

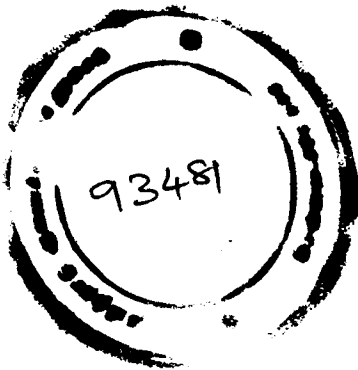
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
NOTES ON INDO-SCYTHIAN CHRONOLOGY—By Professor Sten Konow ..	1
HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF SHAH JAHAN—By Mr. Abdul Aziz ..	49
A PORTUGUESE INSCRIPTION OF THE GOA GOVERNOR DOM JOAO DE CASTRO—By Rev. H. Heras, S.J. ..	79
MAHARAJA AJIT SINGH OF MARWAR—By Pandit Bisheshvar-nath Reu Sahitacharya ..	85
THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL IN THE PRIVATE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI (1736—1761)—By C. S. Srinivasachari ..	90
EDITORIAL ..	114
REVIEWS—‘Royal Empire Society Imperial Studies’; ‘History of Orissa from the earliest times to the British Period’; ‘The Making of the State’; ‘Indian Problems’ ..	134
SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS ..	147
OUR EXCHANGES ..	155

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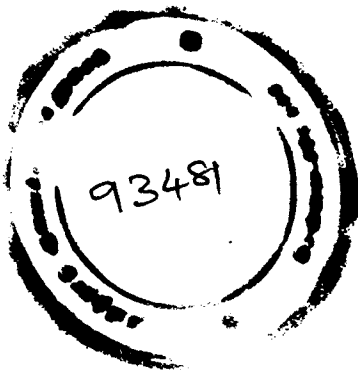
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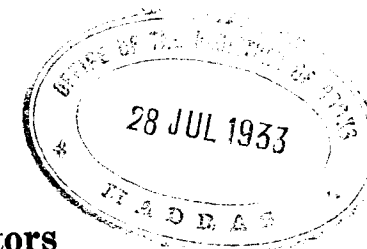
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	PAGE
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Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology

By

PROFESSOR STEN KONOW, OSLO.

THE editor of the *Journal of Indian History* has asked me for a statement of my views about the chronology of the Scythian period of Indian history, and since some important new finds have come to light after I published the Indian Kharoshthi inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, I thankfully avail myself of the opportunity.

In the *Corpus* I tried to arrange the dated Kharoshthi records in two groups, dated in an old Saka era and in that of Kanishka, respectively. At the hand of certain astronomical calculations made by the Dutch scholar Dr. van Wijk, I tentatively assumed that their epochs were such that the year 1 corresponded to 84-83 B.C. and A.D. 128-129, respectively.

I still believe that the determination of the Kanishka era cannot be far from the mark. On the other hand, the astronomical calculation of the older era has proved to have been based on a wrong interpretation of a word occurring in a Kharoshthi inscription.

The date of the Taxila silver scroll, found and first edited by Sir John Marshall,¹ is *sa 136 ayasa aśhaḍasa masasa divase 15*, which I took to mean 'on the 15th day of the first Āśhāḍha in the year 136', assuming *ayasa* to correspond to Sanskrit *ādyasya*, as originally proposed by M. Boyer.² In other words, there would have been, in that particular year, an intercalated Āśhāḍha. As such an intercalation does not take place every year, I asked Dr. van Wijk, who has made a thorough study of Indian astronomy, to examine the matter, and his calculations were the basis of my tentative chronology.

1. *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 973 ff.
2. *JA* XI, v, 1915, pp. 281 ff.

Now Sir John Marshall has again found an important Kharoshthi inscription near Taxila, at Kalawān, a site about three miles south-east of Sirkap,³ which definitely proves that the explanation of the word *ayasa* in the silver scroll as 'of the first' is wrong. The new record is dated *saṃvatsaraye 134 ajas śravaṇasa masasa divase treviśe*, i.e. in the same way as the silver scroll, only substituting *ajasa* for *ayasa*.

At first sight *ajasa* might seem to be a more likely rendering of Sanskrit *ādyasya* than *ayasa*, the latter necessitating the assumption that Prakrit *ājja* = *ādya* had become *āja* and further *āya*, or that an old *ādika* had become *āia*, *āya*. But it is very unlikely that both forms, *aja*, i.e. *ajja*, and *āya*, should be used side by side at the same time and in the same locality. Moreover, we should have to assume that there was an intercalated Śrāvaṇa in the year 134, and an intercalated Āshāḍha in the year 136. Dr. van Wijk has been good enough to let me know that such a state of things is impossible, unless we were to make the extremely unlikely assumption that 134 was a current, and 136 an elapsed year.

It seems necessary to assume that the *j* of *ajasa* and the *y* of *ayasa* are two different attempts at rendering a sound which is not regularly represented in the Kharoshthi alphabet, and if we compare the doublets *kujula* and *kuyula* it can hardly be doubted that the sound in question was a voiced *s*, a *z*.

If *ayasa*, *ajasa* is the genitive of *aza*, it seems to me to be almost unavoidable to accept Sir John Marshall's explanation that it means 'of Azes'. It is quite true, as maintained by the late Dr. Fleet,⁴ that the use of a king's name in an inscription without any epithet is unparalleled, and that it is a universal rule that if a ruler is mentioned in connection with the date of a record, he is clearly designated as the actual ruler. The occurrence of the genitive 'of Azes' in our inscriptions must therefore be explained in a different way. Dr. Fleet has perhaps shown the way in the foot-note where he excepts the 'fictitious' Vikramāditya and Śāli-vāhana from the rule that epithets are necessary in connection with royal names occurring in inscriptions.

The ancient city of Sirkap, the capital of the Greek, the Saka, and the Pahlava rulers of Taxila, was sacked by the Kushāṇas

3. Cf. My preliminary account JRAS, 1932, pp. 949 ff.
4. JRAS, 1914, p. 997.

sometime between A. D. 65 and 79. The excavations have shown that treasure of various kinds was buried by the inhabitants on this occasion, *inter alia*, a silver vase with a Kharoshthi inscription,⁵ apparently dated *ka 191*. Professor Thomas has, however,⁶ proposed to read some faint traces, which are visible in the photographs before the initial *ka*, as *sa*, so that the actual reading would be *saka*. Mr. Hargreaves has kindly let me know that his deputy Mr. Dikshit could not see any trace of this *sa* in the original. On a plaster cast, which Mr. Hargreaves was good enough to send me, such traces are however visible, and I feel convinced that Professor Thomas' reading must be accepted, i.e. the date runs *saka 191*. If it had been filled up as in the Kalawān inscription we should have had *Sakasa saṃvatsaraye 191* or *saṃvatsaraye 191 Sakasa*, in the year 191 of Saka.

We here evidently have two different eras, characterized as those of Saka and Azes, respectively, and the two additions *Saka* and *Ayasa* must evidently be explained in the same way, intended to characterize the reckoning as distinguished from some other reckoning.

Of these three records, the silver vase inscription is the oldest one. The vase was buried when Sirkap was sacked, and as it is much worn, it may have been used for say twenty years before that date. The silver scroll and the Kalawān inscription, on the other hand, belong to the post-Pahlava period.

If the silver vase inscription was engraved between A.D. 40 and 50, it belongs to the time when the Pahlava Gondopharnes was ruling in Taxila. And since it was then felt advisable to characterize the era as that of Saka, while no such addition is found e.g. in the Taxila copper plate of the time of the Saka Moga, we are led to draw the inference that, in the meantime, another era had come into use, and that can hardly have been any other reckoning than that of the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription of the time of Gondopharnes. How long after the Sakas had been replaced by the Pahlavas the new era came into use we know not. The earliest examples seem to be the Mount Banj and the Takht-i-Bāhi inscriptions of the years 102 and 103, respectively.

As long as the Pahlavas remained in power, we have no example of the new era being characterized by any addition. After the

5. Corpus Nr. XXX.

6. Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1931, p. 4.

Kushāṇa conquest, on the other hand, we find the two records mentioned above, where the word 'of Azes' is added. It seems necessary to explain the addition in the same way as in the case of the *saka* of the silver vase: it characterizes the era as having been used under the deposed dynasty, and the word *ayasa*, *ajasa* has been chosen because the great majority of the coins issued by the Pahlava kings had that legend. It does not refer to the era as instituted or used by an individual king, but as current under the Azes-dynasty. And the era itself is no doubt, as most scholars hold, identical with the so-called Vikrama era.

We must then assume the existence of two eras within the older series of dated Kharoshthī inscriptions, one which we may call the Vikrama era, and which was apparently introduced during the Pahlava period, and another, older one, which was, in Pahlava times and possibly also earlier, characterized as connected with the Sakas. To the latter we may tentatively assign the Maira well, Shahdaur, Mānsehrā, Fatehjang, Taxila copper-plate and Muchai inscriptions, and probably also those from Loriyān Tangai, Jamāl-garhī, Hashtnagar and Skārah Dheri, to the former the remaining records of the old series.

The epoch of the older era can only be approximately calculated. If the silver vase was made about A.D. 45, its year 1 was about 146 B.C., but such a date must be accepted with the greatest reserve. We cannot say for certain when Sirkap was sacked or how old the vase was at that time.

In order to try to find other comparatively certain data during the Indo-Scythian period, we must turn to other sources, and try to interpret them.

Indian literature does not give much information. Names of the foreign tribes which entered on the Indian stage during this period, such as Śaka, Pahlava, Tukhāra, Muruṇḍa, occur in the epics and the Purāṇas, partly with figures giving the supposed length and number of rulers of the various dynasties, but the attempts made at utilizing these sources have not been quite satisfactory and have not always carried conviction.

Among the tribes or dynasties mentioned above, the Sakas were certainly the first ones to play a prominent rôle in Indian history. And we can also consider it to be established that the desig-

nation Saka is an Indianization of an Iranian Saka, the Sakas being old Iranian tribes, about whom some information can be gathered from various sources: Persian, Classical and Chinese.

The word does not occur in Vedic texts, if we abstract from the Atharvaparīśiṣṭas. It is not found in Pāṇini's grammar, though a word *saka* is included, with variants in two gaṇas *gargādi* (IV. i. 105), *prajñādi* (V. iv. 38), and without in one, *śaṇḍikādi* (IV. iii. 92), where it is evidently inserted in order to explain the name Sākya. In the vārttika on VI. i. 94 *śakandhu*, of unknown meaning, is analysed as *śaka andhu*. We have not the slightest reason for seeing an old reference to the Sakas in any of these passages.

The oldest certain mention of the people is found in the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini II. iv. 10: *śūdrāṇām aniravasitānām*, (a dvandva compound of words denoting) Śūdras that are not excluded (is put in the neuter singular). In the commentary the question is raised what the exact meaning of *niravasita* is. The first answer is that it means 'excluded from, i.e. not dwelling in Āryāvarta'. Against this it is objected that in that case we should not be able to say *Śakayavanam*, Sakas and Yavanas. From this passage we can draw the inference that the Sakas, at the time of Patañjali, i.e. about the middle of the second century B.C., were known to exist outside of Āryāvarta and as associated with Yavanas in some way.

The old non-Indian references to the Sakas in Persian and Classical sources have been discussed in an important paper by Professor Thomas,⁷ to which I shall have to refer over and over again. More important for chronological purposes are, however, the references to Saka wanderings found in Chinese annals, in connection with the so-called Yüeh-chi.

To judge from the translations and notes published by leading Sinologists, the purport of the Chinese accounts seems to be to the following effect⁸:

In 176 B.C., Mao-tun, King of the Hiung-nu, sent a message to the Chinese emperor, and stated that he had defeated the Yüeh-chi. The latter had formerly been living between Tun Huang and

7. JRAS, 1906, pp. 181 ff.

8. Cf. Corpus, pp. xix ff.

K'i-lien. After their defeat, they went westwards and drove another people, whom the Chinese call Sai-wang, i.e. the Saka-kings, out of their country, but were subsequently themselves driven out by the Wu-sun. We further hear that the Yüe-chi in the west made themselves masters of the Ta-hia, while the Sai-wang went southwards and made themselves masters of Ki-pin. About 126 B.C. the Chinese envoy Chang-k'ien found the Yüe-chi to the north of the Oxus, while the Ta-hia had their capital to the south of the river. Later on, sometime before A.D. 24, the Yüe-chi had transferred themselves to the Ta-hia country, where there were five principalities, including Kuei-shuang, which name has usually been identified with Kushāṇa, a name which we know from Indian sources. A later text states that the Yüe-chi *divided* the Ta-hia country into five principalities, as if this division did not exist before they came. It further contains the information that, at a later date, the chief of Kuei-shuang conquered the other chiefs and many other countries. After this the Yüe-chi became very powerful. They were everywhere spoken of as the Kuei-shuang kings, but the Chinese stuck to their old designation Great Yüe-chi.

Like other scholars I have formerly drawn the inference from these statements that the Kuei-shuang, i.e. the Kushāṇas, were Yüe-chi. And I have compared the Chinese accounts with what we learn from Classical authors such as Trogus. He speaks of Scythian peoples, the Asiani and Saraucae, who took possession of Bactria and Sogdiana, i.e. according to Marquart,⁹ the Saraucae occupied Bactria and the Asiani Sogdiana. A further remark mentions the Asiani as kings of the Tocharians, and the annihilation of the Saraucae.

It seems to be generally admitted that the Saraucae, for which other texts have Sakaraucae, Sakarauloi, etc., correspond to the Sai-wang, the Asiani or Asioi, as they are also called, to the Yüe-chi, and the Tocharians to the Ta-hia. There cannot well be any question about identifying the name Ta-hia, which according to Professor Karlgren was pronounced *d'ât-g'a* in the second century B.C., with Tochara, or Yüe-chi, old *gwat-ti* or *gat-ti*, with Asioi. But it is possible that the Chinese found that Tochara sounded like Ta-hia, which they knew as the name of another ancient people, and therefore applied the appellation to the Tocharians, and that the Asioi, Asiani were the ruling class of the Yüe-chi.

9. *Ērānsāhr*, p. 205.

These identifications, however, cause some difficulty with regard to the supposed identity of the Yüe-chi and the Kushāṇas.

The discoveries in Central Asia have brought to light a formerly unknown language, which is called *Ārsi* in some text fragments, but *toḡri*, i.e., evidently Tocharian, in Uigur translations.¹⁰ It seems probable that *Ārsi* is the same word which Classical authors give in the forms *Asioi*, *Asiani*, of whom we are told that they ruled over the Tocharians. The *Ārsi-Toḡri* language can therefore either be the home tongue of the *Ārsi* or that of the Tocharians, i.e. either of the Yüe-chi or of the Ta-hia.

Now Professor Lévi¹¹ has shown that a dialect of the same language was used as the language of administration and literature in Kucha, an oasis in the north of Chinese Turkestan, and apparently also in some other oases, so that we have every reason for assuming that it originally belonged to that country. With regard to Ta-hia, on the other hand, the oldest Chinese accounts are to the effect that it was situated to the south of the Oxus. It is only at a much later date that Hsüan-tsang mentions an 'Old Tu-ho-lo' at Endere, to the south of the Takla Makan.

It therefore seems probable that *Ārsi-Toḡri* was the language of the *Asioi-Yüe-chi* who conquered the Tocharians—Ta-hia in the second century B.C.

This language is an Indo-European form of speech, but it is not Aryan. With regard to the Kushāṇas, on the other hand, there are certain indications which seem to prove that they were Sakas, and the Saka language is certainly a Middle-Iranian dialect.

The oldest Kushāṇa known to us bears the name or designation *Kuyula*, *Kujula*, which is also borne by Saka rulers in India. His name further seems to be mentioned in an Indian inscription, where he is characterized as *erjhuṇa*, i.e. *erzuṇa*, and this word seems to be an older form of Saka *alysānaa*, *e'ysānaa*, which translates Sanskrit *kumāra*, prince.

The designation *Sai-wang*, in old pronunciation *sēk-wang*, means Saka-lord, and *wang* is evidently a Chinese trans-

10. Cf. Sieg, SBAW, 1918, pp. 560 ff; F. W. K. Müller, *ibidem*, pp. 566 ff.

11. JA, XI, ii, 1913, pp. 311 ff.

12. Cf. SBAW, 1916, p. 791.

lation of the Saka word *murūṇḍa*, master, lord. *Sai-wang* accordingly means the same thing as *Saka-murūṇḍa*, which occurs in the Allahābād praśasti of Samudragupta.

The word *murūṇḍa* alone is often used¹³ almost as an ethnic name. But we find it, in the form *muroḍa*, used as a title of a later Kushāṇa, the famous Kanishka, in the Zeda inscription. The latter ruler and his successors further use the Saka language in their coin-legends, e.g. *shaonano shao Kaneshki Koshano*, i.e., if we reduce the legend to the Brāhmī alphabet used in Saka literature, only neglecting the orthographic doubling of voiceless *sh*: *shau-nānu shau Kanāshki Kushānu*, of king-of-kings Kanishka, of the Kushas.¹⁴

Now if the Kushāṇas were Sakas, i.e. spoke an Iranian language, and the Yüe-chi are identical with Ārsi, we should not be able to identify the Yüe-chi and the Kushāṇas. We must therefore either assume that the Ārsi-Toxri language was that of the Tocharians, who must in that case have been immigrants from Chinese Turkestan, or else the Chinese were wrong in identifying the Kushāṇas with the Yüe-chi.

The latter solution has gradually come to present itself to me as the most likely one. And it seemed to me that the available translations of the chief Chinese sources were not so clear in all points as one could wish. I have therefore consulted my friend Professor Karlgren, who has shown me the great favour to let me have new translations of the Chinese accounts, with some extremely useful remarks.

The oldest passage is found in ch. 123 of the *Shi-ki* of Si-ma Ts'ien (ca. 90 B.C.): 'Ta-Yüe-chi (great Yüe-chi) is about 2-3000 li to the west of Ta-wan (Ferghāna). It is situated in the north of the river Wei (Oxus) . . . When Mao-tun (died 174 B.C.) became chief [of the Hiung-nu], he beat the Yüe-chi. It went so far that the shan-yü Lao-shang of the Hiung-nu killed the king of the Yüe-chi and made a drinking vessel from his skull. Originally the Yüe-chi lived between Tun-Huang and K'i-lien. When they were

13. Cf. Lévi Mélanges Charles Harlez, Leyde 1896, pp. 176 ff.

14. Everybody who has any knowledge of the Saka language will know that *Kushānu* cannot be anything else than the genitive plural of an *a*-base *Kusha*.

defeated by the Hiung-nu, they moved far away, passed Ta-wan, and in the west attacked the Ta-hia and subjugated them (made them subjects). Then they made their royal residence¹⁵ north of the Wei river. The remaining small groups of them, such as could not go [westward], kept to the [regions of the] K'iang (i.e. Tibetan tribes) of the Nan-shan. They are called the Siao (small) Yüe-chi.'

'Ta-hia is to the south-west of Ta-wan, more than 2000 li, south of the Wei river. They are sedentary, have walled cities and houses and the same customs as the Ta-wan. They have no great kings or chiefs, but the various cities and towns put up small chiefs. Their weapons are weak, and they fear war. They are skilful in trade. When the Yüe-chi migrated westwards, they attacked and defeated them and subjugated all the Ta-hia. The Ta-hia people is numerous, some 1,000,000 and more. Their capital is called Lan-shi city.'

The next source in the sequence of time is the Ts'ien Han-shu, the Annals of the Earlier Han dynasty, covering the period 206 B.C.-A.D. 24, and written by Pan-ku (died A.D. 92). Here we read in ch. 96:

'The Ki-pin kingdom, its king rules in the city of Sün-sien. It is distant from Ch'ang-an 12,200 li. It is not subordinate to the [Chinese] Protector General . . . In the north-east, to the country governed by the Protector General there are 6,840 li. In the east, to the kingdom Wu-ch'a (*uo-d'a*) there are 2,250 li. In the north-east, to the kingdom Nan-tou there is a journey of nine days. In the north-west, it touches Ta Yüe-chi, and in the south-west, it touches Wu-i-shan-li (Arachosia). Anciently, when the Hiung-nu beat the Ta Yüe-chi, the Ta Yüe-chi went west and 'chiefed' (became rulers of) the Ta-hia, and the Sai-wang (*sĕk-wang*) went south and 'chiefed' Ki-pin. The Sai (*sĕk*) tribes were scattered and constituted several kingdoms in various directions. From Shu-le (Kāshgar) to the north-west, all those who belong to the Hiu-sün (*Xidu-ziuen*) and Yüan-tu (*iwän-d'uok*) are ancient Sai tribes.'

Professor Karlgren here adds an important explanatory note: 'Two interpretations of this passage are possible. The first is that

15. 'wang-t'ing, thus not a real *ch'eng*, walled city.'

at the same time when the Yüe-chi went to capture Ta-hia, the Sai, from a more easterly region, went south to capture Ki-pin. But then we fail to see the logical connection. Why should the Ts'ien Han-shu here, under Ki-pin, mention the Yüe-chi movement? A movement from the north of the Oxus to the Ta-hia south of the river could not have caused a movement of the Sai-wang from some more easterly country to Ki-pin. It would only be a coincidence in time which would explain the entry about the Yüe-chi movement in this place.

The other explanation is more reasonable. The Sai had already spread in various directions, and the *Sai-wang* were chieftains in Ta-hia, when the Yüe-chi movement into the Ta-hia country came on. Hence the logical exposé: "When the Hiung-nu beat the Ta Yüe-chi, the Ta Yüe-chi went west and became rulers of the Ta-hia, and (the former rulers of the Ta-hia, who were now expelled, i.e.) the Sai-Wang, the Sai kings, went south and became rulers over Ki-pin." It is then but logical that the narrator adds: "The Sai tribes were already much scattered." This explains why the *Sai-wang* sat as chieftains in Ta-hia. This latter explanation has been proposed by the learned Sü Sung (about A.D. 1800), who in his commentary says: "The Sai-wang were the kings of Ta-hia".

It will be seen that this explanation also agrees with the Trogus remark about the Saracuae occupying Bactria, to which Ta-hia, i.e. the Tochara country, belonged.

We have seen that the Shi-ki states that the Yüe-chi lived to the north of the Oxus, while the Ta-hia had their capital at Lan-shi, to the south of the river. Such was the state of affairs when Chang-k'ien visited the Ta Yüe-chi ca. 126 B.C.

In the Ts'ien Han-shu the state of things is different: 'The Ta Yüe-chi kingdom, its king rules in the city of Kien-shi . . . The Ta Yüe-chi were originally a nomadic nation, which moved along following the cattle. They had the same customs as the Hiung-nu. The bowmen were more than 100,000. Therefore they were strong and despised the Hiung-nu. Originally they lived between Tun-huang and K'i-lien (Here follows the Shi-ki passage translated above about the Yüe-chi.). The Ta-hia originally had no great rulers or chiefs, the various cities and towns put up small chiefs. The people is weak and fears war. Therefore, when the Yüe-chi

came migrating, they subjugated them all.¹⁶ There are five *hi-hou*, viz. Hiu-mi with its capital Ho-mo; Shuang-mi with its capital Shuang-mi; Kuei-shuang with its capital Hu-tsao; Hi-tun with its capital Po-mao, and Kao-fu with its capital Kao-fu. At that time they were all dependent on the Great Yüe-chi.'

The Yüe-chi are now settled in the ancient Ta-hia capital, for Kien-shi is only a variant of Lan-shi. According to Professor Karlgren, 'the variant Kien-shi may be due to a copyist's fault, but it can also be explained by the great similarity of the two syllables in Han times. In the 6th century *kien* was pronounced *kam* and *lan lam*, but in Han times they were probably *klam*, *glam*, respectively. As to a possible first syllable before *klam*, *glam*, s. Chavannes, T'oung Pao, II, viii, p. 187².'

The remark about the five *hi-hou* can hardly mean anything else than that these principalities existed, as part of the Ta-hia realm, when the Yüe-chi transferred their headquarter to Kien-shi = Lan-shi, and that the Yüe-chi now assumed suzerainty over them. As already stated, that seems to imply that the Yüe-chi brought the former Saka chiefs into subjection.

We cannot definitely date the Sai-wang conquest of the Ta-hia country. It must have been accomplished before Chang-k'ien's visit and after the Hiung-nu had defeated the Yüe-chi. According to Chavannes¹⁷ the westward movement of the Yüe-chi began in 165 B.C.. About 160 B.C. they seem to have suffered a new defeat at the hands of the Wu-sun.¹⁸

It must have been sometime in the second quarter of the second century B.C. that the Sakas began to exercise serious pressure on the Greek rulers in Bactria. As remarked by Professor Rapson,¹⁹ 'the struggle may have dragged on for twenty or thirty years, but its issue was never doubtful. Bactria had to be abandoned by its Greek rulers to the Saka hordes.'

16. The ensuing passage is uncertain. It has been read either: 'they all took orders from the Chinese envoys', (which is unreasonable), or, with an emendation of one character: 'they furnished (received as their guest also in Ta-hia) the Chinese envoy'.

17. T'oung Pao, II, viii, p. 189.

18. Cf. Franke, Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvolker und Skythen Zentralasiens. Berlin 1904 p. 15.

19. The Cambridge History of India, I, p. 459.

This event must have been an important milestone in the history of the Sakas. It is even conceivable that later on they used to reckon from their final setting up as rulers of Bactria and the Tochara country, when they wanted to date their records, in other words that the era we have learnt to know as *Saka* dates from this event. Such an explanation is perhaps preferable to the other ones: according to Banerjea²⁰ the old *Saka* era may have been founded by Venones c. 100 B.C.; according to Sir John Marshall,²¹ who now, however, thinks a considerably earlier epoch preferable, by Moga c. 95 B.C.; and according to Professor Rapson²² it may mark the establishment of a new kingdom in Seistān after its incorporation into the Parthian empire by Mithradates I c. 150 B.C., while Mr. Jayaswal²³ thinks that c. 123 B.C. is the most likely epoch.

As the situation had developed in the period covered by the Ts'ien Han-shu i.e. sometime before A.D. 24, however, *Saka* rule in that region had come to an end, and now the Ta Yüe-chi were the masters of the whole country, the bulk of the Sakas having moved on to Ki-pin.

A still later stage of development is represented by the Hou Han-shu, the Annals of the Later Han Dynasty, which cover the period A.D. 25-220. The author Fan Ye states that he has gone through the account of the Western Countries in the older Annals, i.e. the Ts'ien Han-shu, and selected what in the period Kien-wu (A.D. 25-55) and later was different from what had already been said formerly, and that all the facts have been related by Pan Yung at the end of the reign of the emperor Ngan (A.D. 107-125).

It can hardly be stated more definitely that such new events as are narrated in the Hou Han-shu cannot be dated earlier than A.D. 25, and usually not later than A.D. 125. And we learn that the account is based on the reports of Pan Yung, who had himself taken an active part in the events in Chinese Turkestan.²⁴ On the other hand, it is evident that we cannot trust the Hou Han-shu

20. Ind. Ant. XXXVII, 1908, p. 67.

21. JRAS, 1914, p. 986.

22. l.c. p. 570.

23. JBORS, XVI, p. 240.

24. Mr. Jayaswal does hardly do justice to Pan Yung when he, l.c., p. 243, speaks of him as 'an author who wrote before 120 A.D., sitting in China'.

when it changes the wording of the Ts'ien Han-shu with reference to older events.

Now we read in the Hou Han-shu, ch. 118: 'The Ta Yüe-chi kingdom inhabits the city of Lan-shi Originally, when [the kingdom of] Yüe-chi was annihilated by the Hiung-nu, they migrated to the Ta-hia and divided their kingdom into the five district *hi-hous*, Hiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tun, Tu-mi. More than a hundred years afterwards the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, K'iu-tsiu-k'io, attacked and annihilated the other four *hi-hous* and made himself king. The kingdom was called "the Kuei-shuang kings."

Professor Karlgren adds the following notes: 'The Hou Han-shu, much later than the Ts'ien Han-shu, has altered the account. When the Ts'ien Han-shu says simply "there were five *hi-hous*," the Hou Han-shu says, "the Yüe-chi divided the land into five *hi-hous*." This innovation is not to be trusted. The earliest accounts indicate that the Ta Yüe-chi found a country divided into five parts, the "small chiefs" of which were of Sai (Sēk) origin, as stated above. One of these families rose to become powerful: the Kuei-shuang, i.e. the Kushāṇas. The texts seem thus rather to favour the idea that the Kushāṇas were of *Saka* origin.

The last clause, *kuo hao Kuei-shuang-wang*, "the country was called the Kuei-shuang-kings," seems curious, and a commentator proposes that the last word *wang* "king" should be eliminated. On the contrary, I find the expression extremely interesting, supporting the thesis that in *Sai-wang* (the Sēk kings) as the name of a nation *wang* is not a transcription, but really means "kings".

It will be seen that Professor Karlgren's last remark supports my explanation that *Sai-wang* is a translation of a *Saka* term, such as e.g. *Saka-murūṇḍa*. In a similar way *Kuei-shuang-wang* might be rendered in Indian as *Kushāṇa-rāja* or *Kushāṇa-mahārāja*, and it is therefore a priori likely that the *Maharaya Gushana*, *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Khushana* mentioned in Indian inscriptions is the *hi-hou* K'iu-tsiu-k'io of the Hou Han-shu. We shall have to return to this question later on.

After the passage translated by Professor Karlgren, the Hou Han-shu continues: 'He (i.e. K'iu-tsiu-k'io) invaded An-si and seized Kao-fu; further he triumphed over P'u-ta and Ki-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. K'iu-tsiu-k'io died more than

eighty years old. His son Yen-kao-chen became king in his stead. He reconquered T'ien-chu and appointed a general there for the administration. From this moment the Yüe-chi became extremely powerful. All the countries designate them calling (their king) the Kuei-shuang king, but the Han call them Great Yüe-chi, preserving their old appellation.'

We have already seen that the sequence of events seems to have been partly misunderstood by the author of the Hou Han-shu. The new kingdom was founded by a Saka and not by a Yüe-chi. But it is evident that K'iu-tsiu-k'io, after he had reduced the other *hi-hou*, became the ruler of the whole Ta-hia country, which the Hou Han-shu identifies with the five *hi-hou*. Henceforward the Kuei-shuang-wang was the representative of the old Yüe-chi empire, and we must necessarily infer that the designation Yüe-chi in reality denotes two different things, in the oldest texts the ancient people which the Hiung-nu defeated, and in the Hou Han-shu and later also the Kushāṇa Sakas.

That the five *hi-hou* were old Saka principalities is probable for other reasons as well. According to Marquart,²⁵ Hiu-mi is the present Wakhān, Shuang-mi Chitrāl, Kuei-shuang the country to the north of Gandhāra, Hi-tun Parwān on the Panjshir, and Kao-fu Kābul. The modern language of Wakhān is a Sāka dialect. In Shang-mi, the northern part of Chitrāl, the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang was told that the king was of the Sākya race, and this Sākya is evidently a misunderstanding of Sāka.²⁶ And in Laghmān, which probably belonged to the Kuei-shuang principality, traces of the Sakas seem to be indicated in a passage of Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*: *Lampākās tu muraṇḍāḥ syuḥ*, the *Lampākās* would be *muraṇḍas*, for *muraṇḍa* is evidently miswritten for *muraṇḍa*, the old Saka word for 'master', 'king'.²⁷

From Chinese sources we can accordingly draw the inference that the Sakas, the Sakas of Sanskrit sources, made their appearance in the north-western frontier districts in the second century

25. *Erānsahr*, pp. 242 ff.

26. Cf. Stein, *Serindia*, p. 44.

27. The three first principalities are enumerated, in inversed order, in the account of Mahākātyāyana's itinerary from Rauraka, which led from the unidentified Khara to Lampāka (Laghmān), Śyāmāka (Chitrāl) and Vok-Kāna (Wakhān) cf. Lüders *SBAW* 1930, pp. 51 ff.

B.C., when they became masters of Bactria and the Tochara country. Subsequently they were brought into submission by the Yüe-chi, who settled down in the old Tochara realm. But at a later date the Sakas reasserted themselves, a chief of the Kuei-shuang or Kushāṇa Sakas reducing other Saka princes and evidently also becoming the suzerain of Bactria and Badakhshān.

Both the old Saka power and the Kushāṇas have played a prominent role in the history of India.

When the Sai-Wang were driven southwards by the Yüe-chi and the five *hi-hou* acknowledged the latter as their suzerain, Ki-pin is stated to have become the centre of independent Saka power. In the Ts'ien Han-shu Ki-pin is, as we have seen, stated to be to the south-east of the Ta Yüe-chi, whose capital was then Kien-shi in Badakhshān, and to the north-east of Arachosia. As stated by Professor Rapson,²⁸ it must have comprised Kāfiristān. The wording of the Ts'ien Han-shu might lead us to think that the five *hi-hou* were likewise included in Ki-pin, but the Chinese notions about the frontiers of the country seem to have been rather indefinite.

It is, however, probable that Kao-fu, the Kābul country, according to the Ts'ien Han-shu the fifth *hi-hou*, geographically belonged to Ki-pin. The Hou Han-shu states that there is here a mistake: 'The country Kao-fu is to the south-west of the Ta Yüe-chi. It is also a great country. The local customs are similar to those of T'ien-chu. The population is weak and easily subdued, they are good traders and possess considerable private wealth. They were not always ruled by the same masters; when one of the three kingdoms T'ien-chu, Ki-pin, and An-si, became powerful, it reduced them, and lost them again when it became weak. Kao-fu was never dependent on the Yüe-chi, and it is therefore a mistake of the Han book (i.e. the Ts'ien Han-shu) when it includes it between the five *hi-hou*. Later on it fell under the dependency of An-si, and it was when the Yüe-chi triumphed over An-si that they, for the first time, took Kao-fu.²⁹' The Hou Han-shu therefore substitutes the unidentified Tu-mi for Kao-fu.

We have already seen that there seems to be some confusion in this passage of the Hou Han-shu. It is apparently quite correct

28. *l.c.*, p. 567.

29. Cf. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 193 f.

in saying that Kao-fu was not dependent on the Yüe-chi. But if all the five *hi-hou* were Saka principalities, that seems to imply that Kao-fu did not submit to the Yüe-chi together with the rest, but remained independent, together with other parts of Ki-pin, only the districts called Tu-mi acknowledging the Yüe-chi suzerainty. The Hou Han-shu is certainly also right in saying that Kao-fu came under the 'Yüe-chi' after the conquest of An-si, but 'Yüe-chi' here means the Kushāṇas. An-si can only be the Pahlava rulers of Eastern Irān, and since we know²⁹ that the Pahlavas in the Kābul valley replaced the Greek chiefs, we must evidently interpret the passage of the Hou Han-shu so as to mean that Kao-fu passed from the Sakas of Ki-pin to the Greek rulers who held T'ien-chu, and from them to the Pahlavas, from whom it was wrested by the Kushāṇas.

Greek chiefs had held sway, not only in Bactria and neighbouring tracts, but also to the south of the Hindukush, and they now formed a barrier against an eastward Saka expanse into India.

Also in the west there was a strong power which made further advance difficult, the Parthian empire. We hear about the Parthians that they appropriated a portion of Bactria by bringing force to bear on the Scythians, i.e. probably the Sakas. The Parthian ruler Phraates II (138-128 B.C.) was killed in battle against them, whereafter they are said to have returned to their own country, and the next king, Artabanus I (128-123 B.C.) met with the same fate in war against the Tocharians.

These events belong to the period when the Sakas were masters of the Tochara country, before the Yüe-chi had transferred themselves to the south of the Oxus. They point to considerable Saka activity in the south, and it is probable that they penetrated still farther southwards, and the Saka settlements in Seistān have usually been referred to this period, Professor Thomas, however, maintaining³⁰ that Sakas had been settled in Seistān since the days of the Achaemenides.

The Yüe-chi advance south of the Oxus must, as we have seen, have taken place after c. 126 B.C., when Chang-k'ien found them to the north of the river. It meant a great loss of power to the

30. *l.c.*

Sakas in the north, the more or less nominal Yüe-chi suzerainty now becoming effective.

Also in the south, the Sakas were gradually losing ground. The successor of Artabanus I, Mithradates II, the Great (123-88 B.C.), is stated to have been successful in repeated fights against the Scythians and to have taken revenge for his predecessors' reverses. Professor Rapson³¹ is probably right when he says that 'it was in his reign that the struggle between the kings of Parthia and their Scythian subjects in eastern Irān was brought to a close and the suzerainty of Parthia over the ruling powers of Seistān and Kandahār confirmed.'

This altered situation resulted in a new Saka exodus, and in the first half of the first century B.C. we find Saka rulers in western India, in Sind, Kāthiāwār, Mālva and the Punjab.

So far as I can see, Professor Rapson³² has given convincing reasons for his view that the Sakas reached India 'through Ariāna (W. and S. Afghānistān and Baluchistān) by the great highway, associated in modern times with the Bolān Pass, which led from the Parthian provinces of Drangiāna (Seistān) and Arachosia (Kandahār) over the Brāhūi mountains into the country of the lower Indus (Sind).' But it seems *a priori* to be less easy to accept his further statement³³ that 'the invasion of India must be ascribed . . . to a period after the reign of Mithradates II, when the power of Parthia had declined and kingdoms once subordinate had become independent.' I am inclined to agree with Mr. Jayaswal³⁴ that the Sakas left Seistān during the reign of Mithradates II, in consequence of the increasing pressure he was bringing to bear upon them.

An early incident of this invasion seems to be contained in the narrative inserted in the Kālakācāryakathānaka. Mr. Jayaswal³⁵ accepts my view that we are here faced with a genuine tradition, but I cannot accept his opinion that the events narrated in the Kathānaka take us back to the very Saka exodus from Seistān.

