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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 'Kingdoms 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 *mulkt wa malt*, 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, Kashmir, 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 *Nāzim*, 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. 73.

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 (*Qiladār*). 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 *Tūzūk* 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 *Atn*. My charges are *faujdāris* 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 *Atn*, 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 (fcrt), Lahore, and a number in the hill-country. Roe has (9) Attack, 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, Kālpi (*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 *Tuzuk*. 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) Kandwana.

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. BERRAR. 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 faujdārī was commonly held by one of the revenue officers, the Diwān 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 Diwānī, not Huzūr. This, however, is conjecture: all that is known is that, in fact, the faujdārī 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 *Trunk*, 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 *Nāhiyati*, 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-ṣabti*, 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 *Maḥsir-i-Alamgiri*, 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 *Faujdāris*, *Qilādāris*, and *Jāgīrdāris*, 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

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

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, Guruva 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 Haider 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 Française des Indes; Chef des Malabars' a Pondicherry; Mansubdar de Trois Mille Chevaux; Commandant du Fortret Jagnirdal, du District de Chingleput.'—taken from A. Gallois Montbrun's *Notice sur la Chronique en Langue Tamila 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 Tirupapuliur 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 Zulfikar 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 Said ² who, as soon as he was proclaimed Nawab, recompensed the English for the hospitality shown to him by granting them as a gift ³ 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.'

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, ¹ 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 *Dupleixpeltai* 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 Saïdar 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.* 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.

* 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 Bṛhadīśvara 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 Maṇḍala, 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 Mahārāshṭra, 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, Mahārāshṭra 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 Mahārāshṭra'; so far at least as these four documents are concerned, three of them being discovered hundreds of miles away from Mahārāshṭra, 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 Bharata 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 Maṇḍal (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 Aurangjeb, 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

(*'Saka 1551, Śukla Samvatsara, Phalgun Vadya Tritiya, Friday, Nakshatra Hasta, Ghaṭi 18, pala 31, Ganda, G. 5, p. 7; on this day Rājāśrī 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 Brhadiśvara 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 Dhārāṇā 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 Mahadeva hill and the present stupendous temple of Gṛiṣṇeśvara 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 Mārgashirsha. 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 Bhonsales, 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 Śaka 1529 Śrāvana, he may be taken to have been born in Śaka 1524 or A.D. 1602 (Sarkar gives A.D. 1594). The Brhadīśvara inscription gives Śaka 1531 which is evidently a misreading for Śaka 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. i.

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 Prakaranas 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 Chhoṭi 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 Shedge onkar 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 Aurangzeb, 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 Bṛhadīśvara 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 *Srāvana*, 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 Sakāvali 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 Rubela who held a large jaghir

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 See Grant Duff, revised edition, vol. i, p. 79, note.

¹ *Modern Review*, September 1917, p. 248.

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 *melec* 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', (याला 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. (प्राप्तते 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 (प्रतिपच्चन्द्ररेखेन वर्षिष्णुर्विश्ववर्दिता । शाहसूनोः शिवस्येषा मुद्रामद्राय राजते ॥). This pargana from the previous document No. 436,

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 *Nivada-patra* published in *Vatanpatras*, etc., selected by Wad from Government Record, p. 83, to Jinbai, daughter of Pilaji Rao Shirke.

dated *Pausa*, 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 *Bṛhadīśvara* 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 *Bṛhad* 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 पञ्चभिसञ्चसंस्थैः । सर्वेष्वुच्चस्थानस्थितेष्वेवंग्रहेषु 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 *Phālguna Vadya* 3 or on *Vaishakh Shudha* 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 Ghrishneśvara 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 Shahji 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 *Śravana* 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 Śakavali* 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 *Rajantti* 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 Sinhgad.

