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1623

January. On 6th, I despatched the pinnace *Heusden* to Admiral Dedel with all the remaining cotton goods for Batavia. On 27th, I moved into the new house, hired for four years for 1,2 mahmūdīs a year from Pahlawān Saḥīd.

February. On 14th, the assistant, Cornelis Arentssen, arrived with the caravan of 358 bales from Agra, in 61 days' march. On 26th, 'at night, fell from the house and broke my arm, after I had suitably entertained the English, at the instance of Anthony's and Sebolt's wives'.¹ Saw a dwarf, fully grown and well-proportioned, only 32 inches high.

March. On 12th, rain fell, to the general surprise. On 20th, despatched a caravan to Agra by way of Burhānpur. On 26th, two English ships sailed for Mocha, over-loaded with freight goods. One of them, the *Whale*, heeled over² and sank about three kō off shore, with the loss of about 38 men. The vessel contained large quantities of Persian silk, indigo and cotton goods, as well as much private trade.

June (April and May blank). On 12th, the Gujarāt ship which had sailed for Achin 20 days before, returned in consequence of bad weather. A ship arrived from Catsini in Arabia Felix, belonging to the King, who sent me a letter with a piece of cloth. On 22nd, 'I dreamed of many great pearls, and that I was fighting hand to hand with my uncle, Hans van den Burgh, with knives. God Almighty knows what this signifies; hope all well'.

1. Anthony Classen and Sebolt Wonderar were two factors on the Dutch staff in Surat.

2. See EF. ii. *passim*.

On 24th, 'there was a battle³ between Abdulla Khān, General of Sultān Khurram, and Safl Khān, Nāhir Khān, Abdulla Bab [?Bābū Khān] and other *umra*, Generals of the King, his father. It took place about three kos from Ahmadābād, which Abdulla Khān intended to take by force. But for the confusion caused by one of his elephants, which was wounded by a musket ball, he would certainly have won the battle, although the King's forces were quite three to one; but, owing to the elephant, he was defeated, and not more than 2,000 men out of 5,000 escaped'.

July. On 4th, Abdulla Khān entered Surat with about 700 horse. They plundered many houses, and tortured all the King's adherents.

August. [On 26th, van den Broeke again fell out of the window of his house. The passage is very obscure, but there had been a party, at which President Rastell was present, and van den Broeke got drunk. Apparently he had a very narrow escape of being killed].

September. On 16th, a royal force, about 3,000 strong, under Bahādur Khān, came from Ahmadābād to take over the fort at Surat, which was held for Prince Khurram.

October. On 1st, the *Schoonhoven*, sent out by the Amsterdam Chamber, arrived from Holland, along with the English *William*. On 3rd, senior factor Wolbrandt Gelynsen de Jongh⁴ landed. The voyage had taken eight months and 20 days; Dirck Eversen was master; the ship was of 600 tons' burden, with 20 guns, and brought a handsome capital. The pinnace *Naerden*, which had also been consigned to me, was wrecked on the voyage, but the crew, the cash, and some trifles were saved by the *Schoonhoven*. In all, six ships had left Holland,—the *Wapen van Enckhuysen*, *Leyden*, and *Mackerel* for Batavia, and the pinnace *Memelick* [Medemblick] for the Coromandel Coast. The *William* brought me a letter from our Directors, who had been on an embassy in England. On 7th, the pinnace *Heusden* arrived from Ormuz, in company with an English pinnace. On 12th, the *Vreede* and *Wesp* arrived from Batavia with a rich cargo, senior factor Claes Pieterssen Puynder being President. The voyage lasted two months and three days. On 13th, the pinnace or frigate

3. For this battle and the subsequent movements see Introduction to EF. ii p. xxviii. Safl Khān became Nawāb Safl Khān.

4. This factor subsequently wrote a long description of Gujarāt, some extracts from which were printed in this *Journal* (April, 1925); the full Dutch text was issued by the Linschoten Society in 1929.

Broach, arrived from Broach, where it had been built. On 22nd, our 80 bales of cotton goods were passed through the customhouse to everybody's astonishment; the English were very much annoyed. The same day, the four English ships reached Swally with five prizes—two belonging to Surat, one to Dabhol, one to Chaul, and one to Malabar. It was understood that the English had intimated to the Surat authorities that they were resolved to make reprisals⁵ on the ships in case their claims to compensation and better treatment were not satisfied.

On 28th, factor Francisco Pelsaert arrived from Agra with cotton goods, etc. On 31st, the fort was handed over to Khān Azam; the garrison were allowed to evacuate it with their baggage. In the afternoon the young Prince Bulāq⁶ son of the murdered Prince Khusraw, with his grandfather Khān Azam, arrived from Rānder, where he had halted for eight days with 18,000 horse and 20,000 foot. In the evening, the Governor, Safl Khān, sent for me to consult me about the English affair, and pressed me to sail next morning and rescue the King's ships from the English, so as to restore the credit of the Dutch, which had been so much injured by the depredations of the *Samson*. I excused myself on the ground that I had no commission⁷ from the Governor-General, authorising such action. This answer did not satisfy him; he said it was plain enough now that we were all one people, and he forced me to write a letter to the English.

November. On 3rd, we, like the English, were confined closely to our house by Safl Khān's servants, and guards were posted round the house. The same day he brought in five Dutch sailors and 20 Englishmen, who had gone some way inland from the ships. On 4th, I heard that our people in Broach were also closely confined, after the warehouses, chests and cases had been broken open and an inventory of the goods made. The same day the factor Hendrick Adrianssen, who arrived from Cambay

5. A connected account of these reprisals will be found in EF. ii, Introduction, pp. xxixff.

6. The family name of the Prince, who was officially styled Shāhzāda Dāwar Bakhsh.

7. From these and subsequent entries it will be realised that van den Broeke had a difficult part to play in this matter of reprisals. Naturally he was not sorry to see his commercial rivals in trouble, but on the other hand oppression of the English might form a dangerous precedent, to be applied later on to the Dutch. He was accused of duplicity by both sides; but all that need be said here is that his diplomacy resulted in a substantial improvement in the position of the Dutch in Surat.

with goods, was also arrested. On 6th I learnt from Francisco Pelsaert, who was on board the ships, that he had heard from Khoja Jalāluddīn that the English factor Bangham had said openly to the Governor, 'However aloof the Dutch may keep, we and they are at one.' The same day the English sent for All Bassa, Khoja Jalāluddīn, Khoja Nāsiri and Mīr Jān Muḥammād to negotiate with them. On 16th, the *Vreede* and *Wesp* were sent to Persia with adequate capital. On 17th, the English again sent for the four Moslem merchants, but nothing important resulted. On 21st, news that factor Johan van der Dussen had died at Burhanpur. On 22nd, the English came to terms with the Surat Moslems. 'I was summoned by the Governor Saḡī Khān, who gave us betel, and permission to ship our goods as we wished. He sent me a suitable meal'. On 25th, 'I was again summoned by the Nawāb, who in a friendly way told me not to take it ill that our goods had been detained for so long, and our house guarded and watched so closely; the only reason was that the English themselves had persistently given out that we were at one with them, and now he saw the difference clearly. He bestowed a *pamri*⁸ on me, and gave us permission to trade in freedom at all places.' On 27th, Rastell, the English President, came on land; The Governor bestowed on him a horse and a gold *pamri*, 'which afterwards came to cost him dear enough' This day our goods were put on board for all destinations.

December. On 19th, I sent everyone on board with the remaining goods; and on 21st, I followed to despatch the ship. On 24th, everything being settled, I returned to Surat. On 25th the *Schoonhoven*, with the frigate *Broach*, sailed for Batavia, fully laden with cotton goods—500 bales worth here 150,000 guilders. On 27th, the English *William* and *Reformation* sailed for Persia with freight-goods, and also much private trade (pepper, cotton goods, drugs, etc), 'by which the English Company's servants enrich themselves from the least to the greatest.'

1624

January. On 7th, returned on board the *Heusden*, which I had laden for Holland. The English pressed me to keep her back till the 10th, so that the *Dolphin* could sail in her company, because the sea is now so full of pirates. The Council sanctioned this, in

8. Light wraps, at this period usually woven in Kashmir, which were commonly given as presents

order not to give any occasion for discontent. On 11th, heard that Abraham van Uffelen, Director at Masulipatam, and nearly all the factors, had been arrested;⁹ the remainder were closely confined in the factory; and the crew of one of the *Medemblick's* boats, had been seized and placed in irons. It was said that van Uffelen had been most cruelly dragged to prison head downwards through the streets. The Moslems here said this was due to our having seized their ships; the English said it was because we had seized some Portuguese craft in the roadstead, thus infringing the freedom of the port. In the afternoon visited the English President to tell him we could wait no longer, and our ship was ordered to sail tomorrow. He promised me faithfully that [*the Dolphin*] would be ready in two days. On 14th the King's ambassador visited me to ask who had really seized the ships of Gujarāt, Chaul, Dīū and Goa. I answered, to put it briefly, that he should put that question not to me but to the Moslems of Surat, who knew better than I did. On 19th, the *Heusden* and the English *Dolphin* left the anchorage, and next day they sailed. The *Heusden* had Hendrick Adrianssen as senior factor and Jan Gilbertson Boon as master; the cargo was worth 97,000 guilders here in Surat. [The printed text adds: 'This was the first Dutch ship to sail for Holland from these parts'.]

February. On 6th, the English *Globe* sailed for Batavia; sent a letter by her to the Governor-General. On 16th, our caravan started for Burhānpur. On 19th, the *Vreede* and *Wesp* returned to Swally from Persia, having left all the goods in charge of the factor Mibasse at Gombroon. There was no sign of any Portuguese shipping. Under my orders, no instructions having been received from Visnicht, the senior factor, they brought large quantities of freight, and also Dominigh, brother of Anthonny's wife.¹⁰ On 20th, I went on board to arrange for discharging the cargo. On 24th, our caravan arrived from Ahmadābād, with 860 bales of indigo, cotton goods, etc. On 28th, the factor Adam Classen arrived with the caravan from Agra, 204 camels and 408 bales of Biāna indigo, cotton goods, drugs, etc.

March. On 1st, our goods from Agra, Ahmadābād, Cambay and Broach were all sealed [at the customhouse]. The same day a *farmān* came from the King to the effect 'that all the English,

9. See EF. ii *passim* for this affair.

10. Presumably Anthony Classen, mentioned above.

great and small, should be put in fetters until they restored all the goods belonging to the Moslems of Surat, Chaul and other places; further that they should then be chased out of the country'. In the afternoon the English house was surrounded, the inhabitants arrested, the goods inventoried and confiscated—also in Ahmadābād, Broach, and everywhere. On 12th, the *Vreede* sailed for Holland with cargo worth 125,000 guilders here, consisting of indigo and cotton goods—master, Jan Franssen, and Steersman, Jorst Janssen.

On 22nd, the English *William* and *Blessing* arrived from Persia. Immediately on hearing that their people were prisoners, they surrounded the three Moslem vessels which were ready to sail for the Red Sea; 'but when they saw the Prince's [i.e., Dutch] flags, which, at urgent request, I had sent with two men to each vessel, merely in order that business should not be hindered further, and also to show¹¹ that the false reports given out by the English at the time they seized the Moslem ships—they said that we were at one with them, and stood together with them, but the facts were now seen to be entirely different.' The same day, I sent the senior factor Francisco Pelsert with a caravan of spice for Agra, to take charge there as Chief, in place of Wouter Heuten, deceased. On 24th, I went on board the *Wesp* to despatch her. The English sent me a protest, which I answered next day to the best of my ability. On 25th, after despatching the *Wesp* I returned to Surat, partly in order to inform the Moslems of the English plans; when I did so, they were exceedingly surprised, the more so that President Rastell had already given them passes. They asked for a further pass, which was given to them without a seal. On 29th, the *Wesp* sailed for Batavia with a cargo of cotton goods worth more than 100,000 guilders. Learned that the Moslem ships had sailed on 27th, and that the English ships had moved from the river's mouth to Swally.

April. On 1st, I sent Adam Classen Verhussen to be factor in charge of the new factory at Ahmadābād and Cambay. On 27th, a Moslem ship of Surat left for Achin with a pass from the English. On 29th, the English *William* and *Blessing* left Swally, presumably for Batavia or the Coromandel Coast. In the afternoon, heard that the English generally were taken out of fetters, but still confined to their house.

11. The text is ungrammatical; the meaning is 'to show the falsity of the reports'.

May. On 3rd, the English President, along with his Council, was released, and sent to his house, which was still closely guarded, both inside and out.

June. On 10th and 11th, heavy rain fell, for the first time this year.

July. On 14th, the English regained their freedom, and their property.

August. On 19th, proceeded to inspect the factories at Broach, Ahmadābād, Cambay and Sarkhej, because my engagement was to expire this year,¹² and I required personal knowledge in order to give a satisfactory account to the Directors.

September. On 9th, I returned to Surat. On 11th, a Surat ship, the *Bigmy* [? *Begami*] arrived richly laden from Jidda. Heard that another ship, the *Romanny* [? *Rumni*], which had sailed from Dīū on account of the Moslems of Ahmadābād, Cambay and Surat, had reached Goa,¹³ rumoured to bring more than 2,500,000 rupees (of 24 stivers) in gold, silver and goods. There was general rejoicing at the news. On 12th, a *farmān* came from Khwāja Abul Hasan, the King's Secretary, ordering that all the English should be set free. On 15th, we heard that two 'Christian' ships were at anchor off the river. On 19th, Adrian Pallinch, senior factor of the *Dordrecht*, landed without orders,—surprising conduct, because disputes sometimes arise with the people on shore. The ship brought a rich cargo. On 23rd, I went on board. On reaching the strand, I saw that the other ship was the English *Blessing*, which had wintered off Cape Ras-al-hadd. They told us they had fought with four strong Portuguese galleons, and that the *William* had sailed for Batavia. On 25th, returned to Surat.

October. On 5th, the *New Bantam*, *South Holland*, and *Wesp* arrived from Batavia in company with the English *William*, bringing a rich cargo of spices and cash. Senior factor Harman [should be Albert] Becker was President of the Council, and carried the flag on the *South Holland* pending my orders. On 6th, I went on board to decide about the flag. On 18th, the English *Thomas* and *Eagle* arrived from England; Thomas Kerridge, formerly president here, was on board as factor. They had sailed under the command of John Weddell, on the *Royal James*, but the other ships had

12. He does not mention the fact that his engagement was extended.

13. Goa is probably a slip for Gōra or Gogo, the port for Cambay.

remained behind to search for the *Royal Anne*, which sailed fully laden from Batavia¹⁴ for England about a year ago, but near the Cape had been forced to make for the Comoro Islands, where she had broken from her anchors a few days before. On 24th, the two [English] pinnaces arrived; and on 27th, the *Royal James* and *Star*. The pinnacle *Eagle* was at once sent to search for the *Anne* along the coast.

November. On 6th, an Englishman was accidentally shot by the sentry over the Dutch tent at Swally. On 19th, went on board to despatch the ships for Persia. In the presence of Captain Brown [of the *William*] and the other English representative, I examined the man who had shot the Englishman; we found that no blame attached to anyone. On 14th, I appointed Harman [Albert] Becker to command the fleet on this voyage; and ordered the *South Holland* and *New Bantam* to leave the anchorage, in order that the Governor Ishāq Beg¹⁵ should come on board; he was procrastinating in the Moslem fashion, while awaiting his [?] caravan from the Deccan. On 15th, Ishāq Beg embarked with all his plunder on the *Dordrecht*, which I got ready for him. Next day this ship and the *Wesp* also left the anchorage; took a friendly leave of our people, and then of the English Commander, Weddell, who was very anxious to sail in our company, if we would wait for two days. Commander Becker asked me to see the Presidents in Surat about this, and find out if the delay was likely to be long; accordingly returned at once to Surat. On 17th I went to the English factory, and was promised an answer next day. On 18th, both the English Presidents [i.e., Rastell and Kerridge] undertook that their ships should sail on Friday. Gave orders to the fleet that, if the English did not sail on that day, they should proceed. On 22nd, all the leading merchants of the town came and besought me very earnestly to detain our ships for two days more for Ishāq Beg's goods, which would be put on board in the morning without fail; 'for very weighty reasons found it good to go on board and detain the ships'. On 23rd, I landed again, having seen that the English were preparing to sail with us, each under his own flag. On 26th, the fleet sailed for Ormuz. The Dutch ships were: *South Holland*,

14. See EF. iii, *passim*, for the misfortunes of the *Anne*.

15. Apparently this is the ex-Governor of Surat, who is mentioned frequently in EF. i, ii. The text says he was expecting his 'castle' from the Deccan; apparently the word is a slip for *Rāṣṭā*, i.e., caravan.

William Jacopssen Coster, master, and *Sebolt Wonderar*, senior factor, 46 guns: *New Bantam*, Dirck Classen, master, 44 guns: *Dordrecht*, Simon Janssen Kuyn, master 26 guns: *Wesp* [? Garch] Hyde, master, 22 guns: crews and ammunition according to the usual standards for our ships in India. The English were: *Royal James*, John Weddell, Commander: *Jonas*, master, *Clevenger: Star*, master, *Rowe: Eagle*, master, *Johnson*: also two sloops equipped pinnacle fashion, the *Look-out* and *Teck al* [sic: the actual names were *Scout* and *Spy*]... 'May God Almighty give them a prosperous voyage, and victory over their enemies'.

December. On 1st, the entire English fleet returned, bringing no letter from our ships. They said merely that our ships had parted from them off Damān, because they had to return with the *Eagle* and two prizes she had taken. On 7th, the six English ships put to sea, with what object I could not learn. They put 20 guns on one of the prizes; the other was lost when entering the river, and nothing was saved except 35 Arab horses. On 21st, received a letter from Francisco Pelsert at Agra, telling that 'Prince Sultān Khurram had been routed by his brother Sultān Parvīz and Mahābat Khān, with the loss of about 8000 men. Khurram had brought his elder brother's army to the point of flight, but one of his elephants, wounded in the leg by a musket ball, turned back owing to the pain, and threw his master's army into disorder, so that victory fell to the side of Parvīz. Khurram and his General Abdulla Khan escaped with about 2,000 men: the rest, including a son of the Khān Khānān and the children of other nobles, were promptly beheaded, and the heads set on stakes on the battlefield for a lasting memorial'.

The same day news came that a fleet of Portuguese frigates, of 90 sail,¹⁶ from Goa, Chaul, Dīū and other places, had reached Cambay with the following goods:—

From Goa, 36 vessels, containing 130 pieces ivory, two chests *ganla*, or scented goods, 38 chests (each 5 maunds) silk, two candles wax, 10 maunds white paint, one maund China-root, 10 pots Lisbon oil. From *Dabhol*, two vessels, containing 8893 pieces ivory, 18 chests amber, 10 chests cloves, 5 chests vermilion.

16. The details given account for only 46 vessels, and may be incomplete; but a certain number would be fighting frigates not carrying cargo. I have not traced the word *ganla*. The number of pieces of ivory from *Dabhol* is suspiciously large, and possibly one of the digits is superfluous.

From Chaul, eight vessels, containing 189 bales ivory, 88 large pieces [? of ivory], 33 chests (each 2½ maunds) tortoiseshell, 10 maunds *nakasser*,¹⁷ 103 bahārs tin, 143 pieces tin, two chests eagle-wood, 37 chests porcelain, one chest white damask, 10 pots honey, 26 bahārs sandalwood, 35 pipes wine, 10 chests alum, two bladders civet, 88 chests other goods called *fotsi* [or *totsi*]. 'Formerly, before our coming, these ships used to come three times a year, with more than 300 vessels in each fleet; but now they come only once, with so small a total and so little merchandise'.

On 28th, the *William* and *Blessing* returned to the roadstead, having cruised until they judged that the whole of the Portuguese forces had gone to Ormuz.

1625.

January. On 23rd, there was a sharp, but short, shower of rain,—a warning against carelessly leaving the Company's goods in the open air.

February. On 25th, 'a Thursday, when through God's blessing, I reached the age of forty', the caravan of 450 camels from Agra via Burhānpur, in charge of junior factor Cornelis Arentssen; it left Agra on 14th December, so that it took two months and 11 days, because the country was 'full of war'. It brought 600 bales Biāna indigo, 264 bales refined saltpetre, and 36 bales cotton goods and drugs. The same day the English *Blessing* and *William* sailed for England, with Thomas Rastell, the President, on board; the cargo was Sarkhej indigo, Malabar pepper (bought here at 16½ mähmūdīs the maund of 30½ Holland pounds), cotton goods, and a large quantity of cotton at 100 and 110 mähmūdīs the candy of 600 Holland pounds.

March. Between 1st and 10th, 15 Malabar vessels arrived here, bringing chiefly cocoanuts, coir ropes, opium [sic], etc. On 10th, the King's ship *Bigmy* [? *Begami*] was burnt; she had gone from Goga to Dīū to lade for Mocha. On 16th, heard that the Dutch and English fleets were off the river. On 17th, went on board, 'where I learned how valiantly our and the English fleets, after three days' fighting, had routed and put to flight the Portuguese armada¹⁸ of eight powerful great galleons and 18 frigates.

17. *Nakesar*, the flowers of *Acacia Farnesiana*, from which perfume was distilled. I do not recognise *fotsi* or *totsi*.

18. See EF. iii, Introduction, pp. xff. The word 'volunteers' points to the Portuguese practice of increasing the war fleet by vessels provided by

The Commander, Albert Becker, was killed by a large iron ball in the first onset, and was buried at Gombroon. One powerful Portuguese galleon, that of the volunteers of Goa, and elsewhere mounted 70 brass guns, and was vice-admiral. The Admiral¹⁹ on which Dom Nunis Botelho was Admiral, mounted 64 guns; the others accordingly. They came at our ships most valiantly, just two days before our fleets intended to sail: directly we were aware of them, we weighed our anchors, and in God's name went into the midst of the enemy. There was smart firing on both sides; the Portuguese were in such a hurry that they fired many shots without ball'. Our ships brought 412 bales of Persian silk, and an Ambassador from the King to the State [Holland] and the Prince of Orange; the ambassador had 100 bales of silk for his expenses. 'There was much shooting when I went on board, which was not very satisfactory, seeing how small was the supply of powder'. On 22nd, I went with Persian Ambassador to Surat. He was received with great honour by the leading men, and saluted from the castle; most people came half way to Swally to receive us. He was lodged in a large and fine house on the river. On 30th, I sent senior factor Hendrick Adrianssen Vapour, with a cassowary bird from Amboyna, on an embassy to the Emperor Jahāngīr to obtain a new *farmān*; he went with the caravan by way of Ahmadābād, at the urgent request of the Governor Safl Khān. The bird was much talked about; 'everybody wanted the honour of having it, in order to obtain the King's favour'. On 31st, the factor Jan Mibasse presented me with a Persian sheep with four horns.

April. On 5th, the English sent a small pinnace to Socotra, and on to the Comoros, to warn the ships from Europe of the Portuguese force. On 19th, I went on board to despatch the ships. On 20th, the English got news from Dīū that the *Anne* was off Mocha in great distress; thereupon they sent the *Jonas* to her assistance, and a factor to visit the Pacha, with what object I could not learn. Late in the evening President Kerridge warned me that the ship would sail early next day; he said his letters made no mention whatever of our people, which was hard to believe. On 21st and 22nd, was engaged in closing the books and preparing the invoice etc. In the evening the Persian Ambassador came on

19. Here the two meanings of the word 'admiral' occur in the same sentence; originally it meant the principal ship, not the officer in command.

board. On the *Dordrecht* I sent to the Directors of the Company a goat with one horn which Muqarrab Khān, the King's Treasurer, had sent me as a curiosity from Agra. On 23rd, the *Dordrecht* and *Wesp* sailed for Home with a rich cargo, along with the English *Star*; our Persian Ambassador was on the *Dordrecht*, and the English one on the *Star*. The *South Holland* and *New Bantam* also sailed with cargo for Batavia, along with the English *James*, *Eagle* and two frigates. On the flagship, *South Holland*, Sebolt Wonderar was senior factor, and Symon Janssen Kuyn, master. I appointed senior factor Constantyn Alleman to sail for home on the *Dordrecht*, accompanied by his wife Maria Gomes; Claes Peterssen Puynder was senior factor, and William Jacopssen Coster was master. On the *Wesp* Jarch Rynnierssen was senior factor, and Dirck Classen was master. On 28th, I sent the senior factors, Adam Classen to Ahmadābād, and Wollebrandt Gelynssen to Broach, to take charge of the Company's business at those places.

May. On 12th, all the Malabar vessels which had traded here were driven back by a great storm; the wind continued to blow strongly from the south-west, so they were compelled to winter here. On 25th, two Portuguese frigates from Balsar for Cambay were wrecked here; five were lost on one, and nobody was saved from the other. On 27th, 'at night, there was a furious hurricane in Surat; the wind blew from all points, and did great damage—trees uprooted, houses destroyed or unroofed,—so that the inhabitants said nothing like it had been seen before. The great Moslem ships in the river, though strongly moored, were driven on land high and dry. About 40 were killed in Surat and 25 in Broach. It was noteworthy that the storm did not extend beyond Broach'.

June. On 10th, heard that Malik Ambar, the Deccan General, had seized Dabhol. Seven Portuguese vessels which had sailed from Goa for Chinna²⁰ were driven back by bad weather off Cape Comorin; three reached Chaul in great distress, the others had not been heard of. On 28th, I received a letter from the Persian Ambassador at Golconda, begging me to supply two ships to carry the King's goods from Chaul to Ormuz, because he was in great fear of the Portuguese; gave him a suitable reply.

20. This may mean China, but it is doubtful if Goa was in a position to send so many ships there; the reference may be to some small place on the East Coast, where 'Chinna' forms part of the name of some minor ports.

September. (July and August blank). On 16th, heard that seven Portuguese galleons from Muskat had sailed for Bombay, to watch for the Dutch and English ships; but, since it was still too early in the season, they got what they deserved. First they were separated by a storm, and then one was driven ashore and lost near Damān, while the others had not yet been heard of. The wrecked ship had 55 guns, which I hear were subsequently recovered; many of the crew were lost in the boats or on rafts. On 17th, President Kerridge and I agreed to send some native craft to sea with letters to warn our ships against the Portuguese. On 21st, a Moslem ship arrived from Mocha; they had sighted no vessels near Damān. They said the English in Mocha had difficulties with the Turks, and consequently the Jonas and Anne were still there. On 23rd, heard that another Portuguese galleon had been wrecked off Bombay. Another Moslem ship arrived in safety. 'In the evening, there was a banyan boy having intercourse with a bitch openly in front of our door, and before that with a calf. Some boys do it, one after another, in broad day light, with she-asses, while the Moslems stand round and laugh. Our servants wanted to beat the boy for his misconduct, but his mother took that exceedingly ill, and abused them'.

On 27th, the Turkish Ambassador from the Pacha of Yemen in Arabia came to visit me; he brought a letter asking us, with many compliments, to resume trade and come to Mocha. Heard that Dabhol had been recovered by the craft of the ex-Governor Āga Raza. 'His wife had remained in the town with a handsome young daughter, because she had been born and bred there. Having got some of the inhabitants on her side, she made friends with the new Governor, and offered him her daughter in marriage, there being only *sondido*²¹ to give. The brute tried to be rather mean, but such a rich girl—[sic in MS.] It was agreed that after two days he should come to a certain place, a mosque (or temple), with only one or two attendants, to be married by a priest or Mullah after their fashion. Meanwhile this loose woman had [?] armed everyone;²² and as soon as the Governor came to be married, he was attacked and beheaded. Then, the alarm being given, she made herself master of the town with the help of the inhabitants and soldiers, with whom she had arranged—noteworthy as a valiant undertaking for a woman'. On 28th, the English

21. For this word see note under June, 1621.

22. This is the apparent meaning of a very obscure clause.

Jonas and Anne arrived along with the small pinnace which had been sent to the Comoro Islands, but had got no further than the Arabian coast.

October. On 2nd, heard that three Dutch ships from Mocha lay off the river. On 4th, went on board. The ships were the *Golden Lion* and *Heusden* from Amsterdam, and the *Walcheren* for account of Zeeland. Pieter Pieterssen was senior factor, and Jan Gilberssen master, on the *Golden Lion*; Anthonny Coettermans was senior factor, and Tuym Isbrantssen master, on the *Heusden*; Gerret de Jager was factor, and Sent Symonssen master (replacing Panckras deceased), on the *Walcheren*. The cargo was over 650,000 guilders, chiefly in gold and gold ducats, also rix dollars, reals-of-eight, and Holland dollars, with little merchandise. On [a blot, ? 13th,] four Portuguese galleons with some frigates and a Moslem ship arrived off the river prepared for war. I at once warned our ships, and decided to land all the money for safety. In the afternoon heard the almost incredible news that six more galleons from Goa were off Chaul; four of them were newly arrived from Portugal, the other two had been in last year's battle, and had been sent to Goa to refit. The English President sent two factors to ask for help for the *Anne*; I at once gave them an order on the ships for 25 barrels of gunpowder and 25 men. On 14th, 'when the galleons with 13 frigates were off the anchorage, Jacob Mahieussen and Jan Mibasse, bringing all the gold and ducats to Surat, met on the road nine or ten Portuguese armed with muskets. If the Portuguese had been braver, they could have got the rich booty of over 200,000 guilders in gold from our two men, who were unarmed, especially as their frigate was close by in the river, only three musket shots away—undoubtedly a great bit of luck for our Company. In the evening, I sent the factor Wollebrant with some other factors in Moslem dress, and 25 horsemen, to the waterside to guard the rest of the treasure'. On 15th, 16th and 17th, the Portuguese were trying to enter the anchorage. I sent the factors with some Moslem soldiers to the waterside in case of need. In the afternoon heard that three ships were off Navsari. The Portuguese had left anchorage, presumably to join their three other ships, which were said to have come from Goa. 'The Portuguese Admiral, Don Nunez Botelho, sent an envoy to the Governor of the Surat fort with a letter addressed to the Commanders of the English and Dutch ships, saying that if they would leave the anchorage, he would allow them to do so in safety; otherwise, he requested that the Governor would [a blot; ? drive]

us out, and allow us no provisions'. Heard that at midday President Kerridge with his Council had boarded the Dutch ships to discuss whether they should pursue the Portuguese or not; our people replied they could decide nothing without my orders.

On 19th, people from Navsari said that three ships—either Dutch or English—had fought vigorously with the four Portuguese galleons, and then put to sea. President Kerridge came with his Council to visit us: agreed to go on board at once, and send the ships to help those three vessels. On 20th, the ships started to cruise to Bombay or Sanjan. The same day news came from the Mogul Court that an Ambassador had been sent by Shāh Abbās, King of Persia; 'hearing this, the Mogul gave orders that he should halt at Kābul until summoned. The Ambassador, notwithstanding the King's prohibition, sent his cousin to the court with a few trifles that were acceptable to the Mogul, who enquired after the health of his brother Shāh Abbās. The other replied that, thank God, he was perfectly well, but he asks your Majesty for three fortresses, namely Tatta, Bakkar and Multān. On this the King was so angered that he had the ambassador's cousin beaten with shoes so terribly that he had to be dragged out for dead'.

November. On 3rd, our three ships returned with the two English ships and the *Royal James*, having heard nothing of the enemy. On 4th, I went on board to try and arrange another cruise to Bombay, where I understood the Portuguese galleons were lying, because I learned that the *New Bantam* and *Good Fortune*, with the English *Bear*, had sailed from Bantam in company with the *James*, very weak in crews, powder and water: failed to arrange this. On 6th, these three ships, under Frederick Kitssiens,²³ reached the anchorage in safety; they had sighted the galleons to leeward near Bombay, but offered the excuse [for not fighting] that they had no water. On 14th, the English beached the *Anne* because she was leaking so much; she was refloated next day with the help of our carpenters. On 17th, I went to the English factory; it was decided that the ships for Persia should sail on 25th instant. The question of making a binding agreement was postponed. On 22nd, all the Moslems of the town met regarding the capture by Kitssiens of their Malabar vessel, containing their goods from Cambay, which had been brought into the customhouse. The vessel was first captured by the English *James*,

23. Spelt Kistgens in E.A. iii.

and was then abandoned by her crew; this was the reason that Kitssiens burnt her. On 29th, despatched the ships for Persia, having taken on board all the freight-goods which were at the water-side. On 30th the English pinnace *Falcon* arrived. She had sailed with the other ships from England, but near the Comoro Islands had been driven by storms to Cape Comorin, whence she had to coast. Near Goa she took a Portuguese vessel laden with cables for the galleons—'which came exceedingly handy'.

December. On 4th, the ships sailed for Ormuz, viz, *Good Fortune*, *New Bantam*, *Golden Lion*, *Walcheren*, *Bear*, and *Heusden*, and the English *James*, *Jonas*, *Anne*, *Falcon*; in all ten ships, well furnished with men, ammunition, etc.

(To be continued).

Half a Century of the Maratha Navy

(Calcutta University Readership Lectures.)

BY

SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A., PH.D., B. LITT.

LECTURE III.

Kanhoji Angria—1698—1729.

By the treaty or convention of 1713 Angria was obliged to let all ships belonging to Bombay, Madras, Bengal and the subordinate British settlements sail freely but the Bombay authorities also undertook to prevent any improper use of their flag by alien vessels. In 1717 Kanhoji's officers seized the *Success* a boat freighted by Gobardhandas, the Company's broker at Bombay. The vessel sailed under British colours and Boone demanded restitution. Angria, however, protested that the owner of the captured ship was not a British subject and the vessel, therefore, was not entitled to any immunity under the existing treaty. Without admitting the validity of this argument Boone permitted the broker to try private persuasion and a ransom was offered for the ship and its cargo. Kanhoji at first rejected the offer but afterwards agreed to make a gift of the ship as a token of friendship in consideration of a present of ten horses and a loan of twenty thousand rupees. Accordingly the *Success* was delivered to a captain and two gallivats sent for the purpose but as Kanhoji retained the masts and guns Boone refused to make the stipulated present and Angria's agent returned disappointed. Naturally Kanhoji considered that he had been deliberately deceived and Boone protested that the agreement had not been loyally carried out by the other party. This did not ease the strained relations and matters came to a head next year.

Early in 1718 Kanhoji carried the Company's Surat boat into Kolaba and took out its cargo of timber. He was palpably in the wrong and his defence is weak and halting. He did indeed plead a previous understanding about the subject but the fact remains that he had appropriated British property without their consent. The English however decided to temporise and the council resolved that "on consideration that we are not in a very good condition, being so bare of ammunition, soldiers and seamen

to perform anything with our arms, it is agreed that the President expostulate the affair with him by letter, and endeavour by that means to bring him to reason and prevent if possible such insults for the future." It was on the 3rd of January that the Council had come to this decision, it again met nineteen days later to consider a fresh aggression on the part of Angria.

The *Robert*, a country boat, freighted by Mr. St. John Bennet was on its way from Tellichery to Bombay when it was seized by Kanhoji and carried into one of his ports. On the fifth of January the master of the ship sent intimation of his misfortune to the Bombay authorities from Vijayadurg, where apparently he and his colleagues were held prisoners. Mr. Boone and his fellow-councillors were still unprepared to strike and "it was unanimously agreed as the posture of our affairs at this juncture are so indifferent, that Santipee Sinay, a Purvoo of the Rt. Hon'ble Company's and an experienced man in the affairs of the country Government be sent down to him with the Governor's letter and that Capt. Henry Cornwall who is already at one of his ports about the ship Success have instructions given him to expostulate this action with Angria. Captain Cornwall's expostulations were of no avail and Kanhoji refused to deliver the ship *Robert* as it was the property of a Moor. He added "that the ships belonging to Bombay, Bengal or Madras shall not be molested by him but that if the English will freight on country shipping they must expect that he will make prize of them". Captain Cornwall informed the Council that Angria "uses the English prisoners very inhumanely by continually beating them with large bamboo to extort a confession that the said ship and goods belong to a Moor". The Council, therefore, decided to make a fresh effort to get the English prisoners released through the mediation of Ramji Kamathi, an influential Brahman trader of Bombay with whom Kanhoji had considerable financial transaction, without in any way committing the Government.

The capture of the *Robert* was followed by that of a Bengal ship, the *Otter*, Captain Dixon, and on the 5th April, 1718 the Bombay Council decided to break with Kanhoji. War was not formally declared but retaliatory measures were promptly taken. An agent of Kanhoji was trying to persuade the merchants of Surat to purchase his master's pass. The English Chief of Surat was requested to thwart his efforts; a trading Shibar, Khandarav by name, belonging to one Trimbakji Meggi, a subject of Kanhoji's was seized at Mahim and it was now Kanhoji's turn to protest. Nor was this the only grievance he had against the English. In a letter, dated the 27th April, Angria made an elaborate defence of

his own conduct and complained that the English had on two occasions at least acted in direct contravention of the treaty. "And as to what relates to this matter further," wrote he, "if we discourse of differences, Ujain Tindall was a servant here and with leave went to his house and is not returned, remaining there, and Antonio D'Mell, Portuguese, went also to Bombay to marry and was entertained in Your service. About these two I wrote five or seven times, yet nothing was effected; and seeing You thus wanting in the Treaty, I left off writing. What guns and powder I want Your Excellency is obliged (by the Treaty) to furnish me with on my paying for them, and when my occasions required them. I wrote to You, but You excused Yourself till the Europe ships should arrive. I now well understand that the friendship of the English proceeds from necessity and is dissembled, which is far from being pleasing to me."

