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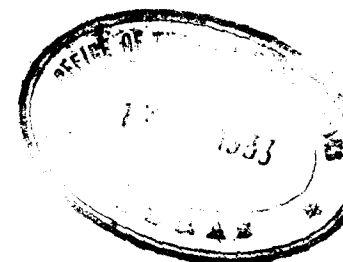
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Journal of Indian History

The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-1761)

BY

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI,

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XI

I. FRENCH NEGOTIATIONS WITH MYSORE BEGIN—SALABAT JANG'S DIFFICULTIES

EARLY in January 1752, Dupleix planned to convert the Villiyannallur temple into a fort, by raising batteries and constructing outer walls. Chanda Sahib sent a letter informing that the Mysore Dalavai was dead (the news was wholly false) and that the matter had been kept a secret for about three weeks and that Kāntayārāja, the former commander, had been appointed to his place¹. Of

1. In the reign of Chama Raja Wodeyar VII (1731-34), the three chief offices in the Mysore State; those of the *Dalavāyi* (head of the army), *Sarvādhikāri* (head of finance and revenue) and *Pradhāna* (privy councillor) were held respectively by Devaraja who was the *Dalavāyi* and Nanja Raja, his cousin, who combined in himself the other two offices. Chama Raja Wodeyar contrived to displace them; but they found means to recover their position quickly and to imprison the Raja and his wife. They raised to the throne Chikka Krishna Raja Wodeyar, a child of a distant branch of the ruling family. Nanja Raja died in 1747 and was succeeded by an-

course there was no truth in the news at all; but there was possibly some confusion in his mind between the two Nanja Rajas (written Nandi Raja in the Diary), the first, a cousin of Devaraja and the second, his younger brother who occupied the office of *Sarvadhikari*.² Madame Dupleix persuaded her husband to write to the ruler of Mysore, asking him to help the French and not Muhammad Ali; and Dupleix himself was of the opinion that, but for the help of Mysore, Muhammad Ali could not have withstood the French so long.

Meanwhile, the troops of Raza Sahib which had had to flee to Chettupattu, plundered, in February, the region of Poonamalle, Mylapore, the Great (St. Thomas') and Little Mounts, Saidapet and Kunnattur which were large and prosperous villages. The Indian merchants of Madras were reported to have taken shelter with their goods at Sadras and Pulicat; and the Diarist regretted that they did not go to Covelong which was in French occupation, and wrote that M. Le Blanc, the chief at that place, "troubles people,

other person of the same name, who was the younger brother of Deva Raja and surnamed Karachuri. Nanja Raja was a truculent person and contributed, in great measure, to the eclipse of the dynasty and the rise of Haidar Ali. After a successful expedition into the Coimbatore country, he married his daughter to the nominal Raja, as a first step to his other ambitious projects. Haidar first came under his notice in 1749, during the siege of Devanahalli. He agreed, against the wishes of his elder brother, Deva Raja, the Dalavāyi, to assist Muhammad Ali, and led an army of 5,000 horse and 10,000 infantry from Seringapatam to Trichinopoly, about the time of Clive's siege and subsequent defence of Arcot. His transactions and movements round Trichinopoly lasted till 1755 when he returned to Mysore at the summons of his brother, in order to meet and repel an invasion of Salabat Jang and Bussy. Deva Raja retired from government in 1757, disgusted with the cruelty practised by Nanja Raja towards the Raja and his partisans who had attempted to throw off the supremacy of the two brothers. Nanja Raja was responsible for the usurpation of Haidar Ali who got him imprisoned in 1767, "in so far as a single personage could be held responsible for it." (See *The Mysore Gazetteer* (New Edition) Vol. II, Modern, Part IV. pp. 2465 et seq; M. Wilks' *Historical Sketches of the South of India* (Ind. ed.) vol. i. ch. VII.).

2. *Vide Note 1*: Mr. Dodwell says in foot-note 2, on p. 90 of the *Diary*, vol. viii; "I am entirely at a loss to account for his (Chanda Sahib's) statement that Nandi Raja was not the younger brother of the Dalavāyi."

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so that all fear him and prefer Pulicat or Sadras."³ There is a hiatus in the *Diary* for three months (February 13th to May 12th). The entry for the latter date gives news from Salabat Jang's camp, according to which Namat-ullah Khan, who was a son of Khajah Abdulla Khan, Nawab-designate of the Carnatic, and who had been recently the Nawab of Rajahmundry, was to get the subah of Arcot and he was to come down with an army, subdue the refractory Pathans of Kurnool and suppress the disturbances caused by Muhammad Ali Khan, the English and the Raja of Mysore.⁴ Khaja Namatullah Khan and Muzaffar Khan (Abdul Rahman who had

3. Raza Sahib made a rally at Chettupattu after his defeat at Arni, and later at Covelong, with a design to attack San Thome; but he was not in a condition to do it (Despatch of Fort St. David to the Company, dated January 25, 1752). From a subsequent despatch of Thomas Saunders, dated February 15, 1752, we learn that Raza Sahib plundered and burnt some villages of Poonamalle and carried off to Pondicherry the furniture of the houses at St. Thomas Mount and Marmalong (Mambalam-Saidapet). The Pondicherry Council repudiated the English claim to these places; and the latter were unable to check these ravages for want of horse and their force at Madras was insufficient to defend even the Black Town (George Town) and the Pettahs; and Muhammad Ali had not sent a detachment of cavalry for which he had been so often pressed. (Madras Council's Consultation, dated February 3, 1752—pp. 1-2 of *Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book of 1752*).

4. Compare with a letter to the Madras Council alleged to have come from Salabat Jang, read at a Consultation of the 10th February, 1752 (O.S.), which exhorted the English "to quit Mahomed Ally's Interest, as He is a Rebel, and to espouse that of Chunda Saib" and "which by the confession of the Hircars coming from Pondicherry, we can't help entertaining some doubts with regard to it's being really wrote by Salabat Jang . . ."—*Ibid*—p. 3.

With regard to the refractory Pathans of Kurnool, it is to be noticed that in the *melee* that occurred at Luckireddipalli pass in the Rayachuti taluk, Muzaffar Jang fell, struck down by a javelin thrown by the Nawab of Kurnool (January 1751). Himmat (or Himayat) Khan, the Nawab, had succeeded to power in 1733, had defied Nasir Jang who had to conciliate him and accompanied his new master on the Carnatic expedition. Shortly after he left Kurnool, heavy floods passed down the Handri and the Tungabhadra and washed away portions of the fort walls. The Nawab requested permission to return to Kurnool; but Nasir Jang declined permission. Later, a misunderstanding was created between the two by one Saif-ud-din and the ill-feeling was increased by the disappointment of the Nawab in his expectations of obtaining considerable immunities and an addition of territory from the Suba. The Nawab was killed in the *melee* of Luckireddipalli; and Salabat Jang and Bussy carried the Kurnool fort by assault in March, 1751 and imprisoned the Nawab's wife and two sons. Kurnool was placed in charge of one Sayyad Alam and of the *Zamindar*.

accompanied Bussy) advanced, by way of Gadwal, on Kurnool; but when batteries were about to be raised and the troops of Munawwar Khan (younger brother of Himmat Khan who had successfully got possession of his brother's dominion) which were encamped near the fort were to be attacked, the French people, who were probably the troops attached to Muzaffar Khan, came away; and operations were consequently affected. Hearing that Namatullah Khan had only a small army, the English and Muhammad Ali became emboldened and resolved "to drive away from Srirangam to Pondicherry or to destroy altogether Chanda Sahib with his Muhammadan troops, M. Law and Shaikh Hasan with the French troops, before they can be joined by Namatullah's troops, Muzaffar Khan's troops and the troops that will arrive by the Europe ships, as after that it would be impossible to dislodge the French."⁵ The English, we are told by the Diarist, were resolved to fight to the end, and even spend the Company's money on continuing the war and fight harder than ever, even if Muhammad Ali could not find any more money.⁶

Ranga Pillai's note on the situation of Salabat Jang is interesting. Writing on May 12th, he says that the Nizam's treasury was empty; and his elder brother and rival, Ghazi-ud-din Khan had been writing to many that Salabat Jang should not be recognised and the various killedars would not pay their *peshkash*, while the French troops were giving trouble on account of their arrears; and the jaghirdar of Palaki (son of Raja Chandrasen) was giving trouble. Nor was the situation at Delhi any better, where the Mughal throne was about to be swallowed up by Ahmad Shah

of Gadwal; but in 1752, Ranmas Khan (alias Munawwar Khan) Bahadur brother of Himmat Khan, returned from Arcot, whither he had gone, to seize the estate. He got a sum of money from the Nawab of Cuddapah, was joined by Khandoji Pandit with a body of 2,000 horse, and after six months of fighting and negotiation, got possession of the fort of Kurnool and made an amicable arrangement with the Nizam. Ananda Ranga Pillai wrote in his *Diary* (July 14, 1752) thus:—"I hear that Salabat Jang has ordered Coja Namat-ul-lah Khan and Muzaffar Khan at Kandanur to deliver up that fort and country to Munawwar Khan, Himmat Bahadur Khan's younger brother and join him at Hyderabad. As Muzaffar Khan has also written this to me, I think it must be true."—pp. 141-2 of the *Diary*, vol. viii.

5. Diarist's entry for May 12th, 1752. p. 95 of the *Diary*, Vol. VIII.

6. See the Madras Consultation of 13th April, 1752, resolving to press Muhammad Ali for money who said that the Mysore ruler would repay the advances made and ordered his officials to pay a part of the produce.

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Abdali's invasion. "Till now", the Diarist remarks, "the Moghuls have exercised authority, but henceforth the Pathans will take their place, or the Rajas of Hindustan, the Rana of Udaipur etc., may become the masters."⁷

II. THE DEATH OF CHANDA SAHIB AND OF RAJA RAGHUNATH DAS

Very little is found in the *Diary* of the operations round Trinopoly, of Clive's victory at Kaveripak, Lawrence's arrival from England and his assumption of command, Chanda Sahib's retreat into Srirangam, the English blockade of the island, D'Auteuil's retreat to Uttatur and Clive's march on it—all of which took place before the end of April. He mentions that the English, Muhammad Ali Khan's troops and the Mysoreans intended to attack D'Auteuil at Uttatur, whereupon the latter had retired to Valikandapuram. Also Law, Chanda Sahib and the blockaded troops at Srirangam were suffering much from want of food and money; the sepoys and troopers had not received any pay at all for the last three months; and many had deserted to the enemy, who had occupied Koiladi, at the eastern end of the island, while others had resolved to obtain *cowles* and return with them to Pondicherry.

In this distressing condition (about the middle of May), Dupleix received an entreating letter from Salabat Jang who begged him to order Bussy and Shaikh Ibrahim to guard his person night and day, saying, "you protected me while he (Raghunath Das) lived, and must protect me now that he is dead."^{7a} Dupleix accordingly wrote letters urging Salabat Jang to do exactly as Bussy

7. Ghaziu'd-din Khan I (eldest son of Asaf Jah) was appointed to be the rightful Nizam by the Emperor in January 1751. Mahmud Khan Bangash invaded Oudh and invested Allahabad, but was routed by the Marathas and by Safdar Jang in April. Early (i.e. in March) in the next year, Ahmad Shah Abdali entered Lahore and annexed the subahs of Lahore and Multan. In April, Qalandar Khan, Abdali's envoy, reached Delhi; and in May, Ghaziu'd-din Khan left Delhi for the Deccan; he died at Aurangabad in the middle of October, being poisoned by his step-mother. In April 1752, Raja Raghunath Das, the Diwan of Salabat Jang, was murdered in a mutiny of his soldiery at Balki. Sayyad Lashkar Khan who succeeded him as Diwan, was ill-disposed towards Salabat Jang and secretly favoured Ghaziu'd-din. (see Burgess, *The Chronology of Modern India* (1494-1894)—p. 193 and J. N. Sarkar's article on *The Chronology of Delhi History* (in the J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XVIII, Part I. pp. 89-90).

7-a. Vide *supra*, note 21.

should advise⁸, and also to Abdul Baqar Khan⁹, who "is to be Diwan in the place of Raghunath Das", advising him that according to Bussy's instructions, he (i.e., Dupleix himself) was "induced to appoint him diwan". He was advised to bear two things in mind: "one is to labour with a single heart in Salabat Jang's affairs; and the other is to be our (French) man and manage our (French) affairs with all fidelity." The death of Raja Raghunath Das was a severe strain on Bussy's influence and dominance at the Nizam's court; and Dupleix had to write to Shaikh Ibrahim to do whatever Bussy should ask him to do and not disobey him even in the merest trifle.

The Diarist's entry for June 6, 1752 contains a bit of interesting news about Delhi affairs. The Afghans had captured the fort of Lahore and murdered Mir Mannu and returned to their hills owing to the approach of the rains; and the Hindustan Rajas near Delhi had assembled together with a lakh of horse and threatened the Emperor Ahmad Shah with an ultimatum that he should abdicate and the throne would be given to a boy of Alamgir's family.¹⁰

8. Saunders, the English Governor, wrote in a separate despatch, to the Company, dated July 5th, 1752, that he had tried various methods, in vain, to get letters conveyed to Salabat Jang, and had only received letters from him via Pondicherry. (Dodwell's *The Madras Despatches (1744-55)*—p. 171.

9. Professor Dodwell supposes that this person should be identified with Sayyad Lashkar Khan who was in fact appointed at once. Abdul Baqar Khan was, according to the Diarist, nominated Diwan of Salabat Jang by Dupleix. Sayyad Lashkar Khan was an officer of experience even in 1741, when he artfully secured the submission of Nasir Jang who had risen in rebellion against his father, in the field of battle. He became the governor of Aurangabad later on. (See H. G. Briggs' *The Nizam*, Vol. I, p. 51 et seq.) Sayyad Lashkar Khan was succeeded as Diwan by Shah Nawaz Khan, author of the *Ma'asiru'l-Umara*.

10. Ahmad Shah was the son of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, whom he succeeded on the 15th April, 1748, 27th Rabi II, A.H. 1161. After a reign of 6 years, 3 months and 8 days, he was deposed and imprisoned and afterwards blinded, together with his mother Udham Bai, by his prime minister, Imad-ul Mulk, Ghazi-ud-din Khan II, son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan I, on Sunday, 2nd June, N.S. 1754. After this he lived more than 21 years and died on the 1st of January, A.D. 1775. After his imprisonment, Alamgir II, son of Jahandar Shah, was raised to the throne. A *History of Ahmad Shah*, has been abstracted by Professor Dawson in the 8th volume of Elliot and Dawson's *History of India* (pp. 104 et seq) which shows the condition of affairs. Muin-ul Mulk, Rustam Hind, called commonly Mir Mannu, was

Bad news from Srirangam reached the Diarist's ears on the 8th June in the shape of Chanda Sahib having written to the Governor that M. Law had gone over to Muhammad Ali Khan and the English and ruined everything. D'Auteuil who had advanced to Valikandapuram was attacked by Birki Venkat Rao with the Maratha troops, the Mysore faujdar and some English who were encamped at Samayavaram and forced to retreat to Ranjangudi, being unable to reach Srirangam; but Mutabir Khan, the faujdar of that place, would not admit them and, on the other hand, helped the enemy to get in their rear and attack them. D'Auteuil surrendered without striking a blow.¹² On June 15th, Ranga Pillai heard that Chanda Sahib had tried to escape, as a faqir, from custody, but had been seized; and when the news reached Fort St. David, a salute was fired and sugar was distributed to the people. The next day he learnt that Chanda Sahib, Shaikh Hasan, Law and others were surrounded in the Srirangam temple, and could get no provisions; and, in despair, Chanda Sahib offered to pay a certain sum of money to Manoji Appa of Tanjore and Murari Rao, on condition that he was to be escorted beyond Tanjore and sent to Karikal. He was to be disguised as a faqir; and so he set out, escorted by Murari Rao. But Muhammad Ali's people found him out and declared that they would take him to the fort of Trichi-

the son of Itimadu'd-daula, Kamaru'd-din Khan. He was appointed governor of Lahore by the Emperor Ahmad Shah after the battle of Sirhind, in which his father was killed. He died early in 1756, not now, as the Diarist wrote both on May 12th and on June 6th, 1752. Mir Mannu governed the Punjab with vigour, chastised the turbulent Sikhs, withheld from Ahmad Shah Abdali the revenue of the four districts which he had stipulated to pay him after his second invasion of 1748, boldly resisted the third Abdali invasion of 1751-52, and fought with the invaders in the country between the Chenab and the Ravi. He only submitted to the Abdali after making a protracted defence of Lahore and got from the victor, the title of Farzand Khan Bahadur Rustam-i-Hind. He took part in the civil war at Delhi that followed the assassination of the eunuch, Jawid and died only in 1756. Ahmad Shah's reign was torn with internal strife and external invasion. (see Syed Mahomed Latif's *The History of the Punjab*. pp. 221-5)

12. The Madras Council Consultation of Monday, 3rd June (O.S.), abstracts two letters from Captain Clive, the first advising his having taken Volcondah (Valikandapuram) and in it D'Auteuil, 3 other French officers and 50 Europeans, besides 300 sepoys, 300 horse, 4 pieces of cannon, 2 mortars, and a large quantity of powder, ammunition and warlike stores; "the other (2nd letter) giving us the agreeable news that Chunda Saib, the night before, was taken prisoner." (Records of Fort St. George, *Diary and Consultation Book, 1752, Military Department*—p. 18).

nopoly; but the people of Murari Rao and the Tanjore folk protested that they had given a cowle or safe conduct to Chanda Sahib and carried him off in haste. Later, he was detained at the Dalavai Mantapam and not taken to Tanjore, but sent on to Manoji Appa's tent. Two days later, i.e., on June 18th, the Diarist received information that, when Chanda Sahib was saying his prayers in Manoji Appa's camp, his head was cut off; and the head and the body were carried on a camel to Muhammad Ali at Trichinopoly. Dupleix found fault with Law for giving up Chanda Sahib to Manoji Appa without insisting on getting a Maratha noble as hostage and being merely satisfied with asking the Tanjore general to take an oath, which he did by proxy and broke so soon afterwards.¹³

13. Wilks wrote that Law was "justified by the fairest considerations of the natural interests committed to his charge, in recommending Chanda Sahib to incur any risk, rather than surrender to the English; and he unhappily trusted to the desperate faith of a Mahratta." According to Orme, Chanda Sahib knew that the Tanjore general Manackjee was at open variance with his prime minister and might be inclined to safeguard him, following only his personal interests, and he followed the overture with so much interest and seeming compliance, that both Law and Chanda Sahib thought that they had gained him over to their interest. When Law demanded a hostage, the Tanjorean answered that a hostage would be no real check on intended treachery, and that, by giving one, the secret would be divulged and the escape rendered impracticable, and he promised under an oath taken on his sabre and poniard, that he would send away Chanda Sahib with an escort of horse to Karikal. As soon as the victim entered his quarters, Manajee had him imprisoned in a tent and put in irons. The next morning (1st June O.S.) there was a conference in Major Lawrence's tent between the Major, Muhammad Ali, Manajee and the Mysore general, when the proposal that the English should have the custody of the prisoner, was violently opposed by the other three parties. To Manajee the Mysorean promised money, the Nawab threatened resentment and Murari Rao held out the fear of an attack; and he saw no method of saving the situation except by putting an end to the life of his prisoner. On the morning when Law surrendered at Srirangam, he had a conference with Lawrence that convinced him that the English were resolved not to interfere any farther in the dispute. The executioner was a Pathan, one of the Tanjore general's retinue. (Vol. I. pp. 236-42. 4th ed.).

Burhanu'd-din's *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*, written in the interests of Muhammad Ali, naturally gloats over the fate of Chanda Sahib, as being the visible manifestation of divine vengeance that he was treacherously murdered in the same choultry, the Dalwai Mantapam, in which, 16 years before, he had profaned the holy Quran by a false and treacherous oath of protection that he gave to the distressed Rani Minakshi. Wilks says that his death was looked upon in this light by all Mussalman writers; but he had a manuscript which stated that Chanda Sahib was murdered "at

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It was widely believed at Pondicherry that Law misconducted himself at Srirangam; and the Diarist wrote that "it was by their own evil deeds that the army was swallowed up and they themselves (Law, Shaikh Hasan etc.,) fell into the enemy's hands". M. de la Tour who was senior to M. de Auteuil, refused to continue in service, as the latter who had married a sister of Madame Dupleix, was appointed Major Commandant of Pondicherry. There were rumours, of course untrue, of Nawab Muhammad Ali having been killed by Murari Rao, which were not given credence to either by Dupleix or by the Diarist.

III. STALEMATE IN THE SITUATION—DUPELIX'S INTRIGUES

In July news came that the Raja of Mysore and Muhammad Ali had fallen out; and that the Mysore Dalavai and Murari Rao

the instigation of Muhammad Ali." He however believes that the Maratha general, Manajee, would not have thus disposed of his prisoner and incurred the disgrace of open perfidy, had it not been for his fear of getting involved in further disputes. He thinks that, in the mock conference held before Major Lawrence, the native chiefs were secretly agreed and that the Major was to be deterred from interfering by showing that he would thereby incur the resentment of all the confederates. (Vol. I—p. 177).

Malleson is of the opinion that "it is clear from Orme's version that Lawrence had it in his power to have saved Chanda Sahib, and did connive at the death of the unfortunate man." (*History of the French in India*—p. 328. note).

H. H. Wilson only justifies the conduct of Lawrence by maintaining that the English were at that time not so well assured of their power as to pretend to dictate to the native princes. (Note on page 87 of Mill's *History of British India* (Vol. III)—1858).

Venkasami Rao says that Mankoji, the famous general of Raja Pratap Singh, who undertook a successful expedition against the Maravas, shortly afterwards made himself "infamous by faithlessly and inhumanly disposing of Chanda Saheb at Trichinopoly." Pratap Singh's chief minister, Sakhoji, was a great enemy of Mankoji. (*The Tanjore Manual*; pp. 733 and 789).

The Madras Council Consultation of Monday, the 15th June, 1752, merely records a letter from Major Lawrence "advising that the Allies not agreeing who should have Chanda, to prevent disputes, his head was cut off and carried into Trichinopoly; that Shaik Hussan is a prisoner in Syringham to whom he had promised protection."

Dodwell points out (in note 3, p. 66 of his *Dupleix and Clive*) that, according to Saunders' letter to Dupleix of Aug. 22, 1752, Lawrence seems to deny that any conference was held; he adds that he does not attach much value to this, as he expressly says the opposite in his narrative (*Cambridge*, p. 28).

who were not admitted into the fort of Trichinopoly, declared that they would certainly kill the Nawab and capture the place.¹⁴ Later news was received that Muhammad Ali offered to cede to the Mysoreans the fort and country of Trichinopoly as soon as he should be firmly established at Arcot; to which they replied that the agreement was to deliver up the fort and country as soon as Chanda Sahib should have been defeated, on which event they were to have escorted him to Arcot, along with Murari Rao, and departed after installing him. The Diarist also notes that while the Dalavai wanted to seize Trichinopoly and rule at the place himself, the nominal Raja of Mysore wished to check him, "lest he should seize him as his predecessors had seized the former Raja and took possession of the country."¹⁵ and that the Raja was trying to strengthen himself and then attack the Nanja Raja.

14. Major Lawrence and Clive both reported about the dispute that had arisen between Muhammad Ali and the Mysoreans as the former would not give up Trichinopoly and its dependencies to the latter as the price of their help. The Mysoreans and Marathas refused to march out from camp, and the Nawab could not join Lawrence in the proposed expedition to reduce Gingi, Chettupat, Chingleput and Vellore. The Madras Council resolved on the 29th June, O.S., that the English should not commit themselves to any precipitate action in the dispute which was "an affair of the utmost consequence," but should request the Dalawayi to send his *vakil* to Madras for negotiating for a settlement. Captain Dalton reported subsequently that Srirangam was, by agreement, delivered to the Mysoreans who were outwardly reconciled to the Nawab and that Murari Rao was not definitely on the English side, as he had a *vakil* at Pondicherry and frequently received letters from thence, and one of his captains had privately offered to desert to the English side, the moment his master joined the French. Dalton wrote later that Murari Rao was only designing to protract the war and to draw large sums from the Nawab as well as the Mysoreans who suspected that the Nawab and the Mahratha were both endeavouring to ruin them; and Murari Rao even threatened to join the Mysore general to sign a letter to Dupleix, promising to abide by any agreement that he should make with him (Consultation Minutes of 13th July). Dalton later on discovered a plot of the Mysoreans to get possession of Trichinopoly fort by arming the French prisoners and even murdering him. (Consultation Minutes of June 20th O.S.).

15. Dodda Krishnaraja Wodeyar I (1713-31) of Mysore was a weak ruler; and his ministers secured their own authority by affected humility. Chamaraja Wodeyar VII (1731-34) was at first successful in displacing Devaraja and Nanjaraja, his cousin, who occupied the offices of Dalawayi and Sarvadhikari. But he was imprisoned along with his queen, by these and sent to Kabbaldurga, where he did not long survive. Chikka Krishnaraja Wodeyar II (1734-66) was the reigning prince at this time; he was only 5 years old at his accession and married in 1747 the daughter of Nanja Raja Karachuri, the new Sarvadhikari and the younger brother of

The Diarist next records the news received from letters brought by the *Centaur* on July 13th, 1752 that no more war was to be made on the Muhammadans and peace should be made and commerce continued without interruption; no man was to be sent beyond the bound-hedge, and the mansab jaghir villages possessed by the Company's servants were to be handed over to the Company itself. The Diarist was doubtful of the authenticity of this information and wrote he must ascertain its truth. Professor Dowell notes how Dupleix's letters regarding his own and other jaghirs had excited considerable criticism in France and how decrees of the Council of State dated June 6, 1750, and December 30, 1751, forbade the receipt of presents or gifts from foreign princes.

On the 16th July, it was reported to the Diarist that Muhammad Ali had left Khairu'd-din-Khan, his brother-in-law and the English troops in the fort of Trichinopoly and that he had departed secretly, without the knowledge of the Mysoreans, with his brother, Abdul Wahab Khan, for Valikandapuram on his way to join Lawrence and to Fort St. David. Of course Dupleix kept up his buoyant hopes still; he spoke, more boastfully than was usual, that, if he had known of Lawrence's sailing to Madras, he would have ordered ships to seize his sloop; that he had frightened Governor Saunders at Madras by his letters and that the English knew not how to answer him and stood abashed.^{15a} He was, nevertheless,

Deva Raja, the nominal Dalawayi. In 1756, the Raja, now 27 years of age, attempted by a coup to imprison Devaraja and Nanjaraja and take the power into his own hands; but the attempt failed; and Nanja Raja stormed the palace and cut off the noses and ears of the Raja's partisans before his very face. Later, Haidar compelled Nanjaraja to make atonement for his outrage to the ruler (*Mysore Gazetteer* (revised ed.)—Vol. II; Part IV pp. 2472-5). Mir Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani (in his *History Hydr Naik* (tr. by W. Miles) ch. V—VI) says that the Raja of Mysore was offended at the protracted operations of Nanja Raj before Trichinopoly and did not send any pay for the troops for 9 months; and he later reproached him in angry terms (pp. 39 and 61).

15a. Dupleix was fully alive to the critical situation that arose out of the surrender of Law and the death of Chanda Sahib. Even before these calamities occurred, he had written to Saunders stating that he had been authorised by Salabat Jang to settle the affairs of the Carnatic by giving Trichinopoly to Muhammad Ali. Saunders waited for a day and wrote, after Chanda Sahib was dead that "Indeed, as Chanda Sahib is dead, I can see no reason why it may not be easily accomplished." But now Dupleix demanded the release of all political prisoners, "as a preliminary to discussing terms," and Saunders declined; and hence the negotiations broke down. Dupleix

less, anxious to know what happened in Madras after Lawrence's arrival, though the Diarist warned him that it was now a very difficult matter to obtain confidential news from the place, as it was strictly guarded. Dupleix planned to prevent Muhammad Ali's men from collecting the revenue in the country and from being enabled to pay his troops.

M. Kerjean, Dupleix's nephew who had accompanied Bussy along with Vincent, son of Madame Dupleix, to the Deccan returned to Pondicherry by way of Masulipatam and Pulicat, in time to take part against Major Kinneer whom Saunders sent, against Lawrence's urgent protests, to besiege and attack Gingee, in conformity with the desire of Muhammad Ali. The latter's situation was not very enviable; the sepoys were troubling him for their pay; the English would not advance him sufficient sums; and the Mysore agent, Birki Venkat Rao,¹⁶ visited him in camp and importuned him for the cession of Trichinopoly to his master. Both Muhammad Ali and his brother, Abdul Wahab Khan, who were encamped at Tiruvati were afraid of a surprise night attack on their camp, from the Portuguese Volonté, whose real name was Monis and had a *non-de-guerre*, *Kōnapparangi* (the hump-backed European), and who was encamped nearby.

The entry of the Diarist for July 30, has a reference to the acquittal of La Bourdonnais who was actually released from the Bastille to which he was committed, early in 1751 and to his *Memoire* written during his incarceration.¹⁷

IV. MINOR MILITARY OPERATIONS (AUGUST-OCTOBER 1752)—ADVANCE OF GHAZI-U'D-DIN

Rumours reached Pondicherry early in August, of a difference between Muhammad Ali and the English about his refusal

was stiffened by the knowledge that he was to receive reinforcements from Europe. (Dodwell p. 69 and Madras Consultation of Aug., 17, 1752.) (The Centaur landed troops and chests of silver; and 300 soldiers were expected—Diarist's entry for July 13th and 14th pp. 138 and 141 of the Diary Vol. VIII.)

16. Birki Venkkat Rao was a captain in the Mysore army and commanded the Mysore contingent, which included Haidar Ali and his brother, and joined Nasir Jang's army at Madagiri in 1750.

17. Dodwell says that La Bourdonnais' *Memoire* which was instrumental in defeating Dupleix's attacks upon him was composed by the same advocate, M. de Gennes, who was later on to draw similar documents for Dupleix.

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to give Trichinopoly to the Mysoreans and his demands for money which the English were reluctant to advance further.¹⁸ A few days later, news came that the troops of Muhammad Ali and the English had advanced against Gingee for the relief of which Kerjean was sent with a body of 300 Europeans and some topasses and sepoys. Major Kinneer, the English commander, found a main attack on the fort out of the question, without a much larger force and a long siege, though he had taken on his way the small fort of Villupuram. On their return from Gingee, the English troops encountered the advancing French and had to retreat after a brisk fire, back to Villupuram and Tiruvati. Dupleix told the Diarist that he had instructed the garrisons in the Tiruvati and Villupuram forts to surrender without fighting and when the English came on to Gingee, expecting that its garrison would do likewise, the latter should open a terrific fire on them; then the English fled to Muhammad Ali's camp; and the Nawab, when he learnt of the advance of the army from Pondicherry and of La Volonté's encamping in his rear, fled with his own and the English armies to Tiruvannāmalai by way of Tumbūr.¹⁹ After this victory of Vikravandi, for which Dupleix ordered a salute of 21 guns and his wife hoped that God would bless the French with Muhammad Ali's head, his spirit was greatly elated with the news of a misunderstanding that took place between Muhammad Ali and his younger brother who reproached him for the march to Gingee, among other things, and departed to Tiruvannamalai. Muhammad Ali was greatly troubled for want of money with which to pay his sepoys; and the Diarist heard that he was informed by Mr. Starke, the new Governor of Fort St. David, that strict orders had come from Europe not to interfere with the French and that he could do

18. The Madras Consultation of 10th August, 1752, contains a resolution of the Council not to give the Mysoreans and Marathas any hopes of English assistance, but a previous consultation had resolved that "we shall rather persuade him to it than object . . . to prevent the Mysore King's being disgusted, it be hinted to him that when the Nabob is once settled in the Province, if he can be prevailed upon . . . we shall have no objection."

19. All this is a great exaggeration. Major Kinneer only reconnoitred and did not make any attempt on Gingee; and after his defeat near Vikravandi at the hands of Kerjean, with one of his legs shot through with a musket ball, gave orders for a treat which was performed in very good order to Villupuram and thence to Tiruvati; and according to the Madras Council's Consultation minutes, "the loss upon the whole is very inconsiderable and less than the enemy's, though they were superior in number," (Minutes of August 3, 1752 p. 29 of *The Military Consultations*, 1752.)

nothing for the Nawab who should write to Saunders at Madras. On August 19th, it was known that two nobles of Muhammad Ali were coming to Pondicherry to negotiate with Dupleix (which was done with English approval) and under his cove of protection. After an amount of delay, in the course of which the two agents, Husain Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Masih Khan, were shown the strength of the sea-face batteries of Pondicherry and a few English troopers who had been seized on the sea, Dupleix refused to talk of peace until the French sepoy—captain, Hasonu'd-din and other prisoners with Muhammad Ali should be released.²⁰ Towards the end of August, the *gumastahs* of Kasidas Bukkanji and other bankers received information that Ghaziu'd-din Khan had crossed the Narmada and reached Burhanpur with 60,000 horse, and accompanied by Mulhar Rao Holkar and other Maratha sardars. Sayyad Lashkar Khan and other Mughal nobles advised Salabat Jang not to quarrel with his elder brother; but on his not agreeing to this course, the Sayyad and a few mansabdars and jaghirdars had resolved to join Ghaziu'd-din Khan and proceeded to Aurangabad; while Nizam Ali Khan, a younger son of Nizamul Mulk might either join Ghaziu'd-din or await his arrival at Hyderabad.²¹ Ghaziu'd-din occupied Aurangabad, with

20. "The President acquaints the Board that the Nawab, by his wakil, had made overtures of peace to Dupleix who refused to hearken to any terms until the French prisoners are delivered up." Council Consultation of Madras, 17th Aug., 1752.

21. Ghaziu'd-din Khan had opened negotiations with Peishwa through the agency of Mulhar Rao Holkar and succeeded in inducing that Maratha chief to support his pretensions. From June 1751 to the autumn of that year, Salabat Jang was not threatened. During this interval Ghaziu'd-din and Balaji Rao had time to cement their plans. Bussy stood behind Salabat Jang with his French soldiers and trained artillery and infantry. Balaji had stipulated from Ghaziu'd-din the cession of the districts of Aurangabad and Burhanpur; and his first campaign against Salabat Jang had been interrupted. He received indeed from Salabat Jang a cash payment of two lakhs; but now his position had been strengthened and he resented an attack on a Maratha convoy ordered by Raja Raghunath Das. He ordered, in the autumn of 1751, the Holkar and Scindia to join Ghaziu'd-din and effect a junction with himself near Aurangabad, now occupied by Salabat Jang. Bussy advised the Nizam to leave Aurangabad to its fate and march on Poona itself. He also intrigued with old Tara Bai who was the inveterate enemy of the Peishwa and, after defeating the Peishwa near Poona, marched on Poona itself. At Kukadi, he took the Marathas by surprise (22nd November) when they were engaged in religious devotions consequent on an eclipse of the moon; and he followed this up by sacking Ranjangaon and Talegaon and meeting a vigorous Maratha attack led by

150,000 men and supported by Mulhar Rao Holkar and the main Maratha army and also by the bulk of the Mughal nobility of Aurangabad and Burhanpur.

Meanwhile, a Mughal arrived at Pondicherry who alleged he had brought with him the Padshah's *parwana* for Dupleix which had been requested to be granted by Raja Raghunath Das and had been issued by Mansur Ali Khan²² when the Peishwa had been overthrown and had been delayed as Raghunath Das died before he could send it on. He claimed to be a sardar of 1,000 horse, by name Yusuf Bashi Khan and to have brought also dresses of honour for Dupleix, his wife and her daughter, as well as a *parwana* of confirmation for the subah of Arcot, which was to be given to the French Governor to be sent on to Muhammad Ali, on condition that he would obey the former. He was persuaded to write a letter to Muhammad Ali Khan, asking him not to increase the trouble and go on warring against the French and promising him

the Peishwa and by Dattaji and Madhava Rao Sindia. Now the Peishwa changed his tactics, and directed his cousin Sadasiva Rao to open negotiations with Raja Raghunath Das, the Nizam's Diwan. He fomented dissensions among the Mughal soldiery, asked Raghuji Bhonsle to harry the Nizam's eastern frontier between the Godavari and the Penganga and contrived to get possession of the fort of Trimbak. Salabat Jang had to retreat to Ahmadnagar and on the advice of Bussy, signed an armistice with the Peishwa (January, 1752).

It was on the return march from the armistice that Raja Raghunath Das was assassinated by a body of Mughal soldiers. Sayyad Lashkar Khan, the governor of Aurangabad, was now made the Diwan. (See Kincaid and Paransis, *History of the Maratha People*; Vol. III. Ch. XLIX and Grant Duff's *History*, Ch. XVIII)—For the route of Bussy and Salabat on their march to Poona, see note on p. 359 of Malleson's *History of the French in India*.

According to the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* of Muhammad Ali Khan (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VIII—pp. 316-118), Ghaziu'd-din left his son, Shahabu'd-din and Muhammad Khan, as his deputy in the office of Mir Bhakshi (at the Imperial court) and proceeded towards the Deccan, taking with him Malhar Rao and reaching Aurangabad in the month of Zi'l Ka'da (July-August, 1752)—For the English attitude towards him see *Madras Military Consultations* (1752)—p. 41.

22. Safdar Jang, Nawab of Oudh and surnamed Mansur Ali Khan, was the nephew and successor of Sadat Khan, the founder of the dynasty. He was appointed Wazir in 1748 on the accession of the Emperor Ahmad Shah and conducted the entire administration for several years. He was dismissed from the Wizarat in 1752 A.D. (A.H. 1166).

Dodwell says that a large sum of money had been sent to Delhi to procure the *parwana*, and Bussy recommended Dupleix about this time to come to terms with Muhammad Ali.

an *ināyat-nāma* from Sayyad Lashkar Khan that he had brought with him. To this letter which was despatched on the last day of August, a reply was received the very next day from Muhammad Ali, declaring that the Mughal envoy should have gone to him direct if he had really a *parwana* confirming the grant of the Carnatic *subah* to him. He also wrote a letter to Dupleix saying that if he should be treated with justice, he would act according to the French Governor's desires and grant him all the jaghirs which Muzaffar Jang and Salabat Jang had given him, adding, "whatsoever may be further demanded". This letter did not apparently please Dupleix, who, according to the Diarist, refused to send a reply and forbade Muhammad Tavakkal from going to him, as he desired, for beginning negotiations.

V. ENGLISH CAPTURE OF COVELONG AND CHINGLEPUT AND AFTER

After the battle of Bahur where Lawrence who had returned from Madras lured the French troops under Kerjean to fight him (September 6), Muhammad Ali, though elated by the victory, wrote another letter, in smooth words, to Dupleix, requesting his friendship and promising him additional jaghirs to the French people. To this Dupleix replied, urging Muhammad Ali to release the prisoners taken in the fight (Lawrence having allowed only Kerjean who was badly wounded, to return to Pondicherry) and promising that the released officers would not take up arms again. Muhammad Ali would not release the prisoners, nor even return the *palanquins* and *dhoolies* sent to fetch them, but continued to protest through messengers, his readiness to be friends with Dupleix. (Diarist's entries for September 7 and 9).

On the 12th of the month, Dupleix received, in a specially prepared *shamiana* amidst great pomp, the Padshah's *parwana* and presents; and in the entry for the next day, the Diarist gives a translation of the *parwana*, which addressed Dupleix as the Captain and Governor-General Bahadur Zafar Jang and exhorted him to continue "to regard Salabat Jang as a friend dear as your own life and afford him all the help of which you are capable."²³

23. A Madras Council Consultation (Tuesday, 19th Sept. 1752) mentions a letter from Dupleix, enclosing a copy of the alleged Padshah's *farman*, approving of whatever he had done in favour of Salabat Jang and directing him to continue his assistance. Dupleix further offered to allow the English to compare the copy with the original. The Council resolved that they were of the opinion that the *farman* was spurious, "because the advices they lately received from Bombay and other parts are so contrary," and also because "it is extremely different from the form and stile in which papers of this kind are usually worded."