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 Sinhgad 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 Sinhgad 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 Sinhgad 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 Brhad 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 *Sōla-maṇḍala-pratishthāchāryan eṇnum kīrtti nilai-niṇutti 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 *Chōlarājapratishthāchārya* is found used in EC. IV, Nāgamaṅgala 98 and other inscriptions and the fuller form *Chōlarājārājya-pratishthāchārya* 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 *Chōlarājya-pratishthāchārya* 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 54 also. 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 Kōpperuñjiṅga 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, Dāva-nagere 25) of A.D. 1224, and that a *vrakal* inscription (at Jōladālu; 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 Āladahallī (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 *Sahasabhṭma-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 vyatipāta), 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-disāpaṭṭa Adiyama-gharaṭṭa*, *Chōlarājya-pratishṭhācharyam* . . . *Pāṇḍya-gaja-kēsari*, *śrīmat-pratāpa-chakravarti*, and also describes his son Narasiṃha in the following verse

ā rājāgrāṇi Yādavēndra-tīlakam Ballāla-dēvaṃge gam-
bhīra-śrīy ene sanda Padmala²-mahādēvi-nijātmōdara-

¹ I reproduce here the second, third and fourth of these verses :

ari-Kāma-dhvamsi nāgavrajamaya-katakam rājarāja-pratishṭhā niratam līlā-
kramodañchita-niravadhi-gāṅgēyakam dviṭ-puradhvam |
sa-rata-krōdham vṛṣhāṅkam vibudha-nutan Umā-kāminī-jivitēsam
paramaiśvaryāspadam rakshisuge vasudheyam yuddha-raṅga-Triṇētram ||
jana-chittāhlāda-pādam sakala-dharaṇibhṛin-mastaka-nystamāgir
pinam uchchaṇḍa-pratāpōdayam ari kumudābhōga-vidhamsiyāgir |
pinam udyan-maṇḍalāgram sale ghana-padavi-śōbheyam perchisuttir
pinam olpam pett udāttam belaguge jagamam śrī-jagannātha-Sūryam |
ari-raudram kara-dairghyam ullasad-ahinālaṅkṛitam mūrti sākshara-sēvyam
nīja-vidye viśva-vinutam pādam sadālipriyam ||
vara-dānam nata-bhadra-lakshana-padam padmānushaṅgitvam ā gire pemp
achchary āda dēva-Gaṇapam rakshikke bhū-chakramam ||

² This Padmala-mahādēvi is the same as the Queen Padmā mentioned above. She was, as is stated in the above verse, the mother of Viranarasimha II. The word Padmalā (in Kannaḍa, *Padmal*) is formed from the word Padmā by the addition of the suffix *la* which is very similar to the suffix *ila* mentioned in Pāṇini 5.3.79, and is probably identical with the suffix *la* that is mentioned in the Vārttika, *u-varṇā la ilasya cha*, thereon.

Similarly—formed words are—Śāntalē (this is the name borne by two of the queens of the Hoysala Vishnuvardhana) from Śāntā, Chāndalē from Chandrikā

kshirāmbhōuidhiyal samudbhavisidam vīram Nṛisimham budhā-
dhāram Chōla-kuḷaikaraksha Magarōrvipāla¹-nirmūlakam

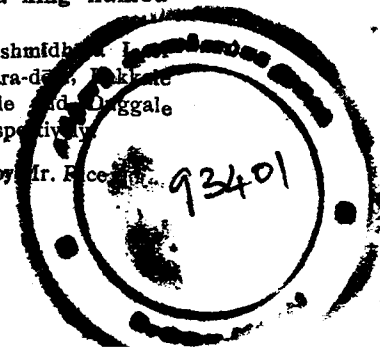
as the 'sole protector of the Chōla family' and the 'uprooter of the Magara king.' And it relates that when Viraballāla was ruling at Dōrasamudra, his feudatory Mallanāyaka made a grant to the Mallikārjuna temple there in the Śaka year 1140 Bahudhānya, on Bṛihavāra, the *thirteenth tithi* of the bright 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 Bṛihavāra 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-disāpaṭṭa*, *Chōlarājya-pratishṭhācharya* and *Pāṇḍya-gajakēsari*, applied to Viraballāla in the inscription, must have been assumed by him before that date.

The Āladahaḷli 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-gaṇḍaśaila-Vajradāṇḍa*, *Makararāja-rājya-nirmūlana*, and *Chōlarāja-rājya-pratishṭhācharya*, and who was ruling at Dōrasamudra over the earth, came to Bārakūru, his feudatory, the *mahāpasayita* Ankeya-nāyaka obtained permission from him to stay at Bārakūru. Now, Śaka 1161 corresponds to Vikārin and not to Bahudhānya (which corresponds to Śaka 1141) and there was no Hoysala king named

(name of the queen of the Raṭṭa Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Lakshmīdhara, Saundatti), Bhāgalē from Bhāgā-dēvi, Hariyale from Harihara-dēvi, Lakṣmī from Lakṣmī-dēvi, and Achale, Echale, Bommale, Honnale and Duggale from Achavve, Echavve, Bommavve, Honnavve and Duggavve respectively.