It is not possible at this distance of time to adjudicate about the justice or otherwise of these charges and counter-charges, particularly as our information is practically one sided. Kanhoji's complaint about munition must be dismissed as unfounded as the English had definitely declined any such undertaking when the treaty was concluded. About the sailors Boone retorted that one was an inhabitant of Bombay and the other a Portuguese subject and they were at liberty to give up their employment if they found it irksome. Without further details about the subject it is difficult to say whether Boone's defence was as sound as plausible, for such cases were definitely contemplated by one of the articles of the convention of 1713. It appears that Kanhoji was wrong in keeping the cargo of the *Yacht* and the *ketch* after promising to restore the goods. But the case of the *Success*, the *Robert* and the *Otter* is not so clear. Kanhoji contented that alien ships hired or laden by the English were not entitled to his protection under the treaty and if this practice was permitted no native trader need buy his pass in future. Boone however argued—"Let the bottom be whose it will, the money lent on it is worth more than the ship." But the English had undertaken to "permit no ships or vessels whatever to wear English colours, but what belong to the subjects of English nation" and the three captured ships were apparently not owned by British subjects. But the unrestored cargo and the captured vessels afforded only the immediate excuse for war. The prosperity of Bombay and the future of British commerce depended largely if not solely on British ascendancy in Indian waters and it would be an idle dream so long as Kanhoji commanded the entrance of the Bombay harbour. The conflict was bound to take place sooner or later and Boone had been preparing himself for

the coming contest since his arrival at Bombay. Had he not been engaged in petty wars with two other chiefs of the coast, the Raja of Karwar and the ruler of Sawant Wari, the war would in all probability have broken out much earlier.

Long as the preparation had been the English fleet, as the sequel proved, was no match for Angria's armada. For one thing Bombay was not very well provided with naval experts and the command was often conferred on civilians who had no experience of the sea. The crew consisted mainly of lawless elements and discipline was not easy to maintain. Kanhoji enlisted his officers from all nationalities. Several Dutchmen had entered his service and if Clement Downing is to be credited some of the most notorious European pirates of the time willingly sought his employment. The exploits of the newly organised Bombay fleet under Weekes at Rairi and under Hamilton at Karwar had not certainly improved the morale of the crew, while the sailors of Kolaba had given a very good account of themselves in the late war against the Portuguese. Boone therefore wisely sought an ally against his formidable adversary. The most obvious person to be approached was Sambhaji of Kolhapur. Whether any alliance was actually proposed we do not know but as early as the 18th June the President suggested to Mr. George Taylor, Chief of Karwar, that he should inform Sambhaji that the English had no design against His Highness and they were prepared to lay down their arms as soon as the fortresses formerly belonging to the Raja of Kolhapur were restored to him. Technically the Portuguese were still at war with the chief of Kolaba and even in 1718 Kanhoji's fleet had engaged two Portuguese pals near Anjidiva. The two European nations could therefore be expected to make a common cause against their Indian enemy and Charles Boone proposed an alliance with the Government of Goa in June of that year. Although some specific terms were suggested in October by the General of the North, it does not appear that the Viceroy treated the matter seriously. Conde de Ericeira suspected the sincerity of the English and believed that they had helped Angria with arms and ammunition in his war against the Portuguese. Moreover he did not believe that Bombay possessed sufficient force for prolonged war and the alliance did not materialise until a new Viceroy Francisco Jose de Sampaio e Castro took charge of the Portuguese affairs in India.

Meanwhile war had been formally declared on the 17th June and the inhabitants of Bombay were strictly ordered "to forbear and desist from all manner of trade or dealings with Caernojee Angria or his people whether directly or indirectly." But hostilities had actually commenced six weeks earlier. Early in April Kan-

hoji had warned the Governor of Bombay that peace was at an end and his people would no longer be permitted free access to Angria's lands. He wrote. "By the power of our friendship on both sides trade has continued free, but now that is ceased the other is (*sic*), and as your people used to come into the rivers of my country, I will not consent to the same; therefore it is convenient that you give the information that no Galevat or person of Bombay enter or come into said rivers, for in case they do and have this advice, their lives are forfeited, for I will not dissemble. neither would I issue out this order without writing to Your Excellency, that no ill might happen to the innocent people who are the servants of God; for this reason it would be proper you should give them notice, and if not, you'll find my orders and Government will be to this purpose." Kanhoji was as good as his words and on the 7th of May Bombay learnt that he had carried out his threat and seized those Bombay boats that had ventured into his rivers in quest of wood. The Bombay fleet consisting of about twenty Gallivats were immediately despatched to the place of occurrence to retake the boats if possible, "to repel force by force if they were attacked" and to plunder Kanhoji's country if practicable. Thus began the war that continued without any break for three decades and eight years.

The English began their operations with desultory raids on the enemy's coast. These made but little impression as landing could not be always effected. In May and June the English squadron had apparently achieved some success having pillaged one of Angria's towns and brought a few prisoners. But an expedition sent under Captain Jonathan Stanton in July to fortify a small island in the neighbourhood of Bombay proved unsuccessful. The Captain attributed his failure to the cowardice of his men who refused to attempt a landing after experiencing one reverse only. In September is recorded an unimportant skirmish in which the English lost their head Subedar and about sixteen men, the enemy's loss was supposed to be more considerable. In October the people from the Bombay Gallivats landed at Colgaum and fought an action near the fort. The next month Boone himself assumed the chief command and an attempt was made to dislodge Angria's men from the strategical stronghold of Khanderi. The fleet under him was fairly strong. "It consisted of the *Addison* and *Dartmouth*, East India men, the *Victoria* frigate, the *Revenge* and *Defiance* grabs, the *Fame* galley, the *Hunter* ketch, two bombketches, and fortyeight gallivats". The Governor hoisted his flag on the *Addison* on the first of November and the squadron left for its destination the next day. Shortly afterwards

it was joined by the *Morrice* and the *Stanhope*, another East India man. Formidable as the fleet looked on paper the morale of the crew was not at its best and Boone was hardly competent to command an expedition of this character. According to Clement Downing, who served on this occasion, and Captain Alexander Hamilton, Boone counted a good deal on the local knowledge of Manuel de Castro, a Portuguese deserter from Kanhoji's fleet. After ineffectually bombarding the fort it was decided to land the sepoys and mariners simultaneously at two different parts of the island but the sepoys refused to land and the soldiers and mariners were repulsed by the garrison. Promise of pension and reward procured some forty volunteers but their gallant assault met with no better success. Angria's ships kept Khanderi well supplied with provision and powder and Boone perceived the futility of persisting in his attempt. He returned to Bombay after ineffectually bombarding Kolaba. The failure of this cherished project caused no little disappointment, and as is usual, failure was attributed to treachery. Manuel de Castro was banished to St. Helena and Ramji Kamathi, an influential Brahman of Bombay, was condemned to life long imprisonment. It is doubtful whether the Portuguese was guilty of a secret understanding with his former employer but it has been definitely established that the Brahman was unjustly punished, the incriminating letter having been proved a forgery.

Foiled at Kolaba and Khanderi, Boone sent the English fleet southward with the project of burning Kanhoji's *ghurabs* in the harbour of Gheria. But Kanhoji's good luck still prevailed, and while four of Angria's prizes were captured by the English fleet, it did not return unscathed, having lost a fireship which was blown up by the fire of an Angrian *Ghurab*.

These operations hardly affected the naval supremacy of Angria, for in January, 1719, his fleet boldly appeared before Bombay and the *Morrice* had to postpone its homeward journey no less than three times in fear of Kanhoji's *Ghurabs*.

But while everything was going in his favour Kanhoji suddenly sued for peace through his overlord Shahu. His envoy visited Bombay and after several discourses with Boone agreed upon certain preliminary articles which were entirely to the satisfaction of the Bombay council. According to Colonel Biddulph "Angria contracted to restore all ships and vessels he had taken, except the *Success*, which was hopelessly decayed, for which he was to pay Rs. 10,000, or to restore goods to that amount. In lieu of captured cargoes he was to pay Rs. 50,000, or to give goods of equal value, and within two years he was to pay Rs. 10,000 more,

for which payment Sahooje undertook to be surety". Angria's envoy further promised to deliver the English prisoners as a token of sincerity. This opportunity of bringing the war to an honourable conclusion was warmly welcomed by the Bombay Council and they sent Captain John Miles to Angria's headquarters with a letter from the Governor to bring back the prisoners. Kanhoji had apparently risen in the estimation of his English neighbours since the last treaty, for it was not suggested for a moment that Captain Miles was being employed on a perilous mission. He returned from Kolaba on the 12th of February without the prisoners and brought only an answer to Boone's letter. Kanhoji wrote that the prisoners were at Vijayadurg and would be sent to Bombay as soon as they arrived in company of his envoy Sivaji Vishwanath. As for the preliminary articles, he intimated his correspondent that he had some objections, but did not explain them. He was informed that the President was prepared to discuss the terms with Shivaji Vishwanath when he comes with the English men, provided he is furnished with requisite authority. Things looked bright and Boone informed his masters that peace was in sight. Kanhoji's fleet and army had not yet met with any serious reverse but the terms were such as a victor alone could dictate to a vanquished foe. That Kanhoji suddenly backed out and negotiations were abruptly terminated need not surprise us. The question is why did he solicit peace at all? Very likely he had received some information about the proposed Anglo-Portuguese alliance. Kanhoji was no coward but he always preferred to fight one enemy at a time. It was probably on this account that he attempted an amicable settlement with the English but the terms were not to his liking. If he was to compensate the English for the captured vessels he need not have gone to war with them at all. It is also possible that by the middle of February he had received reassuring news from Goa and learnt with satisfaction that the Viceroy was not anxious to make a common cause with the English Governor. His relations with the ruler of Sawantwari were not always friendly but neither Khem Savant nor his successor Phond Savant was a match for Kanhoji.

1719 was a year of comparative peace for Kanhoji. The English fleet apparently confined itself to defensive measures alone. The Portuguese were inactive, if watchful, and the contemporary records mention no naval action or demonstration of any importance. But it was a lull in the storm which broke out with fresh fury and renewed force next year. In 1720 Kanhoji had to face three powerful enemies. It was lucky for him that they had no common plan and made no combined efforts.

Conde de Ericeira was a man of uncommon ability. He combined unflinching resolution with rare resourcefulness. Unwilling as he was to make an alliance with his neighbours of Bombay he was not blind to the dangers of Angria's aggrandisement, he therefore made two attempts to curb Kanhoji's power by destroying his fleet if possible. His first efforts were directed against Kolaba and the task of surprising that important station was entrusted to Antonio Cardim Froes who had commanded the Portuguese blockading fleet in 1713. Kanhoji might have many shortcomings but lack of vigilance was not one of them, and the Portuguese Captain-Mor had to return disappointed. The second scheme was directed against Angria's men-of-war at Gheria. It was his intention to burn or destroy them, or better still, to seize the unsuspecting vessels if possible and bring them by force to Goa. How this was to be effected we are not told, but the Viceroy complains that this well conceived plan was frustrated, though unintentionally, by the English. They appeared before Gheria without giving him any warning whatever and the enemy fleet promptly put to the sea in alarm. The fugitives were pursued for forty eight hours but without any effect.

This must have happened in the third week of September when the English squadron consisting of "the *London*, the *Victory* frigate, the *Revenge* and *Defiance* grabs, the *Hunter* Galley, two gallivats, a bombketch, and a fire ship, besides a number of fishing boats for landing troops was sent against Gheria. The fleet was later reinforced by the *Chandos*, *Pelham* and the *Phram*. The *Phram* was not an ordinary man-of-war but a flat bottomed vessel with shot proof sides designed to serve as a floating battery. It had been specially constructed for bombarding Angria's strongholds and great things were expected of it. The chief command was entrusted to Walter Brown, a civilian, with the grandiloquent designation of "Admiral of the Fleet, and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces". Boone was particularly unfortunate in the choice of his commanders and Brown proved no exception. The English fleet stood before Gheria for more than a week, the fort was ineffectively bombarded at intervals, landing was on more than one occasion effected but the storming parties were invariably repulsed and at last Brown weighed anchor to repair the damages his ships had suffered. Nothing but a demonstration had in reality been made and the demonstration, judged from its results, was a very poor one. Carefully organised as the expedition had been, it was doomed to failure from the very beginning. There was no discipline in the English fleet, the sailors and their officers behaved as they pleased, some of the captains were evidently chicken

hearted, and Brown found in alcohol the sole remedy of all evils, moral and physical. "In order to make them fight well. Brown's idea was to supply them with unlimited rum: the officers kept pace with the men in their libations, and what little discipline existed soon disappeared. Orders were disobeyed, while drunkenness, violence, and insubordination reigned unchecked. When remonstrances were addressed to Brown, he refused to stop the supply of liquor, saying that the people must not be put out of humour at this juncture, and they must drink as they pleased". They drank to their heart's content and caused nothing but continual disturbances.

In October, Brown obtained an opportunity of making some amends for his failure at Gheria. Phond Savant II of Savant Wari offered to co-operate with the English against Angria and invited them to send an expedition against Devgad. The Savant had a legitimate grievance against Angria for extending his protection to the dispossessed Desais of Kudal, and Kanhoji had offered a more serious affront to the ruler of Wari when he burnt his ships and harried his lands. We learn from Hamilton that the Savant "had two Grabs aspiring at sea, but in a dispute about a prize which Cannajee Angarie laid claim to him in power, first took his grabs and burnt them, and then landed at Vingurla, and burnt and destroyed the villages near the town." It was to avenge this wrong that the Savant had solicited English help but when the fleet appeared before Devgad, Brown perceived that his new ally had changed his mind and was in no hurry to aggravate his differences with his dreaded neighbour. The second venture of Admiral Brown was no more successful than the first. "The usual desultory and harmless bombardment followed; the *Phram* and the bombketch being equally inefficient. Then when Brown suggested a landing party to storm the place, the officers refused to second him, and so, with some additional loss, the attack on Deoghur came to an end".

Kanhoji could very well congratulate himself on the achievements of the year. While the English fleet under Brown failed in its main objective in September and October, his men had captured an English ship earlier in the year and carried it into his port of Gheria.

The failures of 1720 convinced the English and the Portuguese of the futility of disconcerted action against an adversary so formidable and resourceful and the two European nations were constrained to recognise the need of joint action. But they were not on the best of terms at the time being. Boone had expelled the

Portuguese priests from Bombay and nominated a Bishop of his own choice to look after the spiritual welfare of the Roman Catholic population. Luiz Gonsalves da Camara Coutinho, General of the North, considered this to be an infringement of the treaty of cession and retaliated by prohibiting all commerce with the English island. But common misfortunes had a sobering influence, and before he left India in September, Conde de Ericeira addressed a conciliatory letter to the Governor of Bombay. In December Robert Cowan was sent to Goa to negotiate an offensive and defensive alliance against Angria. He found the new Viceroy Francisco Jose de Sampaio de Castro in an accommodating mood and assured him that the English would "readily enter into measures as might enable both nations to chastise the common enemy Angria who not only interrupted our commerce by sea but daily insulted the King of Portugalls subjects by land." The Viceroy on his part answered that "he noways approved of the General of the North's transactions, that he was very willing and ready to enter into any just measures, and desire nothing more than to joyn us (the English) against Angria." Thus was good feeling restored and good understanding re-established and the diplomatic efforts of Robert Cowan was rewarded with a formal treaty of alliance.

Anxious as both the parties were to come to a speedy conclusion the negotiation dragged on for eight months and the treaty was not concluded till the 20th of August. Of its fourteen articles the first provided for an immediate war against Angria and the two signatories undertook not to conclude any peace in exclusion of the other. The third article laid down that the joint force should be commanded on alternate days by the generals of the two nations. The spoils of war including munitions were to be equally shared and each nation was expected to bring to the field an army of two thousand infantry with officers and cavalry in proportion. In the sea their respective quota was to consist of five men-of-war, and as such a formidable force was expected to reduce all the forts and strongholds of Angria it was decided that Kolaba with the villages under its jurisdiction should fall to the share of the Portuguese while Gheria and the adjacent district should form the English share of the conquered lands. In recognition of his services Cowan was awarded a seat on the Bombay Council, and when the expedition set out three months later he was nominated the generalissimo of the expeditionary force.

Boone cannot be blamed for his sanguine expectations, for, shortly after the conclusion of the treaty Bombay received a fresh accession of strength. While Cowan was negotiating the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, a strong squadron consisting "of the *Lyon*, 50

guns; *Salisbury*, 40 guns; *Exeter*, 50 guns; and *Shoreham*, 20 guns" sailed for the east under Commodore Thomas Matthews. Irascible, over bearing and insolent as he was, Mathews had served under Byng and had a creditable record in the royal navy. Great things were, therefore, expected of him and Bombay was naturally jubilant.

But Kanhoji could not be caught unawares. The Anglo-Portuguese alliance was no secret to him. By some means unknown to his enemies he had got an inkling of what was going on even before the treaty had been concluded and as he preferred diplomacy to armed conflict he addressed a letter to the Captain of the Province of the North on the 7th August proposing an amicable settlement of the existing dispute. His friendly approaches were however sternly repulsed and Kanhoji made suitable provisions for the defence of his ports and further provided for his security by ensuring the support of his sovereign and liege lord and enlisting the alliance of the Malwans as the sequel proved. On the 29th November the English force left for Chaul where they joined the Portuguese army on the 1st December. But when the joint force arrived before Alibag they found Kanhoji fully prepared.

The allied army numbered more than five thousand but its strength was more apparent than real. Cowan was no soldier and the improvised Colonels and Captains did not contribute to the efficiency of the English force. Matthews was more proud than prudent and he had no previous experience of Indian warfare. His officers were hardly amenable to discipline and drinking and duels formed the order of the day. The morale of the Bombay force was not at its highest and they were not accustomed to expect any success against Angria. The Portuguese army mainly consisted of adventurers and half castes, and their commanders were as sensitive about their dignity as Mathews was insolent and overbearing. The ill assorted allies had very little chance against the veterans of Kolaba and the campaign did not last more than a month.

On the 12th, Alibag was bombarded. Two days later the allies tried to storm the fortress but the wall was too high to be escalated, no breach was effected and the assailants were repulsed. The defeated force was soon put to rout and to make matters worse Matthews 'came on shore in a violent rage, flew at the General of the North, and thrust his cane in his mouth, and treated the Viceroy not much better'. It was lucky for the demoralised party that it was not pursued by the Marathas. Kanhoji had already

received a reinforcement under Pilaji Jadhava and information now reached the allied camp that Baji Rao was in the neighbourhood with a strong force of Maratha cavalry. While the allied plans were thus upset on the land, they fared no better on the sea. Kanhoji's Captains captured a Portuguese boat from Diu and "the Malwans strove to make a diversion in Angria's favour by attacking English ships under the pretence that they were Portuguese vessels." The Viceroy decided to give up the contest and availed himself of the earliest opportunity of concluding a peace.

The Viceroy however had one small difficulty. An article of the recent alliance specifically required him not to conclude any treaty with Angria in exclusion of his English allies. But a loop hole was easily discovered. The Portuguese Government did not treat with Kanhoji but with Baji Rao, and they entered into a treaty with Shahu Chhatrapati in which his servant Angria was also included. By this treaty the ports of the two states were thrown open to the merchants of the two contracting nations, the Portuguese undertook to supply the Marathas with artillery and ammunition at a just price, both the parties undertook to set the prisoners of war at liberty. As the Kolaba fleet was still on the high sea it was stipulated that any Portuguese vessel that it might capture in the meantime would be restored with its cargo to its rightful owners on the return of the armada. And a defensive and offensive alliance was concluded between the two powers. The English were given the option of accepting similar terms within eight days.

The treaty was concluded on the 12th Januray, 1722, and the English openly accused the Portuguese of breach of faith. Kanhoji was now free to deal with the English as he pleased and a report came from Karwar of an action between two British vessels, *Victoria* and *Revenge*, and four of Angria's Ghurabs. Kanhoji's vessels suffered a defeat but safely effected their escape. Next month, however, the tables were turned. On the 27th of February Kanhoji's men engaged two English men-of-war, the *Eagle* and the *Hunter*. After five hours fighting the *Hunter* blew up and went down. The *Eagle* was badly battered but succeeded in reaching a small Portuguese port near Bassein. This apparently caused a terrible consternation for on the 12th March—"a letter was received from the Captain of the *Revenge* (at Rajapore) that he did not dare to procede without reinforcement with the merchant ships under his convoy as he was informed that Angria's Grabbs were at Colaba." The *Eagle* and the *Bombay Merchant* also deemed it prudent not to forsake their safe asylum

at Shirgaon until they were informed that the enemy fleet had gone south. The success of Kanhoji was by no means uniform, for one of his ships was captured by the English near Underi in October of the same year. It was to avenge this loss that he left Kolaba in person to assume the chief command of his fleet, his declared intention being the total annihilation of the English, if a contemporary Portuguese account is to be believed. But he achieved nothing noteworthy, and on the fifth November his fleet suffered another defeat near Versova when his chief Subedar was captured with his flag ship. Nothing daunted, the Kolaba fleet kept the sea and succeeded in causing no small injury to the commerce of Bombay. On the 20th of October 1723 twelve of Angria's Gallivats appeared before Bombay harbour and attacked two English cruisers "who went convoy to two small vessels belonging to the Island bound for Muscat and after some hours fight took them all." Thus the duel went on with varying success, and the belligerents were apparently resolved to fight to a finish. But in 1724 Kanhoji suddenly addressed a letter to William Phipps, who had succeeded Boone as Governor of Bombay two years earlier, with proposals of peace to be preceded by an exchange of prisoners. A contemporary Portuguese author suggests that this sudden predilection for peace must be attributed to Kanhoji's anxiety to procure the release of his chief Admiral, Shivaji Nayak, who had been taken prisoner by the English near Cape Ramas. But there is reason to believe that more serious reasons led the astute chief of Kolaba to secure a temporary truce with the English if permanent peace was not possible.

In 1723 the chief of Savant Wari took the opportunity of Kanhoji's absence at the court of Shahu and invaded his territories. The invasion was easily repulsed by Angria's officers. The defeated chief sought the support of his Portuguese neighbours, and although all assistance was publicly refused, secret help was promised to avert the imminent ruin with which he was threatened. The Portuguese naturally disliked the near approach of Angria to their headquarters and preferred a weaker neighbour. In 1724 Kolaba was attacked by a third European power, the Dutch. The invasion proved ineffective, but it must have added to Angria's embarrassment. In 1725 the Sidi of Rajpuri appeared before Kolaba with twelve Palls, two frigates and no less than one hundred gallivats. That Angria preferred to pay the Sidi "a good sum of Rupias", instead of opening his artillery on the hostile armada, proves beyond doubt that Kanhoji was confronted with more serious troubles than we are aware of, and he hastened to compose his differences with the English the most persistent and

powerful of his enemies. Phipps, however, did not receive his friendly approaches with a good grace and his answer was full of bitter sarcasm. In a contest of retorts Kanhoji was hard to beat and Phipps did not come out very well of the wordy conflict. Ultimately it was decided that the prisoners of war should be exchanged at a neutral place. The place selected was Karanja, which then belonged to the Portuguese, and the intermediary selected on this occasion by Kanhoji was Mr. Curgenven, a private merchant of Madras. He fell into Angria's hands when his ship *Charlottle* was captured on the 2nd of April 1720, while sailing southwards from Surat. He was kept a prisoner at Gheria till March 1724, when he was removed to Kolaba. Nine months later he was permitted to ransom himself and a few of his fellow prisoners on condition that he should convey the proposal of a mutual exchange of prisoners to the Governor and Council of Bombay, Kanhoji having promised to return his ransom when his mission was achieved. Curgenven found no difficulty in convincing Phipps and his colleagues of Kanhoji's sincerity and by the end of April, 1725, the exchange was effected. Of 12,500 rupees that Angria had received from Mr. Curgenven 10,500 were paid on this occasion and a change of prisoners was, however, not followed by peace, and Angria's fleet remained a standing menace to the merchant men of Bombay. In November, 1726, Phipps informed the Council "that Angria since opening of the season having taken heart to cruise with his gallivats to the northward of us, which the Portuguese suffer without interruption, giving his boats the usual protection of their ports where by he has already had considerable success in taking divers vessels bound hither, as well as to the Portuguese ports that the unexpected repair the Galleys have stood in need of and the small number of gallivats in the service has put it out of our power hitherto to secure the coast from his insults." The next month, "it was decided to purchase the *Fame* which belonged to the President" "as the English fleet was not strong enough to protect the trade in the coast" and as defensive measure now demanded heavier expenses a new tax was imposed" on the boats directly employed from the island for trading". In 1727 hostilities between Angria and the Sidi broke out afresh and early in January 1728 Angria again opened negotiations for peace with the English. Phipps however would not hear of any terms except the total restitution of all captured ships and their cargoes and the peace parleys came to nought. Next year the Angria fleet took to sea with the opening of the fair season and on the 16th January Bombay perceived fifteen Gallivats proceeding northwards. On the 17th

seven of Angria's gallivats fell upon an English vessel the *Shark* almost within sight of Bombay and carried it triumphantly to Khanderi, whence it was later transferred to Kolaba. This was probably the last notable achievement of the Kolaba fleet during the life time of Kanhoji, for he passed away in the plenitude of power and prestige on the 20th June 1729.

Kanhoji can rightly claim to be the second founder of the Maratha navy. From a very small beginning he rose to be the foremost maritime leader of the Malabar coast. It is idle to condemn him as a pirate, he merely pursued the prevalent practice of his time. Nor can he be justly accused of treachery and faithlessness. His attitude towards alien ships bearing English flags was not technically incorrect. The English were specifically precluded from extending their protection to foreign ships and in February 1715 when a small ship belonging to two Muslim merchants solicited the convey of their vessels the Bombay Government concluded that such a permission would not constitute a breach of the late treaty as the ship in question had already procured a pass from Angria. The character of such a ship could not be supposed to have been materially affected when it was hired or freighted by a broker of Bombay or a merchant of Madras. In 1756 the English themselves claimed the right of enforcing their passes on native vessels already "provided with Dutch permits." It is therefore clear that the pass of one maritime power was not regarded as a legal protection against the aggression of another and exemption from this obligation could be obtained only by a convention or treaty. In 1710 when the Dutch East India Company protested against Kanhoji's appropriation of a Dutch sloop and a galley, he replied he was not aware of any friendship existing between him and the company, nor of any correspondence on the matter. He did not molest such merchants as made him presents, as for instance the English, Portuguese and Moor, and he refused to restore the prize. Since 1722 the Portuguese ships had the free use of his ports until war broke out between them and the Marathas. So long as peace prevailed between the Governments of Goa and Satara, Kanhoji loyally adhered to the provisions of the treaty concluded by the Peshwa.

About his strategy and method of enlistment we know next to nothing. As he boldly asserted in his letter to Phipps, he was an ardent believer in the policy of aggression attributed to the great Shivaji. He did not lack moderation as has been already noticed and he resorted to diplomacy as often as possible, but he failed to appreciate the real aim of Shivaji's policy. Shivaji tried his ut-

most to do away with feudalism and to strengthen the central executive as much as practicable. Kanhoji was a feudal chief first of all. He acknowledged the supremacy of Shahu but behaved, for all practical purposes, as an independent ruler. The central executive could not, therefore, treat the chief admiral as a mere servant as in Shivaji's days, and the growing power of the hereditary admiral was not always regarded as a source of strength to the State as a whole. But in justice to him it must be admitted that Kanhoji did not stand alone in his preference for feudalism or in his spirit of self aggrandisement. His shortcoming was shared by all the Maratha chiefs of his time. He was a shrewd diplomat, a great admiral, but not a far sighted statesman. It was a strong fleet, strong in number, strong in achievement and stronger in confidence that he left to his sons and successors, but with the new tradition of maritime ascendancy they inherited from him the baneful legacy of a feudal principality with all its evil implications. In the feudal conflicts of his time Kanhoji had discovered the means of his rapid promotion to power, but the forces of disruption which he had so skillfully exploited to serve his own end ultimately proved the undoing of his family.

LECTURE IV.

Sekhoji Angria: 1729-1733.

Kanhoji Angria was a much married man and he had a numerous progeny. But as the ladies of his harem were not all duly wedded to him, it is not easy to ascertain which of his many sons were born in wedlock and how many of them had the bar sinister. According to the official account of the family, Kanhoji had by his first wife two sons Sekhoji and Sambhaji, his second wife bore him two more, Manaji and Tulaji, while Yesaji, Dhondji and others were his natural sons. According to the *Epanaphora Indica*, Tulaji and Manaji were illegitimate children of their father, and of his two sons by the second wife the eldest was called Appaji. Two of his letters to Brahmendra Swami have been preserved. Of Kanhoji's wives, Mathurabai and Lakshmi-bai seem to have been the most influential and they frequently corresponded with Brahmendra and Baji Rao. As Sekhoji's succession to his father's office was uncontested and peaceful, it may be logically inferred that he was the eldest son of Kanhoji, and there is reason to believe that Sambhaji was his full brother. Grose was palpably wrong when he stated that Manaji was a son

of Sambhaji; the late Sir George Forrest was equally misinformed when he tried to perpetuate this gross error. Sekhoji was a short lived young man and followed his father to the grave four years later. It was on this account that Grose was not familiar with his name and asserted that Sambhaji was Kanhoji's immediate successor.

Kanhoji's death meant no respite for the English and the war was renewed with equal vigour and resolution by Sekhoji. The official account proudly declares that he never made any peace with the English. His father died in June. The fleet was then necessarily idle as all operations had to be suspended during the four months of the monsoon. But the opening of the fair season found it again in the scene of its former activities. In November, Sekhoji's fleet captured the *William* near Dabhol. This must have been considered an auspicious beginning for the young admiral, though the victory had been dearly purchased. The Bombay authorities now came to the conclusion that their merchant fleet would no more be safe unless Kolaba was closely watched by a squadron of invigilation and next year they wrote to the President and Council of Bengal "earnestly requesting them to dispatch to us the *Princess Caroline* and *Prince of Wales* galleys as soon as the season will permit as we shall be in great want of them to watch the motions of the enemy Angria and to protect the trade." In September 1730, the English galleys captured three of Angria's fighting gallivats near Kelve Mahim. When the crew perceived the futility of further resistance they jumped overboard and swam ashore. On the 25th of November however Sekhoji won a brilliant victory over the invigilating squadron posted off Kolaba. The squadron in question consisted of the *Victoria* frigate, *Bombay* and Bengal galleys. Early in the morning Sekhoji's fleet came out of Kolaba and resolutely attacked the two galleys. The frigate was then too far from the place of action and could not come to their rescue in time "there being little or no wind". "The grabs lay astern of the galleys battering them with their prow guns, the galleys having no stern chace or any other defence but their small arms which they play'd very briskly, notwithstanding which the enemy attempted severall times to lash their grabs to the galleys quarter and board and were as often repulsed and beat off with great loss, an unlucky shot from the enemy set fire to two chests of power flasks that stood on the *Bombay* galleys quarter deck which mortally wounded Captain Campbell and hurt several of his people, yet he clear'd his vessell the four times boarded, but the *Bengal* was carried the third attack the Captain and most of his men being killed and wounded, and the whole ships company

in a great consternation through the taking fire of two barrells of musket cartridges that were in the great cabin that almost blew up the quarter deck, the smallest of the grabs with the gallivats took the *Bengal* in tow and carried her to Colabbo before the *Victoria* could come to her rescue but in going in the galley struck and is hoped she is lost." After thus routing the blockading cruisers, several ships of the Kolaba fleet sailed southwards to join, as it was supposed, Sambhaji Angria's squadron at Gheria.

This disaster naturally caused a great consternation at Bombay. The garrison was weak before, and the naval action near Kolaba reduced its strength further, the English having lost about one hundred European soldiers and sailors. But to their great credit the President and his colleagues did not lose heart and resolutely set to repair the loss as best as they could. For some time past they had been trying to rally all the enemies of Angria and their efforts had not been altogether unsuccessful. On the 17th April, 1730 President Cowan had concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with Phond Savant of Wari. The fifth article of the treaty laid down that as the sons of Kanhoji Angria were professed enemies of the Hon'ble Company and the Sardesai, "the joint endeavours of both shall be exerted to destroy the said enemy." The English undertook to harass them as much as possible by the sea while the Savant was expected to attack the Angria brothers both by sea and land to the best of his ability. In May the Marathas invaded the Portuguese Province of the North and the Captain of Bassein solicited reinforcement from Bombay. The English were not anxious to go to war with the Marathas but at the same time they could not permit the neighbouring islands to be annexed by them. While offering their mediation as a common friend they did not hesitate to despatch the much needed succours to the Portuguese. Sekhoji Angria had so long kept peace with the government of Goa but now that his master was at war with them he could not possibly stand aside like a mere onlooker. His troops co-operated with the Marathas of Bhivandi. In September a Portuguese fleet consisting of a frigate and three galleys set out from Goa for Bassein with a strong reinforcement. But it was attacked by Angria's fleet in the neighbourhood of Gheria and two of the galleys were captured while the third was compelled to seek shelter in one of the Sidi's ports where it was detained by that chief in retaliation of some unfriendly act. In 1731 Sekhoji captured two merchant pals with a gallivat belonging to the Portuguese and his reputation rose so high that the Bombay Government deemed it necessary to offer special reward for the encouragement of their captains. They

were assured that such of Angria's men-of-war as they might capture shall be awarded to the captor with all their artillery and warlike appurtenances and the prizes would be supplemented by the President and the Councillors from their private purses "by an additional gratuity of two thousand rupees for each fighting Grab of Angrias." Next year, the English frigates captured one of Sekhoji's fighting gallivats but this was no more than a flea's bite to the mighty lord of Kolaba. His power was expected to suffer some decline from the defection of his brother Sambhaji two years earlier. But Sekhoji was not merely a strong leader, he was a good brother as well. Before long he managed to humour his wayward brother and gently led the erring youngman back to the path of duty. In January 1732 the English of Mangalore learnt with apprehension that the Canarees of Mangalore were contemplating an alliance with Angria and that the dreaded chief was endeavouring to get a settlement on the Billiapatam river for the reception of his vessels. In November Sekhoji sailed from Kolaba with five Ghurabs and ten gallivats and Sambhaji set out at the same time with twelve gallivats for Gheria where he was to be reinforced by four ghurabs. Bombay was naturally nervous and all the cruisers were promptly sent out to keep a strict watch over the enemy fleet. Sekhoji's squadron later entered into Suvarnadurg but Sambhaji went as far south as the Pigeon Island. Although the English records mention nothing more about the activities of the two fleets we learn from the Portuguese that on the 12th January 1733 the Viceroy ordered three galleys to sail for Honawar where a Portuguese ship was prevented from taking its cargo of pepper by Angria's fleet. On the 13th the Portuguese galleys reached their destination but found that the enemy had departed the day before. Two days later Angria returned with 14 gallivats and an action followed. Angria divided his fleet into two squadrons and safely retreated after suffering some minor loss. The Portuguese commander explains that these eight gallivats could navigate in very shallow water and this enabled them to effect their escape with such ease. It was probably Sambhaji's squadron that the Portuguese galleys had engaged. While everything was going on in his favour Sekhoji offered to settle his differences with Bombay and on the 21st of June, 1733, his envoys waited upon the governor with proposals of peace. The same month an exchange of prisoners was effected, though we do not know the exact date of this transaction. The English had inflicted little loss on Sekhoji's fleet, their alliance with the Sawant was absolutely barren of results, the restoration of good understanding between Goa and Bombay left his maritime ascendancy entirely unshaken,

but he was prepared to leave the English alone for the time being, because his master was anxious to conquer the Sidi, and annex his territories and the Peshwa had commenced operations against the Abyssinian chief in February, 1733 in co-operation with Sekhoji.

The Sidi single handed was no match for the Marathas. But the Abyssinians still held many important ports, and Rairi, the old capital of Shivaji, was still in their possession. It was quite natural that Shahu should make a strenuous effort to recover his grandfather's forts and strongholds, but it is doubtful whether he would have shaken his lethargy so soon and set his heart so much upon the reconquest of the lost districts if the Sidis had not in the meantime offered him a fresh offence. The story of Brahmendra Swami and the elephant is too well known to be repeated here. In 1727 Sidi Sat governor of Anjanvel and Govalkot wreaked his vengeance on Brahmendra Swami by desecrating his temple and molesting the innocent Hindu villagers of Parashuram. Brahmendra was a Hindu ascetic, but from his letters it appears that he did not forget or forgive any wrong easily and though he believed in the potency of his spiritual attainments he did not omit to enlist human agencies to ensure the efficacy of his cause. Shahu and his ministers held the Swami in great esteem and the wrongs he had suffered infuriated them all. The desecration of the temple was regarded as an insult to Hinduism and Shahu was above all the leader of the Hindus in the Deccan. The practical common sense of Kanhoji Angria, however, had a sobering influence on his war-like contemporaries but the Swami went on working upon the feelings of his co-religionists until the death of Sidi Rasul, the ruler of Janjira in 1733 and the subsequent dissension among his sons and heirs offered the Marathas the suitable opportunity they had been seeking so long. A Koli convert in the Sidi's service changed sides at this crisis, and though he does not seem to have been of much use to the Marathas, their early victories were as rapid as important. The joint forces of the Peshwa and Angria reduced Rajapore and Khokri, the ochre coloured ensign of Shivaji was once again hoisted on the towers of Raigad, Sekhoji captured the fort of upper Chaul, the fort of Ravance in the Pen river and the more important town and stronghold of Thal. Thal was opposite the island of Underi and if Sekhoji's men-of-war could expel the Sidi from that station as well, the harbour and shipping of Bombay would be entirely at his mercy. The Sidis still retained their island stronghold as well as the fortresses of Anjanvel and Govalkot, but they were not in a position to offer a prolonged defence unless assistance arrived from outside. They accordingly sent distressing appeals for help to Goa and Bombay. This was

the situation with which Cowan and his Councillors had to deal when Sekhoji's envoys came with a friendly message and proposal of peace.