31. *l.c.*, pp. 567 f.

32. *l.c.*, p. 564.

33. *l.c.*, p. 568.

34. *l.c.*, pp. 237 f.

35. *l.c.*, p. 233.

We are told how Kālaka, who had a grudge against the Mālava king Gardabhilla, went to *Sagakūla*, where he found the Sagas, i.e. Sakas, organised under chiefs called *sāhis*, who owed allegiance to a *sahānu sāhi*, a king of kings. Mr. Jayaswal thinks that the *sahānu sāhi* was Mithradates II, but that question is of no importance in the present connection.

Mr. Jayaswal thinks that *Sagakūla*, for which he prefers the easier reading *Sagakula*, i.e. according to him, 'the tribe of the Sakas', or 'the country where a 'family rule (aristocracies) of the Sakas prevailed', means Seistān. But it is a far cry from Seistān to the Indus, and the narrative of the Kathānaka is to the effect that, after Kālaka had induced ninety-six *sāhis* to accompany him to *Hindugadesa*, they crossed the Indus (*uttariūṇa Sindhum*), embarked on ships (*samāruhiūṇa jānavattesu*), proceeded to Kāthiāwār (*samāgayā Surattḥavisae*), and divided that country among themselves. When the autumn came, the ācārya led them to Ujjayinī, where Gardabhilla was made a prisoner. A *sāhi* was established as king of kings (*rāyāhirāya*), and so this dynasty of Saka-kings was established.

We are accordingly led to think that the Sakas were settled somewhere on the Indus, but not in the Sindu-country (*Hindugadesa*), and that they went on ships down the Indus to Kāthiāwār. And an indication of the locality where they had their headquarters can perhaps be found in the name *Sagakūla*.

The word *kūla* is found in the *gaṇa dhūmādayah*, containing words denoting various localities. The *gaṇa* contains the local names *Mudrakūla* and *Ajikūla*, and also the words *kūlāt Sauvīreshu*, i.e. according to Jinendrabuddhi: *kūlasabdād vuñ bhavati Sauvīreshu*. There was accordingly a *kūla* in the Sauvīra country, and if this *kūla* had become occupied by Sakas, it would naturally be called *Sakakūla*, cf. the names *Madrakūla*, *Ajikūla* mentioned above. And this explanation becomes probable, if we bear in mind that the route via the Bolān Pass leads straight down to the old Sauvīra capital Rauruka, to the east of the Indus.

If the Sakas were settled in the old Sauvīra country, we also understand why they had to cross the Indus in order to proceed to the *Hindugadesa*, for the *Sindhudeśa* was often identified with the country to the west of the Indus.³⁶

36. Cf. Lüders, SBAW, 1930, p. 53.

We here seem to get information of an early Saka conquest of Kāthiāwār and Mālava, but it is not possible to say anything certain about its date. The Kathānaka goes on to say that after some time this Saka dynasty was uprooted by Vikramāditya, who then established the Vikrama era. The Saka conquest must consequently have taken place sometime during the first half of the first century B.C.

The Saka expansion, however, also took another direction, as witnessed by a series of Kharoshthī inscriptions.

At Maira, in the Salt Range, was found an old well, with an inscription, which is perhaps dated in the year 58 and seems to contain the name of Moa, who is apparently identical with the mahārāja Moga, who is mentioned on a copper-plate, found at Taxila and dated in the year 78. The plate also contains the name of a certain Liaka Kusuluka, who is designated as *kshaharāta* and *kshatrapa* of Cukhsa, and this Liaka may have something to do with a person called Lia, who seems to be mentioned in a Mānsehrā inscription of the year 68. Of about the same time is perhaps the *rājan* Damijada, mentioned in an old inscription at Shahdaur.

The era used in these inscriptions is evidently the same as was characterized by the addition *saka* in the Taxila silver vase inscription of the year 191. Its epoch may be about 145 B.C., but it may also be somewhat earlier or later.

If we assume, as a working hypothesis, that the epoch from which the Sakas reckoned was c. 145 B.C., the dates of the Maira, Mānsehrā and Taxila inscriptions would be approximately 86, 76 and 66 B.C., respectively, and if the King Moga of the copper-plate is actually mentioned as Moa in the Maira record, his reign must have begun c. 90 B.C. He is evidently identical with the ruler Maues, Moa, whose coins have been found in great numbers in the Punjab and show that he assumed the imperial title 'king of kings'. He seems to have had a comparatively long reign, perhaps down to about 60 B.C. His conquest of the Punjab was evidently effected from the south, probably from the Sauvīra country, and he must have been the ruler who made an end to the Greek dominion in Taxila. Professor Rapson infers from his imitation of certain Greek coin-types which seem to be connected with Pushkalāvati that he also held sway to the west of the Indus. That is, of course possible, but the

evidence does not seem to be conclusive. According to Gardner,³⁷ his coins have only been found in the Punjāb.

Sir John Marshall's excavations have shown that in Taxila Moga was succeeded by King Azes, who was a Pahlava and not a Saka. But we cannot say for certain whether he began to rule immediately after Moga's demise. His accession may have been a little later, e.g. 50-40 B.C.

We have no information about a Saka king of kings succeeding Moga. On the famous Lion Capital of Mathurā, which was set up in honour of the whole Saka realm (*savasa Sakastanasa puyae*), several Saka chiefs are mentioned: a mahākshatrapa Rajula and his son the kshatrapa Śuḍasa; a yuvarāja Kharaosta; a mahākshatrapa Kusulua Patika, etc. There is no reference to a king of kings³⁸ and this omission cannot well be accidental.

The mahākshatrapa Kusulua Patika has usually been identified with Patika, the son of the kshaharāta, the kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka, who is mentioned in the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, and who struck coins in imitation of Eucratides. And the identical *Kusuluka* is very strongly in favour of the identification.

At the time of the copper-plate Patika was evidently a young man, a private individual without any title.³⁹ And when he had risen to the position of mahākshatrapa, he may have been a sexagenarian, i.e. the Lion Capital may be approximately dated c. 25 B.C. But there is nothing in the record to show that his charge was still in the Taxila country.

37. The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, p. xl.

38. In the Corpus I proposed to see a reference to King Moga deceased in the apparent *mukśiraya*, A 1. 13, but Professor Thomas, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vi, p. 527, has given a much better explanation of these aksharas.

39. In my edition of the inscription in the Corpus I read the last words of 1. 4 *Patikasa jaiivaṇae*, and proposed to explain *jaiiva* as a doublet of *yavuga*. Professor Thomas, Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1931, p. 6, has however shown that we must read *Patika saja uvajhae(na)* and connect this with *Rohinimitrena*, 1. 5. He translates *saja uvajhaena* 'at present *upādhyāya*', but it is perhaps preferable to explain *saja* as corresponding to Vedic *sacā*, and to translate 'together with the *upādhyāya*'.

Of the yuvarāja Kharaosta we know next to nothing. He is evidently identical with the kshatrapa Kharaosta known from coins. He is designated as *Kamuia*, which can well be Prākṛit for *Kāmbojika*. Kamboja can hardly be identified with Seistān, as proposed by Mr. Jayaswal.⁴⁰ Professor Sylvain Lévi⁴¹ has given good reasons for identifying it with Kapiśa, i.e., with the country which the Chinese called Ki-pin, and where the Sakas are, as we have seen, stated to have settled.

The mahākshatrapa Rajula is better known, and was evidently the leading Saka chief in Mathurā. He is mentioned as the mahākshatrapa Rājūvula in a stone-slab inscription from Mora, and he struck coins both as kshatrapa and mahākshatrapa, his name being written Rajuvula, Rājubula. There is also a Greek legend, which I follow Professor Lüders⁴² in reading *Razubasilei* and explaining as an attempt at rendering the foreign name in Greek. There is a Saka word *rāza* (*rāysa*), rule, power, and *vula*, *bula* would regularly correspond to Sanskrit *vr̥dha*, or, perhaps, *vardha*, cf. Iranian names such as Artavardiya. As to the meaning, *Rājūvula* may accordingly be compared with Sanskrit *Rājyavardhana*.

There can be no doubt that Rajula was a Saka, who had held office in Mathurā for some time, first as kshatrapa and, at the time when the Lion Capital was set up, as mahākshatrapa. As Saka governor of Mathurā he seems to have had predecessors in the kshatrapas Hagāna and Hagāmasha, who are only known from coins, so that we may trace Saka rule in Mathurā back to about the middle of the first century B.C.⁴³ And we know that Saka kshatrapas remained in Mathurā for some time after Rājula, for his son the kshatrapa Śuḍasa is evidently identical with the mahākshatrapa Śuḍasa mentioned on the Āmohinī tablet, which Sir John Marshall⁴⁴ assigns to the beginning of the Christian era

40. l.c., p. 229.

41. JA, cciii, 1923, pp. 52 ff.

42. SBAW, 1913, p. 425.

43. Professor Rapson says that the transfer from native Indian to Saka rule was an established fact in the second half of the first century, s. l.c., p. 526.

44. The Cambridge History of India, I, p. 633.

on account of the style of its carving, and which belongs to A.D. 14, if its date, in the year 72,⁴⁵ is referred to the Vikrama era.

We do not know anything about the relations of the Mathurā kshatrapas to the rulers of Taxila after the demise of Moga. It is possible that the title mahākshatrapa, which has not been traced earlier than in the Lion Capital inscription, bears witness to a somewhat independent position. In later times there seems to have been a regular succession, a kshatrapa in due season rising to the superior position of mahākshatrapa, but we do not know whether such was the case from the beginning.

Another question which cannot be satisfactorily answered is how the power of Saka chiefs was established in Mathurā. What we seem to know is that it was apparently done about the middle of the first century B.C., i.e. about the time from which the Vikrama years were reckoned.

We have seen above that the traditionary tale contained in the Kālakācāryakathānaka is to the effect that the Vikrama era was instituted by Vikramāditya after he had made an end to Saka rule in Ujjayini. I have not the slightest doubt about the existence of a Vikramāditya in Ujjayini about the middle of the first century B.C. Nevertheless, it seems to be a fact that the so-called Vikrama era was known as the era handed down by the Mālava *gaṇa*, or similar designations. That may mean that the Mālavas were wont to reckon from the time when they won their independence, and from the fact that the biruda Vikramāditya was later on assumed by Chandragupta II, who seems to have made an end to the dominion of the later Saka rulers of Mālava, we can safely infer that the leader of the Mālavas in their fight for independence was remembered as having been honoured with the same biruda.

The years of the era are sometimes characterized as *kṛta*, and Mr. Jayaswal⁴⁶ accepts my explanation of this term as a designation of the seasonal year, with three seasons, each containing four months. It is, as is well known, this seasonal year which is used in the Āmohini tablet inscription and in most Mathurā

45. Professor Rapson's attempt, *Acta Orientalia*, xi, pp. 260 ff., to prove that Professor Lüders, *Acta Orientalia*, v, pp. 118 ff., was wrong in reading 72, and that we must read 42, has failed to convince me. The symbol which he reads as 40 in the Junnār inscription of Ayama is evidently 70.

46. *l.c.*, p. 252.

records. There is one exception, the Lāl Kumvā pillar inscription of the year 28, during the reign of Huvishka.⁴⁷ It is dated in the same way as the Kharoshthī inscriptions, and the month bears the Macedonian name Gurppiya (Gorpiaios). But it seems to have been executed at the order of a foreigner, and cannot prove anything for Mathurā itself. The calendar which was used there was evidently Indian, the same as in Mālava,⁴⁸ and this raises a presumption in favour of a certain connection between the Saka rulers in Mathurā and Mālava.

It is then conceivable, and perhaps probable, that Saka rule in Mathurā was established by chiefs who left Mālava when that country asserted its independence. And afterwards they used the foundation of Saka dominion in Mathurā as their starting point for chronological purposes. In this way the same era could be used in two different regions, reckoning from the winning of tribal independence in Mālava, and from the establishment of Saka power in Mathurā. I offer this explanation with every reserve, but it would make it intelligible that an era, apparently identical with the Vikrama reckoning, is used in Mathurā shortly after the beginning of the Christian era.

So far as we know, it is the first national Indian era, and it is a well-known fact that it gradually became the great historical era of Northern India, where it evidently began to spread at a comparatively early date. I have already mentioned that its existence in the north-west seems to be indicated through the addition *saka* before the year in the Taxila silver vase inscription of the year 191, i.e. about A.D. 45.

In the north-west a new dynasty had, by that time, come into power, represented by rulers who seem to have been of Pahlava origin.

We have seen above that, when the Sakas established themselves in Ki-pin, Greek rulers were in power in the Kābul valley. Professor Thomas⁴⁹ has shown that they were gradually driven out

47. *Ep. Ind.*, xxi, pp. 63 ff.

48. Mr. Jayaswal is not right in saying that it is also used in the inscriptions of Gautamiputra and his son, who reckon with seasonal *pakshas* and not *months*.

49. *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 193 f.

by the Parthians. According to Professor Rapson,⁵⁰ their last ruler, Hermaeus, must have had a long reign, before and after c. 40 B.C., and that his conquerors 'were the Pahlavas of Kandahār is made probable by the evidence of the coins which were struck by Spalirises with the characteristic type of the Yavana kings of Kābul, Zeus enthroned'. It was the same Pahlavas whom Sir John Marshall's excavations prove to have succeeded the Saka king Moga in Taxila, represented by rulers named Azes, Azilises and Gondopharnes.

I shall not try to discuss all the difficult questions connected with these rulers. I shall only mention some details which seem to be of importance for the chronology of the period. And I shall not make any reference to the chronological arrangement proposed in the Corpus, because the Kalavān inscription has shown that the dated records of the period cannot, generally, be referred to an old Saka era.

The oldest of these Pahlava rulers was Azes, who seems to have been related to a ruler Vonones, whose name shows him to have been a Pahlava, while the names of Azes and some other members of the family, such as Spalahora, Spalagadama and Spalyris, cannot be assigned to any definite Iranian language. The coins bearing the names Azes and Azilises are so numerous, and seem to cover such a long period, that most scholars think that there were more than one ruler of that name, and I now accept that conclusion.

With regard to the date of the oldest Azes, Professor Rapson⁵¹ draws attention to the use of the square Greek *omicron* on some of his coins, side by side with the round form. The square *o* makes its appearance in Parthia during the reign of Orodes I (57-38 B.C.). 'That at this period there was constant communication between Parthia and India there can be no doubt. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that this epigraphical change is due to a fashion which spread from one country to the other, and that the occurrence of the square *omicron* on a Parthian or Indian coin is an indication that its date is not earlier than c. 40 B.C.'

50. l.c., pp. 561. f.

51. l.c., p. 571.

He adds a warning, that this chronological test must be applied with caution, and he is inclined to accept Sir John Marshall's view that Azes was the founder of the Vikrama era and must consequently have come to power c. 58 B.C. So far as I can see, we have no reason for connecting the Vikrama era with Azes, and it would seem natural to draw the inference from the forms of the Greek *o* in his coin-legends that he did not come to power before c. 50-40 B.C.

Professor Rapson⁵² draws attention to the fact that these Pahlava rulers use the Kharoshthī alphabet in their coin legends, and that they must therefore formerly have held sway in Arachosia. After the Greek power in the Kābul valley had been reduced, the way to the east lay open for further advance, and, as already stated, we find Azes as the successor of the Saka rulers in Taxila. The extraordinary number of the Azes-Azilises coins seems to indicate a considerable length of time, though some of them may have been struck after their demise.

So far only one inscription has been found which can perhaps be referred to a King Azes, viz. the second Shahdaur record. The first line is much defaced, but we can certainly read *ayasa sam*, and before *ayasa* there is exactly room for the word *maharajasa*. What follows after *ayasa* may be the numerical symbols corresponding to 103, in which case we must evidently think of the old Saka era, so that the date would be 25 years after that of the Taxila copper-plate, i.e. perhaps c. 42 B.C. But the reading of the figure is quite uncertain.

The next Pahlava ruler was Gondopharnes, whose name clearly shows him to have been a Pahlava. Of his reign we have the well-known Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, which date we must now evidently refer to the same era as that of the Āmohini tablet, so that it corresponds to A.D. 45. There is another date in the record, the 26-year, and as long as it was possible to assume the use of an old Saka era in the principal date, its interpretation caused some difficulty. But now I accept the current explanation, that it gives the regnal year of Gondopharnes. Gondopharnes accordingly began to reign in A.D. 19.

52. l.c., p. 569.

If the Shahdaur inscription is dated in the old Saka era during the reign of Azes, it would be natural to infer that the new era came into use in the north-west during the reign of Gondopharnes, and we have already seen that the addition *saka* in the date of the Taxila silver vase inscription of the year 191 bears witness to its existence about that same time. If such be the case, there cannot be any question of Azes as founder of the era.

Gondopharnes seems to have begun his career as ruler in Arachosia.⁵³ I need not, in this connection, consider the question whether he was identical with or subordinate to Orthagnes. But since the Orthagnes coins have been found in Kandahār and Seistān, and since Orthagnes corresponds to Avestan *vērēthraghna*, victorious, it is possible that they record a victorious campaign against the Sakas in Seistān, and this might have something to do with the preference for the new era used in Gondopharnes' time.

Both Azes and Gondopharnes are sometimes associated with the *stratēgos* *Āspavarman*, whose Indianized name can be based on an Iranian form beginning with *āspa*. In that case it seems natural to think of Pahlavi, and not of Saka, where Aryan *āspa* becomes *āśsa*. In addition to the *stratēgoi* we also find *kshatrapas*. We know of a *kshatrapa* Manigula and his son Jihunika or Zeionises, and the latter is mentioned in the form Jihonika, in the Taxila silver vase inscription of the year 191, as if he were the actual ruler, though his charge is stated to have been the same Cukhsa where Liaka was *kshatrapa* at the time of the Taxila copper-plate.

In the inscription his father is designated *maharajabhrata*, a designation which is also known from the coins of earlier members of the Pahlava dynasty: Spalyris, Spalahora and Spalirises. We cannot say whether the Mahārāja was Azes or Gondopharnes, but the latter alternative is probably preferable. At all events, Manigula was almost certainly a Pahlava, for the last part of his name seems to be *varda* or *vṛda*, and the change of *v* to *g* is Pahlavi and not old Saka.

The coins found in Taxila show that there were several other Pahlava chiefs and rulers who held office under the Azes kings

53. Cf. Rapson, l.c., pp. 577 f.

and Gondopharnes, and apparently also for some time after the latter's demise. A king Phraotes is further mentioned in the account of the visit of Apollonius of Tyana to India c. A.D. 44 as exercising suzerain powers. That the Pahlavas also held sway farther to the south can probably be inferred from the Periplus (second half of the first century A.D.), which speaks of the Indus country as governed by Parthian rulers.

We do not know, however, how long the Parthian dominion in India lasted, and about the middle of the first century A.D. a serious menace appeared in the rising power of the Kushānas, who are shown by the stratification in Taxila to have succeeded the Pahlavas there.

I have already discussed the Chinese sources dealing with the rise of the Kushānas. We have seen that they speak of Kuei-shuang as one of the five principalities the Yüeh-chi found when they settled down in the ancient Ta-hia country, and that the Kuei-shuang, like the other *hi-hou*, were probably the former Saka rulers, whom the Chinese call Sai-wang, i.e. Saka-kings. I have also drawn attention to some other features which seem to prove that the Kushānas were Sakas.

We have also seen that there is, in addition to Kushāna, which must correspond to Chinese Kuei-shuang, a shorter form *kusha*, which we know from the coin-legends of Kanishka and his successors. Also in the Chinese translation of Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, the so-called *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Śvaghosha, Kanishka is spoken of as belonging to the race of *Kiu-sha*.⁵⁴ The form *Kushāna*, as the designation of a principality, can very well be a genitive plural, cf. names such as Irān, Wakhān, etc. But there is certainly an adjective *Kushāna*, formed from *kusha* by adding the suffix *āna*, just as we find Saka *balysāna* formed from *balysa*, the Lord.

The first Kushāna to come into prominence is called K'iu-tsiu-k'io, as we have seen, i.e., in the pronunciation of the 6th century A.D. *K'ieu-dz'ieu kiāp*, and already Cunningham identified him with Kujula Kadphises, whom we know from his coins. The former part of the designation, *K'ieu-dz'ieu*, renders *kuzula*,

54. cf. Lévi, JA, IX, viii, 1896, pp. 452 ff.; Ind. Ant., xxxii, 1903, pp. 384 f.

which occurs as *kujula*, *kuyula* in Kharoshthi and *kozolo*, *kozoulo* in Greek letters. It is evidently the same word which is found in the names of the Saka kshatrapas Liaka Kusuluka (in Greek letters *Liako Kozoulo*) and Kusulua Patika. The final *kiūp* is represented in Greek and Kharoshthi coin-legends by forms such as *Kapa*, *Kapha*, *Kau*, *Kasa*,⁵⁵ *Kaphsa*, *Kadapha*, *Kadphises*.

The Hou Han-shu states that he started on his career of conquest more than hundred years after the Yüe-chi had 'divided' the Ta-hia country into five *hi-hou*, i.e. after they had transferred their headquarters from north of the Oxus to Badakhshān. That must, as we have seen, have happened sometimes between 125 B.C. and A.D. 24. We are also told that the new development which is narrated in the Hou Han-shu belongs to the period after A.D. 25 and before A.D. 125.

At the latter date Kujūla Kadphises is said to have died, more than eighty years old, and to have been succeeded by his son, and Pan Yung had evidently no information to the effect that the latter had also died. If he was still on the throne in A.D. 125, it is hardly likely that his father was born much earlier than c. A.D. 25. And there is perhaps another indication which points to the same result.

In the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription of the year 103, i.e. A.D. 45, I have proposed to read *erijhūna Kapasa puyae*, in honour of prince Kapa, and to identify this Kapa with Kujūla Kadphises. I took, and I still take, *erijhūna*, i.e. *erzūna*, to be an old form corresponding to Saka *alysānaa*, *e'ysānaa*, which is used to translate Sanskrit *kumāra*. And it is perhaps worth noting that the record also seems to contain the name of another Saka noble, *Mira Boyana*, for *Mira* would be the regular Saka form of Iranian *Mithra*.

Professor Rapson⁵⁶ has severely criticized my reading and interpretation and told me that there are distinct traces of aksharas in the gap between *Kapa* and *sa*. I can only answer that I could not see any such traces when I examined the stone some years ago.

55. Professor Rapson, Kharoshthi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan, p. 312, also gives *Kassa*, but to me the facsimile seems to have *Katsa*.

56. JRAS, 1930, p. 189.

And I am still convinced that my reading, and probably also my interpretation, are right.

If such be the case, Kujūla Kadphises must have been a young man in A.D. 45, and it is even probable that he had not yet risen to the rank of *hi-hou*. On the other hand, he appears as such in his oldest coin-legends, on coins which seem to have been re-struck after those of Hermaeus, the last Greek ruler of the Kābul valley.

After it has proved impossible to refer the dates of the Takht-i-Bāhi and some later inscriptions such as that on the Taxila silver scroll to an old Saka era, we cannot any more think of an alliance or a co-operation between Kujūla Kadphises and Hermaeus. They are too far removed from each other in time.

According to Professor Rapson,⁵⁷ Hermaeus' "earliest coins are of good style and of good metal; and they belong to the period before any of the squared Greek letters had been introduced. Later issues are of coarse workmanship; the silver is alloyed, and the square appears in the Greek legend. So far, the deterioration of art and the debasement of the coinage are such as might well be expected to have taken place during the reign of a king who was menaced by enemies on every side. But further stages of degradation can only be explained as the result of a complete change in the character of the civilization of this region. The alloyed coins are succeeded by barbarous issues which are undisguisedly of copper, and finally by others in which the word *sōtēros*, 'the saviour', in the king's title appears as *stērossu* and is rendered in the corresponding Kharoshthi legend by the word *mahatasa* (*mahantasa*), 'great'. It is clear that the Greek language was no longer properly understood by the die-engravers. These last are the coins which are imitated by Kujūla Kadphises."

"It would appear then, that, while Hermaeus may have been reigning for some time before and after c. 40 B.C., as would seem to be indicated by the square in his later Greek coin-legends, a coinage bearing his name and his types was issued by his conquerors until a much later date."

These conquerors were the Pahlavas, as we have already seen. Kujūla Kadphises' imitations are of a still later date, but they

57. The Cambridge History of India, i, p. 561.

probably began when Kābul was under Pahlava rule. In the legends he is characterized as *Kushāna yavuga*, and *yavuga*, for which the Greek legend has *zaos*, is the same word which the Chinese render as *hi-hou*. These coins therefore seem to take us back to the time when Kadphises was the Kuei-shuang *hi-hou*, before he had reduced the other *hi-hou*, and probably several years after A.D. 45, if he is actually mentioned as an *erjhuṇa* in the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription. In such circumstances we understand that many of these coins have been found in the Pahlava strata at Taxila.

We have already seen that the wording of the Ts'ien Han-shu indicates that Kao-fu, the Kābul country, had been a Saka dependency before it came under Greek rule. It is then probable that the relations to the Saka principalities were not broken off when the Greek settled down in Kao-fu after the Yüe-chi had secured their suzerainty over the five *hi-hou*. In such circumstances it is intelligible that Kujūla Kadphises based his coinage on Greek models. According to Professor Lévi,⁵⁸ Kadphises perhaps means 'the man of Kapiśa, Kao-fu', and in that case it is by no means certain that the name or title was only assumed after the final conquest of Kao-fu.

We have seen that Kujūla Kadphises conquered the remaining *hi-hou* and assumed the title 'king', his kingdom being called 'the Kuei-shuang kings, or king'. We are told that this designation became current everywhere, but that the Chinese continued to speak of them as Ta Yüe-chi. As already stated, it seems necessary to draw the conclusion that Kujūla Kadphises extended his dominion over the Yüe-chi empire, and henceforth in reality was the Yüe-chi king. After this he seems to have begun to strike coins with higher titles: *maharaja mahanta*, *maharaja rajatiraja*, *maharaya rayaraya devaputra*, and we have already seen that the titles *maharaya Gushāna*, *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Kushāna* are also found in Indian inscriptions. They confirm the Hou Han-shu account of the development.

After having consolidated his power Kujūla Kadphises invaded An-si and seized Kao-fu. An-si is the Chinese rendering of *Ar-sak*, the Parthian empire. Since the immediate result of the invasion was the seizure of Kao-fu, it is, however, evident that the

58. JA, cciii, 1923, p. 52.

term in this connection denotes the Pahlavas who had wrested the Kābul valley from the Greeks, i.e. the predecessors of Gondopharnes. This event must accordingly be dated sometime after A.D. 45, perhaps c. A.D. 60.

Then Kadphises triumphed over P'u-ta and Ki-pin, and entirely possessed those countries.

P'u-ta was pronounced *puk-d'at* or *puk-tat* in the 6th century, and Professor Karlgren tells me that *puk* was probably *pok* in Han times. The country is mentioned between Kao-fu and Ki-pin, and it can therefore hardly be identified with Bactria, as proposed by Chavannes.⁵⁹ It is more likely that Marquart⁶⁰ was right in comparing the Greek Paktuikē, in the northern part of Arachosia. Ki-pin, again, is the old Saka dominion, but was now evidently extended to and beyond the Indus.

An evidence of this eastward march is found in the Panjtār inscription of the year 122, i.e. A.D. 65, where a *maharaya Gushāna* is mentioned, who cannot well be anybody else than Kujūla Kadphises. It was he, and not his son and successor, who conquered Ki-pin, and his son's name has never been found associated with the designation *Kushāna*.

If the Panjtār inscription was put up shortly after the *Kushāna* conquest of the country, it is not likely that An-si and Kao-fu were reduced very much earlier, for the Chinese account seems to indicate a continuous and fairly rapid progress.

It did not stop at the Indus. In the Pahlava strata at Taxila, at the Sirkap site, coins of Kujūla Kadphises indicate that he occupied the place. The coins which have hesitatingly been assigned to his successor by Sir John Marshall⁶¹ almost certainly belong to him.

Shortly after its conquest by the *Kushānas*, the ancient city of Sirkap seems to have been destroyed. Buried treasure and other indications show that such must have been the case. The Ku-

59. T'oung Pao, II, vii, p. 513 f., viii, p. 191³.

60. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran, ii, pp. 175 f.; cf. Franke, l.c., p. 99¹.

61. e.g. ASIAR, 1912-13, p. 51.

shāṇas then built a new capital, at Sirsukh, and here coins of the later Kushāṇas have been found.

We do not know when Sirkap was sacked, but we may, as a working hypothesis, assume that it was c. A.D. 70. An important document of the Kushāṇa period, the Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136, i.e. A.D. 79, mentions a maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Kushāṇa, and I am unable to see how any other ruler than Kujūla Kadphises can be meant.

Everybody seems to agree about his identity with the maharaya Gushāṇa of the Panjtār record. If the two inscriptions are referred to the reign of Kujūla Kadphises' son, we must infer that Kadphises I was no more alive in A.D. 65. The Hou Han-shu states that he was more than eighty years old when he died. He must accordingly have been born c. 20-15 B.C. According to the Hou Han-shu he cannot have started on his career of conquest before A.D. 25, and it is, as already mentioned, not possible to assume that he conquered Kao-fu before c. A.D. 45. We should accordingly have to assume that he was at least a sexagenarian when he started on his vigorous career of conquest, and I do not think that likely or even possible.

It is much more probable that Kujūla Kadphises was not born long before A.D. 25. We may, however, as a working hypothesis, date his birth c. A.D. 15, in which case he would have been about fifty years old when the Panjtār inscription was set up, and 64 at the time of the silver scroll, and his death could not well have occurred before c. A.D. 95. Sir John Marshall⁶² has tentatively dated his conquest of Kābul c. A.D. 60, and even if he were then a sexagenarian, he would have lived on till after A.D. 80, so that the ruler mentioned in the silver scroll cannot be his son.

It is of course possible that his son was associated with him in the reign, but as long as the father was alive he would naturally be referred to in records as the ruler.

With the conquest of Taxila the Saka empire in north-western India had been restored. But the old Saka country in the Indus valley was still under Pahlava rule. It would be intelligible if the

62. A Guide to Taxila, 2. ed., Calcutta 1926, p. 22.

Kushāṇas had directed their attention towards it. The old king did not, however, lead his army to Sind.

As we have seen, his son Yen-kao-chen, reconquered⁶³ T'ien-chu and there appointed a chief to govern that country.

The 6th century pronunciation of Yen-kao-chen was *iām kau-t'ien*, and there is not the slightest doubt about his identity with the ruler whose coins give the name as *Ooēmo Kadphises* in Greek and *Wima Kathphīsa*, or *Kalpiśa*,⁶⁴ in Kharoshthi letters.

The Hou Han-shu does not contain any further information about Yen-kao-chen. We are left with the impression that he was still alive at the termination of the period covered by the Annals, i.e. A.D. 125. His headquarters were perhaps in the old Ta-hia city in Badkshān, which the Kushāṇas, according to Chavannes,⁶⁵ continued to consider as their capital. Either he or, more probably, his father must have been the 'Yüe-chi', whom the famous Chinese general Pan-ch'ao in A.D. 78 reported to be anxious to come to terms with China. In A.D. 87, Chung, the deposed king of Kāshgar, had found assistance in Sogdiana, where the royal family had, at that time, contracted an alliance with the 'Yüe-chi', but Pan-ch'ao succeeded in inducing the 'Yüe-chi', who was evidently considered to be a powerful ruler, to dissuade the Sogdian king from further steps. The next year the Yüe-chi is said to have sent presents to China and asked for the hand of an imperial princess. But Pan-ch'ao had the envoys intercepted and sent back to their country, whereafter the relations became strained. In A.D. 90 an army, under a *sie*, i.e. probably a *shāhi*⁶⁶ was sent to attack Pan-ch'ao, but was repulsed, and we are told that the 'Yüe-chi' now were awed and sent their tribute every year.⁶⁷

63. Cf. Professor Karlgren's note about the meaning of the Chinese text, quoted Corpus, p. lxvii³.

64. This form is given by Professor Rapson, Kharoshthi Documents, p. 316. If it is right, the *l*, as compared with Greek *d*, may denote a dental fricative. In an unpublished inscription of unknown provenience, the sign which Professor Rapson reads *Gr* occurs for *p* in the word *pita*, father. The actual form of the ruler's name is not, however, of any interest in the present connection.

65. T'oung Pao, II, viii, p. 187³.

66. Cf. Lévi, JA, XI, ii, 1913, p. 330.

67. Cf. Chavannes, T'oung Pao, II, vii, pp. 224 ff.

We again hear about the 'Yüe-chi' during the reign of the emperor An-ti (A.D. 107-125). The king of Kāshgar had sent his uncle in exile to them, and they escorted him back after the king's death, and the Kāshgar people, who were afraid of the Yüe-chi, accepted him as king.⁶⁸

All these events must have happened during the reigns of the Kadphises kings, and they show that the Kushānas exercised considerable influence in Chinese Turkestan, probably from their headquarters in Badakhshān.

Wima Kadphises did not, as we have seen, himself reside in T'ien-chu. The Chinese description of that country is not so clear that we can definitely localise it. We are told that it was also called Shen-tu, or in the pronunciation of the 6th century *śien-d'uok*, and this name seems to be a rendering of *Sindhuka*, Sind. In the Shiki, ch. 123, we are simply told that Shen-tu is situated to the south-east of Ta-hia, but the Hou Han-shu⁶⁹ adds that it is a low, damp and hot country on the banks of a big river, and seems to include a vast territory, from the Western Ocean to P'an-k'i, i.e. according to Chavannes Annam or Burma, in T'ien-chu.

The name T'ien-chu (*t'ien-t'iu*) does not help us much, but Shen-tu leads us, as already stated, to think of Sind, and in that case the remark about a re-conquest becomes intelligible, though it does not find any explanation in the context. Sind, had, as we have seen, formed part of the old Saka empire, and since the Kushānas were Sakas, a conquest of Sind would be a re-conquest. It would therefore appear as if Pan Yung had not properly understood what he had been told about this event.

Many years ago⁷⁰ I have drawn attention to an Indian account of a Saka re-conquest of parts of Western India, and proposed to compare it with the narrative of the Hou Han-shu. It is found in the Kālakācārya Kathānaka.

We have already seen that this Jaina text contains an 'incident' (*prāsaṅgiya*) about Saka chiefs who conquered Kāthiāwār and Mālava, but were ousted by Vikramāditya. Then the text

68. Cf. Chavannes, T'oung Pao, II, viii, p. 205.

69. Cf. Chavannes, T'oung Pao, II, viii, p. 192.

70. SBAW, 1916, pp. 812 ff.

goes on: 'Another Saka king made an end to his dynasty and established an era of his own, when 135 Vikrama years had elapsed.' We are further told that this episode has been narrated in order to explain the origin of the Saka era.

The purport of this is that the historical Saka era of A.D. 78 was instituted by a Saka ruler who effected a re-conquest, i.e. that its epoch coincides with a re-establishment of Saka dominion, apparently in Mālava. This tradition is evidently much more sensible than the fanciful tales according to which the era commemorates the overthrow of Saka power by an Indian king.⁷¹ The late Dr. Fleet⁷² has pointed out that these tales come from Northern India, and that the southern tradition is to the effect that the era dates from the anointment of a Saka king. It is the great historical era of Southern India, and the southern belief would *a priori* seem to be more reliable. It has further, 'from some time not very long before A.D. 500 been the second astronomical reckoning of the Hindus', and Professor Lüders⁷³ is certainly right in maintaining that we have no reason for thinking that its origin had been forgotten by the astronomers. They were probably residents of Ujjayini or Bharukaccha, which both belonged to the country where the Western Kshatrapas held sway. These rulers were certainly themselves Sakas, and their records show that they were most careful about their family traditions, and the era was adapted for astronomical purposes shortly after their overthrow by the Guptas.

The Jaina tradition about the origin of the era contains, as we have seen, one detail which is not found elsewhere: its establishment coincided with a Saka re-conquest. Now we have already seen that the Hou Han-shu also speaks of a re-conquest, stating that Yen-kao-chen, i.e. Wima Kadphises, 'again' conquered T'ien-chu, which was also known as Shen-tu, i.e. evidently Sind and further Kāthiāwār and Mālava, which had, according to the Jaina tradition, formerly been conquered by Saka chiefs proceeding from

71. Mr. Jayaswal, l.c., pp. 295 ff., has tried to combine these two traditions: the Saka era was instituted by Kanishka, but its epoch roughly coincided with Kuntala Sātakarni's decisive victory over the Western Kshatrapas. This would then account for the apparent association of the era with King Śālavāhana.

72. JRAS, 1913, pp. 987 ff.

73. SBAW, 1913, p. 410.

Hindugadesa, i.e. Sind. I still think that these two tales are based on one and the same genuine tradition, and that the epoch of the historical Saka era coincides with Wima Kadphises' re-conquest, which was probably effected during his father's life-time.

It has been objected that we should expect the new era to be used in other parts of India, if it were really introduced by Wima Kadphises. I cannot, however, see the force of this objection.

Just as the Mālavas gradually came to reckon from the date when their independence was secured, in the same way the Saka governors of Kāthiāwār took the time when the first of them was appointed as their starting point. In other parts of India there was no reason for adopting such a reckoning.

About the further history of Wima Kadphises we know as good as nothing, our chief sources being his coins. Mr. Jayaswal has maintained⁷⁴ that the *maharaja rajatiraja devaputro Kushāṇa putro shāhi Vamatakshama* of a Muthrā image inscription is in reality Wima Kadphises, reading *Vema* for *Vama* and comparing *takshama* with Avestan *taxma*, brave. But his arguments are not convincing, even if we abstract from the latter comparison, which Iranian scholars would hardly accept.

