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(1) **The Empire of the Great Mogol**, A Translation of De Laet's *De Imperio Magni Mogolis Sive India vera, Commentarius ex variis auctoribus congestus*, By Prof. J. S. Hoyland, M.A., F.R. Hist. S., with notes by S. N. Banerjee, M.A. Price Rs. 5-8.

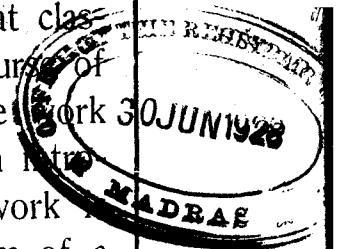
This scarce little book contains certain statements of considerable importance and deserves to be critically used as one of the early authorities for the history of Akbar.

(2) **The Working of Dyarchy in India**, By Kerala Putra.

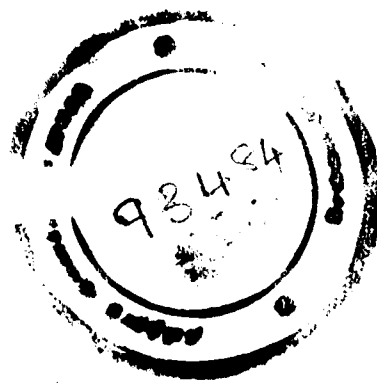
The Author was formerly a Dixon Scholar of Christ Church, Oxford, and the Editor of one of the most widely read English papers published in India. He has had the unique opportunity to watch the proceedings of both the Central Legislatures and of one Provincial Council almost daily for months. He has achieved great success with his previous books. In the present work he analyses and criticises the Montagu Chelmsford Constitution and shows how far it has been successful as a first instalment of responsible Government in India.

Manimekhalai in its Historical Setting.

This is the study of one of the great classics of Tamil literature and forms the course of University special lectures last year. The work contains all the lectures as constituting an introduction to the work, and the whole work presented in an English garb in the form of a more or less free English translation. The translation is of two parts, the narrative part consisting of twenty-seven out of the thirty books which are rendered rather freely to give a complete and, as far as may be, a correct idea of the original poem. The remaining three books are very important from the point of view of Indian cultural history as bearing upon the religious and philosophical background of Indian culture at the time. These books are translated literally and fully with a view to presenting to scholars the material in fulness for such historical and cultural conclusions as may be derivable therefrom. The whole purpose of the book may be described as an effort to present a great Tamil classic to readers not familiar with Tamil. It is to be hoped that the work would receive a welcome that its character and importance fully deserve.



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V2 to N22
N28. 6.3



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5. In citing the titles of books, give the title in full where

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East Māḍa Street, Mylapore,
MADRAS, S.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

A History of the Reign of *Shāh Jahān*

(Based on Original Persian Sources)

BY

ABDUL AZIZ, *Barrister-at-Law*

ABBREVIATIONS

Āin.—Abu'l Fazl, *Āin-i-Ākbarī*, 3 vols. (Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow, 1893).

Āin. B. & J.—Abu'l Fazl, *Āin-i-Akbarī*, 3 vols., translated by H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett.

A.S.—Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambo, '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* or '*Shāh Jahān Nama* (*Bibliotheca Indica*).

B.N.—Mulla 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāh Nama*, 2 vols. (*Bibliotheca Indica*).

E. & D.—Sir H. M. Elliot and Prof. John Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, 8 vols., 1867–77.

E.F.I.—*English Factories in India*.

I.G.—*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 26 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909).

Irvine, Army.—William Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls: Its Organisation and Administration*. (London, 1903.)

M. L.—Muḥammad Hāshim Khān ("Khāfī Khān"), *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, 2 vols. (*Bibliotheca Indica*).

M. U.—Nawāb "Ṣamṣam-ud-Daula" Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'aṣir-ul-Umarā*, 3 vols., (*Bibliotheca Indica*).

Qazwīnī.—Muḥammad Amīn bin Abu'l Ḥasan Qazwīnī (otherwise known as Mīrza Amīnā Qazwīnī), *Padshāh Nama*.

Tuzuk.—*Toozuk-i-Jehangeeree*, edited by Syud Ahmud (Ally Gurh, 1864.)

Tuzuk, R. & B.—*Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, or *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, translated by Alexander Rogers, and edited by H. Beveridge. 2 vols. (London, 1909 and 1914.)

NOTE (1) 4,000/3,000, etc.—The *manṣab* or rank of 4,000, etc., personal and 3,000, etc., horse.

(2) Titles are always given within inverted commas, except when a man's title is better known than his name, in which case his title is freely used as a name.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

In spelling Oriental names I have followed the System of Transliteration adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Names of places well known to us to-day I have left unchanged, following as far as possible the spelling in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xxvi (Atlas). In certain names of persons, which the reader will readily distinguish, I have followed the popular pronunciation: Any other course seemed to me more pedantic than scholarly.

NOTE ON CHRONOLOGY

A. THE MUSLIM ERA

The Muslim or the *Hijrī* era began on July 16, 622 A.C. The year, which is lunar, consists of the following twelve months, and comprises 354 days (or, in a leap year, 355 days, with 30 days to *Zu'l-hijj*):

Muḥarram	30	days.
Ṣafar	29	"
Rabī' I	30	"
Rabī' II	29	"
Jumāda I	30	"
Jumāda II	29	"
Rajab	30	"
Shā'ban	29	"
Ramaṣān	30	"
Shawwāl	29	"
Zu'l-qa'd	30	"
Zu'l-hijj	29	" (or 30 in leap year).

It must be remembered, however, that the rule according to which the months have alternately 30 or 29 days, is true only approximately and in long calculations. Variation in latitude and longitude sometimes makes a difference in the number of days in a month, so that a month may begin a day earlier in one place than in another. The actual appearance of the moon plays an important part in the determination of Muslim dates. We often have two consecutive months of 30 or of 29 days in practice. Thus is explained much of the prevailing confusion about *Hijrī* dates.

It must also be noted that the day, according to the Muslim Calendar, consists of the period from sunset to sunset (and neither from sunrise to sunrise, which is the Hindu practice, nor from midnight to midnight, which is the modern European method of calculation); so that 'Friday evening' or 'Friday night' in the mouth of a Muslim historian means the evening or night occurring between Thursday and Friday, and not the one between Friday and Saturday.

B. THE *Ilāhī* OR DIVINE ERA

This era, although established in the 29th year of Akbar's reign, had retrospective effect, and began with the year of his accession, 963 A.H. (1556 A.C.). The reckoning was solar; and the year, which began on March 11, consisted of the following months:—

Farwardin	(Māh-i-Ilāhī).	Mīhr	(Māh-i-Ilāhī).
Urdibihisht	(" ").	Ābān	(" ").
Khurdād	(" ").	Āzar	(" ").
Tir	(" ").	Dai	(" ").
Amurdād	(" ").	Bahman	(" ").
Shahrīwar	(" ").	Isfandārmuz	(" ").

The number of days in a month varies from 29 to 32.

C. THE CHRISTIAN ERA

All the Christian dates I have given are Old Series, which was then current in England.

CHAPTER I

DEATH OF JAHĀNGĪR AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SUCCESSION

SECTION I

DEATH OF JAHĀNGĪR

In the autumn of 1627 A.C., while Jahāngīr was on his last pleasure-trip to Kashmir, suddenly his old complaint, asthma, returned. He

rapidly lost strength and went about on a *palkī*, being unable to ride. One day the pain became severe and his life was despaired of. He said that his end was approaching; and there were signs of disturbance at the court. But this time the Emperor rallied. Soon, however, he lost appetite: natural scenery made no appeal to his senses. Even the taste for opium, his life-long companion, was gone; and he could take nothing but a few cups of wine. It was obvious that the Emperor had not long to live.

At this time Prince *Shahryār*,¹ who was of the royal party, was suffering from *dā'-uṣ-ṣa'lab*² (fox-evil); he had lost all the hair of moustaches, brows and eye-lashes which badly disfigured his face. The court physicians could render no help. He sought permission to proceed to Lahore at once to have the benefit of medical treatment there, and, in spite of *Nūr Jahān*'s entreaties to the contrary (who dreaded developments on the Emperor's demise), persisted in his resolve and left Kashmir. At his request Prince *Dāwar Bakhsh*,³ nicknamed *Bulāqī* (son of the late Prince *Khusrau*), whom the Empress *Nūr Jahān* had, for political reasons, placed in his custody, was taken from him and put under the charge of *Irādat Khān* ("A'zam Khān")—*Mīr Bakhshī*.

The Emperor tried to amuse himself by wandering about, and visited *Machhī Bhawan*,⁴ *Ajwal*⁵ and *Vernag*. About this time return to Lahore was ordered. The Emperor had a shoot on the way at *Bairam Galla*.⁶ The peculiar charm of this favourite hunting-ground lay in the fact that here there was a high hill, at the foot of which the Emperor and party used to be stationed. The beaters brought the game from the other side of the hill right up to the ridge,

¹ See table on p. 240.

² Various translated as 'scald' or 'alopecia'. According to *Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ* and the author of *Mulakhkhaṣ* he had syphilis also.

³ See table on p. 240.

⁴ *Machhī Bhawan* is probably *Bhawan* or *Bawan*—4½ miles from Islamabad—where, Dr. A. Neve tells us (*Tourist's Guide to Kashmir, Ladakh, Skardo, etc.*, 86), the water abounds with fish.

⁵ All the texts have *Ajwal*. *Achibal* is probably meant, with its beautiful pleasure-garden and encamping ground. For the *Achibal Garden* see C. M. Villiers Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, 189-98. *Achibal* is 7 miles, and *Vernag* 19 miles, from Islamabad.

⁶ This is modern *Baramgalla*—a small village, shut in by mountains—next stage after *Thana Mandi*, going to *Srinagar*, and 10 miles from the former.

and as soon as the quarry was seen it was shot and fell helplessly over the precipice, which stood sheer, the Emperor enjoying the fun.

On this occasion a beater brought a deer on to the top; the animal took his stand on a piece of stone, from where he was not clearly visible to the Emperor below. The man rushed forward to drive the game from his shelter, but lost his balance in the attempt, pulled by the roots the bush at which he grabbed, fell headlong, and came down a misshapen corpse. The Emperor's mind, already unhinged, was upset by the incident; the hunt came to a close, and *Jahāngīr* retired to his camp. The mother of the deceased wailed and moaned before him: cash presents would not console her. The Emperor's mind knew no rest; in fact he never recovered from the shock.

The imperial party marched from *Bairam Galla* to *Thana*,¹ and from *Thana* to *Rājaur*.² It left *Rājaur* in the afternoon—as usual. On the way the Emperor asked for a cup of wine, but, not finding it to his taste, rejected it. His ailment took a turn for the worse; when he reached the next stage (*Chingīz Hatī* or *Chingīz Hatī*)³ he was sinking. In the latter part of the night the condition became critical. Towards morning he could breathe with difficulty, and on Sunday, the 28th *Ṣafar*, 1037 A.H. (=15th *Ābān*, 22nd Regnal Year = 28th October, 1627), at about 9 a.m., the great Emperor—great with all his weaknesses and limitations—died in his 60th lunar, 59th solar, and 22nd regnal, year,⁴—and left behind him a welter of contending forces and conflicting ambitions.

SECTION 2

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUCCESSION

The death of *Jahāngīr*, as usually happened in such cases, left the Empire in a condition of unstable equilibrium.

¹ Known to tourists of modern Kashmir as *Thana Mandi*: 33° 2' N., 74° 11' E.

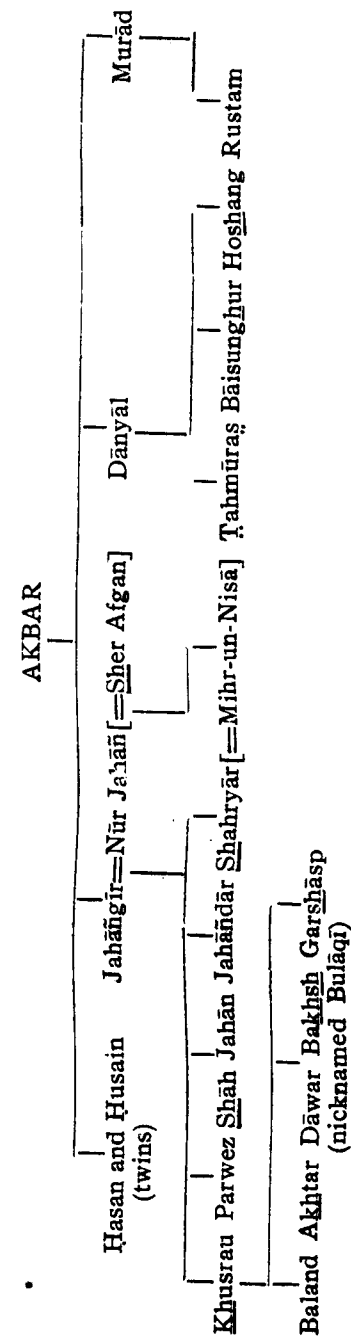
² Modern *Rajauri* (33° 25' N., 74° 21' E.), capital of a state of that name. For information about *Rajauri* state see *Journal of Punjab Historical Society*, vol. ix, part II, pp. 131-60, and Cunningham and Mojmudar, *Ancient Geography of India*, 148-49.

³ Modern *Chingas Serai* or *Changas Serai*, situated in 33° 14' N., 74° 20' E.

All these places are on the road from *Gujrat* to *Srinagar*, and are to be found on the Government of India Survey Map sheets (4 miles to an inch).

⁴ He was aged 58 y., 1 m., and 29 d. by the solar, and 59 y., 11 m., and 12 d. by the lunar, calculation.

To understand the events that followed it in quick succession, we must have before us the following genealogical table:



Out of the sons of Akbar, omitting the twins who died early, Murād (with his son, Rustam) and Dānyāl had predeceased their brother, Jahāngīr; so also had the latter's sons, Khusrau, Parvez and Jahāndār. So the struggle for the throne could only be between Shāh Jahān, Shahryār and Khusrau's sons (of whom only Dāwar Bakhsh and Garshāsp remained); while among remoter heirs and possible claimants were the sons of Prince Dānyāl: Tahmūraṣ, Bāisunghur and Hoshang—all still alive. Shāh Jahān was by far the ablest of all the possible candidates for the crown, and had once been nominated heir, while Shahryār had a general reputation for being worthless (*nāshudānī*);¹ and Khusrau's sons were further removed, though in direct line of descent from Akbar. But Shahryār, being the husband of Nūr Jahān's daughter by Sher Afgan (named Mīhr-un-Nisā), was backed by the Empress, who, by placing a figurehead on the throne, looked forward to another long rule for herself like the one which had just terminated.² And Shāh Jahān's disobedient and rebellious conduct during the closing years of Jahāngīr's reign had disgusted the latter, and diminished his chances of succession.

At the time of Jahāngīr's death, Dāwar Bakhsh, Tahmūraṣ, Bāisunghur and Hoshang were with the royal party in Kashmir, while Shahryār was, as we have seen, on the way to Lahore. Shāh Jahān's sons, Dārā Shukoh, Shāh Shujā' and Aurangzeb, who after long negotiations had been sent to the Emperor as security for their father's good behaviour, had accompanied the Emperor. The royal party also included the Empress Nūr Jahān, her brother Āṣaf Khān, Irādat Khān ("A'zam Khān"), Mīr Bakhshī, and Khawājā Abu'l Hasan.

Judging from the Empress's ascendancy and undisputed power during the latter years of Jahāngīr's reign, and from the fact that Shāh Jahān was at this time far away in the Deccan, one would think Shahryār had as good a chance as he could have wished. And on reaching Lahore before the royal party, while, on the one hand, of course he missed the chance of being declared Emperor forthwith, which Nūr Jahān undoubtedly desired; he got, on the other, an opportunity to prepare for a determined fight against the supporters of

¹It appears from Qazwīnī that it was Shāh Jahān who gave him that nickname.

²Qazwīnī.

Shāh Jahān's claims with all the military advantages and equipment that the capital of the Punjab at this time afforded,—of which we shall have to speak more fully later.

But fate willed otherwise. The most important factor in the situation, as it turned out, was Āṣaf Khān, the elder brother of Nūr Jahān and father-in-law of Shāh Jahān, who had already been suspected of secret sympathy with the rebellious prince.

It is thus clear that the struggle for the throne lay really between Shāh Jahān and Shahryār, so that the other princes were only pawns in the game: and as we shall see they were used as such. We are now in a position to follow the course of events:

As soon as the Emperor breathed his last, Āṣaf Khān took prompt action, and, grasping the whole situation with the eye of an experienced statesman, speedily decided to proclaim Dāwar Bakhsh Emperor and took Irādat Khān and other nobles into his confidence. So he lost no time in taking Dāwar Bakhsh out of custody and offering him the throne of the Indian Empire. Poor Dāwar Bakhsh would not believe him, but Āṣaf Khān convinced him of his good faith by taking solemn oaths. Then Āṣaf Khān and Irādat Khān proclaimed him Emperor and resumed the journey.

Nūr Jahān was alarmed; she sent repeatedly for her brother, on pretence of taking counsel, but really with a view to taking him and his colleagues prisoner; but he was too wary to play into her hands so readily, so he put her off on one excuse or another, and bade his friends beware.

Nūr Jahān, completely checkmated and undone, saw nothing for it but to follow in the rear with her husband's remains in front of her and the sons of Shāh Jahān seated in the same *hauda* with her, surrounded by the small band of attendants who still continued loyal.

This plan of making Dāwar Bakhsh a stopgap and a scapegoat was dictated by the peculiar circumstances of the case: Shāh Jahān was far away, and his immediate coronation, which would have definitely squashed all opposition, was out of the question. Nor could he come in time to fight the issue, which was sure to be decided before he arrived. And nobody could be expected to draw the sword for an absent hero, however popular: such battles were fought for personalities, not for causes. It would have been absurd waging battle against Shahryār without the knowledge and authority of a

properly constituted sovereign. Dāwar Bakhsh offered a convenient figurehead, and the frightful fraud practised on the unsuspecting boy, who neither claimed, nor intended to contest, the throne, was of course no consideration in the game. Needless to say, Āṣaf Khān's position would have become awkward if Shahryār had had the sense to take Dāwar Bakhsh along with him to Lahore, which he could very easily have done.

Further, the fact of Shāh Jahān's sons being in the custody of Nūr Jahān was yet another reason for nominating Dāwar Bakhsh to the throne and disarming Nūr Jahān's suspicion and hostility against the father of those boys; though it is more than doubtful that she was deceived. In fact that is why, as we shall soon see, Nūr Jahān was isolated at the earliest possible opportunity, and a sedulous watch was kept over Dāwar Bakhsh.

To resume: the same day Āṣaf Khān called for Banārsī, a Hindu, who was Superintendent of the Elephant Stables, and, holding out promises of imperial favour, ordered him to fly 'like wind' to Prince Shāh Jahān with the news; and as there was no time for a letter he handed him his signet by way of his credentials. He instructed Banārsī to place the ring before Shāh Jahān and, after informing him of the course the events had taken, to beg him to proceed to Agra immediately, as matters did not admit of the least delay. Banārsī lost no time and started on his long journey by relay of horses.

Next day (Monday, *Safar* 29=October 29), at Bhimbar,¹ Āṣaf Khān overtook Khwāja Abu'l Ḥasan, Diwān, who was marching one day in advance, and won him over to his side with all the nobles who were with the latter. Here the last honours were paid to the Emperor's remains, which were then sent to Lahore in charge of Maqṣūd Khān, who, on the following Friday (November 2), consigned them to the earth in Nūr Jahān's *Gardeh*—the *Shahdara-garden* of to-day, where the famous mausoleum stands.

In the neighbourhood of Bhimbar the *Khuṭba* was read in the name of Dāwar Bakhsh.²

¹ Bhimbar (32° 58' N., 74° 8' E.) is close to the boundary between Kashmir State and Gujrat District—exactly due east of Jhelum.

² This fact is mentioned only in *Tuzuk*, 422.

By this time most of the nobles had joined hands with Āṣaf Khān; for even those who had so far been sitting on the fence, when they saw his plans succeed, plumped on his side. So Āṣaf Khān, when he learnt that Nūr Jahān still entertained ambitions of empire for Shahryār and was guiding his policy and operations by writing secret letters, and feeling, as we have seen, the security of his own position, thought the time was ripe for another step forward: He brought Nūr Jahān over to his camp, and barred all access to her allowing only a few maidservants on whom he had complete reliance. This precaution was obviously necessary seeing that a word, a gesture, of warning to Dāwar Bakhsh would have undone the whole plot. He took the three princes from her; yet, for fear of disillusioning Bulāqī, thought it prudent to place them in the safe keeping of Sādiq Khān, his cousin and sister's husband.

Now we must turn to the events at Lahore. Here the moving spirit was Shahryār's wife (Nūr Jahān's daughter by Sher Afgan). She had inherited some of her mother's fire and ambition, and her imperious talent for organization and control. She often gave the lead to her husband in this desperate struggle. Under her directions Prince Shahryār, as soon as he heard the news of Jahāngīr's demise, set up as Emperor, appropriated the Imperial Treasury and proceeded to put an army into shape. He disbursed no less than seventy lakhs of rupees¹ in one busy week. Thus by lavish gifts of cash titles and honours to men old and new, he brought together a goodly force of 15,000 horse. Fortunately for him the Emperor Jahāngīr had proceeded to Kashmir with a small number of nobles and men, all in light marching order, dismissing many of the nobles to their estates and leaving others at Lahore along with the heavier arms, elephants and artillery, to await his return. This shaped things to the hands of Shahryār, who was not slow to take advantage of the God-given opportunity. These, along with the arms and accoutrements belonging to the nobles stationed at Lahore, were freely requisitioned by Shahryār to equip his army, which was placed under command of Bāisunghur (son of Prince Dānyāl), who, having been in charge of Khwāja Abu'l

¹ Out of this sum some forty-five lakhs were afterwards recovered and re-deposited in the Treasury.

Hasan in the royal camp, had run away on the day of Jahāngīr's demise and joined Shahryār in Lahore. This army, materially so well-equipped but untrained and inexperienced, Shahryār sent across the water, where the succession to the throne of Agra was to be finally decided. Āṣaf Khān's men did not exceed 10,000 all told. And these were without armour and the heavier arms. But he had a compact and disciplined force, and further had this advantage, that families of many of the nobles who fought on his side, were now virtually prisoners in the hands of Shahryār, having been left at Lahore; so that the *umara* under him had reason to fight with a will.

Āṣaf Khān, undismayed by the enemy's advantage and superior numbers, disposed his men in the following order of battle:—

He himself on one elephant, Dāwar Bakhsh on another, Tahmūras and Hoshang on a third, with Mūsawī Khān (*sadr*), Mir 'Abdul Hādī and Mir Khalīl Ullāh (sons of Mir Mirān Yazdī) and Khānlū (son of Zu'l-Faqār Khān Qarāmānlū), who was a fresh arrival from Persia, occupied the Centre.

Khwāja Abu'l Hasan, Rāja Jagat Singh (son of Rāja Bāsū), Allāh Verdī Khān, Mukhlis Khān and some Sayyids of Bārha¹ constituted the vanguard.

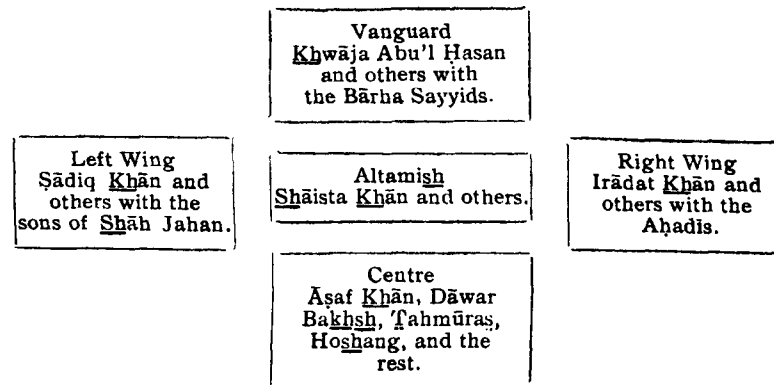
The *Allamish* (troops between vanguard and centre) was led by Shāista Khān, assisted by Sher Khwāja, Sayyid Hizabr Khān, Khwās Khān, Sayyid Ja'far and Sayyid 'Ālam Bārha (with the *manṣabdars* of *jalau*, who were under him) and a few Rajputs.

The Right Wing was composed of Irādat Khān, Mirza Shujā' (son of Mirza Shāh Rukh), Muruwwat Khān Turkmān, Sharf-ud-Dīn Husain ("Himmat Khān," son of Yūsuf), Fakhr-ud-Dīn Ahmad ("Tarbiyat Khān"), Mullā Murshad ("Makramat Khān"), Hakīm Jamālā-i-Kāshī, and Bahādur Beg with all the *Ahadts*.

The Left Wing was under the command of Sādiq Khān, under whom were Khān Zamān, Shāh Nawāz Khān, Mu'tamad Khān (author of *Iqbal Nama*), Rāja Roz Afzūn and a few others. The sons of Shāh Jahān on one elephant were also stationed here.

¹The Bārha Sayyids enjoyed from the time of Akbar the right to fight in the vanguard. (Irvine, *Army*, 225.)

The accompanying plan shows the arrangement of Āṣaf Khān's army at a glance :—



The battle was joined some 3 *kos* (say, about 5 miles) from the city of Lahore, on the banks of the Ravi, on Sunday, the 11th Rabi' I, 1037¹ (=28th Ābān). On the very first impact, without a bullet or an arrow being shot, Bāisunghur's raw recruits lost their footing and were soon on the run.

Shahryār, meekly following his wife's directions, had come out of the fort at the head of some two or three thousand picked horsemen, with the intention of joining Bāisunghur, but Afzal Khān² (who was Āṣaf Khān's man, and who had so far succeeded in completely hoodwinking Shahryār as to have wormed his way into his friendship and confidence) dissuaded him from bearing a hand in the fight, and kept him waiting for the issue. Of a sudden a Turkish slave came headlong from the battle-field with the unwelcome news that the day had gone against him. It is proof of Shahryār's dense stupidity that he, instead of seeking asylum from the terrible consequences of defeat, turned and walked into the fort, as if conscious of his utter resourcelessness when away from his wife. He crept ignominiously into the imperial seraglio, where he had taken up his abode since he heard of Jahāngir's death.

¹ According to the calendar 11th Rabi' I, 1037, fell on a Saturday. But see prefatory note on 'Chronology (The Muslim Year).'

² The *Mir Sāmān* of Jahāngir, who, before the Emperor's death, had proceeded to Lahore in advance of the others with the Imperial Armoury and Workshop.

Next day the victors approached and encamped outside the city walls on the side of Mahdī Qāsim Khān Garden.¹ Here Afzal Khān joined Āṣaf Khān to get thanks for his nefarious work; and many of Shahryār's followers hastened to seek refuge with him and to curry favour. In the evening Āṣaf Khān sent his son, Shāista Khān, with Irādat Khān and Afzal Khān, into the fort, where they took charge of the Imperial Armoury and the Treasury, and passed the night in the palace courtyard.

Next morning the nobles went inside the palace and placed Dāwar Bakhsh on the throne. Firoz Khān and Khidmat Khān, eunuchs, pulled out Shahryār from his hiding-place and fittingly entrusted him to Allāh Verdi Khān.² His hands were tied with a sash stripped from his waist, and in this condition he was brought before Dāwar Bakhsh. The usual bows being duly performed he was put in prison.

Two days later Shahryār's eyes were put out. One day after that again Tahmūras and Hoshang were taken into custody.³

Āṣaf Khān wrote to Shāh Jahān communicating the happy tidings of victory, congratulating him, and begging him to hurry up and assume control.

Thus ended Shahryār's brief struggle for the throne, half-hearted, pitiful and tragic. His petty ways lend no dignity either to his ambition or to his efforts, and rob his ignominious end of the saving grace of a tragedy. His ambition is factitious and his personality uninspiring.⁴

¹ Judging by Abdul Latif's account (*Lahore*, p. 26 and Footnote), this extensive garden, founded by Qāsim Khān, an *amir* of Akbar's court, stood about the place marked as Shish Mahal in *I.G.*, xxvi (Atlas), Pl. 59—opposite the south-west corner of the city of Lahore. To those who know modern Lahore this would be where Bradlaugh Hall and the Punjab Veterinary College stand to-day, right up to the Ravi.

² "Mu'taqid Khān," the royal game-keeper, who invented a gigantic net. We say 'fittingly,' for this time a remarkably big game had fallen into his net.

³ This is the chronological order of events as given in the *Tuzuk*, which seems to us more logical and likely than that given by all the other contemporary historians (Muḥammad Amin Qazwini, 'Abdul Ḥamid Lahori and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ), who probably copy from one another.

⁴ This is what we gather from the histories. The court annalists, and every other historian who follows them, have given this dog a bad name of set purpose to have him hanged, drawn and quartered. We have no wish to be unfair to this unlucky prince. It is indeed refreshing to find the author of *Intiḥāb-i-Jahāngir* *Shāhi* speak of Shahryār as 'the most beautiful of all the princes' (E. and D., vi, 450). And this is supported by the photo of what seem to be a contemporary

We might have witnessed a more seemly struggle if Nūr Jahān, the prime mover, had not been so handicapped at the outset. In fact it is probable that if Shahryār had not foolishly left the royal party, and both the trump-cards (Shahryār and Dāwar Bakhsh) had remained in Nūr Jahān's hands, Āsaf Khān would have been hard put to it to carry out his daring plan; for we must remember that Shahryār had a stronger claim than Dāwar Bakhsh. The odds are that Nūr Jahān would have carried the day.

As it is, we can only admire Āsaf Khān's unscrupulous skill and courage. Nūr Jahān's star was set after a long and brilliant career—a curious medley of mysterious romance and majestic ambition.

During the brief reign of Dāwar Bakhsh at Lahore levees were arranged for him every day, when he was placed in the *jharoka* to give audience; Āsaf Khān kept Dāwar Bakhsh amused with elephant-fights and other engagements, so as not to give him time for thought or suspicion. All the time, however, Āsaf Khān, with the help of his son, kept a sharp look-out on Dāwar Bakhsh's doings. He was never allowed to leave the fort; and nobody, who could possibly be expected to hint a warning, was permitted to approach him.¹

Now about Banārsī:—He flew from Chingīz Hatlī and, after twenty days' breathless journey, reached Junair² (then on the border of Nizām-ul-Mulk's territory) on Sunday, 19 Rabi' I³ (= Novem-

drawing of Shahryār given in *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar, 1911*, 100, where his prepossessing appearance, healthy physique and intelligent look lend no countenance to the historians' wholesale condemnation. Again, Captain Hawkins, who saw Shahryār at Agra when he was only seven years of age, says of him that "there is great hope of this child to exceed all the rest." (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, iii, 47).

¹ Bhagawān Dās, *Shāh Jahān Nāma* (Punjab Public Library MS.), p. 237.

² This is, in all probability, the modern Junnar, headquarters of the *tāluka* of the same name in Poona District, Bombay—situated in 19°12' N., 73°53' E., sixty-five miles north of Poona City. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar (*India of Aurangzib compared with the India of Akbar*, 151) identifies 'Jooneer', given in *Chahār Gulshan* as a *sarkār* in the Aurangabad province, with the modern Junnar. So apparently all three are the same.

³ This is an excellent illustration of what was said in the prefatory note on 'Chronology (The Muslim Year)'. On p. 246 above we found that the 11th Rabi' I fell on a Sunday: here we find that the 19th Rabi' I was also a Sunday. This is impossible unless we assume that the date of the lunar month varies by a day or so in different parts of a country. We thus notice that the month of Rabi' I was one day in advance in the Deccan this year compared with the dates observed at Lahore.

ber 18, 1627)—seven whole days after the battle for succession had been fought and won by Āsaf Khān. Turning a little out of his way, Banārsī, in obedience to Āsaf Khān's directions, sought Mahābat Khān (who had only recently entered into an alliance with Shāh Jahān) and announced to him the purpose of his errand. They lost no time in waiting on the Prince. Shāh Jahān came out of the seraglio: Banārsī kissed the ground and delivered his message, producing Āsaf Khān's ring for testimony. Shāh Jahān was sorry to hear of his father's death—so at least the historians politely assure us, one and all,—which we may perhaps believe, seeing that there was a note of tragic pathos in Jahāngīr's later life, and that Shāh Jahān was not by any means dead to the finer human feelings. But the Prince, so far away from the centre of things, and with so many rival claimants in the field (some with Nūr Jahān's powerful influence behind) could ill afford to lose any of his precious time in formal mourning. It was accordingly decided, in consultation with Mahābat Khān and others, that the party leave for Agra on Thursday, the 23rd Rabi' I (=November 22,)—the date fixed by the astrologers in attendance;¹ and as no reassuring communication had yet been received from Khān Jahān Lodī, Governor of the Deccan, the direct route was not considered safe and it was decided to proceed by way of Gujarat.

A reply was promptly despatched to Āsaf Khān by hand of Amān Ullāh and Bāyazīd to the effect that Banārsī had duly arrived, and that Shāh Jahān was proceeding apace to Agra by way of Ahmadabad.

Shāh Jahān at once assumed the rights and privileges of sovereignty. The first thing he did was to send a messenger to Khān Jahān Lodī magnanimously offering pardon for his misbehaviour² and indulgent terms of peace.

The next imperial act concerned the governorship of Gujarat. The governor of this province at this time was Saif Khān, the man who had successfully fought against Shāh Jahān's rebellious hosts under

¹ It is worthy of note that the Mughal emperors, enlightened and cultured as they were, never embarked on an important undertaking without having ascertained from their astrologers the date, hour and minute, on which, according to their calculations, the enterprise must be undertaken to ensure a successful issue. The present case is a fairly typical one. At this moment of emergency the Prince could easily, and would surely, have overruled the astrologers' pronouncement, if the consultation had only been a matter of form. It appears that there was real belief in astrology behind this practice.

² More about this in a later chapter.

'Abdullāh Khān in Gujarat. Honest and consistent, and afraid of the consequences of his previous conduct, he had not the courage or the hardihood to send a message of welcome to Shāh Jahān, when the latter approached the frontier of his province. We are also told that Saif Khān was seriously ill¹ at this time, which was possibly the only reason for this discourtesy. But Nāhir Khān ("Sher Khān"), who had fought side by side with Saif Khān in the selfsame battle of Bālūd,² and like him owed his title and rank to his bravery and enthusiasm in the imperialist cause, took advantage of the circumstance, and was unscrupulous enough to submit a petition to Shāh Jahān professing unswerving loyalty and allegiance and accusing Saif Khān of disaffection.