The fall of Rajapore had considerably augmented Sekhoji's power in the sea for the captured ships had all been added to his fleet and the English rightly apprehended that "if he should succeed in his attempt (against Underi) he is entirely master of this port when it will be impossible for any small embarkations or ships of little force bound to this port to escape his gallivats, and consequently an end put to the greatest part of our country trade, as all the Sceedys grabs and gallivats are given to Succojee Angria for his share of the plunder of Rajapore and he has carried them to Colaba to join the rest of his fleet, which now consists of eleven grabs and twentyfive gallivats besides four grabs and twenty gallivats under the directions of his brother Sambhojee at Gereah." It was no wonder that the English were in no hurry to come to terms with their ancient enemy and permit the respite which he so badly needed for reducing the remaining strongholds of the Sidi. Assistance and succour had indeed been solicited from Rajapuri and Anjanvel, but Underi demanded their attention most. As their military resources were by no means unlimited they deemed it their duty to relieve that island first. Captain Thomas Holden was ordered to proceed with his ship *Mary*, to the threatened island and to remove the non-combatants to Bombay. The expeditionary force was placed under Captain James Inchbird who was to act in consultation with Captain Robert Macneale, "whose knowledge of the language and customs of the country people renders him the fittest person to treat and transact any affair with them." The Governor told Lt. Inchbird in his instructions.—"In my letter to Sceedy Balal I have signified to him as my opinion that on the present emergency it will be for his interest and that of the Sceedy his master to hoist the English flag upon his fort, and deliver up to you the defence of it, with his assistance and that of his present garrison, with this condition, that whenever the Sceedy thinks proper to demand the restitution of it to him on his affairs taking a different turn than what they seem at present to promise, the same shall be delivered up on the Sceedy paying the Hon'ble Company the expence and charge they have been and may be at in preserving of it, with the usual lawful interest of nine per cent per annum, but in case that the Sceedy's affairs will not admit of reclaiming the said fort, that then the same shall remain to the Hon'ble Company as their sole right and property, and the garrison of Sepoys shall become the subjects of the said Hon'ble Company, and remain in their pay and service at the usual pay that is

now paid to the garrison Sepoys of Bombay." The Governor was not disappointed in his expectations. On the 16th of July the English flag was hoisted on the fort as the Commander willingly accepted Lt. Inchbird's suggestions. The fort was bombarded from the island of Khanderi as well as from a battery constructed on the mainland opposite but this distant cannonading caused little or no harm and Angria was effectively baulked of his prey.

The English were not the only friend whose help the ruler of Janjira had in his distress solicited. The Portuguese could not offer to be so unambiguous about their intention, as they were deficient in both men and money. The Goa Government had, none the less, despatched two men-of-war to aid the Abyssinians but they were not to evince any hostility to the Marathas at once. The delicate task of thwarting their efforts under the guise of a friendly mediator was entrusted to Antonio Cardim Froes, an officer of experience and credit, who was no stranger to the coast or to the belligerent powers. Sidi Masud, the Admiral of the imperial fleet, also made elaborate preparations for helping his fellow countrymen, and though Shahu had issued urgent instruction to Gaikwad and Dabhade to devise suitable means for impeding him, nothing was done by those two chiefs. Sekhoji, therefore, found him pitted against four maritime powers, the English, the Portuguese, the Sidis of Janjira and the Sidi Admiral of Surat.

Meanwhile the remaining strongholds of Sidi Sat were threatened by fresh Maratha forces, and willing as they were, the English were not in a position to send men and munitions everywhere. But this did not diminish Sekhoji's difficulties. His officers could not pull on well with the Pratinidhi who had been entrusted by Shahu with the important mission of reducing Anjanvel and Govalkot, and Sekhoji knew that, try as he might, he could not reduce the naval strongholds of his enemy so long as they were backed by the English. He correctly read the situation and rightly recognised that to reduce Khanderi he must conquer Bombay. The rest of his adversaries he could afford to ignore; with the English humiliated, they would make room for him of their own accord.

This conviction found expression in more than one epistle. Sekhoji had received reliable information about the preparation his enemies were making at Bombay, Bassein and Surat for the coming conflict. He suspected that for creating a diversion in favour of Janjira they would in all probability attack one of his strongholds in the neighbourhood of Bombay: Khanderi, Kolaba or Hira-Kot. In case this strategy failed in its objective they

would throw fresh succour in Janjira and the Sidi might be prepared to cede the island to his hatted allies in the last resort. The elaborate preparation of the allies left Sekhoji undismayed. He knew his strength, he felt no anxiety for Kolaba and he enunciated a daring plan for disconcerting his formidable forces. This was no less than an invasion of Bombay by land and sea. Powerful as the English were, the scheme of Sekhoji was by no means impracticable. He might catch the English cruisers in a carefully devised trap between the two fleets of Kolaba and Vijayadurg. The main army of the Peshwa might at the same time cross the narrow channel that separated Bombay from the mainland. Or the Kolaba fleet might fall upon the sleeping prey when its protecting fleet would be away. This was quite practicable as Kanhoji's squadron had appeared before Bombay during the absence of the English men-of-war in 1719. The bold plan was not unworthy of the great Shivaji and it is doubtful whether Kanhoji was capable of so daring a design.

But Sekhoji would concentrate his efforts against Janjira and would therefore avoid a contest with the "hatmen" if possible. He therefore suggested that Shahu should address friendly letters to them and try to persuade them to observe neutrality. Such a letter was indeed received by the English, but they had been requested by Nizam-ul-Mulk and Khan Dauran to befriend the Janjira chief and they naturally pursued the course that suited their own interests best. But in the meantime Sekhoji had suspended the bombardment of Underi lest that might prejudice the diplomatic efforts of his agents at Bombay. The English, as usual, demanded that Angria should renounce his claims on the sea and permit their merchantmen to use the high road of the sea without any bar or hindrance. Sekhoji was not prepared to make this concession as he wrote to the Peshwa, but while negotiations went on, he did not neglect to get ready for the next campaign. He kept himself constantly informed of their movements and was busily engaged in providing for the defence of his ports while the fleet was overhauled and equipped for taking to sea with the opening of the fair season. What turns events would have taken, had Sekhoji survived we do not know, but he expired after a short illness on the 28th of August. The Peshwa was anxious to have a personal interview with him and had requested Sekhoji to come to his camp. On the 25th Sekhoji wrote to Baji Rao that he had been ill for the last nine days and of late he had been bleeding through the nose on account of an unusually high temperature. The next day he wrote two letters to the Peshwa and requested him to send Pilaji Jadhav at once to Kolaba. Two days

later the Peshwa learnt from Pilaji that the gallant Sekhoji was no more. He died in harness, and the war received his personal attention till his last moment, as his recently published letters unmistakably show. With him ended the brightest period in the naval history of the Marathas.

Sekhoji survived his father for four short years only. As a naval leader, he was in no way inferior to Kanhoji, as a noble of the Maratha empire, his loyalty was unquestionable, as a territorial ruler, he was benevolent and wise. He perceived the supreme need of unity of command and it is on this account that he placed his services unreservedly at the disposal of the Peshwa. His father seldom permitted his foreign relations to be controlled from Satara or Poona, but Sekhoji took Baji Rao into his confidence while negotiating with Bombay and freely consulted the Peshwa about the proposed terms. He was by birth a feudal noble but he tried to undo the evils of that system as much as he could. He conciliated Sambhaji, and his half brothers had nothing to complain so long as Sekhoji was alive. Under him the Angrias were united at home and dreaded abroad. His relations with the head of the state and the all powerful prime minister left nothing to be desired. He knew how to control the forces of disruption without using force, he knew how to rule as a feudal chief without breaking loose from the empire, he knew how to co-operate with his fellow chiefs without surrendering his independent command. His brothers were brave sailors but their martial propensities were not moderated by kindness and a spirit of conciliation, and the pent up forces of civil war and family dissension broke out with the death of Sekhoji Angria.

The Dutch in India

By

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE Dutch episode in Indian history is important in that it was the Hollander and not the Englishman who succeeded to the Portuguese mastery of the Asiatic seas. Lisbon had long outshone Venice itself as a mart for oriental spices but in the seventeenth century the 'brave and indefatigable Dutch' of Mr. Marvin wrested the monopoly of Indian trade from Portugal. Dryden's lines,

"Egypt (France) and Tyrus (Holland) intercept your trade
And Jebusites your sacred laws invade"

show if anything how Dutch designs in the east affected English life of the time. For, at the crest of their power the Dutch had spotted all the East Indies with their fortifications, they held Mauritius, had six settlements in Ceylon and two in Persia and besides those in India possessed several settlements in the Cape of Good Hope. In India they settled at Sadras, Pulicat and other places. But their remoteness from either Holland or Batavia never permitted them to secure a strong foothold in the country. Their selfishness on the other hand brought them into active collision with the nationals of other European States and they had to give up the race for dominion in the peninsula. Their ideals in India were ever anything but imperial. The last settlement of Holland in India was Chinsurah which passed to British hands in 1825.

These transactions form the subject of the following pages. There appears to be no dearth of material for a study of the subject but difficulties mainly linguistic have prevented students from reading the sources and interesting themselves in the events associated with the State that had no small share in India's external trade for a good part of a Century and more.

The works laid under contribution have been stated in the foot notes. A select bibliography has been added. The account of the condition of Indo-Dutch trade is based on the excellent works of Mr. Moreland.

THE DUTCH IN INDIA.

(An episode in Indian History)

1. Oldenbarneveltdt was the Stadtholder who founded the Dutch East India Company. The Republic was in its infancy and in a period of stress, but it was left to him to lay the foundation of Holland's maritime power which became in the days of Ruyter and Blake a serious menace to England.

The Dutch East
India Company.

The Spaniards were the first to enter the race for territorial expansion and the Portuguese after them. The latter appeared in the east about 1487 when Pedro de Covilham reached Malabar. The Dutch were rather late. Religious considerations made it impossible for them to acquiesce in Papal awards like those of Alexander VI. But Portugal could not continue to hold the East in perpetual fee and Papal fiat notwithstanding Holland was determined to break the monopoly.

Disorders attended several attempts but the early voyages were on the whole profitable. The expedition conducted by van Neck in 1598 is an instance in point. Earlier, William Barents in breaking a north-eastern route had visited Stalen Island and Spitzbergen. Van Linschoten who lived at Goa between 1583 and 1589 sent a report which was widely published and served for long as a guidebook to adventurers. Cornelius Hautman rounded the Cape of Good Hope for the first time, passed through Surat and reached Bantam (1596). The immense possibilities of eastern trade were well recognized early and the Dutch pursued their designs with vigour. By 1602 their nationals were known in Bantam, Achin, Ceylon, the Spice Islands and Patani in Siam.

Successes naturally brought fresh anxieties; there was a rates war and the expeditions sent up began to quarrel. The national importance of the trade however could not allow the continuance of cut throat competition and the competing companies were eventually amalgamated by the States-General into a single company with exclusive powers and a national constitution. Thus was brought into existence the Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie or the United Dutch East India Company. It had a permanent capital of 6,600,600 guilders approximating to £ 550,000.

The constitution drawn up was peculiar. There was at each of the principal sea ports a district chamber which had a number of directors (*bewinthebber*). These persons were appointed in the first instance and subsequent vacancies were filled up by the

provincial governments on the nomination of existing directors. The Chambers were represented on the 'College of Seventeen' in whose hands was vested the management of the affairs of the Company. This College framed the policy which was executed by the chambers each acting for its own seaport. It determined the size and equipment of the annual fleet, ships were allotted by it and the goods brought back in them were also marketed under its orders. The members were not responsible to the shareholders and though disputes were referred to the States-General their responsibility to that body was but nominal. Thus the business of the company was entirely in the hands of an oligarchical body maintaining its continuity by nominating to vacancies.

A colonial system was organised on the basis of monopoly and slave labour which has persisted to this day in the East Indian Islands. The Company had authority to enter into agreement with foreign powers in the name of the Dutch Government.

There was as yet no idea of establishing factories in the east. The ships should simply visit ports, sell goods and return as soon as suitable cargo was procured. The change from trading voyage to factory came at a later stage.

2. One of the earlier ventures was the discovery of Mauritius by Admiral Wybrand van Warwyk (1606). High prices stimulated interest in oriental trade and other nationals had not been slow

Transactions in the
Indies.

in recognising its possibilities. The English Company had been founded under a charter issued by Queen Elizabeth in December 1600. There was also the competition from the Portuguese, at this time undisputed masters of the east. But various encounters at sea had shown Portugal's weakness in this arm. Again and again her fleets were defeated by the Dutch and her supremacy broken.

Not that successes were many on land. Small forts were captured in the Spice Islands. But Mozambique, Malacca and Macao offered no small resistance to the Dutch. The commercial policy of these traders emphasized the monopolisation of Asiatic trade in cloves, mace and nutmegs. The English had secured a strong footing in Java and Sumatra and this ruled out all hopes of their being entirely excluded by the Dutch from trading in pepper. The Indian trade was at this time deemed subsidiary. Gujarat and the Coromandel were sought to be developed mainly because the cotton goods of India constituted the chief medium of their far eastern trade. A base of operations in the eastern waters was also found to be a desideratum.

Events in the early decades of the seventeenth century effected the transfer of sea power from the Portuguese to Dutch hands, and the principal objective of their policy was thus realised. Portugal's monopoly was at an end. Amboyna was captured in 1605. The same year a fleet of 15 found its way to Malacca captained by Admiral Matelieff with 1400 men under him. The city of Johore was besieged and was taken in face of fierce resistance and defence offered and organised by Don Alonzo de Castro. De Castro was defeated and several operations conducted subsequently only confirmed the verdict. The trouble was protracted and was not brought to an end till 1609 when a Convention was signed by which the Portuguese were deprived of their rights and privileges. Motley summed up the war thus: 'A commonwealth of sand banks, lagoons and meadows, less than 14,000 square miles in extent had done battle . . . with the greatest of existing powers. And this has been done with an army averaging 46,000 men, half of them foreigners hired for the job and by a seafaring population volunteering into ships of every class and denomination from a flyboat to a galleon of war'.¹

In India a fleet of thirteen arrived at the port of Calicut in 1603 and van der Hagen who captained the fleet made a peace with the king of that city against the Portuguese. And Dutch factors were rising up in the Coromandel. In 1605 a Spanish fleet was defeated off Malabar and slowly the Catholic enemy of Holland was sinking.

We may now turn to the relations between the Dutch and the English companies. The English had their headquarters at Bantam and there was a factory at Jambi on the east coast of Sumatra. The Dutch appeared to them to be dangerous, more serious than the Portuguese. Unofficial wars raged between the agents of the two Protestant companies. The Dutch attacked Pularoon which was defended by Nathaniel Courthope (1616-20). Jan Pieters-

1. 'United Netherlands'. Motley refers to Holland's struggle with Spain with which Portugal was united. Cp. also his summary of the truce:—'The Convention was signed in the spring of 1609. The ten ensuing years in Europe were comparatively tranquil but they were scarcely to be numbered among the full and fruitful sheaves of a pacific epoch. It was a pause, a breathing spell. . . . To us of a remote posterity the momentary division of epochs seems hardly discernible. So rapidly did that fight of demons which we call the Thirty Years War tread on the heels of the 40 years struggle for Dutch independence which had just been suspended, that we are accustomed to think and speak of the eighty years War as one pure, perfect, sanguinary whole.' (Life of Oldenbarnevelt).

zoon Coen the able Governor effected a peace with Salisbury and the Convention provided for the settlement of disputes among the two concerns. The English were expelled from Pularoon which was however given back soon after.

Notwithstanding this treaty (which was signed in 1619) the English were attacked and in 1623 Towerson and his nine comrades together with an equal number of Japanese and Portuguese were murdered under the orders of van Speult of Amboyna. The Dutch had to pay damages to the tune of £ 3,615 and their relations with the English grew strained.

Official relations however between Holland and England in Europe did not, during these years, correspond with the hard facts of Asiatic waters. The two countries were at peace and it was not until 1652 that owing to the passing of the Navigation Acts Anglo-Dutch relations became embittered. The great wars of the period 1652-1674 have but one interest to this study viz., by the Peace of Breda (1667) Pularoon was restored to the Dutch in lieu of New Amsterdam² in America which was renamed New York after the Duke who played a prominent part in the Second Dutch War.

English power clearly declined in the Far East. In Java pepper had given way to sugarcane and the English gave up all plans of further trading in the Spice Islands. By 1640 their pepper trade was at an end and their agencies lying to the east of Macassar were closed. The factory at Bantam was closed in 1683. Unmolested, the Dutch were free to build up their island empire. They had taken Jakatra in Java and had grown powerful and influential in Achin and in the Moluccas. Pieter Both, a great Governor organised their power during the years 1609-14. The project of establishing a permanent base in the eastern waters had also materialised thanks to the genius of the great Coen already referred to. In 1619 Batavia was founded. Time and again the city had been threatened by local chiefs but the population of the Spice Islands yielded gradually to the drastic discipline of the Dutch and it has continued to this day the capital of their possessions in the East.

By a system of regular blockade the Dutch sought to destroy what remained of the Portuguese power in the Indies. They became masters of Malacca³ in 1641. The Portuguese retained

2. New Amsterdam was founded by the Dutch in 1611.

3. Malacca had remained in the hands of the Portuguese since the days of Albuquerque (1511). The garrison that had secured their rule for one hundred and thirty years now fell in the hands of the Dutch company.

Macao and Timor but they were of little use without Malacca. They were soon deprived of the commercial settlements at Macassar which event took place in 1661. From this post they had been distributing spices in some of the eastern markets. The English too maintained a factory there and the Danes from Tranquebar specialised in the trade of cloves, maces and nutmegs. Friendship was also established with the king of Macassar who expelled the Portuguese. By 1668 Dutch supremacy in the Archipelago was an established fact.

The framework of their organisation was strengthened by the establishment at Taiwan on the Formosa coast of a settlement that served as a base for the trade with China. Taiwan was one of the most hopeful possessions; we read of its extensive commerce with the mainland and its loss in 1661 was certainly a serious blow to Dutch influence in the east.

3. The Dutch had secured a footing in Japan too. Their first appearance should be dated 1609 when the 'Red Lion' and the yacht 'Griffon' arrived at Hirado. The daimyo received them well and a deputation waited on the shogun at Yedo in the Hando Isle. The Dutch received a patent in 1611 and the shogun sent a note to the king of Holland promising his subjects all help and protection. They were allowed to 'traffic and build homes serviceable and needful for their merchandise'. 'I will maintain and defend them as my own subjects'. Many of the improved notions of western medicine were introduced into Japan by the Dutch.⁴

Trade was developed on profitable lines. Their rivalry with the Portuguese settlers in the island led to the latter being banished and the Dutch establishing at Nagasaki in 1640. The small island of Deshima was also occupied.

4. Now we turn to the transactions of the Dutch in India. Though their original designs in the east were no way concerned with India, the Dutch were not slow to realise that India should be included in their scheme of operations if trade was to be profitable. The need arose from the fact that pepper and other spices they sought in the Indies were ordinarily obtained from producers by exchanging Indian made cotton cloths.

4. D. Murray, Japan. 'The Story of the Nations'. T. Fisher Unwin. During the early years the Dutch were much helped by an Englishman William Adams by name. He was an earlier settler in Japan and was instrumental in obtaining then the patent in 1620. In his letters he speaks of the Dutch having been treated by Japanese authorities with 'great conditions'.—ibid. Chapter. xii.

Appearance in Japan.

Break-up of Portuguese power in India.

The Portuguese were the earliest European nation to settle in India. The English and the French succeeded them. The Danish settlement at Tranquebar dates from 1622 but it had a shortlived existence. The English Company was destined to outlive its competitors and Dutch hostility did much to eliminate the Portuguese from the field and the fortunes of the Britisher brightened as a result of rivalry being limited to the French.

The first recorded attempt of the Dutch to enter the cloth market of India was in western India in Gujarat. Two Dutch factors took passages from Achin and were welcomed in Surat. They sent very encouraging reports and eventually an agency was established at Surat which however had but an year of existence. Van Deynson the manager met with a violent death owing to Portuguese persecution and here ended for the time being Dutch enterprise in Western India. In 1615 van Ravestyn revived trade in Surat at a time when Roe's mission at the Court of Jehangir was proving unsuccessful. Pieter van den Broecke (1621) as resident director did much to make the Surat factory a paying concern and contracted the treaty with Prince Khurram which was of much help to the Dutch in their operations in the Red Sea.

Portuguese power in India was undermined with very little difficulty. The Colony at Amboyna had fallen in 1605. Two years later their monopoly was to be rudely shaken by the French Pyrrard Laval having the temerity to enter the trade of India. Goa an important settlement fell into the hands of the Dutch in 1639. It had been in Portuguese hands since 1510. Malacca was also seized two years later. Jaffnapatam the last stronghold of Portugal in Ceylon was taken in 1658.

5. On the Coromandel too the Dutch had made considerable headway. Probably their successes were phenomenal in this region. Pulicat was the site of their earliest settlement on the east Coast. The factory there was one of the earliest they erected in India.

The Dutch in the Coromandel. They also built a fort here which they called Castel Geldria. At an early date they executed an agreement with the King of Golkonda. At Kayal they established a factory in 1645. Two years after that another Portuguese settlement was taken. This was Negapatam which was the principal settlement of the Dutch in India. Trade was also set up at Sadras on the Palar river. In 1652 Palakollu saw their first factory near Madras.

Portuguese hegemony was certainly disappearing in the peninsula no less than in the Far East. Even their old settlements on the Malabar were no longer theirs, for, the towns on the pepper

coast were being transferred to Dutch control. Quilon and Cannanore were seized during the years 1661-64. The town and the fort were taken with the assistance of the Rajah of Cochin (1663).

The Portuguese were expelled from San Thome in 1669, the year of the loss of Macassar. Not only that. In 1686-90 the Dutch wrested Masulipatam and put restrictions on the English trade there 'on purpose to lay the English low in the eyes of the natives according to their usual treatment'. The Dutch also settled at Petapoli now known as Nizampatam.

Portuguese power had all but vanished. Even distant Ormuz had fallen into the hands of the Persians and the English. In the Far East they came to have only Macao and Timor and on the mainland of India itself Diu and Daman and later Goa alone remained.

Their fall was due in the first instance to their shortsighted commercial policy which was deliberately based on a vicious monopoly of trade in spices and remained from first to last destitute of sound economic principle. Their military commercial policy swallowed all their profit and Roe a shrewd observer as he was left in record his utter disgust of a system that permitted at great loss the erection in large numbers of fortifications to sustain and prop up commercial power. He spoke of the beggary of Portugal who never profited by the Indies.⁵

6. In the North, the Dutch had factories at Patna, Chinsurah, Cossimbazaar and also at Agra.⁶ In Bengal the Moghul Governors were friendly to their activities as they helped the State in the days of Shah Jahan in the suppression of the piracy widely prevalent in the Indian waters under the captainship of persons like the famous Fra Joan. Shayista Khan had particular admiration for the 'wise' Dutchmen and to placate his friends oppressed the English. The affairs of the English company were far from satisfactory. What with their private trading and with Keigwin's rebellion in Bombay (1684) their affairs were not as they ought to have been. At Chinsurah and other places in Bengal the Dutch appeared to be positively dangerous rivals. And English overtures

5. Vide Appendix for Roe's views on Portuguese and Dutch trade in India.

6. Cp. Bernier writing from Delhi under date 1 July 1663: 'The Dutch have a malt factory at Agra in which they generally keep four or five persons'. Further on he mentions the Dutch establishments at Bengal, Patna, Surat or Ahmadabad'.

were always resisted by the Moghuls who had their cue from the Dutch. It was not until the famous award of Godolphin in 1702 that amity between the two nations was restored in Bengal.

7. The Dutch came into collision with the French too. Richelieu had founded the French East India Company in 1642 on the model of the English organisation. But it did not thrive as a trading concern and not infrequently its energies were frittered away in unnecessary wars that came in the wake of needless interferences in the affairs of native governments. The Frenchman Carron seized San Thome from the Dutch to whom it was returned two years later.

The Dutch forced the French to evacuate San Thome in 1693. and Pondicherry⁷ fell into their hands. They held the City for some six years and the town was restored to the French under the terms of the Peace of Ryswick (1699). While it was in their possession the Dutch constructed fortifications which long ranked as the finest in all India.

There was not much between the two people. Their relations were always strained. In 1746 some French ships returning from China and Manilla were captured by the English and the Dutch were accused of assisting them despite their professions of neutrality in Anglo-French relations. War was threatened by the French Government if adequate restitution was not made by Holland. The letter of the French King to the Government at Amsterdam is referred to in the interesting diary of Anandaranga Pillai, dubash to the great Dupleix. Here is an excerpt: 'When they basely took our ships you purchased these, together with their cargoes. In what way were you warranted in doing this? Your action shows that you are attached to the interests of the English. You must either restore to us the ships and the value of their ladings or declare war.' 'The Company (the Dutch one) has consequently written to the Governor that the money would be recovered', says the diarist.⁸ It is clear that for sometime English diplomacy had held the Dutch under its control and influence. Says Anandaranga Pillai: 'As there is no king of Holland the people of that country have put themselves under the protection of the King of England and have been assisting the English in this time of trouble

7. This city was founded by Martin in 1674.

8. The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai: Published by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras. Vol. II. Pp. 39-40.

with men and money. The Dutch have thus been carrying on their Government with the help of England. The new king was not countenanced by them, they retained their allegiance to the old one and took the necessary precautions to hinder the former from being installed in the throne' (Vol. II. of the Diary). The Dutch delivered the vessels seized and these became French property. But in the meantime the French Government held in occupation some of the towns on the Dutch frontier in Europe. Says the Gazette quoted in the Diary: 'As the Dutch have always inclined to the side of the English the King of France has taken three or four towns in Holland' in May 1747 and has written to the States-General that if they think well and act suitably with their wisdom their dignity will be maintained but otherwise they know what to expect'.¹⁰

We read in the Diary of the remarkable exploits of one Captain M. Roussel an account of whom as given by Dupleix is reproduced in the fifth volume.¹¹ Roussel was a Dutch captain. He entered French service, took a French wife and was a commandant at Mahe for a while. He was engaged in a duel with M. Bouteville on which he was recalled and put under arrest. He returned to Holland, entered Dutch service and came back to India as captain. He participated in the siege of Pondicherry and later on served the Dutch settlements in Bengal.

Dupleix held strong views on the position of the Dutch in India. He was sceptic of their ultimate success as that of the British company and predicted the downfall of both.¹²

8. Dutch power in India began to decline with the commencement of the eighteenth century when they were stripped of their possessions. Strangely enough it was Lord Clive that gave the blow in Bengal. He sedulously guarded British interests ever since the headstrong successor of Allahvardi Khan schemed the destruction of his Company.

The central years of the century saw an unofficial war between the Dutch and the English in India. Mir Jaffir was in league with the Dutch in Chinsurah. The latter were reinforced from Batavia first by one ship and then by six, all of which were

9. Sluys, Sas de Gand, Hulst and Axel.

10. Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai. Vol. V. April, 15, 1748. P. 23.

11. Ibid. P. 448 sqq.

12. The relevant para in the Diary is quoted in *extenso* in the Appendix.

well received by Mir Jaffir. The Dutch began to search English vessels plying in the Bay of Bengal and their effrontery reached its climax when they laid hands on one of Clive's own ships. The two nations were at peace in Europe but with calculated audacity Clive took the matter into his own hands. The Dutch having given a handle he did not hesitate and resolved on war. There were but 700 men in his settlement including Europeans and half-Europeans as against the 1,400 that the Dutch could put forth in the field. In 1759 Chinsurah was attacked by land and by sea. Clive landed all his available forces and captured the enemies' host. The Dutch were defeated and had to ignominiously capitulate. Colonel Forde just returned from the Northern Circars engaged Admiral Cornish at Biderra. The huge Dutch force was defeated (Nov. 1759). Only fifty Dutchmen escaped. The action, said to have been short and bloody is yet one of the most decisive events in Indian History, an interesting milestone besides Plassey and Buxar in the progress of British dominion in India. 'It resulted in the complete submission of the Dutch and their final withdrawal from the field of Indian politics'.¹³

That was the beginning of the end. In November 1781 soon after Sholingar, Negapatam was lost to the Dutch. In January 1782 the splendid harbour of Trincomalai fell into British hands.

The Dutch power was jeopardised on European fields during the period of the great wars at the close of the eighteenth century. In 1795, on the conquest of Holland by France, the Dutch factories in India were handed over to the East India Company. These comprised three groups:

- (i) those on the Coromandel Coast, with headquarters at Pulicat;
- (ii) those on the Madura coast as it was called, with headquarters at Tuticorin; and
- (iii) those on the Malabar coast with headquarters at Cochin.¹⁴

It is easy to summarise the closing events of Dutch relations with India and the dealings of the East India Company with the Governors-General of India in the nineteenth century. The Marquis of Wellesley (1798—1805) projected an expedition against Mauritius but Admiral Rainier would not co-operate without

13. Vincent A. Smith, C. I. E. The Oxford History of India, P. 496.

14. Quilon had become part of the Travancore state in 1742. Dutch occupation of the town lasted for eighty years.

authorisation from home. The idea was abandoned and the Governor-General urged instead the taking of the Cape from the Dutch now in alliance with the French. An attack on Batavia was contemplated but was not carried out. Earl Minto (1807—13) attacked the Dutch possessions in the East at a time when Holland lay at the mercy of Bonaparte. The Cape of Good Hope was lost in 1806 and the Spice Islands and Amboyna as well. Sir Samuel Achmutty of the Madras army led an expedition to the Spice Islands or Moluccas which was occupied in 1810. Fort Cornelis near Batavia, the capital of the Dutch Java was ably defended by the French Jansens. It was however stormed by Gillespie (1811). Lord Minto who had accompanied the expedition effected with the assistance of Sir Stamford Raffles an admirable settlement with the Javanese and their chiefs. Java should have proved a valuable possession but Minto's successor Lord Hastings (1813—23) restored it to Holland unconditionally when with the final defeat of Napoleon she was freed from French influence. During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Almhurst (1823—28) Malacca became British territory (1824). And in Bengal, Chinsurah, which had continued even after Biderra to be in Dutch hands was ceded to the British Government (1825) in exchange for some settlements in Sumatra. Thus vanished the last of the Dutch possessions in India.

9. Early in the seventeenth century both the English and the Dutch had to make their way in the teeth of Portuguese rivalry in the East not to say in India. Both coveted the Far East rather than the mainland of India as the fairer and more profitable inheritance and here the Dutch prevailed over the English and secured their end.¹⁵ Portuguese rivalry too was successfully combated in India as well as in the Indies but unlike in the case of the latter they had to give way to the Englishmen. The Dutch were never strong in India and the English, never so in the Far East. India was never the goal of Holland but England had to concentrate on the peninsula rather than on the Spice Archipelago where her star waned early. In India the Dutch pulverised Portuguese power and when their own shortlived empire came to a close they had rendered a signal service to the English company in that the latter's path was cleared. For, further rivalry was restricted to the French.

15. Cp. 'The English were reluctantly forced to develop their resources on the mainland. The Spice Islands were in reality a seductive bypath leading others astray.'—P. E. Roberts. *Historical Geography of India*.

The causes of the early Dutch successes may now be investigated.

In the first place their company was a national affair and as in the case of the French company it derived all the benefit of being a state concern. The Dutch acted in the east with the certainty that the Home Government stood by them. From the first they had a strong centralised government in the East. The direction of their resources was in the hands of a Governor-General, a powerful officer of State with freehand in matters of policy.

Their interests were certainly secure in the hands of masterful personalities like Matelieff and Coen. Matelieff gave Holland its commercial policy in the earlier stages; and as director of the factors in Java and then as Governor-General, Coen dominated Dutch affairs as an Albuquerque of their history. Coen's memorandum of instructions left to his successor in 1623 was a classic though the Company vetoed several of his ambitious projects.

Sound administration then was the principal secret of Dutch success. The Council at Batavia was an efficient body. The chain of subordination was strict, each of the chiefs at Taiwan, Amboyna, Pulicat or Surat being responsible to the Council. Occasional visits of inspection checked abuses. There was a financially sound organisation and they had preceded the English. Private trading was strictly prohibited in their body. The Directors at Amsterdam reiterated in 1676 their views on the practice; 'which is nothing else than a plague and canker in the company's body and flourishes everywhere in spite of all the orders decreed and the notices issued.'

The Dutch were also a great naval power. Roe considered their strength on the sea 'as greatly superior to ours and all other Europeans joined together.' The seventeenth century saw the transfer of seapower from the Portuguese to their hands and as late as 1718 they had a reputation of being 'Europe's strongest maritime power in the East'.

Added to these was the defective organization of their rivals. Portuguese weakness on the sea as that of the Moghuls was notorious and as for the Englishmen private trading acted as a gangrene in the body politic of their company. There was a private corporation and it came rather late. Efficiency was not its merit for a long time. They had at this period troubles of their own. Keigwin's Rebellion was an example. There was no unity of command and early in the XIX Century a Rainier would not co-operate with Wellesley. English trading centres suffered also from

being grouped under two co-ordinate authorities, the Councils at Bantam and Surat both of which differed acutely on matters of policy.

But the Dutch eventually failed in India. Remoteness from their headquarters in Batavia had something to do with this. They were far away from Holland also and their position was jeopardised on European fields. Theirs was after all a small country and it lay at the mercy of the French Revolution and Bonaparte. Ananda Ranga Pillai gives us an insight into their position in the middle years of the 18th century. 'The affairs of the Dutch will not run smoothly as before (Pillai wrote in 1746) and their country will gradually fall into decay. Moreover their power has been crippled, for the territory of the Emperor which borders on Holland has been occupied by the French who have also seized many of the possessions of the English. As the Dutch ships bound for Holland will necessarily have to pass the shores of Flanders along which are forts garrisoned by French soldiers, they will at once be captured. Being thus beset with dangers and difficulties on all sides, the Dutch are dispirited and feel that their power is declining.' Dupleix had no doubt of their downfall and has expressed himself to that effect, and the diarist adds: 'I concurred with the sentiments which he had expressed and related anecdotes by way of illustration, the aptitude of which he admitted.'¹⁶ A trading concern depending on the patronage of a State beset with such difficulties could not hope to thrive and limited means prevented the Dutch from coping with the vast resources of an England. The English with all their faults could bring into being a splendid machinery at least after the Regulating 'Act'. Dutch decline was not surprising.

Sir W. W. Hunter mentioned their shortsighted policy as another contributory factor.¹⁷ 'Like the Phoenicians of old they were cruel. Unlike them they failed to introduce their civilization', said Hunter. But the Portuguese had tried the experiment of 'introducing civilisation' but had failed. Hunter was perhaps nearer truth when he spoke of Dutch cruelty.

The Dutch ousted the Portuguese. But their own ideas were commercial and not imperial. They therefore dropped out of the race for empire in India. In the census of 1872 only 70 Dutchmen were enumerated in all India and in 1881 only 79.

16. P. 82. Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary. Vol. II.
17. The Imperial Gazetteer. Vol. II. Pp. 452-3.

The passage between Ceylon and the mainland still bears the name of the Dutch Governor Palks and quaint houses in Chinsurah, Negapatam, Jaffna and other parts of Coromandel and Malabar remind the traveller of scenes in the Netherlands.

There is a Dutch cemetery at Pulicat in the Chingleput district preserved by the Madras Government.¹⁸ It contains an imposing mausoleum of one of the Dutch Governors General and also tombs elaborately carved with armorial bearings and lengthy inscriptions. One of the entrances to the cemetery has a high romanesque lichgate one holding an hour glass and the other supporting a skull on a column.

Several Dutch and Portuguese tombstones¹⁹ are found in the church at Cochin considered to be one of the oldest European churches in India.

St. Peter's Church and a cemetery with large tombs are the memorials of the Dutch occupation of Negapatam.

Just as the Portuguese struck coins with the initial G for Goa and D for Diu, so the Dutch struck coins bearing the initial letter P for Pulicat and N for Negapatam. Dutch coins called duits and halfduits or challis bearing on one side the monogram V.O.C. and on the other arms of Zeeland, Friseland (Frisia), Holland, Utrecht and Gelderland are met with in large quantities in the bazaars and are to some extent current on the west coast.

These are the only relics of Dutch occupation in India. The Dutch flag itself flies nowhere in India to-day.

II. DUTCH TRADE IN INDIA

1. All available evidence would justify the inference that Dutch commercial supremacy in the East was real at least in the seventeenth century.

Business was not only large but progressive from the beginning and the shareholders of the company were usually paid high dividends, the percentage for an early date like 1605-09 being 35. Though the resources of the company were devoted to combating Portuguese rivalry in the Spice Islands, there is no doubt that trade had increased in volume and the Dutch handled a larger volume of European trade than the English. 'Their commercial supremacy

Extent of Indo-Dutch Trade.

