallized into a separate system of public law. Many of the relations are extra-constitutional and cannot be made to come under the category of the claims of the Suzerain to feudal sovereignty. According to him, 'the federal idea, while it has necessarily restricted their independence in those matters, such as defence that are vested in the Central Government, has given to those princes who possess sovereign rights, the duties of the constituent states of a federal body.' It is only along this line that the states can become real members and constituents of the Indian Polity.

C. S. S.

SULTAN MAHMUD OF GHAZNIN, A STUDY.—
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

BY

PROF. MOHAMMAD HABIB

[Pp. 108, 1927 : D. B. Taraporevala & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay.]

THIS interesting study of the place and the achievements of a great historic figure originally appeared as an article in *The Hindustan Review* for October 1924. Its conclusion is that zeal for the spread of Islam was not an inspiring motive of the Sultan's plundering

invasions, though it was utilized as 'an *a posteriori* justification of what had been done ;' that Mahmud's Central Asiatic policy was devoid of statesmanship and his work in India was even more ephemeral and deplorable ; and that there is no historical justification for his memory being cherished by Indian Mussalmans as it is being done. The period of the Sultan's rule is one of the most stormy in the history of Islam when Turkish military predominance in its darker aspects was just coming to be refined by Persian genius and culture.

Mahmud was the last of the 'Minor Kings' that rose up on the decline of the Abbasids and the first of the great 'Turko-Persian' Emperors. Prof. Habib proves convincingly enough that the inspiring motive of his life and of the lives of his contemporaries was not Islamic zeal, but the spirit of the Persian Renaissance in which the missionary zeal of primitive Islam had all but evaporated. His Indian invasions well illustrate his genius in strategy and tactics ; and they served to gain for him the gold and the prestige that he needed for his conquest elsewhere. His state was organized on an efficient and unitary basis and his military organization was very much superior to that of the Hindus. His vandalism in India led to the cherishing by Indians of an intense hatred of all Muslims, according to Albiruni ; and his Indian policy 'secured the rejection of Islam without a hearing'. Prof. Habib would say that from Mahmud, Indian Mussalmans have obtained the most bitter drop in their cup. Let us examine this conclusion for all that it is worth.

C. S. S.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND ITS
ACTUAL WORKING

BY

DEBENDRA NATH BANERJEE

[With a foreword by Sir Evan Cotton—Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., 1926—
pp. xix and 497.]

THE book describes the present constitution of British India under the Government of India Act of 1919. It is a careful and sustained study of the present constitutional position, stressing upon its rigid character and constituent elements and forecasting a Federation which the Provincial and State Governments will enjoy complete

autonomy. Attention is drawn to the features which compel comparison with those of U.S.A., Great Britain, and the Self-Governing Dominions. The book treats in detail of the composition of the Legislatures, the Electoral Rolls, their preparation and amendment and the qualifications of the electors in the different provinces both for the Central and the Provincial Legislatures. The procedure adopted at elections comes in for equally detailed treatment as well.

The powers of the Legislatures, their privileges and procedure are treated, frequently with the attention of the student drawn to the corresponding practice of the British Parliament. The powers of the Home Government, those of the Indian and Provincial Governments and their interrelations are next told with great clarity and on simple lines. The rights and privileges of the Services, the basis on which the Provincial Contributions were fixed in the Meston Settlement, the limits of Provincial borrowings and taxation next follow; and two chapters devoted to an account of the Judiciary and the Act of 1919 as it had worked up to the date of the Muddiman (Reforms Enquiry) Committee Report of 1924 close the treatment which is supplemented with a number of appendices describing rules on various points.

The book will serve as a good working manual for the student of the Indian Constitution in the decennium that is about to end since the passing of the Montford Act.

C. S. S.

WARREN HASTINGS' LETTERS TO SIR JOHN MACPHERSON

EDITED BY

PROFESSOR HENRY DODWELL, M.A.

[London, Faber and Gwyer—1927—pp. 218—price 15s.]

THE letters and other papers printed here consist mostly of letters addressed by Warren Hastings to Sir John Macpherson, of which only one has appeared in print, published by Mr. Gleig in the second volume of his *Biography of Hastings*, (1841, vol. ii, pp. 179-80). Four of the exceptions, i.e. those which are not from Hastings to Macpherson, consist of a curious letter from Mrs. Hastings, another letter from Macpherson himself to Hastings, a third being a copy of a letter from Hastings to Wheler, and the last being a long memorandum

on Hastings' position, endorsed 1781. All the letters published have been in the continuous possession of the Macpherson family and are now edited with an elaborate introduction and notes by Prof. Dodwell who says that their principal value lies in 'the new light which they throw on the events of Hastings' administration and on his character in some important phases.' The side-lights that these letters throw on the human side of the Governor-General are interesting; and they form, according to the Editor, a valuable addition to Sydney Grier's picture which was the first to pull Hastings out of the depths of official documents and despatches into which the dull, though painstaking, Gleig had buried him.

Macpherson during these early years of correspondence (1775-77) sympathized with Hastings as against his Council and was very sanguine of his friend's ultimate triumph. But the interest of the early letters lies more in the dissensions in the Madras Council over the Nawab's Debts and his claim to the Tanjore Raj and the consequent revolution in the Madras Government leading to the arrest of Lord Pigot. Hastings would have preferred the appointment of a direct Agent of the Supreme Government at the Nawab's Court and the confirmation of the latter's power over Tanjore, in respect to both of which Macpherson held similar views.

Macpherson, now dismissed from service, went to England both as the champion of the Nawab's case and as the representative of the Governor-General with the Home authorities. In the latter capacity, Macpherson was of some valuable service to his friend by sending him a copy of the document prepared by the Ministry in 1776 for his impeachment and advising him to procure rebutting evidence. In these, James Macpherson, 'famous as Ossian' played also a part, as an active ally of his namesake; and of him also Hastings was very solicitous. He wrote in Letter No. XII (p. 62): 'The Obligations which I owe to Mr. James McPherson make me more than ordinarily solicitous that he may not think me insensible to them.'

The Document—No. XIII. in the book is a summary abstract of Hastings' Government and present situation and merely endorsed 1781; it is, according to Mr. Dodwell, probably an example of Macpherson's literary propaganda, perhaps a communication to the press, or of those made by him to the *Public Advertiser*. It belongs in reality to an earlier year.

The long series of letters from No. XV¹ were sent to the recipient after he became a member of the Calcutta Council. Hastings was anxious that his friend should not develop a policy of his own that might lead to future disputes. The most important of them (e.g. Letter No. XVII) deal with his views as to how peace could be made on the most honourable terms with the Marathas and how Hyder Ali should be forced from the Carnatic by pressure exerted on his northern frontiers by the Marathas. Hastings in this would not consent to the tame proposals of offering peace to the Court of Poona made by the Madras authorities, Macartney, Coote and Hughes, in which Macpherson also acquiesced to a large extent. The remarkable letter No. XVII which Hastings wrote from Benares, dated October 12, 1781, says: 'My primary, and I may add, my sole Motive . . . was Peace. A separate peace concluded with Mahdajee Sindia will be a great leading step to it; and his assistance, heartily given, will complete it,—will, in effect, command it: And I will venture to promise that if this end can be accomplished early, it will as surely draw after it a peace in the Carnatic: I do not mean a peace with Hyder, but his Retreat from the Carnatic, or his destruction, if he stays.'² Macpherson was brought over to Hastings' views. But he had his own victory over the Governor-General when he persuaded the latter to restore Mr. Bristow to the Oudh Residency, much against his will; and later he became a champion in Council of retrenchment and economy which the Governor-General did not relish.

Hastings could not always see eye to eye with Macpherson as in the matter of Coote's relations with the Madras Government during the Mysore War in the affairs of the Carnatic, and also with regard to Hastings' settlement of the Oudh affairs.

The letters extend to August 1787 more than two years after Hastings had retired. They show how the 'scale of values' of the two men greatly differed and at the same time, as has been noted above, how human Hastings always was and how genuine and loyal to friends. The work of editing has been done with the care, erudition and comprehensiveness that have become associated with the name of Mr. D. C. S. S. are formed by writers such as Gleig, Forrest, Grier, etc.

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11 p. 81.

* p. 87.

A HISTORY OF HINDU POLITICAL THEORIES

BY

U. N. GHOSHAL

[From the earliest times to the seventeenth century A.D., Oxford University Press, 1927—pp. xvii and 25—Price Rs. 8.]

THE first edition of this book was published in 1923 with the object of presenting the historical evolution of the Hindu Theories of the State and Government, presenting an objective interpretation and without avoiding the danger of reading modern ideas into the old texts. The lower chronological limit of the treatment brings it to the period just anterior to the establishment of British rule under which the political speculations of the Hindus have been diverted into 'new channels largely under the influence of contemporary Western thought'. The treatment of such a vast subject has got of necessity to be modest, as we know politics or the art of governance had been studied for centuries even before Kautilya's time and according to K. P. Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity*, p. 4.) the beginnings of Hindu political literature proper go as far back as *circa* 650 B.C.; though quasi-political and sociological ideas had been developed even earlier in the *Brahmanas*, etc. The terms, *Danda-Niti*, *Artha Sastra*, and *Raja-Dharma* came to be later superseded by terms like *Niti* (Policy or Principles) and *Naya*. The works of writers in the early middle ages like Somadeva Suri and of lawyers in Muhammadan times like Chandesvara, Nilakantha and others show the continuity of the study of Hindu politics.

Professor Ghoshal has in this edition added much matter to his treatment of the earlier *Arthashastra* stage which was characterized by 'fearless freedom of thought' and formed the grand formative stage in the evolution of Hindu political ideas, but following a parallel line of development with the canonical *Dharmasūtras*. Appendix D of Chapter III would raise some doubt as to whether the tacit contract implied in Kautilya's version of the origin and nature of kingship, conjoined as it is with the doctrine of the king's quasi-divinity, is not more to justify on a broad basis the king's authority in the eyes of his subjects than to lay down a philosophical theory of kingship as attempted by Mr. Jayaswal and others.

The Mahabharata conception of government in the traditional form of *Rajadharma*, which is the foremost of all duties of which it is the mainspring and the guarantee, was supplemented in the next age by the exposition of a new theory of the king's origin involving a higher basis for his office than a mere agreement of the people mentioned in the Buddhist Canon which Kautilya twisted to justify the king's authority. These concepts as well as that of the reciprocal duties of king and subjects are elaborated with a clear and scholarly precision. In an appendix the author discusses the views held on the theory of Hindu divinity by inviters like P. N. Banerjā, B. K. Sarkar, D. R. Bhandarkar, etc., and to connect this with the rise of divine and quasi-divine ideas of kingship in actual practice—as seen in the title of *Devaputra* assumed by the Kushanas and Samudragupta being described as 'a god in mortal form'.

With Kāmandaka who is indebted to a greater extent to Kautilya and to a smaller part to the Brahmanical canon, we come upon the first stage in the period of stagnation; and the core of his thought is shown to have very little independence or originality. The meagre political thought of the Puranas chiefly beats about the king's divinity, going in one place to the extent of making even the tyrant immune from his outraged subjects. The *Smṛitikāras*, Medhathithi, Visvarūpa, Vijñānēśvara, Aparārka and others, clarify the conceptions of the king's duties uphold the necessary connection between taxation and protection and elaborate the tendency of justifying the exercise of kingship by others than pure *kshatriyas*; while in one place rebellion is justified, provided it is not based on the lust of power but on the plea of the public good and the incompetence of the ruler to serve the interests of his subjects.

Hemachandra and Somadeva, the greatest of Jain scholiasts of the middle ages, make no real contributions to political theory; while the later *Nīti* digests are not fresh in their outlook except the *Nītisāra* which puts forward boldly the conception of the organic unity of sovereignty and the notion of the co-ordination of the factors of the state. Another writer of eminence, Chandēśvara, adjusts his political concepts to the new environment, justifying the rule of foreigners if they should really protect. Shivaji's *guru* Ramdas conceives of the restored Hindu religion and lays down highly moral lessons in practical statecraft; and this, together with Guru Govind's conception of

his own divine mission shows that the well of political *gnāna*, though drying up in the seventeenth century, was not entirely unproductive.

The author, besides tracing this evolution, attempts in conclusion to sum up the leading doctrines of Hindu thinkers and connect them in their perspective to Western political thought. He is not, however, in our opinion, justified in making the rather sweeping statement that the Dravidian races failed to make any notable contribution to political theory which bore exclusively the stamp of the creative genius of the Indo-Aryans.¹ In the face of the immortal *Tiruvalluvar* the author of the famous *Kural* containing maxims of polity, of the numerous smaller poems containing political maxims and aphorisms in Tamil and of the great king Krishnadeva Raya's *Amuktamalyada* embodying principles of practical administration, to quote only a few; this generalization is unjust to the genius of the Dravidian South, which, following the lead of the northern culture in many points of political theory, had its own individuality demonstrated to some extent in ideas and to a large extent in practice in the peculiar development of free local institutions.

C. S. S.

MAN, GOD AND IMMORALITY, THOUGHTS ON HUMAN PROGRESS

BY

SIR JAMES GEORGE FRAZER

[Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1927, pp. xvi and 437. Price, 15s.]

THIS volume contains some of the general conclusions to which the author's studies of early society and religion led him; and these are disengaged from the heavy masses of facts on which they are founded in the numerous works of the author from which the passages included in this volume are extracted. The author himself has shifted the sequence of some passages, altered a few words occasionally in order to make the meaning plainer and explained a few hard terms. The book is divided into four parts, the first of which takes the evolution of man whose mind has undergone a parallel progress with the body, and whose evolution is the central problem of mental anthropology. Civilization has everywhere grown out of savagery; and by comparison

¹ p. 11.

with civilized man, the savage represents an arrested or rather retarded stage of social development. The early history of human thought and institutions is best studied from an examination of savagery and its survivals in civilization by the inductive method mostly at the present stage.

Human affairs seem to run in cycles and the social pendulum oscillates periodically to and fro; and the old concept, rendered classical by Rousseau, of a Golden Age is exploded. Evidence is clear not that savages have degenerated from a higher level of culture, but that even the most savage tribes have reached their low level of culture from one still lower and that 'the upward movement, though so slow as to be almost imperceptible, has yet been real and steady up to the point where savagery has come into contact with civilization.'¹ The safety for the savage tribe lies when the shock of collision with stronger races is not too violent to be withstood, as when the barbarous Slavs and Teutons came in contact with the cultured Græco-Romans and absorbed enough of the culture to survive. It will be unsafe to judge of the life of the savage by his impulses and passions rather than by the general tenour of his actions; and Sir James is convinced that the seeming vagaries of the savage have a logical basis, and the myth of the illogical or prelogical savage is only one of the several learned absurdities of speculative anthropology. The savage is primitive only in the relative sense and not in the absolute sense. Primitive survivals of savagery are best studied by means of folklore which includes the whole body of a people's traditional beliefs and customs, so far as they appear to be due to the collective action of the multitude.

Culture progresses both by diffusion and independent origin and the truth often hangs between the two. The tendency of excessive simplification or generalization of institutions, as has been the case with the solar myth, is also to be carefully guarded against; and this is 'the principal reason why the whole study is still viewed askance by men of sober and cautious temper who naturally look with suspicion on idols that are set up and worshipped one day only to be knocked down and trampled under foot the next'.

After thus enunciating the problems and difficulties of anthropological study, Sir James starts in the second part of the book of

Man in Society; and he describes in choice passages the features of Totemism and Exogamy and the various theories that are held of their origin and effects. Exogamy probably sprang from a growing aversion to the marriage of near kin and evolved the institution of group-marriage, the first link of the chain representing promiscuity and the last being monogamy. Of course the Australian aborigines have provided the richest field for these inductive observations which include a statement that so far as exogamy is concerned, father-kin is as primitive as mother-kin.¹ Mother-kin does not mean mother-rule; and Gynæcocracy is only a dream of imagination. The predominance of goddesses under a system of mother-kin is not a creation of the female mind, but of the male imagination and due to a combination of ancestor-worship and mother-kin. The theory that in a society of mother-kin the women rule the men and set up goddesses for them to worship is very improbable.

Sir James Frazer's general solution of exogamy is that even as it is prevalent among the lowest savages, it presents a curious analogy to a system of scientific breeding and was very artificially devised to prevent marriage of near-kin. The abhorrence of incest which is the essence of exogamy goes back to a very rude period of savagery, and possibly sprang from a belief in the injurious and sterilizing results of incest. The classificatory system of relationship which is deduced from an original simple exogamous bi-section of the community, is a landmark in human history marking the distinction between the system of group-relationship and the system of individual relationship between savage collectivism and civilized individualism. The customs of the *Levirate* and the *Sororate* are but two sides of an original system of group-marriage; and while the former survived among peoples who left group-marriage far behind them, as in Hebrew and Hindu law, the latter has not survived except in a fragmentary form; and both originated in a simple desire to get wives as easily and cheaply as possible. It is not however necessary to suppose that all communities came to the goal of prohibited degrees of kinship through the stages of exogamy and the classificatory relationship. The origin of cross-cousin marriages was probably in simple barter; and it is even now very widely prevalent.

All the institutions of savages such as have survived in their usefulness show that superstition, though now regarded as a useless scaffolding, have strengthened respect for government, for private property, for marriage ties and for human life—which are the main pillars on which rest the fabric of all civil society; and it has also furnished the weak and the foolish with a motive for good conduct.

The third part of the book under review deals with Man and the Supernatural; it first illustrates how magic the belief in which is uniform, universal and permanent as contrasted with the shifting character of religious creeds, represents an earlier and ruder phase of the human mind through which all races have passed or are passing. Magic, homœopathic and contagious, as well as practical, positive and negative, and also private and public, has, in spite of its harm, rendered no small service to humanity and has indeed paved the way for science. 'If it is the child of error, it has yet been the mother of freedom and truth.' The search for general rules has produced both gold and dross, the former constituting the body of applied science which we call the arts, and the latter being the false magic. Magic is older than religion; and there was a time when man trusted to magic alone for the satisfaction of his non-material wants; and true religion grows from a slight and partial acknowledgment of powers superior to man into the entire and absolute dependence of man on the divine. The influence of climate and the seasons on magic, as given in *Adonis*, *Attis*, *Osiris*, *The Dying God*, *The Scapegoat*, etc., is summarized; while religion as manifested among primitive peoples in its double aspect, viz., the worship of nature and the worship of dead; the development of the line from animism to monotheism are treated very elaborately. Everywhere the higher and newer religion has gone to make a compromise with the lower pre-existing popular superstition and festivals. The course of thought of the author of magic developing into religion which is further influenced by science is likened by him to a web woven of three different threads—the black thread of magic, the red thread of religion and the white thread of science—making the web of thought growing from the beginning of society.

not a necessary part of the order of nature, the primitive conceptions of the soul, the belief in an external soul, and the good uses to which the theory of the transmigration of souls has been put. Ghosts and their world, the worship and deification of the dead, the idea of Euphemerism, Deicide, God's sacrifice for the salvation of the world, and the assumption of an eternal world beyond—these are the last ideas examined in this book of golden links, each being a flower culled from the rich garden of the author's vast store of knowledge of the beginnings and the evolution of human society and ideas. This book is a dish of the choicest fruits, to vary the metaphor, from the great author's Magic Garden of Anthropological Wisdom.

C. S. S.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF
INDIA, NO. 26: TWO STATUES OF PALLAVA KINGS
AND FIVE PALLAVA INSCRIPTIONS IN A ROCK-
CUT TEMPLE AT MAHABALIPURAM

BY

RAO BAHADUR H. KRISHNA SASTRI

THIS small but interesting Memoir by the late Krishna Sastri deals with the important discovery made about six years ago by Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar of the Epigraphy Department and originally noticed in the *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy for 1922-23* (part ii, paras 1 and 2). The existence at this historic place of these bas-reliefs cannot be regarded as being altogether unknown to scholars if it is remembered that Kavali Lakshmayya's Account of this place written in 1803 mentions one of the groups of the royal sculptures at this temple and even identifies it with King Harisēkhara and his two wives (See App. to Varr's *Seven Pagodas*, pp 82-3). Again Lt.-Col. R. B. Branfill in his descriptive account of the Seven Pagodas (*Mad. Jour. Lit. and Science*, vol. xxvi, pp. 183 and 186) gives a detailed description of these two groups of secular reliefs more than forty-eighty years ago from now. Burgess in his *Cave Temples of India* (1880) mentions the bas-relief group of Rāja Harisēkhara at this place (p. 147) although he himself was not able to examine these in person. The epigraphy department itself which visited the place several

times during the last twenty-five years has curiously enough secured flashlight photographs as well as sketches of these royal reliefs as early as 1911.¹ No identification was then attempted as the official epigraphists had completely failed to notice the inscriptions put up on the top of these reliefs mentioning their names. Nearly a decade rolled by and in 1922 thanks to the efforts of K. V. S. Aiyar these inscriptions were discovered which at once revealed to us that the statues at the Ādivarāha temple at Mahabalipuram were those of the celebrated kings Simhavishnu and Mahēndravarman I. In addition to these the temple contains bas-reliefs of an eight-armed Durga, Sāmānya Lakshmi, Gangādhara, Brahma, Vishṇu and Paraśurāma. Besides the two archaic inscriptional records the temple contains a Daśāvatara *śloka* in Pallava-grantha and another Tamil inscription dated in the sixty-fifth year of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

What is perhaps the most important and interesting point to us is the connection which the discovery of these kings seems definitely to establish between Mahabalipuram and its association with them. It has been a common belief among archaeologists that the place was first founded by Narasimhavarman I after his surname *Mahamalla*. But the present discovery of the relief of Simhavishnu and his son Mahēndravarman I carries back the antiquity of the place to at least half a century earlier, if we may regard the reliefs to have been cut out in the life time of Simhavishnu while he was ruling and while his son was yet a prince. But Mr. Krishnasastri throws a doubt as to this identification of the reliefs. After a good deal of palaeographical comparisons of the scripts here with those of Koeti and later Pallava inscriptions he finally concludes that the 'royal groups represent Mahēndravarman I and his son Narasimhavarman I the inveterate foe of the Western Chālukya King Vikramāditya I and were put up in the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I. But a careful analysis of the letters of the inscriptions shows that there is close similarity between the letters of the period of Mahēndravarman I and those of the inscriptional labels at the temple of Ādivarāha. I have closely compared the letters of the present labels with those of Mahēndravāḍi inscription of Mahēndravarman I and discovered that the letters *ma*, *he*, *va*, *ra*, and *vi* are identical in both while Mr. Krishna Sastri himself

¹ Appendix to report 1911-2 for enumerating lists of photos.

admits² that *ha* and *pa* in these inscriptions (at Ādivarāha cave) are exactly similar to what we find in the Maṇḍagapaṭṭu inscription of Mahēndravarman I. Moreover in his opinion the letter *ra* is even more archaic. Under these circumstances and in the light of Sastriar's own observation³ that the differences in writing separated by less than a century do not count for much, we may be excused if we are unable to accept his view that the characters of the inscription belong to the time of Paramēśvaravarman I along with the sculptures themselves here. The supposed lateness of the script makes him postulate the theory that Simhavishnu of the label should be Narasimhavishnu I whereas the more natural, reasonable and correct view seems to be that he was no other than Simhavishnu the father of Mahēndravarman I who is known from inscriptions to have been a devout worshipper of Vishṇu (*Baktyarāditaṣṭu-Simhavishnu*, Kaśākuḍi plates verse).⁴ There is moreover no evidence to indicate that Narasimhavarman I was an ardent devotee of Vishṇu to justify his presence in the Varāha shrine. As for Mahēndravarman I it may be regarded that at the time that the reliefs were put up he was a comparatively a young prince with predilections to Vaiṣṇavism as his inscription at Mahēndravāḍi (where he excavated a Vishṇu temple) shows. That it was only later that he changed into a Jain and then into a Śaiva is clear from the *Periyapurānam* account and the Trichinopoly cave inscription. That Mahēndravarman's age was a period when kings did not generally dislike the practice of setting up their statues as devotees in the temples they constructed is clear from one of the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I himself at Trichinopoly which states clearly that in addition to the figure of Hara a material body of his was executed.⁴ It therefore seems very probable that the Ādivarāha temple was excavated at Mahabalipuram by Simhavishnu towards the close of his reign and that the standing figure with the two ladies represent his son the prince Mahēndravarman I and his queens. The inscriptions may therefore be regarded as contemporary with Simhavishnu himself and as having been inscribed contemporaneously with the sculptures themselves. If this view turns out to be correct the

² See p. 4 of the present *Memoir*.

³ *S. I. I.*, vol. ii, p. 346 ff.

⁴ p. 3.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, part i, pp. 28-30.

Ādivarāha temple at Mahabalipuram would constitute the earliest rock-cut monument of the Pallavas hitherto known.¹

A fairly full index and a fine reproduction of the two royal groups are given in plates I and II but one wishes that the ground plan of the temple as well as all the other bas-reliefs of the monument were also added to the present *Memoir*. It is hoped that the secular representations in the various monuments at the Seven Pagodas would form the subject of study of some competent members of the Epigraphy Department, in one of the future Memoirs.

P. G.

CAVOUR BY PALEOLOGUE

TRANSLATED BY

IAN F. D. MORROW AND MURIEL M. MORROW

[Ernest Benn, Ltd., London.]

THE question of Italian unity is a fascinating problem of the nineteenth century history of Europe. It marks the grand culmination of the nationality movement, and presents, on the whole, a very interesting study of a complicated question. As a matter of fact, the bringing about of the unity of Italy and of the unity of Germany presents the problem with great clearness, and the student of history generally feels somewhat dissatisfied with this or that aspect of the question which are not treated with sufficient fullness and clearness by historians. In regard to Italian unity, however, the difficulty presented consists in the actual part played by the principal parties in the drama namely, Cavour on the Italian side, and the Emperor Napoleon III. After reading a considerable amount of historical literature on the subject, one went away from the study of it with some kind of unaccountable dissatisfaction that the whole has not been made clear to him. This biography of the principal actor in the drama, we may in fact say, the hero of the drama, sheds welcome light upon the dark corners of the subject and illumines where illumination was wanted.

¹ See the remarks of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar on the age of the Ādivarāha temple in the forthcoming work on *The Antiquities of the Seven Pagodas* which will appear as a supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*. Here Dr. Aiyangar announces the discovery of a statue of Narasimhavarman I also in one of the Rathas at this place.

After reading through the biography, one is able to see the problem much closer and much more clearly than ever he was able to do before. The question of the Conference at Plombieres, the interview at Chambéry, and the last interview between the Pope and the Jesuit Father Passaglia, are thrown into relief here, and one is able to see as much of it as is possible for one to see at all.

Belonging to the diplomatic service as the author does, he understands more of the diplomatic nuances, and could give us a more clear account of the diplomatic forces plied than any one else less expert in the art of diplomacy himself. More than this first-hand knowledge of an important part, the author possesses the requisite amount of sympathy with the subject and sufficient insight and imagination to give the general reader a biography which illumines the dark corners of the subject, such as no work on the subject has done before. No serious student of Italian Unity can feel that he has studied the subject to advantage unless he includes this biography of Cavour in his bibliography of the subject, whether that be extensive or limited.

N.B.—Other reviews held over will appear in the next number in the Press already.

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R. GOPALAN

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B. C. LAW: 'Buddhist Women.'

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A. COOMARASWAMY: 'Relation of Moghul and Rajput Painting.'

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S. SRIKANTA SASTRI: 'Capitulation of Chitaldrug. The author gives a description of the actual capture of the fort from the information supplied in a Bakhair in his possession written by one Yogyadharaka Bhimajipant in Vilambi, soon after the fort had fallen.'

S. SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR: 'The Mauryan invasion of Tamilakam. After a detailed survey of the Tamil odes the author concludes that the Moriyas were not allowed to enter Tamilakam and that the last point they reached was Venkata hill. The battle took place on the other side of the hill between the combined armies of the Śera, Chola and Pandya under the general command of Pandyan Neduncheliyan who was assisted by the Mohūr chieftain who took the field.'

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- J. NOBEL: 'Die Avantisundarikathā: Discusses the value of the discovery of the two MSS. Avantisundarikatha and Avantisundarikathasāra.'
- H. LUDERS: 'Zu den Asoka-Inochriften. Two passages in the inscriptions of Asoka are newly interpreted.'
- W. PORZIG: 'Kleinasiatisch-Indische Beziehungen. Puts forward the theory that Sanskrit language was influenced by the Mitanni civilization of Asia Minor, that Siva was a Mitanni god and that the Brahmi Script itself was originally derived from the Cuneiform Mitanni scripts.'
- H. JACOBI: 'Über das Alter der Manimekhalai. After discussing the close identity of the philosophical systems in the Tamil work *Manimekhalai* and those of Dinnāga the writer concludes that fifth century A.D. as the upper limit for the work. The supplement to the article deals with the problem in the light of Dr. S. K. Iyengar's translation of *Manimekhalai*.'
- R. FICK: 'Kurze Liste der Kielhorn Schen Inschriften-Abklatsche furnishes a list of inscriptions of Kielhorn.'

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- FATHER HOSTEN: 'Akbar's Queen Mary.'

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- M. HIRIYANNA: 'Prapañca-vilaya-vāda: A Doctrine of Pre-Sankara-vēdanta.'

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- K. RAMA PISHAROTI: 'Studies in the Three Kēraḷa Eras.'
- M. RAGAVA IYENGAR: 'The Date of Sri-Andāl.' From an examination of the astronomical evidence the Pandit comes to the conclusion that *Tiruppāvai* was composed on the early morning of the full moon day of 731 A.D.
- K. G. SANKAR: 'The Date of *Tiruppāvai*: Concludes from astronomical data that the *Tiruppāvai* was composed exactly in 850. A.C.'
- S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI: 'Problems of Identity in the Cultural History of Ancient India.' Aravana Adigal = Ācharya Dharmapāla. Points out the striking correspondences between the teachings of Aravana Adigal in the *Manimekhalai* and Acharya Dinnāga's *Nyāyapravēsa* and assigns the former to the post-Dinnāga period. The Professor identifies Aravana Adigal himself with Dharmapalacharya (Cir. A.D. 600-635) and seeks in vain for confirmatory evidence from the *Avantisundarikatha*. The Sangam Age itself according to the author requires a careful reconsideration. The paper should be read along with K. G. Sesha Iyer's views on the subject in a subsequent number of the journal.

July, 1927—

- C. KUNHAN RAJA: 'Some Unexplained *prakrit* Passages and their bearing on the Bhāsa Problem. Comes to the conclusion that the *Charudatta* and the *Mrichakatika* are the same work. The printed *Charudatta* is an abridgment and adaptation of that drama. According to the writer there is only one Svapnavāsavadatta and that is by Bhasa, the printed text being an abridgment of the first few acts thereof.'
- K. R. SUBRAMANYAN: 'The Age of the Nayānmars.' The writer expresses the view that the hymns of the Nayānmars in the *Tēvaram* contain indirect allusions to contemporary Pallava kings.'

October, 1927—

- K. G. SETHA AIYAR: 'The Date of the Manimekhalai.' This is a reply to the article of Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri referred to above. Questions the Professor's identification of Aravanavatikāl with Dharmapala and suggests that the former was Dinnāga himself assigning him to the second century A.C.
- K. G. SANKARA: 'Contemporaries of Periyālvār.'

Indian Art and Letters

VOL. I, No. II

K. M. PANIKKAR: 'Malayalam Literature.' Gives a summary account of the growth of Malayalam as a language and its present literary position.

RENE GROUSSET: 'The Great Periods of Indian Art.'

Illustrated London News

January 7 and 14, 1928.—

SIR JOHN MARSHALL: 'A New Chapter in Archæology: The pre-historic civilization of the Indus valley. Sir John Marshall in these two articles describes the extensive excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and the nature of the buildings found the oldest of which he dates about 3300 B.C. He also discusses the racial origin of the ancient inhabitants, their dress, their domestic animals as well as the wild animals of their time. Dr. Marshall's principal object in writing these articles is to summarize for the benefit of the numerous enquirers, the conclusions reached regarding the age, character and affinities of this great pre-historic Indian civilization, the discovery of which has been an epoch-making event in the history of archæology. The illustrations include Indian jewellery such as the necklace 5000 years ago, numerous pictographs, seals and terra-cotta, pottery, weapons, tools, toys, statuettes, weapons of warfare, etc.

November 19, 1927.—

PROF. HERZFELD: 'The Past in Persia: The prehistoric period to the rise of Achæmenian rule in Iran, 580 B.C.' The first of a series of Illustrated articles on the results of archæological research carried on within the last few years by Prof. Herzfeld. The four articles will cover successive periods of Persian remains. The illustrations in the first article include the oldest rock-sculpture hitherto found in Western Asia, reliefs dating from about 3,000 B.C., Persian rock-cut architecture of the fifth century B.C. and the citadel of Pasargadae, capital of Cyrus the great.

November 12, 1927.—

ALAN ROWE: 'The Spade in the Land of Canaan: Remarkable new discoveries at Beisan, the Beth-shan of the Old Testament.'

The Modern Review

March, 1928—

R. D. BENERJI: 'Rajput Origins in Orissa.'

PHANINDRA BOSE: 'Indian Epics in Indian Colonies.'

Rupam

October, 1927—

H. OLDENBERG: 'Vedic words for "beautiful" and beauty and the Vedic sense of the beautiful.'

AJIT GHOSE: 'Some Old Indian Ivories.'

Sen Tamil

VOL. XXVI, No. I

L. SRINIVASA IYAR: 'Anapāya Kulottungan.'

Journal of the Department of Letters

VOL. XVII

P. K. CHATTERJI: 'The Poet Kālidasa and Sea-voyage.'

NAZIR AHMED KHAN SAHIB: 'Notes on the Library of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, the first Prime Minister of Emperor Akbar.'

G. M. SARKAR: 'Early History of Bengal.'

Calcutta Review

January, 1928—

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS: 'Kindred sayings of Buddhism.'

H. DAS: 'The Mission of G. Weldon and Abraham Navarro to Aurangzeb.'

February, 1928—

NIHARRANJAN RAY: 'The Maukharis of Kanoj.'

S. N. SEN: 'The History of Seva-gy.'

The Muslim Review

July-September, 1927—

M. D. HABIB: 'Life and Works of Amir Khusru.'

NAJMAL HASAN: 'The part played by the Nawabs of Oudh.'

October, 1927—

S. N. DAS GUPTA: 'Islamic and Sanskrit Literature.'

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

September-December, 1927—

- C. E. A. W. OLDHAM: 'Diamonds in Bihar and Orissa.'
K. P. JAYASWAL: 'Huthigumpha Inscription of the Emperor Kharavela.'

Do. : 'The Sunga Inscription of Ayodhya.'

R. P. KHOSLA: 'The Mughal Kingship.'

K. K. BASU: 'The Tarikhi-Mubarak Sahi.'

The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
October, 1927—

- D. B. DISKALKAR: 'Asvi Plates of the early Yadava Irammadeva.'
J. RAMMAYYA PANTULU: 'Judicial Procedure in Ancient India.'

The paper is based chiefly on Mādhavāchārya's *Vyavahāra Kānda*.'

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI: 'Literary Gleanings.'

R. SUBBA RAO: 'Cheedivalasa Plates of Dēvēndravarman.'

Triveni

January, 1928—

- H. HERAS: 'Venkaṭa II of Chandragiri the last phase.'
T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN: 'South Indian Portraits.'
N. VENKATARAMA IYAH: 'Durvinīta and Vikramāditya I.'
V. NARAYANAN: 'The Gods of the Tamils.'

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*, 3, 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, Rajahmundry.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
19. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
20. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla, Bombay.
21. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
22. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.
23. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archæological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
24. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
25. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
26. *The Shrine of Wisdom*, Lincoln House, Acacia Road, Acton London, W. 3.
27. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

UNIVERSITY SUPPLEMENT

THE VAKATAKAS AND THEIR PLACE
IN INDIAN HISTORY

(SPECIAL LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE UNIVERSITY)

INTRODUCTORY

THE position of the Vākātakas and their relation to the Guptas find their obscure origins in the Purāṇas. These Purāṇas are, unfortunately, for this period, very muddled in their statements and the texts are in many cases inextricably corrupt. The problem, therefore, becomes doubly difficult. To extricate anything like an orderly succession of rulers or even dynasties in this confusion, particularly in the period immediately following that of the Āndhras would have proved an impossible task almost. Thanks to the efforts, however, of the late Mr. Pargiter, we have the texts of the Paurāṇic Dynasties of the Kali Age in a handy form for reference, and the texts, as he has presented them, only go to make the difficulties appear the more clearly. The general trend, however, seems fairly clear; namely, while the Āndhras were yet in existence, and in the period of their decadence, a certain number of dynasties extending over a varying number of generations and lasting for various periods of time, gradually made themselves independent, and held rule each in its own particular locality. These various dynasties are described according to localities, and these have all of them reference more or less to the third century A.D., at the end of which there is an obscure Paurāṇic statement of a revolution brought about by a ruler, Viśvasphāṇi by name, whose identity is very far from certain—a revolution political as well as social. He is said to have attempted an empire on his own account, and after achieving success passed out of existence. Then there apparently came the usual break-up; and another series of dynasties find mention, among whom we find the early Guptas included. Their territory is clearly described as adjoining the Ganges and Prayāga, and the country dependent upon Sākēta and Magadha being also included therein. It is apparently on this assumption and from the more or less rough estimates of time that we can form from the Paurāṇic recital that these local dynasties are allotted by Pargiter to the third and early fourth centuries A.D. Gupta history, therefore, must be taken to begin with the position the Purāṇas thus ascribe to them, as is indicated at the commencement of the Gupta Supplement in the last issue of the *Journal of Indian History*. Since Gupta and Vākāṭaka histories seem to have been intimately connected with each

other, the two will have to be studied in relation to each other for gaining the proper perspective in history. It therefore is of some importance to know when Gupta history actually begins and in what manner.

Chandragupta I of the Guptas is the person who is given the title Mahārājādhirāja in the Gupta records of his successors. There is other evidence besides, as explained already in the Studies in Gupta History, II.¹ He must have been a man of achievement as otherwise the credit of the foundation of the empire would not have been given to him as such. It is on this general position that the Meharauli Pillar Inscription has been examined in the next following part III, in regard to the possible identification of the Chandra of that inscription with Chandragupta I on the basis of the achievement recorded of Chandra in the pillar.

Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar, who chose for his Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar Lectures the identification of this Chandra, claims greater appropriateness for identifying this Chandra of the Iron Pillar Inscription with a ruler Sadāchandra, as he is called in the Paurāṇic lists, among the dynasties that ruled over Vidiśā. We heard both his lectures with attention, and have looked through the summary published in the *Hindu* of the 13th February, 1928 and the following one of the 24th idem. with care. There are a number of difficulties to be got over *prima facie* before a case can be made out for this identification. Sadāchandra's name occurs at least five generations before Vindhyaśakti, and therefore six before his son Pravarasena on the basis of the Paurāṇic texts alone. The whole of Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar's theory in a nut-shell is this : The ruler Bhogin referred to in line three of the list on page 49 of the Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age* is to be identified with the Nāga ruler, Bhavanāga of the Bharaśivas, and father-in-law of the father of Rudrasena I, grandson of Pravarasena I of the Vākātakas. After him, possibly in immediate succession, came this Sadāchandra, with whom the Chandra of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription is sought to be identified.