Orders transferring governorship of Gujarat from Saif Khān to Nāhir Khān were immediately issued and the latter was commanded to seize Saif Khān and bring him to court forthwith. But these orders were rescinded at the intercession of Mumtāz-uz-Zamānī, whose elder sister was married to Saif Khān, and who was much attached to her; and Rīzā Bahādūr ("Khidmat Parast Khān") was told off to hasten to Ahmadabad and fetch Saif Khān at once, making sure that no harm befell him. The messenger also carried the warrant of Sher Khān's appointment as governor.

Shāh Jahān pushed on by forced marches and crossed the Narbada at the Bāba Piāra ferry. On the 29th Rabi' I (=28th November) the Festival of Lunar Weighment (on completion of 37th year of his age) was celebrated outside the city of Sīnor³ on the banks of the Narbada. But that day was to be distinguished by a more substantial cause for rejoicing than the formal one of periodical festivities. Another petition of Sher Khān arrived reporting, on the authority of a letter from some Gujarati Hindu mahajans living at Lahore, that the forces of Āṣaf Khān and Nāshudānī came into collision outside Lahore, and that the latter sustained a defeat, and was now in prison.⁴

¹ According to a statement in *E. F. I.*, 1624-29 (p. 207), he had been 'newly cutt for the stone.'

² For details of this engagement see *Tūzūk*, 364 (*Tūzūk*, R. and B., ii, 265), and Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 367.

³ This must be to the south-east of modern Baroda and Dabhoi, since Baroda, Dabhoi and Sīnor are all given as *mahals* in the *sarkār* of Baroda in the Gujarat province in *Āīn*, ii, 122 (*Āīn*, B. & J., ii, 255).

⁴ It is strange that in those times of slow movement and defective communication the news should have travelled such a long journey faster through a private

This news, coming on a day of such happy auspices, seemed providential and was a signal for real rejoicing. We can well imagine the camp resounding with paeans of joy and beating of drums and blaring of trumpets. Shāh Jahān, who had from the beginning viewed his position with a dignified ease and seemed to have possessed confidence in his luck and ability, saw the last lingering clouds of doubt roll away from his soul's horizon. The change from a wandering, graceless rebel to the undisputed Lord of the Indian Empire was indeed intoxicating. The world must have suddenly worn for him the aspect of some wonderful fairyland, some land of ideal beauty beloved of the poets, 'apparelled in celestial light, the glory and the freshness of a dream.'

On this day also Sayyid Daler Khān Bārha, a veteran fighter and another imperialist hero of the Bālūd battle, paid his respects and got increase of *mansab* to 4,000/3,000.¹

As soon as "Khidmat Parast Khān" reached the outskirts of Ahmadabad, Sher Khān came out to receive with befitting ceremony the *farmān* and *khiṭ'* at sent by Shāh Jahān. Saif Khān, weak and ailing, was duly handed over to him. He was taken to court, pardoned and set at liberty.

About this time Āṣaf Khān's letter confirming the news of his victory must have reached Shāh Jahān; but the only value it now possessed was corroborative.

As Shāh Jahān's camp approached, Sher Khān hastened to Mahmūdābād² (12 *kos* or some 17 miles from Ahmadabad) with Mīrza 'Isā Tarkhān, Mīrza Wālī and other nobles, to greet his new lord and patron, and offered 1,000 ashrafis as *nazar*.

On the 17th Rabi' II Shāh Jahān broke journey at Kānkriya lake outside Ahmadabad City, and, as there was now no cause for hurry, and perhaps the rapid journey had proved somewhat trying, stopped

agency than through the official messenger sent by Āṣaf Khān. It is partly, of course, to be explained by the fact that the commercial circles in general, and the Hindu mahajans in particular, were delicately sensitive to the changes in the political barometer at such critical times, and were deeply interested in the vicissitudes of politics.

¹ This means 4,000 personal and 3,000 horse. This form of notation will be followed in future.

² This is modern Mehmabad (for which see *I. G.*, xvii, 272).

here eight whole days. The following appointments were made and announced here :—

Sher Khān was granted increase of rank to 5,000/5,000, and confirmed as governor of Gujarat with the usual presents.

Khawāja Jān ("Khawāja Jahān") was appointed *Diwān* of Ahmadabad.

On the 18th Rabi' II, M. Irzai' Isā Tarkhān's rank was increased to 4,000/2,500, and he was nominated to the governorship of Tatta and dismissed thither.

Mu'taqid Khān, Jamāl Nūhānī and Sayyid Mubārīk were left at Ahmadabad; and Sayyid Daler Khān Bārha and some others accompanied the royal camp, which left for Agra on the 25th. Sher Khān was permitted with every honour to return as soon as the camp cleared the outskirts of Ahmadabad.

During this interval Shāh Jahān sent several messengers to Āṣaf Khān at Lahore in reply to the latter's messages and reports. The most important of these was "Khidmat Parast Khān", who was the bearer of the famous autograph letter of Shāh Jahān, part of which ran to the following effect: 'At this time, when heaven and earth are full of tumult and unrest, it will be advisable if Dāwar Bakhsh, son of Khusrāu, and his brother [i. e. Garshāsp,] and Shahryār, and the sons of Prince Dānyāl [i. e. Tahmūraṣ and Hoshang] are made to wander in the desert of non-existence, and the minds of well-wishers of the Empire set at rest.'

In obedience to an earlier message, Āṣaf Khān, now armed with proper authority, had the *khutba* read in Shāh Jahān's name in the Hall of Private and Public Audience at Lahore, on Sunday, the 22nd Jumāda I, and Dāwar Bakhsh was seized and thrown into prison. Next day (Monday) "Khidmat Parast Khān", having performed the long journey by relay of horses in 9 days, arrived, and delivered the fateful *farmān*.²

¹ *Tuzuk*, 425.

² The text of *B. N.* (our prime authority for the whole of this period) seems to be on this point (I, ii, 79) totally corrupt and unreliable. We have followed the clear account given in *Qazwīnī*, which is substantially corroborated by that in *Tuzuk*, *Qarniya*, *A. S.*, and the *Mulakhkhas*. *Khāfi Khān* (*M. L.*) is careless and inaccurate; and *Shāh Nawāz Khān* (*M. U. I.*, 714) is romancing when he says that when *Riṣa Bahādur* ("Khidmat Parast Khān" arrived Dāwar Bakhsh and Garshāsp were engaged in a game of chess, and the former cried out, *Riṣā ni āmad, qazā-i-mā o shumā āmad*. Dāwar Bakhsh was taken into custody, as we have seen, on Sunday, the 22nd; and "Khidmat Parast Khān" arrived, according

On the night between Tuesday, the 24th Jumāda I (=22nd January, 1628) and Wednesday, the 25th Jumāda I (=23rd January) all the five princes were executed accordingly.¹

We cannot help pitying the fate of Shahryār and the other unfortunate princes. The blinding of the former was an act of wanton cruelty for which we find no political or other justification. Āṣaf Khān has to answer for this barbarous outrage at the bar of history. We get here the first insight into this statesman's true character, which we shall not forget when we come to consider his personality and merits.

The fate of the other princes, especially that of Dāwar Bakhsh is truly woeful when we remember that none of these preferred any effective claim to the throne. The sons of Dānyāl had neither sufficient influence nor proximity to the deceased Emperor to justify Shāh Jahān's bloody order. And the way in which Dāwar Bakhsh was deceived and immolated is full of tragic pathos, and furnishes yet another suggestion about the temper and quality of the man who was now to wield unbounded influence in the counsels of this great Empire.

About the fate of Bāisunghur history is silent, except that there are two faint echoes—one alleging that he fled towards what we now call the Afghan frontier,² the other that he took refuge in the deserts of the Tatta province.³

When Shāh Jahān approached Mewar, Rāna Karan (who had succeeded his father) came forward to receive him, and paid his respects (4th Jumāda I) at Gogunda⁴—the spot where he, with his father Rāna Amar Singh, had attended on him on a previous occasion.⁵ Shāh Jahān received him kindly: among the presents he bestowed on the Rāna was a *dhakdakti quṭbī* ruby worth Rs. 30,000. The Rāna retained his rank of 5000/5000 and his *jāgir*, and was given leave to return.

to *A. S.* and *Mulakhkhas*, on the 24th, and, according to *Qazwīnī* and "*Ināyat Khān*," on the 23rd.

¹ The merits and morals of this holocaust of the bluest blood in the country will be considered when we come to discuss Shāh Jahān's character and that of his minions.

² Blochmann, *Death of Jahangir, his Character, and the Accession of Shah Jahan* (*Calcutta Review* for 1869).

³ Bhagwān Dās, *Shāh Jahān Nāma* (P. P. Library MS.), p. 238.

⁴ 24° 46' N., 73° 32' E., 16 miles north-west of Udaipur.

⁵ *Tuzuk*, 135 (*Tuzuk*, R. & B. i 275-76) and Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 243.

On the 8th Jumāda I the Festival of Solar Weighment (on completion of 36th year) was observed on the banks of the tank of Māndal.

On the 17th Jumāda I Shāh Jahān reached Ajmer and put up in the pleasure-house built on the banks of the Anā Sāgar Tank by orders of Jahāngīr. Shāh Jahān went from there on foot to the shrine (as Akbar and Jahāngīr used to do before him) and, after paying a visit, distributed alms and presents among the attendants and devotees of the shrine, and other deserving people about town; and fixed stipends and allowances for them.

Here orders were given that to the west of the mausoleum a marble mosque be erected on a site, selected for the purpose, worthy of the great saint who sleeps there. The prince had vowed some time ago to build a mosque here if he succeeded in subjugating the Rāna. This vow was thus fulfilled on the first favourable opportunity.

Mahābat Khān, who, as we have said, had entered into an alliance with Shāh Jahān before the news of Jahāngīr's death arrived, had accompanied the Prince from Junair. A touching episode is told about him by Shāh Nawāz Khān (*M. U.*, iii, 399-400): He had little to expect, and a great deal to fear, from Āsaf Khān, who was now undoubtedly the coming man. So, when Shāh Jahān was inside the mausoleum, Mahābat Khān placed the Holy Qur'ān on the tomb of the Saint and said, 'It was my cherished desire that you should become Emperor. God be thanked that my wishes have been fulfilled. If conformably to your promise you are willing to pardon my offences take an oath on the Qur'ān and make the great Khwāja [Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī—the saint from whose honoured dust the mausoleum derives its sanctity] your surety; or permit me this moment to proceed to Ka'ba and retire from active life. Otherwise Āsaf Jāhī [i. e. Āsaf Khān] comes and my life will be forfeit.' Shāh Jahān satisfied him with the necessary guarantees; and then, at his request, granted the province of Ajmer and adjacent territory as his *jāgīr*.

On the journey from Ajmer to Agra the following nobles, among others, came to greet and tender congratulations: Anī Rāi, Rāja Bhārtia, Sayyid Bahwa, Nūr-ud-Dīn Qulī, Khān-i-'Ālam, Bahādur Khān Uzbek, Rāja Jai Singh, and Muẓaffar Khān Ma'mūrī.

Finally on the eve of Thursday, the 26th Jumāda I (= 24th January, 1628), Shāh Jahān reached Bāgh-i-Dahra,¹ a suburb of the

¹ Various called 'Bāgh-i-Nūr Jahān' (after Nūr Jahān) or 'Bāgh-i-Nūr Manzil' (after Jahāngīr)

Metropolis. People crowded from far and near to welcome him and witness the triumphal entry of their future sovereign.

Qāsim Khān, who was in charge of Agra fort and the Imperial Treasury, came forward to pay homage.

Next morning (the 26th Jumāda I), the Prince, riding an elephant, entered the city of Agra under showers of gold, followed by a large number of officers and *mansabdars*, and went up to the square in front of the Fort gates. The floor of the streets and every bit of available space on the two or three-storeyed houses on either side swarmed with spectators, as we can easily imagine.

The date fixed by the astrologers for coronation was Monday, the 8th Jumāda II (= 4th February, 1628)—some eleven days off. So Shāh Jahān returned and took up his abode in the residence on the bank of the Jumna, where he had used to live as Prince, to await the auspicious day.

SOURCES

The following are the chief authorities that have been used for this chapter:—

Mu'tamad Khān, *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahāngīrī* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), 291-305.

Tuzuk, 420-26.

Qazwinī, last 9 folios of the Introduction of the Manuscript in my possession.

B. N., I, i, 69-82, 86-87.

A. S., i, 202-23.

Mulakhkhas. (Folios of my MS. not numbered.)

Bhagwān Dās, *Shah Jahan Nama* (Punjab Public Library MS.), p. 237-38.

M. L., I, 388-94.

Sujān Rāi, *Khulasat-ut-Tawārikh* (my MS.)

M. U., various articles.

E. & D., vol. vi and vii.

E. F. I., 1624-29.

R. Sewell and S. B. Dikshit. *Indian Calendar*.

Wüstenfeld and Mahler *Vergleichungs-Tabellen und Christlichen Zeitrechnung*.

Among the authorities for this chapter the first place, naturally enough, belongs to contemporary histories, which are:—

(1) *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahāngīrī*. the author of which himself took

part in the battle on the Ravi, so that his narrative is mostly that of an eyewitness.

(2) *Tuzuk*, the relevant part of which is written by Mīrza Muḥammad Hādī. The account here corresponds so closely to that in No. 1 that it seems to be copied from the latter.

(3) Qazwīnī was the first of the official histories written to Shāh Jahān's order. It has not yet been published, and consists of: (i) *Introduction*, which covers the life of Shāh Jahān as Prince from birth to coronation; (ii) *Discourse*, dealing with the first ten years of his reign; and (iii) *Appendix*, giving a list of celebrities of the period.

(4) *B.N.*, the famous and best-known court chronicle of the first twenty years of Shāh Jahān's reign. It follows Qazwīnī closely in the part common to both.

Both Qazwīnī and *B.N.* are careful and well-written. These are undoubtedly our best authorities for the reign of Shāh Jahān as far as they, respectively, go.

(5) *Qarniya* by Muḥammad Ṭāhir ("Ināyat Khān," poetical name, 'Āshnā'), son of Zafar Khān, son of Khwāja Abu'l Ḥasan (mentioned in this chapter). This book is professedly a summary, in plainer language, of the *Badshahnāmas* of Qazwīnī, 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī and Muḥammad Wāriṣ, and is a history of the first 30 years of Shāh Jahān's reign—hence the name. It adds nothing to what the previous historians have related, and is not free from slips (although I possess a good copy); yet it is highly valuable for purposes of corroboration and reference in a field where MSS. have always slight variations of dates and facts, and printed texts are not always based on the best MSS.

(6) *A.S.*, the only complete history of Shāh Jahān's life and reign, from his ancestry and birth to his deposition and death. But here there is not the same scrupulous accuracy or attention to details as we find in Qazwīnī and *B.N.* Yet it is fairly reliable and, on the whole, satisfactory.

Among the rest may be mentioned:

Mulakhkhaṣ—a MS. in my possession, undamaged and complete, yet without name of book or author, giving an epitomized history of Shāh Jahān. It begins abruptly with the 17th year of Jahāngīr's reign and terminates with Shāh Jahān's demise.

It was probably written late in the reign of Aurangzeb. The writing is a bold ordinary *nasta'liq*. It is not easy to say which particular

book has been abridged by the author. The MS. begins thus under a brilliantly coloured '*Unwan*':

”حمد و ثنا نثار بارگاه کبریا که اشکال بوقلمون بمنصیه ابداع تکوین نموده و وجود بشر را بهنایت دانش و نطق بر جمله ذیجیات تفویض کرامت فرمود و درود نامحدود“.

I have not seen this MS. mentioned in any catalogue or found a reference to it in any available bibliography. I have designated this book as *Mulakhkhaṣ*, by which name I shall refer to it in future.

The language of the text shows neither judgment nor style. The book can be only used for purposes of comparison and corroboration.

Bhagwān Dās, *Shāh Jahān Nāma* (MS. in Punjab Public Library, Lahore)—a small volume of 239 numbered pages. Written, probably, in Shāh Jahān's reign, it is only a *Shāh Jahān Nāma* by courtesy, since it closes with the succession of Shāh Jahān. The author seems to have intended to write another volume on the reign of Shāh Jahān (p. 232–33), though he does not seem to have done so. Bhagwān Dās's narrative, as far as it concerns Shāh Jahān's struggle for succession, inspires no confidence in the author's sense of responsibility as a historian. So probably we have not missed much in the volume the author has left unwritten.

M.L., Sujān Rāi, *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh*, and *M.U.* are general histories, and are based as far as our period is concerned, on the contemporary records discussed above. We must add that Khāfī Khān fails to maintain the standard of accuracy and clearness which we expect of a historian of his position and repute.

E.F.I., 1624–29, is full of fugitive references to the political events of the period. Thereports of the factors no doubt contain valuable raw material for an aspect of the economic history of India for the period—material which is not obtainable in Persian chronicles of the day. But as far as political history is concerned the reports and comments of the John Company agents are, generally speaking, grossly misinformed and historically worthless. The dates are almost invariably inaccurate and narratives mostly confused. I have not thought it safe to place any reliance on their versions where they are uncorroborated.

Sewell and Dikshit, *Indian Calendar*, I have found particularly useful for comparing and checking dates.

(To be continued)

Some Interesting Constitutional Points from 'Periyapurāṇam'

BY

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THE *Purāṇam* is a work of the eleventh century A.D. Its author Śēkkiḷār was minister to the Chola king and possessed a sound knowledge of the world. As an official, he had access to state records. As a pious Śaiva, he was well-versed in Śaiva literature and traditions. These credentials are enough to establish the truthfulness of his statements. Whether his facts were true of his time or of the earlier periods to which he assigns them, they are interesting by themselves.

Śēkkiḷār says that Kaṇṇappa, the hunter youth of the wilds near Kāḷahastī, was accepted by his tribesmen as the successor to their chiefship, of his old father, Nāgan.¹ It is an old custom among several of these tribes to elect their chiefs and you find its survival to-day among the hill-men and coastal fisher-folk.²

Hereditary succession seems to have been the rule in the territorial states. When Aiyadigaḷ (= Aryavarman)³ the Pallava king abdicated his throne on account of old age and with a view to spend the rest of his life as a pilgrim, his son succeeded to the throne. When there was a dispute about the succession, or, when there was no near heir to the deceased king, the ministers had the power to fill up the vacancy by a suitable candidate. When Śengōrporaiyan abdicated, Chēramān Perumāḷ was requested by the ministers to succeed to the throne. A very curious custom of choosing a king, by lot as it were, when there was a vacancy and no near heir to the throne, was to send round the

state elephant with a garland and allow it to choose a suitable candidate. Irrational as it may seem, this story is told with reference to the great Karikāla, a prince born, and the Śaiva saint Mūrti⁴ a commoner, and a stop-gap king after the *Kannāḍa interregnum* and before the Pāṇḍyan restoration. These stories may be taken for what they are worth. It must be added, however, that their method of choice is sanctioned by our grandmothers' stories, and folklore is not an altogether negligible source for the corroboration of facts.

The high kingly ideals that Śēkkiḷār sets forth in his work were at any rate kept by the kings before them as guides for their conduct. Umāpati⁵ speaks of the king's prosperity as depending on prosperous cultivation much as Avvai the Tamil poetess has put it. The rule of Manu about one-sixth of the gross produce for the king seems to have been observed by the then Chola king. We know however from other sources that there were a number of petty imposts besides, which were abolished by Kulottunga I.⁶ Irrigation and road-making were looked after by the kings as important for the state. In this connection, some of the names of the channels of irrigation like Vīracholan, Uyyakonḍān, Muḍikonḍān and Rājēndran channels throw much light on the amount of interest the kings took in the matter of irrigation.

Śēkkiḷār considers the king as responsible for the evil deeds in his state.⁴ The king must guard his people from evil due to himself, his relations, thieves, wild beasts, and enemies.⁵ This golden ideal of *Nītisāra* is laid down by the author for his as well as for the other kings of Tamil India. The story of Manuchola⁶ who held justice as dearer than his son's life which he sacrificed to do justice to a bereaved cow, must have been an inspiration and example to every king that read the great *Purāṇa*. How great the ruler must be who allowed every aggrieved individual to go to him freely and represent his grievance by ringing the bell of justice at the palace-gate? The protection of the people in the performance of their *Dharma* and the destruction of the tyrants who prey upon the people in various ways, these are the onerous duties of every just king.⁷ Śēkkiḷār holds out Chēramān Perumāḷ as an ideal ruler.⁸ For one reason, he was

¹ *Periyapurāṇam*, i, 262.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 753 the *Purāṇa* of Āḍibakṭan, the fisher-chief.

³ For the dates of the Śaiva saints, see my article on 'The Age of the Nāyanārs' in the *Journal of Oriental Research*.

⁴ *Periya.*, i, 361.

⁵ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, ch. vi.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i, 48.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i, 42, 303, 312.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 7.

⁹ *Periya.*, i, 265.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i, 48.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, ii, 677.

intensely pious and as a consequence he never did injustice to any and regarded his own comforts as of no importance.

With the same enthusiasm as Dante, our poet considers monarchy as necessary to a state.¹ In fact, that has been a great superstition for centuries in our land and repeatedly emphasized in our literature. Sambandha² prays for the prosperity of the Brahman, the Cow and the King. The righteous rod of justice is a familiar phrase to every Tamil boy. But, our poet was very particular in laying down that the princes must have a sound religious and military education.³ Though the king was absolute in theory, he had to follow his *Dharma* as laid down in the *Smṛtis*. There would be an outcry if he went against the time-honoured rules. The learned Brahmins were the guardians of the *Smṛtis* and the *Dharma*. In criticizing them now a days we apply our modern canons and lose sight of their age and purpose. Besides, the kings chose wise and learned men as ministers who must have considerably reduced the king's share in the administration. Śēkkiḷār makes us understand that the Pandya king Neḍumāran had a number of ministers, the chief of whom was the Brahman Kulachirai.⁴ So the fear of God, the regard for custom and the ambition to do justice and win a place in Heaven—these operated as salutary restraints on the caprices of the monarchs.

One other check upon the so-called autocracy of ancient times was the large measure of self-government enjoyed by the local bodies. Whether there was village self-government before the eighth century or not, we know that it existed in a large measure from the time of Sundara.⁵ There is reference to the Sabha in a hymn of Sundara. Śēkkiḷār mentions two more Sabhas in the *Chandi* and *Nīlakānṭha Purāṇas*.⁶ These Sabhas contained only learned Brahmins and so were not democratic in composition. It might be that the non-Brahmins voted for but evidently they did not sit in them.⁷ The connection in which the above three Sabhas are mentioned is in three judicial disputes. The Sabha or hall is associated with the oldest and typical temple of Tamil Nāḍu, namely Chidambaram, where Śiva is said to have danced the *Ānanda-Tāṇḍavam*. The

¹ *Periya.*, i, 36.

² *Periya.*, i, 42.

³ *Tēvāram*, vii, 22.

⁷ Inscriptions of the time give the opposite impression. Judicial Boards were composed of Brahmins obviously.—*Ed.*

² *Tēvāram*, iii, 67.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 617.

⁶ *Periya*, i, 157, 446.

procedure for hearing and deciding disputes seems to have been far advanced for the time. The plaintiff is given. The defendant makes a statement. The plaintiff is asked next to let in evidence. He is examined first and then come his witnesses. Documentary evidence is produced by the plaintiff, and, what is more interesting the signatures in the document are identified.¹ This was the procedure in Śiva *vs.* Sundara which the *Sabha* of Veṇṇainallūr (South Arcot District) had the honour to try. This system of Sabhas might have been universal in Tamil Nāḍu as inscriptions tend to prove.

The Tamil Nāḍu has from very early times been divided into a number of kingdoms each of which contained a number of provinces or districts. Thus in order may be mentioned Tonḍai, Chēdi, Nāḍu, Chola, Pandi, Kongu and Malai Nāḍus.

Tonḍai was also called Tunḍaka Nāḍu. It was divided into twenty-four Kōṭṭams² of which our author mentions Puliyūr³ and Puḷal Kōṭṭams. The Puliyūr Kōṭṭam for example contained a number of Vaḷanāḍus one of them being Kuṇṇai.

Nāḍu Nāḍu was also called Munaippāḍi Nāḍu and its chiefs were called Munaiyar. It was also called Magadaz and its capital was Pāṭaliputra.⁴ Chēdi Nāḍu is sometimes referred to as a part of this Nāḍu. It was also called Milāḍu and its people Malaiyālar. Its chief was Malayamān with Kovalūr as his capital. Malayamān takes his name from the *Malai* or hill-land as Tonḍaimān and Adigamān take their names similarly from their places. Chidambaram being on the border between Nāḍu Nāḍu and Chola Nāḍu was sometimes in the one and at other times in the other. The custom of crowning of the Chola by the Tillai 3,000 mentioned in *Kūṟṟuvan Purāṇa* is full of significance and establishes a close relationship between them and the Chola.

Chola or Punal Nāḍu is the country irrigated by the Kaveri. In this there were many sub-divisions. Kānāḍu⁵ bordered the Coleroon and Mērkānāḍu was to the west of it. Maḷa Nāḍu⁶ was somewhere

¹ *Periya.*, i, 79.

Ibid., i, 557.

² It is conjectured by some that this Puliyūr Kōṭṭam gave its name to Telugu *Vēṅḡ Rashtra* (= *Goṇḍavati* = *Goṇḍ*). It may be noticed, by the way, that we call the Tenugus, Vaḍugus or Northerners, whereas they call themselves Tenugus or Southerners.

⁴ See *Appar Purāṇam*.

⁵ *Tēvāram*, vii, 54.

⁶ *Periya*, ii, 123.

about Anbil and Pāchil and contained a distinct sect of Brahmans. The Maḷava chief of Kolli figures in *Sambandhar Purāṇam*. Kōnāḍu¹ was the present Trichy Taluk with its capital at Koḍumbai and was the state of a Vēḷar chief.² Miḷalai Nādu of the Kuṟumbar, a chief of whom was a contemporary saint of Sundara, was important in the seventh century and its capital had a beautiful and big temple and contains to-day a peculiar sect of Brahmans with top-knots like the 3,000 and called முக்காணி or (Mukkanti?). Marugal Nādu of Saint Siruttuṇai covered a few of the southern taluks of the present Tanjore District. In a hymn of Sundara³ several of these sub-divisions of the Chola Nādu, about a dozen of them, are given with their chief towns. These sub-divisions are also called Nāḍus. Thus the word Nādu is used to denote divisions of varying dimensions and degrees of independence as Īḷa and Pāṇḍi Nāḍus, Kōnāḍu and Maḷa Nādu, and Veṇṇi and Nāngūr Nāḍus. Sometimes Miḷalai Nādu is called Miḷalai Kūṟṟam, so also Veṇṇi Nādu. The word Kōṭṭam is once used instead of Kūṟṟam to locate Tiruvaḷiyāru of the Kaveri Kōṭṭam.⁴

Pāṇḍi Nādu is also known as Tennādu and Kanni Nādu.⁵ The latter is significant as it was the land of Mīnākshi, a distorted story of whom is told by Megasthenes. Probably this land of Kanyākumārī had female succession to the throne in very ancient times.

Malai Nādu or the Nādu of hills was the Chera country. Śēkkiḷār calls it the land of Paraśurāma and its capital was Vanchi or Koḍungolūr or Mahodai on the coast, graphically pictured by a hymn of Sundara.⁶ Kongu had two divisions in the time of the saint and was full of hills, deserts and forests and Marava hunters. Besides these divisions of Tamilaham, must also be mentioned Pōttappinādu the land of Kaṇṇappa to the west and north of Kālahasti where in Śēkkiḷār's day Tamil was slowly giving way to Telugu, and Īḷa Nādu or Ceylon of Manthoṭṭa and Trincomalee sung by Sambandha where there were Tamil immigrants from ancient times.

¹ King's Nādu as it contained Uraiyūr. ³ *Tēvāram*, vii, 5.

² Kānāḍu and Konāḍu are two divisions of what is Pudukottai State now. Koḍumbai is Koḍumbaḷūr on the High Road from Trichinopoly to Dindigal.—*Ed.*

⁴ *Tēvāram*, vii, 15.

⁵ *Periya*, i, 633.

மருகல், கொண்டல், குறக்கை, கரங்குடி, கைரத்தூர், மிழலை, வெண்ணி, பெருங்குடி, புதிச்சை, வேளுர், வித்தூர்க்கோடு வெண்ணிக்கோட்டம்.

⁶ *Tēvāram*, vii, 5.

A few words about the military organization will close this article. There were the usual four parts of the Indian army, the chariots, the elephants, the horse and the foot-soldiers. Mention is also made of mechanical chariots and we cannot now say what is meant by them. The usual weapons of warfare,¹ the sword, the dagger, the spear, the discus, the pestle, the bow and the arrow, are described. Martial music was necessary to inspire the soldiers in the field. Several of the musical instruments are mentioned by our painstaking and full-knowledged Śēkkiḷār for which suitable English words are not easy to get.

¹ *Periya*, i, 224.

The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai

BY

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

II

I. THE DECLARATION OF WAR WITH ENGLAND

It was in the last week of August 1745 that despatches¹ were received by Dupleix communicating the intelligence of war with England. A few days after this Nawab Anwar-ud-din arrived in Pondicherry where he was received with great pomp and shown over the fortifications. Ranga Pillai estimates the Nawab's age at eighty or eighty-five years. The visit was a political one;² and the Nawab was accompanied by his Dewan Sampati Rao, Bangāru Yāchama Nāyak, Damalcheruvu Venkaṭapathi Nāyak and other chiefs. The significance of this visit was known a few months later.

News of war reached Madras in the middle of September; and the English³ began to strengthen their fortifications, watching, mounting

¹The frigate which conveyed these despatches was wrecked on a rock when approaching Mascareigne (see note 2, p. 268); a few survivors collected these, got into a boat and delivered them to M. de la Bourdonnais who forwarded them by another ship to Mahe whence they were sent on by land to Pondicherry through some Brahmans. Ranga Pillai's record of the contents of these despatches have unfortunately perished in the original.

²Thence the Nawab went on to Fort St. David and Uḍaiyārpālaiyam. His tour was in some measure calculated to raise contributions from the European settlements [H. Dodwell, *The Madras Despatches* (1744-1755); (1920) p. 19.]

³From about the September of the previous year, the Madras Council had been observing Pondicherry and arranging for rapid communication overland with Bengal. They ordered the building of two swift despatch-boats at Bombay; and Governor Morse, in reply to M. Dupleix's letter of November 23, proposing that peace should be preserved eastward of the Cape of Good Hope by mutual agreement, replied by a P. Consultation of November 26 that he was not authorized to enter into any such compact. A squadron under Commodore Curtis Barnett left England for the East secretly a month after the war was declared and other ships followed in the months of October and the next February. Barnett arrived off Fort St. David in July 1745 and reached Madras towards the close of August. Soon after Commodore Barnett reached the Coromandel Coast, the Nawab, who had previously written to Madras to forbid hostilities with the French (received on July 14, 1745) now repeated his injunction (August) and got the same reply—that Morse 'will not be the first to disobey your Commands in this Respect, provided there is the same deference paid to them by the French. Otherwise I

artillery on the Fort walls and equipping the batteries on the sea-shore with guns. Dupleix was anxious to receive accurate information as to the doings at Madras, particularly during the time that Barnett's squadron was on the coast.

It was in November 1745, that Pondicherry was swept by three severe cyclones,¹ the first of which caused great damage (night of November 3) inundating the town and destroying three newly-formed suburbs. Two lesser cyclones followed on November 23 and 27, the former date being a New Moon Day and Tuesday, under the influence of the star Kēṭṭai.

In February 1746, news came from Mahe that a squadron of five to ten French ships was on its way hither and was in all likelihood heading for the roadstead of Pondicherry. The English were also apprised of this fact from Anjengo and Tellicherry. The Diarist calculated (entry for February 5, 1746)² that the English had in all twenty-two sail including the prizes taken from the French, 'so that when their fleet encounters ours, the enemy would be two and a half times stronger. Taking this into consideration, should a force advance on Cuddalore, the English would be obliged to keep about five or six of their fleet for the protection of that place, and two or three might be required to remain at Madras. This would reduce the enemy's ships by half their number, and when they then met ours, the latter should be able to deal with them effectively and reach the roads here.'³ This is the explanation for the detailing of a force of 500 men towards Cuddalore whose inhabitants were thrown into a panic. Four English ships⁴ neared Pondicherry, sailing in pursuit of a fugitive

(Morse) may presume it is not your Excellency's design to put any restraint upon me to my Diservice and to the Advantage of the Enemy. . . the Commanders of his Majesty's ships are not under my direction, I cannot oblige myself to answer for their conduct.' (Madras letter to the Nawab, dated July 16, 1745). Anwar-ud-din, after the second reply, came to San Thomé, accompanied by one of his sons and Dewan Sampati Rao and received two of the Council. The subject of their conversation is not on record. Barnett, perhaps influenced by these circumstances, refrained from attacking Pondicherry, though he might have easily done so. On the approach of the North-east Monsoon, he sailed for the Archipelago.

¹Alfred Martineau's *Les Cyclones a la Côte Coromandel* (Pondicherry, 1917), pp. 4-8, extracting from the original of the Diary (T. iii, pp. 289, 280 et 292).

²The French had adopted the New Style of dates long before it was used by the English who followed to Old Style down to 1753. Hence the discrepancies between the dates of the Diarist and those of Orme, etc.

³*The Diary*, vol. i, p. 297.

⁴Dupleix's demonstration against Fort St. David was withdrawn as a consequence which fact is noted in a Madras P.C. dated January 31, 1746.