18. Madras by E. Thurston. Cambridge University Press.

19. The oldest of these goes to the beginning of Portuguese occupation in India. It is dated 1504.

may come as a surprise to readers familiar with ordinary textbooks of Indian History but it is a commonplace to those who studied ... the period and while the Dutch reports and journals are marked by frequent sneers at the poverty and inefficiency of their English competitors, the English correspondence is characterised by grudging and envious admiration of the Dutch'.²⁰ In Western India the Dutch surpassed the English and in Bengal their predominance was indisputable from the outset.

2. Strength at sea was perhaps the principal factor that contributed to this phenomenal success. The Moghul Empire itself had no navy and was glad to avail itself of Dutch help in suppressing piracy. To the Hollander however the efficiency of the mercantile marine was a primary national interest which was sedulously safeguarded by the members of the company who constituted the dominant power in the State. The Dutch were not inferior to the English on the sea and with the disappearance of the Portuguese the carrying trade in the Indian Ocean passed into their hands. Surat prospered while Goa declined; Pulicat and Madras superseded San Thome and Negapatam. Dutch boats have always been preferred for their adaptability to bad weather. Their crew had their training in the stormy seas of Northern Europe and were not infrequently employed on Indian owned vessels. The shipping industry was certainly more than a source of income; its maintenance was not only essential to the security of national existence but was a valuable asset in the keeping up of Holland's prestige as a State.

Yet another explanation of Dutch commercial prosperity could be sought in their financial strength. They started with a good capital and had large investments in India. In Gujarat alone their annual investments are said to have exceeded four million guilders (equivalent to nine and a quarter lakhs) by 1635 when that part of the country had scarcely recovered from a famine. There was no apathy against export of species from home and this relieved financial stringency.

3. The Dutch usually rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Indian exports were for sometime merely of the kind required in South America and South Africa and Brazil. But stage was soon reached when consignments available to the European markets began to be made. The calico especially

Early Commercial Policy.

20. W. H. Moreland. India from the Death of Akbar to Aurangzeb.

grew to be a favourite and European trade in it tended to increase in volume. The first large order was for 1600 pieces and appears to have been placed in 1634.

4. It was a slave-owning State that the Dutch had established in the Indies. Batavia was a city without population.

The Dutch were few in number and the hostility of neighbouring communities prevented any large influx from the vicinity. A supply of inhabitants had to be organised as also a steady stream of reinforcements to make good the wastage. Plenteous supplies of slaves were obtained from the Pulicat-Tanjore side. Imported slaves like the 'Bengaldar, Arakan-dars, Malabar' were affected by sickness on their arrival at Batavia and the Spice Islands. The supply was obtained by ordinary commercial methods and no force or fraud was used. Slave-trading however was not universal and its practice was purely the result of the peculiar conditions in the Dutch settlements in the East. Supply was necessarily restricted. In Arakan there was for sometime a restriction but 'certainly not due to humanitarian ideas'.²¹

The imported population had to be fed and a supply of wheat and pulse was found necessary. Though Siam, Indo-China and even Japan contributed to the trade, India was the most obvious source to draw from. The trade was beneficial to India. There was an outlet for her supplies. Batavia became a brisk centre of the grain trade.

5. The Dutch did not altogether succeed in their attempt at the exclusion of the English from the Spice Islands which was a cardinal part of their commercial policy since the days of Matelieff. But Dutch influence in Achin forced the English to abandon the pepper trade.

As pepper was not an article covered by Portuguese royal monopoly the rigorous discipline enforced on the natives by them enabled the authorities at Amsterdam to regulate production on monopolistic lines. There was a factory at Jambia in Sumatra and agents did good work in the neighbouring islands. There was a demand for spices in the great cities of Antwerp and Amsterdam and in the payment of dividends they were as much used as cash.

But spices had to be obtained in the East only by barter with Indian made cotton cloth. It was thus that cotton brought the

21. Apart from this only one instance appears to have come to us of refusal by Indian authorities. In 1643 a naik rejected a Dutch request for 1600 slaves on the ground that sale of human beings was a sin.

Cotton goods.

Dutch to India. They entered the clothmarket of India in 1601 when two factors were welcomed at Surat. But till 1660 Western Europe was an undeveloped market for cotton goods. There was no great demand for muslins or prints as apparel and their import by the Dutch would only bring into jeopardy the important linen industry of the motherland. Dress, fancy goods including pintadoes (painted cloths), chintzes, handkerchiefs, sheetdyed pieces of calico and clothes with an intermixture of silk were of increased demand as years rolled by. But the Dutch had no share in opening the European trade in these things. The possibilities of the trade were realised only through the activities of their English rivals.

A small but regular export in yarn was however introduced by the Dutch from the Coromandel and to a little extent from Surat. The article was opening a new market in Western Europe and the Dutch trade was maintained at somewhere about five hundred bales a year in a period when English commerce was on the decline.

Yarn Trade.

Indigo was the commodity chiefly sought and highly valued by the first European buyers in India. Ralph Fitch gave it the place of honour among possible exports while Roe thought it a 'prime commodity'. The Dutch factors at Surat considered it as the most important local product and as early as 1607 van Deynson was arranging to buy indigo. Indigo was widely grown in the Gangetic doab and the area round Biana was the home of a well-known variety called the Lohori. Sarkhej in Gujarat was another important centre of production. The Dutch were first buying in the Vengurla region and in Sind and on several occasions obtained their supplies from other parts of Asia like Siam, Formosa, and Java. But there was no monopolising the trade and competition was not absent. Merchants from distant Persia came by the landroute to handle indigo at Agra. There were also instances of official interference. The Governor of Ahmadabad appears to have demanded in 1618 a lakh of rupees from the industry before he would permit the annual manufacture of indigo.

Indigo.

Saltpetre has long been recognised as an essential ingredient of gunpowder. In the seventeenth century Spain was in serious difficulties over her munitions supply and the Viceroy at Goa used to send 10 to 15 casks of saltpetre to meet the demands in the Iberian peninsula. Regular despatch became very common. But the article the Dutch were getting was nearly the dearest that India could supply.

Saltpetre.

They therefore strove best to organise their purchase on profitable lines. The region first considered was the Coromandel coast, then Gujarat and then Agra. The establishment of a factory at Patna was followed by a remarkable expansion of trade, 'facilities for supply coinciding apparently with enhanced demand in Europe'. The quantities taken by them were larger than the British—shipment for 1661 went to 1480 cwt—and before long it was 'considered to rank with indigo as a primary object of commerce'.

6. The opening of the Japanese market to Bengal silk should be reckoned as perhaps the greatest achievement of the Dutch in Asia. Once political difficulties were surmounted trade was bound to improve as it did after 1650. A consignment of 300 bales is recorded for May 1653. Skin was another object of trade. In 1644 samples forwarded to Siam were favourably reported on by a Japanese merchant trading in that country and from this year dates the regular export from India.

The Japanese Market.

7. The monopoly of the spice trade with Japan and China had enabled the Dutch to utilise their capital to the best advantage. Indian and Persian demand for cloths and mace was met and it was possible to direct streams of gold and silver from China and Japan to any port of India that offered a remunerative trade. The Dutch settlement at Taiwan in Formosa was the centre of their treasure trade and the factory in Japan was under the control of the Governor General who was responsible for the main supply of treasure both gold and silver to the Indian market. Supplies from Taiwan met the major part of the requirements of the Dutch in India, gold being taken to the Coromandel coast, and silver to Gujarat and Bengal. Thus the demand for remittances from Europe was correspondingly reduced. A wise government at Batavia under an able Governor-General with wide powers was a recognised asset to the Dutch trading in the east. Unlike the English of that date, 'neither the Hollander nor the Venetian nor the Genoese are so curious to forbid exportation of money'. And this is an important circumstance favourable to the Dutch.

As for copper and iron the Dutch introduced the one and plied a good export trade in the other. They developed a steady import of Japanese copper into Gujarat. This was not a too easily available metal in India; very expensive in the north, it was not

cheap in the South. The sales were satisfactory. Sometime after, trade was hampered by restrictions in Japan which lasted for about 8 years. At that time the Dutch sold copper from Sweden. The trade revived in 1648 and inadequate supplies and a rise in prices made it possible and profitable to establish an important trade. Supplies also went to Portugal.

There was a real demand for Indian iron in Batavia. The Dutch exported first from Masulipatam and then successfully developed the industry in the Godavari delta. The artisans imported by them introduced several improvements in technique. The producers of the Golkonda country appear to have profited to some extent.

8. India moreover was a market for imported articles like lead, cloves, mace and nutmegs.

Quick silver was extensively used for conversion into vermilion. The supplies came from China and Europe. There was a fall in price in the early decades of the seventeenth century and Dutch business at Surat competed successfully with English imports. Though a period of short rise followed, private trade continued to keep prices down. The demand for quicksilver was however 'insistent though limited'.

Mention should be made of the 'toy trade'. Toys were imported to be used as presents. In common with other companies the Dutch had to keep in stock articles of presentation. Van Ravestyn reported that all manner of curiosities should be sent to India 'particularly for the great Moghul': 'pictures of landscapes and personages', 'mirrors as tall as a man with frames wrought with festoon' 'fine grey hounds and some strong dogs which will tackle tigers' etc. He described the Emperor Jehangir as 'an amateur of all rarities and antiquities'.

9. It is not correct to say that conditions were ever rosy for the Dutch. Competition was always keen, rivals were not wanting at Amsterdam itself, they were also the subjects of the 'farm' system and reprisals were by no means uncommon. They were however able to successfully contend against their Portuguese and Protestant rivals. The peculiar favour they enjoyed with the Moghul administration must have stood them in good stead. For instance, in 1624 they effected an agreement with Prince Khurram and they were free from all restrictions in the trade with the Red Sea. An imperial firman issued in 1634 exempted them from all tolls and dues in Western India. When seven years

Commerce in other articles.

Conditions of Trade in India.

later the vexatious duties were again levied and the firman found useless, they lost no time in conciliating the officials and a new firman was obtained that protected them ever after.

APPENDIX.

I. ROE ON THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH COMPANIES:

"It is the beggaring of the Portugal, notwithstanding his many rich residences and territories, that he keeps soldiers that spend it, yet his garrisons are mean. He never profited by the Indies since he defended them. Observe this well. It hath been also the error of the Dutch, who seek plantation here by the sword. They turn a wonderful stock, they prowl in all places, they possess some of the best; yet their dead payes consume all their gains. Let this be received as a rule that if you will profit, seek it at sea and in quiet trade; for without controversy, it is an error to affect garrisons and landwars in India."

The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe. edited by W. Foster, (Hakluyt Society) Vol. ii. p. 344.

II. DUPLEIX ON THE DUTCH AND THE ENGLISH COMPANIES:

"The English Company is bound to die out. It has long been in an impecunious condition and what it had to its credit has been lent to the king whose overthrow is certain. The loss of its capital is therefore inevitable and this must lead to collapse. Mark my words. The truth of them will be brought home to you when you ere long find that my prophecy has been realized. In like manner the Dutch company is destined to share a similar fate. Its expenses continue to be enormous, whilst its trade has considerably decreased. The Dutch are moreover in great straits, now that the towns in the countries bordering Holland have become possessions of the French as have also the cities and the provinces on both the banks of the river which debouches into the sea in their country. This circumstance is particularly disagreeable to them as the sea and the river form their chief means of communication. Further the Dutch company is robbed by the very people who are in its service and consequently the latter enrich themselves at the cost of the company—which becomes proportionately impoverished. The occupations of the Dutch are solely confined to trade and commerce and their state owns no territorial possessions. These causes must conduce to the collapse

before long of this company also. About 200 towns belonging to the Dutch were captured last year by the king of France who however influenced by certain motives afterwards restored them. But having been disappointed in its expectations, he has again commenced military operations resulting in a serious loss of life and property. If princes hurry themselves into any act without due forethought, their undertakings must be attended by consequences affecting human lives and fortunes."

Entry for 1746. The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai. Vol. ii. p. 81.

(Cp. Ananda Ranga Pillai: 'I concurred with the sentiments which he had expressed and related certain anecdotes by way of illustration the aptitude of which he admitted.'—ibid. p. 82.)

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Early Pandyan Chronology*

BY

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I

UNTIL the recovery of the larger Sinnamanūr plates and the Vēlvikuḍi grant, Pāṇḍyan history before the Cōla conquest of Madura was a blank. Although noticed in his list of Antiquities by Sewell in the eighties of the last century, the Sinnamanūr plates became available for study only in 1907; the text was edited first in the *Sentamizh* by Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar in Vol. XXIII, 1924-5 and again by Mr. Krishna Sastri in the South Indian Inscriptions in 1929. Likewise, the Vēlvikuḍi grant was brought to the notice of Venkayya as early as 1893 by Fleet; its contents were noticed by him in 1908; the text was edited first by Mr. K. G. Sankaran in the *Journal of the Mythic Society* Vol. X and in the *Sentamizh* Vol. XX and subsequently by Mr. Krishna Sastri in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XVII. On a proper interpretation of the data furnished by these two sets of copper-plates depends the history of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom for a period of three centuries before Parāntaka Cōla attacked Rājasimha and captured Madura about A. D. 910, thus paving the way for the annexation of the Southern kingdom to the newly risen power of the Cōlas. The contents of these two early Pāṇḍyan charters may be reproduced for easy reference.¹

From the Vēlvikuḍi grant.

Pāṇḍya: a mythical king of a past kalpa born in this kalpa as Budha, son of the Moon.

Purūravas.
In his family

* It is much to be regretted that the article above makes wide departures from the system of transliteration adopted by the Journal of Indian History. To avoid delay it has been allowed to pass and similar lapses will be avoided for the future.—Editor.

Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi-Peruvazhudi: an *Adhirāja* of the Pāṇdyas.

Inter-regnum in the Pāṇdyā country.

The Kali king Kaḷabhran: drove away numberless *Adhirājas* before him and took possession of the Earth (i.e., usurped the Pāṇdyā country).

(1) Pāṇdyādhirāja Kaḷlungōn: recovered the Pāṇdyā country from the enemy, i.e., the usurper Kaḷabhran.

(2) Avanicūḷāmaṇi Māravarman.

(3) Śezhiyan Vānavan Śēndan: the over-lord of the hill chiefs.

(4) Arikēsari Asamasaman Māravarman: won a battle at Pāzhi; and another at Nelvēli; destroyed the Paravas; annihilated the race of the people of Kuṟu-nāḍu; gained victory at Śennilam and fought the battle of Puliyūr against the Kēraḷa king.

(5) Kōccaḷaiyan Raṇadhīra: lord of the Kongas; entitled Tennan, Vānavan, Śembiyan, Śozhan and the beautiful Karuṇā-takan; defeated Āyvēḷ at Marudūr; gained victories at Śengōḍu and Pudānkōḍu(?); and destroyed the Mahārathas at Mangala-pura.

(6) Mārān Rājasimha (I): fought a battle at Neḷuvayal; defeated his enemies at Kuṟumaḍai; destroyed their power at Manni-kuricci and Tirumangai; defeated insubordinate chiefs at Pūvalūr; won a victory at Koḷumbālūr; crushed the Pallava at Kuzhumbūr and at Periyālūr; crossed the Kāviri (Kāvērī) and conquered Mazha-Kongam; reached Pāṇḍi-koḷumuḍi; contracted relationship

with Gangarāja; renewed Kūḍal, Vañji and Kōzhi(?); and married a daughter of the Mazhava king.

(7) Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḷunjaḍaiyan: entitled Kongarkōn, king of the Nēriyar (i.e., the Cōḷas); Paṇḍitavatsala, Kalippagai, Punappūzhiyan, Śinaccōzhan, Śrīvaran, Tennan, and Vānavan, defeated the Kāḍava king at Penṇāgaḍam on the northern bank of the Kāvērī; drove away Āyvēḷ and the Kuṟumbas at Nāṭtuk-kuṟumbu; married a daughter of Gangarāja and renewed the grant of Vēlvikuḍi. His minister fought a battle at Venbai in which the opponents were the Vallabha and the Pūrvarājar (kings of the East).

From the bigger *Sinnamanūr* plates.

The Pāṇdyas were descended from the Moon; had Agastya for their family priest. In this family were born (a) a king who subdued and relieved Vijaya (i.e., Arjuna) from the curse of Vasu, (b) Sundara-Pāṇḍya, a helmsman in the ocean of Śāstras, (c) a king whose surname was Pūzhiyan, (d) a king who stood firmly in the field of battle at Pāzhi and obtained the title Paṇcavan, (e) the builder of Madura with its surrounding wall, (f) a king who cut off the heads of two kings in the battles at Citramuyari and Talaiyālangānam.

Arikēsari Parānkuśa: king of the Paṇcavas; defeated the Cēra king at Nelvēli and the Pallava king at Śankaramangai.

Jaṭila.

Rājasimha.

Varaguṇa (I) or Varaguṇa-Mahārāja.

Śrī-Māra, Śrīvallabha, Paracakrākōlāhala: fought successful battles at Kuṇṇūr, Singaḷam and Vizhiṇam; defeated at Kuḍamūk-

the Ganga, Pallava, Cōla, etc., conquered Māyā-pāṇḍya, the Kēraḷa, the Simhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha.

Varaḡuṇa II or Varagunavarman: succeeded to throne in A. D. 862.

Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa Śaḡaiyan: fought battles at Kharagiri, Sennilam, Nilambēr and Kuzhumbūr; destroyed Penṇāgaḡam; won battles in the Kongu country; subdued the whole of Jumbudvīpa (Nāvaltīvu) and married Vānavanmahādēvi.

Rājasimha: entitled Vikāṭa-vāḡavan, 'the banner of both the Solar and the Lunar races'; fought battles at Ulappili-mangalam, Naippūr and Kōḡumbai; burnt Vāñji on the northern bank of the river Kāvērī; fought a battle at Nāval where he defeated the lord of Southern Tañjai and was the donor of Narceygai-puttūr or Mandara-gaurava-mangalam.

It is clear from the summaries that both the grants record some legendary and quasi-historical events at the outset, and then proceed to give a regular genealogy with a brief history of each reign for several generations beginning with Kaḡungōn in the one case and Arikēsari Parāṅkuṣa in the other.

The question is how to combine the genealogies furnished by these two grants into one continuous scheme. The decision of this matter is beset with several difficulties. Neither of these grants is dated; the number of dated stone inscriptions of the early Pāṇḍya kings is very small; even these few dated inscriptions are not free from obscurities as they often give only the titles Māraṇ-ṣaḡaiyan or Śaḡaiyan-māraṇ without the personal names of the

monarch in whose reign the inscription was engraved. Venkayya who was the first to deal with this question stated: "I am not quite sure how and where the names furnished by the Veḡvikuḡi grant fit into the tentative genealogy derived from the Śinnamanūr plates", and gave the following table:²

Pāṇḡyāḡhirāja Paramēśvara Paḡśālai-Mudukuḡumi-Peruvazhudi.

Kaḡabhra interregnum.

1. Kadungōn Pāṇḡyāḡhirāja.

2. Adhirāja Māraḡvarman Avaniśūḡamaṇi.

3. Śezhiyan Śēdan.

4. Māraḡvarman Arikēsarin Asamasaman, defeated the army of Vilvēli at Nelvēli.

5. Kōccaḡaiyan Raṇadhīra; fought the battle of Marudūr; defeated Maharatha in the city of Mangalapuram.

6. Arikēsarin Parāṅkuṣa Māraḡvarman Tēr-Māraṇ; defeated the Pallava at Kuzhumbūr; conquered the Pallavas at Śanakaramangai; Rājasimha (I) defeated Pallavamalla; renewed the walls of Kūḡdal, Vāñji and Kōzhi.

² A. R. E. Annual report on Epigraphy—1908, II 28.

7. Jaṭila Neḍunjaḍaiyan Parāntaka; defeated the Kāḍava at Pennāgaḍam; (donor of the Vēlvikuḍi grant.) A.D. 769-70.

8. Rājasimha (II).

9. Varaguṇa-Mahārāja; Jayantavarman (?)

10. Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha Ēkavīra Paracakra-kōlāhala; conquered Māyā-Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa, Simhaḷa, Pallava and Vallabha; *Pallava-bhanjana*.

11. Varaguṇavarman; ascended the throne in A.D. 862-863.

12. Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyan; fought at Kharagiri and destroyed Pennāgaḍam; married Vānavanmahādevi, *Jaṭila Neḍunjaḍaiyan* (donor of the Madras Museum and smaller Sinnamanūr plates?).

13. Rājasimha (III) Mandaragaurava Abhimānamēru.

Venkayya also pointed out that this table depended for its validity on the correctness of some 'facts and surmises' the overthrow of any of which by future research may render necessary a reconsideration of the whole genealogy. There were three considerations put forward by him in support of his scheme; two of these viz., the identity of Rājasimha of the Sinnamanūr plates with the Pāṇḍyaking overthrown by Parāntaka Cōḷa, and that of Neḍunjaḍaiyan of the Vēlvikuḍi grant with Māraṇjaḍaiyan of Anaimalai cave inscription, have stood the test of time and may be accepted as correct. But the paleographical argument of Venkayya has not turned out to be so happy. He said: "Neḍunjaḍaiyan of the Vēlvikuḍi grant cannot be identical with his namesake of the Madras Museum plates, but the former must be earlier than the

latter". It is now recognised on all hands that this view is wrong, and that there is nothing in the paleography of the Madras Museum plates which would justify a later date for them than that of the Vēlvikuḍi grant.³ Venkayya stated further: "The Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman and the smaller Sinnamanūr plates are probably nearer in point of time to the larger Sinnamanūr plates than they are to the Vēlvikuḍi grant". This statement, now antiquated by the fact that the Museum plates and the Vēlvikuḍi grant are ascribed to the same ruler, is still of interest as in part accounting for Venkayya's arrangement of the genealogy of the early Pāṇḍya kings. The three generations interposed by him between the donor of the Vēlvikuḍi grant and Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyan, the donor, according to Venkayya, of the Museum plates are in some measure the result of his views on the relative intervals separating these plates from one another. As these views are now seen clearly to be untenable, one of the chief "surmises" supporting Venkayya's system of genealogy no longer holds good, and it is necessary to re-examine the genealogy in the light of this and other relevant facts.

II

I ventured in my *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* to suggest a scheme of ten generations comprising eleven rulers, 'short-circuiting' the pedigree accepted by previous writers, as Mr. F. J. Richards puts it, by two generations, and making "a very fine man of Varaguṇa".⁴ In other words, I identified Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa of the Sinnamanūr plates with Arikēsari Asamasaman (No. 4) of the Vēlvikuḍi grant instead of with Rājasimha I (No. 6) as Venkayya had done, and following him, others. This resulted in Jaṭila Parāntaka being identified with Varaguṇa Mahārāja; it also meant that two long reigns, those of Varaguṇa-mahārāja and of his son, took the place of the four shorter reigns of Varaguṇa I, Rājasimha II, Varaguṇa II and Śrī-Māra of Venkayya's scheme.

Not only has no reason been found so far for going back on the scheme put forward by me, but some more positive reasons for its being preferred to the other may now be urged, and it is my object here to do this and to consider some of the other opinions that have been offered on the subject.

³ See my *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* pp. 42-44 for a full discussion of this point.
⁴ J. R. A. S. 1930 p. 945.

One remarkable thing may be mentioned at the outset. In 1907, discussing the stone records of Māraṇjaḍaiyan, after ascribing some of them to Varaguṇa II (acc A.D. 862), Mr. Venkayya observed:⁵ "About other inscriptions dated in the reign of Māraṇjaḍaiyan, we cannot be quite sure if they belong to Varaguṇa, or to one or more kings different from him. For instance, at Mānūr in the Tinnevely district is a record belonging to the 37th year of Māraṇjaḍaiyan (No. 423 of 1906), whose identity with any of these kings on the genealogical table cannot now be established. For the present, at any rate, those inscriptions of Māraṇjaḍaiyan, which cannot without doubt be assigned to any of the kings in the foregoing genealogical table, must be kept distinct from No. 5 Varaguṇa-Mahārāja and No. 7 Varaguṇa Varman." In the epigraphical report recently issued we read again:⁶ "One other record (No. 12), in Vaṭṭezhuttu, belonging to a Māraṇjaḍaiyan comes from Daḷapatisamudram in the Tinnevely district, and it is dated in the 6th year opposite the 35th of the reign. We cannot say who this Pāṇḍya king was; but we may note that at Mānūr in the same district there is a record (423 of 1906) of a Māraṇjaḍaiyan, similarly dated in the 35th year—469th day. Another record of a Māraṇjaḍaiyan bearing the high regnal year 43 (No. 605 of 1915) has been copied at Ēruvāḍi, a village three miles from Daḷapatisamudram. It is left to future research to settle who the Pāṇḍya king was that had such high regnal years".⁷ Now one may hesitate to accept as valid a scheme that causes so much difficulty in finding a reasonable disposal for the records that undoubtedly belong to the period with which we are concerned. It cannot be doubted that Māraṇjaḍaiyan with these high regnal years was one of the powerful Early Pāṇḍyas of the First Empire.

It should cause no surprise that, though this king held sway for such a long time and certainly over a wide stretch of country outside the bounds of the traditional Pāṇḍya Kingdom, his records are not found in any considerable number outside the southern parts of his dominions. This feature characterising the provenance of these early records is only proof of the many changes that have come over the monuments of the Cōḷa country and other tracts in the course of subsequent centuries. The numberless renovations of ancient temples undertaken in the Cōḷa period of

⁵ A. R. E. 1907 II 21.

⁶ A. R. E. 1929 II 8.

⁷ 104 of 1905 of the 39th year from Ambāsamudram; and 863 of 1917 of the 42 year from Kaḷugumalai may also be mentioned.

South Indian history must have led to the destruction * of most of the ancient records, especially where they had been originally engraved, like the inscriptions of the early Pāṇḍya kings, in Vaṭṭezhuttu characters.

Now, the Anamalai inscription of A.D. 769-70 and Aivarmalai record which yields A.D. 862 for the accession of Varaguṇa Varman II leave barely an interval of ninety two years to be filled, in accordance with the arrangement suggested by Mr. Venkayya,⁸ by a part of the reign of Jaṭila-Parāntaka and three generations of rulers succeeding him one after another. There is little room here, therefore for a reign of over forty years, which is required by the Māraṇjaḍaiyan records under discussion. Considering the position after A.D. 862 for a moment, what we find is that the next sure date is furnished by the conquest of Madura by Parāntaka I Cōḷa, which is mentioned as early as A.D. 910. We also know that Varaguṇa II was ruling about A.D. 880, the date of the battle of Śrīpuṇḍriyam in which the Ganga Prithivīpati I, whose last known inscription is dated in A. D. 879, lost his life. The interval between this date A.D. 880, and the Cōḷa conquest of Madura, c. A.D. 910-20, is taken up by the closing years of the reign of Varaguṇa II, and the rule of Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa, both of them Māraṇjaḍaiyans, and by the opening years of Rājasimha, the Pāṇḍya who, according to the Udayēndiram plates of Prithivīpati II, was attacked and overthrown by Cōḷa Parāntaka I. Here again there seems to be no room for a reign of over forty years. Earlier than A.D. 770, there is only one Śaḍaiyan expressly so called, Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra; of him we do not know much, but if it is correct to identify his father, the Victor of Nelvēli with the contemporary of the Śaiva saint Tirugnānasambandhar, it is not possible for Raṇadhīra to be assigned as long a period of rule as the late Māraṇjaḍaiyan records would require. Śēndan and Kaḍuṅgōn, also perhaps Śaḍaiyans, though not so described anywhere, are really too early in point of time for these records to be assigned to them, or indeed for any of their records to have come down

* In regard to this statement it must be borne in mind that the Cholas insisted upon the careful preservation of these records either by re-setting them or by setting copies of them where the original were too far gone. For a circular of Rajendra I and note of its having been carried out, refer to Nos. 651 and 652 of Tirumalavāḍi in the Tanjore District (p. 182 Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India, Sir William Meyer Lectures delivered by me). For a similar circular of Rāja-rāja III &c. see Epigraphist's Report: Sec. 32 of 1911 and Sec. 41 of 1913.—Editor.

⁸ A. R. E. 1908 II 28.

to us among the inscriptions we are concerned with. Considerations like these weighed greatly with me when I suggested the deletion from Mr. Venkayya's list of Rājasimha II (8)⁹ and Varaguṇa-Mahārāja (9) on the ground that they were obviously identical with Rājasimha I (6) and Jaṭila Parāntaka (7), and also assigned a long reign of about fifty years to Jaṭila Parāntaka, who was a Māraṇjaḍaiyan with the name Varaguṇa.¹⁰ We have also a Śaḍaiya-māraṇ record of the 46th year which, though a Tamil record, perhaps belongs to this period also.¹¹ As my book was passing through the press, there appeared Mr. Krishna Sastri's edition of the Sinnamanūr plates in the *South Indian Inscriptions* which sought to reinforce the position of Mr. Venkayya by some fresh arguments. These I have examined in a long note at the end of my book and I need not repeat the discussion here. I must say, however, that on further consideration I have had to conclude that 'Vilvēli' is not a proper name¹² and that consequently that part of the argument of Mr. Krishna Sastri which is based on this assumption cannot be taken to be of much value.

III

One critic of my scheme formulates his criticism in the following terms:¹³ "At the present stage, only three dates are well-known, i.e., (1) A.D. 862 the date of Varaguṇa varman's accession. (2) A.D. 770 for the donor of the Vēlvikkūḍi grant, and (3) A.D. 642, the date of the destruction of Vātāpi, the Cālukya capital. Mr. Śāstri has given tentative dates allowing thirty years for Kaḍuṅgon, twenty-five years each for Avani-Śūlāmaṇi and Śēndan, forty years for Arikēsari Māra-varman or Ninra Śīr Neḍumāraṇ, thirty years for Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra, twenty-five years for Rājasimha, fifty years for the donor of the Vēlvikkūḍi grant and forty seven years for Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha. In the absence of much evidence in giving unduly long periods for the last two monarchs here named, we feel too diffident to rely upon Mr. Śāstri's dates. Scholars know that Saint Appar converted Mahēndravarmaṇ who ruled from circa A.D. 600 to 625. Appar was also moving about from place to place with his friend saint

⁹ The numbers in brackets are those of Venkayya's table.
¹⁰ *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* p. 40.
¹¹ 440 of 1907. I must note, however, that Venkayya was inclined to think it a later record of about the time of Rājendra I Cōla—A. R. E. 1908 p. 59.

¹² J. O. R. Vol. V. p. 73.
¹³ J. I. H. 1929 p. 279.

Sambandhar, who is known to have cured Ninra Śīr Neḍumāraṇ of his fever. If the Neḍumāraṇ in question ruled from 670 to 710, it is highly doubtful if Appar could have been alive, and if alive, strong enough to lift Sambandar's palanquin on his shoulders and get mixed in the crowd of Sambandar's followers, as is narrated in his life. It is almost certain, therefore, that Neḍumāraṇ, the saint, should have mounted the throne much earlier than A.D. 670. These difficulties can be conveniently avoided by accepting roughly the following dates:—Kaḍuṅgōn 562-592; Avani Śūlāmaṇi 592-622; Śēndan 622-652; Ninra Śīr Neḍumāraṇ 652-682; Raṇadhīra 682-712; Arikēsari II 712-742; Kōccaḍaiyan (donor) 742-772; Rājasimha 772-802; Varaguṇa Mahārāja 802-832; Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha 832-862; Varaguṇa Varman 862 to (?)".

There are raised two objections to my scheme in this criticism: first that there is no warrant for the long reigns assigned by me to the donor of the Vēlvikkūḍi plates, and to his son and successor Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha. This objection is based, as must have become clear from the observations made earlier in this paper, on an inadequate appreciation of the epigraphical evidence relating to the period. It is the high regnal years in some of the Māraṇjaḍaiyan records, and the utter impossibility of finding out anything about the history of Rājasimha II and Varaguṇa I (on Mr. Venkayya's scheme) from the Sinnamanūr grant or from any other source, that led me to suspect some mistake in the scheme of identifications of Mr. Venkayya and ultimately to put forward the alternative actually adopted by me. So long as there are no intrinsic objections to it and a better arrangement does not come into view, I see no reason to be frightened by one long reign succeeding another. I can only draw attention once more to the analagous case of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and Dantivarman.

The second objection is based on the difficulty of fitting into my scheme the known facts relating to the lives of the Śaiva saints. After making out an apparently strong case for dating the accession of Ninra Śīr Neḍumāraṇ much earlier than I do, the suggestion is offered that his reign may be assigned to the period 652 to 682, my own dates being 670 to 710. All these dates are approximate, and for practical purposes these two sets of dates are near enough to be treated as being substantially in agreement. No one can be quite sure for instance that Mahēndravarmaṇ's reign closed in A.D. 625; and did not, in fact, extend up to 630—the date adopted by Mr. Gopalan for the end of the reign, or even 635 A.D. Again, we should remember that Appar had by tradition—and in dealing with the lives of the Saints we are all trafficking in tradition, sometimes rather too freely—a very long life as is seen

from the mnemonic verse that assigns to him a life of eighty-one years.¹⁴ I may mention, incidentally, that my difficulty has always been not in regard to Appar, but about the relation among Śīruttonḍar, Neḍumāraṇ and Gnānasambandar.¹⁵ Tradition says that Gnānasambandar did not live beyond the age of sixteen and that he was entertained once as a guest by Śīruttonḍar of Vātāpi fame.¹⁶ With the destruction of Vātāpi in A.D. 642, it is difficult to fit in the date provided by Śēkkizhār on the lives of the saints even with A.D. 652 as the starting date for Neḍumāraṇ's rule; with A.D. 670 for the accession of Neḍumāraṇ there is no possible method of working the data from Śaiva hagiology into the chronological scheme. If an objection is to be urged against my scheme from the standpoint of religious legends relating to the period, but narrated for the first time with great conciseness by Nambi Aṇḍār Nambi in the 10th or 11th century, and much more elaborately by Śēkkizhār in the twelfth, the difficulty of adjusting the facts of the lives of Śīruttonḍar and Sambandar is much more serious than that relating to the age of Appar. Appar as I have pointed out lived to a ripe old age of 81, and assuming that he converted Mahēndravarmaṇ sometime between A.D. 625 and 635 there is nothing intrinsically improbable in meetings between him and Sambandar about A.D. 670-680. And it may be noted, in passing, that we have at present no sure means of dating the conversion to Śaivism either of Mahēndravarmaṇ or of Neḍumāraṇ. To object that if Appar was alive about A.D. 670-80 he would not have been strong enough to lift Sambandar's palanquin on his shoulders is to confound Śēkkizhār's hint of a ceremonial courtesy on the part of Appar towards his fellow-apostle Sambandar with the rough work of a day-labourer.

The difficulty about Śīruttonḍar does indeed appear insuperable at first sight. If we must accept Śēkkizhār's statements as based on a correct tradition, if A.D. 642 is the only possible date for an expedition against Vātāpi, and if it is true that Sambandar died at the early age of sixteen, the scheme of Pāṇḍyan chronology which advocates so late a date as A.D. 670 for the accession of Neḍumāraṇ is doomed. But, very cogent reasons have been shown¹⁷ for holding that there was another and a later raid on Vātāpi towards the close of the reign of Cālukya Vikramāditya I

¹⁴ Apparukkembattonṟu, etc.

¹⁵ Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, p. 54, n. 1.

¹⁶ Periyapurāṇam, Śīruttonḍar VV. 23 and 24, and Sambandar 468 ff.

¹⁷ Dr. N. Venkataramanayya—The Madras Christian College Magazine 1927—pp. 236 ff.

in the years A.D. 674-80, soon after the celebrated battle of Peruvaḷanallūr, and that the "City of Raṇarasika" captured by Paramēśvaravarman I Pallava was no other than Vātāpi. There is nothing in the narration by Śēkkizhār of the life of Śīruttonḍar that precludes our connecting that warrior-saint with this second raid against the 'City of Raṇarasika,' 'Vātāpi-ttonmagaram', as Śēkkizhār more explicitly puts it. * And this, it seems to me, is the best course to adopt in reconciling all known data drawn from literary tradition and epigraphy. And this date for the raid by Śīruttonḍar on Vātāpi, it will be seen, fits in with my scheme of early Pāṇḍyan chronology.

IV

In editing three Tamil inscriptions from Lālgudi in *Epigraphia Indica*,¹⁸ Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar arrives at the conclusion that the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa Mahārāja I came to the throne in A.D. 811. If this conclusion is correct, my scheme by which I identify the donor of Vēlvikudi grant whose accession I place at about A.D. 765 with Varaguṇa Mahārāja I must be wrong and will have to give place to a more reasonable arrangement which must be sought most probably in the thirteen generations suggested by Mr. Venkayya. As the issue thus raised is very important, I must necessarily undertake a careful examination of the grounds on which Mr. Aiyar bases his conclusion regarding the accession of Varaguṇa Mahārāja I.

As I understand Mr. Aiyar's arguments put forward in the article cited above, I may sum up the leading steps in his demonstration in the following propositions:

(i) The two inscriptions 'A' and 'B' are dated in the same manner. They both 'give some year opposite to the fourth'; consequently they must both be ascribed to the same ruler, who is called Māraṇjaḍaiyan and Varaguṇa Mahārāja in 'B'.

*It is just possible that the 'City of Raṇarasika' may not be Vātāpi. Paramēśvara's invasion during the years 674-80 is a bare possibility, but the probabilities are that it is an earlier achievement if it is one distinct from the destruction of Vātāpi in 642. The association of Śīruttonḍar with the possible second destruction of Vātāpi lays it open to almost a similar objection to what is sought to be got over. That the carrying of the palanquin by Appar as 'the rough work of a day labourer' would seem to exhibit ignorance of the honour done to learning in what is called *Brahma-ratha*. Men of learning honouring exhibition of special ability by this act of appreciation—carrying the learned man in a palanquin. The objection to the ceremonial courtesy would be equally valid if Appar was venerably old.—Editor.