Bhavanāga of the Bharaśivas may have been contemporary with Pravarasena I of the Vākātakas, as he must have been an elder contemporary of his grandson. The cardinal synchronism between

¹ *J.I. H.*, vi, pt. ii.

the Guptas and the Vākātakas is in the marriage of Prabhāvatī Gupta, the daughter of Chandragupta II with Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II, the grandson of Rudrasena I. The genealogies would stand as under :—

GUPTAS.	VAKATAKAS.
Chandragupta I	Vindhyaśakti.
	Pravarasena I
Samudragupta	
	Gautamīputra (did not rule ; son-in-law
Chandragupta II.	
	Rudrasena I of Bhavanāga
	Prithvīsenā I the Bharaśiva)

Prabhāvatīgupta (married) Rudrasena II.

On the basis of this the Gupta contemporary of Rudrasena I must be Samudragupta, and possibly Chandragupta I himself. Rudrasena's grandfather Bhavanāga may have been more nearly contemporary with Chandragupta I. Sadāchandra, who succeeded this Bhogin—Bhavanāga must have come after Chandragupta I. We therefore arrive at this at the very best ;—Sadāchandra, Samudragupta and Rudrasena I, the Vākāṭaka (or it may be his son Prithvīsenā), should have been contemporaries. On this chronological basis, could the identification suggested stand ?

In regard to Sadāchandra, except that the name occurs as one in the list of the dynasties that ruled over Vidiśā, the Purāṇas give us no indication whatsoever of any claim to greatness for him. An attribute like *Chandrāmśo*, even with the reading preferred by Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar *Chandrabha* as suggested, is so common an attribute of poetry to lead to anything like a definite identification because two rulers happen to be described by that term. We really want a little more than this. Even if the name *Sadāchandra* is *Rāmachandra* or *Vāmachandra*, is it likely that a man bearing that name would call himself Chandra ? The modern practice of domestic names is not what one would expect in a solemn document as is that on a *dvajastambha* in a temple purports to be. If it is *Rāmachandra*, the reading preferred by Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar, then we should look for the name Rama, not Chandra. If it is *Vāmachandra*, it is possible that *Vama* is an attribute. But in the choice of these readings, it is matter for grave doubt whether we enjoy the freedom to choose whatever reading we like, the more so when we are dealing with the

difficult texts of the Purāṇas. All Purāṇas are not of equal value ; all manuscripts of the same Purāṇa are not of equal value either, and before overthrowing a carefully edited critical text, some reason must be given for the change. Pargiter has adopted the reading of the Vāyu Purāṇa, which is generally more reliable for this period. In respect of names and even dynastic chapters, the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* is very abbreviated, and consequently corruption of the text is great. We must, therefore, have some reason of a satisfactory character to prefer one reading to another. In the best of circumstances, it is unlikely that a ruler even in a moment of devotion would describe himself by the pet name Chandra, whether his name be Sadāchandra, Rāmachandra or Vāmachandra, while it would be perfectly in the fitness of things that a ruler having a name Chandragupta describes himself as Chandra as one has often to announce himself by his name (Śarman as it is called in Sanskrit) when one makes salutations of respect to the holy ones or elders even now, the latter half of the name Gupta in this case being regarded as a title like so many others.

Another point of objection is, in the words of the summary, which we hope is authoritative, ' the wording of the Pillar Record differs so widely from the ordinary formula of the Gupta inscriptions and the phraseology is quite unlike that of any of their numerous inscriptions, as has been noted by Vincent Smith.' ' Mr. Allan states that as the inscription was engraved on an iron pillar, considering the stiffness of the material on which the inscription was engraved, it would be difficult to dogmatize on its date from the point of view of epigraphy, and even went so far as to doubt if the inscription belonged to the Gupta dynasty at all.' The position taken here contains two or three points of a specific character. The wording of this record differs from the formulæ of the Gupta inscriptions generally. The Gupta inscriptions that we have from which anything like a formula can be made out are all of them of Chandragupta II or later. The famous Harisena Epigraph of Samudragupta itself does not conform to this formula. All of Chandragupta II's inscriptions so far accessible to us do not conform to this dictum. It would, therefore, be too much to speak of a Gupta formula in inscriptions of Samudragupta's time and previously. Of peculiarity in phraseology really so called, there is none. Phraseology will differ according to the author, and the author of this record is certainly not the author, so far as we know, of any other

published Gupta record. In point of general literary character it strikes us that it differs no more from other well-known records of Kumāragupta or Skandagupta. In regard to the palæographical value of it, it no doubt would be difficult to dogmatize. But Mr. Allan himself has to form general estimates of the value of characters on coins as compared with those on stone and copper-plate inscriptions often. Stone and copper-plate inscriptions are compared palæographically and rough estimates of the age of inscriptional characters are formed on them. A cast-iron pillar undoubtedly introduces new material, but by that fact it does not take it away from the realm of possible comparison with copper-plate inscriptions or even stone inscriptions altogether. All that an epigraphist of the experience of Fleet said was that the characters of the Iron Pillar were of about the same age, and were of about the same character as those of the Samudragupta Pillar Inscription. These may be a little earlier or a little later, but what perhaps is quite warranted is these cannot be earlier or later by generations. That is all that is presumed on the basis of palæography and nothing more. The record admits of the possibility, that it may be that of Chandragupta, father of Samudragupta, or Chandragupta, the son. It may be somewhat later or earlier, but cannot be earlier or later by many generations. That is all the point. The question therefore will have to be how far a historical character like Sadāchandra would be from the Samudragupta inscription. A point Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar did not apparently notice is (he made no reference to it in his lectures, nor is the actual reference found in the summary as it appears), that, if Bhogin is Bhavanāga, he must be contemporary with Rudrasena I of the Vākātakas, and therefore with Samudragupta possibly, or it may be, even with Chandragupta I. Therefore in point of time Sadāchandra will not be far removed to make the ascription of the Mehrauli Pillar Record to him on palæographical grounds impossible. Bhogin's successor, Sadāchandra, would then be contemporary with Samudragupta himself, and it would make the pillar inscription of Samudragupta and that of Chandra almost of the same age.

This brings us really up against a great difficulty. Sadāchandra is ruler of Vidiśa and ruled the territory dependent thereon in Eastern Malva. Just about the time when he must have come to the throne either Samudragupta should be ruling, or his father Chandragupta. If

Sadāchandra fought a battle against the confederated enemies on the frontier of Bengal, how did he manage to get across the whole of Magadha, the territory dependent upon Prayāga and Sākēta and the territory belonging to the Lichchavis which were all of them under the Gupta, Chandragupta I? This involves the assumption of one of two alternatives, either that the war on the Bengal frontier was one against the Guptas themselves, or that he first of all defeated and subjugated the Gupta power and marched against other enemies across the Gupta territory.

To make this possibility rather convenient of a war against the Bengal frontier, Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar would postulate that the original territory of Sadāchandra and his dynasty was in Anga, and that Vidiśa was a new acquisition from the Nāga dynasty of which Bhogin was a distinguished member at the time. This would make Sadāchandra ruler of Anga and ruler of Vidiśa at the same time, which must necessarily involve the possession of Magadha, which is chronologically incompatible, and any other conclusion would be politically and geographically impossible. This position for Sadāchandra is achieved by the adoption of another alternative reading by changing *Śunga* into *Anga*. Here the Purāṇa text merely states in the particular passage that at the end of the dynasty of Śunga rulers 'will come Śiśunandī'. Changing *Śunga* into *Anga* here does not take us very far as that statement apparently has no connection whatever either with Bhogin or with Sadāchandra except the fact that they all of them belonged alike to those that ruled over Vidiśa. Pargiter makes no connection, and there is little warrant for making the connection as the Purāṇa texts stand. The assumption therefore of an Anga ruler extending his territory across to conquer Vidiśa from the Nāgas and take the territory of Eastern Malva under his rule is an assumption for which no reason or evidence is adduced. The assumption seems historically not warranted, and geographically not easy, and if the Gupta-Vākāṭaka synchronism be accepted, it becomes chronologically impossible. If a ruler of Pushkarāṇa is far for fighting against enemies on the Bengal frontier, a ruler of Anga is in no better case to fight with the enemies across the seven mouths of the Sindhu. We know historically that the territory of Vidiśa was ruled over by the Nāgas; the extinction of the Nāga dynasty of Vidiśa does not put an end to the Nāgas as a whole. The statement of the Purāṇa text

amounts to nothing more than this, namely, that when this dynasty of rulers came to an end, Śiśunandī came to rule. To say more than this we have no authority in the Purāṇic text. Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar admits the chronological possibility of Sadāchandra being of the early Gupta period, and once that is admitted these difficulties present themselves.

Another point on which much capital is made in this context is the name Vishṇupada, and the hill Vishṇupada being near Haridwar or Kailāsa. It is a far cry from Haridwar to Kailāsa, but probably what is meant is Gangadvāra or Haridwāra (are the two the same?). Nobody questions the mention of a Vishṇupada-giri (hill) occurring in the Purāṇas and the epics in connection with this locality. There is a Vishṇupada supposed to be on a hill in Gaya; there is a Vishṇupada in Allahabad, and in the *Śraddhas* even in our part of the country, it is mentioned as a place on which food (*Pinda*) is offered to the manes (*Pitrs*). Therefore Vishṇupada or Vishṇupada-giri is not the name of a single locality exclusively whatever be the part of India that it might be in. There is epigraphical warrant that Biyana at the south end of the Delhi ridge goes by the name of Śrīpadam according to Dr. Fleet on the authority of inscriptions.¹ If one part of the hill be called Śrīpadam, the possibility of another part being named Vishṇupada does not appear to be so hopelessly unwarranted.

But the crux of the problem, in regard to this particular point, is whether we could regard the pillar as having been removed to the present locality from another place, or as remaining on the original site in which it was erected. It stands now in the courtyard of the Kutub Mosque in Delhi. The courtyard of the Kutub Mosque is certainly not the place where it was originally erected. But the ready presumption would be that it was removed by the builders of the Kutub Minar from its original locality wherever it was. Vincent Smith who made a careful examination of the question in his article on the (Meherauli Pillar) in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*² has given it as his conclusion that the pillar is fastened on the floor of the courtyard of Anangapala's temple in the layer which constituted the flooring of the Hindu temple and distinctly underneath the flooring of the Muhammadan mosque, thereby indicating clearly that it could

¹ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 251, n. 3.

² 1897, pp. 1-18.

not have been removed to the present site by the Muhammadan builders of the mosque. If anybody removed it from anywhere else, it must have been the Hindu Anangapala who must have done so. Imagine an orthodox Hindu ruler, whether he be a Vaishṇava or Śaiva, attempting to remove a *dvajastambha* of Viṣṇu from a Viṣṇu-temple in a particular holy place even for the purpose of re-erecting it in another Vaishṇava temple. It seems extremely unlikely that any Hindu ruler would have done it, and it would be difficult to imagine any compelling reason for him to do so unless it be that the temple was already destroyed and the pillar lay in ruins. We can accept a position like this, but would want something like a hint of it in sources of authority. That a Viṣṇu-temple should have been built on a hill called Viṣṇupada does not necessarily involve the assumption that it was built on the top of it. It should be enough if its site forms a part of what is generally describable as a particular hill. In the circumstances, it seems more likely that the pillar was where it has been since the days of Anangapala, and it may even be possible that the so-called Anangapala's temple is no more than an additional or larger extension to an already existing temple which took its name from the ruler who enlarged and improved it, for which it is not impossible to find instances.

The question whether it is the one or the other or a third depends upon the following circumstances:—

1. The person Chandra, whose record we are discussing, must have been a man of achievement, having, by his own efforts, acquired a vast kingdom, and held rule over it for a length of time.
2. He must have fought two actions against enemies across the wide stretch of India, such as the western frontier of Bengal in the east, and western frontier of Sindh on the western side.
3. The enemies thus overthrown along the western frontier of Sindh are stated to be Bāhlikas.

The answer to these questions would depend upon to whom these three conditions would apply. Of Sadāchandra of Vidiśa, we know nothing except what the Purāṇas say, and the Purāṇas say actually nothing more than that he was a ruler of Vidiśa, probably among the Nāga rulers of the locality. That he achieved anything cannot be asserted on the authority of the Purāṇas, and the Purāṇas are our only source of authority for his name. In regard to Chandragupta II, the victory

against the Bāhlikas would be nothing very unusual; perhaps it would be natural, as he carried on an exterminating war against the Kṣatrapas and destroyed them ultimately. But then we have a number of records of Chandragupta II and of his immediate successors. None of them mentions the achievement of this great importance in connection with him; nor do we find any mention of it in other sources available. In regard to Chandravarman of Pushkarana, one may imagine a possible raid across even the Gupta territory in the early period of Samudragupta's reign when there were grave disturbances. But the inscription of his successor, Naravarman, makes no mention of such a great achievement, which it would hardly have failed to do if he were the person. That Chandragupta I of the Guptas built the empire is beyond doubt. That he was anxious for a suitable successor to bear the burdens of this empire is stated in clear terms in the Harisēna epigraph. We have statements that the marriage with the Lichchhavi princess was of great importance, and that he made that a stepping-stone to the foundation of a great kingdom is quite possible or even probable. We have good reasons to feel that some of the coins usually ascribed to his successors, such as the Chatra coins and the marriage coins are coins issued by Chandragupta I. It is these circumstances of a definite character that gave room for the assumption that it was possibly Chandragupta I that put up the Meharauli Pillar record, the record being named as is usual with epigraphs generally from the locality of their finds.

It would be quite in the nature of things in regard to the newly-founded empire if its feudatories attempted to throw off the yoke immediately after the death of the founder. If the succession happens to be an indisputable one and the successor a capable man, the empire would stand; if the succession itself is disputed and the successor a feeble individual, the empire breaks up. In the case of Samudragupta what happened actually as stated in the Harisēna epigraph is nothing more than this—Samudragupta was chosen for the succession by the father as the most eligible every way in the actual circumstances. There are hints of those that felt dissatisfied at the choice. Immediately follows the statement that a number of chieftains in the immediate neighbourhood, rulers of separate kingdoms, made a concerted attack on Pāṭalipura and Samudragupta overthrew the enemies. His drastic uprooting of the nine rulers of *Aryavarta* follows as a

consequence naturally, as night follows the day. From these circumstances alone the inference would be justifiable that Chandragupta I successfully founded the empire, which in great anxiety he left to a successor of his choice, who justified the choice by overcoming all opposition and put the empire on a firmer basis than his father left it. Is not that Chandragupta a man of achievement and does he not seem the likeliest man to be identified with the Chandra of the Meharaul Pillar Inscription?

It may perhaps contribute to make the position clear if the passages in the Purāṇas relating to the rulers of Vidiśa were set down here for ready reference. The passage is set down as in the collated text of Pargiter. The translation is not that of Mr. Pargiter, which, in some particulars, does not seem to be quite correct. The notes added relate only to the few points under reference in the course of the above.

TEXT

Nṛpān Vaidiśakāms c' api bhaviṣyāms tu nibodhata
 Śēṣasya Nāga-rājasya putraḥ para-puran-jayaḥ
 Bhogi bhaviṣyatē rāja nṛpō Nāga-kul-ōdvahaḥ
 Sadācandras tu Candrāmsō dvitīyō Nakhavāms tathā
 Dhanadharmā tatas c' āpi caturtho Vangarah smṛtaḥ
 Bhūtinandas tatas c' āpi Vaidiśe tu bhaviṣyati
 Sungānām tu kulasyānte Śiśunandir bhaviṣyati
 tasya bhrāta yaviyāms tu nāmnā Nandiyasāḥ kila
 tasy ānvayē bhaviṣyanti rājanas tē trayas tu vai
 dauhitraḥ Śiśuko nama Purikāyam nṛpō bhavat.
 Vindhyaśakti sutas c' āpi Pravīro nāma viryavān
 bhokṣatē ca samāḥ ṣaṣṭim purīm Kāncanakām ca vai
 yakṣyate vājapēyais ca samāpta-vara dakṣiṇaiḥ
 tasya putrās tu catvārō bhaviṣyanti narādhipāḥ.

TRANSLATION

Please know the rulers of Vidiśa that will come hereafter. The son of Śēsha, king of the Nāgas, the conqueror of the cities of others, the upraiser of the dynasty of the Nāgas, Bhogi, will become king. Sadāchandra, part of the moon (*Chandra amśa*); second after him Nakhavan, after him Dhanadharmā, after him, the fourth Vangara. After these comes into existence in Vidiśa Bhūti-Nanda. At the end of the dynasty of the Sungas will arise Śiśunandi; his younger brother by name Nandiyasāḥ. In his line will come these three kings; his grandson through his daughter, by name Śiśuka, will be king at Purikā. The valiant ruler by name Pravīrō, son of Vindhyaśakti, will

enjoy for sixty years the city Kānchanakā. He will celebrate Vājapēyas each one completed by the distribution of excellent gifts to Brahmins. Four of his sons would become kings.

In this the points to which particular attention should be drawn, relevant to the previous enquiry, are Bhogi, who is proposed to be identified with Bhavanāga, is described as the son of no less a person than Śēsha, king of the Nāgas, otherwise Ādiśēsha, which would imply that he was probably the historical founder of the Nāga family. Sadāchandra follows him immediately among four rulers. The Purāṇa statement does not connect him with Bhogi clearly. It may be open to the interpretation that he was his son. On the text of it, we would be entitled to say that he was his successor proximately, perhaps even remotely. Then follows a series of successors, three, of probably the same family as Sadāchandra, and then a Bhūti-Nanda apparently of another family; and then follows a statement that at the end of the dynasty of the Sungas, Śiśunandi will be king of Vidiśa. From this it is clearly inferable that Bhogin and his successors ruled before the Sungas. There are good historical reasons for believing that the Sungas held rule over this region. The government of Agnimitra, the son of Pushyamitra, the first Sunga, was in Malva. His grandson, Vasumitra, fought against the Yavanas on the banks of the Sindhu, which is taken by historians to be the Kālī Sindhu in the region of Vidiśa. So historically what the Purāṇas intend saying seems to be that when Sunga rule came to an end in the region of Vidiśa, a ruler by name Śiśunandi would then rule. If the reading *Anga* should be adopted, it becomes meaningless in reference to the first line, which declares that the rulers that follow are the rulers of Vidiśa. There is no reason, on the basis of the text before us, to assume that either Bhogi or anyone of the five that followed him in succession had anything to do with Anga. The adoption of the reading *Anga* instead of *Sunga* will make the text far more obscure than it is, and has no justification whatsoever from the point of view of history, as the Purāṇa texts of the Kali Age in the centuries previous to this have nothing whatever to say about Anga, although in one or two places Champa does occur, but in the period immediately following this. After Śiśunandi we have to allow for his younger brother and three others of his family together with his daughter's son, who ruled in Purikā, and then comes in Pravīra, ruler

of this region, as we should understand it in succession to the family of Śiśunandi including his grandson. There seems therefore no warrant as far as the Paurāṇic texts go for the assumption that there was a family of Anga rulers ruling over Vidiśa at the same time. If the Purāṇa texts are to be understood as they should be, all these rulers should have come before the Nāgas, the Guptas, the Maṇidhānyas, Dēvarakshitas, Guhas and Kanakas along with others in Saurāshṭra, etc., mentioned in the following passage. The equation of Bhogi with Bhavanāga and the consequent position chronologically ascribable to Sadāchandra, contemporaneously with Chandragupta I and Samudragupta which is the inevitable result of Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar's argument, would go against the statement of the Purāṇas themselves. That interpretation must be regarded bad, which makes consecutive texts contradict themselves.

The Vākātakas in Gupta History¹

It is now more or less generally accepted that a dynasty of rulers, described by the title Gupta, ruled from A.D. 319-20 onwards for about two centuries, acquired an imperial position early in their career, and maintained that high position for the greater part of that period till it was overthrown by the irruption of the Huns into the territory of India. There are certain points in their early history which seem incapable of elucidation without a correct understanding of the position of the Vākātakas in relation to this imperial dynasty. It will be the purpose of this paper to show what influence the Vākātakas exercised on the history of the early Guptas.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE GUPTAS

It is generally accepted that there was one Mahārāja Chandragupta that founded this great dynasty, though the dynastic pedigrees add two names before him, that of his father Ghaṭotkacha and his grandfather Mahārāja Śrīgupta. It is also generally accepted that this Chandragupta was able to advance to the higher position of emperor by a marriage alliance that he contracted with the powerful clan of the Lichchhavis, a princess of which clan, Kumāradēvi, he married. It is generally regarded that he had a comparatively short reign extending over no more than about fifteen years as a maximum, and that it was really his son Samudragupta who, by a series of conquests, advanced the dynasty really to the imperial position.² His conquests, so called, fall into a number of divisions. Of these, he defeated, and destroyed the power of, nine kings of Āryāvarta whose names are mentioned. He is said to have put under tribute five border kingdoms, three in the east and two in the north, as also nine other tribes, as they seem, in the south-west. His chief title to conquest, however, lay in his expedition to the south in which he is regarded as having marched as far south as Kāncī in South India, conquered eleven kings of the south and set them free. Having been successful against all these kingdoms and states, he got into diplomatic relation with six more distant monarchs, of whom five have to be located on the north-western frontier, while the sixth is mentioned specifically to be the monarch of

¹ By permission of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

² *Early History of India*, by V. A. Smith, 3rd edition, ch. xi.

Ceylon.¹ He celebrated an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice in commemoration of his vast conquests; and memorials of the celebration of this imperial sacrifice have come down to us. His son and successor extended these conquests in the south-western direction overthrowing the last remnant of the Śaka power under the Kshatrapas, and carried the Gupta territory to the western sea. It was some time in the reign of his son and successor that the Hun invasion broke in, and, after varying fortunes, ultimately subverted the ruling power. In this resume of the history of the Guptas the Vākātakas appear nowhere, and, for all that we see in the details accessible to us from the Gupta records, the Vākātakas appear not to have existed at all. Notwithstanding this apparent omission, there is this significant fact that the list of Samudragupta's southern conquests does not include any part of the Dakhan proper. Ērāṇḍapalli and Daivarāshṭra, two places located by Dr. Fleet in western Dakhan indefinitely, have since been satisfactorily identified with places on the east coast region of Kalinga,² and that makes Samudragupta's southern invasion march down by way of the coast and return, it may be, by a different route but along the same region, so that the southern conquests mean really no more than the conquest, as far as it went, of only the northern portion of the Madras Presidency. Why is the whole of the Dakhan omitted from this southern list? No part of it could be included in the lists of his other conquests except perhaps in reference to the people Ābhīras whom he is said to have put under tribute. But even the Ābhīras as such do not figure prominently in the historical records of the period that have come down to us beyond this single reference.

THE VAKATAKAS

The Vākātakas as such are not known to us except by their inscriptions. Of these, we have about half a dozen, of which two at least happen to be stone inscriptions in the caves of Ajanta; the rest of them are copper-plate grants. According to the most complete stone inscription, that of the Ajanta Cave XIV,³ the following is the genealogy of the Vākātakas :—

1. Vindhyaśakti.
2. Pravarasēna I, son of (1).

¹ Fleet, *G.I.C.I.I.*, vol. iii, No. 1 and V. A. Smith, *opus cite.*

² *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1908-9, p. 109; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xii, p. 212.

³ *A.S.W.I.*, vol. vi, 124 ff.

3. Rudrasēna I, son of (2 ?).
4. Prithivīsēna, son of (3).
5. Pravarasēna II, son of (4 ?).
6. (*Name omitted*), son of the previous.
7. Dēvasēna, son of the predecessor.
8. Harisēna, son of the predecessor.

According to the most complete copper-plate grants the Vākātika genealogy would stand as follows :—

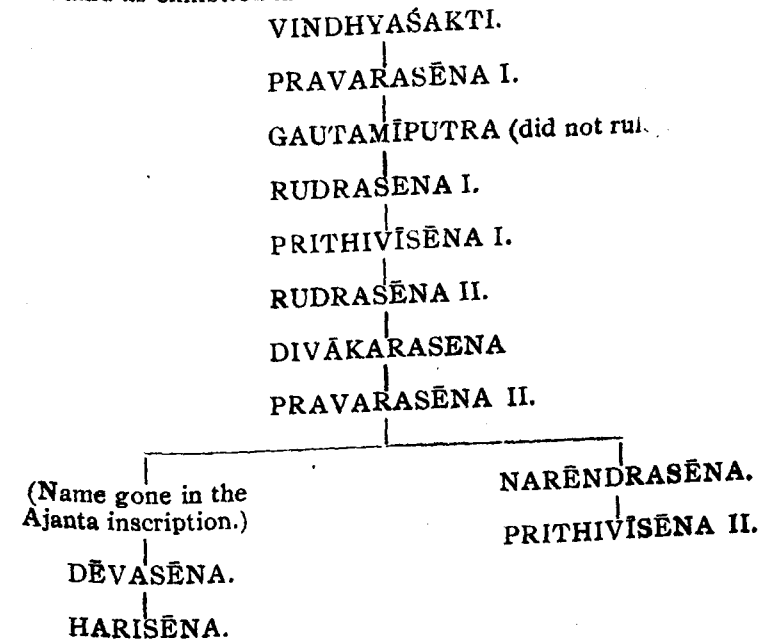
1. Vindhyaśakti (not mentioned).
2. Pravarasēna I son of (1).
Gautamīputra, son of (2) married the daughter of Bhavanāga, the ruler of the Bharasīva family (did not rule).
3. Rudrasēna I, Gautamīputra's son and grandson of (2).
4. Prithivīsēna I, son of (3).
5. Rudrasēna II, son of (4), married Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of Dēvagupta, or Chandragupta II and Kubhēra-nāgā.
6. Pravarasēna II, son of (5), otherwise Damodarasēna.
7. Narēndrasēna, son of (6), married Ajjhitabhāṭṭarikā, a princess of Kuntala.
8. Prithivīsēna II, son of (7).

A comparison of these lists shows that, in the Ajanta cave inscriptions, there are two names omitted, those of Gautamīputra, son of Pravarasēna I, and Rudrasēna II. It is possible to explain the omission of the first name as due to the fact of his not having ruled, while the omission of the second does not admit of that explanation. In the present state of the document, it is even possible to say that the first name is gone. In regard to the omission of the second, however, the only possible explanation seems to be that it is due to the carelessness of the transcriber from the written document to the stone. Otherwise, it is almost impossible to understand that a document, not many generations removed from Rudrasēna II, should commit such a blunder as to make the grandson the son, as in the case of Pravarasēna II. Assuming therefore, that the first is omitted in this inscription because he did not rule, and the second is omitted through the inadvertence of the sculptor of the inscription, the genealogy from Vindhyaśakti to Pravarasēna II may be held to be in substantial agreement in all the

Vākātaka documents that have come down to us, both on copper-plates and on stone. After Pravarasēna II, the Ajanta inscription contained the name of a son who came to the throne in his eighth year and ruled well. His son was Dēvasēna and his son Harisēna according to the same record. The name of Pravarasēna II's son is now obliterated in the record. The Balaghat copper-plates of Prithivīsēna II,¹ however, describe the son of Pravarasēna II as Narēndrasēna by name, and states the fact that 'the Lakshmi of the family was forcibly drawn to him by his possession of great good qualities.' He married a Kuntala princess by name Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā, and by her had a son Prithivīsēna II who apparently intended to issue the actual record. Thus we have in succession to Pravarasēna II, one list of three generations and another of two; while it is possible that the son and successor of the Pravarasēna II was only one if we could assume that the name that is omitted in the Ajanta inscriptions is that of Narēndra of the Balaghat record. The only difficulty in this equation would be whether the forceful drawing of the Lakshmi of the family by Narēndrasēna is not in some contrast to the eight-year old child who succeeded Pravarasēna II who ruled well. The actual difficulty does come in when the Balaghat inscription says that it is Narēndrasēna's good qualities that forcefully drew to him (*Apahṛta*) the Śrī of the family. This seems almost to imply a disputed succession which ended in favour of Narēndrasēna. In other words, Narēndrasēna succeeded to the throne of his father either after a war, or as the result of a demonstration almost amounting to war. On this assumption the accession of the other son of Pravarasēna II in his eighth year would become impossible apparently as he could have succeeded only after Narēndrasēna and Prithivīsēna II. This assumption would give to the two reigns of Narēndrasēna and Prithivīsēna the comparatively short period of less than eight years which seems impossible in the circumstances. If, in spite of the contrast involved in the 'forceful drawing of the prosperity of the family' to Narēndrasēna, we assume Narēndrasēna as the name omitted in the Ajanta inscription, it would perhaps make a more legitimate arrangement to the genealogical succession to assume that Prithivīsēna was the elder son of Narēndrasēna and Dēvasēna another son, it may be by a different wife, making Prithivīsēna and Dēvasēna brothers. The omission of the name Dēvasēna in the

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, No.36.

Balaghat record would then be natural and the omission of the name Prithivīsēna II in the Ajanta cave inscription could be explained as due to his being not in the regular line of succession of Harisēna and Dēvasēna. In neither of these cases, however, is the proper weight given to the expression which describes the character of Narēndrasēna's succession to the position of his father as recorded in the Balaghat plates. According to Professor Kielhorn, Narēndrasēna, 'from confidence in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortunes; his commands were honoured by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala, and Mālava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess.' This interpretation goes too far in clearly indicating a disputed succession, and taken along with the succession of the other son in his eighth year of age, would seem inevitably to involve the inference of Professor Kielhorn that Narēndrasēna probably took the kingdom from an elder brother, or, at any rate, occupied the throne as against an elder brother. Assuming this to be the correct state of affairs, the genealogy of the family would stand as exhibited in the following table:—



¹ The reading of the original text is corrupt and therefore uncertain.

SYNCHRONISMS BETWEEN THE VAKATAKAS AND THE GUPTAS

This succession list is of no value to us unless it is possible to establish that either all of them, or at least some of them, were contemporary with the Guptas. Apart from general considerations we are in possession of a specific detail which brings Rudrasēna II into contemporaneity with the well-known Gupta ruler, Chandragupta II. Vākātaka inscriptions mention that Rudrasēna II, son of Prithivīsēna I, married a princess by name Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of a Mahārājādhirāja Dēvagupta, and the offspring of this marriage was Pravarasēna II. It is fortunate that a grant of this very PRABHĀVATIGUPTA, as regent of her son who had the princely name Divākarasēna, has become available to us. It is not yet published *in extenso*, but the account of it given in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1912 by Professor K. B. Pathak¹ leaves no doubt as to her identity. She describes herself as the daughter of Chandragupta II and Kubhēranāgā, and became the crowned queen of the Vākātaka Rudrasēna.² Her son is described as the Yuvarāja Divākarasēna. This grant describes the Gupta genealogy of her parents and brings it down only to Chandragupta II, thus making it certain that Prabhāvatī, the daughter of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Dēvagupta, was the daughter of Chandragupta II, making Dēvagupta and Chandragupta the names of the same person. This just confirms what is recorded in the Sanchi inscription of Chandragupta II, dated G.E. 93 (A.D. 412-13). The grant has the following expression:—

Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandraguptasya Dēvarāja iti priya nāma
(*dheyaṁlamkṛ tasya*) tasya sarva guṇa sampattayē yāvat
chandrādityamitāvat pancha bikshavō bhunjatām, etc.

This grant made by a feudatory officer provides that five bikshus be fed, as long as the sun and the moon last, in order that king Chandragupta who bore the name Dēvagupta, may have possession of all estimable qualities. The six letters that are chipped off after 'nāma' are supplied by the emendation within brackets most satisfactorily, and give a reasonable rendering while the ingenious emendation of Dr. Fleet makes it rather difficult to accept the position. The elder interpreter Prinsep seems correct in this particular. He puts it beyond

¹ pp. 214-215. Since published by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in the *Epig. Indica* xv.

² Since confirmed and put beyond doubt in the Riddhapur Plates: published by Mr. Y. R. Gupte in *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xx, No. 4 (June 1924).

a doubt that Dēvagupta was the earlier name of Chandragupta II as Damodarasēna was the princely name of Pravarasēna II. This is also confirmed by the recent discovery of another copper-plate grant issued by Queen Prabhāvatiguptā in the year 19¹ of the rule or authority of the Vākātaka Mahārāja Pravarasēna II. This obviously refers to Pravarasēna II, who, in this grant is given the name Damodarasēna-Pravarasēna, which means that his princely name was Damodarasēna, while he assumed the title Pravarasēna when he ascended the throne. Prabhāvatiguptā had two sons; Divākarasēna and Damodarasēna, and she was regent for the first and in all probability for the second as well. She describes herself in this grant as the daughter of Chandragupta and the chief queen of Mahārāja Rudrasēna of the Vākātakas as also the mother of Mahārāja Damodarasēna-Pravarasēna.² The grant itself was issued from Ramagiri or Ramtek in the Central Provinces.

Prabhāvatiguptā, therefore, was the daughter of Chandragupta II whose contemporary, though a younger contemporary, Rudrasēna II must have been, so that Prithivīsēna I was in all probability the contemporary of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Rudrasēna's must have been a comparatively short reign following as it did the long reign of Prithivīsēna, as Prabhāvatiguptā declares herself to be the regent for her son in the grant referred to above. It thus seems likely that Chandragupta I was, in all probability, a contemporary of Pravarasēna I, and his grandson and successor Rudrasēna I. Samudragupta's reign must have been coeval with that of Rudrasēna I (in part) and Prithivīsēna I. Chandragupta II must have ruled simultaneously with Prithivīsēna I in the later period of his reign and Rudrasēna II, possibly even during the regency of Prabhāvatiguptā.

¹ The Poona Grant of Prabhāvatiguptā, by Y. R. Gupte. The preliminary reading of this grant was made by Mr. Gupte and a paper on the subject was read before the Bhārata Itihāsa Samsodhaka Mandal, Poona. A short note on it was published also in the *Indian Antiquary* in vol. liii, p. 48. This has since been published in the *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xx, pp. 53-63. The Riddhapur plates makes Queen Prabhāvatī the daughter of Chandragupta II and gives the complete Gupta genealogy down to him and give her as sons Damodarasēna and Pravarasēna which may mean they were two sons or only one with two names. There seems to be no reason to regard either name as applying to Divākarasēna, the other son of hers whose grants of the thirteenth year are known as having been issued by the Queen in her son's name.

THE VAKATAKAS IN LITERATURE

The Vākātakas as such are not known to literature. This name for the dynasty occurs only in Vākātaka inscriptions. In literature they seem to be generally referred to otherwise. Of course, there are so many alternative designations derivable from the people of the country, that it is easy, to understand why they are referred to by other names. The general name of the country is Vidarbha and the general designation of the people Bhojas. There is very good literary authority, reaching back to the *Aitareya Brahmana*, that the rulers of the region went by the name Bhoja. Kālidāsa refers to the region by the name Vidarbha in his *Malavikā-Agnimitra*. In the *Raghuvamśa*, particularly in the chapter bearing on the *svayamvara* of Indumatī, he uses the name Bhoja and its derivatives. But in connection with the subsequent marriage he uses Kṛthakaiśika for the people. He seems apparently to use the name as one word. But the *Vishṇupurāṇa* and the *Harivamśa*, strangely enough, speak of the Bhojas as descended from Vidarbha who is given three sons, Kratha, Kaiśika, and Lōmapāda.¹ Of these, the first is described as the ancestor of the Bhojas, the second the father of Chēdi, the founder of the Chaidya family, the later Chēdis of Bundelkhand. Passing over the slight difference between the *Harivamśa* and the *Vishṇupurāṇa* in this regard, the two families, the Bhojas of Vidarbha and the Chēdis of Bundelkhand are regarded as belonging to the same family of rulers. Hence if they are referred to generally as Bhojas in literature there is some justification for it. But then why should the rulers of the dynasty be so particular as to describe themselves Vākātakas? The one possible explanation seems to be that the term Bhoja was the name of the people as a whole, while Vākātaka might be that of a comparatively narrow clan or even a ruling family which probably came into importance after the *Vishṇupurāṇa* received its final form. This position seems to receive support from the tradition embodied by Rāmadāsa in his comment *Rāmasētupradīpam* on Pravarasēna's *Setubandha Kāvya*. In commenting on *sloka* 9 of the first *asvāsa*, he explains the expression 'abhinavarāyāraddha' as begun by the newly installed king Pravarasēna, and explains it by saying that

¹ The geographical data of the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Dasakumāracharita* by Dr. Mark Collins, Appendix B, pp. 54-56.

Pravarasēna was, according to some, Bhojadeva. In other words, it was the general opinion of scholars that Pravarasēna was the king of the Bhojas. Rāmadāsa apparently accepts this interpretation, and puts it more clearly in the introductory passage where he states it clearly that the great poet KĀLIDĀSA composed this work *Setubandha Prabhandam* for the Mahārājā Pravarasēna, ordered thereto by Mahārājadhirāja Vikramāditya. This idea is embodied in one of the verses of his introduction where he brings into comparison Kālidāsa's writing of this *Kāvya* under the orders of Vikramāditya with his own composition of the commentary under the orders of the emperor Jallāladīndra (Jalalu-din-Akbar). If this tradition should be correct, the work *Setubandham* is the work of a Bhoja king Pravarasēna who apparently was in residence at the court of Vikramāditya where the great poet Kālidāsa also was among the honoured members. This seems, therefore, to indicate that Pravarasēna, the nominal author, was no other than Pravarasēna II, and that the Vikramāditya referred to there, is no other than his maternal grandfather Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. It seems to fix definitely Kālidāsa as the contemporary of this great Gupta emperor.

This position of contemporaneity between Chandragupta II, Pravarasēna II and Kālidāsa seems to receive unlooked-for confirmation from another source. There is a verse quoted by Rājasēkhara which refers to a colloquy between two persons. What is said by the first person is thoroughly changed in significance by the change of a single word, or one or two words of a verse. The verse reads as follows:—

Asakalahasitatvāt kṣālitanīvakāntyā
Mukūṭitanayanatvādvakta karnōtpalāni |
Pibati madhusugandhīnyānāni priyāṇām
Tvayi vinihitabhārah Kuntalānām adhīśaḥ ||

(Change *pibati* into *pibatu* and *tvayi* into *mayi*, involving change of a single letter in each case.)

The latter half of the *sloka* by the change of the affix of the verb and the first part of the first word of the second line transforms what was a statement of a fact into a permission. This illustrative stanza quoted by Rājasēkhara in the *Kāvya mīmāṃsa*¹ is also quoted by other rhetoricians such as Kshēmēndra in his work on *Auchitya*

¹ Gaikward's *Oriental Series*, vol. i, p. 60.

Vichāracharcha, and by Bhoja in his *Alankāra* work *Sarasvatī Kanthā-bharana* and his other work on *Sringāra Prakāśika*. I am informed by Mr. A. Rangasvami Sarasvati, that a manuscript of this last work, recently discovered, refers these stanzas to a work of a royal poet Dēvagupta by name, and is given as a colloquy between this royal person and Kālidāsa. If this should turn out correct, the tradition recorded by Rāmadāsa would have a foundation in authoritative sources. It would then be very likely that Rāmadāsa merely stated the fact that he found authority for among the rhetoricians.

It establishes the further point that to men of letters Pravarasēna II of the Vākātaka dynasty was a Bhoja king, and could be so described without fear of being misunderstood. The fact that the home territory of Vākātakas was intimately associated with Bhojakāṭa, the city built in the vicinity of the *Paurāṇic* capital Kundinapura by Krishna's brother-in-law Rukmi, goes only to confirm the identification that the Vākātakas were Bhojas, Vidarbhas, and even Kṛthakaiśikas as well. The name Vākātaka, therefore, could be no other than the peculiar clan name or the family name of the dynasty that came into prominence in the fourth century after Christ.