Portuguese ship coming from Chandranagar; precautions were taken against a possible assault on Pondicherry; while the English at Fort St. David requested the English captain to retaliate by an attack on the batteries of the French town (February 8). The attack did not take place; and the Diarist shrewdly remarks: 'The object of the English in acting as they have done is to imitate the course followed by the French near Fort St. David, who made but a show of warlike operations; and in this respect they have outdone them.' Nevertheless he eulogizes Dupleix's skill and writes of the Madras Governor as being 'a worthless fellow and a man devoid of wisdom'; and he continues: 'Although Pondicherry receives no ships, her Government lacks funds, the enemy has seized her vessels, she is feeble and wanting in strength, and her inhabitants are in misery; although she has all these disadvantages, no sooner is mention made of her than the Nawabs, and other magnates in the interior become alarmed. . . . All this is owing to the ability, readiness and luck of the present Governor, M. Dupleix.'¹ Pondicherry was not perturbed by the threatenings of the English ships and her inhabitants went about fearlessly, even crowding on the beach at nights when the English ships in the roadstead were brilliantly lit. Dupleix wrote a letter to Nawab Anwar-ud-din, complaining of English troops encamping in his territory close to Pondicherry and planning to attack it and promising not to do violence or retaliate unless the English should give occasion; and he added: 'If at any time the English should give us occasion to fight, we cannot then remain passive. Should therefore an encounter take place within your territories, you must not blame us. We write to you beforehand in order that you may not blame us afterwards. Be it known to you that it is the English who have compelled us to write this letter to you.'² (Diarist's entry for

¹ *Diary*, vol. i, pp. 299-300. Dupleix's 'method of doing things is not known to any one, because none else is possessed of the quick mind with which he is gifted. In patience he has no equal. He has peculiar skill in carrying out his plans and designs; in the management of affairs and in governing; in fitting his advice to times and persons; in maintaining at all times an even countenance; in doing things through proper agents; in addressing them in appropriate terms; and in assuming a bearing at once dignified and courteous towards all.' The Diarist goes to the extent of comparing him with Aurangzib and Louis XIV.

² Compare this with Governor Morse's letter to the Nawab, dated March 17, explaining how he had held to his engagement notwithstanding French provocation to which the Nawab replied on April 1, as follows:—'I received your agreeable Letter acquainting me that you and the Gouverneur of Tēvanapatam (Fort St. David) pay a great regard to my Orders, and have made use of no Hostilities to

March 18, 1746). Shaikh Rahim-ullah, the Nawab's representative of the country near Fort St. David, wrote to Dupleix a letter asking for French help in seizing the fourteen villages forming the suburbs of Fort St. David, according to the order that he had received from the Nawab. This letter was answered on the next day (April 2) after it was received to the effect that French assistance would be given if the Nawab himself should write to Dupleix direct.¹

Dupleix was also at pains to keep on good terms with the Danes just then. A French ship which was attacked by English ships in the roadstead of Tranquebar was attempted to be protected by the Danes who had, in the words of Ananda Ranga Pillai 'obliged the French in everything that they asked.' He showed great honour to the Deputy Governor of Tranquebar who halted at Pondicherry on his way from Madras.

II. THE APPEARANCE OF LA BOURDONNAIS

Commodore Barnett, the commander of the English fleet, died at Fort St. David (May 10), after a few days of illness; and the command of the English squadron devolved on Captain Edward Peyton who was far less capable than his predecessor. But for this change of command, the fortunes of Madras might have been different; and the Diarist gleefully recorded that 'public opinion now says that the tide of the victory will henceforward turn in favour of the French as it has hitherto flowed on the side of the English.' He said that the Goddess of Fortune had departed from Madras to take up her residence at Pondicherry where Dupleix was making vigorous preparations for defence and collecting stores for a large army. He was expecting the

his Majesty's *Seg Port Towns*, and desiring that the Gouverneur of Pondicherry may be enjoined to behave in like manner. This pleases me highly, and I assure you that your Behaviour in every respect is very satisfactory to me. You may depend upon it that the Gouverneur of Pondicherry shall not be suffered to behave in a different manner. I have sent him my *Taukeed* in such a way as is necessary upon this occasion. Pray believe me to be your Friend and let me have the pleasure of hearing frequently of your Welfare.' (*Madras Records, P. C.*, vol. lxxvi, April 3, 1746). For some nights in March, the town-gates of Pondicherry were closed earlier than usual for fear of a possible English attack. The Nawab's assurances to Dupleix sent through his Deputy, Shaikh Rahim-ullah, described below, seems to produce an impression of inconsistency and a desire to please both parties without being sincere to either. Mahfuz Khan, a son of the Nawab, came to Vaḷudāvūr near Pondicherry and received a French deputation; he was welcomed into Pondicherry with the same honours as his father got and he later sent to the French two brass cannon from Trichinopoly (February-March).

¹ *Res.* of the Pondicherry Council of April 2, as reported by the Diarist.

fleet that La Bourdonnais had fitted out, carrying three thousand and three hundred men which left Bourbon and Mauritius at the end of May.¹ On June 12, Ranga Pillai heard the news that five Europe ships reached Mascareigne² in February, bringing orders to M. de la Bourdonnais that he should attack the English and the latter fitted out the recent arrivals and other ships for hostilities and sent advance intimation to Dupleix that he would reach Pondicherry by the end of May. It was also known that the coming ships would touch at Karikal where some boxes of silver would be disembarked. Dupleix had therefore sent some soldiers and Mahe sepoys to Karikal in order to strengthen it against attack. From the beginning of June, his eyes were continually straining to look out for the coming fleet; and Ranga Pillai was sure that by June 30, the squadron would certainly be in the roads of Pondicherry.³ At last news was received from the Dutch Council of Negapatam on June 21 that the French squadron was well on its way up the Coromandel Coast and would reach Pondicherry in a day or two. At last the precious squadron reached the Pondicherry roadstead in the night of July 8 after having given battle with some apparent success to the English men-of-war under Captain Peyton, a little to the south of Negapatam.⁴

¹ *Memoir pour le Sieur de la Bourdonnais* (1755); and Julien Vinson's *Les Français, dans le Inde Dupleix et Labourdonnais* (1894), p. 25, footnote.

² Bourbon, now called Reunion, was sometimes known as Mascareigne, after its reputed discoverer Mascarenhas; and the name of Mascarene Islands is still applied to the whole Archipelago. Ranga Pillai, more often than not, meant by Māsukkarai (the Tamil equivalent of Mascareigne) only Mauritius (Isle de France) occupied by the Dutch and called after Prince Maurice of Nassau and later seized by the French about 1725. Bourbon was the less important of the islands. M. Vinson was the first to see that in the Diary *Māsukkarai* meant very often the *Isle de France*, vide (1), Vinson, *Les Français dans L'Inde*, p. 14, note and (2) Price's Appendix I to the English Tr. of the *Diary*, vol. i.

³ See entry for the 12th June, 1746, p. 61 in vol. ii of the *Diary* (English Trans. by Price and Rangachari, 1707); *ibid.*, p. 68 where the Diarist records (June 13); 'The eyes of all here are fixed upon the sea looking for the appearance of the tradeships. The non-arrival of these is a divine punishment for the manifold vices of the townfolk. But He knoweth that they can endure the strain no longer, and I trust that He will look upon them with compassion and restore them to happiness.' (pp. 112-3.)

⁴ According to the Diarist the combat lasted from four in the afternoon to seven in the evening; and La Bourdonnais fired some five thousand rounds repulsing the six English ships which escaped, owing to their having the advantage of the wind. The French suffered severe losses and their boxes of ammunition in two ships exploded. 'It is said that two English ships were either sunk or damaged beyond repair and that their crews perished.' (*Diary*, vol. ii, p. 113.)

A few days after the arrival of the fleet under M. de la Bourdonnais Ranga Pillai heard among the latest news items received from France that Dupleix had proposed that he should be transferred to Chandernagar which should be the head-quarters of the French settlements instead of Pondicherry, or should be constituted an independent Government like Mascareigne and that he had offered, in the event of the acceptance of his proposals to serve as Governor for the full term of his life. The orders of the Company were expected to be favourable to Dupleix's wishes and to be sent by the seven ships which were shortly expected from Europe; and he would be most probably succeeded by M. de Leyrit from Mahe.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN DUPLIEX AND LA BOURDONNAIS

Misunderstandings began between Dupleix and La Bourdonnais even within a few days after the latter's arrival; and the Diarist notes in his entry for July 13, that the two were at heart jealous of one another's rights and privileges, though they preserved an outward appearance of amity.¹ La Bourdonnais held that the control of the

Orme (*Military Transactions*, vol. i, fourth edition, Madras Reprint, 1816, p. 62) says that the English had greatly the advantage in the weight of their cannon, (they had twenty-four pounders as against the eight and twelve pounders of the French) though the number of their men did not amount to one-half of that of the French squadron. Peyton had his squadron nearer to the wind than that of the enemy; and the fire of the smaller French cannon did very little execution. One of the French ships was dismasted and shattered and had to be sent away to Bengal for repair. Peyton did not venture on a second engagement and made the next evening for the harbour of Trincomali—See Mill's *History of India* (1858), vol. iii, p. 45 and Beveridge's *A Comprehensive History of India* (1865), vol. i, p. 413; and Vinson, pp. 25-26; and Malleson, *The French in India* (1893, p. 196) and Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive* (1920), p. 11.

The arrival of La Bourdonnais' fleet created great joy in the minds of the citizens of Pondicherry. In the previous year no ship arrived from France, and none was despatched likewise from Pondicherry; while those bound for China, Manilla and Acheen were all captured by the English. There was complete depression in trade; and the arrival of this fleet was like the 'discovery of a hidden hoard or lost treasure to them.'

¹ M. de la Bourdonnais resented the beating of the *tambour* accorded only to officers of inferior degree; and not the *tambour-auxchamps* which was accorded to officials of high degree. That Dupleix was not given a similar honour when he first landed at Pondicherry was made the ground of a precedent. He preferred a complaint against this to Dupleix who would not comply with his request, saying that he himself was an independent Governor and was vested by the King with command of the fleet. Dupleix maintained that La Bourdonnais ceased to be independent when he set foot on shore and became his own subordinate.

Dupleix, in the course of a private conversation with the Diarist (July 16, 1746) expressed that La Bourdonnais had an ungovernable temper and was

military operations rested wholly with him and that he was not bound to consult the Governor in matters connected therewith. 'Thus business is transacted between them with but little cordiality. The future development of this remains to be seen.'¹

The news that reached the Diarist in the days following consisted first of the arrival of envoys from Tanjore and the Raja of Sivaganga for negotiating an alliance between these chiefs and the French, and of the Dutch at Negapatam receiving some of the wounded English and giving sail-cloth, cables and other necessary materials for repair of the English ships which were being refitted at Trincomali. The arrival of the French fleet frightened many merchants and inhabitants of Fort St. David and Cuddalore² (including Orkandi Rangappa Nayakan, the *dubash* of Mr. Hinde, the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David) to send their valuables to Porto Novo to which now removed the Dutch traders and artisans of that place who had betaken themselves to Cuddalore during the late Maratha inroad. The people of Madras also were greatly concerned; many of the wealthy merchants were removing their families and goods to Arcot; and the Governor Mr. Morse, was 'much broken in spirit'; but 'vigorous arrangements are

a babbler and that according to the version of his own officers it was his neglect that permitted the escape of the English ships after the engagement off Negapatam and that all of them could have been easily captured. (*Diary*, vol. ii, pp. 128-130 and pp. 166-7.) La Bourdonnais states in his own *Memoirs* that being without provisions and having on board a great number of sick and wounded men, he could not pursue the enemy. In his letter to Dupleix, he wrote thus: 'The fear of missing Pondicherry, the large amount of money for you on board, and, more than that, the scarcity of food, of which many ships had only four and twenty hours' supply, made me contemplate the frightful situation in which I should be, if I were to fall to the leeward of the place; this determined me to bear up for Pondicherry.' (Quoted by Malleon; foot-note on pp. 127-8). This explanation, Dupleix said, I suppose, must be accepted'; but he added that under similar conditions in the future the English should not be let off thus and that the French should fight to the last. 'One side must be destroyed by the other; there should be no alternative.'

¹ Diarist's entry for the July 14. 'Almost at once (i.e. after La Bourdonnais landed at Pondicherry) the ancient dislike which he and Dupleix had cherished for each other flamed up into activity... within the week Dupleix too was abusing La Bourdonnais to all who would listen to him'—Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 11.

² To obviate the risk of a possible appearance of the English fleet on his rear and draw it within fighting distance, La Bourdonnais proposed to attack Fort St. David; and if an English fleet should bear up to assist the Fort he would then attack it, to which Dupleix said that the place was not worth the attack (Malleon, *The French in India*, pp. 134-5).

being made for the defence of the fort and the ships are being brought nearer the shore and are being supplied with arms and ammunition.'¹ The Diarist also heard that the properties of the late Commodore Barnett were being transferred from Fort St. David to Madras and that three ships laden with treasure had sailed from Madras for Bengal. He also noted the chief points of talk going on of the plans of war and other topics of political interest, such as 'the friendly relation subsisting between the authorities at Negapatam and the English, the construction of ships by the latter at Trincomali, a cruise of the squadron commanded by M. de la Bourdonnais to seek the English; the prospect of the destruction of all the English ships of war, the desirability of capturing Madras and of hoisting the French flag there—were it only for four days—in order to retrieve the name of the French...'²

The plans of both Dupleix and La Bourdonnais were twofold, including the destruction of Peyton's squadron and the capture of Madras—the latter being 'an old ambition of La Bourdonnais.' The defeat of Peyton was the necessary preliminary to be achieved; a large quantity of munitions of war including several 18 pounders were shipped;³ and La Bourdonnais embarked on August 3, declaring before his officers that he would either destroy Peyton's squadron and bring him prisoner or meet a like fate. On hearing this governor Morse wrote to Nawab Anwar-ud-din and to his Dewan saying that he

¹ *Diary*, vol. ii, p. 127. In Madras Major Knipe's design for strengthening the west front of the Fort was taken up on hand by Mr. Joseph Smith, an Engineer; but owing to the rains of the wet season of 1745 and the expensiveness of the designs the work was not vigorously pushed on; and at the time of the French attack in September only the wet ditch with its escarp and counter-scarp walls on the west had been finished. The original design was eventually completed after the restoration of Madras to the English in 1749 and before Lally's siege of it in 1759. The garrison of Madras consisted only of about two hundred Europeans 'good and effective', besides the gun-room crew of about one hundred men and the militia and the peons of Pedda Naick. 'When full allowance, however, for these omissions, has been made, it is evident that Madras, abandoned by the British Squadron and deprived of a military commander of energy and experience, was not in a condition to cope successfully with the force of some three thousand and four hundred men, which M. de la Bourdonnais was able to bring against it.' (Love, *Vestiges*, vol. ii, pp. 351-2). In it is given the Muster-roll of the Madras garrison, September 1, 1746, taken from *The East Indian Chronologist*, an anonymous work published at Calcutta in 1802.

² *Diary*, vol. ii, p. 158.

³ Dupleix to La Bourdonnais, July 20, 1746, quoted by Malleon, p. 134 (foot-note).

suspected that the French had designs on Madras, that war at sea alone had been proclaimed between the English and the French, that the latter should not attack the former on land and that as towns possessed by either party lay in the territories of the Nawab, neither the English nor the French could attack these without his permission. Also the Nawab despatched two messengers to Madras and two others to Pondicherry with instructions to send him news of all that might happen.¹ Dupleix, we learn, was prepared to grant passes of safety for native vessels provided they did not carry goods belonging to the English; but he returned an evasive answer to the Nawab's letter which reached him on August 13 and required him not to endanger the security of Madras.² Meanwhile La Bourdonnais anchored off Negapatam, where after making apologies for having purchased from the English the French ships that they had captured, the Dutch Governor and Councillors entertained him with great hospitality (August 17). Even when the guest was still at table news was brought to him that five English men-of-war were in sight, on which the French Admiral immediately returned to his ship. The French waited for the morning to engage the enemy; but no English ships could then be seen for some time. The French squadron cruised about till it fell in with the enemy.³ The two squadrons were three days in sight of each other after which the English ships, availing themselves of the advantage of sailing better than the French, disappeared; and La Bourdonnais returned to Pondicherry with his squadron (August 23) thinking that the English fleet would remain on the coast 'at least with the hope of deterring him from attempting any operations against the English settlements.'⁴ La Bourdonnais

¹ Letter of Subbaiyan, the French Agent at Arcot, which reached Pondicherry on August 18.

² The reply was to this effect—'No harm to the inhabitants of Madras is contemplated by the ships of war. On the contrary they have come there to punish the enemies of its people' (*Diary*, vol. ii, p. 201.)

³ Even as Peyton approached he saw that the French ships now showing a new tier of guns. He refused action and not falling in with any reinforcements, sailed for Pulicat (August 22). 'He there received news that Madras was threatened by the French, but fortified himself for repeated fight by another council of war and sailed for Bengal. He had not even taken the trouble to write to Madras when he touched at Pulicat' (*Dupleix and Clive*, p. 12).

⁴ La Bourdonnais thought Peyton more courageous than he was in fact. He supposed that Peyton had withdrawn 'only in order to fall upon the French when, with half their people ashore, they were besieging Madras. Indeed his

spoke with Dupleix regarding his plans for an attack on Madras; he was ill with fever and diarrhoea and had to be bled in the arm. Rumours of the differences that had arisen between the two got abroad; and our Diarist¹ heard from M. Desmarets on the 29th that La Bourdonnais demurred to fighting the English on land and required the written order of the Pondicherry Council to that effect; that high words ensued between the two and that the Councillors were summoned, but declined all responsibility stating that the Governor and La Bourdonnais had not consulted them when they first planned the undertaking.

The Council held on 26th discussed the plans for laying siege to Madras; the next day a deputation waited on La Bourdonnais,² and the Council sat for three hours after its return. The Diarist at this stage could only say that there would be certainly war, but could not be sure of any details. But things were so uncertain between the two leaders that on August 28 the Diarist wrote, 'We know that the enterprise against Madras, has for the time being, been abandoned.

presence on the coast would have made the siege of Madras an exceedingly rash undertaking. . . . He longed to attack Madras, but shrank from accepting the responsibility of possible failure.' (Dodwell, p. 12.) News of Peyton's arrival off Pulicat reached Madras after two days; and the Madras Council sent a sloop to him with an urgent appeal for assistance. 'But Peyton escaped this appeal by the haste of his departure.'

¹ The prospects of his becoming the *courtier* (Chief Dubash) in succession to the late Pedro Kanakaraya Mudali and in preference to the latter's brother Lazar Tanappa Mudali who was backed up by the priests and to Annapurnaiyan who wanted to work through Madame Dupleix by means of bribes, had by this time become almost certain; but he did not openly profess his sense of elation at this.

It was on August 25, which was the French King's Birthday, that the metrical ode in Telugu composed in the Diarist's honour by Kasturi Rangayya (*Anandarangarāṭṭhādam* referred to already) a noted scholar of Trichinopoly, was set to music by Trichinopoly Mangapati Aiyan. 'Dancing-women were taught to sing it, and they gave a performance of it this night at the garden-house of Muthaiya Pillai in Sēdai Street before a public assembly, consisting of my friends and others.' (Diarist's entry for August 25, 1746), vol. ii, p. 238.

² Dupleix wanted to have d'Auteuil, his own man, lead the land-forces against Madras; but La Bourdonnais understood his motive well enough and 'pleaded illness as an excuse for not setting out on the expedition on which the Governor has so strongly set his heart, but would not consent to any other person being appointed in his stead.' At the same time the Governor sent a letter to Nawab Anwar-ud-din asking politely for help with 3,000 men in attacking Madras, thus attempting to pre-justify his own action. (See letter of La Bourdonnais to Dupleix, August 26, in his *Memoires*, No. 27.)

The object of this expedition is to scour the sea between Madras and Negapatam until the setting in of the monsoon and attack any English ships that may be sighted. The fleet will then, it appears, sail for Mascareigne. I have written what rumour says.¹

Thus was the situation uncertain in Pondicherry, on the eve of the starting of La Bourdonnais' expedition, with both Dupleix and La Bourdonnais not willing to shoulder the entire responsibility.

¹ *Diary*, vol. ii, p. 252. It was even said that the project of Dupleix to seize Madras and become its Governor would end in failure.

(To be continued.)

Trade of Bengal from the Earliest Times down to the Great War

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ANCIENT TRADE OF BENGAL

IN remote antiquity when India had her ancient civilization, Bengal attained a high level of prosperity as an agricultural, commercial and manufacturing country. So far back as the Epic period (1400-1000 B.C.) when the Aryans were engaged in conquering the whole of the valley of the Ganges and the Jumna from Delhi to Bengal, that portion of them which settled in Bengal, gradually penetrated not only in Southern Behar, Malwa, the Deccan and Gujarat on commercial enterprises but also extended their maritime activity towards the islands in the Eastern Seas. Reliable evidence there is to prove that for 'full thirty centuries Bengal stood out as the very heart of the Old World maintaining her position as one of the foremost maritime countries'—a fact which has been corroborated by no less an authority than the late Prof. Bühler, a great German Orientalist. The testimony that history bears to the commercial enterprise of Bengal during the Buddhistic period (320 B.C.-A.D. 500) derived from Indian literature and art including sculpture and painting, now scarcely wins belief and acceptance. But it is an incontrovertible fact that Bengal of that period not only carried on her trading voyages on the Eastern Seas but, also according to Mr. R. Sewell, a well-known historian, 'towards the shores of the Persian Gulf, Greece, Rome and Egypt'. Fa Hien and Hiuen-Tsiang, two famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited Bengal between A.D. 400 and 640, testified to the fact that Bengal formed a great maritime tract of India with Tamralipti (modern Tamluk) as its seaport, and that its people were rich and prosperous owing to their trade. Numerous wealthy merchants and ship-owners resided here and carried on an extensive over-sea trade. Indigo, mulberry and silk formed the chief commodities of export from Tamralipti. Hiuen-Tsiang was so much enchanted with the civilization

of ancient Bengal that in one of his works¹ he says: 'Though there be torches by night and the shining of the stars, yet how different is the bright cool moon! Just so the bright light of holy men and sages of In-tu (India) guiding the world as the shining of the moon has made Gangaridae (Ancient Bengal) famous for its *Commerce* and philosophy.' Hur Lun, the Corean, remarked: 'Tamralipti is the place for embarking for China from East India.' 'That Bengal as a trading country was known to the ancient people bordering the Mediterranean sea,' will be seen from the fact that its muslin-fabrics of the 'most delicate texture and extreme beauty' were much in request among them under the name of 'Gangetika'—a term which suggests their origin on or near the banks of the Ganges. The author of the *Periplus*, our earliest authority on the trade of India, enumerates a great variety of Bengal cotton fabrics among her exports. About this time Champa (modern Bhagalpur) also formed a commercial centre of Bengal from which merchants could sail for *Subarnabhūmi* or the Burmese Coast. But by far the most important emporium of ancient Bengal was Tamralipti.

DOWNFALL OF TAMRALIPTI

The port of Tamralipti survived for several centuries but was eventually absorbed in the ancient kingdom of Rāḍha (present Western Bengal). About the year A.D. 1130—a few years before the Ghorian invasion of India—the downfall of the port of Tamralipti commenced which afterwards remained as an obscure frontier-town of the Ganga kings, open to attack and devastation.

TRI-BENI AS A PORT OF BENGAL

After the fall of Tamralipti, the chief centre of trade of Bengal was shifted to Tri-beni, now in the Hooghly District, which, during the rule of the Ghor, Slave and Khilji dynasties, enjoyed a great commercial reputation and was often referred to as 'Tri-pani' or 'Firuzabad'. Pliny mentions that 'the ships assembling near the Godavari sailed from thence to Cape Palinurus, thence to Tentigale, opposite Falta,

¹*Si-yu-ki*: Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen-Tsiang by Samuel Beal, vol. i, p. 69, Trubner, 1884.

thence to *Tri-beni* and lastly to Patna.' Ptolemy also notices *Tri-beni* as a great commercial town. The famous Pandit Jagannath Tarkapanchanan, the Sanskrit tutor of Sir William Jones, was a native of this town. Tri-beni lost its importance probably towards the beginning of the fourteenth century and the seat of the Muhammadan government of South-west Bengal was transferred from Tribeni to Satgaon, four miles inland on the River Sarasvati.

SATGAON AS A PORT OF BENGAL

This Satgaon or Sapta-gram (the city of seven sages) was the traditional mercantile capital of Bengal from the Pauranic Age (A.D. 500 to 1000) to the time of the foundation of the town of Hooghly by the Portuguese. With the transfer of the capital from Tribeni to Satgaon the trade of the former was naturally transferred to the latter. In course of time Satgaon became an important *entrepôt* from which goods, both local and imported, were distributed all over Bengal, partly by pack-bullocks but chiefly by boats. About this time Sonargaon (in the Dacca district) was also an important trading centre in East Bengal. It was famous for the manufacture of a fine description of muslin. To what perfection the art and industry of the weavers of this district reached, can be judged from the fact that, according to W. W. Hunter, they used to employ no fewer than 126 distinct implements for their work. With the decay of Sonargaon practically the whole commerce of Bengal was concentrated in Satgaon and consequently its sea-borne trade greatly developed, attaining its zenith in the first half of the sixteenth century.

ITS SEA-BORNE TRADE

Cæsar Federici who visited this place about this period remarked that the sea-borne trade of this city consisted of 'rice, cloth of bombast of diverse sorts, lacca, great abundance of sugar, mirabolans, dried and preserved, long pepper, oil of zerzeline and many other sorts of merchandise.' After the middle of the fifteenth century when the Portuguese came to Bengal for the purpose of trade they were attracted by the grandeur of Satgaon, which they called 'Porto Piqueno' (or the Little Port of the Ganges) and established their factory there.

OTHER PORTS OF ANCIENT BENGAL

Though the maritime activity of Bengal was chiefly centred in Satgaon in the sixteenth century yet it was not the 'only' port of Bengal at this period. Ralph Fitch, who visited Bengal in 1586 mentions the name of 'Tanda' where there was 'great trade and traffic of cotton and cotton-cloth'. Another was 'Bacla' which had 'store of rice, much cotton-cloth and cloth of silk'. The third was 'Sripur' with its 'great store of cotton-cloth'. But perhaps the most important commercial centre of Bengal, next to Satgaon, at this period, was the city of Gaur. As this place was surrounded by the net-work of rivers, it naturally gave a great impetus to boat-building and maritime activity, ample evidence of which we get in the time of Pala kings of Bengal. Under the Muhammadan kings of Bengal, Gaur continued to grow in prosperity and importance. During the reign of Hussain Shah (A.D. 1498-1520), the commercial splendour of Gaur reached its zenith—brilliant accounts of which have been given by foreign travellers such as Varthema, De Barros, Manuel de Faria Souza, etc. According to some old Bengali MSS., there were several Arab merchants who settled in Gaur for the purpose of commerce and spoke highly of the vastness of its sea-borne trade. Bengal in the sixteenth century was also famous for her salt trade, the centre of which was Sandwipa (an island near the mouth of the Meghna) whence 300 ships were yearly laden with salt.

DECAY OF SATGAON; BETOR: A SMALL PORT

The decay of Satgaon as a wealthy mercantile port commenced in the latter end of the sixteenth century with the silting up of the Sarasvati River, thus making the navigation of ships inconvenient. About 1570 its commercial importance was visibly dimmed. Its merchant princes who amassed enormous wealth by trade left the town one after another. Several went to Hooghly and some to Betor (close to Howrah) to profit by its growing trade. The Portuguese also about this time removed their factories to Hooghly. Satgaon, thus being deserted by all, lost completely its *sea-borne* trade. But its *inland* trade which consisted of 'Quilts of Sutgonge' wrought with yellow silk continued to linger on up to 1620.

HOOGHLY AS A PORT OF BENGAL; HIJILI AS A SEAPORT

During the first thirty years of the seventeenth century, the fall of Satgaon became complete and even its inland trade was mostly diverted to Hooghly. About this time Hijili (now in Midnapore District) became a great commercial port of Bengal and carried on trade with 'Negapatam, Sumatra, Malacca and diverse other places in rice, cotton, wool, sugar, long pepper, great store of butter and other victuals.' It is interesting to note here that though Satgaon declined during the beginning of the seventeenth century yet in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries it again came into prominence owing to its paper manufacture—an industry which declined owing to the introduction of paper manufacture in jails and was finally killed by the import of cheaper machine-made stuff from Europe.

We have noticed before that Hooghly became the centre of Bengal trade in the early part of the seventeenth century. In 1632 the Portuguese were driven out of Hooghly under orders of Emperor Shah Jahan and the commercial ascendancy of the Portuguese from that date got a great blow. Hooghly after this became the seat of the *Mughal Faujdar* and of the Imperial Custom House. The English East India Company settled there in 1651¹ and established a factory.

EXPANSION OF THE ENGLISH TRADE IN HOOGHLY

In fact Hooghly was the place where the foundation of the Company's trade in Bengal was placed on a strong footing. The gradual expansion of this trade will be evident from the fact that in 1668 the stock in trade of the Company was valued at £34,000; in 1675 at £65,000; and in 1682 it rose to £230,000. We also find that in 1675 the Company's exports from Bengal were valued at £430,000 and the imports at £860,000 besides private trade. It is further noticeable that in 1678 the cost of the cargo of bullion and goods which arrived at Hooghly *per ship Falcon* was valued at more than £40,000.

NATURE OF EXPORTS BEFORE THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY

The principal articles of the English trade in Bengal since their establishment at Hooghly were 'rice, oil, butter, hemp, cordage, sail-cloth, raw silk, silk-fabrics, salt-petre, opium, turmeric, neelaes'

¹ According to W. W. Hunter, in 1640.

(indigo-dyed cloths), gingham, sugar, long pepper, bees-wax, cassumber, white cummin seeds, bamboo, dry ginger, mustard, cotton, muslins, taffaties, ivory and spices (from the Eastern Archipalego).

DADANI SYSTEM OF CONTRACT

The articles required by the Company were obtained through the influential Indian merchants by regular contracts. This system of entering into contracts with the local merchants was known as *Dadani* system of Contract. The word 'dadani' comes from the Persian term *dadan*, to 'give'. Hence, this word means 'an advance made to a craftsman, a weaver or the like by one who trades in the goods produced'. This system of procuring goods went on up to 1752 but as the honesty of these contractors was doubted by the Company, it was abolished in 1753. Since then the Company appointed *Gumastahs* or native agents to provide trading commodities from different markets in Bengal, known commonly by the name of 'Aurang's'.

BEGINNING OF THE EXPANSION OF THE COMPANY'S TRADE IN BENGAL

In the latter half of the seventeenth century the Company's trade in Bengal continued to expand. They made so large a profit by their trade that besides Hooghly they gradually started several other factories notably at Kumarkhali, Jangipur, Bauleah, Malda, Radhanagar, Cossimbazar and Chandrakona. In addition to these they built a factory amidst the salt-petre grounds at Patna to supply this article to England which was much in request there on account of the civil war between Charles I and his Parliament. But subsequently this salt-petre trade of Patna was prohibited by Aurangzib.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TRADE IN MUSLINS; INTRODUCTION OF MACHINERY CRIPPLES BENGAL TEXTILE FABRICS

The principal articles of trade which fetched the East India Company in Bengal a very big sum of money were muslin and silk fabrics. The excellence of these handloom manufactures of Bengal reached such a high pitch and commanded such a world-wide celebrity under the Imperial patronage and fostering care of Jehangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzib and several other Mughal Emperors and Viceroy's that it attracted the attention of Europe and at last the 'wear of Bengal muslins' became common in England since 1670. In delicacy of texture, in purity and fastness of colour and in grace of design, these Bengal

muslins may still hold their own against the world. History records that Princess Jahanara, the illustrious daughter of Emperor Shah Jahan, was attired in the costliest Dacca muslin when her clothes caught fire. But the popularity of the aforesaid fabrics among the Englishmen at home excited great alarm and uneasiness among the English weavers and artisans and at their instance a series of legislative enactments were passed in England from 1701 downwards to restrict the sales of Bengal muslins in England. These laws, though they somewhat checked the expansion of their sales, yet could not entirely kill them. The result was that they continued to flourish in England till the end of the eighteenth century when they were ousted from that country under the competition of cheaper piece-goods from Manchester made by machinery. In India, also, the Company carried on an extensive export-trade in muslins with Pegu and countries to the eastward till the Burmese War.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SETTLEMENT AT CALCUTTA

In 1690 the English East India Company removed the 'centre of their trade' from Hooghly to Sutanati where they founded Calcutta. Though a change was thus effected in the centre of trade yet their commercial connection with Hooghly did not entirely cease. The Company had their agents at Hooghly where a great part of their purchases was made. The Imperial Custom House, moreover, was at Hooghly so that, both the sea-borne and internal trades had to pass through it, either to pay custom duty or to get free passes.

GROWTH OF CALCUTTA AS A COMMERCIAL CENTRE

The removal of the trade centre of the English East India Company from Hoogly to Calcutta in 1690 marks the beginning of a very interesting and important period in the annals of the English trade in Bengal. It heralded a period in which the trade of the East India Company was established on a fixed basis and their policy of 'armed industrialism' definitely formulated. With the adoption of the right 'commercial policy' and the foundation of the right 'centre of trade' the growth of Calcutta became assured and gradually it focussed the entire trade of Bengal. Between 1711 and 1712 this trade was greatly retarded by the hostilities of the French fleet. In spite of this check the trade of Calcutta continued to grow and Sir C. C. Stevens in his paper 'On the Port of Calcutta', said that 'in the year 1727 the shipping of the port of Calcutta amounted to ten thousand tons'.

THE STATE OF EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TRADE ABOUT THE TIME OF
THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY

The Company's trade in Bengal again suffered heavily during the wars between 1740 and 1757 but revived about 1758. About this time the whole volume of the English trade was diverted to Calcutta, the result being that the importance of Hooghly entirely ceased.

The sea-borne trade of Bengal got a great impetus at the hands of Englishmen with the consolidation of the British power in Bengal following upon the decline of that great Empire founded by Babar—the Great Mughal—in 1526. According to Sir C. C. Stevens 'in 1759 thirty vessels sailed from Calcutta aggregating about four thousand tons burthen'.

SHIP-BUILDING IN CALCUTTA DEVELOPS

As this sea-borne trade continued to increase, as a necessary corollary the ship-building began to be brisk after 1770, teak-wood being chiefly used. But another calamitous event led the East India Company to revive ship-building in Bengal: it was the famine which overtook the Carnatic on account of Hyder Ali's invasion of 1780 which necessitated the transport of grain from Bengal to the English settlements on the Coromandel Coast. So Calcutta soon became the centre of regular ship-building.

SHIP-BUILDING IN BENGAL UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY CEASES;
INDIAN SHIPS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. A FRENCHMAN'S
APPRECIATION

From 1781 to 1821 more than two hundred and thirty-seven ships were built at the Kidderpore Docks at a cost of more than two millions sterling, to the great displeasure of the shipbuilders of Liverpool. The decline of this ship-building in Bengal began after 1840 and we find that in April 1863 it was finally abolished. In this connection, perhaps, it will not be out of place here to quote the opinion of a famous French scholar, F. Baltazar Solvyns about the quality of the indigenous ships used by the people of Bengal for trade in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. He speaks in his *Les Hindous* (1811): 'In ancient times the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels and the present Indians can in this respect still offer models to Europe

so much so the English have borrowed from them many improvements which they have adopted with success to their own shipping. . . . The Indian vessels unite elegance and utility, and are models of patience and fine workmanship.'