¹ 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 *Chōlarāja-pratishṭhachārya* and *Makara-rāja-nirmulana*, 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-Vainatṭya*, 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 Gōvīndanahallī (EC. IV, Kṛishnarājapet 63) which relates that when King Sōmēśvara was in the Pāṇḍya country which he had 'acquired through his great valour' (*prabalatara-pratāpa-prasara-vaśīkṛita-Pāṇḍya-maṇḍalam*), he, being pleased at the prowess of his generals, the *danḍanāyaka* Bōgayya and his brother, the *danḍanāyaka* Mallayya, presented to them the village Tēnginakatṭa 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 *Pāṇḍyarāja-sthāpanachārya*, 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 *Pāṇḍyarāja-pratishṭhachārya*, *Pāṇḍya-samuddharāṇa*, *Pāṇḍyarāja-samuddharāṇa*, *Pāṇḍyakula-samuddharāṇa*, or *Pāṇḍyarāja-rāja-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-Narasipura 78 and 97; IV, Kṛishnarājapet 9 and Nāgamahāla 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*, *Makara-rāja-nirmulana* and *Chōlarāja-pratishṭhachārya* before that date.

As we have seen above, the epithets *Chōla-kulaikaraksha* and *Magarōrṇipala-nirmulaka* are used in the above Lālanakere inscription in connection with Ballāla's son Narasimha. This, and the use of the titles *Magarōrṇipala-disāpaṭṭa* and *Chōlarāja-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-Pāṇḍya-Makara-prōddanḍa-Hoysāryamā
yad-yaññē paśavaḥ śarāḥ paridhayaḥ sangrāmabhūr maṇṭapaḥ !
sva-krōdhō 'rapir idhmam unmada-ripu-grāmāḥ pratāpō 'nalō,
mantraḥ kōpa-karāḥ karkkaśa-vachāś Chōla-pratishṭhā phalam ||
khaḍgam Vikramapāla-Pāvusa-śirō-mastishka-paṇkāvīḷam
prakshubhyān-Makarōshṇa-rakta-saritā prakshālya vīrōddhataḥ !
prōdyad-vairi-kadamba-pāṇḍya-pihitam Chōlam pratisṭhāpya yaś
Chōla-sthāpana-Pāṇḍya-khaḍgana iti prakhyāta-kirtir bhuvi ||

that are found respectively in the above-mentioned Gōvīndanahallī 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-Belgola 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 *Chōlasthāpana* (i.e., *Chōlarājya-pratishṭhāchārya*) 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-diśapaṭṭa* (*Magavarājya-nirmūlana*) and *Pāṇḍya-gaja-Kēsari* (*Pāṇḍya-gaṇḍasaila-Vajradāṇḍa*), which, like the title *Chōlarājya-pratishṭhāchārya*, 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. Hultsch has said on

¹ The titles *dakṣiṇa-chakri*, *tenkapa-chakri* and *dakṣiṇa-chakravartī* 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 Jōladālu inscription mentioned above. Dr. Hultsch'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-bhuvanaśrayaṃ śrī-prithivīvallabhaṃ śrī, mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaraṃ parama-bhaṭṭārakaṃ. . . niśānka-pratāpa-chakravartī Hoysaṇa śrī-Viraballāla-dēvana magaṃ Viranarasimha-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 *Chōlarājya-pratishṭhāchārya* as well as those of *Magararāja-diśapaṭṭa* 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

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, Śārvavarma, 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 *Upāsaka-chāra* 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 Kundakundācharya, the editor shrewdly points out that Pushpadanta, the author of an epic (*Mahāpurāṇa*) and the protege 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 *Yasodhara 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.