SAMUDRAGUPTA AND THE VAKATAKAS

It is clear from what is stated above that in the reign of Chandragupta II, the Guptas and the Vākātakas were in intimate family alliance, and it seems very likely that Chandragupta entered into a marriage alliance with the Vākātakas with a view to securing his flank as against the Śaka Satraps of the West whom he apparently resolved to uproot. The war between Chandragupta and the Satraps was a somewhat prolonged affair, in the course of which, the chief queen of Chandragupta fell into the hands of the Śaka ruler, and Chandragupta had to make a dangerous effort to recover her from the hands of the enemies, as a recently-discovered drama 'Dēvi Chandraguptam'¹ seems clearly to explain what is indicated in a well-known statement of Bāṇa. What exactly was the political relation between Samudragupta and the Vākātakas is not made equally clear to us. So much, however, is certain that Samudragupta's southern invasion kept clearly

¹ Vide a note on this by Mr. A. Rangasvami Sarasvati in the *Indian Antiquary* for July 1923. This work is ascribed to Viśākadatta, the author of the *Mudrarākṣasa* in a ms. of the work found in Gujarat according to the *Puratatva*, v. i. 47.

and deliberately outside the frontiers of the territory of the Vākātakas. The Vākātaka territory under Prithivisēna extended from Bundelkhand in the north to Kuntala, the Mahratta country and the neighbouring part of the Nizam's dominions. All this vast extent of country seems to have been quite out of the list of conquests of Samudragupta. The Vākātakas are not even brought into the list of those who got into diplomatic relations with them. The only inference possible seems to be that the relationship between the Vākātakas and the Guptas was so established in his time that Samudragupta had really nothing whatever to fear in that direction. In other words, they were already so established in a relation of friendly alliance, perhaps even subordinate alliance, that Samudragupta could go on with his projects elsewhere without having to reckon them among those who were likely to make a hostile move. Hence, he could boast of having celebrated the *asvamedha*, long since not performed (*chirōtsanna*) i.e., in all probability, not performed in true imperial fashion. If the powerful neighbours, the Vākātakas, were independent and hostile, he could hardly make this statement. How did this relation between these two powers come about?

CHANDRAGUPTA I AND THE VAKATAKAS

There seems an indication how it came about, in the records of the Vākātakas. The late Dr. Bühler was unduly sceptic about Pravarasēna I and the Vindyaśakti of the Vākātakas being the same as Pravira and his father Vindhyaśakti of the Purāṇas, as he worked apparently, with imperfect texts of the Purāṇas. With Mr. Pargiter's carefully collated texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age before us, we are in a far better position to make the identification. But that apart, Vākātaka records claim for Pravarasēna the performance of several sacrifices, all of which seem more or less to form a series of ceremonies constituting the full *asvamedha*; and whatever were the actual achievements to which he lays claim, the records do not give us the details. He assumes the title 'Samrat', undoubtedly an imperial title. His son is given only the name Gautamīputra and did not rule, and when his grandson Rudrasēna I ascended the throne the title 'Samrat', for some reason or other, seems to have been given up.* At any rate, in all the Vākātaka records that have come down to us, the credit of the celebration of the imperial sacrifice and the title 'Samrat', are given only to

Pravarasēna I; and even the greatest of his successors Prithivīsēna I does not lay claim to either. Is this not a significant omission and is not the omission of this 'Samrat', as a title by the successor of Pravarasēna I a clear indication of a change of political status? At the time that Chandragupta I, perhaps as a result of his Lichchhavi alliance, set forward on his imperial career, he must have found the Vākātakas perhaps the only rivals in that ambition. He must have taken advantage of something adverse that must have befallen the Vākātakas at the death of Pravarasēna to compel them to enter into a subordinate alliance with him. It might even be that he was himself mainly responsible for the adversity that brought about this subordinate alliance, though we do not find it stated or even indicated either in the records of the Guptas or in those of the Vākātakas. Rudrasēna I, the successor of Pravarasēna, dropped the title as a result of this agreement, and stood aside letting Chandragupta pursue his imperial career. It is only an assumption of a treaty or something similar between the two that could really account for the part that Chandragupta I actually played in advancing the Gupta dynasty to an imperial position, and the passive acquiescence of the Vākātakas, who, under Pravarasēna I, seem to have started on a similar career. More light on this obscure beginning would be welcome; such light as we have seems to lead us to this particular inference. Chandragupta was responsible for the foundation of the Gupta empire. The Vākātakas made it possible for him to do so by desisting from hostility and even by actually countenancing the effort. Was there a large motive in the foundation of the empire, and did contemporaries see any general advantage in the gradual rise of Chandragupta I to this position? This is a question it would be difficult to answer at present, though an answer to it does not seem altogether impossible. The position ascribed to Chandragupta above would put a new complexion altogether upon the career of the founder of the Gupta empire and would raise other side issues which will receive further treatment in another context.

THE VAKATAKAS AND THE DECLINE OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

The death of Pravarasēna II appears to have introduced a change in the political relationship between the Guptas and the Vākātakas. The succession as given in the Ajanta inscription of Varāhadēva

does not let us into the secret. The Balaghat copper-plates, however, give a clear indication that there was a disputed succession, and Narēndrasēna occupied the throne either by a *coup d'état*, or what is less likely, as the result of a successful war. What is really significant in this record of his son, Prithivīsēna II, is that Narēndrasēna's authority is said to have been acknowledged by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala, and Mālava, the region over which Chandragupta II extended his authority comparatively early in his reign and maintained it inviolate by his matrimonial alliance with the Vākātakas and the uprooting war against the Kshatrapas of Gujarat and Kathiawar. Kōsala, Mēkala, and Mālava among the three will include all the Vindhyan region extending from the coast of the Bay of Bengal in the south-east, north-westwards, at least as far as the Aravalli hills, and, it may be, even beyond. As far as we can make out from the Gupta records, Kumāragupta's accession to the throne was a peaceful one and perhaps during the early years of his reign he enjoyed peace also. It is from the inscriptions of his son Skandagupta that we hear of disturbances in this region from the tribes of Pushyamitras whom Skandagupta successfully brought back into allegiance according to his records. Did the Vākātaka Narēndrasēna bear any part in this disturbance along the outermost frontier of the Gupta empire? Prithivīsēna II, the successor of Narēndrasēna, is credited in the same record, with 'having raised his sunken family.' What was the sinking of the family due to, and in what particular did he manage to raise it? If the severe defeat administered to the Pushyamitras by Skandagupta, which is supposed to have destroyed their power and brought them back into obedience, involved the submission directly or indirectly of the Vākātakas as well Prithivīsēna might then have recovered, at any rate partly, the important position which his family occupied in the days of his predecessors, from Pravarasēna II backwards. He would have found occasion for this in the irruption of the Huns on this very frontier of the Gupta empire. It will thus be seen that the Vākātakas bore their own share in bringing about the decline of the Gupta empire. In the whole period of the struggle of the Guptas against the Hūnas, the Vākātakas must have been left more or less to themselves, and this enabled Prithivīsēna II and his successors to rehabilitate themselves to a very considerable extent and that seems what is indicated in the records of the time of Harisēna and his father Dēvasēna. Harisēna's

is the last reign of which we have any knowledge, and then 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 the gap between the Āndhras and Chālukyas in the history of the Dakhan.

CONCLUSION

From the available facts both from the Vākātaka records and the Gupta, as also from certain references in literature, it seems clear that both the Guptas and the Vākātakas started on an imperial career and had very soon to give up rivalry, apparently for some good reason. Chandragupta was allowed to proceed, the Vākātakas standing aside. This position the Vākātakas maintained without change, through all the changing fortunes of the history of the Guptas, and thus let the Gupta empire go on in its glorious career unmolested by them. We are not in a position to form an idea of motives that led to this self-abnegation on the part of the Vākātakas, but the fact seems clear all the same; and let us hope that further research will throw light upon the matter. When, however, the Gupta empire had reached the summit of its glory after the overthrow of the Western Satraps, the Vākātakas seem to have joined in a movement which pulled the first stone out of the splendid structure, and thus contributed to bring about a struggle which, with the advent of the Hūnas, finally put an end to the great empire of the Guptas. In the struggle against the Pushyamitras by Skandagupta on behalf of his father, Vākātaka influence, if not the actual support of the Vākātakas, seems clearly visible behind the position of these tribes. Although for the time Skandagupta succeeded, that frontier marked the weak spot where the hostile attack of the Huns had the best chance of success. When, finally, the empire got steadily pushed back this seems the region that most readily detached itself from the empire. Thus then, it seems demonstrable that the Vākātakas played more or less a decisive part in the critical periods of the history of the early Gupta empire.

The Vakatakas and their place in the History of India¹

AMONG the many periods in the History of Hindu India which have remained obscure to a degree, notwithstanding the great progress that has been made in the study of the early History of India in recent years, the period from the disappearance of the Āndhras as a great power to the rise of the Guptas remains perhaps one of the darkest yet. So much is this the case that the beginnings of Gupta history, one of the most brilliant periods in Indian History, is still wrapped in obscurity. This obscurity can be relieved somewhat by a careful study of what is known of the Vākātakas from *Paurāṇic*, inscriptional and other sources so far as they have been made recently accessible to us in a form suitable for historical use. The name Vākātaka does not appear in any of the other sources of the Indian History of the period than the inscriptions of the particular dynasty to which they refer. This has so far left the Vākātakas of the inscriptions alone and isolated from the known dynasties of the Purāṇas and other inscriptions as well. Hence their importance in history has been neglected to the detriment of correct historical perspective even of the achievements of the most brilliant sovereigns of the Gupta empire.

THE VAKATAKAS IN INSCRIPTIONS

Of the Vākātakas themselves there are a number of inscriptions accessible to us now of the greatest historical value. Of these, a number are copper-plate grants, the typical of which may be taken to be the Chammak² grant of Pravarasēna II and the Balaghat plates³ published by Professor Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

¹ Eighth Course of Special Lectures in the Department of Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras, 1923.

² *A.S.W.I.*, iv, pp. 116 ff and *F.G.I., C.I.I.*, iii, pp. 235 ff.

³ IX, pp. 267 ff.

The most important inscription, unfortunately a very mutilated one, is the great Ajanta inscription¹ of one of the feudatories of this dynasty. According to this last, the genealogy of the Vākātakas would stand as follows—

1. Vindhyaśakti.
2. Pravarasēna I, son of (1)?
3. Rudrasēna I, son of (2)?
4. Pṛthvisēna, son of (3)
5. Pravarasēna II, son of (4)?
6. (Name omitted), son of (5)
7. Dēvasēna, son of the predecessor.
8. Harisēna, son of the predecessor.

According to the most complete copper-plate grant, the so-called Balaghat plates of Pṛthvisēna II, the genealogy begins with

1. Pravarasēna I.
His son, Gautamīputra, who married the daughter of the ruler of the Bharaśiva dynasty, Bhavanāga, (did not rule).
2. Rudrasēna, Gautamīputra's son, and grandson of (1).
3. Pṛthvisēna I, son of (2).
4. Rudrasēna II, son of (3), married Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Devagupta or Chandragupta II and Kubhēra-nāgā.
5. Pravatasēna II, son of (4), otherwise Damodarasēna.
6. Narēndrasēna, son of (5), married Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā, a princess of Kuntala.
7. Pṛthvisēna II, son of (6).

A comparison of these lists shows that in the Ajanta cave inscription there are two names omitted, those of Gautamīputra, son of Pravarasēna I, and Rudrasēna II. It is possible to explain the omission of the first name as due to the fact of his not having ruled, while the omission of the second does not admit of that explanation. In the present state of the document it is even possible to say that the first name is gone. In regard to the omission of the second, however

the only possible explanation¹ seems to be that it is due to the carelessness of the transcriber from the written document to the stone. Otherwise it is almost impossible to understand that a document not many generations removed from Rudrasēna II should commit such a blunder as to make the grandson the son, as in the case of Pravarasēna II. Assuming, therefore, that the first is omitted in this inscription because he did not rule, and the second is omitted through the inadvertence of the sculptor of the inscription, the genealogy from Vindhyaśakti to Pravarasēna II may be held to be in substantial agreement in all the Vākātika documents that have come down to us, both on copper-plates and on stone. After Pravarasēna II, the Ajanta inscription contained the name of a son who came to the throne in his eighth year and ruled well. His son was Dēvasēna and his son was Harisēna according to the same record. The name of Pravarasēna II's son is now obliterated in the record. The Balaghat copper-plates of Pṛthvisēna II, however, describes the son of Pravarasēna II as Narēndrasēna by name, and states the fact that 'the Lakshmi of the family was forcibly drawn to him by his possession of great good qualities.' He married a Kuntala princess by name Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā and by her had a son Pṛthvisēna II, who apparently intended to issue the actual record. Thus then we have in succession to Pravarasēna II one list of three generations and one of two, of which it is possible that the son and successor of Pravarasēna II was only one if we could assume that the name that is omitted in the Ajanta inscriptions is no other than Narēndra of the Balaghat record. The only difficulty in this equation would be whether the forceful drawing of the Lakshmi of the family by Narēndrasēna is not in some contrast to the eight years old child who succeeded Pravarasēna II and who ruled well. The succession of a boy eight years old would be quite possible under normal circumstances, and there is nothing at all improbable in his having ruled well. The actual difficulty does come in when the Balaghat inscription says that it is Narēndrasēna's good qualities that forcefully drew to him (*apahṛta*) the Śrī of the family. This seems almost to imply a disputed succession which ended in favour of Narēndrasēna.

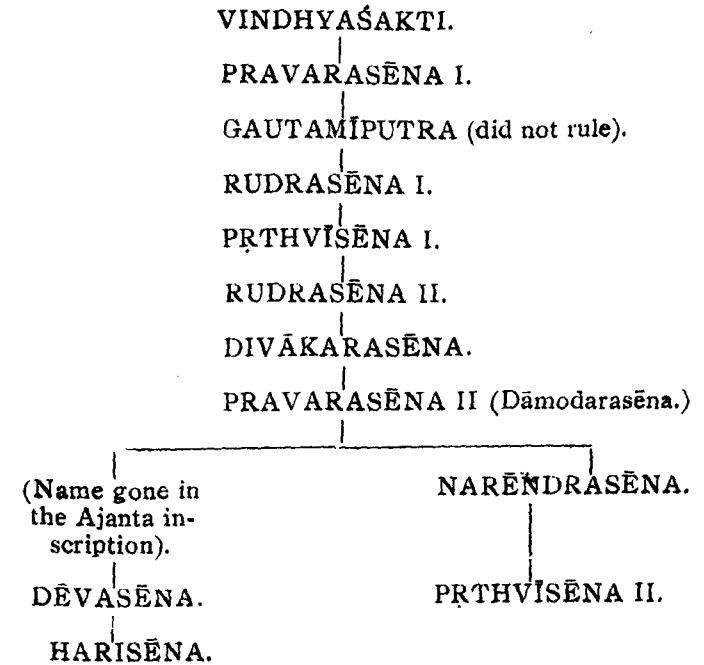
¹ A.S.W.I., vol. iv, pp. 124-8.

¹ It is just possible to assume that Rudrasēna II did not rule; but this assumption will be in direct opposition to the explicit statement of these records that Prabhāvatī was the crowned Queen of Rudrasēna II.

In other words, Narēndrasēna succeeded to the throne of his father either after a war, or as the result of a demonstration almost amounting to war against an elder brother. On this assumption the accession of the other son of Pravarasēna II in his eighth year would become impossible apparently as he could have succeeded only after Narēndrasēna and Pr̥thvisēna II. This assumption would give to the two reigns of Narēndrasēna and Pr̥thvisēna the comparatively short period of less than eight years which seems impossible in the circumstances. If, in spite of the contrast involved in the 'forceful drawing of the prosperity of the family' to Narēndrasēna, we assume Narēndrasēna as the name omitted in the Ajanta inscription, it would perhaps make a more legitimate arrangement of the genealogical succession to assume that Pr̥thvisēna was the elder son of Narēndrasēna, and Dēvasēna another son, it may be by a different wife, and making Pr̥thvisēna and Dēvasēna brothers. The omission of the name Dēvasēna in the Balaghat record would then be natural and the omission of the name Pr̥thvisēna II in the Ajanta cave inscription could be explained as due to his being not in the regular line of succession of Harisēna or Dēvasēna.

In neither of these cases, however, is the proper weight given to the expression which describes the character of Narēndrasēna's succession to the position of his father as recorded in the Balaghat plates. According to Professor Kielhorn, Narēndrasēna, 'from confidence in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortune; his commands were honoured by the lords of Kosala Mēkala, and Mālava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess.'¹ This interpretation goes too far in clearly indicating a disputed succession, and taken along with the succession of the other son in his eighth year of age, would seem inevitably to involve the inference of Professor Kielhorn that Narēndrasēna probably took the kingdom from an elder brother, or at any rate occupied the throne as against an elder brother. Assuming this to be the correct state of affairs the genealogy of the family would stand as exhibited in the following table, taking the elder brother to be the son whose name is gone in the Ajanta inscription.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 269. The reading of the original text is corrupt and therefore uncertain.



POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE VĀKĀTAKAS

The first point that arises in the political history of the Vākātakas is whether the Vindhyaśakti of the Purāṇas was the Vākātaka or no. It was pointed out above that in the genealogies of the Vākātakas that have come down to us it is only the genealogy in the mutilated Ajanta cave inscriptions of Varāhadeva that mentions the name Vindhyaśakti at the head of the list. Vindhyaśakti is there described as a *dvija* (twice-born) equal in the prowess of his arms to both Indra and Upēndra, and 'as the banner of the family of the Vākātakas.' He is also given credit for great achievements against the rulers of the earth. The other inscriptional records that have come down to us do not mention the name Vindhyaśakti in the list. It was Dr. Bhau Daji who made the first attempt to identify Vindhyaśakti of the Ajanta inscription with the Vindhyaśakti of the Purāṇas. This identification was objected to by Dr. Bühler and others that followed him on two grounds: (1) that Vindhyaśakti is described as a *dvija* in the Ajanta inscription and not a single name in the *Kailakila* list agrees with

those of the Vākātakas; (2) that all the manuscripts of the Vāyupurāṇa so far consulted gave the name of his son as Pravaīra not Pravara. These objections have since lost a considerable amount of their force. According to the collated texts given by Mr. Pargiter in the *Dynasties of the Kali Age* Vindhyaśakti followed the Kailakilas, whether they be Yavanas or others, notwithstanding the statement in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. The possibility of corruption of Pravara into Pravaīra is so easy that it would be going too far to make that the decisive test on a question like this. The name Vindhyaśakti occurs in the *paurāṇic* lists in two connections. First it occurs in the list of the local dynasties who rose to importance during the period of decadence of the Āndhra power. There Vindhyaśakti is supposed to have followed the Kilakilas or the Kolikilas. It occurs for the second time among the rulers of Vidiśā. There the son of Vindhyaśakti by name Pravaīra would, according to the Purāṇas, enjoy the rule 'for sixty years' and, 'will celebrate great sacrifices giving abundant largesses.' There follows the further statement that four of his sons would be kings. Taken together these statements indicate that Vindhyaśakti succeeded to the possessions of the Kolikila Yavanas whoever they were, and probably had a long reign. Or, it is possible to interpret this statement that he came into possession of the earth after it had been in the possession of the Yavanas for ninety-six years. This does not give us any indication as to what exactly was the territory of Vindhyaśakti. It merely gives us to understand that he acquired the territory in the occupation of the Kilakilas. The next passage has reference to the rulers of the territory depending on Vidiśā. After a series of names, Pravaīra or Pravara it is said would enjoy the city of Kāñchanaka. In other words it was he that acquired the territory depending upon Vidiśā which he did not inherit from his father. Since our authority for the statement that Vindhyaśakti was a Yavana has lost a considerable amount of its force, the difficulty about Vindhyaśakti being described as a *dvija* in the Ajanta record need not prove an insuperable obstacle to the identification of the two Vindhyaśaktis. The rest of the description in the inscription, mutilated though it be, would be in keeping with the achievements of a petty chief who had by his own exertions raised himself to considerable political power. There is one expression in the mutilated record which seems to let us into the secret of this identification. According to the transcript of

Paṇḍit Bhagavan Lal Indraji as edited by the late Dr. Burgess, line three of the Ajanta inscription reads:—

Purandarōpēdrasamabhāvaḥ
svabāhuvīryy (ārjita) sarvalōkaḥ
+ + + + + kām
babhūva vākātakavamsakētuḥ.

I would prefer to read the second half of the first part of the line.

Svabāhuvīryyārttitaśatrulokaḥ.

But this is not very material to the discussion. We want a word ending in *ka* for the 'kām' which obviously is the latter end of the word, a genitive plural. It seems to me obviously to stand for Vindhyaśakti, and I would read this part of the line.

Raja Mahendraiva Bhuvī Vindhyaśakti.

This would give us the detail that Vindhyaśakti who was the banner of the Vākātakas came of the family of the Vindhyaśaktis. It seems to be the name under which the family of Vindhyaśakti and Pravaīra is described in the Purāṇas. The first line of the passage under the dynasties of the third century A.D., in Pargiter's text reads

Vindhyaśakti kulē'ti.

This must refer to the dynasties described in the previous section. We seem therefore to have very much more support for the identification of the two Vindhyaśaktis than these learned scholars who studied these inscriptions in a previous generation have had. We seem to arrive however, by adopting this conclusion, at a new difficulty with the statement 'when the family of the Vindhyaśaktis had become extinct' in the next passage. This means that when Pravara had ruled for sixty years in Kāñchanaka and four of his sons, not necessarily after him, the family became extinct. This could only refer to the extinction of the rule of the family in the Vindhya regions. This one could understand from what appears in the copper-plate grants in regard to the Vākātika Pravaraśena I. According to these copper-plates, the illustrious Pravaraśena celebrated the *agniṣṭoma*, *aptoryama*, *ukthya*, *śoḍāśya*, *atirātra*, *vājapeya*, *bṛhaspatisava*, and *sadyashkara*, and four *asvamedha* sacrifices. He is further given the title 'samrat'. The detailed list of sacrifices given in this recital of them seems to be details of the sacrifice from day to day leading to the final *asvamedha*.

as described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and therefore it amounts to no more than the celebration of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice of which he is said to have celebrated four. The assumption of the title 'samrāt' or his accession to a 'sāmraja' could only mean that he acquired new territory, or that he got into possession of such extensive territory that he had kings under him, and it may be that four of his sons had the title 'Mahārāja' and ruled over various portions of his territory thus entitling him to the higher dignity of 'samrāt'. According to these inscriptions none of his sons appears to have succeeded, his successor on the throne, according to them uniformly, being his grandson by Gautamīputra, by name, Rudrasēna. That means, therefore, that none of his sons survived him. What is more significant, this successor Rudrasēna I, drops the title 'samrāt'. Does it not mean that some calamity befell the family at the death of Pravarasēna, and that when his grandson ultimately succeeded to the territory of his grandfather what came to him was nothing more than the original family possession, i.e. the territory round Bhojakaṭa, the territory peculiarly of the Vākātakas? This seems what is actually intended when the Purāṇas state 'when the rule of Pravarasēna became extinct in the territory of the Vindhya.' In other words, the authority of Pravarasēna's family ceased to be a force in his newly acquired possessions, of which perhaps the most important was the territory of the Vindhya. There seems, therefore, to be nothing irreconcilable between the statements contained in the Purāṇas regarding Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasēna, and the more detailed statements that we get from the inscription of the Vākātakas. There is a further fact which appears in the inscriptions which seems equally significant also. In speaking of Rudrasena I, much is made of his maternal grandfather Bhavanāga of the Bharaśiva family. In the Vākātaka inscriptions as a whole, it is only twice that we are given information about the maternal grandfathers or fathers-in-law of the members of this dynasty. Such information is given to us in connection with the two Rudrasēnas. In the case of the second Rudrasēna, as it will appear later, the person that is brought into connection with the dynasty is acknowledged to be one in a superior position, and in all probability the maternal grandfather of Rudrasēna I must have been an equally important person from the point of view of the Vākātakas to be given the distinction of a description such as he is given. The plain meaning of that would be that

some great calamity befell the empire of Pravarasēna I, and that this Nāga chieftain rendered valuable assistance in saving for the family an important block of the territory which belonged to the Vākātaka empire.

The real explanation of this will depend upon the actual chronology of the family. The late Professor Kielhorn, careful and judicious epigraphist though he was, has offered it as his opinion that the Balaghat record of Prthvisēna II¹ 'may be assigned with probability to about the second half of the eighth century A.D.' From what we know of the records of the regent-queen Prabhāvatiguptā, the late Dr. Bühler seems to have come far closer to the fact in assigning the Ajanta inscription² to the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. We may now say definitely on the strength of the Prabhāvatiguptā inscriptions, and from other confirmatory evidence from literature, that Rudrasēna II was the son-in-law of Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya. We have already pointed out that the long reign of Prthvisēna I must have been contemporary with a considerable part of Chandragupta II's, and possibly the whole of Samudragupta's reign. Chandragupta I therefore must have been the contemporary of Rudrasēna I, and perhaps even partly of that of his predecessor, his grandfather, Pravarasēna I. It thus becomes clear that the calamity that befell the Vākātaka dynasty on the death of Pravarasēna I was an event contemporary with Chandragupta I and his rise to imperial power. Has the rise of Chandragupta to an imperial position any connection with the fall of the Vākātakas from that position to that of a ruler of a kingdom merely? The two events seem to have had a vital connection, and the connection is partly exhibited in what was stated above regarding the actual possessions of Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasēna I. From what we know of early Gupta history these facts stand out, that the Guptas before Chandragupta I were rulers of Magadha, i.e. the territory close to the Ganges depending upon Prayāga, Sāketa, and Magadha according to the Purāṇas. The Lichchhavi alliance which is referred to as a matter of great importance in inscriptions and even coins as of vital importance to the rise of the Guptas, must have brought in a fresh accession of territory and influence. Thus early in his career Chandragupta must have risen to

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 270.

² *A.S.W.I.*, vol. iv, p. 138.

a position of great importance as a king with all the resources that would enable a man of genius to rise to an imperial position. The only obstacle in his way must have been another powerful aspirant to the empire in Pravarasēna I of the Vākātakas. In accordance with historical, and even *Śāstraic* precedent there cannot be two emperors in almost the same region at the same time. Either Chandragupta must stand aside or the Vākātaka Pravarasēna. The latter having achieved a position would not perhaps willingly surrender it. If he died, as he did after a very long reign and leaving a young grand son to succeed to the throne, that would be the occasion for the new aspirant to make the most of his position. That seems to be what exactly had happened. The Vākātakas must have been hard pressed and Chandragupta must have gained the upper hand either by actual war and conquest, or by the slow extension of his influence and absorption of territory. Whichever was the actual line that Chandragupta adopted, the fact seems clear that he aggrandized himself at the expense of the Vākātakas under Rudrasēna I. Nothing else can satisfactorily account for the dropping of the much-prized title '*samrat*' by Rudrasēna I, the successor of Pravarasēna I, and the assumption of the imperial dignity by Chandragupta I.

From the above it would seem clear that Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasēna of the Vākātaka inscriptions are identifiable with Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravīra of the Purāṇas who are clearly referred to as Vindhyaśakti. The career of these two, father and son, must have followed the complete extinction of the Āndhra power, and must have reached a stage of advance towards the establishment of an empire in the comparatively long reign of Pravarasēna I. The petty state of the Guptas according to the Purāṇas must also have started on a career of expansion under Chandragupta I. From what is known of the history of the Guptas the inference seems justifiable that the Lichchhavi alliance of this Chandragupta contributed in an important degree to this expansion. This by itself could not have led to the assumption of a higher title by Chandragupta I. This must have been followed by some signal achievement of the rising monarch, and that achievement seems indicated in the lowering of the prestige of Pravarasēna's successor. It would therefore be a justifiable conclusion that the rival imperial ambitions of the Vākātakas and the Guptas got settled in a manner apparently satisfactory to both the parties, and

perhaps in the best interests of the country at the time. What these last were will be discussed in another connection. What is clear so far is that the high position achieved by Pravarasēna suffer an eclipse either at the very end of his reign, or as the direct result of his death, and when the Vākātaka state emerges under his grandson, it did so with diminished lustre.

THE REVIVAL OF THE VAKATAKA POWER

Rudrasena I's reign seems to have been a comparatively short one, wedged in as it were between the long reign of his grandfather Pravarasēna I and that of the equally long one of his son and successor Prṥthvisēna I. It was already pointed out that Rudrasēna succeeded to the possessions of his grandfather much reduced in prestige and that he was able to come to that position possibly through the good offices of a powerful family of Nāga chieftains known in these documents as Bharasīvas, whose modern representatives, according to the late Dr. Bühler, are the Bhar Rajputs. However this might turn out to be, the Bharasīvas played a decisive part in the restoration of the Vākātakas. Rudrasēna's successor, according to all the available documents, was Prṥthvisēna I. These inscriptions ascribe to him certain features as sovereign. Prṥthvisēna is said to have been possessed of all the great qualities that his ancestors Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasēna had possessed, and is said to have ruled righteously and well. Further he is said to have succeeded to the elements of royalty which had been steadily growing in prosperity for a hundred years, the elements so indicated being, *kośa* (treasure), *danda* (army), *sadhana* (other instruments of royalty), *santāna* (descendants), and is said to have had a number of sons and grandsons as well. He is said to have followed in his rule the example of Yudhiṣṭhira. This recital of his qualities and rule indicates a long reign of prosperity, and, if we add to this what we glean from other records, even of an extensive kingdom. The Ajanta inscriptions seem to give him credit for the conquest of Kuntala, which is the south-western portion of the Dakhan, perhaps then passing from the possession of the Nāga Chūṭus into that of the Vākātakas, to pass over again into that of the Kadambas. That is at one end of the Vākātaka territory. Almost at the other end diagonally, Prṥthvisēna's authority seems to have been recognized in the region of Bundelkhand as the short records of a Vyāgrarāja

in Nachneka Talai show.¹ These two records are of a feudatory chieftain Vyāghrarāja who is said to have done something in the reign of Pṛthvisēna. Whether this is the Vyāghrarāja of the Mahākāntāra of the Samudragupta inscription is as yet open to doubt—possibly he was. But, in any case this is a clear indication that the authority of Pṛthvisēna was recognized diagonally across the whole plateau of India from the north-east corner in Bundelkhand to the south-west corner in Kuntala. The feature that Pṛthvisēna succeeded to the possessions which have been continually augmenting for a period of hundred years seems to find its echo in the seal of his successors '*kramaprāptanṛpaśriyaḥ*' which seems to be more or less in contrast with '*tatparigṛhīta*' of the Gupta inscriptions. While therefore the Vākātakas boasted of a regular lineage of rulers from father to son in unbroken succession, the Guptas always made it a point that each ruler was chosen by his predecessor, as a worthy successor. The repetition of this feature in their official records by both the dynasties seems clearly to indicate a feeling of rivalry which however had been kept under control from considerations of political prudence. The long reign of Pṛthvisēna I must have corresponded to that of Samudragupta and in part of Chandragupta II's reign. So far, all the Vākātaka rulers claim to be zealously devoted to the worship of Śiva. But the son and successor of Pṛthvisēna I is described as one devoted to the worship of Chakrapāṇi (Viṣṇu). It is this Rudrasēna, the successor of Pṛthvisēna I, the devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, that took for his crowned queen Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of Dēvagupta² and Kubhēranāga. One particular feature in this is that all the successors of Pravarasēna among the Vākātakas call themselves simply Mahārājas, while this Dēvagupta whose daughter Rudrasēna II married, is described as a Mahārājādhirāja. This is a clear recognition that whoever Dēvagupta was he occupied a position of higher political status than the Vākātakas, and the marriage of the Vākātaka ruler with a princess of the family of Dēvagupta must have been regarded as an alliance exalting to the dignity of the Vākātakas. The way that the records make the statement has a similar tendency.

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. lv, p. 225 (Dec. 1926.)

² Named Chandragupta II with his usual titles in the Riddhapur plates of Queen Prabhāvatī. *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xx, No. 4 (June 1924.)

CHANDRAGUPTA II AND THE VAKATAKAS

The problem of this Dēvagupta remained unsolved for a long time since the Gupta inscriptions were edited by the late Dr. Fleet. It was Professor K. B. Pathak of Poona that gave an account, in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1912, of a copper-plate charter issued by Prabhāvatiguptā, as the regent of her minor son Divākarasēna, as he is called in the record, who is probably an elder brother of Pravarasēna II, known to us from other records. Dr. Fleet definitely committed himself to the opinion that this Dēvagupta was a different person from Chandragupta II as he has indicated in a note to the Sāñchi inscription where the name Dēvagupta occurs.¹ On page 33 of the Gupta inscriptions he has a note that Prinsep translated this passage where the name Dēvarāja occurs so as to make the Dēvarāja another name of Chandragupta II. While admitting the possibility of the correctness of this statement, he filled up the unfortunate lacuna of six letters in the line in such a way as to give it the interpretation that Dēvarāja was the name of the minister. The line reads,

ardhēna mahārājādhirājasya Chandraguptasya Dēvarāja iti priyanāma tasya sarvagūṇasampattaye yāvachchandrādittyaū tāvat pañchabhikṣavo bhuñjatam.

The sense of the passage is quite clear that five 'bhiksus' were to be fed perpetually from out of half the income from what was given in order that somebody may be possessed of the wealth of all good qualities. The grant of course is made by a subordinate ruler, and the natural interpretation would be that he made it for the possession of all the good qualities by his king. The idea of doing it for a minister would seem on the face of it somewhat peculiar though not impossible. It is generally for the spiritual or the moral benefit of the parents and the donor that a grant of this kind is made. It can equally appropriately be for the benefit of one's sovereign. But to consider that a subordinate governor made a donation like this in favour of an amātya seems an unusual procedure when the sovereign is also brought into close connection with the donor. Apart from that, the reading suggested is,

Dēvarāja iti priyanāma (amātyo bhavat) y (ē) tasya.

¹ Fleet actually suggested the identification of this Dēvagupta with the ruler of the same name in the dynasty of the later Guptas, *F.G.I.*, No. 46, p. 215.

The words supplied do not seem very particularly appropriate, so far as the lacunae are concerned. It strikes me from the plate given that there is no letter lost just before *tasya* and the lacuna after 'nāma' can be supplied by the words

dhēya-alāṅkṛtasya

so that the whole will read,

nāmadheyālankṛtasya tasya

which would simply mean Chandragupta who bore the first name or the affectionate name Dēvarāja.

The Prabhāvatiguptā grant gives the genealogy of the regent-queen in her own line, and brings the Gupta genealogy down to Chandragupta II. She describes herself, as in all the Vākātaka grants, the crowned queen of Rudrasēna II and the daughter of Mahārājādhirāja Dēvagupta and Kubhēranāgā. The prince's name occurs in this grant as Divākarasēna; but we know from other Vākātaka grants that she had another son, Pravarasēna II. We seem then to be led by this grant of the regent Prabhāvatiguptā to the identification of Dēvagupta with Chandragupta II, establishing by means of this identification the contemporaneity of the Vākātaka Rudrasēna II with Chandragupta II. We may go farther and state that Rudrasēna II was the younger, contemporary, and therefore Chandragupta II must have been partly the contemporary of Prthvisēna I as well.

It was already stated that Prthvisēna's was a long reign. That coupled with the regency of Prabhāvatiguptā for her son, makes the inference that Rudrasēna's was a short reign, probable. Chandragupta's having been a comparatively long reign, it is equally probable that it ran into a part, it may be even a considerable part, of Pravarasēna II's reign. Whatever may have been the actual relationship between Prthvisēna I and Chandragupta II, there can be no doubt that Chandragupta's influence dominated in the reign of Rudrasēna II, the regency of Prabhāvatiguptā, and a considerable part of the reign of Pravarasēna II. That this was so can be proved by certain details of literary evidence recently made available. The Prākṛt Kāvya *Setubandha* has long been recognized as the work of a Pravarasēna. So it is described in one of the introductory *śloka*s of Bāṇa's *Harṣa-Charita*. The work itself contains a reference in Book I, verse 9, that it was begun by a recently installed monarch and received a critical revision by a great poet, and thus attained ultimately to the great fame that it did, the

author being classed with such great literary luminaries as Kālidāsa Guṇādhya, etc., in the estimation of Bāṇa. The commentary on the work compiled by a member of the Jaipur Rajput family in the court of Akbar, named *Rāmasētu Pradīpam*, explains this newly installed monarch as a Bhojadēva 'according to accepted tradition.' Rāmadāsa, the commentator, elaborates the position further by stating it that the work was composed by Pravarasēna who was in the court of Chandragupta, and received the critical revision of the master-poet Kālidāsa at the instance of the emperor Vikramāditya. This statement is embodied in a verse of his introduction to the commentary where he states it broadly that 'he composed the commentary at the instance of emperor Jallāladindra (Jallalu-din-Akbar) just as Kālidāsa wrote the work at the instance of the emperor Vikramāditya.' This makes the position absolutely clear so far as Rāmadāsa was concerned that Vikramāditya, Kālidāsa, and Pravarasēna were contemporaries. How far is this literary tradition historically correct? Rāmadāsa lived in the sixteenth century A.D. We can carry the tradition seven centuries back from him at any rate. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* quotes a verse to illustrate the complete change of meaning by the slight alteration of a word or two in a verse. The meaning of that verse is 'the king of Kuntala having laid the burden of administration upon you disports himself with drink in the company of sweet friends.' This very verse is quoted in Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhabharana* and in his *Śṅgārāprakāśa* (prak. ix). In the latter work the author states it that Kālidāsa was sent on an embassy to a Kuntala king. When he returned from the mission he made his report to Vikramāditya who sent him on the mission in the verse quoted, which is,

Asakalahasitatvāt kṣālitānīva kāntyā
Mukūṭitanayanatvādvvyaktakarnōtpalāni
Pibati madhusugandhīnyānanāni priyāṇām
Tvayi vinihitabhārah Kuntalānāmādhiśah

A change of *pibati* into *pibatu* and *tvayi* into *mayi*, involving the change of only one letter in each case alters the meaning completely.