The case is perhaps different with an inscription found at Khalatse,⁷⁵ where Professor Rapson has read *saṃ 187* (or 184) *maharajasa*, and where I have thought it possible to go on and to read *Uvima Kavthisasa*, which could hardly be anybody else than Wima Kadphises.⁷⁶ Professor Rapson⁷⁷ only admits the possibility or probability of the aksharas *uvi*, and quotes the late Dr. Franke's description of 'this desolate and barely accessible region on the roof of the world', in order to show how unlikely it is that we should find any trace of Wima Kadphises' rule there. I can only answer that there the inscription is, and if my reading is right, we shall have to accept it, as a future explorer would do if he were to come across an inscription left, e.g. by Dr. Franke and dated in the reign of King George.

74. JBORS, vi, pp. 12 ff.

75. Corpus, No. XXIX.

76. It may be noticed that *Kavthisa* would be nearer to Chinese *Kau-t'ien* than the forms occurring in coin-legends.

77. JRAS, 1930, p. 191.

Wima Kadphises is on his coins styled *sarvalogisvara*, and the Hou Han-shu can at all events be interpreted to mean that he was still alive in A.D. 125. The inscription is dated in the year 187 or 184⁷⁸ and, referred to the Vikrama era, that would correspond to A.D. 130 or, preferably, to A.D. 127.

That would mean that the lives of Kujūla Kadphises and Wima Kadphises extended over more than a century. But that is no impossibility. The Duke of Kent, Queen Victoria's father, was born in 1767, and she died in 1901.

The Saka governors of Kāthiāwār and Mālava were the so-called Western Kshatrapas, whose coins and history have been dealt with in Professor Rapson's excellent catalogue.⁷⁹

That they were of Saka origin, is apparent from their names. The oldest of them, it is true, is called *Bhūmaka* in his coin-legends, and that name is apparently intended to be Indian, but looks like a clumsy translations of a foreign word. The Saka word corresponding to Sanskrit *bhūmi* is *ysama*, and since the name *Ysamotika*, derived from *ysama*, is given to the father of a later kshatrapa, Cashṭana, I have accepted Professor Lévi's⁸⁰ identification of *Bhūmaka* with Cashṭana's father, assuming that the restitution of the Saka form of the name bears witness to a strengthening of the national pride of the Sakas, in consequence of events which will have to be mentioned below.

Professor Rapson⁸¹ objects that 'it would indeed have been a strange way of showing his national pride if he had really changed his father's Indian name back to its Śaka form, and yet given his son Jayadāman an Indianized name.' He further, perhaps unnecessarily, reminds me of the fact that in ordinary life names are intended for the purely practical purpose of distinguishing one person from another.

78. It seems to me that the latter reading is the most likely one. The three last strokes are not found in Dr. Franke's hand-copy, ZDMG, 61, 1907, p. 592, Plate II.

79. Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, etc., London 1908.

80. JA, XI, v, 1915, p. 191.

81. JRAS, 1930, p. 201.

I must confess that I had tried my best to follow this line of argument, but it had not carried conviction. I know some cases where rulers who came to govern foreign peoples have changed their names so as to make them familiar for their subjects. And I am not so sure as Professor Rapson that Jayadāman is an Indianized name.

The word *dāman* occurs in several Saka names such as *Jaya-dāman*, *Jivadāman*, *Rudradāman*, *Dāmaysada*, etc., and the last-mentioned name is probably connected with *Damijada*, which seems to occur in a Shahdaur inscription as the name of a Saka *rājan*. I have little doubt that it is Iranian, cf. Avestan, *dāman*, place, creation; *dāmi*, creation, creator. *Jaya* of course looks very Indian. But a comparison with the name *Jivadāman* makes me doubtful. The Saka word *jsīna*, life-time, shows that the Saka equivalent of Avestan *gayā*, life, must have been *jsaya*, which would naturally be written *jaya* in India. Even at the present day *dz*, the sound of Saka *js*, is written *j* in Marāṭhī and some Gujaraṭī dialects. Jayadāman can therefore very well be a Saka name, the same as was later on Indianized as Jivadāman.

The name of the second kshatrapa, Nahapāna, is indecisive. It has been explained by Professor Thomas⁸² as Iranian, i.e. either Saka or another Middle Iranian dialect, and as meaning 'people-protecting'. Nahapāna's son-in-law Ushavadāta, on the other hand, is distinctly stated to have been a Saka in a Nāsik inscription.⁸³ Professor Lüders⁸⁴ has justly remarked that the explanation of his name as a Prākṛit form of *Ṛshabhadatta*, which is still maintained by Mr. Jayaswal,⁸⁵ is open to grave objections. He thinks that *dāta* is the Saka noun *dāta*, which is used to translate Sanskrit *dharma*, and that *ushava* is an old Saka loanword from Indian *ṛshabha*. *Dāta* can, of course, also be the past participle of the base *dā*, corresponding to Sanskrit *dā* or *dhā*, and *ushava* might stand for *hushava*, which would regularly correspond to Sanskrit *sūśravas*. Ushavadāta's father was Dīnika, and this name is evidently derived from *dīna*, the regular Saka correspondent of Avestan *daēnā*, with the suffix *ika*. Also the next ruler Cashṭana bears a Saka name, corresponding to Pashto *cashtan*, master, hus-

82. JRAS 1906, p. 211.

83. Ep. Ind., viii, p. 85.

84. SBAW, 1913, p. 413.

85. Lc., pp. 250 f.

band, and the name of his son Jayadāman can, as we have seen, very well be Saka.

In his catalogue, Professor Rapson has given us an excellent sketch of the history of the Western Kshatrapas down to the Gupta conquest, and I shall therefore only make some remarks on some few details, where I cannot accept his results.

He distinguishes two different families, the Kshaharātas and the family of Cashṭana. So far as I can see, we have not sufficient reason for assuming that the term Kshaharāta is the name of a family. It can just as well be a title 'entrusted with royal power', 'viceregent'.^{85a}

As stated by Professor Rapson, the term has not been traced in the records of the Western Kshatrapas after the time of Nahapāna, the second kshatrapa. Bhūmaka, the first of these rulers, is in his coin-legends always designated as *kshaharāta kshatrapa*. The coins of his successor Nahapāna have the legend *rājan kshaharāta*, and in the inscriptions of his son-in-law Ushavadāta he is styled *rājan kshaharāta kshatrapa*. The higher title *mahākshatrapa* is not used in these records.

The case is different in the Junnār inscription, Lüders No. 1174, which records the gift of Ayama, the minister of the (*rājan*) *mahākhatapa sāmi* Nahapāna.

Professor Rapson⁸⁶ says about this inscription: 'The titles of Nahapāna are remarkable in two ways. The family designation "Kshaharāta" is omitted; and this is the only occurrence of the title of "mahākshatrapa" as applied to Nahapāna.'

There is also a third peculiarity. Nahapāna is styled *sāmi*, Sanskrit *svāmin*. This title is used in the coin-legends of Jayadāman, the son of Cashṭana, and of later members of the dynasty, from the time of Svāmi Rudradāman onwards.⁸⁷ In inscriptions we find it in several cases: the Junāgaḍh epigraph of the year 72=A.D. 150 (Lüders No. 965) of the *rājan mahākshatrapa* Rudra-

85-a. It may contain *kshahara*, Pers. *shahr*, and, as pointed out to me by Professor Morgenstiesne, a word corresponding to Avestan *rāda*, caretaker.

86. Catalogue, p. lix.

87. Cf. Rapson, l.c., p. cxvii.

dāman, the grandson of the *rājan mahākshatrapa svāmi* Cashṭana; in the genealogical tables of the Gūnda record of the year 103 (Lüders No. 963) and the Gaḍha inscription of the year 127 (Lüders No. 967): *rājan mahākshatrapa svāmi-Cashṭana*, his son *rājan kshatrapa svāmi-Jayadāman*, his son *rājan mahākshatrapa svāmi* Rudradāman, his son *r. m. s.* Rudraśiha, his son *r. m. s.* Rudrasena.

The title is further used in Andhra records from the time of Pulamāvi onwards (Lüders Nos. 1001, 1002, 1024, 1100, 1146, 1248, 1341). But it is absent in the Andhra inscriptions of the year 52 = A.D. 130⁸⁸ of the *rājans* Cashṭana Ysamotikaputra and Rudradāman Jayadāmaputra.

The immediate impression left by this state of things is that the designation *kshaharāta* disappeared, and the titles *mahākshatrapa* and *svāmin* made their appearance during the time of Cashṭana, and probably after A.D. 130, and that the title *svāmin* was adopted from the Western Kshatrapas by Andhra rulers, probably on account of Pulamāvi's being the son-in-law of Rudradāman.

But then we have the Junnār inscription of Ayama, where the titles *svāmin* and *mahākshatrapa* are used about Nahapāna, and which is, according to Professor Rapson, dated in the year 46 = A.D. 124.

This inscription has long been a puzzle to me, and the publication containing the plate being inaccessible in Oslo, I have not been able to form an independent opinion about it. In a recent paper, however, Professor Rapson⁸⁹ has informed us of the fact that the decimal symbol used in the date is not the sign looking like *pta*, but the St. Andrews cross. In other words, the record is

88. Ep. Ind., xvi, pp. 19 ff. The editor, the late R. D. Banerji, was of opinion that we must supply *potrasa* or *pautrasa* after *Ysamotikaputrasa* and read *rājño Cāshṭanasa Ysāmōtikaputrasa (pautrasa) rājño Rudradamasa Jayadāmaputrasa*, the missing word having been omitted 'on account of the ignorance of the people of Andhra'. Cashṭana is not, he thinks, mentioned as living and reigning, 'nobody having ever thought or tried to prove conjoint reigns of two monarchs, except Messrs. Bhandarkar.' I am afraid that several scholars will be inclined to agree with Professor Bhandarkar.

89. Acta Orientalia, xi, p. 260.

dated in the year 76 = A.D. 154, and is consequently four years later than the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman.

We thus have dated records of Nahapāna as *rājan kshaharāta kshatrapa* in the years 42 and 45 = 120, 123, and as *mahākshatrapa svāmin* in the year 76 = A.D. 154. There must consequently have been two rulers Nahapāna, or else there were two stages in his career, one in which he ruled as *kshaharāta kshatrapa*, and another, considerably later, when he was *mahākshatrapa*. And since no coins are associated with the latter, it was evidently of short duration. I shall have to return to this question below.

The designations *kshaharāta*, *kshatrapa*, *mahākshatrapa* and *svāmin* have also been traced with the Sakas in Northern India, and there is apparently a certain parallelism in the development.

The end of the first line of the Taxila copper plate inscription of the Saka year 78, i.e. c. 72 B.C., is damaged, but it seems necessary to read *kshaharatasa*, in which case the chief Liaka Kusuluka is characterized as *kshaharāta* and as *kshatrapa* of Cukhsa. Here *kshaharāta* must be a title and not a family name.

Then this designation disappears, and on the Lion Capital we find some *mahākshatrapas* and *kshatrapas*, and one of the latter, the *kshatrapa* Suḍasa, is again met with on the Amohini tablet of the (Vikrama) year 72 = A.D. 15 as the *svāmin mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa.

Both in the north and in the south we accordingly seem to have the same evolution. The head of the government, under the suzerain, was designated as *kshahrāta kshatrapa* or *kshatrapa rājan*. Later on, however, the title *kshaharāta*, which may be compared with the Greek term *basileuōn*, was abandoned, and instead the higher grade of governors were styled *mahākshatrapa*, the lower *kshatrapa*. In the north this new terminology is first met with on the Lion Capital, apparently some considerable time after the death of the king of kings Maues-Moga, when there does not seem to have been any Saka suzerain, the Pahlavas having made themselves masters of a considerable portion of the Śaka empire. It is therefore probable that the use of the higher title bears witness to a somewhat independent position.

I cannot, therefore, accept Professor Rapson's view that we must distinguish between two different families among the Western Kshatrapas, the Kshaharātas and the family of Cashṭana. There are two stages of development. The first two kshatrapas were styled *kshaharāta*, i.e. 'acting', 'invested with royal powers', and this state of things corresponds to what the Hou Han-shu states: Yen-kao-chen appointed a general to rule in his stead. But later on, we find the same system as in the north, with mahākshatrapas and kshatrapas, and at the same time the title *svāmin*, which may be a translation of Saka *murunḍa*, comes into use. And it seems possible to show that the two stages were separated by important events.

To judge from the inscriptions of his son-in-law, Nahapāna ruled over a large country. It evidently comprised Southern Gujarāt, the Northern Konkan from Broach to Sopara, the Nāsik and Poona Districts, Kāthiāwār, parts of Rājputāna, East and West Mālava.⁹⁰ As shown by Professor Rapson, however, most of his possessions were wrested from him by the Andhra king Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi. In the Nāsik inscription of the latter's mother (Lüders No. 1123) it is said that he destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas, and that he was *Khakharata-vasa-niravasesa-kara*, which has usually been translated 'who rooted out the Khakharāta, i.e. the Kshaharāta, family'. And this translation is the chief support for Professor Rapson's theory about the two different kshatrapa families. But the queen's boast can hardly be taken literally. The mahākshatrapa Nahapāna of the Ayama inscription can hardly belong to another family than the Kshaharāta Nahapāna, and *Khakharata-vasa-niravasesa-kara* can also be translated 'who deprived the dynasty of the *kshaharātas*, i.e. the Śaka viceroys, of all their dominions', the term *kshaharāta* being used in the same way as we have seen that the word *murunḍa* has been employed.

Even this is certainly exaggerated, for the Sakas were able to restore their scattered fortunes. To judge from the Andhau inscriptions, Cashṭana and his grandson Rudradāman were ruling at least some parts of Kāthiāwār in the year 52 = A.D. 130, and, as

90. Cf. Rapson, Catalogue, pp. cx f.

shown by Professor Rapson,⁹¹ Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh inscription of the year 72 = A.D. 150 shows that he had then recovered most of the lost dominions. The power of the Western Kshatrapas was apparently at its lowest ebb shortly after the time when Uṣava-dāta's inscriptions of the years 42 and 45 = A.D. 120 and 123 were engraved, but there was a revival, and from the fact that Cashṭana was the first chief to use the title mahākshatrapa and to assume the designation *svāmin*, we may conclude that he was the first to re-conquer the lost dominions. And after his days the Saka power remained unbroken down to the Gupta conquest. His successors therefore naturally looked on him as the real founder of their empire, and he therefore heads the genealogical lists in the Gūnda and Gaḍha inscriptions. But in his records he takes care to give the name of his father Ysamotika, whom I still consider to be identical with Bhūmaka. It is simply begging the question when Mr. Jayaswal⁹² objects that Bhūmaka ruled and Ysamotika not.

It is *a priori* unlikely that the Western Kshatrapas should have effected this revival of their power with their own resources alone. If they were, as everybody seems to agree was the case, formally the governors of the Kushāṇas, they would naturally apply to them for assistance.

Mr. Jayaswal⁹³ has published some Jaina texts which may indicate that Gautamīputra began to harass the Sakas some time before he inflicted his crushing defeat on them, and negotiations with the suzerain in Badakhshān may therefore have begun before the disaster befell them, and it may be surmised that Cashṭana played a prominent role in these negotiations.

His name seems to have been comparatively well known in Central Asia. He occupies an important position in a collection of Buddhist tales which has been partly preserved in Uigur.⁹⁴ The text is stated to have been translated from a Tocharian version of

91. Catalogue, p. cxix.

92. l.c., p. 230.

93. l.c., pp. 296 ff.

94. Cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica IV*, Hrsg. von A. von Gabain. SBAW, 1931, pp. 675 ff.

an Ugu-Kūshān original, i.e. it seems to have had its origin in Badakhshān or Chinese Turkestan, where the Kushānas, as we have seen, seem to have exercised considerable influence during the reigns of the two Kadphises kings.

As stated above, I still think that Wima Kadphises is mentioned in the Khalatse inscription, and that the date of that record is probably the year 184 = A.D. 127. He must have been an old man, who would not be likely to engage himself in great undertakings in India. But about this time a new and energetic Kushāna ruler appears on the stage, the great Kanishka.

Professor Lévi⁹⁵ has drawn attention to the designation Chen-t'an used about Kanishka in the Chinese version of Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, known as the Sūtrālaṅkāra of Āśvaghoṣa, and explained Chen-t'an, i.e. *Cinasthāna*, as meaning Kashgaria. The Indian form of the word occurs in one of the Kharoshthī documents found by Sir Aurel Stein at Niya in Chinese Turkestan. If it was a local name, it is perhaps possible to connect it with the tradition preserved by Hsüan-tsang about an ancient Chinese settlement in the Khotan country, and, on the whole, it seems probable that Kanishka started on his career from Khotan.

But he must also have had some connections with Bactria and the old Tochara country. The use of Greek letters in his coin-legends seems to show that such was the case. And the form *shāhi* which occurs in his inscriptions instead of the Saka form *shao* of his coin-legends points to relations with other Iranians than the Śakas.

In the Corpus I have proposed, as a working hypothesis, at the hand of Dr. van Wijk's calculations, to take the year 1 of the era used in Kanishka's inscriptions to coincide with A.D. 128-129, and I do not know of any new facts which militate against this assumption. Kanishka would then be the Kushāna suzerain whose assistance the Western Kshatrapas must try to enlist.

And it seems certain that a great revival of Śaka power begins with Kanishka.

95. JA, IX, viii, 1896, pp. 452 ff.; Ind. Ant., xxxii, 1903, pp. 384 ff.

If the Peshawar relic casket is dated in the first year of his era, he must have invaded India shortly after the demise of Wima Kadphises. And he evidently added large territories to the Śaka empire in Northern India, his inscriptions having been found as far east as Sārnāth. And his successors remained in power at least till the year 98 of his era, i.e. till c. A. D. 226. Since my edition of Indian Kharoshthī inscriptions in the Corpus was published, the only important document bearing on their history which has come to light is the Lāl Kumvā record of the first Gorpaios 28 = 19 August 156 A.D., which reduces the interval between Vāishka and Huvishka to some few months.⁹⁶

In the country governed by the Western Kshatrapas we find Cashāna issuing coins also as mahākshatrpa. His son Jayadāman evidently predeceased him, and never rose to the higher rank of mahākshatrpa, which was probably conferred on Cashāna by his suzerain. His grandson Rudradāman, on the other hand, in the Junāgaḍh inscription of the year 72 = A.D. 150 declares to have won the higher title for himself, probably in consequence of his conquests.

That seems to imply that the higher charge had evolved on another chief, so that there were, for some time, two mahākshatrapas. And in the Junnār inscription of the year 76 = A.D. 154 we actually find Nahapāna as mahākshatrpa. If he is the same ruler who struck coins as *rājan kshaharāta* and was the successor of the *kshaharāta kshatrpa* Bhūmaka, i.e. in my opinion Cashāna's father Ysamotika, he was perhaps Cashāna's uncle and succeeded him as mahākshatrpa, the same rank which Rudradāman had won for himself. But if so, he does not seem to have had any issue.

In the preceding pages I have mentioned some minor points where I am not able to accept Professor Rapson's views. It would not serve any useful purpose to repeat the well-known events in the further history of Śaka power in India. It was still of some importance in the time of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta, in whose Allabādād prasasti the Kushānas are mentioned as *daiva-putrashāhi-shāhānu-shāhi* and the Western Kshatrapas as *Śaka-muruṇḍa*. But the end was near at hand. Only in their old

96. Cf. Ep. Ind., xxi, pp. 63 ff.

headquarters, in Badakhshān and the old Tochara country, remnants of the old empire can still be traced for some time.

It will be seen that the Kalawān inscription has brought me to change my view on Indo-Scythian chronology in several points. My new arrangement is sure to be challenged and severely criticised. And I hope that this criticism will be fruitful of new results.

N. B.—ξ is used for ø (e upside down) and ũ is used for ʾ (a upside down).

EDITOR'S NOTE

In regard to the term Muruṇḍa appearing in the form Muranḍa in Hemachandra quoted on p. 14 above, the following references may be of some value: It appears in the form Muruṇḍa in the Vaijayanti Kōśa, a work of the tenth century A.D. in verse 25 below where the Muruṇḍas are regarded as the people of Lampāka. The following verses are also set down as throwing light on the distribution of Śaka and kindred peoples among the inhabitants of the western part of India.

Lampākastu Muruṇḍāssyuh tōkshārāstu yugālikāh || 25
Jālandharāstrigartāh syuh dōlāssyuh kharatī striyām |
Pratyagrathāstvahicchatrāh taitulāstu kalingakāh || 26
Tarka vāhika kāmīra turushkēshu sasindhushu |
Bāhlik Bāhlikāh kirās śakayō dāradākramāt || 27
Kumālākāstu sauvvirā yaudhēyāstu nrgālikāh |
Apyanyē pāradāh kinjāh kulyā ityādinivṛtāh || 28

Gustav Oppert: Vaijayanti p. 37. śl. 28.

Muruṇḍa again appears in the following verse of the Pārsvābhyudaya of Jinasēna, early ninth century, referring to Udayana of Kauśāmbi:

Tikshnasyarēs so kilakalahē yuddha śaundō Muruṇḍah
Pradyōtasya priya duhitaram vatsarājo-śtra jahre

According to the Harivaṁśa of the same author the Muruṇḍas ruled for 40 years the territory of Pālaka 210 or 215 years after the consecration of Vira or the anointment of Pālaka.

K. B. Paṭhak: Indian Antiquary XV. 141-3.

Muruṇḍadevi or Muruṇḍasvāmini was the queen of the Uchchkalpa Mahārāja Jayanātha, and mother of Śarvanātha in about the same region as above.

Fleet: Gupta Inss. Nos. 27, 28 and 29.

History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān

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PART II.

INTRODUCTION: PRECIOUS STONES IN GENERAL

SECTION II: FACT

WE have no doubt the modern scientific instincts of the reader are scandalized by this incursion into the realm of fancy. We often forget how much of pure illusion goes to make up our real life. Besides unknown things and half-known things furnish a befitting background for knowledge, and give us a feeling of reality otherwise unattainable. Yet we will try to placate the reader by giving a brief characterization of the more important gemstones—after which we shall be qualified to deal with the jewels of the Mughal Treasury.

CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS OF STONES.

Scale of values.—Assuming the same size and quality, and when cut, the same perfection of form, different stones have been held in high esteem in different periods. Among the Romans and in the earlier times in India, diamond was most highly prized; while among the Persians it was placed after pearl, ruby, emerald and chrysolite. In the middle of the sixteenth century ruby and sapphire were placed above diamond which had only 1/8th value of ruby (Benvenuto Cellini); and about 1565 the order of value was: emerald, ruby (when clear), diamond (Garcias ab Horto). To-day diamond is far exceeded in price by ruby, and is often equalled by emerald (Dr. Max Bauer, *Precious Stones*, transl. L. J. Spencer, 1904, p. 103).

Some stones, like topaz, aquamarine, etc., occur often in large masses. Value in their case varies directly with weight; while in case of diamonds and rubies (where large specimens are uncommon) price increases in a higher ratio than weight (*Ibid.* 105).

The jewels at present in general request are: Diamond, ruby, emerald, sapphire, pearl, opal, turquoise, topaz and Amethyst.

'For the first five the demand is relatively steady, and varies absolutely only with the purchasing power of the world' (G. F. Herbert Smith, *Gem-stones and their Distinctive Characters*, 5). These five occupy the first rank, but 'it is impossible to form the gem-stones in any strict order' (*Ibid.*).

Among the transparent colourless stones diamond 'alone possesses that marvellous "fire", oscillating with every movement from heavenly blue to glowing red, which is so highly esteemed and so much besought.' No other stone glows with such mysterious gleams (*Ibid.*, 2). Among coloured stones, the colours most admired are: 'the fiery red of ruby, the royal blue of sapphire, the verdant green of emerald, and the golden yellow of topaz.' These retain the purity of their colour even in artificial light, though certain sapphires turn purple at night (*Ibid.*, 2-3). 'Of the small group of translucent stones which pass light, but are not clear enough to be seen through, the most important is opal' (*Ibid.*, 3). The opaque variety of precious stones is represented by the turquoise. 'The claims of turquoise are maintained by the blue variety' (*Ibid.*).

CUTTING, GRINDING AND POLISHING OF STONES.

Dr. Max Bauer has the following on the subject: 'Engraved precious stones are generally known as *gems*. The device engraved upon a gem is either sunk in the stone so as to lie below its surface, in which case the gem is known as an *intaglio*; or the device is in relief so as to lie above the surface of the stone, a gem so engraved being known as a *cameo*. Intaglios are frequently used for seals or signets to produce a raised cameo-like impression; for this purpose they are commonly engraved with a crest or monogram. Cameos, on the other hand, have no application of this kind, but are used merely as ornaments. The art of engraving intaglios is known as *sculpture*, while that of producing cameos is known as *tornature*. Of the two arts, the former is the more ancient, but the antiquity of the latter is well established by the number of cameos, in the shapes of a beetle—the so-called scarabs—found in Egyptian tombs' (*Precious Stones*, 86.).

For Diamond.—The discovery that two diamonds rubbed together ground each other was made as early as 1475 (Smith, *Gem-stones*, 90). But the Indian lapidaries 'were the first to realize that diamond could be ground with its own powder' (*Ibid.*, 128), and so first performed the

miracle of polishing a diamond. 'In India, the ancient home of the diamond,' says Dr. Bauer, 'the art of polishing the faces of natural crystals was practised in the remotest times; when or how the device of faceting stones was discovered or introduced in this country is not known, but it was practised in the seventeenth century, at the time of Tavernier's visit (1665)' (*Precious Stones*, 238). The Indian diamond cutters contented themselves with polishing the natural facets, if the stone were perfectly clear; but if it contained flaws or specks, they covered it with numerous small facets haphazardly placed. The stone was invariably left in almost its original shape, and no effort was made to improve the symmetry (Smith, *Gem-stones*, 91). In spite of this, various forms of cutting were common in India; the most general forms being the thick-stones, table-stones, and thin-stones; the first named form, on account of its generality in India, is often referred to as the 'Indian cut'. 'The Oriental diamond-cutter,' continues Dr. Bauer, 'follows the outlines of the rough stone as closely as may be, striving to reduce the loss of material to a minimum. The European diamond-cutter, on the contrary, aims at developing to their fullest extent the optical properties of the stone, and makes economy of material only a secondary consideration' (*Precious Stones*, 239).

Up to 1562 the only regular patterns known were the diamond-point and the diamond-table (Smith, *Gem-stones*, 91).

The *rose pattern* was introduced a century later.

At close of the seventeenth century the brilliant form of cutting was introduced, which revealed for the first time its amazing fire'. This form remains to this day the standard style for the shape of diamond. The perfect brilliant has 58 facets, 33 above, and 25 below, the girdle. In case of large stones, the number of facets may be increased. The largest stone cut from the Cullinan⁶ has the exceptional number of 74 (*Ibid.*, 92-94).

For Coloured Stones.—'A popular style of cutting which is much in vogue for coloured stones is the step- or trap-cut, consisting of a table and a series of facets with parallel horizontal edges above and below the girdle (p. 98).

For Sapphire and Ruby.—The front of these stones 'is usually brilliant-cut and the back step-cut, but Indian lapidaries often prefer to cover the stone with a large number of triangular facets,

6. See Chapter II below.

especially if the stone be flawed; star-stones are cut more or less steeply *en cabochon*' (p. 173).

Mr. Goodchild in the same strain, but fuller: 'The colour of a Ruby varies with the direction in which it is viewed; the richest colour is seen on looking along the principal axis of the crystal, hence, in cutting, the gem should be so fashioned that this axis is presented to the eye of the observer, the table thus being parallel to the basal face of the crystal. The gem is usually cut as a brilliant. Some few Rubies show asterism, and are cut *en cabochon*, but this is not nearly so frequently seen in Ruby as in Sapphire. More rarely step cut stones are seen, or those in which the form of the crown is that of a brilliant, while the culasse is cut in steps. Since the dispersive power is small there is no marked play of colour, and hence there is not the same importance in giving the gem an exact form as in the case of the Diamond. Hence, too, rose cut Rubies are relatively more effective than rose cut Diamonds' (*Precious Stones*, 190-191).

'What has been said of the cutting of the Ruby,' continues Mr. Goodchild, 'applies to Sapphire also. The fact that the colour is of a richer hue when viewed along the principal axis of the mineral should guide the lapidary in cutting the stone. Sapphires are particularly prone to be patchy in colour, and bad parts may have to be removed by slitting before grinding commences. Sapphires usually show a change of colour in artificial light: some few specimens change to violet, thus, and they are highly prized. Most Sapphires have their colour destroyed by heat, some very much more easily than others' (*Ibid.*, 194).

For Emerald and Aquamarine.—'Fine varieties of Beryl are sometimes brilliant cut, the deeper coloured specimens requiring a rather shallow form, while the paler shades must be given a good depth to ensure a fine colour effect. More often a mixed cut is used, or a pure step cut. Good stones with fine colour may be mounted *à jour*, but stones of poorer colour are often improved by being mounted with foil in a closed setting' (*Ibid.*, 236).

For Topaz.—'Topaz, when of large size, is often cut with a large table of generally elliptical form, and with numerous triangular facets between the table and the girdle, the lower part of the stone being cut in shallow steps. The ordinary step and table forms of cutting are also used, and for the colourless crystals (*gouttes d'eau*) the brilliant cut may be used. Most Topaz is mounted in a closed setting, often with foil at the back' (*Ibid.*, 267).

DIAMOND.

'The diamond,' says Dr. Bauer, 'although not the most valuable of precious stones, yet unquestionably exceeds all others in interest, importance and general noteworthiness. In hardness, in the perfection of its clearness and transparency, in its unique constants of optical refraction and dispersion, and finally in the marvellous perfection of its lustre, the diamond surpasses all other minerals. For these reasons, and despite the fact that it is not of very great rarity even in faultless specimens of fair size—nine-tenths of the yearly trade in precious stones being concerned with diamonds alone—it is very greatly valued as a gem; moreover, on account of its extreme hardness, it has several technical applications' (*Precious Stones*, 113).

'Diamond,' continues the same writer elsewhere, 'is often regarded as the type of what a perfectly clear, colourless, and transparent stone should be. It can by no means, however, be always so regarded, since cloudy and opaque diamonds are actually more common than those which are clear and transparent, while very great variety in colour is found in this mineral. A great number of diamonds are indeed perfectly colourless, and correspond strictly to the popular conception of the stone; this number is, however, only one-fourth of the total number of diamonds found; another quarter show a very light shade of colour, while the remainder, at least one-half of the total, are more or less deeply coloured.

Perfectly colourless diamonds are, at the same time, most free from impurity' (*Ibid.*, 133).

'The colouring of diamonds is seldom intense, pale colours being much more usual than deeper shades. Diamonds which combine great depth and beauty of colour with perfect transparency, are objects of unsurpassable beauty; for, in addition to their fine colour, they possess the wonderful lustre and brilliant play of prismatic colours peculiar to the diamond, so that other finely-coloured stones, such as ruby and sapphire, are not to be compared with them. Only a few stones of this description are in existence; they are among the most highly-prized of costly gems' (p. 134).

Cleavability of diamond was known to Indian lapidaries at the time of Tavernier's visit. It was not unknown in Europe in the sixteenth century; but it was not credited at the time and was soon forgotten. As late as the early nineteenth century it was

so little known in Europe that it was practised as a secret art (Smith, *Gem-stones*, 132-33).

The value of diamond was long determined by an old rule; rate per carat to be multiplied by the square of the weight in carats; so that if the rate was £4 a carat, a stone weighing two carats would cost £16, and one weighing three carats £36. Owing to economic changes in the modern world, however, this rule holds good no longer.

RUBY AND SAPPHIRE

These should be treated together as they fall under the mineral species Corundum. The blue crystalline variety is the sapphire, and the red the ruby, while other colours are known as Oriental Topaz, Oriental Amethyst, Oriental Emerald, etc. (W. Goodchild, *Precious Stones*, 183). 'Oriental Topaz includes several yellow shades of Corundum, and when of fine reddish yellow colour is of about the same value as Sapphire' (*Ibid.*, p. 196). 'Oriental Amethyst, also called the Purple—or Amethyst—Sapphire, is very close in colour to the common Amethyst, but it shows a much greater range of colour than Amethyst does, and in fact may vary from a slightly purple red to a blue with a slight tint of red in it' (*Ibid.*). 'Oriental Emerald is an emerald-green form of Corundum, and is extremely rare' (*Ibid.*).

This leaves the sapphire and the ruby to be dealt with. These two are pre-eminent among coloured gem-stones and are second only to diamond in hardness (Smith, *Gem-stones*, 172).

'The red of the Ruby', says Mr. Goodchild, 'varies a good deal, the "masculine" Ruby showing the deeper tints of carmine or blood-red (often referred to as "pigeon's blood"-red, from a Burmese simile), while the "feminine" Ruby is paler, and more of a rose-red; in this, as in other varieties of Corundum, a transition is seen, and the feminine Ruby may pass gradually to colourless Corundum. The masculine Ruby, in its most admired shades, has a slight blue tone in the red, which thus tends to magenta. The colour is usually evenly distributed in the Ruby, but in the Sapphire it is quite usual to find much variation in depth of colour. All shades of blue are found and of all depths. Perhaps the most characteristic colours are a smalt-blue and a corn-flower blue. Deep-coloured stones are known as Lynx- or Cat- Sapphires, and the paler ones as feminine stones or Water-Sapphires, though the latter term is more often applied to the blue Iolite (Cordierite).

Pale Sapphires merge insensibly into the next colour variety, Leuco-Sapphire, which is really devoid of colour—simply colourless crystallised Corundum. It also passes into the blue-green variety, known as Oriental Aquamarine. In fact, in many crystals of Corundum a gem might be cut from one end which would be a Sapphire, while from the other end of the crystal a Leuco-Sapphire might be obtained. The yellow-green variety of the colour of Chrysolite (Olivine) is called Oriental Chrysolite. The intense green stones are Oriental Emerald; the pure amber, or honey-yellow stones, are Oriental Topaz; while those of a rich brownish-red are known as Oriental Hyacinth, and the violet specimens as Oriental Amethyst' (*Ibid.*, 184).

Large rubies are far from common (Smith, *Gem-stones*, 179). 'Ruby ranks above Diamond in point of value for good stones; while the price of a pale Ruby of one carat may only be £ 1, a stone of rich deep colour, weighing when cut one carat, may fetch £ 25 or more. Mr. Streeter states that £ 20,000 has been paid for a very fine Ruby of 38 9/16 carats. While Rubies up to 2,000 carats^{6a} have been found, most of the larger ones show considerable imperfect areas, and of large flawless Rubies very few are known compared to Diamonds of similar quality and size' (Goodchild, 191).

'The value of Sapphire of good quality, and in carat size,' continues the same writer, 'is about two-fifths that of Ruby. Moreover, since Sapphires of large size are more plentiful than in the case of the Ruby, there is not the same rapid increase with size. Small stones may be said to be very much the same in value as Diamonds, and larger stones only increase in about direct proportion to their weight' (*Ibid.*, 194).

EMERALD

Beryl includes Emerald, Aquamarine, and Morganite. Emerald has the bright green shade—the famous "emerald-green"; while aquamarine covers the pale-blue, bluish-green, and greenish-blue shades of beryl (Goodchild, 229).

Compared with other stones, perfect specimens of emerald are very rare, and proportionately costly. 'The disparity between the value of a perfect and of an imperfect emerald is enormous. A

^{6a}. No definite specimen approaching that size is heard of in the other authorities.

faultless emerald is worth as much, or nearly as much, as a ruby, and certainly more than a diamond' (Bauer, 309). And the price increases very rapidly with size, so that for a flawless stone of four carats and more almost any price could be asked. A perfect emerald of four carats, for instance, may easily fetch £ 1600 to £ 2000 (Smith, 193).

Beryl 'occurs from transparent to subtranslucent, but the modern gem varieties are confined to the transparent kinds. The lustre is characteristically vitreous' (Goodchild, 229). The emerald retains its purity of colour in artificial light.

TOPAZ

'Topaz occurs colourless and more frequently of a straw or amber colour, or pale green or blue; more rarely pink.—The lustre is vitreous and especially bright on the prism faces; the cleavage plane shows a pearly lustre. The mineral in the kinds used as gems is transparent, though less clear forms are also found' (Goodchild, 262). 'Topaz is not worth nearly so much now [1907] as it was at one time, largely on account of change of fashion. A fine stone of 2 carats would now only be worth about £ 1' (*Ibid.*, 267).

PEARL.

The pearl makes up in beauty what it lacks in durability.

'A pearl may assume any and every variety of shape from the regular to the fantastic. It may be truly spherical, egg- or pear-shaped—pear-drops or pear-eyes, as they are termed—or it may be quite irregular—the so-called baroque or barrok pearls. The first is the most prized, but a well-shaped drop-pearl is in great demand for pendants or ear-rings. The colour is ordinarily white, or faintly tinged yellowish or bluish, and somewhat rarely, salmon-pink, reddish, or blackish grey. Perfect black pearls are valuable, but not as costly as the finest of the white' (Smith, 292).

The unit of weight is the pearl grain (= $\frac{1}{4}$ carat). The rate of price depends on the square of the weight in grains. Apart from quality, the value varies with shape: spherical pearls, pear-drops, and buttons (in descending order of desirability). But without 'orient' a pearl is valueless (Smith, 294-5).

ABNORMALLY LARGE SPECIMENS.

We have space here to talk only of the highest class of precious stones; but exceptionally large pieces even of semi-precious stones constitute phenomena in the world of things.

The appearance of the giant 'Cullinan', which will be mentioned in its place, was an event of the first magnitude in all respects. On a lower plane considering value, but a remarkable stone none the less, is an aquamarine crystal, largest and finest ever seen, found at Marambaya (Brazil) in 1910: Greenish blue in colour; measurement: length, 19 inches; diameter, 16 inches; weight, 243 lb. Perfectly transparent: could be seen through from end to end. Price paid, £ 5133. For illustration, see Smith, Pl. xxvi.