¹⁸ Vol. XX pp. 46-54.

(ii) 'A' mentions Tellārerindu-Venra Nandipōttaraiyar, and therefore he must have been a contemporary of Varaguṇa Mahārāja I in his fifth year.

(iii) From the *Mahāvamsa* we learn that Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha's rule covered the last three years of Dappula's reign viz., 840-843, and must have commenced about A.D. 840; as the latest regnal year known of his predecessor Varaguṇa I is the seventeenth, he must have begun to rule about A.D. 823, though "it is not impossible that it might have commenced a few years earlier."

(iv) His contemporary Nandivarman III took part together with the Raṣtrakūṭa Gōvinda III in the coronation of Śivamāra II Ganga. The last year of Gōvinda III is 814; the coronation of Śivamāra II may therefore be placed about 812 and Nandivarman III must have been ruling by this time in his own right as he is said to have been himself a crowned king at the time of Śivamāra's coronation. It is unlikely he started earlier. This again means that Varaguṇa Mahārāja I could not have begun to rule earlier than about A.D. 807.

(v) The limits of Varaguṇa's first year being thus fixed between 807 and 823, the actual date is calculated to be A.D. 811 from two records of the thirteenth year which preserve astronomical details that admit of verification.

Let us consider each of these steps in turn. First, about the classification of the early Pāṇḍyan inscriptions according to the method of dating adopted in them. Mr. Aiyar follows the rule that all records dated with two figures, of which the first is 4 must be assigned to Māraṇjaḍaiyan and he draws attention to a number of such records in his paper.¹⁹ But it is not easy to see how such an important rule of interpretation comes to be assumed as if it were self-evident and required no proof or discussion for its acceptance. After a long consideration of this question, I have had to come to the conclusion that the adoption of such a rule in interpreting the early Pāṇḍyan records of the reigns of Māraṇ-Ṣaḍaiyan and Ṣaḍaiya-Māraṇ is unwarranted in the extreme and is apt to give altogether a wrong turn to our understanding of the history of the period. It is obviously impossible to find arguments that do not beg the question from these inscriptions themselves either for or against the rule assumed by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar. But the Pāṇḍyan kings continued the system of double dates right through history, and a study of the method as it is employed in periods in

¹⁹ *Ibid* p. 48 n. 2.

which the identity of particular kings is established beyond doubt is bound to throw light on the method as it was employed in an earlier age. And what do we find as a result of the study of such examples? No one has ever proposed to postulate more than one Pāṇḍyan king of the name of "Vīra Pāṇḍya" with the title "Sōzhan-talai-konḍa"; and we find that the records of this king are dated in all sorts of ways: Nos. 548, 624 and 625 of 1926 are all Vaṭṭezhuttu records of this king who belongs to the period immediately following Parāntaka's conquest of Madura, and we find these records dated respectively as 13+2, 4+5, and 5+5. There are other records of his which have a single date and do not bear a double-date. Take a later king—Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, celebrated in mediaeval Pāṇḍyan history for his conquest of the Cōla kingdom and restoration of Pāṇḍyan glory; besides the ordinary single dates (100 of 1907), his records exhibit all the following variations in the method of quoting regnal years: 5+1 (93 of 1907); 20+1 (96 of 1907); 20+1+1 (107 and 108 of 1907) and year 20+849th day (124 of 1907). In fact as the numbers of the records show, I have chosen these examples from a casual look into the pages of the report for 1907-8. Others, quite similar, can be quoted from the period of the decline.²⁰ The most natural inference to make is that as in the later periods, so in the earlier one, we cannot expect any adherence to any set form of quoting the regnal years in the records of any single ruler; and consequently we may well hesitate to admit that all records with the first figure 4 in a double-date necessarily belong to a single Māraṇjaḍaiyan, or that his records were not also dated in other ways, with other first figures, or with only single dates, or with a date containing some year and some days e.g., 35+469 days. Any one who contends that the Early Pāṇḍyan kings differed from all their successors in the manner of expressing their regnal years in their inscriptions will have to establish that thesis by producing evidence much stronger than a mere assumption which goes contrary to the most legitimate inference that can be made from records of the same dynasty of all the succeeding centuries. Till this is done the first of the propositions given above which concludes that both 'A' and 'B' must, from the manner of their dating, belong to the same reign must be declared 'not proven'.

The second proposition not only depends for its validity entirely on the correctness of the first, but loses force also in another way. As Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar has himself very

²⁰ *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* p. 7 and n.

clearly pointed out, the inscription is from a group of copies of earlier records "made probably when the temple where they are found was renovated or repaired. Palaeographically they may be assigned to the 10th century of the Christian era".²¹ We can hardly be too careful in dealing with such copies as they often contain the most egregious blunders imaginable. Take for instance an inscription from Cidambaram²² which combines the historical introductions of two Rājendra-cōlas, both of them Parākēsarīs, and dates itself in the twenty-fourth year of a Rājendracōla-dēva. It is by no means easy to see how such a jumble can arise; and yet, there it is in a copy made undoubtedly at a time when the dynasty of the Cōlas was still ruling in the Tamil country in full splendour, possibly within a century after the time of Rājendra I. There are numerous mistakes, equally curious and puzzling, in the inscriptions from Tirupati, several of which are late copies of earlier originals. Among the copies at Lālgudi itself, there is clearly one record, professedly of the time of Nandivarman III, the king mentioned in inscription 'A' under discussion, which is beyond doubt spurious. Of this inscription,²³ we read in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy (1929) as follows: "There is a clear reference in the well-preserved portion of the record to a temple called Arinjigai-Iśvaram built at Parāntakapuram. As the temple and the village should have been so named after the Cōla kings Arinjaya and his father Parāntaka I who flourished in the first half of the 10th century A.D., their mention in a record which purports to be three generations earlier, stamps it as spurious. It is to be noted, however, that the inscription is not expressly stated to be a copy." It must be added here, to avoid misunderstanding, that none of the Lālgudi inscriptions is expressly stated to be a copy. But there can be no doubt that most of them are copies.²⁴ The result of this fact is, that even if we ignore the objections to proposition (i) above, it is by no means settled that we can be sure either of the date of the record 'A' or of the name of the king mentioned therein; and we must be chary of using such dubious data in extensive chronological reconstructions.

Let us now turn to the third argument which seeks light on Pāṇḍyan chronology from the Ceylonese chronicle. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar does not explain in the article under review how the

²¹ E. I. XX p. 47.

²² 118 of 1888, S. I. I. IV No. 223.

²³ No. 144 of 1928-9. A. R. E. 1929 II 4.

²⁴ Ibid II 6; also E. I. XX p. 47 quoted above.

Mahāvamśa account implies that Śrīmāra Śrī Vallabha's reign covered the last three years of Dappula's rule A.D. 840-3. It is perhaps natural and proper to assume that the views on this subject expressed elsewhere are still held by him. In his *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan*,²⁵ the learned author says: "The Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamśa* states that Aggabōdhi IX ruled for three years from A.D. 843 to 846 and after him his younger brother Śilāmēgha Sēna I raised the canopy of dominion and reigned for twenty years from A.D. 846 to 866. Thus these two sovereigns are contemporaries of Śrīmāra. We are told in the *Mahāvamśa* that during the reign of Aggabōdhi's father Dappula, his brother's son Mahinda was not raised to the rank of a governor as was the custom. It is said that this course was adopted in order to secure the throne to Aggabōdhi and Sēna. Mahinda and his brothers then went to the opposite coast (i.e., the Pāṇḍya country) for help and returned to the island when Dappula died. Dappula's sons Aggabōdhi and Sēna killed them in a battle. This was probably the reason for the invasion of Ceylon by the Pāṇḍya king Śrī Māra." In this summary of the transactions narrated in the *Mahāvamśa*, Mr. Aiyar has not kept close to his text and has introduced assumptions that find no warrant in the text or the translations of the *Mahāvamśa*. This work, indeed, states that, apparently in defiance of the normal law of succession in Ceylon, Dappula did not appoint Mahinda, his elder brother's son, as *ādipāda*, heir-apparent, his motive being to secure the succession to his own sons Aggabōdhi and Sēna.²⁶ But when exactly in Dappula's reign this supersession of Mahinda took place is not stated, and Dappula had a reign of sixteen years ending with A.D. 843. It is therefore difficult to see why this event should be assigned to the last three years of Dappula's reign. There is also nothing whatever in the *Mahāvamśa* that can support Mr. Aiyar's statements that Mahinda returned to Ceylon after Dappula died and that he was killed in a battle by the sons of Dappula. The *Mahāvamśa* states distinctly that Sēna, the successor of Aggabōdhi IX, had Mahinda who had betaken himself to the opposite shore, slain by agents.²⁷ Mahinda therefore neither returned to Ceylon nor died in battle. It is only fair to state, however, that Wijesinha's translation is not a little misleading at this point as Geiger has shown in his recent editions of the text and translation of the *Cūlavamśa*, as the later chapters

²⁵ pp. 137-8.

²⁶ Ch. 49 v. 84.

²⁷ Ch. 50, v. 4.

of the *Mahāvamsa* are called.²⁸ Lastly, there is nothing to connect the Ceylonese invasion of Śrīmāra Pāṇḍya with the fortunes of Mahinda. The story of Mahinda, the dispossessed prince of the elder line comes to an end with his assassination, and after the lapse of some years since Sēna I consolidated his position on the throne by getting rid of Mahinda and in other ways, then, "once later came the Pāṇḍu king with a great force from Jambudīpa and began to take possession of the Island."²⁹ Thus the Pāṇḍyan invasion of Ceylon in Sēna's reign stands in no sort of relation whatever to what happened to Mahinda either in Dappula's reign or at any time thereafter.

Not only is there nothing to support the assumption that Śrīmāra's reign overlapped the reign of Dappula in the last three years, but the assumption, if made, is sure to upset altogether Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar's conclusions on early Pāṇḍyan Chronology. Since Wijesinha's time, Ceylonese chronology has been the subject of much close study and discussion, and the most authoritative summary of the results so far reached is to be found in the pages of Prof. Geiger's masterly edition of the *Cūlavamsa* already mentioned. Now, according to the scheme of this scholar, Dappula's reign ended in A.D. 828.³⁰ If Mr. Aiyar is right in his idea that Śrīmāra's rule commenced three years earlier, the beginning of his rule would fall about A.D. 825. The latest known regnal year of his predecessor Varguṇa I being the seventeenth according to Mr. Aiyar, his rule must have commenced about A.D. 808 which would be three years before the date of accession actually advocated for him by Mr. Aiyar; and if "it is not impossible" that he had a longer reign than seventeen years, the discrepancy becomes much greater. The argument from the *Mahāvamsa* summed up in the third of the five propositions given above thus breaks down at all points and proves itself utterly incapable of sustaining the conclusions sought to be deduced by Mr. Aiyar.

V

The argument of the fourth proposition rests on the fact that at the coronation of Śivamāra II Ganga, both the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III and the Pallava Nandivarman III were present. If this fact is established, the rest of the argument follows more or less as a necessary consequence; the last date for Gōvinda III being 814, the event in which he took part may be placed about 812 by

²⁸ See Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*—1 p. 136 n. 3 *contra* Wijesinha p. 61 vv. 84-7.
²⁹ Ch. 50 v. 12.
³⁰ *Op. cit.* II p. XII No. 51. (109).

which time Nandivarman III must have begun his rule; and as Nandi III was, according to Mr. Aiyar, the contemporary of Māraṇjaḍaiyan in his fifth year, the latter could not have begun his rule earlier than 807. But the trouble lies in establishing the basic fact on which this argument proceeds, and considering the weight of the argument that is made to rest on it, we cannot test its correctness too carefully.

The assurance with which Mr. Aiyar takes this fact for granted is indeed surprising. He says: "We learn from the Western Ganga grants that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III and the Pallava king Nandivarman—both crowned kings themselves—fastened the fillet of royalty on the forehead of Śivamāra II, Saigotṭa"³¹ and the only reference he gives is to an article of Fleet in the course of which he discusses, among other things, the spurious Maṇṇe grant, dated in A.D. 797, containing the statement on which Mr. Aiyar relies so much. But Fleet's discussion of this grant must have been sufficient warning to Mr. Aiyar that he was moving on treacherous ground. For this is what Fleet says after giving a translation of the relevant portion of the Maṇṇe grant:³² "Gōvinda-rāja seems to be the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III, whose reign began about A.D. 783-4 and ended in A.D. 814-15; Śivamāra II was undoubtedly contemporaneous with him towards the end of his reign; and we shall find reasons, further on, for believing that he did assist or recognise the succession of Śivamāra II to the leadership of the Gangas. Nandivarman must be Pallava-malla-Nandivarman, son of Hiranyavarman. He cannot have had anything to do with Śivamāra II at so late a time as the date of his succession on the death of Muttarasa. And it seems that, mixed up with a real act of Gōvinda III towards the second Śivamāra, the Maṇṇe grant has preserved an anachronistic reminiscence of a real act of Pallavamalla-Nandivarman towards the first Śivamāra; viz., that, on the downfall of the Western Cālukyas, he formally recognised Śivamāra I, and crowned him as the chief, more or less feudatory, of a powerful tribe on the borders of his own outlying province of Nōḷamba-vāḍi." And to leave nothing uncertain, Fleet discusses in a note the claims of Nandivarman III in this matter and writes:³³ "It might, perhaps, be said that he is the later Nandivarman, also called Vijaya-Nandi-Vikramavarman, son of Dantivarman. But this does not seem at all probable.

³¹ *E. I.* XX p. 49 and n. 13.

³² *E. I.* V. p. 158.

³³ *Ibid.* n. 3.

And, if it were so, an anachronism in the other direction would be involved; for, Nandivarman, the son of Dantivarman, cannot be placed as early as A.D. 797, which is the pretended date of the Maṇṇe grant; he cannot be placed before A.D. 804, which is the date that we have for Dantivarman." Mr. Aiyar himself places the accession of Nandivarman III only in A.D. 812, and feels no call to explain how he gets over the difficulty so clearly pointed out by Fleet. His argument looks plausible simply because he has refrained from quoting, much less examining the authenticity of the Maṇṇe grant, the source of his statement about Nandi III being present with Gōvinda III at Śivamāra's coronation. And he was not unaware of the position taken up on this question by one of the foremost among the epigraphists and historians who have worked in the field Indian History.

We do not know if Mr. Aiyar has noticed, he does not state it anywhere, that the same fact is mentioned in identical terms also in the Alūr plates (A.D. 799), declared like the Maṇṇe grant to be 'suspicious',³⁴ and also in the undated Gaḷigakere plates of Raṇavikrama.³⁵ Except in the case of the Gaḷigakere plates which are clearly later in time than the beginning of Nandivarman III's reign, it does not seem easy to get over the anachronisms to which Fleet has drawn such pointed attention.

One other possibility suggests itself.³⁶ The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king that crowned Śivamāra II may have been, not Gōvinda III, but Gōvinda II. The relations between Gōvinda III and Śivamāra were none too friendly as may be seen from the following verse which occurs in Gōvinda III's records; and it is doubtful if Śivamāra II ever ruled independently and contemporaneously with Gōvinda III and that sufficiently long for him to have been so formally installed by two crowned kings as narrated in the Maṇṇe and other grants mentioned above. The verse from Gōvinda's plates is this:³⁷

Yen-ātyanta-dayālunā tha nigaḍa-kleśād-apāsy-āyatāt
Svan-deśam gamito'-pi darpa-visarād-yaḥ prātikūlye-sthitaḥ
Yāvan-na bhrukuṭi-lalāṭa-phalake yasy-ōnnate lakṣyate
Viksepena vijitya tāvad-acirād-baddhahs-sa Gāmgah punah

³⁴ *Mysore Gazetteer*, new edition, II pp. 606-7; 646.
³⁵ *Ep. Car.* iv Yd. 60.

³⁶ The argument that follows is partly based on references furnished by Mr. M. Somaśkhara Śarma with whom I had occasion to discuss this subject.

³⁷ I. A. XI p. 158 text II. 21-3.

During the period of Śivamāra's imprisonment, "the Rāṣṭrakūṭas appointed their own viceroys to govern the Ganga territories. In 802 Dhārāvarṣa's son Kambha or Raṇāvaloka was the viceroy and there are three inscriptions of his time. In 813 we find Chāki Raja in that office".³⁸ It seems almost certain, therefore, that between A.D. 802 and 813 there is no room for a coronation such as that mentioned in the Maṇṇe grant of Mārasimha. This fact, and the date of that grant A.D. 797, would suggest, —that is, if we put aside for the time being the doubts about the genuineness of the record—that the date of the coronation must have been much earlier than the date given by Mr. Aiyar viz., A.D. 812. The suggestion may be made that Gōvinda II and Nandivarman II Pallavamalla took part in the coronation. But if this were so, the coronation must have taken place earlier than A.D. 775 when Dhruva the successor of Gōvinda II was ruling;³⁹ and the Pallava king who took part in it could have been only Nandivarman II. But there is one difficulty in the way of accepting this account of the matter. The predecessor of Śivamāra II, Śrī Puruṣa Muttarasa was ruling till as late as A.D. 788,⁴⁰ and this at least raises a doubt if Śivamāra could have been crowned so early in the reign of his predecessor as this arrangement would require us to assume. We should not also lose sight of the facts that the Maṇṇe grant is perhaps not genuine at all, and that Fleet has suggested another and a plausible explanation of the anachronistic mention of the Pallava Nandivarman in that grant.

It thus happens that not one of the four main propositions into which Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar's arguments may be resolved survives the slightest touch of criticism. All of them are based on an imperfect appreciation of the nature of the evidence available on the questions dealt with. That being so, we can hardly accept that the limits of the first year of Varguṇa's reign must lie between the years A.D. 807 and 823. The astronomical data in the inscriptions do not always lead to such definite results as the uninitiated may sometimes imagine; Mr. Aiyar has found no fewer than seven dates in a period of less than half a century to satisfy the requirements of the case. There are no doubt others of an earlier time which would satisfy the conditions equally. In any event, the examination of the arguments on which the date A.D.

³⁸ Rice—*Mysore Gazetteer* 1. p. 314.

³⁹ *E. I.* X p. 85.

⁴⁰ *Mysore Archaeological Report* 1918—p. 42.

811 for the accession of Varaguṇa is based has shown, beyond a shadow of doubt, that this conclusion rests on a series of thoroughly implausible conjectures, and is therefore hardly worthy of the serious consideration that it would otherwise merit.

VI

This long and somewhat intricate examination of the positions taken by different writers on early Pāṇḍyan chronology has, I believe, established some results more firmly than ever. Put forward by Mr. Venkayya as a tentative scheme, the genealogy of twelve generations comprising thirteen kings needs reconsideration in the light of new facts. Most important among the new facts are the position now assigned to the Madras Museum plates⁴¹ and the high regnal years in the stone inscriptions of Māraṇjaḍaiyan and Śaḍaiyanmāraṇ. The attempt to link Pāṇḍyan chronology with Pallava history, and to uphold a date in A.D. 811 for the accession of Varaguṇa I Pandya breaks down at every point. A revised genealogy comprising only ten generations meets all the requirements and seems best to harmonise all the known data from epigraphy and literature bearing on the period. What we know of the lives of the Śaiva saints, and of the duration of reigns of Pāṇḍyan kings from the stone inscriptions of the age is easily fitted into the scheme I put forward some-time ago and reproduce below:

(1) Kaḍuṅgōn.
A.D. c 590-620.

(2) Māraṇvarman Avaniśūlāmaṇi.
A.D. c 620-645.

(3) Śēndan.
A.D. c 645-670.

⁴¹ I have ignored the smaller Śinnamanūr plates as of minor importance to our purpose here. They have been discussed fully in my *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*.

(4) Arikēsari Māraṇvarman.
A.D. c 670-710.

(5) Kōccaḍaiyan.
A.D. c 710-740.

(6) Māraṇvarman Rājasimha I.
A.D. c 740-765.

(7) Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan.
A.D. c 765-815.

(8) Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha.
A.D. c 815-62.

(9) Varaguṇa Varman.
A.D. c 862-880.

(10) Parāntaka Vīraṇārāyana.
A.D. c 880-900.

(11) Māraṇvarman Rājasimha II
A.D. c 900-920.

History of the reign of Shāh Jahān

BY

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BOOK II: (continued)

CHAPTER III

THE IMPERIAL TREASURY

INTRODUCTORY:

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD

THE Imperial Household was a great miscellany of offices, factories, departments and institutions. It was a microcosm, a complete, independent unit, where the economic processes of production, consumption, and exchange went full circle. The standard of the articles and services consumed at court was so high and the amounts required were so large that no private agency or set of agencies could be relied upon to meet the demand with a reasonable degree of satisfaction.

Some of these, indeed, were of a kind usually managed by state, such as a mint or an arms factory. But it is proof of the fastidious tastes of the aristocracy in general and the Emperor in particular that every thing consumed by court was specially produced by its various offices.

These offices constituted the mainspring of life at court—like all mainsprings invisible to outside observers, but vitally necessary. To realize the significance of court life and ceremonial one should understand the inner working of the machinery that was behind it. This machinery was to the Imperial Court what anatomy is to the art of animal sculpture—foundation of its being.

We have a wish not only to see what passed on the stage, but also to watch the processes of preparation in the green-room and to study the appliances which controlled the shifting of scenes and the rest.

'The *kārkhānājāt*', says Abū'l-Fazl, 'were more than a hundred in number, and each was like a city, in fact like a kingdom.' (Ā'in, Text, 9).

The Treasury stored valuables of all kinds: coins, gold and silver, precious stones, and useful and ornamental things made of these; as well as articles of virtu prized for rarity or workmanship.

Several departments were concerned with the royal table, such as Kitchen, *Nānbā-khāna* (Bakery), *Hawā'y-khāna* (for pot-herbs, seasonings, sweets, etc.), *Mewa-khāna* (Fruiter), *Ābdār-khāna* (for water), *Rikāb-khāna* (Pantry), and *Āftābchī-khāna* (for ewers, etc.).

Not far removed in function were *Sharbat-khāna* (for sherbet and other beverages), and *Tambūl-khāna* (for betel-leaves).

Lighting-up was in charge of *Chirāgh-khāna* (lamps) and *Mash'al-khāna* (torches); while *Khwushbū-khāna* (Perfumery) supplied scents, itrs, essences and oils.

A large number of well-organized factories, where articles were manufactured and stored in proper order, also formed part of the Household. These were *Kārkhānas*, i.e., factories, properly so called:

The Mint stamped its seal on the current coin of the realm; and the *Qūr-khāna* produced arms and equipments of war. Another department engraved royal seals.

The following *kārkhānas* were concerned with the weaving of textile fabrics and the needlework connected with them:—*Farrāsh-khāna* (for tents and carpets), *Kirākyarāg-Khāna* (or *Kirākyarāq-khāna*) and *Tūshak-khāna* (for dresses and stuffs of all kinds used for wearing-apparel, etc.), and the Shawl department.

In other workshops skilful artists and artisans worked in metal, stone, ivory and other substances; and the upper reaches of art were approached in the work of goldsmiths and painters. Each department was conducted and supervised by master workers of established reputation.¹

¹ As an example, by no means isolated, may be cited Bebadal Khān, the *Dārogha* of Goldsmiths' workshop in Shāh Jahān's time, who was a celebrated lapidary, a great calligraphist, and also an author of some respectable verse. (A.S., II, 89-90).

Akbar, says Father Monserrate, who was at the Mughal Court in 1580-82, 'is so devoted to building that he sometimes quarries stone himself, along with the other workmen. Nor does he shrink from watching and even himself practising, for the sake of amusement, the craft of an ordinary artisan. For this purpose he has built a workshop near the palace, where also are studios and work-rooms for the finer and more reputable arts, such as painting, goldsmith-work, tapestry-making, carpet and curtain-making, and the manufacture of arms. Hither he very frequently comes and relaxes his mind with watching at their work those who practise these arts.' (Monserrate, *Commentary*, 201.)

Bernier, who came some eighty years later, is talking of the same factories in the following passage:—'Large halls are seen in many places, called *Kar-kanays* or workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths; in a third painters; in a fourth, varnishers in lacquer-work; in a fifth, joiners, turners, tailors, and shoe makers; in a sixth, manufactures of silk, brocade, and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and drawers worn by females, so delicately fine as frequently to wear out in one night. This article of dress, which lasts only a few hours, may cost ten or twelve crowns, and even more, when beautifully embroidered with needle-work.—The artisans repair every morning to their respective *Kar-kanays*, where they remain employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes.' (Bernier, 258-59).

Every one knows the heights of excellence essayed by the building art in this period.

Music, both as an art and as a profession, was in high esteem, and a heavy establishment consisting of musicians and singers (both male and female) and of dancing girls (of all nationalities) was maintained at considerable expense.

Where art excelled knowledge did not lag behind. And it is one of the paradoxes of history that one of the finest manuscript libraries in the world was built up, in great part, during the reign of an illiterate monarch. The Imperial Library of the Mughals is a remarkably interesting phenomenon in many ways.

A large number of animals were kept and fed in the fort-palace: Some, like elephants, horses, camels, mules and cattle, were for use, and were lodged in stables. Others, such as leopards, deer, dogs, hawks and falcons, were for hunting. Others, again, were for amusement, almost all Mughal emperors being amateur naturalists. All sorts of animals and birds that influence and patronage could bring found their way into the royal menagerie.

Then there was an office of the *Naubat-khāna* or *Naqqār-khāna* (Music Gallery) which tuned up at stated times and during the imperial audiences; and informed the capital and the camp of the time of day and night, and of the functions at the court.

There seems to have been a department in charge of the insignia of royalty. Rigid rules were observed regarding the use of these; for symbolism played a great part in Mughal administration and etiquette.

A very important department stands by itself: the Haram.

In the conspectus which has preceded, and the detailed treatment which will form the subject-matter of this and the following chapters, we have practically confined ourselves to the reigns of the greater Mughals. We are unable, therefore, to make any use of Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Classified List of Kārkhānājāt* in his *Mughal Administration* (Second Series), (Patna University, 1925). Lecture V, where, besides the *Āin* and *Zawābiḥ-i-Ālamgīrī*, he draws upon 'Afif's *Tārīkh-i-Fīrozshāhī* on the one hand, and on the Mahratta histories on the other. We are attempting a picture of the Household as it was roughly from 1650 to 1700. The authorities relating to the periods anterior and posterior to this epoch are beside our purpose.

The account that follows is not meant to be exhaustive. All we can manage is a description, as material serves, of the chief offices and departments. The importance of each will naturally determine the space to be allotted to it; so that some will have a somewhat generous treatment at the expense of others, which may be crowded out.

Perhaps the reader is asking himself what would be the approximate cost of running such a gigantic establishment as the Imperial Household. Risking a guess is worse than useless. Luckily some material is available for arriving at a tolerably accurate estimate.

We may begin with Abū'l-Fazl. Writing in or before the year 1597, he says: 'Although the majority of the officers of the Imperial Household get their salary from the army exchequer the expenditure for the year 39 *Ilāhī* [March 11, 1594—March 10, 1595] came to 30,91,86,795 *dāms*. The expenses of this Empire as well as the revenues are daily increasing.' (*Ā'in*, Text, I, 9). At 40 *dāms* to the rupee this would be equivalent to Rs. 77,29,670.

These are no doubt the office figures for Akbar's period, and we have no hesitation in accepting them. But we see that this is not at all a high figure. Both the Household and its expenses,

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we must remember, expanded considerably during the last ten years of Akbar's reign and under his descendants.

Hawkins' report, which refers to the years 1609-11, is as follows:

'His daily expences for his owne person, that is to say, for feeding of his Cattell of all sorts, and amongst them some few Elephants Royall, and all other expences particularly, as Apparell, Victuals, and other petty expences for his house, amounts to fiftie thousand Rupias a day.

The expences daily for his Women by the day, is thirtie thousand Rupias.' (Purchas, III, 34.)

We understand it to mean that according to Hawkins the daily expenses of the Imperial Household, exclusive of the Haram, amounted to Rs. 50,000, and those of the Haram to Rs. 30,000 *per diem*—total, Rs. 80,000, a day. The annual expenditure would then be Rs. 1,09,50,000 for the Haram, and Rs. 1,82,50,000 for the rest of the Household—total, Rs. 2,92,00,000, or nearly three crores.

The annual budget of the Household must have gone up with rapid strides between 1595 and 1610. And these figures are neither incredible nor unlikely, seeing that Akbar's careful husbandry contrasted with Jahāngīr's negligent ways, and that fifteen years of peaceful development intervened between these dates.

The historiographers of Shāh Jahān's reign give us no details on this point; and we have to fall back upon foreign travellers. Bernier had no access to the official records, and has no definite estimates to offer. Still from a man of his judgment and balance even general statements like the following are worth quoting. He is writing early in Aurangzeb's reign, and is discussing the Emperor's wealth:

'But I have not enumerated all the expenses incurred by the Great Mogol. He keeps in Dehly and Agra from two to three thousand fine horses, always at hand in case of emergency: eight or nine hundred elephants, and a large number of baggage horses, mules, and porters, intended to carry the numerous and capacious tents, with their fittings, his wives and women, furniture, kitchen apparatus, Ganges'-water, and all the other articles necessary for the camp, which the Mogol has always about him, as in his capital, things which are not considered necessary in our kingdoms in Europe.

Add to this, if you will, the enormous expenses of the *Seraglio*, where the consumption of fine cloths of gold, and brocades, silks, embroideries, pearls, musk, amber and sweet essences, is greater than can be conceived.

Thus, although the *Great Mogol* be in the receipt of an immense revenue, his expenditure being much in the same proportion, he cannot possess the vast surplus of wealth that most people seem to imagine. I admit that his income exceeds probably the joint revenues of the *Grand Seignior* and of the King of *Persia*; but if I were to call him a wealthy monarch, it would be in the sense that a treasurer is to be considered wealthy who pays with one hand the large sums which he receives with the other.' (P. 221-22).

It may be remarked in passing that the Princes and the greater nobles had a similar set of *Kārkhānājāt* attached to their household, of course on a descending scale of magnitude, according to the position and wealth of its owner.

TREASURIES.

The Imperial Treasury contained, as we have said, cash and precious metals, and jewels and jewelled articles. We shall take up the Cash and the Jewel Treasury separately, winding up with the miscellaneous articles of artistic and general interest—not jewels, nor forming part of Jewel treasury, yet more valuable than many gems.

Section i: Cash Treasury.

A monarch's resources in war and peace depend on wealth. Consequently the treasury which contains that wealth is a measure of his power. No wonder then that Treasury occupied the first place in the Imperial Household.

In history and tradition the Greater Mughals (from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century) have been famous for their wealth. The fame of the Golden Land of Ind had reached Milton as early as the middle of the seventeenth century. Sir Thomas Roe, a hostile and unsympathetic witness, writing to Prince Charles from Jahāngīr's court at Ajmer on the 30th. of October, 1616, speaks thus of the prosperity and wealth of Mughal India: 'Plentifull in corne and cattle for mans necessitye: abundant in wealth and commodities of trade for superfluitie. His revenew far above any easteren monarch knowne: farr above the Turke: incredible if I sawe not the issues and incomes and could not give a better reason of yt then report. In jewells (which is one of his felicityes) hee is the treasury of the world, buyeing all that comes, and heaping rich stones as if hee would rather build then weare them.' (Roe, 270).

¹ An unconscious prophecy, since Shāh Jahān did build (the Peacock Throne) with some of these jewels

We have already heard Bernier's qualified praise.

Is it possible to arrive at a tolerably accurate valuation of the contents of the treasury during the various reigns?

We propose to attempt in this section a rapid survey of the Cash Treasury from Bābur to Shāh Jahān.

It is often, if somewhat vaguely, supposed that one of the causes of the immensity of the Great Mughal's wealth was the fact that unlimited treasures cumulated by the successive lines of Delhi Kings (Khaljis, Tughlaqs, and Lodis) fell to Bābur at Panipat, and that they went on steadily increasing in the hands of his descendants till Nādir Shāh fell on them in 1739 and carried them off at one fell swoop to his native land of Persia. Well, such sweeping statements are generally misleading. The reader is warned that whatever truth there may be in such a generalization, in the first place it can apply only to the Jewel treasury, since the Cash treasury, which Bābur inherited as the spoils of war, was completely squandered by him, as we shall see, in a short time; and while Humāyūn was mostly a fugitive, Jahāngīr's crapulous hands, it appears, were not strong enough to guard, or to spend properly, Akbar's hard-earned wealth, so that Shāh Jahān inherited, comparatively speaking, a depleted treasury. Secondly, even if we consider only the jewel treasury, the period from 1526 to 1739 was not one of steady growth and progress. Humāyūn's defeat and flight to Persia was a great set-back, and we have no means of telling how much of Ibrāhīm Lodī's jewel treasury was actually inherited by Akbar.

We can now proceed to the details:

Boundless wealth seems to have fallen into the hands of Bābur at Panipat, though no appraisal of its value is possible from the data available. It is equally certain that heavy sums were bestowed on the princes and nobles and the rank and file of the victorious army, not omitting even the camp followers; and immense amounts were sent to princes, relations, officers and soldiers, in the Transoxiana and elsewhere, and to pious people and holy places. The story is best told by the imperial donor himself:

'On Saturday the 29th [X 30th.] of Rajab [= May 12th. 1526 A. C.?] the examination and distribution of the treasure were begun. To Humāyūn were given 70 laks from the Treasury, and, over and above this, a treasure house was bestowed on him just as it was, without ascertaining and writing down its contents. To some begs 10 laks were given, 8, 7, or 6 to others. Suitable money-gifts were bestowed from the Treasury on the whole army, to

every tribe there was, Afghān, Hazāra, 'Arab, Bīlūch etc. to each according to its position. Every trader and student, indeed every man who had come with the army, took ample portion and share of bounteous gift and largess. To those not with the army went a mass of treasure in gift and largess, as for instance, 17 laks to Kāmran, 15 laks to Muhammad-i-zamān Mirā, while to 'Askari, Hindāl and indeed to the whole various train of relations and younger children went masses of red and white (gold and silver), of plenishing, jewels and slaves. Many gifts went to the begs and soldiery on that side (Tramontana). Valuable gifts (*saughāt*) were sent for the various relations in Samarkand, Khurāsān, Kāshghar and 'Irāq. To holy men belonging to Samarkand and Khurāsān went offerings vowed to God (*nuzūr*); so too to Makka and Madīna. We gave one *shāhrukhi* for every soul in the country of Kābul and the valley-side of Varsak, man and woman, bond and free, of age or non-age.' (B. N. E., 522-23.)

This passage incidentally illustrates the traditional wealth of India on the one hand and the munificence of the Mughal conquerors on the other—features, the combination of which was to lead to so much that is great in the art and annals of Mughal India.

The next item of news about the treasury in the Emperor's

Diary is the following entry under April-May, 1527: 'Meantime news came that Humāyūn had gone into Dihlī, there opened several treasure-houses and, without permission, taken possession of their contents. I had never looked for such a thing from him; it grieved me very much; I wrote and sent off to him very severe reproaches.' (B. N. E., 583.)

Finally, by the 22nd. October, 1528, exactly 2½ years after Bābur's great victory, we learn that 'the treasure of Iskandar and Ibrāhīm in Dihlī and Agra was at an end. Royal orders were given therefore, on Thursday the 8th of Safar, that each stipendiary (*wajhdār*) should drop in to the Dīwān, 30 in every 100 of his allowance, to be used for war-material and appliances, for equipment, for powder, and for the pay of gunners and match-lockmen.' (B. N. E., 617)

So the Qalandar, after his reckless extravagance, finds himself straitened for military necessities—life-blood for a conqueror whose power and safety in a foreign land rested solely on the strength of his arms.

'Circa 10d. or 11d. Bābur left himself stripped so bare by his far-flung largess that he was nick-named Qalandar (Firishta).' (P. 523, f. n. 2.)

Humāyūn's reign is uneventful for our present purpose. No-body can tell how much of Humāyūn's failure was due to the pecuniary resourcelessness in which Bābur's 'generosity' must have left him. Whatever money he possessed must have been exhausted in his military operations; for he was not in a position to carry with him in his flight to Persia anything more than the crown jewels, as we shall know later.¹

This brings us to the reign of the great Akbar. Thanks to his minister, Abū'l-Fazl, we possess interesting details about the administration of the treasury. It is probable that the lines here laid down were followed in the succeeding reigns.

A general treasurer with a *dārogha* and a clerk constituted the central establishment.

When a provincial treasurer had collected the sum of two lacs of *dāms* he had to send it to the Treasurer General at the Court, together with a memorandum specifying the quality of the sum. A separate treasurer was appointed for the *peshkash* receipts, another for receiving heirless property, another for *nazr* receipts, and another for the moneys expended in weighing the royal person,² and for charitable donations. These treasurers were assisted by superintendents, *dāroghas* and clerks.

The amount of the revenues was so great and the business so multifarious that twelve treasurers³ were appointed to guard the treasures, nine for different kinds of coined money, and three for gems, gold and jewelled things.

¹ Next Section.

² It should be explained that the valuables and food-stuffs against which the Emperor was weighed every solar and lunar year, were not given away at once but were stored in treasury and disbursed slowly for charitable purposes throughout the year. These included also works of public utility; for Jahāngir tells us that he once ordered five thousand rupees to be spent out of the *wazn* money on construction of a bridge at Baba Hasan Abdal and another building there. (*Tūzuk*, 76; R. & B., I, 160.)