All the while the French could do nothing from the military point of view, though Dupleix sent out Europeans and sepoys as well as cannon and munitions of war to those who escaped to Ariyankuppam from the enemy, to show that "our army is ready for them". Dupleix was eagerly looking out for reinforcements which he was expecting from Mascareigne in order that he might begin operations again. One small ray of hope shone for a moment for Dupleix when the French garrison at Covelong opened fire upon troops of Clive and forced them to flee beyond the back-water where they were in fear of an attack from the French garrison at Chingleput (Diarist's entry for September 18.)²⁴ After hard fighting from the 16th to the 19th, the garrison at Covelong had to deliver up the fort to the English; and St. Germain who advanced from Chingleput, not knowing that the fort had surrendered to the English, came close to it and being surrounded and fired upon, lost many men and was forced to flee. Ranga Pillai quotes, at length, a letter that he received from one Krishna Pillai of Covelong regarding its surrender, the first flight of the English troops and the final surrender of M. le Blanc and his bullying and extortion (entry for September 20). Clive's advance on Chingleput and his raising a battery and sending for mortars from Covelong to fire shells into the fort which, according to the Diarist, had sufficient provisions, powder and shot for a year, the subsequent surrender of M. Villeon, the commandant of the place—these are detailed by the Diarist.²⁵ Both according to the Diarist and the English, the Chingleput fort could have successfully stood a siege. According to the former, Dupleix's letters ordered the garrison to surrender the fort to the English; and it was supposed by him that as there were no Europeans, but only Carnatic sepoys in the fort, it was thought they could not continue to resist for long.

24. This refers to the repulse of the first attack of the English troops on Covelong (Sadat Bunder) when they fled precipitately from a garden near the fort. They had to be brought back by Clive who was advancing with the rest of his force and who "obliged them, not without difficulty, and even with violence, to rally and return with him to the garden." (Orme. Vol. I. p. 262).

25. See Clive's paper, sent among his many memoranda, to his friend, the historian Orme, and preserved in the India Office, among the Orme MSS. India, Vol. II. pp. 309-10. This is printed in extenso in Sir George Forrest's *Life of Lord Clive*—Vol. I. pp. 214-15—entitled "Siege of Covelong and Chingleput." See also Fort St. George letter to the Directors dated 3rd November, 1752, para 3, (in Forrest's *Bengal and Madras Papers*, Vol. II. (1688-1757)).

The military situation round Pondicherry had come to be so bad in the beginning of October, that Maratha horsemen advanced as far as the bound-hedge of the town, "driving off the cattle, plundering the country and wounding many"; and the people in the out-villages had to take shelter in the town. Since it was rumoured that Muhammad Ali was planning to march to Arcot, after making another attempt on Gingee and demanding from Taqi Sahib of Wandewash, arrears of tribute due, Dupleix revived his negotiations with the Mysore General and Murari Rao. The Diarist's entry for October 7th, says that Mirza Abdul Nabi Beg was sent to treat with Murari Rao and Nanja Raja who were camping together. The conditions were that they should march together with their army and attack and slay Muhammad Ali; Murari Rao was to receive two lakhs of rupees and another similar sum when Muhammad Ali should have been disposed of. The Mysoreans were to receive Trichinopoly, in return for which they were to pay 30 lakhs of rupees. The French intrigues with these two had been going on for some time and were known to the English side.²⁶ The immediate consequence was that Murari Rao replied that he had given orders to the commander of the Maratha troops with Muhammad Ali Khan not to allow his horsemen to plunder the villages of Pondicherry, but to help the French people. Muhammad Ali broke up his camp near Wandiwash and marched back to Tiruwati, because, the Diarist wrote, the Mysoreans, Murari Rao and the Maravar were surrounding Trichinopoly in the hope of taking it. The Diarist gave the consoling encouragement to Dupleix that Muhammad Ali's play was drawing to an end; and his petty successes in the last two months, his getting money from Taqi Sahib, his luck in getting possession of Covelong and Chingleput—"all these are but the last flicker of the candle"; and that "he must suffer for his treachery even as Chanda Sahib did." (entry for October 10, 1752). The English were angry with him at not getting the Wandiwash money for himself, the Marathas threatened to abandon him; and his army was breaking up. As the Maravar were troubling the Dindigul country, Nanja Raja and the followers of Murari Rao camped at Karur and wrote recalling Innis Khan, the

26. The letter of Captain Dalton from Trichinopoly recorded in the Council Consultation of 17th August, shows that he had a suspicion that the ruler of Mysore was carrying on a secret negotiation with Dupleix. A later letter of Dalton's quoted in the Council Consultation minutes of 24th Aug., 1752, informs that the behaviour of the Mysore general and Murari Rao was so inconsistent and various, that it was evidently calculated to conceal their real intentions.

paymaster, who was with Muhammad Ali. The Diarist recorded on the 20th of October that Dupleix and his wife had a definite understanding that, as Murari Rao's army was coming without him, 1¼ lakhs of rupees should be paid a month, that on the arrival of the army one lakh should be given, with another lakh and presents on Murari Rao's arrival and 2 lakhs more when he should depart. The agreement was written out; and Dupleix and his wife swore to keep it and, in token thereof, dipped their fingers in red and touched the paper. The last two entries of the Diarist for October describe the forced conversion of a dying man, the Governor and Madame, putting down by sheer force all opposition of his Hindu relations.

ERRATUM

On p. 184 of J. I. H. Vol. X, Part II in lines 14 and 15, delete the words "But just at that time Deva Raja died . . . but not before he" and substitute the word "Nanja Ranja."

Some Problems about the Pradyotas of Avanti

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WITH the beginning of the fifth century B.C. we enter into the historical zone of central India, as of other parts of India. The Purāṇas, our main source of information for the preceding ages, are now usefully supplemented by literature of other types, the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures which are notable for their accuracy and veracity. The synchronism which they establish among the four emperors of northern India, Bimbisāra, Prasena-jit, Udayana and Pradyota is of the greatest help for the reconstruction of pre-Mauryan history.

Of Pradyota and the dynasty that he founded in Avanti, we get stray pieces of information from the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures; and the Purāṇas describe a dynasty beginning with Pradyota.¹ The Purāṇic list contains names most of which can be verified from other sources. Of late, however, some doubts have been raised whether the Purāṇic dynasty called the Pradyota and the dynasty of the historical Pradyota of Ujjayini were identical. The aim of this paper is to examine the objections that have been raised against the identification, as also other incidental problems. But before we do so, it is necessary briefly to examine the position where we stand as regards our knowledge of the dynasty.

Pradyota, who came to the throne about the beginning of the fifth century B.C., was like his contemporaries a very powerful king, famous for his fierceness and cruelty. The most important part of his foreign relations was his dealings with Udayana Vatsarāja, where his diplomacy, pitted against that of Udayana's minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, reached its climax. The story, which formed a favourite theme of poets, dramatists and old story tellers,

need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say, Udayana afterwards married Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Pradyota.

It is not easy to determine the extent of Avanti under Pradyota. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*, makes it clear that the Bhilla-Pulinda chief, whose territory lay on the 'front' of the Vindhya, off the road running from Kauśāmbī to Ujjayini, was Udayana's subordinate ally.² We are further told that when starting on his conquests after his marriage with Vāsavadattā, Udayana placated his allies by a judicious distribution of territories, and one of the recipients was Gopālaka, the elder son of Pradyota, who was given the Vidiśā region.³ It is evident, therefore, that eastern Malwa was not within the empire of Pradyota.

Pradyota had two sons, Gopālaka and Pālaka, and a daughter, the famous Vāsavadattā.⁴ Gopālaka was friendly to Udayana and preferred to remain at the court of his brother-in-law.⁵ When Pradyota died, Gopālaka abdicated the throne in favour of his younger brother and was charged by Udayana with the bringing up of his son, Naravāhana,⁶ obviously the Vahinara of the Purāṇas.⁷ The Kashmiri *Bṛhatkathā* further adds that Gopālaka gave away to Pālaka the kingdom of Kauśāmbī after the death of Udayana.⁸ What is more probable, however, is that Gopālaka bequeathed the throne of Vidiśā only to his brother, as the Purāṇas carry on the Puru line four generations after Udayana.

According to the story of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* Pālaka, the successor of Pradyota, was deposed by Āryaka, the son of Gopālaka. Āryaka is certainly the Sanskritized form of Ajaka of the Purāṇas. He was succeeded by Avantivardhana, a son of Pālaka. Between Pālaka and Āryaka-Ajaka, the Purāṇas place one Viśākhayūpa, who is not known to any other authority. Pradhan makes him a

2. *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Kss.), xii 45 f; *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (Bkm.), II ii 60 f.

3. Bkm., III i 101 f; Kss., xix 57 reads *vaideha*, an obvious mistake for *vaidiśa*.

4. Kss., xi 75 f; Bkm., II ii 28.

5. Kss., xiv.

6. *Ibid.*, cxi 60 f.

7. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

8. Kss., cxi 92; Bkm., xviii 7.

1. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 18 f.

son of Pālaka and Jayaswal of Āryaka,⁹ neither having any definite evidence to count upon.

Avantivardhana's name is found in the Purāṇas in many corrupt forms, Nandivardhana, Vartivardhana, etc. Jayaswal believes that Nandivardhana is the correct form, and identifies him with the Magadhan prince of the same name.¹⁰ This theory cannot stand, as the Purāṇas are definite that Nandi- (Avanti-) vardhana belonged to the line of Pradyota and is confirmed by all versions of the *Bṛhatkathā*. The Magadhan occupation of Avanti must have come after Avantivardhana and not before him.

According to the Purāṇas the dynasty consisted of five members and ruled for 138 years. The total of the individual reigns and the total figure for the dynasty agree with each other, a rather unusual thing for the Purāṇas. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the figure against each king is correct; for the lesson that one derives from the study of the so-called Śiśunāga dynasty, the account of which can be verified by a reference to other sources, is that the Purāṇas are seldom correct in their figures and must in all cases be accepted with the greatest caution.

The Purāṇas add that after a reign of 138 years the Pradyotas were destroyed by Śiśunāga of Magadha. From the *Mahāvamsa* we know that Śiśunāga came to the throne 72 years after the death of the Buddha, i.e., in B.C. 411 (accepting B.C. 483 as the date of the Parinirvāṇa), and reigned for 18 years, i.e., till B.C. 393.¹¹ The Purāṇic statement would, therefore, mean that Pradyota's reign began sometime between B.C. 549 and 531.

According to the Jaina Paṭṭāvalis,¹² Pālaka ascended the throne the very night that Mahāvira died (in B.C. 470) and reigned for 60 years. After him no member of his dynasty is mentioned, so that we may be justified in holding that the sixty years assigned to Pālaka include the reigns of his successors as well. If this be true, then we arrive at B.C. 410 (470—60) as the date of the destruction of the Pradyotas, a year well within the reign of Śiśunāga. If Pālaka and his successors reigned for 60 years, we

have to believe on the basis of the Purāṇas that Pradyota ruled for 78 (138—60) years, a historical absurdity; the Purāṇic figure cannot therefore be accepted as correct. There is no question of rejecting the Jaina evidence in favour of the Purāṇas, for the former is in a remarkable way borne out by another independent authority. We have a catching statement in the *Majjhima Nikāya* that Pradyota lived for at least some time after the death of the Buddha (B.C. 483), and Ajātaśatru was repairing the walls of his capital in anticipation of an attack from Pradyota.¹³ The Jaina date of the accession of Pālaka (B.C. 470) cannot therefore be far from the truth.

The cause of the confusion of the Purāṇas and its probable solution may be found in the position of Viśākhayūpa (50 years), who might have ruled somewhere else after Pālaka as a rival of Ajaka-Āryaka and Avantivardhana. In that case, the total reign of the dynasty comes to 88 (138—50) years, and Pradyota's reign amounts to 28 (88—60) years; his accession has therefore to be placed in B.C. 498. In this way he can be a contemporary of both Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru.

There is no doubt that the Pradyotas were ousted by a prince of Magadha. According to the Purāṇas, that prince was Śiśunāga; but the Paṭṭāvalis call him a Nanda.¹⁴ It appears that Śiśunāga himself had some Nanda-title, which gave rise to the consistent Brāhmanical and Jaina traditions that the Nandas ruled for about a century.¹⁵ Jayaswal believes that the Purāṇas are to be interpreted to mean that a descendant of Śiśunāga, and not Śiśunāga himself, was the victor over the Pradyotas.¹⁶ This is utterly unconvincing and is due to his refusal to recognise the true chronological position of Śiśunāga.

According to Harit Krishna Deb, Udayana succeeded to the thrones of Avanti and Magadha after Pālaka and Darśaka.¹⁷ The basis of his theory is this: In the Purāṇic list of the Śiśunāgas we

9. Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 235 and 245; Jayaswal, *JBORS*, 1915, p. 106.

10. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

11. *Mahāvamsa*, ed. Geiger, p. 21.

12. Quoted in *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 149; *IA*, 1873, p. 363; *Acta Orientalia*, 1923, p. 33.

13. *Majjhima Nikāya*, ed. Chalmers, Vol. III, p. 7.

14. Cf. *Avantisundarikathāsāra*, iv 18.

15. Pradhan suspects this fact and identifies him with Nandivardhana, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

16. *JBORS*, 1915, p. 108.

17. *Udayana Vatsarāja*.

find the name of Udāyi (with variants Ajaya, etc.) as the successor of Darśaka, the son of Ajātaśatru. In the list of the Avanti kings also we find the names of Ajaka and Nandivardhana as the successors of Pālaka. It is evident, according to Deb, that the two groups are identical and that Magadha and Avanti at some date formed part of the Vatsa empire under Udayana and continued so even under Udayana's son Nandivardhana. This is confirmed by the fact that the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* includes Magadha and Avanti in the list of the conquests of Udayana.

The line of argument, however, is faulty. We have the consensus of the Purāṇas as well as the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures that Udayi of Magadha was the direct descendant of Bimbisāra, so that there is no possibility of his being the same as Udayana of Vatsa. As regards Ajaka of Avanti we have seen that the *Mṛcchakaṭika* calls Ajaka-Āryaka 'Gopāla-dāraka', which means 'the son of Gopāla'. Besides, Avantivardhana and not Nandivardhana was most probably the correct name of the son of Ajaka-Āryaka. There is therefore no evidence for holding that 'Udayana Vatsarāja emerges before us as the first emperor of India since the great Civil War, under whom were first united the three kingdoms of Magadha, Vatsa and Avanti'.¹⁸ It must be admitted that there was a change in the regular succession both in Magadha and Avanti after Darśaka and Pālaka respectively. But in neither case was it brought about by Udayana. In Magadha, it was accomplished by Śiśunāga and in Avanti by Āryaka.

It has sometimes been doubted whether the Purāṇic dynasty called Pradyota and the dynasty of the historical Pradyota of Ujjayinī are to be identified.¹⁹ The reasons for this doubt are:—

- (1) The account of the Pradyota dynasty in the Purāṇas is hemmed in between two Magadhan dynasties, the Brhadratha and the Śiśunāga. The mention of the Pradyota dynasty in this peculiar position would be appropriate only if it ruled in Magadha. Jayaswal's contention that the account of the Pradyotas is to be read as a foot-note to the Śiśunāga dynasty²⁰ has no ground, as the Purāṇas give no indication to that effect.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

19. H. D. Bhide, *JBORS.*, 1921, p. 106 f.

20. *JBORS.*, 1915, p. 108.

- (2) The Purāṇas ascribe to Pradyota a reign of 23 years; but Pradyota of Avanti had a much longer reign, being the contemporary of Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru and Darśaka.
- (3) According to the Purāṇas, Pradyota's father was Pulaka; the *Kathāsaritsāgara* gives his name as Jayasena.²¹ The two Pradyotas were therefore different.
- (4) The Purāṇas call Pālaka's son Viśākhayūpa; but we know from the *Mṛcchakaṭika* that Pālaka was succeeded by Āryaka.

Jyotirmay Sen further doubts whether there was at all any Pradyota dynasty at Ujjayinī contemporary of the Buddha.²² His grounds are the following:

- (5) Counting the number of Ikṣvākus and Brhadrathas from Adhisimākṛṣṇa we find that though we have the Buddhist synchronism of Udayana, Pradyota, Bimbisāra and Prasenajit, the Pradyota of the Purāṇas will be several generations prior to the other three.
- (6) Pradyota's contemporaneity with the Buddha is also open to doubt when it is remembered that nowhere in earlier Buddhist texts is he brought in direct relationship with the teacher, nor is he made, if we accept the solitary evidence of the late *Theragāthā Commentary*, a convert to Buddhism.
- (7) It is only in two Jātakas that Pradyota is mentioned. This contrasts with the case of the real contemporaries of the Buddha who figure largely in the birth-stories.
- (8) The *Kathāsaritsāgara* clearly distinguishes between Pradyota of Magadha and Caṇḍamahāsena of Avanti.

From these Sen concludes that Pradyota lived several generations before the Buddha. Popular fancy, according to him, has connected Udayana and Pradyota, because both were abnormal in their characters, the one being extremely amorous and the other ferocious to an equal degree. 'The progress of the Pradyota legend,' he concludes, 'is interesting; it shows a deliberate attempt made from age to age to mould it in the light of fresh circum-

21. *Kss.*, xi 34.

22. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1930, pp. 678 f.

stances and exigencies, till we reach the absurdity in the *Svapna-vāsavadattā* that Pradyota was the contemporary of Darśaka of Magadha. The Buddhist and Jaina synchronism of Pradyota with the two preachers was the result of the attempts of both the sects to show that the local heroes of each city had been in relationship with their masters. Pradyota remains throughout an enigmatic figure floating from time to time.'

Some of these arguments are utterly untenable and must be rejected; while the rest are not so cogent as to justify such an important conclusion. We may examine them one by one:

(1) In the Purāṇas as they stand, the position of the Pradyota dynasty is no doubt anomalous, and Jayaswal's assumption is certainly unjustified. I believe that the difficulty arises only with those scholars who still refuse to recognise the true chronological position of Śiśunāga. It must be grasped that the Purāṇas are utterly wrong in placing Śiśunāga before Bimbisāra and that the true history of the period is to be found in the *Mahāvamsa*. With the recognition of this fact matters are considerably simplified. When the Brāhadrathas and the Vitihotras passed away, the Pradyota dynasty came to power in Avanti. Contemporaneously with it, Bimbisāra and his successors were ruling in Magadha. The Ujjayini and the Pāṭaliputra dynasties, however, were uprooted by Śiśunāga who made himself master of both. The Purāṇas sometimes mention contemporary dynasties as succeeding ones, as in the case of the so-called Āndhras, who were not a Magadhan power, though the Purāṇas would leave that impression. Here we stand on a firmer ground, for we are distinctly told that Pradyotas ruled in Avanti. The fact that the last Pradyota was defeated by Śiśunāga seems to be one of the reasons why the ill-informed Purāṇic copyists dragged Śiśunāga before Bimbisāra to show that Śiśunāga succeeded the Pradyotas.

The general Purāṇic text of the dynastic revolution organized by Pradyota's father runs thus:

Brāhadratheṣv atīteṣu Vitihotreṣv Avantīṣu |

Pulikāḥ svāmināṁ hatvā sva-putram abhiṣekṣyati ||

Avantīṣu is the general reading of the Matsya; the Brahmanḍa and some MSS of the Vāyu have *a-vartīṣu*, while others have *vartīṣu*.

Harit Krishna Deb has translated the above passage as: 'When the Brāhadrathas will cease to exist, as also the Vitihotras, in Avanti, Pulika will kill his master and make his own son king.'²³ Sen objects to this translation, because the Purāṇas mention the Vitihotras in the list of the early dynasties who ruled contemporaneously with the Śiśunāgas. So it is not possible for the Pradyotas to come to the throne after the Vitihotras had passed away; according to him, therefore, the correct reading of the Purāṇas ought to be *Vitihotreṣu vartīṣu*, 'when the Vitihotras were existing (ruling).' But if we examine the list of the early contemporary dynasties, we find that in spite of the definite statement of the Purāṇas that they ruled side by side with the Śiśunāgas, some of them at least had ceased to exist before the accession of Śiśunāga. We are told, for example, that there were 28 Maithilas;²⁴ but long before the time of the Buddha and Mahāvira, Mithilā had ceased to be a monarchy, and even as a republic it did not live to see the beginning of Śiśunāga's power. Similar may have been the case of the Vitihotras who might have ceased to exist before the accession of Pradyota. It is not necessary, therefore, to doubt the reading *Avantīṣu* in the above verse. It may be pointed out that this reading is supported not only by a vast majority of the Matsya MSS, but also the Brahmanḍa MS of the Dacca University Library which Sen himself quotes in his article.

(2) The Purāṇas ascribe to Pradyota a reign of 23 years. Even if the figure is correct, there is no difficulty in his being the contemporary of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru; but his contemporaneity with Darśaka is open to the gravest doubt. The anonymous *Svapna-vāsavadattā* no doubt calls Udayana's Magadhan father-in-law Darśaka; but as D. R. Bhandarkar shows, that is well-nigh impossible.²⁵ The *Kathāsaritsāgara* calls him Pradyota, while the *Brhatkathāślokaśaṁgraha* is silent about his name.²⁶ These differences tend to the conclusion that story-tellers had forgotten his real name and invented imaginary ones according to their fancy.

23. Deb, *op. cit.*

24. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

25. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, Lecture II. [According, to drama Princes Padmavati was the sister of Darsaka. S.K.]

26. *Kss.*, xv 19; *Bkm.*, III i 176; Lacote, *Essai sur Guṇādhya et la Brhatkathā*, tr. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 173.

(3) Pulaka (probably corrected to Puṇaka) is the real name of the father of Pradyota, as it is attested to by Bāṇa.²⁷ Later traditions have created some other names, such as Jayasena in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Anantanemi in the Tibetan tradition.²⁸ All these variants do not justify multiplication of persons.

(4) We have seen above that Viśākhayūpa's chronological position is doubtful. He might have ruled after Āryaka or ruled simultaneously with him. Such cases of inversion are not rare in the Purāṇas.

(5) There is not much diversity in the number of descendants of the three dynasties, the Puru, the Bṛhadratha and the Ikṣvāku. The Purus from Parikṣit to Udayana count 25; the Bṛhadrathas from Jarāsandha to Ripuṇjaya (whom Pradyota's father is reported to have killed) count 23; the Ikṣvākus from Bṛhadbala (killed in the Bhārata war by Abhimanyu²⁹) to Prasena-jit count 29, but as there are four false names in the list (*viz.* Śākya, Śuddhodana, Siddhārtha and Rāhula) the actual number is 25. Thus the contemporaneity of Prasena-jit, Udayana and Pradyota is sufficiently well-established even in the Purāṇas. There is no reason to think with Sen that the Purāṇic account of the Purus and Ikṣvākus is abridged, so that Pradyota is to be placed much earlier than Udayana and Prasena-jit.

(6) Sen believes that Pradyota did not live in the time of Buddha because they are never brought into direct relationship with each other. A much simpler explanation is that they never came in direct relationship with each other, which is perfectly natural, because the Buddha never visited Avanti, his activities being confined to Kosala and Magadha. But we must remember that in the *Mahāvagga*, one of the earliest Buddhist texts, Pradyota is definitely said to have been a contemporary of Bimbisāra;³⁰ *a fortiori* Pradyota was a contemporary of the Buddha. The story of Pradyota's conversion to Buddhism, given in Dhammapāla's *Theragāthā Commentary*,³¹ may be accepted or rejected. But the fact of Pradyota's not being a convert of Buddhism can never be regarded as a proof of his not being a contemporary of the Buddha.

27. *Harṣacarita*, ed. Führer, p. 270.

28. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 17.

29. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV iv 112.

30. *Mahāvagga*, VIII i 23 f, ed. Oldenberg, pp. 276 f.

31. *Psalm of the Brethren*, tr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, pp. 238 f.

(7) The reason of the rare mention of Pradyota in the Jātakas is that the Jātakas are mainly concerned 'with the kingdom of the Kāśi-Kosala and Magadha, where Buddha, according to tradition, lived and taught; . . . here the acts of by far the largest majority of the Jātakas were performed.'³²

(8) This point has been dealt with above in connection with (2). It is impossible to find a Pradyota in Magadha in the 6th or 5th century B.C. The Pradyota of Magadha mentioned in the Kashmiri *Bṛhatkathā* is the product of a confusion between the two fathers-in-law of Udayana. As is well-known, the Buddhists make Caṇḍa a surname of Pradyota.³³ There is no way therefore but to identify him with the Caṇḍamahāsena of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*.

Thus, none of the arguments of Bhide and Sen can stand scrutiny. The synchronisms of the Buddha and Bimbisāra, of the Buddha and Prasena-jit, of Pradyota and Bimbisāra, of Prasena-jit and Bimbisāra, of the Buddha and Udayana and, finally, of Udayana and Pradyota³⁴ are well-established by Buddhist tradition, substantially supported by Jaina and popular legends. And as nothing is found in the Purāṇas against these synchronisms, we may hold it proved that the four emperors and the two teachers were contemporaries. Support for this conclusion is available from every quarter, e.g., the Tibetan and Chinese legends, as well as the *Lalitavistara*,³⁵ where Sen is 'surprised to find' the name of the Pradyota dynasty. And against this have been raised only some futile objections and vague doubts; nothing has been pointed out which can really affect what is already known about the Pradyotas. There is no evidence of any 'progress' of the Pradyota legend; save a few details here and there, it has always remained the same, based on sound history.

32. Fick, *Social Organization of North-eastern India in Buddha's Time*, tr. Maitra, p. ix.

33. *Jātaka Text*, ed. Fausböll, Vol. V, p. 133; *Psalm of the Brethren*, p. 238, etc.

34. *Commentary on the Dhammapada*, ed. Norman, Vol. I, pp. 191 f; the anonymous *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyana*; *Meghadūta*, i 31; *Harṣacarita*, ed. Führer, p. 268; all the versions of the *Bṛhatkathā*, etc.

35. *Lalitavistara*, ed. Lefmann, erster Teil, p. 21. (v.l. *Pradyotana*, *ibid.*, zweiter Teil, p. 9).

An Estimate of Madanna from the French Records

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I.

We have considerable historical material on Abul Hasan's minister, Mādanna, in two French sources on the history of Golconda, hitherto unnoticed by Indian historians—the Letters of Director-General Baron, and the Mémoires of François Martin. The information contained in these two documents is full enough to enable us to follow the administrative career of the man, and, by focussing our attention on the motives underlying his domestic and foreign policy, to form a correct estimate of Mādanna's position in 17th century history as a diplomat, administrator, and statesman. We shall attempt to do this, in the present article, and, as a necessary preliminary, we shall first briefly examine the contents and historical reliability of the two sources just alluded to.

The material relative to Mādanna, in Baron's correspondence, is comparatively scanty, and is found, in particular, in three letters which the French Director wrote to De La Haye, to Louis XIV, and to his minister Colbert between the years 1674 and 1676.¹ We have ourselves made careful copies of these letters from the originals lying in the French Colonial Archives at Paris. The material relating to Mādanna, in the Mémoires, on the other hand, is considerable, and will be found in Volume II of "Les Mémoires de François Martin, Fondateur de Pondichéry" a proof copy of which was presented to me by the editor M. Alfred Martineau.

As material for the historian, these two documents stand in a slightly different category from each other, in point of their

character at least, if not in point of their historical reliability. This difference, is, of course, due to the difference in character of the men who wrote them. François Baron, the author of the letters, was a simple, plainspoken and an altogether loveable character as a man,² but, just for that reason, he is, as a chronicler of events, somewhat garrulous and gossipy,³ and, therefore apt to rouse the suspicions of the sober minded historian. But we have really no reason to distrust or discount the little information Baron has to give on Golconda history. As we shall show when citing it, there were particular reasons why Baron could not have been mistaken in the facts he was recording.

The author of the Mémoires, François Martin, though a political disciple of Baron's⁴ is, yet, in character, a perfect contrast to him. He is sober and matter of fact, where Baron is apt to be swayed by enthusiasm or imagination, prosaic and even dull where Baron is picturesque and always interesting. Though Martin's account often makes dull reading, it is thoroughly dependable, since his facts are well authenticated, and his opinions always expressed with impartiality and moderation. In respect of his information on Golconda, in particular, Martin's evidence is unimpeachable. He was not only well placed at Pondichéry to watch the course of events at Golconda for himself, but he also had a reliable correspondent there, in the person of the physician Destremeau. As Martin himself observes of his Golconda information "I only state as certain, things I have seen and known. I, of course, depend for my information on the letters and advices which I receive from people, but even so, I always carefully discriminate between people who can be trusted, and those who cannot."⁵

II.

The French accounts, unfortunately, say nothing of Mādanna's antecedents, before he came to power. Their notice of him only commences with his actual entry into Golconda politics, about the close of the year 1674. Martin describes his accession to the

2. See "Les Premières Relations entre les Français et les Princes Indigènes au XVIIème Siècle: Adrian Duarte Paris 1932. p. 83-87.

3. See particularly his letter of Dec. 14, 1674.

4. See "Les Premières Relations etc." Adrian Duarte, Paris, 1932. p. 98-101.

5. Martin's Memoirs: Vol. II. p. 159.

1. Baron à De la Haye, Madras le 14 Dec. 1674. AC. C⁶³. f. 271-279. Baron Louis XIV. Surat le 3 Jan. 1675 AC. C⁶³. f. 293-303. Baron à Colbert. Surat le 20 Oct. 1675 AC. C⁶³. f. 316-317.

wazirship with characteristic brevity. Mādanna "insinuated himself into the good will of the king" says he, "and assumed absolute power, after he had caused certain Pathan, Persian, and other lords to be arrested, or removed out of the way."⁶ Baron, as usual, is more expansive. "The news of Golconda," he writes to De la Haye, "is that the court is, just now, in the throes of a great commotion, on account of the Brahmin Mādanna, who has gained complete influence over the mind of the king. Musca Mian is no longer governor of this province (Madras) of which Fatte Mian will take charge, unless the son of Mahomed Amin, captain of the guard, is preferred to him. Mousafer, Jabarek, Safi Alam Khan, and two other personages whose names I do not know, have fled for safety to the Mughal Court."⁷

These two accounts of the change of Wazirs at Golconda must be taken as substantially correct. Neither Martin nor Baron could have been mistaken with regard to the facts they chronicle, for both, at this time, had a special reason to watch the course of events at the Golconda court with great interest, and, one of them, Baron, with great anxiety. Their friend Chinna Pali Mirza had undertaken, in November 1674⁸ to negotiate the sale of San Thomé to the French. The success of the negotiations had depended closely on the minister in power at the court of Golconda, and, as Mādanna was not well disposed towards the French because of the Dutch, his accession to power had proved fatal to the negotiations.

If the French version, then, is accepted as true, it will be found to vary, in two respects, from Sir Jadunath Sarcar's version of the change of ministers. Slight though these variations may be, they are yet worth discussion in the interest of historical precision and exactitude. Sarcar affirms⁹ that the revolution in the Golconda wazirship took place in the year 1673; the French version places it exactly a year later. Whatever may be Sarcar's reasons for accepting the former date, we have already stated ours for preferring the latter—both Martin and Baron were interested observers of the events unrolling at Golconda, at this

6. Martin's Memoirs: Chap. XIII. p. 38.

7. Baron à De la Haye, Madras. 14 Dec. 1674. p. 271-279.

8. Baron à Louis XIV. 3 Jan. 1675. AC. C⁶³. f. 298-303. Baron à Colbert. 23 Dec. 1675. AC. C⁶³. f. 318-324.

9. History of Aurangzib: Vol. IV. p. 333-334.

particular point of time, and could not by any possibility have been mistaken about their date. On this point, therefore, their evidence ought to be conclusive.

The second variation, as to the cause of the change of ministers, is, to our mind, more important since it calls into question the characters of the two principal actors in the drama. Sarcar states¹⁰ that Abul Hasan called Mādanna to office because he was exasperated with Muzaffar, for treating him like a cypher; the French version, without committing itself about Muzaffar, merely states that Abul Hasan called Mādanna to power, because Mādanna exercised a powerful ascendancy over the king's mind. Which of these versions is correct? If the Golconda king had anything like the character which Martin consistently gives him, the answer to this question is not difficult. Abul Hasan was temperamentally a cypher, and, as such, destined to be treated like one by any minister. The fact that Muzaffar treated him like a cypher would really not be conclusive with Abul Hasan in dismissing him. What really mattered was that he had come to like Mādanna more, and, to a weak, dependent monarch like Abul Hasan this was enough reason why he should authorise Mādanna to get rid of Muzaffar, and instal himself in his place.

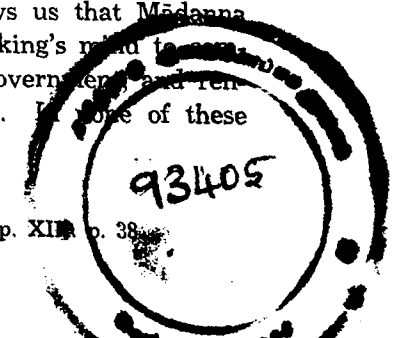
III.

Even if we assume, for argument's sake, that Mādanna came into power as the result of an outburst of Abul Hasan's resentment against his old minister Muzaffar, it is certain that that resentment was the last evidence of strength which the king was destined to display. For, certainly, the very first activities which Martin has to record of the new Brahmin minister were activities directed towards making Abul Hasan a far greater cypher in all real management of the affairs of state, than he had ever been under Muzaffar Khan.

In three successive entries, dated respectively July and August 1675, and February 1676,¹¹ Martin shows us that Mādanna used his overwhelming ascendancy over the king's mind to completely alienate him from all knowledge of government, and render himself the absolute master of the state. In none of these

10. History of Aurangzib: Vol. IV. p. 333-4.

11. Martin's Memoirs: Chap. XII. p. 25 and Chap. XIII. p. 38.



three entries is there a hint to show that Abul Hasan exhibited the least strength of character to resist Mādanna's influence. On the contrary, in his entry dated August, Martin points out that "the king was in a species of indolence, and did not show the smallest inclination for government."¹² In that of February 1676, he further tells us that "indolence was eminently suited to the genius of this prince."¹³ It does not seem possible, after these conclusive proofs, that Abul Hasan was anything but the "roi fainéant" that Martin makes him out to be.

However, our main interest is with Mādanna, and not Abul Hasan. Mādanna's earliest object, after his accession to office, appears to have been to reduce Abul Hasan to such a state of dependence and mental servitude to himself, that Mādanna would become the virtual ruler of the state. In these efforts he seems to have completely succeeded. Within two years of his accession to the wazirship, not only could Mādanna "manage the king, and turn him to his sentiments"¹⁴ but the whole government and revenues of the state were now farmed out to Mādanna in return for a monthly stipend which the minister allowed the king for his royal expenses.¹⁵

These measures to enslave the head of the state were accompanied by other measures to enslave every branch of the Golconda administration. Mādanna doubtless felt that in the programme ahead of him, he could only control the resources of the state, and at the same time disarm all attempts at a counter revolution against himself, by controlling all the chief offices in the state, and manning them with his own trusty servants. On his accession to power Mādanna had already made a clean sweep of the principal office-bearers and substituted his own Brahmin creatures in their place.¹⁶ The process was now steadily continued. In August 1675, Martin writes, "Letters from Golconda announce several changes which have taken place in the court. The minister Mādanna is putting his creatures in the chief offices, in order to

be the absolute master of affairs."¹⁷ The administrative revolution was, perhaps, not proceeding as quickly as Mādanna desired it, because, again in April 1677, Martin writes that "disgusted to see that there were still so many Pathan, Persian, and Deccani grandees in the state in receipt of large salaries, Mādanna had resorted to various expedients to compel them to relinquish their charges, even to the extent of causing their salaries to be reduced."¹⁸

IV.

It seems probable that the administrative changes we have just noted, were but the necessary preliminaries, in Mādanna's mind, to the realisation of his main objects, which were foreign and diplomatic. We are in a position to get a glimpse of these larger designs in the mind of the minister from the facts Martin chronicles and the motives he ascribes to Mādanna, in what was certainly one of the most important events of his foreign policy, namely, his co-operation with Shivaji in the conquest of the Carnatic. Fortunately for the interest which the French at Pondichéry had in this event, we have a very full account of Shivaji's expedition to the Carnatic, from Martin's pen.¹⁹

The assassination of Cavesh (Khavas) Khan, the Bijapur regent, by his rival Bhulol Khan in December 1675 was the signal for the outbreak of a civil strife between the Deccani and Pathan factions which distracted the Bijapur capital. From the capital, the war extended into the provinces. In the Carnatic, Shere Khan Lodi, the Bijapur governor of Vāligonḍapuram, and champion of the Pathan faction made war on Nazir Mahomed, ruler of Gingi, and partisan of the Deccani faction. Owing to his superior resources and the military help which Martin gave him Shere Khan was able to get the better of his adversary, and wrest most of his possessions from him. Worstened in the conflict, and, "animated with bitter hatred of the Pathan party," Nazir Mahomed, in May 1676, sought the protection of the king of Golconda. He agreed to place Gingi into the hands of Abul Hasan, and, in return to hold certain lands in gift from the king of Golconda.

12. Martin: Chap. XII. p. 25.

13. Martin: Chap. XIII. p. 38. Further down Martin says Abul Hasan was 'devoid of all resolution or any spirit of government,' that he was 'unworthy by his conduct of the title of King.'

14. Martin: Chap. XIII. p. 91.

15. Martin: Chap. XIII. p. 38.

16. Martin: Chap. XII. p. 25.

17. Chap. XII. p. 38.

18. Chap. XIV. p. 130.

19. Martin: Chap. XII. pp. 36-107.

Mādanna who completely had the ear of his royal master, and could turn and twist him to his own wishes, now suggested to Abul Hasan that Nazir Mahomed's request offered an excellent chance for the king of Golconda, not only to gain possession of Gingi, but of Madura, Tanjore and other parts as well, and thus make himself virtual master of the Carnatic. At the same time, however, he pointed out that it would never do for Golconda to send a large army into the Carnatic, for the declared purpose of conquering it, without rousing the opposition of the Mughal. The best course, in the circumstances, he suggested would be to depute Shivaji to make the conquest. The Mahratta chieftain, he assured Abul Hasan, would gladly undertake the mission, were he provided with the necessary help in artillery and funds. Once he had conquered the Carnatic, Shivaji would retain certain parts of it which he claimed as his ancestral patrimony, and hand over all the rest to Golconda. Needless to say, Abul Hasan fell in entirely with Mādanna's plan.

Shivaji was now sent for (March 1677), and if there were any lingering doubts in Abul Hasan's mind, they were entirely removed by the magic of Shivaji's personality. At the interview which took place between Abul Hasan and the Mahratta chief, Mādanna's plan was formally endorsed, the military and financial contribution which Golconda would make towards the enterprise settled, and orders dispatched to all the Golconda officers in the Carnatic that Shivaji was acting on behalf of the king of Golconda and should receive all co-operation.

In April 1677 Shivaji descended into the Carnatic by the Damalchervu pass. In June he took delivery of Gingi from Nazir Mahomed. In July he defeated Shere Khan Lodi at the battle of Trivadi, and by September, he was on his way back to his own kingdom after having placed the Carnatic in the hands of his lieutenants. Long before this time, however, he had made it clear that he was not acting as a deputy of Abul Hasan's, but as a principal. In the original pact between Nazir Mahomed and Golconda it had been agreed that when Gingi was surrendered to the Golconda officers, Nazir Mahomed would be compensated with other jagirs in the Golconda kingdom. When Gingi was surrendered to Shivaji in June, the Golconda officers naturally asked that they should be placed in possession of the fortress, but Shivaji's officers bluntly refused to surrender it. "This refusal," says

Martin, "opened Abul Hasan's eyes to the deception which had been practised upon him. It made him realise that Shivaji and Mādanna had come to a secret understanding with each other to the prejudice of his own interests."