Jade is cheaper material still; but such huge masses of this material exist as would justify their mention here:

(1) An enormous mass of New Zealand jade (Statue of a Maori Warrior on a big base), weighing 7000 lb., found in South Island in 1902. Now in the Museum of Natural History, New York. 'Largest mass of jade known, or of which we have any record' (Kunz, *Curious Lore of Precious Stones*, 254). See Illustration on Pl. facing p. 254.

(2) The largest mass of prehistoric jade (nephrite and jadeite) 'that has been taken from a European deposit is that found by the writer at Jordansmühl in Silesia, in April, 1899, and which weighed 4704 pounds.' Now in the American Museum of Natural History, New York (Kunz, 250 and f. n. 42).

(3) Sculptured jade mountain from the Summer Palace, west of Peking (Collection of T. D. Walker, of Minneapolis, Minn.). Design on it commemorates meetings of a literary club of the fourth century. Chinese characters on it (engraved directly from the autograph of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, written by him in 1784) used by the Chinese ever since as model of elegant calligraphy. Largest mass of sculptured jade in existence. Height, 23 inches; width, 38½ inches and 18½ inches; weight, 640 pounds. See Illustration and letterpress on Pl. facing p. 244, *Ibid.*

CHAPTER I: JEWELLERS' WEIGHTS

Before we begin to talk of individual precious stones it will be convenient to give some necessary details about the way in which the weight of stones is denoted; for much important discussion will often turn on the precise weight of a stone. So our labour in gaining as much precision as is possible will not be wasted. If the reader has patience with these dry details he will be amply rewarded when we come to their practical application. We shall be as brief as is consistent with clearness and precision.

In the Mughal period there were three kinds of weights current: (1) *Jauhari*, i.e., Jewellers'; (2) *Şairafi*, i.e., Bankers', or Money-changers'; and (3) those used by other dealers *Miṣqāl*, *Tānk*,⁷ and *Ratī* (or *Surkh*) are the units in jewellers' weights; while *Tola*, *Māsha*, and *Ratī* (or *Surkh*) are the units in money-changers' weights. We are not concerned with No. 3; nor are we directly concerned here with the bankers' weights. These latter will, therefore, be referred to only when it is necessary to do so for distinguishing jewellers' weights from them. It should be remembered that in all that follows we are talking of jewellers' weights, unless the contrary is indicated.

Some of the weight equivalents seem to have varied from period to period; so that instead of one table of weights, corrected and verified, we shall have to give several, chronologically arranged.

Bābur's reign. The following table of equivalents is taken from the *Bāburnāma*:

8	<i>ratīs</i> = 1 <i>māsha</i> .
32	<i>ratīs</i> = 4 <i>māshas</i> = 1 <i>tānk</i> .
40	<i>ratīs</i> = 5 <i>māshas</i> = 1 <i>miṣqāl</i> .
96	<i>ratīs</i> = 12 <i>māshas</i> = 1 <i>tola</i> . (<i>Bāburnāma in English</i> 517).

Akbar's reign.—*A'in-i-Akbarī* has the following:—

Jewellers' Weights

10	<i>birinjs</i> (grains of rice) = 1 <i>surkh</i> , (or <i>ratī</i>).
24	<i>surkhs</i> = 1 <i>tānk</i> .
26	<i>surkhs</i> = 1 <i>miṣqāl</i> .

Money-changers' Weights

7½	<i>birinjs</i> = 1 <i>surkh</i> (or <i>ratī</i>).
8	<i>surkhs</i> = 1 <i>māsha</i> .
12	<i>māshas</i> = 1 <i>tolcha</i> (or <i>tola</i>). (<i>A'in</i> , Text, II. 60; B. and J., III, 125).

The author of *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, in talking of Bābur's diamond,⁸ gives 8 *miṣqāls* as its weight, without saying how many *ratīs* went to the 8 *miṣqāls* (*Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, ed. John Briggs, Bombay, 1831-32, I, 381; Navalkishor edition, 205). Alexander Dow, who translated that work in 1768, in an endeavour to make his translation more intelligible, omitted the 8 *miṣqāls* altogether,

7. The *tānk* is the indigenous unit of weight; but the *miṣqāl* is foreign, being imported from Persia and Turkestan.

8. See next Chapter.

and gave 244 *ratīs* instead (*History of Hindostan*, London, 1768, II, 112). John Briggs, whose translation was published in 1829, in rendering the same passage, gives both 8 *miṣqāls* and 224 *ratīs* in the text, without making clear that the author gives only 8 *miṣqāls* as the weight, and that 224 *ratīs* is only added by him as an explanatory equivalent (*History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, London, 1829, II. 46).

This simple and well-intentioned procedure of these translators has caused no end of mischief; since writers (like Ball and others) who had not the time or the inclination to consult the original, were led to suppose that they had Muḥammad Qāsim Firishṭa's authority for the statement that 8 *miṣqāls* equalled 224 *ratīs* in his day. It is only fair to the author of *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* to point out that he makes no such statement, and that a *miṣqāl* did not weigh 28, but 26, *ratīs* in Akbar's reign—which Firishṭa probably knew very well.

Presumably at the time of these translations the *miṣqāl* did weigh 28 *ratīs*. We shall learn below that in the seventies of the seventeenth century a *miṣqāl* was just 28 *ratīs*.

Jahāngīr's reign.—As there is no authoritative statement for this period, we can only depend on stray bits in *Tūzuk*.

In one place Jahāngīr equates 19 (R. and B. give 19½) *tānks* with 17 *miṣqāls* and 5½ *surkhs* (*Tūzuk*, 198; R. and B., I, 399-400). Assuming that a *tānk* is 24 *ratīs*, which is the value given to it both by the *A'in* and the *Bādshāhnāma* (see below), and granting that the text reading of 19 *tānks*⁹ is correct, the *miṣqāl* works out to 26½ *ratīs*—a likely value.

This value is beautifully corroborated by another equation given a few lines lower: A pearl weighed 64 *surkhs* or 2 *miṣqāls* and 11 *surkhs* (*Tūzuk*, 198; R. and B., I, 400).

In another place the emperor makes 1½ *tānks* and 1 *surkh* = 1 *miṣqāl* and 15 *surkhs* (*Tūzuk*, 63; R. and B., I, 132). Here a *miṣqāl* would come to something like 22 *ratīs*—which is a patent absurdity. Either the MSS. are at fault, or else the emperor was nodding. Prof. Hodivala reads 11 for 15 *surkhs*, and deduces the

9. The fine MS. of the first volume of *Tūzuk* in the Punjab University Library (f. 209b, bottom) also has 19 *tānks*. *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī* (p. 105) corroborates this reading of 19 *tānks*, although it carelessly gives its equivalent as 17 *miṣqāls* only.

values 24 and 26 *ratīs* for the *tānk* and the *miṣqāl* respectively—which are correct enough.¹⁰

In the last place may be noted an entry which occurs very early in the *Tūzūk*. The weight of a *tola*, says the emperor, equals $2\frac{1}{2}$ *miṣqāls* current in Persia and Turan (*Tūzūk*, 5; R. and B., I, 12). Now a *tola* is again a variable quantity, if we aim at mathematical exactitude. Considering the authorities cited by Professor Hodivala in his exhaustive treatment,¹¹ and omitting such mentions as are either casual or obviously unreliable, the consensus of opinion would seem to place the *tola* somewhere very close to 185 grains; and what is more, the value of the *tola* seems to have remained fairly constant throughout the period from Akbar to Aurangzeb, notwithstanding occasional statements by various writers to the contrary. Now if a *tola* was 185 grains, a *miṣqāl*, according to Jahāngīr, would come to 74 grains. Considering the value for the *miṣqāl* given by the imperial diarist in other places, we must say that this equation is not to be accepted with mathematical precision. Probably a rough equalization alone was attempted.

Shāh Jahān's reign.—Here we have something more definite. From a statement in B. N., II, 391, we learn clearly that

- 1 *tānk* = 24 jewellers' *ratīs*.
- 1 *miṣqāl* = 27 jewellers' *ratīs*.

Aurangzeb's reign.—John Fryer, who travelled in India in 1672-81, in the course of an elaborate table, gives the following equivalents:

- 1 *tānk* = 24 jewellers' *ratīs*.
- 1 *miṣqāl* = 28 jewellers' *ratīs*.

(A *New Account of East India and Persia*, London, 1909-1915, II, 127-28).

The English equivalents given by him do not seem to be reliable. I have not thought it safe to consider them in the discussion that follows.

10. *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, 108-9. But Prof. Hodivala's amendment is not supported by *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī* (p. 31), which gives 1 *miṣqāl* and 15 *surkhs* just the same.

11. S. H. Hodivala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, Chapter on 'The Weight of the Mughal Tola', pp. 224-234.

At the end of *Ma'lūmāt-ul-Āfāq* we have a list of weight equivalents, the relevant portion of which is given below:

- 4 *rā'īs* (mustard seeds) = 1 *birinj* (grain of rice).
 - 8 *birinjs* = 1 *surkh*.
 - 8 *surkhs* = 1 *māsha*.
 - 12 *māshas* = 1 *tolcha*.
 - 4 *māshas* = 1 *tānk*.
- (P. U. L. MS., f. 232b).

Before entering on a discussion of these tables it will be advisable to follow them up with equivalents in English weights.

Dr. Ball, after a patient consideration of all the data available, has valued the two *ratīs* as follows:

Ordinary or money-changers' *ratī* = 1.842 grains troy.

Jewellers' *ratī* (or the pearl *ratī*, as Tavernier calls it) = 2.66 grains troy. (Final appraisalment) (Tavernier, I, 333; II, 333 and 347).

The two *ratīs* weigh, according to Abū'l-Faẓl, $7\frac{1}{2}$ and 10 rice grains respectively. He further tells us that early in Akbar's reign they weighed 6 and 8 rice grains respectively, and that the former values were fixed by Akbar. This regulation made no change in the respective *ratīs*, only the *birinj* became smaller. It will be noticed that the ratio of the jewellers' to money-changers' *ratī* remained constant, viz., 4 : 3.

If we assume 10 *birinjs* to be = 2.66 grains, $7\frac{1}{2}$ *birinjs* yield 1.995 grains, and not 1.84, or anything near it. It is a pity that Dr. Ball did not consider this important source in arriving at his values. Nevertheless, so much patient work has gone before Dr. Ball's formulation of results that we are loth to disturb his conclusions.

It may be added that 1 English carat = 3.1682 grains troy.^{11a}

11a. This is the old carat. The metric carat (= 200.0 milligrams or 3.08 grains) was adopted by most of the more progressive countries in Europe and America in the second decade of the twentieth century (Frank Wade, *Text-book of Precious Stones*, 289); though, strangely enough, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Article 'Diamond' (New Edition, VII, 320) gives only the older value. But as the elaborate calculations of Prof. Maskelyne and Dr. Ball are based on the old carat, we will not disturb them by introducing this new factor.

It must, further, be remembered, that Tavernier calculates always by the light Florentine carat, which is exactly 4 p. c. lighter than the English carat.

English carat = 205.4 milligrams. Light Florentine carat = 197.2 milligrams.

It is time now to review the tables. We see that from the beginning of Akbar's reign to well within Aurangzeb's the *tānk* seems to have remained steady at 24 *ratīs* of 2.66 grains each; while the *miṣqāl* appears to have slowly risen from 26 to 28 *ratīs* of the same value, being probably $26\frac{1}{2}$ *ratīs* in Jahāngīr's reign. This much is tolerably clear. We take no account here of the tables in *Bāburnāma* and *Ma'lūmāt-ul-Āfāq*, which are not covered by this generalization, and require a separate treatment. With these we are now in a position to deal.

Bābur's table of Indian weights is, at first sight, somewhat perplexing. The explanation of it, however, is not at all difficult. The only fault that the founder of the Mughal dynasty of India is guilty of is that instead of giving two mutually exclusive tables, one of jewellers', and the other of money-changers', weights, he mixes them up in a single scale of values. This procedure would be justifiable if the *ratī*, which (in name) is common to the two systems, had been of the same value in both systems; as the grain is common to the avoirdupois, troy, and apothecaries' systems of weights, and has the same value throughout.¹² As we have seen, this is not the case. The question remains which of the two *ratīs* Bābur has chosen for this composite table of weights. The answer is that he has chosen *not* the jewellers', but the money-changers', *ratī*. That Bābur's *ratī* weighs approximately 1.84 grs. tr. (and not 2.66 grs.) is the key to his whole scale of values.

Assuming this value of the *ratī* (which is Dr. Ball's) to be true, Bābur's *tānk* = 32×1.84 grs. = 58.88 grs. tr. This is equivalent to just over 22 jewellers' *ratīs*. So Bābur's *tānk* is slightly more than 22 jewellers' *ratīs*.

Again, Bābur's *miṣqāl* = 40×1.84 grs. = 73.6 grs. troy. This works out to about $27\frac{1}{2}$ jewellers' *ratīs* of 2.66 grs. each.

Thus Bābur's *miṣqāl* is too large by $1\frac{1}{2}$ *ratīs*, and his *tānk* too small by 2 *ratīs*.

12. The reader will have noticed that the *birinj* is the denominator common to all the ponderary systems current in India.

We have no reason to think that Bābur was ill informed. The explanation is not far to seek. We notice that his money-changers' weights are exact and accurate. He apparently took these as the base, so that the equivalents in jewellers' weights had to be modified slightly to avoid fractions. The errors in jewellers' weights are probably due to this rough and ready method of equalizing weights belonging to different systems. It is not likely that weights differed so materially between 1526 and 1556.

The table in *Ma'lūmāt-ul-Āfāq* goes one better, and amalgamates *all the three scales* mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, trying to reduce them to a common denominator—as might be expected, with disastrous results. What has been said of Bābur's list is true, and more true, of the list in *Ma'lūmāt-ul-Āfāq*, which is possibly copied in part from *Bāburnāma*. No comment is called for, except that it is strange that Amīn-ud-Dīn Khān should have taken the emperor Bābur as his model and ignored the authorities of the intervening period. It will be noticed that he gives only the *tānk*, and omits the *miṣqāl*.

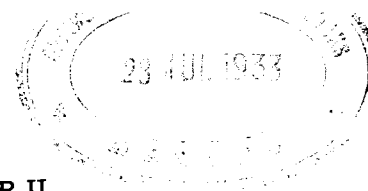
Whenever an attempt is made to express the jewellers' in the terms of money-changers' weights, mathematical accuracy is not to be expected. We have already noticed two examples. A third is furnished by the *Tūzūk*, where *Jahāngīr* equates a *tola* with $2\frac{1}{2}$ *miṣqāls* current in Persia and Tūrān (*Tūzūk*, 5; R. & B., 1, 12). Such equations are not meant to be taken mathematically.

Equivalents of the *tānk* and the *miṣqāl* in *jauharī ratīs* as well as in English grains may now be given in a table arranged chronologically—for each successive reign. Before doing so, however, a short note may be added about the value of the *miṣqāl* current in Persia and Tūrān.

Tavernier equates 6 Persian *miṣqāls* with 1 French oz., which is = 482.312 grs. tr. (Tavernier, I, 399 and 418). This yields 80.4 grs. for the *miṣqāl*. This is far in excess of the value otherwise obtained; though Prof. Hodivala points out that Tavernier's value is corroborated by the weight of the earlier type of the heavy *muhur* (*Hist. Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, 144-45). Prof. Maskelyne, however, contends that Tavernier is wrong, and that $6\frac{1}{2}$ *miṣqāls* should equate 1 French ounce (*Nature*, Oct. 8, 1891, p. 557). This gives us 74.2 grs. for the *miṣqāl*—a value very close to that given by Fryer. It may be added that Tavernier, as we shall learn in the next chapter, is a very careless and unreliable writer.

TABLE SHOWING VALUES OF THE TANK AND THE MIŞQÂL IN THE VARIOUS REIGNS.

Reign.	Mişqâl				Authorities.
	Tānk.	Value in jewel- lers' ratîs of 2.66 grains each.	Value in grains.	Value in jewel- lers' ratîs of 2.66 grains each.	Value in grains.
Bābur	22	58.88	27½	73.6	B.N.E., 517. These values are not exact.
Akbar	24	63.84	26	69.16	A'in, Text, II, 60; B. & J., III, 125.
Jahāngīr	24	63.84	26 26½	69.16 70.49	Tuzuk, 63; R. & B., I, 132. Tuzuk, 198; R. & B., I, 399-400
SHāh Jahān	24	63.84	27	71.82	B.N. II, 391.
Aurangzeb	24	63.84	28	74.48 80.4	Fryer, II, 127-28. Tavernier, I, 399 and 418.



CHAPTER II.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF GEMS AND GEM-STONES.

Famous jewels, like famous men, have biographies. They pass through countries and ruling dynasties, making history—a symbol of victory and triumph.

It will not be devoid of interest if we take a short survey of a few of the precious stones and pearls, notices of which lie scattered up and down the pages of Mughal history, taking note, as we go, of their qualities and peculiarities, and of the general run of prices. It need hardly be added that the collection offered here is not meant to be exhaustive.

DIAMONDS

THE KOH-I-NŪR DISPUTE: BABUR'S DIAMOND, MĪR JUMLA'S STONE, AND THE KOH-I-NŪR.

The place of honour in this region belongs to what is known as the *Koh-i-Nūr* dispute. It ranges over the whole period from Bābur to Aurangzeb, on to Nādir SHāh and Queen Victoria. Three of the most famous stones are involved in this controversy, though one of them only by mistake—as will appear in the sequel.

We will begin with Bābur's celebrated diamond, and let a quotation from *Bāburnama* lead off:

'In Sultan Ibrāhīm's defeat the Rāja of Gūālīār Bikramājīt the Hindū had gone to hell.

Bikramājīt's children and family were in Āgra at the time of Ibrāhīm's defeat. When Humāyūn reached Āgra, they must have been planning to flee, but his postings of men (to watch the roads) prevented this and guard was kept over them. Humāyūn himself did not let them go. They made him a voluntary offering of a mass of jewels and valuables amongst which was the famous diamond which 'Alā'ud-dīn must have brought.¹³ Its reputation is that every appraiser has estimated its value at two and a half days'

13. i.e. from the Deccan of which 'Alā'ud-dīn is said to have been the first Muhammadan invader.—f.n. 5.

food for the whole world.¹⁴ Apparently¹⁵ it weighs 8 *miṣqāls*. Humāyūn offered it to me when I arrived at Āgra; I just gave it him back.' (B.N.E., 477).

The earlier history of this stone, based on tradition and conjecture, loses itself in the mists of time. Legends, says Prof. Maskelyne, had gathered round it, and tradition had linked the legends with authentic history in the dawn of the fourteenth century. This great diamond, continues the learned professor, 'emerges in history in the first years of the fourteenth century. It was in 1300 A. D. in the hands of the Rajahs of Malwa, an ancient Rāj that had at one time spread over Hindostan, and in all the vicissitudes of a thousand years had never bent to a Muhammadan conqueror, until the generals of the Delhi Emperor Alā-ud-dīn Muhammad Shah¹⁶ overran its rich territory, and carried away the accumulated treasure of Ujjein in the first decade of the fourteenth century.

The date of 1304 is that given by Ferishta for this conquest, and then it was that the great diamond takes its place in history.' (N. Story-Maskelyne's article, 'The Koh-i-Nur—A Criticism,' in *Nature*, October 8, 1891, p. 556).

History does not record how the diamond passed from 'Alā'ud-Dīn K̲haljī to the rājas of Gwalior.

Next, we have it in *Akbarnāma* and other histories that when Humāyūn was down with an illness which was believed to be fatal, and the court physicians had despaired of the prince's life, Mir Abū'l-Baqā, a reputed savant, said that it had come from the sages of old that where the secular wisdom of physicians failed to effect a cure, the only remedy was to sacrifice the best of things

14. Other texts and translations, and Abū'l-Faḡl give it a different value. 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm K̲hān k̲hānān's Persian translation, which is followed by Leyden, Erskine and King, places it at half the daily expenses of the whole world; and Abū'l-Faḡl (*A.N.*, I, 99) and *Firishta* (John Briggs' ed., Bombay, 1831-32, I, 381.) accept it as correct. Pavet de Courteille, however, who is translating from the Turkish original, has the following rendering: 'Il est tellement estimé, qu'un connaisseur disait que son prix équivalait à la dépense d'un jour du monde entier.' (Pavet de Courteille, *Mémoires de Baber*, Paris, 1871, II, 172). But one translation gives no more information about the market value of the diamond than another. The hyperbolic way of describing it means no more than that nothing like the stone was heard of in the known world.

15. 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm has 'probably'.

16. 'Alā'ud-Dīn was not emperor at this time. Prince 'Alā'ud-Dīn invaded Mālwa in the reign of his uncle, Jalāl'ud-Dīn K̲haljī (1294).

(or one's possessions) and then to supplicate the Almighty for recovery. Bābur declared his intention of sacrificing himself, since Humāyūn, he said, possessed nothing nobler or worthier than his father. The courtiers protested that the meaning of what had been reported from the ancients was that the best of one's worldly possessions should be offered, and suggested that the precious diamond which had come to hand in the battle against Ibrāhīm Lodī and had been bestowed on Humāyūn, should be given away as charity¹⁷ (*Akbarnāma*, Text, I, 116). Bābur did not agree; but the rest of the story does not concern us. We see that this stone was in the Imperial Treasury in 1530, and remained there.

The next link in the history of this stone is furnished by an anecdote related by Abū'l-Faḡl: Humāyūn, defeated by SHĀh and wandering about, passed near Mārwar, Rāja Māldev's territory. Sanka of Nagaur, one of the trusted agents of Rāja Māldev, entered his camp pretending to be a merchant, and offered to buy the great diamond. Humāyūn suspected his design, and directed that the purchaser should be made clearly to understand that such precious gems cannot be obtained by purchase: either they fall to one by the arbitrament of the flashing sword, which is an expression of the Divine Will, or else they come through the grace of mighty monarchs (*A.N.*, I, 180).¹⁸

Later, when Humāyūn reached Persia—a refugee, suing for help—he offered this diamond along with 250 rubies of Badakhshān to SHĀh Ṭahmāsp of Persia as a return for the magnificent reception he received in the latter's dominions. Abū'l-Faḡl assures us that the value of these presents repaid the total expenditure of the reception and hospitality accorded him from beginning to end more than four times over (*A.N.*, Text, I, 217).

This was in the summer of 1544.

Further, we have it on the authority of Mr. Beveridge¹⁹ that Khur Shāh, the ambassador of Ibrāhīm Quṭb SHĀh, the King of Golconda, at the Persian Court, says in B.M. MS. Or. 53, that

17. It is strange that Gulbadan Begam, who was an eye-witness of the scene, does not mention the stone in her account of the incident (*Humāyūn-Nāma*, Text, 21; Transl., 105).

18. The story is also found in Major Charles Stewart, *Private Memoirs of the Moghul Emperor Humāyūn*, p. 38.

19. Article, 'Bābar's Diamond: Was it the Koh-i-Nur?' in *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January—April, 1899, pp. 370-389.

Humāyūn presented to SHāh Ṭahmāsp the diamond which Bābur had got from Sultān Ibrāhīm's treasury, and it weighed $6\frac{1}{2}$ *miṣqāls*; that SHāh Ṭahmāsp did not think so much of it, and afterwards sent it to India as a present to Nizām SHāh, the ruler of the Deccan [i.e., Burhān Nizām SHāh of Ahmadnagar] through Aqā Islām "Mihtar Jamāl" (f. 58 b of MS.)

This report of the return of Bābur's diamond to South India is corroborated by *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, which says in its account of Burhān Nizām SHāh of Ahmadnagar that SHāh Ismā'il [wrong for SHāh Ṭahmāsp] sent a large diamond, which had been Humāyūn's, as a present by the hands of Aqā Sulaimān (?) commonly known as Mihtar Jamāl. Despite the slips about the names, the restoration of the diamond to India in 1547, which is the year of "Mihtar Jamāl's" embassy, seems fairly established.

It is possible that when Akbar conquered and annexed Ahmadnagar in 1600 this stone passed with other valuables into the Imperial Treasury. Yet it is not likely, since if a diamond of such historic antecedents had been acquired contemporary historians would be sure to record the event; and if such a gem was in the Imperial Treasury from this date on, throughout the reigns of Jahāngīr and SHāh Jahān, it would come up for a mention among the elaborate notices of gem-stones which abound in *Tūzūk*, and in Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hamīd's review of the contents of the jewel treasury at the end of the twentieth regnal year (B.N., II, 391).

This is all the authentic information we possess about this stone.

Before taking leave of Bābur's diamond we may state the equivalents of its weight for facility of comparison. Granting Bābur's statement to be exact, the stone weighed 8 *miṣqāls* of 40 *ratīs* each, or 320 ordinary *ratīs* of 1.842 grs. each. The weight in grains, according to my calculation, comes to 589.44. Prof. Maskeyne, taking the weight of the *miṣqāl* as the basis, arrives at 589.088 grs.; which Dr. Ball accepts. The weight in carats, as stated by them, is 186.06.

Next comes a stone which has been wrongly mixed up in this controversy—leading to no end of absolutely unnecessary confusion. Yet it is necessary to bring it in, partly to show its irrelevancy to the present dispute, partly because we are talking of all great gems, and we might as well talk of this one here as elsewhere.

Muḥammad Wāriṣ, the author of the third volume of *Bādshāhnāma*, and the prime authority for the third decade of SHāh Jahān's reign, has the following:—

On the 18th of Ṣafar, 1066 A.H. [= Dec. 17, 1655 A.C.] Mir Muḥammad Sa'id Mir Jumla "Jumlat-ul-Mulki" "Mu'azzam KHān", the newly appointed Prime Minister, offered to SHāh Jahān as *peshkash* precious jewels including a large diamond weighing 9 *tānks* or 216 *surkhs*, the price of which was fixed by the royal order at Rs. 2,16,000.²⁰

This account of this stone is authentic. B.N. is the court history, which we know to be thoroughly reliable. It is corroborated in this particular not only by *Qarniya* and *Ma'āṣir-ul-Umarā* (see last footnote) but also by 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ (P.U.L. MS., f. 609 a) and *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, I, 753. Further, the weight is given in all places not only in *tānks* but also in *ratīs*. Every possibility of error of transcription is thus satisfactorily eliminated, and we have no doubt in our mind that this diamond weighed neither more nor less than 216 jewellers' *ratīs*, or 574.56 grains troy.

Bernier is speaking of this stone when he says that 'he [Mir Jumla] presented *Chah-Jehan* with that celebrated diamond which has been generally deemed unparalleled in size and beauty.' (Bernier, 22).

Presumably this was a cut stone; for an uncut stone weighing 216 *ratīs* would hardly deserve such distinguished mention. The price given also favours this assumption.

According to Tavernier this diamond was excavated from the mine of Kollūr on the Kistna river (Tavernier, II, 58).

This stone we will call, for brevity, Mir Jumla's diamond.

Now we proceed to examine the full account of Tavernier, which has been the main cause of the mystification and error, and has led to a bright display of dialectics on the part of a number of writers of undoubted ability and judgment.

20. Muḥammad Wāriṣ, B.N., III, (P.U.L. MS.), f. 119 a (where 3 *tānks* is wrongly given for 9 *tānks*). My MS. of the same (f. 289 b.) and Muḥammad Ṭāhir "Ināyat KHān" *Āshnā's Qarniya* (my MS., III, f. 67 b.) give correct weight. So does *Ma'āṣir-ul-Umarā* (III, 535), which probably copies from these authorities.

We give the whole passage with all its embroidery of minute and life-like detail, which throws welcome side-light on the arrangement and procedure observed in the Imperial Jewel Treasury.

'On the first day of November 1665 I went to the palace to take leave of the Emperor, but he said that he did not wish me to depart without having seen his jewels, and witnessing the splendour of his fête.

Early in the morning of the next day five or six of the Emperor's officers and others on behalf of Nawāb Ja'far Khān, announced that the Emperor wished to see me. Immediately on my arrival at the Court the two custodians of the royal jewels, of whom I have elsewhere spoken, accompanied me into the presence of His Majesty; and after I had made him the customary salutation, they conducted me into a small apartment, which is at one of the ends of the hall where the Emperor was seated on his throne, and whence he was able to see us. I found in this apartment 'Ākil Khān, chief of the jewel treasury, who, when he saw us, commanded four of the imperial eunuchs to bring the jewels, which were carried in two large wooden trays lacquered with gold leaf, and covered with small cloths made expressly for the purpose—one of red and the other of green brocaded velvet. After these trays were uncovered, and all the pieces had been counted three times over, a list was prepared by three scribes who were present. For the Indians do everything with great circumspection and patience, and when they see any one who acts with precipitation, or becomes angry, they gaze at him without saying anything, and smile as if he were a madman.

The first piece which 'Ākil Khān placed in my hands was the great diamond, which is a round rose, very high at one side. At the basal margin it has a small notch and flaw inside. Its water is beautiful, and it weighs $319\frac{1}{2}$ ratis, which are equal to 280 of our carats—the rati being $\frac{7}{8}$ th of our carat. When Mīr Jumla, who betrayed the King of Golkonda, his master, presented this stone to Shāhjahān, to whose side he attached himself, it was then in the rough, and weighed 900 ratis, which are equivalent to $787\frac{1}{2}$ carats; and it had several flaws.

If this stone had been in Europe it would have been treated in a different manner, for some good pieces would have been taken from it, and it would have weighed more than it does, instead of which it has been all ground down. It was the Sieur Hortensio Borgio, a Venetian, who cut it, for which he was badly

rewarded; for when it was cut he was reproached with having spoilt the stone, which ought to have retained a greater weight; and instead of paying him for his work, the Emperor fined him 10,000 rupees, and would have taken more if he had possessed it. If the Sieur Hortensio had understood his trade, he would have been able to take a large piece from this stone without doing injury to the Emperor's jewel, and without having had so much trouble in grinding it; but he was not a very accomplished diamond cutter. (Tavernier, I, 314-16).

In another place Tavernier speaks of 'the great diamond which weighed 900 carats before cutting, which Mīr Jumla presented to Aurangzeb' (II, 58). According to himself it weighed 900 *ratis*, not carats, and it was presented to Shāh Jahān, not to Aurangzeb. This is only to show Tavernier's gross carelessness.

Again, on Pl. II facing p. 97 of vol. II, Tavernier gives the figure of this diamond among others, and says, 'You see represented here its form after having been cut, and, as I was allowed to weigh it, I ascertained that it weighed $319\frac{1}{2}$ ratis, which are equal to $279\frac{9}{16}$ of our carats. When in the rough it weighed, as I have elsewhere said, 907 ratis, or $793\frac{5}{8}$ carats. This stone is of the same form as if one cut an egg through the middle.' (II, 97).

Further, on p. 75 (vol. II), Tavernier speaks of 'the two largest among the cut stones in the world—one of them in Asia belonging to the Great Mogul [Mīr Jumla's diamond], the other in Europe belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.' 'The Great Mogul's diamond,' he continues, 'weighs $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats, is of perfect water, good form, and has only a small flaw which is in the edge of the basal circumference of the stone.' Allowing for this flaw, and calculating according to the rule formulated by the author, he values the stone at 11,723,278 livres, 14 sols, and 3 liards, which the editor says is equivalent to £ 879,245—18s.— $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. (Tavernier, II, 75).

What is Tavernier talking of? Surely not of the diamond presented by Mīr Jumla, of which we have authoritative record in *B.N.*?²¹ And yet he can be talking of no other. The discrepancy between the weights given by Muḥammad Wāriṣ and Tavernier is irreconcilable; and yet the way in which each gives parallel weights precludes the possibility of a slip of the pen or an error of transcription, and what is more, Tavernier also claims the

21. See p. 386 above.

highest credentials of not only seeing but actually weighing the diamond himself. Muḥammad Wāriṣ undoubtedly means 216 *ratīs* of 2.66 grains tr. each, and Tavernier likewise means 319½ *ratīs* of exactly the same value.

I am afraid we must reject Tavernier's account with all its show of direct evidence and circumstantial detail.

His estimate of its value (nearly 88 lacs of rupees) is wild, and deserves no more credit than the rest of his evidence. Even if we allow for the exaggeration in weight, and for the fact that a stone would probably fetch in the open market a higher price than the value assigned it in the imperial registers, Tavernier's valuation still remains outrageously extravagant, specially when we remember that the purchasing power of money in those days was some five times what it is to-day.

And then there is the whole story of the cutting of it by Hortensio Borgio, to which the Persian histories give no countenance. We view it with grave suspicion. Manucci's account (quoted below) is of no corroborative value, since he is only copying Tavernier—and Bernier.

The apparent approximation between Bābur's 320 *ratīs* and Tavernier's 319½ *ratīs* has led some of the earlier writers on the subject to suppose that Tavernier's Mīr Jumla diamond was really the same as Bābur's, Mīr Jumla having obtained that stone somewhere in the Deccan. The reader will see at once that this was a mistake; for Bābur's *ratī* was 1.842 grs., while Tavernier's 2.66. So the similarity of weights was only verbal.

For clearness and future reference we may state that the weight ascribed by Tavernier to this stone is 319½ jewellers' *ratīs*=279 9/16 Tavernier's (i.e., Florentine) carats=268 19/50 English carats.

And as if Tavernier's account was not sufficiently confused and misleading we have the following from the pen of Manucci:

'Mīr Jumlah, or the newly-made Mu'azzam K̲H̲ān, gave a present to Shāhjahān of a large uncut diamond which weighed three hundred and sixty carats. He added that if Qandahār produced such precious stones, his majesty might undertake the labour of going there, or could despatch some loyal vassal to take it. But to

his mind, his majesty had better send some trusty person to conquer the lands where, of a verity, such stones were to be found. These were the kingdoms of Bizapur (Bijāpur) and Golconda (Gulkan-dah), and the island of Ceilaō (Ceylon). Having spoken thus, he once more held forth his hand full of diamonds, already cut, of considerable size, though not so large as the first one' (*Storia*, I, 237-38).

'The large diamond', continues the same writer, 'was returned to him to have it cut by an expert, and for this purpose they sent to him a Venetian lapidary named Ortençio Bronzoni. I saw this diamond many a time; it was as large as a nut' (*Ibid.*, p. 238).

Another eye-witness! But an eye-witness whose weight bears no resemblance to the weight of the uncut stone, as given by the first 'eye-witness'. According to Manucci the weight of the uncut stone was 360 carats (=411 jewellers' *ratīs*); while according to Tavernier it was either 787½ carats (=900 *ratīs*) or 793 5/8 carats (=907 *ratīs*). The weight of the cut diamond is not given by Manucci; so no comparison with the figures given in the Persian histories is possible.

We have no hesitation in rejecting all this talk as idle gossip.

The true weight of Mīr Jumla's diamond was 216, and that of Bābur's stone, about 221½, jewellers' *ratīs*—important land-marks in the history of jewels in those days. In view of this such high figures as 900 *ratīs* or 411 *ratīs* for the uncut stone, and 319½ *ratīs* for the cut stone can only be described as cheap sensation-mongering—quite unworthy, at least, of a professional jeweller like Tavernier.

Now we come to the stone called *Koh-i-Nūr*.²² We can only give here a skeleton history of the stone now among crown jewels of England. The following summary is based on Dr. Ball's well-informed account (Tavernier, II, 343-46), where his sources and authorities are cited in full.

22. When we are discussing the question of the identity of Bābur's diamond or of Mīr Jumla's diamond with *Koh-i-Nūr*, we should be careful to confine the latter designation to the stone, the history of which is sketched here. In applying that term in our discussion to Bābur's diamond (as Prof. Maskelyne does), or to Mīr Jumla's diamond (as Dr. Ball does. Tavernier, II, 343) is begging the entire question at issue.

Nādir SHāh took away this stone among the spoils of Delhi from Muḥammad SHāh (1739). 'On first beholding it he is reported to have conferred upon it the title of Koh-i-Nūr or Mountain of Light.'

Nādir SHāh being murdered at Kalāt (1747), *Koh-i-Nūr* passed with the throne to his grandson, SHāh Rukh, who resided at Mashhad. 'Shāh Rukh gave it, as a reward for his assistance, to Ahmad Shāh, the founder of the Durrānī dynasty at Kābul, and by him it was bequeathed to his son Taimūr, who went to reside at Kābul. From him, in 1793, it passed by descent to his eldest son Shāh Zamān.' 'Two years afterwards it passed into the hands of his third brother Sultān Shujā.'

After SHāh SHujā's accession to the throne of Kābul, Elphinstone, who visited him at Peshawar (1809), saw it in a bracelet worn by him.

SHujā was dethroned by his eldest brother Muḥammad. He ran to Lahore for refuge, and offered the Koh-i-Nūr to Ranjit Singh in a friendly way in return for a *jāgīr* in the Punjab and promise of help in recovering Kābul (1813).²³

Ranjit Singh died (1839); and the stone was placed in the jewel chamber, till Dalip Singh was acknowledged as his successor.

When the Punjab was annexed by the British (1849), the diamond was formally handed to the new Board of Government; and later sent to Queen Victoria.

The *Koh-i-Nūr* was exhibited in the first great Exhibition (1851).

23. So Dr. Ball. Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf, in his well-informed article on 'The History of the Koh-i-Nur Diamond' (*Lahore*, 376-83) says that Ranjit Singh compelled SHāh SHujā, his guest-prisoner, 'to surrender the Koh-i-Nur, on a promise to pay three lakhs of rupees in cash and grant of a *jāgīr* of Rs. 50,000 per annum, with a promise of aid in recovering Cabul' (p. 379); and that these promises were never fulfilled (p. 380). He adds, on the authority of Captain's Murray's *Life of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh*, Calcutta, 1834, pp. 96-97, that for two days the SHāh's family were deprived of all nourishment, and His Majesty, with his wife and children, suffered absolute deprivation (*Lahore*, p. 379, f.n.). This hospitality towards a prince refugee who came suing for help and was received as a guest requires no comment.