Vikramāditya construed the 'tvayi' with 'pibati' and charged him with making a report of ambiguous import. According to Rājaśekhara the change of 'pibati' into 'pibatu' and 'tvayi' into 'mayi' alters the sense completely, and that was presumably what

was suggested as an emendation by Vikramāditya. Khshēmendra in his *Auchitya—Vicharacharcha* quotes the same verse and ascribes it to a work of Kālidāsa which he cites as *Kuntaleśvara-dautya* which seems to be obviously a mistake for *Kuntaleśvara-dautya*, from the expression in the verse itself. We have seen already that Prthvīsenā I lays claim to having conquered Kuntala among other places, and we pointed out that it was probably from the Chuṭu-Nāgas, the successors of the Sātavāhanas, that he conquered it. There is nothing in the evidence accessible to us so far, that the whole of his territory such as it was, did not descend to Rudrasēna II. There is very good reason for assuming that Rudrasēna's territory descended quite intact to Pravarasēna II. Since we know from the Gupta records the whole of the region of Mālva had passed into the hands of the Guptas, Kuntala must have been perhaps the most important portion of the territory of the Vākātakas under Rudrasēna II, and his son Pravarasēna II. Hence it would not be inappropriate to describe Pravarasēna II as Kuntaleśa or Kuntalādhiśa. If according to Rāmadāsa, Pravarasēna lived in the court of Vikramāditya along with Kālidāsa, and if he was a king who could be described, as he does, as a Bhojadeva, the author of the *Setubandha* must have been the Vākātaka Pravarasēna II. The question now is whether the Vākātaka monarch could be rightly described as Kuntaleśa. We have already pointed out it would not be inappropriate so to describe him. There is evidence that he was actually so described, in a verse¹ in the *Bharatacarita* which describes the author of the *Setubandha* as Kuntaleśa. It thus becomes clear that the tradition embodied in the commentary by Rāmadāsa has at least good literary support, and confirms what is inferable from epigraphical evidence, namely that Pravarasēna II is the Kuntaleśa referred to, and that he was the author, actually or nominally, of the Prakrit classic *Setubandha*. This would make Kālidāsa, Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya and Pravarasēna II contemporaries, and the date according to the Mahāvamsa of Ceylon for Kumāradāsa may seem to confirm the tradition that Kumāradāsa, the author of Jānakiharana,

¹ Jaḍāsasyāntaragādhamārgane
alabdharandhram giricauryavṛtyā
Lokesvalaṅkāntamapūrvasetum
babandha kīrtiyā saha Kuntaleśaḥ ||

Bharatacarita, Canto I (lxxxvi of the Trivandram Sanskrit Series).

was a contemporary of Kālidāsa also. The Mahāvamsa date of Kumāradāsa cannot be regarded as beyond question. The diplomatic relationship into which Ceylon was brought with Samudragupta would make a friendship between the Ceylon monarch and Chandragupta Vikramāditya not improbable, and if Kālidāsa travelled as far as Kuntala there is nothing to prevent his having gone to Ceylon on another occasion. Rāmagiri in the Central Provinces seems to have been one of the capitals at the time and the reference to it in Kālidāsa's Meghadūta may be in compliment to the Vākātaka monarch. We can therefore take it that the reign of Chandragupta II was, for a considerable part of it, contemporary with that of Pravarasēna II as well. The administration of the large kingdom of the Vākātakas was neglected to a certain extent in the reign of Pravarasēna II, but remained in tact through the dominating influence of Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya.¹

THE VAKATAKAS AND THE KSHATRAPAS

From all that we know from the Vākātaka records so far accessible to us, the territory of the Vākātakas must have lain adjacent to that of the Kshatrapas in Surāṣṭra and varying portions of the Koṅkan. The history of the Kshatrapas, as far as we know at present, can be studied only from their coins, and Professor Rapson's study of the subject in the *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum* is an illuminating contribution on the subject. According to his investigations based on the study of the Kshatrapa coins, the period extending from A. D. 305 to A. D. 348 is marked by great changes in the political history of the Kshatrapas, one clear indication of which is the office of Mahākshatrapa being in abeyance during the period. In the first part of this period there were two Kshatrapas, and in the latter part Kshatrapa coinage ceases altogether. From these facts Professor Rapson proceeds to make the following observations. 'All the evidence afforded by coins or the absence of coins during this period,—the failure of the direct line and the substitution of another family, the cessation first of the

¹ For the literary references compiled in this paragraph I am obliged to Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, B.A., in the first instance, and to Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A. Reference may be made to the forthcoming edition of a Drama by name 'Kundamāla' ascribed to Diṇnāga by the latter, who discusses in the introduction the age of Diṇnāga and arrives at the conclusion that Diṇnāga, Nicula, Kālikāsa and Kumāradāsa were contemporaries.

Mahā-Kṣatrapas and afterwards of both Mahā-Kṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas, seems to indicate troublous times. The probability is that the dominions of the Western Kṣatrapas were subject to some foreign invasion; but the nature of this disturbing cause is at present altogether doubtful, and must remain so until more can be known about the history of the neighbouring peoples during this period.' It must be noted that the period has reference to A.D. 305 to 348, and so far as Kṣatrapa history is concerned there is a change of dynasty, which means that the older dynasty ceases and a collateral dynasty sets itself up in its place. The latter does so with the inferior rank of a Kṣatrapa and not of the higher Mahā-Kṣatrapa, and in the latter part of the period coins cease entirely, indicating that perhaps there were not even Kṣatrapas. This cessation of even the inferior position of the Kṣatrapas relates to the period A.D. 332 to 348. What does this indicate? The period A.D. 305 to 348 would include in the first half, the period of expansion of the Vākātaka power under Pravarasēna I. Pravarasēna I achieved greatness, according to the Purāṇas, by extending his authority into the territory of the Vindhya which was dominated by Vidiśā, in all probability the capital city. This progress of Pravarasēna must have contributed at least to the narrowing of the territory held by the Kṣatrapas, if not to its utter extinction. If therefore we could regard that the first part of this period corresponded to the latter part of the reign of Pravarasēna I, we could understand the power of the Kṣatrapas narrowing to make the assumption of the title Mahā-Kṣatrapa impossible. They had in all probability to abandon Mālva which constituted the central block of their territory. It may even possibly be that Pravarasēna conquered the territory of the Kṣatrapas and put an end to the ruling dynasty; and there was a revival of this dynasty possibly at the end of his reign, or in the disturbances following his death, and therefore corresponding to the reign of Vākātaka Rudrasēna I. This period would at any rate correspond to the reign of Chandragupta I. The latter half of this period A.D. 332 to 348 would fall in the reign of Chandragupta I and his son Samudragupta. It would correspond to the period of Prthivīśena I among the Vākātakas more or less. Samudragupta among his conquests claims to have subdued a certain number of kings in the region at least of Eastern Mālva. Prthivīśena's authority extended into Bundelkhand according to the Nachne-ki Talai inscriptions of Vyāgra. If this

Vyāgra could be held to be the same person as Vyāgrarāja of Mahākāntāra reduced to vassalage by Samudragupta his reduction must have taken place in the reign of Prthivīśena I. That, together with the expansion of Samudragupta's authority over various tribes, including the Sanakānikas and the Ābhīras, must have brought his authority quite close to the Vindhya mountains, and have contributed narrowly to reduce the extent of territory of the Kṣatrapas. Prthivīśena, on the other hand, claims credit for having conquered Kuntala. It was likely that for what he lost perhaps in the north, he compensated himself in the south. They must have naturally brought about a reduction of the dominions of the Kṣatrapas south of the Vindhya mountains. This seems the explanation of the gap in the coinage of the Kṣatrapas and the abeyance of the title Mahākṣatrapa during the period.

We come upon another period of break between the years A.D. 351 and 364 marked by a similar political disturbance; and this period perhaps marks the expansion of Vākātaka authority under Prthivīśena I, whose reign was a long one according to the Ajanta inscription. The so-called Uparkot hoard gives striking evidence in this connection. There were ninety Kṣatrapa coins in this hoard, all of them belonging to the reign of the ruler Rudrasēna III, who called himself Mahā-Kṣatrapa Svāmī Rudrasēna. According to the Rev. H. R. Scott, who examined this hoard carefully, all of these coins belong to the years from 270 to 273 of the Śaka era, that means, A.D. 348 to 351. He makes the following observation in regard to this. 'Many of these coins, especially those of the last years, are in mint condition and therefore unworn. From these facts we may fairly conclude that the hoard was secreted at the end of the first period of Rudrasēna's reign, and most probably it was because of the revolution which then took place, rendering life and property insecure, that the money was hidden.' Another peculiarity of this period, noted by Professor Rapson, is the introduction of certain lead coins with the humped bull on reverse and the Chaitya, crescent and the sword on the obverse. Since they belong to the period of the absence of silver coins, it is possible that these are the introduction of a new dynasty. Professor Rapson surmises that the foreigner who introduced this must have come from a region where coins of lead had been in use. It is just possible that this is connected with the extension of power of the Vākātaka Prthivīśena I in certain parts of whose territory lead coins were in currency under the

Āndhras. The successor of this Rudrasēna III is like him a Mahā-Kṣatrapa Svāmī Simhasēna, his sister's son. The only date known about him is read 304 with the alternative possibility of 306. That would mean either A.D. 382 or 384. One peculiar distinction that Professor Rapson noted between the two varieties of coinage of Simhasēna is that in one, his title appears Rāja Mahā-Kṣatrapa, and in the other it is Mahārāja-Kṣatrapa. The latter transformation, he considers, may be due to the Traikūṭaka title Mahārāja. It might as well be due to the Vākāṭaka title Mahārāja, as every Vākāṭaka ruler excepting Pravarasēna I had this title. If this change was due to the imposition of his authority by a foreign ruler it might just as well be the Vākāṭaka monarch as the Traikūṭaka. We know of a great Vākāṭaka monarch at the time who extended his territory by conquests, and we have no knowledge of any Traikūṭaka ruler about the same period. There is a process of Sanskritization also, introduced in the coinage of these rulers, which might be due to the same cause. There are two rulers whose names we know, the first from a single coin of his, the second from the coins of his son and successor. They have the usual style both of them of Mahā-Kṣatrapa, and the same prefix to their name Svāmī, and have to be assigned to a date (Śaka dates) between 304 or 306 and 310, which would be A.D. 382 or 384 to 388, which is the last known date on Kṣatrapa coins.

THE GUPTA CONQUEST OF THE KṢATRAPAS

The year Śaka A.D. 310 or 388 is the last known date of the Kṣatrapas according to their coins. The earliest known date of the silver coinage of the Guptas, in the region which was peculiarly the territory of the Kṣatrapas, comes almost twenty years later and it is generally taken, on the strength of this numismatic evidence, that the Gupta conquest of the west must have taken place some time about A.D. 409 or somewhat later possibly. As Professor Rapson has already pointed out, this period is somewhat narrowed by the existence of the Udayagiri inscriptions of date 82, A.D. 401-2. There is another undated inscription which the late Dr. Fleet ascribes to Chandragupta II,—the inscription only mentions Chandragupta without further distinctive epithets,—which is a record of the excavation and dedication of a cave to Śambhu (Śiva) by order of a certain Virasēna, otherwise called Saba, one of the ministers of the king. The minister is described as the

minister for peace and war, a man of learning and a native of Pāṭalīpura. This inscription at Udayagiri indicates the extent of Chandragupta's authority, and brings it quite close to Ujjain, the capital of Malva and the headquarters of the Kṣatrapas. The last line of the inscription gives us clearly to understand that the minister and the king were both there on an expedition of 'conquest of the world'. The process of conquest therefore of this region must have been gradual. We find already in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta mention of the Mālavas among the various tribes that he conquered. We have already pointed out that the Vyāgrarāja of Mahākāntāra probably refers to the same chieftain as the Vyāgra of the Nachne-ki Talai inscriptions. Probably the region Mahākāntāra of this inscription stands for 'the eighteen forest countries' of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin.¹ On this side therefore Samudragupta's conquests seem to have begun with the region of modern Bundelkhand and extended southwest-wards indefinitely as far as Mālva at any rate. The tribes mentioned in this group, Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudhēyas, Ābhīras, and Sanakānikas, all of them seem referable to this region. Chandragupta's inscriptions in the locality do not make us feel that they were new conquests. They seem much rather to have been settled conquests in his time. It would be much more reasonable to regard this region as having been acquired by his predecessors. We have already noted that the title Mahā-Kṣatrapa falls into abeyance from A.D. 305 and the coinage of the Kṣatrapas ceases from 332 onwards up to 348, the title being revived possibly somewhat earlier than Śaka 270. If therefore the narrowing of the limit of the complete cessation of the position Mahākṣatrapa be allowed so far as to cover half the period, the period A.D. 332-40 would be a period of complete cessation of the authority of the Mahākṣatrapas. How could that have come about? That could only be by the deprivation either of all, or of the great bulk, of the territory of the Kṣatrapas. If the whole of Mālva had been taken from them, even temporarily, it would account sufficiently for the cessation of the title. The probabilities therefore seem to be that the wars between the Kṣatrapas and the Guptas began almost with perhaps Chandragupta I himself, if the Mehrauli pillar inscription is his, and the Bāhlikas across the seven mouths of the Sindhu could be regarded as the Śakas and

¹ F.G.I. (C. I. I., III), pp. 13 n., 113, and 116.

the Parthians of the region. At any rate it is not possible to refer the Śakas of the Harisēna inscription, who were among the people whose ambassadors waited, with various items of tribute, to pray and obtain from Samudragupta the charters imprinted with the Garuḍa seal for the enjoyment of territories which were their own, to any other than the Śakas of this region. The reference to their obtaining a charter with the Garuḍa seal may have reference to a recent conquest or to a conquest some time before. In either case the Śakas must have been conquered before the date of this record and had then obtained a charter permitting them to rule over their territory. This may account for the revival of their power after A.D. 340, which the resumption of the title Mahākṣatrapa, according to the coins of the Kṣatrapas, would seem to bear witness to. What is said therefore in the Udayagiri inscription of Chandragupta's coming there on a world-conquest must have reference to a renewed war which itself must have been a prolonged affair. The statement that we find made in Bana's *Harsha Charita* that the last of the Kṣatrapas got killed while courting another man's wife in the enemy's territory, by the injured husband in the guise of a woman, is supported by a newly discovered drama by name 'Devicandraguptam'. According to this, Dhruva Devi, the Queen of Chandragupta, fell into the hands of the Western Kṣatrapas and became a prisoner. As a prisoner she was courted by the Kṣatrapa¹ king whom, in the guise of the queen herself, Chandragupta killed. The commentator Śankara Kavi's explanation of the incident is borne out by the drama in every detail except that the commentator mistakes the queen for the brother's wife of Chandragupta.² This probably happened in the campaign on which he had come according to the Udayagiri inscription, which may refer to a time somewhat earlier than that of the other Udayagiri inscription referring itself to the year 82, which would be A.D. 401-2, while there is the possibility that the inscription may after all refer to Chandragupta I. The interval of a little over twenty years noticed by Professor Rapson between the last Kṣatrapa coin of Śaka 310 and the first

¹ Nirṇayasāgara edition, p. 223; vide article in the *Indian Antiquary* for May 1923 by Mr. A. R. Sarasvati, B.A.

² I suspect the reading of the comment, as printed, is an error, and that *bhrātṛjāyām* ought to read *bhartṛjāyām*. If this should turn out correct, the Śakas or Kṣatrapas under reference must have already been reduced to vassalage by the Guptas.

Gupta coin of ninety or more, i.e. A.D. 409 or later, need not be a bar to this, as a monarch would issue his own coinage in a conquered territory only after it had been brought finally into a settled government and the need for coinage actually arises, which must be a matter of some time, and this probably refers merely to the conquest of Surāṣṭra, not Mālva. It would seem therefore that both the Vākātakas and the Guptas contributed to the gradual reduction of the territory and the power of the Kṣatrapas. Their final extinction was due to the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II.

THE VAKATAKAS AND THE DECLINE OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

The death of Pravarasēna II appears to have introduced a change in the political relationship between the Guptas and the Vākātakas. The succession as given in the Ajanta inscription of Varāhadeva, does not let us into the secret. The Balaghat copper-plates, however, give a clear indication that there was a disputed succession and that Narēndrasēna occupied the throne either by a *coup d'état* or, what is less likely, as the result of a successful war. What is really significant in this record of his son Prthvisēna II is that Narēndrasēna's authority is said to have been acknowledged by the lords of Kosala, Mēkala, and Mālava, the region over which Chandragupta II extended his authority comparatively early in his reign, and maintained it inviolate by his matrimonial alliance with the Vākātakas and the uprooting war against the Kṣatrapas of Gujarat and Kathiawar. Kosala, Mēkala and Mālava among the three will include all the Vindhyan region extending from the coast of the Bay of Bengal in the south-east, north-westwards at least as far as the Aravalli hills and it may be even beyond. As far as we can make out from the Gupta records, Kumāragupta's accession to the throne was a peaceful one and perhaps during the early years of his reign he enjoyed peace also. It is from the inscriptions of his son Skandagupta that we hear of disturbances in this region from the tribes of Puṣyamitras¹ and Paṭumitras, whom Skandagupta

¹ This reading of the inscription has been called into question on a re-examination of the record in the process of obliteration through decay. It seems, however, justifiable to retain the reading as the Puṣyamitras are associated with this region in the Purāṇas and the Harisēna epigraph of Samudragupta. The modified reading *yudhyamitrān* seems quite incompatible with the attributes in the record, and the fact that the other enemies are specifically described.

successfully brought back into allegiance according to his record. Did the Vākātaka Narēndrasēna bear any part in this disturbance along the outermost frontier of the Gupta empire or did he also suffer with the Guptas from this rising of the tribes? Pṛthvisēna II, the successor of Narēndrasēna, is credited, in the same record, with 'having raised his sunken family'. What was the sinking of the family due to and in what particular did he manage to raise it? If the severe defeat administered to Pushyamitras and Paṭumitras by Skandagupta, which is supposed to have destroyed their power and brought them back into obedience, involved the submission directly or indirectly of the Vākātakas as well, Pṛthvisēna might then have recovered at any rate partly the important position which his family occupied in the days of his predecessors from Pravarasena II backwards. He would have found occasion for this in the irruption of the Hūnas on this very frontier of the Gupta empire. It would thus be seen that the Vākātakas bore their own share in bringing about the decline of the Gupta empire. In the whole period of the struggle of the Guptas against the Hūnas, the Vākātakas must have been left more or less to themselves, and this enabled Pṛthvisēna II and his successors to rehabilitate themselves to a very considerable extent, and that is what seems to be indicated in the records of the time of Harisēna and his father Dēvasēna. Harisēna's is the last reign of which we have any knowledge, and then the region which is peculiarly the dominion of the Vākātakas passes into the hands of the new dynasty of the Chalukyas. The Vākātakas thus provide as it were a bridge that fills the gap between the Āndhras and the Chalukyas in the history of the Dakhan.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

AN interesting criticism on the two Vākātaka papers printed above was sent to me by my friend, Mr. Y. R. Gupte, who did me the favour to send it on to me for consideration. With his approval, I published it in the *Journal of Indian History*, vol. vi, part iii, pages 399 to 408. He raises certain points in it for my consideration, and it would be well that I give the matter the consideration that my friendly critic seeks for it. For the whole of the article reference may be made to the *Journal of Indian History*. The minor points are passed over, as some of them have been sufficiently met by the few notes that I have added to the article. The following points, however, are of greater importance and require consideration. They will, therefore, be considered in their order:—

(i) The first point is the general question, what exactly was the homeland of the Vākātakas, and what their capital or capitals were. If the identification of Vindhyaśakti with the Vindhyaśakti of the Purāṇas should be accepted, as my friend seems to be inclined to, their home territory must have been in the region of the Vindhyas. This is, to some extent, supported by the statement in the Purāṇas that Pravīra, son of Vindyaśakti, became ruler of the region of Vidiśa in succession to the dynasty founded by Śiśunandi after the death of the last of the Sungas. The Riddhāpūr plates of queen Prabhāvatī state that the plates were issued from the feet of the God at Ramagiri, which would imply that Ramagiri was one of those places which formed the royal camp (Vijayakāṭaka), and may have been possibly an alternative capital. Some of the grants purport to have been issued from a place called Pravarapura, which the older epigraphists tried to identify with the Barabar hills in Bihar. But the identification of the places mentioned in the Chammak grant and other grants of these rulers together with the fact that we have now good reason for regarding them as Bhojas, makes their association with the territory of Berar and the capitals Kuṇḍinapura and Bhojakāṭaka of the Purāṇas very probable. It is from that central position that they made their advances both north and south at different periods of their history. With our present knowledge of the history of the Vākātakas it seems

to be in keeping with all that we know of them if we take them to be rulers of the ancient kingdom known as Vidarbha, which is Berar, at one time in a somewhat extended sense.

The next point to which he draws attention is the question as to why we regard Chandragupta I as the founder of the Gupta Empire and the position of the Vākātakas in relation to this new empire. There is not very much that could take us farther than we have expounded the problem in section II of the Gupta Supplement already published in vol. vi, part ii of this journal. The Paurāṇic statements that the dynasty of the Vindhyakas came to an end after Pravarasēna may give us some support. According to them, the Vindhyaka dynasty came to an end and three rulers, who were Bāhlikas, ruled for thirty years apparently the territory, at least a considerable part of the territory, associated with their name¹. . . . It is not merely the Bāhlikas, but a number of other rulers that established themselves in various localities, some of which at least must have been in the territory of Pravarasēna. This gives an indication of the break-up of the empire of Pravarasēna, of which, again, a hint is given in the Purāṇas when they state it that four of his sons ruled under him as rulers of men. So the standing aside of the Vākātakas while the Gupta ruler built up an empire is not dependent entirely on the dropping of the title 'samrāt' by his grandson and successor Rudrasēna I. The dropping of that higher title and the gratitude with which the assistance of his father-in-law, Bhavanāga of the Bharaśivas, are referred to alike point to the fact that the empire of Pravarasēna was in a bad way, and when through the good offices of Bhavanāga it recovered a part of its territory, it could not come up to its old dignity.

The next point that calls for remark is the identification of Ērāṇḍapalli and Dēvarāshṭra. Dr. Fleet when he published the Samudragupta Pillar Inscription identified this place with a place in Maharāshṭra, and perhaps Khandesh, for which Mr. Gupte finds support that he notes on page 402-3 of the *Journal of Indian History*, vol. vi, Part III referred to above. While on the details given by Mr. Gupte himself there is good reason for identifying Dēvarāshṭra with the Satara District of the Bombay Presidency and Ērāṇḍapalli with Erandol in East Kandesh, the omission of any reference to Prithvisēna the

¹ See page 50, *Dynasties of the Kali Age of the Third Century*.

Vākāṭaka, who must have been contemporary with Samudragupta, and in whose territory, direct or indirect these must have lain, makes the assertion that his invasion went so far west as that rather difficult. There is besides the fact to be noted that if he went so far west as that he must have come into contact with the Kṣatrapas, and his further progress in his return march should have been either through their territory or that of the Vākātakas proper. The latter course would have been possible, but in the absence of any direct indication, we must leave the question open.

RUDRADEVA OF THE HARISENA EPIGRAPH

Here the point arises whether the Rudradēva of the Harisēna epigraph of Samudragupta is not Rudrasēna I, Vākāṭaka, as suggested by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in the proceedings of the First Oriental Conference held at Poona. This Rudradēva is there referred to as one among the nine rulers of Aryāvarta. It is after defeating these that Samudragupta is said to have come into touch with the 'Forest Kingdoms'. This is hardly in keeping with the position of the Vākāṭaka territory noted above. It is quite open to doubt besides that Rudrasēna could be referred to as Rudradēva in official records, as the Vākātakas called themselves invariably as *Sēnas* and not as *Dēvas*.

The next point is the reference to the Pushyamitras in the Bhitari Pillar inscription of Sakandagupta. I was aware of Professor Divekar's suggested reading *Yudhyamitrān* in place of *Pushyamitrān* the conjectural reading of Dr. Fleet. Making all possible allowances for wrong reading by Dr. Fleet, it still seems impossible that, in the context, the reference intended could be so general as merely enemies which alone would be the meaning if the amended reading be adopted. The reading *Pushyamitrān* seems warranted historically, apart from the epigraphy of it, by the fact that the Pushyamitrās are referred to in that region in the Samudragupta Pillar Inscription and the Purāṇa references also seem to locate them in about the same region. Three enemies of Skandagupta are referred to specifically, and this cannot help to make a general and indefinite reference, such as the new reading would involve. Hence it strikes me it would be better to read *Pushyamitrān* having regard to the fact that one cannot be sure of correctness, even when Professor Divekar read the inscription on the pillar itself.

The next point to which he calls attention is the identification of Chandra in the Meharauli Pillar Inscription. Mr. Gupte seems inclined to accept Mahamahopadyaya Haraparasad Sastri's identification of Chandra as Chandragupta II. The difficulties in the way of my accepting that position are explained fully in the Gupta Supplement above, Section II.

The next point in regard to the sons of Prabhāvatigupta whether they were actually three or two, it seems to me better to take it that queen Prabhāvatigupta had two sons rather than three, Divākarasēna, a record of whose thirteenth year issued by the queen we have, and Pravarasēna II, whose earlier name may have been Damodharasēna. What he refers as halting and doubtful in my paper consists in this :— I suggested a possibility and indicated a difficulty in accepting the position, which only means that on the facts before me I am not prepared to state that Divākarasēna and Pravarasēna were the same, and till some new fact is discovered to upset it, I propose taking Damodharasēna as the earlier name for Pravarasēna II. It seems unlikely that the queen ruled as regent for thirteen years on behalf of one son, and then was regent for another son, Damodharasēna, and yet lived on to issue a grant in the reign of her third son Pravarasēna II in his twenty-first year. It seems, therefore, better to regard Damodharasēna as the princely name of Pravarasēna II.

It is an interesting point that Mr. Gupte raises that the power actually passed from the Vākātakas to the Chālukyas through the other dynasty, that of the Nalas. This requires to be worked up separately, and we shall await the publication of the grant in the *Epigraphia Indica* perhaps by him. It is very likely that the territory of the Vākātakas passed over to some other dynasty, may be a feudatory dynasty, from whom the Chālukyas obtained possession of it. As the Nalas are mentioned as an important dynasty overcome by the Chālukyas in this region, it is very likely that they inherited the territory from the Vākātakas. That remains to be worked up.

Mr. Gupte deserves our gratitude for having drawn attention to these points, and it is to be hoped that the position will now be clearer than it was before.

STUDIES IN GUPTA HISTORY

(ORDINARY LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE UNIVERSITY)

PREFATORY NOTE

THE issue of a University Supplement to the *Journal of Indian History*, incorporating restudies on important topics primarily, was already announced as being under consideration. It was intended to seek the co-operation of those who may be addressing themselves to University students, in the project. As a first step in the realization of the project is published here what was delivered by me mainly as a course of ordinary lectures at the University of Madras. This course was on the History of the Gupta Empire in India and deals with, among other topics, the problems connected with the history of the Guptas. The topics dealt with in this part are:—(1) the Guptas in the *Purāṇas*; (2) who the Founder of the Gupta Empire was; (3) the Meharauli Pillar Inscription of Chandra; (4) the Founders of the Empire; (5) Samudragupta; and (6) Chandragupta II. These studies will be carried further in the following issues of the journal so as to lead ultimately to a fuller study of the age of the Gupta Empire. It is hoped that these supplements would prove to be of some assistance to University students primarily and those others who may be interested in the study of problems connected with the History of India.

For the benefit of University students, it is proposed to make the supplement on the Guptas available separately when it should be completed.

EDITOR.

UNIVERSITY SUPPLEMENT Studies in Gupta History

BY

PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR
(*Ordinary Lectures delivered at the University*)

I

THE GUPTAS

THE GUPTAS IN THE PURANAS

According to the *Purāṇas*, of which the *Matsya* and the *Vāyu* are of the first importance for this purpose, the Āndhras constituted a dynasty of thirty rulers in succession and ruled for a period which varies, to a certain extent, in the different authorities; 460 in the *Matsya* and 456 in the *Vāyu*; but as the number of the members of the dynasty is not given uniformly in all of them we may take it roughly that the dynasty ruled for a period of nearly five centuries. The dynasty then, would have come to an end about the end of the third century A.D., as we have good reasons for believing that the Āndhras made themselves independent about the end of the third century B.C. The *Matsya Purāṇa* seems to have been composed under the Āndhras, and there is manuscript authority for regarding that it was composed in the ninth year of Yajña Śrī Sātakaṇṇi.¹ This statement in five of the manuscripts is that 'Yagñasrīh Sātakaṇṇi actually is in the ninth year of rule'; but the manuscripts generally continue the list to the end of the dynasty and even include the local dynasties that held sway while the Āndhras were still the nominal ruling power. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa* which gives the list in the most complete form a number of dynasties held rule over various localities and for varying periods, while yet the Āndhras were in possession of their kingdom.² These are described as dynasties of 'servants of the Āndhras'. Of these local dynasties, seven generations of Śrī Parvatīya Āndhras ruled for fifty-two years, possibly for 112 or 102 years.

10 Ābhīras	ruled for	67 years.
7 Gardhabhīlas	"	72 "
18 Śakas	"	183 "

¹ Nava varṣāṇi Yagñasrīh kurutē, Sātakaṇṇikaḥ (Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*).

² Āndhrāṇām samsthītē rājyē
tēṣāṃ bhṛtyānvayā nṛpāḥ
saptaiva Āndhra bhavisyanti.

—Pargiter, op. cit.

2

STUDIES IN GUPTA HISTORY

8 Yavanas ruled for	87 or 82 years.
14 Tuṣāras "	107 or 105 "
13 Guraṇḍas or	
Muraṇḍas "	200 years.
and 11 Hūnas "	103 "

Whatever may be the value of these purāṇic statements in regard to the actual number of rulers and the duration of the reign of each, the list is still of great value as exhibiting the political division of India in the third century A.D. Most of the dynasties mentioned in these lists of the *Purāṇas* figure in inscriptions and could be located on a map from inscriptional references. It will be found that the so-called Āndhrabhrityas held rule in the region of Śrī Parvata (Śrī Śailam in the Kurnool District). The Ābhīras had their authority in North Konkan extending into the interior as far as Barar and taking into their territory Kathiawad and part of Gujarat. The Gardhabhīlas were in the interior in the region of the Aravalli Hills occupying the south-western portion of Rajputana. We know that the Śaka dynasty held sway over various regions of India, one of their headquarters was Māthura (Muttra) on the Jumna. Another of their chief possessions was the region round Taxila (Peshawar) and a third, the region of Sindh extending further southwards indefinitely. The Yavanas had their territory in the valley of the Kabul extending further westwards to Bactria; and in their best days, their authority extended as far perhaps as the frontiers of Magadha at least. The Tuṣāras or the Tokharis, by which term the *Purāṇas* perhaps mean the Kuṣānas, held authority in the Punjab including Afghanistan, and in the very best days of their empire had an extensive territory which reached as far east as Sāketa or Pāṭalipura. The Muraṇḍas are generally held to be the native name of some tribe or other of these dynasties of the Kuṣānas and are referred to in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta; along with the above details is made the statement that when these should cease to rule 'the Kila Kilas or Kola Kilas will succeed.' The *Vāyu* and the *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇas* offer the additional information in regard to these last that they would rule for ninety-six years, and then Vidhyaśakti would become ruler. From this we are justified in drawing the inference that before the Āndhra dynasty came to an end, perhaps some considerable time before, these local dynasties came into prominence and continued to rule for the varying periods of time ascribed to them; and from the general circumstances of the recital it is hardly necessary to make any special distinction in favour of the Kila Kilas or Kola Kilas. We may perhaps take them to be a feudatory foreign dynasty like some of the other dynasties, and Vidhyaśakti's succession may have been to the territories held by these Koli Kilas. What is a point of importance in the whole is that Vidhyaśakti comes at the end of this period of rule, say approximately a century after these feudatory dynasties began a movement for making themselves independent of the Āndhras.

Vidhyaśakti's name appears in another connection in the same context in the purāṇic recital. In the dynasties that held rule over the territory of Vidiśa, the well-known capital of East Malwa, came at the end of the rule of the Sungas, whose territory it was preeminently, a ruler by name Śiṣunandī. His younger brother went by the name

Nandiyāśaś. In his family were three rulers. This statement means that a dynasty of five rulers successively ruled the territory dependent upon the capital Vidiśa from the end of the rule of the Sungas in that region. A grandson, by the daughter of Nandiyāśaś, is said to have ruled from a capital Purika, and this perhaps refers merely to a contemporary rule of this grandson and his name need not be taken in the regular line of the rulers of Vidiśa. After this dynasty of five members Vindhyaśakti's son, named Pravira, in the *Purāṇas*, 'would rule' according to the same authority for sixty years the city called Kāñchana. Of this ruler, it is said, that he celebrated several sacrifices called Vājapēya and distributed liberal gifts at the end of these to Brahmans. This part of the list, winds up with the statement that four of his sons 'would rule as kings'. There are good reasons for holding this Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravira to be respectively Vidhyaśakti and Pravaraśēna, the founder and his successor of the Vākātaka dynasty. Vindhyaśakti, according to the Ajanta inscription was 'a twice-born' man on earth (named) Vindhyaśakti; whose strength grew in great battles . . . whose valour when he was angered could not be overcome even by the gods . . . mighty in gifts. He whose majesty was equal to that of Indra and of Upendra (Viṣṇu) who by the valour of his arm gained (the whole world), became the banner of the Vākātaka race. . . . He covering in battle the sun with dust clouds raised by his horses' hoofs, making his enemies . . . carried them to become prone to salute. Having conquered his enemies, living like the king of gods he strenuously exerted himself (to gain) spiritual merit. . . . The Chammak inscription² of the Vākātaka Pravaraśēna II gives an elaborate description of this family³ and in regard to Pravaraśēna I it recites a very large number of *yāgas* (sacrifices) that he celebrated, among them figures the Vājapēya as well. The *Purāṇas* use the term Vājapēya in the plural. The inscription merely recites the various kinds of sacrifices which perhaps all of them were capable of being described by the general term Vājapēya. It gives this Pravaraśēna the title *Samrāj* a title somewhat similar

¹ Compare with this—

Dvirādēndra gatischakōra nētraḥ
paripūrṇēndu mukhaḥ suvigrahaścha |
Dviḥ mukhyatamaḥ kavirabbhūva
prathitah Śūdraka ityagādhasatvaḥ ||
Rg Vēdam Sāma Vēdam gaṇitamathakalām vaiśikim hasti siksām
Gnātva Sarvaprasādādvypagata timirē chakṣuśi chōpalabhya |
Rājānam vikṣva putram parama sadudayēnā śavmādhēna chēstvā
labdhva chāyuh śatābdam daśadina sahitaṁ Śūdrakōagnim pravīṣṭah ||
Samara vyasanī pramāda sūnyaḥ kakudam vēdavidām tapōdanaścha
Paravāraṇa bāhuyuddha lubdhah kṣitipālāḥ kila Śūdrako babbhūva. ||

² F. G. I., p. 235.
³ 1. Vindhyaśakti.
2. Pravaraśēna son of 1. 2 (a) Gautamiputra, son of 2 (married Bhavanāga, daughter of the Bharaśiva dynasty).
3. Rudraśēna I, grandson of 2, through 2 (a).
4. Prithviśēna I, son of 3.
5. Rudraśēna II, son of 4 (married Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Dēvagupta or Chandragupta II and Kubhēranāga).
6. Pravaraśēna II Dāmōdaraśēna, son of 5.
7. Narēndraśēna, son of 6 (married a princess of Kuntala).
8. Prithviśēna II, son of 7.
Balaghat copper plates of Prithviśēna II, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, No. 36.

to *Adhiraj* or emperor. Pravarasēna I's great grandson Rudrasēna, the second of the name in the dynasty, married Prabhāvatigupta, daughter of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Deva Gupta*. This last is another name of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya who had, by his queen Kubhēranāga, a daughter Prabhāvatigupta, according to a recently discovered copper plate grant of this very Prabhāvatigupta. She married Rudrasēna II, the Vākātaka, and issued the grant as Regent of her young son Divākarasēna as he is there called¹ in the thirteenth year. According to the Chammak grant of Pravarasēna II of the Vākātakas quoted above, which is a grant by this queen's son himself in his eighteenth year, he gives himself the name or title Pravarasēna II. So the name of Pravarasēna II may have been Divākarasēna and his title as ruler Pravarasēna II.² While therefore Divākarasēna gets to be equal to Pravarasēna II we can without much hesitation take it that the Dēvagupta of the Vākātaka inscription is another name of Chandragupta II. This identification of Dēvagupta with Chandragupta II becomes now equally clear—although Dr. Fleet, editing the Sanchi inscription of Chandragupta II, doubted an interpretation similar to this of Princep, and suggested that Dēvagupta might be the name of a minister of Chandragupta II—from the newly discovered Prabhāvatigupta grant which gives the Gupta genealogy only up to Chandragupta II and furnishes the information that Prabhāvatī was daughter of Chandragupta II and Kubhēranāga. According to the Pravarasēnā grant Prabhāvatī was the daughter of Dēvagupta, and therefore Dēvagupta must have been another name of Chandragupta II undoubtedly. The late Dr. Fleet's doubt whether Dēvarāja was the name of Chandragupta himself in the Sanchi inscription, seems somewhat unreasonable from the text itself. The grant is made by a subordinate officer for the possession of all good qualities by the Mahārājādhirāja. There is only one word of six letters gone from out of the grant and the context suggests the substitution of a word which would make the names Chandragupta and Dēvagupta synonymous with very little violence to the sense; while the supply of the words suggested by Dr. Fleet would do violence to the context as it seems. It becomes therefore clear that Chandragupta II bore another name Dēvagupta which, according to that inscription, was the pet name of the sovereign. Chandragupta being therefore equivalent to Dēvagupta the father of Prabhāvatigupta, and therefore the grandfather of Pravarasēna II of the Vākātakas, Chandragupta II and Rudrasēna II, his son-in-law, become contemporaries, and allowing for five generations from Rudrasēna II backwards at the rate of twenty-five years, or even say twenty years, we want a century from the date of Chandragupta II to come to Vindhyaśakti. The Sanchi inscription is of date 93 of the Gupta era, and Vindhyaśakti's date would be, say, roughly the half century before the foundation of the Gupta era; in other words Vindhyaśakti would be a ruler of the end of the third century A.D. Vindhyaśakti therefore must

¹ K. B. Pathak in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1912, pp. 214-5. *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. xv, Dikshit and Pathak.

² A more recent discovery of a grant of this Prabhāvatī in the nineteenth year of her son Pravarasēna II gives him the name Dāmōdarasēna. Divākarasēna must have been an elder brother. The issue of the new grant by the queen in the nineteenth year of her son's reign is significant in the light of the evidence of literature regarding Pravarasēna's rule.

have held rule according to the purāṇic statement in Vidiśa, at any rate his son Pravarasēna I did. Vindhyaśakti might have been ruler of the Vākātaka territory to which his son added possibly the territories depending upon Vidiśa, and this part of the purāṇic list exhibits Pravarasēna as perhaps something of a conqueror who could celebrate the famous sacrifices permissible to conquerors to celebrate.

Then the *Purāṇas* follow with a list which Pargiter holds to be that of the dynasties that held sway in the third century A.D. Of this dynasty, as of the dynasty of Vidiśa, the *Matsya Purāṇa* has nothing to say; that means the *Matsya Purāṇa* received its completion before these dynasties came into existence. The *Vāyu Purāṇa*, the latest redaction of which must have taken place probably in the reign of Chandragupta II or just a little later, gives these lists which are supported by the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* and which are summarized in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* another of the authoritative early *Purāṇas*. Among the dynasties that held rule in the third century which are supposed to have followed the end of the family of the Vindhyaśaktis, came three Bahlikas who held rule for thirty years. Then there was at least one ruler of the Māhiṣas, whose capital was Māhiṣmati on the Narbada; there were the tribes of the Pushyamitra and Paṭumitra with thirteen rulers. There were seven rulers of Mēkhala reigning for seventy years. In Kosala there were nine powerful rulers called Mēghas; the Naiśāda monarchs, coming of the family of Naḷa, valiant and strong, 'will rule till the termination of Manu.' Along with this will appear in Magadha one ruler a very valiant man by name Viśvasphaṇi. He 'will uproot all the kings and will set up as kings in various kingdoms various castes of people such as Kaivartas, Panchakas, Puṇindas and Brāhmanas'. This Viśvasphaṇi, of great strength, as great in war as Vishṇu himself, in appearance like a eunuch, would uproot the Kshatriyas from the earth and entrust the duty of Kshatriyas to others. Having satisfied the gods, the fathers and the Brāhmanas at the same time, he 'will go to the banks of the Ganges and hold his body subdued, and after resigning his body (apparently to the care of the Ganges), he will reach the world of Indra.' This passage indicates a further shifting and division of political power in India in the third century A.D. at the end of which arises a Magadha monarch whom these *Purāṇas* called Viśvasphaṇi, who, if the *Purāṇas* speak true, made himself overlord of all these by uprooting the existing monarchs, and appointing others in their places, and thus perhaps made an effort at bringing about a united India which the Guptas successfully did later. If this Magadhan ruler came at the end of the period he must have been ruler about the same time as Vindhyaśakti or his son Pravarasēna I. Are either of these two and Viśvasphaṇi the same person? If so, why should the *Purāṇas* refer to them with such different names? Further research must clear the point.