SILK INDUSTRY OF BENGAL UNDER EAST INDIA COMPANY

About the time when the ship-building under the East India Company was developing, they also turned their attention to foster the production of silk. As early as 1767 we find the Governor, Mr. Verelst, urging the *Zamindars* gathered at Murshidabad for the ceremony of the *Punya*, 'to give all possible encouragement to the cultivation of mulberry.' Gradually Bengal silk became an important article of trade under the Company.

BENGAL FAMINE OF 1769-70: ITS EFFECT ON AGRICULTURE

Just at the time when the East India Company were busy with the improvements of the sea-borne trade of Calcutta and with the production of Bengal silk, the agricultural life of Bengal got a great blow by the outbreak of a terrible famine which swept away one-third of the population of Bengal. Its effect on the 'sturdy peasantries of Bengal' was simply staggering. One-third of the lower valley of the Ganges fell out of tillage and became waste. Lord Cornwallis in his letter to the Court of Directors, dated August 2, 1789, and also in his minute of September 18, 1789, says that 'one-third of the Company's territories in Bengal was turned into a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts.' It is not within the province of this article to deal exhaustively with the effects produced by this famine. The *Reports of Famine Commissions of 1880 and 1898* speak eloquently on the subject.

BENGAL TEXTILE INDUSTRY SUFFERS ON ACCOUNT OF FOREIGN
COMPETITION ABOUT THE BEGINNING OF
NINETEENTH CENTURY

Within three decades after this agricultural collapse the textile industry of Bengal also got a severe shock. It rapidly began to decline under the competition of cheaper goods from Manchester. Since the inventions of Arkwright and Crompton the English manufacture of cloth for India has made such gigantic strides that it has all but completely supplanted the Bengal industry. By 1813 the value of private

trade in muslins had fallen to two lakhs of rupees and in 1825 the trade received a severe shock from the introduction of British thread which has since been used almost to the entire exclusion of country yarn. So Bengal by the beginning of the nineteenth century instead of holding the proud position of supplier of cotton goods to Europe sank into a position entirely dependent on Europe for her own supplies—thus proving how hereditary skill and primitive manual labour, however efficient they might be, are impotent before the mechanical contrivances. However, it is satisfactory to note that the cotton weaving trade in Tipperah, Dacca, Patna, Santipur, Farashdanga, Rangpur and Dinajpur still bear good reputation.

STEADY GROWTH OF THE TRADE OF THE PORT OF CALCUTTA

In the eleven months from June 1811 to April 1812 the import and export trade of the port of Calcutta was estimated at about nine millions and a half sterling, being carried in 600 vessels aggregating 150,000 tons. The following were the principal articles of export and import from and to Calcutta:—

Exports:—Rice, *Goor*, sugarcane, dates, sugar, *pan*-leaf, tobacco, indigo, cloth, silk, mats, curds, vegetables, fish, pottery, bamboos and straw.

Imports:—Rice, mustard-seed, gram, salt, indigo seed, linseed, iron, steel, brass and copper utensils, *ghee*, spices, cloth, thread, cocoanut oil, umbrellas and pedlars' wares.

Since then up to the recent years the growth of the port has been steady.

FORMATION OF BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CALCUTTA TRADES ASSOCIATION, ETC.

To protect and develop the trade of Calcutta under the British rule the Bengal Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1834. Other societies connected with the trade and commerce of the city are the Royal Exchange, the Bengal Bonded Warehouse Association, the Calcutta Trades Association, and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.

FURTHER GROWTH OF CALCUTTA

The military situation created by the Mutiny of 1857 demanded the completion of a great railway system and by 1864 the East India Railway was opened for traffic from Calcutta to Delhi. The

gradual extension and construction of canals in Northern India which followed the Mutiny added year by year to the sphere of influence of Calcutta as a seaport and distributing centre. To meet the requirements of the increasing trade thus centred in Calcutta it became necessary to improve the condition of the port. Accordingly some old existing canals near Calcutta were deepened to afford safe boat route through Sundarbans for the benefit of trade. Up to the close of the year 1877-78 a capital of £36,034 had been expended by Government on the Calcutta canals. The Hijili Tidal Canal in the Midnapur District was also dredged and it is interesting to note that the net profit of the Company from these canals during 1877-78 was about £9,200. Since then the profit from these canals have gone up by leaps and bounds. New jetties and wharves have also been constructed along the Calcutta shore of the river for the convenience of the loading and discharge of cargo. Docks at Kidderpore have further been built to which railway waggons now bring merchandise alongside the steamers. At the same time the service of steamers between Calcutta and Assam have greatly benefited the tea-estates which increased their produce with great rapidity. The reduction of freights between Calcutta and Burma has also stimulated the trade of Calcutta, monopolized the commerce, not only of Lower Bengal, but also of the entire river systems of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra.

FORMATION OF PORT TRUST

The port of Calcutta was all along under the management of Government; but in 1870 a Port Trust was formed. The Strand Bank lands were in due course made over to them on an yearly quit rent of Rs. 37,392. Its Commissioners were at first twelve but subsequently were increased to fifteen. In 1889 the Port Commissioners were made Conservators of the Port.

COASTING TRADE OF CALCUTTA

Since 1857 the coasting trade of Calcutta has been greatly influenced by the extension of communications and by the development of direct steamship communications with other Indian ports. The chief ports with which Calcutta carries on coasting trade are Rangoon, Moulmein, Akyab, Bombay and Madras. The imports are

cotton goods and salt from Bombay ; rice and mineral oil from Burma ; sugar, vegetable oil and oil-seeds from Madras ; and the exports are grain, pulses, coal, jute, gunnies, spices, tobacco and tea. Besides these ports those of Orissa also form great centres of coasting-trade with which large steamer companies such as the India General and the Calcutta Steam and River Steam Navigation Companies carry on an extensive commerce.

CULTIVATION OF TEA AND JUTE IN BENGAL

(a) Tea

While the improvement of Calcutta, as a port, was going on rapidly on all sides the Company turned their attention to the cultivation of tea and jute. The cultivation of tea began so late as 1856 and the European capital was at once directed to this industry. The discovery of the tea plant growing wild in Assam is generally attributed to two brothers named Bruce who brought back specimens of the plant in 1826 after the conquest of the province from the Burmese. In January 1834 Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, appointed a Committee 'for the purpose of submitting a plan for the introduction of tea culture in Bengal'. In 1877-78 the total number of tea-gardens in Bengal was 221. In 1882-83 the total number of gardens increased to 300. More than three-fourths of the Bengal tea come from Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts. The cultivation, however, is rapidly extending to other parts of Bengal on the East Coast of the Bay of Bengal.

(b) Jute

Considering its present dimensions the jute industry of Bengal is of very recent origin. The first jute mill in Bengal was started at Rishra in 1855. The original out-turn was 8 tons per day. In 1909 it had grown to 2,500 tons per day, it is now 3,000 tons per day and it shows every indication of growing and expanding year by year. Another interesting thing about the jute industry in Bengal is that, although it is practically a monopoly of Scotchmen from Dundee, the industry itself owes its inception to an Englishman, George Acland who was a midshipman in the East India Marine Service. The proximity to Calcutta with its numerous facilities for export overseas and the many means of communication with the interior, both by railway and

river, have led to the establishment of several jute mills along the Hooghly River from Budge-Budge to Naihati. The record of jute industry in Bengal may well be said to be one of uninterrupted progress. For some interesting information regarding this subject *the Romance of Jute* by David Wallace may be profitably consulted.

INDIGO IN BENGAL

Indigo is one of the oldest of the Bengal staples grown by European capital. In several districts in Bengal indigo-planting was worked by a system of advances to the cultivators which plunged them into a state of hopeless hereditary indebtedness to the planters. The Land Law of 1859 (Act X) by defining and improving the legal status of the cultivator throughout Bengal gave a death-blow to this system in districts where it had been abused. Moreover the indigo riots of 1860 caused great depression and damage to this industry in Bengal. In Bengal its cultivation has greatly declined since the first half of the nineteenth century. English indigo-planters have forsaken the Districts of Hooghly, the 24-Pargannas, Dacca, Faridpur, Rangpur and Pabna now dotted with sites of ruined old factories. Upto 1890 this industry was still carried on in Nadia, Jessore, Murshidabad, Maldah and Midnapur, but since synthetic indigo was put upon the market in 1897 the natural indigo of Bengal has declined altogether.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT AND SMALL INDUSTRIES

The *Swadeshi* movement was the outcome of the 'Boycott of British Goods' resolution which first made its appearance in Bengal on the 7th August 1905. The discussion of this resolution as a 'political weapon' does not come within the scope of this paper. But this much is certain that many petty indigenous industries which were fast disappearing from the land again resuscitated. For instance in the 24-Pargannas District this movement led to the establishment of several new manufactories, more especially in the suburbs of Calcutta where tanneries, bone-crushing mills and factories for the manufacture of ink and Portland cement have sprung up. Saw-mills and rope works have also been started by Indian enterprise while manufacture of umbrellas, tin boxes and steel trunks have been taken up. Another enterprise conceived in a genuine *Swadeshi* spirit is the Bengal Pharmaceutical works which Mr. Cumming describes as

'one of the most go-ahead young enterprises in Bengal'. The kerosine-oil tin manufacture is also a result of the *Swadeshi* movement in this district. Twenty years ago not a single tin was made in Bengal but now there are at least five factories with modern stamping machines to manufacture it in this district. Mr. G. E. Lambourn, I.C.S., says that in the Maldah District the *Swadeshi* movement gave impetus to the manufacture of silk fabrics. Mr. L. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., testifies to the fact that in the Hooghly District 'there has been a revival of indigenous industries owing to the stimulus given by the *Swadeshi* movement to the use of country-made goods'. In other Bengal districts also this movement has given life to several nascent Indian industries.

EFFECTS OF WAR UPON TRADE

During the eight months ended November 1916, as compared with the corresponding period of 1915, the value of imports increased by over Rs. 12½ crores to Rs. 101·6 crores, and the total exports, including re-exports and the value of wheat and tanned cow hides, exported on Government account, advanced by over Rs. 31 crores to nearly Rs. 157 crores. The exports of Indian merchandise showed an increase of Rs. 28 crores or twenty-three per cent, and re-exports, of Rs. 201 lakhs. The grand total of imports, exports and re-exports amounted to nearly Rs. 259 crores as against Rs. 216 crores. Imports of treasure (private and Government) increased by Rs. 15·46 crores to Rs. 24·2 crores. Gold bullion rose by Rs. 332 lakhs to Rs. 677 lakhs but sovereigns fell by Rs. 5 lakhs to Rs. 44 lakhs. Imports of silver increased by Rs. 12·19 crores to Rs. 16·85 crores. Exports of treasure decreased by Rs. 1·07 crores to Rs. 4·68 crores.

THE EFFECT OF WAR ON (a) JUTE

During the Great War the demand for jute was so great that the jute trade entered upon a unique period of prosperity. The natural consequence was that the values of gunnies rose quickly. The mills were also carrying large stocks of cheap jute secured during the slump in raw jute after the outbreak of war, when the continental market disappeared. The disappearance of the continental demand and the absence of freight gave the Calcutta mills a complete hold on the

market in raw jute for a long period. Another factor which favoured the mills was the good supply of labour. The stoppage of railway and other large projects during the Great War released a mass of labour which drifted to the mills. The local jute mills thus made profits undreamt of in the years of peaceful progress.

(b) SILK

As a result of the Great War the silk trade has showed in some degree signs of revival from its decadent state both as regards its volume and value. The value of exports during 1915-16 improved by Rs. 12 lakhs to Rs. 28 lakhs, of which raw silk accounted for Rs. 24 lakhs. The increase in total exports was due to larger shipments to the United Kingdom, France and Italy. The export of silk manufactures in 1914-15 was valued at Rs. 4½ lakhs.

NATIONAL SHIPPING IS ESSENTIAL TO THE COMMERCIAL LIFE OF BENGAL

There was a time when Bengal was a rich country on account of her national and indigenous shipping. But now she is without this most important organ of national life. There can hardly be conceived a more serious obstacle in the path of her industrial development than this almost complete extinction of her shipping and ship-building. The sea-borne trade of Bengal is continually expanding with the result of increasing our dependence on foreign shipping and for this we have, on a rough estimate, to pay a price of about 25 crores of rupees a year. We have trade relations with every quarter of the globe. The total value of this trade is about 344·2 crores of rupees, that of imports being 161·8 crores and exports 182·3 crores, and the entire trade lies at the mercy of foreign shippers who are at liberty to impose on us whatever freights they wish to charge for the use of their ships. In this present state of things it is idle to expect that Bengal industry and commerce can advance materially, handicapped as they are by the want of a fully developed shipping. It therefore behoves all who are interested in the growth of trade in Bengal to be fully alive to the importance and necessity of reviving and restoring on modern lines a lost industry that rendered to her such brilliant commercial service in the past and with which are so vitally bound up the prospects of the economic advancement of Bengal.

A Sketch of the History of Afghanistan

BY

CAPTAIN G. B. FYLDES, M.C.

(*The Sikh Regiment, Aden.*)

THE History of Afghanistan as we know that country to-day does not properly begin till the eighteenth century. Before that date it was split up amongst other kingdoms or added to some larger empire. However, to gain a proper perspective of the Afghanistan of modern times, it is necessary to trace its early history.

The best time to begin seems to be that at which the inhabitants first embraced the Muhammadan religion. This occurred towards the close of the ninth century, when the country consisted of a number of small states generally under the suzerainty of King Abdul Malik of Bukhara. On his death in 961 a war of succession broke out. One of the aspirants to the throne—Alpetagin—established himself in Ghazni. He was succeeded by his famous son Subaktagin—who captured Kabul and Kandahar; and acquired Khorassan and the country as far as the Indus around Peshawar—and his still more famous grandson Mahmud.

Early in his reign Mahmud added Afghan Turkistan and Badakshan to his patrimony. But he is chiefly memorable for his frequent invasions of India. The first was in 1000 and the last in 1027. The other important events of his reign were a successful war with his father-in-law—the King of Bukhara—the subjugation of the Ghilzais, who, in the end, were to destroy his successors; the conquest of Kashmir, Samarkhand, Khiva, Kafiristan and Persia. On April 29, 1030, Mahmud died. He was one of the Great Captains of all time. In addition to being a soldier he was a patron of the arts and learning. The wealth and treasures accumulated by his victories—especially those in India—enabled him to transform Ghazni into a magnificent city, and to establish and endow a university there.

Mahmud had founded a great empire; he was unable to found a similar dynasty. During subsequent reigns this great legacy gradually dwindled. Finally the last of his line—Khusru—was deposed by Allah-ud-Din, a chief of Ghor, who was a member of that Ghilzai tribe which had been so severely crushed by Mahmud.

Allah-ud-Din was succeeded by his nephew Muhammad Ghori who,

in 1189 invaded India. He was defeated in this campaign, but was victorious two years later; and in subsequent years penetrated as far as Delhi and Bengal. His successor was Kutb-ud-Din, who had been one of his Generals. He contented himself with ruling in India; Afghanistan, after various vicissitudes, passed into the hands of one Muhammad Khan.

Now it was that Chengiz Khan came on the scene. This man was a Tartar of the Mongol race which had its habitation north and east of the Caspian. In 1219 he drove Muhammad Khan from the throne, and when he died his Empire extended from the China Sea to the Dneiper River.

On the death of Chengiz Khan the country again came under Bukhara. In 1251 Kabul and Ghazni were captured by the King of Delhi. Nearly a hundred years later we find another Afghan ruling in Kabul, but only as Viceroy for the Mongol King in India.

At the close of the fourteenth century Timur Beg—Tamerlane of tradition—over-ran Afghanistan from the north. From then onwards it was broken up till the time of Babur, who was born in 1482. He was a direct descendant of Timur's. At the age of twelve he succeeded his father as King of Firghana. In his early years he was subject to many changes of fortune, and concentrated all his efforts, with varying success, on re-creating a united Empire in Central Asia. By 1505 he had lost Firghana; twice captured and twice lost Samarkhand, but was more or less firmly seated on the throne at Kabul which he had secured by a *coup d'état* on finally being driven from Samarkhand. With Kabul went Ghazni, but Kandahar belonged to another descendant of Timur. However, Babur eventually added it to his own Kingdom, but his reign in Afghanistan was one of continual wars and rebellions, victories and defeats. He is of course most famous for his conquest of India and the foundation there of a great empire and a glorious dynasty. He was the first victor on the field of Panipat which yet twice again was to be the scene of decisive battles in Indian History.

On Babur's death in 1530 another long period of travail began for Afghanistan. This lasted till the beginning of the eighteenth century.

In 1649 Herat and Kandahar had been lost to Persia. Towards the close of this century a national spirit began to make itself felt in the country in general, but especially among the Ghilzais. Finally in

1708 Mir Wais headed a successful revolt. When he died in 1725 he had greatly extended the Kingdom, and all the Afghan tribes—except the Abdalis of Herat—acknowledged his supremacy; and he had succeeded in welding them together as no one had done before. The conception of Afghanistan had begun.

Two reigns of little importance intervene between the death of Mir Wais and the capture of the country by Nadir Shah the Persian in 1738. On his death, nearly ten years later, the Afghan Chiefs unanimously elected one of their own number, Ahmad Khan Abdali—who had been one of the late Emperor's most trusted Generals—as King, and he was crowned in Kandahar. Ahmad Khan assumed the title of Dur-i-Duran, and changed the name of his clan to Durani. He at once began the work of consolidating his kingdom by driving out Nadir Shah's garrisons of Persians from Kabul and Ghazni. Thus for the first time did an Afghan really rule his own country as we know it to-day. Afghanistan was born. By the end of his reign he was also paramount power in the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan on the south; and as far as the Oxus on the north, Meshed on the west and Kashmir on the east.

Ahmad was followed by his son who transferred the capital to Kabul but lost various outlying portions of the Kingdom. When he died in 1797 a struggle for the throne ensued which ended in the victory of one Zaman, a Barakzai—a tribe of the Durani. In 1801 Zaman was deposed by his brother Mahmud who was himself ousted for a time by a third brother—Shuja. In 1809 however, by the help of Fateh Khan, one of the Chiefs of the Barakzais, Mahmud forced Shuja to flee to India, and remained in power till 1817. Then, fearful of Fateh Khan's growing power and popularity he had him murdered. This foul deed roused the Barakzais. Dost Muhammad, Fateh Khan's brother, drove the murderer to Herat and became all powerful in Kabul. Other members of the tribe held Kandahar, Jelalabad and Peshawar. The latter place was captured by the Sikhs in 1823. Shuja made an abortive attempt to regain his throne in 1833.

We now come to the story of our own dealings with Afghanistan. Dost Muhammad sought our help in regaining Peshawar without avail. He therefore allied himself with Persia, which country at that time was virtually in Russian control. This alarmed the Indian Government and Burnes was sent on a mission to Kabul in 1837. He

met with no success and returned to India the next year. Lord Auckland then decided to counter this alliance by the questionable expedient of replacing Shah Shuja on the throne. War was declared against Dost Muhammad on October 1st, 1838. Little opposition was met, but bad staff and supply work resulted in heavy losses on the lines of communications through Sind and Baluchistan. Kabul was reached in August 1839.

It very soon became obvious, that if Shah Shuja was to remain on his throne, the British Army must continue in Afghanistan. This was a contingency which had not been expected. Notwithstanding this however the force was greatly reduced and it was scattered in small detachments in various places. Our position was maintained with increasing difficulty during 1840 and the spring and summer of 1841. This was largely the result of the policy adopted by Sir William MacNaghten—our Envoy—and despite the fact that Dost Muhammad had surrendered and had been sent to India. Burnes was murdered on November 2nd, and by the end of the month our forces were closely confined in their untenable camp. The climax came in January 1842 with the annihilation of our army on its retreat from Kabul. MacNaghten himself had been assassinated on Christmas Day.

After our prestige had been restored by the re-conquest of Kabul, Dost Muhammad was allowed to return. He continued to reign till his death in 1863.

The second Afghan War was also caused by the fear of Russia. Sher Ali, who had eventually succeeded Dost Muhammad, was by no means entirely blameless, but it must be admitted that even this war was not entirely creditable to Britain. It ended in 1880 with the march of Lord Roberts from Kabul to Kandahar.

Since then it has been our policy to maintain friendly relations with Afghanistan. King Abdur Rahman was well disposed towards England and his country was left to manage its own internal affairs, while a watch was kept on foreign policy. At the treaty which concluded the Third Afghan War of 1919, Afghanistan was recognized as entirely independent. From that time under its energetic and enlightened ruler it has made rapid progress. It is to be hoped that in the future the relations, between England and India on the one hand, and Afghanistan on the other, will be still further cemented by King Amanullah's historic—because unprecedented—tour in Europe.

Reviews

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE RELATIONS OF INDIAN STATES WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

BY

K. M. PANIKKAR

WITH A FOREWORD BY

THE RT. HON. LORD OLIVIER, K.C.M.G.

[Martin, Hopkinson & Co., London, 1927—pp. xxxi & 169.]

THE publication of this book has come at an opportune time when the relations of the Indian states with the Government of India are being discussed with a view to their being placed on a more satisfactory footing which will be more in consonance with their future status as integral elements of a reconstituted India. Many Indian Ruling Princes have implicitly countenanced and some have explicitly declared their assertion of the claims of India to full Dominion Status; and most of them are convinced of the inevitable and necessary adjustment of their own rule with the organic constitutional structure of British India. The questions of their standardization both in respect of size and situation, population and resources and of their inter-relation to the Provincial and Local Governments of British India are very complex problems, difficult to unravel and possible of solution only with the progress of time and events.

Mr. Panikkar, himself a talented scholar and journalist, analyses and interprets the historical and constitutional evolution of the place that Indian states occupy in the Indian Polity; and he would declare that history affords no analogy for this peculiar growth, which is 'neither feudal nor federal, though in some aspects it shows similarities to both which have misguided alike the statesman and the political thinker.' He would define the factors that have converted the Indian States into an integral part of the Imperial Polity as the stretch of Royal Prerogatives, the implications understood to underlie treaty rights and obligations and military and strategical considerations. Besides these three main grounds Government have always been

following a policy of direct intervention in states on occasions when they themselves deem it expedient and necessary to interfere. This claim was put forward in the most unequivocal manner in the letter of the Viceroy to the Nizam, so late as March 22, 1926, and was indicated in the correspondence carried on recently between the Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana and the Maharana of Udaipur.

In the Company's days a marked distinction was made between the dependent vassal-states and the independent treaty-states, and the British power did not for long openly proclaim its transition from the position of *primus inter pares* to the assertion of superiority, much less of undisputed sovereignty. The distinction itself was nevertheless observed by Bentinck and Dalhousie, the latter of whom applied his Doctrine of Lapse only in the case of distinctly subordinate and feudatory states and brought in other considerations in the case of the annexation of independent states. 'This useful and historical distinction was however forgotten in the search for uniformity of practice.' In the author's opinion it is this standardization, which meant in other words the application of the practice appropriate in the case of lesser chiefs to the greater ones also, that has made many Indian Princes lose their treaty-rights and has approximated them to the type of feudal subordinates. The era which closed with the grant of *Sanads* of Adoption by Canning and Lawrence, was full of bitterness and mistrust because of the operation of this factor. The principles of loyalty to the British Crown and the one-sided obligation, implied in these *Sanads* are too glaringly leaning on the British side not to provoke just resentment on the part of the Rulers of some states. The enforcement of feudal rights like the settlement of disputed successions, the wardship of minors, the control of their education and the more potent authority to depose, dispossess and degrade has been the uniform practice of the Suzerain Government which has recently popularized the method of veiling depositions under the cloak of (enforced) abdications.

Mr. Panikkar supplements his illustration of the enforcement of these feudalistic rights with a sketch of the interferences with the states made on grounds of military, international and imperial considerations, all of which have affected the sovereignty of the Princes and have complicated legal and other bearings. This growing curtailment of the original treaty-rights possessed by Indian Rulers has been

justified by Anglo-Indian writers like Aitchison, Malleson and Lee-Warner, on various grounds, constitutional, legal and supra-legal and political. Mr. Panikkar has clearly shown that the character of most of these encroachments is fundamental and is a grave injury to the 'guaranteed prerogatives of the major Indian sovereignties.' The sovereignty of the Indian Rulers which Lee-Warner would define as semi-sovereign, while clearly allowed in internal affairs by treaties, has been injured by intervention undertaken for securing 'the essential minimum of good government' which is the *sine qua non* of all British rule and more often for securing the political advantage or the trade interests of the British—the interventions being occasionally veiled in the guise of nominated ministers. He has also taken pains to demonstrate how the sovereignty of the bigger states is unimpeachable, and how the British Government itself has officially come to this point of view in declaring that the Chamber of Princes should be composed of 'the Ruling Princes of India exercising full sovereign powers'. And lastly he points out the danger of the principles guiding the conduct of the Suzerain Power becoming crystallized into a separate system of public law. Many of the relations are extra-constitutional and cannot be made to come under the category of the claims of the Suzerain to feudal sovereignty. According to him, 'the federal idea, while it has necessarily restricted their independence in those matters, such as defence that are vested in the Central Government, has given to those princes who possess sovereign rights, the duties of the constituent states of a federal body.' It is only along this line that the states can become real members and constituents of the Indian Polity.

C. S. S.

SULTAN MAHMUD OF GHAZNIN, A STUDY.—
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

BY

PROF. MOHAMMAD HABIB

[Pp. 108, 1927 : D. B. Taraporevala & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay.]

THIS interesting study of the place and the achievements of a great historic figure originally appeared as an article in *The Hindustan Review* for October 1924. Its conclusion is that zeal for the spread of Islam was not an inspiring motive of the Sultan's plundering

invasions, though it was utilized as 'an *a posteriori* justification of what had been done ;' that Mahmud's Central Asiatic policy was devoid of statesmanship and his work in India was even more ephemeral and deplorable ; and that there is no historical justification for his memory being cherished by Indian Mussalmans as it is being done. The period of the Sultan's rule is one of the most stormy in the history of Islam when Turkish military predominance in its darker aspects was just coming to be refined by Persian genius and culture.

Mahmud was the last of the 'Minor Kings' that rose up on the decline of the Abbasids and the first of the great 'Turko-Persian' Emperors. Prof. Habib proves convincingly enough that the inspiring motive of his life and of the lives of his contemporaries was not Islamic zeal, but the spirit of the Persian Renaissance in which the missionary zeal of primitive Islam had all but evaporated. His Indian invasions well illustrate his genius in strategy and tactics ; and they served to gain for him the gold and the prestige that he needed for his conquests elsewhere. His state was organized on an efficient and unitary basis ; and his military organization was very much superior to that of the Hindus. His vandalism in India led to the cherishing by Indians of an intense hatred of all Muslims, according to Albiruni ; and his Indian policy 'secured the rejection of Islam without a hearing'. Prof. Habib would say that from Mahmud, Indian Mussalmans have obtained the most bitter drop in their cup. Let us examine this conclusion for all that it is worth.

C. S. S.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND ITS
ACTUAL WORKING

BY

DEBENDRA NATH BANERJEE

[With a foreword by Sir Evan Cotton—Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., 1926—
pp. xix and 497.]

THE book describes the present constitution of British India under the Government of India Act of 1919. It is a careful and sustained study of the present constitutional position, stressing upon its rigid character and constituent elements and forecasting a Federation in which the Provincial and State Governments will enjoy complete

autonomy. Attention is drawn to the features which compel comparison with those of U.S.A., Great Britain, and the Self-Governing Dominions. The book treats in detail of the composition of the Legislatures, the Electoral Rolls, their preparation and amendment and the qualifications of the electors in the different provinces both for the Central and the Provincial Legislatures. The procedure adopted at elections comes in for equally detailed treatment as well.

The powers of the Legislatures, their privileges and procedure are treated, frequently with the attention of the student drawn to the corresponding practice of the British Parliament. The powers of the Home Government, those of the Indian and Provincial Governments and their interrelations are next told with great clarity and on simple lines. The rights and privileges of the Services, the basis on which the Provincial Contributions were fixed in the Meston Settlement, the limits of Provincial borrowings and taxation next follow; and two chapters devoted to an account of the Judiciary and the Act of 1919 as it had worked up to the date of the Muddiman (Reforms Enquiry) Committee Report of 1924 close the treatment which is supplemented with a number of appendices describing rules on various points.

The book will serve as a good working manual for the student of the Indian Constitution in the decennium that is about to end since the passing of the Montford Act.

C. S. S.

WARREN HASTINGS' LETTERS TO SIR JOHN MACPHERSON

EDITED BY

PROFESSOR HENRY DODWELL, M.A.

[London, Faber and Gwyer—1927—pp. 218—price 15s.]

THE letters and other papers printed here consist mostly of letters addressed by Warren Hastings to Sir John Macpherson, of which only one has appeared in print, published by Mr. Gleig in the second volume of his *Biography of Hastings*, (1841, vol. ii, pp. 179-80). Four of the exceptions, i.e. those which are not from Hastings to Macpherson, consist of a curious letter from Mrs. Hastings, another letter from Macpherson himself to Hastings, a third being a copy of a letter from Hastings to Wheler, and the last being a long memorandum

on Hastings' position, endorsed 1781. All the letters published have been in the continuous possession of the Macpherson family and are now edited with an elaborate introduction and notes by Prof. Dodwell who says that their principal value lies in 'the new light which they throw on the events of Hastings' administration and on his character in some important phases.' The side-lights that these letters throw on the human side of the Governor-General are interesting; and they form, according to the Editor, a valuable addition to Sydney Grier's picture which was the first to pull Hastings out of the depths of official documents and despatches into which the dull, though painstaking, Gleig had buried him.

Macpherson during these early years of correspondence (1775-77) sympathized with Hastings as against his Council and was very sanguine of his friend's ultimate triumph. But the interest of the early letters lies more in the dissensions in the Madras Council over the Nawab's Debts and his claim to the Tanjore Raj and the consequent revolution in the Madras Government leading to the arrest of Lord Pigot. Hastings would have preferred the appointment of a direct Agent of the Supreme Government at the Nawab's Court and the confirmation of the latter's power over Tanjore, in respect to both of which Macpherson held similar views.

Macpherson, now dismissed from service, went to England both as the champion of the Nawab's case and as the representative of the Governor-General with the Home authorities. In the latter capacity, Macpherson was of some valuable service to his friend by sending him a copy of the document prepared by the Ministry in 1776 for his impeachment and advising him to procure rebutting evidence. In these, James Macpherson, 'famous as Ossian' played also a part, as an active ally of his namesake; and of him also Hastings was very solicitous. He wrote in Letter No. XII (p. 62): 'The Obligations which I owe to Mr. James McPherson make me more than ordinarily solicitous that he may not think me insensible to them.'

The Document—No. XIII. in the book is a summary abstract of Hastings' Government and present situation and merely endorsed 1781; it is, according to Mr. Dodwell, probably an example of Macpherson's literary propaganda, perhaps a communication to the press, or of those made by him to the *Public Advertiser*. It belongs in reality to an earlier year.

The long series of letters from No. XV¹ were sent to the recipient after he became a member of the Calcutta Council. Hastings was anxious that his friend should not develop a policy of his own that might lead to future disputes. The most important of them (e.g. Letter No. XVII) deal with his views as to how peace could be made on the most honourable terms with the Marathas and how Hyder Ali should be forced from the Carnatic by pressure exerted on his northern frontiers by the Marathas. Hastings in this would not consent to the tame proposals of offering peace to the Court of Poona made by the Madras authorities, Macartney, Coote and Hughes, in which Macpherson also acquiesced to a large extent. The remarkable letter No. XVII which Hastings wrote from Benares, dated October 12, 1781, says: 'My primary, and I may add, my sole Motive . . . was Peace. A separate peace concluded with Mahdajee Sindia will be a great leading step to it; and his assistance, heartily given, will complete it,—will, in effect, command it: And I will venture to promise that if this end can be accomplished early, it will as surely draw after it a peace in the Carnatic: I do not mean a peace with Hyder, but his Retreat from the Carnatic, or his destruction, if he stays.'² Macpherson was brought over to Hastings' views. But he had his own victory over the Governor-General when he persuaded the latter to restore Mr. Bristow to the Oudh Residency, much against his will; and later he became a champion in Council of retrenchment and economy which the Governor-General did not relish.

Hastings could not always see eye to eye with Macpherson as in the matter of Coote's relations with the Madras Government during the Mysore War in the affairs of the Carnatic, and also with regard to Hastings' settlement of the Oudh affairs.

The letters extend to August 1787 more than two years after Hastings had retired. They show how the 'scale of values' of the two men greatly differed and at the same time, as has been noted above, how human Hastings always was and how genuine and loyal to friends. The work of editing has been done with the care, erudition and comprehensiveness that have become associated with the name of Mr. Dodwell; and the book forms a valuable supplement to the Hastings literature formed by writers such as Gleig, Forrest, Grier, etc.

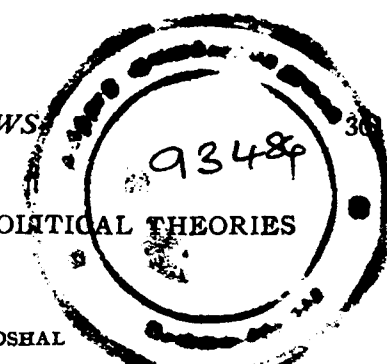
C. S. S.

¹ p. 81.

² p. 87.

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REVIEWS



A HISTORY OF HINDU POLITICAL THEORIES

BY

U. N. GHOSHAL

[From the earliest times to the seventeenth century A.D. Oxford University Press, 1927—pp. xvii and 257—price Rs. 8.]

THE first edition of this book was published in 1923 with the object of presenting the historical evolution of the Hindu Theories of the State and Government, presenting an objective interpretation and withal avoiding the danger of reading modern ideas into the old texts. The lower chronological limit of the treatment brings it to the period just anterior to the establishment of British rule under which the political speculations of the Hindus have been diverted into 'new channels largely under the influence of contemporary Western thought'. The treatment of such a vast subject has got of necessity to be modest, as we know politics or the art of governance had been studied for centuries even before Kautilya's time and according to K. P. Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity*, p. 4.) the beginnings of Hindu political literature proper go as far back as *circa* 650 B.C.; though quasi-political and sociological ideas had been developed even earlier in the *Brahmanas*, etc. The terms, *Danda-Niti*, *Artha Śāstra*, and *Raja-Dharma* came to be later superseded by terms like *Niti* (Policy or Principles) and *Naya*. The works of writers in the early middle ages like Somadeva Suri and of lawyers in Muhammadan times like Chandesvara, Nilakantha and others show the continuity of the study of Hindu politics.