Deception there certainly was, and of a methodical and deliberate kind. Mādanna's meeting with Shivaji at Golconda did not represent, as it was intended to appear, the commencement of his negotiations with the Mahratta chief, but their final consummation. We have Baron's conclusive evidence²⁰ that Shivaji had entertained the project of invading the Carnatic as early as in 1675. Since that time continuous negotiations had been in progress between his emissary Raghunath Narain, and Mādanna. Mādanna had already fully made up his mind to subsidize Shivaji with Golconda money, to enable him to conquer the Carnatic for himself. Only the pretext for letting Shivaji loose into the Carnatic was wanting, and the pretext had opportunely arrived in the request of Nazir Mohomed. When Shivaji finally set out on his mission as Golconda's accredited agent, and with the sinews of war which Golconda had supplied, nobody knew better than Mādanna that Shivaji would never give Abul Hasan the territories he had promised to give him. As Martin observes, Mādanna "knew Shivaji too well not to realize that he would never keep the promise that he had made." The whole was a carefully planned conspiracy to hoodwink Abul Hasan into pulling the chesnuts out of the fire for the greater benefit of the Mahratta chieftain.

The deception, however, once proved, only makes us wonder why it was practised, and what were the ultimate ends of all this tortuous diplomacy. The first point, is, of course, easily settled. If Abul Hasan could never be expected to see eye to eye with Mādanna's ultimate views, it was necessary to practise deception on him and place before him the bait of fictitious advantages he would never actually reap. But deception was only the means to a definite end. What was the end in view which justified the employment of such means? We shall let Martin answer the question: "Mādanna's views," says he, "were to place this part

20. 'Anagi Pent . . . m'avoua avec beaucoup de franchise que si le Mogol continuait la guerre du côté de Laör . . . que Sivagy porterait ses armes de ce côté là . . . et pour avoir moins de difficulté à l'entreprise il avait envoyé un ambassadeur à la Cour de Golconde'. Baron à De la Haye. AC. C^o63. 316-7.

of the Carnatic once again under the domination of the Hindus, and, by facilitating its conquest for Shivaji, to make of him a powerful protector."

V.

We have reached the year 1677 which is, in several respects, the year of the fullest maturity of Mādanna's diplomatic system. Everything that the system stood for—absolute rule at home, a brahmin administration, the restoration of Hindu rule in the Carnatic, a firm alliance with Shivaji as the chief plank of national defence—all these had, by the year 1677, become concrete accomplished facts giving expression to his aims and definitely influencing the history of the Deccan. The future had nothing new to add to these products of Mādanna's diplomatic mind. On the contrary, the future was only to bring in the reaction against the system. Hereafter Martin's scanty entries only serve to show the decline and fall of the system Mādanna had reared up, under the undermining influences of the system itself and other forces set in motion by a greater diplomat than Mādanna—the Emperor Aurangzeb.

This year, then, serves as a very convenient point at which to take stock of Mādanna's diplomatic achievements, and, in the light of the evidence the French accounts place before us, to assign to him his proper position in 17th century history as a diplomat, statesman, and administrator.

Mādanna doubtless favoured the existence in Central and Southern India of a community of Hindu and semi-Hindu states as a defensive bulwark against the ever pressing encroachment of Mogul India from the North and West. Nothing short of such a theory can satisfy the facts of Mādanna's rule since his accession to power in 1674. He had imposed himself and a brahmin bureaucracy on the Golconda state, one of the clauses of the Treaty of Kulbarga stipulated that his brother Akkanna should be wazir of the Bijapur state,²¹ he had helped to establish Hindu rule in the Carnatic, and finally he had secured the firm alliance of Shivaji. What other supposition can these facts warrant than that Mādanna sought to consolidate Hindu rule in Central India, and use it as a defensive weapon against the constant menace of Mahomedan India from the North? These doubtless were the "Vast designs" which Martin

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is always hinting at in his comments on Mādanna's policy in the memoirs.

If this is a correct expression of Mādanna's aims, the strongest point of the system was undoubtedly his alliance with Shivaji, and the weakest his attempt to fasten an alien administration on the Golconda state. The first proves Mādanna's claim to be considered a clever diplomat, the second repudiates his claim to be considered a statesman. The alliance with Shivaji was, in fact, Mādanna's greatest diplomatic achievement. It was the only effective weapon practicable at the time against Mogul aggression, and it was permanent and beneficial as a scheme of national defence. Though momentarily threatened in 1678²² it lasted as long as Shivaji lasted and was renewed with his successor Sambaji. From the national point of view it served its purpose well. We have Martin's evidence²³ that Shivaji's diversion in 1679, to relieve the pressure of Dilir Khan's attack on Bijapur was largely subsidized if not actively instigated by Golconda, and only the weakness of Sambaji prevented the alliance from becoming an offensive weapon to combat Aurangzeb's invasion in 1684²⁴. On the other hand, however, the greatest weakness of Mādanna's system was the brahmanical tinge which he gave it, and his attempt to fasten an alien Brahmin administration on the Golconda state. This change dictated by narrow religious interest was doubly a mistake. As Martin points out²⁵ the disturbance of hereditary vested interests which the change involved, created a vast army of malcontents who became the declared enemies of the state, and by taking refuge in the Mogul court, hastened the revolution which brought about the ruin of the Golconda state. On the other hand, the change was itself a bad one. By removing the older Mahomedan administration to replace it by a rapacious Brahmin oligarchy Mādanna was doing nothing to earn the gratitude of the people, and win their support to his rule. The pernicious effects of Brahmin extortion and their bad government are plainly visible in these eloquent entries of Martin made during his passage through the Golconda kingdom in 1677. Mangālgiri "a big town—of great importance formerly on account of its weavers and painters was now in ruins owing to the deplorable administration of the Brahmins." Vālāby "important formerly because of the manufacture of chittes, and a town where there were more than 2,000 painters

21. Sarcar: History of Aurangzib. p. 150,

22. Martin: Memoirs. p. 126. Also Sarcar: History p. 221.

23. and 24. Martin's Memoirs: Chap. XVI.

25. Martin: Chap. XII. p. 20 and Chap. XIII. p. 38.

had now no more than 20 in it." At Anteguir "the inhabitants were in the last state of misery and dared not even eat betel leaves lest they might make it known, thereby, that they had something over and above what was absolutely necessary for life, and thus provoke the extortions of the Brahmins." The only improvement which Martin saw was that between Masulipatam and Golconda "there had been put up, at intervals of four leagues, big buildings of the shape of granaries, by order of the minister Mādanna where they cooked rice every day." But this charity was only given to the Brahmins. "They would not give so much as a drop of water by way of alms to any other persons be they Christians, Mahomedans, or even Hindus of any other caste than Brahmins." Is it any wonder that, in these circumstances, the minister should have died, as Sarcar puts it "undefended, unavenged, and un-honoured"?²⁶

VI.

It only remains, now, to rapidly sum up the march of events which led to the final act in the drama, and brought about the fall of the Brahmin minister. In the war of diplomatic wits which preceded the ruin of the Deccan sultanates, Aurangzeb had every thing to gain by a waiting game. Time was on the side of the Mogul Emperor. Of the three adversaries pitted against him, death removed the most powerful in 1680.²⁷ Thereafter all that Aurangzeb had to do was to wait patiently until the two Pathan states of the Deccan should give him a suitable pretext to invade and destroy them.

In the meanwhile, however, he employed all the resources of his malignant diplomacy to foster dissensions among them, through the Mogul residents at the Pathan courts, and, in the case of Golconda, at least, to goad Abul Hasan to the point of resistance, by his endless exactions. Martin records the slow process of this financial exhaustion of the Golconda state. Already in 1679, Dilir Khan's demands for money had compelled Abul Hasan to melt down his silver and gold vessels, and sell some of the royal jewellery²⁸ and now, in 1684, Martin records that "the Mogul who has his own views in mind was weakening the Golconda state every

day. He was draining it every year of large sums of money under the name of tribute. Hearing that this poor prince had a diamond weighing 420 carats he ordered his ambassador at the Court to ask for it. The government was so spiritless that Abul Hasan dared not refuse, and the diamond was sent to the Mogul."²⁹

At length in 1682, it was clear that the day of reckoning of the Deccan states was fast approaching. The flight to the court of Sambaji of Aurangzeb's revolted son Akbar, drew the Emperor, in that year, towards the South. But two years later Aurangzeb abandoned the project of subduing the possessions of Sambaji and concentrated all his attention on the preliminary destruction of the Deccan Sultanates. In March 1685 he laid siege to Bijapur. The three Deccan states were like the bulls in the story. So long as they stood together they had some chance to prevail against the Mogul lion, when isolated from each other, they were sure to fall. This essential condition of their existence was evident to Mādanna, for, directly Bijapur was besieged Golconda prepared to assist its sister state.³⁰

Sarcar declares³¹ that Aurangzeb's interception of a treacherous letter from Abul Hasan to Sikandar caused the breach of diplomatic relations between Golconda and the Mogul. Martin, on the other hand, affirms³² that Abul Hasan took the initiative in the diplomatic rupture by ordering the Mogul ambassador's residence to be plundered of the 12 lacs of rupees which had just been paid in as tribute. However this may be, war was declared between Aurangzeb and the Golconda state, and, in July 1685 Sultan Shah Alam was detached from the main army encamped before Bijapur, to attack Hyderabad. For the details of what followed, Martin's description is perhaps the best. "The Golconda army, under the command of Mādanna and Mahomed Ibrahim encamped on the frontiers of the Kingdom to oppose the advance of the Mogul army under Shah Alam. Owing to cowardice or treachery,—most probably the latter—Mādanna and Mahomed Ibrahim suddenly raised their camp and retired. They were pursued by Shah Alam who forced them to seek shelter under the cannon of the fortress of Golconda where Abul Hasan had already retired on receiving intelligence of the enemy's approach. In the meanwhile the Mogul

26. Chap. XVIII. pp. 240, 244, 245-6.

27. Shivaji's death is stated by Martin to have taken place on April 17, 1680.

28. Martin's Memoirs: p. 142.

29. Martin's Memoirs: p. 361.

30. Sarcar: History. p. 341-42.

31. History: p. 314.

32. Martin's Memoirs: p. 403.

The Marathas had begun to show sympathies towards the French, the enemies of the English and on May 13, 1778, Nana Phadnavis delivered a paper to St. Lubin an ambassador from France and sought the assistance of the French to punish a nation who had raised an insolent head and whose measure of injustice was full.¹ [The Marathas had also concluded a treaty of peace with the Portuguese on the 17th December 1779 in accordance with which the fleets of the respective parties were not to attack one another at sea, but to provide each other with any necessities they might require and both the parties bound themselves not to help each other's enemies. (The Portuguese in India by F. C. Danvers, Vol. II, p. 438.) They had also won over to their side the Sidi of Janjira against the English though he was always an ally of the English, and their enemy.] In the war between the Marathas and the English the latter were defeated, and had to sign the Treaty of Wargaon in 1779. As this treaty was dishonourable to the English, Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, repudiated it. A continuation of the war with the English seemed inevitable, and the Peshwa and other Maratha nobles thought it prudent to stop their enmities against Hyder and were but too glad to accept the Nizam's request for help against the English.

The Bhonsle of Nagpur who was almost ousted from Bengal and Orissa by the English was but too glad to join the confederacy against the English and see that they were severely punished, as may be seen from one² of Mudhoji Bhonsle's letters to Nana Phadnavis, though of a later date, viz., 13-11-1780, in which he says—the English must be overwhelmed on all sides. Unless they are once severely punished no power would remain in peace. Even the Emperor of Delhi and his minister Nazafkhan wished very much that the English should be crushed.

It was agreed among the confederates that the Bhonsle should attack the English in Bengal, the Nizam and Hyder should attack them in the south, and the Peshwa with the help of the Scindia and Holkar should attack them on the western coast.

The corrupt and inefficient Government of Madras was very slow to perceive these developments which aimed a fatal blow to the English power in India. [Thornton observes that the moral

atmosphere of Madras was pestilential, corruption revelled unrestrained. It is not wonderful that where public spirit and public decency were alike extinct the Government should be neither wise nor strong. (V. Smith's Oxford History of India, p. 541.)] The three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay pursued their affairs independently of each other. Although the Regulating Act of 1773 gave Bengal controlling authority over the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, it took some years to properly exercise the controlling authority. Both Madras and Bombay acted at times on their own responsibility without the sanction of, or even reference to, the Supreme Government. The treaty of Wargaon concluded by the Bombay Government with the Marathas in 1779, and the treaty concluded by the Madras Government with Basalat Jung detrimental to the interests of the latter's master the Nizam, offer good illustrations.³

In the meanwhile Sir Thomas Rumbold the Governor of Madras, with the double policy of softening the anger of Hyder and of ascertaining his real attitude towards the English sent Schwartz, a Danish missionary working at Tanjore with a letter from himself to Haider. Schwartz accordingly started on his journey, and on the 6th of July 1779 reached Caroor, the frontier fort of Mysore, forty miles west of Trichinopoly. Here he was detained a month waiting for Hyder's answer. On the 6th of August he resumed his journey and on the 25th he arrived at Seringapatam. Hyder Ali was struck with the singlemindedness and unaffected piety of the missionary, and he held frequent intercourse with him. His first interview with Hyder is thus described and can be read with interest along with Gray's interview with Hyder described in this article.

When I came to Hyder he desired me to sit down alongside of him. The floor was covered with the most exquisite tapestry. He received me very politely, listened friendly and with seeming pleasure to all I had to say; he spoke very openly and without reserve and said that the Europeans had broken their solemn promises and engagement, but that nevertheless he was willing to live in peace with them. At his last interview with Hyder, Schwartz thus explained the motives of his journey.

1. Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, Vol. III, p. 65.
2. Unpublished—in the Satara Museum.

3. The Central Authority in British India by A. P. Dasgupta, p. 66.

["You may perhaps wonder what could have induced me, a priest, who has nothing to do with political concerns, to come to you, and that on an errand which does not properly belong to my sacerdotal functions. But as I was plainly told that the sole object of my journey was the preservation and confirmation of peace, and having witnessed more than once, the misery and horrors attending on war, I thought within my own mind how happy I should deem myself, if I could be of service in cementing a durable friendship between the two Governments, and thus securing the blessings of peace to this devoted country and its inhabitants. This I considered as a commission in no wise derogatory to the office of a minister of God, who is a God of peace."]

Hyder answered with great cordiality,

["Very well! very well! I am of the same opinion with you; and wish that the English may be as studious of peace as you are. If they offer me the hand of peace and concord, I shall not withdraw mine."⁴]

Schwartz returned from his mission in October 1779.

Although Schwartz was treated with due honour by Hyder, the mission produced no good to the Madras Government. Hyder continued to be hostile to the English, and even kept in prison at Calicut some English subjects as the following extract from Military Consultations,⁵ 1780, bears witness.

EXTRACT FROM MILITARY CONSULTATIONS, 1780.

The President delivers the following Minute:—

I am to inform the Committee, that I have received a letter from Mr. J Hare dated at Calicut 29th of November in behalf of himself and others with him, who have been made Prisoners by the Officer of Hyder Ally Cawn. The ship they came in from Suez has been obtained, and all their papers and effects plundered. They have addressed the Officer Commanding in those districts for the Nabob Hyder Ally a copy of which address I now lay before the Committee to which they received for answer—That some difference had arisen between the Nabobs and our powers and that in order to adjust them some Gentlemen from Madras were arrived at His Highness's Court, and to these Gentlemen he promised to forward short state of their case.

4. History of India by Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 476.

5. I express my sincere thanks to the keeper of the Records of the Government of Madras for supplying me copies of all the Extracts from military consultations published in this article.

As Mr. Hare and those with him are suffering much from the ill treatment they have, and are likely to experience, I think it absolutely necessary that a person should be immediately sent to the Nabob Hyder Ally to demand the release of those Gentlemen and Family's and to Complain of the Outrage Committed on their persons, and property, at the same time to assure Hyder Ally, if he will explain to us any just cause of complaint in his side against the subjects of the British Nation, we will endeavour to remove it and as it appears from the Letters from Colonel Brathwaite that the Chief and Council of Tellicherry have improperly given protection to some of the Officers or Chiefs, of the Nairs dependent in the Government Hyder Ally, that we do assure him such interference has been without the knowledge or approbation of this Government, as the Officer Commanding the troops sent from hence had the strictest Injunctions not to assist or give protection to any of the disaffected chiefs at that district and that if the Chief and Council of Tellicherry have acted so contrary to the intentions of the Companys Government, that we shall endeavour to have a proper enquiry made and try to remove all Cause of jealousy and uneasiness between him and the company, and that we expect the same friendly conduct in his part.

To His Excellency Sirdar Khan General in the service of his Illustrious Highness the Nabob Hyder Ally Khan Commandant and Governor General of the Kingdom at Calicut.

The Memorial of John Hare on behalf of himself and 8 other subjects of the King of Great Britain.

Your Memorialist begs leave in the first place to remind your Excellency that the Humanity and Policy of enlightened ages, have suggested certain rules of universal conduct under the denomination of the Laws of Nations. That the progress of civilisation has tempered and refined these Laws, so that a minute attention to the forms in some measure the perfection of National Character.

Your Memorialist is a subject of the King of Great Britain and having occasion to depart from England by the shortest route to the British Settlements in the East Indies, he arrived at Suez on the 30th day of August last, and found at that Port the Nathalia a Danish ship in readiness to depart for Calicut, he did not hesitate to embark on board that ship and with other English subjects arrived here on the 5th day November Instant.

Your Memorialist and his Countrymen being apprized of that wisdom honour and magnanimity which celebrate the name of his Illustrious Highness the Nabob Hyder Ally Khan throughout Europe and the whole world, and being satisfied likewise that your Excellency's Renown is derived from the same virtues they would admit no apprehension in this or any other quarter of his Highness Dominions of their personal safety or freedom—But they have experienced the sad reverse of their expectations.

In a season of public peace and alliance between the powers of the Nabob and Great Britain, nine English subjects have been seized by an armed force and their persons confined without the necessaries of life separated from their property the whole of it has been violently plundered, and

such parts of it as remained undamaged and rendered useless by the Salt Water.

Their imprisonment besides being in the first instance unjust and contrary to the Laws of nations is aggravated by circumstances of peculiar and wanton cruelty. The indecent noise and Insolence of the numerous force which constitute their guard, molest equally their peace by day and their rest by night, their situation is moreover destitute of every domestic convenience and Consolation and the whole of their Money has been taken from their chests and publicly confiscated, your Excellency allows them no other supply than 2 Rupees per day to support 8 persons and their servants.

The value only of your Memorialists property which has been forcibly seized, plundered, damaged, and detained, amounts to 6,000 Rupees.

Your Memorialist proceeding from Europe to India by a shorter route than the Ordinary one was entrusted with many private Letters, and Packets which his friends had requested him to preserve with care and forwards with expedition the nature and practice moreover of his profession of a Councillor at Law (in which Capacity he was authorized to proceed to India) require a great number of manuscript papers, to the compilation of which he has dedicated some years of his Life. All these letters, Packets and papers have been forcibly taken away and obtained, and although their contents are found to be of no Public or Political Import but merely the intercourse of private friendship and the materials of a private profession; Your memorialist is denied a restoration of them, and hears with unexpressible concern that he is to be detained in prison while they are sent to His Highness the Nabob.

Your Memorialist therefore in the names of his unfortunate friends and himself prays your Excellencys attention to this state of their case, and that your Excellency will manifest that humanity and benevolence which are the attributes of your character by ordering their immediate release, the restoration of their property and with all granting a passport for the pursuit of their Expedition. But should that apparent justice be denied them your Memorialist for himself prays that he may not be further separated from those Letters Packets and papers which are the peculiar object of his case, but immediately sent with them, his servant and a proper guard to the Court of his Illustrious Highness the Nabob.
Calicut Nov. 18th 1779.

J. HARE.

Resolved that Mr. George Gray be appointed to proceed to Hyder Ally to demand the Release of the English subjects confined by his Officer at Tellicherry and that instructions be prepared for him in the terms of the President's Minute.

JOHN WHITEHILL.
CHARLES SMITH.

According to the resolution of the Madras Council Sir Thomas Rumbold wrote the following letter to Mr. George Gray, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service, and asked him to proceed immediately

to Hyder principally to demand the release of the English subjects and to see if Hyder can be brought into a better understanding with the English.

EXTRACT FROM MILITARY CONSULTATIONS 1780.

To Georg Gray.

Sir,

We have thought it proper to appoint you to proceed to Hyder Ally, to demand the release of some English subjects who are detained at Calicut by the order of Sardar Cawn Hyder's officer at that place.

We enclose you a copy of the Memorial which Mr. Hare one of those persons delivered to Sardar Cawn in behalf of himself and the rest of his Majesty's subjects so detained which will explain all the particulars sufficiently to guide you in your representations to Hyder.

You will complain to him of this outrage committed on the Persons and property of so many English subjects. At the same time assure him that as it has been always our desire to preserve a good understanding and friendship with him, if he have any cause of complaint against any of the Company's people or any English subject whatever we shall endeavour as far as lies in our power to remove it, that we have heard by Letters from our Commanding Officer on the Malabar coast that he has some complaint against the Gentlemen at Tellicherry for improper interference with the Chief of the nairs who are under his authority, that we have not the particulars, but as it is totally contrary to our wishes and the orders we gave to our Commanding Officer there, that there should have been any interference whatsoever; so we have represented both to the Governor and Council of Bombay, and to the Gentlemen of Tellicherry the propriety of removing every just cause of uneasiness, that we doubt not to meet with the same conduct on his part as nothing can contribute so much to our mutual interest as a sincere and mutual endeavour to preserve the friendship that has so long subsisted between us.

You must confine your Representations simply to the fact and the sentiments here laid down but should Hyder propose or mention any thing foreign to the subject of this Commission you will transmit the same to us for our Information.

If Hyder Ally refuse or delay to give you satisfaction in regard to the detention of the English subjects at Calicut you will desire his leave to depart and return with all convenient expedition to Madrass.

You will proceed to Vaniambady and wait there for a Passport from Hyder to join him or if the Kellidar of Vaniambady will furnish you with an Escort you may proceed without waiting for the Passport.

We are
Sir,

Fort St. George
14th January 1780,

Your most obedient Humble Servants,
Thomas Rumbold, &c.,
Select Committee.

AT A COMMITTEE PRESENT.

THE HON'BLE SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD BART. PREST.

JOHN WHITEHILL SIR HECTOR MUNRO K. B.

CHARLES SMITH.

Minute of the last Committee read and approved.

A Letter of Instructions to Mr. Gray and a Letter to Hyder Ally having been prepared agreeably to the Minutes of last Committee are now read and approved and ordered to be copied fair.

According to the instructions of the Governor of Madras on the 20th January 1780 and went to Shrirangpatan on the 17th February. But unlike Schwartz Mr. Gray received a very cold reception from Hyder and although the English prisoners were already liberated by Hyder and the main object of his mission was gained he could not do anything to bring Hyder into a better understanding with the English. He could clearly see that Hyder did not care for the friendship of the English and even seemed determined to take hostile actions against them. Hyder gave him leave on the 19th March. Gray left the place on the 20th March and returned to Madras on the 30th.

Mr. Gray had written a full account of his mission to Hyder a copy of which procured by the late Rao Bahadur Parasnis, and now preserved in the Historical Museum, Satara, in the Bombay Presidency, is published below. He narrates in it the difficulties that he met first in getting a passport to go to Hyder's capital and then to get an interview with him, the rough ways in which he was treated by Hyder and his men throughout his stay in the Nabob's capital. The description of Hyder and his court given by Gray is graphic and the picture of Hyder which we see published in books suits his description.

Mr. Gray was in vain waiting at the court of Hyder for securing his sympathies towards the English. He could not know that his own Government had done things to estrange his feelings, and that it was now impossible to win him over to the side. At the very time Gray was trying to get a personal interview with Hyder the latter was engaged in concluding an alliance with the Marathas, and on the 26th Feb., 1780 (20 Safar, Vikâri Samvatsara) a treaty was signed between Hyder and the Marathas the latter being represented by Balaji Janardhan, i.e. Nana Phadnavis, Hari

Ballal, Mahdaji Scindia, Anand Rao and Krishnarao Ballal Kale⁶, in which it was thus stipulated:

1. That the territory on both the banks of the Tungabhadra conquered by Hyder was to remain with him and he was not to molest Maratha territories.

2. That Hyder should take the offensive against the English and conquer their districts of Chinnapatan, Arcot, Trichinopoly, etc. The Marathas would attack them in Gujarat and the Nizam would do the same in Chicacole and Rajamundri.

3. That if it is necessary 5000 cavalry should be sent to the assistance of the Peshwa.

4. That Raghoba and his assistants should not be entertained.

5. That Rs. 15 lakhs should be remitted to Hyder in the Poona treasury in satisfaction of his tribute to them up to the year 1780 and Rs. 12 lakhs should be paid annually in future.

6. That Tanjore must be made free from English attacks.

7. That the Peshwa and Hyder should divide equally the newly conquered territories.

8. That Hyder should not enter into a treaty with a third power without the knowledge of the Marathas.

9. And that Raste should remain in Hyder's service with 1000 cavalry.

THE JOURNAL OF MR. GEORGE GRAY.

On the 14th January 1780 I was appointed by the Select Committee to proceed to Seeringapatam, on an Embassy to the Nabob Hyder Ali Cawn, to demand the release of some English subjects who had been stopped at Calicut by Sirdar Cawn, Hyder's Fouzdar there, but I was particularly instructed by Sir Thomas Rumbold to endeavour to bring Hyder into a better understanding with the English, than he had for some time shown, and if possible to gain his confidence; This measure seemed the more necessary in the present juncture of affairs, to prevent his taking any steps against us, that might favour either the French, and encourage

6. G. S. Sardesai's Marathi Riyasat, Uttarbhāg, Vol. I, p. 217.

their invading the Carnatic, or the Mahrattas, with whom we are actually at War; especially as the Finances of the Carnatic are not in condition to support a War, or to maintain armies in the Field. I was therefore desired to use every argument of persuasion that the urgency of the situation could suggest. A passport from Hyder had been sent for, and Veenagee Pundit his Vakeel at Madras assured Sir Thomas that one would come for me. Sir Thomas therefore desired that I would proceed with the utmost expedition. My public Instructions were dated the 14th January, but it was the 20th in the evening that I set out from Madras; I arrived on the 24th.

I wrote to the Killadar of Vaniyambady the first town in Hyder's Bounds to acquaint him that I was going to Seeringapatam on public business, and desired he would send an Escort to Conduct me; but the Hircarrahs who carried my letter were stopped by a party of Hyder's Sepoys stationed just within his Borders, purposely to prevent my entering the Country; I found that no Passport had been sent; and the Soubadar of the Bara Maul who has the Command of the District and Town on that Road, informed me by letter that I could not possibly proceed on my journey, till such time as a Passport arrived for me, until when, he advised me to continue at Amboor, and I was forced to follow his advice, I was surprised at this Obstacle, intentionally, thrown in my way when I expected a Passport, it seemed to me no favourable sign for the success of my Embassy. I wrote to Hyder to inform him of my Commission, and to request a Passport, and affixed my seal with the Title of Muttimud Ul Dawlah which I received from the Emperor Shah Allum. I forwarded my Letter to the Soubahdar of the Bara Maul and desired him to send it by the Nabob's Tap-pals to Seeringapatam which he did.

3rd February. Mr. Hare one of the persons whose enlargement I was desired to solicit, arrived at Amboor, and the next day the rest arrived. They had been very ill treated at first but latterly Hyder behaved very well to them, and furnished them conveniences for their journey thro' his Country, although the confinement of those people, was one ostensible cause of my Embassy to Hyder; yet as another object remained that I should proceed, notwithstanding they were set at liberty; whenever Hyder, gave me permission to do it,

5th February. Hyder's Passport arrives with two Hercarrahs to conduct me to Seeringapatam, but the Passport is expressed in very unceremonious terms, and limits my retinue extremely, however I determined to go on with all my People and to see what construction Hyder's Officers put upon it in his own Country.

6th February. I set out from Amboor being saluted with 13 Guns. I halt in the evening at Vaniyambady; next day at Mallipaddy a Fort of Nabob of the Carnatic, where I find the killadar and Aumildar at variance, and try to reconcile them; The day after I stay at Kishnagery; and the following day I arrive at the Pass of Royacotta, where the Soubahdar of the Bara Maul is for the present, I receive a letter from Hyder sealed with his small seal Futteh Hyder, in answer to the one I wrote to him. Here I meet with an Instance of intended slight—Hyder's Letter deprives me of my Title, and is written in disrespectful terms. He repeats in his Letter the Extent of my Passport which by limiting me to one Palankeen prevents my being accompanied by any Person in the Character of a Gentleman, or even by a servant of the country of any consequence. All my sepoy and most of my Hercarrahs are stopped, and I am hindered from appearing with the Retinue which is proper for the Rank I bear, the rest of my People and Baggage are allowed to proceed. The Soubahdar not daring to visit me himself has sent his Munshy to me, who makes an apology for his Master, which shews that he is conscious of a failure in Civility, not voluntary, but enjoined him.

10th February. Left Rayacottah and halt successively at Tillamunglum, Tiltta Chuncanally, Holgur Ikera, and Arkurra; Hyder's Hercarrahs here inform me that it is their Master's orders that I shall wait at this place till he is informed of my arrival. I therefore write to him. Next day two more Hercarrahs arrive with Hyder's answer in which he writes me, that on account of the popularity of Seeringapatam, there is no room for me within the Walls, but he has fitted up for me a Munduff by the River side where he desires me to go next morning.

14th February. I set out from Arkurra and arrive in two hours at the Munduff. My Habitation is an old ruinous stone Choultry about two miles from Seeringapatam, and on the opposite side of the River from the Fort, Suburbs, and Markets. It stands at a distance from any Houses, on a bare Plain. One

part of the Munduff is filled with Ropes and Yokes for drawing heavy artillery, over which there is a Guard of Sepoys, who have Centinels on this common Gate, who I find will also be Centinels over me, and my People; The other part is allotted to me and my attendants. It is fortunate for me I have a good tent, otherwise I should be very badly lodged. Not long after my arrival a Choubdar came on Horseback who without ceremony squatted himself beside me, and asked a great many Questions; He seems rather to have been sent to make what observations he could about me, than to shew me Civility. I ordered one of my Choubdars to go to the Nabob with my compliments; to enquire after his health, and to tell him that by God's Grace and his Favor I was safely arrived. But my Choubdar was not permitted to stir out of the Munduff. I find there are Hircarrahs posted at the Gates and all around, who will not suffer my People to go to the Buzar without an attendant, nor permit any person to come to the Munduff without the Nabob's special leave—and no person of any distinction at the Nabob's Court, or in the Character of a Gentleman, has come to receive me, or to welcome my arrival at Seeringapatam; nor has the present of Provisions usual upon such occasions been sent but I am left to provide for myself, and People, as well as I can under the restraints I have already mentioned.

18th February. The Choubdar who came yesterday returned this afternoon, to acquaint me that the Nabob expected me in the Evening, and he was to conduct me to the Durbar. I desired him to let me know the precise time proper for me to set out; which by his Information was about half past Six o'Clock, In about an hour I arrived at the Palace where I was conducted thro' a Gate to an open veranda crowded with Peons, Sepoys, Hircarrahs, and all sort of Rabble. There I was stared at and made an object of Curiosity to all that passed; One man of apparent consequence asked my Dubash what was my name. I ordered him to reply that the Nabob knew it. I was detained in this Place near two hours, when ashamed of my situation, and impatient at the Indignity put upon me, I ordered one of the Nabob's Hircarrahs that attended me, to go, and tell that if the Nabob was not at leisure then to receive my visit, I would go and come another time. Soon after this I was sent for and conducted to the Dewanchanna (—Khana) where the Nabob was. I was introduced by Abu Mahomed Master of Ceremonies and paid my respects by taking off my Hat and bowing but the Choubdars called out as when the lowest of his dependents made their Tusseliment whilst I bowed, and

Hyder made no other return than a bare, and silent Salam with his hand to his Turband. Hyder was seated not by the Wall, but about the middle of the Divanchuna (Diwankhana) between two Pillars, and a Crimson Velvet Musnud, edged with Gold Lace; a Sword and Shield by his side, One Chidmutgar behind him with a Gold Moorcha; he was dressed in a short Jama open on the left side; his sleeves were tucked up to shew a pair of Diamond Bracelets, and he had a large Diamond Ring on his Finger. There was a good many people seated in the Durbar, but I saw none of Dignity or even of good appearance. The Jamadars had Cattaries, and I wore my sword. I was conducted round and seated on the Carpet on Hyder's right Hand, close by the Wall, at about the distance of 20 feet from him. After I was seated I waited a few moments to see whether the Nabob chose to speak to me, but he shewing no Inclination to do so, I informed the Nabob that Sir Thomas Rumbold gave his compliments and sent Letters which I delivered. They were immediately read by the Munshies. I mentioned that Sir Thomas had sent a Saddle and Gun which were delivered into the hands of the Nabob's People, The Nabob enquired after Sir Thomas Rumbold's Health—A Letter was delivered me which came by the Nawab's Tappal. as I knew it was from the Governor and might be of immediate concern I opened it, and told the Nabob that Sir Thomas in that Letter desired me to present his compliments, and to inform his Excellency, that he wished to know what kind of European productions would be agreeable to his Excellency, that he might send them. Hyder replied, that he had about 600 Coss of Sia Coast from near Goa to below Calicut, where ships of all nations resorted and that he had ships of his own; by which means he was amply supplied with every thing he wanted, On this occasion the People of the Durbar launched out in praise of the Nabob's great Possessions, the Trade of his country, the number and strength of his Forts, The quantity of his Cannon and Arms. The Nabob himself mentioned the great Expences his Forts cost him, on which I joined in the general Subject of praise; I said that Europe resounded with the fame of his Wealth, his Power, his Wisdom and the glory of his warlike achievements; that I esteemed myself very fortunate, and happy, that I had an opportunity of Seeing a Warrior I had so often heard of, Hyder seemed greatly pleased with the compliment. The Saddle and Gun having been brought forth, I told the Nabob that the Gun was of an uncommon construction, and required particular management, he looked a little at it, and said he would send

a Man in the morning to learn the Way of managing it. I waited to see if any opportunity offered of talking on Business; but the Nabob took no further notice of the letters; and as he did not himself propose the subject of my Embassy it was a sign he did not choose to enter upon it.— I saw that my Reception was in State, from which he did not choose to relax, either because it was my first visit, or from other motives; and the style of conservation of the Durbar seemed calculated purposely to give me a great idea of the Nabob; I therefore determined to postpone entering upon Business, till my next meeting which I resolved to ask for next morning when the Person came about the Gun— It was now late; the Nabob gave me leave to depart; and Bettie and Other being brought, I took my leave.—

19th February. Mahomed Osman a confidential Servant of the Nabob's, who has been at Madrass, has to my surprize brought both Gun and Saddle; and says that the Nabob desires I will think nothing of his sending them back, as the Saddle is not of the Hindostan Form and therefore of no use to him, and because the Gun is liable to be put out of order, and the workmen of this country do not know how to repair it; and besides they say that it is not so good as a Gun which is loaded at the Muzzle. The Nabob desires that altho' the present is returned, I should not think that his regard is diminished; I replied that he is the Master; I know such trifles to be of no consequence; that what was agreeable to him was the principal object I attended to, I desired that it might be delivered; I laid very little stress on ceremonials, I said I had seen the Courts of Princes, both in Europe and in India; that I knew something of the forms of the Durbars of Hindostan, where I had some pretensions to Rank from the King himself; that altho' I was very sensible when there was any Deviation from the usual customs or Rules; yet I was not at all affected by it, that I came to do Business, not to stand on Punctilios. I particularly desired Mahomed Osman to inform the Nabob, I wished to have a private audience to communicate the Subject of my Embassy; that the season for sending our ships to Europe, and writing the Dispatches was at hand and I wished to see the Nabob as soon as possible to have time to inform the company in Europe by the ships of this season, of the result of my conference. Mahomed Osman promised to deliver my message, and took his leave— soon after a present of sheep and Rice, and other Provisions came to me from the Nabob.

The return of the present, is not to be explained away by any apologies whatever, and joined with the other parts of the Nabob's Behaviour, shews no friendly disposition towards us. He has from the beginning shewn an unwillingness to admit me; and altho' in a manner forced, by Sir Thomas Rumbold's Importunity, to receive me at last; he has done it in a manner that brings no honor to the English, and that marks no consent, nor Inclination towards friendship, nor concession of any kind on his Part. It is indeed reported that he has entered into an alliance with the Mahrattas, and is preparing to second their views by attacking the Carnatic. It is said that he is assembling a considerable army at Bangalore, where he has sent 15 or 20 pieces of Battering cannon, and a great many field Pieces; Troops are also said to be collecting at Carour. The old claim on the City of Trichinopoly which was promised to the King of Mysore, near 30 years ago, is said to afford a pretence for the Invasion, and it is to open with the attack of that Place.—Whatever Hyder's views may be, it is certain his Deportment towards me, is disrespectful, and unfriendly hitherto; but perhaps that may alter. I find Monsr. Lally, who was in the service of Bazalet Jung, and afterwards of Nizam Ally, is now come here, with some Europeans and Sepoys; and there are Mahratta vackeels here.

20th February. Although I spoke to Mahomed Osman to inform the Nabob I wanted a private audience, yet not trusting to that, I think it necessary to demand one by Letter; and accordingly I write to him and send my Letter by a Choubdar but it is returned, the Nabob being retired to his Zenana.