'KAUṬILYA', 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 Arthasāstra 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 archæologists 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 archæological 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

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 Chōla 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 Jōladālu inscriptions. Thus, the Kallukere inscription mentioned above (p. 2, n. 1) contains the following verse

āneya nāyakange nerad-āneya-nāyakan allad ānan emb
f-nuḍi yēvud endu Narasiṃha-mahīpati nūru-gāvudam |
tān irad etti mūḍaṇa-diśāvarad uddhataram poraḷchi nūr
āneyan oddid ā-Magaran-ānegalam piditandan aśvadim ||

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 Kembālu (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 Hāranahalli (EC. V, Arasikere 123; dated in Śaka 1156 Jaya, Vaiśākha-su 11, Friday) relates that Narasiṃha was encamped at Ravitadānada-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 Jōladālu, Naulē and Tiruvēndipuram inscriptions.

Narasiṃha therefore established the Chōla king in his kingdom on at least three different occasions and overran the Makara kingdom at least six different times.

¹ āsīd Ballāla-dēvē pariṇata-vayasī sthāpya rājyē Nṛsiṃham
svar-yātē tasya rakshan śīrasi vinihitam sāsanam sarvam āpya |
vīra-śrī-Nārasimha sthira-pada-kamalam samyag āśrītya tishṭhan
kāṅkshan . . . sukīrtim daśa-diśi vitatām rājya-lakṣmīm samagrām ||
tataḥ paṭṭābhishikṛtō Vīra-narasimha-bhūpaḥ sakala-dig-jayārtham pravṛtṭaḥ
pūrvam-pūrva-diśivaram gatvā prati-pravṛtṭaḥ Magararājām nirmūlya śaraṇā-
gata-Chōlam rājy- . . . pratishṭhāpya (read so instead of śaraṇāgata-chōla-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 Karamja 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 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 archaeological 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 Goult 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 Bhagīrata 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 Bhagīrata 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 Arjunīya, 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 hymners 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 footnote 1 that the rock-cut shrines of Māmallapuram are said to have been called after the heroes of the *Ramāyaṇa* 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 *Ramāyaṇa*. It is the *Mahabharata* heroes that he gives. That association of the *Mahabharata* 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 *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* 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 Halabid, 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 Mediaeval 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 *Piṭaka* 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 Pitakas' in the Tamil classic, *Manimekhalai* 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 Zimmern, '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, Śankarasvāmin. 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 a 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 a *Nyāyapravēśa*, 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 Tarkaśāstra* 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 *Nyāyapravēśa*, the Tibetan *Nyāyadvāra*. By a comparison of a certain number of names the learned professor comes to the conclusion that the *Nyāyapravēśa* and the *Nyāyadvāra* are different names of the same work. The other work referred to above, *Nyāyadvāra Tarkaśāstra* or the *Nyāy Tarkadvāra Śāstra* which the late Mahamahopadhyaya Vidyabhushana regarded as one proved to be different. The *Nyāyapravēśa* 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 Mahāchārya 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 *Nyāyadvāra* 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 Dignāgāchārya, but his definition of *Pratyakṣa* 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 *Ślokavārttika* and the commentary of Parthasarathi Miśra in a passage where *Pratyakṣa-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' (Sams. *Śast 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 Dignāgāchārya 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.'

Jignyasa

VOLUME I, No. II

- A. SASTRI : 'Ācharya Sundara Pandya.' Discusses the identification proposed by Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri in the January number

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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 Asvaghosha'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, 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 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

UNIVERSITY SUPPLEMENT

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 AITYANGAR
(*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 Sātakarṇi.¹ This statement in five of the manuscripts is that 'Yagñasrīh Sātakarṇi 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, Sātakarṇikah (Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*).

² Āndhrāpām samsthitē rājyē
tēṣām bhṛtyānvayā nṛpāḥ
saptaiḥ Āndhra bhaviṣyanti.

—Pargiter, op. cit.

to *Adhiraj* or emperor. Pravarasēna I's great grandson Rudrasēna, the second of the name in the dynasty, married Prabhāvatigupta, daughter of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Dēva 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 Pravarasēna 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 Naisāda monarchs, coming of the family of Naṣa, 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, Pulindas 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 Āndhra 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 Viśvasphani. 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 Pravarasēna 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 Viśvasphani, 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 Viśvasphani 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 Manidhānya held the territory of the Nishādas, Yadukas, Śaiśitas and Kālatoyakas.