Professor Ghoshal has in this edition added much matter to his treatment of the earlier *Arthashastra* stage which was characterized by 'fearless freedom of thought' and formed the grand formative stage in the evolution of Hindu political ideas, but following a parallel line of development with the canonical *Dharmasūtras*. Appendix D of Chapter III would raise some doubt as to whether the tacit contract implied in Kautilya's version of the origin and nature of kingship, conjoined as it is with the doctrine of the king's quasi-divinity, is not more to justify on a broad basis the king's authority in the eyes of his subjects than to lay down a philosophical theory of kingship as attempted by Mr. Jayaswal and others.

The Mahabharata conception of government in the traditional form of *Rajadharma*, which is the foremost of all duties of which it is the mainspring and the guarantee, was supplemented in the next age by the exposition of a new theory of the king's origin involving a higher basis for his office than a mere agreement of the people mentioned in the Buddhist Canon which Kautilya twisted to justify the king's authority. These concepts as well as that of the reciprocal duties of king and subjects are elaborated with a clear and scholarly precision. In an appendix the author discusses the views held on the theory of Hindu divinity by inveters like P. N. Banerjea, B. K. Sarkar, D. R. Bhandarkar, etc., and to connect this with the rise of divine and quasi-divine ideas of kingship in actual practice—as seen in the title of *Devaputra* assumed by the Kushanas and Samudragupta being described as 'a god in mortal form'.

With Kāmandaka who is indebted to a greater extent to Kautilya and to a smaller part to the Brahmanical canon, we come upon the first stage in the period of stagnation; and the core of his thought is shown to have very little independence or originality. The meagre political thought of the Puranas chiefly beats about the king's divinity, going in one place to the extent of making even the tyrant immune from his outraged subjects. The *Smṛitikāras*, Medhathithi, Visvarūpa, Vijñānēśvara, Aparārka and others, clarify the conceptions of the king's duties uphold the necessary connection between taxation and protection and elaborate the tendency of justifying the exercise of kingship by others than pure *kshatriyas*; while in one place rebellion is justified, provided it is not based on the lust of power but on the plea of the public good and the incompetence of the ruler to serve the interests of his subjects.

Hemachandra and Somadeva, the greatest of Jain scholiasts of the middle ages, make no real contributions to political theory; while the later *Nīti* digests are not fresh in their outlook except the *Nītisāra* which puts forward boldly the conception of the organic unity of sovereignty and the notion of the co-ordination of the factors of the state. Another writer of eminence, Chandēśvara, adjusts his political concepts to the new environment, justifying the rule of foreigners if they should really protect. Shivaji's *guru* Ramdas conceives of the restored Hindu religion and lays down highly moral lessons in practical statecraft; and this, together with Guru Govind's conception of

his own divine mission shows that the well of political *gnāna*, though drying up in the seventeenth century, was not entirely unproductive.

The author, besides tracing this evolution, attempts in conclusion to sum up the leading doctrines of Hindu thinkers and connect them in their perspective to Western political thought. He is not, however, in our opinion, justified in making the rather sweeping statement that the Dravidian races failed to make any notable contribution to political theory which bore exclusively the stamp of the creative genius of the Indo-Aryans.¹ In the face of the immortal *Tiruvalluvar* the author of the famous *Kural* containing maxims of polity, of the numerous smaller poems containing political maxims and aphorisms in Tamil and of the great king Krishnadeva Raya's *Āmuktamālyada* embodying principles of practical administration, to quote only a few; this generalization is unjust to the genius of the Dravidian South, which, following the lead of the northern culture in many points of political theory, had its own individuality demonstrated to some extent in ideas and to a large extent in practice in the peculiar development of free local institutions.

C. S. S.

MAN, GOD AND IMMORALITY, THOUGHTS ON HUMAN PROGRESS

BY

SIR JAMES GEORGE FRAZER

[Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1927, pp. xvi and 437. Price, 15s.]

THIS volume contains some of the general conclusions to which the author's studies of early society and religion led him; and these are disengaged from the heavy masses of facts on which they are founded in the numerous works of the author from which the passages included in this volume are extracted. The author himself has shifted the sequence of some passages, altered a few words occasionally in order to make the meaning plainer and explained a few hard terms. The book is divided into four parts, the first of which takes the evolution of man whose mind has undergone a parallel progress with the body, and whose evolution is the central problem of mental anthropology. Civilization has everywhere grown out of savagery; and by comparison

¹ p. 11.

with civilized man, the savage represents an arrested or rather retarded stage of social development. The early history of human thought and institutions is best studied from an examination of savagery and its survivals in civilization by the inductive method mostly at the present stage.

Human affairs seem to run in cycles and the social pendulum oscillates periodically to and fro; and the old concept, rendered classical by Rousseau, of a Golden Age is exploded. Evidence is clear not that savages have degenerated from a higher level of culture, but that even the most savage tribes have reached their low level of culture from one still lower and that 'the upward movement, though so slow as to be almost imperceptible, has yet been real and steady up to the point where savagery has come into contact with civilization.'¹ The safety for the savage tribe lies when the shock of collision with stronger races is not too violent to be withstood, as when the barbarous Slavs and Teutons came in contact with the cultured Græco-Romans and absorbed enough of the culture to survive. It will be unsafe to judge of the life of the savage by his impulses and passions rather than by the general tenour of his actions; and Sir James is convinced that the seeming vagaries of the savage have a logical basis, and the myth of the illogical or prelogical savage is only one of the several learned absurdities of speculative anthropology. The savage is primitive only in the relative sense and not in the absolute sense. Primitive survivals of savagery are best studied by means of folklore which includes the whole body of a people's traditional beliefs and customs, so far as they appear to be due to the collective action of the multitude.

Culture progresses both by diffusion and independent origin and the truth often hangs between the two. The tendency of excessive simplification or generalization of institutions, as has been the case with the solar myth, is also to be carefully guarded against; and this is 'the principal reason why the whole study is still viewed askance by men of sober and cautious temper who naturally look with suspicion on idols that are set up and worshipped one day only to be knocked down and trampled under foot the next'.

After thus enunciating the problems and difficulties of anthropological study, Sir James treats in the second part of the book of

¹ p. 34.

Man in Society; and he describes in choice passages the features of Totemism and Exogamy and the various theories that are held of their origin and effects. Exogamy probably sprang from a growing aversion to the marriage of near kin and evolved the institution of group-marriage, the first link of the chain representing promiscuity and the last being monogamy. Of course the Australian aborigines have provided the richest field for these inductive observations which include a statement that so far as exogamy is concerned, father-kin is as primitive as mother-kin.¹ Mother-kin does not mean mother-rule; and Gynæcocracy is only a dream of imagination. The predominance of goddesses under a system of mother-kin is not a creation of the female mind, but of the male imagination and due to a combination of ancestor-worship and mother-kin. The theory that in a society of mother-kin the women rule the men and set up goddesses for them to worship is very improbable.

Sir James Frazer's general solution of exogamy is that even as it is prevalent among the lowest savages, it presents a curious analogy to a system of scientific breeding and was very artificially devised to prevent marriage of near-kin. The abhorrence of incest which is the essence of exogamy goes back to a very rude period of savagery, and possibly sprang from a belief in the injurious and sterilizing results of incest. The classificatory system of relationship which is deduced from an original simple exogamous bi-section of the community, is a landmark in human history marking the distinction between the system of group-relationship and the system of individual relationship between savage collectivism and civilized individualism. The customs of the *Levirate* and the *Sororate* are but two sides of an original system of group-marriage; and while the former survived among peoples who left group-marriage far behind them, as in Hebrew and Hindu law, the latter has not survived except in a fragmentary form; and both originated in a simple desire to get wives as easily and cheaply as possible. It is not however necessary to suppose that all communities came to the goal of prohibited degrees of kinship through the stages of exogamy and the classificatory relationship. The origin of cross-cousin marriages was probably in simple barter; and it is even now very widely prevalent.

¹ p. 132.

All the institutions of savages such as have survived in their usefulness show that superstition, though now regarded as a useless scaffolding, have strengthened respect for government, for private property, for marriage ties and for human life—which are the main pillars on which rest the fabric of all civil society; and it has also furnished the weak and the foolish with a motive for good conduct.

The third part of the book under review deals with Man and the Supernatural; it first illustrates how magic the belief in which is uniform, universal and permanent as contrasted with the shifting character of religious creeds, represents an earlier and ruder phase of the human mind through which all races have passed or are passing. Magic, homœopathic and contagious, as well as practical, positive and negative, and also private and public, has, in spite of its harm, rendered no small service to humanity and has indeed paved the way for science. 'If it is the child of error, it has yet been the mother of freedom and truth.' The search for general rules has produced both gold and dross, the former constituting the body of applied science which we call the arts, and the latter being the false magic. Magic is older than religion; and there was a time when man trusted to magic alone for the satisfaction of his non-material wants; and true religion grows from a slight and partial acknowledgment of powers superior to man into the entire and absolute dependence of man on the divine. The influence of climate and the seasons on magic, as given in *Adonis*, *Attis*, *Osiris*, *The Dying God*, *The Scapegoat*, etc., is summarized; while religion as manifested among primitive peoples in its double aspect, viz., the worship of nature and the worship of dead; the development of the line from animism to monotheism are treated very elaborately. Everywhere the higher and newer religion has got to make a compromise with the lower pre-existing popular superstitions and festivals. The course of thought of the author of magic developing into religion which is further influenced by science is likened by him to a 'web woven of three different threads—the black thread of magic, the red thread of religion and the white thread of science'—making the web of thought growing from the beginning of society.

The last section of the book deals with Man's Belief in Immortality; it explains the primitive theories of death, one of which was a belief in a perpetual renewal of youth, involving the conception that death is

not a necessary part of the order of nature, the primitive conceptions of the soul, the belief in an external soul, and the good uses to which the theory of the transmigration of souls has been put. Ghosts and their world, the worship and deification of the dead, the idea of Euphemerism, Deicide, God's sacrifice for the salvation of the world, and the assumption of an eternal world beyond—these are the last ideas examined in this book of golden links, each being a flower culled from the rich garden of the author's vast store of knowledge of the beginnings and the evolution of human society and ideas. This book is a dish of the choicest fruits, to vary the metaphor, from the great author's Magic Garden of Anthropological Wisdom.

C. S. S.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF
INDIA, NO. 26: TWO STATUES OF PALLAVA KINGS
AND FIVE PALLAVA INSCRIPTIONS IN A ROCK-
CUT TEMPLE AT MAHABALIPURAM

BY

RAO BAHADUR H. KRISHNA SASTRI

THIS small but interesting Memoir by the late Krishna Sastri deals with the important discovery made about six years ago by Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar of the Epigraphy Department and originally noticed in the *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy for 1922-23* (part ii, paras 1 and 2). The existence at this historic place of these bas-reliefs cannot be regarded as being altogether unknown to scholars if it is remembered that Kavali Lakshmayya's Account of this place written in 1803 mentions one of the groups of the royal sculptures at this temple and even identifies it with King Harisēkhara and his two wives (See App. to Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, pp 82-3). Again Lt.-Col. R. B. Branfill in his descriptive account of the Seven Pagodas (*Mad. Jour. Lit. and Science*, vol. xxvi, pp. 183 and 186) gives a detailed description of these two groups of secular reliefs more than forty-eighty years ago from now. Burgess in his *Cave Temples of India* (1880) mentions the bas-relief group of Rāja Harisēkhara at this place (p. 147) although he himself was not able to examine these in person. The epigraphy department itself which visited the place several

times during the last twenty-five years has curiously enough secured flashlight photographs as well as sketches of these royal reliefs as early as 1911.¹ No identification was then attempted as the official epigraphists had completely failed to notice the inscriptions put up on the top of these reliefs mentioning their names. Nearly a decade rolled by and in 1922 thanks to the efforts of K. V. S. Aiyar these inscriptions were discovered which at once revealed to us that the statues at the Ādivarāha temple at Mahabalipuram were those of the celebrated kings Simhavishnu and Mahēndravarman I. In addition to these the temple contains bas-reliefs of an eight-armed Durga, Sāmānya Lakshmi, Gangādhara, Brahma, Vishnu and Paraśurāma. Besides the two archaic inscriptional records the temple contains a Daśāvatara *śloka* in Pallava-grantha and another Tamil inscription dated in the sixty-fifth year of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

What is perhaps the most important and interesting point to us is the connection which the discovery of these kings seems definitely to establish between Mahabalipuram and its association with them. It has been a common belief among archæologists that the place was first founded by Narasimhavarman I after his surname *Mahāmalla*. But the present discovery of the relief of Simhavishnu and his son Mahēndravarman I carries back the antiquity of the place to at least half a century earlier, if we may regard the reliefs to have been cut out in the life time of Simhavishnu while he was ruling and while his son was yet a prince. But Mr. Krishnasastri throws a doubt as to this identification of the reliefs. After a good deal of palæographical comparisons of the scripts here with those of Koeti and later Pallava inscriptions he finally concludes that the 'royal groups represent Mahēndravarman I and his son Narasimhavarman I the inveterate foe of the Western Chālukya King Vikramāditya I and were put up in the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I. But a careful analysis of the letters of the inscriptions shows that there is close similarity between the letters of the period of Mahēndravarman I and those of the inscriptional labels at the temple of Ādivarāha. I have closely compared the letters of the present labels with those of Mahēndravādi inscription of Mahēndravarman I and discovered that the letters *ma*, *he*, *va*, *ra*, and *vi* are identical in both while Mr. Krishna Sastri himself

¹ Appendix to report 1911-2 for enumerating lists of photos.

admits² that *ha* and *pa* in these inscriptions (at Ādivarāha cave) are exactly similar to what we find in the Mandagapaṭṭu inscription of Mahēndravarman I. Moreover in his opinion the letter *ra* is even more archaic. Under these circumstances and in the light of Sastriar's own observation³ that the differences in writing separated by less than a century do not count for much, we may be excused if we are unable to accept his view that the characters of the inscription belong to the time of Paramēśvaravarman I along with the sculptures themselves here. The supposed lateness of the script makes him postulate the theory that Simhavishnu of the label should be Narasimhavishnu I whereas the more natural, reasonable and correct view seems to be that he was no other than Simhavishnu the father of Mahēndravarman I who is known from inscriptions to have been a devout worshipper of Vishnu (*Baktyārādilavishnu-Simhavishnu*, Kaśākuḍi plates verse).⁴ There is moreover no evidence to indicate that Narasimhavarman I was an ardent devotee of Vishnu to justify his presence in the Varāha shrine. As for Mahēndravarman I it may be regarded that at the time that the reliefs were put up he was a comparatively a young prince with predilections to Vaishnavism as his inscription at Mahēndravādi (where he excavated a Vishnu temple) shows. That it was only later that he changed into a Jain and then into as a Śaiva is clear from the *Periyapurānam* account and the Trichinopoly cave inscription. That Mahēndravarman's age was a period when kings did not generally dislike the practice of setting up their statues as devotees in the temples they constructed is clear from one of the inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I himself at Trichinopoly which states clearly that in addition to the figure of Hara a material body of his was executed.⁴ It therefore seems very probable that the Ādivarāha temple was excavated at Mahabalipuram by Simhavishnu towards the close of his reign and that the standing figure with the two ladies represent his son the prince Mahēndravarman I and his queens. The inscriptions may therefore be regarded as contemporary with Simhavishnu himself and as having been inscribed contemporaneously with the sculptures themselves. If this view turns out to be correct the

² See p. 4 of the present *Memoir*.
³ *S. I. I.*, vol. ii, p. 346 ff.

⁴ p. 3.
⁴ *S. I. I.*, part i, pp. 28-30.

Ādivarāha temple at Mahabalipuram would constitute the earliest rock-cut monument of the Pallavas hitherto known.¹

A fairly full index and a fine reproduction of the two royal groups are given in plates I and II but one wishes that the ground plan of the temple as well as all the other bas-reliefs of the monument were also added to the present *Memoir*. It is hoped that the secular representations in the various monuments at the Seven Pagodas would form the subject of study of some competent members of the Epigraphy Department, in one of the future Memoirs.

P. G.

CAVOUR BY PALEOLOGUE

TRANSLATED BY

IAN F. D. MORROW AND MURIEL M. MORROW

[Ernest Benn, Ltd., London.]

THE question of Italian unity is a fascinating problem of the nineteenth century history of Europe. It marks the grand culmination of the nationality movement, and presents, on the whole, a very interesting study of a complicated question. As a matter of fact, the bringing about of the unity of Italy and of the unity of Germany presents the problem with great clearness, and the student of history generally feels somewhat dissatisfied with this or that aspect of the question which are not treated with sufficient fullness and clearness by historians. In regard to Italian unity, however, the difficulty presented consists in the actual part played by the principal parties in the drama namely, Cavour on the Italian side, and the Emperor Napoleon III. After reading a considerable amount of historical literature on the subject, one went away from the study of it with some kind of unaccountable dissatisfaction that the whole has not been made clear to him. This biography of the principal actor in the drama, we may in fact say, the hero of the drama, sheds welcome light upon the dark corners of the subject and illumines where illumination was wanted.

¹ See the remarks of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar on the age of the Ādivarāha temple in the forthcoming work on *The Antiquities of the Seven Pagodas* which will appear as a supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*. Here Dr. Aiyangar announces the discovery of a statue of Narasimhavarman I also in one of the Rathas at this place.

After reading through the biography, one is able to see the problem much closer and much more clearly than ever he was able to do before. The question of the Conference at Plombieres, the interview at Chambery, and the last interview between the Pope and the Jesuit Father Passaglia, are thrown into relief here, and one is able to see as much of it as is possible for one to see at all.

Belonging to the diplomatic service as the author does, he understands more of the diplomatic nuances, and could give us a more clear account of the diplomatic forces plied than any one else less expert in the art of diplomacy himself. More than this first-hand knowledge of an important part, the author possesses the requisite amount of sympathy with the subject and sufficient insight and imagination to give the general reader a biography which illumines the dark corners of the subject, such as no work on the subject has done before. No serious student of Italian Unity can feel that he has studied the subject to advantage unless he includes this biography of Cavour in his bibliography of the subject, whether that be extensive or limited.

N.B.—Other reviews held over will appear in the next number in the Press already.

Principal Contents from Oriental Journals

BY

R. GOPALAN

Indian Antiquary

September, 1927—

T. K. JOSEPH : 'Thomas Cana.'

S. M. EDWARDS : 'Historical Bias in Indian History.'

October, 1927—

FATHER HOSTEN : 'Thomas Cana and his Copper Plate Grant.'

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S. KRISHNASWAMI IYENGAR : 'Mayilārpū.'

H. G. RAWLINSON : 'Jean de Thevenot's Account of Surat.'

December, 1927—

R. R. HALDER : 'Inscription of the time of Surapaladēva dated Vikram, 1212.'

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• N. K. BHATTASALI : 'Progress of the Collection of MSS at the Decca University.'

H. DAS : Sources for an Account of the Embassy of Sir William Norris to Aurangzeb.'

SIR R. C. TEMPLE : 'Notes on Currency and Coinage among the Burmese.'

P. J. THOMAS : 'St. Thomas in South India.'

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A. S. BHANDARKAR : 'A Possible Identification of the Mount Devagiri mentioned in Kalidasa's *Meghaduta*.'

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R. R. HALDER : 'Inscription of the Time of Hammir of Rauthambhor, dated V.S.'

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C. S. SRINIVASACHARI : 'The Ancient Tamils and the Nagas.'

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H. JACOBI : 'On the Chanakya Sutrāniti.'

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K. RANGACHARI : 'Town-planning and House-building in Ancient India, according to Śilpa-Sāstras.'

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A. SALMONY: 'Indian Sculpture at the Asiatic Exhibition.'

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S. LOBO: 'A Document with the Early Revenues of Bombay.'

S. SRIKANTA SASTRI: 'Capitulation of Chitaldrug. The author gives a description of the actual capture of the fort from the information supplied in a Bakhair in his possession written by one Yogyadharaka Bhimajipant in Vilambi, soon after the fort had fallen.'

S. SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR: 'The Mauryan invasion of Tamilakam. After a detailed survey of the Tamil odes the author concludes that the Moriyas were not allowed to enter Tamilakam and that the last point they reached was Venkata hill. The battle took place on the other side of the hill between the combined armies of the Śera, Chola and Pandya under the general command of Pandyan Neduncheliyan who was assisted by the Mohūr chieftain who took the field.'

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L. A. KRISHNA IYER: 'A Preliminary Note on the Hill Pandarams of Travancore.'

K. KRISHNAMACHARYA: 'Hamsa Sandēsa: A Study.'

N. CHENGALVARAYAN: 'The Tamil Kings and their Government.'

S. SRIKANTA SASTRI: 'Salivahana Saka.'

Journal of the American Oriental Society

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TUTTLE (E. H.): 'Dravidian Wrighia (Rice).'

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dated in Aditya, Parantaka and Rājaraja's reigns.'

K. G. SETHA IYER: 'Kambar.'

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R. D. BANERJI: 'Stupas or Chaityas.'

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J. M. UNWALA: 'The New Historical Documents of the Great Achæmenian King Darius Hystaspes.' (526-486 B.C.)

F. ZAJTI: 'The Huns in the Avesta Literature.'

E. P. HORRITZ: 'Ancient Hindu Thought with Special Reference to the Fire Cult.'

J.R.A.S. (London)

October, 1927—

DAYARAM SAHNI: 'Kausambi: Collects together sufficient evidence to prove that Kossam is the modern representative of Kausambi, from two inscriptions at Kossam.'

January, 1928—

P. G. TUCCI: 'Is the Nyāyapraṇēsa by Dinnāga?'

- J. NOBEL: 'Die Avantisundarikathā: Discusses the value of the discovery of the two MSS. Avantisundarikatha and Avantisundarikathasāra.'
- H. LUDERS: 'Zu den Asoka-Inochriften. Two passages in the inscriptions of Asoka are newly interpreted.'
- W. PORZIG: 'Kleinasiatisch-Indische Beziehungen. Puts forward the theory that Sanskrit language was influenced by the Mitanni civilization of Asia Minor, that Siva was a Mitanni god and that the Brahmi Script itself was originally derived from the Cuneiform Mitanni scripts.'
- H. JACOBI: 'Über das Alter der Manimekhalai. After discussing the close identity of the philosophical systems in the Tamil work *Manimekhalai* and those of Dinnāga the writer concludes that fifth century A.D. as the upper limit for the work. The supplement to the article deals with the problem in the light of Dr. S. K. Iyengar's translation of *Manimekhalai*.'
- R. FICK: 'Kurze Liste der Kielhorn Schen Inschriften-Abklatsche furnishes a list of inscriptions of Kielhorn.'

Bengal, Past and Present

VOL. XXXIV, PART I

- SIR EVAN COTTON: 'Alexander Grant's Account of the loss of Calcutta. Originally appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1899 and reproduced with a number of explanatory notes by Sir Evan Cotton.'
- B. BANERJI: 'Lutf-un-nisa.'

PART II

- B. BANERJI: 'The Last Days of Mir Qasim.'
- FATHER HOSTEN: 'Akbar's Queen Mary.'

Journal of Oriental Research

April, 1927—

- M. HIRIYANNA: 'Prapañca-vilaya-vāda: A Doctrine of Pre-Sankara-vēdanta.'

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- K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI: 'The Date of Mānikkavāsakar.' The writer after examining the various dates put forward to this saint concludes that he must be taken to have preceded the Tēvaram trio.
- K. RAMA PISHAROTI: 'Studies in the Three Kēraḷa Eras.'
- M. RAGAVA IYENGAR: 'The Date of Sri-Andāl.' From an examination of the astronomical evidence the Pandit comes to the conclusion that *Tiruppāvai* was composed on the early morning of the full moon day of 731 A.D.
- K. G. SANKAR: 'The Date of *Tiruppāvai*: Concludes from astronomical data that the *Tiruppāvai* was composed exactly in 850. A.C.'
- S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI: 'Problems of Identity in the Cultural History of Ancient India.' Aravana Adigal = Ācharya Dharmapāla. Points out the striking correspondences between the teachings of Aravana Adigal in the *Manimekhalai* and Acharya Dinnāga's *Nyāyapravṛtta* and assigns the former to the post-Dinnāga period. The Professor identifies Aravana Adigal himself with Dharmapalacharya (Cir. A.D. 600-635) and seeks in vain for confirmatory evidence from the *Avantisundarikatha*. The Sangam Age itself according to the author requires a careful reconsideration. The paper should be read along with K. G. Sesha Iyer's views on the subject in a subsequent number of the journal.

July, 1927—

- C. KUNHAN RAJA: 'Some Unexplained *prakrit* Passages and their bearing on the Bhāsa Problem. Comes to the conclusion that the *Charudatta* and the *Mrichakatika* are the same work. The printed *Charudatta* is an abridgment and adaptation of that drama. According to the writer there is only one Svapnavāsavadatta and that is by Bhasa, the printed text being an abridgment of the first few acts thereof.'
- K. R. SUBRAMANYAN: 'The Age of the Nayānmars.' The writer expresses the view that the hymns of the Nayānmars in the *Tēvaram* contain indirect allusions to contemporary Pallava kings.'

October, 1927—

- K. G. SESHA AIYAR: 'The Date of the Manimekhalai.' This is a reply to the article of Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri referred to above. Questions the Professor's identification of Aravanavatikāl with Dharmapala and suggests that the former was Dinnāga himself assigning him to the second century A.C.
- K. G. SANKARA: 'Contemporaries of Periyālvār.'

Indian Art and Letters

VOL. I, No. II

K. M. PANIKKAR: 'Malayalam Literature.' Gives a summary account of the growth of Malayalam as a language and its present literary position.

RENE GROUSSET: 'The Great Periods of Indian Art.'

Illustrated London News

January 7 and 14, 1928.—

SIR JOHN MARSHALL: 'A New Chapter in Archæology: The pre-historic civilization of the Indus valley. Sir John Marshall in these two articles describes the extensive excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and the nature of the buildings found the oldest of which he dates about 3300 B.C. He also discusses the racial origin of the ancient inhabitants, their dress, their domestic animals as well as the wild animals of their time. Dr. Marshall's principal object in writing these articles is to summarize for the benefit of the numerous enquirers, the conclusions reached regarding the age, character and affinities of this great pre-historic Indian civilization, the discovery of which has been an epoch-making event in the history of archæology. The illustrations include Indian jewellery such as the necklace 5000 years ago, numerous pictographs, seals and terra-cotta, pottery, weapons, tools, toys, statuettes, weapons of warfare, etc.

November 19, 1927—

PROF. HERZFELD: 'The Past in Persia: The prehistoric period to the rise of Achæmenian rule in Iran, 580 B.C.' The first of a series of Illustrated articles on the results of archæological research carried on within the last few years by Prof. Herzfeld. The four articles will cover successive periods of Persian remains. The illustrations in the first article include the oldest rock-sculpture hitherto found in Western Asia, reliefs dating from about 3,000 B.C., Persian rock-cut architecture of the fifth century B.C. and the citadel of Pasargadae, capital of Cyrus the great.

November 12, 1927—

ALAN ROWE: 'The Spade in the Land of Canaan: Remarkable new discoveries at Beisan, the Beth-shan of the Old Testament.'

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The Modern Review

March, 1928—

R. D. BENERJI: 'Rajput Origins in Orissa.'

PHANINDRA BOSE: 'Indian Epics in Indian Colonies.'

Rupam

October, 1927—

H. OLDENBERG: 'Vedic words for "beautiful" and beauty and the Vedic sense of the beautiful.'

AJIT GHOSE: 'Some Old Indian Ivories.'

Sen Tamil

VOL. XXVI, No. I

L. SRINIVASA IYAR: 'Anapāya Kulottungan.'

Journal of the Department of Letters

VOL. XVII

P. K. CHATTERJI: 'The Poet Kālidasa and Sea-voyage.'

NAZIR AHMED KHAN SAHIB: 'Notes on the Library of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, the first Prime Minister of Emperor Akbar.'

G. M. SARKAR: 'Early History of Bengal.'

Calcutta Review

January, 1928—

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS: 'Kindred sayings of Buddhism.'

H. DAS: 'The Mission of G. Weldon and Abraham Navarro to Aurangzeb.'

February, 1928—

NIHARRANJAN RAY: 'The Maukharis of Kanoj.'

S. N. SEN: 'The History of Seva-gy.'

The Muslim Review

July-September, 1927—

M. D. HABIB: 'Life and Works of Amir Khusru.'

NAJMAL HASAN: 'The part played by the Nawabs of Oudh.'

October, 1927—

S. N. DAS GUPTA: 'Islamic and Sanskrit Literature.'

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

UNIVERSITY SUPPLEMENT

THE VAKATAKAS AND THEIR PLACE
IN INDIAN HISTORY

(SPECIAL LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE UNIVERSITY)

*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.**September-December, 1927—*

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM: 'Diamonds in Bihar and Orissa.'

K. P. JAYASWAL: 'Huthigumpha Inscription of the Emperor Kharavela.'

Do. : 'The Sunga Inscription of Ayodya.'

R. P. KHOSLA: 'The Mughal Kingship.'

K. K. BASU: 'The Tarikhi-Mubarak Sahi.'

*The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
October, 1927—*

D. B. DISKALKAR: 'Asvi Plates of the early Yadava Irammadeva.'

J. RAMMAYYA PANTULU: 'Judicial Procedure in Ancient India.'

The paper is based chiefly on Mādhavāchārya's *Vyavahāra Kānda*.'

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI: 'Literary Gleanings.'

R. SUBBA RAO: 'Cheedivalasa Plates of Dēvēndravarman.'

*Triveni**January, 1928—*

H. HERAS: 'Venkaṭa II of Chandragiri the last phase.'

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN: 'South Indian Portraits.'

N. VENKATARAMA IYAH: 'Durvinīta and Vikramāditya I.'

V. NARAYANAN: 'The Gods of the Tamils.'

OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P. O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, 3, Mission Row, Calcutta.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst St., Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, 'The Ashrama,' Luz, Mylapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
14. *Muslim Review*, 3, Government Place, Calcutta.
15. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
16. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York.
17. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
19. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
20. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla, Bombay.
21. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
22. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.
23. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archæological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
24. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
25. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
26. *The Shrine of Wisdom*, Lincoln House, Acacia Road, Acton London, W. 3.
27. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.

INTRODUCTORY

THE position of the Vākātakas and their relation to the Guptas find their obscure origins in the Purāṇas. These Purāṇas are, unfortunately, for this period, very muddled in their statements and the texts are in many cases inextricably corrupt. The problem, therefore, becomes doubly difficult. To extricate anything like an orderly succession of rulers or even dynasties in this confusion, particularly in the period immediately following that of the Āndhras would have proved an impossible task almost. Thanks to the efforts, however, of the late Mr. Pargiter, we have the texts of the Paurāṇic Dynasties of the Kali Age in a handy form for reference, and the texts, as he has presented them, only go to make the difficulties appear the more clearly. The general trend, however, seems fairly clear; namely, while the Āndhras were yet in existence, and in the period of their decadence, a certain number of dynasties extending over a varying number of generations and lasting for various periods of time, gradually made themselves independent, and held rule each in its own particular locality. These various dynasties are described according to localities, and these have all of them reference more or less to the third century A.D., at the end of which there is an obscure Paurāṇic statement of a revolution brought about by a ruler, Viśvasphāṇi by name, whose identity is very far from certain—a revolution political as well as social. He is said to have attempted an empire on his own account, and after achieving success passed out of existence. Then there apparently came the usual break-up; and another series of dynasties find mention, among whom we find the early Guptas included. Their territory is clearly described as adjoining the Ganges and Prayāga, and the country dependent upon Sākēta and Magadha being also included therein. It is apparently on this assumption and from the more or less rough estimates of time that we can form from the Paurāṇic recital that these local dynasties are allotted by Pargiter to the third and early fourth centuries A.D. Gupta history, therefore, must be taken to begin with the position the Purāṇas thus ascribe to them, as is indicated at the commencement of the Gupta Supplement in the last issue of the *Journal of Indian History*. Since Gupta and Vākāṭaka histories seem to have been intimately connected with each

other, the two will have to be studied in relation to each other for gaining the proper perspective in history. It therefore is of some importance to know when Gupta history actually begins and in what manner.

Chandragupta I of the Guptas is the person who is given the title Mahārājādhirāja in the Gupta records of his successors. There is other evidence besides, as explained already in the Studies in Gupta History, II.¹ He must have been a man of achievement as otherwise the credit of the foundation of the empire would not have been given to him as such. It is on this general position that the Meharauli Pillar Inscription has been examined in the next following part III, in regard to the possible identification of the Chandra of that inscription with Chandragupta I on the basis of the achievement recorded of Chandra in the pillar.

Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar, who chose for his Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar Lectures the identification of this Chandra, claims greater appropriateness for identifying this Chandra of the Iron Pillar Inscription with a ruler Sadāchandra, as he is called in the Paurāṇic lists, among the dynasties that ruled over Vidiśā. We heard both his lectures with attention, and have looked through the summary published in the *Hindu* of the 13th February, 1928 and the following one of the 24th idem. with care. There are a number of difficulties to be got over *prima facie* before a case can be made out for this identification. Sadāchandra's name occurs at least five generations before Vindhyaśakti, and therefore six before his son Pravarasena on the basis of the Paurāṇic texts alone. The whole of Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar's theory in a nut-shell is this : The ruler Bhogin referred to in line three of the list on page 49 of the Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age* is to be identified with the Nāga ruler, Bhavanāga of the Bharaśivas, and father-in-law of the father of Rudrasena I, grandson of Pravarasena I of the Vākātakas. After him, possibly in immediate succession, came this Sadāchandra, with whom the Chandra of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription is sought to be identified.

Bhavanāga of the Bharaśivas may have been contemporary with Pravarasena I of the Vākātakas, as he must have been an elder contemporary of his grandson. The cardinal synchronism between

the Guptas and the Vākātakas is in the marriage of Prabhāvatī Gupta, the daughter of Chandragupta II with Vākātika Rudrasena II, the grandson of Rudrasena I. The genealogies would stand as under :—

GUPTAS.	VAKATAKAS.
Chandragupta I	Vindhyaśakti.
Samudragupta	Pravarasena I
Chandragupta II.	Gautamiputra (did not rule ; son-in-law
	Rudrasena I of Bhavanāga
	Prithvisena I the Bharaśiva)

Prabhāvatīgupta (married) Rudrasena II.