Recutting of the stone was entrusted (1852) by Queen Victoria to Messrs. Garrards, who employed Voorsanger, the diamond cutter. The actual cutting, which lasted 38 days, reduced the weight to 106-1/16 carats, and cost £ 8,000.

We may add that in the Exhibition of 1851 this stone weighed 589.52 grs. troy (= 186.06 English carats).

We can now take up for consideration the views held by various writers on the subject. Some, like Prof. Maskelyne and others, have held that the *Koh-i-Nūr* is Bābur's diamond; others, like Dr. Ball and the rest, are of opinion that Mir Jumla's diamond and the *Koh-i-Nūr* are one; a third school contends that all three stones are identical.²⁴

The last view may be taken up first.

From the vague wording in *Bāburnāma* it is certainly possible to think that Bābur's diamond weighed a little less or a little more than 320 ordinary *ratīs* or about 589 grains, and if we were in the mood for it we could perhaps even stretch it down to 216 jewellers' *ratīs* or 574½ grains, counting the *miṣqāl* at 27 *jauharī ratīs*. Thus it would seem possible to hold, as Beveridge does,²⁵ that the diamonds of Bābur and Mir Jumla are identical, and that Mir Jumla obtained the stone of old fame in the market somewhere in South India and presented it to SHāh Jahān. This supposition has the merit of establishing the return of Bābur's diamond into the Mughal Treasury—a point where every other theory fails.

But before we grant it we should realize that in that case Mir Jumla, instead of concealing the fact, would have loudly claimed the credit of restoring the world-famous diamond, after a century and a quarter of adventure, to the Mughal Treasury, and would have taken good care to announce the fact by beat of drum. Nor are the court-chroniclers likely, when speaking of Mir Jumla's presentation, to omit mention of the noble pedigree of the stone. This is not all: There is the monstrous discrepancy in the values of the two stones, which militates against the hypothesis of their

24. See Dr. Ball's classified list of these authorities in Tavernier, II, 331, f. n. 1.

25. Article in *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, already referred to.

identity. A stone which was worth (making allowance for the conservative estimates at the Mughal Court) at most 3 lacs of rupees, could not be the stone valued at an inconceivable sum 130 years earlier, and again at about 3 crores of rupees in Ranjit Singh's time (1838).²⁶

Finally, granting all this and ignoring all difficulties, even if both stones weighed 216 jewellers' *ratīs*, and were one, this stone cannot be the *Koh-i-Nūr*, since the *Koh-i-Nūr* weighed over 589 grains, i.e., 15 grains more.

My own opinion is that Bābur's estimate of weight is more accurate than his loose language would imply.

We are now in a position to deal with Dr. Ball's opinion. It is believed in many quarters to-day that the conclusions of Dr. Ball, who has comprehensively reviewed all previous literature on the subject,²⁷ constitute the final position, and contain as much of the truth as can be known at this distance. After an exhaustive survey of facts and figures, and a searching criticism of opinions held he arrives at the conclusion that although Bābur's diamond and *Koh-i-Nūr* happen to agree in weight, 'there is no direct evidence that any diamond of that weight was in the possession of the Mogul emperors at any subsequent period [subsequent to 1526], up to the time of Nādir Shāh's invasion. We know nothing as to the weight of the *Koh-i-Nūr*, as such, till about the time it was brought to England, namely, the year 1850; and then, although its weight was 186 1/6 carats, the trustworthy evidence, as to its condition at that time, as will be seen, is to the effect that it was not identical with Bābur's diamond' (Tavernier, II, 338).

In view of the new sources available to us it is unnecessary to go further into the details of 'the trustworthy evidence'. Dr. Ball admits, however, that 'it is possible, that Bābur's diamond may have been in Shāhjahan's possession when Tavernier saw Aurangzeb's jewels, and that the latter obtained possession of it when Shāhjahan died, and so ultimately it passed to Persia with other jewels taken by Nādir Shāh' (*Ibid.*, p. 338—39). But this is only concession of a possibility.

26. Latif, *Lahore*, p. 380, f.n. (quoted from H. W. G. Osborne, *Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*, p. 202).

27. Tavernier, II, 331-48.

The positive side of Dr. Ball's finding is that the *Koh-i-Nūr* is Mir Jumla's diamond, the difference between the weight given by Tavernier and the actual weight of *Koh-i-Nūr* in 1851 (82 1/3 carats) being accounted for by supposing that 'the Mogul's stone, while in the hands of one or other of its necessitous owners, after it was taken to Persia by Nādir, had pieces removed from it by cleavage, which altogether (there were at least three of them) amounted to the difference between its weight and that of the *Koh-i-Nūr* as it was when brought from India' (*Ibid.*, 341).

All this argument and speculation and the inferences drawn from the actual appearance of the *Koh-i-Nūr*, which follow (p. 342), would have been unnecessary and impossible if Dr. Ball had had before him the account of the acquisition of Mir Jumla's diamond in B.N. As the reader knows, the stone weighed only 216 *ratīs*, i.e., 574.56 grs. troy; while the *Koh-i-Nūr* scaled 589.52 grs. In no number of centuries can a stone put on weight; and here is an actual increase of 15 grains troy. Woe to the historian who builds his edifice on the shifting sands of Tavernier's figures!

This leaves Prof. Maskelyne and his school to be dealt with. His position briefly is that the *Koh-i-Nūr* is really Bābur's diamond, that this was the stone which Tavernier actually saw and handled; and that he mixed it up in his mind with Mir Jumla's diamond, and wrongly appended to it the story of the latter diamond, which was probably current at the time. He adduces the parity of weights and his own observation of the stone in 1851 in proof of his contention.

Prof. Maskelyne's explanation of Tavernier's error is ingenious; it is undoubtedly the only possible one if we are bent on extricating Tavernier from the hopeless muddle in which he has involved himself. We must suppose, he says, that 'Aqil KHān gave Tavernier the traditional weight of the Bābur diamond which he had placed in his hand, and that Tavernier translated this weight into carats, not as from the old *ratīs* of Bābur or even of Akbar, but from the pearl *ratīs* with which he had become acquainted in the bazaars of India (p. 558-59). So all that story about his being allowed to weigh it is only a jeweller's embroidery.

Prof. Maskelyne further holds that Mir Jumla's diamond was, at the time, probably with Shāh Jahān in the Agra palace-prison.

Both Dr. Ball and Prof. Maskelyne agree that Tavernier saw and described the stone which afterwards came to be called *Koh-i-Nūr*; only according to the former this was Mir Jumla's diamond (which was in later times clipped and pared till it became *Koh-i-Nūr*), and according to the latter it was Bābur's stone (which remained unimpaired and entire till 1851).

Prof. Maskelyne, who carefully observed the *Koh-i-Nūr* personally in 1851, thinks that Tavernier's rude sketch was probably made from memory some four or five years after he saw the stone. And this drawing, he continues, is 'so absolutely unlike the *Koh-i-Nūr* as to be hardly recognizable as representing the Queen's diamond, and even less the diamond that he himself described, as he saw it, among the treasures of Aurangzebe' (p. 558). Again, 'except for the trace of a small undercut face in his projection, it has not any resemblance to the *Koh-i-Nūr*' (p. 557).

Dr. Ball adduces much evidence for his clipping theory but is not able to point to any distinct features which are common to Tavernier's sketch and description on the one hand and the *Koh-i-Nūr* on the other.

Dr. Ball finds in the authentic sketches and models of the *Koh-i-Nūr* a great deal of 'evidence' in favour of his clipping theory, and also 'defects similar to some of those described by Tavernier as having been in the Mogul's diamond' (Tavernier, II, 342).

He admits that there are discrepancies between Tavernier's description and the figure, 'which, as it represents the whole stone, does not, at first sight, seem to resemble the *Koh-i-Nūr*'. But he holds that these discrepancies can be satisfactorily explained on his hypothesis.

Indeed the appearance of the *Koh-i-Nūr* in 1851 and of its models and drawings seems to be so tricky that widely differing authors find in it strong support each for his own view.

Fortunately it is not necessary for us to take sides in this fight; since our position is clear: The passage in *B.N.* knocks the bottom out of the whole discussion about the identity of the Mir Jumla diamond with either the Bābur diamond or the *Koh-i-Nūr*. Things are simplified for us, and our choice is narrowed down to this: either the *Koh-i-Nūr* is Bābur's diamond, or all three are distinct. Evidence seems to point to Bābur's diamond being the same as *Koh-i-Nūr*. The exact degree of the probability, however,

it may be left to the experts to determine. It is risky to build on Tavernier's statements; but the almost exact equality of weights seems a strong reason in favour of the identity. Perhaps this is the only sure evidence.

When all is said and done we must not lose sight of the fact that the re-entry of Bābur's diamond into the Mughal Treasury stands unproved to this day; and unless that is proved even the identity of Bābur's stone with the *Koh-i-Nūr* is not possible. This is just what makes the advancing of any hypothesis with any degree of confidence impossible.

Further, granting that Tavernier saw Bābur's stone, where was Mir Jumla's diamond at the time of his inspection, and what happened to it afterwards? Tavernier does not mention it among the other gems he saw at court; and it was not a thing to be omitted or forgotten. It would be reasonable to suppose with Prof. Maskelyne that it was with SHāh Jahān in the Agra palace. Later history of this gem cannot be traced.

But the two stones must have come together in the royal treasury after SHāh Jahān's death, and both of them must have been there when Nādir SHāh inspected the contents of the Jewel Treasury and appropriated them.

Prof. Maskelyne says it is probable that Mir Jumla's diamond is the same as the 'large diamond, standing high upon an elliptic base,' which Sir John Malcolm saw in the treasury of Teheran (p. 559).

As for Tavernier it is no part of our business to save him or his reputation. The more closely one studies him the more deeply is one convinced that he is a negligent and inconsistent writer, and does not care even to compare or adjust the various statements made by himself in different parts of his work. Therefore no reliance is to be placed on his uncorroborated statements. On this particular point we can only say that possibly Prof. Maskelyne has made a remarkably shrewd guess, and Tavernier really saw Bābur's diamond, and wrongly connected it with the story of Mir Jumla's stone which he had heard; and when 'Āqil KHān told him that it weighed 320 (ordinary) *ratīs*, he understood him to mean that it weighed 320 (*jauharī*) *ratīs* (which Tavernier, as jeweller, knew so well). This works out with such astonishing precision to the 280 carats given by Tavernier that we are more than half inclined to fall in with his position; for 320×2.66 grains make nearly 269 English carats; and Tavernier's (Florentine) carats

being 4 p.c. lighter, we get a figure very near 280 Florentine carats, which Tavernier equates with $319\frac{1}{2}$ *ratīs*.

It should be noted that if Prof. Maskelyne's conjecture is correct, Tavernier's estimate of the value of the stone, given above, will have to be revised. The weight is now about 194, and not 280, Florentine carats. Following Tavernier's own method of valuation, his estimate of about 88 lacs of rupees will have to be reduced to less than half that amount.

Two other statements of Tavernier still require an explanation: First, in the passage already given, Tavernier speaks of a great diamond which weighed 900 carats before cutting being presented by Mir Jumla to Aurangzeb (II, 58). Next, there is the whole story of the cutting by Hortensio Borgio.

Now, on the last day of *Jumāda* II, 1066 A.H., Mir Jumla offered to Prince Aurangzeb, when the latter went to his house in the Deccan, an uncut diamond among other jewels (B.N., III, P.U.L. MS., f. 113 b; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, I, 749, which, by the way, gives wrong month). The weight of this diamond is not recorded.

It is true that Tavernier nowhere distinctly speaks of another diamond presented to Aurangzeb by Mir Jumla. But, says Mr. Beveridge,²⁸ the fact that he speaks in one place of a diamond being presented by Mir Jumla to *SHāh Jahān*, and in another of its being presented by Mir Jumla to Aurangzeb may possibly be due to the unconscious confusion in his mind caused by the story about this other diamond which he had also heard. The weight he gives, however, still remains his creation.

Similarly the story of Hortensio Borgio may be really connected with the cutting of this diamond.

Possibly we are giving the French traveller more credit than he deserves.

The diamonds mentioned by Garcia da Orta (discussed by certain writers) seem to have no bearing on the subject. Nor has the large diamond obtained by a Portuguese at the Wajrā Karūr mine in the Bellary District about the beginning of the seventeenth century. (Tavernier, II, 42, f. n. 1; 334-35).

(To be continued)

28. Article in *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

A Portuguese Inscription of the Goa Governor Dom Joao de Castro

By

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My friend Prof. M. S. Commissariat, of the Gujerat College, Ahmedabad, drew my attention to a passage of Fonseca's *Historical Sketch of Goa* where this inscription is mentioned.¹ The inscription was originally embedded in the wall of the old city of Goa near the chapel of St. Catherine, wherein Dom Joao de Castro caused another Chapel dedicated to St. Martin to be built. But unfortunately the wall does not exist any more, and St. Martin's Chapel fell down in the XVIII century. Happily the slab containing the inscription was transferred to the neighbouring Chapel of St. Catherine, where it is embedded in the wall next to the Epistle side.

I wrote to my friend Very Rev. Fr. Francisco Xavier da Costa, Canon of the See of Goa and Administrator of the old Convent of St. Francis of Assisi, who takes great interest in all the relics of the ancient history of Goa, signifying my wishes to possess a photograph of this inscription. Several times I had visited St. Catherine's Chapel but the slab in question had always escaped my attention. Fr. da Costa very kindly satisfied my wishes a few days after, by sending the photograph of the inscription that accompanies this paper.²

The inscription together with the stone frame that surrounds it is 5 ft. x 3 ft. 3 in. The frame is 6 ft. 5 in. broad. The upper portion contains a relief of St. Martin, a Christian Knight, afterwards Bishop of Tours in France, dividing with his sword his own cloak into two portions to cover the nakedness of a beggar, as is well known through hagiology. St. Martin most incongruously is represented as a Portuguese *fidalgo* with a black broad-rimmed hat on. The horse on which the Knight is riding is turning his

1. Fonseca, *Historical Sketch of Goa*, p. 227.

2. I readily take this opportunity to thank Very Rev. Fr. da Costa publicly for his kindness on this and on many other occasions.

head towards the beggar. The latter is under a tree, and totally against the letter of the tradition, he is represented well dressed, perhaps for fear of offending pious and scrupulous eyes. The whole carving is now painted in green, black and white. St. Martin is represented on the top of this inscription for on his feast day Dom Joao de Castro obtained the decisive victory over the Musulmans round Diu. In point of fact the whole inscription refers to this war with the Sultan of Gujerat.

The inscription proper covers a space 24 ft. 4 in. square. The inscription is written in block letters carved into the stone. The letters were in the beginning gilded,³ but at present they are painted in black. They are all capitals and of the same size excepting four: the first letter of the inscription and the initials of *Joao*, *India* and *Cambaya*. The "u"'s are substituted by "v"'s, as customary in the 16th century. The words are written in succession without any separation excepting in the first and the last lines. The three words of the first line are slightly separated apparently to fill up the whole space of the line. In the last line the figures of the year 1547 are separated from the previous words and from the abbreviation that follows by two dots, one on each side. Similarly at the end of the inscription before commemorating the date there is another dot. The preposition *de* also is separated from the previous word *era* by a small gap not used between other words of the epigraph. It must be noticed also that the words are not properly separated at the end of the lines. Of the seven lines that the inscription contains five times the last words of the lines are not divided in such a way that the division should fall between syllable and syllable, but it falls between the letters of the same syllable, a circumstance that makes difficult the first reading in spite of the clearness of the epigraph.

The inscription reads as follows:—

Porestaporta
 entrovdomJoao
 decaastrodefenso
 rdaIndiaqvand
 otrivnfovdeCa
 mbayaetodoest
 emvrolhefoider
 vbado. era. de. 1547 a

3. Correa, *Lendas da India*, IV, p. 637. (Lisbon, 1864).

Placing proper separations between words and words and using modern Portuguese orthography the inscription will appear thus:—

Por esta porta
entrou Dom Joao
de Castro defensor
da India quando
o triunfou de Ca
mbaya e todo est
e muro lhe foi der
ubado. Era de. 1547. a(nos).

The English translation of this inscription reads as follows:—

"By this door Dom Joao de Castro, Defender of India, entered when (after) he conquered Cambaya, and this whole wall was destroyed for him. Era of 1547 years."

The inscription refers to the war that was waged against the fort of Diu by the Sultan of Gujerat, helped by the Turks in the year 1540. Diu had been handed over to the Portuguese in perpetuity by Sultan Bahādur Shāh of Gujerat in the year 1535, as a reward for the help rendered to him by the Portuguese when he was pursued by the Mughal Emperor Humāyun. Shortly after Bahādur seems to have repented of his liberality; though openly he never signified it, but his successor Mahmud Shāh III decided to recover that important fort from the Portuguese, for which purpose he received aid from Sultan Sulaiman of Turkey.⁴ The Portuguese fought desperately for eight months, when they were finally helped by the Governor of Goa Dom Joao de Castro himself. The last and decisive battle was fought on November 11th, the day dedicated to the memory of St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, this being the reason why his image is represented on the top of the inscription. Dom Joao always attributed his victory to the intercession of this saint.⁵

The Sultans of Gujerat were always known to the Portuguese as Sultans of Cambaya (Cambayat, the present Cambay), for through that harbour they could communicate with them, though they were first residing at Ahmedabad and then at Champanir. Nor were the Portuguese the only ones who gave this strange title to the Gujerat Sultans. Ludovico de Varthema, an Italian tra-

4. This aid had been demanded by Sultan Bahadur Shah. Cf. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, pp. 116-117.

5. Correa, *Lendas da India*, IV, p. 637; Couto, *Decada* IV, liv. IV, Cap. VI; Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, II, pp. 178-184. (Lisbon, 1674)



INSCRIPTION OF DOM JOAO DE CASTRO AT VELHA GOA.



DOM JOAO DE CASTRO AS DESCRIBED BY FREIRE DE ANDRADA WHEN ENTERING GOA AFTER THE GUJARAT WAR. (FROM FREIRE DE ANDRADA'S LIFE OF DOM JOHN DE CASTRO)

veller (1502-1508), speaks of the Sultan of Cambay.⁶ The English poet Butler (1674) also mentions the Prince of Cambay referring to Sultan Mahmud Begada.⁷

Don Joao de Castro is given in the inscription the strange title of "Defensor da India," Defender of India, when as a matter of fact he was coming from a war against one of the most powerful rulers of India. We must not forget that for the Portuguese "India" meant not the whole continent which is now called India, but only their possessions in the East under the Viceroy or Governor of Goa. These possessions constituted the *Estado da India*.

As regards the reception given to Dom Joao in Goa to which reference is being made in the inscription, we know that on arriving at the harbour at the entrance of the river of Goa the Governor's fleet, the Bishop, the Commander-in-Chief and the Magistrates proceeded to visit him and offer their congratulations. At the same time they prayed him to remain at Pangim till the reception and triumph prepared by the people of Goa was ready. In the meantime these preparations were hurriedly going in Goa. "The City," says the biographer of Dom Joao de Castro, "built in Saint Catherines Basar, a great arch, covering the materials with diverse carpets. The gate of the city was from the top of the wall thrown down, the stones appearing humble, or grateful; the hangings of the walls were of rich cloth of gold, greatness could do no more, the general satisfaction was not content with less. In many places the adornment was of diverse colour'd velvets, that the gold might set off the Majesty, the diversity of colours the pleasantness. On the walls on each side the gate were too gilded lyons, upholding in their paws the wheels of the Castros, always famous, now triumphant. There run along by the arch a dilated thicket of trees with which intermitting shades, qualify'd the heat without hindring the light. The sea appear'd all cover'd with ships, galleys, boats, and brigantines, which came from the neighbouring islands, all with their streamers and wast-clots. There was in the court of the palace a fortress, design'd for the model of Diu, within it some guns charg'd without bullets, and other fire-arms a pleasant representation of former horrors. In the same fortress was hid exquisite musick, which with tunable voices kept time in singing the praises of the governor, delighting by their

6. Varthema, *The Itinerary*, p. 45. (London, 1928)

7. *Hudibras*, pt. II, canto 1.

sweetness, the ear, by their words, the judgment. The general correspondency in the adorning the streets, was as if design'd to shew the riches of the East; the embroidery as common, was look't upon with scorn. The cloaths of the citizens were in all kinds such, as if the people had triumph'd neither, if their hearts could have been seen, would the applause of their souls have seem'd less, being the voluntary demonstrations of inartificial affections."⁸

The same author describes the triumph itself of the victorious Governor as follows:—

"The Governour came from Pangim in a little gally, different from the rest by its adorning; he had with him the old cavaliers, his companions in the expedition, who shar'd equally of the glory and danger. The galleons of the fleet went on head, in their stern follow'd the vessels with oars, with their sails furl'd in the brayles, and all shadow'd with the verdure of several boughs, appearing from the land, a loose wood, or moving city. When they came in sight of the fortress, by the horror of their salute, the war seem'd rather real than apparent; the guns also from the shore, gave'em so terrible an answer, as the senses could not distinguish whether it were a fight or triumph, all the fleet opened to make way for the governours galley. He was richly cloath'd, giving the season its due, and became then as well, and sprightly as his arms; he had on, a French suit of crimson satin, with gold twist about the slashes and seams, and not to forget he was a soldier, he put on a coat of mail wrought on cloth of gold with buttons of plate, feathers in his hat, and the guarniture of his sword gold. Upon the key, the officers of the Militia, nobility and magistracy of the city waited for him, with whom he entered the first gate, where one of the consuls made him a sobber speech in Latin, shewing, that by the advantage of his valour we had humbled the proudest scepter of the East, whose ruins would be his Fame's best trumpets; that Portugal had now secur'd the State, born again in his arms, who fought as well for religion, as empire, so laying his designs, as the voice of the gospel reach't parts so remote; that now the Moors and Pagans could not but believe that God to be Great, who was the God of so great victories; that after long revolutions of time in the East, men sailing by would point at the place of the battail, the destruction of Cambaya going in tradi-

8. Freire de Andrada, *The Life of Dom John de Castro*, pp. 200-201; (London, 1664).

tion from nation to nation, from kingdome, to kingdome; that parents would tell it their children, to fright'em with the memory of former danger; that now our colours gloriously roll'd up, might rest in the temple of peace, having opened that of victory. He discours'd largely upon the passages of his government, yet in the thoughts of the people, was rather sparing, than extravagant in his virtues, greater in the eyes of strangers, than in our praises. The end of the speech had its cadence in the harmony of differing, and agreeing instruments; immediately were shot off some guns, charg'd instead of bullets with diverse comfits, which failing at a little distance, made a pleasant, though running banquet for the common people. The Magistrates of the city receiv'd the Governor under a canopy, and presently a citizen of quality, reverently bowing, took his hat from his head, putting him on a crown of triumph, and in his hand a palm. The guardian of the Franciscan's Order walk't before, with the crucifix he held up in the Battail, the arm unnailed, and hanging, (a signal by which the Divine Majesty not only in that but this age hath secur'd to us our kingdoms and victories) that follow'd the Royal Banner of our Cinks, [the Quinas] beheld by the Moors and Pagans with fresh admiration; immediately came the standarts of Cambaya, dragg'd on the ground in the fight of Juzarcaon, and other commanders pinion'd, who represented the tragedy of their fortune, for them compassionate, to us pleasant; there were seen six hundred prisoners, dragging their chains after them, after them the field-pieces, with different and numerous arms. The ladies from their windows sprinkled the triumph with distill'd water of diverse spices."⁹

The glorious event for the Portuguese in India took place on April 15th, 1547.¹⁰

9. *Ibid.* p. 201-203.

10. Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 29. (Bombay, 1881)

Mahārājā Ajit Singh of Marwar

By

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Jodhpur.

IN the second volume (chapter 7, section 29, pp. 114-117) of the book named "Later Mughals" written by Mr. William Irvine and edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, it is stated:—"As Ajitsingh fell in love with the wife of his middle son Bakhatsingh, the latter stabbed him to death." The only authority quoted for this version is "Tazkirātussalātīn-i-chagatāi" of Muhammad Hādī Kamvarkhān.

A criticism on the above, headed "William Irvine and Mahārājā Ajit Singh" published by me in a Hindi Magazine named "Madhuri" (March 1928) as well as in the "Indian Antiquary" (March 1929, Vol. LVIII) shows that the emperor Muhammad Shāh after murdering the two Sayyid brothers resolved to assassinate Mahārājā Ajit Singh. The reason for this is quite clear as this trio were the most influential figures of the day, and Muhammad Shāh himself being placed on the Mughal throne by this trio was really afraid of them. Therefore to get rid of the said Mahārājā the Emperor first procured the help of Bhandāri Rāi Raghunāth of Jodhpur through Savāi Rājā Jaya Singh (the ruler of Jaipur), and then inducing the heir-apparent Kunvar Abhaya Singh, by threats and temptations, obtained a letter from him, in the name of his younger brother Bakhat Singh to get his plan fulfilled. This was the only reason that Bakhat Singh was given the fiefship of a large district like Nagaur¹ and an extraordinary title of "Rājādhirāj."

The fact that Mahārājā Ajit Singh was murdered at the instigation of the Emperor is clearly admitted by the contemporary Muhammadan writers like Shāh Nawāz Khān (Samsāmuddaula) and Muhammad Shafi Vārid in their respective books named "Maāsirul-Umara" and "Mirāt-i-Vāridāt".

If one sees the prefaces written by Kamvar and Vārid in their respective histories he will find that the former faced great diffi-

1. The Emperor first gave this district to Mahārājā Abhaya Singh in V. S. 1782 (A. D. 1725).

culties while collecting the material for his book owing to the lack of help coming from any quarter, but the latter compiled his book after thorough investigation. Further for the events in the latter's history from A. D. 1717 to 1739 (V. S. 1774 to 1796) the author admits himself as an eye witness, and, as the murder of Mahārājā Ajit Singh took place in A.D. 1724 (V.S. 1781), the statement of Vārid is naturally more reliable than that of Kamvar.

Is it not strange that in spite of all this a scholar like Sir Jadunath Sarkar, even after perusing all the facts laid before him long ago, cannot feel bold enough to decide the matter one way or the other, but has fallen for the last 2 years between the horns of a dilemma in re-examining the manuscripts of Kāmvar's history? I therefore think it necessary to put some more facts, in support of my view, which I hope will enable the learned scholar to decide the matter at an early date.

In the old chronicles of Mārwar it is stated:—"As Mahārājā Ajit Singh was murdered at the instigation of the Emperor his younger sons Ānand Singh, Kishor Singh and Rāya Singh, soon after his cremation, left Jodhpur and revolted against their elder brother Abhaya Singh to form an independent territory in Mārwar. They were also joined by some of the nobles of the State. But when after long attempts no success was achieved, Ānand Singh and Rāya Singh took possession of Īdar which was then in the Mansab of Mahārājā Abhaya Singh; and the Mahārājā on his part, considering the restoration of peace in Mārwar necessary, did not openly interfere in the matter." From that time Īdar has been ruled by the descendants of Ānand Singh.

The same chronicles also mention:—"According to the wishes of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh, Savāi Rājā Jaya Singh of Jaipur and Bhandārī Raghunāth of Jodhpur induced Rāj Kumār Abhaya Singh to get his father murdered by his younger brother Bakhat Singh. This was the only reason that, when after ascending the throne² of Mārwar, at Delhi, in V. S. 1781 (A. D. 1724), Mahārājā Abhaya Singh was prepared to start for Muttra to marry the daughter of Savāi Rājā Jaya Singh of Jaipur, the Sardārs

2. At the time of Abhaya Singh's coronation the Emperor bestowed on him the title of "Rāj Rājeshvar." ("Abhayodaya, chapter 6, stanza 11-12). This may also be a reward for his keeping silence about the conspiracy of the Emperor.

(nobles) of Mārwar, to put an obstacle in his way, pressed him first to pay a visit to Jodhpur. But when no heed was paid to their request some of them left Delhi for their respective Jāgirs, without his permission, while others joined his rebellious brothers Ānand Singh, Kishor Singh and Rāya Singh."

The letter of Mahārājā Abhaya Singh, dated the 10th day of the bright half of Bhādoṇ V. S. 1781 (18th August 1724), addressed to Abhaya Karaṇ, son of the well known Rāthor hero Durgādās, also supports the above fact. It contains the following:—"Abhaya-karaṇ the son of Durgādās may know the pleasure of Rājā Rājeshvara Mahārājādhirāj Abhaya Singh. Some persons have left our attendance without obtaining permission and perhaps they may misrepresent the matter to you. But you being loyal to your master, should not pay any heed to their call, and, seeing this letter, present yourself in our court after making due arrangements there. This is the command. Dated Bhādoṇ Sudī 10, V. S. 1781, Camp Jahānābād (Delhi)."

The chronicles of Mārwar further state:—"To revenge the death of their late Master, the Sardārs of Mārwar soon began to influence Mahārājā Abhaya Singh against Bhandārī Raghunāth. Though owing to the ministry of Raghunāth, all the important offices of the State at that time, were under the Bhandārīs yet the new Mahārājā was obliged to order their imprisonment and in compliance with this order some of them, who resisted, were killed. But even this action of Abhaya Singh could not appease the Sardārs, so the Mahārājā was compelled to put in custody Rāi Raghunāth himself while at Muttra.

In Vikrama Samvat 1782 (A. D. 1725) when the Mahārājā seeing the agitation subsided released Bhandārī Raghunāth and his brother Khinvasī, the Sardārs raised a fresh unanimous protest against this action and pressed him to reimprison them."

This shows that the Emperor Muhammad Shāh got Mahārājā Ajit Singh murdered with the help of Savāi Rājā Jaya Singh of Japiur and Bhandārī Raghunāth of Jodhpur, and, for this heinous crime, the Sardārs of Mārwar became his (Raghunāth's) bitter enemies. This was the reason which agitated the Sardārs and made them retire to their respective Jāgirs without the permission of the new Mahārājā and compelled him to imprison Rāi Raghunāth twice.

Further this was the only cause which afforded an opportunity for Anand Singh, etc., the younger sons of Mahārājā Ajit Singh, to revolt against their elder brother as well as to get the help of some of the Sardārs in establishing their independent rule at Idar, one of the "Mansab" Jāgirs of Abhaya Singh.

These are the internal affairs of Mārwar which prove the version. Now I shall try to quote from some of the original documents, collected by me, in this connection, to support the same theory.

There is a letter³ dated the 4th day of the bright half of Kārtik, V.S. 1782 (29th October 1725 A.D.), written by Savāi Rājā Jaya Singh of Jaipur to Mahārājā Abhaya Singh of Jodhpur, in which the writer after pressing Mahārājā Abhaya Singh to proceed to Aḥmadābād states:—"Your Highness wrote about the money for expenses and the Jāgīr for which a request has been submitted (to the Emperor) and his reply on receipt will be communicated to you later on."

Another letter, dated 2nd day of the bright half of Mārgsir (Aghahan), V.S. 1782 (11th November 1725 A.D.), of the same Savāi Rājā of Jaipur addressed to Mahārājā Abhaya Singh contains:—"And a letter of Rāi Raghunāth has been received by Purohit Budhrām instructing him to obtain the orders from the emperor's court regarding the Jāgīr. He has shown this original letter to me. But as Sarbuland Khān and the Gurjabardārs have informed the emperor that the Mahārājā has not yet started (for Aḥmadabad) the emperor has become disgusted and does not answer to any request made for Jāgīr or money for expenditure. I, therefore, write your Highness to start at once as soon as this letter is received and after reaching the second or fourth stage inform the Emperor of the fact through Gurjabardārs so that your Highness' Jāgīr can be sanctioned. It is not advisable to make the Emperor annoyed."

Letter,⁴ dated the 13th day of the bright half of Āshvin, V. S. 1784, (17th September 1727 A. D.), of Rājādhirāj Bakhat Singh contains:—

"And Bhandārī Anūp Singh informed me about the Governorship of Aḥmadābād which the Darbār wants to get. You should inform His Highness that that Governorship is not so valuable

3. This original letter was shown to Sir Jadunath Sarkar at Patna.

4. Only last half of this letter has been found.

now-a-days as the southern people have gained power and the raids of the Kōlis have increased in the province. When Navāb Sarbuland, who went with such a large army, could not control it, how would ("Bābāji")⁵ who will go only with his own army, do that. At present I see no gain in the Governorship. It will be disgraceful if after accepting the job control becomes impossible. Perhaps there may be some other motive in it which I cannot grasp. Further you have written that the arrangement of the Jāgīr has been done satisfactorily but it requires one lac of rupees, for preliminary expenses, which is lacking. You should, therefore, inform His Highness that if there is a delay of ten days the crop will be lost and even after that without paying the money nothing could be done. So, if no other arrangement for the money is possible the districts be mortgaged with banker and necessary arrangements made. In no case should there be any delay in obtaining the orders for the grant of districts."

These references show that the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, to get his desire fulfilled, might have promised,⁶ in addition a handsome Jāgīr to Abhaya Singh through Savāi Rājā Jaya Singh and Bhandārī Raghunāth but could not bestow it for certain reasons. This led the Mahārājā to delay his departure for Aḥmadābād and to press Savāi Rājā Jaya Singh and Rāi Raghunāth to get the Emperor's promise fulfilled. This action still more displeased the Emperor. At last the Mahārājā had to obey the Imperial command but he soon arranged for the above Jāgīr, promising a lac of rupees to the officials.

This letter of Bakhat Singh also informs us that, at the time, there was a talk of the bestowal of the Governorship of Aḥmadābād on Mahārājā Abhaya Singh.⁷

I hope Sir Jadunāth Sarkār, in addition to the facts laid before him in 1928 and 1929 will consider these fresh references, and I am confident, will be able to conclude that Kāmvar's statement is incorrect.

5. Elder brother.

6. My idea was that the Governorship of Gujarāt was also promised at the time but the letter of Rājādhirāj Bakhat Singh mentioned above shows that, in fact, the point was raised in V. S. 1784 (1727 A. D.).

7. "Maāsirul Umarā" also supports it. (Vol. III, Page 756).

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

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XII

I. EVENTS IN THE DECCAN—THE NIZAM AND THE MARATHAS: 1752-53.

THE first entry of the Diarist for November, 1752, gives the information that Ghaziu'd-din Khan, the eldest son of Nizamul-Mulk, Asaf Jah, had reached Aurangabad, where the Peishwa, Balaji Baji Rao, to whom Salabat Jang had sent Saiyid Lashkar Khan for help, met him and that both offered Berar to Salabat Jang, but the latter refused to accept the offer and declared his resolve to fight. Also Salabat Jang had put under arrest the *Killadar* of Hyderabad who threatened resistance, stationed M. Bussy¹ and the French troops there and after strengthening it, had marched

1. Bussy's anxiety was very great. "He wrote to Dupleix a letter which contemplated the possible necessity of retiring with Salabat Jang to Masulipatam or even to Pondicherry. In reply Dupleix announced the despatch of reinforcements amounting to 300 Europeans, urged the possibility of negotiations which would leave Salabat Jang at least the position of Ghaziu'd-din's deputy, and finally directed that if any thing should happen to Salabat Jang, Bussy should offer French support to his rival on condition of the renewal of all grants to the French." (Dodwell's *Dupleix and Clive*, pp. 87-88.)

Ranga Pillai had written on the 22nd September, that when Ghaziu'd-din had advanced 35 kos on this side of the Narmada, Saiyid Lashkar Khan was sent to Poona to treat with the Peishwa, Bussy had been appointed to the charge of the *killa* at Hyderabad and urgent requisitions had been sent to Pondicherry for soldiers powder, shot, etc., (p. 227 of the Diary Vol. VIII.)

On the eve of the poisoning of Ghaziu'd-din, Bussy regarded his situation as all but desperate—Dodwell quoting from Hamont's *Dupleix and Memoir pour Bussy expositif de ses créances sur la Compagnie de Indes* (1764).

forth, with a number of European troops, several thousand musketmen and about 10,000 horse towards Bidar. Ghaziu'd-din Khan also marched from Aurangabad ten stages, with about 60,000 or 70,000 horse; and both sides were resolved on war. News was received at Pondicherry, on the 10th November, that Ghaziu'd-din Khan was poisoned at the instigation of Salabat Jang, by his own cooks.² Dupleix was overjoyed at this, but wanted to make sure of it from letters from M. Bussy and others at Salabat Jang's camp.