4. Kosala, Āndhra, Puṇḍra 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 Rāshṭra and Bhokshaka (Bhoja?) were under the dynasty of the Kanakas.

7. The region of Surāshṭra, Avanti, Ābhira, Śūdra, Arbuda and Mālava will be ruled by unbrāhmanical Vṛātyas, very like Śūdras.

8. On the banks of the Indus, in the territory of the River Chandrabāga and Kuntidēśa, and in the territories of Kāsmīra will rule Śūdras, Vṛātyas and Mlēcchhas '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 Viśvasphani 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 Ghaṭotkaja, 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).

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8 Yavanas ruled for	87 or 82 years.
14 Tuṣāras "	107 or 105 "
13 Gurūṇḍas or	
Murūṇḍas "	200 years.
and 11 Hūṇas "	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 Āndhrabhṛityas 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 Mathura (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 Sākēta or Pāṭalipura. The Murūṇḍas 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 *Brahmāṇḍa 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 Śīśunandī. His younger brother went by the name

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Nandiyaśaś. 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 Nandiyaśaś, 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 Kāñchanaka. Of this ruler, it is said, that he celebrated several sacrifices called Vājapēya and distributed liberal gifts at the end of these to Brahmins. 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 Pravarasēna, 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 Pravarasēna II gives an elaborate description of this family³ and in regard to Pravarasēna 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 Pravarasēna the title *Samraṭ* a title somewhat similar

¹ Compare with this—

Dviradēndra gatischakōra nētraḥ
paripūrṇēndu mukhaḥ suvigrahaścha |
Dviḥ mukhyatamaḥ kavirabbhūva
prathitaḥ Śūdraka ityagādhasatvaḥ ||
Rg Vēdam Sāma Vēdam gaṇitamathakalām vaiśikīm hasti sikṣām
Gṇātva Śarvaprāsādādvypagata timirē chakṣuś chōpalabhya |
Rājānam vikṣva putram parama sadudayēnā śaymādhēna chēstvā
labdhva chāyuh śatābdam daśadina sahitaṁ Śūdrakoḍagnīm praviṣṭaḥ ||
Samara-vyasani pramāda śūnyaḥ kakudam vēdavidām tapōdanaścha
Paravāraṇa bāhuyuddha lubdhaḥ kṣitipālāḥ kila Śūdrako babbhūva. ||

5

² F. G. I., p. 235.

1. Vindhyaśakti.
2. Pravarasēna son of 1. 2 (a) Gautamiputra, son of 2 (married Bhavanāga, daughter of the Bharasiva dynasty).
3. Rudrasēna I, grandson of 2, through 2 (a).
4. Prithviśēna I, son of 3.
5. Rudrasēna II, son of 4 (married Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Dēvagupta or Chandragupta II and Kubhērānāga).
6. Pravarasēna II Dāmōdaraśēna, son of 5.
7. Narēndrasēna, 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.

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 Sākēta 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 Sākēta 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 Kushāṇa coins of the last of the great Kushāṇas, 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 Kushāṇa 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 Śaka coins reproduced along with the symbol. The Samudragupta coins are one step removed from this prototype by the addition of the figure of the queen on the obverse and the substitution of a lion for throne on the reverse, though 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 Kushans 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 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 Kushans. 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 Muttra 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 Śākyas 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 of² 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*³ is correct in the sense of pure, cleansed, etc. Hence there is no need to look for a proper name *Dhāva* as that of *Chandra*. The name of the ruler is undoubtedly Chandra, as it is described Chandrāhva, named Chandra clearly, notwithstanding the comparison that follows. The record may then be translated as below with the text.

1. Yasyōdvartatayatah pratīpamurāsā 'śatrūn samētyāgatān * Vangēshvāhavaritino—bhilikhitā khaḍgēna kīrti bhujē||
2. tīrtva sapta mukhāni yēna samarē sindhōrjītā Vahlikā * Yasyādyāpyadhi-vāsyatē jalaṇidhir 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 visriya gām narapatērg-gām āśtasyētarām mūrtyā karm-majitavānim gataṇā kīrttya sthitasya kṣhitau¹||
4. Śantasyēva mahāvanē hutabhujō yasyapratāpō mahān nādyapyutsrjati prapāṣitā ripōr yatnasya śēshaḥ * kṣhitau||
5. Praptēna svabhujārjjitam cha suchiram ch aikādhirājyam * kṣhitau Chand-rāhvēna * samagrachandra sadrśim vaktra śriyam bibhratā||
6. Tēnāyam prapīdnāya bhūmipatinā dhāvēna * Vishnor (au) matim prāmsur Vishnu padē girau bhagavatō Vishnōr-dhvaja * sthāpitah||