21st. Sent my Letter again and the Nabob desires that I should come in the Evening. I set out by direction after sun set and was conducted to a better apartment, than on my first visit, Here I found several Jamadars, and others sitting without their Cattaries, it being the usual Custom of Hydar's Durbar to be unarmed. After some time two Choubdars came and called out several People by Name to go to the Presence, and they were told to take their Catteries. When I had sat above an hour I was called and conducted to the same Dewanchanna as at first I take notice that the Nabob did not speak to me on my Entrance. In about half an hour Mahomed Osman came and asked me from the Nabob whether I chose to confer in a public or private audience; I replied in a private one. He said in that case you must go into another

apartment, where a Person in the Nabob's confidence will accompany you, and when he has heard what you have to say, he will inform the Nabob of it, and carry you an answer; I said that I wished to speak personally with the Nabob; he said it was not the Nabob's Custom to do so, and the way he had mentioned was the only audience I could get; with which I was obliged to comply. I went into another apartment, and was followed by an orderly man, named Mahomed Gheas, and by Mahomed Osman—When seated they asked me what was the purport of my Embassy; I said I had delivered two Letters from the Governor of Madras, one on the Business of the English subjects, who had been detained at Calicut, whose dismissal I was directed to demand, when that Letter was written, and when I left Madras it was not known that the Nabob intended of himself to set them at liberty; that I had met them on the road and learned from themselves the Nabob's Kindness, in sending for them to his Presence, and in providing them with necessaries and conveniences for their journey; for which I returned him thanks. I assured the Nabob that if any English subjects had behaved in such a manner as to give his officers just cause to complain, or to detain them; it was without the knowledge of the Company's Presidencies, against their Inclinations and against positive orders and I hoped nothing of the kind would happen again in future. The second Letter, I said, informed the Nabob, that I was commissioned to confer with him on the Interests of the two Nations, in consequence of my Instructions, I now expressed in the name of Sir Thomas Rumbold, and the Council of Madras the high regard, and friendship they entertained for his Excellency; and assured him of the personal Esteem and regard they had for his Character; that they wished to strengthen the alliance now subsisting between him and the English, not only by a renewal of former Engagements, but of entering into a closer Union of Interest. Mahomed Gheas, and Mahomed Osman on this, went to the Nabob, and related what I had said; they returned, and replied. The Nabob says he would have been glad of the friendship of the English but (hia Taida) to what purpose is it" They added the Nabob concluded one Treaty with the English, every article of which he had faithfully adhered to, but the English failed in every point, and the Treaty is absolutely broken. They spoke of the conquest of Tanjore, notwithstanding that Country was guaranteed by the Treaty. They expatiated largely on the having withheld the stipulated assistance when the

Mahrattas invaded and ruined Mysore; by which they said the Circar sustained a Loss of 3 Crores of Pagodas; and that was the only time when we had an opportunity of rendering the Nabob any service, or of shewing how we stood affected towards him. They said there were many other complaints which it was needless to relate. I replied that I was not come to enter into a Discussion of old grievances, which had happened in former Governments, but to propose a remedy against new ones. The Gentlemen who had now the management of affairs differed from their Predecessors, and were sincerely desirous of an effectual junction with the Nabob; that such a junction could not but be of great service to him, by strengthening him with the assistance of our forces, supplying him with military Stores, and by securing his Dominions to himself, and to his family, against all invaders or Enemies whatsoever. On this the Nabob's confidants hinted, that the Nabob stood in no need of assistance or Supplies, for he was strong enough to take care of himself. They said that the Nabob Waulan Jah (Walajah) Bahadur was an Instance of the manner in which the English assisted their friends; who tho' an old friend of the Company's and particularly favored by the King of England himself, yet was obliged to pay immense Sums for their friendship every year. Mahomed Osman said that when he was at Madras the Nabob Waulan Jah had shewn him several honorable Letters from the King of England, and from the Company expressed in terms of the greatest friendship: but that the Nabob complained at the same time, of the Lacks of Pagodas, each of those letters cost him. I replied, the Nabob Bahadur must judge for himself, how far a sincere, and effective Friendship and alliance with the English can be of service to him. As for the Nabob Waulan Jah Bahauder his affairs were so connected with, and interwoven into those of the Company from the long and expensive Wars carried on in the Carnatic, that neither Mahomed Osman, nor any body else who was not a party concerned, could pretend to judge; I was glad however to find that the Nabob Waulan Jah had friends at the Court of Seeringapatam, who interested themselves and were so anxious on his account; but the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn was on a very different footing in point of an expence of that nature—Finding that we now seemed to be sliding into conversation rather than doing Business, I recalled the attention of the Confidants to the principal points of what I had said, by repeating them, and desiring that they might be reported to the Nabob. I desired they would also tell his Excellency from me, that it was not from weak-

ness, or alarm, I had come to make this offer, for the English never were before so strong in India as at this time—We had a fine army in the coast from whence we had driven all our Enemies, our numerous fleet was unopposed; and if any unforeseen event rendered it necessary to have still more Troops in the Carnatic, we had a very considerable army at Bengal, ready to come down on the first notice; but that Sir Thomas Rumbold had sent me from a conviction, that it would be for the mutual Benefit both of the Nabob Bahadur and of the Company to unite their Interests confidentially, and effectually together; that having informed the Nabob of the friendly Disposition of the Government of Madras towards him, I had executed the commission I was charged with, and was now at his Excellency's Disposal, either to return with an answer, or to write to the Governor of Madras an account of what had passed, and wait for fresh Instructions from thence—The confidants went to the Nabob, repeated to him what I had said, and returning, told me the Nabob desired I would write to Madras, and stay till I heard from thence—I mentioned that the Company's Ships going to Europe were to sail very soon, it was therefore necessary to send my Letter by the quickest conveyance, in order to get an answer the sooner, and that whatever conclusion we came to, my Letters to Madras might arrive before their Departure, and enable Sir Thomas to inform the Company of what had passed; I therefore desired my Letters to Sir Thomas might go by the Nabob's Tappals rather than by a Messenger which would occasion a difference of several Days; The confidants replied very well—"I did not choose on this occasion to intimate that Sir Thomas proposed to go home himself, as it was necessary, and would not alter the state of the negociation—after this I returned to the Durbar, where I sat a few minutes, and the Nabob gave me leave to retire.—I was not pleased with the appearance of things in this conference. The Nabob did not choose to talk to me in person, but employed other People; their opening upon me with old complaints that were in fact obsolete; the indifference with which my Advances were received; no advances or even encouragement on their part; One thing however I was glad of. The Nabob's desiring me to stay at Seeringapatam, as that wore the appearance of his not being determined against coming to an Explanation, which I hoped in time to find some opportunity of effecting.—

22nd February.—I wrote to Sir Thomas an account of what passed, and sent my Letter to the Fort to be forwarded by the

Tappal as I desired yesterday, but the Nabob was inaccessible; next day, I sent it again and desired my Chaubdar to ask for Passports for the People I left at Royacottah. The Chaubdar returned with my letter, which was not permitted to go by Tappal; but he brought Passports for Hircarrahs to carry it, and for my People at Royacottah. The refusal to send my letter by the Tappal does not pretend that the Nabob means to enter into an amicable connexion with us, for if he was desirous of it, he would wish that it should be effected as soon as possible, and would therefore promote it; on the contrary, it would seem that he wished to amuse, and to gain time.—

From this time till the 19th, March I had no permission to visit the Nabob notwithstanding my repeated Sollicitations and endeavours to obtain a private confidential audience—From day to day, he used to send by Choubdars presents of Fruit, Flowers, Sweetmeats to so *a.* Yet even this apparent civility was conducted in a manner that discovered more the condescension of a Superior to an Inferior, than of an act of Politeness; for his Choubdars neither delivered a civil message when they came, nor behaved respectfully; but were greedy, insolent, and clamorous—He gave me leave to see his two Gardens without the city, and I went once to each of them; otherwise I never went out of the Choultry.

The Intelligence I received was that very soon after my arrival, express camels were sent to Poonah, with the Regency of which Hyder was executing a Treaty. Before my arrival, preparations for taking the Field had been carried on with great Deligence, and Tippoo Sahib Hyder's eldest Son, was ordered to join the Troops at Bingleore; but that order was afterwards reversed, and since my arrival his Preparations have been greatly relaxed, tho' not quite laid aside, and it is believed, as the season is so far advanced that the army will not take the Field till next year. It is the general report of the Bazar, and camp, that the armament is intended against the Carnatic; some say however that the next campaign will be against Bazalet Jung, others against the Nizam. It is impossible for me situated as I am to get accurate Intelligence because I am surrounded with Spies, and debarred all communication—My opinion however is, that he keeps his Troops in readiness to seize the first opportunity of extending his territories, either on the side of the Carnatic, or of Golcondah as chance may offer. He will not venture to cope with the English in their present Force; but the French People about him have

flattered him with the notion of an armament from the Mauritius; and he perhaps may think that the War in which we are engaged with the Mahrattas will occupy our whole force, and embarrass us; in either of those cases he would not fail to make an Effort; on that account therefore, he probably does not choose to enter into any engagements with us at present; at the same time he will not give us direct umbrage, nor come to an open rupture, till the opportunity offers— His force I understand to consist of about 10,000, Horse of his own Stables, and about 15,000, more Horse of hired Troops, with a number of Plunderers that serve without pay. He is said to have about 25,000 Sepoys with European arms; and Peons Colliers (Kallars), etc. without number; He has a great quantity both of battering and Field artillery; The Europeans in his Service, a mixed Rabble of different nations, may amount to 400, all mounted— Such was the Intelligence I was able to pick up during the interval since my last visit, of which I wrote to Sir Thomas Rumbold what I thought necessary.

17th March.— I received by my own Hircarrahs a Letter from Captain Keating at Amboor dated 9th informing me that he had dispatched a Letter from Sir Thomas Rumbold for me to the Killadar of Waniambody, to be forwarded by the Nabob's Tappal— My Hircarrahs have been 9 days on the road, whereas the Tappal arrives in three,— The letter Captain Keating forwarded must therefore have arrived some days ago, and must now be in the Nabob's possession. I ordered my Moonshy to wait upon the Nabob with my compliments and to represent to him that it was a long time since I had the Honor to see him, and that I wished for permission to wait upon him; that I understood a Letter from Madras had been dispatched by his Tappals from Waniambody, and I begged to know if it was yet arrived. My Moonshy went, and the Nabob received him by no means in a good Humour, however he gave him the letter which came by the Tappal, and told him that he intended to call me, to take leave of him, the day after Tomorrow, of this his Intention I had heard indeed a day or two before.—

19th March. The Nabob having sent me notice by one of his Hircarrahs that he expected me in the Evening to take leave, I set out by information of his Hircarrahs as usual, after Sun set, and was conducted to the same outward apartment as on my last visit; where I waited near two hours before I was sent for. In

the Durbar, I was placed at a greater distance, from the Nabob, than before; separate from the other People in his front, so as to be an object of Exhibition to all the Durbar. He did not speak to me, and scarce deigned to look towards me; I determined as he had sent for me for a particular purpose, not to be the first to speak, especially as I was seated so far from him, that I could not address him without being heard by the whole Durbar altho' it was his desire that I should write to Madras an account of the conference I had at my preceding visit, and he could not but suppose that the Letter I had received was an answer to what I wrote; yet he could not condescend to inquire about it, and as he had taken the Resolution of giving me my Dismission, before I received that answer, let it be what it would; I thought it would not only be ineffectual, but degrading to speak concerning it; as every thing concerned me I had no favourable answer to expect, I was resolved not to give him an opportunity of making me an insulting one, in the face of the Durbar.— After I had sat above an hour in silence, some Gold Stuff, a Shaul and 2 Bags of 500 Rupees each, were brought to me with Beetle and Otter; I then said to the Nabob that I was very sensible of his Goodness, favour, and politeness, and should always keep them in remembrance; I also said that if I could be of any use to him at Madras, I hoped he would command my services; to which he replied coldly, very well. A Passport having been made out, and a Letter delivered me for the Governor, I rose up, made my Bow, and went away.

And thus ended my Embassy to the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn Bahauder, during the course of which I was rather received and treated as a Spy, than as an Ambassador, and rather confined, than lodged. He never admitted me to a confidential audience altho' I frequently solicited it; He never allowed me to enter his city by day light; He kept me at a distance from his person, as if he suspected I had a design upon his life, and he watched me as narrowly as if he thought I was come to pry into his affairs, or to carry on some secret plot with his People— I was by no means sorry to leave so inhospitable a region. I set out the following day, and arrived at Madras in ten days.

On the 31 March 1780 Gray Made the following report to the Governor and delivered to him the following letter which Hyder had sent with him. The latter gives the reason of the failure of Mr. Gray's embassy to Hyder.

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JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

EXTRACT FROM MILITARY CONSULTATIONS 1780.

TO THE HON'BLE SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD BART.

GOVERNOR AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE OF FORT, St. GEORGE.

Gentlemen,

Pursuant to your orders of the 14th January I went to Seringapatam where I arrived on the 17th February.

The Nabob Hyder Ally Chan had of his own accord liberated the Gentlemen whose enlargement I was directed to solicit so that it only remained for me to return him thanks for the friendly manner in which he had dismissed them and provided for their Journey through his country. When I had done this I took occasion at the same time to express to the Nabob the sentiments of regard and friendship which the Government of Fort St. George and the English Nation in General entertained towards his highness, but I am sorry to say my professions on that subject did not meet with the reception which I hoped for,—they were answered with reproaches of repeated Breaches of faith and the English Nation was taxed with a positive breach of treaty. Notwithstanding this unpleasant manifestation of the Nabob's sentiments I continued at Seringapatam in hopes of finding some favourable opportunity of an explanation but I was completely disappointed; for he never permitted me to visit him again till the 19th March when he sent for me purposely to give me an audience of leave and delivered me the accompanying letter for the Governor.

I have to observe that my reception at the Court of Seringapatam was neither friendly nor respectful, a few instances of politeness were overbalanced by many more of inattention and slight, and I will venture to say that the latter had the appearance of being evidently remarked.

I have the honour to be with respect,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble servant,
GEORGE GRAY.

31st March, 1780.

EXTRACT FROM MILITARY COUNTRY CORRESPONDENCE 1780.

No date: March?

From Hyder Aly Cawn to the Governor.

I have received your letter by Mr. Gray, and understand the contents, as well as the Particulars you had entrusted that Gentleman with. How did you keep to the Engagements you made at the Time that Chunda Cawn and the French laid seige to Trichinopoly. The Governor and Council afterwards entered into a Treaty of Peace with me which amounted to this—They were to regard my Friends as their Friends, and my Enemies as theirs, and were to give me their Assistance when I required it.

I took it for granted that no deviation would happen in the Company's Treaty—The Original is with you to which I refer—When a War subsisted between me, and the Mahrattas, altho' I had no occasion for your Assistance yet in order to try whether you would keep to your Engagements or not, I wrote you repeatedly to assist me with a small Force, agreeable to the Treaty but no attention was paid to my Request. You wrote me some time ago, that you were to assist Buzalet Jung; and you accordingly sent your Troops to him who met and had an Engagement with mine.

Besides this your Territories lay contiguous to mine, from Dindgull to Cudappa and continual disturbances are raised by you in my country—for instance the Chief of Tellichery gives protection to the Nairs dependent upon me, keeps their families in his Factory, assists them with lead, powder and Fire Arms, and comits disorders in my country. He has, and is now at this time laying waste districts, which yield me an annual Revenue of Twenty Lacks of Rupees. When you are thus acting in this unruly manner, what Treaty subsists between you and me? or which of us has violated it? You and the Gentlemen of your Council may look to it. What more?

Bengal Under Jahangir

Baharistan-i-Ghaibi of Mirza Nathan

By

PROFESSOR SRI RAM SHARMA, M.A., F.R. HIST. S.,

D. A. V. College, Lahore.

THE Mughal period is the best studied of the pre-British periods of Indian history. The abundance of contemporary or semi-contemporary chronicles, mostly by officials, makes it easy to study the fortunes of the Mughal rulers of India. It is not to be wondered at however that most of the contemporary chronicles deal with the affairs at the imperial court and as such touch provincial matters only when these affect imperial policy or imperial fortunes. It is rarely that one comes across a contemporary chronicle dealing with the history of a province and still rarer it is to find it written by an official serving in the province at the time when the events described were taking place. In the *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* of Mirza Nathan, who later on became Shatah Khan, we have both these fortunate circumstances in combination. The MS—the only copy extant is in the National Library at Paris—was utilised by Sir Edwor Gait in his history of Assam. But he had access to only a partial summary of the work prepared by Sir Jadunath Sarkar who had already brought this rare MS to the notice of students of history in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* in March, 1921. He acquired a rotographed copy of the MS and published a table of contents mostly based on the summaries of the chapters appended thereto by the author himself. Unfortunately these summaries are not reliable, the author not infrequently taking the wish for the deed, and thus mentioning many things in the summaries of the chapters which he probably intended to put therein but ultimately decided otherwise. Mr. S. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., now lecturer in history in the University of Dacca, was introduced to the MS by Sir Jadunath, and used it for his *History of the Mughal North-East Frontier Policy*. Unfortunately, though he had a rotographed copy of the MS procured for him by the University of Dacca, his use of the MS has not been very accurate or fortunate in some cases at least. Dr. Beni Parshad neglected to use this valuable material in his

History of Jahangir though it had already been brought to the notice of students of history.

By the courtesy of Sir Jadunath I have been able to study this little known work. In the belief that the publication of the original or the translation of this bulky text may not be attempted for sometime yet, I have prepared a summary abstract of this work. No attempt has been made at a literal translation unless absolutely necessary.

Nathan's father was appointed officer in charge of the artillery and the war boats when Islam Khan was appointed governor of Bengal in June, 1608. He had been brought up under the protection of prince Shah Jahan.¹ Nathan accompanied his father to his new charge and remained serving in Bengal till after the defeat and expulsion of Shah Jahan therefrom. He served as a partisan of Shah Jahan when he appeared in Bengal after having been defeated in the Deccan by Mahabat Khan. He lived to see that prince emperor and this history was written in Shah Jahan's reign.² He is mentioned in the Assamese *Buranji* as a Mughal officer who served with distinction in the Mughal campaigns against the Ahom Raja in 1618.³ The Paris copy was supposed by Sir Jadunath to be the author's own MS; but the many gaps in the text⁴ show that at best it can only have been a copy of the author's original MS prepared, as the fly leaf says, for one of his patrons. We are fortunate in possessing marginal notes on the text. Sir Jadunath supposed these to be the author's corrections. But the notes pour ridicule on many statements and actions of the author and they must therefore be by someone else. Who he was is a question difficult to decide. He adversely comments upon the language, the style and the usage of the author. Of course the annotator was a staunch Muslim, as is proved by his vehement comments on the irreligious conduct of the Mughal officers when they celebrated a Mughal victory in the sacred month of *Ramzan*. He would not have a Sayyad lead the van,⁵ nor would he tolerate anyone among them being executed for any fault what-

1. Page 304 a.

2. Cf. p. 277a.

3. Page 51; Sir Jadu Nath's copy of the English translation.

4. Cf. p. 271a.

5. Leaf 318.

soever.⁶ He must have written when the fear of Jahangir and Shah Jahan was a thing of the past. His comments on many of their actions are too free for a Mughal courtier even of a later generation. He dubs Shah Jahan's conduct in one case as foolishness.⁷ He picks holes in the historical knowledge of his author, but himself fares no better when he indulges in any exhibition of his own knowledge. He rightly refuses to believe in the miracles which Nathan declares in his book he was able to perform.

The work is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the government of Islam Khan in Bengal; the second treats of his successor Qasim Khan's rule therein; the third deals with Ibrahim Khan's government of Bengal; while the last is a record of Shah Jahan's rule in Bengal and the allied provinces. Every part is further sub-divided into stories or chapters. The first book is rather over-burdened with verse. Out of its 141 double pages, 55 (double pages) are covered by the work of poets who seem to have flocked to Bengal in order to allow Nathan to adorn his work with their verses. Unfortunately the versified accounts of many of the incidents differ from the story given in the original. Verses appear elsewhere as well but not so frequently.

The interest of the work is manifold. Besides providing us with a detailed story of the Mughal conquest and occupation of Bengal and Assam, it throws welcome light on many administrative practices of the day, and enables us to judge for ourselves how far imperial orders were obeyed by the governors of far off provinces. It further supplies us with a detailed account of Shah Jahan's rebellion in Bengal and Bihar. Its references to social customs and religious beliefs are very valuable. The detailed account of Mughal seige operations and expeditionary forces prove, as never before, the difficulties of warfare in Bengal and the Mughal efforts at overcoming them. Further it preserves a faithful account of the part Nur Jahan was playing at this time in the government of the country.

Let the work speak for itself now.

6. Leaf 313.

7. Leaf 303.

BAHARISTAN-I-GHAIBI

By

MIRZA NATHAN.

Introduction.

Shatab Khan alias Nathan, son of Malik Ali Ihtmam Khan, brought together this account of the affairs in Bengal so that it may form a part of the chronicles of Jahangir's reign and find a place in the Memoirs of the emperor.

PART I.

The Government of Islam Khan.

CHAPTER I.

When Jahangir Quli Khan,⁸ governor of Bengal, died, Islam Khan,⁹ governor of Bihar, was appointed to succeed him. He came to Agra so that he might be invested with the insignia of his office. When he had royal audience, he submitted to Jahangir that all the old officers in Bengal were dishonest and treacherous, but

8. Jahangir Quli Khan originally known as Lala Beg was the son of Nizam, Humayun's Librarian. He entered Jahangir's service when he was still a prince. On Jahangir's accession he was raised to the command of 4000 horse and appointed Subahdar of Bihar. When Qutub-ud-Din, governor of Bengal, was killed by Sher Afghan on May 30, 1607 (Beni Parshad, page 175, has wrongly assigned March 30 as the date of Sher Afghan's death.), he was appointed governor of Bengal. He succumbed to the climate of Bengal soon after. Jahangir learnt of his death on 20 Muharam, 1018 A.H. (27-4-1608) cf. Iqbalanama Jahangiri, 33, 34, Memoirs of Jahangir, I, 21 and 208; Maasir I, 512 to 514.

9. Islam Khan, originally known as Alaud Din was the grandson of Shaikh Salim Chishti and son of Jahangir's foster brother. He entered Mughal service under Akbar. He was brought up along with Jahangir and was a year younger. He was raised to the command of 2000 horse and given a post at Agra by Jahangir on his accession. He informed the emperor of Qutub-ud-Din's death in Bengal and was appointed to succeed Jahangir Quli Khan in Bihar. His appointment to Bengal in June 1608 was resented in the court circles as he was considered to be too young for that important charge! He was 38 at the time. Cf. Memoirs, I, 31, 32, 143, 144, 171 and 208

very good at coining excuses. They should therefore be all recalled. Further it was necessary, he held, to appoint an honest Diwan. Ihtman Khan¹⁰ or someone else as competent should also be sent as officer in charge of the artillery and the war boats. Jahangir thereupon issued orders recalling the old Diwan, Wazir Khan,¹¹ and his sons who were at the root of the disturbed condition of things in the province. Further Islam Khan was empowered to suggest other changes in the government on reaching the province. Abul Hasan Mu'atamid Khan was accordingly appointed Diwan¹² and Ihtman Khan was appointed the Chief of artillery and the navy.

(Islam Khan and Mu'atamid Khan thereupon left Agra for Bengal and took charge of the province. Islam Khan preceded his Diwan) who reached Raj Mahal later on and paid his respects to the governor and prince Jahandar.¹³

10. Ihtman Khan, originally known as Malik Ali, was a commander of 250 horse and Mir Shab when the Ain was compiled. By the time Akbar died, he had risen to become the Kotwal of Agra and Jahangir sent him against Khusru when he rebelled. Later on he was sent against Badi-uz-Zaman to Malwa with a view to reconcile him and bring him to court. On his appointment to his present office he was raised to the command of 1,000 horse. Cf. *Memoirs*, I, 127 and 144; *Iqbalnama*, 9.

11. Wazir Khan, originally known as Mukim was styled Wazir Khan and appointed a Wazir by Akbar probably after the compilation of the list of the Wazirs in the Ain. Jahangir was not very well inclined towards him and after keeping him the Wazir for some time, appointed Jan Beg his colleague, in the first year of his reign. Soon after he was appointed Diwan of Bengal to settle the revenues of the province. He was recalled from that province on March 19, 1608, five weeks before Jahangir learnt the news of Jahangir Quli Khan's death in Bengal. He reported himself to Jahangir on 17 Jumadi-ul-Awwal 1017 A.H. Nathan is wrong therefore in ascribing his dismissal to Islam Khan who was in Bihar when he was recalled. Cf. *Masir*, III, 932-933; *Memoirs*, I, 13, 20, 22, 139, 147. He rose to be a commander of 2,500 horse.

12. Cf. *Memoirs*, I, 139. He had already been appointed Wazir Khan's successor before Islam Khan's appointment to the province of Bengal.

13. According to Mirza Hadi's preface to the *Memoirs of Jahangir* (P. 17 of the Aligarh edition of the Persian Text.) he was born about the time of Akbar's death in 1605. Terry (*Early European Travels in India*, 330.) states that Jahangir got the news of his birth just when he ascended the throne. This is opposed to Price's translation of the *Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi*

Ihtman Khan was invested with a *Khiliat* and raised to the command of a thousand horse (second class) on Wednesday, 5 Rabi-ul-Awal, 1017 A.H., 2 hours after sunset.

He was sent to the prime minister who gave him good counsel and asked him to take 400,000 maunds of salt with him to the prince (presumably to be sold by him) as little salt was produced in Bengal¹⁴

CHAPTER II.

On an auspicious day on the morning of 9, Rabi-ul-Awal, Ihtman Khan brought his war boats into the river Jumna just below the salutation balcony where Jahangir was sitting. The boats manoeuvred and the artillery thundered. The emperor was so pleased that he declared he would now be able to quell all disturbances in Bengal. After thus saluting the emperor, Ihtman Khan left by way of the river. On the ninth day he reached Allahabad. Here he learnt that Raja Kalyan Singh, son of Man Singh,¹⁵ who had earlier been recalled to the court from

(350). He was born of a concubine. When he was barely a year old he was sent to Bengal on June 6, 1606, with Qutub-ud-Din, the new governor of Bengal, as his tutor. He remained in Bengal at his tutor's death under the guardianship of his successor Jahangir Quli. It seems that the tutorship of this prince had become attached to the government of Bengal as Islam Khan was now appointed to the job. Cf. *Memoirs*, I, 20, 153; *Iqbalnama*, 306. Price's *Jahangir*, 35, wrongly makes Jahandar a uterine brother of Parveiz. Gladwin (22) makes him, again wrongly, a twin to Shahryar and places his birth in the first year of Jahangir's reign.

14. Cf. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, p. 47, and *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 122.

15. Raja Kalyan Singh has been wrongly described in the *Tuzak* (Persian Text, 199, *Memoirs*, I, 402.) as a son of Raja Todar Mal. This has been hitherto accepted though *Maasir-ul-Umra* does not mention any such son of Todar Mal, nor any son who rose to distinction. Banerji (*History of Orissa*, I, 33.) follows *Tuzak*. I have no hesitation in accepting Nathan's statement especially when Brook's *Political History of the State of Jaipur* mentions a son of Man Singh who was known as Kalyan Singh. I am surprised to find Sir Jadu Nath (*J. B. O. R. S.*, VII, 53.) follow *Tuzak* without even mentioning the difference between *Baharistan* and the *Tuzak* in this connection. It should be remembered here that Man Singh, his father, was the governor of Bengal when Jahangir came to the throne. Rather reluctantly Jahangir continued him in that command and then sometime in the first year made him Fojdar of Rohtas. He sent for him repeatedly to the court and Man Singh presented himself at Agra on 21, Zil Qada, 1016. (*Memoirs*,

Rohtas, had just left Allahabad and was at Serai Bandgi¹⁶. The emperor had ordered Ihtmam Khan to take with him to Bengal the artillery Kalyan Singh was bringing with him. Ihtmam Khan sent his officers to Kalyan Singh who handed over 330 pieces of cannon, big and small.

CHAPTER III.

When he reached Jusi,¹⁷ he met Wazir Khan, the Diwan, who was hastening to the imperial court as ordered. He told him that he had been authorised to take charge of the pieces of artillery in Wazir Khan's train. As his artillery was travelling by land and had been left behind, Wazir Khan made arrangements for making over to Ihtmam Khan 4 pieces of cannon and two war boats. These taken over, Ihtmam Khan proceeded further. At Chahuba, his party was attacked by river pirates, but his son, Nathan, overpowered them, seized two boats that they had taken possession of and, by steady fire throughout the day, he was able to scare them away by the evening. He thus reached Patna wherefrom he proceeded to Rohtas. Here he examined the defences of the fort and took away with him to Patna 85 spare pieces of artillery. From Patna he sent his personal assistant, Mohammad Murad, to Islam Khan in order to arrange for the payment of the salaries to his men. Islam Khan assigned Jahanabad,¹⁸ Tambuk,¹⁹ Bardwan, and Midnapur to him in lieu of the salaries of his men and gave him a Jagir in Bhati²⁰ and Ghoraghat.²¹

I, 15, 78, 138 and 208; Iqbalnama, 32; Price, 32.). Kalyan Singh seems to be following his father to the court and was later on appointed to his command at Rohtas.

16. Probably in the environs of Allahabad.

17. Opposite Allahabad on the other side of the river. Iqbalnama, 223.

18. 25° 13' N., 85° E.; a subdivision and its headquarters in Bengal, named after Khan Jahan. Cf. Blochman, J. A. S. B., 1873, 223.

19. Probably Tamluk of the Imperial Gazetteer (XIII, 116), in the Midnapur district in Bengal.

20. The coast strip of Sundar Bans from Hijili to Meghna, Blochman, J. A. S. B., 1873, 226. Cf. the Ain, II, 116.

21. Ghoraghat; modern Chaukhandi on the right bank of the river Karatya, a sarkar in Bengal with 84 Mahals. Ain-i-Akbari, II, 135. Cf. Blochman op. cit. p. 215 where he wrongly declares the number of Mahals in the sarkar to be 88. 'It comprised portions of Dinajpur, Rangpur, and Bogra district.' Cf. Khulsat-ut-Tawarikh, 48; Haft Aklim (Ms.) 2; (a); Riyaz, 47; Dorn, I, 183.

Meanwhile Islam Khan had already reached Bengal. He took in hand the task of quelling the rebels. He sent an army against Usman²² who had murdered the officer of the Mughal garrison at Alap Singh. Anayat Khan was in charge of this expedition. He expelled Usman and captured the place. He was now named Ghias Khan.²³

Iradat Khan,²⁴ governor of Bihar, sent his men to purchase elephants in Orissa. This party of the Mughals was attacked by the Afghans under Kumar-ud-Din who defeated them, captured the elephants and took possession of other presents these men were bringing from Orissa. Raja Kalyan Singh who was going to Rohtas from Raj Mahal came to the rescue of the Mughals, defeated the Afghans, recaptured the elephants and other valuables and sent them on to Islam Khan. When the emperor heard of this exploit of the Raja, he added 20 villages to his jagir and gave him permission to fly his own flag.

22. Usman, the leader of the Afghans in Bengal at this time, has been variously described as Daud Khan, king of Bengal's brother (Dorn, I, 183.), Sulaiman's son (Ain, II, 147.), Sulaiman's brother and Katlu's son (Maasir, I, 165.). Sujan Rai (413) makes the confusion worse confounded by making Isa Khan, Katlu's son. Blochman (Ain, II, 147.) makes Usman, son of Isa Khan on the authority of Makhzan-i-Afghani though Dorn's reading differs from his. Nor does Tawarikh-i-Murass, a Pashto (Ms.) translation of Makhzan bear him out. Iqbalnama, Tuzak, Akbar Nama, and Farishtah shirk the question and describe him simply as the leader of the Afghans in Bengal. Gladwin, Vincent Smith, and Beni Parshad follow suit.

23. Aayat Khan surnamed Ghias Khan is most probably Anayat-Ullah of the Memoirs (I, 158, 160.) who was promoted at the request of Islam Khan, governor of Bengal, to the command of 1,500 horse and created Anayat Khan in 1017 A.H. He was created a commander of 2,000 horse in the sixth year (Tuzak, 97). Rogers' translation (I, 199) making his previous rank 2,000 goes against his text and Beveridge has noted no departure in the reading in any of his MSS. Anayat Khan became the Bakhshi of Ahdis (special household troops) on March 18, 1618 (Memoirs, II, 14.) and died in October, 1618 (Memoirs, II, 43.).

24. Iradat Khan was not the governor of Bihar at this time. Afzal, son of Abul Fazal, was appointed Subahdar of Bengal in succession to Islam Khan (Memoirs, I, 143.). Iradat Khan however had been serving as the Bakshi here since 14 Jamadi-ul-Awal 1016 (Memoirs, I, 117.). He was appointed Mir Saman in the sixth year, rose to the command of 1,500 horse in the 12th year, that of 2,000 in the thirteenth, governor of Kashmir, in the 15th. He died in 1059 A.H. at the age of 76 and a commander of 6,000 horse. He was one of the trusted servants of Shah Jahan. Cf. Memoirs, I, 306, 372; II, 15 and 175; Badshah Nama, III, 718; Maasir, I, 174-79.

Shaikh Badi, Wakil of Raja Pratap-Aditya,²⁵ saw Islam Khan about this time with his son Sangrāmāditya. He promised to send the Raja with his contingent to the governor.

CHAPTER IV.

Islam Khan now decided to punish the disturbers of peace in Bengal. He reviewed Ihtmam Khan's war boats and artillery. Ihtmam Khan presented the governor with valuables and cash worth Rs. 46,000, Diwan Mu'atamid Khan Rs. 10,000, Bakhshi Tahar Mohamad Rs. 8,000, and Hoshang, son of Islam Khan, Rs. 5,000.

When Islam Khan first visited Chat Mahal²⁶ his army was much harassed by the local rebels.

Islam Khan came to Gaur and from here sent an army under Shaikh Kamal against Bir Bhum of Pachet²⁷ Shams Khan, and Salim Khan Zinimdar of Hijili.²⁸ The Mughals first entered the territory of Bir Hamir who submitted. They advanced to Darni²⁹ where Shams Khan also accepted Mughal authority. When they reached Hijli at last, Salim Khan submitted.

Islam Khan sent Iftkhar Khan³⁰ against Raja Satarjit.³¹ The Raja decided to oppose the Mughals. But he was taken by surprise when the Mughals forded the river and entered his territories. Satarjit now submitted and accompanied Iftkhar Khan to Islam Khan's court.

25. Raja of Jessore and the strongest Hindu prince in Bengal.

26. Probably a variant for Chatgaon, modern Chitagong.

27. Pachet is Panchet, originally Panchkot, in Manbhum district and is represented now by a large Zamindari.

28. Hijili, an old village in the Midnapur district in Bengal, 21° 8' N, 87° 9' E.

29. Probably Darwani in the district of Rangpur in Bengal, situated at 20° 53' N., 88° 15' E.

30. Cf. *Memoirs*, I, 170.

31. Satarjit was son of Mukand of Bhusna and one of the twelve great landlords of Bengal. Cf. Blochman in *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, 199; *Ibid*, 1873, 229; *Ibid*, 1972, 56 ff. Badshah Nama, III, 70, describes him as the Thanadar of Pandua. Cf. Badshah Nama's account with the account given here; also, Bhattacharya, *Mughal North East Frontier Policy*.

On Islam Khan's representing the danger to prince Jahandar if he remained in Bengal where disorder was rife, he was recalled to Agra.³²

Islam Khan meanwhile had left Alai Pur³³ for Nasar Pur. Here his armies joined him and he advanced to Shahpur where Raja Pratāpāditya presented himself. He was duly received and presents were exchanged between the Raja and the governor after which he was given leave to depart.

CHAPTER V.

As the rainy season had begun, Islam Khan decided to proceed towards Ghoraghat rather than towards Bhati. This he

32. Jahandar returned from Bengal and waited upon the emperor on August 18, 1609, when Jahangir discovered him to be a born idiot (*Memoirs*, I, 156.). Gladwin suggests (45), without quoting any authority, that he was sent to court because he had shown some symptoms of insanity. This is opposed to the testimony of the *Memoirs*, probably relied on by him. If

مجنون of the text means insane مجنون مادرزاد would mean born insane and thus there is no question of Jahandar showing these symptoms at this time in Bengal. I am inclined however to read مجنون as meaning devout which alone makes some sense of the text. It is incredible to think that Jahandar was born insane and Jahangir discovered it when he was more than four years old.

Jahandar's subsequent career is shrouded in obscurity. When Terry was in India with Sir Thomas Roe, Jahandar was alive. Terry writing in 1624 (*Early Travels in India*, 330.) mentions him as one of the sons of Jahangir, but we can suppose that this meant that he had seen him alive when he left India in 1619. He married and had some children none of whom was however alive when Jahangir died (*Iqbalnama*, 306). Rogers (*Memoirs*, I, 461.) is wrong in stating that he died unmarried.

The date of Jahandar's death is not known. *Iqbalnama* (306) and Mirza Hadi's preface to the *Tuzak* (17) state that the date of his death has been mentioned in the appropriate place in the two works. Unfortunately no such entries are to be found in either of them. However it is certain that he predeceased his father (*Iqbalnama*, 306.). Cf. Hawkins (*Early Travels*, 101.).

33. On the junction of the Atharbanka and the Bhairab, east of Khulna, named after Alaudin Hussain Shah of Bengal; *J. A. S. B.*, 1872, 227 n.

thought would enable him to deal with the risings of Musa Khan³⁴ and twelve Bhumia Zamindars of Bhati³⁵ more easily.

Raja Partāpāditya had promised to send 400 war boats after reaching Jessore. Further he promised to join Islam Khan's armies in person with 500 war boats and 20,000 foot, when he would proceed against Bhati. Islam Khan gave Jessore back to Pratāpāditya, and added to his territories Bikrampur³⁶ and Sri Pur.³⁷

At an auspicious hour Islam Khan left for Ghoraghat by land, where he stayed for some time. Ihtmam Khan was asked to proceed by river. Passing Amardal,³⁸ Ibrahim³⁹ Para and Kalabari he reached Ghoraghat and joined Islam Khan.

34. Musa Khan was son of Isa Khan described as the chief of all other kings and a great friend to Christians by Ralph Fitch (Early Travels, 28.). Cf. De Laet, 183.

35. Bhumiyas or Bhuiyas as they are variously called were originally twelve governors appointed by the Pathan rulers of Bengal. Slowly and steadily they wrested power from the hands of their king. 'They refused to pay tribute or to acknowledge allegiance to anyone. They became kings with armies and fleets at their command, ever ready to wage war against each other and to oppose the invasion of Portuguese pirates or Magh free-booters.' Wise; J. A. S. B., 1875, 182, 183. After the conquest of Bengal by Akbar, they continued in their government of the districts paying tribute to the governor. Their headquarters were at Bhowal, Bikrampur, Baluah, Chandardip, Khizrpur, Jessore, and Bosnah. Some of them were Hindus and others Pathan. Cf. J. A. S. B., 1874, 199.

36. Bikrampur was the headquarter of one of the twelve Bhumiyas of Bengal. It is now in the district of Dacca, situated at 23° 33' N., 90° 33' E. It is included in the Sarkar of Sonargaon in the Ain, II, 138. It was visited by many European travellers in the sixteenth century. It was the capital of Bengal under its Hindu kings.

37. Sri Pur is an island near Rājābāsi and is now called Sripur Tek (Wise, Notes on Sonargaon, J. A. S. B., 1874, 86.). Cf. Ralph Fitch (Early Travels in India, 28.); Ain, II, 134; Badshah Nama, I, 436. Kedar Rai of Sripur who died in 1602 long gave the Mughals very great trouble in Bengal. Takmil-i-Akbar Nama, Elliot, VI, 111.

38. Amar Dal is probably Amadi in Jessore.

39. Ibrahim Pura is probably Bazar Ibrahim Pura in the Sarkar of Sharifabad in Bengal; Ain, II, 139. Or is it Ibrahim Pura in Sarkar Tanda, II, 130? The rivers of Bengal have rendered the task of identifying many of the sites in Bengal difficult.

Raja Rai invested Shahzadpura in Tugmaq Khan's Jagir. He was defeated, his son Raghu Rai was captured and forcibly converted by Tugmaq Khan. When Islam Khan learnt this he was very much upset.

Meanwhile Mirak Bahadur who had been stationed at Chand Pratap was hard pressed by the local Zamindars, Hindus and Muslims. Under the impression that the rainy season made Mughal reinforcements impossible, they besieged the fort of Chand Pratap. Mirak Bahadur did his best, but could not hold on for long against the large force that was surrounding him. A breach was effected and the besieged would have soon been compelled to surrender when Tugmaq Khan who had meanwhile put the affairs at Shahpur in order and heard about Mirak's plight, hastened to his help. The attacking party was taken by surprise, many were killed and the rest fled away in their boats.

There was some unpleasantness between the governor and the Diwan on one side and Ihtmam Khan on the other on account of the fiscal arrangements that he made for the upkeep of the boats. They objected to the estimates of Ihtmam Khan as they were three times as much as the previous accounts. Ihtmam Khan thereupon reduced his demands by one third.

Meanwhile when Hashim Khan,⁴⁰ governor of Orissa, heard that Islam Khan in Bengal intended to reduce Muse Khan and twelve Bhumias he decided to send expeditions against Raja Purshotam Dev⁴¹ and other Zamindars of Orissa. Raja Kesho Dass

40. Hashim Khan was the first governor of Orissa which had hitherto been governed as a part of Bengal. Probably the task had proved too much for any one individual (Memoirs, I, 127.). Hashim Khan was appointed on 26th September, 1607. He was thus Islam Khan's senior.