When Salabat Jang heard of the death of his brother, he—so it was communicated to Kasidas Bukkanji's people at Fort St. David—wrote to Muhammad Ali Khan, confirming him in the Arcot Subah, promising him the declaratory *parwana* and other honours and giving him the title of Anwaru'd-din Khan Bahadur. When Salabat Jang sent Janoji Nimbalkar and Saiyid Lashkar Khan to the Peishwa to request his help, the latter wished to detain them; but Saiyid Lashkar Khan escaped while the other was seized. Janoji was subsequently released and went to Aurangabad to settle affairs there in consequence of the death of Ghaziu'd-din Khan. Two Maratha *sardars* who went along with Janoji to Aurangabad had camped opposite to Salabat Jang. In December, news was received at Pondicherry of a battle fought by the Peishwa, Mulhar Rao Holkar and others against Salabat Jang who was surrounded and forced to offer terms, including the cession of Khandesh, Berar, Panhala and other districts dependent on Burhanpur, except the town of Burhanpur itself as a *jaghir* to Baji Rao. The Nizam and the Peishwa exchanged visits; and both proposed to enter Mysore, as its ruler had not paid the tribute-money due for ten or twelve years. It was said that the Peishwa thought that he could not overthrow Salabat Jang who had French help and therefore proposed to accept the terms of peace if M. Bussy were sent to him. Bussy was escorted to the Peishwa's

2. According to Burhanu'd-din, Salabat Jang sent his own mother to Aurangabad where she was kindly received by her step-son, Ghaziu'd-din Khan. One day, she offered to prepare, with her own hands, a salad of cucumber pickled in curds, for him and brought to him the salad mixed with poison, which he took in unhesitatingly. The date of his death was the 16th October, 1752. Kasi Das Bukkanji's *gomastahs* sent word to Cuddalore that he fell sick on tasting the food and died on the third day. Kincaid and Parasnish say, in their *History of the Maratha People*, (Vol. III. p. 16), that it was the mother of Nizam Ali that poisoned Ghaziu'd-din who died on the 16th October.

camp by Mulhar Rao Holkar and his son, Appaji Holkar and treated with great respect. Finally it was agreed that Salabat Jang should fulfil Ghaziu'd-din's promises to the Peishwa that he should retain the body of 25,000 Maratha horse in his service that Saiyid Lashkar Khan should be restored to favour and that Mysore should be attacked with the help of Mulhar Rao Holkar and the Maratha troops who should have half the tribute that might be collected. After the peace was made, Salabat Jang bestowed on Bussy the title of Ghaznafar Jang while Muzaffar Khan who made terms with Baji Rao and joined him on receiving a large bribe, was cast into chains and imprisoned.³

It was also said that Balaji Rao, the Peishwa, insisted that Ghaziu'd-din Khan had granted him the Carnatic and desired that Salabat Jang should confirm the grant, proposing that he himself

3. Though Ghaziu'd-din was dead, the Marathas insisted on Salabat Jang carrying out his brother's promises to them; and they were supported by the Mughals of Burhanpur who, after their association with Ghaziu'd-din, were afraid to become the subjects of Salabat Jang. The latter left the decision to Bussy who, according to Kincaid and Parasnis, preferred a solid peace to a doubtful war and advised the surrender of a considerable tract of land, provided Raghuji Bhonsle first withdrew from the eastern provinces. Raghuji was asked by the Peishwa to do so. "Raghuji and the Peishwa, though often mutually jealous and plunged into intrigue against one another, managed nevertheless, to avoid an open clash, and often actually joined hands in furthering the extension and prestige of the Maratha Raj." This statement of Mr. G. S. Sardesai [*vide Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, 20, *The Bhonsles of Nagpur* (1717-1774)] is illustrated by Raghuji's compliance in the present instance, which led to the Nizam's cession of the whole country west of Berar from the Tapti to the Godavari to the Peishwa, by the Treaty of Bhalki concluded on the 25th November, 1752.

From *The Bhonsles of Nagpur* (1717-1774) we learn how Salabat Jang took into his service Muzaffar Khan, the trained artilleryman and how he was creating mischief for the Peishwa with the help of Ramchandra Jadhav (No. 134); and also of an agreement entered into between Raghuji Bhonsle and the Nizam through the influence of Saiyid Lashkar Khan and Janoji Nimbalkar (No. 135). Also we read of the Peishwa's disposition of the Maratha forces, after the death of Ghaziu'd-din Khan, in the impending action against Salabat Jang (No. 148); of the attempt to attack the Nizam if he should be enticed away from Bhalki; and of Visvas Rao Ballal's letter conveying the news of the victory gained by the Peishwa's troops over the Nizam and the humble manner in which the latter sued for peace (letter dated 8-12-1752).

Ranga Pillai's news was to the effect that Mulhar Rao Holkar himself was wounded in the fight, that there were 2 battles and that 400 Europeans (about as many as Bussy had with him altogether) were killed and that

should march to settle it and that his younger brother, Raghunath Rao and his cousin, Sadasiva Rao, were at Bidar with 30,000 horse on their way to the Carnatic. The Peishwa was also said to have written a letter to Pratap Singh of Tanjore that he had acted wrongly in joining Muhammad Ali Khan and destroying Chanda Sahib and should now make peace with Dupleix and try to "take off the head of Muhammad Ali Khan, the causer of the disturbances." The months of January and February were full of rumours of the expected march of the Peishwa to the Carnatic; it was feared by Dupleix that he might possibly intend to help the English and Muhammad Ali. In March, news was received at Pondicherry that Salabat Jang had seized Kondavidu, Guntur, etc., given as a *jaghir* to Bussy and Kambampetta, etc., given as a *jaghir* to Shaikh Ibrahim and that he had also dismissed 5,000 or 6,000 sepoy who were serving under them and ordered the remaining sepoy to be paid only 6 rupees a month or to be sent away if they did not agree; and that he had also dismissed M. Goupil who had been left in command at Hyderabad when Bussy was absent at Masulipatam, recuperating his health. Saiyid Lashkar Khan was dominant and he had joined with Janoji Nimbalkar and Raja

Salabat Jang offered Baji Rao a great area of the country and about 35 per cent of the Arcot revenues provided he would do as Bussy should advise.

Balaji Rao, in his letter to Nawab Muhammad Ali, received January 5th, 1753, said that he besieged Salabat Jang's camp on all sides at Bhalki and distressed it to the degree of starvation and concluded peace through means of Bussy, upon the following terms:—

(1) The whole subah of Khandesh and half of the subah of Aurangabad were to be given to the Peishwa, according to the agreement made with Ghaziu'd-din Khan.

(2) The Marathas were to collect *chauth* and *sirdeshmukhi* in all the subahs of the Deccan.

(3) Both parties were to march jointly to take possession of the Carnatic and dispose of it as they should think fit. (*Records of Fort St. George—Country Correspondence of 1753—Military Department—No. 2.*)

"This conclusion, like the conclusion of Bussy's other struggles with the Marathas, hardly warrants the belief which historians have expressed in Bussy's victories; but Bussy's troops though strong enough to check the enemy, were not numerous enough ever to give them a decisive overthrow. Although these latter (the French), to judge by the resultant terms of the peace, had not won the decisive victories which were subsequently claimed for them, they had undoubtedly maintained Salabat Jang in his position as Subhadar of the Deccan at an incomparably smaller price than he would have had to pay without their assistance." (Dodwell's *Dupleix and Clive*—pp. 88-89.)

Ramachandar Sen; and they would collect the money due to the discharged sepoy, in Masulipatam, for which a sanad had been given (Entry for March 26, 1753.)⁴

On the 8th of May, the Diarist received a letter from M. Goupil and another in Marathi, from Salabat Jang's camp on the Goda-

4. Bussy, after the peace with the Marathas, asked and obtained the district of Kondavidu, adjacent to Masulipatam. Raghuji Bhonsle meanwhile renewed hostilities and appeared before Kulbarga, three weeks after he separated from the Peishwa and began his depredations. Bussy wished to relieve Salabat Jang from all military operations and advised him to give Raghuji several districts in the neighbourhood of Berar. This alienated several nobles from Bussy's side; and, unfortunately, a few days after the peace with Raghuji, Bussy fell dangerously ill near Kulbarga and departed for Masulipatam in January, 1753, leaving all the French troops and sepoy with Salabat Jang who proceeded without interruption to Hyderabad. Saiyid Lashkar Khan pretended that he could not furnish the pay of the French army at the usual periods; and he contrived to wean his master from French influence and carry him to Aurangabad, permitting no more than a small detachment of Europeans and sepoy to accompany him. He instructed the Governor of Golconda to furnish no pay to those French men and sepoy who remained at Hyderabad and to distress them by every means except open hostilities. Goupil, the French commandant, divided his force into raiding detachments; and Saiyid Lashkar Khan was in constant correspondence with Balaji Rao and began to work in the Peishwa's interest; while Salabat Jang was in Aurangabad, nearer to Balaji and farther from Bussy.

The English wakil in Salabat Jang's camp wrote on May 6th, that Saiyid Lashkar Khan was very powerful and the French army doubted very much the sincerity of the Mussalmans. He subsequently wrote that Saiyid Lashkar Khan had prevailed on Salabat Jang to undertake his march to Aurangabad and that his resolution was "to disband the French army and to keep Salabat Jang separately which he has executed at present by acting as aforesaid." *Country Correspondence of 1753* (Records of Fort St. George). Nos. 133 and 134.

Saiyid Lashkar Khan also entered into correspondence with the English Governor Saunders, offering to aid him with the whole power of the Deccan if they would assist him in his schemes for the expulsion of the French. Saunders entered into active correspondence and encouraged him to persevere in his undertaking. Towards the end of April, 1753, the plot seemed on the verge of success; and Saiyid Lashkar wrote to Saunders:—"I have arranged the mode in which to rid myself of your enemies. The plan is in action and with the assistance of Providence the result will be what you wish. I expect to be with you by the end of the rains, and to arrange then everything in a satisfactory manner." (Malleon's *History of the French in India*—pp. 374-5.)

Saiyid Lashkar Khan's letter to Governor Saunders, read at a Council Consultation of July 10th, 1753, says that Salabat Jang was determined to settle the affairs of the Carnatic and "to extirpate the enemy" and that "a scheme

vari, to the south of Aurangabad. The couriers are said to have brought a *parwana* to the French Governor for the Carnatic *subah*. The European soldiers and officers with the Nizam were four months in arrears of pay and the cavalry and the sepoy were eight months in arrears; and the troubles caused on this account by the horsemen and the sepoy might ruin the camp unless affairs could be improved by the transport of money from Pondicherry. They also told that peace had been made between Salabat Jang and his brother Nizam Ali through the kind offices of Saiyid Lashkar Khan and Rajah Ramachandra Rao and that Salabat Jang attended but little to business and thought of nothing but drinking eating and women.⁵ In June Dupleix was writing to Bussy who had returned to Hyderabad and to Salabat Jang for a lease of the Carnatic at the rate at which it was given to Sadat-ullah.⁶

is on foot whereby they will meet their deserts"; and that "in regard to the President's hint concerning assistance to be given to the lawful person (Muhammad Ali), Salabat Jang has the same thing in view, exhorting us to continue firm in his (Salabat Jang's) interest, as we have already given instances of our duty."

(p. 117 of *Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department, 1753* (Records of Fort St. George).)

5. Goupil objected to going to Aurangabad, urging that the place was unhealthy for Europeans. Salabat Jang had with him only a bodyguard of 100 Frenchmen and a battalion of French sepoy, while the rest of the French troops were dispersed at Hyderabad and elsewhere. At Aurangabad it was given out that a French officer was contriving some mischief jointly with Nizam Ali who, along with another brother of his, was imprisoned in the fortress of Daulatabad. According to the letter of the English agent, Vasudeva Pandit, in Salabat Jang's camp, dated 8th August, 1753, the confidence which the Mughals placed in the French had now ceased; and Bussy who had arrived at Golconda from Masulipatam and intended to go to Aurangabad was informed by Salabat Jang "not to come to him saying that as the monsoon would continue four months longer he had better stay in Golconda and that after the monsoon he would send for him;" and also it was rumoured that a *sanad* would be granted, to Muhammad Ali Khan. See Diarist's entry for June 21, 1753 (p. 385 Vol. VIII.).

6. Bussy arrived at Hyderabad in July owing to the pressure of Dupleix and his own officers who urged the necessity of his return. Dupleix wrote that "the French nation had fallen to a degree of contempt from which you (Bussy) alone can save it." Bussy's great difficulty was finance; he contrived to borrow a sum sufficient to pay off a portion of the arrears due to the sepoy. The paying of nearly 2½ lakhs of rupees to the French contingent was very unpopular in the Nizam's court and was hotly resented by the Mughal nobles and all the troopers in the Nizam's army. The only method

On the other side, Saiyid Lashkar Khan persuaded Salabat Jang, according to the Diarist, to write to Pondicherry that the arrears due to the Europeans of the French contingent, should be met out of the 50 lakhs due from the Carnatic and that the balance should be paid to him without delay. He also proposed that the Europeans should remain either at Hyderabad or at Masulipatam, till after the rains, as large sums were due from the Guntur and Masulipatam Sarkars. In July the Diarist reported the receipt of a letter from Salabat Jang complaining that the French had not been paying any tribute at all for the Carnatic although it was delivered to them three years back; the letter added words to this effect:—"though you know my straits for money, yet you have sent none, even after my writing about it." In August, news reached Pondicherry that Salabat Jang's younger brothers, Nizam Ali and another had been imprisoned in the fort at Daulatabad and that Saiyid Lashkar Khan had ordered the French soldiers with the Nizam and their captain, M. Joinville, to depart and they had reached Golconda and written for orders about their future movements. Bussy was then at Hyderabad.

In September, 1753, Muzaffar Khan who was with Balaji Rao at Ahmadnagar wrote to the effect that Peishwa had received a *parwana* from the Delhi Emperor to the effect that the Deccan Subah should not be given to Salabat Jang, but to himself and that the Nizam should be seized and sent to Delhi, or, if possible, put to death; and the Peishwa had marched to Ahmadnagar with about 80,000 horse with the object of attacking and beating Salabat Jang. Muzaffar Khan himself had been ordered to enlist 10,000 musketeers and 4,000 cavalry with whom he was to march into the Carnatic. In November, the *sowcars* in Pondicherry brought about further complications in the situation. Balaji Rao and Tara Bai had quarrelled again; and the latter had sent to Salabat Jang a *hundi* for five lakhs of rupees for the getting ready of artillery and troops and

was to obtain a grant of the revenues which the French could collect for themselves. Bussy resolved to get the grant of the Sarkars of Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore and Guntur, in addition to those of Masulipatam and Kondavidu, already acquired.

Dupleix planned to get a lease of the Carnatic at the rate paid to the Nizam in Nawab Sadatullah's time, which, according to the Diarist, was said to amount to 12 lakhs, besides 2 lakhs for durbar expenses, 3 lakhs for the Marathas and separate *peshkash* for Trichinopoly and Tanjore and Anwaru'd-din Khan paid the Nizam 35 lakhs of rupees. Dupleix desired that he would pay Salabat Jang at Sadatullah's rate.

promising to help him with twenty or twenty-five thousand horse, in order to destroy the Peishwa. Janoji Nimbalkar who was an old enemy of the Peishwa, told Salabat Jang that, if he obeyed Tara Bai's wishes, he would join him with all the troops he could collect. Salabat Jang accepted the *hundi* and was preparing artillery and troops; while Baji Rao sent a conciliatory message to Tara Bai advising her to think well before she acted and not assist her own enemies and ruin her own house.⁷

The last entry of the Diarist for 1753 concerning the Deccan affairs is dated November 30, and details a letter from Bussy to Dupleix that Salabat Jang had ordered him and the French troops at Hyderabad to proceed to Masulipatam promising to send for

7. After the death of Raja Shahu Chattrapati the Peishwa contrived to make Ramaraja king, but to keep all real power in his own hands (January, 1750). The ambitious Tara Bai, the grandmother of Ramaraja, was resolved to control the state and ranged the Pratinidhi, Raghuji Bhonsle and Dabhade against the Peishwa. But the latter conciliated Raghuji and secured his good will by depriving the Pratinidhi of his *jaghir* in Berar and conferring it on him. Dabhade did not come to Satara and was indifferent to public affairs. He next humbled the *Pant Sachiv*, with whom Tara Bai struck up an alliance and deprived the Pratinidhi of all power. According to the Sangola Agreement (1750) consented to by the king at the dictation of the Peishwa, the subah of the Carnatic which had been assigned to Babuji Naik, was transferred to the Peishwa who promised to pay a larger subsidy to the royal treasury. Tara Bai was furious with Ramaraja for having consented to this agreement and conspired with Uma Bai Dabahade who resented the loss of his Gujerat fiefs forced on her son. She vented all her wrath on her powerless grandson and contrived to get him into her hold (Nov. 1750). She later intrigued, as we already saw, with Raja Raghunath Das and induced Uma Bai to send an army from Gujarat under Damaji Gaekwad. But the latter was defeated by the Peishwa and forced to come to an agreement with him (March 1752). Tara Bai, foiled in every one of her attempts, grew desperate and declared that Ramaraja was not her real grandson, but only an impostor (September, 1752); she even suggested that Sambhaji of the rival house of Kolhapur might be brought to ascend the throne of Satara. (See *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar* No. 6. *Ramaraja's Struggle for Power*. Letter No. 190 dated 26-4-1751, revealing intrigues within intrigues for setting aside Ramaraja and placing Sambhaji of Kolhapur on the throne, as well as another intrigue of Tarabai with Sambhaji to remove the Peishwa from power with the help of Damaji Gaekwad and the ex-Pratinidhi.) Even in December 1752, the Peishwa was informed of the intrigues of Babuji Naik with Tara Bai at Satara; and Jagjivan Pratinidhi reported to the Peshwa on 13-2-1753 that he had defeated Babuji Naik and taken his brother prisoner. A little later, Visvas Rao, the Peishwa's son, wrote to his agent with Tara Bai, replying to the terms of agreement proposed by the lady who found herself completely discomfited.

them, if necessary, when he visited Mysore and other parts and that he had actually advanced four stages this side of Hyderabad.⁸

Bussy reached Aurangabad where his enemies bent before him, Saiyid Lashkar Khan himself offering to surrender the seals of his office and requesting him to confer them on some other person. Bussy was clever enough to perceive the artifice of this seeming humility and soon came to terms with the Diwan. He had already set his mind on getting the four *sarkars* which were estimated to yield a revenue of 31 lakhs of rupees and to make, together with the yield of the territories already granted, a total of 42 lakhs. The *sarkars* were granted to Bussy personally for the maintenance of the French troops. According to Orme, after the preliminaries of the negotiations were finished the grant was formally made in a grand durbar at Aurangabad, by Salabat Jang on the 23rd November, 1753 (O.S.) (3rd Dec. N.S.). The terms included the stipulation that the French troops should have the charge of the Nizam's person, that the latter should not interfere in any manner in the affairs of Arcot; and all other affairs in general should be conducted in concurrence with Bussy who should support and befriend Saiyid Lashkar Khan in his office. The patents for the four *sarkars* were sent to Moracin the French chief at Masulipatam with instructions to take possession.⁹ Even before Bussy's acquisition of the *sarkars*, Dupleix was intriguing with the agent of Vijayaram Raja of Vizianagram who had previously helped the English when the latter's factories at Vizagapatam and other ports were attacked by Jafar Ali Khan, under instruction

8. This is hard to reconcile with Bussy having set out for Aurangabad in November, 1753 and his having arranged preliminaries on December 4, with Saiyid Lashkar Khan regarding the grant of the four *sarkars* of Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustaphanagar and even interviewed Salabat Jang (Malleon, p. 379; Dodwell, p. 92.).

According to Orme, Bussy left Golconda in the middle of October; and Salabat Jang, being then troubled by the prospect of another rupture with Raghuji, could not check the uncalled for approach of Bussy; while Saiyid Lashkar Khan professed the humblest obedience. The Madras Council wrote to Nawab Muhammad Ali, on November 6th (17th), 1753, that the French had sent several reinforcements to Golconda and Bussy was on his march to Aurangabad. (p. 136 of *The Country Correspondence, Military Department, 1753.*)

9. (Orme—Book V, p. 334 of Vol. I. 4th ed.) Saiyid Lashkar Khan was alive to the danger of allowing the French, possession of such a long tract of the coast; and he offered Bussy a much larger tract of country in the inland parts, provided he would desist from demanding these provinces.

from Salabat Jang. The Raja was promised more *mansab* jaghirs and honours and a supply of powder, shot and cannon, if only he should destroy the English settlements in the region.¹⁰

II. OPERATIONS ROUND TIRUVITI—FRENCH ALLIANCE WITH MURARI RAO.

In November 1752 the Diarist mentions a letter written by Dupleix to Murari Rao asking him to attack Mu'tabar Khan, the killedar of Ranjangudi who had betrayed the French and delivered over their goods and money (probably plunder taken from D'Auteuil's army after its surrender in May) to the English. Murari Rao was asked to take the town from him and promised half the plunder that might be got. About the close of that month, news was received of disagreement between the English and Muhammad Ali who was not able to continue his monthly payments; and Abdul Wahab Khan, the Nawab's younger brother, had marched on Nellore and taken possession of it, but the English had sent people to intercept him and hinder him from proceeding until he had paid their dues.

On the 17th December, Muhammad Ali Khan and the English attacked the French camp at Bahur and inflicted such heavy losses, that only 10 or 20 escaped to Pondicherry out of 200.¹¹

Dupleix's intrigues with Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore had begun as early as July; he was reputed to be very rich and might

10. See the Diarist's report of the secret message given by Dupleix to Jamal Muhammad, Vijayarama Raja's messenger—pp. 362-3 of the *Diary*, Vol. VIII. Vijayarama Raja was the most powerful of the local renter-chieftains, and Jafar Ali, the *jaujdar* of Chicacole, who was disinclined to give up his charge to the French, persuaded him to join him in opposing Moracin's entry. The French however seduced Vijayarama Raja from observing this compact, by promising to lease him the Rajahmundry and Chicacole *sarkars* at a much lower rate. Jafar Ali then called in the help of the Marathas of Nagpur who plundered the Dutch factory at Bimlipatam, but spared the English factory at Vizagapatam, as Jafar Ali had counted their help and had been encouraged by them in his revolt, defeated Vijayarama Raja near Vizianagram and fought with Moracin near Tumapala and suddenly recrossed the Godavari; with enormous booty (p. 31. of W. Francis' *Vizagapatam District Gazetteer.*)

11. The English army returned to Tiruvadi from the attack on Taqi Sahib of Wandiwash by the 11th of November. On that day the monsoon burst on the country with a violent hurricane; and many of the troops and those of the Nawab had to retire to Fort St. David and elsewhere for the season.

pay handsomely for French support. The Diarist's entries for December 20, 1752 and the next day mention the Khan as having fallen into the net of Dupleix. M. Le Gris was sent to Vellore to make ready its fort where guns were being got ready to prepare for an attack on Arcot. Dupleix also intrigued to procure the escape of the French soldiers and officers who were imprisoned at Arcot; but the English learnt of it and sent away the prisoners under safe escort to Madras.^{11a} On December 22, Murari Rao's letter of negotiation was delivered to Dupleix with a list of his twenty-two demands, comprehending a *jaghir* besides certain forts, a lease of certain districts and the Sirpi, Yadiki and Tadpatri countries in *jaghir*. Dupleix agreed to them all, except that he insisted on Yadiki and Tadpatri being given only on lease and Sirpi not being given at all. Dupleix would also give Murari Rao the right of the Carnatic *chauth*, in spite of his understanding with the Peishwa to whom Salabat Jang had agreed to grant it, but on condition that he assisted in driving away the latter's (Peishwa's) invading army. He also agreed to pay Murari Rao 1¼ lakhs every month, besides the present of 2 lakhs agreed upon. We are told that, in the course of the negotiations with the vakils of Murari Rao, the governor and Madame Dupleix privately called three out of the four vakils and told them that, if they could by any means secure Murari Rao's assistance, they would be gratified.¹² Murari Rao's Vakil, Subba Rao, continued to stay on in Pondicherry after

11-a. Orme, Vol. I. p. 275, describing the conspiracy of Murtaza Ali with the French prisoners at Arcot to rise and overpower the English garrison.

12. Vide Martineau's *Dupleix et l'Inde Française*, Vol. III, pp. 308-9. *Accords avec Morarao*. Murari Rao arrived at Valudavur where, after four days, the final terms of the agreement were arrived at. They were:—

(1) Papayya Pillai, receiver-general of the finances of the Carnatic, would pay him monthly 1¼ lakhs. (2) Dupleix should obtain for him the districts of Ascotte (Hoskote), Kolar, Gooty, Penukonda and the ordinary *jaghirs* of these four fortresses. (3) Both were to share equally in the booty whether got in the field or in fortresses. (4) Murari Rao should remain at the French side with his army, till the affairs of the country should be fully settled and till Dupleix should give him permission. (5) The payment of Murari Rao's army was to commence from the 20th December (4,000 cavaliers and 2,000 *fantassins*).

Ananda Ranga Pillai tells us that he was received at Pondicherry with the same honours as were paid to Muzaffar Jang. Martineau tells us that it was likely that it was planned to harass and attack the enemy as much on the side of Tiruviti and Cuddalore, as on the side of Bhuvanagiri, Porto Novo and Chidambaram; the control of this region should precede the march on Trichinopoly.

the settlement was agreed on. By the middle of January Murari Rao had reached Pondicherry with a body of 4,000 men and he marched, together with 500 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys to the vicinity of Tiruviti, upon which Major Lawrence and the Nawab returned from Fort St. David to their former encampment. The French attacked Muhammad Ali's army which, being unable to resist, fled towards Fort St. David and began to besiege the small party left in Tiruviti fort. When Muhammad Ali and the English had gone about 4 miles, the Maratha horse fell on the Nawab's troops with great fury.¹³ On the night of January 31, 1753, the Diarist heard that Muhammad Ali had reached Fort St. David with his army and the French were attacking Tiruviti fort. On February 16th it was recorded by the Diarist that a small body of the enemy, marching to Tiruviti from Fort St. David, were attacked by the French and Murari Rao's troops and the officer in command and all his people, numbering 8 soldiers and 200 sepoys were killed and the cannon, muskets and provisions were carried to the French camp.¹⁴

13. Orme details the attack of the Marathas on Tiruviti, with three field-pieces, on January 20. Lawrence advanced two miles towards their camp, but when returning, was furiously surrounded and had to retreat with 100 slain. "Murari Rao, on his return to the camp, reproached the French for their cowardice, in not having supported him in the manner that had been concerted between them." Murari Rao continued to distress the enemy by sending out parties to prevent supplies reaching their camp; and Lawrence had to march with his whole force and escort his supplies from Fort St. David. These marches were excessively fatiguing and might have been dangerous, "had the French behaved with the same activity and spirit as the Marathas", who alone harassed and occasionally charged on their line of march. Du. Saussay, the French captain, was very irresolute and talked ill of Murari Rao. Nawab Anwaru'd-din Khan (i.e. Muhammad Ali) wrote to Madras on the 28th January (N.S.) that Major Lawrence reached his camp on the 16th and engaged the enemy on the 19th when "the major behaved like a Rustem, an old hero, and punished them severely and took three of their guns"—referring probably to the first advance of Lawrence against the French camp. (p. 7, *Country Correspondence, Military Department*, 1753). Martineau (Vol. III, p. 317) says that the affair was neither a victory, nor a defeat for either party.

14. Orme tells us of an engagement, rather skirmish, on the 8th February (N.S.) in which the French did not venture to attack the troops with the convoy, being dispirited by the loss of 300 of their horse in the different previous skirmishes of the day. Dupleix, trying to protract the operations, asked the French to remain on the defensive and strengthen their entrenchments. The English, to make up for their deficiency in cavalry, solicited the Rajah of Tanjore for help in this direction. The latter promised compliance and actually sent some troops, but hastily recalled them on hearing that the Marathas had entered his kingdom.

Early in March, Murtaza Ali Khan was met at Valudavur in state, on his way to Pondicherry, but he was not treated, as the Diarist remarked, with a tithe of the respect that was shown to Murari Rao. Further Dupleix is reported to have said that the Khan was "a mean fellow, quite unfit for his position." On his departure, he was given by Dupelux the title of Zulbasar Jang. But the latter demanded three lakhs of rupees that he had promised to pay and asked him to proceed to Tiruvannamalai, Tirukovilur, Kallakurichi, Sankarapuram and other places and to collect the revenues due from them and thus weaken the enemy. Murtaza Ali was not inclined to do so, and argued that if he occupied Arcot first, the rest of the fortresses could be easily taken. He departed, promising to pay at least a lakh of rupees and getting a mansab of 2,000 horse and a naqqara.¹⁵

Throughout March the French operations round Tiruviti were dull; and this was due not only to the want of agreement between the French Captain and Murari Rao, but also to other difficulties. The Diarist's entry for March 30, 1753, tells us of the seizure of Tiruvendipuram, three miles west of Tirupapuliyur, by Murari Rao and La Volonte, and that Muhammad Ali was in great difficulty for money and provisions, and therefore proceeded to Cuddalore, having put in a garrison at Tiruviti.

On the 1st of April, Murari Rao and his brother, Bhujanga Rao, advanced against Muhammad Ali and the English who were marching from Fort St. David, near Tiruviti taking provisions with them. The Maratha horsemen made a dashing charge, threw the enemy into confusion and took their guns and provisions. Muhammad Ali and his *Bakshi* v *Muhammad Abrar* were wounded, but Bhujanga Rao was killed; while Murari Rao had his horse shot under him. The Diarist remarks:—"Others of Murari Rao's people were killed; but the enemy lost more. Although our army retreated the Marathas fought gloriously. They showed two or three times as much courage as they usually do, and our people disappointed them." This was the opinion of Dupleix who ordered a dress of honour and presents to be sent to Murari Rao.¹⁶ It was hoped that the

15. Martineau, Vol. III, p. 292 and *Country Correspondence*, 1753 - Letter No. 66.

16. Orme testifies to the vigour of the charge of the Maratha cavalry on the English convoy which they followed from the vicinity of Fort St. David.

Marathas would cut off completely all communication with Fort St. David.¹⁷ Murari Rao complained of the failure of the French soldiers in camp to assist him and of their refusal to fight the enemy. He required guns, shot and powder of which a small quantity was sent. News came of continuous skirmishing near Tiruviti to which Muhammad Ali Khan had retired. Dupleix was so anxious to hear the news of his death, that the Diarist remarks, in his entry for 8th April 1753, that he promised to give 1,000 pagodas and an elephant to whomsoever brought him the news of Muhammad Ali Khan's death. But Murari Rao's troops remained unpaid for two months; and no money was coming in, while Pondicherry had to pay three lakhs every month. The chief disease, more serious than that of military inefficiency, was that of financial ruin.

At last it was learnt that Muhammad Ali Khan proceeded from Tiruviti to Fort St. David on the 21st April, that he was unable to pay his troops or to buy provisions and that Trichinopoly fort could no longer be held unless he went there immediately, as the garri-

He says that Bazin Row (Bhujanga Rao) was Murari Rao's nephew, the same who came to Clive's assistance after the siege of Arcot. The day ended with Lawrence assaulting the French near Tiruviti, but giving up the attempt owing to the strength of the French works.

17. The first three months of 1753 were ineffectually employed by Lawrence in bringing the enemy to a decisive engagement. His failure to do so convinced him of the necessity of changing his plans. Dupleix's plan was to approach Tiruviti and to expose it to two fires, from the west and the north, while communications should be interrupted from the side of Cuddalore; while other troops should operate on the south in the direction of Chidambaram and Bhuvanagiri. But Maissin, the new commander, though possessed of talent, would not listen to the suggestions of Dupleix. In the month of February, he did not accomplish anything to injure the enemy. In March the situation was not modified either. Dupleix asked in vain Murari Rao and Maissin to co-operate. The English situation also became desperate owing to difficulties of revictualling; and they were reduced to severe distress towards the end of March. In the action that took place on the 1st of April, Lawrence was assailed by the French army, three miles from Tiruviti and lost a part of his convoy. Murari Rao lost his brother. The English lost 53 soldiers. But Tiruviti continued to resist; and the English were holding the country with their mobile detachments. Maissin and Murari Rai were far from agreeing with each other; and there was even a talk of abandoning everything and retreating to Valudavur. Lawrence left Tiruviti for Trichinopoly on the 22nd. Astruc was instructed to follow Lawrence while Maissin should attack the English in their limits of Cuddalore and raze the town and destroy the garden at Manjakuppam. Dupleix thus hoped to compell Lawrence to retrace his march and leave Trichinopoly to Nandi Raja (Martineau, III, ch. 13).

son was disaffected and on the side of the Mysoreans, having no money for their pay and provisions and that no more letters would be sent. After Muhammad Ali had advanced to Chidambaram, he was prevented from going further by 2,000 of Murari Rao's horse-men, for a time. When he had crossed the Coleroon, news came to him, according to the Diarist that the Mysoreans had taken Trichinopoly (not true); and then he wanted to return to Cuddalore, but Murari Rao's horsemen attacked his troops and dispersed them on the bank of the Coleroon. The Diarist sententiously remarks that "Muhammad Ali Khan's misfortune began 15 days ago when he fled from Tiruviti. In another 15 days his business will be settled." To add to this, Hasan'u'd-din Khan¹⁸ who had fallen a prisoner into English hands in the first siege of Trichinopoly, made good his escape from Fort St. David; and this was expected to bring about an increase of misunderstanding between Governor Saunders and the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, as well as between Muhammad Ali and the English authorities. The story of Shaikh Hasan's escape is told at great length by the Diarist and resembles in some respect that of Shivaji's escape from Mughal custody at Agra. His brother, Abdul Rahman, who had risen high in the service of the Nizam and had later gone over to the Peishwa, got the latter to write to Muhammad Ali urging his release.¹⁹

The Diarist tells us of the correspondence that passed between the English and the French Governors regarding Muhammad Ali's grant of Tiruviti to the former and the consequent impropriety of the French attacking the place; and the latter retorted that the fort was first in his possession when Muhammad Ali seized it by force. Shaikh Hasan who had ambitions of his own, asked Duplex why he had given the Arcot Subah to Murtaza Ali Khan and declared that he would pay the revenues if it were given to him, adding that he had *parwanas* for the Vellore *killas* from Muzaffar

18. Shaikh Hasan and Abdul Rahman were first commissioned as captains of sepoys, in 1744; and both took a prominent part in the capture of Madras and in the expedition against Anwaru'd-din Khan. Shaikh Hasan took Tiruviti fort in July 1750. He had to suffer greatly from the mutinous spirit of his troops. (See the author's article on *The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, IX, iii, JIH, Vol. X, Part I.). According to Prof. Dodwell, Shaikh Hasan was reputed to be the man who slew Anwaru'd-din at Ambur. There is no hint of this in Burhanu'd-din's *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*.

19. *Country Correspondence, Military Department, 1753*, pp. 38-39.

Jang and Salabat Jang. The Governor told him that he could take possession of the Chetpattu fort and jaghir which had been assigned to him.

The beginning of May saw the approach of a crisis in the situation round Tiruviti. Murari Rao announced a victory that he secured over a body of English soldiers and sepoys that sallied out of Tiruviti, whom he beat severely. But he added that, though preparations were made to scale the fort, the attack had to be postponed. He was joined by Shaikh Hasan and renewed the attack and succeeded in capturing the fort on May 7th, in the evening. But, according to the Diarist, the English had sent off their property to Fort St. David on the previous night and departed with their weapons. In ignorance of this, the French went on firing cannon and mortars all the day; and when they finally entered the fort, they found only 29 French soldiers and 12 officers who had been formerly captured by the English. Papayya Pillai was appointed to the charge of the *Panchmahal* country, comprising Tiruviti, Tirthanagari, Porto Novo, Bhuvanagiri and Venkatammalpettai; and orders were given for the demolition of the fort.²⁰

It was only after the capture of Tiruviti, that the French control over the neighbourhood of the Gingee country became effective, at least partially. The capture of the Chidambaram pagoda from Mudamiah was followed by the seizure of neighbouring *killas*. But the ravages of Maratha horsemen rendered cultivation impossible in the countries of Tirukovilur, Eravasanallur, Gingee, etc.; and according to the Diarist, "not one cash has been received from the 150 and odd pargannahs of the Carnatic" (entry for July 19,

20. For the capture of Tiruviti, see Orme, Vol. I, pp. 286-7. He says that the Marathas cut every man of the party who sallied from the fort. After this there was a mutiny among the remaining men of the garrison; and the captain, not able to prevent his men from getting drunk, was obliged to capitulate and was made captive along with his men. Captain Chase who thus surrendered, died of a fever, soon afterwards, at Pondicherry. According to the *Diary and Consultation Book, 1753* (Records of Fort St. George), Captain Chase, whom Major Lawrence had left in command, made a sally on the French attackers on the 26th April. On the 2nd May, an English party which sallied out was defeated by the Marathas who killed some and imprisoned the rest. The enemy took possession of the village, erected a battery and threw shells into the fort. Tiruviti surrendered on the 7th May, as the men refused to maintain the fort any longer and a breach was made and the defences destroyed. (Letter of Mr. Starke to Governor Saunders—dated 8th May.).

1753). Mutabar Khan of Ranjangudi seized, in July, Eravāsallur and eleven other places, and could not be dislodged without a large body of Maratha horse marching against him. Further, Murtaza Ali's troops, cowardly like their master, could not take the Tiruvannamalai fort, though they raised batteries round it and had to retreat, while the French troops who accompanied them, had to retrace their steps to Gingee. In October, the English, Muhammad Ali's people and those of Vēttavalam made a night attack upon the French camp and forced Shaikh Hasan who had been sent to reinforce the ally to retire to Gingee. The enemy was in possession of the pargannahs of Uttaramēsur, Tiruvottiyur and Sālavākkam and extended his power as far as Tindivanam and Merkanam. Muhammad Ali's troops captured Tirupati, slaying Muhammad Kamal, its *amaldar*, who was maintaining French influence.

III. OPERATIONS ROUND TRICHINOPOLY—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE MYSOREANS (1753).

THE Mysore army had borne no part in the operations when the surrender and subsequent murder of Chanda Sahib occurred. His head was sent up as a trophy to Seringapatam and hung up over the Mysore gate.²¹ Nanja Raja claimed Trichinopoly as we have seen; and Muhammad Ali was no longer able to conceal from the English his illegally formed agreement; but coolly declared that he had never intended to observe the compact. At the same time he tried to deceive the Dalavayi with fresh promises that he would deliver up the town in two months and made over to him the revenues of the island of Srirangam and the adjacent region. The result was that the Mysorean intercepted supplies to the Nawab's garrison and the English troops, opened negotiations with Dupleix and contrived his best to gain the fort by treachery.²² But all his attempts were frustrated by the cleverness of Major Lawrence.