Vipāsa). 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 Pratipa, 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 Tākkika. (*Ind. Antiq.*, LVI, Grierson's Apabramsa Stabakas of Rama Sarman.) Avantika should mean naturally the language of Avanti, the region of Malva, Tākkika 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 *dh*s 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, Vishnōr-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 *Vishṇupada*.

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 Malva, 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. Vishṇōr-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-adhirāja (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 Adhirāja.

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 Adhirāja 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 Malva. 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 *Aśvamédhas*. What is more specifically to the point, he is given the title *Samrat*, another of the long-recognized titles of emperors like *Adhirāja* itself. This extension of Vākātaka 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 Vākātaka power itself seems to have passed through a period of storm and stress at the end of Pravarasēna's reign, as according to the Vākātaka 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 *Samrat*. 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 *Samrat*. Vākātaka 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 Vākātaka 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 Kushāṇas 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 Kushāṇas 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 Kushāṇas 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 Vākātakas 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 Vākātakas 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 Viṣṇu, 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 (Vishṇu), 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 Vaiṣṇava 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 Vaiṣṇava 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 Adhirāja. 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 however 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 *ślokas* 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. Mahendra	of Kosala
2. Vyāghrarāja	" Mahākāntāra
3. Maṇṭarāja	" Kaurālaka
4. Mahendra or Mahendragiri	" Pishṭāpura
5. Svāmīdatta	" Koṭṭūr
6. Damana	" Brāṇḍapalli
7. Viśṇugopa	" 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. Gaṇapatināga
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. Samatāta
2. Davaka
3. Kāmarūpa
4. Nēpālā
5. Kartṭpura

He is said similarly to have put under tribute :—

1. The Mālava
2. Ārjunāyana
3. Yaudhēya

4. Madraka
5. Ābhira
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. Murunda |
| 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 *garuda* 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 Bṛhaspati, 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 grandson 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-Vigraha Kumāra-Amātya Mahādandanāyaka Harisēna son of Mahādandanāyaka Dhruvabhūti Khadyaṭapākika 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 Vindhya in the eastern half of the peninsula. Piṣṭapura is what is now known as Pittapuram, 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. Kānchī 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 Salankayana 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 Kurāla. 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 Kurāla of the inscription finds its modern equivalent in Kurda, the Railway junction. The southern limit of Samudragupta's invasion is undoubtedly Kānchī, 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 *adhirājya* 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 Āryyāvarṭta 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 Āryyāvarṭta 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 Gaṇapatināga may be regarded as rulers on this particular frontier. The Chandravarman that is referred to here may be the Chandravarman of Pushkarāṇa who claims a victory as far east as the frontiers of east Bengal, and who was probably the author of the Śūsunia inscription. Nāgasena 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 Mahākāntara without a fight. If the Vyāgra of the Nachnē-ki-Talai can be taken to be the Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntara, 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, Dāvāka 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 Viṣṇugopa 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, Vākāṭaka. 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 Vākāṭaka 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 Vākāṭakas 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 Kānchi 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 Vākāṭakas must have been the result of the high position occupied by the Vākāṭakas 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 Harisena 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 signalized 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, Tambura 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 a 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 vitala-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-parasū*. 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-ullamair jayati* (Kācha having acquired the world, wins heaven by excellent deeds). The reverse legend is *Sarvarājocchitta* (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 *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Samudragupta*. On the reverse is the equally simple *Samudragupta*. (7) On the *Aśvamēdha* type is the obverse legend *Rājādhirāja-prithvīm-avajitya-divam-jayati apratī-vārya-vīryah*. 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, Surāshṭra 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 Surāshṭra, 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 Mahāvamsa, a Kalinga princess by name Hēmamāla 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 Prithvī-sēna 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 Alexander 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 'Mahārājadhīrāja,' 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 Mahārājadhīrāja 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 *Vaisiki-vidyā*, 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 baulked 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 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 Mahendra of Kosala; and the next one is Vyāghra-rāja of Mahakāntāra. 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 Mahakāntāra. 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 Mahakāntāra 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 *Bṛhat Samhita*, and the reference may be to these. The identification with Kērala has been found unsatisfactory long since, and must be given up. The next ruler attacked is generally taken to be Mahendra ruler of Pishtāpura. The whole expression is '*Pishtāpuraka Mahendra giri Kauttūraka Svāmidatta*'. The problem here is how to break the words. It is generally taken to be Pishtāpuraka Mahendra, Mahendra of Pishtāpur, and then giri-Kauttūraka Svāmidatta, Svāmidatta of Kottūr on the hill. It seems however that only one ruler is mentioned and that is Svāmidatta. He was ruler probably of Pishtāpura and Mahendragiri-Kottūr, which would mean nothing more than that the territory probably included what were two kingdoms with the two important capitals, Pishtāpura and Kottūr on or near Mahendragiri. This latter seems preferably the interpretation as in Raghu's *dig-vijaya*, Kālidāsa is content with stating for this part that the taking of Mahendragiri 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 Nilarāja of Avamukta. Kānchi is the well-known Pallava capital, and Vishnugopa probably a Pallava sovereign. We do not know either of Avamukta or of Nilarāja. 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 Śālanakāyanas 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 Daivarāshṭra, and Daivarāshṭra has recently been identified with Elamanchili Kalingadēsa in the Vizagapatam district, with its head-quarters probably at Elamanchili and then comes Dhananjaya of Kusthalāpura.