41. Purushotam Dev's territories included Purushotam Puri where the temple of Jagan Nath is situated. He succeeded his father Ram Chandar in 1609 according to Stirling (Asiatic Researches, XV, 294.) and 1607 according to Hunter (Orissa, II, 190.). The siege described below therefore could have taken place in 1609 or 1610. The fact that a present of a horse was sent to Kesho Dass Maru by the emperor in the fifth year (6th April, 1610.) places this meritorious service of this Mughal commander in the end of the year 1609 or the beginning of 1610. Purushotam Dev at this time was Raja of Khurd alone (Hunter, II, 190.). For a description of strange rites associated with the temple of Jagan Nath, Cf. Haft Aklim (Ms.), 26 (b).

Maru⁴² wanted to be beforehand with his other colleagues. He was stationed in Cuttack and under the guise of going to worship at the temple of Jagan Nath he set out for that place. After performing worship he at once made himself master of this temple fort. Property worth Rs. 2 to 3 crores fell into his hands. When Raja Purshotam Dev heard this he at once set out for Jagan Nath with a force of ten to twelve thousand horse and three to four lakhs foot and a large number of chariots driven by five hundred to a thousand men. He placed all the chariots by the fort wall. Hard pressed Kesho Das took out the canopies and kanats from the store of the temples, wound them round long poles, dipped them in oil and setting fire to them threw them among the besiegers on the chariots. There was panic among the thick ranks of the enemy, many of them were burnt to death, and others ran away.

Raja Purshotam Dev was very much upset and opened negotiations. Meanwhile the news had travelled to Ghoraghat and Islam Khan sent Tahar Mohammad to Hashim Khan to Cuttack so that reinforcement might be sent to Kesho Dass. Purshotam Dev was frightened into making peace when he heard the news. Kesho Dass was married to the Raja's sister. He also agreed to

42. Raja Kesho Dass Maru, the hero of this exploit and the desecrator of a shrine of his own race, has been confused with Kesho Dass Rathor, Jahangir's father-in-law, by Rogers (Memoirs, I, 170 n.) and Kesho Dass, Raja of Jassailmer in Puri District Gazetteer, (37), followed by D. R. Banerji (History of Orissa, II, 35.). He was however a son of Jaimal of Merta who was shot by Akbar when defending Chitor. He is described as a commander of 300 in the Ain whereas Kesho Dass Rathor is separately entered as a commander of 200 horse and (Ain, I, 502, 506.) died in the 36th year of Akbar.

On Jahangir's accession Kesho Dass Maru was promoted to the command of 1,500 horse and in the first year to that of 2,000 (Memoirs, I, 296.) In the tenth year he complained against the governor of Orissa (Memoirs I, 296.) and came to the court where he received an increment to his rank becoming a commander of 2,000 Zat and one thousand horse (Tuzak, 146; Rogers' translation, I, 297, making the original 1,000 horse is wrong; Cf. Rogers, I, 390). Thus the statement of Nathan accepted by Sarkar and swallowed by Banerji that as the result of this desecration of the temple (see below) Kesho Dass was raised to the command of 4,000 horse and given a standard is entirely without foundation. In the fifth year, the only honour Kesho Dass received was the present of a horse which was sent to him to Bengal (Memoirs, I, 170.). This is however no ground for rejecting entirely Nathan's account of the siege of Puri.

give his daughter in marriage to Jahangir and pay Rs. 3 lakhs. He paid Kesho Dass Rs. 10,000 as indemnity. He sent his daughter to the imperial harem.

Kesho Dass was promoted a 4 Hazari and given the privilege of flying his own colours.⁴³

Ihtmam Khan fell dangerously ill about this time but was cured by a Kaviraj from Allap Singh.⁴⁴

Islam Khan sent embassies to Raja Lachhmi Narain⁴⁵ of Kamta (Kuch) and Bir Parichhat Narain⁴⁶ of Kamrup. The first submitted through the mediation of Raja Raghunath of Shushang.⁴⁷

Abulwahad was sent against the latter but was defeated and ran away to Fatahpur rather than return to his command. He was imprisoned and brought back in disgrace by Mirza Hussain who had been appointed officer in charge of the artillery.

When the rainy season was over Islam Khan asked Ihtmam Khan to take his boats up the canal to Sayal Garh.⁴⁸ Ihtmam Khan and Nathan set their boats in motion.

43. Cf. The translation of this part in J. B. O. R. S., VII, 53 ff, by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar.

44. Probably Alap Shahi in the Sarkar of Bazoh in Bengal, Ain, I, 137.

45. Lachhmi Narain was a son of Nar Narain (1540-1584 A.D.) and grandson of Bisya who founded the kingdom of Kuch Bihar in about 1512. He came to the throne probably in 1584, his coins struck in 1587 are extant. On his accession to the throne, his cousin Raghu Dev who had established a kingdom in Kuch Haju but accepted his father's sovereignty became independent. Lachhmi Narain was thus the first king of Kuch Bihar. He submitted to Akbar in 1596 and Raja Todar Mal, then governor of Bengal, married his sister in 1597. The death of Raghu Deb in 1603 complicated matters and his son Parichhat Narain who succeeded him made war on him. The capital of his kingdom was Kuch Bihar. For a detailed history, Cf. Gait (History of Assam, pp. 46 ff.); and Blochman (J. A. S. B., 1875, 306; and Ibid, 1872, 100.)

46. Parichhat Narain, was a son of Raghu Deb, Lachhmi Narain of Kuch Bihar's cousin, and succeeded his father in 1603. His step-mother's attempt to exclude him from the throne created a civil war in Kuch Haju and his difficulties with Lachhmi Narain weakened his power considerably. His capital was at North Gauhati. Cf. Gait, op. cit.

47. In Maiman Singh district and the seat of Raja Raghunath whose family had been imprisoned by Parichhat Narain. Raghu Nath complained to Islam Khan and this provided an occasion for invading Kuch Haju.

48. Probably modern Sialdah in the district of Twenty-four Parganas? Cf. I. G., VII, 284-286.

Nathan left his father on the way in order to visit the shrine of a saint at Pandua and joined him later on.

CHAPTER VI.

The shallow waters of the Khal created many difficulties which were overcome by the ingenuity of Nathan who managed to let into the Khal water from the channels near about, and Sayal Garh was at last reached. Ihtman Khan went to Shahzad Pur⁴⁹ where Islam Khan was waiting for news of his artillery and boats. They decided to pass the Id-i-Ramzan there.

After the Id celebrations Islam Khan reviewed the fleet and the artillery, and was very much pleased with the arrangements especially the floating bridge. From here the army moved on to Balia.⁵⁰ The Subhedar went by land. Ihtman Khan was bringing the boats and the artillery. It was decided to send the van to Dacca with 2,000 matchlockmen, 50 pieces of cannon, big and small, 100 mds. of gunpowder and 200 mds. of glass. The van reached Dacca in six stages and began to strengthen the fort.

Islam Khan moved on Kats⁵¹ Garh and Nathan was ordered to follow. Then came the news that Darya Khan had been murdered on account of a brawl due to his unnatural conduct towards an eunuch. Ihtman Khan wanted to attack Jatra Pur⁵² himself but Islam Khan did not consent thereto. Raja Raghnath of Susang submitted now.

Islam Khan sent an expedition to Fatahebad⁵³ under Habib-Allah. Mujlis Utab was obliged to shut himself up in the fort, and ask for reinforcements from Musa Khan. But the imperialists were too many for him even when the reinforcements came. Raja Satrajit's generalship and bravery helped them. There were many sallies; but the Raja made it impossible for the enemy to score much. After a good deal of fighting on both sides, Mujlis Qutab tried to slink away to Musa Khan; but the imperialists made that impossible. At last he left the fort and ran away.

49. Shah Zadpur in Sarkar Lakhnauti in Bengal; Ain, II, 131.

50. Bhalua, the seat of one of the twelve Bhuiyas already mentioned above.

51. Cf. I. G. (new), VIII, 101.

52. 25° 49' N., 89° 47' E.

53. Mentioned as one of the Sarkars in Bengal. Cf. Ain, II, 132.

Meanwhile fight between Musa Khan and Islam Khan had also commenced when Musa Khan heard that Islam Khan was at Kats Garh. Rather than allow him to proceed to Jatrapur, he sailed down and attacked the imperial camp with seven hundred boats through the river *Isamati*. When the night came, he encamped at Dakchera on the other side of the *Isamati*.⁵⁴ Digging a deep ditch round, he entrenched himself there. He was supported by Alawal Khan, his cousin, his younger brother, Madho Rai of Kahalsi, Banod Rai of Chand Pratap, Pahlwan of Matang and others. On the other side Islam Khan arranged his forces in battle order. Musa Khan again began the bombardment and caused heavy casualties among the imperialists. They returned the compliment in kind, and sank many boats of the rebels. Madho Rai's son and Banod Rai's brother were killed. Next morning some of the enemy under Madho Rai and Banod Rai landed near the Mughals and engaged the Mughal forces in a hand to hand fight. The imperialists however pressed them hard on land and many were driven into the river and lost their lives. Islam Khan then sent an expedition under Iftkhar Khan against the fort of the enemy at Jatrapur. Nathan here proved of great value and connected the two wings of the imperial army by cutting a channel. With ten thousand boatmen engaged in the task, he did not spare himself.

Musa Khan had now had enough of it and submitted. He visited Islam Khan who received him kindly. But when Islam Khan went to return the visit, he injured Musa Khan's feelings by his foolish talk and interference. Musa Khan broke off negotiations and the battle raged once again. Islam Khan however succeeded in conquering the fort of Jatrapur.

Now he turned to the siege of Dakchera. Nathan with his ten thousand boatmen was busy cutting a channel. Working day and night and encouraging his men by his own example, he cut the channel in a week and connected it with the river *Isamati*. He informed Islam Khan. On 27 Rabi-ul-Awal 1017 (1019?), a day fixed by the astrologer, Islam Khan entered the channel and praised Nathan's work. At night all the royal boats entered the canal. Nathan begged for an appointment for taking part in the attack on the fort. Dakchera was now invested

54. *Isamati* is probably the *Ichhamati* river in Bengal.

with greater vigour, and Nathan did wonders. From sheer jealousy, other commanders did not support him. He set five thousand men to fill up the ditch round the fort and stormed it at night. It was at last captured by his skill after a siege of 25 days.

Luqman's Jangnama on the war.

Islam Khan now turned back to Dacca. As the imperial army marched, arrangements were made for dealing with the enemy if he dared to raise his head. At Sripur, Kalk Pura and Shahpura⁵⁵ Balra, Kodalia, Pathra Ghat garrisons were left to keep the country in order. Musa Khan however was not able to face the Mughal Army. At last Dacca was reached in safety.

CHAPTER VII.

Musa Khan had not submitted to the imperialists; he had left his conquered forts in the hands of the victors and himself fled to Katra Bo.⁵⁶ When Islam Khan turned his back upon the country, Musa Khan made up his mind to challenge the imperialists once again behind the protection afforded him by the river Lakhya. Islam Khan decided to take up the challenge.

He stationed garrison forces at Sart Pur, Vikrampur, Kadm Raml, Katra Bo, Khizar Pur⁵⁷ and Kanvar Sir. Khizar Pur was attacked by Musa Khan's forces but they were obliged to allow the Mughals to establish themselves there under Nathan. The main Mughal outpost was however established at Katra Bo where Nathan and Musa Khan lay facing each other and exchanging shots. On March 12, 1611, Islam Khan visited the batteries when Nathan explained his plan of crossing the river Lakhia and carrying the war into the enemy's country. Later on a merchant was captured who was seen coming from the enemy's side. He told them that the enemy planned to gather his forces for a surprise attack on the place. Nathan sent the trader to his father at Khizar Pura and himself began crossing the river at the dead of night. A part of the army crossed on elephants, others on the rafts of

55. Shahpura is described as a Mahal in the Sarkar of Tajpura in Bengal in the Ain, II, 135, extending now over Eastern Purnia and Western Dinajpur according to Blochman (J. A. S. B., 1873, 215.).

56. Katraboh is mentioned as a Parganah in the Sarkar of Bazuh in a grant of 1700 A.D. (J. A. S. B., 1874, 214.).

57. Khizrpur in Lakhnauti Sarkar (Ain, II, 131.) was the seat of one of the twelve Bhuiyas.

banana planks, while 80 boats sent by Ihtmam Khan came just in time to help his son. The Mughals now attacked Daud Khan's fort who was so hard pressed by this surprise attack that he was compelled to evacuate it. A part of the rest of the Mughal army crossed over and Nathan went to Kadam Raml to his father. Meanwhile the enemy attacked the Mughals who were hard pressed. They managed however to head off the attack and Nathan led them to assault Musa Khan's fort. Musa Khan and Mirza Mumina and Alawal Khan left the fort and fled away. Their followers however were not so easily discouraged and returned to attack the Mughals. Nathan now used his elephants to produce a panic among the enemy boats. The Mughals were at last successful and Musa Khan fled to Ibrahim Pura.

Luqman's verses on the war.

Sonargaon was surrendered to the Mughals by an officer of Musa Khan. Daud Khan, his brother, was killed by the Farangis (the Dutch?). Musa Khan tried in vain to oust Nathan from the fort of Alawal Khan. A change of commander at Kodalia seemed to give him another chance, and he almost succeeded in capturing the fort when reinforcements arrived. The battle now became fierce but Mughal elephants and artillery helped them to victory. Khark Bahadur and Mujlis Qutab now submitted to Islam Khan and were given their lands as Jagirs. Their war boats were however taken into the imperial service.

About this time envoys from Raja Salim of Magh's cousin, came. He undertook to conquer Sandep from the Farangis and this was given to him as a Jagir.

Meanwhile at Patna a fakir led a rising with the help of Raja Madhokar Ujjania claiming that he was Khusru. He distributed a large amount of gold among his followers. Afzal,⁵⁸ the governor of Patna, whose absence on the expeditions against Musa Khan had provided the occasion for this rising, returned in haste. When he was about to cross the river Pun Pun his path was disputed; but he succeeded after a skirmish in making good his advance. The supposed Khusro fled to Patna where he at last surrendered. Afzal Khan tortured him to death, tearing him limb by limb.

58. Cf. Memoirs, I, 173, 175 and Iqbalnama, 42, 44.

When Jahangir received the news he flew into anger at Afzal Khan's dealing on his own authority with one who claimed to be the emperor's son. Islam Khan's intercession however saved Afzal Khan.

Islam Khan arrested Baz Bahadur for his inactivity against Musa Khan on Ghias Khan's complaint. When the rainy season came, Islam Khan stationed garrisons in the territory of Musa Khan who now discovered that he had no other course left but to submit. He made his submission to Shaikh Kamal at Kanvar Sar with all his followers. He was sent to the emperor under a guard and his brother was taken into service and appointed against Usman at Bakai Nagar.

CHAPTER VIII.

Ali Akbar, one of the followers of Wazir Khan, the late Diwan of Bengal was given a fort in Bengal. When he reached Malda he borrowed Rs. 4,000 from his father-in-law. Leaving Malda he reached Bidhi Ghat where he joined Mir Jalal who was carrying the imperial treasury to Dacca. He frightened the Mir who fled away and all the treasure fell into Akbar's hands. He now returned to Malda, and, after an ineffectual resistance, made himself master of the city which he ravaged. He got a large amount of pillage thereby getting Rs. 700,000 from the house of Ihtmam Khan which he razed to the ground and burnt. From there he advanced to Tajpur⁵⁹ which he also plundered. Islam Khan sent Iftkhar Khan from Shahpur against him who made a dash to Tajpur reaching there in 42 hours instead of five days. Ali Akbar was on the point of taking to water in the river Kasi but was compelled to face Iftkhar Khan. He very nearly succeeded in slaying Iftkhar who was however saved by the bravery of one of his companions who cut down Ali Akbar's mount and slew him as well. His head was exhibited on the point of a spear whereupon his followers fled away.

Masnavi of Luqman.

Islam Khan sent another expedition against Raja Anant Manank of Bhalua under Abdul Wahad. This army consisted of 4,000 horses, 3,000 matchlockmen and fifty elephants. When

59. 25° 51' N, 85° 43' E.

Anant heard the news, he came out five stages from his capital, and waited for the Mughals who soon came. The battle raged fiercely for some days, the Mughals pillaged the country side. Mirza Usaf, Anant's prime minister however went over to the Mughal side and was created a 5 sadi of the second class. Anant was naturally perturbed by this turn of events and at night slipped away to his capital. The Mughals discovered his flight in the morning and followed him fast. Exasperated and unable to hold the fort, he fled to Raja Magh and the Mughals entered Bhalua.

CHAPTER IX.

An expedition was now decided upon against Usman of Bakai Nagar. Land roads would not have enabled the imperialists to carry their cannon and siege implements into Usman's territory and it was decided therefore to make a riverine way to the place by connecting the Brahmaputra with some of the existing canals (Khals). This was to be done about the village of Hasanpura which was reached by a continuous march for three days and nights under Ghias Khan. The expedition contained, besides the matchlockmen in the imperial artillery, 5,000 matchlockmen, 3,000 (or 300?) war boats, besides those of the twelve Bhumyas, 3,000 elephants (300?) besides 80 in the artillery. The number of horsemen must have been in proportion, besides 1,000 picked horse. The whole province was denuded of its military strength, the garrisons in the territory of Musa Khan were weakened, the forces at Dacca attenuated. As usual there was a quarrel between Islam Khan and Ihtmam Khan who was ill and did not accompany the expedition at once. The governor instructed his men to see that he did so and if he did not, asked them to make him start by force. There was a scene and Nathan interfered to make peace. The expedition was marred by ill-timed quarrels between *mansibdars* each jealous of his position, and therefore unwilling to co-operate with the other. But the crowning mercy of the campaign came when Anwar Khan and his brothers of Bania Chang⁶⁰ came to Dacca, submitted to the governor and asked him to send them towards Sylhet so that they might close that way of escape to Usman. In an unfortunate moment Islam Khan agreed, gave Anwar Khan his own territory in Jagir and sent a part of his own army to accompany him. Anwar Khan thus got Dacca almost empty of its garrison. He had not gone very far

60. A village in Assam situated at 24° 31' N, 74° E.

when he wrote to Mahmud Khan, Musa Khan's brother, who was accompanying the main expedition, to rise and make short work of the imperialists and release Musa Khan at Dacca. He further invited Usman to make a surprise attack on the Mughals. Himself he invited the Mughal commander Mubaraz Khan to a feast. Fortunately he was ill and was thus saved. Raja Rai and Islam Quli however went and were taken to Bania Chung whereto Anwar Khan fled. Mubaraz Khan now informed Islam Khan of the plot. He had already become suspicious on account of Musa's conduct. Mahmud Khan and Bahadur Ghazi accompanying the main expedition were made prisoners and sent to Dacca along with other Zamindars.

The main expedition now marched victoriously on conquering fort after fort till Bakai Nagar was reached in the month of Ramzan (28 October—26 November, 1611). Usman was at last forced to vacate Bakai Nagar and fled away to Sylhet owing to the desertion of Nasir Khan and Darya Khan of Tajpur. Bakai Nagar was occupied on the Id; a garrison was left here and an advance was made to Tajpur. However the Mughals discovered they could not achieve much there and returned to Bakai Nagar which was more than 100 kos. from Dacca. There was a good deal of bickering and worse, on account of the failure of the expedition to pursue Usman; but Islam Khan had to be content with the victory gained. The territory conquered was given away in Jagir to some of the Mansibdars.

An expedition had also been sent against Anwar Khan. When he heard of Usman's defeat and flight, he submitted and was made a prisoner.

Another expedition under Shamsud-Din was sent to Matang⁶¹ governed by Pahlwan. Here affairs took a turn for the worse, when Usman's brother attacked the imperialists in the rear. Imperial elephants however saved the day. Shamsud-Din and Pahlwan both perished in a single combat. Qurban Ali, adopted son of the Haji, however succeeded in keeping the imperialists together. The enemy was defeated and ran away (was the fort taken?).

61. Tract of country in Lakhmipur district, Assam, I. G. VI, 334.

CHAPTER X.

Islam Khan now began to assume imperial airs. He set up a Jharoka Darshan where he could reply to the salutation of the Amirs without rising. Mu'tqad Khan who protested was put to shame; Saifud-Din went further and fared worse, he was imprisoned.

He soon picked a quarrel with Raja Pratāp Aditya whose boats he got all dismantled. An expedition was sent under Ghiasud-Din. The artillery demanded pay and there was a good deal of unpleasantness on that account between Nathan and Ihtmam Khan on one side, and the governor, the Bakhshi and the Diwan on the other. However the men were quietened in the end, and Nathan started with his men. Islam Khan stationed garrisons in Bala Sandur, Hasan Pur and Bakai Nagar. Nathan conquered Alai Pur in the way. Ghias Khan sent an expedition from Mahal Pur Baghwan to Bakha which was conquered, and a garrison stationed there with 400 men. Ghiasud-Din then proceeded on his way. There was a quarrel between Ghias Khan and Mirza Saifud-Din, the leader of the expedition, on account of some female prisoners. Ghias wanted a few for himself, Saif refused. Not content with this he enraged Ghias by his foolish talk when he invited him to ride with him on the same elephant. The crisis came when Saif insisted on entering his commander's apartments when he was being massaged. He was imprisoned and sent back in disgrace to Islam Khan.

Meanwhile the expedition advanced into the territory of Jessore. At Salka, Udyāditya, Pratāp's son, sat entrenched in a strong position surrounded on three sides by natural waters, and on the fourth by a trench filled from the waters of the Brahmaputra diverted thereto. Nathan, however, divided the imperialists into two sections and attacked Pratāpāditya from land and water. He entrenched himself in front of the enemy who however did not give him time enough for it. In a hard contested battle, the imperialists almost lost the day, but the death of Khawaja Kamal turned the fortunes of the day. The Jessorian army ran away and the imperialists would have succeeded in capturing Udyāditya, but for the ingenuity of the Europeans who intervened with their boats. Udyāditya succeeded in making good his escape with two of his wives who had been with him all through the battle.

History of the Reign of Shāh Jāhan

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PART II.

INTRODUCTION: PRECIOUS STONES IN GENERAL

Wealth may have power and money may be wealth, but there is nothing essentially interesting or inspiring about a heap of gold and silver as such. A pearl or precious stone, however, is a different matter. Just as a beautiful manuscript is art wedded to knowledge, so a jewel is art wedded to wealth.

We have no respect for a man who loves gold or silver, except when it is used as a means to a moral or artistic end: we have nothing but admiration for a man who loves gems and jewels for their own sake; for love of beauty is itself beautiful.

The Jewel Treasury of the Mughals represents a very special institution which reflects their temperament and their tastes, their wealth and their power—the spirit of the age, in fact, as interpreted by them.

The subject-matter of this Part, therefore, is fascinating beyond words.

One's interest in life must precede one's interest in history; and things must make a real impression on our minds before stories about them can signify anything. We propose, therefore, to devote this Introduction to the general nature of precious stones, the qualities which they have been believed to possess, the uses to which they have been put, and the like.

SECTION I: FANCY

Weight for weight, precious stones have always been among the most valuable things of the world. Their use is mainly ornamental or artistic. It constitutes one of the facile paradoxes of

economists that while the most essentially useful things like air and water seldom have a price in the market, the utterly useless things like rubies or diamonds command incredibly high prices. But we are not all economists or dealers in paradox.

From a wider point of view a deep and subtle interest attaches to the appearance of gem-stones from the bowels of the earth. Whatever the mineralogists may have to say, the mysterious forces of nature, in producing a diamond or an emerald, seem to strike together by rare chance into a delicate balance. No one can deny that among the products of nature there is something noble and select and classic about precious stones. The Germans certainly need not apologize for calling a precious stone an *edelstein*—a 'noble stone'.

∞ The coloration of gem-stones has always made a powerful appeal to the poet. Metaphors from precious stones have constituted an ornament in the poetry of all countries since early times. Who has not heard of the 'Emerald Isle', 'sapphire seas', 'ruby lips', 'pearly teeth', 'amber hair', 'coral lips', and 'turquoise skies'; or read in Shelley of 'the emerald heaven of trees', 'the sapphire floods of interstellar air', and 'the chrysolite of sunrise'?

'The love of precious stones', says Dr. Kunz, 'is deeply implanted in the human heart, and the cause of this must be sought not only in their coloring and brilliancy but also in their durability. All the fair colors of flowers and foliage, and even the blue of the sky and the glory of the sunset clouds, only last for a short time, and are subject to continual change, but the sheen and coloration of precious stones are the same to-day as they were thousands of years ago and will be for thousands of years to come. In a world of change, this permanence has a charm of its own that was early appreciated!' (G. F. Kunz, *Curious Lore of Precious stones*, Preface, p. v.).

But this is not all. Fable and popular superstition have, from shadowy antiquity, invested these products of nature's mute alchemy with weird powers over man's destiny and his temperament. Who knows, some of the earliest intuitions of humanity may be a nearer approach to truth than a closely reasoned system of thought, which has its day and ceases to be? For, still there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in Horatio's philosophy. All we are concerned with is the fact that

from the earliest times the precious stones have filled the human observer with wonder, and sent his fancy travelling through a strange system of affinities and symbolism.

'The magi, the wise men, the seers, the astrologers of the ages gone by', continues the same writer, 'found much in the matter of gems that we have nearly come to forgetting. With them each gem possessed certain planetary attractions peculiar to itself, certain affinities with the various virtues, and a zodiacal concordance with the seasons of the year. Moreover, these early sages were firm believers in the influence of gems in one's nativity—that the evil in the world could be kept from contaminating a child properly protected by wearing the appropriate talismanic, natal, and zodiacal gems. Indeed, folklorists are wont to wonder whether the custom of wearing gems in jewelry did not originate in the talismanic idea instead of in the idea of mere additional adornment.' (Kunz, 1)

Colour went a long way to determine the influence of gemstones on the fortunes or health of the person who wore them; and affinities between temperaments and precious stones could possibly be traced through the colours with which the latter were associated.¹

Primitive imagination has always revelled in a gorgeous display of gems. The Babylonian legends tell of trees on which grow precious stones (232).²

The reader is no doubt familiar with the description of the New Jerusalem in the vision of John (*Revelation* xxi, 18-21).³ Nor is that the only example of the kind, for the idea of a gem-city has always fascinated the nations of antiquity. Lucian, in his *Vera Historia*, describes one under the name of the city of the Islands of the Blessed (237). Again, the *Puranas* contain a description of the wonderful city of Dwāraka which is 'a gorgeous mass of the most brilliant gems known in India' (236). 'Hindu mythology tells of a wonderful tank formed of crystal, the

1. On this subject see Kunz, 29-34.

2. This and all the figures within brackets that follow are references to the pages of Kunz.

3. See also *Isaiah*, liv, 11-12.

work of the god Maya' (237). A wonderful 'Diamond Throne' stood near the Tree of Knowledge beneath which Gautama Buddha received his supreme revelation of truth (238).

A few virtues of precious stones may be noticed here by way of curiosity (It is only a selection from a very large and miscellaneous catalogue):

Spirits lived in precious stones (27). Amulets were considered indispensable, by way of protection, for those who evoked dark spirits (39). The magician's art was powerless if an emerald was in his vicinity (77).

The opal rendered its wearer invisible (148). The serpent could not look upon an emerald without losing his sight (157-58).⁴

The true Oriental ruby announced coming misfortunes by change of colour and by growing obscurity (158-59). The red coral and the onyx had a similar ominous character (159-60). The emerald foreshowed future events (76). Again, by putting it under the tongue, one could predict future events (79).

A diamond worn on the breast of the high-priest showed the guilt or innocence of a person accused of any crime (71 and 278). The emerald 'revealed the truth or falsity of lover's oaths' (78). Yet this stone was an enemy of sexual passion; for the exceptionally valuable emerald worn in a ring by King Bela of Hungary broke into three parts when he embraced his wife. (Albertus Magnus) (78). A sapphire was used as a test of female virtue, the change of colour indicating unfaithfulness on the part of the wearer (105). Shakespeare considers the opal a fit emblem of inconstancy (*Twelfth Night*, II, iv).

A ruby of the King of Ceylon was 'believed to possess the virtues of an elixir of youth' (166). Diamond, emerald and sapphire were all antidotes against poison (376, 379 and 104 respectively). Diamond was said to grow dark in the presence of poison (379). The ruby, when thrown into water, caused it to boil (102).

4. 'Blinded like serpents when they gaze
Upon the emerald's virgin blaze'.—Moore.

'Sleeping-stone' induced sleep, and 'Waking-stone' induced wakefulness (Pseudo-Aristotle) (163-64). In Sumero-Assyrian inscriptions we have 'Stone of Love' and 'Stone of Hate', which excited these passions respectively in the hearts of their wearers. There are similarly the stones of memory and forgetfulness in the *Gesta Romanorum* (35).

Precious stones could, under certain circumstances, lose their powers, 'If handled or even gazed upon by impure persons and sinners, some of the virtues of the stones departed from them. Indeed, there were those who held that precious stones, in common with all created things, were corrupted by the sin of Adam. Therefore, in order to restore their pristine virtue it might become necessary to sanctify and consecrate them, and a kind of ritual serving this purpose has been preserved in several old treatises' (44-45). Again, 'the talismanic power of a diamond was lost if the stone were acquired by purchase; only when received as a gift could its virtue be depended on. The same belief is noted regarding the turquoise. The spirit dwelling in the stone was thought to take offence at the idea of being bought and sold, and was supposed to depart from the stone, leaving it nothing more than a bit of senseless matter' (73).

The ancient Mexicans called blood "water of precious stones" (40). With some people 'the wearing of precious stones was believed to enrich the blood and thus to promote health and vigour, for "the blood is the life"' (40).

Extravagant tales are told of luminous stones, of how they lit up rooms, temples and palaces. Instances are reported where rubies, diamonds and emeralds shone by their own light. 'From the Lydian river Tmolus a marvellous stone was taken which was said to change color four times a day. This surpasses the properties of the "saphire merveilleux" which changed its hue at night. Only innocent young girls could find the Lydian stone, and while they wore it they were defended from outrage' (163).

Engraved Stones.—So far about the plain stones. From ancient times signs, figures and letters have been engraved on stones, which imparted certain special qualities of their own to them, independently of the inherent qualities of the latter. If these two reinforced each other the effect was stronger. Again, in order to attain special efficiency, the signs were engraved at a time

when the astrological influences were favourable. Further, 'in the production of engraved stones to serve as amulets, the influence of the respective planet was made to enter the stone by casting upon the latter, during the process of engraving, reflections from a mirror, which had been exposed to the planet's rays. In addition to this, the work was executed while the planet was in the ascendant, and the design was emblematic of it. With these combined influences the gem was believed to be thoroughly impregnated with the planetary virtue' (340).—Throughout the historical and the prehistoric periods we find gnostic signs and writings, astrological symbols, sacred texts and names, names and monograms, etc., of owners, engraved on gems for various purposes.

The Babylonian and Assyrian cylinder seals (from 4000 B.C. to 500 B.C.), Cretan seals (from 2500 B.C.), the Egyptian scarabs (funeral scarabs, or else used as gifts or as signets), Roman rings set with scarabs, Babylonian scaraboid seals introduced from Egypt (fifth or sixth century B.C.) and seal-rings (third century B.C. to third century A.C.) can only be mentioned here (117-22).

Engraving sacred texts on stones is an old practice. The ancient Egyptians engraved 'texts from a very ancient ritual composition, called the Book of the Dead, upon certain semi-precious stones which had been cut into various symbolical forms' (225).

A few of the most remarkable examples of engraved stones are given below:

'In the Cabinet du Roi, in Paris, there was an engraved carnelian, the design showing Jupiter enthroned, with thunderbolt and sceptre, and Mars and Mercury standing on either side of the central figure. Separated from the gods of the upper air by a bow, probably representing the arch of the sky, appears the bust of Neptune, emerging from the sea. The border of the design is formed by the twelve signs of the zodiac, Virgo being of an unusual type—the virgin and a unicorn—said to have been used only during the reign of Domitian (81-96 A.D.)' (341).

'The popularity of the carnelian as a talismanic stone among Mohammedan peoples is said to be due to the fact that the Prophet himself wore, on the little finger of his right hand, a silver ring set with a carnelian engraved for use as a seal.' Imām Ja'far

declared that all the desires of any man who wore this stone would be gratified. In Persia the name of one of the twelve *Imāms* is frequently engraved on this stone (63-64).

Again, 'there is in the Imperial Academy at Moscow a turquoise two inches in diameter, inscribed with a text from the Koran in letters of gold. This turquoise was formerly worn by the Shah of Persia as an amulet, and it was valued at 5000 rubles by the jeweller from whose hands it came' (quoted from Kluge, *Edelsteinkunde*, Leipsic, 1860, p. 366) (142).

At the other extremity of the moral scale are certain jewels said to have been pawned in Paris by the ex-Sultan 'Abdu'l-Hamīd for 12,00,000 francs (about £47,500). The designs on these were an offence against public decency, so that they could not be offered at a public sale (139).

Religious Uses of Stones.—These, as we have seen, date from the ancient Egyptians.

Every one knows of the Breastplate on the ephod of the Hebrew High-priest, the twelve stones of which symbolized the twelve months of the year. This Breastplate, it should be noted, belongs 'to the time of the return from the Babylonian Captivity and the building of the second temple' (231).⁵

Instances could be added *ad libitum*; but space prohibits.

Among the Hindus there was the *Panchratna*, usually consisting of gold, diamond, sapphire, ruby, and pearl (241). And then we have the *navratna*, the nine-gem jewel, 'one of the oldest and perhaps the most interesting talismanic jewel' (242). It was designed to combine all the powerful astrological influences, and comprised diamond, ruby, cat's-eye, zircon (hyacinth), pearl, coral, emerald, topaz, and sapphire.

The *Mani Mālā*, or Chain of Gems, in possession of the late Rāja Sir Surindro Mohun Tagore, of Calcutta, consisted of diamond, ruby, cat's-eye, pearl, zircon, coral, emerald, topaz, sapphire,

5. The "breastplate of Aaron", if it had any actual existence, and the one 'brought by Titus to Rome after the capture of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., are in all probability entirely distinct objects' (289).

chrysoberyl, garnet, carnelian, quartz, and rock-crystal, with a *navratna* pendant, from which a pear-shaped pearl hung.

The so-called "phenomenal" gems, which exhibit a phenomenal quality—a moving line as in the chrysoberyl cat's-eye, or the quartz cat's-eye, or a star as in star-sapphire or star-ruby—are a great favourite with the Oriental peoples, being considered to bring good fortune to the wearer (333-34).

Jade talismans are very popular at the present day in the Muslim world, specially among the Turks (246).

Birth-stones.—These came into use comparatively late. The fashion of wearing them is traceable to the Jews (309).

A stone corresponded to each one of the twelve months of the year, and had influence over the destiny of the person born in that month. Again, a stone belonged to each of the seasons of the year, spring, summer, autumn and winter (323). A series of stones corresponded also to the twelve zodiacal signs—"astral" or "zodiacal" stones.

'When the zodiacal signs were engraved on gems to give them special virtues and render them of greater efficacy for those born under a given sign, the Hebrew characters designating the sign (or at least the initial character) were often cut upon the gem' (332).

Only a word need be added on the medicinal uses of precious stones. These cured not only talismanically by the patient wearing them but were ground to powder, dissolved and taken internally. Considering the therapeutic properties of gems noticed by various writers, we fancy a natty little pharmacopoeia could be compiled out of the multitudinous variety of stones prescribed for the various ills and ailments.

We may wind up these odds and ends of curious lore by the following passage, where the birth of the diamond and the creation of the pearl are poetically narrated. Considering that imagination, after all, is of the essence of life, the following is delightful reading:

'When the God of the Mines called his courtiers to bring him all known gems, he found them to be of all colors and tints, and

of varying hardnesses, such as the ruby, emerald, sapphire, etc., etc. He took one of each; he crushed them; he compounded them, and said: "Let this be something that will combine the beauty of all; yet it must be pure, and it must be invincible." He spoke: and lo! the diamond was born, pure as the dew-drop and invincible in hardness; but when its ray is resolved in the spectrum, it displays all the colors of the gems from which it was made. "Mine," said the god, "must be the gem of the universe; for my queen I will create one that shall be the greatest gem of the sea," and for her he created the pearl' (325-26).

Rock-crystals.—The use of rock-crystal for purposes of divination, which dates from ancient times, is a fascinating subject. Instances of 'scrying' are to be found as early as classical Greece and Rome. The Achæians 'used a mirror to divine diseases or to learn whether there was danger of sudden death' (177). Pausanias tells us of a sacred well with its oracle of the magic mirror, in front of the Temple of Demeter, or Ceres, at Patras, which answered questions touching diseases. In Lucian's description of the palace of the Moon-King we have a similar well with a large mirror, where one could hear and see everything passing in the world (*ibid.*). A god of the ancient Mexicans saw in a magic mirror everything that happened in the world (178). Helenus, the Trojan soothsayer, foretold the downfall of Troy by a magic sphere of stone mentioned in the Orphic poem "Lithica" (*ibid.*). We learn from Joseph's story (*Genesis*, xliv, 1-5) that a silver cup was used for divination among the primitive Hebrews; and a golden ball was used by 'the Magi, followers of Zoroaster,' in their incantations (179). Roger Bacon made a marvellous 'glass' in which events happening at far-distant places were mirrored (182-83).

The *jām* (cup) of Jamshēd, with which every student of Persian literature is familiar, and which, curiously enough, is not mentioned by Kunz, obviously belongs to this class.

It will be noticed that divination was not done by crystals alone. Besides cups or balls of gold and silver, polished spheres or cubes of stone such as beryl, surfaces of water, boys' fingernails, etc., were often used for the purpose. Dr. Dee, the famous charlatan of Queen Elizabeth's time, used several articles for scrying, a polished slab of black stone, obsidian, among the number.

Among remarkable crystals may be mentioned the following:

(1) Crystal globe, 2¼ inches in diameter, surmounting the sceptre of the Scottish regalia (183).

(2) Dr. Dee's Crystal, of cairngorm, or 'smoky-quartz', now preserved in the British Museum (190).

(3) 'A crystal ball, one of the largest perfect spheres ever produced, has been made from rock-crystal of Madagascar. It is a very perfect sphere and of faultless material.' Diameter, 6⅞ inches; price, \$20,000 (217).

(4-6) Three fine crystals in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History, New York: (a) Apparently perfect. Diameter, 5½ inches. (b) Not entirely perfect. Diameter, 6½ inches. (c) Fine crystal ball, of wonderful purity. An ideally perfect sphere on account of very precise cutting. Diameter, 4-11/16 inches (219).

(7) One of the largest and most perfect crystal balls is in the 'Grüne Gewölbe' (Dresden). Weight, 15 German pounds; diameter, 6-2/3 inches; price, \$10,000 (in 1780). It was used for purposes of augury (223).

(8) The Currahmore Crystal. Slightly larger than an orange, with a silver ring encircling it at the middle. It cures cattle of all distempers. Supposed to have come from the Holy Land. (223).

(9) 'An exceptionally fine specimen of Aztec work is a skull carved out of rock-crystal. It weighs 475¼ ounces Troy, and measures 8¼ inches in width' (101). See illustration of this rock-crystal skull (Ancient Mexican) (now in British Museum, London) on p. 100 of Kunz.

(To be continued)

Editorial

MOHENJO-DARO AND THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

EDITED BY

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I.