21. Wilks says that the head was taken by Muhammad Ali and delivered to Nanja Raja and sent by him to Seringapatam where it was suspended in a *cheenka* over the southern or Mysore gate, to be gazed at by the multitude for three days, as a public trophy, "of the victories in which the troops of Mysore had as yet borne no very distinguished part." Mr. Orme was informed that the head was never carried out of the Carnatic.

22. The English victory at Bahur checked the resolution of Nanja Raja of declaring openly for the French—See Orme, Vol. I, pp. 257-8. The Mysorean is alleged to have plotted to shoot Captain Dalton as he was about

In October, we saw Nanja Raja camping at Karur and recalling Innis Khan, the pay-master, from the camp of Muhammad Ali. In December the Madras Council thought it was now time to treat Nanja Raja as a declared enemy; and on the 23rd of that month O.S. Captain Dalton made an assault on the Mysorean camp under the north wall of Srirangam, but could not force their entry into the pagoda.²³ The Diarist received news from the Mysore wakil at Pondicherry that the Dalavayi had taken the fort, imprisoned some of the garrison, killed the rest and entertained 100 French soldiers formerly imprisoned there (entry for January 31, 1753). This seems to have been believed in even by Dupleix. This was possibly an echo of Dalton's set back in his attempt to capture the Srirangam pagoda. Nanja Raja (usually written as Nandi Raja by the Diarist) wrote in the middle of February to his *wakil* at Pondicherry that as Balaji Rao's troops had advanced to Sirpi, Deva Raja, the chief Dalavayi, had written to him to leave a sufficient body of men at Srirangam and join him. He intended to march towards Mysore immediately and desired that the French and Murari Rao should combine to prevent the Peishwa's further advance into the Mysore country. He promised the French the subah of Arcot retaining for himself Trichinopoly in case of success.²⁴ During the whole of March we do not hear anything about Nanja Raja's movements from the Diarist. Nanja Raja's blockade

to March from Trichinopoly to join the Nawab at Tiruviti and it was discovered, from questioning one of the conspirators, that Khairu'd-din Khan, the Nawab's brother-in-law and commander of the fort, was also to be shot. The plots were discovered and frustrated.

23. On the following night the English captured a choultry overlooking the southern gate of the Srirangam temple and bombarded the enemy; but they retreated on account of an unconscionable feeling of panic across the river before a body of Maratha horse with a loss of 70 Europeans and 300 sepoy. After this Dalton lost all hope of driving the Mysoreans out of Srirangam. The affair took place on Dec. 25th (O.S.) i.e. 5th Jan. (N.S.). The charge against the English was led by Hari Singh, a Rajput *jamadar* of the Mysore cavalry, and the rival of Hyder Ali for military distinction. Captain Dalton had now to stand on the defensive and turned out, as a measure of precaution, the Mysore troops, to the number of 700, that were in the fort; while their captain, Gopal Raj, believed to be a brother of Nanja Raj, was kept in confinement.

24. For a summary of the negotiations between Dupleix and Nanja Raja Vide Martineau, III. pp. 310 et seq. The quasi-rupture between Nanja Raja and Murari Rao on one side and the English and Muhammad Ali on the other, which began on the day after the capitulation of Law persisted. Lawrence had agreed by a compromise, to allow Nandi Raja to remain under the walls of Trichinopoly, without participating on the military operations on

of Trichinopoly was complete by March while there was no co-operation between Captain Dalton, the Commander of the garrison, and Khairu'd-din Khan, the killedar of the fort; and provisions were getting thinner and thinner and could not come in. In April

this side. Perhaps the Mysoreans had been conciliatory only in the idea of entering the place with a force when the English should have gone away. Lawrence left Dalton with a force sufficiently strong to repel an attack. But Nanja Raja did not attack; a plan that he devised, to enter the town by a treason, opened the eyes of the English to the disposition of their former allies. Lawrence wanted to profit by the uncertainty that still prevailed among them; the Council of Madras was of another opinion. Having at last learnt for certain that he would have neither Trichinopoly nor "indemnité en tenant lieu," Nandi Raja declared himself at the same time against the English and Muhammad Ali and made a brisk attack on them in Srirangam (20th December). He could not maintain himself there, but two days afterwards, he attacked another English party commanded by Dalton himself, on the east of Trichinopoly, on the bank of the Kaveri. The English were forced, panic-stricken, and with appreciable loss, to the gates of Trichinopoly.

Nanja Raja however did not want to treat with Dupleix before knowing as to how he should act towards Muhammad Ali. On the 7th December Dupleix announced to the Mysore wakil that his master could have his friendship whenever he wanted it. At last, on the 24th February, 1753, Nanja Raja, acting in the name of his brother, the Regent, made to Dupleix, the following promises.

- (1) I (Deva Raja) will recognise and be friendly with whomsoever you may nominate as the *naib* (lieutenant) in the province Arcot.
 - (2) For the conquest of Trichinopoly, you will furnish bullets, cannon, powder, etc., and I shall pay 15 lakhs, 4 lakhs in advance and the balance after you should give me Trichinopoly and the *parwana* from Salabat Jang.
 - (3) For the grant of Trichinopoly and for getting me the sanads from Salabat Jang, I shall pay him whatever my wakil at his court should have agreed with him for *nazar* and *darbar* expenses, as soon as I should be in possession of the fortress.
 - (4) I shall pay the usual tribute that was paid from the time of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Naicken, as soon as I get the sanad from Salabat Jang; besides I shall pay to the Company, through the Governor of Pondicherry, 3 lakhs annually.
 - (5) I shall give *Karbbander* to the French Company.
 - (6) (7) If Muhammad Ali should cede Trichinopoly, I shall take it, but not become his ally thereby. You in the possession of the fortress and country of Arcot and I, in the fort and country of Trichinopoly, should live in amity; if Mughals or Marathas should attack Trichinopoly or Seringapatam, you will help me; and if Arcot or Pondicherry is attacked, I shall send you help.
 - (8) After I get hold of Trichinopoly, I shall act according to your wishes with reference to Tanjore.
 - (9) I shall recall my vakils from our adversaries.
- Martineau adds:—It is not to be doubted that Dupleix was thinking of seizing Trichinopoly on his own account, if chance should favour him.

Muhammad Ali resolved to depart from Tiruviti for Trichinopoly; but his advance beyond Chidambaram and the Coleroon was prevented by a body of Murari Rao's horsemen. News was current then that Nanja Raja had actually taken Trichinopoly; a little later we are told by the Diarist that the Mysore troops had surrounded the fort and that Murari Rao's troops were pursuing Muhammad Ali into the Tanjore country. On the 2nd of May the Diarist wrote that Muhammad Ali had set out from Kumbakonam with 1,000 English soldiers 5,000 infantry and 18 guns and had attacked the Mysore troops encamped against Trichinopoly; and the latter had retreated into Srirangam; also Murari Rao had sent 1,500 horse to the Mysore camp, while a body of French troops were attacking Chidambaram. The entry for the 23rd of May records a statement by Dupleix that Muhammad Ali had reached Trichinopoly by a stratagem, defeated Nanja Raja and his army and removed his treasure; and that the latter could not hold on, unless he was joined by the French troops from Tiruviti and Murari Rao. On the 28th May, after the capture of the Chidambaram pagoda, Dupleix ordered Shaikh Hasan to collect men and join the Mysore camp, as Nanja Raja had repeatedly asked for his services. On the 4th June a bill of exchange for 3 lakhs was received from Nanja Raja, drawn payable in a month and a half, at which Dupleix greatly fretted. The French captured Vriddachalam and Kallakurichi a few days later; and this, with their capture of Chidambaram from Mudamiah a few weeks before, enabled them to control the entire region to the north of the Coleroon.

By the middle of June, Astruc and La Volonte had joined Nanja Raja, with 300 soldiers, guns, infantry, etc., at Srirangam; and they had entrenched themselves at Sandapettaimalai, beyond the Kaveri—the place being identified with what is known as the French Rock. On the 8th day after the French had encamped La Volonte's troops were surprised in a night attack; and their camp was burnt, while their cannon and movables were carried off into the fort by the enemy. Nanja Raja was greatly irritated at this mishap which was not referred to by Orme and "must have been a very minor affair," according to Dodwell, somewhat exaggerated in the Diarist's record.

Some days later the French troops under Astruc captured Kaludaimalai, about three miles from Trichinopoly, where they captured a gun and killed some infantry and ten Englishmen who were there. The French were then attacked by Lawrence and

Muhammad Ali Khan's troops and had to retreat, abandoning their canon, etc., and flee to Nanja Raja's camp. "All the infantry, except the slain, flung away their arms and fled. Balaji-Ghorpade, a sardar of Murari Rao's army, 5 or 6 jemadars and 20 or 30 troopers were killed. If the Marathas had not fought bravely, our whole army would have been destroyed. One of Nandi Raja's principal officers was also killed." (Diarist's entry for July 2, 1753).²⁵

In July Muhammad Ali and Lawrence marched with their troops to Tanjore from whom they obtained 1,000 or 1,500 horse, 5,000 foot and a lakh of rupees; and then they made an alliance with the Tondaiman, the Marava (of Ramnad) and others.²⁶ As Nanja

25. Lawrence's despatch to Madras, dated June 27, 1753, says that the previous day, "the enemy attacked one of our advanced posts, which being defended only by sepoys, they carried before we could get up to their assistance. Upon my marching out on the plain their whole army did the same; and a general action ensued in which the Nabob's troops were lucky enough to retake the post and repulsed the enemy which went off in such confusion that they left 2 pieces of cannon and a Haubitz behind them, likewise, their killed and wounded, among whom we found Bollapah, Moraree's nephew, who commanded all the Morattoes now with the Daloway. . . . Their loss was considerable both in men and horses; it must certainly give the Dalloway a strange idea of his European Ally, for though backed by so numerous an army, they behaved in a most dastardly manner." (p. 121. *Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department, 1753.*)

According to Orme, Trichinopoly was saved "by this success, which astonished even those who had gained it . . . for, as the city would inevitably have fallen if the English had remained inactive, so the loss of it would have been hastened only a few days, if they had been defeated." (pp. 293-4 of Vol. I.).

Burhanu'd-din, in his *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*, describes Nanja Raja's erection of defences round about the Golden Rock and the French forces stationed on the hill opposite. He then tells of the Nawab's desperate resolution to attack the enemy. The hill came to be known from that day as *Fateh Pahadi* (hill of victory.)

26. Both Dupleix and Nanja Raja intrigued with Pratap Singh of Tanjore and made him vacillate in his alliance with the English. They threatened that his country would be laid waste by Murari Rao's horse and bribed the Raja's chief minister, Sakkoji who succeeded in procuring the dismissal of Mankoji who was of service to the English and the Nawab. Pratap Singh was on the point of signing a treaty of alliance with the French when a signal defeat of the latter induced him to return back to his old alliance (Venkasami Rao, *The Tanjore Manual*, p. 789; also *Wilks*, Vol. I, p. 197). In February 1753, Pratap Singh recalled his cavalry from joining the English at Tiruviti. In May-June he was dissuaded by the Mysoreans from supplying

Raja could not stand before them, Astruc declared to Dupleix that he could not continue without assistance. Dupleix had to recall him. On the 25th of July the Diarist noted the contents of a letter received from Nanja Raja to the effect that Astruc had been quarrelling and had crossed the Coleroon which his army and reached Samayavaram, under pretence of Dupleix having recalled him. On an urgent entreaty from the Dalavayi, Astruc rejoined the camp. He was superseded by M. Brenier who had no better fortune than his predecessor.²⁷ The report was that Astruc had treated the Dalavayi very unfairly, by trying to swell the account against him and only desisting when he had obtained ready money and jewels amounting to five lakhs of rupees. Early in August there was a battle between the troops of Muhammad Ali Khan and those of Nanja Raja in which some horses and canon of the former were captured by the latter. Nanja Raja wrote to Dupleix that Muhammad Ali, Manoji and others had retired into Trichinopoly, but meant to come out again and fight; but the French were ready to fly rather than encounter them, declaring that they could not stand with their small numbers against a superior enemy or attack them without being overthrown. Dupleix promised to send him reinforcements and the support of Murari Rao and Maissin. Lack of money seriously affected both Dupleix and the Dalavayi; and the former had to resort to torture of one merchant in order to wring out money from him.

It was with the French defeat on September 21st, between the French Rock and the Sugar-Loaf Rock, that Dupleix became very depressed; he was so angry with Maissin who had returned from Trichinopoly that he ordered him not to appear in his presence, though Maissin was sick with dysentery on the day of the engage-

the English army at Trichinopoly with provisions. In July Mr. Palk, who was deputed to him, prevailed on him to declare openly and to order his troops to join the English under Lawrence who proceeded to Tanjore from Kunnandarkoil to which he had marched (Orme. pp. 296.)

27. Brenier sent de Cattano into Trichinopoly as a spy; Captain Dalton discovered his plans and compelled him to advise an escalade; the arrival of Major Lawrence prevented that attempt. Lawrence, with his force augmented by the Tanjoreans under Manakji, routed Brenier's force, 6 miles east of Trichinopoly (Aug. 7th.). On the 23rd he pursued them to Uyyakondan which they abandoned. On the 21st September they were defeated and Uyyakondan was occupied

ment and the command had devolved upon Astruc who had joined Brenier with reinforcement.²⁸

In November a party of French soldiers and foot under Mainvillee who had superseded Maissin attempted to escalate the fort as it was reported that the imprisoned Astruc had arranged with the sentries at the fort-gate, to pay them a large bribe, if, after making a show of resistance, they should open the gates to the assaulting party. The attempt was made without the knowledge of Nanja Raja or Murari Rao who were informed only after the assault was begun. When the French had entered the gate, they posted no troops there, but overturned the guns on the rampart into the ditch. La Volonte and Lambert who had been ordered to guard the gate with their men, did not appear; the English continued to shut the gate, seized the powder and shot of the French party and fired against the men on the ramparts. About 400 men fell into English hands including 9 officers. It was believed that the English and Muhammad Ali must have laid a trap for the French; but the attempt proved to being very near to success.²⁹ When the news of the disaster reached Dupleix, he was "drowned in the ocean of sorrow; and Pondicherry came to be "unlike itself and wrapped in darkness." Papayya Pillai, whom the Diarist heartily disliked brought in false news of success which proved to be untrue. He was also guilty of torturing merchants and others into giving forced loans for raising money for Murari Rao. The year 1753 thus closed with the deepest gloom prevailing in Pondicherry and in the mind of Dupleix.

28. For details of the engagement, see the General Letter of Lawrence to the Madras Council, dated 22nd Sept. 1753, in which he declared that an attack upon the French camp was absolutely necessary "though our prospects of success were not extraordinary, for besides their superiority in numbers, both of foot and horse, they were fortified with strong breastworks." Astruc and 100 soldiers were taken prisoners; and the Marathas saved the rest and prevented a pursuit. Lawrence himself was wounded in the arm. "The enemy are now gone to the Island, and I hear intend crossing the Coleroon. The Daloway must certainly give up the cause and the French without him are nothing." (pp. 157-8 *Diary and Consultation Books—Military Dept.* 1753). See also Malleson pp. 399-404; but he makes mistakes with reference to dates, continuing to take into account the O. S. dates.

29. Orme Mss, India, III, 26, gives copy of letter from Lieutenant J. Harrison, dated 13th December, 1753, and containing a short account of the attempted escalation of the 27th Nov., with the *no* of prisoners, killed etc., *The Orme Collection of Mss.*, p. 285. Burhanu'd-din attributes the initial treachery to an officer of Muhammad Ali.

The Diarist shrewdly remarks that ever since the middle of September, Pondicherry was getting only news of the loss of armies, damage of ships, strength and success of enemies. The financial situation was so bad that the Governor had to write a *cowle* agreeing to take in troopers and foot-soldiers, but having no ready money to pay them, offering three lakhs of rupees in jewels in return for a loan (entry for October 22, 1753). European protest against Dupleix's high-handedness increased; and M. Duvelaer, the French Company's Director, is said to have remarked that Dupleix could neither rule nor manage and should not be continued as Governor; while the ladies and gentlemen of Pondicherry were all complaining of the high-handedness of Madame Dupleix in their letters to Europe.³⁰ Sententiously the Diarist remarks:—How can the Governor expect success when all his actions are unjust? Victory will attend him only when his heart is right. I am certain of this." (entry for December 7, 1753).

30. The news of the French reverses from July 1752 were published by the English and transmitted by them to the French ministers to whom the French Company complained of Dupleix's policy and acts. This was brought by the Europe ships in August which also gave an account of the run on the French Company's funds, everyone wanting to sell his shares, even at 50 per cent loss, in spite of the Minister's assurances to the contrary. (pp. 411-3 of *the Diary*, Vol. VIII.).

Editorial

MOHENJO-DARO AND THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

EDITED BY

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II.

From what we have said in the last number, it would be clear that the ruins laid bare at Mohenjo-Daro give evidence of a vast city with all the appurtenances of a highly civilized and densely inhabited town. Such a town could have been in existence only in a place where there was the possibility of a production of food on a large scale not only making food supply ample, but also providing for active interchange of commodities, resulting in a flourishing trade. We do not know so far much about the agriculture of the Indus peoples; but wheat and barley have been unearthed. Two varieties of wheat are known, both of which grow in the Punjab to-day. One variety of barley found here is also found in the pre-dynastic graves of Egypt. The production of this perhaps implies cultivation; but whether the plough had come into use is still open to question, although among the flint implements some celts have been discovered in the shape of shoe lasts which may have served as plough-shares. The circular grind stone had not yet been brought into use; the saddle quern and muller having still been in use for grinding grain. Another food article found is the date, stones of which were found in both Mohenjo-Daro and Harapa.

In regard to animal food, beef, mutton, pork and poultry seem to have been largely used. The flesh of the ghariyal, turtles and tortoises, river fish and dried fish of certain varieties from the sea, along with shell fish formed part of the animal food, as bones of these animals have been found. Milk as well as vegetables and fruits probably constituted part of the dietary, but we could have no evidence of such. Among the domesticated animals, skeletons of which have been discovered are the Indian "humped bull" or zebu, the buffalo, sheep, elephant, camel, pig and fowl. In regard

to the last of these, it is not certain whether they were wild or domesticated. Bones of both the dog and the horse were found, but near the surface. It is therefore uncertain, on the clear evidence of denudation, whether these belonged to pre-historical, or later times. The dog seems to have been of the pariah variety of modern times, though the terra-cotta representations are too roughly shaped to give positive evidence in regard to this point. But the hound was known among the Indus people, rather like the modern mastiff but quite distinct from the hounds depicted on Sumerian or Babylonian, or even the Assyrian bas-reliefs. This reminds one of the hounds seen by Alexander, which, according to Aelian, would clutch at a lion without fear and hold on even if its own legs were cut off. Such evidence as we have of the horse shows a breed such as the country-bred horse of Western India. But since the horse does not figure in the large number of representations, and its remains are found near the surface, it may be a late introduction. But this argument should not be carried too far, as we have not come upon the representation of a camel, though camel bones were discovered at a depth of 15 feet, clearly belonging to the intermediate period. If, as Professor Langdon infers, the horse had already been introduced in Mesopotamia before the middle of the fourth millennium B.C., it is probable it was introduced into the Indus Valley also about that time.

Abundant remains of humped Indian bulls are met with in every stratum of the site. These resemble the white and grey breed of the present times found in Sind, Northern Gujarat and Rajaputana, and are entirely different from the small humped cattle of Central India and the Deccan. We have evidence also of a smaller short-horned and humpless species represented among the terra-cottas both in the Indus Valley and in Baluchistan, but no horns or bones of these have so far been identified.

In regard to the wild animals other than those caught and killed for food, and the remnants of which have been found at Mohenjo-Daro, are the mongoose, the shrew, the black rat and four kinds of deer, namely, the Kashmir stag, the Sambhar, the spotted deer and the hog-deer. Representations of other animals have been found also, such as the Indian bison, the rhinoceros, tiger, monkey, bear and hare. The only remains of deer found happen to be horns. These seem to have been used only for medicinal purposes, as probably they had to be got from a distance. Of the four kinds of deer referred to, it is only the hog-deer that

is found in Sind now, the other three varieties being absent. One other medicinal substance found in small quantities at Mohenjo-Daro is the *silājit*. This is a black substance exuding from the rocks in the Himalayas, and is frequently used in treating for diseases of the liver, spleen, etc.

The Indus people were familiar with copper, tin and lead in addition to gold and silver. They are all of them available in various parts of India as also in the neighbouring countries of the north and west, such as Persia. Afghanistan also yields gold, silver, copper and lead; Arabia all but the last and Egypt gold. But the gold in Sind may have been imported from the south of India as from early historic times, the peninsula produced the bulk of India's gold. In the Nizam's Dominions, Mysore and the Madras Presidency gold workings of ancient date are still to be found. One feature of the gold found in Mohenjo-Daro and Harapa is that it is alloyed with a substantial percentage of silver, making the alloy called electron. This is found both in the Kolar Gold Fields in Mysore and in the Anantapur District of the Madras Presidency. This is not found in the gold obtainable from other places wherefrom the Indus people could have obtained it. Inter-course between South India and Sind is established by the fact that the green amazon stone found in the Indus Valley almost certainly came from the Nilgiri hills. The work of the goldsmith shows considerable skill and high finish, such finished articles being found in Harapa more than perhaps in Mohenjo-Daro. Articles made of silver, however, were, relatively to gold, large and heavy, thereby indicating an abundant supply of the metal in Sind. Lead that is found may have come from either Ajmer or from Afghanistan or Persia, though not largely used. Copper was obtainable in the immediate neighbourhood, on one side Rajaputana, and on the other Baluchistan. It could also have come from farther afield, such as Kashmir, Afghanistan, Persia or Madras. The presence, however, of an appreciable amount of lead in the metal leads to the conclusion that it came from Rajaputana or Baluchistan or Persia, in all of which places lead is found in association with copper ore. The percentage of nickel found in the copper is almost about the same as in Sumerian copper. This may be due to the fact that both places got their supply from the same locality; but the copper that is found in Baluchistan shows but faint traces of nickel. Copper had come into use to a large extent in the age of stone for the making of weapons, implements and domestic utensils, and for cheaper kinds of ornaments. Tin has been found

as a separate metal at Mohenjo-Daro. Alloyed with copper, it is found in the shape of bronze, with an average of six to thirteen per cent of tin. Bronze seems to have been used in preference to copper for weapons and implements requiring an extra sharp cutting edge. It was also used for ornaments, figurines, and such other articles, in which fine finish was desired. Bronze was used however for making all the objects for which copper was also used. The fact that copper was not superseded by bronze is in consequence due probably to the fact that tin was scarce, and not that bronze manufacturers were not known, as has hitherto been held. In addition to bronze another alloy of copper is found in Mohenjo-Daro containing arsenic to the extent of 2 to 4.5 per cent. This alloy is about as hard as low-grade bronze; but whether the alloy was a natural product or artificial cannot be regarded as certain.

Stone was rare in Sind. The stones available from the immediate neighbourhood are of three varieties, white, or pale-coloured nummulitic limestone which occurs as an outcrop on the banks of the Indus at Sukkur, and could be brought down the Indus; also gypsum or (sulphate of lime) and alabaster, two varieties of sulphate of lime, could be quarried in the Kirthar mountains, about a hundred miles away, or could be brought by boat from Kathiawar. Other stones found in Mohenjo-Daro and Harapa are the fine-grained yellow coloured Jaisalmer steatite or soapstone and a dark grey slate, all three of which are obtainable from Rajaputana. Gneiss and basalt are found commonly in many of the neighbouring regions. Red, grey, and dark brown limestones, and grey sand stones are also found in these ruins, but where they came from could not be established. Semi-precious stones were used for ornaments. Of these a large number, such as rock-crystal, haematite, agate, chalcedony and a number of others are obtainable from Rajaputana, the Punjab, Kathiawar and Central India. It is possible that some of these came from great distances. We cannot presume that, unless we know otherwise, the Indus Valley was in communication with these places. We mentioned already that the green amazon is obtainable only from the Nilgiris. There are certain other stones which are not found in India at all, such as lapis lazuli, turquoise and jadeite. The first is believed to have come from Badakshan in Northern Afghanistan, the second from the Persian province of Khorasan, though it is found in other parts of Persia also, as well as in Sistan, and jadeite came from either the Pamirs, Eastern Turkestan or Tibet.

Of other minerals, bitumen is found largely used and may have come from Isa Khel on the right bank of the Indus, or from the Marri Hills or Sanni in Baluchistan, or may have come by water from Hit on the Euphrates. Another frequently occurring substance is red ochre, available in Cutch, in Central India and the Central Provinces, also coming in ships from Hormuz and other islands of the Persian Gulf. Green-earth probably came from Baluchistan. Lollingite, an arsenic mineral, probably came from the Punjab, but was equally available in Kashmir, Afghanistan, Persia and Asia Minor from any one of which places it may have come. Other materials, such as bone, ivory, shell, faience and vitrified paste are also found used for purposes of ornamentation. Ivory is supplied abundantly all over India. Shell and faience were imported from the coasts of India as well as from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Though shell is largely employed in the Indus Valley, inlay work in shell is not found so far. Faience is found largely used here as well as in Mesopotamia, Minoan Greece and Egypt. But the Indian faience is less brilliantly coloured than in Egypt. Faience is used over areas at great distances, but could hardly have been made independently in all these countries. But the wide prevalence would not establish the monogeneity of culture in Chalcolithic times, unless it be that it establishes exchange of commodities over all these areas as a necessary pre-requisite.

Evidence of spinning is furnished by the spindle-whorls found in the ruins of houses at Mohenjo-Daro. These are made of pottery, shell as well as the more expensive faience, indicating that weaving was practised by the rich and the poor alike. Wool and cotton seem to have been the materials woven. An exhaustive examination of a few scraps of cotton that were discovered shows that it was a variety akin to the coarser varieties of Indian cotton of to-day. It has a peculiar convoluted structure, which makes it distinct from the varieties of cotton found to-day in Sind or elsewhere near about. This discovery throws the contention that the material out of which the cotton stuff, known as *sindhu* in Babylonia and *sinclon* among the Greeks, was made, was certainly not the product of a cotton tree. (The soft cotton from the cotton tree is in popular demand to-day for making beds and pillows because of its soft quality, and does not appear to lend itself to spinning.) One scrap of this cotton discovered was dyed purple, and this colour is thought to be of the well known common madder class.

The city of Mohenjo-Daro must have contained a population composed of different races. Four such at least could be distin-

guished, and their method of dress must have been as varied as their personal appearance. Two statues have been discovered in long shawl like cloth coming under the right arm and thrown over the left shoulder across the borders, leaving the right arm free, the most usual style found to-day alike among the fashionable as among the ruder folk. Buddha figures are exhibited like that. The Todas of the Nilgiris and the Malnad people of Mysore wear their woollen stuff ordinarily in that fashion. In cold seasons they would throw it over even to cover their right arm in full. Numbers of figures and figurines have been discovered which are nude. They cannot be held to represent the ordinary human folk. They may be representations of gods and goddesses, in which case the generally prevalent practice continued up to modern times.

In regard to the head, the men wore their beards and whiskers, the upper lip being sometimes shaven as in Sumer, sometimes not. The hair on the head was taken back, either cut short behind or coiled in a knot or chignon, and tied up at the back of the head with a fillet. Some specimens of fillets, with thin bands of beaten gold with holes for cords at their ends have been found, which indicate the manner in which these fillets were used. In regard to women, the only specimen of a statue so far available shows the hair falling loose from behind. But the fact that the bronze and other figures have the hair done up and coiled in a heavy mass on the top of the head in various shapes shows perhaps that that was the usual way in which they tied it up. It is perhaps possible to find analogous styles among the South Indian folk even now.

Ornaments were worn by all classes alike. Necklaces, fillets, armlets and finger rings are very common among both men and women. Girdles, ear-rings and anklets seem to have been worn by women alone. They show a large range and great variety. The rich wore ornaments of gold and silver, faience, ivory and many semi-precious stones. The poor wore ornaments, such as shell, bone, copper and terra-cotta. The girdles worn by women are found in some fine specimens, and they are found to be composed of strings of long tubular beads of carnelian with spears and terminals of bronze and copper, some of them with traces of gold. The boring of a hard substance like carnelian shows a considerable amount of skill. Some of these would answer to the description that we find in early literature, particularly Tamil literature, of various girdles worn about two thousand years ago. Beads of a

large variety in various shapes have been discovered, in metals like gold, silver, copper or bronze, or of other materials such as faience, glazed steatite, shell, bone, paste or terra-cotta. A vast majority are of some one or other of the brilliantly coloured stones. These were made use of for necklaces as well as girdles. Most of these continue in fashion as necklaces among the primitive as well as the more civilised folk of South India down to modern times. Bracelets of a large variety and bangles have been found in a variety of material. Bangles covering the whole arm were worn, as the bronze statue shows, and as present Gujarati practice warrants. Glass bangles have not been met with in the Indus Valley, nor glass used in the manufacture of anything else, although glass was in use in Mesopotamia in the third millennium B.C. and in pre-dynastic Egypt; but bangles of a parti-coloured glass were found in a number of places in Baluchistan belonging to Chalcolithic times.

Among weapons either of war, or of the chase, a number of offensive weapons occur, such as axes, spears, daggers, bows and arrows, maces, slings and perhaps even catapults. But of defensive weapons like helmets, etc., there has so far been no trace discovered. Even the sword so characteristic of the later copper-age has not been traced as yet. The celts discovered were usually of copper, more really of bronze in two types, either long and narrow, or short and broad. Both types were widely distributed in the Middle and Near East. Stone prototypes of these are also found largely in Northern and Central India. The spear heads found in use are unaccountably primitive in form, thin and broad in the blade, without even the strengthening midrib, and with a tang instead of a socket. Socketed spear heads with midribs were in use in Egypt and Sumer before three thousand B.C. The prevalence of similar weapons at Harapa as in Mohenjo-Daro will not admit of any other explanation for this backwardness. It is possible that some of these weapons are not spear heads, though so classified. They may have been meant for use as daggers or knives. Only one specimen of a copper arrow head has been found at Mohenjo-Daro, but none even of stone, clearly indicating that the bow and the arrow perhaps had not been the favourite weapons. Three specimens of maces both of stone and copper were discovered, and the pear-shaped mace was perhaps the commonest, as in other parts of the civilized world. Sling balls have been found in two varieties, round and ovoid. Heavier balls have been found suitable for use in catapults. But there have so far been

no evidence of anything that would lead to the presumption of the existence of the catapults. Household implements and utensils are found to be generally of copper and bronze. The only stone implements in use is the flake-knife of chert, provided with a handle for cutting up food. It is strangely out of place with the rest of them. The stone celts that have been found both in Mohenjo-Daro and Harapa, and even the flint implements, may have been survivals of an earlier age. These objects cannot however be described as typical objects of the Chalcolithic age as they have been discovered in the excavations of the Mauryan and Kushan period. The stone vessels found are discovered to have been bored out with the tubular drill, while the flat dishes, saucers, etc., were hollowed out of stone with a stone grinder as in Egypt and Sumer. All such vessels discovered are generally of soft stone, though vessels of gneiss and other hard stones have been found at Harapa.

In regard to weights, the Indus Valley weights are all of them cubes of chert, chipped and ground down to the correct weight, chert providing the fine-grained hard material. There were also a few small weights of dark grey slate, resembling the barrel-shaped weights of Elam and Mesopotamia. The larger stone weights were conical in form, either furnished with a rim at the head or pierced with a hole through which a rope could be passed for easy handling. A careful examination shows these weights to be binary, like the ratios of the weights of Susa, in the lower, and decimal in the higher scales. The most frequently recurring weight ratio is 16 with an average mean value of 13.71 gm. equal to 211.5 grs. These bear no relation either to the light Babylonian or heavy Assyrian shekel.

Among domestic vessels, about 99 per cent were earthen ware. Copper and bronze vessels are rare, silver rarer. Faience is used only for small ornamental articles. The earthen ware vessels exhibit a large variety. Small drinking vessels are found in very large numbers round drinking wells in particular, indicating the habit of throwing away drinking vessels, as is done by the Hindus of Northern India now. The Indus pottery was wheel made, well fired and plain. Painted ware was not uncommon. The painting is done in black on a dark-red background. They are generally of foliate and geometrical devices, such as interlocking circle, etc. Animal motifs were very rare, though they are very common in Eastern Baluchistan. The Indus pottery is not of any great merit, either in regard to its form or decoration, but is far more primi-

tive. The want of merit is due more to the stereotyped mass production rather to its primitive character. Besides this red and black ware, incised polychrome and glazed wares were found at Mohenjo-Daro. All the polychrome wares are painted vermilion and black on a ground of cream. It has rare stylishness and is entirely different from the polychrome wares of Mesopotamia. Similarly the glazed wares are found to be singularly fine fabric, not of the primitive kind, but the earliest example found in the ancient world. Spindle-whorls, flesh rubber, cake-moulds, dippers and toys are some of the other domestic articles found. Bones and ivory were used for making needles, bodkins, tools, etc. Copper and bronze were used usually for axes, adzes, chisels, etc. A razor has been found among them and saws of a period like the earliest ones in Egypt with very small teeth, without any rake. Three varieties of chisels were discovered, one of which is peculiar to the Indus Valley. None of them has a straight edge. Knives of copper and bronze have not been found.

In regard to toys, a large variety has been discovered such as rattles, whistles, and clay models of men and women, animals, birds, carts and household articles. Some of them take the form of toy carts, which are among the early representations of wheeled vehicles known to us. These are regarded as approximately contemporary with the earliest representation depicted on a stone slab at Ur (c. 3,200 B.C. according to Mr. Woolley), and the model of a waggon discovered at Anau in Turkestan. All the specimens of carts found in Mohenjo-Daro are of terra-cotta, somewhat resembling the modern farm carts of Sind. A specimen from Harapa, however, happens to be of copper, and is rather like the Ekka of the present day. The articles used for purposes of games seem to have been marbles and dice. The former are of a variety inferior and sometimes beautifully made. The latter are found to be cubes like the European dice, not the oblong things that modern Indian dice are. There is also a peculiarity in the arrangement of their numbers, 1 being opposite to 2, 3 to 4, and 5 to 6. In the modern dice 1 is opposite to 6, 2 to 5 and 3 to 4. Other objects found at Mohenjo-Daro and Harapa are regarded either as game-men, according to Mr. Mackaay, or cult objects, according to Sir John Marshall.

We next come to writing. The Indus script belongs to the same order as other quasi-pictographic scripts of this period, such as the Proto-Elamitic, Early Sumerian, Minoan, or Egyptian

scripts. The Indus script, however, shows it had long since become standardised and reduced to monumental forms, according to Professor Langdon. Hence, except in a few instances, the objects portrayed are not susceptible of identification. At the same time, they had not advanced sufficiently to have become mere characters, such as the cuneiform characters of Mesopotamia are. The documents containing writing both in Mesopotamia and Harapa are all of them seals and objects like that. The straight tablets, such as we are familiar with in Mesopotamia containing letters and other lengthy documents, are absent in the Indus Valley, probably because the material used was of a less durable character than the clay tablets, such as birch bark, palm leaves, etc. As many as 396 signs have been distinguished more or less, although we cannot be sure that the distinct character of these signs is in every case certain. There are two peculiar features of the Indus writing which ought to be noted. The first is the extent and variety of its characters and the skill exhibited in modifying them by the addition of accents, strokes and other simple devices. The other peculiarity consists in combining letters to form conjunct characters. These modifications are not altogether absent elsewhere, but nowhere else have they been systematically carried out. One other peculiar feature is the use of a group of strokes about 12 in number. They seem to have a phonetic not a numerical value. They seem to have remained unchanged during the whole of the Mohenjo-Daro period. As far as could be made out, the legends on the seals are written from right to left. In certain cases, however, the writings seem to have been boustrophedon, that is, the line starts from right and goes on to the end in the first line, and in continuing it begins from the left and goes on rightwards. From the large number of the signs, it could safely be inferred that the script was not alphabetic. It was in all probability phonetic, the signs standing for syllables either open or closed. Some signs, however, seem still to be complete ideograms, or as determinatives, giving indication of the requisite sound or meaning. Sir John Marshall, however, points out that none of the Indus signs can definitely be regarded as any of these. A study of this script has led scholars to note resemblances between this and other scripts. But each scholar has noted similarities in each language, Sumerian, Proto-Elamite, Minoan or Hittite. It would, however, be unwarranted to derive the Indus script from any of these. All that we would be warranted in saying in the present stage of our knowledge is that the underlying principles are the same, and all these scripts had probably a common origin

which may go back to neolithic times. Each preserves however a distinct individuality of its own, and seems to have been framed with a view to the requirements of the people who evolved it, and the language which these recorded. Professor Langdon was perhaps the earliest to make a careful study of these, and makes out a good case for deriving the Brahmi alphabet of India from this Indus script. The Brahmi script seems to have evolved from some kind of pictograph writing. If that is so, the discovery of a pictographic writing on the Indian soil would naturally establish connection between the two, as has been shrewdly anticipated by Sir Alexander Cunningham. This is further supported by the two peculiarities noticed already in the Indus script, namely, the use of accents or other diacritical conjuncts and the practice of combining one sound with another to make conjunct letters. Prof. Langdon proceeds to other far-reaching conclusions. The Indus civilization, it must be noted, was Pre-Aryan, and the language or languages of the Indus people must have been Pre-Aryan also. This seems probable from three causes. The people that occupied Northern India in the Aryan age seems to have been Dravidic speaking people. There is a Dravidic speaking people living not far from the Indus Valley, the Brahuis of Baluchistan, and thirdly the Dravidic languages are agglutinative, and are far more likely to be connected with the similar agglutinative language of Sumer. But these positions, however, want further evidence to support them. From the skeletal remains, it is clear there were four different races among the Indus people, Proto-Australoids, Mediterraneans, Alpines and Mongolo-Alpines. It is however difficult to affirm that any of these spoke Dravidian. The probability seems to be that the Mediterraneans also spoke agglutinative language and were perhaps at the back of the whole of the far-flung civilization of the Chalcolithic age. The issues raised by Prof. Langdon, however, are worth further study, the approach being made from both the sides, namely from the Sumerian as well as from the Rig Vedic. We shall not take up more space with it here.