³ Blochmann has 'treasuries' for 'treasurers', and this mistake has been copied by Sir J. N. Sarkar in *Mughal Administration*, Second Series, Chapter v.

A separate treasurer was also appointed for each of the Imperial Workshops, the number of which was nearly one hundred.

'Again, by the order of His Majesty', continues Abū'l-Fazl, 'a person of known integrity keeps in the public audience hall some gold and silver for the needy, who have their wants relieved without delay. Moreover, a crore of *dāms* is kept in readiness in the courtyard of *Daulat-khāna*, every thousand of which is kept in bags made of a coarse material. Such a bag is called *sahsa*, and many of them put up in a heap, *ganj*. Besides, His Majesty entrusts to some of the nobility a large sum of money, that it may be ready at all times; and a part is put in a *bahla*, i.e. a purse, for immediate use—hence commonly known as *kharij-i-bahla*.'¹

Bābur is certainly the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, but then Akbar is equally truly the founder of the Mughal empire in India; for the effects of Bābur's victories had worn off during the unsuccessful reign of Humāyūn, and Akbar had to rough-hew from the beginning.

Akbar inherited practically nothing, and during a strenuous but successful reign of half a century he built up a body of resource which would do credit to a monarch under any circumstances.

The following estimate of his treasure is taken from V. A. Smith's article, 'The Treasure of Akbar' in *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 231-43, which is based in turn on the accounts in De Laët's *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, and Manrique's *Itinerario*, Ch. LXXXVI (that in Mandelslo's *Voyages and Travels* being discredited as spurious). De Laët obtained his information prior to 1631, and Manrique got his about 1640. We have thought it safer to rely on Smith's collated account than on the English Translation of De Laët by Mr. Hoyland, edited by Mr. Banerjee.

¹ These paragraphs are from *Ā'in* (Text, I 10-11; Blochmann, 14-15). Blochmann's translation has several serious errors, as a comparison will show. I have freely adopted it where it is correct, and have equally freely amended it where I found it was not.

Cash Treasure left by Akbar.

Coins	Value in Rupees.
Gold coins weighing 100 tolas (or 1150 māshas), 50 tolas, and 25 tolas each: Total weight, 6,970,000 māshas. Value calculated at Rs. 14 a māsha ¹ :	97,580,000%
Silver coins of Akbari Rupees. Bronze Paisa or Pice, numbering 230,000,000 ² (Rate, 30 takas per rupee).	100,000,000
	766,666
Total	198,346,666% (or nearly 20 crores).

It must be added that the above is the total value of the cash hoard kept at Agra alone at the time of Akbar's decease. From statements by Hawkins (Purchas, III, 31 and 34) it appears that treasure was also kept (in Jahāngir's time) in the six fortresses of Gwalior, Narwar, Ranthambhor, Asir (Asirgarh), Rohtas (Roh-tasgarh), and, specially, Lahore. We may presume that in Akbar's time too it was so. At a rough calculation there may be at most

¹ Māsha in the last two places is obviously a mistake for tola, since Rs. 14 a tola is an infinitely more likely quotation for gold than Rs. 168 a tola. It is strange that the error is common to all the three original authors (including "Mandelslo"), and more strange that neither V. A. Smith nor the editor of De Laët's *Empire of the Great Mogol* has noted the absurdity. We are glad to find that Mr. Hodivala has noted this point (among others) in his able and scholarly review of the *Empire of the Great Mogol* (trans. by Mr. Hoyland, edit. by Mr. Banerjee), which appeared in the *Journal of Indian History*, VII, ii, 236-46.

We may, however, pass over it, as it is no more than a careless clerical error.

² V. A. Smith notes that this should be 23 millions.

Mr. Hodivala challenges the equation of a rupee = 30 takas, and holds that De Laët here by taka means only a dām, of which 40 went to a rupee. The high price of a dām given here is, he says, due to the fact, that copper had risen in price about 1630, i.e., about the time *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* was compiled.

The exchange value of the taka, does not, however, affect the total of the treasure appreciably.

another ten crores of rupees in these provincial fortresses. V. A. Smith's estimated total of twenty crores for the *mofussil* treasure (Akbar, 347) seems to be excessive. In fact the ten crores we have conceded is an outside valuation. Thus we arrive at a total of nearly thirty crores.

De Laët's list calls for some criticism. But for the purpose of that criticism it will be convenient to take up first another list given by an earlier writer, which refers, however, to a lower date.

We give below the 'cash' part of the inventory of the Imperial Treasury, apparently obtained from some official source, by Captain Hawkins, who visited Agra in 1609-11, and who possesses the credentials—unique for a European—of having been appointed a *manṣabdār* in the Emperor's army. Although this document falls properly into Jahāngir's reign, in time De Laët's and Hawkins' lists stand only a quinquennium apart.

'His Treasure is as followeth, The first, is his severall Coine of Gold.

Inprimis, of Seraffins Ecberi, which be ten Rupias a piece, there are sixtie Leckes. Of another sort of Coyne, of a thousand A Tole is a Rupia sand Rupias a piece, there are twentie thousand Chalany of Silver, pieces. Of another sort of halfe the value, there are ten of these are ten thousand pieces. Of another sort of Toles are the va- Gold of twenty Toles a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of another sort of tenne Toles a piece, there bee five and twenty thousand pieces. Of another sort of five Toles, which is this Kings stampe, of these there be fiftie thousand pieces.'

'Of Silver, as followeth.

Inprimis, of Rupias Ecbery, thirteene Crou (every Crou is an hundred Leckes, and every Leck an hundred thousand Rupias) or one thousand three hundred Leckes. Of another sort of Coine of Selim Sha this King, of an hundred Toles a piece, there are fiftie thousand pieces. Of fiftie Toles a piece, there is one Lecke. Of thirtie Toles a piece, there are fortie thousand pieces. Of twentie Toles a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of ten Toles a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces. Of five Toles a piece, there are five and twentie thousand pieces. Of a certaine Money that is called Savoy, which is a Tole ¼ of these there are two Leckes. Of Jagaries, whereof five make sixe Toles, there is one Lecke. More should have beene coyned of this stampe, but the contrary was commanded.'

(Purchas, III, 31—32.)

This matter can be put in figures thus:—
Jahangir's Cash Treasure in 1610-11.
Gold Coins.

Gold Coins.					Total Value in lacs of Rs.
No.	Name of Coin.	Weight in Tolas.	Value in Rs.	Number.	
1	Akbari Ashrafi		10	60,00,000	600
2				20,000	200
3		(100)	100	10,000	50
4		(50)	500	30,000	60
5	Jahāngiri	20	(200)	25,000	25
6		10	(100)	50,000	25
		5	(50)		
Total ...					960

NOTE.—We have calculated the value of coins No. 4, 5 and 6 on the basis of ten rupees to a tola, which seems justified not only by the quaintly worded marginal note by Hawkins quoted above, but generally by the values of gold coins of Akbar's time given in *A'in* (Text, I, 25; Blochmann, 29-30). Calculated weights and values are given within brackets to distinguish from those given by Hawkins himself. They are approximate, not exact. All total values are calculated by us.

Silver Coins.

No	Name of Coin	Weight in Tolas.	Number.	Total Value in lacs of Rs.
1	Akbari Rupee Salīm Shāhī Rupee		13,00,00,000	1,300
2		100	50,000	50
3		50	100,000	50
4		30	40,000	12
5		20	30,000	6
6	'Savoy', Jahāngiri	10	20,000	2
7		5	25,000	1½
8		1½	200,000	2½
9		1-1/5	100,000	1-1/5
Total ...				Say, 1425 lacs or 14-1/4 crores 1424 - 19/20

NOTE.—In all cases except No. 1 the total values have been calculated on the rough basis of a tola weight being equal to a rupee. This is only a working assumption, since we know that both the Akbari rupees and the square jalāla weighed only 11½ māshas.

¹ This is sawā'i (one and a quarter)

Gold Coins	9,60,00,000
Silver Coins	14,25,00,000
Total	Rs. 23,85,00,000

It will be noted that no copper coins are given in this list, being presumably considered unimportant. Even if they were added the total would still be under 24 crores.

This was probably the value of the Agra treasure. Comparing this with the Agra treasure in 1605, we find that the amount of cash had increased by 4 crores during these five or six years.

With these two inventories of the Imperial Treasury before the reader, we can profitably devote a little space to their analysis and comparison.

Let us begin with the Gold Coins: Our first impression on comparing the two lists is that Hawkins' inventory dwarfs De Laët's into insignificance in every respect; in fact the latter seems to be no more than a hasty, fugitive sort of summary of the former, carelessly worded, and not without slips, and errors of a more reprehensible kind. The most serious omission seems to be the total absence of *ashrafis*, which in the other list number 60 lacs, are valued at 6 crores, and constitute the major portion of the gold treasure. Apart from Hawkins' list, a treasury without *ashrafis* would be inconceivable.

Judging from the fact that De Laët's and Hawkins' totals of the gold treasure tally very nearly, we can charitably assume that De Laët's total (and he gives only the total) represents the value of gold coins of all weights from 100 to 1 tola, although he mentions by name only the heaviest three.

Descending to details: We find that De Laët equates 100 tolas with 1150 māshas. This is of course not exact, since a tola = 12 māshas; but we don't consider it a serious error, as Mr. Hodivala does (*J. of I. H.*, VII, ii, 240).

We know from *A'in* (Text, I 23-24) that the big pieces weighed respectively 101 tolas, 9 māshas, 7 surkhs (value = 100 *la'l-i-jalāli*) and 91 tolas, 8 māshas (value = 100 round mohurs of 11 māshas each); and the smaller ones were halves of these two, and a quarter of the one first mentioned.

It appears that De Laët (or whoever copied out the list) struck a rough-and-ready sort of average between the true weights of the big pieces, and having stated the weight to be 100 tolas, tried to be more correct by stating it as the equivalent of 1150 māshas; the true weights of the two pieces being nearly 1222 and 1100 māshas respectively.

The next point is the rate quoted for gold, viz., Rs. 14 a tola. We agree with Mr. Hodivala that this is excessive. Judging from most authorities available the price of gold seems to have been about Rs. 10 a tola in Akbar's time and the early part of Jahāngir's reign. We know, however, that soon after Shāh Jahān's accession gold was selling at Rs. 14 a tola. (B. N., I, ii, 79).

The explanation of De Laët's error lies in the fact that the compilers, instead of stating the rate which obtained in 1605 (to which date the document refers), probably quoted the rate current at the time of the compilation of the book, viz., about 1630.

If we correct Rs. 14 to Rs. 10, the obvious result will be that either we assume the weight to be correct and make the necessary alteration in the total value, or we accept the total value and work out the total weight from it. Either the weight or the value is taken from the State document—we don't know which; and the other is reckoned from it by the compilers.

Seeing that the total gold treasure in De Laët's list nearly equals the total gold treasure in Hawkins' list—assuming that no serious change took place in the short interval of five years (which is unlikely)—one would be inclined to think that the value given is the correct figure, and that the weight should be increased.

Now we come to the Silver Coins: De Laët's item is so brief that no detailed criticism is possible. Hawkins' total, even after deducting the *Salim-shahi* rupees of 100 tolas each and the *Jahāngir's* 1-1½ tolas each (which were coined subsequent to Akbar's death), is still far in excess of De Laët's. In fact the Akbari rupees alone exceed De Laët's total amount by a great deal. Possibly there was an actual increase in the store during the period 1605-1610.

Jahāngir, in his Autobiography, speaks in some detail of gold and silver coins, the striking of which he ordered in the first year of his reign (*Tūzuk*, 5; R. and B., 10-12). But the Emperor does not mention the quantities minted, nor does Hawkins specify in his list all the coins which bore the stamp of Jahāngir. We are, therefore, unable to make any use of the entry in the Emperor's Diary; and a possible way of reconciling Hawkins' list with De Laët's is lost to us.

Speaking generally, one may say that Hawkins' list has all the appearance of being a careful copy of an authentic document. As regards De Laët, we agree with most of the strictures passed on him and on the editor of the English Translation of his work by Mr. Hodivala. Apart from the points noticed above, a great fault of De Laët's seems to be a lack of co-ordination in his work. De Laët's list is immediately followed by a reproduction of Haw-

kins' list (which, by the way, is not free from errors); and the least that we should have expected from De Laët is a comparison and discussion, with consequent correction and explanation. And it is still more unfortunate that even the editor has not cared to collate the results or suggest corrections.

Our final opinion is that De Laët's list is a badly digested and ill-digested memorandum of what appears to be an authentic record, the exact copy of which perhaps never actually reached De Laët. But, ill supplied with reliable information, we are we cannot afford to ignore completely even such defective document. Even a bad record is better than no record for it always has a corroborative value.

Further, we have also the details of the treasure left by Akbar in two Persian histories.

Both the *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* and M. U. give what purports to be details of Akbar's treasure.

I confess I can make no sense of the figures and values given by Muhammed Qāsim in *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* (Bombay Edition, I, 517; Brigg's Translation, 1829, II, 281-2); and unless one can offer at least a working explanation, there is no point in quoting the passage.

Next comes Khāfi Khān, the author of *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*. We have no admiration for him as a historian, nor any respect for his sense of accuracy or responsibility. Still we give below his account of Akbar's treasure for what it is worth. His wording is so obscure that we prefer to give his text in Persian, permitting the reader freedom of opinion in the matter of its interpretation:

بعد وفات او که عرض فرموده گرفتند که در روپیه را اشرافی یازده ماش و سیزده ماش و چهارده ماش
سولت اشرافیات کلان که از صد توله تا پانصد توله هزار اشرافی در خزان بود و دود صد و هفتاد و
دو من طلای غیر مسکوک و سه صد و پنجاه من نقره و یک من جواهر فاضله که قیمت آن از سه کرور
روپیه تجاوز نموده بود برآمد.
(M. L. I, 243).

Literal translation:

'After his [Akbar's] death when stock of the treasury was taken, ten crores of rupees' worth of *ashrafis* of 11, 13 and 14 mā-shas besides the large *ashrafis* weighing 100 to 500 tolas, 1000 of which were present in the treasury, and 272 man uncoined gold and 370 man silver, and one man *khassa* jewels, valued at over 3 crores of rupees, were found.'

It is not clear whether 10 crores is the value of all *ashrafis* or only of those weighing 11, 13 and 14 *māshas* respectively. Assuming that it applies to all (which is by no means clear), we get the total value roughly equivalent to the total value in the tables previously discussed.

By the *ashrafis* of 11, 13, and 14 *māshas* *Khāfi Khān* means probably the following in the same order :

(1) The *Adl-gutka*, the *Muhr-i-gird* (round mohur), and the *Mihrabī*. Weight, 11 *māshas*; value, nine rupees.

(2) The *Ilāhī* and the square *La'l-i-jalālī*. Weight, 12 *māshas*, $1\frac{3}{4}$ *surkhs*; value, ten rupees.

(3) The *Aftābī* and the *Chahārgosha*. Weight of both, 1 tola, 2 *māshas*, $4\frac{3}{4}$ *surkhs*. Value of the former, twelve rupees; of the latter, not given.

(*A'in*, Text, I, 25)

The weight of No. 2 can hardly be described as 13 *māshas*, as *Khāfi Khān* does.

Next there is the difficulty of 1000 *ashrafis* weighing from 100 to 500 *tolas*.

In the first place we know of no coins heavier than 100 *tolas*. Thus the 500 is either a myth or a misprint. Secondly, supposing it is a mistake for 5, and that the author means *ashrafis* weighing from 100 to 5 *tolas* each (which fits in with the weights given in Hawkins' list, if we except the 5-tola ones, which are *Jahāngīrī* coins), we have the further difficulty of their number being 1000; whereas in Hawkins the total number of these coins comes to 135,000, out of which 50,000 (the number of *Jahāngīrī* coins) being deducted, we have still 85,000 left.

Again, silver and copper coins given in the other lists are not given by *Khāfi Khān*, while gold and silver bullion in *Khāfi Khān* is not found in those.

In any case, the combined value of gold and silver bullion could not have exceeded 65 lacs.

Although Hawkins' list refers to a time when *Jahāngīr's* reign was well under way, we may look upon all the three documents so far discussed as practically a record of what Akbar bequeathed to *Jahāngīr*.

The increase that we find in Hawkins may or may not signify a real increase in resources. Even if it does, the rate of progress seems not to have been kept up. For, according to *Mullā*

'*Abdu'l-Hamīd Lāhorī*, *Jahāngīr* spent in his reign of 22 years the greater part of what Akbar had saved up during a reign of 51. (*B. N.*, II, 713).

Akbar's legacy ought to have been *Jahāngīr's* opportunity; but it does not seem to have been utilized as such. Else the enormous resources inherited by the latter, if properly husbanded and developed in a fairly peaceful reign of a quarter century, would have placed the key to unimaginable power and possibilities in the hands of the Mughal emperor, already the richest monarch in the world. Our information about *Jahāngīr's* reign in this respect is, it must be admitted, meagre. But all the signs point to a gradual dissipation of Akbar's hard-earned wealth.

V. A. Smith states that the treasure accumulated by Akbar was much increased during the comparatively peaceful reigns of *Jahāngīr* and *Shāh Jahān* (*J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 240); and this seems to be the general belief to this day. Well, as regards *Jahāngīr*, we have reason to doubt the validity of such a proposition.

It will add a touch of reality to our picture if we may, before taking leave of Akbar's cash treasury, watch that emperor, for once, inspecting his coins. The following quotations from the once, inspecting his coins. The following quotations from the Jesuit fathers are interesting: '*Zelaldinus [Jalāl] ud-Dīn, i.e., Akbar* is sparing and tenacious of his wealth, and thus has become the richest Oriental king for at least 200 years. . . . With the object of exhibiting his wealth four times every year he has sacks of minted copper money publicly piled up (I think in the palace courtyard) into a heap ten feet wide and thirty feet high. By the side of this pile sit the superintendents and tellers of the treasury. They supervise the counting of the money, which is paid out to those who are entitled to receive it, after deduction of the profit which an ordinary banker would have made if it had been deposited with him. Each sack holds about four thousand copper coins.'—(*Monserate, Commentary*, 208). We must remark that from all that we know about the greater Mughal monarchs we cannot associate such vulgar ostentation with any of them. *Monserate* seems to have witnessed a periodical disbursement of cash to officers. That Akbar always or sometimes personally supervised the payments is only another proof of his frugal and careful habits with which all historians credit him.

The members of the Third Jesuit Mission, which came in 1595, relate thus the Emperor's examination of newly coined money: They saw him once 'counting a large sum of gold coins of many different values which he had ordered to mint. Behind him were some hundred and fifty plates full of them, and a good

number of bags, with others that had already been examined or were still to be seen. He examines them by himself or by others and it is his chief distraction every day, when he has retired, that is during the leisure left him after he has shown himself three times to the people; and when the money has been counted and put in bags, he has it placed among his treasures, which are very great.' (Quoted by the editor of Monserrate's *Commentary*, p. 208, f. n., from the *Examiner*, Nov. 22, 1919, pp. 469—70).

We can now proceed to deal with the reign of Shāh Jahān. It is much to be regretted that here too the material is inadequate. The official histories are generally silent or evasive. 'Abdu'l Hamid who winds up at the end of the twentieth regnal year, instead of giving us some useful totals of the contents of the treasury, stops short with facile but useless generalizations; and Muḥammad Wāriṣ, who closes on the thirtieth year, has nothing to say.

Shāh Jahān was, according to Bernier, 'a great economist'. But we must remember that the expenditure had increased considerably in his reign (witness the heavy *manṣabdārī* list besides other evidence), and he had always been lavish with his gifts. Further, that emperor has left more abiding monuments of architecture than any other king in ancient or modern times, in or outside India. According to the lists in B. N. (II, 714; III, f. 17b) Shāh Jahān must have spent something like 3 crores on palaces and gardens, mosques and mausoleums, castles and fortifications.

As for the treasure, where the authors of B. N. and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ all fail us, we can only fall back upon less well-informed writers, even if they lead us nowhere.

Khāfi Khān has the following statement about the treasure left by Shāh Jahān. His ambiguous language is placed before the reader as it is:

بیست و چهار کروڑ روپیہ و از جنس اشرفی سوائے طلا و نقرہ غیر مسکوک و ظروف طلائی و نقرئی
و جواهر کہ تخمیناً تا پانزدہ شانزدہ کروڑ اس نیز می شد مانده بود۔

Rupees

(M. L. I, 758).

24 crores.

Ashrafis (except gold and silver bullion) and gold and silver vessels and jewels.

The above is our interpretation of the text. The benefit of doubt is given to the author.

15 to 16 crores.

As we shall see in the next section, the total value of jewels and jewelled articles at the end of the second decade was 5 crores. The last decade couldn't have added appreciably to it.

The gold and silver vessels are an incalculable quantity, since we don't know what they include. Judging by the De Laët-Manrique list of gold and silver articles, which will be placed before the reader in the next section, and assuming that Khāfi Khān means all articles made of precious metals, the total value of these should be placed at about 3 crores—which is the total for Akbar's reign in the De Laët-Manrique list.

Eight crores being thus deducted, we have only 7 to 8 crores left for the *ashrafis*. If these figures are worth anything, the *ashrafi* store has ebbed since Akbar's time, while the rupee treasure has swung forward.

Bernier, however, has quite a different story to tell. 'Chah-Jehan', he says, 'who was a great economist, and reigned more than forty years without being involved in any great wars, never amassed six *kourours* of *roupies*.' (p. 223).—If the amount is as correct as the duration of Shāh Jahān's reign given here, this quotation is worse than useless. Besides, Bernier, we know, had no access to the official registers.

Where unreliable authors succeed only in contradicting each other, we can arrive at no really stable conclusions.

SOURCES OF REVENUE

When the contents of the Cash treasury have been surveyed one feels a natural curiosity about the sources from which all these accumulations were derived.

There is no doubt that in a country like India land revenue was by far the most important item in finance; but it was not by any means the only one.

Father Monserrate has the following interesting discourse on the subject:

'The King', he says, 'exact enormous sums in tribute from the provinces of his empire, which is wonderfully rich and fertile both for cultivation and pasture, and has a great trade both in exports and imports. He also derives much revenue from the hoarded fortunes of the great nobles, which by law and custom all come to the King on their owners' death. In addition, there are the spoils of conquered kings and chieftains, whose treasure is seized, and the great levies exacted, and gifts received, from the inhabitants of newly subdued districts in every part of his dominions. These gifts and levies are apt to be so large as to ruin outright many of

his new subjects. He also engages in trading on his own account, and thus increases his wealth to no small degree; for he eagerly exploits every possible source of profit.

Moreover, he allows no bankers or money-changers in his empire except the superintendents and tellers of the royal treasuries. This enormous banking-business brings the King great profit; for at these royal treasuries alone may gold coin be changed for silver or copper, and vice versa. The government officers are paid in gold, silver or copper according to their rank. Thus it comes about that those who are paid in one type of coin need to change some of it into another type.

Such means of increasing the revenue may be thought base, but they have two distinct advantages; for the coinage cannot possibly be debased or adulterated; and the rate of internal exchange is kept constant, since it cannot be manipulated by fraudulent money-changers. Moreover, as all the money in circulation comes eventually to the royal treasuries, there can be no scarcity of money with consequent high prices'. (*The Commentary of Father Monserrate*, 207).

But the Father's list is not exhaustive; for presents received as a matter of custom from nobles and officers came to a considerable sum in the course of the year. And there must have been many miscellaneous heads of revenue.

Manucci, who has experience only of Aurangzeb's reign enumerates the sources of revenue other than land as follows. The reader should not expect precision or strict accuracy from him.

'In addition to this revenue obtained from grain, *et cetera* [he means land revenue], there are other considerable receipts. One is the tribute paid by the Hindūs, as I have stated in my Second Part (II. 182). This has no fixed total, being sometimes more and sometimes less. This variation is caused by deaths, and by travellers moving from one place to another. If carrying with them a receipt for what they have paid, the latter are allowed to pass free. But if they chance to lose this paper, or it be stolen, they are made to pay again either in the same or in another province. The officials embezzle their collections most terribly, to such an extent that the king gets more often than not less than half.

There is a second customs duty upon goods brought by Hindū merchants; it is five per cent; and though Aurangzeb had remitted it for Mahomedans, he has not failed all the same to take two and a half per cent. [from them]. He makes those whom he had exempted pay the rents and customs duty. He also draws large sums from the bathings which the Hindūs perform at various points in the empire. There is also another source of revenue, the diamond

mines in the kingdom of Gulkandah, over and above the largest and the best of the stones. Any which weigh above three-eighths of an ounce belong to the Crown. The seaports also yield him a large revenue; among them are those of Sindī, Bharoch, Sūrat, and Kambāya. Sūrat alone brings him in usually thirty lakhs, besides the eleven lakhs derived from the profit on new coin struck there.

In addition to all these items, he has the revenue from the whole coast of Choromandal, from Masulipatam (Machhlipatanam), from Narsāpur, and of the whole coast from Pundy (Pūndī), or from Ginzerly (Gingerli), as far as Ballasor (Bāleshwar); also from all the ports on the river Ganges. Over and above all these items, he seizes everything left by his generals, officers, and other officials at their death, in spite of having declared that he makes no claim on the goods of defunct persons. Nevertheless, under the pretext that they are his officers and are in debt to the Crown, he lays hold of everything. If they leave widows, he gives them a trifle every year and some land to furnish a subsistence. He also causes the goods of merchants to be seized if they die without heirs. Again, added to all that, he receives very considerable presents from the Hindū princes, *zamīndārs*, and their servants.

The rajahs, the generals of the army, and the commanders are made to contribute a certain sum, according to the number of Hindūs in their service. Usually this is taken as a deduction from the pay disbursed to them. The king's sons even are not exempted, and Shāh 'Alam, my prince, paid in my day eighty thousand rupees a year. These revenues amount to something near the same total as the revenue from grain, of which I gave the figures above'.¹ (*Storia*, II, 415, 417-18).

I fully agree with the editor's remarks in the footnote. The land revenue was the chief revenue of the empire; so much so that the *Ā'in* has no space for the miscellaneous heads of revenue. As we shall see later, sea customs were included in the official land revenue returns.

1. 'The statement that the miscellaneous revenue equalled the land revenue can hardly be accepted; it must be a great exaggeration. In fact, many of the miscellaneous items, such as sea customs, collected by the *dīwāns* were entered as *mahāls* (heads of receipt) in the *māl* (land revenue), and not in the *sā'ir* (miscellaneous) accounts, and thus are already included in Manucci's total of £ 38,725,900. Most of the *sā'ir* items (fines, market dues, ferry tolls) were collected by the police—that is, by the *kotwāls* and *faujdārs*. (*Ibid.*, P. 418, f.n.1).

LAND REVENUE

We now proceed to appraise the land revenue of the Mughal empire, taking each successive reign separately.

Akbar.

One may begin with Abū'l-Fazl's figures. In the 'Account of the Twelve Provinces' in *Ā'in*, he begins by telling us that in the 40th. regnal year (March, 1595—March, 1596) the *Jam'-i-dahsāla* (i.e., the annual revenue calculated on ten years' average) for the empire, which consisted at this date of 105 *sarkārs* and 2737 *qaṣbas*,² was 3,62,97,55,246 *dāms* (or over 9 crores of rupees) and 12 lacs of betel leaves.

The historian-minister further informs us that the empire was at this time divided into twelve provinces; and that when Berar, Khandesh, and Ahmadnagar were conquered, the addition of these three provinces brought the total to fifteen (*Ā'in*. I, 386).

On closer examination of the gazetteer and the statistics that follow (I, 387-596) we find that we have in fact an account not of twelve but of fourteen provinces. Khandesh and Berar are included, but not Ahmadnagar.

The *Ā'in* was completed in the first quarter of 1598; and the three provinces of Khandesh, Berar, and Ahmadnagar were organized and incorporated into the empire early in 1601, i.e., three years later. The statement about these provinces in the *Ā'in* (quoted above) is, therefore, clearly an anachronism. We can only assume that this reference to later annexations and the details about Khandesh and Berar were incorporated after the *Ā'in* had been completed; the title 'Account of Twelve *Sūbas*' being allowed to stand, as if by an oversight. Omission of Ahmadnagar from the gazetteer, however, remains unexplained.

The total revenue given by Abū'l-Fazl, we regret to say, does not tally with the aggregate of the totals given for the different provinces, even after eliminating those for Berar and Khandesh. Casting up the totals I arrive at 5,29,79,31,833½ *dāms* and 12 lacs of betel leaves for the fourteen provinces. This yields just under 13¼ crores of rupees. To this probably is yet to be added the revenue of the Ahmadnagar province.

2. This word seems to mean here a *mahal* or *pargana*.

The reader will remember that this is all land revenue. But there is one exception. The figure for the Gujarat province (included in this total) comprises also the income from thirteen ports, which amounted to 1,62,028¾ *mahmūdīs*, say, Rs. 67,500.³ This, however, is an insignificant amount.

Next comes an authority which is second in importance, though, chronologically, it ought to have preceded the *Ā'in*. Nizām'ud-Dīn Aḥmad closes his *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (finished presumably in the 38th regnal year (11 March, 1593—10 March, 1594) with the following remarks. After giving the length and breadth of the empire in *karohs*, he says: 'and all this land is good and cultivable. In each *karoh* several villages flourish. At present there are 3,200 towns (*qaṣbas*), each *qaṣba* having attached to it 100, 200, 500 or 1000 villages. The revenue of this country is to-day 640 crore *tanka-i-murādī*. Out of these towns 120 are large ones, which are to-day populous and prosperous'. (P.U.L. MS., f. 502 b.).⁴

The *tanka-i-murādī* means a copper coin of Sikandar Lodī's time, twenty of which went to an Akbarī rupee.⁵ 640 crores of these *tankas* are, therefore, equal to 32 crores of rupees.

There is nothing in the context or the wording of this passage to show that this is the revenue from all sources, as Mr. Thomas assumes. On the contrary it seems obvious that the author is talking of nothing but land revenue. Mr. Thomas is apparently trying to reconcile Nizām'ud-Dīn with other authors. Even making this unwarranted assumption, Nizām'ud-Dīn Aḥmad's figure is considerably more than double the revenue total in *Ā'in*. But this is not all. *Ā'in* was finished in 1598, and includes, as we have seen, revenues of provinces annexed subsequently; so that Abū'l-Fazl's total practically represents the land revenue for the year 1601. If the total income of the Mughal empire was 32 crores in 1593, it would be approaching 40 crores in 1601. We know that the land revenue was 13¼ crores in that year. It is incredible

3. Twelve *mahmūdīs* went to five Akbarī rupees. The results of Mr. Hodivala's inquiries (*Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics* 115—30) are confirmed by a statement in Pelsaert (p. 42).

4. The printed edition (Nawalkishor, Lucknow) is defective.

5. On this point Mr. Thomas and Prof. Hodivala (*Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, 51) agree.

that income from other sources amounted to double the land revenue. Edward Thomas's plea for *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* being an authoritative work fails rather badly in this particular. And of course Nizām'ud-Dīn means land revenue only. In either case his statement is wild and irresponsible.

Our old friend, De Laët, tells us that the annual revenue of the fifteen provinces (which he names) was, 'according to the roll of king Achaḡar', 17,45,00,000 rupees (*Empire of the Great Mogol*, 172). The date to which this statement refers is the death of Akbār. De Laët's statistics, as we have said before, cannot stand the search-light of modern criticism, V. A. Smith's undeserved panegyrics on *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* notwithstanding. His list of provinces is badly bungled; and, as usual with him, he gives only the grand total, refraining scrupulously from giving the details that go to make it up, as if on purpose to foil our efforts to check the accuracy of his results by reference to other authorities. V. A. Smith found it easier to quote his total than to do the sums in the *A'in* (*Akbar*, 379).

In comparison with Abū'l-Faẓl's statements De Laët's have no value. We give the latter, however, for what they are worth.

We are not told by any authority for Akbar's reign how much of the total land revenue came from crown-lands (*Khālīṣa-i-sharīfa*), which went to the emperor's privy purse.

Jahāṅgīr.

Hawkins' statement that the yearly income of the *Khālīṣa* lands in this reign was 50 crores of rupees (*Purchas*, III, 30) is wild and unworthy of an author who is generally well informed.

In Thomas Coryat's Letters we are told that the Emperor's revenues are 40 million crowns of six shillings' value, by the year (*Purchas*, IV, 474). At ten rupees to the pound this yields 12 crores of rupees.

But all such statements are nebulous and elusive. We are on solid ground when we come to *Bādshāhnāma*. According to that work the total land revenue of the Mughal empire at the time of Shāh Jahān's accession was 700 crore *dāms*, which comes to 17½ crores of rupees (II, 711).

If De Laët's figure, given above, be assumed to be correct, the annual revenue of the empire seems to have remained stationary

throughout Jahāṅgīr's reign. Or, is it that De Laët took the figures pertaining to the end of Jahāṅgīr's reign, and applied them wrongly to the beginning of it? We must not forget that *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* was compiled in 1631. This hypothesis is supported by a statement in Mandelslo given below.

Shāh Jahān.

Now we come to Shāh Jahān's reign. Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, in the passage cited above, where he is summing up at the end of the twentieth regnal year, goes on to tell us that the total revenue of the older province had gone up by one crore *dāms*, amounting to 800 crores; and that the revenue of the territory conquered since Shāh Jahān's accession totalled 80 crore *dāms*, bringing the aggregate to 880 crores or 22 crores of rupees. Out of this 120 crore *dāms* or 3 crores of rupees was the income from the crown lands or *Khālīṣa*.⁶ We are further told that the *Khālīṣa* income had never reached this figure before. (*B.N.*, II, 711-13).

This is the revenue of 23 provinces.

Mandelslo, in a carelessly worded statement, gives 17,45,00,000 rupees as the annual revenue for this reign (*Voyages and Travels*, p. 38). It is probable that this figure and De Laët's estimate are derived from the same source; and possible that they both refer to the end of Jahāṅgīr's reign, as we have already hinted.

We notice that the land revenue of the Mughal empire rose steadily from the 40th year of Akbar's reign (1595-96) to the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's (1647), due partly of course to conquests, but also, presumably, to stabler conditions and settled administration.

In the last decade of Shāh Jahān's reign Balkh, Badakhshān and Kandahar, which here account for a revenue of 19 crore *dāms* (or nearly half a crore of rupees), were lost to the Mughals. The total for the end of the reign must abate to that extent, to take no notice of other (internal) changes of which there remains no record.

Aurangzeb.

Bernier (1660-65) has a list of 20 provinces, the revenue of which totals Rs. 22,59,35,500. The editor and Mr. Thomas rightly point out that a zero has been omitted by a clerical error in the revenue for Kashmir. So counting 35,00,000 in place of 3,50,000,

⁶ This has been misunderstood by Mr. Thomas, (*Edward Thomas, Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire in India, from A.D. 1593 to A.D. 1707*, p. 29-30).

we have to add 31,50,000 to the grand total, which will then become 22,90,85,500 rupees—roughly nearly 23 crores.

Manucci gives Rs. 38,71,94,000 (which his editor corrects to Rs. 38, 72, 59, 000) as the land revenue for 24 provinces (*Storia*, II, 413-15).

Ma'lūmāt-ul-Āfāq (a sober and well-informed work, written some time between the death of Aurangzeb and 1127 A.H.) gives the land revenue of 19 provinces (comprising 4440 parganas) as 9,24,17,16,082 *dāms* (=23,10,42,902 rupees and 2 *dāms*). Of this 1,72,79,81,251 *dāms* (or about 4 1/3 crores) is stated to be the income of the *Khālīṣa-i-sharīfa*, the rest going to the *Jāgīrdārs* as salary.⁷

Only about ten or fifteen years separate *Storia* and *Mā'lūmāt-ul-Āfāq*, and the discrepancy between their returns is monstrous.

When we see how the revenue total gradually mounted from 17½ crores (in 1627), through a period of prosperity and annexation, to 22 crores (in 1647), and stood at 23 (in 1660), and note further that as late as 1712 this last figure was only barely exceeded, the wild exaggeration of Manucci's estimate becomes apparent. It is true that Bijapur surrendered in 1686, and Golconda fell in 1687, and that the rear 1691, may be taken as marking the most distant advance of the Mogul power.⁸ Allowing for the consequent addition to the imperial revenue Manucci's return still remains fantastic.

Some of the discrepancies in the various writers are no doubt attributable to redistribution of territory.

The returns in Bernier and in *Ma'lūmāt-ul-Āfāq* have every appearance of being substantially correct for the respective periods to which they refer.

We fully endorse Mr. Irvine's remarks on all these revenue statistics. 'There remains the objection', he says, 'that applies to all similar tables—those of the "Ā'in-i-Akbari" included—that we do not know what the figures represent: whether (1) a standard assessment (*jam'a-i-kāmil*), (2) the demand of some particular year (*jam'a-i-wājib*), or (3) the actual collection (*jam'a-i-wasūlī*).' (*Storia* II, 413, fn.1.)

A single-glance summary of the results reached may be attempted in a table.

7. *Ma'lūmāt-ul-Āfāq* (P.U.L. MS.), f. 227 b—229 a. The two items are given, but the total does not tally. There seems to be a slight mistake in the P.U.L. MS. available to me.

8. V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 443.

Statement of Land Revenue of the Mughal Empire.