Apart from this question of to whom the name Viśvasphaṇi refers, the general trend of political affairs derivable from the narration in the *Purāṇas* can be stated somewhat as follows:—When the decadence of the Āṇḍhra power began the more powerful of the feudatories of the dynasty made themselves gradually more and more independent of their suzerain, so that, when the suzerain dynasty went out of existence, these feudatories stood out each as an independent power in its own territory. The working out of this process of

political disintegration might have extended over well-nigh a century. At the end of this period one ruler of Magadha, and perhaps another of Vidiśa, made an effort each to bring under his authority as many of his neighbours as it was possible for him to bring under his control either by measures of peace or by war. The Magadha ruler probably was Viśvasphaṇi. Starting from his inherited kingdom of Magadha he extended his authority both east and west it may be north-west, and made himself something of a suzerain over the central and eastern portions of Hindusthan. Vindhyaśakti starting from the region about the middle of the Vindhya mountains probably extended his authority to take into his territory the region dominated by Vidiśa, and it may be his son Pravaraśēna I who extended his territory farther, so that, at one time not very long after, the authority of the Vākātakas extended from the northern parts of Bundelkhand right down to the region of Kuntala in the south. According to a statement in the *Purāṇas* the work of Viśvasphaṇi, whoever he was, if he was a historical personage, consisted in the destruction of the political independence of feudatory powers and in the imposition of the authority of a central power over them. When that mission of his was accomplished he gave up his body probably to the possession of the Ganges and reached the world of Indra, the reward of valiant work on earth.

At the commencement of the fourth century therefore, the part of India that comes within the purview of the *Purāṇas* had reverted to the position of being divided among a number of independent rulers who might have been dependent upon Viśvasphaṇi before, and the *Purāṇas* recite therefore

1. A dynasty of nine Nakas at Champāvati, with an alternative Padmāvati, which is perhaps more likely.
 2. Seven Nāgas ruled in Mathura.
 3. A dynasty of Maṇidhānya held the territory of the Nishādas, Yadukas, Śaiśitas and Kālātayakas.
 4. Kosala, Āndhra, Pundra and Tāmralipta and Champa were ruled over by dynasties called Dēvarakshita.
 5. Kalinga, Mahisha and the region dependent on Mahēndra were under the rule of the Guhas.
 6. Śrī Rāshtra and Bhokshaka (Bhoja?) were under the dynasty of the Kanakas.
 7. The region of Surāshtra, Avanti, Ābhira, Śūdra, Arbuda and Mālava 'will be ruled by unbrāhmanical Vratyas, very like Śūdras'.
 8. On the banks of the Indus, in the territory of the River Chandrabāga and Kuntidēśa, and in the territories of Kāsmira will rule Śūdras, Vratyas and Mlēcchas 'of unbrāhmanical lustre'.
- These rulers will all rule simultaneously 'niggards in graciousness, untruthful, very irascible and unrighteous'.
- Among this group figure the descendants of the Guptas ruling over the region on the banks of the Ganges dominated by the cities of Prayāga and Sāketa, and the territory of the Magadhas. It will thus be seen that the Guptas ruling over this territory were one among nine states, among whom Hindusthan and a considerable portion of the Dakhan was divided. Scholars are divided in opinion in regard to the particular period to which this definition of the Gupta power is referable. Some of them hold it as referable to the period up to the

conquests of Samudragupta, and others would rather refer it to a period when the Gupta power was on the decline after the period of Skanda Gupta. Having regard to the context where the reference occurs in the *Purāṇas*, and to the possible date of the *Vayu Purāṇa*, which is the chief authority for this particular portion, it would be more reasonable to take it that this position of the Guptas has reference to the period when, for the first time, they emerged into political importance. For one indication we get something like a hint that in uprooting the Kshatriyas and putting others in their stead Viśvasphaṇi disregarded the distinctions of caste. The title Gupta in the Indian caste system is the title of the Vaiśyas as a class. Whatever their caste, the Guptas must have occupied a subordinate position in the region indicated in this purāṇic list. That they did so, we have evidence of in the statement of the Chinese traveller I-Tsing who was in India from about 670 to practically the end of the century. He stayed for about ten years in the University of Nalanda and has made a note of 'a great king (*Mahārāja*) Śrī Gupta (Che-li-ki-to), who built a temple near Mrgaśikhāvana for some Chinese pilgrims, for whose piety he had regard. This temple the ruins of which were still known in I-Tsing's time as the Temple of China, was endowed by the king with twenty-four large villages; the foundation of the temple took place about 500 years before the writer's time.'¹ 'This would give this Mahārāja Śrī Gupta, a date somewhere about the end of the second century more or less. Without making a strict interpretation of the chronological detail given in I-Tsing we may regard this Mahārāja Śrī Gupta as perhaps the earliest known ruler of the Gupta dynasty referred to in the *Purāṇas* as having held sway in the region on the banks of the Ganges. But whether he was identical with the Mahārāja Śrī Gupta, the grandfather of Chandragupta I is a point upon which opinions differ. Without being too particular in regard to the prefix 'Śrī', it need make no difference by the addition or omission, as it generally follows the designation 'Mahārāja', it is just possible he was identical with this Mahārāja Śrī Gupta, the father of Ghatotkaja, or a somewhat earlier ancestor of his even. I-Tsing's reference has to be interpreted as referring at least to the fifth century anterior to him, if not exactly 500 years, and that would mean a date before A.D. 270. The century A.D. 170 to 270 would be the period in which this famous ruler must have lived. The Gupta at the head of the dynastic list will have to be referred to a time subsequent to A.D. 270. It would perhaps be safer to regard this Mahārāja Śrī Gupta as an earlier Gupta, possibly the grandfather of the Gupta at the head of the dynastic list figuring in inscriptions. The purāṇic statement therefore in regard to the rule of the Guptas on the banks of the Ganges in the third and the fourth centuries may then be regarded as a historical fact, having reference to the third century A.D. The objection that there would be two Guptas very near each other need not be held to be insuperable. Instances could be quoted of two rulers of similar names having been very near each other in point of time.

¹ Beal, *J.R.A.S.*, 1882, p. 571.
Chavannes *Memoires, sur le Religieux, etc.*, of I-Tsing, pp. 82-3, note 3
(quoted in Allan's *Coins of the Gupta Dynasties in the British Museum*, p. 15).

If the statement in the *Purāṇas* regarding the rule of Magadha, etc., by a dynasty of the Guptas (Gupta Vamśajāh) could be held to mean anything, it must be a number of rulers by the name 'Gupta' that should have ruled, whether the term 'Gupta', according to Manu, was the caste designation or no. Taking this along with the statement in the *Purāṇas* about the achievement of Viśvasphani that he removed the right to rule from the Kshatriyas and gave it to others like Kaivartas, etc., the possibility of Vaiśyas with the designation 'Gupta' having come into possession of Magadha does not seem in the least unlikely. So, regarding the Mahārāja Gupta of Magadha early in the third century as stated by I-Tsing, there is nothing to make him a historical impossibility.

II

THE FOUNDER OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

If the line of reasoning adopted above be correct, there must be some distance of time between this Gupta and the Mahārāja Śrī Gupta that figures at the head of the dynastic list of the imperial Guptas. The second Gupta and his son Ghaṭotkacha, with the possibility of a shortened form 'Kācha' must have been Mahārājas, or feudatory rulers of the territory lying close to the banks of the Ganges depending upon Allahabad and Sāketa in addition to the province of Magadha. Something therefore must have happened at the end of the reign of Ghaṭotkacha, either before the accession of Chandragupta I or soon after, that has raised him to a prominence that made him assume in addition to his ancestral feudatory title that of Mahārājādhirāja that is indicative of paramount power. The inscriptions of the Guptas generally provide us with one detail and that was the marriage alliance between him and the Lichchavis as an event of considerable importance. Vincent Smith was apparently wrong in believing that it was this marriage that gave him Pāṭalipura. He must have been already ruler of Pāṭalipura as a ruler of Magadha, and the marriage connection with the Lichchavis must have been of importance for some other reason obviously. If we accept the paurāṇic statement, there is no reason to reject it on the face of it, that the territory depending upon Allahabad and Sāketa and Pāṭalipura were already ancestral possessions of Chandragupta I, the Lichchavi connection, which seems undoubtedly to indicate that Kumārādēvi was probably the heiress of the territory of the Lichchavis, must have brought him the territory of the Lichchavis and put him in possession of the consolidated territory which took into it the whole of the modern province of Bihar and a considerable block of territory up to the banks of the Ganges that now constitute the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. This would have been a very important and powerful salient from which to issue and march westwards to bring under his control the feudatory states such as Padmāvati, Mathura and Malva and territories farther west. It is some such achievement by him and the consequent annexation of territories, that must have changed the feudatory monarch into, at any rate, according to his own assumption, an imperial ruler. There seems to be other indications hitherto not appraised at their full value, of such a

transformation under Chandragupta I. The so-called *Chatra* coins of the Guptas seem in all probability, to have been the issue of Chandragupta I to begin with. This was apparently imitated and improved upon by his grandson who followed in the footsteps of his father and grandfather, and rounded off the Gupta territorial possessions by extending them westwards to the sea itself. These coins are described in two varieties by Mr. Allan of the British Museum. One coin illustrated as C. 1 of plate VIII from the collection of Sir William Hoey shows one variety of the *Chatra* type. There seems to be so far a few other specimens of this variety in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. This variety apart from the noticeable distinction in the figure of the monarch and the umbrella bearer contains the obverse legend Chandragupta merely, with the reverse legend Vikramāditya. The second variety also has the same reverse legend, but the obverse legend is a longer one copied apparently from one of the several legends of Samudragupta, and does not contain the name Chandragupta. The character of the obverse legend and the noticeably distinct character of the features would perhaps warrant the assumption that the Hoey specimen was issued from the mint of Chandragupta I. The only objection to it is that so far we have not come upon other specimens of any coin of Chandragupta I. This is hardly an argument. If the coins of the Guptas that have so far been found are all of them ascribed to others there will be nothing left to ascribe to Chandragupta I. That Chandragupta issued coins of his own would only be in keeping with the position of one who from a feudatory Mahārāja rose to the position of an imperial ruler. These coins of the *Chatra* type as also the coins ascribed to Samudragupta are generally taken by numismatists to have been formed on the model of the Kushāna coins of the last of the great Kushānas, Vāsudēva. There is no special reason why Samudragupta should have imitated them rather than his father Chandragupta I. But, if his Lichchavi alliance meant anything, it must have brought Chandragupta I's territory into touch with the territories of the Kushāna Vāsudēva. If the idea dawned upon him of signaling his accession to an imperial position by the issue of a coinage, here was material for him to copy. It would not be unreasonable therefore to take it that Chandragupta I issued his coinage, and if that is so, the one variety rather than another that would be appropriate would be the *Chatra* type. The umbrella of sovereignty is an ordinary notion of the Indian as symbolical of elevation to a ruling position, and the single umbrella is equally symbolical of an imperial position. For the monarch therefore that gave himself, the title Mahārājādhirāja, the first *Adhirāja* among the Guptas, it would be perfectly natural to issue the first coins of the Guptas, and he had the originality to invent the *Chatra* coin indicating his accession to the newly won imperial position.

If the Lichchavi connection had been mainly responsible for this, it is not difficult to understand that in all these, he associated with himself the queen whose marriage with him set him forward on his imperial career. The goddess Lakshmi on the reverse with a fillet in her right hand is again an additional support to this conclusion. It seems therefore best to regard Chandragupta I as a conqueror who, starting from the matrimonial acquisition of the territory of the Lichchavis, made distinct forward advance and acquired the territory of

others by reducing the neighbouring rājas to subservience to him to the extent of assuming an imperial position and titles with some justification in the eyes of his contemporaries.

The so-called marriage type of coins ascribed by Mr. Allan to Samudragupta, must from this point of view, be ascribed to Chandragupta I as has been done by the late Vincent Smith and others. This variety of Gupta coins contains on the obverse the representation of both Chandragupta and Kumāradēvi with their names marked, and on the reverse a nimbate female figure seated on a throne below which is a lion lying quietly with the legend 'Lichchavayah'. It is unanimously admitted that this type of coin, or medal as some prefer to call it, celebrates the marriage of Chandragupta and Kumāradēvi, at the same time commemorating the union of the Lichchavis with the Magadhas under Chandragupta. It is not clear why the goddess has been named 'Lakshmi' with the lion lying couchant in the manner indicated in the coins. I have not been able to come upon anything that would associate the lion with Lakshmi, as her vehicle. The simple legend Lichchavayah seems rather to indicate that the nimbate goddess is a personified representation of the Lichchavi people, and the lion is perhaps a totemic or other representation of the same people. If the goddess were the goddess of the Lichchavis and the lion their totem or other symbol, it would mean that the coin was intended to celebrate the alliance of the Lichchavis brought about by the marriage of the Gupta ruler with the heiress of the Lichchavis. This position however is not accepted by numismatists, and the difficulties in the way of their accepting it is set forth with great clearness and ability by Mr. J. Allan of the British Museum. 'That they commemorate the marriage of Chandragupta I and Kumāradēvi and the union with the Lichchavis is certain, but to the numismatist there are certain difficulties in the way of their attribution to Chandragupta I; the commonest coins of Samudragupta, the son and successor of Chandragupta I, are of the type to which Vincent Smith has given a name 'Spearman' or 'Javelin' but which may more correctly be called 'the standard type'. (See Section 74.) It is evident that Samudragupta's standard type is a close copy of the later coins of Kushān type, such as have been described by Cunningham (Num. Chron. 1893, pl. VIII 2-12 and pl. IX); practically the only alteration apart from the legends, are on the obverse, where the Kushān peaked headdress is replaced by a close-fitting cap, while the trident on the left gives place to a *garuda* standard (*Garuda-dhvaja*), the emblem of Vishnu. The king's name is still written vertically; this custom, which was to survive till the end of the dynasty, is to be traced back through the later Kushān coinage to Chinese influence in Central Asia. The reverse type is even more slavishly copied, as we find portions of the back of the throne on the obverse, where the now meaningless trace of the back of the throne remains the resemblance to the late Kushān coins is still quite marked; it may safely be asserted that Chandragupta I did not strike any coins of the standard type; if he had, they must have been commoner than the 'medallic' pieces ascribed to him and would have survived; but none such are known. Samudragupta did not receive

from his father's coinage his standard type. It must be his earliest type as it is closest to the Kushān original. How are we to account for the return to a relatively slavish imitation of Kushān device after the comparative originality of his father's coin? There is no evidence that the late Kushān or Śaka coins circulated in the Gupta territory at this time; they belong to the north-west and are rarely found outside the Punjab. Were the Gupta coins, from which they are obviously derived, one would expect the latter to be present in finds of Gupta coins, just as we find silver coins of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I with their prototypes the coins of the western Kshatrapas. We must therefore place the origin of the Gupta coinage in a period when the Guptas had come into closer contact with the late great Kushāns whose eastern Punjab coinage they copied. What historical knowledge we possess points to this variety being, not of the reign of Chandragupta I, but of that of Samudragupta to whom the 'Shahis, Shahānu Shahis and Śakas surrendered the enjoyment of their territories' and the numismatic evidence quite supports this.

The criticism involves a number of assumptions each of which has to be carefully considered before the whole position could be regarded as acceptable. The first assumption is that the coinage of the Guptas is modelled on that of the later Kushāns, particularly those of the most Hinduized Kushān, Vāsudēva. The specimen copied is even indicated as that particular variety of Kushāno-Sassanian coins called the *Ardachso* type. The second assumption is that this imitation of the Kushāno-Sassanian coin is possible only when the Kushān territory came into either subjection or some kind of a political association with the empire of the Guptas under Samudragupta. There is besides the assumption of a process of evolution in coin type, the evolution necessarily taking the form of a crude beginning and gradually rising to perfection of imitation. And lastly the process of this evolution is examined in regard to the particular called by numismatists 'Ardachso' throne on the reverse of the coins. Each of these may be examined separately with a view to the conclusion that it may lead us to.

In the absence of other known coins in the region of Magadha, the assumption of imitation of the Kushān coins may not be so unwarranted; but it is hardly necessary to assume that the rulers of Magadha or the inhabitants were utterly ignorant and unused to currency of any kind. What is actually to the point here is, the adoption or rather the adaptation of a particularly attractive coin type, for the needs of the rising empire. Without going into the question how far Indian currencies are all imitations, and whether there were no coinage known in India of an indigenous type, the possibility may be readily admitted that the coinage of the Imperial Guptas was modelled on that of the later Kushānas.

It does not, however, follow as a matter of necessity that this imitation was impossible unless the Guptas were either in possession of, or in some kind of intimate political contact with, the territory of Kushāns. Numismatists, and among them Mr. Allan, admit that the imitation does not proceed beyond the mechanical workmanship of the coins, and give credit for originality to the Guptas for the various devices and the legends that go with them. This admission certainly leads to the conclusion that for the idea of a suitable coinage which would embody in a visible form the newly acquired possession of

the Guptas, and even give an idea as to the means by which this exaltation of the local dynasty was achieved, Chandragupta I or Samudragupta, whoever was the author of the marriage type, of coins must be given credit, and the same ruler must be held responsible for all the details of the devices and legends, admitting of imitation only in respect of the shape, size and the mechanical character of the workmanship, and perhaps even a general idea of the representation of royalty and divinities on the coins. This is the most that could be conceded in the circumstances. Since the idea of celebrating the marriage is an idea of the Guptas admittedly, the representation of the king and queen must be their own; and the idea that the influence and the prestige acquired by the Lichchavi alliance must be somehow indicated, should also have been theirs. In order to do this with the idea formed already, it is hardly necessary that one should be actually in the region where the Kushān coins were in circulation, or that the Kushān coins should have been largely in circulation in Magadha at the time. One specimen would have done the business and that specimen could have been obtained even from a neighbouring foreign country. The real point of importance is who was it that was anxious that this historical event should receive some kind of embodiment with a view to circulation in the expanding territories of the empire. It is clear that Chandragupta I should really have had more enthusiasm for the issue of such a coinage than Samudragupta. It is not quite impossible that Samudragupta might have issued the coinage, but at the time of issue Chandragupta I must have died and it is possible that his queen consort was also dead. Samudragupta's motive therefore for perpetuating this alliance cannot be regarded as quite so clear as it must have been in the case of Chandragupta I. After all there is nothing against the possibility of Chandragupta I having come into contact with the Kushānas along their eastern frontier, if he did not actually fight against them. The Guptas were already in possession of Magadha and the territories dependent upon Sāketa and Allahabad. The marriage with the Lichchavi and the acquisition of their territory must have rounded off their frontier and brought the united territory at any rate to the Ganges if not farther west. The next step in advance of the Gupta power would surely have taken them to the territory of the Nāgas in Muttara and Padmāvati. Without even this achievement it is hard to understand how the Guptas could have put forward any pretensions to an imperial position with the slightest possibility of this being suffered or tolerated. On the face of it, it would seem likely that it is by an achievement against the Kushāns, at least in the eastern half of their dominions that Chandragupta I should have gone forward to assume the imperial title of Mahārājādhirāja. The issue of coins of the *Chatra* type would be directly symbolical of this assumption; and the marriage coins would only take him one step further forward in the same direction. If, therefore, Chandragupta I adopted deliberately a plan of issuing these coins it was possible for him to have obtained not only coin specimens but even workmen engaged in the mints from the neighbouring realm of the Kushāns whether he had come into contact with them politically or no. It seems therefore very probable that Chandragupta I took the pains to issue the coins under the most favourable circumstances. If he had actually done so it would

explain the excellent turnout of the coins of these varieties as compared with the later issue from the mints of Magadha.

The detail regarding the Ardachšo throne seems to be made a little too much of for a detail of that kind. As far as one could see from the available coins there is nothing peculiar to the throne to be called the 'Ardachšo throne'. The seat or settle, with a back or without, is the form of raised seat universally adopted in all the temples of India at the present time, and seems to have been from time immemorial the sort of seat that royalty and the people of distinction are usually provided. The Vajrāsana, the Simhāsana and other kinds of *āsanas* are of that pattern, and there is hardly any reason to associate it in coins with the Sassanian Ardachšo. If the coin had been formed on the Kushāno-Sassanian coin it is likely that this detail was also copied, but there is hardly any need for this assumption. If a goddess is to be seated, it must be on some kind of a throne, and this is the most usual kind of throne that the Indians were aware of; so common in fact that this is imitated in stone and stucco, and constitutes the ordinary kind of seat even in middle-class houses. If the goddess of the Lichchavis is adopted, she must be seated on a throne. If the lion is somehow associated with the Lichchavis symbolical either of their valour or constituting merely the totem of the tribe or tribes that inhabited the region of which from time immemorial *Simhabhūmi* formed a part, the idea seems to have been merely to indicate the goddess seated on a throne, the lion symbolical of the people lying couchant beneath her seat. There seems no particular warrant for regarding the goddess as Lakshmi as she is rarely associated with the lion in any manner. It is just possible that she represents in a general way the 'Śrī' or prosperity of the Lichchavis, or it may be a representation of the Indian Goddess of Victory. It must be noted here that the Ikshvākus and the Śākya had the lion for their emblem; the Buddha claimed it as a Śākya and as a descendant of Ikshvāku. The title Śākyasimha applied to him may contain a reference to this. The attenuation of the details of the throne noticed by Mr. Allan in the coins he quotes in illustration, is due to the effort of the artist to make the chair not obstruct the vision of the lion. In this effort the thinning goes on so far as to make the throne disappear as the diaphanous dresses of women folk represented in paintings and statuary work. It seems therefore building too much, to build a theory of the chronological evolution of coins on a detail like the 'Ardachšo throne'. The peculiar difficulties of the numismatists lose very considerably in force, and in respect of the issue of these coins historical probabilities might be given the deciding influence. The superior workmanship of the coins is explained by the importation of workmen accustomed to their work, and the line of evolution need not be and had not always been, along the lines of progress. Retrogression is always possible. Samudragupta seems to have been out and out a man of literary taste; with a single exception he never gives his coins a simple device on the obverse; and the inscription on the reverse has always some organic relation to the longer and more descriptive device on the obverse. These characteristics of his devices are absent in the two varieties with which we are particularly concerned. We may therefore conclude that both the *Chatra* type with the simpler obverse legend and the marriage

type were issues of Gupta coins by Chandragupta I himself not by Chandragupta II and Samudragupta respectively. This conclusion would naturally lead us on to the consideration of the posthumous Mehrauli inscription of a ruler by name Chandra to which we shall proceed.

III

MEHRAULI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRA¹

Mehrauli, the corrupt form of Mihirapuri, is a village about nine miles south of Delhi containing the famous Kutub Minar. In the courtyard of the building, and not far from the great Kutub, is the Iron Pillar bearing this record of Chandra. According to Fleet, 'The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and allowing for the stiffness resulting from engraving in so hard a substance as the iron of this column, they approximate in many respects very closely to those of the Allahabad posthumous Pillar inscription of Samudragupta'.

According to V. A. Smith 'the late Dr. Hoernle, the greatest authority on this subject' is of a similar opinion so far as the palaeography of the record is concerned.

The record is in perfect preservation and there is no doubtful reading in it with the possible exception of only one letter, even in regard to which the difference seems to be not so much in regard to its character as the interpretation of the word *dhāvēna* in line 6 of the inscription. Notwithstanding the fact that the first letter *dh* is unlike the *dh* occurring 'six times in the record elsewhere', it admits of little doubt that it is a *dh* that was meant. The only defect is an unmeant break in the loop. I am assured that the form *dhāvēna*² is correct in the sense of pure, cleansed, etc. Hence there is no need to look for a proper name *Dhava* as that of *Chandra*. The name of the ruler is undoubtedly Chandra, as it is described Chandrahva, named Chandra clearly, notwithstanding the comparison that follows. The record may then be translated as below with the text.

1. Yasyōdvarttayataḥ pratipamurāḥ 'śatrūn samētyāgatān * Vangēshvāhavaritnō—bhilikhitā khaḍgēna kīrtir bhujē||
2. tīrtva sapta mukhāni yēna samarē sindhōrjita Vahlikā * Yasyādyāpyadhi-vāsyatē jalauidhir viryānilaird-Dakṣiṇaḥ||

¹ This is published from Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, No. 32, III, pp. 139-142) through the kind permission of the Hon'ble Mr. Montague Butler, now His Excellency Sir Montague Butler, as Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Education, etc. The text is an exact copy of Fleet's, the translation is mine.

² No. 1, Plate I. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions.

³ See Whitney's Sanskrit roots, p. 83.

⁴ Bengal referred to in line 1 is a place where the war actually took place. But the phrase immediately before the term indicates the coming together of a certain number of those inimical to Chandra. This implies that a number of those ill-affected to Chandra confederated and attacked his territory from the side of Bengal. The statement is that he won a victory against them by pressing them back.

⁵ The term 'Bāhlika' used in line 2 has been much misunderstood. The learned scholar, Pandit Haraprasad Sastri and several others that follow him have alike taken it to mean the people living round Balkh. The term has really no reference here to Balkh as such. The Bāhlikas are known as ruling in the Punjab. According to the Mahābhārata, Karnaparva, Chaps. 37-38, Śalya, was ruler of this region with his capital Śākala, I think, in the present Ludhiana Dt. The territory is actually defined as being between the Satlej and the Beas in one place and in another as being watered by the Satlej, Ravi and Beas (Śatadru, Irāvati and

3. Khinnasyēva visrjya gām narapatērg-gām āśtasyētarām mūrttyā karm-majitavānīm gatavataḥ kīrttya sthitasya kṣhitau¹||
4. Śantasyēva mahāvanē hutabhujō yasyapratāpō mahān nādyapyutsrjati prapāśitā ripōr yatnasya śēṣaḥ² kṣhitau||
5. Praptēna svabhujarjītam cha suchiram ch aikādhirājyam³ kṣhitau Chandrahvēna⁴ samagrachandra sadṛśīm vaktra śriyam bibhratā||
6. Tēnāyam prapīdhāya bhūmipatinā dhāvēna⁵ Viṣṇor (au) matim prāmsur Viṣṇu padē girau bhagavatō Viṣṇōr-dhvaja⁶ sthāpitah||

Vipāśa). In that well-known episode of the altercation between Śalya and Karna, some curious features of the Bāhlika society came in for unfavourable comment by Karna. In the Udyoga Parva, chapter 49, occurs the statement that Dēvāpi, the son of Pratīpa, had a son Bāhlika who was adopted by his maternal uncle. Both Dēvāpi and Bāhlika were set aside, and Śantanu succeeded to the throne, indicating, in all probability, that this Bāhlika gave the name to the locality. It was perhaps this connection that was the cause of the trouble when the alliance of Śalya was sought by both the parties. We may presumably therefore look for the Bāhlikas within the frontiers of India without going so far out as Balkh. In considering the provenance of the various Prakrit languages and among them Śūrasēni, three divisions of Śūrasēni find mention: (1) Avantika, Bāhlika and Takkika. (Ind. Antiq., LVI, Grierson's Apabramsa Stabakas of Rama Sarman.) Avantika should mean naturally the language of Avanti, the region of Malva, Takkika belonging to Takka, Hiuen T'sang's Tchēka, Eastern Punjab. Bāhlika therefore would have to be looked for between these two, Śūrasēni itself being in a region on the inner border of this curve, Malva, Rajaputana and the Punjab, close to the borders of the Gangetic Doab. The Purāṇas themselves located a dynasty of three Bāhlika rulers in the region of Māhiṣmati on the Narmada. It would therefore be legitimate to look for the Bāhlikas in a portion of India, which would necessitate the crossing of the seven mouths of the Indus in the war against them. The reference to the Bāhlikas in line 2 therefore must be specifically a successful war against the Bāhlikas in the region of Sindh.

¹ The third line has not been properly translated on the whole. What is meant to be said there is that Chandra removed his physical body from the earth but lived in it in fame, and that is what is expressed by his giving up the earth only to go on to another world to live in. While therefore he may be regarded as having left the earth which he conquered, his fame did not leave it, but found a permanent home there.

² The substance of line 4 is that like the great forest fire which, having completely burnt the forest out and subsided, lay covered over with ashes, so also the fire of this ruler's valour, though it might seem extinguished, having completely destroyed the efforts of his enemies, still remains dormant in the recollection of those that had suffered from it, as the forest fire itself.

³ In line 5 occurs clearly the term *aikādhirājyam*. This means 'the sole sovereignty of the earth.' What is stated here is this sole sovereignty was acquired by him, by the effort of his own arms, and by a long-continued effort as such, which means that, whoever Chandra was, by a long-continued effort of his, he achieved empire on earth.

⁴ The name Chandra is clearly stated in line 5 to be the name of the individual, Chandra-dhvēna, by the name Chandra. A confusion has been imported into the verse by bringing in an unnecessary confusion from the simple comparison in the next term between his face and Chandra, the moon. But the use of the term *dhvēna* leaves no doubt whatsoever that Chandra was the name of the individual.

⁵ The term 'dhāvēna' in line 6 has been the cause of some discussion. Cunningham thought the letter was different from 6 other *dhas* occurring in the inscription, although he read the word *dhāvēna*. The letter, as it is in the record, makes no closer approach to *bha* than to *dha*. As *dha*, it merely shows a cut in the loop. But the cut is not enough to make it a Gupta *bha*. The general formation of the letter leaves no doubt that what was meant was the *dha* in spite of the slight imperfection in the execution of the letter. The next difficulty was as to its meaning. It means no more than pure, clean, etc., the same word that gives us *Dhāvanam*, meaning 'cleaning.' The word takes the form in the verse to be in accord with the instrumental singular *bhūmipatinā*, and therefore takes the form of the masculine instrumental singular. It simply means the pure-minded ruler of the earth.

⁶ The combined expression, Viṣṇōr-dhvaja was misunderstood by Vincent

The enemies who, having come together, carried on war in the territory of Bengal, he turned back after having breasted their joint attack with success, and by so doing, wrote his fame on his arms with the sword (the sword cuts on his arms remained the emblems of his fame as victor); having crossed the seven mouths of the Indus (Sindhu), he inflicted a defeat on the Bāhlikas; the southern ocean is still blown over with the breeze of his valour.

As if tired, he left this world only to pass on to another, leaving in body the earth that he conquered, while yet he made it the permanent abode of his fame. Like the ash-covered fire that burnt out a great forest, the fame of his great valour, after having completely destroyed the efforts of his enemies, does not leave the earth as yet.

Having a face with all the beauty of the full moon and bearing the name Chandra, he acquired on earth the sole rule of the earth by long continued efforts of his own arms.

By that ruler of the earth, who, pure in mind, placed his faith in Vishṇu, this tall flag-staff of holy Vishṇu was set on the hill *Vishṇu-pada*.

The place in which the column was originally planted was apparently a Vishṇu temple which is said to have been situated on the hill called Vishṇupada. Whether this description would answer to the actual position of the pillar as it is at present has been called into question, since it is said to be in a hollow between two hills, as it is now. Since V. A. Smith states in his article on the subject in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1897, that the pillar is still in the temple constructed by Anangapāl, one may well doubt whether it has been removed from its original place. He suggests that it might have been originally a hill near Mathura (Muttra). It is hardly necessary for the case as the name Vishṇupada might have been given to one part of the hill near Delhi, as a similar name Śrīpatha is given to an eminence like this in the place called now Biyana, sometimes Bayana, along the road leading south from Delhi some distance away. If that place could be called Śrīpatham, a similar place further north, it is not unlikely, had the name Vishṇupadam in the age of the Guptas.

The first historical point in the inscription is, the bare fact of a successful war that Chandra conducted against the enemies confederated against him in the region of Bengal. The next point is that he conducted presumably a successful war against the Bāhlikas, *not in their homeland of Bactria*, but comparatively remote from it *by getting across the seven mouths of the Indus*. In other words, it was the people Bāhlikas that were defeated in the region of Sindhu by his actually crossing the seven mouths of the Indus. The direction of this campaign therefore is across Māva, Rajputana and Sindh against enemies in that region. The point which does not appear to have received adequate attention is that he attained in this world, the position of

Smith to mean that, on the column there must have been a standing figure of Vishṇu. Vishṇu-dhvaja does not mean the dhvaja or flag which has Vishṇu on the top of it. It simply means the flag of Vishṇu, which is a Garuḍa flag. The surmounting figure on the column must have been Garuḍa, the vehicle as well as the ensign of Vishṇu, and which, by the way, happens to be the ensign on the seal of the Guptas as well. It may be too much to infer from this feature alone that the Chandra referred to is a Chandragupta whether it be the first or the second of the name belonging to the Gupta dynasty.

eka-adhirājya (sole empire) by the valour of his arms and by long continued effort of his. The reference here is clearly to the establishment of empire. That empire was established by the efforts of the individual Chandra, and these efforts were long and arduous. The interpretation of the term 'suchiram' an indeclinable expression ought certainly to follow the corresponding expression of the previous term. If the acquisition is by his own arms it is that acquisition that took time to make and the expression 'prāptam' seems to warrant a long continued effort at acquiring. All these, though minor, are points very material to the question. The last point calling for attention is that the inscription is meant merely to make the statement that the flag-staff of Vishṇu was set up by this Adhirāja, Chandra. In regard to the first point, the inscription makes it clear that it was a frontier war on the side of Bengal of Chandra. His enemies were, probably a number of them, confederated against him, they might have included the Bengalis and others than Bengalis, and might mean people other than Bengalis. The really material point is that it was a successful war undertaken by Chandra against his confederated enemies on the Bengal frontier. To say that we do not know that Chandragupta I conquered Bengal is to beg the question. That point will become clear later, but it must be borne in mind here that this was a victory won by a man whose aspiration was to establish an Adhirājya.

Coming to the second point, the explanation seems to be offered by a study of the coinage of Ksatrapas. Professor Rapson whose study of the Ksatrapa coins is the most complete so far, finds that the period extending from A.D. 305 to 348 is marked by great political changes, and one clear indication of these is that the office of the Mahākshatrapas was in abeyance during the period. In the first part of the period extending up to 332 we have coins of only two Kshatrapas; in the latter part of the period Kshatrapa coinage ceases altogether. Professor Rapson draws the inference therefrom that 'all the evidence afforded by coins or the absence of coins during this period—the failure of the direct line and the substitution of another family, the cessation first of the Mahākshatrapas and afterwards of both Mahākshatrapas and Kshatrapas—seems to indicate troublous times. The probability is that the dominions of the western Kshatrapas were subjected to some foreign invasion, but the nature of these disturbing causes is, at present, altogether doubtful and must remain so until more can be known of the history of the neighbouring peoples during this period'. It must be remembered that this has reference to the period 305 to 348, a period of about 43 years in Gupta history. This corresponds to the whole period of the Adhirājya of Chandragupta by common acceptance and a part of the period of the empire of Samudragupta. We shall not attempt now to allot the period between the two. According to the now accepted chronology of the Vākātakas, that would correspond to the reign of Pravarasēna I when the Vākātaka kingdom underwent a great expansion, an expansion which began under his predecessor, but was carried on very largely under Pravarasēna himself, so that he became more or less the ruler of Māva. The point that has to be specially noted in connection with this expansion of the territory of the Vākātakas is that the Vākātaka inscriptions uniformly give Pravarasēna

credit for a capital in the region north of the Vindhyas, and ascribes to him the celebration of a number of great sacrifices all of which would go to make up the performance of a number of *Aśvamedhas*. What is more specifically to the point, he is given the title *Samrāt*, another of the long-recognized titles of emperors like *Adhirāja* itself. This extension of Vākāṭaka territory and influence must have been really at the expense of the Kshatrapas, the main block of whose territory was in Malva with extensions undoubtedly westwards into Gujarat, and south-westwards into Konkan. If Pravarasēna extended his territory in the direction of Malva and acquired important possessions there, it must necessarily mean the shrinkage of the territory under Kshatrapas which must bring about as a consequence the abolition of the larger title *Mahākshatrāpa* and the retention of the smaller title *Kshatrāpa*. If in the course of the decay and destruction practically of the power of the Kshatrapas, Chandragupta played his part, it would be nothing unlikely; but the Vākāṭaka power itself seems to have passed through a period of storm and stress at the end of Pravarasēna's reign, as according to the Vākāṭaka inscriptions again, Pravarasēna's grandson Rudrasēna I who succeeded to the throne after him came to a diminished heritage which involved the dropping of the imperial title *Samrāt*. In addition to this the inscriptions offer the information that his maternal grandfather a Nāga chieftain rendered yeoman service in the maintenance of the possessions of the dynasty though somewhat diminished in lustre by the dropping of the title *Samrāt*. Vākāṭaka chronology, which very unfortunately has not yet attained to the degree of perfection which history would require, is sufficiently known to make Chandragupta I contemporary with the latter part of the reign of Pravarasēna and perhaps the whole of that of Rudrasēna I. If the expansion of the Vākāṭaka power under Pravarasēna received a check either at the end of his reign or immediately after, it must have been either from the rising power of Chandragupta I, or of the reviving power of the Kshatrapas. But the Kshatrāpa revival had not yet begun and the inference that it was Chandragupta that was responsible for the check becomes almost inevitable. If he succeeded so far, even temporarily, it would be one step further in advance in the progress of Chandragupta to get across the whole of the territory of the Kshatrapas and defeat them and their allies who might be described as Bāhlikas¹ generally by the Hindus. It is also possible that the rise of the Sassanian power in Persia dislodged some of the tribes from the region of Bactria and it is equally possible that a body of them tried to effect a lodgment along with their kinsmen on the frontier of Sindh. It was essential to the position of an imperial aspirant that in the decaying condition of the Kshatrāpa power this must be stopped, and a victory against them claimed by Chandragupta I does not at all seem improbable in the political condition of the times. If the Bāhlikas were a people in the eastern Punjab as the *Mahābhārata* reference and the inference that can be drawn from the Bāhlika being a branch of the Śūrasēni Prakrit would give us to understand, then a war against the Bāhlikas would be a natural process in the course of expansion of the rising Gupta power into what was the neighbouring territory of the Kushānas in the Punjab. But the actual

¹ Note Bāhlika a branch of the Saurasēni Prakrit between Āvanti and Tākkika.

reference in the inscription of Chandra to his having crossed the seven mouths of the Indus for a final victory against the Bāhlikas gives us the indication that the war had to be carried on across the whole region occupied by the successors of the Kushānas under the viceroyalty of the Kshatrapas and the Mahākshatrapas of Malva whose territory in the height of their power included all the territory extending westwards from Malva into Saurāshṭra, Sauvira and Sindh. The same causes that brought about the subversion of the Kushānas in the north-west must have introduced a great disturbance in the position of the Kshatrapas, and perhaps culminated in the cessation of the title Mahākshatrāpa referred to above. That disturbed condition must have been taken advantage of by the rising power of the Guptas on the one side and by the extending power of the Vākāṭakas on the other.