On the basis of this the Gupta contemporary of Rudrasena I must be Samudragupta, and possibly Chandragupta I himself. Rudrasena's grandfather Bhavanāga may have been more nearly contemporary with Chandragupta I. Sadāchandra, who succeeded this Bhogin—Bhavanāga must have come after Chandragupta I. We therefore arrive at this at the very best ;—Sadāchandra, Samudragupta and Rudrasena I, the Vākātika (or it may be his son Prithvisena), should have been contemporaries. On this chronological basis, could the identification suggested stand ?

In regard to Sadāchandra, except that the name occurs as one in the list of the dynasties that ruled over Vidiśā, the Purāṇas give us no indication whatsoever of any claim to greatness for him. An attribute like *Chandrāmśo*, even with the reading preferred by Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar *Chandrabha* as suggested, is so common an attribute of poetry to lead to anything like a definite identification because two rulers happen to be described by that term. We really want a little more than this. Even if the name *Sadāchandra* is *Rāmachandra* or *Vāmachandra*, is it likely that a man bearing that name would call himself Chandra ? The modern practice of domestic names is not what one would expect in a solemn document as is that on a *dvajastambha* in a temple purports to be. If it is Rāmachandra, the reading preferred by Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar, then we should look for the name Rama, not Chandra. If it is Vāmachandra, it is possible that *Vāma* is an attribute. But in the choice of these readings, it is matter for grave doubt whether we enjoy the freedom to choose whatever reading we like, the more so when we are dealing with the

¹ *J.I. H.*, vi, pt. ii.

difficult texts of the Purāṇas. All Purāṇas are not of equal value ; all manuscripts of the same Purāṇa are not of equal value either, and before overthrowing a carefully edited critical text, some reason must be given for the change. Pargiter has adopted the reading of the Vāyu Purāṇa, which is generally more reliable for this period. In respect of names and even dynastic chapters, the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* is very abbreviated, and consequently corruption of the text is great. We must, therefore, have some reason of a satisfactory character to prefer one reading to another. In the best of circumstances, it is unlikely that a ruler even in a moment of devotion would describe himself by the pet name Chandra, whether his name be Sadāchandra, Rāmachandra or Vāmachandra, while it would be perfectly in the fitness of things that a ruler having a name Chandragupta describes himself as Chandra as one has often to announce himself by his name (Śarman as it is called in Sanskrit) when one makes salutations of respect to the holy ones or elders even now, the latter half of the name Gupta in this case being regarded as a title like so many others.

Another point of objection is, in the words of the summary, which we hope is authoritative, ' the wording of the Pillar Record differs so widely from the ordinary formula of the Gupta inscriptions and the phraseology is quite unlike that of any of their numerous inscriptions, as has been noted by Vincent Smith.' ' Mr. Allan states that as the inscription was engraved on an iron pillar, considering the stiffness of the material on which the inscription was engraved, it would be difficult to dogmatize on its date from the point of view of epigraphy, and even went so far as to doubt if the inscription belonged to the Gupta dynasty at all.' The position taken here contains two or three points of a specific character. The wording of this record differs from the formulæ of the Gupta inscriptions generally. The Gupta inscriptions that we have from which anything like a formula can be made out are all of them of Chandragupta II or later. The famous Harisena Epigraph of Samudragupta itself does not conform to this formula. All of Chandragupta II's inscriptions so far accessible to us do not conform to this dictum. It would, therefore, be too much to speak of a Gupta formula in inscriptions of Samudragupta's time and previously. Of peculiarity in phraseology really so called, there is none. Phraseology will differ according to the author, and the author of this record is certainly not the author, so far as we know, of any other

published Gupta record. In point of general literary character it strikes us that it differs no more from other well-known records of Kumāragupta or Skandagupta. In regard to the palæographical value of it, it no doubt would be difficult to dogmatize. But Mr. Allan himself has to form general estimates of the value of characters on coins as compared with those on stone and copper-plate inscriptions often. Stone and copper-plate inscriptions are compared palæographically and rough estimates of the age of inscriptional characters are formed on them. A cast-iron pillar undoubtedly introduces new material, but by that fact it does not take it away from the realm of possible comparison with copper-plate inscriptions or even stone inscriptions altogether. All that an epigraphist of the experience of Fleet said was that the characters of the Iron Pillar were of about the same age, and were of about the same character as those of the Samudragupta Pillar Inscription. These may be a little earlier or a little later, but what perhaps is quite warranted is these cannot be earlier or later by generations. That is all that is presumed on the basis of palæography and nothing more. The record admits of the possibility, that it may be that of Chandragupta, father of Samudragupta, or Chandragupta, the son. It may be somewhat later or earlier, but cannot be earlier or later by many generations. That is all the point. The question therefore will have to be how far a historical character like Sadāchandra would be from the Samudragupta inscription. A point Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar did not apparently notice is (he made no reference to it in his lectures, nor is the actual reference found in the summary as it appears), that, if Bhogin is Bhavanāga, he must be contemporary with Rudrasena I of the Vākātakas, and therefore with Samudragupta possibly, or it may be, even with Chandragupta I. Therefore in point of time Sadāchandra will not be far removed to make the ascription of the Meharauli Pillar Record to him on palæographical grounds impossible. Bhogin's successor, Sadāchandra, would then be contemporary with Samudragupta himself, and it would make the pillar inscription of Samudragupta and that of Chandra almost of the same age.

This brings us really up against a great difficulty. Sadāchandra is ruler of Vidiśa and ruled the territory dependent thereon in Eastern Malva. Just about the time when he must have come to the throne either Samudragupta should be ruling, or his father Chandragupta. It

Sadāchandra fought a battle against the confederated enemies on the frontier of Bengal, how did he manage to get across the whole of Magadha, the territory dependent upon Prayāga and Sākēta and the territory belonging to the Lichchavis which were all of them under the Gupta, Chandragupta I? This involves the assumption of one of two alternatives, either that the war on the Bengal frontier was one against the Guptas themselves, or that he first of all defeated and subjugated the Gupta power and marched against other enemies across the Gupta territory.

To make this possibility rather convenient of a war against the Bengal frontier, Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar would postulate that the original territory of Sadāchandra and his dynasty was in Anga, and that Vidiśa was a new acquisition from the Nāga dynasty of which Bhogin was a distinguished member at the time. This would make Sadāchandra ruler of Anga and ruler of Vidiśa at the same time, which must necessarily involve the possession of Magadha, which is chronologically incompatible, and any other conclusion would be politically and geographically impossible. This position for Sadāchandra is achieved by the adoption of another alternative reading by changing *Śunga* into *Anga*. Here the Purāṇa text merely states in the particular passage that at the end of the dynasty of Śunga rulers 'will come Śiśunandi'. Changing *Śunga* into *Anga* here does not take us very far as that statement apparently has no connection whatever either with Bhogin or with Sadāchandra except the fact that they all of them belonged alike to those that ruled over Vidiśa. Pargiter makes no connection, and there is little warrant for making the connection as the Purāṇa texts stand. The assumption therefore of an Anga ruler extending his territory across to conquer Vidiśa from the Nāgas and take the territory of Eastern Malva under his rule is an assumption for which no reason or evidence is adduced. The assumption seems historically not warranted, and geographically not easy, and if the Gupta-Vākāṭaka synchronism be accepted, it becomes chronologically impossible. If a ruler of Pushkarāṇa is far for fighting against enemies on the Bengal frontier, a ruler of Anga is in no better case to fight with the enemies across the seven mouths of the Sindhu. We know historically that the territory of Vidiśa was ruled over by the Nāgas; the extinction of the Nāga dynasty of Vidiśa does not put an end to the Nāgas as a whole. The statement of the Purāṇa text

amounts to nothing more than this, namely, that when this dynasty of rulers came to an end, Śiśunandi came to rule. To say more than this we have no authority in the Purāṇic text. Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar admits the chronological possibility of Sadāchandra being of the early Gupta period, and once that is admitted these difficulties present themselves.

Another point on which much capital is made in this context is the name Vishṇupada, and the hill Vishṇupada being near Haridwar or Kailāsa. It is a far cry from Haridwar to Kailāsa, but probably what is meant is Gangadvāra or Haridwāra (are the two the same?). Nobody questions the mention of a Vishṇupada-giri (hill) occurring in the Purāṇas and the epics in connection with this locality. There is a Vishṇupada supposed to be on a hill in Gaya; there is a Vishṇupada in Allahabad, and in the *Śraddhas* even in our part of the country, it is mentioned as a place on which food (*Pinda*) is offered to the manes (*Pitrs*). Therefore Vishṇupada or Vishṇupada-giri is not the name of a single locality exclusively whatever be the part of India that it might be in. There is epigraphical warrant that Biyana at the south end of the Delhi ridge goes by the name of Śrīpadam according to Dr. Fleet on the authority of inscriptions.¹ If one part of the hill be called Śrīpadam, the possibility of another part being named Vishṇupada does not appear to be so hopelessly unwarranted.

But the crux of the problem, in regard to this particular point, is whether we could regard the pillar as having been removed to the present locality from another place, or as remaining on the original site in which it was erected. It stands now in the courtyard of the Kutub Mosque in Delhi. The courtyard of the Kutub Mosque is certainly not the place where it was originally erected. But the ready presumption would be that it was removed by the builders of the Kutub Minar from its original locality wherever it was. Vincent Smith who made a careful examination of the question in his article on the (Meharauli Pillar) in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*² has given it as his conclusion that the pillar is fastened on the floor of the courtyard of Anangapala's temple in the layer which constituted the flooring of the Hindu temple and distinctly underneath the flooring of the Muhammadan mosque, thereby indicating clearly that it could

¹ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 251, n. 3.

² 1897, pp. 1-18.

not have been removed to the present site by the Muhammadan builders of the mosque. If anybody removed it from anywhere else, it must have been the Hindu Anangapala who must have done so. Imagine an orthodox Hindu ruler, whether he be a Vaishṇava or Śaiva, attempting to remove a *dvajastambha* of Viṣṇu from a Viṣṇu-temple in a particular holy place even for the purpose of re-erecting it in another Vaishṇava temple. It seems extremely unlikely that any Hindu ruler would have done it, and it would be difficult to imagine any compelling reason for him to do so unless it be that the temple was already destroyed and the pillar lay in ruins. We can accept a position like this, but would want something like a hint of it in sources of authority. That a Viṣṇu-temple should have been built on a hill called Viṣṇupada does not necessarily involve the assumption that it was built on the top of it. It should be enough if its site forms a part of what is generally describable as a particular hill. In the circumstances, it seems more likely that the pillar was where it has been since the days of Anangapala, and it may even be possible that the so-called Anangapala's temple is no more than an additional or larger extension to an already existing temple which took its name from the ruler who enlarged and improved it, for which it is not impossible to find instances.

The question whether it is the one or the other or a third depends upon the following circumstances:—

1. The person Chandra, whose record we are discussing, must have been a man of achievement, having, by his own efforts, acquired a vast kingdom, and held rule over it for a length of time.
2. He must have fought two actions against enemies across the wide stretch of India, such as the western frontier of Bengal in the east, and western frontier of Sindh on the western side.
3. The enemies thus overthrown along the western frontier of Sindh are stated to be Bāhlikas.

The answer to these questions would depend upon to whom these three conditions would apply. Of Sadāchandra of Vidiśa, we know nothing except what the Purāṇas say, and the Purāṇas say actually nothing more than that he was a ruler of Vidiśa, probably among the Nāga rulers of the locality. That he achieved anything cannot be asserted on the authority of the Purāṇas, and the Purāṇas are our only source of authority for the name. In regard to Chandragupta II, the victory

against the Bāhlikas would be nothing very unusual; perhaps it would be natural, as he carried on an exterminating war against the Kṣatrapas and destroyed them ultimately. But then we have a number of records of Chandragupta II and of his immediate successors. None of them mentions the achievement of this great importance in connection with him; nor do we find any mention of it in other sources available. In regard to Chandravarman of Pushkarāṇa, one may imagine a possible raid across even the Gupta territory in the early period of Samudragupta's reign when there were grave disturbances. But the inscription of his successor, Naravarman, makes no mention of such a great achievement, which it would hardly have failed to do if he were the person. That Chandragupta I of the Guptas built the empire is beyond doubt. That he was anxious for a suitable successor to bear the burdens of this empire is stated in clear terms in the Harisēna epigraph. We have statements that the marriage with the Lichchhavi princess was of great importance, and that he made that a stepping-stone to the foundation of a great kingdom is quite possible or even probable. We have good reasons to feel that some of the coins usually ascribed to his successors, such as the Chatra coins and the marriage coins are coins issued by Chandragupta I. It is these circumstances of a definite character that gave room for the assumption that it was possibly Chandragupta I that put up the Meharauli Pillar record, the record being named as is usual with epigraphs generally from the locality of their finds.

It would be quite in the nature of things in regard to the newly-founded empire if its feudatories attempted to throw off the yoke immediately after the death of the founder. If the succession happens to be an indisputable one and the successor a capable man, the empire would stand; if the succession itself is disputed and the successor a feeble individual, the empire breaks up. In the case of Samudragupta what happened actually as stated in the Harisēna epigraph is nothing more than this—Samudragupta was chosen for the succession by the father as the most eligible every way in the actual circumstances. There are hints of those that felt dissatisfied at the choice. Immediately follows the statement that a number of chieftains in the immediate neighbourhood, rulers of separate kingdoms, made a concerted attack on Pāṭalipura and Samudragupta overthrew the enemies. His drastic uprooting of the nine rulers of *Aryāvarta* follows as a

consequence naturally, as night follows the day. From these circumstances alone the inference would be justifiable that Chandragupta I successfully founded the empire, which in great anxiety he left to a successor of his choice, who justified the choice by overcoming all opposition and put the empire on a firmer basis than his father left it. Is not that Chandragupta a man of achievement and does he not seem the likeliest man to be indentified with the Chandra of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription?

It may perhaps contribute to make the position clear if the passage in the Purāṇas relating to the rulers of Vidiśa were set down here for ready reference. The passage is set down as in the collated text of Pargiter. The translation is not that of Mr. Pargiter, which, in some particulars, does not seem to be quite correct. The notes added relate only to the few points under reference in the course of the above.

TEXT

Nṛpān Vaidiśakāms c' api bhaviṣyāms tu nibodhata
 Śeṣasya Nāga-rājasya putraḥ para-puran-jayah
 Bhogi bhaviṣyatē rāja nṛpō Nāga-kul-ōdvahah
 Sadāchandra tu Candrāmśo dvitīyō Nakhavāms tathā
 Dhanadharma tatas c' api caturtho Vangarah smṛtaḥ
 Bhūtinandas tatas c' api Vaidiśe tu bhaviṣyati
 Sungānām tu kulasyānte Śiśunandir bhaviṣyati
 tasya bhrāta yaviyāms tu nāmnā Nandiyasāḥ kila
 tasy ānvayē bhaviṣyanti rājanas tē trayas tu vai
 dauhitraḥ Śiśuko nama Purikāyam nṛpō bhavat.
 Vindhyaśakti sutas c' api Pravīro nāma vīryavān
 bhokṣatē ca samāḥ ṣaṣṭim purim Kāncanakām ca vai
 yakṣyate vājapēyais ca samāpta-vara dakṣiṇaiḥ
 tasya putrās tu catvārō bhaviṣyanti narādhipāḥ.

TRANSLATION

Please know the rulers of Vidiśa that will come hereafter. The son of Śeṣha, king of the Nāgas, the conqueror of the cities of others, the upraiser of the dynasty of the Nāgas, Bhogi, will become king. Sadāchandra, part of the moon (*Chandra amśa*); second after him Nakhavan, after him Dhanadharma, after him, the fourth Vangara. After these comes into existence in Vidiśa Bhūti-Nanda. At the end of the dynasty of the Sungas will arise Śiśunandi; his younger brother by name Nandiyasāḥ. In his line will come these three kings; his grandson through his daughter, by name Śiśuka, will be king at Purikā. The valliant ruler by name Pravīrō, son of Vindhyaśakti, will

enjoy for sixty years the city Kāncanakā. He will celebrate Vājapēyas each one completed by the distribution of excellent gifts to Brahmans. Four of his sons would become kings.

In this the points to which particular attention should be drawn, relevant to the previous enquiry, are Bhogi, who is proposed to be identified with Bhavanāga, is described as the son of no less a person than Śeṣha, king of the Nāgas, otherwise Ādiśeṣha, which would imply that he was probably the historical founder of the Nāga family. Sadāchandra follows him immediately among four rulers. The Purāṇa statement does not connect him with Bhogi clearly. It may be open to the interpretation that he was his son. On the text of it, we would be entitled to say that he was his successor proximately, perhaps even remotely. Then follows a series of successors, three, of probably the same family as Sadāchandra, and then a Bhūti-Nanda apparently of another family; and then follows a statement that at the end of the dynasty of the Sungas, Śiśunandi will be king of Vidiśa. From this it is clearly inferable that Bhogin and his successors ruled before the Sungas. There are good historical reasons for believing that the Sungas held rule over this region. The government of Agnimitra, the son of Pushyamitra, the first Sunga, was in Malva. His grandson, Vasumitra, fought against the Yavanas on the banks of the Sindhu, which is taken by historians to be the Kālī Sindhu in the region of Vidiśa. So historically what the Purāṇas intend saying seems to be that when Sunga rule came to an end in the region of Vidiśa, a ruler by name Śiśunandi would then rule. If the reading *Anga* should be adopted, it becomes meaningless in reference to the first line, which declares that the rulers that follow are the rulers of Vidiśa. There is no reason, on the basis of the text before us, to assume that either Bhogi or anyone of the five that followed him in succession had anything to do with Anga. The adoption of the reading *Anga* instead of *Sunga* will make the text far more obscure than it is, and has no justification whatsoever from the point of view of history, as the Purāṇa texts of the Kali Age in the centuries previous to this have nothing whatever to say about Anga, although in one or two places Champa does occur, but in the period immediately following this. After Śiśunandi we have allow for his younger brother and three others of his family together with his daughter's son, who ruled in Purikā, and then comes in Pravīra, ruler

of this region, as we should understand it in succession to the family of Śiśunandi including his grandson. There seems therefore no warrant as far as the Paurāṇic texts go for the assumption that there was a family of Anga rulers ruling over Vidiśa at the same time. If the Purāṇa texts are to be understood as they should be, all these rulers should have come before the Nāgas, the Guptas, the Maṇidhānyas, Dēvarakshitas, Guhas and Kanakas along with others in Saurāshṭra, etc., mentioned in the following passage. The equation of Bhogi with Bhavanāga and the consequent position chronologically ascribable to Sadāchandra, contemporaneously with Chandragupta I and Samudragupta which is the inevitable result of Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar's argument, would go against the statement of the Purāṇas themselves. That interpretation must be regarded bad, which makes consecutive texts contradict themselves.

The Vākātakas in Gupta History¹

It is now more or less generally accepted that a dynasty of rulers, described by the title Gupta, ruled from A.D. 319-20 onwards for about two centuries, acquired an imperial position early in their career, and maintained that high position for the greater part of that period till it was overthrown by the irruption of the Huns into the territory of India. There are certain points in their early history which seem incapable of elucidation without a correct understanding of the position of the Vākātakas in relation to this imperial dynasty. It will be the purpose of this paper to show what influence the Vākātakas exercised on the history of the early Guptas.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE GUPTAS

It is generally accepted that there was one Mahārāja Chandragupta that founded this great dynasty, though the dynastic pedigrees add two names before him, that of his father Ghaṭotkacha and his grandfather Mahārāja Śrīgupta. It is also generally accepted that this Chandragupta was able to advance to the higher position of emperor by a marriage alliance that he contracted with the powerful clan of the Lichchhavis, a princess of which clan, Kumāradēvi, he married. It is generally regarded that he had a comparatively short reign extending over no more than about fifteen years as a maximum, and that it was really his son Samudragupta who, by a series of conquests, advanced the dynasty really to the imperial position.² His conquests, so called, fall into a number of divisions. Of these, he defeated, and destroyed the power of, nine kings of Āryāvarta whose names are mentioned. He is said to have put under tribute five border kingdoms, three in the east and two in the north, as also nine other tribes, as they seem, in the south-west. His chief title to conquest, however, lay in his expedition to the south in which he is regarded as having marched as far south as Kānchi in South India, conquered eleven kings of the south and set them free. Having been successful against all these kingdoms and states, he got into diplomatic relation with six more distant monarchs, of whom five have to be located on the north-western frontier, while the sixth is mentioned specifically to be the monarch of

¹ By permission of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

² *Early History of India*, by V. A. Smith, 3rd edition. ch. xi.

Ceylon.¹ He celebrated an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice in commemoration of his vast conquests; and memorials of the celebration of this imperial sacrifice have come down to us. His son and successor extended these conquests in the south-western direction overthrowing the last remnant of the Śaka power under the Kshatrapas, and carried the Gupta territory to the western sea. It was some time in the reign of his son and successor that the Hun invasion broke in, and, after varying fortunes, ultimately subverted the ruling power. In this resume of the history of the Guptas the Vākātakas appear nowhere, and, for all that we see in the details accessible to us from the Gupta records, the Vākātakas appear not to have existed at all. Notwithstanding this apparent omission, there is this significant fact that the list of Samudragupta's southern conquests does not include any part of the Dakhan proper. Ērāṇḍapalli and Daivarāshṭra, two places located by Dr. Fleet in western Dakhan indefinitely, have since been satisfactorily identified with places on the east coast region of Kalinga,² and that makes Samudragupta's southern invasion march down by way of the coast and return, it may be, by a different route but along the same region, so that the southern conquests mean really no more than the conquest, as far as it went, of only the northern portion of the Madras Presidency. Why is the whole of the Dakhan omitted from this southern list? No part of it could be included in the lists of his other conquests except perhaps in reference to the people Ābhīras whom he is said to have put under tribute. But even the Ābhīras as such do not figure prominently in the historical records of the period that have come down to us beyond this single reference.

THE VAKATAKAS

The Vākātakas as such are not known to us except by their inscriptions. Of these, we have about half a dozen, of which two at least happen to be stone inscriptions in the caves of Ajanta; the rest of them are copper-plate grants. According to the most complete stone inscription, that of the Ajanta Cave XIV,³ the following is the genealogy of the Vākātakas :—

1. Vindhyaśakti.
2. Pravarasēna I, son of (1).

¹ Fleet, *G.I.C.I.I.*, vol. iii, No. 1 and V. A. Smith, *opus cite*.
² *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1908-9, p. 109; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xii, p. 212.
³ *A.S.W.I.*, vol. vi, 124 ff.

3. Rudrasēna I, son of (2?).
4. Prithivisēna, son of (3).
5. Pravarasēna II, son of (4?).
6. (*Name omitted*), son of the previous.
7. Dēvasēna, son of the predecessor.
8. Harisēna, son of the predecessor.

According to the most complete copper-plate grants the Vākātaka genealogy would stand as follows :—

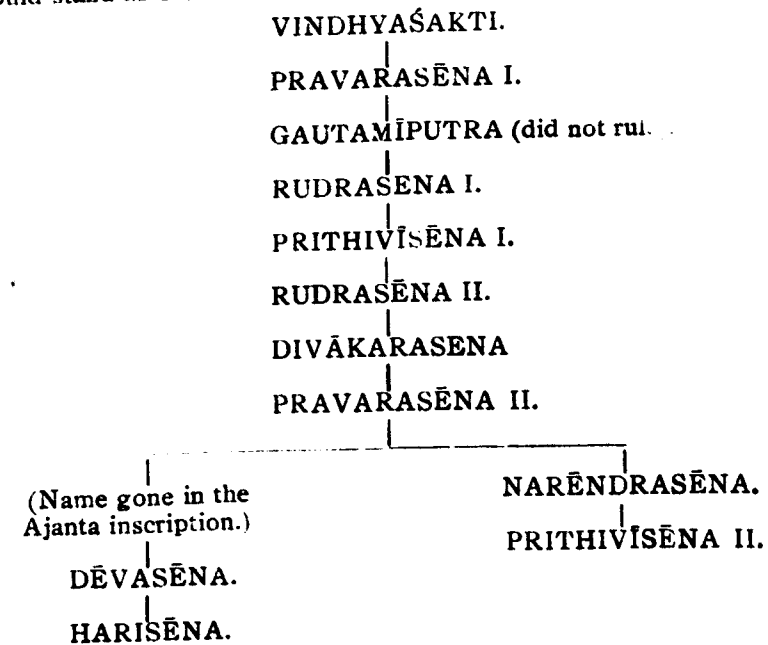
1. Vindhyaśakti (not mentioned).
2. Pravarasēna I son of (1).
 Gautamīputra, son of (2) married the daughter of
 Bhavanāga, the ruler of the Bharaśiva family (did not
 rule).
3. Rudrasēna I, Gautamīputra's son and grandson of (2).
4. Prithivisēna I, son of (3).
5. Rudrasēna II, son of (4), married Prabhāvatīguptā, the
 daughter of Dēvagupta, or Chandragupta II and Kubhēra-
 nāgā.
6. Pravarasēna II, son of (5), otherwise Damodarasēna.
7. Narēndrasēna, son of (6), married Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā, a
 princess of Kuntala.
8. Prithivisēna II, son of (7).

A comparison of these lists shows that, in the Ajanta cave inscriptions, there are two names omitted, those of Gautamīputra, son of Pravarasēna I, and Rudrasēna II. It is possible to explain the omission of the first name as due to the fact of his not having ruled, while the omission of the second does not admit of that explanation. In the present state of the document, it is even possible to say that the first name is gone. In regard to the omission of the second, however, the only possible explanation seems to be that it is due to the carelessness of the transcriber from the written document to the stone. Otherwise, it is almost impossible to understand that a document, not many generations removed from Rudrasēna II, should commit such a blunder as to make the grandson the son, as in the case of Pravarasēna II. Assuming therefore, that the first is omitted in this inscription because he did not rule, and the second is omitted through the inadvertence of the sculptor of the inscription, the genealogy from Vindhyaśakti to Pravarasēna II may be held to be in substantial agreement in all the

Vākātaka documents that have come down to us, both on copper-plates and on stone. After Pravarasēna II, the Ajanta inscription contained the name of a son who came to the throne in his eighth year and ruled well. His son was Dēvasēna and his son Harisēna according to the same record. The name of Pravarasēna II's son is now obliterated in the record. The Balaghat copper-plates of Prithivīsēna II,¹ however, describe the son of Pravarasēna II as Narēndrasēna by name, and states the fact that 'the Lakshmi of the family was forcibly drawn to him by his possession of great good qualities.' He married a Kuntala princess by name Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā, and by her had a son Prithivīsēna II who apparently intended to issue the actual record. Thus we have in succession to Pravarasēna II, one list of three generations and another of two; while it is possible that the son and successor of the Pravarasēna II was only one if we could assume that the name that is omitted in the Ajanta inscriptions is that of Narēndra of the Balaghat record. The only difficulty in this equation would be whether the forceful drawing of the Lakshmi of the family by Narēndrasēna is not in some contrast to the eight-year old child who succeeded Pravarasēna II who ruled well. The actual difficulty does come in when the Balaghat inscription says that it is Narēndrasēna's good qualities that forcefully drew to him (*Apahṛta*) the Śrī of the family. This seems almost to imply a disputed succession which ended in favour of Narēndrasēna. In other words, Narēndrasēna succeeded to the throne of his father either after a war, or as the result of a demonstration almost amounting to war. On this assumption the accession of the other son of Pravarasēna II in his eighth year would become impossible apparently as he could have succeeded only after Narēndrasēna and Prithivīsēna II. This assumption would give to the two reigns of Narēndrasēna and Prithivīsēna the comparatively short period of less than eight years which seems impossible in the circumstances. If, in spite of the contrast involved in the 'forceful drawing of the prosperity of the family' to Narēndrasēna, we assume Narēndrasēna as the name omitted in the Ajanta inscription, it would perhaps make a more legitimate arrangement to the genealogical succession to assume that Prithivīsēna was the elder son of Narēndrasēna and Dēvasēna another son, it may be by a different wife, making Prithivīsēna and Dēvasēna brothers. The omission of the name Dēvasēna in the

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, No. 36.

Balaghat record would then be natural and the omission of the name Prithivīsēna II in the Ajanta cave inscription could be explained as due to his being not in the regular line of succession of Harisēna and Dēvasēna. In neither of these cases, however, is the proper weight given to the expression which describes the character of Narēndrasēna's succession to the position of his father as recorded in the Balaghat plates. According to Professor Kielhorn, Narēndrasēna, 'from confidence in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortunes; his commands were honoured by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala, and Mālava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess.' This interpretation goes too far in clearly indicating a disputed succession, and taken along with the succession of the other son in his eighth year of age, would seem inevitably to involve the inference of Professor Kielhorn that Narēndrasēna probably took the kingdom from an elder brother, or, at any rate, occupied the throne as against an elder brother. Assuming this to be the correct state of affairs, the genealogy of the family would stand as exhibited in the following table:—



¹ The reading of the original text is corrupt and therefore uncertain.

SYNCHRONISMS BETWEEN THE VAKATAKAS AND THE GUPTAS

This succession list is of no value to us unless it is possible to establish that either all of them, or at least some of them, were contemporary with the Guptas. Apart from general considerations we are in possession of a specific detail which brings Rudrasēna II into contemporaneity with the well-known Gupta ruler, Chandragupta II. Vākātaka inscriptions mention that Rudrasēna II, son of Prithivisēna I, married a princess by name Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of a Mahārājādhirāja Dēvagupta, and the offspring of this marriage was Pravarasēna II. It is fortunate that a grant of this very PRABHĀVATĪGUPTA, as regent of her son who had the princely name Divākarasēna, has become available to us. It is not yet published *in extenso*, but the account of it given in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1912 by Professor K. B. Pathak¹ leaves no doubt as to her identity. She describes herself as the daughter of Chandragupta II and Kubhēranāgā, and became the crowned queen of the Vākātaka Rudrasēna.² Her son is described as the Yuvarāja Divākarasēna. This grant describes the Gupta genealogy of her parents and brings it down only to Chandragupta II, thus making it certain that Prabhāvatī, the daughter of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Dēvagupta, was the daughter of Chandragupta II, making Dēvagupta and Chandragupta the names of the same person. This just confirms what is recorded in the Sanchi inscription of Chandragupta II, dated G.E. 93 (A.D. 412-13). The grant has the following expression:—

Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandraguptasya Dēvarāja iti priya nāma
(dheyalamkṛ tasya) tasya sarva guṇa sampattayē yāvat
chandrādityamtvat pancha bikshavō bhunjatām, etc.

This grant made by a feudatory officer provides that five bikshus be fed, as long as the sun and the moon last, in order that king Chandragupta who bore the name Dēvagupta, may have possession of all estimable qualities. The six letters that are chipped off after 'nāma' are supplied by the emendation within brackets most satisfactorily, and give a reasonable rendering while the ingenious emendation of Dr. Fleet makes it rather difficult to accept the position. The elder interpreter Prinsep seems correct in this particular. He puts it beyond

¹ pp. 214-215. Since published by Mr. K. N. Dikshīt in the *Epig. Indica* xv.

² Since confirmed and put beyond doubt in the Riddhapur Plates: published by Mr. Y. R. Gupte in *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xx, No. 4 (June 1924).

a doubt that Dēvagupta was the earlier name of Chandragupta II as Damodarasēna was the princely name of Pravarasēna II. This is also confirmed by the recent discovery of another copper-plate grant issued by Queen Prabhāvatiguptā in the year 19¹ of the rule or authority of the Vākātaka Mahārāja Pravarasēna II. This obviously refers to Pravarasēna II, who, in this grant is given the name Damodarasēna-Pravarasēna, which means that his princely name was Damodarasēna, while he assumed the title Pravarasēna when he ascended the throne. Prabhāvatiguptā had two sons; Divākarasēna and Damodarasēna, and she was regent for the first and in all probability for the second as well. She describes herself in this grant as the daughter of Chandragupta and the chief queen of Mahārāja Rudrasēna of the Vākātakas as also the mother of Mahārāja Damodarasēna-Pravarasēna.² The grant itself was issued from Ramagiri or Ramtek in the Central Provinces.

Prabhāvatiguptā, therefore,³ was the daughter of Chandragupta II whose contemporary, though a younger contemporary, Rudrasēna II must have been, so that Prithivisēna I was in all probability the contemporary of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Rudrasēna's must have been a comparatively short reign following as it did the long reign of Prithivisēna, as Prabhāvatiguptā declares herself to be the regent for her son in the grant referred to above. It thus seems likely that Chandragupta I was, in all probability, a contemporary of Pravarasēna I, and his grandson and successor Rudrasēna I. Samudragupta's reign must have been coeval with that of Rudrasēna I (in part) and Prithivisēna I. Chandragupta II must have ruled simultaneously with Prithivisēna I in the later period of his reign and Rudrasēna II, possibly even during the regency of Prabhāvatiguptā.

¹ The Poona Grant of Prabhāvatiguptā, by Y. R. Gupte. The preliminary reading of this grant was made by Mr. Gupte and a paper on the subject was read before the Bhārata Itihāsa Samsodhaka Mandal, Poona. A short note on it was published also in the *Indian Antiquary* in vol. lili, p. 48. This has since been published in the *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xx, pp. 53-63. The Riddhapur plates makes Queen Prabhāvatī the daughter of Chandragupta II and gives the complete Gupta genealogy down to him and give her as sons Damodarasēna and Pravarasēna which may mean they were two sons or only one with two names. There seems to be no reason to regard either name as applying to Divākarasēna, the other son of hers whose grants of the thirteenth year are known as having been issued by the Queen in her son's name.

² *Ind. Ant.* for February, 1924, p. 48.