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 Āryyāvartta, that is the middle region of Hindustan 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,	Balavarma.

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 Āryyāvartta. The conquest of these rulers of Āryyāvartta 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 Samatāta, 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
Madraka,	Ābhīra,	Prārjuna,
Sanakānika,	Kaka,	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 Biana 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 Ābhīras 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 *prasasti* 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 *prāsaṣṭi* 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 *prāsaṣṭi*. 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 (Brhaspati) 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-prāchīrabandhaḥ*, 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 avajītya 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 Vākātakas. 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 *Samrat*, 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 *Rājasūya* by the *Pāṇḍavas* in their career earlier. Gupta inscriptions generally describe the *asvamedha* as one that had long fallen into desuetude (*chirōtsanna*). *Chirōtsanna*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 contemporary *Kharavēla* of *Kalinga* seems to have celebrated something akin, and a *Sātavāhana* ruler of the *Dakhan*, the great *Śātakarni* 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 *chirōtsanna* in the sense that it was given up for long. The term *chirōtsanna*, 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 *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*. The ceremony is brought to a close by the performance of a special *atirāstrōma* 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 *chirōtsanna* 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 *Rājasūya* 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 *garuda-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 *prastasti* 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 Ghatotkacha*, and son of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta*, born of the *Mahadevi Kumāradēvi*, 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 *prastasti*, 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 *Kāya*, 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

Khādya-ātapākika. 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 *Vākātakas* and the *Guptas*. The *Vākātakas* 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 *Vākātakas* 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 I 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 which obviously was impossible in the circumstances of the times, 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 Vākātakā 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 Chastana. It is now generally agreed that Chastana 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 Sri 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 Ajantā inscription seems to refer to Vindhyaśakti as belonging to the family of the Vindhyaśaktis. 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 Pravarasēna 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 *adhirāja*. A short dynasty of three Bāhlikas is referred to in the *Purāṇas* as ruling in this region, probably the region west of Mahishmati, 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 *adhirāja* which had the simultaneous consequence of reducing the Vākātakas from their *Samrāja* 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 Pravarasēna 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.

which ascribes the composition of the Prakrit *Kāvya Sētu-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 Kuntalā, 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, Kuntalā 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 Kshēmendra, makes the position clear that Vikramāditya, Kālidāsa and Kuntalēśa, the author of the *Sētu-bandham*, were contemporaries. That the *Sētu-bandham* was a *Kāvya* of Pravarasēna is clear from the statement of *Bāṇa* contained in one of the śloka 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 Prabhāvatigupta. 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 Kushan 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 pamuharasiva nivvōḍum dukkaam kavvakahā abhinavarāyāmbdha chyutaskhalitēsu vighaṭita paristhāpita maitriva pramukha rasikā n'rvōḍumbhavati 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 Kuntalā 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

Such seems the trend of events that led to the great Kshatrava war under Chandragupta II. The somewhat enigmatic statement of Bāṇa in the *Harshacharita*, and the unfortunately ambiguous note of his commentator Śaṅkarāyana 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-gupṭam*,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 Kshatrava 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 Kshatrava 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

¹ Ascribed to Viśākadatta in a Ms. discovered in Gujarat (see *Purātatva*, v. i. 47.)