Reign	Date	Number of <i>ṣūbas</i> , <i>sarkārs</i> , <i>maḥals</i> , etc., in the Empire.	Approximate amount in rupees.	Authorities
Akbar	1593-94	3200 <i>qaṣbas</i> (120 large ones)	32 crores	<i>Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī</i> (P.U.L. MS.), f. 502 b. <i>Ā'in</i> , I, 386
Do.	1595-96	12 <i>ṣūbas</i> =105 <i>sarkārs</i> =2737 <i>qaṣbas</i>	9¼ crores (and 12 lacs of betel-leaves).	
Do.	1601	14 <i>ṣūbas</i> .	13¼ crores (and 12 lacs of betel-leaves)	<i>Ā'in</i> , I, 387-596 (Calculated)
Akbar-Jahāngīr	1605		17,45,00,000	De Laët, 172.
Jahāngīr-Shāh	1627		12 crores	Thomas Coryat (<i>Purchas</i> , IV, 474). <i>B.N.</i> II, 711.
Shāh Jahān			17½ crores	
Do.	1647	23 provinces	17,45,00,000	Mandelslo, 38 <i>B.N.</i> , II, 711-13.
Shāh Jahān-Aurangzeb	1658	20 provinces	22 crores (3 crores, crown lands)	Calculated
Aurangzeb	1660-65	20 provinces	21½ crores	
Do.	end of 17th century	24 provinces	23 crores	Bernier <i>Storia</i> , II, 413-15
After Aurangzeb's death		19 provinces=4440 <i>maḥals</i>	38¾ crores	
			23 crores (4 1/3 crores, crown lands)	<i>Ma'lūmāt-ul-Āfāq</i> (P.U.L. MS.), f. 227 b—229 a

"The King of Vellore"

By

W. H. MORELAND.

England, 10-2-32.

[My dear Sir,

You may perhaps care to print this note, or else discuss it in correspondence. I should like to see the matter cleared up—especially as I am now editing another book in which the style 'King of Vellore' is applied to Venkata about 1612-14.

The main point is: Why did the inhabitants of Tegnapatam call their king 'King of Vellore' in March, 1610, and earlier? One could understand the survival of a style which had become obsolete: but, according to the Reviewer, this is the anticipation of a style which had not yet become appropriate.

yours sincerely
W. H. MORELAND.]

A friendly Reviewer in this *Journal* (August, 1931, p. 222) questioned the statement made in the Hakluyt Society's recent volume, *Relations of Golconda*, that Vellore was the capital of Venkata, the reigning sovereign of the Vijayanagar dynasty, from about A.D. 1608, the date to which the *Relations* go back; and suggested that the term 'King of Vellore' may have come into use owing to negotiations having been carried on with the King when he happened to be in camp at Vellore. It may be worth while to bring together the evidence on this point contained in European records of the period.

Portuguese envoys seem to have visited the Court of Venkata fairly often, for whenever the Dutch went there they found Portuguese representatives at work; but no contemporary Portuguese records have been traced. No English envoys visited this King, so the evidence is confined to Dutch sources. The titles of these sources are cumbrous, and I shall cite them in abbreviated form, giving a fuller description at the end of the note.

Dutch relations with Vijayanagar began in 1608, when the Company was allowed to establish a factory at Tegnapatam, but on this occasion all the negotiations were conducted with the Nāyak of Gingee, or rather with his agent, known in the Dutch records as the great Aya', (*Heeres*, 55, *De Jonge*. III. 280, *Terpstra*,

Ch. IV), and there is no reference in the records to the King. Two years later, Arend Maertssen arrived on the Coromandel Coast with orders from the Directors of the Dutch East India Company to renew the arrangement for this factory, and an agreement was made with the Nāyak on 29th March, 1610 (*Heeres*, 78, *De Jonge*, III. 345). On this occasion Maertssen visited Gingee, and the new agreement was sent for sanction to the King at Vellore (*Terpstra*, Ch. V, where the story is told at length from the records in the Rijksarchief). About the same time correspondence was opened with the King regarding the establishment of a factory at Pulicat, and the King sent envoys to draw up an agreement for this factory; the agreement was sent to Vellore for sanction, and on the 28th April, authority was received to start trade. On 15th May, when Maertssen had gone to Pulicat for that purpose, the two agreements arrived there sanctioned by the King, with an invitation to Maertssen to visit the Court in person.

Maertssen with a small party started forthwith for Vellore, and on 25th May he found the King at a village about 25 miles short of that town. He hoped to settle matters there, but this could not be done because the King "desired that they should see his magnificence and royal state, his noble castles and remarkable buildings". The King therefore returned to Vellore, where Maertssen arrived on 27th May, and three days later he was received in audience. At this point a Portuguese envoy intervened, and for some time the King hesitated between the parties, but eventually he refused the tempting Portuguese offers, and the grant for the Dutch factory at Pulicat was not disturbed.

Maertssen then left the locality, having placed Hans Marcelis in charge of the new factory, where disputes with the local officials arose almost immediately. On hearing this, the King sent for both parties to Vellore. Marcelis started on 1st August, and, after some delay, had an audience of the King on the 30th. Portuguese envoys again intervened with presents and promises, and an interval of intrigue followed, but Marcelis was able to leave Vellore on 26th September, with the grant for Pulicat confirmed in a somewhat more favourable form. From these particulars it will be seen that in 1610 the King was in Vellore continuously, or almost continuously, from March to the end of September.

The next Dutch appearance at his court was in 1612, when Wemmer van Berchem, who had become Director of the Coromandel factories, came to Vellore to complain of the sack of the Pulicat factory by the Portuguese (*Dijk*, 24-28; *Heeres*, 100-104,

where Dijk's misreading of the name of Velover is corrected). Wemmer was a man of exceptional energy, and apparently possessed the art of getting things done quickly. He left Pulicat on 2nd December, had an audience of the King at Vellore on 10th, obtained a formal agreement on 12th, went on to Kolār, where Jagarāja was with the royal army, made an agreement with him, and was back in Pulicat by 6th January, 1613.

No other Dutch mission to the court is recorded during Venkata's lifetime; and, if these facts stood alone, they would not be inconsistent with the Reviewer's suggestion that the style 'King of Vellore' might have arisen from the accident of the King being temporarily at Vellore from March to September, 1610, and again in December, 1612, though the reference to the castles and buildings at Vellore is more appropriate to a capital city than to a temporary halting place. The suggestion is, however, definitely negated by the fact that the style 'King of Vellore' was in use in Tegnapatam before any Dutchman had visited the King; it was used in the Dutch letter-book at least as early as 26th March, 1610, or two months before Maertssen's mission. Under that date the letter-book shows a letter "received from the great King *Venekat poti Raij*, King of Velor", in which the King offered the Dutch a choice of one of the three ports "Pallicatte, Connomor, Armogon", and assured them of his protection. This letter has not, so far as I know, been published; the quotation is made from a photostat supplied by the Rijksarchief. The style 'King of Vellore' was thus current at Tegnapatam, one of Venkata's seaports, in March, 1610, for of course the Dutch took it from the inhabitants of that place, at the time their only factory in the Kingdom. If Vellore was not the capital at that time, I must leave the Reviewer to explain how the style in question came to be in current use, for I can think of no other possible origin.

The Reviewer writes that "In the day of Venkata certainly, the capital was still Penugonda, where he had to stand a siege by the Golconda army in 1612, and where he actually died in 1614, if the local accounts could be believed". I do not know where to find the description of that siege, but is it certain that Venkata was with the army? As has been said above, he was at Vellore in December of that year, when his army was at Kolār, so he was not always with the army at this period of his reign. As to the place of his death, in some parts of India it was the practice for a dying King to be taken to some particular place, commonly a former capital; might not this practice explain the local accounts which the Reviewer quotes with caution?

References.

- De Jonge*.—*De Opkomst van het Nederlandsche Gezag in Oost-Indie*, edited by J. K. J. De Jonge. The Hague, 1862-88.
Dijk.—*Zes Jaren uit het Leven van Wemmer van Berchem*, by L. C. D. van Dijk. Amsterdam, 1858.
Heeres.—*Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum*, compiled by J. E. Heeres. The Hague, 1907.
Terpstra.—*De Vestiging van de Nederlanders aan de Kust van Coromandel* by H. Terpstra. Groningen, 1911.

The letter and the note printed above are from Mr. Moreland, and have reference to a review of a publication by the Hakluyt Society, *Relations of Golconda*, on pages 219 to 223 of volume X of the *Journal of Indian History*. The matter has reference to the Vijayanagar ruler of the period, Venkata II, as he is sometimes called of Vijayanagar. His capital is referred to as Vēlūr, and, what is really more to the point, that he is himself described king of Vēlūr by European writers of the period, among them the Dutch correspondence published, in the *Relations of Golconda*. The points at issue therefore are whether (1) there is justification for calling Vēlūr the capital of the empire of Vijayanagar under Venkata; and (2) whether there is justification for his territory as a whole being described as kingdom of Vēlūr. Mr. Moreland's note gives full references to the Dutch correspondence, where Venkatapati is spoken of as king of Vēlūr with a variation in the spelling of the word. It would conduce to clearness if a short historical survey be taken of the rule of Venkata II.

Venkata was on the throne from 1585 to 1614. His coronation actually took place in Chandragiri, where he usually resided during the last years of the reign of his father and during the reign of his elder brother as viceroy of the south. When he was anointed, however, he was anointed as ruler of the empire of Vijayanagar, enthroned at Penugonda. His early inscriptions of dates 1585,¹ 1587,² and 1589³ state that he was seated on the throne of the Empire in Suragiri (or Penugonda). Other inscriptions at different dates also refer to him as being seated on the "Jewelled

1. Epi. Col. 71 of 1915.

2. Epi. Car. VII, S. H. 83.

3. Ibid XII, C. K. 39.

Throne" at Penugonda. These refer to year 1593,⁴ 1599⁵ 1603,⁶ 1605,⁷ 1608,⁸ 1609,⁹ 1610,¹⁰ and 1612.¹¹ We need go no further in search for authorities of this class, and may state it broadly that the proper style of the sovereign was "Ruler of Vijayanagar", whether he be called king or emperor; and he is generally said to be ruling from his throne at Penugonda, although we come occasionally upon records that refer to him as ruling from Vijayanagar itself. So far therefore as these inscriptional records go, we are concerned with the ruler of Vijayanagar, and his permanent capital is Penugonda.

We mentioned already that Venkatapati was accustomed to reside in Chandragiri as viceroy of the south, both under his brother and even under his father. During the period when the Jesuits of South India came into contact with him, he was in residence in Chandragiri, and Jesuit references regard Chandragiri as the capital. The Jesuit fathers who were sent out to reside at the court of Venkata are spoken of as the Mission to Vijayanagar, though residing in Chandragiri. The annual letter of the Jesuits for Eastern India speaks of El. Rey de Bisnaga.¹² The mission is spoken of as the mission to Vijayanagar in a letter of the previous year.¹³ A letter¹⁴ of Father Pimenta dated 1602 speaks of Venkatapati as the emperor of Vijayanagar in the capital at Chandragiri. Philip III's letter to the Portuguese viceroy refers to the ambassador from the king of Vijayanagar.¹⁵ The Dutch agreement regarding Pulicat refers to Venkata as king of the Carnatic.¹⁶ The traveller Floris refers to the king as "king of Narasinga".¹⁷ The same writer refers to the same king as "king of Narasinga of Vēlūr" in a letter dated 1614.¹⁸ There is a reference to the year 1606¹⁹ to the mission to

4. 377 of 1904.

5. Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, I, page 134.

6. No. 236 of 1903.

7. Sewell's Lists, I, page 101; 255 of 1903.

8. Rangachari, I, pages 622, 535.

9. 67 of 1915.

10. 184 of 1913.

11. Epi. Car. II, TN. 62. Ibid XII, S; 84. Butterworth and V. Chetty III, pages 1284-1286.

12. Appendix C, VI, Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar by the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., M.A.

13. Ibid letter C II.

14. Ibid C. V.

15. Aravidu Dynasty B. 7.

16. Ibid, pp. 453-54.

17. Purchas, His Pilgrims III, page 320.

18. Ibid III, pages 336-27.

19. Father Quitinno's letter to Father Aquiviva, Ibid C. 13.

Bisnaga visiting both Chandragiri and Vēlūr. In 1607²⁰ there is a reference to the mission to Bisnaga in Chandragiri. Similarly a letter²¹ from the Provincial of Cochin refers to the king of Bisnaga. The annual letter dated 1607²² refers to the kingdom of Vijayanagar several times. A letter from Philip III of Spain to Venkata styles him king of Vijayanagar. The letter is quoted *in extenso* on page 445 of the Aravidu Dynasty. The letter in original is found in appendix B of the work. There is again a reference²³ to the mission to Bisnaga in a letter of date 1608, but referring to the year 1606-7. In 1611²⁴ the letter from Cochin quoting one of the previous year, December 12, refers to Rey de Bisnaga. The memorial²⁵ against Jesuits some time before 1610 also makes similar references. In a letter of 1613,²⁶ Mylapore is referred to as belonging to the king of Bisnaga. This time it is the Portuguese viceroy that is writing to the king. A letter dated 1614 from the Portuguese viceroy to Philip III refers to the death of Rey de Bisnaga, and the disturbances that followed. The same year a letter from Floris speaks of 'the king of Narasinga of Vēlūr'.²⁷ There is a similar reference to him as 'king of Vēlūr' in a letter²⁸ of John Gourney dated 18th July 1614. Floris refers to his death as that of the king of Vēlūr. It will be seen from this that while the general style and description of this ruler is as the King or Emperor of Vijayanagar, he is sometimes spoken of also as king of Narasinga. References to him as king of Vēlūr are not altogether absent, even among writers other than the Dutch.

Venkata was during the first few years after his coronation, about seven or eight years, in Penugonda, which then came to be spoken of as the royal capital. About 1592-93, he moved into Chandragiri, where he had been accustomed to stay for long years, as that was his vice-regal headquarters. There apparently he stayed usually. The representatives of the Jesuit missions met him there, and some of them went into residence there as representatives of the mission at his court. It was in 1604 or a little later that Lingamanāyaka son of Chinna Bomma of Vēlūr rebell-

20. Ibid C. 18.

21. Ibid C. 21.

22. Ibid C. 22.

23. Ibid C. 26.

24. Ibid C. 31.

25. Ibid C. 37.

26. Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar B. No. 17.

27. Purchas His Pilgrims III, pages 336-7.

28. Letters Received from East India Company 2, page 83.

ed. The rebellion was put down after defeating Lingama at Minnali, as it is called, a small railway station on the Madras-Bangalore railway line, and a subsequent siege of the strong fort of Vēlūr. After the place had been taken and order was introduced Venkaṭa, went into Vellore where he was in residence for a number of years. He often moved out of the capital and stayed elsewhere. On one occasion a mission of the Jesuits went to him when he was 45 miles away in the camp. The mission was asked to meet him at Vēlūr to which he returned later. The Jesuit representatives continued to be in Chandragiri. The king himself was sometimes there, so that it would seem as though it did not matter where the king was in residence. The kingdom continued to be the kingdom of Vijayanagar, or the kingdom of the Karnāṭaka, and he was still ruling from the royal capital of Penugonda, seated on his diamond throne, in formal documents.

References to the king of Vēlūr therefore would be correct only if one understood the king of Vēlūr to mean the king at Vēlūr. The fact that he is referred to sometimes in that style by occasional travellers will not justify his being called "the King of Vēlūr." Vēlūr constituted certainly a government, but as a government it was subordinate to the Nayak at Gingee, so that Vellore did not enjoy the privilege of even being a Nayakdom of the lore did not enjoy the privilege of even being a Nayakdom of the lore did not enjoy the privilege of even being a Nayakdom of the lore possible by virtue of its position and its importance as a fortified centre, that it may have served as the capital. When inscriptions of Venkaṭa and his subjects always call him king of Vijayanagar, when even foreign travellers and the Jesuit fathers style him generally as king of Vijayanagar or king of Narasinga (this latter being a peculiar European designation more or less exclusively), and when, in formal documents by the Portuguese viceroy and even of the Spanish King Philip III, he is styled king of Vijayanagar or emperor of Vijayanagar, the justification for calling him king of Vēlūr seems small indeed. People may certainly speak of him as king of Vēlūr in the sense that the king was then in residence in Vellore, as in fact he was the king of that part of the country. It is hardly necessary to pile up more evidence.

While at the subject, we may perhaps refer to another incident to which the review made reference, the siege of Penugonda by the Muhammadans in 1612. This comes out in detail in the Ragunātha Abyudhayam, the life of the Tanjore Nayak Ragunātha. The author of the Aravīdu dynasty, my friend the Rev. H. Heras, refers to Ragunātha's assistance to Venkaṭapati to the period of the siege of Penugonda

THE KING OF VELLORE

very early in Venkaṭa's reign. This is hardly possible for the following reasons. Ragunātha at the time is spoken of as a young man, hardly fit to bear the responsibilities of rule, and his father Achyuta required to be persuaded to entrust him with the administration and abdicate, about 1614 or thereabouts as he had grown very old and rather other-worldly minded to continue in power.

As a result of the services rendered to the country and the emperor, Ragunātha is said to have obtained the release of Krishna appanayaka of Gingee who was in prison in Penugonda. Krishna was punished for his rebellion, and thrown into prison about the end of the year 1609; and it is later that he should have been pardoned and restored to his position. The siege that is referred to is a later siege, and not the earlier one, and Ragunātha's intervention must have taken place then.

Readers have now enough material to form their own opinion whether Venkaṭa or his immediate successors can be called kings of Vellore, while Vellore may be called a capital, or even the capital, during the period when the king happened to be resident there. Indian rulers certainly were accustomed to remain in various places in their territory even for considerable periods, the capital still remaining one fixed place, as the formal capital. It seems hardly necessary in this instance to regard it as any otherwise than this. Even grants²⁹ of Rama II, the successor of Venkaṭa dated A.D. 1623 refer to his being in residence in Penugonda. Later on than this in A.D. 1636, the Kondiyāta grant³⁰ of Venkaṭa III refers to him as being in Penugonda while making the grant.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

29. Ep. Car. III No. 62. Ibid 12 Ck. I.

30. V. R. Vol. I. N. Arcot 325 A. Copper-plate grant.

HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN STUDIES IN ASSAM.

The recent publication of the first Bulletin of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, gives us an account of the work of the Department since its inception. The *puthis* and transcripts collected by the Department have been catalogued by Professor S. K. Bhuyan of the Cotton College, Gauhati, the Honorary Assistant Director of the Department. The Department owes its origin to the efforts of Mr. J. R. Cunningham, C.I.E., Director of Public Instruction, Assam, 1912-1931, who perceived the need for and largely helped in the realisation of a Government organisation for the furtherance of research work. Professor Bhuyan has recently been engaged examining the Assam records deposited in the archives of the Local Government and also in the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta, and is the author of a book—"Early British Relations with Assam," published by the Local Government in 1928. The Department of Ethnography, started first under the Directorship of Mr. (afterwards Sir E. A.) Gait and pushed on into great usefulness by his successors in the Direction, Lieutenant-Colonel P. R. T. Gurdon, and Dr. J. H. Hutton, has been showing very fruitful work, of which the monographs brought out on the different hill-tribes, like the Lushai Kukis, the Angami Nagas, the Lhota Nagas and the Ao Nagas, have been specially useful to anthropological studies. The Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies will be thus a complement to the Ethnographic Department, and will accomplish the objects originally aimed at by Sir Charles Lyall, sometime Chief Commissioner of the Province and Sir E. A. Gait who actually began the scheme of historical research in the Province in 1894 and brought out his "History of Assam" in 1905. A systematic search for *Assamese mss* was begun by Mr. Hemachandra Goswami in 1912-13; and there was also some provision made for transcribing and publishing the historical *mss* and for compiling a descriptive catalogue of the *puthis* of Mr. Goswami's collection.

The new Department which has been in existence for a period of just over three years has, to judge from the report of its activities, more than justified its existence. It has published several books the *Kama-ratna Tantra*, including both the *Assamese* text and parallel English translation; a *Descriptive Catalogue of the Assamese Manuscripts*, dealing with *Assamese*, *Ahom* and *Sanskrit* manuscripts, collected by Mr. Goswami, and the *Ahom Buranji* coming down to 1838 containing a parallel English translation, by

Mr. Gopalchandra Barua. Besides these three publications mentioned above, Mr. Bhuyan has edited for the Department. (1) The *Assam Buranji*, being an enlarged version of the chronicle of Kasi-nath Tamuli-Phukan, and (2) *Kamarupar Buranji* (the history of Kamarupa from the earliest times down to the close of the war with the Mughals in 1682 A.D.—both being equipped with prefaces in English and *Assamese*. Several other *Buranjis*, also edited by the indefatigable Professor Bhuyan, are in the press and will be published in the course of this year; and one of them, the *Tung-khungia Buranji*, has also been translated by him into English. The Department has also been financing the publication of some valuable *Meithi* manuscripts, and other works like the *Dak-Bhamita*, *Hasti-Vidyamava* and *Vaidya-Kalpataru*. The collection of manuscripts, letters exchanged between the *Ahom* Court and other states like *Cooch-Bihar*, *Jayantia*, *Cachar*, the *Nawabs* of *Dacca* and the *Emperors* of *Delhi*, and their compilation with explanatory matter, and transcripts of historical importance, a list of which is given in this Bulletin (Part III), are among the other activities of the Department. The Department will, we trust, be able, with the labours of enthusiastic researchers like Professor Bhuyan, to produce in a short time work that will throw light upon many dark corners of *Assamese* history and *Assamese* relations with the neighbouring tribes and states. To quote an *Assamese* simile, taken from the report, "the nursery has been laid and considerable acreage covered with plantation. The first crops have been placed on the market, followed by satisfactory response . . . and the market thoroughly gauged . . .".

C. S. S.

Obituary

THE LATE CANON EDWARD SELL, D.D.

The late Canon Sell passed away on the 15th of February last at the ripe age of 93, having been in India for a little over 66 years. He came as a missionary, and was in charge of the Harris High School for Muhammadans in Madras. This first appointment gave the turn to his studies. He applied himself to the study of Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and became an authority in these languages. He became examiner for Higher Proficiency under Government, and occupied the position of Chairman of the Board of Studies in these languages and Chairman of various boards of examiners at the University of Madras for a series of years. During the long years of his active work, he wrote various works, but among them, we may mention the Faith of Islam, the Historical Development of the Koran, Studies in Islam and Islam in Spain. These and some others earned for him the degree of D. D. *Honoris Causa* from the Edinburgh University, and the Kaisari Hind Medal from the Government.

Apart from his activity as a scholar, he devoted himself to organising mission work and was interested primarily in the creation of an autonomous Indian Church. During the long period of forty years, he made this one of his main objects, and was directly instrumental in the appointment of an Indian to an Anglican Bishopric, the lucky recipient of this honour being Dr. Azariah, Bishop of Dornakal in the Nizam's Dominions. He was interested in educational activities, and collaborated with the late Dr. William Miller of the Christian College in bringing about a change in the constitution of the Free Church which enabled the college to go on unhampered. He took interest in the progress of other educational institutions as well, such as the Doveton College and Bishop Corrie's Grammar School. Another one of his activities was the project that he carried through successfully of publishing as many as 31 commentaries on the Old Testament and Jewish literature. These were intended to aid the Indian clergy in the results of the latest biblical scholarship to enable them to teach and preach the religion of Christ with effect.

The last piece of work in which he was deeply interested, and to which he devoted the best of his energies is the creation of a

trust fund, which goes by his name now. For thirty years he managed the press, which used to be called the S. P. C. K. press, and became the Madras Diocesan Press some years ago. He developed this business organisation which began with a capital of Rs. 40,000 into one which realised 5 lakhs of rupees for the purpose of this trust-fund the income from which is to be applied for the service of the Indian Church.

We have had the pleasure of his acquaintance during the last score of years of his life, and have enjoyed the benefits of the genuine friendship of the ripe scholar and the sympathetic man. Though he passes away full of years and achievement, we cannot but regret the removal of a familiar figure from amongst us.

Editorial

WE acknowledge with thanks receipt of the three magnificent volumes of the report of the Director-General of Archaeology on the Indus Valley Civilisation, with which Mr. Arthur Probsthain, the publisher, favoured us. We have already published a notice of the report in the last number of the Journal, and shall be publishing a more detailed review in later issues as occasion offers. This is merely to acknowledge the kindness of the enterprising publisher for this exhibition of regard for the Journal of Indian History.

Amongst a number of publications sent by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, we have received an important publication, *Jayākhyā Samhita*, a work bearing on the *Āgamas*, pertaining to the *Bhakti* cult of the Vaishnavas. This is a very important work being one of the *three jewels* of this school of *Bhakti*, the other two being the *Sāttvata*, and the *Paushkara*. A number of works belonging to this class have already been published, and have been made available in one form or another. A number of them happen to be in South Indian scripts, and therefore not really accessible to the wider body of scholars than those in South India. The best published as yet is the *Ahīrbudhnya Samhita* published some years ago by Dr. Schrader with a learned introduction and other apparatus necessary for the understanding of the work. Dr. Bhat-tacharya, the editor of the Gaikawad's Series, publishes an introduction to the *Jayākhyā* following to a great extent the much more elaborate introduction of Dr. Schrader. While admitting the antiquity of the *Pāncharātra* as being well-known even in the time of Pānini, the grammarian, he discusses the actual date of the *Jayākhyā*, and arrives at the conclusion that this work may be referable to the fifth century A.D. He is led to this specific conclusion by a palaeographical datum, which he finds in the *Jayākhyā*, where a number of letters of the alphabet happen to be named and described. Comparing the description given with the characters current at various periods, he comes to the conclusion that the alphabetical system of the *Jayākhyā* lies between the Bilsad inscriptions of A.D. 414 and the Toramana Inscription of A.D. 500. Even on his own examination of the alphabetical characters given on the table facing page 34 of his introduction, a comparison of all the letters in their cumulative result would bring the system nearer to the Kushan. In another part of the introduction, there is a re-

ference to the Tamil texts of the classical period, which contain references to the *Āgamaic* features of Vaishnavism. We do not see, however, specific references to the four *Vyūhas* in poem 3 of the *Paripādal*, nor to stanza 44 of the *Tiruchanda-viruttam*, where this is equally under reference. The author of this latter poem Tirumaliśai Ālvar actually refers to the *Āgamic* works of the Vaishnavas. Such clear references to the *Vyūhas* indicate a stage of South Indian *Pāncharātra* referable to the earliest, according to Dr. Schrader's classification. We shall reserve for a future occasion a fuller discussion of the matter, but we content ourselves with drawing attention to the point here, as the publication of the *Jayākhyā* marks an important step in the study of this literature. We have nothing but commendation for the manner in which the text is published, and for the learned introduction both by the General Editor, and by the actual editor of the work, Pandit Krishnamachariar.

We are glad to note that Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has taken up a discussion of Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya, of the Gupta dynasty in the Behar and Orissa Research Society's Journal. This discussion is based upon a previous one by Professor Altekar of the Benares Hindu University, who brought together the passages, which had been made available by Professor Sylvain Levi from the newly discovered drama, *Dēvichandraguptam*, to which we had drawn attention long ago in our lectures to the Madras University, and published in the Gupta Supplement of the Journal of Indian History. While the discussion therefore by Altekar brought to light a new Gupta ruler by name Rāmagupta, and the misfortune that befell him in a campaign against the Śakas, it left the position of Chandragupta in connection with the event somewhat dubious. Chandragupta there turns out to be the prince, younger brother of Rāmagupta, who volunteered service to outwit the Śaka ruler in regard to the surrender of the queen. Having done this successfully, he saved the king and the empire from the disgrace likely to result from the surrender of the queen. He is found soon after to have been the means of dispossessing Rāmagupta both of his empire and of his queen. There is an allusion to this occurrence in the Harshacharita of Bāna and that was explained in an exactly similar way by Sankarārya, the commentator, who supplied the details that Chandragupta overthrew the enemy and married his brother's wife. This was thought to be somewhat of an absurd position at the time, as we did take it upon ourselves to remark. It has since turned out to have been the case by what is stated in the drama *Dēvichandraguptam* ascribed to Viśākadatta,

the author of the drama *Mudrarākshasa*, the concluding stanza of which has a reference to the reigning king which has been read as Avantivarma in certain manuscripts, Chandragupta in others. There has been a controversy, and a discussion over the point itself. We find however that all the different manuscripts in the Tanjore Library, about twenty-five in number, and not all of them traceable to the same source, give the reading uniformly as Chandragupta; not one of them gives the variant Avantivarma. This is of value as Dhundirāja, the only commentator on the *Mudrarākshasa* lived at the court of Ekoji, the half brother of Shivaji, and the first Mahratta ruler of Tanjore, in whose reign he wrote the commentary. The datum becomes of value as the commentator must have collected the variant versions then available about the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Perhaps it makes it more probable that the *Mudrarākshasa* was written in the court of Chandragupta, as perhaps the *Dēvichandraguptam* itself. In the absence of the whole text, it would be difficult to discuss what the *Dēvichandraguptam* actually contained and what it did not. But the discussion of this matter actually started with us, at any rate, as the Sanskrit *śloka* quoted in the *Kāvya Mīmāṃsa* by Rājasēkhara on page 47. We shall discuss the verse in detail on another occasion, but we feel concerned to point out here that both Professor Altekar and Mr. Jayaswal feel that the verse is in all probability not an extract from the *Dēvichandraguptam*; and the latter even regards the verse as not referring to Chandragupta at all. We closed our contribution Chandragupta Vikramāditya, made to the Patna University Sir Asutosh Mukerjee Memorial volume with a question whether the stanza did not refer to the emperor Chandragupta, and composed in glorification of his heroic deeds. Since two subsequent investigators have taken it upon themselves to indicate clearly that they regard the stanza as having nothing to do with Chandragupta, we may take occasion to show here that it would be pointless absolutely, if the latter two lines of the stanza are not in reference to Chandragupta II, from the point of view of the rhetorician Rājasēkhara. Even otherwise we have sufficient indication that the Kinnara women folk sang the glories of Chandragupta II, and no other, and it is very probable that the stanza is perhaps the closing stanza of the *Dēvichandraguptam*. It is not impossible that it might occur elsewhere in the course of the drama. Rājasēkhara's definition of *Kathōttha*, for which he gives the stanza as an illustration, is *Vrittē-itivrittah*, that is an occurrence or an incident springing out of another incident; in other words, what happened is the result of something that had already happened. There would be absolutely no point unless the second

half of the *śloka* is interpreted with a view to this. Thus interpreted it can refer to no other than Chandragupta himself.

Advance in Indian cultural studies has in recent times given its due place to the *Mahābhārata* as at the foundation of Indian thought, religious and secular. It is not so long ago that one section of scholars, at any rate, felt it necessary to call attention to this need, particularly on the Continent. This received a stimulus when the first Indian Oriental Conference at Poona considered the question of an authoritative edition of the *Mahābhārata*, which had already been thought of and for which some little work had been done in Europe. The starting of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona, and the formation of the Indian Oriental Conference made it possible to transfer the carrying out of the scheme to India, and work on this important scheme had been put in hand almost immediately. Work is going on on that scheme, and we have had five fascicules containing slightly more than half of the first *parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*.

In the course of the various discussions connected with this large scheme of work, was naturally one on the relative merits of the codices of texts preserved in various localities all over the vast country. Opinion was gradually crystallising that while the variations in the text are very vast, certain classes of manuscript material coming from certain localities exhibited the least corruption and certain others the most. Kashmir figures honourably in the first, and the South Indian texts come in for considerable notoriety in the second. This arose from the fact that there was a recent edition of the *Mahābhārata* in the south following, of course, one or two others that existed even before that. This latest edition made inclusiveness as its main characteristic and incorporated in it whatever was the text of the *Mahābhārata* on manuscript authority as well as printed texts. Examination of southern manuscripts in connection with the edition of an All-India *Mahābhārata*, and particularly the examination of manuscripts in the Palace Library at Tanjore led to the discovery that a group of Manuscripts of a particular period preserved the text much more carefully than those of the following periods. There has been besides a continuous tradition of *Mahābhārata* reading traceable in the historical records of the south, from which all the vernaculars of the south have made versions in their own languages. There were besides some commentators, at any rate, who have made references to these texts and even commented on them in various ways. It seemed desirable therefore that as an essential preparation for the critical study of the *Mahābhārata* a correct edition of the southern

text as such would be desirable in many ways. The continuity of text tradition is one feature. The vicissitudes that made for large destruction of manuscripts in the north were not so frequent, it might even be said, did not exist, in anything like the same degree, as in the north. The vernacular versions provide a landmark, and with these versions must be included the Javnese version which seems to have gone from the south. The period when Tanjore was under the Nayaks of Vijayanagar, the period extending from the reign of Achyutarāya beginning A.D. 1530 and ending with the overthrow of the dynasty by the southern viceroys by Bijapur in A.D. 1672-74 was a period when the tradition of preserving Hindu culture showed itself at its best. Manuscript corruption seems to become rampant afterwards. This may have been due to the prevalent anarchy of the time, which does not appear to have even excluded this department of scholarship. Manuscripts therefore of the period of the Vijayanagar viceroyalty, and such commentarial aid as could be got for periods previous have been utilised in the preparation of a southern recension and the well-known Madras publishers, Messrs. V. Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, and the present proprietor V. Venkateswara Sastrulu came forward to undertake the publication. The work has been begun, and we have three volumes out of a projected eighteen, completing the first two books. With ordinary steadiness and rapidity, the edition ought to be available to the public in another couple of years or three at the outside. In the interest of Mahābhārata scholarship and the editors and publishers as well, it is desirable that the work is brought to completion as soon as it is compatible with careful work. We wish the enterprise all success, and hope that it will have a reception sufficiently encouraging to those that have initiated the enterprise and are actually carrying it out.

While on this subject, we may refer to a new Tamil version of the Mahābhārata, which has been going on for well over a score of years and has reached its completion during the last quarter. It is a literal Tamil translation of the Mahābhārata based on the Kumbakonam edition of the work. The first vernacular version of the Mahābhārata so far known is the Tamil version ascribable to the classical age of the Tamils, who regarded the doing of the Mahābhārata in Tamil as of importance comparable to the very establishment of the Tamil Academy itself. While this serves the needs only of the Tamil country, we welcome its completion as the completion of a vast work undertaken by a Pandit friend of ours, Pandit M. V. Ramanujachariar. The Sanskrit Academy in Madras did itself the honour of conferring upon him a title in appreciation of his labour in completing this great work.

Reviews

PICTURESQUE INDIA

By

M. HURLIMANN,

Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

This is a work which attempts to give an idea of the whole of India by means of pictures, or photographic reproductions of the more remarkable features of India, primarily monumental, and to some extent even natural. The work gives 304 full page reproductions of pictures, beginning with the protecting deity of the triad Vishnu appropriately opening the book in the pronounced attitude of "Have no fear" (Abhyaya), with the letter-press Vishnu the preserver. Then we are taken on to a few scenes in the great temple at Rāmēśwaram, and then on in a particular order of a tourist's programme through a variety of scenes, coming ultimately back to a bronze statue in the Madras Museum of the dancing Śiva, Naṭeśa, in the ecstatic bliss of an almost self-forgetting dance. The illustrations themselves contain a remarkable collection. The best of the temples of South India come into view as also the most remarkable of the Islamic monuments of northern and western India; some domestic scenes, as also representations of individual and social life. There is a rapid survey of the pictures produced in an introduction, which, at any rate, begins the art history of India with Asoka and brings it in a continuous series down to practically modern times. The work ought to be of interest not merely to the tourists but also to those who wish to gain an idea of India without the labour of an elaborate study.

THE CONCERT OF EUROPE

By

R. B. MOWAT,

Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., (15 shillings) net.

In this work Professor Mowat, already well-known by his handbooks on English History and European History, attempts to tackle the question of the emergence of a European concert, the nineteenth century analogue, of what has now matured into the League of Nations. As a consequence of the joint efforts of the greater monarchs of Europe who co-operated in bringing about the downfall of Napoleon, these monarchs set themselves up in a

more or less permanent conference with a view to avoiding war as a result of various matters of dispute between subjects and sovereigns in the states of Europe. Such a body naturally changed its form from time to time, and naturally exercised a varying degree of influence in the councils of Europe in connection with the particular object that it set before itself. It tried to exercise an influence in a period immediately following that of Napoleon, England being, on the whole, lukewarm. In the periods following, it had not such a recognised existence through the varying politics of the nineteenth century Europe, but had gradually emerged into a well-known body with a great deal of potentiality for good. The position of the concert came to a test at the termination of the Franco-German War, which set up a new order in Europe, and, by that fact, called for vigilance, as it was thought, on the part of some of the more powerful states directly affected by the war, particularly Germany. The concert rendered useful service, as for instance in the Berlin Congress; but on many other occasions, in which it might have proved efficient if all the connected powers took the same, or a similar view of its position in the affairs of Europe. But almost from the beginning, the new-born empire of Germany refused to bring herself into it so wholeheartedly as some of the other powers, and this introduced a factor to be reckoned with of the concert failing to take concerted action or exercise a concerted pressure whenever called for. It was gradually coming to be felt as the American President, Roosevelt, put it on one occasion, that the best way to avoid war is to be the most prepared for it. It is almost in tacit recognition of that principle that all Europe went about in a race arming themselves to the very teeth, which culminated in the world cataclysm of the Great War.