THE VAKATAKAS IN LITERATURE

The Vākātakas as such are not known to literature. This name for the dynasty occurs only in Vākātika inscriptions. In literature they seem to be generally referred to otherwise. Of course, there are so many alternative designations derivable from the people of the country, that it is easy, to understand why they are referred to by other names. The general name of the country is Vidarbha and the general designation of the people Bhojas. There is very good literary authority, reaching back to the *Aitareya Brahmana*, that the rulers of the region went by the name Bhoja. Kālidāsa refers to the region by the name Vidarbha in his *Malavika-Agnimitra*. In the *Raghuvamśa*, particularly in the chapter bearing on the *svayamvara* of Indumati, he uses the name Bhoja and its derivatives. But in connection with the subsequent marriage he uses Kṛthakaisika for the people. He seems apparently to use the name as one word. But the *Vishṇupurāṇa* and the *Harivamśa*, strangely enough, speak of the Bhojas as descended from Vidarbha who is given three sons, Kratha, Kaisika, and Lōmapāda.¹ Of these, the first is described as the ancestor of the Bhojas, the second the father of Chēdi, the founder of the Chaidya family, the later Chēdis of Bundelkhand. Passing over the slight difference between the *Harivamśa* and the *Vishṇupurāṇa* in this regard, the two families, the Bhojas of Vidarbha and the Chēdis of Bundelkhand are regarded as belonging to the same family of rulers. Hence if they are referred to generally as Bhojas in literature there is some justification for it. But then why should the rulers of the dynasty be so particular as to describe themselves Vākātakas? The one possible explanation seems to be that the term Bhoja was the name of the people as a whole, while Vākātika might be that of a comparatively narrow clan or even a ruling family which probably came into importance after the *Vishṇupurāṇa* received its final form. This position seems to receive support from the tradition embodied by Rāmadāsa in his comment *Rāmasētupradīpam* on Pravarasēna's *Sētibandha Kāvya*. In commenting on *sloka* 9 of the first *asvāsa*, he explains the expression 'abhinavarāyāraddha' as begun by the newly installed king Pravarasēna, and explains it by saying that

¹ The geographical data of the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Daśakumāracharita* by Dr. Mark Collins, Appendix B, pp. 54-56.

Pravarasēna was, according to some, Bhojadeva. In other words, it was the general opinion of scholars that Pravarasēna was the king of the Bhojas. Rāmadāsa apparently accepts this interpretation, and puts it more clearly in the introductory passage where he states it clearly that the great poet KĀLIDĀSA composed this work *Sētibandha Prabhandam* for the Mahārājā Pravarasēna, ordered thereto by Mahārājadhīrāja Vikramāditya. This idea is embodied in one of the verses of his introduction where he brings into comparison Kālidāsa's writing of this *Kāvya* under the orders of Vikramāditya with his own composition of the commentary under the orders of the emperor Jallāladīndra (Jalalu-din-Akbar). If this tradition should be correct, the work *Sētibandham* is the work of a Bhoja king Pravarasēna who apparently was in residence at the court of Vikramāditya where the great poet Kālidāsa also was among the honoured members. This seems, therefore, to indicate that Pravarasēna, the nominal author, was no other than Pravarasēna II, and that the Vikramāditya referred to there, is no other than his maternal grandfather Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. It seems to fix definitely Kālidāsa as the contemporary of this great Gupta emperor.

This position of contemporaneity between Chandragupta II, Pravarasēna II and Kālidāsa seems to receive unlooked-for confirmation from another source. There is a verse quoted by Rājasēkhara which refers to a colloquy between two persons. What is said by the first person is thoroughly changed in significance by the change of a single word, or one or two words of a verse. The verse reads as follows :—

Asakalahasitatvāt kṣālitanīvakāntyā
Mukulitanayanatvādvakta karnōtpalāni |
Pibati madhusugandhinyānāni priyāṇām
Tvayi vinihitabhārah Kuntalānām adhiśaḥ ||

(Change *pibati* into *pibatu* and *tvayi* into *mayi*, involving change of a single letter in each case.)

The latter half of the *sloka* by the change of the affix of the verb and the first part of the first word of the second line transforms what was a statement of a fact into a permission. This illustrative stanza quoted by Rājasēkhara in the *Kāvya mīmāṃsā*¹ is also quoted by other rhetoricians such as Kshēmēndra in his work on *Auchitya*

¹ Gaikward's *Oriental Series*, vol. i, p. 60.

Vicharacharcha, and by Bhoja in his *Alankāra* work *Sarasvatī Kanṭha-bharana* and his other work on *Sringāra Prakāśika*. I am informed by Mr. A. Rangasvami Sarasvati, that a manuscript of this last work, recently discovered, refers these stanzas to a work of a royal poet Dēvagupta by name, and is given as a colloquy between this royal person and Kālidāsa. If this should turn out correct, the tradition recorded by Rāmadāsa would have a foundation in authoritative sources. It would then be very likely that Rāmadāsa merely stated the fact that he found authority for among the rhetoricians.

It establishes the further point that to men of letters Pravarasēna II of the Vākātaka dynasty was a Bhoja king, and could be so described without fear of being misunderstood. The fact that the home territory of Vākātakas was intimately associated with Bhojakata, the city built in the vicinity of the *Paurāṇic* capital Kuṇḍinapura by Krishna's brother-in-law Rukmi, goes only to confirm the identification that the Vākātakas were Bhojas, Vidarbhas, and even Kṛathakaiśikas as well. The name Vākātaka, therefore, could be no other than the peculiar clan name or the family name of the dynasty that came into prominence in the fourth century after Christ.

SAMUDRAGUPTA AND THE VAKATAKAS

It is clear from what is stated above that in the reign of Chandragupta II, the Guptas and the Vākātakas were in intimate family alliance, and it seems very likely that Chandragupta entered into a marriage alliance with the Vākātakas with a view to securing his flank as against the Śaka Satraps of the West whom he apparently resolved to uproot. The war between Chandragupta and the Satraps was a somewhat prolonged affair, in the course of which, the chief queen of Chandragupta fell into the hands of the Śaka ruler, and Chandragupta had to make a dangerous effort to recover her from the hands of the enemies, as a recently-discovered drama 'Dēvi Chandraguptam'¹ seems clearly to explain what is indicated in a well-known statement of Bāṇa. What exactly was the political relation between Samudragupta and the Vākātakas is not made equally clear to us. So much, however, is certain that Samudragupta's southern invasion kept clearly

¹ Vide a note on this by Mr. A. Rangasvami Sarasvati in the *Indian Antiquary* for July 1923. This work is ascribed to Viśākadatta, the author of the *Mudrarākṣasa* in a ms. of the work found in Gujarat according to the *Purātatva*, v. 1. 47.

and deliberately outside the frontiers of the territory of the Vākātakas. The Vākātaka territory under Prithivīsēna extended from Bundelkhand in the north to Kuntala, the Mahratta country and the neighbouring part of the Nizam's dominions. All this vast extent of country seems to have been quite out of the list of conquests of Samudragupta. The Vākātakas are not even brought into the list of those who got into diplomatic relations with them. The only inference possible seems to be that the relationship between the Vākātakas and the Guptas was so established in his time that Samudragupta had really nothing whatever to fear in that direction. In other words, they were already so established in a relation of friendly alliance, perhaps even subordinate alliance, that Samudragupta could go on with his projects elsewhere without having to reckon them among those who were likely to make a hostile move. Hence, he could boast of having celebrated the *asvamedha*, long since not performed (*chirōtsanna*) i.e., in all probability, not performed in true imperial fashion. If the powerful neighbours, the Vākātakas, were independent and hostile, he could hardly make this statement. How did this relation between these two powers come about?

CHANDRAGUPTA I AND THE VAKATAKAS

There seems an indication how it came about, in the records of the Vākātakas. The late Dr. Bühler was unduly sceptic about Pravarasēna I and the Vindyaśakti of the Vākātakas being the same as Pravira and his father Vindhyaśakti of the Purāṇas, as he worked apparently, with imperfect texts of the Purāṇas. With Mr. Pargiter's carefully collated texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age before us, we are in a far better position to make the identification. But that apart, Vākātaka records claim for Pravarasēna the performance of several sacrifices, all of which seem more or less to form a series of ceremonies constituting the full *asvamedha*; and whatever were the actual achievements to which he lays claim, the records do not give us the details. He assumes the title 'Samrat', undoubtedly an imperial title. His son is given only the name Gautamiputra and did not rule, and when his grandson Rudrasēna I ascended the throne the title 'Samrat', for some reason or other, seems to have been given up. At any rate, in all the Vākātaka records that have come down to us, the credit of the celebration of the imperial sacrifice and the title 'Samrat', are given only to

Pravarasēna I; and even the greatest of his successors Prithivisēna I does not lay claim to either. Is this not a significant omission and is not the omission of this 'Samrat', as a title by the successor of Pravarasēna I a clear indication of a change of political status? At the time that Chandragupta I, perhaps as a result of his Lichchhavi alliance, set forward on his imperial career, he must have found the Vākātakas perhaps the only rivals in that ambition. He must have taken advantage of something adverse that must have befallen the Vākātakas at the death of Pravarasēna to compel them to enter into a subordinate alliance with him. It might even be that he was himself mainly responsible for the adversity that brought about this subordinate alliance, though we do not find it stated or even indicated either in the records of the Guptas or in those of the Vākātakas. Rudrasēna I, the successor of Pravarasēna, dropped the title as a result of this agreement, and stood aside letting Chandragupta pursue his imperial career. It is only an assumption of a treaty or something similar between the two that could really account for the part that Chandragupta I actually played in advancing the Gupta dynasty to an imperial position, and the passive acquiescence of the Vākātakas, who, under Pravarasēna I, seem to have started on a similar career. More light on this obscure beginning would be welcome; such light as we have seems to lead us to this particular inference. Chandragupta was responsible for the foundation of the Gupta empire. The Vākātakas made it possible for him to do so by desisting from hostility and even by actually countenancing the effort. Was there a large motive in the foundation of the empire, and did contemporaries see any general advantage in the gradual rise of Chandragupta I to this position? This is a question it would be difficult to answer at present, though an answer to it does not seem altogether impossible. The position ascribed to Chandragupta above would put a new complexion altogether upon the career of the founder of the Gupta empire and would raise other side issues which will receive further treatment in another context.

THE VAKATAKAS AND THE DECLINE OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

The death of Pravarasēna II appears to have introduced a change in the political relationship between the Guptas and the Vākātakas. The succession as given in the Ajanta inscription of Varāhadēva

does not let us into the secret. The Balaghat copper-plates, however, give a clear indication that there was a disputed succession, and Narēndrasēna occupied the throne either by a *coup d'état*, or what is less likely, as the result of a successful war. What is really significant in this record of his son, Prithivisēna II, is that Narēndrasēna's authority is said to have been acknowledged by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala, and Mālava, the region over which Chandragupta II extended his authority comparatively early in his reign and maintained it inviolate by his matrimonial alliance with the Vākātakas and the uprooting war against the Kshatrapas of Gujarat and Kathiawar. Kōsala, Mēkala, and Mālava among the three will include all the Vindhyan region extending from the coast of the Bay of Bengal in the south-east, north-westwards, at least as far as the Aravalli hills, and, it may be, even beyond. As far as we can make out from the Gupta records, Kumāragupta's accession to the throne was a peaceful one and perhaps during the early years of his reign he enjoyed peace also. It is from the inscriptions of his son Skandagupta that we hear of disturbances in this region from the tribes of Pushyamitras whom Skandagupta successfully brought back into allegiance according to his records. Did the Vākātaka Narēndrasēna bear any part in this disturbance along the outermost frontier of the Gupta empire? Prithivisēna II, the successor of Narēndrasēna, is credited in the same record, with 'having raised his sunken family.' What was the sinking of the family due to, and in what particular did he manage to raise it? If the severe defeat administered to the Pushyamitras by Skandagupta, which is supposed to have destroyed their power and brought them back into obedience, involved the submission directly or indirectly of the Vākātakas as well Prithivisēna might then have recovered, at any rate partly, the important position which his family occupied in the days of his predecessors, from Pravarasēna II backwards. He would have found occasion for this in the irruption of the Huns on this very frontier of the Gupta empire. It will thus be seen that the Vākātakas bore their own share in bringing about the decline of the Gupta empire. In the whole period of the struggle of the Guptas against the Hūnas, the Vākātakas must have been left more or less to themselves, and this enabled Prithivisēna II and his successors to rehabilitate themselves to a very considerable extent and that seems what is indicated in the records of the time of Harisēna and his father Dēvasēna. Harisēna's

is the last reign of which we have any knowledge, and then the region which is peculiarly the dominion of the Vākātakas passes into the hands of the new dynasty of the Chālukyas. The Vākātakas thus provide as it were a bridge that fills the gap between the Āndhras and Chālukyas in the history of the Dakhan.

CONCLUSION

From the available facts both from the Vākātaka records and the Gupta, as also from certain references in literature, it seems clear that both the Guptas and the Vākātakas started on an imperial career and had very soon to give up rivalry, apparently for some good reason. Chandragupta was allowed to proceed, the Vākātakas standing aside. This position the Vākātakas maintained without change, through all the changing fortunes of the history of the Guptas, and thus let the Gupta empire go on in its glorious career unmolested by them. We are not in a position to form an idea of the motives that led to this self-abnegation on the part of the Vākātakas, but the fact seems clear all the same; and let us hope that further research will throw light upon the matter. When, however, the Gupta empire had reached the summit of its glory after the overthrow of the Western Satraps, the Vākātakas seem to have joined in a movement which pulled the first stone out of the splendid structure, and thus contributed to bring about a struggle which, with the advent of the Hūnas, finally put an end to the great empire of the Guptas. In the struggle against the Pushyamitras by Skandagupta on behalf of his father, Vākātaka influence, if not the actual support of the Vākātakas, seems clearly visible behind the position of these tribes. Although for the time Skandagupta succeeded, that frontier marked the weak spot where the hostile attack of the Huns had the best chance of success. When, finally, the empire got steadily pushed back this seems the region that most readily detached itself from the empire. Thus then, it seems demonstrable that the Vākātakas played more or less a decisive part in the critical periods of the history of the early Gupta empire.

The Vakatakas and their place in the History of India¹

AMONG the many periods in the History of Hindu India which have remained obscure to a degree, notwithstanding the great progress that has been made in the study of the early History of India in recent years, the period from the disappearance of the Āndhras as a great power to the rise of the Guptas remains perhaps one of the darkest yet. So much is this the case that the beginnings of Gupta history, one of the most brilliant periods in Indian History, is still wrapped in obscurity. This obscurity can be relieved somewhat by a careful study of what is known of the Vākātakas from *Paurāṇic*, inscriptional and other sources so far as they have been made recently accessible to us in a form suitable for historical use. The name Vākātaka does not appear in any of the other sources of the Indian History of the period than the inscriptions of the particular dynasty to which they refer. This has so far left the Vākātakas of the inscriptions alone and isolated from the known dynasties of the Purāṇas and other inscriptions as well. Hence their importance in history has been neglected to the detriment of correct historical perspective even of the achievements of the most brilliant sovereigns of the Gupta empire.

THE VAKATAKAS IN INSCRIPTIONS

Of the Vākātakas themselves there are a number of inscriptions accessible to us now of the greatest historical value. Of these, a number are copper-plate grants, the typical of which may be taken to be the Chammak² grant of Pravarasēna II and the Balaghat plates³ published by Professor Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

¹ Eighth Course of Special Lectures in the Department of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras, 1923.

² *A.S.W.I.*, iv, pp. 116 ff and *F.G.I.*, *C.I.I.*, iii, pp. 235 ff.

³ *IX*, pp. 267 ff.

The most important inscription, unfortunately a very mutilated one, is the great Ajanta inscription¹ of one of the feudatories of this dynasty. According to this last, the genealogy of the Vākātakas would stand as follows—

1. Vindhyaśakti.
2. Pravarasēna I, son of (1)?
3. Rudrasēna I, son of (2)?
4. Pr̥thvisēna, son of (3)
5. Pravarasēna II, son of (4)?
6. (Name omitted), son of (5)
7. Dēvasēna, son of the predecessor.
8. Harisēna, son of the predecessor.

According to the most complete copper-plate grant, the so-called Balaghat plates of Pr̥thvisēna II, the genealogy begins with

1. Pravarasēna I.
His son, Gautamiputra, who married the daughter of the ruler of the Bharasīva dynasty, Bhavanāga, (did not rule).
2. Rudrasēna, Gautamiputra's son, and grandson of (1).
3. Pr̥thvisēna I, son of (2).
4. Rudrasēna II, son of (3), married Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Devagupta or Chandragupta II and Kubhēra-nāgā.
5. Pravarasēna II, son of (4), otherwise Damodarasēna.
6. Narēndrasēna, son of (5), married Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā, a princess of Kuntala.
7. Pr̥thvisēna II, son of (6).

A comparison of these lists shows that in the Ajanta cave inscription there are two names omitted, those of Gautamiputra, son of Pravarasēna I, and Rudrasēna II. It is possible to explain the omission of the first name as due to the fact of his not having ruled, while the omission of the second does not admit of that explanation. In the present state of the document it is even possible to say that the first name is gone. In regard to the omission of the second, however

the only possible explanation¹ seems to be that it is due to the carelessness of the transcriber from the written document to the stone. Otherwise it is almost impossible to understand that a document not many generations removed from Rudrasēna II should commit such a blunder as to make the grandson the son, as in the case of Pravarasēna II. Assuming, therefore, that the first is omitted in this inscription because he did not rule, and the second is omitted through the inadvertence of the sculptor of the inscription, the genealogy from Vindhyaśakti to Pravarasēna II may be held to be in substantial agreement in all the Vākātika documents that have come down to us, both on copper-plates and on stone. After Pravarasēna II, the Ajanta inscription contained the name of a son who came to the throne in his eighth year and ruled well. His son was Dēvasēna and his son was Harisēna according to the same record. The name of Pravarasēna II's son is now obliterated in the record. The Balaghat copper-plates of Pr̥thvisēna II, however, describes the son of Pravarasēna II as Narēndrasēna by name, and states the fact that 'the Lakshmi of the family was forcibly drawn to him by his possession of great good qualities.' He married a Kuntala princess by name Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā and by her had a son Pr̥thvisēna II, who apparently intended to issue the actual record. Thus then we have in succession to Pravarasēna II one list of three generations and one of two, of which it is possible that the son and successor of Pravarasēna II was only one if we could assume that the name that is omitted in the Ajanta inscriptions is no other than Narēndra of the Balaghat record. The only difficulty in this equation would be whether the forceful drawing of the Lakshmi of the family by Narēndrasēna is not in some contrast to the eight years old child who succeeded Pravarasēna II and who ruled well. The succession of a boy eight years old would be quite possible under normal circumstances, and there is nothing at all improbable in his having ruled well. The actual difficulty does come in when the Balaghat inscription says that it is Narēndrasēna's good qualities that forcefully drew to him (*apahr̥ta*) the Śrī of the family. This seems almost to imply a disputed succession which ended in favour of Narēndrasēna.

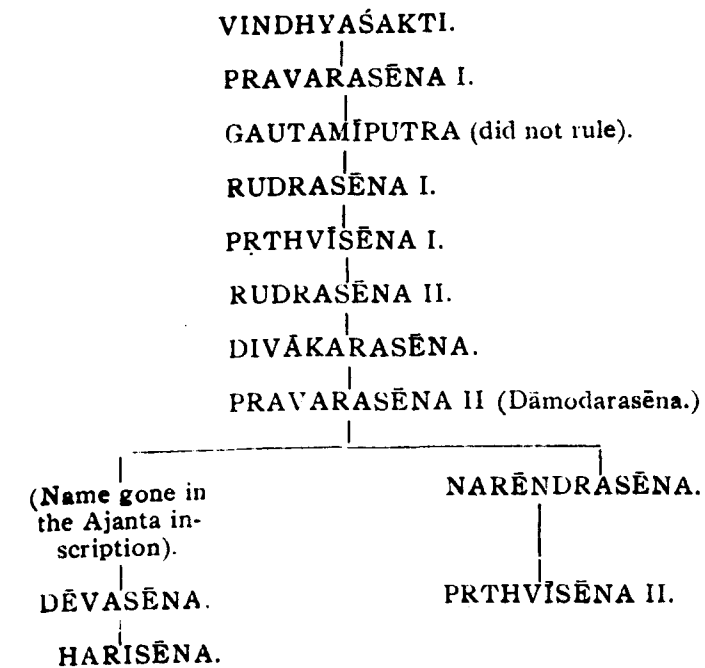
¹ It is just possible to assume that Rudrasēna II did not rule; but this assumption will be in direct opposition to the explicit statement of these records that Prabhāvatī was the crowned Queen of Rudrasēna II.

¹ *A.S.W.I.*, vol. iv, pp. 124-8.

In other words, Narēndrasēna succeeded to the throne of his father either after a war, or as the result of a demonstration almost amounting to war against an elder brother. On this assumption the accession of the other son of Pravarasēna II in his eighth year would become impossible apparently as he could have succeeded only after Narēndrasēna and Prthvisēna II. This assumption would give to the two reigns of Narēndrasēna and Prthvisēna the comparatively short period of less than eight years which seems impossible in the circumstances. If, in spite of the contrast involved in the 'forceful drawing of the prosperity of the family' to Narēndrasēna, we assume Narēndrasēna as the name omitted in the Ajanta inscription, it would perhaps make a more legitimate arrangement of the genealogical succession to assume that Prthvisēna was the elder son of Narēndrasēna, and Dēvasēna another son, it may be by a different wife, and making Prthvisēna and Dēvasēna brothers. The omission of the name Dēvasēna in the Balaghat record would then be natural and the omission of the name Prthvisēna II in the Ajanta cave inscription could be explained as due to his being not in the regular line of succession of Harisēna or Dēvasēna.

In neither of these cases, however, is the proper weight given to the expression which describes the character of Narēndrasēna's succession to the position of his father as recorded in the Balaghat plates. According to Professor Kielhorn, Narēndrasēna, 'from confidence in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortune; his commands were honoured by the lords of Kosala Mēkala, and Mālava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess.'¹ This interpretation goes too far in clearly indicating a disputed succession, and taken along with the succession of the other son in his eighth year of age, would seem inevitably to involve the inference of Professor Kielhorn that Narēndrasēna probably took the kingdom from an elder brother, or at any rate occupied the throne as against an elder brother. Assuming this to be the correct state of affairs the genealogy of the family would stand as exhibited in the following table, taking the elder brother to be the son whose name is gone in the Ajanta inscription.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 269. The reading of the original text is corrupt and therefore uncertain.



POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE VAKATAKAS

The first point that arises in the political history of the Vākātakas is whether the Vindhyaśakti of the Purāṇas was the Vākātaka or no. It was pointed out above that in the genealogies of the Vākātakas that have come down to us it is only the genealogy in the mutilated Ajanta cave inscriptions of Varāhadeva that mentions the name Vindhyaśakti at the head of the list. Vindhyaśakti is there described as a *dviḥja* (twice-born) equal in the prowess of his arms to both Indra and Upēndra, and 'as the banner of the family of the Vākātakas.' He is also given credit for great achievements against the rulers of the earth. The other inscriptional records that have come down to us do not mention the name Vindhyaśakti in the list. It was Dr. Bhau Daji who made the first attempt to identify Vindhyaśakti of the Ajanta inscription with the Vindhyaśakti of the Purāṇas. This identification was objected to by Dr. Bühler and others that followed him on two grounds: (1) that Vindhyaśakti is described as a *dviḥja* in the Ajanta inscription and not a single name in the *Kailakila* list agrees with

those of the Vākātakas; (2) that all the manuscripts of the Vāyupurāṇa so far consulted gave the name of his son as Pravāira not Pravara. These objections have since lost a considerable amount of their force. According to the collated texts given by Mr. Pargiter in the *Dynasties of the Kali Age* Vindhyaśakti followed the Kailakilas, whether they be Yavanas or others, notwithstanding the statement in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. The possibility of corruption of Pravara into Pravira is so easy that it would be going too far to make that the decisive test on a question like this. The name Vindhyaśakti occurs in the *paurāṇic* lists in two connections. First it occurs in the list of the local dynasties who rose to importance during the period of decadence of the Āndhra power. There Vindhyaśakti is supposed to have followed the Kilakilas or the Kolikilas. It occurs for the second time among the rulers of Vidiśā. There the son of Vindhyaśakti by name Pravira would, according to the Purāṇas, enjoy the rule 'for sixty years' and, 'will celebrate great sacrifices giving abundant largesses.' There follows the further statement that four of his sons would be kings. Taken together these statements indicate that Vindhyaśakti succeeded to the possessions of the Kolikila Yavanas whoever they were, and probably had a long reign. Or, it is possible to interpret this statement that he came into possession of the earth after it had been in the possession of the Yavanas for ninety-six years. This does not give us any indication as to what exactly was the territory of Vindhyaśakti. It merely gives us to understand that he acquired the territory in the occupation of the Kilakilas. The next passage has reference to the rulers of the territory depending on Vidiśā. After a series of names, Pravira or Pravara it is said would enjoy the city of Kāñchanaka. In other words it was he that acquired the territory depending upon Vidiśā which he did not inherit from his father. Since our authority for the statement that Vindhyaśakti was a Yavana has lost a considerable amount of its force, the difficulty about Vindhyaśakti being described as a *dvija* in the Ajanta record need not prove an insuperable obstacle to the identification of the two Vindhyaśaktis. The rest of the description in the inscription, mutilated though it be, would be in keeping with the achievements of a petty chief who had by his own exertions raised himself to considerable political power. There is one expression in the mutilated record which seems to let us into the secret of this identification. According to the transcript of

Paṇḍit Bhagavan Lal Indraji as edited by the late Dr. Burgess, line three of the Ajanta inscription reads :—

Purandarōpēdrasamaprabhāvah
svabāhuvīryy (ārjita) sarvalōkah
+ + + + + kām
babhūva vākātakavamsakētuḥ.

I would prefer to read the second half of the first part of the line.

Svabāhuvīryyārjitaśarvalōkah.

But this is not very material to the discussion. We want a word ending in *ka* for the 'kām' which obviously is the latter end of the word, a genitive plural. It seems to me obviously to stand for Vindhyaśakti, and I would read this part of the line.

Rāja Mahendraiva Bhuvī Vindhyaśakti.

This would give us the detail that Vindhyaśakti who was the banner of the Vākātakas came of the family of the Vindhyaśaktis. It seems to be the name under which the family of Vindhyaśakti and Pravira is described in the Purāṇas. The first line of the passage under the dynasties of the third century A.D., in Pargiter's text reads

Vindhyaśakti kule'tite.

This must refer to the dynasties described in the previous section. We seem therefore to have very much more support for the identification of the two Vindhyaśaktis than these learned scholars who studied these inscriptions in a previous generation have had. We seem to arrive however, by adopting this conclusion, at a new difficulty with the statement 'when the family of the Vindhyaśaktis had become extinct' in the next passage. This means that when Pravara had ruled for sixty years in Kāñchanaka and four of his sons, not necessarily after him, the family became extinct. This could only refer to the extinction of the rule of the family in the Vindhya regions. This one could understand from what appears in the copper-plate grants in regard to the Vākātaka Pravaraśena I. According to these copper-plates, the illustrious Pravaraśena celebrated the *agniśtoma*, *aptoryāma*, *ukthya*, *śoḍāśya*, *atirātra*, *vājapeya*, *bṛhaspatisava*, and *sadyaskara*, and four *aśvamedha* sacrifices. He is further given the title 'samraṭ'. The detailed list of sacrifices given in this recital of them seems to be details of the sacrifice from day to day leading to the final *aśvamedha*,

as described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and therefore it amounts to no more than the celebration of the *asvamedha* sacrifice of which he is said to have celebrated four. The assumption of the title 'samraṭ' or his accession to a 'sāmraṇya' could only mean that he acquired new territory, or that he got into possession of such extensive territory that he had kings under him, and it may be that four of his sons had the title 'Mahārāja' and ruled over various portions of his territory thus entitling him to the higher dignity of 'samraṭ'. According to these inscriptions none of his sons appears to have succeeded, his successor on the throne, according to them uniformly, being his grandson by Gautamīputra, by name, Rudrasēna. That means, therefore, that none of his sons survived him. What is more significant, this successor Rudrasēna I, drops the title 'samraṭ'. Does it not mean that some calamity befell the family at the death of Pravarasēna, and that when his grandson ultimately succeeded to the territory of his grandfather what came to him was nothing more than the original family possession, i.e. the territory round Bhojakāṭa, the territory peculiarly of the Vākātakas? This seems what is actually intended when the Purāṇas state 'when the rule of Pravarasēna became extinct in the territory of the Vindhyaś.' In other words, the authority of Pravarasēna's family ceased to be a force in his newly acquired possessions, of which perhaps the most important was the territory of the Vindhyaś. There seems, therefore, to be nothing irreconcilable between the statements contained in the Purāṇas regarding Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasēna, and the more detailed statements that we get from the inscription of the Vākātakas. There is a further fact which appears in the inscriptions which seems equally significant also. In speaking of Rudrasena I, much is made of his maternal grandfather Bhavanāga of the Bharaśiva family. In the Vākāṭaka inscriptions as a whole, it is only twice that we are given information about the maternal grandfathers or fathers-in-law of the members of this dynasty. Such information is given to us in connection with the two Rudrasēnas. In the case of the second Rudrasēna, as it will appear later, the person that is brought into connection with the dynasty is acknowledged to be one in a superior position, and in all probability the maternal grandfather of Rudrasēna I must have been an equally important person from the point of view of the Vākātakas to be given the distinction of a description such as he is given. The plain meaning of that would be that

some great calamity befell the empire of Pravarasēna I, and that this Nāga chieftain rendered valuable assistance in saving for the family an important block of the territory which belonged to the Vākāṭaka empire.

The real explanation of this will depend upon the actual chronology of the family. The late Professor Kielhorn, careful and judicious epigraphist though he was, has offered it as his opinion that the Balaghat record of Prthvisēna II¹ 'may be assigned with probability to about the second half of the eighth century A.D.' From what we know of the records of the regent-queen Prabhāvatiguptā, the late Dr. Bühler seems to have come far closer to the fact in assigning the Ajanta inscription² to the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. We may now say definitely on the strength of the Prabhāvatiguptā inscriptions, and from other confirmatory evidence from literature, that Rudrasēna II was the son-in-law of Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya. We have already pointed out that the long reign of Prthvisēna I must have been contemporary with a considerable part of Chandragupta II's, and possibly the whole of Samudragupta's reign. Chandragupta I therefore must have been the contemporary of Rudrasēna I, and perhaps even partly of that of his predecessor, his grandfather, Pravarasēna I. It thus becomes clear that the calamity that befell the Vākāṭaka dynasty on the death of Pravarasēna I was an event contemporary with Chandragupta I and his rise to imperial power. Has the rise of Chandragupta to an imperial position any connection with the fall of the Vākātakas from that position to that of a ruler of a kingdom merely? The two events seem to have had a vital connection, and the connection is partly exhibited in what was stated above regarding the actual possessions of Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasēna I. From what we know of early Gupta history these facts stand out, that the Guptas before Chandragupta I were rulers of Magadha, i.e. the territory close to the Ganges depending upon Prayāga, Sāketa, and Magadha according to the Purāṇas. The Licchhavi alliance which is referred to as a matter of great importance in inscriptions and even coins as of vital importance to the rise of the Guptas, must have brought in a fresh accession of territory and influence. Thus early in his career Chandragupta must have risen to

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 270.

² *A.S.W.I.*, vol. iv, p. 138.

a position of great importance as a king with all the resources that would enable a man of genius to rise to an imperial position. The only obstacle in his way must have been another powerful aspirant to the empire in Pravarasēna I of the Vākātakas. In accordance with historical, and even *Śāstric* precedent there cannot be two emperors in almost the same region at the same time. Either Chandragupta must stand aside or the Vākātaka Pravarasēna. The latter having achieved a position would not perhaps willingly surrender it. If he died, as he did after a very long reign and leaving a young grand son to succeed to the throne, that would be the occasion for the new aspirant to make the most of his position. That seems to be what exactly had happened. The Vākātakas must have been hard pressed and Chandragupta must have gained the upper hand either by actual war and conquest, or by the slow extension of his influence and absorption of territory. Whichever was the actual line that Chandragupta adopted, the fact seems clear that he aggrandized himself at the expense of the Vākātakas under Rudrasēna I. Nothing else can satisfactorily account for the dropping of the much-prized title 'samrat' by Rudrasēna I, the successor of Pravarasēna I, and the assumption of the imperial dignity by Chandragupta I.

From the above it would seem clear that Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasēna of the Vākātaka inscriptions are identifiable with Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravira of the Purāṇas who are clearly referred to as Vindhyaśakti. The career of these two, father and son, must have followed the complete extinction of the Āndhra power, and must have reached a stage of advance towards the establishment of an empire in the comparatively long reign of Pravarasēna I. The petty state of the Guptas according to the Purāṇas must also have started on a career of expansion under Chandragupta I. From what is known of the history of the Guptas the inference seems justifiable that the Lichchhavi alliance of this Chandragupta contributed in an important degree to this expansion. This by itself could not have led to the assumption of a higher title by Chandragupta I. This must have been followed by some signal achievement of the rising monarch, and that achievement seems indicated in the lowering of the prestige of Pravarasēna's successor. It would therefore be a justifiable conclusion that the rival imperial ambitions of the Vākātakas and the Guptas got settled in a manner apparently satisfactory to both the parties, and

perhaps in the best interests of the country at the time. What these last were will be discussed in another connection. What is clear so far is that the high position achieved by Pravarasēna suffer an eclipse either at the very end of his reign, or as the direct result of his death, and when the Vākātaka state emerges under his grandson, it did so with diminished lustre.