THIS long expected report is the official account of the excavations carried out at the site Mohenjo-Daro, mound of the dead, by the archaeological department of the Government of India between the years 1922 to 1927. Its publication in 1931, though it might strike one as being somewhat belated, cannot from what it incorporates be regarded as having been brought out tardily. The significance of what has been laid bare by the excavations at this site, it will be some considerable time before we can claim to understand in full. But it is reasonable that all the material in this archaeological work of the first importance should be made available for this very purpose, for study and investigation, as early as it is possible for those concerned to do. Though the report has taken about four years' time, the five years' excavations preceding it did exhibit much that required very careful study and analysis before the results could be indicated even in tentative inferences. The report therefore is quite worthy of the great labour that it has involved, almost ten years' labour in the study, and five years' work at actual excavation. Of the three volumes, the third is devoted purely to illustrations, and the first two volumes are taken up with the report with some of the illustrations that are very material to the understanding of the report itself. The plates themselves count 164 not including plans and maps in colours, and the report itself is spread over the two volumes in 32 chapters. The first volume takes us through the first 19 chapters, and the second contains chapters 20 to 32 with appendices and the necessary index. The two volumes together make 716 pages. The first eight chapters of the report are by Sir John Marshall himself, and deal with the general results of his study of the excavations, and cover a little over a hundred pages. The subsequent chapters are arranged by area-units in which excavations were

carried out, sometimes by different officers of the department from period to period. The remaining chapters are devoted to the treatment of the various topics in which the results of the excavation could be dealt with to purpose. The arrangement appears to us to be logical and quite satisfactory. An excellent map and a well-prepared plan of the sites accompany the first volume along with 14 of the plates and ten figures. Volume 2 similarly contains 41 figures to illustrate, but contains none of the plates proper. They are all consigned to the third volume.

The printing of the work undertaken by Mr. Arthur Probsthain, the well-known Oriental bookseller and publisher of Great Russel Street, London, is a model of high grade printing in the three sumptuous volumes. As printer and publisher of the report, he has done his best to make the volumes quite worthy of the importance that they possess at present, and of the far-reaching results that this publication is likely to lead to.

Egypt and Near Asia have hitherto been regarded as the ancient sites which required the energies of the archaeologist and his confreres as unearthing the early history of man carrying us to a period in the comparatively remote past. The special importance that these ancient sites enjoyed as such is now shared to the fullest extent by the area generally included in the term Indus Valley. The Indus Valley Civilization, even though its excavations and the interpretation of the excavated material have not gone their full course, has established its place alongside of the archaeological explorations, Egyptian and the Near Eastern. What the future has to bring to us by further systematic exploration on this and other sites which ought really to be carried out on the large scale that the actual importance of the work demands, is more than we can say at present. The work that this report incorporates gives enough promise that what the future holds for us is bound to be of the greatest value.

The site concerned covers a comparatively small area of about 240 acres in a part of Sind, which, even at this time, is described as the garden of Sind. The site is on what is called an island locally between the main river Indus and the loop formed by one of its principal canals on the west called the western Nara. The site is about 25 miles from Larkhana, and is actually reached from the railway station at Dokri, about seven miles to the end of the site. The whole area is a level plain, but the mounds rose to a

height of some seventy feet, and thus proved a prominent feature of the whole area. The general character of the locality is so destructive that the very mounds have undergone disintegration to a very great extent. The first destroying agency is the erosion caused by the floods of the river and the canal. But the dryness of the climate and the saline nature of the soil help to cause disintegration and flaking away in those short periods when the atmosphere is charged with humidity. This is visible even now in the encrustation of saline material upon the surfaces recently laid bare. If a similar state of things continued in the past, anything else is hardly necessary to understand the vicissitudes that have actually taken place over the whole area. But the very nature of the destructive work gives us a hint that other changes have taken place as well, and have contributed their own quota to this destructive work. There is more or less clear evidence that the rainfall in the fourth millennium and the third must have been far larger, though far from being abundant, than it happens to be at present. This is made clear to us by the fact that the builders of the cities, the older cities of Mohenjo-Daro, have used burnt brick for all the exposed parts, though they have used sun-dried bricks largely in work which was hidden from the surface, such as the parts that required filling, and the foundations, etc., that could be kept free from surface action. The very animals which come before us on the coins and the seals excavated, seem to be animals that flourish in damp jungly country. The number and disposition of the drains within the houses and in the streets would perhaps indicate more ample rain. These features of the locality may be capable of other interpretations, but a comparison with similar changes that are more clearly visible in old sites in the neighbouring areas of Baluchistan in a large number of cases, would support this inference, as the alternative explanations will not hold in respect of that locality. There are many bunds that are visible in the locality concerned, which were intended to function as dams for impounding and storing water. This would be unnecessary in a region when there is a plentiful and evenly distributed rainfall. They could be directly useful only in areas where the rainfall is somewhat larger than they happen to be at present in the area, and much less evenly distributed over the year. It is then that the inhabitants would feel the necessity for impounding the water and storing it for use in the more adverse seasons of the year. We know that Baluchistan itself must have been dried up in the period extending from the Chalcolithic age to the retreat of Alexander from India. Apart from the sufferings

of Alexander so graphically described, Nearchus has recorded a tradition that the armies of Cyrus two centuries before and those of the queen Semiramis of Assyria suffered severely on the soil of Baluchistan, which tradition supports the inference from the excavations in Sind.

If then there have been climatic changes of a striking character particularly as affecting the rainfall of the locality and consequently its fertility, it may be due to one of two causes. The first of these may be the moving up of the belt of the Atlantic rainstorms blowing across the Continent of Europe through Mid-Asia. In the last glacial age and the period immediately following, the storm-belt, which is now Central Europe and farther north, was actually the Mediterranean region and North Africa extending into Asia the southern part of which is now more or less a desert region up to the Ganges itself. These storms have still some little reach in this direction, and account for the winter rainfall at least in Baluchistan. Whether the changes in Sind are accountable to this cause does not seem quite so clear. The monsoon from the Bay seems to have had a much farther reach even in historical times, and that ought really speaking to have affected Sind more than the other. The winter rain in Sind is comparatively inconsiderable, and the highest rainfall in certain years is found to be due to the monsoons rather than to the winter. While the two may have combined to produce the change of climate, it is clear that the more important influence so far as Sind is concerned is rather the monsoon conditions than the distant Atlantic winter storms. This in a way is supported by what we find in Egypt and Mesopotamia in neither of which places have we any evidence that in the Chalcolithic age the rainfall was at all heavier. On the material available to us, definite conclusion in this matter would be difficult.

Another important feature of Sind is the change that has come over the river-system of the Indus. We have the evidence of Mussalman historians that in the period of the early Muhammadan invasions, Sind was watered by two rivers, the Indus in the west and the great Mihran, or as it is otherwise called Hakra or Wahinda, in the east of it. According to these early writers, the Mihran seems to have been regarded as the more important of the two. Both the Mihran, and the river Indus itself, have changed their courses rather widely. All that we can be certain about is that by the 14th century, the two large rivers

really ran their parallel courses and carried the waters of the Punjab rivers to the sea, even including the more eastern Ghaggar and Chitang. It is believed that the extraordinary storm-floods of the middle of the 14th century which was fairly world-wide actually brought about the great changes in the course of the Punjab rivers including even the drying up of the Hakra itself. We cannot be certain, nor is it necessary for us to assume, such extraordinary changes in the vast period between the chalcolithic age and the Muhammadan invasions. The ordinary changes due to the floods and the change in the course of the rivers taking place normally would be quite enough to explain the changes that we noticed. But, so far as the site of Mohenjo-Daro itself is concerned, the district surrounding it has not undergone much change during the period of five thousand years from the days of its great prosperity down to the present day. The existence of the two rivers and the fertility distributed over the country by these and their tributaries, would warrant the belief that the territory of Sind must have been much more fertile and wealthy than it is described to have been in the days of Alexander and his predecessors, the Achaemenid emperors of Persia. With a second river to carry the waters down, the Indus itself must have been a much less destructive river then, than it actually is at the present day. Even so, it would be impossible to believe that the floods and inundation characteristic of the Indus region did not exist at the time. But the constant inundation of the river brings about the raising in the level of the country surrounding, to some extent, while the bed of the river itself rises much more largely. Of course, as we noticed elsewhere, the process is a slow one, but it is a persistently steady one. The fact that we find brick remains buried more than 30 feet below the earth would surely confirm this assumption.

The site of the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro must have been far more extensive than it is at present. We can notice on the plan six or seven separate groups of buildings, and perhaps, when cities existed, they were not altogether all that constituted Mohenjo-Daro. The area must have been vaster, and the narrowing of the area may be due entirely to erosion by the periodical floods. The total area is separated by a street running east and west leaving a comparatively smaller section to the south, and the far larger number of these sections to the north of it. There is a similar one, a street or a road that cuts across almost the middle from north to south with a comparatively slight inclination from the north-west to the south-east. This shows a deep indent all along

its course, and is taken to have been the old bed of the river, though it is found to be really no more than the old street damaged and widened by the rain and the flood water. This is confirmed by a number of parallel streets that further excavations have laid bare. Three or four bits excavated to the east of the north-south road are marked the Dk. area, while to the west of it, there were three large areas excavated. The one to the south of the east-west road is called Hr area, which is perhaps the largest excavated site. Just to the north of it across the road is a comparatively large excavated section called the Vs area more or less at the angle between the north-south and the east-west roads. To the west of it, but separated by a road, is a comparatively large area excavated also, which is called the Stupa mound containing a number of sites, one section containing the big bath of the bath section and another one to the east of it is called the Stupa section, and so on. Of course the names given in this section relate to one of the later sites in Mohenjo-Daro really. The excavations carried out so far indicate clearly that the extent of the area varied with actual cities at different times, low tumulai, or prehistoric sites, or pot-sherds strewn over the whole surface. The existing site probably was reduced to its present dimensions owing to erosion caused by floods. Whether it was a walled city has to be left in doubt as from the fourth layer upwards the site shows shrinkage of area indicating a growing diminution in the size of the successive cities. If walls existed, we may have to look for them in the area covered by the fourth layer, some 25 to 30 feet below the present level. But we cannot carry our excavations at that depth to make sure, on account of the sub-soil water which comes to within 15 feet of the surface in winter, in which season alone it is possible to carry out excavations. From the level of the sub-soil water reached, up to the height of the mounds as they existed till now, seven strata have been found. In the three topmost strata there is not only a diminution of the size, but there are also other signs of decadence. Between these three and the next lower, the fourth stratum, there is a break which would indicate that the fourth city had been destroyed and remained in ruins for some considerable time. These seven strata fall into three classes; the first three belonging to the late period, the next three belonging to the middle, and the last to the early period, the classification proceeding all along so far on the basis of the buildings that have been unearthed rather than by the other finds. But in regard to the finds of antiquities, there is the possible danger that the minor ones at any rate could have been washed down to a

lower level by the process of erosion making any strict classification a matter of difficulty. In regard to the levels themselves, we cannot regard them as uniform at different depths, as certain parts seem to have been artificially raised for specific purposes, such as is clearly noticeable in the Stupa mound. The Buddhist monastery is raised by an artificial terrace of unburnt brick to a height of over twenty feet from the surrounding level. The discovery of this site was made by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in 1922. The only structure that was noticeable was the Buddhist stupa and the monastery-building of bricks taken out from the older layers; but further digging soon showed that there were layers below of far greater antiquity. The discovery of some seals by chance showed that the locality must have been contemporary with that of Harapa where similar seals had been discovered the year before in the carrying out of excavations there. So they advanced step by step to lay bare a certain number of sites so that it became necessary to extend operations, and in 1925-1926, a number of officers of the department were detailed to carry on the work, each being allotted a particular part of it. The finds accumulated and the work was carried over an extensive area. A whole time officer with experience of exploration work in Mesopotamia was now needed. Mr. Ernest Mackay was appointed. Separate reports of these excavations have been published in the previous annual volumes of the department.

BUILDINGS.

The first view of the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro in their present state of partial excavation, says Sir John Marshall, 'reminds one of a modern working town in Lancashire, because of the wide expanse of the brick structures laid bare, plain and completely devoid of ornamentation and indicating stark utilitarianism in the views of the builders. This impression is heightened by the size of the bricks used, which happen to be far larger than the bricks used in modern times in the area and of about the size of English bricks used in Lancashire.' It is a well-known feature that Indian architects revelled in ornamentation. In contrast with this feature is the complete absence of such in the buildings of Mohenjo-Daro. There is clear evidence of the destruction of the town by fire in certain stages. Destruction by fire means destruction of all wood work if any existed. There is again evidence of wood work, having formed part of these structures. The inference therefore is possible that, at any rate, the better buildings had a

considerable amount of wood work and of ornamentation in the wood work which had been destroyed by fire. This is only a possibility. As it is, however, it seems as though the buildings were all bare of art. The character of the construction of these buildings, however, seems quite excellent. The builders of Mohenjo-Daro used good burnt bricks, and they knew unburnt ones as well. In Mohenjo-Daro itself, they used both. In all the exposed parts of the buildings, burnt bricks are used exclusively. Unburnt bricks were reserved for filling in foundations, and for use of course in the interior and unexposed parts of the walls. The bricks were found to be of three sizes, the smallest of which was $10.5 \times 5.5 \times 2.5$; the largest being $11.75 \times 5.25 \times 2.5$, the third variety being $11 \times 5.5 \times 2.75$. These were put together, laid in mud generally, but when more strength was called for in mud and gypsom mortar. Gypsom alone as a joining agent is used in parts where particular strength was required, such as for the hearting of the walls or the pointing of joints to keep out moisture. There is evidence of the use of lime, but that seems to have been used so far only in combination with gypsom. In the ordinary structures, the walls were vertical both inside and out. Large buildings with heavier walls show a batter on the outer side of varying degrees of declination. The inner surface of the walls seems to have been coated with plaster, either by mud or by mud and straw combined. Walls were also left open with brick facing. Only they were finished by rubbing down the bricks, as it has sometimes been done in mediaeval and modern Hindu buildings. The walls seem to be more massive than was actually required, which may have been due to the danger from floods. Floors were paved with brick, and laid flat wherever there was not much chance of great wear. In exposed parts however they were laid on edge to stand a great deal more of wear and tear, as one often finds in buildings in the delta districts of South India. In the ruins, it is only ground floor chambers that we have remains of. They give evidence of doors and windows for admitting light and air, as well as providing passages. We come across interior windows only, but usually no windows on the outer walls. Both doorways and windows seem to have been built of wood, all of which has disappeared by fire. We come across corbelled arches in the outer drains, and it is likely such were in use for passages and possibly windows as well. The real arch has not so far been found. Staircases leading upstairs are known, the steps being narrow and even steep. The ordinarily large buildings even, are provided with wells which are generally circular, though a few instances of

oval wells have come to notice. Private houses sometimes provided even wells for public use. These are being found in a room next adjoining the street, to which access was given by separate doorways. In spite of the fact that a very large number of houses have been unearthed, no definite instances have come to light of fire-places and things corresponding thereto in any of the buildings in Mohenjo-Daro. In two or three instances where such were suspected, the examples are regarded as quite doubtful. Two special features of these houses are worth notice. The first is the provision of drains and the other bathrooms. The bathrooms are usually well paved and provided with drains connected with the street system. These drains are found both on the ground floor, and even on the upper floor wherever these existed. The horizontal drains are all of them built of brick, while the vertical ones are of terracotta pipes with closely fitted spigot and faucet joinings, these being protected by special structures of brick work or let into walls. The flues for throwing out rubbish are found built into the walls leading to the bins in the street. Public dust-bins were provided in the streets, and the street drains themselves were constructed with as much care. While there seems to have been an admirable system of drainage, both public and private, these drains were led into soak-pits, and there is nothing to show that they were carried off beyond these pits.

In regard to roofs, they seem to have been all flat, laid on stout timbers covered with planking and beaten earth, with a protective course of brick or matting or some other material, as in use in modern times even. Though flat roofs were general, it must not be taken for granted that there were no other forms of roofs. There seems to be evidence for presuming the existence of corbelled spires as otherwise the massive foundations are inexplicable. The common feature *Sikara* may have existed then, as this feature has been traced in its completeness at the earliest period to which we could carry architectural history. That perfection could not have been attained without previous experience in the building of it.

The buildings so far unearthed can be divided into three classes. The first are what may be regarded undoubtedly as dwelling houses. The second constitute larger buildings, the purpose for which they were intended being not yet quite clearly determined. The third class consist of what may have to be regarded as public baths. These may have had a religious cha-



General view of excavations in Section B, from north.
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racter, though the purpose seems secular from what appears of the details. Naturally dwelling houses, large and small, constitute the bulk of the buildings so far excavated. These houses range from those with only two rooms to those containing as many as 25 rooms. There may have been more. The report gives full details of two with plain and oblique projections as well. The general plan, however, seems to be that the houses open out into the streets with a single entrance generally, but there are those with three entrances so far known. In the ordinary buildings, the walls are vertical, but larger buildings intended to carry heavy upper floors are given a batter outside, the inclination of which is more or less according to the strength required. It is the plain walls that abut on the street. But doorways or passages from the street lead into the courtyards of varying sizes, and the chambers or rooms in the houses are ranged round these courtyards in varying sizes for the various purposes for which they were intended. The rooms are lighted as a rule by windows opening into these courtyards directly or through other intervening chambers or rooms. It is rarely that one comes across windows on the outside walls opening into the streets. Staircases go up either from the courtyards, from one or other of the vestibules into which the outer passages open. The courtyards are found paved with bricks laid flat in certain places and edgewise in others. The latter style of construction is adopted wherever there is room for doorway. The rooms upstairs seem to have been designed commodiously with bath chambers from which water could be carried by drains closed or open, and led down by means of earthenware pipes let into the walls, or brought down directly with encased brick works to the courtyard below and let into the drains there. These drains carry the water into the soak-pits in the courtyard itself in the case of some houses. In the case of others they are led into the courtyard drains which carry off the sullage across the house to the street mains, or to soak pits, or soak wells that are provided in the streets.

Two larger houses are taken for detailed discussion. One of them, house numbered VIII, has a frontage of 85 feet and of a depth of 97 feet. Its surrounding walls are as much as 4 to 5 feet thick with a slight batter on the outside. The ground floor rooms seem generally intended to serve household purposes, such as the kitchen, bathrooms, store rooms, etc., with a chamber for wells in the larger house. In some of them, the wells are in a chamber close to the street from which a passage opens to the well. Such



Court 69 in House XIII, looking west.
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wells seem intended not only for the use of the house, but even for others in the street. The living and sleeping rooms were generally in the first floor. In the buildings that have been excavated, we have evidence of rearrangements by adaptation of older houses to newer purposes. Some of the rooms are filled in as a measure of protection against floods. This happens to be the case in the case of rooms on the ground floor, corresponding to the residential rooms in the first floor. In the case of these upstairs rooms again, there is the disposition round the courtyard of the house with projecting balconies, by means of which rooms could be entered. There is evidence of timber having been used largely in these constructions, and it is the burnt timber that accounts for the abundance of charcoal discovered among the debris. That these were destroyed by fire is also borne witness to by the burnt-up walls. The interior walls in some cases were plastered over with mud about three inches thick consisting of earthen plaster mixed with straw, cut small. That is just exactly the way they prepare the mud for walls in mud-built houses even now in the delta country, even of the south. But the walls thus plastered were finished off by smoothening, or by a final coat of mud plaster. In certain cases where fire had been at work, the fire has transformed the plaster into terra-cotta. The use of timber is found in the ceilings where they are actually found as timber in some cases. The Himalayan deodar and a kind of local sisu seem to have been the ones much used. The deodar could be floated down the river, while the other one is probably exclusively local. House No. XIII is a much a larger one containing as many as 28 rooms in all. Of these there are four fair-sized courts, ten comparatively small rooms, three stair-cases, with porticos leading to a well chamber on the ground floor. Its opening is on one of the bigger streets, and has three entrances. It is in this house that we find a large number of rooms on the ground floor filled with debris to provide a solid plinth for the rooms upstairs as a protection against floods. This seems to be the general feature of the buildings now laid bare showing that these were built by the adaptation of older buildings to newer requirements, one of the more urgent of which is protection against floods.

Attention is drawn to a certain number of larger buildings—buildings larger than the one above. They are more spacious and more elaborate in structure. It is matter for doubt whether they were houses like the others, or were intended for another purpose. Of course in Mesopotamia the resemblance between palaces and

temples is close, and residential houses and temples were like each other in plan and general arrangements. It may possibly be that it was so in the Indus valley as well. But we have no definite evidence leading to the existence of temples, and it may be that the Indus valley people had no temples for public worship, as the Minoans do not appear to have had such temples. This conclusion seems the more probable as no trace of any image or image-base has so far been discovered, though we know that the religion of these people was iconic, and the images were housed in chapels not meant for public use. There may have been rooms set apart for private use as places for worship, such as was the case in Minoan palaces, and as is the case in Hindu houses of to-day. A few pillared halls have been unearthed, one of which is as large as about 80 feet square. The hall seems to be, as in the Kanheri Durbar hall, divided into long corridors interspersed with low benches with even seats. In Buddhistic structures, they were halls for assembly, and the raised seats were for the monks to sit on, the corridors between being more or less passages for ingress and egress. The arrangements in these Mohenjo-Daro buildings seem to have been somewhat similar. One noticeable feature here is the chief seat is at right angles to these corridors, and the platforms between corridors provide only two rows of seats. The corridors were apparently paved substantially, the seats being formed by mud-plaster prepared in the same way as the wall plaster. They might even have been finished with wood. This would account for the complete disappearance of these seats while the corridors remain intact in many cases.

We next come to the great bath, which is one of the peculiar features of Mohenjo-Daro. The plan of this bath is a large quadrangle in the middle, with verandahs on all the four sides. On three out of these four sides, however, there were various galleries and rooms built just behind the enclosing verandahs. On the south side, the verandah constitutes a long gallery with a small chamber at each corner. On the eastern side there is a single range of small chambers. On the north are a group of several halls and fair-sized rooms. In the middle of the open quadrangle is a swimming bath measuring 39 X 23 feet with a depth of 8 feet. There is a flight of steps leading to the bath on either end, and at the foot of the steps is a low platform for the convenience of bathers. The bath is connected with a well in one of the rooms adjoining, and there seems to have been arrangement for running off the waste water, through a covered drain

near the south-west corner. This is a magnificent passage with a corbelled roof, 6' 6" high. Sir John Marshall thinks that this was intended to run off the waste water. It seems rather doubtful whether the corbelled covered path 6' 6" was required for merely running off waste water from a tank of 39 x 23 x 8 feet. We know of a sluice of that height that was provided for a tank here in South India, the bund of which ran sixteen miles. The covered passage probably was intended to serve another purpose, and may have been utilised to run off the waste water also. There is evidence of the construction on the northern side of this tank where the buildings appear to have been transformed by reducing the lower rooms to serve as solid plinths, other rooms being built up above, to reach which a staircase had been provided. It is clear that the great bath had an upper story, and the usual appurtenances of drains descending from it. It was surrounded by a fenestrated wall which seems to have been continued on the upper floor also. The quantity of charcoal unearthed would show that a great deal of timber had gone into the structure. We can form no idea of the whole building as it looked, as nothing is left of these except the very bricks. Except for a seal from Harapa, which gives a picture of a building, probably of wood, with trellis work at the sides, etc., we have recovered nothing that would enable us to reconstruct the plan of any of these buildings. But that the buildings were not entirely bare of ornamental work is made clear to us by pieces of perforated lattices in alabaster, somewhat similar to the perforated screens of Kushan and Gupta ages. The existence of these would necessarily mean much else that went with it, and perhaps all the ornamental work may have been either structures like these, or were entirely of wood work and therefore easily destroyed.

The great bath is remarkable for the solidity of its construction. It measures north to south 180 feet, and from east to west 108. The outer walls are 7 to 8 feet in thickness, with a batter of about 6 degrees at the base. The inner walls are about half as thick. In the construction of this bath itself, the lining of the tank was made of finely traced brick laid in gypsum and mortar, three to four inches in thickness. At the back of these was a course of bitumen, an inch thick. Behind this was another wall of burnt brick. Then came a packing of crude brick finished off again with a solid rectangle of burnt brick structure with short cross walls between it and the verandah foundations to counteract outward pressure. This elaborate structure was intended to

make the tank water-tight, and a more effective construction with the available material could hardly have been thought of. It has stood five thousand years. Adjoining this, as it were, are rooms and buildings which seem to have constituted what is nowadays called a *hammam*. As far as it has been excavated, it consists of rectangular platforms of solid brick, each of the size of a small room, about five feet in height. There is a series of vertical chases sunk in the sides. Between the platforms are narrow passages crossing each other at right angles, on the floors of which were found cinders and charcoal. These seem clearly intended as ceiled rooms with hypocaust flues formed on the edges in the sides. That this was the nature of the buildings is confirmed by another building among the ruins. The building contains a room the floor of which is supported by dwarf walls, and shows in the superstructure a vertical flue for heating the room. Whether these were actually *hammams* or no, it gives us undoubted evidence of a hypocaustic system, which takes us very near to *hammams*.

A study of the houses in these ruins shows clearly that at Mohenjo-Daro there must have been a town of a large size with a flourishing population who could indulge in the luxuries of a well-provided town, with good sanitary arrangements, and even the luxury of hot air baths in some at least of the houses, if not in the public baths. The laying out of the roads and streets, the provision of the drains, etc., would indicate a civic organisation quite modern in their character. The few halls that have so far been unearthed while they do exhibit some resemblances to the halls of the Buddhist congregation that we know of in the later Buddhist period, betray features which may make them halls of assembly for secular purposes. If they were so, these may prove to be assembly halls for the meeting of people for common purposes including even civic administration. It would be nothing surprising if further excavations on this site or elsewhere should confirm this surmise.

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NOTES BY

PROFESSOR OTTO STEIN OF PRAGUE,

From German and other Oriental Journals.

The sad situation of the chronology of ancient India cannot be better illustrated than by the fact, that there is no unanimous opinion on the date of the founders of Jainism and Buddhism. This question forms the theme of a paper by Hermann Jacobi.

According to the traditional and corrected dates of Buddha's and Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa, Buddha died some years before Mahāvira, while the Buddhist Canon says that Mahāvira deceased not long before Buddha's Nirvāṇa. Jacobi tries to remove this contradiction by starting from the traditional date 543 B.C. for Buddha's, and 526 B.C. for Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa. The Buddhists believe, that Chandragupta ascended the throne 162 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa, so that the latter event would be dated 484 B.C., assuming the 'earliest possible' date for Chandragupta's accession to the throne 322 B.C. ($322 + 162 = 484$). According to Vikramasinghe (see Geiger's transl. of the Mahāvamsa p. XXVIIIff.) there existed in Ceylon about the year 1015 A.D. an era, beginning with 483 B.C., while in the middle of the 11th century A.D. the traditional era, beginning with 543 B.C., can be proved in use. The common Jain tradition puts Chandragupta's accession to the throne 215 years A.V. (Hemachandra, *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* VIII, 339); and two or three generations earlier, the Kahāvalī by Bhadreśvara (preserved in a single manuscript only) ascribes the event to 155 years after Mahāvira's death, so that Mahāvira died 477 B.C. In the Sāmagama Sutta (Majjh. Nik. II, 1, p. 243ff), Pāsādika S. (Digha N. II, p. 117ff.) and in the Saṅgīti S. (ibid. 209ff.) we are told that Mahāvira died in Pāvā shortly before Buddha came from Pāvā to Kusi-nārā. There exist, however, some differences about the persons and the contents of the speech held by the Buddha; but greater

importance must be attributed to the Mahāparin S., where the Buddha does not refer to the schism among the Jain community as he does in the sources mentioned just before. As the Mahāparin S. is the earliest source on the last year of Buddha's life, the three other versions must be dated in a later period. At a time, when they had been added to the Canon, the Canon came to be fixed for the first time; that means, when about 150 years had elapsed since the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, the Canon came to be fixed. In the Jain tradition we hear about schisms, but there has been none after the death of Mahāvira; the alleged schism after his decease is rather an invention of the Buddhists. As J. Charpentier (Ind. Ant. XLIII, 1914, p. 128) has seen, Mahāvira died in Majjhamā Pāvā, the Pavapuri of to-day; the Buddhists believed that place identical with Pāvā in the Sakya-country; their account is apocryphical, and therefore the dates 484 B.C. for Buddha's, and 477 B.C. for Mahāvira's death are the base for the following enquiry.

In the Mahāparin S. we are told that Ajātaśatru, whose capital was Rājagṛha, wanted to attack the Vṛjīs, and for that he founded, as a base for the operations, Pāṭaligrāma, which, however, is called a *nagara*, a proof for the late origin of the story. Ajātaśatru sent his minister Vassakāra to the Buddha, who was staying in Rājagṛha, to ascertain from the Buddha his views about the Vṛjīs, with whom he knew him to be on friendly terms. The Buddha did not reply in a direct form; from the questions to his favourite pupil Ānanda and from the latter's answers on the seven virtues of the Vṛjīs, the minister Vassakāra came to know that their state was in good order and that the Buddha did not believe a war against them would be successful. The further account of the Mahāparin S. does not allude to the political affairs between Ajātaśatru and the Vṛjīs, dealing only with the last journey of the Buddha to Vaiśālī, the capital of the Vṛjīs, and with the death of the Lord, which must have happened in Vaiśākha.

In the Jain Canon the war of Ajātaśatru against the Vṛjīs, with whom the nine Mallas and nine Licchavis were confederated, was successful, the capital Vaiśālī, however, not having been conquered. The latter event is told in the Nirayāvalī Sūtra in the following form: Vehalla, one of the eleven brothers of Ajātaśatru, and possessing the *gandhahastin* and the necklace as the royal insignia, took refuge in Vaiśālī with king Chetaka, because he did not want to give those insignia to his brother Ajātaśatru unless he

was given in exchange the half of the realm. Chetaka, siding with Vehalla, declared war, in which all the ten brothers of Ajātaśatru were killed. The last part of the war is not related in that Sūtra; but in the Āvaśyaka Kathānakas, the legend of Kūlavālaya (cf. Abhidhānarājendrakōśa s. v. Kūlavālaya) states that the conquering of the town of Vaiśālī was announced to be dependent on the love of the monk Kūlavālaya with the *gaṇikā* of Magadha.

This view of Jacobi has been endorsed by the remarks of W. Schubring,¹ who underlines that the Viyāhapaññati (being the older name of the Bhagavatī) and the Nirāyavali Sūtra give relations of different phases of the same event, namely of the conquering of Vaiśālī. On the other hand, the results at which Jacobi has arrived were doubted and refused by A. B. Keith.² He shows that the date of Chandragupta's accession to the throne is placed according to the Jain tradition 255 years before the Vikrama era, i.e., in 313 or 312 B.C., while Jacobi took 322 B.C. as the earliest possible year. The scepticism in discrediting the Buddhist accounts, that Buddha died after Mahāvīra, 'is quite inconsistent with the faith placed by Professor Jacobi in the tradition as to the dates of the Nirvāṇas . . .'. The differences between the Suttantas show only the different handing down of the same tradition; nor is it proved that the Mahāparin S. is the oldest and more trustworthy source, the less, as Jacobi himself (p. 562 = 8 of the reprint) attributes to the Mahāparin S. a much later origin than the time of the war between Ajātaśatru and the Vṛjis; further, there is no proof that the news of Mahāvīra's death reached the Buddha before his own Nirvāṇa. The three Suttantas agree with the Mahāparin S. in that respect that the Buddha believed his doctrine fit to prevent schism in his community. That there was no schism in the Jain community is contradicted by the rivalry of Gośāla, by the opposition raised by his son-in-law Jamālī, and by the opposition of Tisaputta. The confusion of the two Pāvās in Buddhist tradition is not only independent from the time of Mahāvīra's death, but it has not been proved at all that the Jain tradition is earlier, though Jacobi dates the three Suttantas to be incorporated into the Canon in the 2nd or 3rd century after Buddha's Nirvāṇa. Nowhere does the Jain tradition contradict the Buddhist by asserting that Mahāvīra died after the Buddha. 'Professor Jacobi has endeavoured on the basis of the Jain and Buddhist traditions to

1. Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 1932, col. 143/45.

2. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies VI, 4, 1932, 859/66.

throw some light on the political development of Magadha in the time of the great teachers, but it may seriously be doubted if we can make anything very satisfactory out of these confused and obviously biased records.'

In 1922 Heinrich Lüders³ published some manuscript leaves, found in Eastern Turkistan, which brought some interesting results for the history and geography of that country. So he found the name of a king Vasuśaśas of the 6th century A.D. probably, of Suvarṇapūṣpa of the 7th century A.D., of Suvarṇadeva of Kuci.⁴ That was the first occurrence of the name of the country, which is found in many other manuscripts, deciphered now by Prof. Lüders; unsettled is the time of king Artep. Besides that, those leaves threw many gleams of light on the geography, literature, religion of Turkestan and its connection with Indian culture. In his new contribution Lüders⁵ enriches our knowledge of the literary activities in the basin of the Tarim. The main contents of the paper-manuscripts, which were found at Qyzil and can be dated on palaeographical grounds in the late 6th or beginning of 7th century A.D., are Buddhist Stotras, written in Sanskrit and classical metres. From letters of semi-official characters we get information about the kings and other persons as well as cultural conditions. There is an invitation of the *samgha* of the *śrāvaka* to a banquet of sweets by the Kuciśvara or Kucimahārāja Tottika and his queen Svayamprabhā. This hitherto unknown king belongs probably to the 7th century A.D. As in a second group of leaves, the script of which must be earlier than the 7th century A.D., there occurs a king Suvarṇapūṣpa, Lüders points out in connection with a story told by Hsüan-Tsang, that this Suvarṇapūṣpa must be an earlier king than the father of Suvarṇadeva, his namesake of the 7th century (see above). In the leaves, published 1922, there were found the names of three countries on the Northern border of the Tarim basin, (in the order from West to East): Hecyuka (see above note 3), Bharuka, Kuci; according to the new materials the next country in the East was Agni, i.e., A-k'i-ni, U-k'i-i, in the historical Chinese literature Yen-k'i, the Qarašahr of modern times. Bharuka reminds the reader of

3. Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans. SPAW 1922, 243 ff.

4. Cf. P. Pelliot, T'oung pao XXII, 126 ff., who identified Hecyuka with the modern Uc-Turfan. Suvarṇapūṣpa was the father of Suvarṇadeva, who came to reign between 618 and 630 A.D., cf. SPAW 1930, 25.

5. Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan. SPAW 1930, 7-64 (also separately published).

Bharukacchā, of which it has been probably a colony, mentioned not only by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-Tsang, but, according to Sir Aurel Stein, existing among the people up to this day. From a comparison of kindred stories in Jain and Buddhist literature Prof. Lüders gives a survey of the wandering and alterations of a story on the one, and the convincing proof of the identity of Ho-lao-lo-kia with Roruka or Rauruka of the Sauvira on the other hand. The original story is to be placed in Western India, and was in India already intermingled; so the hero of the Rudrāyana-avadāna (Divyāvad. XXXVII, p. 544ff.) was changed by mistake with Udāyana, but his correct name has to be Udrāyana.

Further to the East of the Tarim basin the results of the second expedition of Sven Hedin (1899-1902) carry us to Loulan, in Kharoṣṭhī-documents called Kroraimna or Kroraina, in Khotanese Raurata. This state was, as we are told in a new publication by Albert Herrmann,⁶ independent till 77 B.C.; since that time it had been a Chinese military station till 330 A.D. It is situated eastwards from Agni (see above), on the cross-point of 90° E.L., and 40° N.L. In the neighbourhood lays the Lobnor, to-day a salt-marsh. The researches by Sven Hedin, Sir Aurel Stein (1906, 1915-16), by the Buddhist priest Tatshibana (1910) have brought to light much information on geology, hydrography, geography, history and the culture of that province. With the spreading of the Buddhism over Turkistan since the Kuṣāṇa-period, Indian culture, of course of Buddhist make, was introduced in Loulan. The testimonies speak in very clear language. There are wooden tablets—in Kharoṣṭhī script, known already from Niya, eleven manuscripts on paper, two on silk. And as the country from the Niya river up to the Lobnor was under the rule of the same king of Loulan, in his capital of Yü-ni, the modern Tsharhlik, there occur in the documents of both the sites the same titles, the same regnal years, the same names of kings. The contents of the documents show again in their majority Buddhist religious texts; two of the manuscripts on paper are written by a Buddhist, one in Sanskrit language, the other, in Tocharian language, uses Brahmi characters. About 260 A.D. the Chinese general So Man founded a colony of soldiers and agriculturists, which is to be identified with the ruins on the Kurukdarya-canal. Here Sven Hedin saw a watch-tower, which was really a Stūpa, to-day reduced by wind-erosion to a height of some 40 feet; once, however, rising to 56 feet. From this main Stūpa, in a West-North-West direction, are to be found many smaller Stūpas, and

at a distance of about 8¾ miles Sven Hedin's servant Oerdek detected eight houses, the main building of which is a small Buddhist sanctuary, a square of 22-23 feet.

The rich carvings show the influence of the Gandhāra art, represented by Buddha figures, Hellenistic ornaments, and an Indo-Hellenistic capital. As the residence of the king has not yet been unearthed, future excavations promise further links between India and this remote colony of Indian culture.

From a literary point of view as well as from that of historical trustworthiness the question of the Purāṇas forms an unsolved riddle. The difficulty in settling this important question lay not the least in the huge mass which is to be mastered for scientific research. Indologists owe great obligation to Professor W. Kirfel,⁷ of the University of Bonn, for his self-sacrificing work by which he has done the first⁸ pushing forward into that ticket of Purāṇa-studies. His book 'Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa' (Bonn 1927), confining itself to the five constituents of a Purāṇa, has shown that already the *pañcalakṣaṇa* go back to an earlier collection of different texts, so that each Purāṇa inserted in its corpus a story once or twice, in a shorter or longer form. One of the most interesting and important parts of the Purāṇas, the geographical description of India, is the object of the philological critic in Prof. Kirfel's latest contribution.

Among the Purāṇas there exist two main groups: in the first, the geographical part is given in a shorter form, in the second, in a more detailed one. The former group of Purāṇas is to be

7. Bhāratavarṣa (Indien). Textgeschichtliche Darstellung zweier geographischen Purāṇa-Texte nebst Uebersetzung. Stuttgart 1931 (= Beiträge zur indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte, herausgegeben von J. W. Hauer, Heft 6.).

8. It would be unjust to forget the service done by the late F. E. Pargiter in his "Dynasties of the Kali Age" (Oxford 1913), in so many papers, condensed and systematically represented in his book "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition" (London 1922). But the strict philological base of Prof. Kirfel's researches, putting aside every biased theory, was missing in former research-work. In 1920 Kirfel published already "Die Kosmographie der Inder", dealing with the entire Indian literature from a cosmographical point of view. The late Pargiter has done valuable service in elucidating geographical identifications in his English translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa (Bibl. Ind. 1888-1905).

divided into two sub-groups again: the Garuḍa-, Śiva (Dharma-samhitā)-, and Śiva (Umāsamhitā)-Purāṇa, which represent an earlier recension against the Agni-, Brahma-, Kūrma-, and Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. For the chronological side the occurrence of the Hūṇa in the list of peoples cannot be counted as the word is found in a later interpolated passage.

Among the Purāṇas giving a longer text of India's description, there exist sub-groups again: either the text has no connection at all or at least no direct connection with the surrounding part; or the geographical description has its place in a bigger cosmographical chapter. To the former group belong: the Brahma (adhy. 2F)-, Mārkaṇḍeya-, Vāmana-Purāṇa, to the latter the Brahmāṇḍa-, Matsya- and Vāyu-Purāṇa.