If Chandragupta's accession to the empire involved, in the course of it, a war against the confederated enemies on the Bengal side and another war or even protracted diplomacy against the Vākāṭakas who had already risen to importance, and if it involved operations against the Kshatrapas and across the frontier of their territory against their kinsmen from the distant north, his efforts at the establishment of the empire must be described as having been of long duration, and the achievement when it did come is all to the credit of the valour of his arms. It would be not vanity, but would be the normal thanksgiving of a devoted mind, if he built a temple to his tutelary god Vishṇu, or merely planted a flag-staff to an already existing temple of Vāsudēva bearing upon it a record of his deeds. In a moment of fervour like that he would naturally describe himself not in all the paraphernalia of empire, but with the mere name, such as the ordinary Brahman now-a-days has to describe himself when he performs his prostrations of salutation to an elderly man or other object of holy veneration. As the inscription contains a clear statement in regard to his death, the inscription is regarded as a posthumous one. It is not absolutely necessary however that it should be so. It is possible to imagine that he meant the record to be put up on the pillar when he should have died and not while he was alive. In that sense it would be merely analogous to the śloka in the *Mṛichchakatika* where a similar statement occurs, and which on that account is regarded as a posthumous addition by somebody else. It is not impossible to believe that people that could make wills and dispositions of their properties after death, could make similar arrangements, if they considered these of sufficient importance, for the putting up of a record of their own achievements in their own way. Hence this inscription is posthumous in the sense that it was inscribed after his death, but it is not necessary that the inscription was necessarily written after. Even if it was it would be nothing inappropriate with a successor like Samudragupta coming to the throne after him.

The matter, however, has been a great deal discussed by other scholars and their position must be examined as to how far they materially bear against this position.

The late Dr. Fleet who published the inscription in his volume of the Gupta inscriptions, the *Corpus Inscriptionem Indicarum*, in discussing the palaeographical character of the record expressed the opinion, somewhat hesitatingly though, that the Chandra of this record may be

Chandragupta I. The discovery of a record of a Chandravarman inscribed on the face of a rock, called Śiśunia rock near Raniganj, started a new discussion as to the actual identity of this Chandravarman and in the course of this discussion two opinions had been put forward, prominently. One of these identifies Chandra of the Meharauli inscriptions with Chandragupta II and the other is that the Chandra of the Meharauli inscription is no other than Chandravarman of the Śiśunia record. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Sastri sponsored the second opinion, identifying Chandra of the Meharauli inscription with Chandravarman of the Śiśunia rock. The late Dr. Vincent Smith held the opinion that Chandra of the Meharauli inscription must be Chandragupta II. The Mahamahopadhyaya has since published the Śiśunia record of Chandravarman and another inscription of a Naravarman, both of them rulers of Pushkarana, in the *Epigraphia Indica* and it is these that form the basis of his conclusion.¹ Vincent Smith's disquisition was contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*² to which reference has already been made. More recently Mr. Radha Govinda Basak made an attempt in the columns of the *Indian Antiquary* to revert to the old opinion of Dr. Fleet, and identify Chandra of Meharauli with Chandragupta I. This evoked a reply, which is unnecessarily polemic in character, from Mr. R. D. Bannerji and published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.³ The Mahamahopadhyaya's publication of the inscriptions of the rulers of Pushkarana gives us the following information. The inscription on the Śiśunia rock first published in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* by Babu Nagendra-nath Basu, is an inscription which tells us no more than that the chief among the devoted servants of Chakrasvāmi (Vishnu), who was ruler of Pushkarana and the son of Mahārāja Śrī Simhavarman who calls himself Mahārāja Śrī Chandravarman set up the record. It is obviously a Vaishṇava inscription and except indicating the devotion of the ruler of distant Pushkarana by name Chandravarman, it tells us absolutely nothing more; but the Gangadhar record of a Naravarman of Pushkarana, the second record published by the Pandit, describes Naravarman who was, in all probability a Vaishṇava also, as a powerful and valiant ruler of Pushkarana, son of a Simhavarman and grandson of Jayavarman. In his reign a grant was made. The inscription does not record any suzerain of this Naravarman. He is described only as a Mahārāja. It gives a date which is equivalent to A.D. 404 and this places him in the reign of Chandragupta II. On the strength of the identity of name of the father of this Naravarman and of Chandravarman of the Śiśunia record and of the fact that both are described as rulers of Pushkarana, the Mahamahopadhyaya made Chandravarman and Naravarman brothers. This may be accepted without demur. Two other records were published by the late Dr. Fleet himself, the Gangadhar record of a Viśvavarman, son of this Naravarman, and the Mandasor pillar inscription of Kumāragupta where Viśvavarman's son Bandhuvarman is described as Kumāragupta's feudatory. The Gangadhar record is dated A.D. 426 which must be allotted to the reign of Kumāragupta. He is not there described as a feudatory. Though his name is mentioned in the Mandasor inscription of A.D. 436 and though it is possible to take, from the reference there to Viśvavarman,

¹ Vols. XIII. 133 and XII. 315 ff. ² Vol. for 1897, pp. 1-18. ³ Vol. xiv, pp. 368-71.

that he might have been a feudatory of Kumāragupta he is taken to be not a feudatory on the strength of the Gangadhar record. Even this point may be conceded; but so far, none of these records of the rulers of Pushkarana gives us any clue whatsoever to identify the Chandravarman of the Śiśunia rock inscription with Chandra of the Meharauli inscription. The position is somewhat further complicated by the mention of a ruler Chandravarman among the rulers of Āryāvartta uprooted by Samudragupta in the Allahabad pillar inscription. It is just possible he is the same as Chandravarman of the Śiśunia record; and it may even be allowed that this uprooting of Chandravarman by Samudragupta caused the retirement of this family of rulers to the somewhat more remote and sequestered portion of Rajaputana, round Pushkarana, their original home. Even after making all this allowance which seems admissible, it does not take us very far towards helping us to identify Chandravarman of this record with Chandra of the Meharauli pillar inscription. Chandra describes himself only as a Mahārāja and gives us no hint even in his remote Bengal inscription that he either aspired or attained to Adhirājya. In the Śiśunia record which must be regarded as much of an inscription of devotion to Vishṇu as that of the Meharauli pillar, he has taken care to give himself the full name Chandravarman and give the name of his father, whereas in the Meharauli pillar the name given as Chandra is of an entirely different character. The relative position of Pushkarana, Delhi and Muttra and of the Śiśunia rock is in the form of a somewhat large triangle with Delhi at its apex, the Śiśunia rock and Pushkarana forming the two ends of the rather long base. There is no need how- ever for a Pushkarana ruler if he extended his territory to the frontiers of Bengal, the extension should necessarily include within it Delhi or the region near it. It seems therefore impossible to accept that these records give us any lead as to the identification of Chandra of the Meharauli inscription with Chandravarman excepting that Chandravarman of the Śiśunia rock is the Chandravarman, ruler of Pushkarana, and taking it along with the fact that Samudragupta found it necessary to uproot a Chandravarman among the rulers of Āryāvartta, the conditions necessary seem to be satisfied if we assume that Chandravarman of Pushkarana was an aggressive ruler, who attempted to take advantage, with some success, of the accession of Samudragupta to the throne and carried on an incursion into his territory of which there is some indication in the Harisena inscription, though mutilated. We could understand his putting up the Śiśunia inscription as a result of this temporary success. If Samudragupta turned round upon him as soon as he returned from his southern expedition not for the purpose of turning him back, but to put him altogether beyond power of mischief, which is what seems implied in the statement in the Harisena inscription regarding the monarchs of Āryāvartta, we should have gone quite as far as the matter contained in these records could take us. There seems therefore little positive ground for assuming that Chandravarman of the dynasty of Pushkarana is at all the individual referred to as Chandra in the Meharauli pillar inscription.

This identification having nothing to support it, the only other possibility is whether the Chandra of the Meharauli pillar is Chandragupta II. The whole set of arguments adduced in favour of this identification resolve themselves into a mere repetition of a number

of assumptions regarding Chandragupta I and the foundation of the Gupta dynasty; for none of this is there any positive irrefutable evidence. The assumption of the shortness of the reign of Chandragupta I rests upon other assumptions that he issued no coins of his own, that there are no inscriptions of his forthcoming, that he did nothing except to marry a wife, and even that he did not call himself Adhirāja and that it was his successors that did so. What is more surprising is the statement in Mr. Bannerji's note that Chandragupta's name is not mentioned in any inscription before that of his grandson dated 92 G.E. The Harisena inscription does contain a genealogy beginning with Mahārāja Śrī Gupta, his son Ghaṭotkacha, who is also described only as a Mahārāja and it comes down to Chandragupta I, who is described Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta. That responsible sovereign under whose authority the inscription was issued should have taken a mere fancy to give his father a higher title and should stop short in that fancy with the name of his grandfather, is something which may be rather difficult to understand without some reason to support the ascription of the title to Chandragupta and not giving it to his father. In fairness both to Samudragupta, the approving authority, and to Harisena the writer of the document, we ought to hold that both of them believed there was some reason which justified the giving of the title Mahārājādhirāja to Chandragupta and that justification or the validity did not hold in their estimation for extending that title to his father. If so Chandragupta I must have been a man of far greater achievements than modern scholars have so far been inclined to ascribe to him.¹ In regard to Chandragupta II we have some inscriptions and other sources of information such as coins and even information from literary sources. So far, the only positive achievement ascribed to him is the destruction of the power of the Kshatrapas in Gujarat, possibly Western Malva. After the achievement of Chandragupta as recorded in the Harisena inscription nothing more seems to be called for to round off the empire, and Chandragupta had done that. About the time that Chandragupta must have been active on this side of his empire Shahpur II must have been on the Sassanian throne of Persia and he was active both on the north-western and eastern frontier of Persia which must have kept people on that frontier preparing themselves to meet the aggressive expansion of his power. The period of Chandragupta I's rule on the contrary, and perhaps the generation preceding him, were periods peculiarly of unrest among the tribes and people in the region extending southwards from the Hindukush to the sea. The activity of the first rulers of Sassanid Persia combined with the advance of the Huns in the doab between the Oxus and the Jaxartes must have had the combined effect of dislodging some of the peoples in occupation of their territories and must have brought about that movement of the Bāhlikas which the Chandra of the Meharauli pillar could check by a battle on the frontiers of Sindh which he fought after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus. The positive indication therefore seems to be in favour of identifying Chandra of the Meharauli pillar with Chandragupta I rather than Chandragupta II.

¹ This is supported by the statement in the record about his anxiety in regard to a successor.

IV

FOUNDERS OF THE EMPIRE: CHANDRAGUPTA I AND SAMUDRAGUPTA

From this investigation it becomes clear that Chandragupta I began his life as ruler of his ancestral dominions along the banks of the Ganges, just like his father and grandfather before him. He acquired both prestige and influence, and what is more, a very desirable addition to his territory, by the Lichchavi marriage. This new addition rounded off his frontier and brought him into touch with Bengal on the one side, and the petty states of Central India and the Punjab, on the other. At about the same time the Vākātakas must have been occupying the dominant position in the plateau region lying across the Vindhya mountains, extending to a considerable distance on either side. The long reign of Pravarasēna I must either have come to an end, or was drawing to a close, and Pravarasēna's claim to the position of *Samrāt* must have had the effect of stimulating the ambition of Chandragupta I, leading him on to make an effort at an imperial position for himself. The question would have to be settled either by diplomacy, or by war. We have no hint on either side of a war between the two powers; but the Vākātaka inscriptions of the later members of the dynasty drop out the *Samrāt* after Pravarasēna I in describing the other members of the dynasty. It seems therefore clear that Chandragupta I managed to get rid of the only possible rivalry in his effort, and gaining for himself the position of an imperial ruler.

The most powerful of the contemporary states having thus been put out of his way of ambition, Chandragupta I must have carried on some wars against his less powerful neighbours with a view to justify the assumption by him of the title 'Mahārājādhirāja', in regard to which it must be remembered, contemporary inscriptions make a clear distinction. The Vākātaka inscriptions as a whole never mix up the Mahārājādhirāja with the somewhat inferior title 'Mahārāja', and they make the distinction quite clear by applying the higher title in the grants of Pravarasēna II to the contemporary Gupta ruler, and giving themselves only the lower title. Hence the assumption of a title like Mahārājādhirāja by Chandragupta could not have been at the time without signifying his accession to the higher position, and such an accession could not have been brought about except by actual war, or by the threat of it, against his immediate neighbours such as they were. It is likely that he carried on a war against some petty powers on the Bengal frontier, but his principal achievements must have been against his neighbours on the west and north-west. If he got the minor powers to acknowledge his overlordship, this extension of his influence would naturally bring him into contact with the successors of the Kushānas in the Punjab. This state of things is what is inferable from the Meharauli inscription, and the achievement claimed therein against the Bāhlikas would take him as far as the region of Sindh and Surāshtra as the *Purāṇas* do mention three Bāhlikas ruling for thirty years somewhere in that region; to be more precise, South-western Rajputana. This achievement need not be held to mean the destruction of the Śaka power, or

anything so drastic as that, but may be held to mean the defeat of the rulers of that locality and a treaty following thereon. The specific mention of three Bāhlikas in the *Purāṇas*, and the reference to the name as Bāhlikas in the inscriptions may justify our going a little further and stating that it was only this division of the foreigners that were actually defeated, without taking Chandragupta as far out as Bactria.¹ All these doings might have involved a considerable length of time, and Chandragupta's reign need not be held to be a very short one. A reign of thirty years may perhaps be a justifiable estimate, and his rule therefore would have extended from, say, A.D. 310 to 340. This position ascribed to Chandragupta will become clear when we consider the campaigns of Samudragupta and the various powers involved in his wars.

Samudragupta came to the throne therefore, under the most favourable auspices for putting the empire of his father's foundation on a permanent footing not as a mere conventional form, but in real earnest. Great as were his character and accomplishments on the one side, and his actual achievements on the other, we are yet driven to the one fairly well-preserved inscription of his as the solitary source of information for all that he achieved. Even that single source has not been preserved to us in its complete form. There is enough of it however that has come down to us to know his achievements in some detail. The Allahabad pillar inscription of which the first part is badly gone has enough left of the first eight verses which describe his early education and preparation for the exalted position, to know something of his character and accomplishments as a young man. The first two *śloka*s are completely gone, and we could hardly guess what they actually did contain. The third has enough left to give us an idea that he was in the field of letters an accomplished scholar, and enjoyed as such a considerable reputation among men of learning. Then follows the fourth *śloka* which is intact. It states categorically that Chandragupta, his hair standing on end with pleasure, embraced this noble son while the whole of the assembled court breathed easy (in approval), and those of equal birth witnessed with faces saddened by disappointment. Then scanning him round and round with affection, with eyes that would get to the truth and filled with tears the father told him 'May you protect this whole earth for long'. We have thus the clearest indication that he was the son chosen for his worth as successor to the empire. This naturally would have created jealousies against him in some quarters, and possibly even admiration in others, and that seems what is indicated in the *śloka* following.

Śloka 7 then follows and refers to the overthrow at the town of Puṣpa (Pāṭalipura), of two enemies Achyuta and Nāgasēna, and of the capturing of a descendant of Kōṭa-Kula. This seems to imply a war possibly involving an attack on Pāṭalipura itself. Samudragupta overthrew the enemies, destroying two of them and capturing the third. The 8th *śloka* describes him as forming 'the pale of Dharma, possessed of fame white as the rays of the moon, wisdom that pierced to the inward nature of things, and of calmness; following the path of the sacred hymns worthy of study, and capable of writing works which give powerful expression to what is contained in the minds of poets.

¹ It is open to doubt whether the Bāhlikas could be associated with Balkh at all.

These virtues were his. Is there any virtue, wise people consider worthy of possession, that is not in him?' So far about his accomplishments as a literary man, and only one warlike achievement to his credit, that of overthrowing the enemies that attacked him in his capital. The next passage describes his prowess as a warrior, and indicates his achievements by the shining marks of the wounds that he received in a hundred battles by various weapons of war then in legitimate use.

The next prose passage enumerates categorically the 12 kingdoms invaded by Samudragupta and mentions their kings by name who were captured by him and released, in the region of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, India south of the Narbada and Māhishmati.

These are :—

1. Mahēndra	of Kosala
2. Vyāghrarāja	„ Mahākāntāra
3. Maṇṭarāja	„ Kaurālaka
4. Mahēndra or Mahēndragiri	„ Piṣṭāpura
5. Svāmidatta	„ Kottūr
6. Damana	„ Erāṇḍapalli
7. Viṣṇugopa	„ Kanchi
8. Nīlarāja	„ Avamukta.
9. Hastivarman	„ Vengi
10. Ugrasēna	„ Pālaka
11. Kubhera	„ Daivarāṣṭra
12. Dhananjaya	„ Kusthalāpura

and others.

Then follow the kings of Āryyāvartta, namely :—

1. Rudradēva
2. Matila
3. Nāgadatta
4. Chandravarma
5. Gaṇapatiṇāga
6. Nāgasēna
7. Achyuta
8. Nandi
9. Balavarma and others.

He is said further to have reduced to his service, all the forest kings and put under tribute and obedience to his commands, the following border kingdoms :—

1. Samataṭa
2. Dāvaka
3. Kāmarūpa
4. Nēpāla
5. Kartṛpura

He is said similarly to have put under tribute :—

1. The Mālava
2. Ārjunāyana
3. Yaudhēya

4. Madraka
5. Abhira
6. Prārjuna
7. Sanakānika
8. Kāka
9. Karaparika and other tribal states.

His fame as restorer of many kings who had either lost their kingdoms, or been put out of possession, had spread over the whole earth. Distant monarchs like these:—

- | | |
|-------------------|------------|
| 1. Daivaputra | 4. Śaka |
| 2. Shāhi | 5. Muruṇḍa |
| 3. Shāhānu Shāhi. | 6. Simhala |

brought for his acceptance tributes of various kinds, and obtained his orders for the enjoyment of their territory in royal writs bearing the *garuḍa* seal, thus indicating their service to him and spreading the greatness of his valour to the limits of the earth. His mind had deliberately taken upon itself the uplift of the poor, the humble, the helpless and the needy. His anger was kindled only in war; but he came into the world for its benefit, incorporating in himself the powers of Kubhēra, Varuṇa, Indra and Yama. His officials were constantly everywhere restoring to the defeated monarchs, their kingdoms which had been taken away from them by his own deeds of war. His mind was acute and had received excellent training. His accomplishments as a poet and musician were great, and in both these departments he put to shame Brhaspati, and Tumburu and Nārada respectively. He had established his title as a '*kavirāja*' by writing many works which would have proved the means of subsistence for learned men. He was human only to the extent of putting the affairs of the earth in order, but otherwise a celestial being who had made the world his temporary home. Such was the great grandson of *Mahārāja Śrī Gupta*; the grand-son of *Mahārāja Śrī Ghaṭotkacha*, the son of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta*. He was also the daughter's son of the *rāja* of the Lichchavis, and was born of Mahādēvi-Kumārādēvi. This was Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Samudragupta. He planted this pillar as if it were the arm of the earth in order that the fame of his conquest of the whole earth and of the great prosperity that, in consequence, became his, might be proclaimed to heaven itself; whose fame grown in quantity by his valour, by his virtue and by his learning spreads through the three worlds in all directions, making them holy as if it were the white purifying water of the Ganges, first imprisoned in and then released from, the matted locks of Paśupati (Śiva). This *Kavya* was composed by the Sandhi-Vigrahika Kumāra-Amātya Mahādandanāyaka Harisēna son of Mahādandanāyaka Dhruvabhūti Khādyatāpākika whose mind was drawn out by the favour of the great monarch at the service of whose feet this servant had the near access to his person. May this be for the good of the world. This was put into writing by another servant at the feet of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahādandanāyaka Tilabhaṭṭaka.

Matter in this valuable document can be divided readily into two sections. The first of these has relation to his education and accomplishments, and the second related to his achievements of historical value. We may pass over the first and take up the second. He was chosen

from among a number of sons probably, and this choice created both satisfaction and dissatisfaction. This does not appear to have created trouble adequately effective to prevent his accession to the throne. The achievement of Samudragupta against Achyuta, Nāgasēna and the ruler of the Koṭa family in Pushpapura may have been an attack by these monarchs in combination against the capital Patna. Samudragupta achieved distinction in war by playfully defeating and turning them out from the capital. This has apparently reference to an achievement by the prince soon after his nomination by the father, whether it be actually after his accession or no. Achyuta has been identified with a ruler of Ahichchatra as a few of coins on Achyuta in this region are extant. Of the other two Nāgasēna and the *rāja* of Koṭa we have no information that would lead to any identification. That seems to be the only war that Samudragupta had to undertake near home. The rest of his campaigns seem to be cast in the epic form of a *digvijaya*. The direction which called for his attention first was the south and the eleven kingdoms and their rulers mentioned are all of them capable of location along the east coast:—Kosala and Mahākāntāra are both of them regions in the Vindhyas in the eastern half of the peninsula. Piṣṭāpura is what is now known as Piṭṭapuram, which was long the headquarters of one of the petty Chālukya kingdoms in the centuries following. Koṭṭūr or Koṭṭūra may be one of several places of the name in the same region without going so far out as Coimbatore to find a place answering to the name. Ērāṇḍapalli has recently been identified with Elamanchili-Kalinganagara in the Vizagapatam district. Kānchi is the well-known place in the south and the capital of the Pallavas. Avamuktaka has not so far been satisfactorily identified. Vengi mentioned is the Peddavēgi in the Ellore taluk, capital of the Eastern Chālukyas, and the king Hastivarman of this place may have been the Sālankāyana chieftain. Pālaka is another place in the same region which figures oftentimes as one of the alternative capitals of the Pallavas. Daivarāṣṭra has also been identified with Kalinganagara in the Ganjam district. Kusthalāpura also must be a place in that region although the exact identification of the place has not yet been reached.¹ In respect of Kaurālaka, the word from which it is derived would stand Kurāḷa. This had been modified into Kairālaka² and Kerala respectively by Dr. Fleet, and has been fruitful of a considerable amount of misconception in regard to the place itself, and the extent and character of the invasion referred to. It has nothing whatever to do with Kerala, and it will not be surprising if the Kurāḷa of the inscription finds its modern equivalent in Kurdha, the Railway junction. The southern limit of Samudragupta's invasion is undoubtedly Kānchi, and the invasion seems to have been undertaken along the east coast coming probably by the interior road and doubling back along the coast road. There is no need to be unduly sceptical about an actual invasion which could have meant no more than the demand for submission and acknowledgment of the title to *adhirāja* of Samudragupta. The region in the interior

¹ There is a river Kuśasthali south of the Krishna mentioned in the *Kalingattu-parani* poem.

² Here is a tribe of people *kairālaka* mentioned among those of the southern region in the *Bṛhat Samhita* of Varāhamihira (ch. xiv. 11-16). Fleet: *Indian Antiquary*, xvii, 171.

of the Dakhan must have been, as was pointed out already, in the possession of the Vākātakas, at least the greater part of it, and the omission of any place in that region in this southern list is clear indication of the existence of an alliance between the Guptas and the Vākātakas indicated before. If these somewhat petty rulers of the Dakshināpatha acknowledged his authority without a fight, or submitted after showing fight, in either case, the expression that he captured them and set them free again could be justified as a poetical expression. So then, the region of the south, not exactly in the occupation of the Vākātakas, had been brought under subjection by this southern expedition.

The next list has reference to the rulers of Āryyāvartta of whom as many as nine are named. Among the nine no more than two or three are capable of any kind of identification in our present state of knowledge of the political geography of this region; but it must be noted however that the term Āryyāvartta here is not to be taken in the wider sense of the term, and would correspond merely to what the Buddhists called the middle kingdom answering to the region of the Doab with a considerable margin on the western side of the Jumna and taking within it a considerable block of territory in what is now Central India in the south and the Punjab in the north. As the *Purāṇas* have reference to Nāga rulers in Padmāvati (Padam Pāvāya, twenty-five miles north-east of Narwar) and Muttra, Nāgadatta and Gaṇapatīnāga may be regarded as rulers on this particular frontier. The Chandravarman that is referred to here may be the Chandravarman of Pushkarana who claims a victory as far east as the frontiers of east Bengal, and who was probably the author of the Śūsunia inscription. Nāgasēna and Achyuta may be the same rulers already referred to as taking part in the attack on Pāṭalipura. Thus several of these, if not all, were kings of the western frontier, rather an extended frontier, than what could have been the actual western frontier of the ancestral kingdom of the Guptas. The actual conquest of these brought him the submission of the forest tribes of Mahākāntāra without a fight. If the Vyāgra of the Nachnē-ki-Talai can be taken to be the Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, the great forest country would have lain in the region extending from Bundelkhand south-westwards.

The third list has reference to the border kingdoms completely. The first three among them, Samatāṭa, Davāka and Kāmārūpa, are the three kingdoms on the eastern frontier from the Bay of Bengal to the Himalayas in order, and then follow the two sub-Himalayan states of Nepal and Kartripura. That settles the eastern and northern frontiers of his dominions. Along the outer frontier of the west and south-west were the various tribes, and nine such are given in the list next following. The Mālavas are the well-known tribes inhabiting the region of Malwa, perhaps more west than east. Ārjunāyana, Yaudhēya and Madraka must have been tribes occupying the territory extending northwards of the territory of the Mālavas and occupying the eastern part of what is now the Punjab. The Yaudhēyas are actually located in the region of Biyāna, not far from Muttra. The Ābhira, Prārjuna and Sanakānika, seem to have been tribes in the western part of the Vindhyan region and to the northward of it. Kāka and Karaparika are not known from other sources to lead to a location. Then come a

list of kings farther west and south, who are described as distant monarchs. Among these are mentioned Daivaputra, one of the titles assumed by the later Kushāns; the Shāhi, perhaps a Kushān kingdom in the region of Kabul, Shāhanu-Shāhi, the chief of imperial Kushān kingdom in Bactria. Then follow the Śakas in the region of Sindh and farther east, and Muruṇḍa generally taken to be a tribe of the Hunas or the Parthians; and last of all follows Simhala or Ceylon, as if to indicate that between Kāncī of Vishnugopa and distant Ceylon no kingdom had been heard of by name by the great Gupta monarch or his court. This list of the states in different stages of political connection with the rising empire of the Guptas gives us a fairly clear indication of the extent of the Gupta empire at the time. It included the ancestral territory of the Guptas that is the provinces of Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the whole of the Madras Presidency as far south as Kāncī, and the greater half of Central India on the eastern side, and a considerable portion of Rajputana extending to the frontiers of Bhawalpur; the northern frontier perhaps continuing along the banks of the Jhelum and Chenab to the frontier of Kashmir. The part that is omitted in Hindustan is clear. On the east are the independent three kingdoms, on the north are Nepal and others and on the west are the Kushāna and the connected kingdoms extending towards Bactria. The portion omitted in the Central region of Hindustan, particularly the plateau portion and the whole of the Dakhan extending southwards to the end of the plateau is significant. No part of this vast region seems to be included in any of the five lists given separately as kingdoms reduced to subordination, or put under tributary alliance, or in any other way brought into political relationship with Samudragupta. If Samudragupta did do anything with them, by way of bringing about a political relationship of whatever kind it may be, the chances are, he would surely have had it mentioned in this inscription. The fact of the omission is very significant. The whole of this region more or less seems to have been under the Vākātakas, and if their position as an independent power, though in subordinate alliance, had been recognized by his father as was suggested before, we can understand the omission of any reference to them in Samudragupta's inscription. The Vākātakas, as was pointed out already, were apparently the dynasty of Vidhyaśakti of the *Purāṇas*, who held their authority originally in the territory composed of a part of Central India and Berar, and therefrom extended both northwards and southwards to take in at one time all the territory extending from Bundelkhand in the north to the Southern Mahratta country in the south. That would mean practically the whole of the plateau region of Dakhan and Central India, leaving the coast strips on either side and perhaps even the adjacent march of territory in the occupation of other kingdoms. The only chronological datum available so far is the marriage of Chandragupta II's daughter Prabhāvatī with Rudrasēna II, Vākātaka. That would make Rudrasēna II a somewhat younger contemporary of Chandragupta II. The late Dr. Vincent Smith attempts to fix a precise date for this alliance, and takes it to be somewhere about A.D. 390 when he must have effected the conquest of the western Śakas or Kshatrapas. This is hardly necessary from the position, and seems to have little justification in the relative position of the powers. Rudrasēna's immediate predecessor, his father,

was Prithvisēna I, and according to the few details that the Ajanta cave inscription gives us regarding him, he was by far the most powerful member of the dynasty who succeeded to a well-compacted kingdom and ruled over it for a long time. It is in his reign, according to this same inscription, and others ascribable to him, that the Vākātaka territory must have reached the greatest extent. The Ajanta inscription referred to above gives him credit for the conquest of Kuntala, almost the most southerly region of his extended territory, and his own inscriptions are found in the northern part of Bundlekhand, not very far from Allahabad, where a feudatory of his by name Vyāghra¹ had cut out, on the face of the living rock, inscriptions making a gift for the spiritual benefit of his parents. This Prithvisēna must have been the contemporary of Samudragupta, and the omission of any reference to him in the Samudragupta inscription is accounted for as being due to an alliance already entered into with his father Rudrasēna I, or much less possibly, even with himself. In any case the possessions of the Vākātakas in the central block of territory extending from Bundlekhand to Mysore is undoubtedly the reason that Samudragupta's invasions went down as far south as Kānchī and turned back almost along the same road in what is obviously intended for a progress in the style of a *digvijaya*. Prithvisēna therefore would have been a contemporary of Samudragupta, and his son Chandragupta, and it is just possible that Prithvisēna's reign was just contemporary with the last years of that even of Chandragupta I. That Chandragupta II entered into a marriage alliance with the Vākātakas must have been the result of the high position occupied by the Vākātakas as an almost equal power, and must have been the direct outcome of the previous political relationship of the two powers as allies. The probabilities are that Chandragupta II secured this alliance before he undertook his invasion against the Kshatrapas of the west.

In regard to the relationship of Samudragupta with Ceylon we have some unlooked for light from Chinese sources. We are indebted to Prof. Sylvain Levi for making this available to us. The king Mēghavarna of Ceylon, the immediate successor of Mahāsēna ascended the throne according to the Ceylonese chronicle in A.B. 808 or A.D. 325 on the basis of 483 B.C. for the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, and is said to have ruled till A.D. 352. In his reign a couple of Buddhist monks, the senior of the two happening to be his own brother, went on a pilgrimage to Bodh Gaya, and were put to a considerable amount of inconvenience during their stay there as there was no arrangement by which they could find the means for a comfortable existence in the locality which must have been as sequestered a place then as now. On their return home they made a representation to the king that such a holy place of pilgrimage for the Buddhists should be so unprovided with convenience for Ceylonese visitors. The king then sent a mission with presents to Samudragupta and obtained his permission to build a *Vihāra* and a rest-house, chiefly with a view to meet the convenience of the Ceylonese travellers, on the northern side of where the Bodhi-tree is, and that is believed to be a building that stands yet notwithstanding a certain number of occasions in which it had undergone destruction and renovation. Whether Samudragupta had any other communication with the Ceylon monarch we do not know. This is

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, LV, 225 ff.

enough to indicate the establishment of a relationship of international courtesy between the two states. This mission from Ceylon must have taken place after A.D. 352, if the Ceylonese chronology is to be accepted. We shall probably have to accept it as it is almost a contemporary statement of the Ceylonese Buddhist records (and it is not impossible that there were periods in Ceylonese history when the date of the Nirvana was taken to be not 544-3 B.C.). If this mission had been undertaken by the Ceylonese monarch as the result of the great reputation of Samudragupta as his Harisēna inscription makes us believe, then he must have made all his conquests so-called before that date. There is nothing impossible in this assumption as, in fact, the formidable list of conquests on the face of it could not have involved any very large amount of fighting. The conquests seem to have been of the nature of a progress demanding tokens of submission with the set object of celebrating a *Rajasūya* or an *Aśvamedha*. We are in fact told that Samudragupta did celebrate the *Aśvamedha*, and had signaled the event by the issue of an *Aśvamedha* type of coins. If Chandragupta I had brought his immediate neighbours into subjection to himself by war, what Samudragupta had to do was merely to follow up his father's performance and establish his claims to the empire by demanding and obtaining the formal submission of the surrounding kings and governments which had already either been brought under subjection, or signified their acknowledgment of subordination. So, therefore the whole scheme is one of progress with a view to the celebration of the *Aśvamedha* which must have been celebrated sometime between A.D. 350 and A.D. 360.

Samudragupta was a sovereign of great parts and varied accomplishments, and seems to have had a remarkable turn of mind for literature and fine arts. Apart from the statement in the Harisēna inscription that, in point of intellectual acumen, he put Brihaspati, the guru of the Dēvas to shame; and in music, Tamburu and Nārada, the divine founders of the art, the very legends on his coins indicate his unmistakable partiality for literature. Not taking into consideration the marriage type of coins which we have ascribed to Chandragupta I, there are seven types ascribed to him without a doubt, of which one belongs to Kācha. (1) Whether Kācha is another name of Samudragupta, or whether it was the name of an elder brother who succeeded to the throne immediately after the death of Chandragupta I, is matter on which there is yet no unanimity of opinion. In the face of the specific statement in the inscription of Harisēna that Samudragupta was the chosen of his father as successor, it seems unlikely on the face of it that another son should have set up as his father's successor, and brought on a civil war, of which apparently there is absolutely no hint given in the inscription itself. It is quite probable that Kācha was only another name of Samudragupta; it may merely be an abbreviated part of the name of Ghaṭotkacha, the grandfather. (2) There is one other specimen of Samudragupta's coins, the so-called tiger type. The obverse legend on it is 'Vyāghraparākrama' (having the valour of the tiger), and the reverse legend is merely 'Rāja Samudragupta'. If it could not be regarded as an issue of Samudragupta while yet he was a prince, it must have been his earliest issue. Even so, it would be difficult to explain the simple title *Rāja*. The other five types all of them give invariably his name on the obverse followed by a verse or

prose piece, the most striking word from it being chosen for the reverse title. (3) On the standard type we have the obverse legend *Samara-sata vilata-vijayo jitāriparājito divam jayati* (the victor of a hundred wars, unknown to defeat by his enemies, wins heaven). The reverse legend is simply *Parākrama* which might be regarded as synonymous with the longer legend on the obverse. (4) On the archer type is the legend *apratiratho vijitya kṣitim sucharitaiḥ divam jayati* (the unmatched charioteer, having conquered the earth, wins heaven by good deeds). This takes on the reverse legend *apratirathah*, the first world of the obverse legend. (5) In the battle-axe type, the obverse legend given is *Kṛtānta-parasur-jayati-ajitarāja-jeta-jitah* (the battle-axe of death, the conqueror of unconquered kings, unconquered of them, conqueror). The reverse legend is the first word *Kṛtānta-parasu*. On the so-called Kācha coin there is a similar legend, and that is what casts a doubt upon the propriety of ascribing it to a different person. The obverse legend is *Kācho gām avajitya divam-karmabhir-uttamair jayati* (Kācha having acquired the world, wins heaven by excellent deeds). The reverse legend is *Sarvarājocchēttā* (the unrooter of all kings) which might be held to be synonymous with the obverse legend. (6) In the so-called lyrist type there is the simple obverse legend *Maharājadhirāja Śrī Samudragupta*. On the reverse is the equally simple *Samudragupta*. (7) On the *Aśvamēdha* type is the obverse legend *Rajadhirājah-prithvīm-avajitya-divam-jayati apratikrama*. The corresponding reverse legend is *Aśvamēdhaparākrama*. Most of these obverse legends could be picked up in the Harisena inscription itself, or in those of his successors who most of them seem to have copied the expressions used in this document, and which may be in others that have not come down to us.

As a result of this detailed study, the position of Samudragupta stands out thus. He ascended the throne of his father by the choice of the latter, and the territory to which he thus became ruler consisted, to begin with, of the compact block constituting the provinces of Bihar and the United Provinces of the present day, almost completely. The Jumna might be regarded as a boundary on the west as far down as Allahabad, and an indefinite line proceeding southwards therefrom. On the eastern side of the river Ganges and its tributaries of the delta mark the boundary, and this river boundary is to be continued more or less in a straight line northwards from the bend of the river to the frontiers of Sikkim. Samudragupta's achievement actually amounts to this. He began by beating off such enemies as attempted a dismemberment of the infant empire, and proceeded to secure the territory along the doubtful frontier of the southwest and the west. The condition of affairs on this frontier was such that the only way of asserting his overlordship was by uprooting the petty rulers of the various kingdoms, and reducing them to complete vassalage or by a complete annexation of their territory. He seems actually to have adopted both methods in respect of these states. As an indirect consequence of this he brought the forest kingdoms and the tribes ruling in them to complete subordination as well. These two conquests actually extended his frontier on this side to take in practically the whole of eastern Malva, and bring him into touch with the Kshatrapas ruling over the provinces of Konkan, Surāshtra and perhaps even western Malva. That would involve the absorption of the territories

dependent upon Vidiśa, and the extension of the frontier right down to Māhishmati (or Māndhātā). As a consequence of this extension, the Vākātakas must have been pushed back from Central India and confined to territory south of the Vindhya mountains. He seems to have managed this without actually going to war, thereby continuing perhaps the policy of his father in regard to this contemporary dynasty of powerful rulers. This would satisfactorily explain the recognition of the Vākātaka Prithviśēna's overlordship by the Vyāghrarāja of the Nachnē-ke-Talai and other epigraphs in northern Bundelkhand. This settles the relation between the two powerful states and leaves only the outer margin of the coast on the eastern and on the western side of the Peninsula for Samudragupta to bring under his influence. His southern campaign had that object in view and no more. He undertook no campaign along the west coast as there was hardly any need for him to do so. Prithviśēna I, the Vākātaka contemporary of Samudragupta was a great monarch who extended his territory as far south as Kuntala, and in the process of this expansion must have been responsible for the reduction of the power of the Kshatrapas, so that the Konkan portion of the Kshatrapa territory had been, in all probability, annexed to the territory of the Vākātakas themselves. The Kshatrapas therefore remained confined to their corner in Surāshtra, perhaps stretching out to retain their hold on south-western Malva. The eastern and northern frontiers are clearly defined and the natural boundaries are taken advantage of to get into diplomatic relations with the states beyond them. Along the north-west he does not appear to have done anything warlike, but was content with bringing them into diplomatic relations of acceptance, more or less, of this overlordship. This done, he could celebrate his *Aśvamēdha* in the acceptable orthodox style.