THE REVIVAL OF THE VAKATAKA POWER

Rudrasena I's reign seems to have been a comparatively short one, wedged in as it were between the long reign of his grandfather Pravarasēna I and that of the equally long one of his son and successor Prthvisēna I. It was already pointed out that Rudrasēna succeeded to the possessions of his grandfather much reduced in prestige and that he was able to come to that position possibly through the good offices of a powerful family of Nāga chieftains known in these documents as Bharaśivas, whose modern representatives, according to the late Dr. Bühler, are the Bhar Rajputs. However this might turn out to be, the Bharaśivas played a decisive part in the restoration of the Vākātakas. Rudrasēna's successor, according to all the available documents, was Prthvisēna I. These inscriptions ascribe to him certain features as sovereign. Prthvisēna is said to have been possessed of all the great qualities that his ancestors Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasēna had possessed, and is said to have ruled righteously and well. Further he is said to have succeeded to the elements of royalty which had been steadily growing in prosperity for a hundred years, the elements so indicated being, *kośa* (treasure), *danda* (army), *sadhana* (other instruments of royalty), *santana* (descendants), and is said to have had a number of sons and grandsons as well. He is said to have followed in his rule the example of Yudhiṣṭhira. This recital of his qualities and rule indicates a long reign of prosperity, and, if we add to this what we glean from other records, even of an extensive kingdom. The Ajanta inscriptions seem to give him credit for the conquest of Kuntala, which is the south-western portion of the Dakhan, perhaps then passing from the possession of the Nāga Chūtus into that of the Vākātakas, to pass over again into that of the Kadambas. That is at one end of the Vākātaka territory. Almost at the other end diagonally, Prthvisēna's authority seems to have been recognized in the region of Bundelkhand as the short records of a Vyāgrarāja

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in Nachneka Talai show.¹ These two records are of a feudatory chieftain Vyāghrarāja who is said to have done something in the reign of Pṛthvisēna. Whether this is the Vyāghrarāja of the Mahākāntāra of the Samudragupta inscription is as yet open to doubt—possibly he was. But, in any case this is a clear indication that the authority of Pṛthvisēna was recognized diagonally across the whole plateau of India from the north-east corner in Bundelkhand to the south-west corner in Kuntala. The feature that Pṛthvisēna succeeded to the possessions which have been continually augmenting for a period of hundred years seems to find its echo in the seal of his successors '*kramapṛaptanṛpaśriyaḥ*' which seems to be more or less in contrast with '*latparigṛhṭa*' of the Gupta inscriptions. While therefore the Vākātakas boasted of a regular lineage of rulers from father to son in unbroken succession, the Guptas always made it a point that each ruler was chosen by his predecessor, as a worthy successor. The repetition of this feature in their official records by both the dynasties seems clearly to indicate a feeling of rivalry which however had been kept under control from considerations of political prudence. The long reign of Pṛthvisēna I must have corresponded to that of Samudragupta and in part of Chandragupta II's reign. So far, all the Vākātaka rulers claim to be zealously devoted to the worship of Śiva. But the son and successor of Pṛthvisēna I is described as one devoted to the worship of Chakrapāṇi (Viṣṇu). It is this Rudrasēna, the successor of Pṛthvisēna I, the devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, that took for his crowned queen Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of Dēvagupta² and Kubhēranāga. One particular feature in this is that all the successors of Pravarasēna among the Vākātakas call themselves simply Mahārājas, while this Dēvaguptā whose daughter Rudrasēna II married, is described as a Mahārājādhirāja. This is a clear recognition that whoever Dēvagupta was he occupied a position of higher political status than the Vākātakas, and the marriage of the Vākātaka ruler with a princess of the family of Dēvagupta must have been regarded as an alliance exalting to the dignity of the Vākātakas. The way that the records make the statement has a similar tendency.

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. lv, p. 225 (Dec. 1926.)

² Named Chandragupta II with his usual titles in the Riddhapur plates of Queen Prabhāvatī. *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xx, No. 4 (June 1924.)

CHANDRAGUPTA II AND THE VAKATAKAS

The problem of this Dēvagupta remained unsolved for a long time since the Gupta inscriptions were edited by the late Dr. Fleet. It was Professor K. B. Pathak of Poona that gave an account, in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1912, of a copper-plate charter issued by Prabhāvatiguptā, as the regent of her minor son Divākarasēna, as he is called in the record, who is probably an elder brother of Pravarasēna II, known to us from other records. Dr. Fleet definitely committed himself to the opinion that this Dēvagupta was a different person from Chandragupta II as he has indicated in a note to the Sāñchi inscription where the name Dēvagupta occurs.¹ On page 33 of the Gupta inscriptions he has a note that Prinsep translated this passage where the name Dēvarāja occurs so as to make the Dēvarāja another name of Chandragupta II. While admitting the possibility of the correctness of this statement, he filled up the unfortunate lacuna of six letters in the line in such a way as to give it the interpretation that Dēvarāja was the name of the minister. The line reads,

ardhēna mahārājādhirājasya Chandraguptasya Dēvarāja iti priyanāma . . . tasya sarvagunasampattaye yūvacchandrādittyaū tāvat pañchabhikṣavo bhuñjatam.

The sense of the passage is quite clear that five 'bhiksus' were to be fed perpetually from out of half the income from what was given in order that somebody may be possessed of the wealth of all good qualities. The grant of course is made by a subordinate ruler, and the natural interpretation would be that he made it for the possession of all the good qualities by his king. The idea of doing it for a minister would seem on the face of it somewhat peculiar though not impossible. It is generally for the spiritual or the moral benefit of the parents and the donor that a grant of this kind is made. It can equally appropriately be for the benefit of one's sovereign. But to consider that a subordinate governor made a donation like this in favour of an amātya seems an unusual procedure when the sovereign is also brought into close connection with the donor. Apart from that, the reading suggested is,

Dēvarāja iti priyanāma (amātyo bhavat) y (e) tasya.

¹ Fleet actually suggested the identification of this Dēvagupta with the ruler of the same name in the dynasty of the later Guptas, *F.G.I.*, No. 46, p. 215.

The words supplied do not seem very particularly appropriate, so far as the lacunae are concerned. It strikes me from the plate given that there is no letter lost just before *tasya* and the lacuna after 'nāma' can be supplied by the words

dhēya-alañkṛtasya

so that the whole will read,

nāmadheyālanṅkṛtasya tasya

which would simply mean Chandragupta who bore the first name or the affectionate name Dēvarāja.

The Prabhāvatiguptā grant gives the genealogy of the regent-queen in her own line, and brings the Gupta genealogy down to Chandragupta II. She describes herself, as in all the Vākātaka grants, the crowned queen of Rudrasēna II and the daughter of Mahārājādhirāja Dēvagupta and Kubhēranāgā. The prince's name occurs in this grant as Divākarasēna; but we know from other Vākātaka grants that she had another son, Pravarasēna II. We seem then to be led by this grant of the regent Prabhāvatiguptā to the identification of Dēvagupta with Chandragupta II, establishing by means of this identification the contemporaneity of the Vākātaka Rudrasēna II with Chandragupta II. We may go farther and state that Rudrasēna II was the younger contemporary, and therefore Chandragupta II must have been partly the contemporary of Prthvisēna I as well.

It was already stated that Prthvisēna's was a long reign. That coupled with the regency of Prabhāvatiguptā for her son, makes the inference that Rudrasēna's was a short reign, probable. Chandragupta's having been a comparatively long reign, it is equally probable that it ran into a part, it may be even a considerable part, of Pravarasēna II's reign. Whatever may have been the actual relationship between Prthvisēna I and Chandragupta II, there can be no doubt that Chandragupta's influence dominated in the reign of Rudrasēna II, the regency of Prabhāvatigupta, and a considerable part of the reign of Pravarasēna II. That this was so can be proved by certain details of literary evidence recently made available. The Prākṛt Kāvya *Setubandha* has long been recognized as the work of a Pravarasēna. So it is described in one of the introductory *śloka*s of Bāṇa's *Harṣa-Charita*. The work itself contains a reference in Book I, verse 9, that it was begun by a recently installed monarch and received a critical revision by a great poet, and thus attained ultimately to the great fame that it did, the

author being classed with such great literary luminaries as Kālidāsa Guṇādhya, etc., in the estimation of Bāṇa. The commentary on the work compiled by a member of the Jaipur Rajput family in the court of Akbar, named *Rāmasūtu Pradīpam*, explains this newly installed monarch as a Bhojadēva 'according to accepted tradition.' Rāmadāsa, the commentator, elaborates the position further by stating it that the work was composed by Pravarasēna who was in the court of Chandragupta, and received the critical revision of the master-poet Kālidāsa at the instance of the emperor Vikramāditya. This statement is embodied in a verse of his introduction to the commentary where he states it broadly that 'he composed the commentary at the instance of emperor Jallālādīndra (Jallalu-din-Akbar) just as Kālidāsa wrote the work at the instance of the emperor Vikramāditya.' This makes the position absolutely clear so far as Rāmadāsa was concerned that Vikramāditya, Kālidāsa, and Pravarasēna were contemporaries. How far is this literary tradition historically correct? Rāmadāsa lived in the sixteenth century A.D. We can carry the tradition seven centuries back from him at any rate. Rājasekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* quotes a verse to illustrate the complete change of meaning by the slight alteration of a word or two in a verse. The meaning of that verse is 'the king of Kuntala having laid the burden of administration upon you disports himself with drink in the company of sweet friends.' This very verse is quoted in Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhabharaṇa* and in his *Śyngaraprakāśa* (prak. ix). In the latter work the author states it that Kālidāsa was sent on an embassy to a Kuntala king. When he returned from the mission he made his report to Vikramāditya who sent him on the mission in the verse quoted, which is,

Asakalahasitatvāt kṣālītānīva kāntyā
Mukūṭitanayanatvādvvyaktakarṇotpalāni
Pibati madhusugandhinyānanāni priyāṇām
Tvayi vinihitabhāraḥ Kuntalānāmādhiśaḥ

A change of *pibati* into *pibatu* and *tvayi* into *mayi*, involving the change of only one letter in each case alters the meaning completely.

Vikramāditya construed the 'tvayi' with 'pibati' and charged him with making a report of ambiguous import. According to Rājasekhara the change of 'pibati' into 'pibatu' and 'tvayi' into 'mayi' alters the sense completely, and that was presumably what

was suggested as an emendation by Vikramāditya. Khshēmēndra in his *Auchitya—Vicharacharcha* quotes the same verse and ascribes it to a work of Kālidāsa which he cites as *Kuntaleśvara-dautya* which seems to be obviously a mistake for *Kuntaleśvara-dautya*, from the expression in the verse itself. We have seen already that Pṛthvisena I lays claim to having conquered Kuntala among other places, and we pointed out that it was probably from the Chuṭu-Nāgas, the successors of the Sātavāhanas, that he conquered it. There is nothing in the evidence accessible to us so far, that the whole of his territory such as it was, did not descend to Rudrasēna II. There is very good reason for assuming that Rudrasēna's territory descended quite intact to Pravarasēna II. Since we know from the Gupta records the whole of the region of Mālva had passed into the hands of the Guptas, Kuntala must have been perhaps the most important portion of the territory of the Vākātakas under Rudrasēna II, and his son Pravarasēna II. Hence it would not be inappropriate to describe Pravarasēna II as Kuntaleśa or Kuntalādhiśa. If according to Rāmadāsa, Pravarasēna lived in the court of Vikramāditya along with Kālidāsa, and if he was a king who could be described, as he does, as a Bhojadeva, the author of the *Setubandha* must have been the Vākātika Pravarasēna II. The question now is whether the Vākātika monarch could be rightly described as Kuntaleśa. We have already pointed out it would not be inappropriate so to describe him. There is evidence that he was actually so described, in a verse¹ in the *Bharatacarita* which describes the author of the *Setubandha* as Kuntaleśa. It thus becomes clear that the tradition embodied in the commentary by Rāmadāsa has at least good literary support, and confirms what is inferable from epigraphical evidence, namely that Pravarasēna II is the Kuntaleśa referred to, and that he was the author, actually or nominally, of the Prakrit classic *Setubandha*. This would make Kālidāsa, Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya and Pravarasēna II contemporaries, and the date according to the Mahāvamsa of Ceylon for Kumāradāsa may seem to confirm the tradition that Kumāradāsa, the author of Jānakiharana,

¹ Jādāśayasyāntaragādharmārgane
alabdhārāndhram giricauryavṛtyā
Lokēśvalāṅkāntamapūrvasetum
babandha kīrtiyā saha Kuntaleśah ||

Bharatacarita, Canto I (lxxxvi of the Trivandram Sanskrit Series).

was a contemporary of Kālidāsa also. The Mahāvamsa date of Kumāradāsa cannot be regarded as beyond question. The diplomatic relationship into which Ceylon was brought with Samudragupta would make a friendship between the Ceylon monarch and Chandragupta Vikramāditya not improbable, and if Kālidāsa travelled as far as Kuntala there is nothing to prevent his having gone to Ceylon on another occasion. Rāmagiri in the Central Provinces seems to have been one of the capitals at the time and the reference to it in Kālidāsa's Meghadūta may be in compliment to the Vākātika monarch. We can therefore take it that the reign of Chandragupta II was, for a considerable part of it, contemporary with that of Pravarasēna II as well. The administration of the large kingdom of the Vākātakas was neglected to a certain extent in the reign of Pravarasēna II, but remained in tact through the dominating influence of Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya.¹

THE VAKATAKAS AND THE KSHATRAPAS

From all that we know from the Vākātika records so far accessible to us, the territory of the Vākātakas must have lain adjacent to that of the Kshatrapas in Surāstra and varying portions of the Konkan. The history of the Kshatrapas, as far as we know at present, can be studied only from their coins, and Professor Rapson's study of the subject in the *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum* is an illuminating contribution on the subject. According to his investigations based on the study of the Kshatrapa coins, the period extending from A. D. 305 to A. D. 348 is marked by great changes in the political history of the Kshatrapas, one clear indication of which is the office of Mahākshatrapa being in abeyance during the period. In the first part of this period there were two Kshatrapas, and in the latter part Kshatrapa coinage ceases altogether. From these facts Professor Rapson proceeds to make the following observations. 'All the evidence afforded by coins or the absence of coins during this period,—the failure of the direct line and the substitution of another family, the cessation first of the

¹ For the literary references compiled in this paragraph I am obliged to Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, B.A., in the first instance, and to Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A. Reference may be made to the forthcoming edition of a Drama by name 'Kundamāla' ascribed to Diñnāga by the latter, who discusses in the introduction the age of Diñnāga and arrives at the conclusion that Diñnāga, Nicula, Kālikāsa and Kumāradāsa were contemporaries.

Mahā-Kṣatrapas and afterwards of both Mahā-Kṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas, seems to indicate troublous times. The probability is that the dominions of the Western Kṣatrapas were subject to some foreign invasion; but the nature of this disturbing cause is at present altogether doubtful, and must remain so until more can be known about the history of the neighbouring peoples during this period.' It must be noted that the period has reference to A.D. 305 to 348, and so far as Kṣatrapa history is concerned there is a change of dynasty, which means that the older dynasty ceases and a collateral dynasty sets itself up in its place. The latter does so with the inferior rank of a Kṣatrapa and not of the higher Mahā-Kṣatrapa, and in the latter part of the period coins cease entirely, indicating that perhaps there were not even Kṣatrapas. This cessation of even the inferior position of the Kṣatrapas relates to the period A.D. 332 to 348. What does this indicate? The period A.D. 305 to 348 would include in the first half, the period of expansion of the Vākātaka power under Pravarasēna I. Pravarasēna I achieved greatness, according to the Purāṇas, by extending his authority into the territory of the Vindhyakas which was dominated by Vidiśā, in all probability the capital city. This progress of Pravarasēna must have contributed at least to the narrowing of the territory held by the Kṣatrapas, if not to its utter extinction. If therefore we could regard that the first part of this period corresponded to the latter part of the reign of Pravarasēna I, we could understand the power of the Kṣatrapas narrowing to make the assumption of the title Mahā-Kṣatrapa impossible. They had in all probability to abandon Mālva which constituted the central block of their territory. It may even possibly be that Pravarasēna conquered the territory of the Kṣatrapas and put an end to the ruling dynasty; and there was a revival of this dynasty possibly at the end of his reign, or in the disturbances following his death, and therefore corresponding to the reign of Vākātaka Rudrasena I. This period would at any rate correspond to the reign of Chandragupta I. The latter half of this period A.D. 332 to 348 would fall in the reign of Chandragupta I and his son Samudragupta. It would correspond to the period of Prthivisena I among the Vākātakas more or less. Samudragupta among his conquests claims to have subdued a certain number of kings in the region at least of Eastern Mālva. Prthivisēna's authority extended into Bundelkhand according to the Nachne-ki Talai inscriptions of Vyāgra. If this

Vyāgra could be held to be the same person as Vyāgrarāja of Mahā-kāntāra reduced to vassalage by Samudragupta his reduction must have taken place in the reign of Prthivisena I. That, together with the expansion of Samudragupta's authority over various tribes, including the Sanakānikas and the Ābhiras, must have brought his authority quite close to the Vindhya mountains, and have contributed narrowly to reduce the extent of territory of the Kṣatrapas. Prthivisēna, on the other hand, claims credit for having conquered Kuntala. It was likely that for what he lost perhaps in the north, he compensated himself in the south. They must have naturally brought about a reduction of the dominions of the Kṣatrapas south of the Vindhya mountains. This seems the explanation of the gap in the coinage of the Kṣatrapas and the abeyance of the title Mahākṣatrapa during the period.

We come upon another period of break between the years A.D. 351 and 364 marked by a similar political disturbance; and this period perhaps marks the expansion of Vākātaka authority under Prthivisēna I, whose reign was a long one according to the Ajanta inscription. The so-called Uparkot hoard gives striking evidence in this connection. There were ninety Kṣatrapa coins in this hoard, all of them belonging to the reign of the ruler Rudrasēna III, who called himself Mahā-Kṣatrapa Svāmi Rudrasēna. According to the Rev. H. R. Scott, who examined this hoard carefully, all of these coins belong to the years from 270 to 273 of the Śaka era, that means, A.D. 348 to 351. He makes the following observation in regard to this. 'Many of these coins, especially those of the last years, are in mint condition and therefore unworn. From these facts we may fairly conclude that the hoard was secreted at the end of the first period of Rudrasēna's reign, and most probably it was because of the revolution which then took place, rendering life and property insecure, that the money was hidden.' Another peculiarity of this period, noted by Professor Rapson, is the introduction of certain lead coins with the humped bull on reverse and the Chaitya, crescent and the sword on the obverse. Since they belong to the period of the absence of silver coins, it is possible that these are the introduction of a new dynasty. Professor Rapson surmises that the foreigner who introduced this must have come from a region where coins of lead had been in use. It is just possible that this is connected with the extension of power of the Vākātaka Prthivisēna I in certain parts of whose territory lead coins were in currency under the

Āndhras. The successor of this Rudrasēna III is like him a Mahā-Kṣatrapa Svāmī Śimhasēna, his sister's son. The only date known about him is read 304 with the alternative possibility of 306. That would mean either A.D. 382 or 384. One peculiar distinction that Professor Rapson noted between the two varieties of coinage of Śimhasēna is that in one, his title appears Rāja Mahā-Kṣatrapa, and in the other it is Mahārāja-Kṣatrapa. The latter transformation, he considers, may be due to the Traikūṭaka title Mahārāja. It might as well be due to the Vākātaka title Mahārāja, as every Vākātaka ruler excepting Pravarasēna I had this title. If this change was due to the imposition of his authority by a foreign ruler it might just as well be the Vākātaka monarch as the Traikūṭaka. We know of a great Vākātaka monarch at the time who extended his territory by conquests, and we have no knowledge of any Traikūṭaka ruler about the same period. There is a process of Sanskritization also, introduced in the coinage of these rulers, which might be due to the same cause. There are two rulers whose names we know, the first from a single coin of his, the second from the coins of his son and successor. They have the usual style both of them of Mahā-Kṣatrapa, and the same prefix to their name Svāmī, and have to be assigned to a date (Śaka dates) between 304 or 306 and 310, which would be A.D. 382 or 384 to 388, which is the last known date on Kṣatrapa coins.

THE GUPTA CONQUEST OF THE KṢATRAPAS

The year Śaka A.D. 310 or 388 is the last known date of the Kṣatrapas according to their coins. The earliest known date of the silver coinage of the Guptas, in the region which was peculiarly the territory of the Kṣatrapas, comes almost twenty years later and it is generally taken, on the strength of this numismatic evidence, that the Gupta conquest of the west must have taken place some time about A.D. 409 or somewhat later possibly. As Professor Rapson has already pointed out, this period is somewhat narrowed by the existence of the Udayagiri inscriptions of date 82, A.D. 401-2. There is another undated inscription which the late Dr. Fleet ascribes to Chandragupta II,—the inscription only mentions Chandragupta without further distinctive epithets,—which is a record of the excavation and dedication of a cave to Śambhu (Śiva) by order of a certain Virasēna, otherwise called Saba, one of the ministers of the king. The minister is described as the

minister for peace and war, a man of learning and a native of Pāṭalipura. This inscription at Udayagiri indicates the extent of Chandragupta's authority, and brings it quite close to Ujjain, the capital of Malva and the headquarters of the Kṣatrapas. The last line of the inscription gives us clearly to understand that the minister and the king were both there on an expedition of 'conquest of the world'. The process of conquest therefore of this region must have been gradual. We find already in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta mention of the Mālavas among the various tribes that he conquered. We have already pointed out that the Vyāgrarāja of Mahākāntāra probably refers to the same chieftain as the Vyāgra of the Nachne-ki Talai inscriptions. Probably the region Mahākāntāra of this inscription stands for 'the eighteen forest countries' of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin.¹ On this side therefore Samudragupta's conquests seem to have begun with the region of modern Bundelkhand and extended southwest-wards indefinitely as far as Mālva at any rate. The tribes mentioned in this group, Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudhēyas, Ābhīras, and Sanakānikas, all of them seem referable to this region. Chandragupta's inscriptions in the locality do not make us feel that they were new conquests. They seem much rather to have been settled conquests in his time. It would be much more reasonable to regard this region as having been acquired by his predecessors. We have already noted that the title Mahā-Kṣatrapa falls into abeyance from A.D. 305 and the coinage of the Kṣatrapas ceases from 332 onwards up to 348, the title being revived possibly somewhat earlier than Śaka 270. If therefore the narrowing of the limit of the complete cessation of the position Mahākṣatrapa be allowed so far as to cover half the period, the period A.D. 332-40 would be a period of complete cessation of the authority of the Mahākṣatrapas. How could that have come about? That could only be by the deprivation either of all, or of the great bulk, of the territory of the Kṣatrapas. If the whole of Mālva had been taken from them, even temporarily, it would account sufficiently for the cessation of the title. The probabilities therefore seem to be that the wars between the Kṣatrapas and the Guptas began almost with perhaps Chandragupta I himself, if the Mehrauli pillar inscription is his, and the Bāhlikas across the seven mouths of the Sindhu could be regarded as the Śakas and

¹ F.G.I. (C. I. I., III), pp. 13 n., 113, and 116.

the Parthians of the region. At any rate it is not possible to refer the Śakas of the Harisēna inscription, who were among the people whose ambassadors waited, with various items of tribute, to pray and obtain from Samudragupta the charters imprinted with the Garuḍa seal for the enjoyment of territories which were their own, to any other than the Śakas of this region. The reference to their obtaining a charter with the Garuḍa seal may have reference to a recent conquest or to a conquest some time before. In either case the Śakas must have been conquered before the date of this record and had then obtained a charter permitting them to rule over their territory. This may account for the revival of their power after A.D. 340, which the resumption of the title Mahākṣatrapa, according to the coins of the Kṣatrapas, would seem to bear witness to. What is said therefore in the Udayagiri inscription of Chandragupta's coming there on a world-conquest must have reference to a renewed war which itself must have been a prolonged affair. The statement that we find made in Baṇa's *Harsha Charita* that the last of the Kṣatrapas got killed while courting another man's wife in the enemy's territory, by the injured husband in the guise of a woman, is supported by a newly discovered drama by name 'Devicandraguptam'. According to this, Dhruva Devi, the Queen of Chandragupta, fell into the hands of the Western Kṣatrapas and became a prisoner. As a prisoner she was courted by the Kṣatrapa¹ king whom, in the guise of the queen herself, Chandragupta killed. The commentator Śankara Kavi's explanation of the incident is borne out by the drama in every detail except that the commentator mistakes the queen for the brother's wife of Chandragupta.² This probably happened in the campaign on which he had come according to the Udayagiri inscription, which may refer to a time somewhat earlier than that of the other Udayagiri inscription referring itself to the year 82, which would be A.D. 401-2, while there is the possibility that the inscription may after all refer to Chandragupta I. The interval of a little over twenty years noticed by Professor Rapson between the last Kṣatrapa coin of Śaka 310 and the first

¹ Nirṇayasāgara edition, p. 223; *vide* article in the *Indian Antiquary* May 1923 by Mr. A. R. Sarasvati, B.A.

² I suspect the reading of the comment, as printed, is an error, and *bhrātṛjāyām* ought to read *bhartṛjāyām*. If this should turn out correct, Śakas or Kṣatrapas under reference must have already been reduced to vassals by the Guptas.

Gupta coin of ninety or more, i.e. A.D. 409 or later, need not be a bar to this, as a monarch would issue his own coinage in a conquered territory only after it had been brought finally into a settled government and the need for coinage actually arises, which must be a matter of some time, and this probably refers merely to the conquest of Surāṣṭra, not Mālva. It would seem therefore that both the Vākātakas and the Guptas contributed to the gradual reduction of the territory and the power of the Kṣatrapas. Their final extinction was due to the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II.

THE VAKATAKAS AND THE DECLINE OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

The death of Pravarasēna II appears to have introduced a change in the political relationship between the Guptas and the Vākātakas. The succession as given in the Ajanta inscription of Varāhadeva, does not let us into the secret. The Balaghat copper-plates, however, give a clear indication that there was a disputed succession and that Narēndrasēna occupied the throne either by a *coup d'état* or, what is less likely, as the result of a successful war. What is really significant in this record of his son Prthvisēna II is that Narēndrasēna's authority is said to have been acknowledged by the lords of Kosala, Mēkala, and Mālava, the region over which Chandragupta II extended his authority comparatively early in his reign, and maintained it inviolate by his matrimonial alliance with the Vākātakas and the uprooting war against the Kṣatrapas of Gujarat and Kathiawar. Kosala, Mēkala and Mālava among the three will include all the Vindhyan region extending from the coast of the Bay of Bengal in the south-east, north-westwards at least as far as the Aravalli hills and it may be even beyond. As far as we can make out from the Gupta records, Kumāragupta's accession to the throne was a peaceful one and perhaps during the early years of his reign he enjoyed peace also. It is from the inscriptions of his son Skandagupta that we hear of disturbances in this region from the tribes of Puṣyamitras¹ and Paṭumitras, whom Skandagupta

¹ This reading of the inscription has been called into question on a re-examination of the record in the process of obliteration through decay. It seems, however, justifiable to retain the reading as the Puṣyamitras are associated with this region in the Purāṇas and the Harisēna epigraph of Samudragupta. The modified reading *puṣyamitrān* seems quite incompatible with the attributes in the record, and the fact that the other enemies are specifically described.

successfully brought back into allegiance according to his record. Did the Vākātaka Narēndrasēna bear any part in this disturbance along the outermost frontier of the Gupta empire or did he also suffer with the Guptas from this rising of the tribes? Prthvisēna II, the successor of Narēndrasēna, is credited, in the same record, with 'having raised his sunken family'. What was the sinking of the family due to and in what particular did he manage to raise it? If the severe defeat administered to Pushyamitras and Paṭumitras by Skandagupta, which is supposed to have destroyed their power and brought them back into obedience, involved the submission directly or indirectly of the Vākātakas as well, Prthvisēna might then have recovered at any rate partly the important position which his family occupied in the days of his predecessors from Pravarasena II backwards. He would have found occasion for this in the irruption of the Hūṇas on this very frontier of the Gupta empire. It would thus be seen that the Vākātakas bore their own share in bringing about the decline of the Gupta empire. In the whole period of the struggle of the Guptas against the Hūṇas, the Vākātakas must have been left more or less to themselves, and this enabled Prthvisēna II and his successors to rehabilitate themselves to a very considerable extent, and that is what seems to be indicated in the records of the time of Harisēna and his father Dēvasēna. Harisēna's is the last reign of which we have any knowledge, and then the region which is peculiarly the dominion of the Vākātakas passes into the hands of the new dynasty of the Chalukyas. The Vākātakas thus provide as it were a bridge that fills the gap between the Āndhras and the Chalukyas in the history of the Dakhan.



SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

AN interesting criticism on the two Vākātaka papers printed above was sent to me by my friend, Mr. Y. R. Gupte, who did me the favour to send it on to me for consideration. With his approval, I published it in the *Journal of Indian History*, vol. vi, part iii, pages 399 to 408. He raises certain points in it for my consideration, and it would be well that I give the matter the consideration that my friendly critic seeks for it. For the whole of the article reference may be made to the *Journal of Indian History*. The minor points are passed over, as some of them have been sufficiently met by the few notes that I have added to the article. The following points, however, are of greater importance and require consideration. They will, therefore, be considered in their order :—

(i) The first point is the general question, what exactly was the homeland of the Vākātakas, and what their capital or capitals were. If the identification of Vindhyaśakti with the Vindhyaśakti of the Purāṇas should be accepted, as my friend seems to be inclined to, their home territory must have been in the region of the Vindhyas. This is, to some extent, supported by the statement in the Purāṇas that Pravīra, son of Vindyaśakti, became ruler of the region of Vidiśa in succession to the dynasty founded by Śiśunandī after the death of the last of the Sungas. The Riddhāpūr plates of queen Prabhāvatī state that the plates were issued from the feet of the God at Ramagiri, which would imply that Ramagiri was one of those places which formed the royal camp (Vijayakāṭaka), and may have been possibly an alternative capital. Some of the grants purport to have been issued from a place called Pravarapura, which the older epigraphists tried to identify with the Barabar hills in Bihar. But the identification of the places mentioned in the Chammak grant and other grants of these rulers together with the fact that we have now good reason for regarding them as Bhojas, makes their association with the territory of Berar and the capitals Kundīnapura and Bhojakāṭaka of the Purāṇas very probable. It is from that central position that they made their advances both north and south at different periods of their history. With our present knowledge of the history of the Vākātakas it seems

to be in keeping with all that we know of them if we take them to be rulers of the ancient kingdom known as Vidarbha, which is Berar, at one time in a somewhat extended sense.

The next point to which he draws attention is the question as to why we regard Chandragupta I as the founder of the Gupta Empire and the position of the Vākātakas in relation to this new empire. There is not very much that could take us farther than we have expounded the problem in section II of the Gupta Supplement already published in vol. vi, part ii of this journal. The Paurāṇic statements that the dynasty of the Vindhyakas came to an end after Pravarasēna may give us some support. According to them, the Vindhyaka dynasty came to an end and three rulers, who were Bāhlikas, ruled for thirty years apparently the territory, at least a considerable part of the territory, associated with their name¹. . . . It is not merely the Bāhlikas, but a number of other rulers that established themselves in various localities, some of which at least must have been in the territory of Pravarasēna. This gives an indication of the break-up of the empire of Pravarasēna, of which, again, a hint is given in the Purāṇas when they state it that four of his sons ruled under him as rulers of men. So the standing aside of the Vākātakas while the Gupta ruler built up an empire is not dependent entirely on the dropping of the title 'samrāt' by his grandson and successor Rudrasēna I. The dropping of that higher title and the gratitude with which the assistance of his father-in-law, Bhavanāga of the Bharaśivas, are referred to alike point to the fact that the empire of Pravarasēna was in a bad way, and when through the good offices of Bhavanāga it recovered a part of its territory, it could not come up to its old dignity.

The next point that calls for remark is the identification of Ērāṇḍapalli and Dēvarāshṭra. Dr. Fleet when he published the Samudragupta Pillar Inscription identified this place with a place in Maharashtra, and perhaps Khandesh, for which Mr. Gupte finds support that he notes on page 402-3 of the *Journal of Indian History*, vol. vi, Part III referred to above. While on the details given by Mr. Gupte himself there is good reason for identifying Dēvarāshṭra with the Satara District of the Bombay Presidency and Ērāṇḍapalli with Brandol in East Kandesh, the omission of any reference to Prithvisēna the

¹ See page 50, *Dynasties of the Kali Age of the Third Century*.

Vākātaka, who must have been contemporary with Samudragupta, and in whose territory, direct or indirect these must have lain, makes the assertion that his invasion went so far west as that rather difficult. There is besides the fact to be noted that if he went so far west as that he must have come into contact with the Kṣatrapas, and his further progress in his return march should have been either through their territory or that of the Vākātakas proper. The latter course would have been possible, but in the absence of any direct indication, we must leave the question open.

RUDRADEVA OF THE HARISENA EPIGRAPH

Here the point arises whether the Rudradēva of the Harisēna epigraph of Samudragupta is not Rudrasēna I, Vākātaka, as suggested by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in the proceedings of the First Oriental Conference held at Poona. This Rudradēva is there referred to as one among the nine rulers of Aryāvarta. It is after defeating these that Samudragupta is said to have come into touch with the 'Forest Kingdoms'. This is hardly in keeping with the position of the Vākātaka territory noted above. It is quite open to doubt besides that Rudrasēna could be referred to as Rudradēva in official records, as the Vākātakas called themselves invariably as *Sēnas* and not as *Dēvas*.

The next point is the reference to the Pushyamitras in the Bhitari Pillar inscription of Sakandagupta. I was aware of Professor Divekar's suggested reading *Yudhyamitrān* in place of *Pushyamitrān* the conjectural reading of Dr. Fleet. Making all possible allowances for wrong reading by Dr. Fleet, it still seems impossible that, in the context, the reference intended could be so general as merely enemies which alone would be the meaning if the amended reading be adopted. The reading *Pushyamitrān* seems warranted historically, apart from the epigraphy of it, by the fact that the Pushyamitrās are referred to in that region in the Samudragupta Pillar Inscription and the Purāṇa references also seem to locate them in about the same region. Three enemies of Skandagupta are referred to specifically, and this cannot help to make a general and indefinite reference, such as the new reading would involve. Hence it strikes me it would be better to read *Pushyamitrān* having regard to the fact that one cannot be sure of correctness, even when Professor Divekar read the inscription on the pillar itself.

The next point to which he calls attention is the identification of Chandra in the Meharauli Pillar Inscription. Mr. Gupte seems inclined to accept Mahamahopadyaya Haraparasad Sastri's identification of Chandra as Chandragupta II. The difficulties in the way of my accepting that position are explained fully in the Gupta Supplement above, Section II.

The next point in regard to the sons of Prabhāvatigupta whether they were actually three or two, it seems to me better to take it that queen Prabhāvatigupta had two sons rather than three, Divākarasēna, a record of whose thirteenth year issued by the queen we have, and Pravarasēna II, whose earlier name may have been Damodharasēna. What he refers as halting and doubtful in my paper consists in this:— I suggested a possibility and indicated a difficulty in accepting the position, which only means that on the facts before me I am not prepared to state that Divākarasēna and Pravarasēna were the same, and till some new fact is discovered to upset it, I propose taking Damodharasēna as the earlier name for Pravarasēna II. It seems unlikely that the queen ruled as regent for thirteen years on behalf of one son, and then was regent for another son, Damodharasēna, and yet lived on to issue a grant in the reign of her third son Pravarasēna II in his twenty-first year. It seems, therefore, better to regard Damodharasēna as the princely name of Pravarasēna II.

It is an interesting point that Mr. Gupte raises that the power actually passed from the Vākātakas to the Chālukyas through the other dynasty, that of the Nalas. This requires to be worked up separately, and we shall await the publication of the grant in the *Epigraphia Indica* perhaps by him. It is very likely that the territory of the Vākātakas passed over to some other dynasty, may be a feudatory dynasty, from whom the Chālukyas obtained possession of it. As the Nalas are mentioned as an important dynasty overcome by the Chālukyas in this region, it is very likely that they inherited the territory from the Vākātakas. That remains to be worked up.

Mr. Gupte deserves our gratitude for having drawn attention to these points, and it is to be hoped that the position will now be clearer than it was before.