The comparison of the geographical text and its surroundings carry us to the conclusion that the text had once its independent existence, however, in two recensions, before being incorporated into the Purāṇas. From the two groups, the shorter one seems to be the earlier, beginning with śloka 5 extending up to the end of the river-list; the list of peoples appears to be a later addition. The more detailed text, reaching up to the peoples-list, is very likely an enlargement of the shorter version; that is apparent from the formations of compounds, different from the other version, from the names occurring here, and from the interpolated half-śloka 3b, showing a world-conception, distinct from that in the shorter text. This more extensive version formed the base for a third one again, which appears in the Padma-Purāṇa and in the Mahābhārata. Prof. Kirfel believes in the possibility of suggesting a date for the longer text-form. For, the śloka 32 a, b, found in five Purāṇas with slight variations:

Sahasya cottare yas tu yatra Godāvarī nadi
prthivyām api kṛtsnāyām sa pradeśo manoramah

occurs in Rājasekhara's Kāvya-mīmāṃsā in the form:

Sahyadrer uttare bhāga yatra Godavarī nadi |
prthivyām iha kṛtsnāyām sa pradeśo manoramah ||

and can be traced in the commentaries of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāmkhya-kārikā by Gauḍapāda and Māṭhara (but not yet with Paramārtha)⁹ as follows:

9. Cf. Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient 4, 1904, 8 f., 984.

Dakṣiṇena tu Vindhyasya Sahyasya tu yad uttaram |
prthivyām āsamudrāyā sa pradeśo manoramah ||

As long as there is no proof that the verse belongs to any other source or that it was a common-place, a terminus ante quem, i.e., the 9th/10th century A.D., may be suggested, and the verse would have existed in the 6th or 7th century A.D.

This introduction, giving the reasons for the classification of the Purāṇas, is followed by a transcribed text, arranged in the same way as in the previous work by Prof. Kirfel, the Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa. A German translation and copious notes, giving the identifications, as far as proposed by other writers on that subject, will prove very useful for quick reference being a reference-text for the Geography of India, as treated in the Purāṇic literature. All that is founded on sound philological work; though, the reader may not be confident in the reconstruction of the development of the Purāṇas, this critical cleaning of the text-book alone will carry us to some reliable results.

Reviews

THE PROBLEM OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER, 1890-1908
WITH A SURVEY OF POLICIES SINCE 1849

By

C. C. DAVIES,

(Cambridge University Press; 12 s. 6d. nett.)

The frontier problem which means no more than the problem of the North-West frontier, is an absorbing question in Indian History. It is the north-west that opened the flood-gates which let into India populations from the outside ever since the dawn of history. A natural frontier, or a scientific frontier, on this side would take us much beyond the boundaries of India of to-day. While all through Indian History the question of the north-west frontier was there, it was not a question of the same character at different periods of Indian History. In Hindu India, we might take it broadly that the frontier problem was no more than the question of a powerful kingdom or kingdoms in the north-west whose loyalty or the want of it either kept the enemy out or let him in. That was perhaps about as far as they could have gone in those days. We could understand something of it from a study of Alexander's invasion, or from the history of the Hindu Shahi dynasty that held rule over Afghanistan. In the days of the Muhammadan empire, the problem was of a different character, and this frontier was not without its anxieties as we know only too well from the repeated Mongol invasions, and later on, in the difficulty of maintaining viceroys loyal to the Mughal empire in India. As the British frontier gradually advanced to the line of the Sutlej, early British efforts were directed towards the maintenance of powerful frontier states, such as the Sikh state of the Punjab and the Mussalman chieftaincies of Sindh and Baluchistan. It is the annihilation of the one and the absorption of the other into British territory that makes the frontier problem one of the first magnitude in British Indian History. It is this question of the north-west frontier in British India that the work attempts to treat.

The problem naturally resolves itself into a question of deciding upon a frontier up to which the authority of the Indian Government might be extended, and the arrangements to be made with the states and peoples beyond for the safety of the frontier. There have been various theories as to the proper frontier of India, and four such have figured prominently in the discussions upon the question. The nearest of course is the so-called Indus frontier, which whatever it might have been in earlier times has ceased to be worth the name as a frontier, a river frontier being regarded as not offering any advantage as a frontier. The next one takes us a stage beyond. It takes in into the territory of India the strip of country between the river and the hills extending all along the whole length from the northern limits of Kashmir to the Arabian Sea at the mouth of the Indus. The advantage of this consists in the hills that skirt the frontier and offer obstructions to a possible invader from the north-west. But, as in the case of the river frontier, the Indus, so in the case of these hills, the question really is which side has command of the other bank. So in the case of these hills, a similar consideration obtains. The holding of the eastern side of these hills thus becomes impossible if the enemy were allowed to cross the hills unopposed. The necessity therefore arises of either fortifying hill tops, or taking possession of, and guarding, the other side of the passes across the hills. This naturally would bring the Government of India into relations with the tribes inhabiting the belt of country between the mountains on the frontier of India and the borders of Afghanistan whatever they be. It is with a view to this problem that the Durand Mission marked the frontier some way to the westward of the foothills, and passing through the whole length of the tribal country in an irregular line. This naturally introduces a new problem. Even such physical demarcation as the river or the hills afforded ceases. Anything like an ethnical division of allotting particular tribes to Afghan protection and other tribes to the protection of the Government of India has not been either consistently attempted or carried out by the Durand Mission. The tribal question therefore has really become a little more acute, and much more difficult to tackle, than previously. But the frontier which statesmen regarded as scientific and which perhaps may be described as providing a natural frontier is the line of the Afghan mountains stretching across the whole length, and having along it the important towns of Kabul, Ghazni, and Kandahar; that means practically all

Eastern Afghanistan, and, if the protection of the mountains involves fortifications on top, or the possession of the posts on the other side, that will mean practically the inclusion of all Afghanistan except Herat and Seistan into the Indian Empire. The Sutlej frontier has been extended to the foothills of Baluchistan by the annexation of Sindh in 1843, and by the subsequent relations with the Amirs of Baloch territory through considerable parts of Baluchistan also. The annexation of the Punjab in 1849 completed the expansion on the side of the Punjab, and brought that problem of the frontier to a condition of emergency. Since then there have been constant efforts on the part of the Government of India to settle this question satisfactorily. Various policies have been tried, the changes being necessitated by the condition of Afghanistan for one thing, and the progress of the Russian power across the middle of Asia towards the Afghan frontier. This naturally involves relations with Persia and the territory of the Turkish empire in Asia. Changes of any importance in any one of these spheres necessitates a corresponding change in the policy of the British Government along the north-western frontier. The whole problem may be set down in two divisions: (1) the securing of a maintainable frontier capable of defence easily and of definition with a view to the maintenance of peaceful relations with other immediate neighbours. It was therefore a question of where we should stop in our actual possession, and to what extent fortifications and road-building and such other accessory works for the efficient defence of the frontier could be carried out. (2) How best to maintain Afghanistan as a friendly power. The securing of the frontier of Afghanistan dominated the policy till successive disasters that befell the British arms in their attempt to bring Afghanistan under British influence, led to concentration of effort on the other question. The resulting policy on the frontier culminated in the creation of the North-west Frontier Province, and the work of the Durand Boundary Commission. This was further followed by removing the anxieties on this side by a definite agreement with the advancing power of Russia, which in fact was the determining factor in the settlement of the problem. The settlement of the boundary between Afghanistan and Russia was successfully carried through, and the Russian Treaty marked definitely the sphere of Russian activities in Central Asia.

The question is a very complicated one, and the material for arriving at correct conclusions in regard to the problem lies buried

in unpublished and confidential records of the India and Foreign Offices. The author of this work was given access to these and has undertaken the writing of the work on the basis of his study extending over years of these records. He has also had the benefit of a few years' residence on the frontier as a military officer in the service of the Government of India, and has brought his own personal knowledge to bear upon the question. While we may say that this new study of the problem advances definite knowledge on the question to a very considerable extent, it may perhaps be too optimistic to assert that it has yet come to the last word on the subject. We welcome the book as a contribution to the study of this difficult problem.

THE LIFE OF THE ICELANDER JON OLAFSSON, VOL. II

Published by the Hakluyt Society, 1931.

This is a continuation of the first volume already published, and is a translation from the Icelandic edition of Dr. Sigfus Blondal, edited for the Society by the late Sir Richard Temple and Miss L. M. Anstey. The work deals with the life of the Icelandic ever since he came to Denmark, and deals with the part of his life beginning with his arrival in Denmark, and his entering the service of the Danish Government as a gunner, and takes the account through the adventurous voyage of a Danish expedition for purposes of trade to India, and the dangerous return voyage, which culminated in 1626. There is also a part added at the end, which continues the life of Jon to his death in 1679. So the adventures of this Icelandic includes the voyage out to India, the founding of the Danish settlement at Tranqubar, and their early relations with the Nayak of Tanjore, of which we get a certain amount of valuable information from the writer. Although the work suffers by its having been written late in his life and from memory, which may have suffered from the serious accident and the consequent illness, it still leaves much of substantial information—which perhaps could be confirmed from other sources—that relates to India. It is hardly possible to find better editors for a work like this than the late lamented Sir Richard Temple, and his collaborator for a long series of years, Miss Anstey. The work is published by the Hakluyt Society, which is itself a guarantee for accuracy in the editing as well as in the printer's part of it

generally, though in this latter particular, we have noticed some few errors of the printer, such as the one on page 273, where in item No. 5, among the list of works, the word *Vatesa* occurs for *Natesa*. Just a few more like that we come across with in the work, which perhaps are not worth mentioning, excepting one to which we should draw attention. The edition of the book of Barbosa is ascribed in one note to Crookes, although it is referred to in other places correctly as that of Longworth Dames. That again we fear is a mere slip.

In note 2 on page 102, the latter monsoon is called the north-west monsoon from about October to April. We fear it is generally spoken of as the North-East Monsoon from the point of view of India, and it may not be correct to say North-West. Olafsson's information is not without value, though as was said before his narrative is sometimes inaccurate owing to lapses of memory, sometimes due to misunderstanding, sometimes simply due to wrong hearing of the sound. The notes generally are valuable, and, covering a range of authorities really extensive, may be regarded as impossibly extensive, but for the fact it is Sir Richard Temple that is responsible for the collection. Unfortunately these notes taken from a variety of sources sometimes tend to make Olafsson's confusion worse confounded, although in certain places we might even say the advantage lay with Olafsson himself.

Without taking too much of space, we may point out that in regard to the word *Bital Arech* or *Bitala Paga*, for the separate words *Arech* or *Paga*, the note 3 on page 115 makes Olafsson really better. *Arech* or *Paga* stand for two Tamil words *Aḍaikkāi* or *Pāḍku*, whereas the note here, while it interprets it correctly gives the Tamil form of the word *Pukka*, and is explained as the Tamil form of the word *Pan*. The word really is *Pāḍku*, and is the equivalent not of *Pan* but of *Supāri*, the familiar Hindustani term. *Pan* is the leaf and *Supari* is the nut, *Pansupari* being a Hindustani term ordinarily used for both in combination. In regard to *Arreck*, it is a matter of interest that Olafsson should have heard it. *Arreck* is *Aḍikkē* in Kanarese, may be even *Tulu* or *Coorg*, and is a term that could have been heard in the West Coast in the seventeenth century, although the classical Tamil *Aḍaikkāy* is used by the Tamils even now. It is only by one section of them, the Srivaishnavas in their semi-sacerdotal brogue. But *Aḍaikkāy* for nut is a term of Tamil, used in the Tamil inscriptions of

the period A.D. 879 to A.D. 1500. *Betelerick* will then be really *Bital-Arreck* or *Vettilai-Aḍaikkāy*, and *Biṭṭal-Pāga* would be *Vettilai-Pāḍku*.

On page 120, Olafsson describes, in a very confused fashion, what he saw in a temple perhaps in the town of Poraiyār about two miles from Tranquebar. The first name given is *Suami*, and the description that he gives there would answer to the elephant-headed god Gaṇeśa, which he might well have seen in that great Śiva temple of the locality. The next one that he calls *Rami*, he describes as though it were the bird *Garuḍa*, the vehicle of Vishṇu, which certainly would be found prominently in Vishṇu temples. The third which he calls *Tamēran* is said to be like the second. Olafsson obviously here is confounding, his memory may be more responsible for the errors than his capacity for observation. It was not likely he would have been allowed near enough to the sanctum for him to have seen what it contained inside, and possibly he is describing images that he could see from a distance at the outside. The three figures may be the figure of a Gaṇeśa, and two other figures which may be attendant deities, or even the various vehicles on which even Śiva could be carried out in procession on festival days. There are two or three notes which attempt to explain these as representing the Hindu triad or *Tṛmūrti*, *Brahma*, *Vishṇu*, *Śiva* or *Rudra*, for which there is neither warrant in Olafsson's names, or his descriptions. The first word *Suami* would simply mean Lord and may be applied to any God, and by an ignorant guide Gaṇeśa may be called the *Suami* if he saw the figure in a shrine set apart for it. It is not part of the name of the *Tṛmūrti* in any case. *Vishṇu* as one of the *Tṛmūrti* is never called *Rām*, *Rami* as Olafsson transcribes it, and the description given will not answer to either *Rāma* or to *Vishṇu*. It may be the image of a *Garuḍa* in a Vishṇu temple. It can also be found in a Śiva temple in some one place or other, or it can be one of the *Gaṇas* (attendant deities) of Śiva serving as a vehicle, the *Bhūtavāhana* in certain Śiva temples. Olafsson's *Tamēran* which is said to be like the second need not be a Malayālam word, which in fact is derived from the Tamil word *Tambirān* from *Tam*, *Our* and *Pirān*, Lord. But that has nothing whatever to do with Śiva, much less Śiva as one of the trinity. That it could have nothing to do with *Tṛmūrti* is in evidence on the next page where Olafsson describes the sacrifices of two full-grown goats in front of the house of *Almarich*. No goats can be sacrificed to any of the *Tṛmūrti* for one thing. This makes it

certain that it is the carrying out in procession of village deities, which may be of the forms described, and with even an approach to the names suggested, that Olafsson actually describes. In such a case it could not even include Gaṇeśa. The Almarich whose name figures in that connection could be no other than the Nayak or governor of the town. The first part of the name may be a corruption of Araṇmanai (vulgo *aramanai*) the whole term standing for Araṇmanai-Kāran standing for the agent of the Palace, that is the town-governor. Chapter 21 contains a number of Tamil words, which Olafsson gives as near as he heard them. The explanations given are not all of them satisfactory, but we hardly believe this is the place where the corrections should be made. On page 141, note 6, there is a statement that cotton grows on a bush, and not on a tree. There is a cotton tree, the cotton of which is much valued as downy soft, and Olafsson's description would answer to that.

In regard to what is said of the Nayak of Tanjore, at the time Raghunātha, much of what he says is perhaps not wrong; and there is one date, the date of his death, which we think is taken by Dr. Blundel from Stager Schlegel. Raghunātha is said to have died in 1626; while that date seems possible, it seems hardly acceptable from what is known of Raghunātha and his reign, and of the reign of his son Vijayaraghava from other sources. We shall not discuss that at present. The work, the second part of Olafsson's, is a valuable addition to the literature of the period and throws some welcome light from an altogether independent source for the history of a comparatively dark period. The publication of the Hakluyt Society completing the work, is therefore matter for satisfaction.

SIAMESE STATE CEREMONIES: THEIR HISTORY AND FUNCTION

By

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Published by Messrs. Bernard Quaritch, Ltd.,

This work constitutes an important contribution to the history of Indian culture. It has reference to a department of this history, which, at any rate, so far as India is concerned, needs

working up with a view to a fuller understanding of the outspread of Indian culture, its character, and the extent and intensity of its prevalence in countries beyond the borders of India. It is commonly understood, though but vaguely, that Indian influence extended across the Bay of Bengal into the islands of the Archipelago on the one side, and the vast congeries of countries known as the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. But notwithstanding the very valuable work done by the French School at Hanoi and the Dutch in Java, and the work of several individual scholars, some of them even officially connected with Siam, it cannot be said that the subject has been worked up adequately to give an idea of the character of the pervasive influence of Indian culture in these distant lands. The work therefore is quite welcome, as it throws important, much-needed light upon one of the more obscure parts of the subject, and gives us an idea of the thoroughness with which Indian culture has entered into the life of the people of Siam. The book under review undertakes to discuss, from the point of view of social anthropology, the ceremonies and ceremonial functions associated with royalty in Siam. It is a department of study for the understanding of which high qualifications and uncommon opportunities are needed. The author, a cultured European, who held a position in the Lord Chamberlain's Department of the court of Siam in recent years, is certainly well qualified for the task. He has gone into the subject with sympathy, and an earnestness born of his devotion to the subject.

The population of Siam contains many ethnical elements and has been subjected from time to time to various influences of civilization that a study of its culture would be a very complicated subject. But its rulers are perhaps Chinese in origin, and to some extent, we suppose, even association; but they have drawn very largely from India in all departments of culture. While it would be difficult actually to pick out what may be due to Chinese influence, royal ceremonies are run through and through with the corresponding institutions of India, Brahmanical essentially, and Buddhistic to some extent. A full understanding therefore of these ceremonies involves, as a necessary prerequisite, a complete and detailed knowledge of the corresponding ceremonies in India, which it may be said without any fear of contradiction, has not yet been done for India itself. Without a detailed knowledge of this subject, the value of the work would be difficult to appreciate. We welcome therefore the work as a very important contribution to a subject which required elucidation, and give the author full

credit for having attacked the subject with so much sympathy, and presented it to the public in such fulness and with a sympathetic understanding.

The book falls into six parts; and the first provides an introduction indicating the scope of the subject and the sources, giving a mere cursory account of Siamese cultural history and social organisation. The next part is devoted to a study of the ceremonial, in which it is pointed out that the two factors of the utmost importance are the kingship itself and the existence of the court Brahmins. The third part gives a somewhat detailed description of the installation ceremonies. Part four deals with other ceremonies which though not pertaining to installation are still closely associated with royalty. Part five deals with a number of festivals and institutions relating to the popular life of Siam, in which royalty has to bear its own part. Part six is devoted to miscellaneous matter, such as the White Elephant as an institution in Siam, the feasts of the lamps and other Brahmanical ceremonies of a minor character, with two chapters on the propitiation of spirits and the ways in which their expulsion is attempted. The author combines in the treatment of the subject the methods of history and archæology on the one side, and the functional method of sociology on the other. He finds that the Siamese borrowed their culture mainly from India, though penetrating deep under the surface one can find Chinese and other influences. His study so far lends support to the diffusionist theory of culture, and does not find much to support a theory of independent origins. The author notes, at the outset, that Siam to-day is passing through a critical period, and is, as Asiatic countries are as a whole, under the full blaze of Western civilization. The author notes, however, that the influence of the West "is entirely on the side of the profane. She (Siam) is indebted to Western culture for much that has added to her material well being; but here, as elsewhere in the East, Western religion has failed to make an appeal." He notes carefully what others failed to see in dealing with old societies that "while it is good for Siam to make material improvements and break down old abuses, it is on the contrary suicidal for her to interfere with her religion and cultural inheritance." He says that for the maintenance of social integrity, the Siamese would be wise in "keeping that which is of lasting good in each ceremony, and steadfastly setting their faces against complete abolition, which is almost always both undesirable and unjustifiable".

Passing on to the history of Siam, he notes that the earliest inhabitants were of two sections (1) the Lava who are still found in the northern hill ranges, and (2) Mon-Khmer, who stretch across from Cambodia through the whole of the Menam valley and the Malaya country to as far as Pegu. The first foreigners to disturb them in their sequestered corner were the Indians, probably traders at the commencement, who penetrated further forward from Pegu, in the early ages of Buddhism. Asoka's conquest of Kalinga set up an emigration from the Kalinga country, and possibly gave the large colonies occupying the land round the Gulf of Siam. He notes also the mission or the missionary activities of Asoka. He describes the first advent of Hinayānism, to Asoka's mission under Sona and Uttara. Some of the oldest remains of the Buddhists in Siam are the *cetiya* and *cakra* wheels which have to-day been found over the images of the Buddha. With the advent of Mahāyānism, Buddhist influence went further forward. But most of the evidence relating to Mahāyānism seems to indicate the outspread of this form of Buddhism from the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya in Sumatra. This he ascribes to the period extending from the early centuries of the Christian era to the twelfth century. He notes that Brahmanism regained its ascendancy afterwards. Notwithstanding this fact, there were still Buddhist monarchs in Siam. He does not note, however, the observation of Fa. Hein, though it does not apply exactly to Siam, that among the people of India whom he found in colonies along the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, he found no Buddhists, most of them being Hindus. With the advent of colonies of the worshippers of Vishṇu and Śiva, the author notes the colonisation of the interior. The Brahman state of Cambodia extended further west over the Lao country and Svarṇabhūmi, but it must be noted here that Brahman migration as early as the fourth century is in evidence as far east as Borneo, in the eastern part of the island, in the inscription of Mūlavarman, detailing the celebration of a Hindu sacrificial ceremony. We have a Vaishṇava inscription of the eighth century on the coast of the Malaya Peninsula, which makes a clear reference to a Vishṇu temple and colonies of people from the west coast of India. The author then refers to the coming in of the Thai, the ancestors of the modern Siamese and the Laos. They began to stir from Southern China about 100 B.C., set themselves up in independence in the Seventh century, and they moved southwards and occupied the country of Siam. The first important dynasty of the Thai established themselves at Sukhodaya in A.D. 1237. Under two great rulers at the end of

the 13th century and the middle of the 14th, the Thais made great advance. About the middle of the 14th century, however, this dynasty of the Thais was overthrown by the prince of Udon, who founded the kingdom of Ayūdhya. This laid the foundations of the present kingdom of Siam. There were seven kings of Ayūdhya, and the dynasty lasted from 1350 to 1762. The Burmese had grown to power in the 13th century and in the 14th, attacked Siam in 1569, and Siam was overrun by them for a short period. Two centuries after, Ayūdhya was laid siege to and destroyed by the Burmese. But the Burmese were dislodged by a man of humble birth and of Chinese extraction, under the name Brahya Tak. He established a new capital of the kingdom at Dhanapuri on the opposite bank of the river Menam to Bangkok, the later capital. His insanity in 1782 led to his deposition by one of his generals. This general Cau Brahya Cakri became the founder of a new dynasty. This dynasty established its capital in Bangkok, and the dynasty thus founded is called the Cakri-Dynasty from the name of its founder. The first six rulers have been named Rama I to Rama VI, the last of whom died in 1925, and was succeeded by the present ruler Prajadhipok. Thus it is clear that the foundation for the culture of the Siamese is the primitive culture of the Thai nomads of southern China. Ever since its movement to the south, it was exposed to foreign influences, and all these influences were passed on to the next second Thai kingdom of Ayūdhya, and after the destruction of that capital, the earlier rulers of the Chakri dynasty made efforts to collect together and restore the culture of Ayūdhya. It will thus be seen that the two dominant cultural influences of Siam are those of the Chinese and the Indian. Chinese culture was native to the founders of the Thai rule. This was improved by intercourse with China in the period of their rule at Sukhodaya, and this influence continued in the period of their rule at Ayūdhya also. Later immigration of Chinese did not affect their culture very much. On the contrary, Indian culture came from India to some extent, but the far greater influence of Indian culture was derived from the Indian kingdoms such as Dvāravati, Śrī-Vijaya and Cambodia.

Four systems of Indian influence are noteworthy:—

1. The Mahāyānist influence beginning with the Christian era continued well on into the seventh century.
2. Vaishṇava Brahmans seem to have reached Cambodia in the early centuries of the Christian era also. While the Thai

rulers of Sukhodaya imported Vaishṇava Brahmans from Cambodia, they retained their influence in court ceremonial.

3. The Śaiva Brahmans seem to have come in later, and other streams of Indian settlers followed. They were imported during the Ayūdhya period, that is, from 1350 to 1762, directly from India. When the capital Ayūdhya was destroyed by the Burmese in 1767, the Brahmans that escaped from there were invited to settle down in Bangkok, and their influence continued.

4. The last was the influence of Hinayānistic Buddhism which came from Ceylon. That was due to the great efforts at Buddhist revival of Prakrama Bahu, king of Ceylon, when missions were despatched to various countries by him, such as China. All these influences are found in the institutions of the Siamese. But one noticeable feature is the clear absence of Burmese influence. That is due perhaps to the hostility between the Burmese and the Siamese on the one side, and the comparative want of intercourse owing to the dividing mountains between the two countries, on the other.

Then begins part 3 and the following parts dealing with the details of the ritual. So far as the performance of the various ceremonies as such of the Siamese is concerned, the book gives a fairly complete and correct account in full detail. The account is interspersed here and there with analogies drawn from similar ancient ceremonies of India, such as the Mahābhishēka of Indra and the Rājasūya described in detail in the Brahmanas. He also discusses their sociological value, and considers these ceremonies in the light of an anthropologist in regard to their origin and significance. In respect of the analogies drawn, the details are not always quite correctly chosen, and the effort at discovering their significance sometimes misleads. In regard to the symbolic fray or sham fight, fight as he calls it, of the Rājasūya, it must be remembered that the Rājasūya is a ceremony of the coronation of one who has already established his overlordship by a series of conquests, or by acknowledgment of his overlordship, so that the representation of a fight is quite in place. The idea is absent in the description of the Mahābhishēka of Indra. It is recognised that the actual details of the ceremony of coronation as practised in Siam now, while based generally upon the Indian ritual as a whole, is run through here and there with details borrowed from other sources Indian and other than Indian. Buddhism and Buddhist ritual have been introduced within recent times when the kings

adopted Buddhism as their religion for one thing. There have been introduced into it also other Indian features not connected with ancient Vedic coronation ceremonies, such as for instance, the author mentions, as the Tamil Mantra signifying 'opening the portals of the Kailasa'. This probably is the poem Tirupalli Eḷuchchi of Māṇikkavāṣakar, or a poem of similar import. That could only have gone from South India, and it would be interesting to trace how and when it actually did go there, and whether it is this poem, or what else, it indicates. Speaking of this Tamil introduction, we may mention here two other poems that are under advertance in similar connections, though not exactly in connection with the coronation. There are two works referred to in the book as *Traiyaṃ-bāvay* and *Tirupavay*. These two are well-known poems, Tiruveṃpāvai of Māṇikkavāṣakar and Tiruppāvai, the Vaiṣṇava hymn of Āṇḍāl, both of them of similar import, sung usually early in the morning in the respective shrines of Śiva and Viṣṇu, in Mārgaśīrsha, the first month of the year of Viṣṇu.

Another feature of importance worth noticing is the list of works bearing on the Brahmanical ceremonies in the National Library at Bangkok. The list is given on page 63 of the work. This list is not a list of separate books exactly as the author takes it. It seems to be merely the chapter headings of one of the well-known Āgamas of South India for certain. But as it is given in the imperfect form, and with the imperfect knowledge of Āgama, that we have at present, it would be difficult to identify which Āgama it is that is thus actually referred to. That it is one of the Āgamas of authority in the Tamil country, is indubitably in evidence in the name given to the second section of what is called Volume D in the work. The term is '*Pūja Muṟai*', which obviously is a Tamil term and cannot be Sanskrit. It seems therefore clear that it is not only the early Vaidic ceremony of the coronation that is in evidence. It is equally obvious that the later Āgamaic influence has also had its full share in the ceremonies of the coronations as practised in Siam.

There is one point in connection with this on page 100 in regard to the sceptre. The author speaks of there being no specific mention in ancient Indian literature of the sceptre. If the sceptre as sceptre is not referred to, we have the *Danḍa* as a rod of punishment, which symbolises the sceptre, which is under reference in Sanskrit literature. But even the sceptre itself is under reference in ancient Tamil literature, the term used being translated proper-

ly 'as the rod of righteousness'. It would not be correct therefore to say that this did not play as important a part as in Europe.

Speaking of royal ceremonies other than the coronation ceremony, the author describes *Indrābhishēka* as practised in Siam taking the account from one of the Siamese authorities he relies on. There is a remark that he makes at the end of it; 'at first sight, however, one might fail to appreciate the connection between this (the churning of the ocean) and the idea of the *Indrābhishēka*.' The connection is intimate. *Indrābhishēka* is a ceremony symbolising the re-installation of Indra in his position after having lost his wealth and position, as the result of the slaying of *Vritra*; and the recovering of it was after a long period of penance by the churning of the ocean of milk. A number of other such details are found in the book, but it is hardly necessary to refer to any more of them and run the risk of being called hypercritical. But these typical instances are given here merely to show that the ceremony requires a closer study, with far more thorough preparation on the Indian features of it to be fully understood. We are grateful to the author for having presented the Siamese side so thoroughly, so that we have the material before us for the detailed comparison, which is necessary from the Indian point of view. We welcome the publication as a very important contribution to a rather recondite subject.

Before closing, however, we may take the opportunity to point out that the royal names associated with the image of Śiva and Viṣṇu in Cambodia need not be taken, as the author actually does, as representing the apotheosis of the monarchs who built them. This is under reference on page 169-ff where he points out this kind of a special cult drawing for example from the famous temple, Ankor Vat, followed up by the statement, 'This deified monarch to whom this Viṣṇu temple was dedicated was Udayāditta Varman II (1048-1079) or Sūryavarman II (1112-1165).' Naming gods consecrated in temples after the name of the pious builder, without any idea whatsoever of making the builder the object of worship, is a very common Indian practice. The *Rājārājēśvara* and *Gaṅgaikondacholēśvara* in Tanjore and innumerable temples in South India are instances in point. If Ankor Vat was built to the spirit of the dead kings, it will have to be proved on other evidence than the one that is offered.

There is another interesting point which establishes the indebtedness of Siam for the very fundamentals of its culture to India. The year begins with Mārgaśīrsha, coming somewhat about

the middle of December nowadays. Of course, that is the ceremonial first month of the year of the Gods, and there are ceremonies connected with it as such, which get to be celebrated. This is based on the tradition that Vishṇu wakes up from his long sleep about that time, and his waking up marks the beginning of the year. The Siamese year begins with that. We do not believe as far as we know at present that any of the eras prevalent in India began with that month. It certainly is very interesting to note that the idea is found in Siam, and that may give us a notion of the actual period of the introduction of this in Siam. Details of time are marked on this basis, and the author is somewhat confused in regard to two or three festivals that he describes by not having noted carefully this fact. The *Dipāvali* (vulgo *Divali*) is a festival, which does not come in the last month, but in the month before, and it is a celebration which symbolises the victory of Krishna over Narakāśura, whereas the *Krittikā* festival, which is also celebrated in Siam, represents Vishṇu's victory over Bali. What the author calls *Mahā Sankarānti* is *Makara Sankarānti* (the *Pongal*, a South Indian agricultural festival). There could be no mistaking these if the time of the year to which they refer is noted from the starting point of the first month as given above. These details will be found in chapter 24 of the work. We have said enough to show our great appreciation of the work of the author, and shall conclude by stating that it deserves very careful study by those interested in the outspread of Indian culture, and the existence of corresponding details in India itself.

SHIVAJI THE GREAT

By

DR. BALAKRISHNA, M.A., PH.D.

Part I, Shahji.

This is part of a project for a comprehensive life of Shivaji based on all the material available to the public at this date more or less. Mahratta history generally, and the history, not to say biography, of Shivaji in particular, have so far suffered from the defect of a very partial exploitation of the sources of information available. Even the latest work of Sir Jadunath Sarkar suffers from this general drawback, not to speak of early historians of the Mahrattas. Volume I, part 1 of this projected work covers the period of the rise of Shahji to power, and deals with his achievements as a necessary preliminary to the life of Shivaji. The merit

of this work consists in the thorough exploitation of the various records of European factories, particularly the Dutch and the English more fully. Records of the India Office have been used also. In regard to Indian sources, Dr. Balakrishna brings the light derivable from the collection of sanads, Mahratti, Persian and even some Urdu sources, as also Hindu literature, such as the *Shivabharata*, *Radha Madhava Vilas Champu* and other works of poet, Jayarama, and various other miscellaneous contemporary sources. Certainly he refers to the Bakhairs and has made a critical use of them amply for the purpose. Working on a wider range therefore of sources, Dr. Balakrishna is in a position to arrive at more acceptable conclusions than his predecessors in the effort.

The history of Shahji as presented in this volume covers 169 pages of the work not including appendices and other miscellaneous matter extending to about 45 pages without the index. We think it is for the first time that we have a connected and cogent account of the Mahratta leader, to whom must belong the credit of the foundation of the Mahratta State, which at one time was close to achieving a Mahratta empire in India. We pointed out in a contribution we made to the Shivaji Tercentenary volume that the history of the rise of the Mahratta power in the South required to be worked up more fully and brought into its real perspective by exploiting sources, which have so far not been properly exploited. We are gratified to find that this wish of ours finds its fulfilment in great part by the work before us. It establishes clearly that Shahji and Shivaji came of a family of Rajaput chiefs, and the fact of their connection with the Sisodayas, cousins of the Ranas of Udaipur, is provable on the basis of various charters. Dr. Balakrishna has worked up a successful genealogy on this basis. The Mahratta chiefs began to play an active part even from the days of the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom; nay it turns out that they bore their part in the foundation of that kingdom by Hasan Gangu Bahmani. The conferment of the jaghir of Mudhol, and the division of the family into various branches holding jaghirs in different localities of the Dakhan, are brought out clearly. The rise of Shahji, gradually to power as an officer of the Nizamshahi dynasty, his services under Malik Ambar, the transfer of his allegiance to the Mughals, his return to the service of Ahmadnagar, and the part that he played as king-maker are all brought out in what strikes one as the proper perspective in the early history of Shahji. The imperfections of the narrative in

previous history relating to the connection between this family and that of the Jadhavs, the question of his marriage, and his activities in the Nizamshahi Dakhan are presented with many corrections based upon the genuine contemporary documents. We are then brought to the definite extinction of the Nizamshahi kingdom; and the desperate position to which Shahji himself had been reduced by his efforts to set up more or less independently is pointed out as what actually drove him into the service of Bijapur with the consent of the Mughals. Even at the beginning of his service in Bijapur, he was appointed to a position of advantage from which he could prosecute his ambition to purpose. This purpose of his life he carried out to his satisfaction, with a caution and circumspection quite worthy of the great ambitions and the character and experience of the man such as Shahaji was. He is shown in fact as the conqueror of the Bijapur Carnatic, and as its ruler all the time that he was under Bijapur. In this part of his work, he does certainly appear as having been mainly responsible for the destruction of the empire of Vijayanagar. This became inevitable to a very great extent, and Shahji's contribution may be regarded as more or less actively bringing about what would inevitably have followed. But his activities rendered one remarkable service in the preservation of Hindu culture and religion, which ran great risk of extinction by the fanatical policy pursued by Bijapur in the reign of its penultimate ruler. While yet he was alive, he had founded a vast kingdom for himself in the south, though still under the nominal rule of Bijapur, in addition to his own jaghir and possessions in the Mahratta country extending over the whole length of the Konkan with considerable parts of the Desh. This great work must necessarily have inspired Shivaji. Dr. Balakrishna makes an effort to point out that it was not merely the influence of the work of the father that inspired Shivaji, but that Shahji actually inculcated the idea and made him co-operate with him in the great work, as far as it could be taken up while yet he was alive. Having gone so far, there was the certainty that Shivaji would continue the ambitious scheme and ultimately establish the Hindvi Svarajya.

We congratulate Dr. Balakrishna upon the successful work that he has done on this difficult task and look forward to the further volumes with expectancy. As it is presented, the work shows blemishes, some of them even of a serious character. These, of course, will be removed when a revised edition becomes necessary as we hope it will soon be.

INDIAN CULTURE THROUGH THE AGES

By

S. V. VENKATESWARA, M.A.,

VOL. II. PUBLIC LIFE AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

(Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd.) pp. vi and 326. (12s. 6d.)

Next in importance to the reconstruction of the political history of ancient India, the subject that has been engaging the attention of scholars doing research in Indian history is the evolution and growth of political institutions in India. During the last few decades a large volume of literature has been added on the subject. But none of the works that deal with it traces the growth of the institutions up to the present day. But Prof. Venkateswara, in the book under review, tries to trace the administrative systems under the various dynasties during the different periods of Indian History to the time when the British took possession of the administration of India.

In the first two chapters the author described the polity in Rigvedic India and the period after that. He tries to show that the political institutions of the post-Vedic period grew out of the institutions of the Vedic period. The author differentiates rightly between the Amātyas and the Mantripariṣad. The Amātyas (the Amāichan) were the great officers of the state. They were ever by the side of the king, and gave him advice on important questions of state policy and administrative detail. But the Mantripariṣad (the ministerial Council) was a large body, the members of which were selected on a caste basis "to enlist the co-operation of the representatives of the people in the special needs of the administration in times of stress."

In Chapter III the author describes the administrative institutions under the Mauryas. Prof. Venkateswara follows Dr. Shyama Śāstri and remarks that the king was bound to act in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the council and translates the term *bhūyishṭāḥ* as majority; but majority opinion and majority rule are ideas too modern to be found used in the distant past. The Kautaliyan use of the term *bhūyishṭāḥ* need not connote majority opinion, but seems actually to imply the considered opinion of the most learned members of the council if this word is

taken along with the term *buddhivṛddhāh* which occurs in the same chapter. There is proof to show, as has been pointed out by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar in his *Hindu Administrative institutions and the Mauryan Polity*, that frank discussion in the council was allowed and that it was the duty of the king to gain even the minority to the majority view point. The absentee members also sent in their views to the council and the final decision lay not with the majority of the members of the council, but in the general acceptance among its members.

Chapter IV deals with constitutions under the Guptas, Śātavāhanas and the Cholas. The account is sweeping and sketchy, and lacks details. It is difficult to accept the theory propounded by the author that the Kuraḷ polity resembles what is contained in the Kāmandaka's *Nīṭisāra* rather than that in Kauṭaliya's *Arthaśāstra*. But the author does not seem to think it necessary to give arguments for this conclusion of his. In the latter half of the chapter Professor Venkateswara examines in a summary way the views on polity of the many political thinkers that have appeared in India from time to time. Lastly he examines the influences of the foreign dynasties on the Indian institutions and customs, and summarises the views on the subject of a few scholars like Drs. Spooner and Smith.

Chapter V is devoted to an examination of the governments under some five dynasties in mediaeval India—the Rajputs, Afghans, Hoysalas, the Vijayanagar kings and the Portuguese. The accounts are superficial. The author calls the governments simple types. He does not examine for instance the question whether the Vijayanagar administrative institutions were a continuation of the institutions of the Cholas with the necessary changes and modifications as were demanded by the conditions of the age, or whether they were totally different from them. Further there are in the chapter some statements which are not true at all ages and at all times. For example it is said that a *Kalam* is equal to 24 measures, *panam* to $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas and one *veli* to $6\frac{2}{3}$ acres. It is a well known fact that in Ancient and Mediaeval times there was no one standard measure of currency in India. Caesar Frederick informs us that every provincial chief had a currency of his own. In the same way there was no one definite measure for the whole country. We wish to invite attention to another statement of the author that "instances are not wanting of king making prodigious sacrifices in order to maintain a political com-

pact with honour like those made by the Rāja of Anagondi in his unwillingness to give up a Mussulman refugee"; but here we must note the Rāja took under his protection a rebel chief against Muhammad bin Tughlak and this act was in itself indefensible; and when he sent the fugitive to the court of Viraballāḍēva he could not give up the rebel. The author refers to the inhuman methods in mediaeval Indian warfare, but remarks that such exceptions prove the rule "that warfare in India was humane as contrasted with the horrors of war wrought by the foreigners in India."

Chapter VI is devoted to a description of the administrative institutions under the Mughals. There we have an excellent account of the working of the government, and the author checks and verifies the writings of the Muhammadan historians with the help of the accounts of the foreign travellers who visited the Mughal court. In the opinion of the author "the Mughal despotism was based on the command of a strong army and the possession of a well filled treasury to which engines of despotism, the Mughal sovereigns added new ones—by insisting on the prominent nobles of the country remaining in the court practically as hostages, and by an elaborate system of espionage." Professor Venkateswara rightly appreciates the efforts of Akbar to evolve a national state by taking the Hindus into his confidence and giving them encouragement.