² There 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 *Manimāhala*. 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-kanthabharana* in a similar context. It is however Kshēmendra's *Auchitya Vichara Charcha* that refers the passage to the work *Kuntalēśa-Dautyam* of Kālidāsa; but it is the unpublished work *Syngara Prakāsa* 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 kṣāṇtānīva kāntyā
mukūṭitanayanatvād vyaktakarpōt palāni-
pibati madhusugandhinīyānāni priyāpām
tvayi vinihitabharāḥ Kuntalānām adhiśaḥ ||

² jaḍāsāsyāntaragādhamāragam
alabdarandhram giri chaurya vrtyā |
lokeṣvalankāntam apūrvā sētum
babandha kirtya saba Kuntalēśaḥ ||

(*Bharata Charita*—Canto 1 now published as No. LXXXVI of the Trivandram Sans. Series.)

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 40 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 Brahmans 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.¹ One has only to carry himself to a place like Kumbakonam on the day of Makha or to Tiruvīdaimarudūr 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.² 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 30.³ This presumption that Ujjaini was the capital of Chandragupta in the latter half of his reign is supported by the account that Rājasēkhara 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 *Megha*, śloka 24.

²The references are to Dr. Hultzsch'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 *Sastras* 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 Rājasēkhara.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, *Setubandham*, and prince Pravarsēna 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) Divākarasēna 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 (Madhyadesa of the Brāhmans), 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 Brāhmans). 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 *chandālas* 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 (Vaiśālī) by Dr. Bloch, is one bearing the following inscription:—

'Mahādēvi Śrī Dhruvasvāmini, wife
of the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta and mother of Mahārāja Śrī Govinda Gupta.'

There was a number of other seals of officers of various degrees also of private individuals. Among them there is one of Śrī Ghaṭotaka 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 Battāraka. 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-Bhattāraka-Kumāramātya-Adhikaraṇa' must be taken as a whole and broken up into *amātya-adhikarāṇa* chief among the ministers of the Yuvarāja and Battāraka-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 Pravarasēnasya' or something analogous before the expression 'śāsanam riputāsanaṁ'—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 Tirabhukti (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 heirarchy 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 Tirabhukti 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 Dhruvasvāminī 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 Divākaraśēna for 13 years as his regent, and seems to have exercised some authority up to the 19th and the 21st years of Pravarasēna 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-adhikarāṇa; the chief minister for military affairs (Balādhikarāṇa), the chief commissary officer (Ranabhandāgāra-adhikarāṇa), the chief of the Police (Dandapāśa-adhikarāṇa); there were besides the great chamberlain (Mahāpratihāra), and the chief judge (Mahādandanāyaka). The particular chamberlain Virhe yaśūra is given the additional title Taravara, the chief of the Treasury 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 local council. There were besides the chief of the guild of bankers (Śrēṣṭhin), the chief of the carrying traders (Sarthavāha), and the chief of the merchants (Kulika). These seem to have formed the core of officials constituting the administration. As we find this in reference 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 provincial administration. Tirabhukti 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;

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Chandragupta must have died then. It may be that he died a few years 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 by his royal queen Dhruvadēvi. Kumāragupta's was a comparatively long reign going on to the year 455 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 much 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 its 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. Here 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 was no less to compare to advantage with empires of contemporary and even later times. Is it of this Gupta emperor that the poet has sung :
 ...vā ruddhagatīḥ Khasādhipatayē dēvim Dhruvasvāminīm
 ...nātkhanditasāhasō nivavṛtē Śrī Śarma Gupto Nṛpaḥ
 ...innēva Himālayē guruguhā kōṇakkvaṇat kinnarē
 ...as tatē tava Kārttikēya nagara strīṇām gaṇaiḥ kīrttayāḥ ?