One event of some importance recorded in distant Ceylonese history seems to make the southern invasion of Samudragupta a real historical event. It was already pointed out that the Ceylonese contemporary of Samudragupta was Śrī Mēghavarṇa who ascended the throne in A.D. 352 and ruled for twenty-eight years. In the ninth year of his reign it is recorded in the *Mahāvamsā*, a Kalinga princess by name Hēmamālā had to fly from her country and her father's capital Dantapura, with the tooth relic of the Buddha in her possession for the safety of the latter. The occasion for this flight is said to have been the invasion of the Yavana Rakta-Bāhu.¹ She landed in the region called the 'Diamond Sands' located about the mouth of the Krishna, and therefrom set sail again under more favourable conditions and arrived safely in Ceylon with the precious relic. The Ceylon monarch built for the relic a shrine in the Mahāvihāra, and ordered that thereafter, an annual festival should be celebrated by carrying the relic in procession headed by himself from the Mahāvihāra to the Abhayagiri Vihāra, where the holy object was housed and worshipped for ninety days. At the end of this period it was to be taken back in procession and restored to its permanent place in the Mahāvihāra. Fa-Hien who was in Ceylon in the year A.D. 412 describes this festival as he saw it. The invasion of Rakta-Bāhu referred to must have taken place a year or two earlier than the ninth year of the Ceylon

¹ R. Sewell in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxv, p. 293.

ruler, the year A.D. 361. The date of this event may therefore be 359 or 360. The Yavana association of the tradition notwithstanding, could it not be regarded as the invasion of Samudragupta who lays claim to a conquest of this region, and the defeat of the ruler of Kalinga? The only Yavana invasion that may be regarded as at all possible about this time is the invasion of the region by the Śakas and others associated with the Kshatrapas of the west. These must have suffered by the extension of the Vākātaka power under Prithvisēna I. The assumption of Śakas or Yavanas escaping from the west after suffering a defeat, and undertaking a successful invasion of the east coast of peninsular India across the territory of the Vākātakas seems quite possible. If Samudragupta's invasion on the contrary proved of a destructive character from the point of view of the Buddhists and the Buddha relics, the name Yavana invasion need not be particularly surprising. The only other possibility seems to be that the armies of Samudragupta had a Yavana contingent among them who proved particularly destructive in regard to this region. In any case this seems to indicate the interesting fact that the diplomatic relation between Mēghavarṇa and Samudragupta is made the more probable by this tradition connected with this Buddha relic. It thus becomes clear that Samudragupta's influence as a great ruler of India certainly did reach distant Ceylon in the south, and possibly the Pārasikas in the west and the Hūnas in the north. With this detailed study of Samudragupta's achievement before us it becomes more tenable to postulate that Raghu's Digvijaya of Kālidāsa is nothing more than a poetical exposition of the actual achievements of Samudragupta. The epic writer rounds off the dig-Vijaya by throwing into his list that which the historical document actually omits. Raghu planted his flag on the crest of Mahēndragiri, and passed on south to the country of the Kaveri. Then he planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tamraparṇi and marched southwestwards to make another pillar of victory of the mountain Trikūṭa. He proceeded across the Vindhya and set forward on the western expedition against the Pārasikas along the land route, and marched northwards from the frontier of the Pārasikas to the territory of the Hūnas, coming round by way of Badakshan and Khotan and re-entering the plains of Hindustan along the Shipe-ke route to come to the river Jumna.

V

SAMUDRAGUPTA¹

Samudragupta, in many respects by far the most distinguished member of a distinguished dynasty, has been brought to the notice of historians as the result of the comparatively newly organized Archaeological Department of the Government of India. Though something was known of him to the early Archaeologists and an attempt had been made to interpret some of the inscriptions of the Guptas, it is to the labours of the late Dr. Vincent Smith that we are indebted for the knowledge that we possess of this interesting and eminent ruler of India. It is

¹ By permission from the 'Mysore University Magazine,' December 1923.

Vincent Smith's study of the Gupta coins that started him in the course of research. He had all along been keeping himself alive to all that was made available in regard to the subject during the last thirty years and more, examining critically every piece of information brought to the notice of the public and incorporating the new material in various articles from time to time, so that he could give us a more or less full account of the monarch and his achievements in the latest edition of his book, *Early History of India*, which has now become the standard work on Indian History for the period. Notwithstanding the sustained labours of the late lamented scholar and his successful achievement, Samudragupta's is a character that would bear re-study from many points of view, and a new presentation of it may not be altogether superfluous. The late Dr. Smith, perhaps by an unhappy inspiration, described Samudragupta as the Indian Napoleon, and thus gave to his achievements a character which on closer scrutiny it does not bear. This description had the further consequence of completely overshadowing the achievements of his father so that Chandragupta I suffered the same fate that Philip of Macedon did. Both alike were ignored by the historians, because each of them had the good fortune to be the father of a son greater than himself. It is easy to demonstrate that Samudragupta would have been impossible but for Chandragupta I, as an Alexandar has been proved to be impossible without Philip before him.

In the third century of the Christian era the Guptas were comparatively a minor dynasty like many others of the kind, ruling over Magadha with the territory on the banks of the Ganges dependent on Prayāga (Allahabad) and Sākēta (Oudh). That there were Gupta rajas in this territory about that time, and perhaps even earlier, is known to us from the notes of the Chinese traveller I-Tsing who was in Nalanda in the second half of the seventh century. This Chinese traveller refers to a grant made to the Nalanda University where he studied, by a Mahārāja Śrī Gupta 500 years before his time, which would mean that there was a Mahārāja Śrī Gupta ruling the territory in the second century A.D. This family remained in obscurity to the end of the third century when it came into some prominence. It is probably in regard to this period of their history that the *Purānas* make the reference quoted at the head of the paragraph. To Chandragupta, the father of Samudragupta, is due the credit of bringing this dynasty to prominence. After the death of the great Kushan ruler Vāsudēva, the empire of the Kushans must have broken up, and the outer territories belonging to the Empire must have fallen away from the imperial authority and set themselves up in independence. Magadha and the territory dependent thereon must have taken advantage of the confusion, under the Guptas, and achieved its own independence. Probably the territory of the kingdom of Magadha was surrounded by kingdoms or states over which petty rulers or tribal chieftains held sway. The advance therefore of the Guptas to a position of dominant influence must have come about as a result of the building up of a superior military power and political connections. We have no information as to the manner in which the military power of the Guptas developed, but one act of Chandragupta which gained for him a considerable amount of political influence has come to our knowledge in the Gupta monuments and records recently made accessible to us. Coins usually ascribed to Samudragupta contain effigies of the king and the queen,

the latter of whom is described as a Lichchavi princess. These coins also show on the reverse a goddess seated on a throne, perhaps representing the Sri or prosperity of the Lichchavis. The Gupta inscriptions generally make much of this marriage alliance so that we may take it that the alliance was regarded as of the highest importance by the Guptas themselves. The marriage not only brought to Chandragupta the alliance of the influential tribe of the Lichchavis, but also must have brought accession of territory along with it. Otherwise representation of the goddess of the Lichchavis and the addition of the coin legend 'Lichchavayah' on the coins would have no particular significance. This would have rounded off his territory on a side which was perhaps the most vulnerable from the point of view of the territory of Magadha, as we know from the previous history of the kingdom. It seems possible also to ascribe to him some warlike achievements against the peoples of Bengal on the one side, and of 'the Bāhlikas across the seven mouths of the Indus' from the inscription on the iron pillar in the Kutb-Minar at Delhi, though this inscription is ascribed by some scholars to others. It is some such achievement that must have raised Chandragupta I to the dignity of a 'Mahārājādhirāja,' as otherwise his neighbours would not have acquiesced in his assumption of this suzerain title. It may therefore be taken that both by the diplomatic alliance with the Lichchavis and by some warlike acts against powerful neighbours, Chandragupta raised the Gupta family of Mahārājās to the superior dignity of an *adhirāja* or empire. This is what is symbolized in certain of the coins of the Guptas where the effigy of the king is shown with an umbrella raised above his head, which, whether the coins were actually issued by Chandragupta I or by his successors, would have no significance, unless it be that Chandragupta I was the man who raised the family to the imperial dignity. It was to the territory and dignity of this Chandragupta I that Samudragupta succeeded.

Samudragupta was born of the Lichchavi princess Kumāradevi to Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty. It seems that Samudragupta was not the only son, and possibly not even the oldest among them. Either because of his extraordinary natural powers or because he exhibited great aptitude, he was, for princes, very carefully and very highly educated. He is described in the one document that has come down to us as having delighted in the company of the learned, and as a great master in the art of getting to the root of things. He enjoyed among the learned great fame in the exposition of excellent classics, and perhaps even in the production of some. The course of education prescribed to princes was, in those days, comprehensive. We get a few glimpses of the course through various inscriptions of which the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavēla, the Kalinga raja, describes the course in the greatest detail. The whole course appears then to have comprised a knowledge of the Veda, specially *Rig* and *Saman*; mathematics; composition, particularly of state documents; *Rūpam* or study of coinage, *Vyavahāra* or law; in addition the art of elephant-riding, horse-riding and archery, etc., and finally even such subjects as *Vaisikr-vidya*, the arts of public women. A king was required to undergo his early education and give himself a liberal course of physical training up to the age of fifteen. Then for the nine years following he was expected to specialize in subjects of direct value to the

position of a ruler, viz., such subjects the knowledge of which would enable him to control effectively the working of the various departments which centered at the headquarters of the monarch. Having been so carefully educated and made, thanks to his own innate intelligence and careful nurture, such excellent progress, he attained the position of a prince most excellently equipped for the difficult and responsible position of the sovereign of a rising empire which had just got under way for a prosperous voyage through the exertions of his father Chandragupta I. Chandragupta I had apparently reached a stage in his life when he felt the need of committing the charge of his state to a capable successor, and having scanned carefully all the details, the qualities and accomplishments of those eligible for succession he made up his mind in the open Durbar and indicated that the worthiest was Samudragupta. With his eyes full of rolling tears, intent solely upon discovering real character and worth, and with his hair standing on end, he embraced the prince Samudragupta exclaiming 'what a worthy son!'; and said to the great relief of the assembled courtiers, the faces of those with equal claims fading, 'may you rule the whole earth.' Seeing many of his super-human deeds of valour, several became attached to him; subdued by the valour of his arms, others rendered obedience to him; and thus he became very popular. He was given an early occasion for exhibiting his valour, when he was attacked in Pātalipura by Achyuta, Nāgasēna and perhaps other kings, one of whom is described as belonging to the Koṭa family. He destroyed the armies of all of them as if in mere play, and turned them all away hulked of their ambitions. He set himself up as the protector of *dharma*, possessed of unsullied fame, pleasing the learned, subduing the wicked and gaining in the world the objects worthy of attaining. He was well versed in the path of the Veda. He excelled in the composition of literary works which outdistanced the most excellent performances of learned poets, and thus became the only worthy person to be thought of by those that excelled in intellectual possessions and good qualities. With accomplishments so varied and excellent, Samudragupta occupied the throne of his father, and it was his function to bring to full fruition the ambition of his father to make the Guptas the suzerain power in India.

We have already seen that Samudragupta's accession was challenged by enemies who must have been in the immediate neighbourhood. The names of Achyuta and Nāgasēna among those that attacked him in his capital Pushpapura figure among the kings of Aryyāvartta in the list of those that he is said to have conquered. It is therefore possible that Achyuta ruled somewhere about Ahichchatra as the late Dr. Smith surmised. Nāgasēna was probably a ruler in the immediate neighbourhood. It would conduce to clearness of understanding if we could make a general survey of the political condition of India at the time, before we detail the various conquests of his. The period of Samudragupta may be taken to be the middle forty or fifty years of the fourth century after Christ. That was a time when the Kushana empire had gone to pieces completely with even the possibility of a foreign invasion from the newly installed Sassanian rulers of Persia, of the region of the Punjab. Such of the Kushanas as survived must have become more or less petty rulers. Then there seems to have been a fringe of states some of them held by kings, and others still in

the state of tribal constitution, lying in a line beginning from Delhi and Muttra and extending southwards through all Central India and Malva. Immediately behind them and beginning from the region of the southern bank of the Ganges between Allahabad and Benares, or even further eastwards, and extending across the Vindhya mountains southwards, lay the great forest countries under a number of petty chieftains. Then immediately to the east lay the territory of Magadha with that of the Lichchavis on the northern side of the river extending as far east as where the Ganges actually turns southwards to reach the sea. This block was the territory under the control of the Guptas directly and came into touch on the southern side with the territory of Kalinga. South of that, what was the Andhra empire had broken up into a number of petty states of which about half-a-dozen are enumerated in the *Purāṇas*. Further south was the region of the Tamil country getting under the control of the newly rising power of the Pallavas with the well-known three kingdoms of the farther south. The whole of the Dakhan was under a dynasty which is known as that of the Vākātakas, and, in its best days, extended from Kuntala in the south to Bundelkhand in the north. This extent of territory the Vākātakas must have attained to perhaps in the last days of their ruler Pravarasēna, and perhaps before the rise of Chandragupta. It is however clearly ascribed to the ruler Prithvisēna of the Vākātakas, whom we have good reasons to regard as contemporary with Samudragupta. The coast region between the Western Ghats and the sea was under other rulers, perhaps for the most part of it under the declining rule of the foreign dynasty of the Kshatrapas of Gujarat and northern Konkan. The territory east of the Ganges and the region at the foot of the Himalayas remained divided among eight or ten rulers, and the region of the north-west frontier extending down to the sea was under a number of foreign potentates. This was the political division of the country at the time that Samudragupta had placed himself firmly upon the throne, and looked about for the successful completion of his father's efforts at the establishment of the empire of the Guptas.

According to the *prastuti* of Harisēna therefore, Samudragupta set forward upon his expedition for a conquest of the quarters (*dig-vijaya*). If the order of recital of Harisēna is to be taken as indicating the actual order of Samudragupta's conquests, he seems to have invaded the southern districts first, but it is possible that this is merely due to the fact that a *dig-vijaya* should begin and proceed towards the right (*pradakshina*), as it is unlikely that Samudragupta would have started forward on an invasion of the distant south leaving his flank and rear exposed to hostile action. In any case, it would conduce to clearness to follow the record in this particular. His southern invasion seems to have begun with an attack upon the ruler of Kosala. There are twelve rulers, according to one enumeration it may be only eleven, that he conquered in this southern invasion, all of whom, he restored each in his position respectively on their tendering submission. The first ruler to be thus conquered is Mahēndra of Kosala; and the next one is Vyāghra-rāja of Mahākāntāra. The relative position of these rulers has to be settled before proceeding further. Kosala generally is the country of Oudh, but it is often referred to as Uttara-Kosala. For an invader proceeding southwards from Magadha as his centre, this cannot be the Kosala that is meant. There are two other divisions of this

name that we know of: Mahā-Kosala and southern Kosala. It is apparently these divisions that are under reference here. These must have been in a direction south or south-west of Magadha. The country of Kosala included a considerable part of what is now the Central Provinces and the hinterland of Orissa. We have some inscriptions of a Vyāghrarāja, as a feudatory of the Vākātika sovereign Prithvisēna I. Two inscriptions of his have come down to us in a place called Nachne-ki-Talai not far from Jasso in Bundelkhand; and a third in about the same region; probably that is the Vyāghrarāja that is referred to here, and according to this record, his territory is described as Mahākāntāra. This forest country must have been next adjoining the Kosala country and should have stretched southwards almost from the banks of the Ganges to, and perhaps even very much past, the Vindhya mountains. The Vindhyan forests were proverbially the great forest region according to all Indian literary tradition. The region of Kosala therefore would be immediately south of Magadha with a westward trend, and Mahākāntāra would be to the west of it with a southward trend. The next ruler that he attacked was a Maṇṭa-rāja, the Kaurālaka. This last word might well mean, belonging to Kurala. It is possible to equate Kurala with the modern Khurda and the place may have to be looked for in the region of Kalinga, the modern territory of Orissa. A people by name Kaurālaka are referred in the *Brhat Samhita*, and the reference may be to these. Long identification with Kērala has been found unsatisfactory since, and must be given up. The next ruler attacked is generally taken to be Mahēndra ruler of Pishtāpura. The whole expression is '*Paishtāpuraka Mahēndra giri Kauttūraka Svāmidatta*'. The problem here is how to break the words. It is generally taken to be Paishtāpuraka Mahēndra, Mahēndra of Pishtāpur, and then giri-Kauttūraka Svāmidatta, Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūr on the hill. It seems however that only one ruler is mentioned and that is Svāmidatta. He was ruler probably of Pishtāpura and Mahēndragiri-Koṭṭūr, which would mean nothing more than that the territory probably included what were two kingdoms with the two important capitals, Pishtāpura and Koṭṭūr on or near Mahēndragiri. This latter seems preferably the interpretation as in Raghu's *dig-vijaya*, Kālidāsa is content with stating for this part that the taking of Mahēndragiri was tantamount to the conquest of the whole kingdom. The next ruler happens to be Damana of Erāṇḍapalli. There is an Erāṇḍapalli in the Ganjam district with which this has been identified by the epigraphists. Then follows Vishnugopa of Kānchi. Then Nīlārāja of Avamukta. Kānchi is the well-known Pallava capital, and Vishnugopa probably a Pallava sovereign. We do not know either of Avamukta or of Nīlārāja. The next ruler is Hastivarman of Vengi. Vengi is the Peddavēgi, the ruins of which exist to-day, a few miles from modern Ellore; and a Hastivarman as ruler of that place belonging to the family of Sālankāyanas is known of about this period. The next ruler overthrown was Ugrasēna of Pālaka. Pālaka is a place often referred to in Pallava inscriptions, and seems to have been one of their northern capitals. It must be looked for in the region of the lower Krishna. The next ruler is Kubhēra of Daivarāshtra, and Daivarāshtra has recently been identified with Elamanchili in the Vizagapatam district, with its head-quarters probably at Elamanchili and then comes Dhananjaya of Kusthālapura.

So far, we know nothing either about the ruler or about his capital. These southern rulers he is said to have conquered, and, when they had agreed to submit, restored them to their possessions. An opinion has recently been expressed by Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil that this is all mere fiction, and perhaps the very most that could be conceded to Samudragupta would be an invasion as far as the northern parts of the Madras presidency where he must have been stopped by the activity of the southern rulers under perhaps the lead of the Pallava sovereign for the time being. While one might readily admit the possibility of exaggeration it would be doing something very different, if this interpretation should be accepted. If it is mere meaningless hyperbole why omit the kingdoms south of Kānchi? There at least was the Pāndya kingdom which the almost contemporary Kālidāsa found it necessary to mention in the conventional *dig-vijaya* of Raghu. The fact of an invasion as far south as Kānchi must be admitted, and why Samudragupta was satisfied with the simple submission of these south Indian monarchs will be understood readily if the particular purpose of his invasion is properly understood. We shall come to that question later. Probably he returned to his headquarters and started on a similar expedition of conquest of the kings of Āryyāvarṭta, that is the middle region of Hindusthan usually described in Buddhist records as Madhyadēsa. Here nine princes are referred to without specifying either the capitals or the countries over which they ruled. They were probably all of them comparatively petty chieftains who held small tracts of country under their rule on the immediate frontier of the united kingdom of Magadha and the territory of the Lichchavis. They must all perhaps be looked for in the Gangetic Doab and just outside along the borderland of Central India and Rajputana. The sovereigns are in their order

Rudradēva,	Matila,	Nāgadatta,
Chandravarman,	Ganapatināga,	Nāgasēna,
Achyuta,	Nandi,	Balavarman.

Nāgasēna and Achyuta were probably the same rulers that attacked Samudragupta in Pātalipura soon after his accession. They probably held territory in the Doab. Ganapatināga was probably a Nāga chieftain who held rule further south with capital Padmāvati, near Narwar in Central India. Chandravarman was probably the same person as the Chandravarman of the inscription on the rock of Susunia near Raniganj, whose territory probably lay to the west in Rajputana. It is just possible that he carried a raid across the whole territory of Magadha in the absence of Samudragupta, from his territory in the western borders of Rajputana. Of all others, we know nothing more than that they were rulers of Āryyāvarṭta. The conquest of these rulers of Āryyāvarṭta is said to have brought him the submission of all the forest chieftains who showed their readiness to render obedience and pay tribute without further action. Then he got his authority accepted in the five frontier kingdoms of which three were on the east and two to the north of Magadha. The three eastern were Samatāṭa, Davāka and Kāmarūpa, embracing the territory on the east of the Ganges from the sea to the Himalayas: the two northern were the kingdom of Nepal, and Kartripura to the west of it along the foot of the Himalayas. This would bring his north-western frontier into touch with what was the territory of the Kushan empire. The frontier

kingdoms were merely called upon to render allegiance and acknowledge his overlordship which would have put them in a position of more or less subordinate alliance. Then he conquered as many as nine tribes whom he laid under tribute, of whom we happen to know the location of some. These tribes were the

Mālavas,	Arjunāyana,	Yaudhēya
Madraḥ,	Ābhira,	Prārjuna,
Sanakānika,	Kāka,	Karaparika
and others.		

Of these the Mālavas were probably an extensive tribe inhabiting a region which goes by their name, Malwa. The Arjunāyanas were probably a tribe not very far from them. Some inscriptions of the Yaudhēyas would locate them in the territory round Biāna southwards of Muttra on the borderland of the desert. The Madrakas must have been in the region occupied by the Phulkian Sikhs in modern times. The Ābhira were an extensive tribe which occupied the territory including the whole of Bundelkhand and a very considerable part of the Central Provinces so that at one time their capital was somewhere in Bundelkhand, at another in Mahishmati on the Narbada (Māndhātā). Inscriptions refer to the Sanakānika in the region of Sanchi, but of the other three tribes we do not as yet know anything except the name.

These achievements spread his name far and wide so that distant monarchs sought his friendship and alliance. Among these distant monarchs are mentioned the

Daivaputa,	Shāhi,	Shāhānushāhi,
The Śaka,	Murunda,	Simhala.

Of these, it is possible to take the first three to indicate nothing more than the Kushanas. It is equally probable that these refer to three petty states which stood out as representing the dismembered Kushan empire of the previous age. The next the Śakas and Murunda are generally taken to be separate tribes while it is possible that they were one and the same, and might refer to the Śaka-Kshatrapas of Gujarat, Konkan and farther west. The last Simhala is Ceylon and we have good reason for taking it that the Ceylonese ruler was in some kind of diplomatic relation with him from Chinese records.

The whole series of these conquests as detailed in the one elaborate inscription that has come down to us of this great ruler had for their object nothing more than the bringing under the control and influence of one suzerain monarch, the whole territory included in the area which in the best of its days constituted the empire of Asoka. It must be borne in mind that this record of Samudragupta is indited on a pillar which carries on it an Asoka inscription as well. Did Samudragupta then emulate the exploits of Asoka? Did he, in fact, know the history of Asoka or the extent of his empire and could he have read the document on the pillar of Asoka? The answer to this question may be given in the affirmative for certain reasons. If you arrange the territories described in detail in the Harisēna inscription of Samudragupta in order, you will find that it more or less answers to the territory under the rule of Asoka. This may be a mere coincidence, but then why does the deliberate *prastāva* stop short in the southern invasion at Kānchi? Why does it not go farther south? In a mere exaggerated account, not merely of his achievements but of the panegyrist's ascription of these achievements to the ruler, it would be

difficult to find a satisfactory explanation that the panegyrist found some reason for stopping short at Kānchi for a mere conventional *dig-vijaya*: in fact Kālidāsa's conventional *dig-vijaya* of Raghu does not stop short there at all, but continues on to the Kaveri and farther south to the Pandya country, and across the peninsula to Aparānta and farther westwards therefrom against the Pārasikas. So the limitation imposed here is not by any convention of the panegyrist. We may justifiably infer therefore that the limitation was imposed by the political circumstances of the time and by the actual fact of achievement of this sovereign. Samudragupta's ambition was not like Alexander's for more worlds to conquer. It was rather the ambition more well formed than that, of uniting the territories of India that could possibly be united, under one ruler, with a view to set the whole country on a prosperous career on the basis of an efficiently protected frontier and well-ordered administration. The scientific frontier sighed for in vain by recent English statesmen was a frontier that had been achieved by Chandragupta, and probably retained under his grandson Asoka. Did Samudragupta then know the extent of the empire of Asoka? It is quite possible he did.

The *prasasti* of Samudragupta that we are discussing has in one part of it an expression which seems to give us the explanation that he possibly read the inscription of Asoka on the pillar on which he recorded his own *prasasti*. Line 27 of the inscription relates to a description of the special accomplishments of this ruler; and the details given there are that 'in his trained and cultured intellect, he put the counsellor of the gods (Bṛhaspati) to shame; in the accomplishment of music, he put the divine votaries of the art, Tumburu and Nārada, to shame; he established his right to the title of *kavirāja*, by composing many *kāvya*s which might have proved the means of living for men of learning; his wonderful and generous achievements would take long to detail for a panegyrist; he was human only to the extent of his having to carry on the affairs of the world, and he otherwise was a god, who had made the earth his temporary home'. Leaving the other details which are not relevant to the discussion, the point that calls for attention is the term *kavirāja*, and what it signifies. It has generally been interpreted so far as meaning nothing more than 'a king of poets,' a term of courtesy applied to a skilful exponent of the art of poetry; but the term *kavirāja* is a technical one, and has got a meaning of its own. There are ten classes of authors of works detailed, among whom the fifth is the class of *mahākavi*. This title is given to one who has acquired the capacity to understand everything that may be written in a language, and could, in his turn, compose any kind of specified work in that particular language. The term *kavirāja* is one of higher proficiency, and is given only to those who have attained to similar proficiency, not in one, but more than one language; and this efficiency in a variety of languages is generally limited to three, Sanskrit, Prakrit and what is called *dēśa-bhāṣa*, the vernacular. The way that the term is used in the record, and the description that is given of Samudragupta's title to the term indicates a proficiency in many languages, and if the many languages have to be interpreted in the usual way, it must be proficiency in Sanskrit, the Prakrit language most prevalent in the country to which the author belongs and the local dialect that may have been current at the time. The Prakrit language of Magadha must be something which came

very near Pali, and if he were a man of the proficiency of a *kavirāja* it is not impossible that he could have managed to read and understand the drift of the edicts of Asoka, on the pillar at any rate on which he had put his own inscription. Asoka's boast was that he established the *dharma*, and Samudragupta is described as *dharma-prācīrabandhaḥ*, the protecting door of the garden of *dharma*.

There is another feature of Samudragupta's records that have come down to us which would offer an explanation equally satisfactory. Most of his coin legends have a text answering generally to the idea that by conquering the world and contributing materially to its happiness, he won heaven. His ideal therefore as a ruler was to so order his patrimony and conduct the administration as to enable him to leave this world with good deeds so well accomplished as to assure him his position in heaven. This means therefore as a first necessity the assurance of protection to the people from calamitous wars within and devastating foreign invasions from without. This could be done only by the establishment of an empire, and that empire could be established both by war and by diplomacy—diplomacy as far as it can go efficiently, and war where diplomacy failed. The accomplishment of a united empire is signalized by the celebration of the imperial *aśvamedha* sacrifice. Samudragupta issued a class of coins described generally as the *aśvamedha* type containing a similar obverse legend to the others put in these words, *Rājādhirājah prithvīm avajitya divam jayati aprativārya vīryah*. Literally translated, it means 'king of kings, having conquered the world conquers heaven—the unopposed warrior'. On the reverse is the legend *Aśvamedha Parākrama*, the man of valour who celebrated the *aśvamedha*. These legends give us the indication that Samudragupta set before himself the ideal of attaining heaven by the performance of his royal duties according to the ideals of the time. He therefore felt that he must bring about a united empire to exist, set the seal of the accomplishment of such an empire by the celebration of the far-framed royal sacrifice of the *aśvamedha*, and by these means assured to himself the attainment of heaven in the life to come.

It was already pointed out at the commencement that it was his father Chandragupta I that set forward the Gupta kingdom well on the way to the achievement of the empire. It would have been noticed that Samudragupta lays claim to having either conquered and brought under his influence, or otherwise achieved the same object, the various areas of India under other rulers. But there is a significant omission of the area which might be described as the tableland of the Dakhan, the narrow stretch of country described as Konkan along the West Coast and Gujarat. Of these, the tableland of the Dakhan and a part even of the farther south of the Vindhya belonged, at the time of Chandragupta himself, to another family of powerful rulers known to epigraphists under the name of the Vakātakas. This dynasty of rulers seems to have had their origin somewhere in the modern province of Barar, and came to prominence in the century of anarchy that followed the disruption of the Andhra empire. They spread themselves northwards and extended their territory almost up to the banks of the Ganges, and thus established perhaps a claim to a higher dignity than that of the petty monarchs of their patrimony. They did not remain content with that, and seem to have carried on extensive conquests by bringing under their rule practically the whole of the Dakhan, with as much of the Central

Indian plateau as they could. The most famous among these rulers, in fact the one among them that could be correctly described as having essayed the foundation of an empire, seems to have celebrated a number of sacrifices that symbolized the establishment of an empire among them, the *asvamedha* itself, and assumed the title *Samrāt*, with four sons ruling as *Mahārājas* in the empire. But curiously enough his grandson who succeeded to the throne after him drops the title as the inscriptions of the family clearly indicate, and this must have been due to some compelling circumstances, the details of which the records do not vouchsafe to us. It seems very probable that the rise of Chandragupta to power and influence made it impossible that the *Vākātakas* could go forward on a career simultaneously. Either as a result of war therefore, or by a stroke of diplomacy, Chandragupta managed to get Rudrasēna *Vākātaka*, the grandson of the great *Pravarasēna* I, to give up the title and remain content with that of *Mahārāja* as the ruler of his ancestral kingdom which at the time must have been a fairly extensive one. If this was possible it could only be because an empire was felt to be a general necessity, and the only question was among the competing claimants which of the two was likely to achieve it and maintain it efficiently. If Chandragupta had achieved this by a stroke of diplomacy, his son Samudragupta had only to extend his influence farther over territories which had not yet come to acknowledge the overlordship of Chandragupta; and that seems precisely what Samudragupta did. Samudragupta must have set about it systematically, having made up his mind beforehand to celebrate the *asvamedha* in due form, and make it really symbolical of the establishment of the empire. Hence the great importance that he attaches to the celebration of the *asvamedha* and the conquest of heaven by the conquest of the earth, which his coin-legends unmistakably indicate. According to the most accepted canonical works the *asvamedha* can be celebrated for a variety of objects. An *asvamedha* is celebrated for the purpose of going to heaven merely as several sovereigns before his time are said to have done, to give a historical example, for instance, *Sūdraka*, the author of the drama 'the Little Clay-cart'. It may be celebrated for the attainment of a son as in the far-famed celebration of *Dasaratha* for the purpose. It may be at the end of one's career as in the case of the *Pāṇḍava* brothers at the end of the war as a ceremony of expiation for such sins as might have been committed in the prosecution of a war of conquest. Or, it may be for the attainment of empire as in the case of the celebration of a similar ceremony of the *Rājāsūya* by the *Pāṇḍavas* in their career earlier. Gupta inscriptions generally describe the *asvamedha* as one that had long fallen into desuetude (*chirotsanna*). *Chirotsanna*¹ would literally mean, long decayed or given up, for as a matter of history we do know that after the days of *Asoka*, who, in his Buddhist fervour, put an end to it, there were several celebrations and several celebrants. *Pushyamitra* is said to have celebrated it; his con-akin, and a *Sātavāhana* ruler of the *Dakhan*, the great *Sātakarni* lays claim to having done it equally. It would therefore be difficult to

¹ The term actually occurs in this sense in the *Harisēna* epigraph further down where his plenipotentiaries are said to be engaged in restoring rules to their territories.

understand *chirotsanna* in the sense that it was given up for long. The term *chirotsanna*, however, is found used in the same connection, of the *asvamedha* in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* itself where it is explained in the sense that it had lost some of the elements constituting the sacrifice, and therefore a sort of expiatory ceremony had to be performed. That means, it is an old time ceremony, which had lost some of the details of its performance even so long ago as the time of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*. The ceremony is brought to a close by the performance of a special *atirāstrastoma* as it is called, which is a ceremonial apology for the shortcomings in the performance of the elaborate sacrifice. It is just possible that in the Gupta inscriptions it has that meaning; but there is perhaps a little more in it than is implied in this explanation. At the time that *Pushyamitra* and others are said to have performed this sacrifice, the position of the celebrants could not be regarded as that of unquestioned suzerainty. *Pushyamitra* had to maintain a struggle through life against the Greeks on the one side, the *Kalinga* ruler on the other and the *Sātavāhana* on the third; and among the three Indian rulers, all the three of them lay claim to having celebrated this sacrifice, which, as they celebrated it, could not be regarded as in any sense, a sacrifice significant of an established empire. If the celebration had been done with other objects in view, the *asvamedha* could have been celebrated by them all at the same time. Even *Pravarasēna's* claim to have celebrated an *asvamedha* could, in the circumstances, be regarded as of qualified application as an imperial sacrifice. Hence the *chirotsanna* here might mean that the *asvamedha* sacrifice was not celebrated for long as a full detailed imperial sacrifice, and Samudragupta might lay claim to having done it, it may be since the days of the famous celebration of the *Rājāsūya* by *Yudhishthira*.

A careful study of lines twenty-three to twenty-eight of the *Harisēna* epigraph will show clearly that all that is said above is not drawn from one's imagination. Line twenty-two ends that the 'severity of his orders was easily met by respectful obeisance, dutiful performance of orders issued and by the payment of tributes agreed to'. 'His fame spread to the ends of the world and received its satisfaction by the re-establishment in their possessions of the various monarchs, who had lost their possessions, or were otherwise forcibly deprived of them. Monarchs of distant countries, apparently not among the conquered, such as the *Daivaputra*, *Shahi*, etc., sent to him for his gracious acceptance, beautiful girls and other objects of presentation, with a view to obtaining charters, marked with his *garuḍa-seal*, for the enjoyment of their own territories, thus making the valour of his arm the protecting wall of the world. He met with no warrior to oppose him in the world by many good deeds, and, by the possession of many praiseworthy qualities, he brought the fame of the other monarchs low indeed in public estimation. He was master alike in bringing about the prosperity of the good and destruction of evil. He was a man difficult to comprehend by the mind. His heart melted easily at the exhibition of sincere respect. His pity was so great that he granted many cows, and hundreds and thousands of money. His mind was full of solemn vow to raise the low and humble, the helpless and the suffering. It is only war that excited him. He was like the god of wealth (*Dhanada*), the god of righteousness (*Varuṇa*), the god of rule or protection

(Indra) and the god of punishment (Antaka), all in one for doing good to the world. His plenipotentiaries were constantly engaged in the restoration, to their wealth and former position, of the many kings whom he had conquered by the force of his arms.' All these seem intended to exhibit, by the way that he exercised his authority, that he attained to the unquestioned enjoyment of it. While therefore on a superficial reading, these might seem to imply a thorough disciplinarian to whom severity was no matter of concern, a close examination of the passage shows unmistakably that while his exercise of authority was certainly firm, it was always tempered with mercy; at any rate, that is the idea that the writer of the *prasasti* wants to convey to his readers.

This great ruler is described at the end of the passage as the great-grandson of *Mahārāja Śrī Gupta*, grandson of *Mahārāja Śrī Ghaṭotkacha*, and son of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta*, born of the *Mahādevī Kumārādēvi*, and therefore the daughter's son of the Lichchavis. He is himself described as *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Samudragupta*. In the estimation, therefore, of Harisēna the author of the document, both the great-grandfather and the grandfather were only *Mahārājas*, and it was the father that became the *Mahārājādhirāja*. This feature has hitherto been interpreted as involving no particular difference in significance. The conclusion has been arrived at with more facility than logic that it was Samudragupta that was really the first great ruler who attained to the dignity of *Mahārājādhirāja*, Chandragupta being so described as a matter of courtesy. If inscriptions are to be interpreted in that fashion it would be difficult to understand why that same courtesy should not lead the author to describe the grandfather as well, as *Mahārājādhirāja* and the great-grandfather. If Samudragupta had made up his mind not to issue an official document, which incidentally describes his whole position and ancestry, one might possibly entertain the notion, even though it would perhaps be at the sacrifice of truth, but the document under examination is a deliberate *prasasti*, and therefore of a peculiarly historical character. A deliberate change from the position of *Mahārāja* to *Mahārājādhirāja* must have been made to convey what it signifies, and seems an unmistakable indication that it was Chandragupta I that raised the family to the higher dignity, whatever Samudragupta's achievements may have done to complete the work of his father. Nor, could this change of dignity be regarded as that of a ruler who merely called himself *Mahārājādhirāja* as the very change of title would have been challenged at once, as in the previous case of the Sunga monarch Pushyamitra; the *Vākātakas* were there to do it with adequate power, and perhaps even a justifiable historical position. It is therefore clear that Chandragupta raised himself to the higher position of a paramount sovereign, and Samudragupta merely gave the finishing touches necessary for its acknowledged exercise. The pillar was set up as if to reach heaven itself and carry there the fame of Samudragupta which had already spread throughout the world. This document is described as a *Kāvyā*, and was composed by one of the courtiers who describes himself as a *Mahādandanāyaka* who might be a commander of the forces or a judicial officer; *Kumāramātya*, the son of a minister brought up along with the prince and who held the position at the time of minister for peace and war; *Sandhi-Vigrahika*. His name is Harisēna, and he was the son of *Mahādandanāyaka Dhruva Bhūti*, who is described as a

Khādyā-āṭapākika. This term has not been understood. One noteworthy feature is that Harisēna describes himself as a servant of the great monarch, whose intelligence developed itself by the opportunity he was graciously accorded of being in close attendance upon the person of the sovereign. This was apparently meant as a tribute to the superior learning of the monarch himself, indicating thereby clearly that the character for learning given to him was not meant in mere compliment.

It will thus be seen that Samudragupta was a sovereign who set up before him a high ideal as a monarch according to the notions of the time. What is perhaps more, that he made an honest and earnest effort to come up to the height of the ideal in actual life. It should be the most inappropriate description of him to call him 'a Napoleon who regarded kingdom-taking as the duty of kings'.¹

VI

CHANDRAGUPTA II. VIKRAMADITYA.²

The third century in Indian History is a period of transition from the Andhra Empire through its stages of decay and dismemberment to the new empire that came into existence under the Guptas. All the shiftings of the powers and the arrangements of the struggling forces are far from clear. At the end of about a century of this struggle, there seem to emerge two powers, one of which was to attain ultimately the position of leadership in India.

These two powers seem to have been the *Vākāṭaka* and the Gupta. The *Vākāṭakas* were somewhere in the Vindhyan region and the Guptas in the Gangetic basin. The leadership seems to have passed ultimately to the Guptas. Although the phases of the struggle that led to this denouement are far from clear, there seems to be but little doubt that the result of it was the establishment of the Gupta Empire under Chandragupta I.

The ancestral territory of the Guptas was a comparatively small region on either bank of the Ganges, to which was added the territory of the Lichchavis by marriage, and the neighbouring regions by conquest, so that it became a compact state stretching out both ways, eastwards and westwards to keep out the enemies of the rising state. The *Vākāṭakas* perhaps suffered a misfortune with the death of the great *Pravarasēna*, and that cleared the way for the ascent of the Guptas, at the supreme moment. It seems that this ascent to supreme power was marked by the Gupta era, which has been accepted as the year A.D. 319-20, though the correctness of this has been recently called into question by Dr. Shama Sastri.

On the foundation that was thus laid by Chandragupta was reared a magnificent imperial structure by his son Samudragupta. The accession of this new ruler seems to have been taken advantage of by those disintegrating forces recently brought under the

¹ Some parts of this section will strike the reader as a repetition of the one immediately preceding. A recasting, it was suggested, may spoil the presentation. Therefore the article is allowed to appear here as it was actually published in the first instance.