The consideration of the concert of Europe naturally and by an unobserved transition passes into the question of responsibility for the war. The responsibility, according to this work, gets more or less definitely fixed on Germany, though that position is hardly yet universally accepted as the correct position. But ever since the Berlin Congress, that Germany did not show itself ready to fall in with the views of the more pacific powers of the concert, is beyond question true. But the best criticism that has been offered so far is that the action of the other powers on these various occasions was not all of them uniform, and some of them such as France in certain cases had no more tendency to settle questions by peaceful conference. But Professor Mowat's finding may perhaps be given in his

own words; "That it failed to preserve peace in the end seems chiefly because, in the last (but not, so far as can be judged, the most difficult) crisis, Germany refused to collaborate in the concert." This general position is explained on page 8 of the book:—"Nevertheless Germany must bear the chief responsibility of the war for three reasons: firstly, because she had never really believed in the Concert of Europe and had rather encouraged than abated the "war-atmosphere" of 1871 to 1914; secondly, because in the actual crisis of July 1914, she rejected two proposals that might quite possibly have averted the actual outbreak of a general War (Grey's proposal of July 26 for a Conference, and the Tsar's proposal of July 29 for reference to the Hague Tribunal); and thirdly, because, on hearing of the Russian general mobilisation order, she decided that she could not take the risk of waiting a few more days or weeks, merely "counter-mobilising", but forthwith precipitated hostilities'. Those that wish to understand the present day problems of Europe would benefit much by a glance through this book.

SHIVAJI THE FOUNDER OF THE MAHRATTA SWARAJ

By

RAO BAHADUR C. V. VAIDYA, M.A., LL.B.,
Bharat Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala,
 (Puraskrita Grantha Mala No. 26.)

Published by the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona.

The recent celebration of the ter-centenary of the birthday of Shivaji in the year 1930 was taken advantage of by the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala to collect together and put into a handy form the material for the early history of the Mahrattas culminating in the establishment of Shivaji as the founder of the Mahratta kingdom. There are many valuable works bearing on the life of Shivaji, and perhaps even much unnecessary controversy has been imported into a subject, which while it may lend itself to controversy in regard to particular topics, need hardly have become quite so controversial generally as it has actually become. Shivaji's life has been cast in an eventful period of Indian History, and his very existence and activity have been responsible for many a stirring event in the interesting annals of the efforts of the last great Mughal, Aurangzeb, to subdue the south and reduce it to subordination to his authority. The earlier efforts and therefore at writing an account of the rise of the Mahrattas and Shivaji naturally had to be based entirely on such account as was

preserved in the writings of Musalman historians, whose primary object was the writing of the history of the times from the point of view of the Muhammadan rulers, whose history these works attempted to write, either by direct stimulation of the rulers concerned, or even by writers not so directly indebted to the Muhammadan sovereigns of the times. Among this latter class must be mentioned prominently the historian generally known by the name Khafi Khan. It does not require very great penetration to come to the conclusion that writing the history of the Mahrattas from sources like that was bound to be purely one-sided, and very often even inaccurate. The best of these, with the most honest intentions, could write only what came to his knowledge. In the great majority of cases, it could have been only knowledge at second-hand, because these great historians generally resided at court or near, and depended for their information upon various classes of people, and other sources of an indirect character. Some of them may have played a direct part, but such are very few. These sources therefore are to that extent defective, and any life of Shivaji, or even a general history of the Mahrattas, based exclusively upon these sources would certainly be defective.

There have been other sources of information with which these could be corrected. These were generally the records and correspondence of the agents of the various European Companies which had settled in the country for purposes of commerce. These settlements were generally along the coast, and these coast factories had their agents within the country. They got their reports from various of these agents, and communicated them home. Some of these agents happened to be in the locality where many of these historical events actually took place. But generally speaking, even their information was to a great extent second-hand, and to that extent imperfect. In some cases, it may be less imperfect and in other cases more. There is yet another source, the Mahratta source, pure and simple, which has been but partially exploited by even writers of the standing of Duff. Duff had unrivalled opportunities for access to original records even in Mahratti, which exist no more, so that his history must be regarded as utilising the light available from all these sources and the result of his own enquiries in the Mahratta country. But recently there has been such an accumulation of this class of material, which called imperatively for a critical examination of their value, and their fuller utilisation for the purposes of Mahratta history generally and of the life of Shivaji in particular. Any attempt at a biography of the actual founder of the kingdom of the Mahrattas would certainly

be defective, if it were based entirely upon extraneous records, such as the European correspondence, and even the accounts of Musalman historians. A biography of Shivaji therefore must be based essentially upon native sources of information if a biography is to give an account at least in some detail of the various influences that called for action and the motives that gave shape to his movements. Any account of his life based on the other sources alone is bound to be much more defective than even a history of the Mahrattas need be.

Those that formed themselves into the Shivaji-Karyalaya and set themselves up to making an exhaustive collection of material bearing upon the history of the Mahrattas did well to have collected all the sources and brought them together in a handy form for critical use by students of history. That is but doing one part of the work. It would have been a sheer waste of labour to do that alone and leave it there, unless that material were critically examined, fully digested, and actually used to write the life of Shivaji. Any effort in this direction would be better if it could make full use of the Mahratta sources with a proper appreciation of the critical value of the various other sources so far made available, and the writer ought to be a sympathetic student capable of appreciating the points of view of the subject of his biography without being too ready to cavil, or too prone to admire. Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya is frankly and confessedly an admirer of Shivaji, and the great work that he had done in the establishment of Shivaji, and the great work that he had done in the establishment of what is generally called Hindvi Svaraj. He might be regarded as just the kind of man to write a biography. The little book of very near 400 crown octavo pages gives a fairly succinct account of the life of Shivaji, which takes into consideration the material collected by the Shivaji-Karyalaya. The result is a hand book, which gives, more or less, an unvarnished tale of the life and doings of Shivaji. It takes away all the romantic incidents, for which usually later writers were responsible, and, basing itself upon contemporary sources mostly, presents a plain, unvarnished tale. This perhaps makes the work rather fall short of a good biography as yet, but we may say it makes a fairly real approach to what a biography ought to be.

One useful purpose that this work serves is to exhibit that the Shivabharata, a poetical account as it is, is not quite so unhistorical and the Jede chronology, which had been too much condemned as unreliable, is not quite so unworthy of credence. What really was required is a critical use of these sources, and not their condemnation because in regard to certain details, they have shown

themselves to be in error, according to our lights which may as well be wrong. While we do not subscribe to the dictum that contemporary sources are always and necessarily correct, and later sources equally generally not, we may say that this biography is based on contemporary records primarily and excludes rigorously all sources that smack of exaggeration or romance. The biography, of course, loses some of its charm, but in the present condition of criticism respecting the career of Shivaji, perhaps it is just as well that there is that exclusion. But our objection is not because we want romance in history. This rigorous exclusion removes the possibility of our understanding the character for impressionability of the hero, and the kind of influences that impressed him and stimulated him to action in various circumstances. Individuals do not always act upon a mathematical calculation of chances even in statecraft. Many another motive, honest and unworthy, might enter into the transactions of rulers, and exercise a potent influence upon the course of their public activities. While therefore congratulating the learned author upon his achievement, we may well expect him to make an effort to do fuller justice to the subject of his biography than he has yet succeeded in doing. The book is worth reading by those interested in the life of Shivaji, and copies can be had of Messrs. Higginbothams Ltd., Madras, or Bombay Book Depot, Girgaum, Bombay.

LANDLORDISM IN INDIA

By

DIVIJADAS DATTA, LATE OF THE BENGAL EDUCATION SERVICE,

(Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay).

Landlordism in India has been a controversial subject practically through the whole of the nineteenth century. The question has been discussed elaborately by Wilks in his History of Mysore written in the early years of that century. Echo of it could be heard in the controversy between the late R. C. Dutt and the Government of India culminating in the issue of the Government communique The Land Revenue Policy of the Government of India by Lord Curzon. In this brochure of less than a 150 pages, Mr. Datta attacks the problem, and points out from quotations from various Hindu authorities and Aini Akbari that in India the land belonged to the cultivator, the so-called zemindar being a modern product and a mere farmer of revenue, the Government

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itself not being a proprietor of the land. Mr. Datta contends that the change of attitude is altogether a question of the nineteenth century, the Pitt's India Act itself giving the authority, according to him, for the proprietary right of the ryot, and the unfairness of these rights being allowed to be overridden by that either of the zemindar or of the Government. The question is of a very fundamental character and requires a far more elaborate examination to prove the thesis for the country of the vastness and variety of land tenures, such as India is. There perhaps is no doubt that according to recognised Hindu law, land belongs to the community, and the Government's demand upon land, as in fact Government's demand upon other resources of the subjects, is a return for services rendered, the service of protection. There seems to be a frank recognition of this principle in Hindu law, as well as the existence of society before the state and of the creation of a Government with set objects in view. Want of sufficient recognition of this may account for much of the prevalent poverty of the agriculturist classes but it is hardly necessary to import unnecessary acerbity into the question in the discussion of a really vital and technical problem such as this.

JAINISM IN NORTH INDIA 800 B. C. A. D. 526.

BY

C. J. SHAH, M.A.,

(Published by Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1932).

The Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay deserves to be congratulated upon the excellent work which it is turning out in the field of Indian History under the able and learned guidance of the Reverend Father H. Heras, S. J. The book under review forms the sixth of the publications under the auspices of that Institute, and is introduced to the public with a brief foreward by the Director of the Institute.

Mr. C. J. Shah, the author of the thesis on the history of Jainism, is well qualified for the task as he himself is a Jaina. The period covered is B. C. 800 to A.D. 526. He has confined himself to the history of that movement in north India and it is well he has limited himself, for adequate justice can hardly be done to the history of Jainism in South India except by a competent student of Tamil literature.

The one merit of Mr. Shah's book is the due acknowledgment of the views of previous writers on the subject whether he agrees with them or not. In this respect the thesis is up-to-date, and the

mode of treatment is historical. In a few places he simply quotes the views of scholars and takes them for granted without examining them for himself in detail. For instance we may draw attention to his view of Candragupta Maurya having died a Jaina by faith. This is a late tradition preserved in works written several centuries after Candragupta's reign. This account has its basis in an inscription at Śravana Belgola (cir A.D. 600) where any amount of careful reading does not bear testimony to the Maurya Candragupta following the *Jaina Sangha* to the far south.

It is beyond the province of a reviewer to give a full list of inaccurate statements in the book. We cannot help referring to one more wrong statement that occurs in the very first page of the Jacket on the book. It is remarked there: 'a detailed history of the non-brahmanical sect of Jainism'. But we have on P. 22 the following. Tracing from the days of Mahāvīra down to our own times we find that some of the greatest and most prominent figures of the Jaina fold were Brahmans as well. From Indrabhūti down, right to the last Ganadhara of Mahāvīra, all were Brahmans. Then in later history we have prominent *gurus* and scholars like Siddhasēna and Haribhadra who also were originally Brahmans." In the light of this it would have been better had he avoided the term non-Brahmanical, though the tendency of the teaching is to condemn Brahmanism in regard to several particulars of teaching and practice.

These blemishes, apart, the book reveals much painstaking work on the part of the author in collecting materials and collating them. It is well written, and will prove of considerable value to students of India's religious history, not to speak of her political history.

V. R. D.

THE RISE OF THE PESHWAS.

BY

PROFESSOR H. N. SINHA,

Morris College, Nagpur.

Published by The Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, 1931—pp. VIII, XXVIII and 255.

This book is intended to be the first volume of a series which will trace the rise, decline and fall of the Peshwas down to the extinction of their rule. Several chapters of the present book had already appeared in the "Journal of Indian History" in the

years 1928-30. It traces the rise of Balaji Vishvanath, gives an estimate of his work, and, after elaborating the struggles and triumphs of Baji Rao, takes us through the regime of Nana Saheb Peishwa (Balaji Baji Rao), the death of Shahu, the coronation of Ram Raja, the failure of Tārā Bai's *coup* and the final triumph of the Peishwa, in 1752, who now-relegated the discredited Chatrapati completely to the back ground. The author has given, in the Introduction, a brief survey of Maratha vicissitudes between the death of Shivaji when the Maratha state was still invertebrate, and the stabilisation of Shahu's authority in spite of the creeping in of predatory propensities and the disappearance, for all practical purposes, of Shivaji's ideals. He points out very clearly that Balaji Vishvanath, the first of the House of the Peishwas, was the first and best servant of the House of the Bhonsles. He laid the foundation of the future Maratha confederate state, reorganised the finances and began the pursuit of an imperial policy. The concept of the *Hindu-Pat Padshahi*, which literally means nothing more than Hindu sovereignty developed, in the course of the 18th century into Hindu imperialism that however degenerated, in practical realisation, into a loose confederacy of semi-independent chiefs, lacking a centralised administrative system. Balaji Vishvanath had no idea of establishing an empire on the ruins of the Mughal Empire, by means of conquest, as sane patriotic historians of Maharashtra attribute to him. He only planned a sphere of influence which could widen with his successors and the increasing decay of Mughal authority. He might have expected the Mughal Empire to quickly fall to pieces; but this did not blur his discretion, nor raise his ambitions. But his son's policy developed and took shape out of his hazy notions, and received an impetus from the impotence of the Mughal Emperor, Muhammad Shah and from the friendliness of the Rajput powers, though the operation of the latter factor has not often been realised in its proper magnitude. It should also be remembered that the Nizam's desire to shelter himself behind the Maratha barrier set the Marathas on the road to Delhi and enabled them to strike at the trunk of the Mughal dominion. The convention of Sironje (more correctly, Durai Sarai) marked the climax of Baji Rao's activities and the fruition of his imperial policy, besides spreading his reputation all over India. The suppression of the Sidis, largely at the instigation of Brahmendra Svāmi, who was to the Marathas, in this age, what Ramdas was to Shivaji, followed by that of the Angrēs and the capture of Bassein made the Peshwa supreme in the Konkan and completed the groundwork for the foundation of an Empire.

The succession of Balaji Baji Rao is explained by Professor Sinha to have been a necessity on grounds, alike of merit, political expediency and the self-interest of Shahu himself. The question that first demanded the attention of this Peshwa was the succession of Shahu. The part played by Raghoji Bhonsle in this matter is well brought out. Mr. G. S. Sardesai, the editor of "Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar", in his latest book—*The Bhonsles of Nagpur (1717—1774)*—tells us that Raghuji precipitated an open conflict with the Peshwa in 1742, but had always the good sense to avoid an open clash and to co-operate with the latter in furthering the extension and prestige of the Maratha Raj. The Maharaja was largely instrumental in avoiding an open rupture between the two; and this should prove that Shahu was not a mere figurehead in Maratha affairs and the Peshwas were perfectly submissive to his orders. Mr. Sardesai holds that the fact that Shahu's death passed off without a bloody revolution, was mainly due to the good sense of Raghuji who was convinced that the Peshwa alone was capable of handling the critical situation of the succession, and gave his wholehearted support to the latter, in spite of pressure to the contrary from high quarters like Tārā Bai and Damaji Gaekwar. He maintains that "this phase of Raghuji's character is disclosed in unmistakable colours by the copious papers here (*Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar* No. 20) presented for the first time. The settlement between the Peshwa and Raghuji Bhonsle was brought about by the mediation of Shahu in the latter part of 1743. Thus, till the death of Shahu, the Peshwa shewed a real deference to royal authority and rendered periodical accounts to him.

Shahu's death and Rama Raja's accession were followed by the bold assumption by the Peshwa, of responsibility and initiative which laid him open to the charge of usurpation. The Peshwa threw Satara into the background and indirectly compelled both Ramaraja and Tara Bai, his guardian, to submit to his wishes. Tārā Bai's intrigues with Dabade, Damaji Gaikwar and the Nizam, were crushed by the Peshwa in 1751; and the latter, afterwards, both ruled and governed. Mr. Sinha's narrative is flowing and detailed and throws, for the non-Marathi knowing reader, light on many an intricate corner of the history of the Marathas in the first half of the 18th century. He is not as decisive, as Kincaid and Parasnis who attribute a large share of the blame for the fall of the house of Shivaji, to its new actions and bickerings.

C. S. S.

HENRY DUNDAS, FIRST VISCOUNT MELVILLE 1742-1811.

Political Manager of Scotland, Statesman, Administrator of British India.

BY

HOLDEN FURBER.

Oxford University Press, London Humphrey Milford,
1931—pp. XII and 331—16|—

Henry Dundas, the right-hand man of William Pitt, the younger, is best known to us as the Minister for India in the long period, 1784-1801, first as the Senior Member and virtual Chair-man of the Board of Control, and later as its President when the office was specially created by the Charter Act of 1793. Dundas rose, at a very early age, to be the Lord Advocate of Scotland and became the acknowledged political manager of Government, even under Lord North. His influence in Scotland made him valuable to any Government, since the votes of the Scottish representatives in Parliament counted for so much. He was, by the persistent insistence of Pitt, Home Secretary, and later, Secretary for War, till the resignation of the Ministry early in 1801. His conduct of the war with Revolutionary France has been severely criticised by Sir John Footesque in his 'History of the British Army'; but Dr. Furber thinks, along with Dr. Holland Rose, that the condemnation has been too severe. His severity in enforcing anti-Jacobin laws can only be tempered by the plea that his actions were approved and abetted by such men as Burke and Pitt, and were deemed to be moderate by observers like Lord Cockburn. His impeachment for alleged misappropriation of funds during his Treasurership of the Navy ended in acquittal, and is important only as having been the last of its kind.

It is as Indian Minister that Dundas is most important to us. He suggested, even in the Ministry of Lord North, a rearrangement of the Cabinet which involved the creation of a special Secretary for India and the Plantations (1782). He had already served as Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee to inquire into the conduct of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Governor of Madras and presented the Report of the Secret Committee on the War in the Carnatic (with Mysore). He brought about the passage of the first resolution, praying for the recall of Warren Hastings, and brought in a comprehensive India Bill in April 1783, during the Fox-North Coalition; the bill placed entire responsibility upon

the Governor-General and empowered him to override his council. It was shelved by Fox whose own bills were defeated and superseded by Pitt's Bill of 1784. With the latter bill, Dundas became Secretary for India in all but the name; and he Scotticised the Indian administration to a very large extent. The charge of Scotticisation was brought against him as early as 1787, on the occasion of his nomination of Sir Archibald Campbell in succession to Lord Macartney, to the Governorship of Madras. Dundas' part in the impeachment of Warren Hastings has remained obscure; and Dr. Furber tries to show that though Dundas did all he could, in the first months of his rule at the Board of Control, to bring about the dismissal of Hastings, he held that there was no need for an impeachment and that the Parliamentary Committees of 1781-82 had aimed only at his recall and not at a penal prosecution. He gave but very lukewarm support to the impeachment which greatly dissatisfied Burke. An attempt is also made by Dr. Furber to show that Dundas was not implacably jealous of Hastings, whom, the King intended on one occasion to appoint to the Chairmanship of the Board of Control. It is, however, not possible to gauge aright Dundas' personal feelings towards Hastings, for lack of decisive evidence.

Dundas was enthusiastic over Cornwallis, and was greatly troubled over the settlement of the Nawab of the Carnatic's debts, in which nothing has yet been found to implicate him directly, there being no adequate proof that he was hand-in-glove with the Macphersons and other creditors. He strove to discourage speculation and plotting, gave the authorities in India the utmost possible freedom and welcomed suggestions for the betterment of Government's Indian policy. He wished that the Board of Control should confine itself only to general supervision, and that India was to be governed in India itself and not in Downing Street or the East India House. He discouraged the London Agents of Indian Princes and insisted that all the latter's negotiations should be carried on through the Government of India. Above all, Dr. Furber shows that he wished "to discourage objectionable nepotism", though he was partial to his own relations and countrymen. He tried to create a party among the Directors, which would support the Board of Control; and he was greatly solicitous about the development of the India and China trade. He was not satisfied with the settlement of the Treaty of Seringapatam but accepted the scheme of Permanent Revenue Settlement. With Cornwallis' advice, he checked his desire for establishing greater control over the Directors when the Charter Act of 1793 came to be passed. When Lord Hobart, Governor of

Madras and Sir John Shore quarrelled, he resolved to send out Cornwallis once more, or to go himself in case of Cornwallis' refusal; but in the sequel Lord Mornington was appointed. His secret despatches to the Governor-General reveal not only his skill in foreign policy and high finance, but also his idea of starting a University at Calcutta, and the building up of a distinct and separate Civil Service.

Dundas' family allowed no one for a long time to examine his papers which were allowed to be broken up only in 1924 and sold at Sotheby's and by Francis Edwards. The former sold the Scottish correspondence to the National Library of Scotland, and the latter bought up the India correspondence and allowed it to be examined. But still scattered portions are not available. Dr. Furber pleads that his work may consequently lack finality in several points. It has used, both extensively and intensively, a large mass of *ms* material; and the book has been furnished with maps showing the growth and decline of the Dundas Interest in the Scottish Parliamentary elections of the period, which was so great that Boswell spoke of our hero, as "Harry the Ninth uncrowned King of Scotland."

C. S. S.

The Round Table

No. 86—March 1932.

The March issue of *The Round Table* covers a wide field; disarmament and reparations, the British tariff and imperial preference, India and China, the troubles of America, Europe and the great overseas Dominions. The first article continues the discussion of the international crisis. In spite of the lull in the storm, trade still remains stagnant. But the financiers themselves paralysed by want of confidence can find no way out of the depression without the assistance of the politicians, whose chief task is, in the words of the Young Plan Committee "the adjustment of all intergovernmental debts (reparations and other war debts) to the existing troubled situation of the world". After an examination of the political situation of Germany, France and the United States, *The Round Table* suggests the only method of approach which seems to it likely to lead to the solution of the problem.

The second article considers the problem of imperial preference in relation to the forthcoming conference at Ottawa, which presents a peculiar opportunity, partly because of the uprush of imperial sentiment in Great Britain, partly because the Dominions, with the acquisition of political autonomy, are questioning more doubtfully than hitherto their economic nationalism. "The purpose of an imperial economic system is to cause trade to flow not less but more freely. We want to exchange more of our products for more of the products of our fellow members of the Commonwealth". That is the keynote of the article. After analysing Great Britain's peculiar economic necessities, the writer goes on to discuss alternative methods of procedure. Should we delay negotiations with the Dominions till we have experienced the effects of a preferential tariff system? Should we enter into binding commercial treaties with the Dominions? Should we attempt to reach a single agreement with all of them, or should we differentiate between them? To these questions the article suggests the answer.

Next comes an article on "China, Japan and Manchuria" analysing the fundamental causes of the conflagration in the Far East—the colonisation policy of Japan in Manchuria, her com-

mercial interests there, the railway controversy. After discussing the situation in Manchuria, the writer explains how the struggle between Japan and China came to spread southward to Shanghai, and discusses the attitude of the League of Nations and the wider aspect of the dispute.

There follows an article describing the results of the second session of the Indian Round Table Conference, and the reasons why these results were so disappointing.

The fifth article is entitled "Reparations in Practice". The vicious economic spiral is "an escalator which must carry us downwards, even though our relative descent is checked, until the movement is definitely reversed". In the restoration of confidence, which is a condition of economic recovery, the settlement of the reparation problem holds a pre-eminent place. The article proceeds to recount by what means Germany has paid reparations, and how precarious was the economic equilibrium that she was building up. But how long can her present unstable condition be prolonged, and what would be the consequences of a German collapse? These are pertinent questions for the politicians.

The next article, "the United States in the New Year", takes up the story from the American standpoint—the disappointment of 1931, the hopes and fears for 1932. The attitude of the American people towards war debts is described, along with the budgetary problem and the plans for financial reconstruction.

A correspondent in India recounts the course of the struggle with Congress. He tells how the no-rent campaign in the United Provinces, the Red Shirt movement on the Frontier, and the outbreak of terrorism in Bengal forced the Government's hand and rendered inevitable the ordinances and arrests. But the Government while maintaining its own authority is, the writer makes clear, proceeding swiftly with the constitutional reforms.

The British article is naturally preoccupied with the tariff policy of the Government and the discussion to which it gave rise in Parliament. But space is found for an impression of the Labour party in Opposition and the other parliamentary groups, and for a brief analysis of the industrial position. The article from the Irish Free State which describes the issues and possibilities of the general election will be read with unusual interest on account of Mr. de Valera's success. The usual economic section deals

this time mainly with the problem of the Shannon scheme. From Canada comes an analysis of her difficult railway problem, which is now being considered by a Royal Commission. The Australian article records the history of the December federal elections resulting in the return of a "national" government with a large majority; it also describes the way in which interest rates have been reduced by legislative action. South Africa sends a careful discussion of the problem of the gold standard, which is now dominating politics in the Union. Finally, the New Zealand contribution describes the policy, including that of financial reform, of the new Coalition Ministry, which received a mandate from the electorate early in December. The echo of our own recent history in the distant Dominions is not the least interesting feature of this series of articles.

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 Studies in the Kauṭīlīya by Dr. N. N. Law.
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 The Chando-Vedāṅga of Piṅgala by Manomohan Ghose.
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OUR EXCHANGES

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8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst St., Calcutta.
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13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
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31. *The People*, 2 Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
32. *The Young Men of India*, 5, Russell St., Calcutta.
33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
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The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-1761)

BY

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Professor, Annamalai University.

XI

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

EARLY in January 1752, Dupleix planned to convert the Villiya-
nallur 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 Kāntaya-
rāja, the former commander, had been appointed to his place'. 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 coun-
cillor) 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."

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 ciliate 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.

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 Kandamur 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.

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 advise", and also to Abdul Baqar Khan⁸, 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 Dowson's *History of India* (pp. 104 et seq.) which shows the condition of affairs. Muin-ul Mulk, Rustam Hind, called commonly Mir Mannu, was

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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 contribute 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 Shaikh 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, Chinglepu 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 raja 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 Hydrabad* (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.

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 standing that took place between Muhammad Ali and his younger brother who reproached him for the march to Gingee, among other things, and departed to Tiruvannāmalai. 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 wandi 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 are superior in number." (Minutes of August 3, 1752 in 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 *cowle* 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 Nizamu'l 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 vakil, 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 Nov. 1751) 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 content among the Mughal soldiery, asked Raghuji and the Penganga and 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 Parasnis, *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 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 Ujjayinī 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 Ujjayinī, 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 Kālī 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

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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 Viśakhayūpa (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 Bṛhadratha 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.

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- (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 Bṛhadrathas from Adhisimakṛṣṇa 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 Vītihotras passed away, the Pradyota dynasty came to power in Avanti. Contemporaneously with it, Bimbisāra and his successors were ruling in Magadha. The Ujjayinī 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 Vītihotreṣv Avantiṣu |

Pulikaḥ svāminam hatvā sva-putram abhiṣekṣyati ||

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

Harit Krishna Deb has translated the above passage as: 'When the Brāhadrathas will cease to exist, as also the Vītihotras, in Avanti, Pulika will kill his master and make his own son king.'²³ Sen objects to this translation, because the Purāṇas mention the Vītihotras 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 Vītihotras had passed away; according to him, therefore, the correct reading of the Purāṇas ought to be *Vītihotreṣu vartiṣu*, 'when the Vītihotras 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 Maithilās;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 Vītihotras who might have ceased to exist before the accession of Pradyota. It is not necessary, therefore, to doubt the reading *Avantiṣu* 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 *Brāhmatkathāśloka-saṃgraha* 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 Darśaka. S.K.]

26. *Kss.*, xv 19; *Bkm.*, III i 176; Lacote, *Essai sur Guṇādhyā et la Brāhmatkā*, 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 Ripuñjaya (whom Pradyota's father is reported to have killed) count 23; the Ikṣvākus from Bṛhadratha (killed in the Bhārata war by Abhimanyu²⁹) to Prasenaṇjit 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 Prasenaṇjit, 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 Prasenaṇjit.

(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. *Psalms 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 Kāśī-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 Prasenaṇjit, of Pradyota and Bimbisāra, of Prasenaṇjit 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; *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 238, etc.

34. *Commentary on the Dhammapada*, ed. Norman, Vol. I, pp. 191 f; the anonymous *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa*; *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

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.

2. See "Les Premières Relations sentre les Français et les Princes Indigènes au XVIIIème Siecle: 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.

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

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.

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 Caves (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 Vāligondapuram, 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. Worst of 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.

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 de De la Haye. AC. C⁶³. 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 Kulburga 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

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

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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 brahminical 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. Mangalgiri "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

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, Dilar 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

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.

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

29. Martin's Memoirs: p. 361.

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

31. History: p. 314.

32. Martin's Memoirs: p. 403.

army, without encountering the least opposition, entered Hyderabad, the capital of the Kingdom, and one of the richest cities in India. The retreat of the Golconda troops before the Mogul army seemed all the more surprising that till then the Golconda forces had always had the better of the Mogul army."

Mahomed Ibrahim who was encamped outside the fort walls was now ordered to come and see the King. At the gates of the fortress, however, he was told, rightly or wrongly we do not know, that his going into the fort would do him no good, as he was sure of leaving his head behind. He forthwith turned round his horse, and rode away to Hyderabad where he threw himself on the protection of Shah Alam, who received him with great joy.

The defection of a man of Ibrahim's importance alarmed the Golconda court. It is said that when he rode away Mahomed Ibrahim caused a report to reach the ears of Abul Hasan that his minister Mādanna was betraying him. The news was communicated to Abul Hasan while he was conversing with Mādanna on the state of his affairs. The King promptly asked Mādanna what he had to say. Mādanna replied that if the King permitted him to leave the fortress, he would undertake to deliver the real traitor into his hands—meaning Mahomed Ibrahim. The King without saying a word withdrew into the ladies apartments, where one of the foremost ladies of the court was heard to say that Mādanna was a traitor, and that he only wanted to leave the fort to set afoot the conspiracy he had been hatching, and that he ought to be killed at once.

We do not know whether Abul Hasan gave this order through the lady, but a negro slave of the late King who was standing by Mādanna's side, without waiting to be told again, fell on the minister and killed him with several strokes of his sabre. Then, followed by several other slaves, he went to the house of Akkanna brother of the Minister, who suffered the same fate as well as all the other brahmins who were in the fort. The bodies of Akkanna and Mādanna were then dragged through the streets, and afterwards tied by the feet outside the fort walls so that the army should see them. Their heads were then cut off, and sent to Sultan Shah Alam, and from there they were carried before the Mogul who ordered them to be trampled under the feet of elephants."³³

33. Martin's Memoirs: p. 417-419.

George Gray's embassy to Hyder Ali

By

MR. D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.,

Historical Museum, Satara.

By the Treaty of Madras concluded between Hyder and the British on the 3rd of April 1769 which put an end to the First Mysore War, it was stipulated that, in case of attack, the contracting parties would assist each other with troops. When however the Marathas invaded the territories of Hyder in 1771, and when Hyder claimed the benefit of the article of the treaty of 1769 and asked for British aid, the Government of Madras did not help him in any way. Hyder was naturally greatly displeased with them. When war was declared between England and France in 1778, the French settlements in India were promptly attacked by the English. Pondicherry fell after a gallant resistance. The important French port Mahe on the Malabar coast was taken by Col. Braithwaite on the 19th of March 1779, notwithstanding all the protests of Hyder. This greatly annoyed Hyder; to him Mahe was a very useful port through which he obtained military stores from the Mauritius. It was included in the territory recently conquered by him.

Just at the time the relations between the Nizam and the English became estranged. Basalat Jung, the brother of the Nizam offered to rent the Guntur Circars to the English to save himself from the encroachments of Hyder, and a treaty with him was concluded in April 1779, without the knowledge of the Nizam whose subject Basalat Jung was. The Nizam consequently resolved to take the field against the English. For this purpose he tried to win over the Peshwa, the Bhonsle of Nagpur and even Hyder to his side and formed a confederacy to root out the English.

The Marathas had reason to be more hostile to the English. The Bombay Government supported Raghunath Rao who aspired to be the Peshwa by removing the young Peshwa Madhav Rao II, and the first Maratha War was going on between the two powers.

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

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

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.

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 Company's 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 necessities 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 Excellency's 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.

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,

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

Fort St. George
14th January 1780,

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, Vikāri 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 Tappals 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 Hecarrahs 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 Hecarrahs 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 Hecarrahs 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 Hecarrahs 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 Bettle 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 Bahadur 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 Diligence, 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.

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.,

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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 siege 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. *Maasir*, 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 Bengal.¹⁴

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*, 11, 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 Bograh district.' Cf. Khulsat-ut-Tawarikh, 48; Haft Aklim (Ms.) 23 (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.). Sujana 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 Farishta 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. Iradit 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 مجذوب of the text means insane مجذوب 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 مجذوب 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 Pura 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, Khizirpur, 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 Ragho 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 Ghias-ud-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. Ghias-ud-Din then proceeded on his way. There was a quarrel between Ghias Khan and Mirza Saif-ud-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 Shah Jahan

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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 *edelestein*—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 merveillex" 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-Hamid 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 *nauratna*, 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., e in all probability entirely distinct objects' (289).

chrysoberyl, garnet, carnelian, quartz, and rock-crystal, with a *nauratna* 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 *parmacopoeia* 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 'srying' are to be found as early as classical Greece and Rome. The Achaians '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*, xlv, 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 Jamshed, 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' finger-nails, 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, $2\frac{1}{4}$ 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, $6\frac{1}{8}$ 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, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. (b) Not entirely perfect. Diameter, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. (c) Fine crystal ball, of wonderful purity. An ideally perfect sphere on account of very precise cutting. Diameter, $4\frac{11}{16}$ inches (219).

(7) One of the largest and most perfect crystal balls is in the 'Grüne Gewölbe' (Dresden). Weight, 15 German pounds; diameter, $6\frac{2}{3}$ 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 $475\frac{1}{4}$ ounces Troy, and measures $8\frac{1}{4}$ 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 rain-storms 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 gypsum mortar. Gypsum 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 gypsum. 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 counter-act 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 *Kaḥāvali* by Bhadrēśvara (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 *Sanḡiti 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

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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 Vṛjis, 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 Vṛjis, 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 Ananda and from the latter's answers on the seven virtues of the Vṛjis, 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 Vṛjis, dealing only with the last journey of the Buddha to Vaiśālī, the capital of the Vṛjis, and with the death of the Lord, which must have happened in Vaisākha.

In the Jain Canon the war of Ajātaśatru against the Vṛjis, 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 *Nirayāvali 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 Aśvāyaka 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 Bhagavati) 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 Vṛjīs; 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, 359/66.

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 Vasuśāśa 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 *saṃgha* 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, 7-84 (also separately published).

Bharukacchā, of which it has been probably a colony, mentioned not only by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-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 Kharoṣṭhi-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 Kuṣāna-period, Indian culture, of course of Buddhist make, was introduced in Loulan. The testimonies speak in very clear language. There are wooden tablets—in Kharoṣṭhi 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 Rājaśekhara'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 Sāṃkhya-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 Vindhyaśya Sahyaśya 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 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 Ice-lander 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 Ice-lander includes the voyage out to India, the founding of the Danish settlement at Tranquabar, 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 *Supāri* 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 *Tuḷu* 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 Viṣṇu, which certainly would be found prominently in Viṣṇu 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 the 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, Viṣṇu, 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. Viṣṇu 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 Viṣṇu. It may be the image of a *Garuḍa* in a Viṣṇu 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 Gaṇēśa. 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 Aranmanai (vulgo *aramanai*) the whole term standing for Aranmanai-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

H. G. QUARITCH WALES, M.A., PH.D.

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 the 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

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 Brahmins seem to have reached Cambodia in the early centuries of the Christian era also. While the Thai

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

3. The Śaiva Brahmins 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 Brahmins 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

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 Brahmans. 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 Viṣṇu and Śiva, the author notes the colonisation of the interior. The Brahman state of Cambodia extended further west over the Lao country and Svānabhūmi, 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 Vaiṣṇava inscription of the eighth century on the coast of the Malaya Peninsula, which makes a clear reference to a Viṣṇu 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

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 *Tirupallī Eḷuchchi* of Mānikkavāṣakar, 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 Mānikkavāṣakar and *Tiruppāvai*, the Vaishṇava 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 Mūrai*', 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 *Danda* 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 *Rājābhishēka* 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 *Dipāvāḷi* (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 Rajablis chiefs, and the fact of their connection with the Sisodayas, coup-makers 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.

REVIEWS

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 Amaichan) 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 Kauṭaliyan use of the term *bhūyishṭāḥ* need not contain note 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 Kuṣāṇa polity resembles what is contained in the Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra* 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 2½ annas and one *veli* to 6 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 Viraballāḍadēva 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. VENKATASUBBA 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
KHAZA' 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 AYYANGAR, 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 those 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. Jātkūta was perhaps Tivucotta at the mouth of the Coleroon which, in the days of the Cholas used to be called Jayamkondapattinam. Brahmastpuri was evidently Brahmastpuri—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 Rajaputs with the Mussalmans began in 1296 and has been sustained by such heroes as Hamir, Kumbha and Sangram. Udai 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 Rajaputs 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 Chūṭu-Sātavāhanas. 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 the pretension of northern descent for the line was for the first time put forward in two grants of Harikēsari 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 Talgunda inscription probably gives an historical account of the origin of the dynasty with Mayūrasarma who was anointed to the throne by Shaḍānana, after meditating on Senāpati and the Mothers. He would hold that the tradition of the emigration of the Brahmans 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 Talgunda 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 *aśvamēdhas*. 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 Irivabēḍaṅga 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 Jayakēsi 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 Karnataka, "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. Moræs 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 Sthānakunḍūr (Taḷ-gunḍa) 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 Brahmins in a town, which had not the corporate organisation possessed by an *agrahāra*. What Mr. Moræs 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 Āndhrabhṛityas. The style is shown to have evolved from the primitive *basti* at Halsi, through the Śaiva temple at Taḷgunḍa 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

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 fons 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-

REVIEWS

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.

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 *Mauryan 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-mīmāṃsa* 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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