Chapter VII examines the administrative institutions under the Mahrāṭhas, the Nāyaks and the Sikhs. The author is of opinion that the Mahrāṭha despotism may be compared to the Mughal monarchy under Akbar who became head of religion in 1581, and says that the Mahrāṭha ruler was assisted by a council of 8 ministers which had a distinctly military import, six of the 8 *pradhānis* having military duties. The author has nothing but praise for the Mahrāṭha institutions, and fails to realise that the weakness of the system lay in the fact it was not suited to an extensive empire which contributed largely for the failure of the Mahrāṭhas to establish a stable empire in India in spite of their military genius and the far-sighted statesmen whom the nation produced.

We see Professor Venkateswara at his best in the last chapter—Our Heritage. In this chapter the author examines in general terms the nature of the Indian state. He remarks that "the fundamental aim of the state was to preserve the Indian outlook on life

and those institutions which were held necessary to perpetuate it, and that when there were political differences they were not pressed to a breaking point but were healed and set at rest by the genius for conciliation characterising the common sense of the people." He rightly points out that the weakness of the Hindu polity lay in that the governments neglected their fleets necessary for military purposes, and also did not appreciate that an Indian government has larger duties than the mere day to day administration within the boundaries of its territories. He concludes this chapter with the remark that the Hindu governments realised the fact that "it was the duty of the state with due regard to individual and communal liberty to help the many sided development of the individual as well as of those social ideas and institutions which would make this development permanent and universal".

It would have been better if the author had divided this book into two parts and tried to devote more attention to the Gupta, Śātavāhana, Rājput, Afghan, and Vijayanagar polities. There is no bibliography of the books he consulted, a serious defect in publications that lay claim to incorporate research work. The book contains a copious index which is very useful. The get up of the book leaves little to be desired.

COLONIAL POLICY.

By

DR. A. D. A. DE KAT ANGELINO

Abridged translation by G. J. Renier with the author's collaboration.

(2 volumes)

Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, (Holland).

This work in two volumes makes a survey of the important problem which is embraced in the expression Colonial Policy, quite a modern expression for an old idea, after a long period of development. The colonial movement in Europe is a product of the sixteenth century enterprise when the growing modernism of European governments in their economic development, sought an outlet for their energies and economic enterprise in the search for markets for purposes of trade. Of course in an age of monopoly

like that of the empire of Charles V and of the Tudors in England, the effort has been one to break through the monopoly claimed by the sister nations of Spain and Portugal, the most advanced colonial powers of the time having had some considerable start. At the beginning the purpose was merely the limited one of securing monopolies for trade in regions as yet unoccupied exclusively by the two prominent colonial powers of Spain and Portugal. In the political position of the times an enterprise like this would have been impossible of fruition by itself. Other factors therefore came into the struggle, particularly the religious one. As a result of the Reformation, all the Protestant powers made an effort to call into question the monopoly claimed by the chief Catholic power of Spain and along with it of course the chief commercial power, Portugal. The result has been the discovery of the south-eastern passage to India and the East. Thus was established the first contact between Europe and the East, the purpose of which was nothing more than commerce-commerce in eastern commodities, for which there was a very considerable demand in Europe. What the European countries wanted was nothing more than facilities for trade, which involved as against European powers, the freedom of the seas for navigation, and, as far as eastern powers were concerned, freedom, with the permission of the political authorities of the land, for making purchases and sales with facility, if not altogether without restriction of freedom.

Some of the European countries left the matter entirely to private enterprise as in the case of the East India Company in England, while in other countries, although the enterprise was that of companies, they had the support of the governments of their own countries in a far more ample measure than the English companies have had. Sometimes it proved to be altogether government enterprise as in the case of France in the particular periods. A common view or policy, if the view of those that understood these enterprises, could be called such, was nothing more than the facilities required for commerce and for earning the profits arising therefrom. The enterprises therefore soon took the form of an effort to secure monopoly, if necessary by even going to war. Any advantage or benefit accruing from this connection between the West and the East therefore had no higher object whatever than the economic advantages to be derived from a growing commerce.

As gradually the three or four commercial powers secured regions for this purpose, they began to exclude others from the benefits therefrom only with partial success. That necessarily led

on to a period of struggle to determine the exclusive field for each one of these powers; when in the course of the struggle, they had come to an understandable demarcation of spheres, there began the notion that while the commercial interests actually predominated, the prime essential for the flourishing of this commerce, namely, peace in the land where commerce was to go on, led these separate nations through their trading companies to establish first an influence a dominant influence, and then an exclusive influence, ultimately even the political power-over these peoples. Something like the provision of a government favourable for the fostering of commerce became one of the objects to be striven for, either directly or indirectly, by these companies and the powers behind them. When ultimately they divided the East among themselves for this purpose and established themselves more or less strongly in a dominant position, the good government of these regions began gradually to work its way into the minds of those enterprising people engaged in this commerce, more enlightened and liberal-minded than their companions, so that almost without a conscious adaptation, a feeling began to grow which ultimately developed into a recognised policy of responsibility for the good government and prosperity of the peoples who had been brought under their influence. This became an important question pretty early both in the case of the Dutch and in the case of the British in India. Both alike had to liberalise their policy and establish governments on the basis of principles of an enlightened character where the commercial interests were made to subordinate themselves to the principles of good government of the peoples brought under their rule. This was formally enunciated under the government of Lord William Bentinck in India, although we cannot deny the prevalence of such notions of good government even under Clive and Warren Hastings. Similar notions could be traced among the Company's agents in the Dutch East Indies pretty early in their history.

The growth of this idea synchronises with the liberalising movements of the nineteenth century and received a stimulus such as it had not before. Matters relating to the government of the colonies were coming more and more to the front and constituted one of the factors in the international politics of the times. The Great War naturally gave additional importance to the question, and the peace that followed the world struggle naturally gave to the problem a wider, more sympathetic and a somewhat altered outlook on the part of the nations taking part in the Geneva Con-

ference. The dawning of the idea of world peace naturally emphasises the position of colonial powers in respect of their responsibilities to the territories that they hold in charge. This received recognition in article 22 of the Covenant, where states in contact with European nationalities which were not able, in the opinion of the Conference, to stand independently on their own legs were to be held in trust by the powers which were associated with them before in that way, but were hereafter to hold them actually as trusts for the administration of which they were accountable to the Conference as a whole. This is the idea that is known as the Mandatory system. Asiatic and African states had been put under mandate with various European countries with the specific direction that they were to exercise their mandatory power with the definite object of fitting them for taking charge of their own affairs themselves, and perhaps even playing their part in the League of Nations as a world power. The problem therefore is clear that whatever European power held possessions in the East or Africa, held those possessions not in their own interests, but in the interests of their charges. The problem therefore is, from the point of view of this altered position, how exactly these colonial powers should carry on their governments with the specific object of fitting their charges to become responsible powers themselves. The work under review studies this problem historically, and politically as a problem for the future. In the first volume the position is considered generally. The condition of these countries is examined historically first of all to analyse and discover the ideas and institutions of these countries which are capable of development for this purpose. This necessarily involves the understanding of their nature, the analysis necessary for the discovery of such features as there may be, that give them a common ground for a higher development than they had so far shown, and how exactly these, perhaps as yet undeveloped powers, could be harnessed to the actual purpose of their future. Secondly there is a consideration of the responsibility of the mandatories to understand their position, guide them sympathetically with a view to enable their perfecting themselves so far as to take over the position of responsibility from the mandatory powers. These questions are dealt with with sufficient elaboration and learning to give a clear lead in respect of the solution of the problem calling for solution by the responsible powers. There is an admirable wealth of detail, clear and careful analysis and presentation of the features worth developing, and an equally indubitable indication of the lines along which colonial power must proceed with

a view to achievement of this ultimate object. The second volume is devoted to a consideration in detail of what the Dutch have been able to do in their possessions in the East. We shall reserve that for the next issue of the journal.

The work as a whole is an important contribution to the solution of the problem that confronts the world now. The whole of the East is in a ferment. The adjustment of the relations between the West and the East is becoming one of very great complexity and delicacy. It is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory solution whether the Eastern states concerned be under the mandatory system historically or by agreement, or whether they be under national governments of their own. The problem is of the same character for both, and the ultimate solution will have to be similar if the character of the guiding power does make, as it should, an essential difference in the actual character of the solution adopted. We welcome therefore this elaborate study of the subject as a timely contribution of the utmost current importance.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF MYSORE UNDER SIR MARK CUBBON,

1834—1861.

By

DR. K. N. VENKATASUBRA SASTRI, M.A., PH.D.,

(George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.)

This is the work done by the author as the Sir William Meyer Student in the University of London during the period 1929-1931. The work covers that period of the British administration of Mysore covered by the Commissionership of Sir Mark Cubbon, which came to an end in 1861, the British administration continuing for twenty-two years afterwards before the state was restored to the late Maharaja of Mysore under the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. It is a well known historical fact that Lord William Bentinck as Governor-General found that the administration of Mysore under the Treaty of Srirangapatam did not fulfil expectations, and that matters were allowed to become bad enough to warrant the East India's Company's government assuming the responsibilities of the

administration instead of the Maharaja. In the words of Bentinck himself "it is clear that the territory of Mysore was made over to the Raja in trust to be managed as a dependency of the British Empire in India and under the responsibility of the British nation to the people of the tract so assigned that it should be well governed. It is in the discharge of this responsibility of the British Governor-General that the Governor-General assumed authority and put the whole of the administration under a British commission to carry on the administration in a way to fulfil the responsibilities of the British Government.* This, however, involved the additional responsibility of the administration being carried on agreeably to the feelings of the Maharaja, whose authority to that extent had been superseded. The responsibility therefore vested with the Government of India to choose a Commissioner, whose qualifications were such as would enable him to discharge these delicate responsibilities satisfactorily. The choice of the Governor-General fell on Sir Mark Cubbon. His first task lay in the restoration of peace, law and order. Then he was to gradually reform the administration so as to ensure an efficiently stable and orderly government to the people. This involved naturally his taking steps to assure the material and moral progress of the people so as to enable them to take their share in the growth of the general prosperity of India. Cubbon came into office and, as soon as he was able to look about himself and feel certain of his way, he began conservatively to proceed with the administration continuing the system organised by Purnayya and continued under the Maharaja after the termination of his regency. He adopted deliberately a conservative policy and slowly led the administration change its character from that, under the individual rule of the Maharaja, to that of a system—a system assimilable to that of the British administration of the rest of the country. He was able to do it with so much success that when the time had come, he had practically succeeded in transforming the administration into something like a regular British administration of the surrounding provinces. People of Mysore that are old enough to remember something of this administration speak in unqualified praise of the Administration of Sir Mark Cubbon, whose statue now adorns the Cubbon Park in Bangalore and is placed in front of the public offices, popu-

* "Lord William Bentinck afterwards came to believe that he had been to some extent misled by exaggerated reports of oppression in Mysore, but the Company declined to reverse the sequestration."

F. E. Roberts: *The History of British India*, p. 468. See also p. 305.

larly known as the Aṭāra Katchēri, the eighteen offices, an old name for a new institution.

Dr. Venkatasubba Sastri has carried out this work of transformation of the old into the new system by a careful study of the documents bearing upon the period. The bibliography covers six pages and carries us through original documents including confidential and other correspondence in the Political and Foreign Departments of the India Office and corresponding Record Offices in India, and brings it down to such recent authorities as the *Gazetteer of Mysore* by Rice, *The Ten Years Native Rule in Mysore* of Mr. Shama Rao, and even a work like that of Mr. Yegnanarayana Aiyar's "A Century and a Quarter of Mysore Agriculture." He has adopted more or less the principle of letting his authorities speak, and has brought to bear on it practically all the documents of value. He has so arranged them as to provide interesting reading, and give the impression to the reader of a continuous account—a creditable achievement from the historian's point of view. Every statement is supported by authorities, and precise references are given to the authorities. The account which covers 237 pages is followed by the bibliography referred to already, and eight appendices, A to H, bearing on the most important vital topics. The author set before himself the following three objects: (1) the continuation of Wilks' *History of Mysore* by including in it this period; (2) to set in relief the character of the persons responsible for this administration as an illustrious example of the Munro type of Indian administrator; and (3) thereby exhibiting the contribution of a Manxman for securing the welfare of a part of the Indian population. The publication was made possible by financial assistance given by the University of London, the Mysore Government and the Mysore University and by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. The publication does credit to the author. The well known publishers share the credit in bringing it out in such a good form.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF ALĀ'U'D-DIN KHILJI BEING THE
KHAZĀ' INUL FUTUH (TREASURES OF VICTORY) OF
HAZRAT AMIR KHUSRAU OF DELHI

*translated into English with notes and parallel passages from
other Persian writers.*

By

MUHAMMAD HABIB, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY,

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH,

and with an Historical Introduction by

DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, MADRAS.

*(Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay—
pp. XXXIX & 131.)*

Amir Khusrau of Delhi was one of the greatest figures in the reign of Sultan Alā'u'd-din Khilji, who was, in the words of the contemporary historian, Ziauddin Barni, "unequalled for the volume of his writings and the originality of his ideals and conspicuous in every department of letters." The great Indo-Muslim scholar of recent times, Maulana Shibli Nomani, has been very generous in his estimate of the poet. Amir Khusrau was Indian-born; and his literary output in Hindi was deemed to have been as extensive as his work in Persian. He was a courtier as well as an army officer; and his experience as a captive of the Mongols, short as it was, has given us one of the finest pen-pictures of those invaders. The author who has given us a readable account of the poet's life and works in another publication of his—*Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*—says that the poet was active from the reign of Balban; but the twenty years of Alā'u'd-din Khilji's reign formed the most productive period of his life. His literary activity lasted to the close of the reign of the first Tughlak sovereign. The poet died in 1325 A.D., a few months after the demise of his good counsellor and friend, Shaikh Nizamuddin, one of the best known of Indo-Muslim mystics, whose tomb, besides which the poet himself lies buried, has survived the political and military

shocks of six centuries and more, and is still frequented by Hindus and Mussalmans alike.

Amir Khusrau's voluminous works are divided into five groups, of which his historical *masnavis* may be noticed in this place. One has for its theme the meeting of Sultan Muizzu'ddin Kaikobad with his father; another deals with the campaigns of Sultan Jalaluddin. The *Khazā'inu'l Futuh* is an official history of Alā'u'd-din's campaigns and is deemed by competent judges to illustrate very well the general character of the author's prose. The work contains much useful information, particularly as to the mode of warfare of the period and treats of the Sultan's campaigns in Warangal and Ma'bar regions with some disproportionate detail, relatively to the other measures of the reign. The style of the book is difficult, and each paragraph is devoted to a selection of words connected with one particular subject: one is composed of words derived from architecture; another is based on words descriptive of the powers and anatomy of the hand. The reader has to critically separate the element of fact from the colouring imparted to it by the author in order to bring in the inevitable allusions.

Amir Khusrau's book was, according to our author, a challenge to the *Fath-i-Namah* of Kabir'u'd-din, the court chronicler of the time whose work was very voluminous, but is not available now. Perhaps it had been intentionally destroyed during Timur's invasion, or under the early Mughal emperors, as it must have been full of contempt and hatred towards the Mongol barbarians. It is surmised by Professor Habib that Amir Khusrau completed perhaps Kabir'u'd-din's work which must have been left incomplete. Hence he devotes a disproportionate length of the work under review to the Deccan campaigns and makes it essentially a history of the Deccan invasions. The work is also a panegyric of the Sultan, and shows all the merits and defects of a government publication of the day. Allowing for its puerility and exaggeration, the work has the merit of being accurate in details and dates, and gives us a good idea of the art of war in the early middle ages. It presents a fairly accurate picture of 'jingoistic militarism of the first Muhammadan empire at its worst, Professor Habib suggests that Amir Khusrau had no liking for the vandalism of the Deccan Campaigns, nor for their commander, Malik Naib Kafur-i-Sultani'. He sees in the narrative that the poet plainly indicates that greed of gain, and not zeal for religion, was the inspiring motive of the invaders.

Amir Khusrau's work may be said to be a historical supplement to Barani who did not dilate upon the wars and conquests of the Khilji Sultan. As Dr. S. K. Iyengar points out in his valuable and exhaustive introduction, the narrative of the Warangal and Ma'bar campaigns by the poet, provides a satisfactory scheme of chronology without which these expeditions could hardly be understood. The Warangal campaign began in October 1309; and the army returned to Delhi after securing the submission of Pratapa Rudra Deva, in June of the following year. Amir Khusrau gives a lead to the determination of the topography and chronology of the campaign. The introduction marks out the route taken by the army on its forward march; it seems to have run very much as the railway road of to-day, with a probable diversion to the neighbourhood of Chanderi, and thence on to the Narmada and beyond. It points out how Amir Khusrau and Barani say that the army only touched the Devagiri frontier and did not reach the capital as is actually stated in Ferishta's account. The army took a more westerly route on its return march and probably passed through Ram Deva's capital. The second or Ma'bar campaign began in November, 1310. Devagiri was reached in the succeeding February, and Kharābābād of Paras Deo Dalvi (which was probably Pandarpur) was the place from which Malik Kafur made a dash on Dvāra Samudra, from which five marches took the invader to the frontier of Ma'bar, across two passes called Tarmali and Tabar and a river, Kanauri (Kaveri). Amir Khusrau plays upon the word Bir, (evidently Vira Pandya) whom the invader forced to flee from Birdhul to Kandur and thence to Jāt Kūta. The Mussalmans plundered the town of Brahmastpuri which was destroyed completely and, entering the Pāṇḍya country, set fire to the temple and palace of Madura. The introduction of Dr. Iyengar determines the probable route taken by the invaders to Dvāra Samudra and thence to the Chola country, Birdhul of Bir was evidently Jayamkonda-Chōlapuram whose importance was great in that period; and Kandur was undoubtedly Kaṇṇanūr on the northern bank of the Coleroon near Srirangam, important in Hoysala history. Jāt-kūta was perhaps Jālkōta, as Elliot read it; and the place could be identified with Tivucotta at the mouth of the Coleroon which, in the days of the Cholas used to be called Jayamkondapattinam. Brahmastpuri was evidently Brahmāpuri—Chidambaram, from which the army passed across Kam to Madura. From thence the Malik might have carried on a raid to Ramesvaram; but it was unlikely that he built a mosque there. The note explaining all these identifications is valuable as a help to our

study of the first Mussalman invasions of South India. Professor Habib has given at the end translations from other writings bearing on the Deccan expeditions of Ala'u'd-din, an account of the Mughal invasions omitted by Amir Khusrau, and a chronology of the important expeditions of the Sultan. He has made available to students, an important contemporary narrative which enables a proper construction of the perspective and details of the first Mussalman campaigns in the South.

C. S. S.

MAHARANA PRATAP

By

SRI RAM SHARMA,

(D. A. V. College Historical Monographs, No. 1.)

with a Foreword by A. C. WOOLNER.

(Published by the D. A. V. College Managing Committee,

Lahore—pp. IX & 151.)

Pratap Singh of Mewar who defied Akbar has been described, in his career and achievements, by Colonel Tod in Chapter XI of his *Annals of Mewar*, written more than a century ago; and by Pandit G. H. Ojha in his monumental '*History of Rajputana*'. Professor Sharma began this sketch before Pandit Ojha's volume dealing with Pratap Singh was published; but he has had the benefit of his corrections and suggestions. He begins with a brief account of the early history of Mewar. The bitter strife of Mewari Rajputs with the Mussalmans began in 1296 and has been sustained by such heroes as Hamir, Kumbha and Sangram. Udaï Singh's reign was an unfortunate interlude in the glorious life of Mewar. Pratap had to succeed to his rightful inheritance only by a coup, setting aside his younger brother, Jagma, who had been nominated by his father. By patriotic severity, Pratap rendered the plains of his kingdom of no value to Akbar, and rejected his proffered friendship conveyed through the astute Raja Man Singh. Professor Sharma relies more on Rajput accounts than on the partial Mughal historians for the material for the narrative of the meeting between the Maharana and Man Singh. The failure

of this mission hastened the first of those sanguinary battles which have immortalised the name of Pratap. The battle of Haldighat is claimed as a victory for the Rajaputs by the Hindu accounts and by an inscription in the Jagadish Temple at Udaipur, dated 1652, two verses of which describe the struggle. The following struggles lasted till 1587; but they were fruitless in so far as they failed to rein in Pratap's fiery opposition even in the midst of the greatest distress. The brave Rajput died in 1597, unbroken yet by Mughal hostility, but anxious as to the heritage of independence which he had to bequeath to unworthy successors.

According to Professor Sharma, it was Pratap that made guerilla warfare the backbone of resistance to the Mughals. He should be given a higher place than Rana Sanga, as he taught the Rajputs the lesson of unity in which they so much lacked. He taught them the supreme art of protracting resistance, so as to have the chance of succeeding ultimately. The work under review also pays high tribute to the hero's sense of humanity, and his great capacity for organisation which, supplemented by the appeal he made to religion, turned to assure liberty to Rajputana. The style is pleasing and continuous; though the documentation is not as satisfactory as it might have been. The errata could well have been smaller.

C. S. S.

THE KADAMBA KULA, A HISTORY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL KARNATAKA

By

GEORGE M. MORAES, M.A.,

with a preface by the Rev. H. Heras, S.J.

Bombay, B. X. Furtado and Sons, 1931—pp. xiii and 504.

This volume is the fifth of the series of Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay and forms the thesis submitted to the University of Bombay for the degree of Master of Arts. Mr. Moraes secured the Chancellor's Medal for this thesis; he is one of the prominent research scholars working under Father Heras and brought out some years ago a

small brochure on the history of Mangalore in which he outlined the fortunes of that ancient place from the time of the monk, Cosmas Indicopleustes, down to the fall of Tipu Sultan. Now the subject of this work is the history of the Kadamba dynasty which played an important part in South India for a number of centuries, supplemented by an account of the minor branches of the line, and a survey, cultural and geographical, of Western Karnataka. The historical methodology followed is elaborate and accurate, and is marked by careful and adequate documentation and fairly cautious interpretation. The author first concerns himself with the pre-Kadamba history of Kuntala, i.e. western Deccan and the northern frontier of Mysore, from the times before the Christian era to the Chūtu-Śātavāhanas. The beginnings of the Kadamba line are mixed up with various legends; and the bulk of scholarly opinion will make the dynasty an indigenous one, which was, later on, admitted to Brahmanical status. According to Mr. Moræ's pretension of northern descent for the line was for the first time put forward in two grants of Harikēśari Deva of 1053 and 1055 A.D., when the Kadambas had re-established their power after an eclipse of over three hundred years. The well-known Talgunḍa inscription probably gives an historical account of the origin of the dynasty with Mayūrasarma who was anointed to the throne by Śhaḍānana, after meditating on Senāpati and the Mothers. He would hold that the tradition of the emigration of the Brahmins from the north, as related in the Halsi plates of Kākustha, Mayūrasarmma's great-grandson, is lacking in sound historical basis, as it directly contradicts the evidence of the Talgunḍa record that the Kadambas were a Brahman family.

The Kadamba line continued independent till the 6th century and during this period they claimed to have performed many *śvamedhas*. It was united by marriage to other prominent ruling families. Mr. Moræ's explains the alliances with the Vākātakas and the Guptas that the Kadambas entered into. He would support Rice's date for Kākusthavarmma (end of the 4th century) and also the contemporaneity of Durvinīta, the son of Avinīta, Pulikesi Chalukya and Bhogivarmma Kadamba; and that Avinīta Ganga was at least partly a contemporary of Ajavarmma, the son of Krishnavarmma II. Of course he is cautious enough to note that the period of rule assigned to kings before Śāntivarmma is largely suppositional based on the assumption that Mayūravarmma ruled about 345 A.D., about the time of the southern expedition of Samudra Gupta and that about 80 years elapsed between the

foundation of Kadamba rule and the accession of Kākusthavarma whose grant issued from Palāśika is dated in the 80th victorious year.

The succeeding part of the book deals with Banavasi under foreign domination that lasted for over two centuries and a half, till the Hangal Kadamba line was founded by Irivabēḍanga and by his son Chaṭṭa-deva. The Hangal rulers soon made themselves independent of their Chalukya overlords; and by the end of the 11th century they had become masters of the Banavasi territory as well. They resisted the overwhelming power of Vishnuvardhana Hoysala, became involved in the Kālachurya usurpation and struggled continuously with the successors of Vishnuvardhana. But the Kadamba power was finally shaken by the invasion of Malik Kafur; and though it survived for a number of years after this, its end was not far removed from that of the Hoysalas.

The rule of the Goa Kadambas began also in the latter part of the 10th century. Chandrapura (the modern Chandur) was their first capital. They soon became masters of the whole of the Konkan, taking advantage of the dissensions between the two branches of the Śilāhāra dynasty. They cherished the town of Goa which had Muhammadan traders living in it even in the 11th century A.D. and which was made the capital in the time of Jayakēśi I. From some Kadamba inscriptions we get an idea of the splendour of Goa, "the abundant happiness of which surpasses the paradise of India." Malik Kafur is interpreted by Mr. Moræ's as having overrun the whole of the sea-coast of the Konkan, as far as Ramesvar, i.e. Cabo de Rama south of Goa, where he caused a mosque to be constructed. According to Ferishta, Malik Kafur built a mosque in the country of the Karnatak, "at the port of Dhur Samandar on the shore of the sea of Ummam"; and it is likely that he made a raid to the west coast from the capital of the Hoysalas. Ferishta's "Prince of Ma'abir" is equated with the Kadamba ruler who concluded a defensive alliance with Ballala Deva III, Hoysala. Chandrapura was sacked by the Muhammadans under Muhammad Tughlaq; and the Sindabur of Ibn Batuta which was obviously Chandrapura, was finally stormed by the Muhammadan troops of Honowar, thus ending Kadamba rule over the Konkan which had lasted well-nigh three centuries.

Mr. Moræ's next traces the fortunes of the minor Kadamba branches of Bayalnad, Belur, Bankapur and Nagarkhand, and also

of another stock of rulers with the cognomen Khedi who ruled as feudatories in distant Kalinga, where their fief of Panchavishaya can be equated with a part of the present Mandasa Zamindari in the Ganjam District. A large amount of space is also devoted to the culture of the Kadambas and their country. Mr. Moræ is emphatic about the non-Aryan origin of the phallic cult which originally prevailed in the land along with the worship of the Nāga. The later rivalry of Śaivism and Jainism is traced; and the beginnings of the Vira-Śaiva movement are also just mentioned. Epigraphic evidence of administrative features is largely made use of, particularly as regards the sources of revenue, the powers of the feudatories and the organisation of the royal secretariat. We have also a picture of the system of military organisation that prevailed and of the details of educational and charitable endowments, like *agrahāras* and *mutts*. The treatment of the art of warfare is too general to be of strictly local application in many respects. The utilisation of sculpture reliefs and friezes of war-scenes is supposed to be based on the manner in which the battles were fought in the sculptors' own days. Details are given of the walls of the fortresses and of their ramparts and bars. Many of the *agrahāras* seem to have been state foundations; and of these the most important was that of Sthānakundūr (Taḷ-guṇḍa) whose origin is associated with Mukkaṇṇa and thirty-two Brahman families from Ahichchatra that he invited to settle therein. The actual work of administration of the *agrahāra* devolved on the assembly of the *Mahājanas* presided over by an officer and controlling all the properties that were attached to it. The *agrahāras* sometimes contained *maṭhas* of Jainas and Bauddhas. A peculiar institution was the *Brahmapuri*, a settlement of learned Brahmans in a town, which had not the corporate organisation possessed by an *agrahāra*. What Mr. Moræ would deem to be the Kadamba style of architecture is the earliest style of which specimens are known in Karnāṭaka and which has few things in common either with the Chalukya or with the Pallava styles. The early Kadamba temple was naturally derived from the primitive structures of the Andhrabhṛityas. The style is shown to have evolved from the primitive *basti* at Halsi, through the Śaiva temple at Taḷguṇḍa and other "intermediary" fanes, to the finished Kamala-Nārāyaṇa Temple at Degamue. Hoysala temples were influenced by the Kadamba style. The school of sculpture developed in Southern Konkan under the Goa Kadambas deserves mention, as having influenced Hoysala sculptors.

A very good feature of the book is that in Part VIII which furnishes an exhaustive table of towns, places and their importance mentioned in the epigraphical records comprehended in the Kadamba kingdom, supplemented by a note on its extent during the different periods of Kadamba rule. Stress is laid on the significance of the Kadamba coinage which is supposed to mark a definite step from punch-marked pieces to coins with different designs on the obverse and the reverse. Some unpublished inscriptions utilised by the author are given with their English translations, as an appendix. The treatment is more elaborate than the one ordinarily found in similar monographs; and the conclusions, though expressed in a few cases with over-emphasis, are generally cautious and sound.

C. S. S.

PUNJAB GOVERNMENT RECORD OFFICE PUBLICATIONS

SITA RAM KOHLI,

Monograph No. 12. The Building of the Jammu and Kashmir State—Being the Achievement of Maharaja Gulab Singh

By

ARJUN NATH SAPRU, M.A.

Monograph No. 14. Trial of Diwan Mul Raj (Governor of Multan),
edited with notes and introduction

By

Deputy Keeper of the Records of the Punjab Government and
Lecturer in History, Government College, Lahore.

GENERAL EDITOR,

H. L. O. GARRETT, I.E.S.,

Keeper of the Records of the Punjab Government.

The several monographs published by the Punjab Record Office embrace subjects of historical and administrative interest like the commissionership of John Lawrence in the Jullunder Doab, the development of the Judiciary in the Province from the date of its annexation and the building up of the Jammu and Kashmir State. The Trial of Diwan Mul Raj is possessed of con-

siderable historical interest, as setting forth the circumstances under which the outbreak at Multan developed into the beginning of the Second Sikh War.

The life of Maharaja Gulab Singh filled a large place in the history of Northern India in the 19th century, and his title to fame was established firmly some years before he became the ruler of Kashmir. The thesis of Mr. Arjun Nath Sapru traces in outline the history of the chief principalities which comprise the present Kashmir State and to preface it with the biographical sketch of the hero of the achievement. J. D. Cunningham and other earlier writers showed an unreasonable hatred of Raja Gulab Singh whom they deemed to be the chief cause of the ruin of the Sikh State. The acquisition of the Jammu Raj by Gulab Singh by formal grant of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was in 1822; and it was followed by the securing of Ladakh and Kashmir and the conquest of other small adjacent territories. Mr. Sapru traces in outline the history of the Jammu Raj, from the time of Ranjit Dev, on through the period of Sikh occupation, and follows it up with a sketch of the process of expansion carried into effect by Gulab Singh till 1846 when the Treaty of Amritsar was signed. Gulab Singh achieved his aims by the exercise of much cruelty and unscrupulous guile for which he was notorious. After the First Sikh War, Gulab Singh cherished hopes of securing for himself the Viceroyalty of Lahore; but the English offered him no support for his accession to their office. Cunningham's opinion that the English bargain with Gulab Singh "scarcely seems worthy of the British name and greatness" is met by Mr. Sapru by the plea that the circumstances of the transaction fully justified it. No one then imagined that the Punjab would become a British province in less than three years; and it was deemed a good stroke of policy to weaken the Sikh *darbar* by rewarding one who had been favourable to their own cause. "The low state of Lal Singh to get a dreaded rival out of the way, enabled the Governor-General, to appease Gulab Singh in a manner sufficiently agreeable to the Raja himself and which still further reduced the importance of the successor of Ranjit Singh."

The monograph under review then shows that the English were not ignorant of the importance of Kashmir; and their annexation of it in 1846 would have been neither politic, nor justifiable without their simultaneous annexation of the Punjab. The object, of the so-called 'Sale of Kashmir' on the British side was ex-

pressed correctly by Sir Richard Temple when he wrote that Lord Hardinge aimed to divide the Sikh power between the Lahore Court and Gulab Singh, and, thus, effectively to weaken it. The temptation of levelling sarcastic taunts at the British Government has been, however, too much for most writers.

Gulab Singh strove very hard to consolidate his authority in Kohistan and Kashmir; but we read in the book how his enemies took advantage of every opportunity to spread venom and prejudice against him and how the Lahore Durbar could be justly convicted of complicity in the rebellion of the Governor of Kashmir. The work of demarcating the frontiers of the British Government, the Lahore Durbar and Gulab Singh has also been noticed as well as the attempt to define the frontier between Ladakh and Chinese Tartary.

The second monograph is from the facile pen of Mr. Sita Ram Kohli and treats of an episode of which the original English record disappeared many years ago, and which has been based on a booklet containing a copy of the English proceedings of the trial and on a copy of the journal, "Indian News and Chronicle of Eastern Affairs, London," which contained verbatim reports of the proceedings of the trial. There is a good and interesting introductory notice of Diwan Mul Raj and his governorship, the difficulties that forced him to resign his office as well as of the complicated incidents that led to the attack on Messrs. Agnew and Anderson, and the subsequent outbreak. The introduction contains also a good summary of Mul Raj's trial, the charges preferred against him, the points urged in his defence, the reply of the prosecution and some observations on the trial. Diwan Mul Raj's troubles began when Raja Lal Singh was appointed prime minister at the Lahore Durbar; and he submitted his resignation of office in December 1847, though he consented to continue at his post for some time longer. When the riot at Multan developed into a rebellion, there was considerable delay in the despatching of troops from Lahore; and this was taken advantage of by Mul Raj who entered into correspondence with Amir Dost Muhammad of Kabul and some of the leading Sikh *sardars*.

During this delay, several occurrences took place, like the rebellion of Chattar Singh, the Nazim of Hazara, which exasperated the Sikh chieftains and army, and drove them into the rebellion, just when the exploits of Edwardes had made it appear almost hopeless. The final surrender of Mul Raj was made only when the last hope of defending Multan had vanished; and his

letter of submission which was discovered by Mr. Kohli from a heap of vernacular papers is printed as Appendix F. Sir Herbert Edwardes wrote in his "A year on the Punjab Frontier" that "on Mul Raj alone rests the awful responsibility of the war which followed"; but "it must ever remain a subject of satisfaction that he was not denied the 'justice in open court' which he first sought and then refused". Mul Raj had several sympathisers; and Sir John Lawrence was convinced that he could not have had much to do with the original outbreak. The noble-minded Captain Hamilton, defence counsel in the trial, proves almost convincingly that the first disturbance was only due to a popular tumult and mutiny, and that the Diwan was not in league with the troops at all. He was of the view that there was no deeply laid scheme to rouse the people and garrison of Multan to action; and also that the Diwan was not a British subject at the time of the crime and could have been best punished only as a rebel. The Second Sikh War and the annexation of the Punjab which formed the sequel of the rebellion at Multan were purified and hallowed by the shock of battle and the smoke of roaring cannon. The *sons et origo* of the whole was the luckless Mul Raj who became the incapable conjuror, seized and devoured by the unchained spirits of revolution. Mul Raj was found guilty, sentenced to death, mercifully reprieved and transported, but died before he could be banished. Perhaps it might be said that Lord Dalhousie caused him to be tried at last, after the war had been added to his crimes and when no guarantee of a trial had been given him; and also perhaps it was judged that to offer a trial to him was superfluous and would bear the undignified appearance of an overture from a power which never fails to observe strict justice; and thus the Governor-General disapproved of any terms whatever being offered to Mul Raj.

C. S. S.

TEXT BOOK OF MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

(From 1526 to the Present Day)

By

PROFESSOR S. C. SARKAR AND MR. K. K. DUTT,

Published by the Bihar Publishing House, Patna, 1932—pp. XVI, 277 & 176.

This book, written by two experienced teachers of Indian History, is intended for the use of undergraduates in our univer-

sities and is arranged on a plan which is commendable in some respects; the scheme of treatment is not exclusively chronological, but rational and natural, and supplies elementary data for criticism and judgment of evidence. The period surveyed in the two parts of the present volume, which will be supplemented by another, begins with the invasion of Babar and the establishment of Portuguese maritime dominion, both of which mark the advent of new conditions. It comes to a close at the end of the rule of Warren Hastings when the East India Company had become firmly established as an Indo-British power. The treatment is marked by frequent human touches like the presentation of personalities and notices of popular life and culture in their chief phases. The authorities quoted, though liable to be classified as secondary in most cases, are chosen with discrimination, and what is more to our point, such as can be read and understood by the undergraduate. Mostly books in English are quoted; and this is an additional facility for the students in the different parts of the country.

The Mughal empire is treated first with reference to the dynasty and succession to the throne, then from the point of view of imperialism and territorial expansion and of the frontiers, and lastly in relation to the various nationalities like the Marathas, the Jats and the Sikhs that reacted upon it. It must be said that, in a few places, the reviews and conclusions of the writers merely take the form of a bare summary of the views of scholars specialising on the topics. On the work of Shivaji, we have the rather indefinite conclusion that "his record is incomplete and we cannot confidently deduce his political aim from his actual achievement." This view, while being cautious, may perhaps leave no definite impression of Shivaji's personality and achievements on the mind of the reader. The space devoted to early European enterprise is very meagre and a little out of proportion with the rest of the treatment. The Anglo-French struggle seems to be also a little too compressed; but the narrative is very clear and continuous. We wish that chronological tables and bibliographical lists and maps will be added to the next edition of this volume. It would serve as a great help to the undergraduate and the teacher of the secondary classes.

C. S. S.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY
GEOGRAPHY OF EARLY BUDDHISM

By

BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., Ph.D.,

(with a foreword by Dr. F. W. Thomas, Oxford, Published by
Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd. London, 1932.)

A close student of the Pali Buddhist texts, Dr. B. C. Law is an authority on the history of early Buddhism in India. In a paper sent to the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference (1930) held in Lahore, I have tried to show that there was not any appreciable difference between early Buddhism and the established religion of the land. The same view point has been examined in detail in my *Maurayan Polity* (Madras University 1932), and the conclusion has been arrived at that both Buddhism and Jainism were merely different schools of Hinduism and the theory that Asoka was a Buddhist cannot be fully accepted. In the monograph under review Dr. Law shows his acquaintance with the Buddhist literature, canonical and non-canonical. With regard to topics like the Geography of the land, the Hindu and Buddhist writers practically agreed. If there is any difference in their statements, it is due to the fact that from time to time the boundary limits of the various states changed as a result of the constant feuds between the ruling chieftains. The limits of the Madhyadēśa, for example, in the time of Asoka cannot be the same as in the age of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* with an intervening distance of several centuries. Thus the monograph on the geography of early Buddhism is really the geography of ancient India. The learned author of this monograph is aware of this when he largely draws matter of fact statements from the Dharma Sāstras, epics and inscriptions thus pointing to the coincidences or differences in detail. The book is divided into six chapters—the Madhyadēśa or the middle country, Uttarāpatha or North India, Aparāntaka or Western India, Dakṣiṇāpatha or South India, Prāchya or the East India and lastly Ceylon, Burma and other Foreign countries. The data incorporated in the first chapter are full and detailed. The details furnished in the last three chapters of the book are meagre and sketchy. Among the Mahā-Jaṇapadas the Vajji or Vriji is important. This kingdom is mentioned by the author of the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram* of the second century A.D. But the absence of references thereafter goes to prove that the Vriji state which existed from the time

of Pāṇini, if not earlier, to the second century A.D. disappeared probably by the epoch of the Guptas.

In the chapter on the Dakṣiṇāpatha there are certain statements which are not correct. In p. 63 the Tamil kingdom is identified with the Malabar coast or Northern Ceylon. But really speaking it extended from the Malabar coast to Conjeeveram up to the frontiers of Nellore. In the same page again the extent of the ancient Chera kingdom is given. Here the chief division of this kingdom which comprised the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore has been omitted. The appendix on the Chaitya is interesting and all scholars will agree that originally Chaitya meant 'any sacred spot or edifice or sanctuary for popular worship.'

This well-written and well-documented treatise will serve a useful purpose and students of ancient Indian History will find it an invaluable reference book.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

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