² By permission of the 'Sir Asutosh Memorial' Committee, Patna.

control of the empire. Samudragupta had to beat off the enemies that assailed him, and make sure that the states that had been brought under control were true to their allegiance, and then launch out on his scheme of expansion, which brought the empire more or less co-extensive with that of Asoka. He succeeded in his effort partly by conquest, and partly by diplomacy, and left a compact empire to his successor, Chandragupta II.

This last is generally known to historians as the ruler who was the original of the traditional Vikramāditya of Ujjain, and his reign was otherwise remarkable in many ways. The following pages attempt to bring together facts so far known about this remarkable sovereign, and are presented as a constructive effort at the history of an important epoch.

Chandragupta was the son of Samudragupta by Dattādēvi, and was probably one among many sons. Chandragupta II ascended the throne after his father Samudragupta, according to the practice of the family, 'by the choice of the father'. There seems to have been no opposition of any kind to his accession, and the succession therefore was a peaceful one. Such a succession gives us the indication that the empire built at such great pains and organized by two of his predecessors had got into a sufficiently settled condition to be handed on as a peaceful possession. Chandragupta's work therefore was not that of the warrior statesman, but was one of a peaceful administrator. All the frontiers appear to have remained without disturbance of any kind except along the south-west where he had to carry on a war, the only war, of his reign. Chandragupta, 'the sun of valour' (Vikramāditya), had comparatively speaking, the minimum of war to wage. Notwithstanding the fact that his reign was essentially one of peace he was undoubtedly a valiant man possessed of great personal courage and as such deserving of the surname. Before proceeding to consider his warlike activity or his peaceful statesmanship it would be useful to take a survey of the general position of the empire. It has been already pointed out in the description of the achievements of Samudragupta that he had brought his empire in many respects co-extensive with that of Asoka, not necessarily as a unified empire under a single ruler but as something like a federation of states grouped together in subordinate alliance, not without an appreciation of the common interests that such a unity subserved. While the states of nearer Hindusthan formed probably an integral part of the empire the frontier states in the east and north remained practically independent, but on terms of active diplomatic relationship amounting to alliance. That seems to have been the case also in respect of the north-west frontier except in the southern end of it where the Kshatrapa revival had become sufficiently aggressive to attract his attention. The Kshatrapas along the coast and their neighbours, the Vākātakas, seem to have been, to a great extent, at war with each other, and it is this hostility that has to account, at any rate, partly for the decay of the power of the Kshatrapas. After the death of the great Prithvisēna, the Kshatrapas appeared to have recovered some portions of their lost territory and a considerable amount of their influence, so much so that they appear to have assumed the offensive and made an effort at recovering the region round Ujjain which constituted

the core of their territory in the best days of the Kshatrapa power. Chandragupta seems to have proceeded with all the circumspection of a warrior statesman in dealing with this new danger to the empire.

It has been made clear that the Vākātakas had obviously been brought to a state of alliance and were content to remain as subordinate allies of Samudragupta. Chandragupta seems to have taken steps to make the assurance doubly sure on his frontier, and entered into a diplomatic marriage either with the reigning prince, or, what seems more probable, with the heir-apparent. He gave in marriage to Prince Rudrasēna, son of the great Prithvisēna of the Vākātakas, his daughter by a Nāga queen of his, by name Kubhēra Nāga. We have grants issued by this Gupta princess, and these give us some information in regard to the actual character of this alliance. She seems to have been regent for thirteen years at least for one of her sons Divākarasēna, who must have died young, and continued to wield a considerable amount of power while the other Dāmodarasēna-Pravarasēna, was actually the sovereign. She describes herself as the crowned queen of Rudrasēna II and as the mother of the sovereign for the time being. Besides these indications of her position in respect of the family which she entered, she seems to have felt very proud of her parentage and gives the Gupta genealogy right down to her father Chandragupta II, who is described in Vākātaka records generally under the name Dēvagupta with the title 'Mahārājādhirāja'. It seems very probable that Chandragupta II was mainly responsible for this alliance, while it is just possible that the alliance was actually made in the reign of Samudragupta himself. Thus secure on his flank, it was possible for Chandragupta to take effective steps to get rid of the Kshatrapa trouble.

Inscriptions of dates 82 and onwards referring themselves to his reign are found in the region round Vidiśā and Sānchi, chiefly in Udayagiri. One of them goes the length of stating boldly that Chandragupta was there in that region on a royal progress 'for the conquest of the world'. The obvious exaggeration of the language seems merely to imply that this was an invasion undertaken by Chandragupta with a view to rounding off his empire in this particular corner and thus making himself emperor of a vast empire such as his father had left him, with this possibility of danger removed.

That seems the significance of the expression 'conquest of the world' which conveys further the impression that it involved more than one campaign and a gradual reduction of territory for final incorporation in the empire. Hence the inference seems justifiable that the war in the region of Western Malwa was a protracted affair, and was not a short and sharp conflict as the numismatic inference would lead one to believe.

Malwa had been for more than three centuries in the possession of a foreign dynasty, the Kshatrapas, which was founded by Chastāna. It is now generally agreed that Chastāna effected the conquest of this region which constituted in all probability a governorship under the Kushāns, very probably under Kanishka, but it may possibly be under Kadphises II. The greatest among these Kshatrapas was Rudradaman for whom we have recorded dates ranging from 52 to 78. These dates are now generally accepted as having reference

to the Śaka era. The last known coin date of the Kshatrapas is 310 or 31 x, which would therefore be equivalent to about A.D. 388, the uncertainty being due to the uncertain reading of the last figure of the date. From a study of the Kshatrapa coins alone, for Kshatrapa history that is almost the only source as yet available, it is found that the dynasty of Rudradaman comes to an end for a time between A.D. 305 and A.D. 348. During this period A.D. 305 to 348, the office of Mahākshatrapa falls into abeyance. During the first half of this period, A.D. 305 to 332, there were two Kshatrapas, and even this office disappears in the period 332 to 348. From an elaborate study of the coins of the Kshatrapas, Professor Rapson draws the following conclusions:—'All the evidence afforded by coins, or the absence of coins during this period—the failure of the direct line and the substitution of another family, the cessation first of the Mahākshatrapas and afterwards of both Mahākshatrapa and Kshatrapa, seems to indicate troublous times. The probability is that the dominions of the Western Kshatrapas were subjected to some foreign invasion, but the nature of this disturbing cause is at present altogether doubtful, and must remain so until more can be known about the history of the neighbouring peoples during this period.' The period under consideration is the period of the rise to prominence, first of the Vākātakas in the region of Mālava dependent upon Vidiśā, and next of the rise to dominance of the dynasty of the Guptas under Chandragupta I. The first of these periods, that is the period of abeyance of the Kshatrapas, covers exactly the period of the dominance of the Vākātakas under Pravarasēna I, and the greater part of the period of the rise of the Gupta Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta I. As we have already pointed out,¹ the *Purāṇas* make the clear statement that Pravīra ruled in the region of Vidiśā, celebrated great sacrifices and had four of his sons ruling under him. We have also pointed out² that Vindhyaśakti, the father of this Pravīra of the *Purāṇas* was no doubt Vindhyaśakti the founder of the Vākātakas on the ground that the great Ajanṭā inscription seems to refer to Vindhyaśakti as belonging to the family of the Vindhyaśakti. From these statements it becomes clear that whatever was the ancestral territory to which Vindhyaśakti laid claim, the greatness of the family under Pravarasēna was due to the expansion of the Vākātaka territory to take in eastern Mālava and even parts of Bundelkhand. If, as is very probable, the homeland of the Vākātakas had been somewhere near Elichpur, this expansion could only have been at the expense of the Kshatrapas for the time being. Therefore, as the power of the Vākātakas rose, the territory of the Kshatrapas must have shrunk, and that is what perhaps is indicated in the cessation of the title Mahākshatrapa and the existence still of the Kshatrapas. The crushing blow to the Kshatrapa power, however, came probably from the rising power of the Guptas. Vākātaka inscriptions make it clear that Pravarsēna I enjoyed the imperial title 'Samrāt' which is given up by his successor-grandson Rudrasēna I. This could only mean that the Vākātaka power suffered a reverse either at the end of the reign of Pravarasēna I, or, what is more probable at his death. The significant omission of this title combined with the glowing reference to the

¹ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1923, on the Vākātakas.
² *Ibid.*

maternal grandfather of Rudrasēna I, the Nāga chief of the Bharaśiva family, leads to the inference that a calamity befell the dynasty of Pravarasēna, and the Bharaśiva chieftain exerted himself to retrieve the fortunes of this family. Even so, the restored Vākātaka monarchy could only sustain the inferior title of the Mahārāja, and could not maintain the claim to the higher title. The calamity could have come only from one of two rival powers at the time, or by the combined efforts of the two. The latter alternative seems impossible. The Kshatrapas do not appear to have been sufficiently strong to have brought this calamity to the family of their former rival although they must have exerted themselves in this direction. There seems, however, no doubt about a great struggle for recovery of power and prestige by the Kshatrapas, and they succeeded in it ultimately to a considerable extent. This recovery must have taken place later. Whatever might have been the actual cause of the calamity, Chandragupta I was ready to take advantage of it, and made use of the opportunity probably to administer a crushing defeat upon the Kshatrapas and their allies, the Bāhlikas, and that perhaps gave him the title to set up an *adhirājya*. A short dynasty of three Bāhlikas is referred to in the *Purāṇas* as ruling in this region, probably the region west of Māhishmati, and the victory over the Bāhlikas by marching across the seven mouths of the Indus, ascribed to the Chandra of the Meharauli-pillar seems to be clearly in reference to such an achievement of Chandragupta I, and that is what gave the title to Chandragupta to set up an *adhirājya* which had the simultaneous consequence of reducing the Vākātakas from their *Samrājya* to the position of mere *Mahārājas*. The temporary extinction therefore of the Mahākshatrapa and the Kshatrapa offices seems to be due to this defeat by Chandragupta I. The recovery of the Kshatrapas from the effects of this crushing defeat to rebuild their power was made very difficult by the occupation of the Vākātaka throne by Prithvisēna I in succession to his father. Prithvisēna seems to have been a conquering monarch, and had not merely extended his influence over a part of the territory held by his ancestor Paravarasēna I, but extended it southwards to take in Kuntala also within the limits of the Vākātaka territory. Hence the conclusion seems warranted that the Kshatrapas could set up again only as a power, owning at least nominal subordination, to the great Vākātakas. That is what seems indicated by the rise of a new family of Kshatrapas and Mahākshatrapas, and what is perhaps more significant in this regard, their uniform assumption of the title 'svāmi' and the occasional creeping in of the title 'Mahārāja' after date 270, or A.D. 348. Their subordination must have been real when the great Prithvisēna was ruling. His death probably gave the opportunity for a more active revival of their power, and an attempt at the recovery of their lost prestige and of the territory once in their possession. It is this revived power of the new family of the Kshatrapas that must have called for the activity of Chandragupta in this region. As a counterstroke of policy Chandragupta entered into an alliance with their rival, the King of the Vākātakas, by giving his daughter Prabhāvatigupta in marriage to Prithvisēna's son Rudrasēna II. He then set about gradually reducing and incorporating into his territory the outlying portions of Kshatrapa possessions and ultimately put an end to their power.

Such seems the trend of events that led to the great Kshatrapa war under Chandragupta II. The somewhat enigmatic statement of Bāṇa in the *Harshacharita*, and the unfortunately ambiguous note of his commentator Śaṅkarāraya both receive unlooked for illumination from a drama recently discovered by the search party of the Government Manuscripts Library at Madras. This drama is called *Dēvi Chandra-guṇḍam*,¹ and has for its subject the capture by the Śakas of the queen of Chandragupta and her romantic recovery by him, just exactly as is mentioned by Bāṇa in the passage referred to above. Some of the passages quoted therefrom, make it clear that Dhruvadēvi, the crowned consort of Chandragupta, fell into the hands of the Kshatrapas. The Kshatrapa ruler, whoever he was, made overtures of love to the captive queen of which she managed to give information to her husband. Chandragupta proceeded to adopt a heroic measure for the relief of the queen who was in such imminent danger. He assumed the guise of the queen and took along with him a portion of his guard disguised as women-attendants upon the queen, and managed to effect an entry into the city where she was kept prisoner. Throwing off the disguise there they recovered the queen and returned victorious. All this is said to have taken place in a place which is written Aripura in Bāṇa and Alipura in the drama. The former might be taken to mean nothing more than the enemy's city, the latter probably gives the name of the capital wherever it was. If this should turn out to be the actual and proper name of the city, and if it could be located satisfactorily, we may get a little more insight into this campaign.² Having recovered the queen, Chandragupta perhaps took effective steps to wipe out a dynasty of unworthy rulers such as the later Kshatrapas had apparently become, and the result of a protracted war was the end of the Kshatrapa rule in Konkan, Gujarat and such parts of Mālava as they still had possession of. The fact that the queen was actually carried off as a prisoner, and that Chandragupta had recourse to the dangerous stratagem of himself going, it may be at the head of a select body of his troops, gives a clear indication of the protracted and dangerous character of the war. It would therefore be safe to regard that the war was one in which both the Vākātakas and he were alike interested, and the marriage alliance between the Guptas and the Vākātakas was in the nature of a precautionary measure, and not one of a merely superfluous ratification of the treaty as a result of the war. As a result of this war the Gupta empire stretched out to the western sea, and the whole of the western trade of that region came within the sphere of the Gupta empire.

The Gupta empire of Chandragupta II must have included within it practically the whole of Hindusthan up to the frontier of the Ganges, if not the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra), beginning from the western mountains. The whole of the territory from north to

¹Ascribed to Viśākadatta in a Ms. discovered in Gujarat (see *Purāṭatva*, v. i. 47.)

²There is a place called Alirājapura and a district dependent thereon, but on the mere name it would be hazardous to suggest an identification. There is a place called Simhapura, alternatively Aripura, one of the two capitals of Kalinga, according to the Tamil classics *Silappadhikāram* and *Manimēkhalai*. This has to be located in North Kalinga on the south frontier of Ranchi District. This seems too far east for even a Śaka raid at this period.

south between the Himalayas and the Vindhya was included in the empire. The great bulk of it was, perhaps, practically under the rule of the empire. The region extending southwards from the Vindhya almost up to the frontiers of Mysore was also under Gupta rule, though less directly. The bulk of this region formed part of the kingdom of the Vākātakas. The marriage alliance seems to have brought them not only under the influence of the Guptas but seems to have resulted even in the bringing of their territory under the administrative control of the empire. Prabhāvatigupta, daughter of Chandragupta by a junior queen was married to Rudrasena II of the Vākātakas. It would appear as though Rudrasena's reign was a very short one. We have records of Prabhāvatigupta as regent on behalf of one son of hers by name Divākarasena, and she carried on the regency, apparently for a long term of years, as the Poona plates of hers happen to be dated in the 13th year; it must be the 13th year of her ward Divākarasena. Apparently Divākarasena died before he attained majority. He was then succeeded by a younger brother Dāmodarasēna, who probably became on his accession, Pravarasēna II. A record dated in his 19th year and another of the 21st year seem to be issued by Prabhāvatigupta herself. In his 19th and 21st years, it is very unlikely that Pravarasēna could have been a minor. It seems therefore clear that this Gupta princess took an active part in the administration of her son's territory even during the actual period of the rule of that son. That Pravarasēna II was not an efficient administrator seems thus clearly indicated. This is put beyond doubt in an unlooked for source in literature.

A drama by name *Kuntalēśvara-dautyam*, ascribed to Kālidāsa, has a reference which seems to bear directly on the point. The story is that Kālidāsa was sent as a Commissioner to the Kuntala country by the emperor Vikramāditya just to see for himself how exactly the administration was being actually carried on. The Commissioner returns to headquarters, and is accosted by the Emperor with the question 'what does the king of Kuntala?' The answer given by the Commissioner is, 'that Kuntalēśa, having placed the burden of administration upon you, is engaged in sucking the honey from out of the lips of damsels smelling, sweet liquor'.¹

This verse is quoted by Rājasekhara in his *Kavya Mimāṃsā* to illustrate that the drift of a passage could be completely changed by very slight verbal alterations. This very same stanza is quoted in Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kanthābharaṇa* in a similar context. It is however Kshēmendra's *Auchitya Vichāra Charchā* that refers the passage to the work *Kuntēśa-Dautyam* of Kālidāsa; but it is the unpublished work *Sṛṅgāra Prakāśa* that gives more details about the passage and makes it clear that it has reference to a Kuntalēśvara or Rāja of Kuntala. Another Sanskrit work named *Bharata-Charita* contains the verse²

¹ asakalahasitatvāt kṣāṇitānīva kāntyā
mukūṭitanayanatvād vyaktakarṇōt palāni-
pibati madhusugandhinīyānāni priyānām
tvayi vinihitabhārah Kuntalānām adhiśaḥ ||

² jaḍāśayasyāntaragādhamāragam
alabdarandhram giri chaurya vṛtyā |
lokeśvalankāntam apūrva sētum
babandha kīrtya saha Kuntalēśaḥ ||

(*Bharata Charita*—Canto I now published as No. LXXXVI of the Trivandram Sans. Series.)

which ascribes the composition of the Prakrit Kāvya *Setu-bandham* to a Kuntalēśa. This latter *kāvya* is, as is very well-known, a work of Pravarasēna. The commentary on this work called *Rāmasēlupradīpa* ascribes this work to Paravarasēna, the newly installed monarch from a passage in the text itself.¹ It ascribes the revision of it to Kālidāsa at the instance of Vikramāditya. We already know that Kuntala, the Southern Mahratta country and the south-western portions of the Nizam's Dominions, were incorporated in the kingdom of the Vakātakas under Prithvisēna I. Under his successors Rudrasēna II and his son, Kuntala probably constituted the most important part of the kingdom, and hence one could understand why Pravarasēna II is called Kuntalēśa. The statement of Rāmadāsa, that at the instance of Vikramāditya, Kālidāsa revised Pravarasēna's work coupled with the ascription of the Drama *Kuntalēśvara-dautyam* to Kālidāsa by Kshēmēndra, makes the position clear that Vikramāditya, Kālidāsa and Kuntalēśa, the author of the *Setu-bandham*, were contemporaries. That the *Setu-bandham* was a Kāvya of Pravarasēna is clear from the statement of *Baṇa* contained in one of the ślokas in the *Harṣa Charita*.² From the point of view of history, the inference from these details in literature is clear that Pravarasēna was an administrator who took his main business very easy, and he did so in the full confidence that, with his maternal grandfather Vikramāditya as his overlord, he need not be particularly anxious about the conduct of his government. This position is reflected in the grants of Prabhāvati Gupta. So therefore Vikramāditya's administration had actually to take the kingdom of the Vakātakas within the fold of the empire.

The Gupta empire under Chandragupta II may therefore be regarded as almost co-extensive with that of the empire of Asoka except along the northwest frontier. Along this frontier, it is doubtful, if the Gupta empire extended beyond the mountainous frontier of the west of the Indus. It is very likely that the region of Gandhāra and eastern Afghanistan were under petty chieftains, successors of the Kushāns under their suzerain the Kush-Newas.³ This Kushān suzerain was overthrown in the first quarter of the fifth century by the irruption of the White Huns. Before this calamity befell the ruler, the Kushān state under his overlordship seems to have been a fairly compact and strong one, sometimes at war, perhaps more often in alliance, with the ruling Sassanid monarchs of Persia. The empire, therefore, was bounded on the west by mountains on this side of the Khaiber, if it went so far at all; on the north and the east by the bordering kings and kingdoms as detailed in the *Prasasti* of Samudragupta; and on the south it went down to the frontier of the present-day Mysore, perhaps including the northern part of it. If it is permissible to draw an inference from what may be taken as the

¹ ahinavarāyāraddhā chukkakkhaliyēsu vihaḍima parittāviya mettiva pamuhasiva nīrvōḍum dukkaam kavvakahā abhinavarāyāraddhā chyutaskhalitēsu vighaṭita pariṣṭhāpita maitriva pramukha rasikā nīrvōḍumbhavati duṣkaram kāvyakathā.

² Kīrtiḥ Pravarasēnasya prayātā kumudōjvalā sāgarasya param pāram kapisēnēva sētunā.

³ Identified with Toramāna on certain grounds by Dr. J. J. Modi of Bombay in a paper presented to the Third Session of All-India Oriental Conference, Madras.

compliment of a poet in the remark of Kālidāsa, that the young ruler of Kuntala was devoting himself to a life of enjoyment, secure under the protection of his suzerain overlord, Vikramāditya's empire must have been a well-administered one, where even the most distant provinces felt the influence of the imperial headquarters. As was usual in the organization of Hindu empires of those days, the imperial headquarters had for its charge the internal security by putting an end to all causes of disturbance, or by an efficient method of settlement of differences. It had also to guarantee protection of the frontier. As far as we are able to see from the records of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien, and comparing his account with that of the two later pilgrims Hieun-tsang and I-Tsing, the empire was traversed by roads, at any rate, so far as Hindusthan was concerned, which enjoyed almost perfect security. This comes out clearly from what Fa-Hien has to say regarding the Dakshina: 'The country of Dakshina is mountainous and its roads difficult for travellers; even those who know the way, if they wish to travel, should send a present of money to the king who will thereupon depute men to escort them and pass them on from one stage to another showing them the short cuts.' This must be understood in comparison with what he has to say of northern India. It is obvious that Fa-Hien here is drawing a contrast unfavourable to the Dakshina, and this can be understood from what Kālidāsa has to say of Pravarasēna's administration. In regard to the rest of Hindusthan, Fa-Hien's statements contain his actual experience and not what he gained from hearsay, as in the case of the Dakshina. Fa-Hien travelled through the whole kingdom of Gandhāra practically from north to south, and after crossing the Indus marched along the trunk road to as far as the eastern limit of Kośala, and then crossing the Ganges travelled in a triangle from Rājagriha to Gayā, thence to Benares and Allahabad, and back again to Patna. From there he went across to Tāmralipti and set sail for Ceylon. Through all this region no mishap had befallen him such as did to I-Tsing. This is clear evidence of the security of government under Chandragupta. Speaking of the kingdom of Kośala of which the headquarters was probably Srāvasti, Fa-Hien notes: 'In this country, there are 96 schools of heretics, all of which recognize the present state of existence (as real not illusory), each school has its own disciples, who also beg their food but do not carry alms-bowls. They further seek salvation by building alongside out of the way roads, houses of charity, where shelter, with beds and food and drink, is offered to travellers and wandering priests passing to and fro; but the time allowed for remaining is different in each case.' The last sentence is reminiscent of the rule laid down in the *Arthaśāstra*, in regard to the stay of travellers in choultries like these, and the good institution of halting places seems to have continued, at any rate, from the days of the Maurya empire down to that of the Guptas in their best days. Describing the kingdom of Magadha, Fa-Hien makes the following observations: 'Of all the countries of Central India this has the largest cities and towns. Its people are rich and thriving, and emulate one another in the practice of charity of heart and duty to one's neighbour. Regularly every year on the 8th day of the second moon they have a procession of images. They make a four-wheeled car of

five stories by lashing together bamboos, and these stories are supported by posts in the form of crescent-plated halberds. The car is over 20 feet in height and in form like a pagoda, and it is draped with a kind of white Kashmir painted in various colours. They make images of *Devas* ornamented with gold, silver and strass, and with silk banners and canopies overhead. At the four sides they make niches each with a Buddha sitting inside and a Bodhisatva in attendance. There may be some 20 cars, all beautifully ornamented and different from one another. On the above-mentioned day all the ecclesiastical and lay men in the district assemble. They have singing and high class music and make offerings of flowers and incense. The Brahmins come to invite the Buddhas; and these enter the city in regular order and there pass two nights while all night long, lamps are burning, high class music is being played and offerings are being made. Such is the custom of all these nations. One has only to carry himself to a place like Kumbakonam on the day of Makha or to Tiruvīḍaimarudūr on the day of Pushya to see in actual fact what Fa-Hien attempts to describe in words. Describing the capital, he refers to it as the city of Pāṭaliputra, formerly ruled by king Asoka. He then goes on: 'The king's palace and the city with its various halls, all built by spirits who piled up stones, constructed walls and gates, carved designs, engraved and inlaid after no human fashion, is still in existence.' In the following paragraph he refers to a famous Brahman Raivata belonging to the greater vehicle and the habit that he was in of washing his hands when the king touched him, as often the latter came to consult him on matters of importance. He gives the detail that he was over 50 years of age and that all the country looked up to him to diffuse the faith of the Buddha. This seems an indication that Raivata was not much anterior to Fa-Hien and may indicate that Pāṭaliputra continued to be the capital under Chandragupta II though it is not so stated in so many words.

Notwithstanding this position, Chandragupta seems to have made Ujjain his capital also; and perhaps continued remaining in it for a number of years as the habitual royal residence. It is probable he did so in consideration of the exigencies of his administration, chiefly the war against the Sakas and the consequent organization of the newly acquired provinces in that region. In the period previous to the undated record at Udayagiri, that is, down to A.D. 400 in all probability, his capital was Pāṭaliputra with the alternative Vidiśa, the modern Bhilsā. Thereafter Ujjain became, in all probability, his seat of residence, and therefore came to be regarded by his successors as the capital of the empire. It is common knowledge that Kālidāsa refers to this latter city, Bhilsā, as a capital.¹ Further on, he refers to Ujjaini by that name in śloka 27, and again speaks of the same city under the name Viśāla in śloka 30.² This presumption that Ujjaini was the capital of Chandragupta in the latter half of his reign is supported by the account that Rājasekhara gives of assemblies (Brahma-sabhās) that conferred degrees in arts and sciences in early days. One such assembly, according to him, was held at Ujjain to which he refers by the alternative term Viśāla, and the poets honoured

¹Rājadhāni in his *Mēgha*, śloka 24.

²The references are to Dr. Hultsch's edition issued by the Royal Asiatic Society.

in the assembly at Ujjain were, according to him, Kālidāsa, Mēṇṭha, Amara, Rūpa, Śūra, Bhāravi, Harischandra and Chandragupta.¹ In the same context he refers also to a similar assembly held for examination in the *Sāstras* at Pāṭaliputra. We have shown elsewhere² the evidence that Indian literary tradition offers for making Kālidāsa a contemporary of Chandragupta II, but he may have been a younger contemporary of the monarch, and if he had to undergo an examination in the Brahma-Sabhā held at Ujjain, such a Sabhā should have been held under Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya. One of the conditions for holding the Sabhā is that the Rāja holding it must be a man of learning himself. Kings unlearned should not apparently hold such assemblies. That seems clearly to be the view of Rājasekhara.³ Even in the matter of learning, therefore, Chandragupta must have been a worthy son of Samudragupta. We have already shown⁴ that Pravarasēna II of the Vākātakas was, in all probability, the author of the Prakrit Kāvya, *Sātubandham*, and prince Pravarasēna seems to have been at the court of Chandragupta, as in all likelihood he received his early education there, as he was the son of Prabhāvatigupta, the daughter of Chandragupta II himself, and as we have very good reason for believing that she became a widow comparatively early with two young sons (may be three even) Divakarasēna and Pravarasēna, for the former of whom she was regent for at least 13 years. It is therefore very likely that the young princes were with their maternal grandfather during their period of education, while the mother carried on the administration in the name of the first son. So then Chandragupta's capital Ujjain was the real royal capital during a substantial part of his reign, and it seems very likely that Ujjain continued to be the royal capital under his successors during the strenuous times that followed.

Fa-Hien has a note in regard to the condition of what was known as the middle kingdom (Madhyadeśa of the Brāhmins), which gives a general idea of the condition of administration, though imperfect in many particulars and perhaps even inaccurate in details: 'To the south of this, the country is called the Middle Kingdom (of the Brahmins). It has a temperate climate, without frost or snow; and the people are prosperous and happy, without registration or official restrictions. Only those who till the king's land have to pay so much on the profit they make. Those who want to go away, may go; those who want to stop, may stop. The king in his administration uses no corporal punishments; criminals are merely fined according to the gravity of their offences. Even for a second attempt at rebellion the punishment is only the loss of the right hand. The men of the king's bodyguard have all fixed salaries. Throughout the country no one kills any living thing, nor drinks wine, nor eats onions or garlic; but *chandālas* are segregated. *Chandāla* is their name for foul men (lepers). These live away from other people; and when they approach a city or market, they beat a piece of wood, in order to distinguish themselves. Then people know who they are and avoid coming into contact with them.'

¹Kāvya Mimāṃsā, p. 55.

²Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute for July 1923, The Vākātakas.

³Kāvya Mimāṃsā, p. 54.

⁴Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, July, 1923.

'In this country they do not keep pigs or fowls, there are no dealings in cattle, no butchers' shops or distilleries in their market-places. Only the *chandalas* go hunting and deal in flesh.'

The state of Buddhism and the benefactions that it received, as well as the popularity that it enjoyed, he notes down in the following paragraphs. In regard to this particular subject Fa-Hien's knowledge must have been more direct and we may accept it more or less, as a correct picture of the general condition of Buddhism and the life of the Buddhists from what we know of the contemporary accounts of Buddhism and Buddhist festivities in the *Mahāvamsa* of Ceylon.

'From the date of Buddha's disappearance from the world, the kings, elders, and gentry of the countries round about, built shrines, for making offerings to the priests, and gave them lands, houses, gardens, with men and bullocks for cultivation. Binding title-deeds were written out, and subsequent kings have handed these down one to another without daring to disregard them, in unbroken succession to this day. Rooms with beds and mattresses, food and clothes, are provided for resident and travelling priests, without fail; and this is the same in all places. The priests occupy themselves with benevolent ministrations, and with chanting liturgies; or they sit in meditation. When travelling priests arrive, the old resident priests go out to welcome them and carry for them their clothes and alms-bowls, giving them water for washing and oil for anointing their feet, as well as the liquid food allowed out of hours. By and by, when the travellers have rested, the priests ask them how long they have been priests and what is their standing; and then each traveller is provided with a room and bedroom requisites, in accordance with the rules of the faith.

'In places where priests reside, pagodas are built in honour of Śāriputra, Moggallāna, and Ānanda and Buddhas to come, and also in honour of the Abhidharma, the Vinaya, and the Sūtras (divisions of the Buddhist canon). A month after the annual retreat, the more pious families organize a subscription to make offerings to the priests and prepare for them the liquid food allowed out of hours. The priests arrange a great assembly and expound the faith. When this is over, offerings are made at the pagoda of Śāriputra of all kinds of incense and flowers, and lamps are burning all night, with a band of musicians playing. Śāriputra was originally a Brahman. On one occasion when he visited the Buddha, he begged to enter the priesthood, as also did the great Moggallāna and the great Kāśyapa.

'Nuns mostly make offerings at the pagoda of Ānanda, because it was he who urged the World-Honoured One to allow women to become nuns. Novices of both sexes chiefly make their offerings to Rāhula (son of Buddha). Teachers of the Abhidharma make their offerings in honour thereof, and teachers of the Vinaya in honour of the Vinaya; there being one such function every year, and each denomination having its own particular day. The followers of the Greater Vehicle make offerings in honour of Abstract Wisdom, of Mañjuśrī (the God of Wisdom), of Kuan Yin (Avalokiteśvara), and others. When the priests have received their annual tithes, the elders, the gentry, Brahmans and others bring, each one, various articles of clothing and things of which *Samans* stand in need, and distribute them among the priests, who also make presents to one another. Ever since the Nirvāṇa of Buddha

these regulations of dignified ceremonial for the guidance of the holy brotherhood have been handed down without interruption.'

Except for the one war Chandragupta seems to have enjoyed a reign of peace. This is indicated unmistakably in what Fa-Hien has noted regarding the character of his administration. Fa-Hien's statements in regard to the excellence of his administration are confirmed in a way by the large variety and the distinctly original character of the coin issues of Chandragupta II. Chandragupta's vast empire, through his long reign of comparative peace, must have had a brisk commercial activity both internal and external which called for the large variety of coins that he issued. This large variety seems to be accounted for as being due to the needs of the various provinces into which the empire of Chandragupta was divided. One feature which does not appear to have received the attention of numismatists is, as is clearly indicated by his silver coinage intended for use in the territory of the Kshatrapas as well as what might be called the Kushān variety, that Chandragupta probably issued for each province a coinage similar to that with which the province was familiar. Such changes as he introduced in the coinage he did while preserving the readily visible external form of it, as far as may be, like the coinage which it was intended ultimately to supersede. This feature of his coinage would account for the long interval that elapsed between the last date on the Kshatrapa coins and the first of those of Chandragupta in the western part of his dominions. There would have been no need for a fresh issue so long as the old coinage was in circulation.

We gain an insight into Chandragupta's provincial administration from the Basarh excavations and the Damodharpur inscriptions. The former unearthed a number of clay seals. From one of these, Dhruvadevi, the royal queen of Chandragupta, seems to have had charge of perhaps the government of a province even under the emperor. Among the clay seals which were found in the excavations at Basarh (Vaisali) by Dr. Bloch, is one bearing the following inscription:—

'Mahādevī Śrī Dhruvasvāmini, wife
of the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta and mother of Mahārāja Śrī Govinda Gupta.'¹

There was a number of other seals of officers of various degrees as also of private individuals. Among them there is one of Śrī Ghaṭotkacha Gupta. The variety and character of the seals in this find seem to justify Professor Bhandarkar's suggestion that they were the casts preserved in the workshop of the potter who was the general manufacturer of seals for the locality. There are the seals of a number of officers—of the Yuvarāja and Baṭṭāraka. These seem somewhat misunderstood and slightly mis-translated as they appear in Dr. Bloch's article in the *A. S. R.* 1903-4 (pp. 101-120). The expression 'Yuvarāja-Baṭṭāraka-Kumārāmātya-Adhikarāṇa,' must be taken as a whole and broken up into *amātya-adhikarāṇa* chief among the ministers of the Yuvarāja and Baṭṭāraka-Kumāra. This Kumāra need not necessarily stand for Kumāra-Gupta, but the titles

¹ The seals, with the inscriptions upon them, attached to the charters issued by the queen Prabhāvatigupta about the same time give clear indication of the possibility of Dhruvasvāmini's rule. 'Jananya Yuvarājasya' in place of 'Rāja Pravaraśenasya' or something analogous before the expression 'śāsanam ripuśāsanam'—this is the last term in these inscriptions.

before, Yuvarāja and Baṭṭāraka, may seem to indicate that it did. Mahārāja Śrī Govinda Gupta, another son of Dhruvadēvi, whose name appears on the seal of the queen may have been actually carrying on the administration as the deputy of his brother the heir-apparent whose province probably Tīrabhukti (or Tirhut) was. The other officers that we find reference to in these seals are similar to those referred to in the Dāmodharpur inscriptions of the later Guptas, and on the whole give us some idea of the character of the official hierarchy who carried on the administration of the province under the empire. There was a governor or Viceroy who appointed the local governors and who again appointed the governors of subdivisions such as the Vishaya, etc. The headquarters staff of the Viceroy was more or less similar to that of the imperial headquarters themselves, and would seem to have continued pretty much the same from the days of Asoka, who addressed some of his edicts to the Āryaputra (prince) and the Mahāmātras (great lords). So here in the days of the Gupta empire some provinces were governed by royal princes such as Tīrabhukti in this particular instance. Kumāragupta who was probably the Viceroy must have been detained at headquarters, his brother Govindagupta carrying on the administration in his name. If Govindagupta happened to be too young for carrying on the administration himself, we could understand Dhruvasvāmini being in charge of it in the name of her son. We have a parallel instance for this in the position of Prabhāvatigupta a daughter of this Chandragupta himself who carried on the administration for her son Divākaraśeṇa for 13 years as his regent, and seems to have exercised some authority up to the 19th and the 21st years of Pravaraśeṇa II, her other son. The prince and the queen in this case must have been assisted by a board of ministers among whom there must have been a chief, and that is the amātya-adhikaraṇa; the chief minister for military affairs (Balādhikaraṇa), the chief commissary officer (Ranabhāṇḍāgāra-adhikaraṇa), the chief of the Police (Dandapāśa-adhikaraṇa); there were besides the great chamberlain (Mahāpratihāra), and the chief judge (Mahādandanāyaka). The particular chamberlain Vinayaśūra is given the additional title Taravara, the chief of the Tara or rank. This seems to correspond to the Tamil *Perundaram* who had to countersign documents issuing from headquarters along with the chief secretary, it may be to represent the chief of 'the lords in council'. There were besides the chief of the guild of bankers (Śrēṣṭhin), the chief of the carrying traders (Sārthavāha), and the chief of the merchants (Kulika). These seem to have formed the body of officials constituting the administration. As we find this in regard to one particular province which happened to be in a locality where there was not much likelihood of the disturbance of peace, the inference would be justifiable that this gives the normal constitution of a provincial administration. Tīrabhukti was probably regarded as a palatine vicerealty as it was the accession of that province that constituted the claim to the greatness of the Guptas under Chandragupta I. Chandragupta II probably regarded that this province required to be governed by personages of no less importance than the queen-consort, or a royal prince both as a matter of dignity, and because Ujjain had become his habitual headquarters.

The earliest known date of Kumāragupta I is 96, that is A.D. 415

Chandragupta must have died then. It may be that he died a year or two earlier. In or about the year A.D. 414-415 the vast empire of Chandragupta passed peacefully on to the rule of his son Kumāragupta I by his royal queen Dhruvadēvi. Kumāragupta's was a comparatively long reign going on to the year 136 almost, thus giving him a reign of 40 years. Such materials as are accessible to us at present for the history of the Guptas give us but little information regarding Kumāragupta's reign. This silence of our sources combined with the vast and varied coinage of Kumāragupta would justify the inference that his was a reign of peace throughout.

Much of the credit for the long and peaceful reign of Kumāragupta must be ascribed to the efficient organization of the Gupta empire under Chandragupta II. This benevolent efficiency of organization finds indirect support in the fact, recorded in the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta, that a guild of weavers belonging originally to the *Lata* country found it necessary to migrate owing to the disorder prevailing in their native land, and settle down within the empire with a view to ply their trade of silk-weaving and attain prosperity thereby. That a guild of weavers in the course of a generation prospered so well that a considerable section of them could give themselves up to the pursuit of such a leisurely study as astronomy, testifies to the fact that the empire offered the advantages necessary for the prosperity of trade, internal, and perhaps even over seas, in such an article of luxury as silk fabrics. It further shows that even an industrial class like that of silk-weavers could take to the pursuit of a study like that of astronomy, of course among other similar avocations of the cultured. Hints such as these are undoubtedly clear indications of the general condition of prosperity of the empire of Chandragupta, and go a long way to confirm the conclusions to which we are led by a study of Fa-Hien's account of his travels in the country. The Gupta empire under Chandragupta II reached, therefore, a high level of achievement and would compare to advantage with empires of contemporary and even later times. Is it of this Gupta emperor that the poet has sung :—

Dattvā ruddhagatiḥ Khasādhipatayē dēvīm Dhruvasvāminīm
Yasmātkhanḍitasāhasō nivavṛtē Śrī Śarma Gupto Nṛpāḥ
Tasminnēva Himālayē guruguhā kōṇakkvaṇat kinnarē
Giyantē tava Kārttikēya nagara strīṇām gaṇaiḥ kirttayāḥ ?

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