One other feature of the Indus finds is the almost complete absence of ornamentation. Ornamentation for ornamentation's sake is a feature of later Indian art, plastic as well as pictorial. But of this tendency there is little evidence in the Indus finds. We find not much decoration in houses and other public buildings; nor do we find any more of it in weapons and utensils of everyday use. The large manufacture of pottery shows that pottery had already become a craft and was not pursued as an art. The

very shape of the utensils is practical and does not seem to have had any motifs in their manufacture. Such art as could be found in these Indus finds are to be found only in the seals, amulets and other small objects. In the portrayal of living animals, particularly those living near to India, the engraver has shown great skill. While being realistic of these living animals, there is visible also the higher artist, such as in the representations of the bull of India. While there is a considerable amount of realism in regard to other animals, they do not come up to the artistic level of the humped bulls, buffalos and the bison. Animal figures in the round are for the most part children's play things. Even so, some of these are made with great artistic skill. The terra-cotta bull, the mastiff-like hound in steatite, and squirrel and representations of monkey are all of them executed with realism and skill. They demonstrate a thorough comprehension of both work in the round and relief, which according to Sir John Marshall, exhibit a "spontaneity and truthfulness to nature, of which even Hellenic art might not have been ashamed."

In regard to the human form, as depicted by the Indus artist, we have but little material to judge from. Terra-cotta figurines are too roughly and carelessly fashioned to be regarded as works of art. The few stone images are sadly mutilated. Of these, the first one is made of steatite and finished with a coating of hard white paste, representing a someone in the pose of a Yogi. The image is made with thick lips, broad-based nose, low forehead and short stunted neck. It is, however, open to doubt whether it could be regarded as reproducing the features of any individual, or whether it is the type of any artificial stock. Probably it represents a conventional type of deity or a religious teacher. Like images of Hindu India as a whole, they are reproductions of conventional types in all probability. There are a few figures such as those in plate XCIX, 4-6, which show prominent cheek bones, wide thick lipped mouth and other features which leave no room for doubt that this was a portrait head. With the nose and eyes restored, it is possible to believe that it was a tolerably good likeness. But there is one feature here which is noticeable. The ears which are cut saucer-like, when obviously the artist could reproduce the ear much better. Probably there was some special reason. It may, however, be noted that wherever there was opportunity, the sculptor has shown noteworthy skill.

A bronze figurine found at Mohenjo-Daro is a noteworthy object in the round. The arms and legs are out of proportion long,

but it gives a vivid impression none-the-less of a young aboriginal nautch-girl, hands on the hip in an almost half-impudent posture, and legs slightly forward beating time to the music with her feet. Parts of the statue show careful and effective modelling, and must be regarded as a work of art. The statuettes found in Harapa are all of the Chalcolithic age. These two upset all established ideas about early art. Such modelling was unknown in the ancient world up to the Hellenistic age of Greece. These were however found by two different excavations and amidst a number of pre-historic remains only. While it may be possible to imagine the chances working down in the case of one, it is rather difficult to believe that the two should have met with a similar adventure. The first of these is of fine red stone. The second is of grey slate. These stones are not found in the locality. Where they came from, we do not know; but no statue of Indo-Hellenistic art is so far known from either of these stones. One other peculiar feature is that the statuettes here are made with socket holes for the attachment of the head and arms made in separate pieces. So similarly the nipples of the breasts were made separately and fixed in with cement. This technique had not been found among stone sculptors of the historic period. Such examples are not found even in Mohenjo-Daro. Another feature of the red stone statuette is its having a large circular depression in front of each shoulder. It is also provided with a similar circular protuberance in the middle. What they are intended for is not clear, but they seem intended for some kind of inlay for ornamental purposes. What is remarkable about these is that the depressions were made with a tubular drill. The use of the tubular drill was so rare in the historic age. Coming to the style of these statuettes, the treatment of the torso is both simple and direct. The pose is a frontal one, the shoulders well backed and the abdomen slightly prominent. But the most remarkable feature of these statuettes is the refined, wonderfully truthful modelling of the fleshy parts. This is work of which according to Sir John Marshall "a Greek of the fourth century B.C. might well have been proud." The figure is, however, according to the same authority "characteristically Indian", both in regard to the setting of the figure and the rather prominent bone. The other statuette is the figure of a dancer. It is standing on the right leg, the body above the hip, and both the arms thrown round to the left, and the left leg being raised high in front. The contours, it will be noticed, are soft and effeminate, although the figure is that of a male. The thick neck, with provision for three heads makes Sir John Marshall feel that it was probably a representa-

tion of a youthful Natarāja. It would be difficult to explain these two statues whether they actually belong to the pre-historic or to the historic period. They exhibit an anatomical truth as convincingly perhaps as Greek work, although this is the feature that Indian statues miss, where Greek influence is unquestionable. The Indus engraver could show this fidelity in respect of animal forms, and if he could be equally true in respect of human forms, which on the face of it seems not impossible, we can certainly presume kinship of the artistic spirit between the historic Greek and the pre-historic Indus Valley artist.

CATALOGUE OF THE SOUTH INDIAN HINDU
METAL IMAGES IN THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM.

By

F. H. GRAVELY and T. N. RAMACHANDRAN,

Price Rs. 5-8-0, 1932.

The descriptive catalogue before us opens with a brief, though by no means complete, bibliography of South Indian metal images (p. 3-5), and is followed by simple and popular iconographic notes (p. 5-20), leading up to archaeological section (p. 22-40). In this last, the authors attempt to fix the dates of the Hindu images in the Madras Museum collection with the help of the somewhat arbitrary and misleading tests adopted by Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil in his work *Archaeologie du sud 1 Inde*, published as early as 1914. The subsequent portion of the work describes (p. 47-81), the character and geographical distribution of these images, and attempts to classify the images into a scientific catalogue with short descriptions of size, history, workmanship and style of the respective images. Then follow the illustrations which are by no means complete as we are told that financial stringency has compelled the authorities to omit a large number of plates originally intended to illustrate the archaeological portion of the work.

The least satisfactory portion of this work is, in our opinion, the one relating to the archaeological section which, though original, contains conclusions which cannot be regarded as of permanent value. The authors admit the great risks in assigning definite dates to Hindu metal images on the basis of their

ornamental design; they still commit the mistake of following the equally misleading test based on the so-called evolution in the style of South Indian iconography. It is unfortunate that the joint authors of this work instead of approaching the subject afresh and assigning their own dates for these images from a new standpoint from their own date have mechanically followed the arbitrary standards adopted by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil for stone images in the work already referred to. It would be remembered by those who are familiar with this work that its author attaches considerable and unwarranted chronological importance to the size, nature and position of the insignia of Vishṇu and Śiva images in the various temples, and proceeds to assign them two definite periods of South Indian history. The authors have altogether neglected the demands of convention in the making of the images, and did not attach any importance to the difference of material between stone and metal, as also the independence of the Hindu craftsman to follow his own design in metal or stone. This test can hardly be considered satisfactory, and cannot but lead to incorrect conclusions. A South Indian metal worker belonging to the Imperial Chola or the Pāṇḍya period is not prevented from following his own design on a metal image instead of copying the details from a stone image of an earlier period in constructing a Vishṇu or a Śiva image. A typical instance of the wrong conclusions drawn by the authors is noticed on page 25 where we are told that, as the *conch* and *discus* of the Vishṇu images of the Madras Museum bear flames, they all belong necessarily to the Chola period and not to any previous age. This is based on the assumption that the makers of these images followed the Chola stone Vishṇu images in all details. We are hardly convinced of the necessity in the case of a metal worker to follow the details of the *conch* or the *discus* in a metal image from stone. A Pallava craftsman in designing a Vishṇu image can be quite free to work out an ornate *conch* forming part of a metallic image according to his own design without following a stone model. What is more surprising is that the authors should proceed on the so-called test of evolution of Vishṇu's *conch* from period to period and conclude definitely that none of the metallic images in the local museum could be assigned to a period earlier than the Cholas. It is difficult to believe that the huge collection of the metallic images in the Madras Museum does not contain at least some Hindu images belonging to the pre-Chola epoch. No one has established definitely that Hindu metallic images came into existence for the first time only in

the tenth century, and not in an earlier period. The authors of the present work, however, arbitrarily assume this position, and state that the Hindu images were associated with the processions in Hindu temples and that these processions forming the chief feature of the Chola temples, the images should have come into existence only during that period (p. 25). This assumption is not borne out from the evidence of religious literature or epigraphy. The absence of definitely datable Vishṇu or Śiva images in the age of the Great Pallavas does not prove their non-existence at least in such large and well-known temples as those of Kailāsanātha at Kāñchipura.

The authors attach unnecessary importance to the views of Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil even where they have been proved by scholars to be incorrect, and not only quote his conclusions *seriatim* but attempt to apply every one of them in the case of Hindu metallic images in the Madras Museum. The following will serve as two typical examples of these which the authors apparently want us to accept:—

1. Rama was looked upon before the tenth century A.D., in South India as a hero and not as an incarnation. Hence the absence of Rama's image in the temples of South India previous to the tenth century (p. 24).
2. As regards Krishna, only two episodes, the subjugation of Kāṇḍi and the raising of Gōvardhana hill were known in South India before the twelfth century while the other aspects of Krishna such as those of Vēṇugōpāla were unknown before the twelfth century (p. 24).

The absurdity of these statements will be evident from a glance through the hymns of the early Vaishṇava Ālvārs, particularly those of Periālvār, Aṇḍāl and Kulaśekhara, all of whom are known to have lived before the tenth century, A. D., and sung about Rama and Krishna *Avatārs*. The Rama and Krishna cults had not to wait till the twelfth century A.D., or the days of Vijayanagar kings, (p. 25) for propagation, but had penetrated South India centuries before. The authors apparently are not familiar with the hymns of the Ālvārs or the history and chronology of Vaishṇavism and Vaishṇava saints in South

India. References to these are not wanting in earlier secular works even. In our opinion a study of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism in South India should have preceded the publication of a work like the present.

Much ignorance is exhibited in the dates assigned by the authors to some of the Vaishṇava and Śaiva saints. We are told that Māṇikka Vāchaka lived in the sixth century A.D., and Sumbhanda in the ninth (p. 15). It is categorically stated that among the Vaishṇava Āchāryas of whom no less than eight are enumerated, Rāmānuja and Vēdānta Dēśika alone are historical (p. 10).

The slightest acquaintance with the works of these two Āchāryas, would have avoided the astounding error. As it stands, the work is far more likely to retard progress in research rather than promote it. We refrain from quoting further instances, though many similar instances could be quoted from the present work. We hope that in a revised edition of this work, the Superintendent of the Madras Museum would correct these errors and amplify the portion relating to the development of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism in South India as also to revise the dates now assigned to the metallic images described in his catalogue from a more scientific point of view.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MYSORE, ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1929.

In this report an attempt is made to assimilate it in form and in substance to the annual reports issued by the Archaeological Survey of India. Apart from the form, the report is divided into a number of sections. The first is devoted to mere administrative details, survey of monuments, efforts at conservation, and reports of such excavation work as has been carried out from time to time. In the following parts interesting accounts are given of these under various sections. The first section has reference to the survey of monuments and ancient sites. In this a number of interesting sites have been examined, the most important among them being those at the ancient Sāntāra capital, the original home of the Hoysalas at Angaḍi, an important centre of Agrahara, Beḷguḷi in the Chennarāyapaṭṇa Taluk, the temples of Dēvanūr in the Kadur Taluk and a more elaborate description of the monuments on the hill at Chitaldrug. In the course of the description of these monuments, important historical details come

out naturally for a study of the inscriptions in the locality and of the monuments themselves. As a mere illustration, we might mention that the village of Dēvanūr marks the site where the poet Lakshmiśa, the author of the popular Kannḍa classic Jaimini Bhārata lived and wrote. The site where his house stood is identified, and a recommendation made for removing the monumental tablet from the temple where it happens to be put at present, to the south of the house. The account of the Chitaldrug hill provides interesting reading, proceeding as it does in a more or less chronological order, tracing a whole period of about a thousand years. The excavation work at Chandravalli, which would take us earlier is reserved for a special report.

The next section is devoted to numismatics. Here for the first time we meet with a systematic study of the coins of the Hoysalas, of the several varieties of provincial coins of Vijayanagar and then a study of the early coins of Mysore after it had set itself up in independence. The next following section is devoted to the search for manuscripts and finds of important ones. In this section an interesting account is given of the story of prince Rama of Kampili and his exploits against Muhammad-bin-Tughlak during his invasions of the south. In the last section, the inscriptions copied in the year are examined, these are arranged in the order of distance in time, and a useful account is given of each of them. The most important of these is an inscription discovered at Chandravalli of Mayūraśarman, the founder of the dynasty of the Kadambas, about whom we have had no record. This is an inscription in the Brahmi character and Prākṛit language. It has reference to the construction of a tank by Mayūraśarman of the Kadambas and refers undoubtedly to a number of victories that he won against other people and dynasties famous in history. Among these are mentioned the Traikūṭaka, Abhira, Pallava, Pāryātrika, Śakasthāna, Syndika, Punnāṭa and Maukhari. This important document is discussed elaborately, as its importance deserves. The date of the inscription is attempted to be fixed somewhere about the middle of the third century A.D., and its bearing upon the history of South India is examined.

The report, on the whole, is a very interesting document and is undoubtedly a great improvement upon the previous reports. The new Director of Archaeological Researches, Dr. M. H. Krishna Iyengar, deserves to be congratulated on the excellent form of the report and the important historical material presented in it.

HISTORY OF SHAH JAHAN

By

BANARSI PRASAD SAKSENA,
ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY.*Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad.*

This work is an attempt at writing an adequate history of the reign Shahjahan, and was prepared as a thesis submitted to the London University for the Doctorate Degree by the author. We have long had a fairly full and adequate history of Babur and Humayun, which with more recent additions, gives us the history of Babur and Humayun in a fairly full measure. V. A. Smith's *Life of Akbar* with the interesting little book on the *Life of Akbar* by Binyon and Beni Prasad's *Jahangir* supply similar works for Akbar and Jahangir. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb* is perhaps the most comprehensive history of the reign of Aurangzeb. The reign of Shahjahan required similar treatment, and the book under review supplies that want admirably.

Shahjahan's reign, which may be said to reach the grand climacteric of the Mughal Empire, undoubtedly is regarded as a glorious epoch in Mughal history. The seeds of decline that ultimately brought about the downfall of the Mughal Empire were also sown consciously or unconsciously in that reign. A history therefore of the reign would be not only important but would also be quite interesting and informing. Dr. Saksena has succeeded in providing a work that would supply the want in many ways satisfactorily.

Shahjahan's reign is one amply provided with material for an authoritative history. Dr. Saksena has made full use of the material which he classifies as earlier works, contemporary chronicles, accounts of European travellers with fair and judicious criticism, and has succeeded in producing a work neither too voluminous and loaded with details, nor too slender to give us an adequate idea of the character of the reign. The author himself recognises that he could have been more elaborate in his treatment of two chapters at any rate, those bearing on the cultural institutions under Shahjahan and the Mughal administra-

tion under the same reign. Shahjahan's reign would certainly be the most suitable to treat of Mughal institutions in their fullness. We only hope Dr. Saksena will soon have the chance of redeeming his promise by treating it more elaborately in an early revised edition. We welcome the work, all the same as an important contribution to the study of the subject.

Dr. Saksena has considered the authorities bearing on the subject carefully and critically and has drawn his conclusions with judicial impartiality. The work will serve as a standard work of history of the reign of Shahjahan, and we congratulate the author upon his striking the medium course between an elaborate history and a sketchy life. Sir Wolsely Haig under whose direction the author worked has a foreword introducing the work with the appreciation which the author richly deserves.

Reviews

ROYAL EMPIRE SOCIETY IMPERIAL STUDIES

Edited By

PROFESSOR A. P. NEWTON,

Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London.

No. 5: COLONIAL ADMIRALTY JURISDICTION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By

HELEN J. CRUMP, M.A., Ph.D.,

(Pp. X. & 200.—1931.—9 sh.)

No. 7: THE PROVINCIAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN NEW ZEALAND, 1852-1876

By

W. P. MORRELL,

Pp. X & 293.—1932: 10-6.,

Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., London.

The history of the various parts of the British Commonwealth has been receiving increasing attention in the last few years; and the Royal Empire Society has initiated a series of Monographs on Imperial Studies under the auspices of the Imperial Studies Committee and its Chairman, M. J. Rendall. Two of the monographs in the Series deal with Canada, and two with the British territories in Africa. The fifth in the series deals with the origin and growth of Admiralty jurisdiction in the Colonies, dealing with the attitude of the colonist, the trader and the official, towards the imperial admiralty system and on the reasons which made the colonists desire or dislike the Admiralty Courts. The Navigation Act of 1696 and the Suppression of Piracy Act of 1698 gave Parliamentary recognition to the Admi-

ralty Courts in the colonies, besides defining and enlarging their jurisdiction. Stress is laid on the growth of the Vice-Admiralty of the coast as it worked in the 16th and 17th centuries. Because the Admiralty jurisdiction was identified with the King's party in the minds of the Puritans, there grew a dislike to these courts in the minds of the colonists, who were interested in keeping the coast fisheries free and were able to enlist the sympathy of the Parliamentary party on their side. The Massachusetts colony deemed that complete admiralty jurisdiction was granted to it along with the patent; and the author describes its acquisition of the experience of admiralty business during the Civil War and later, though it distinctly felt the need for a special system. At first there was no separate Admiralty Court either in Virginia or in Maryland; and sometimes the aggrieved parties petitioned the Council in England which referred some cases to the Admiralty Court. Nor did the Bermudas make any attempt to transfer the English institution to itself. It was only in 1676 that the Committee of the Privy Council for trade and plantations began to agitate about the organisation of Admiralty Courts in the colonies. James II, when Duke of York was Admiral of the Colonies by a separate patent; and he made a continuous effort to organise and maintain an Admiralty system in the colonies. In Jamaica, the Admiralty Court indeed acquired a wider jurisdiction over prize and piracy in this epoch than was the custom in any English Vice-Admiralty Tribunal; and the author claims that the Jamaican Court was a useful starting point from which the rise of similar colonial courts could be traced, and furnished precedents to the latter.

It was only with the outbreak of the War of the Spanish succession that prize jurisdiction became a matter of imperial importance. The colonial vice-admiralty courts were far more closely linked to the Home Government than the courts of the colonies, and could act independently of colonial governments and opinion. But their authority depended greatly on the personality of the Governor, who was generally the vice-admiral and, his power to execute their decisions; and they were generally impotent when the Governor and the naval captain were at logger-heads. Even otherwise it was hard to enforce the Acts of Trade and prevent interloping, which sometimes raised international questions. The courts were hated by the Colonies as being the weapons of a tyrannical government; but they have served to spread English maritime law and justice throughout the world.

The last chapter deals with admiralty courts under the East India Company which encountered more difficulty in enforcing its monopoly than other Companies. Gradually the Company acquired the power to erect and maintain Admiralty courts largely through the efforts of the masterful Sir Josiah Child. The experiment proved a failure in Bombay where the Admiralty Judge made a vain attempt to merge the Admiralty and Common Law Courts. In Madras the Admiralty Court acted successfully as a general court of judicature and the supreme tribunal of the settlement. The only explanation of the difference between Madras and Bombay seems to be in the character of the people involved. Thus did Admiralty jurisdiction develop in the 17th century; and the author has successfully presented the several phases and stages of its growth, though, owing to the state of records which are incomplete, the narrative could not be made fully coherent and continuous.

Morrell who is Reader in History in the University of London and Beit Lecturer in Colonial History in the University of Oxford takes up, in his monograph, an interesting constitutional experiment in New Zealand which was tried in the years 1852 to 1876, and attempted to combine the advantages of the federal and unitary systems of government. The New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852 established a Council and a Superintendent elected in each of the six provinces of the Colony, and gave the Governor a nominated Legislative Council and an elected House of Representatives. The Provincial Councils were left a large field of legislation and their powers were comparable to those exercised by the Canadian Provinces under the Dominion of Canada Act of 1867. Sir George Grey set the provincial machinery in motion first; and he was blamed later for not previously settling the distribution of powers between the General Assembly and the Provinces. The first General Assembly concentrated its attention upon the subject of responsible government. The settlement of 1856 was favourable for the provinces. The creation of new provinces was made a mere matter of course; it was a triumph of the Centralists, as it tended to weaken the individual provinces. Financial questions, closely connected with the Maori War, soon overshadowed everything else; and the consequence was to hasten the process whereby the separationists were being converted into the provincialists. Forces steadily worked against separation and equally against ultra-provincialism. The search for an equilibrium was long, laborious and difficult and became worsened by the inequalities in

the financial circumstances of the Provinces. Provincialism came to fail, mainly on account of financial difficulties, especially when the Provinces could not raise their own revenues and had to look to the Central Government to supply deficiencies. All matters of borrowing, social legislation immigration and public works policy had to be done only by the Central Government. Diversity of legislation and lack of uniformity and harmony in administration were other charges brought against the Provincial Governments. The author is careful to say that the provincial system was not in itself alien to the idea of a New Zealand nationality; and he adds a good note with regard to the Government of Otago. The failure of the Construction of 1852 had its own lesson; and the political development of the provincial period was indeed an important stage in the development of New Zealand.

It may be added that the authors of the monographs in this series should not be over thirty years of age and thus these are the fruits of the labours of young scholars on the threshold of mature scholarship.

C. S. S.

HISTORY OF ORISSA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BRITISH PERIOD

By

R. D. BANERJI, M.A.,

Vol. II with 1 map and 95 plates.

R. Chatterjee, Calcutta, 1931—pp. xx and 481.

The second volume of Professor Banerji's posthumous work takes up the history of Orissa from the epoch of the establishment of Mughal rule and continues it almost right down to the present age. It is supplemented by elaborate chapters dealing with the mediæval architecture of the land and its plastic art. The author examines at length the different accounts of the rise of Ramachandra Deva I of Khurda as the new Gajapati who, according to Ramprasad Chanda, was not created a chief of Orissa by the Mughals. Raja Man Singh who completed the Mughal occupation of the country, manipulated the *gadi-prasāda* (share of offerings to God Jagannāth of Puri due to the occupant of the throne) in favour

of Ramachandra and conferred only Aul qila on Mukunda Deva's son, Telinga Ramachandra. Ramachandra Deva's successors were subjected to the extortions of each and every Mughal officer in Orissa, Hindu or Mussalman, till the cession of the province to the Marathas in 1751.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* does not give details of the two southern *sarkars* which, in 1641, became included in the Qutb-Shahi *faujdāri* of Chicacole. Stirling's account has been corrected in many places, particularly his narrative of the accession of Ramachandra Deva which was greatly distorted in the Puri Annals.

Use has been made by the author of the *Murāqā-i-Hassan* (Letters of Maulāna Abu'l Hassan, who was the secretary of the Subhadar of Orissa in the years 1655-67) and of the letters addressed to Murshid Kuli Khan by Aurangzib, in the depiction of the condition of the land in the middle of the 17th century; and Sir J. N. Sarkar's incomplete list of the subhadars of Orissa is attempted to be completed. Murshid Kuli Khan's rule is detailed, as well as the abundant quantity of intrigue, treachery and inefficiency that accompanied Aliwardi Khan's conquest of Orissa and the subsequent raids of Bhaskara Ram (Bhaskar Pandit) and Mir Habib which formed the prelude to the Maratha conquest of Orissa. This last subject forms the substance of a whole chapter (No. XXVI) and is based on the *Se'ir-ul-mutā'kharin*, the more sober account of the *Riyāz-us-salātin* and the Maratha *Riyasat* of G. S. Sardesai. Discrepancies exist between the Maratha and the Mussalman versions of the treaty of 1751; and Mr. Banerji says that they cannot be accounted for; and the summary, as preserved in the Imperial Records Department, appears to be the more trustworthy. Copies of the treaties were sent from Murshiddabad to Calcutta by Nawab Muhammad Raza Khan in 1769.

Maratha rule in Orissa preserved at first the outer shell of Mughal administration, but entirely changed the core. It is likened by our author to the dual Government of Clive in Bengal. When English dominance was assured in Bengal, a secret hint was given to the Nawab to refuse the payment to the Marathas of the *chauth* promised in the treaty of 1751; and a proposal was even made to Nawab Kasim Ali to undertake an invasion of Orissa, in which the English were to co-operate. This is the author's comment on this matter:—"Mir Qāsim Ali was as much in the shoes of Aliwardi Khan as the latter's grandson, Sirāj-ud-daulah was. His

refusal to pay the *chauth* and its countenance by the Governor of Fort. William was as much moral and legal as the British refusal to pay the stipulated tribute of twenty-six lakhs to the Emperor Shah Alam II after his departure from Allahabad to Delhi in 1771."

The Marathas failed to join the Nawabs of Bengal in their wars with the English in 1757 and 1763; and Januji Bhonsle even negotiated with Calcutta for help against the Peishwa in the years 1767-69. Clive had sent an agent, Motte, to see to the possibility of establishing a factory at Sambhalpur for the purchase of diamonds; and Mr. Motte's *Narrative* contains a very reliable account of the condition of Orissa, fifteen years after its occupation by the Marathas. Mudhoji Bhonsle who got into power in 1775 gradually drifted into subservience to the English Company; but information about Orissa is very meagre in the *Bakhar* of the Nagpur Bhonsles compiled by Kashi Rao Rajeswar Gupte. Quarrels with the Zamindars, border disputes with the Company and the final British conquest of Orissa which was premeditated, are dwelt at length; and the Mayurbhanja state's fortunes are also elaborated. The author plaintively confesses that after the establishment of British rule in Orissa, "police extortion and sale of public justice was carried on entirely through Bengalis" (p. 279). The rising of the Paiks in 1817 is only a symptom of the long-drawn sufferings of the poor which continued in the earlier part of British rule and which were caused as much by natural factors as by the callousness of the officials who were guided by dishonest and incompetent Bengali subordinates as illustrated in the short autobiography of Jadab Chandra Chatterji, the father of Bankin Chandra, who was the *Darōgha* of the Salt Excise Office at Jaypur. Mr. Banerji also criticises the statements made by Mr. B. C. Morzumdar about the greatness and glory of the petty chiefs of Sonpur and Patna and the principalities in the Sambhalpur tract. He relies, perhaps to an unusually large extent, on secondary sources like the *Calendar of Persian correspondence* (Vol. I) and *Wills' British Relations with the Nagpur State*, when he might have gone to the original materials. He gives exhaustive details about the British attempts at land-revenue settlement and about the Maratha conquest of the Sambhalpur tract.

Discoursing upon the architecture of Orissa in the middle ages, Mr. Banerji calls to our attention the gap of nearly eight centuries forming a blank between the cave-temples of the Khanda-giri-Udayagiri group and the earliest temples of mediæval Orissa

that cannot be assigned to a date earlier than the 7th century A. D. An inscription from Holal in the Bellary District distinctly proves that, long before the Muhammadan conquest of Northern India, the architects of Kalinga had won for themselves separate recognition as forming an individual school. The Parasurāmēśvara shrine of Bhuvanēśvara is the oldest of the Orissan mediæval shrines, but shows a completely evolved type. Mr. Banerji tries to correct a number of inaccurate ideas put forth by M. M. Ganguly about the evolution of Orissan temple architecture. The Sūrya Deul at Konarak and the Great Temple of Bhuvanēśvara are examined in detail, and a blank of one century is postulated between the Lingarāja-Ananta-Vāsudēva-Brahmēśvara group and the next group clustering round Jagannātha. The sculpture of the land is shown by the author to have a definite mixture of the north and the south. He notices several epochs of renaissance in the development of the sculpture of the Buddhists; and he lays down that the later decline of the standards and the ideals of the artists has to be judged according to locality and not in a general synthesis. In an appendix he examines the Chauhan origin of the chiefs of Patna and Sonpur, and the ancestry of the Bhanja chiefs. The execution and get-up of the volume are sumptuous and the plates form a most attractive and useful addition.

C. S. S.

THE MAKING OF THE STATE

By

M. RUTHNASWAMI.

pp. 488. Price 21s. net.

Williams and Norgate, London.

This work is planned on a very ambitious scale. It offers to assess the contribution made by various factors to the origin and development of the State. It is a vast subject, and one has to bring to bear upon its study, a deep knowledge of history and politics, of law and psychology. Mr. Ruthnaswami appears to have taken great pains to equip himself, and his chapter and paragraph headings show that he has a thorough knowledge of the range of questions which are relevant to his enquiry.

We fear, however, that we cannot recommend this book to students whose minds are still unformed. It is a very controversial book; and the author seems almost to display his prejudices

and obsessions. It has little value as a collator facts because there is no attempt to present them with that detail and discrete emphasis which would meet the requirements of the average student. And whether it is facts or opinions, the author employs a clumsy and repetitive style which makes them all equally obscure. And many are the passages where two contradictory statements lie alongside bewildering the reader and leaving him in doubt as to the meaning intended to be conveyed.

Take for instance p. 329, which introduces a highly important subject, the influence of Industry in the making of the State. He says, "The factors and influences which we have been considering so far, religion, custom, law, social and political institutions, civilisation and culture and ideas, have made the State of history. But in recent times, there has appeared a force which is shaping the modern State into moulds and forms not known before. *This force was unknown to former ages.* It has come into operation only in recent times. This new force which is transforming the State out of its former self is Industry. *This is not the first time that Industry has appeared as a social force* influencing the making of the State. Industry as a source of wealth side by side with land and agriculture has appeared in all ages of the world. Every civilised age and every civilised country have benefitted by various forms of Industry. But the notable thing about modern Industry is that it is organised on a large scale and has attained a size unknown and undreamt of before." This is only one example of inelegant repetition in style, of contradiction in ideas. The book abounds in similar passages.

Look now at p. 245. Mr. Ruthnaswami is here considering what is properly the province of Government and what are its unnecessary functions. He says that a Ministry of Home Affairs, of Finance, of Foreign Affairs and of Health are the 'necessaries of governmental activity' and proceeds to add, "The rest are the luxuries of governmental activity. In a normal and healthy State, the agriculture, the commerce, the industry of a people are left to the free unfettered activity and initiative of the people. But in diseased States, where the economic life of the people has got into holes and pits from which it must be rescued, or in undeveloped States where the people if left to themselves would only mark time and be stationary, administrative activity may be required to promote the economic progress of a state, and thus we have in many modern States Ministries of Agriculture, of Industries, of Commerce, of Labour, and so forth." And so, Mr. Ruthnaswami lands

us on the painful conclusion that all the modern States which concern themselves with the aforesaid activities which are in the nature of luxuries, are either diseased or undeveloped. Far from Industry making a State, it is the symptom of a very definite malady. Comment is superfluous in face of this lucid and penetrating analysis.

We have no space to deal at any length with Mr. Ruthnaswami's history and with his legal and political speculations. He claims to speak with authority on Indian history in particular, and history and jurisprudence generally. A fair sample of the accuracy and balance of his historical judgments occurs at page 468 where he elucidates the causes of Muslim Failure in India. He traces that failure to a single circumstance which is that "The Mussalman Rulers of India were nomadic in their rule of India." Mr. Ruthnaswami came to this conclusion as long ago as 1918, and his conviction has been growing, judging from the fact that he states this proposition at least half a dozen times in nearly identical language in the course of about as many pages of this book. In his view the fact cannot be sufficiently iterated, and as the point is novel and startling, we may well sympathise with his anxiety.

And what are the facts? Barring the five famous invaders, Mahmud of Ghuzni, Muhammad of Ghor, Timur, Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Durani, the rest of the Muslims did not merely invade the country, but they conquered and settled down here. They took over the government of the land, extended their dominion, and founded dynasties. They might have been nomads before they came to India, but they were well settled in Delhi after they finished their conquest. These so called nomad houses not only took permanent residence and established a permanent territorial sovereignty of India according to the best notions of political science of their day, they projected vast schemes of irrigation, of currency and taxation, of law and administration which Mr. Ruthnaswami's political mentor Burke has described in immortal language. By what definition of 'nomad' are these sovereigns, Sher Shah and Akbar among them, included in the meaning, passes the comprehension of those who, like the present writer, have no access to the esoteric traditions of Indian historical scholarship.

We must also strongly protest against Mr. Ruthnaswami's use of the expression 'mountain-rat', as opprobrious as it is banal, against a Hindu monarch who is widely and justly venerated as an example of Hindu courage, enterprise, chivalry, patriotism and

constructive statesmanship. We are unable to see that there is anything in the context which calls for the use of this expression; it is wholly unnecessary, out of place and in bad taste; and the world knows that the contempt and calumny suggested by this phrase are the results of a malevolent perversion of historical truth.

We now turn to another part of the book. 'Government as a Maker of the State' is a title which perplexes the lay mind. Government is very definitely made by the State, and how and to what extent the creature creates its creator is a subtle metaphysical problem which we confess ourselves unequal to unravelling for the present. We prefer to think that all that the author means to convey is the influence which government, as the practical expression of state-activity, has in *sustaining* the State. In this chapter also the author deals with a large number of questions in a very controversial manner.

To mention only one of them, he refers to the Army and the mechanism of its control. He objects to vesting the control of the Army in the Executive, and suggests instead that an 'impartial and indisputably national authority like the Privy Council or the Committee of Imperial Defence in England or the Conseil d'Etat in France' should sanction its use. His fear is that an unpopular Executive may entrench itself in power behind the Army which it controls.

Since the author has referred to the Privy Council of England, we may take it that he attributes this weakness of the constitution to the English also, and an examination of the position from the point of view of the English Constitution will elucidate the point.

The Executive in England controls the Army. The Executive is responsible to Parliament, a predominant part of which is elected by the people of the country, and periodically renewed so that active touch with current popular opinions may be maintained. In this way the administration of the Army and responsibility for its lawful and proper use is owed to the people of the country as a whole. Further, the Executive is obliged to obtain powers on an annual basis for the maintenance and adequate use of the Army, by means of the Army and the Riot Acts. As regards domestic turmoil, the common law regulates the use of Armed forces; and if the common law is exceeded, the Executive will be liable to judicial processes unless an Act of Indemnity saves them. No more balanced and better conceived arrangement exists which makes for

security without destroying liberty. The result of setting up a super-Executive which owes no responsibility constitutionally to anybody and which is recruited upon arbitrary principles is not likely to afford a safer guarantee of proper use of Force in a State merely because you call it a 'national authority.' People who ask for these remedies to supposed evils take the failure of democracy and constitutionalism for granted. The peril of Mussolonism is ever before their mind's eye. They should be warned that political nostra like these are self-defeating, and that they weaken the motive for constitutionalism which in another part of his book, this writer so rightly applauds. For, constitutionalism is still the best medium for assuring a free life to the citizens of the modern State.

We must now conclude. Mr. Ruthnaswami's erudition is above question; he moves as freely among classical writers and thinkers as among moderns. Burke is the inspirer of his political faith, and a sounder guide, a more humane guide does not exist. Our only regret is that Mr. Ruthnaswami should have allowed to go into print, obviously unrevised material which might have been suitable to the class room where you have to fill any how the lengthening hour, but which is very unsatisfying to the student whose purpose is somewhat higher than to sit and answer papers in University Examinations.

N. D. V.

INDIAN PROBLEMS

SPEECHES BY LORD IRWIN

Published by Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum St., London.

After Lord Hardinge, the most widely respected Viceroy in India was Lord Irwin. His sympathy with Indian aspirations, his idealist way of approaching political problems and his general desire to conciliate rather than conquer are qualities which won him quite a unique position among the people over whom he loved for five most critical years of India's recent history. He was accused of insincerity by Indian die-hards, and of incurable and dangerous vacillation which was losing an Empire by the die-hards of Britain. But with the vast majority of reasonable men who are alive to the difficulties of practical politics, he was popular. The

affectionate way in which he is referred to in India is as the Christian Viceroy, and this is a good indication of the general estimate of his character and administration by the public.

It is not yet time to make the historian's estimate of his part in Indian affairs. The movements and activities with which he had to deal are still on, and it is only after they are completed and their effect become capable of being judged that Lord Irwin's own contribution can be properly appreciated. This collection of his speeches, however, indicates the manner in which he looked at problems, the point of view which appealed to him. They are very careful utterances as such utterances always are, but they are strangely free from that stiffness and dry ceremony which usually characterise formal speeches.

It is not easy, nor is it possible within the limits of a review like this, to bring out all the excellences of the Viceroy's sentiments and policy. Two of the most important problems with which he had to deal were the civil disobedience movement and constitutional reform. While he was party to the severe measures which his government took to suppress civil disobedience, he bore in mind that Britain could not well afford to crush Indian nationalism. That is a factor in his policy which is entirely characteristic. He said "So far from desiring to secure so-called victory over a nationalist movement constitutionally pursued, I desire nothing more than to help India so far as I can to translate her aspirations into reality." And in the way he thought best, Lord Irwin stood by this policy. Civil disobedience by itself may not have called for the stringent and in some respects unchristian methods that had to be adopted to quell it, if the government were not faced with a movement for anarchical crime which they thought drew much of its strength from the atmosphere of defiance of constituted authority which the civil disobedience movement created. This is a highly controversial question, and the historian is not yet in a position to give his verdict. The Viceroy said in one of his speeches to the Indian Legislative Assembly, "A political movement must be judged and dealt with, not according to the professions of those who initiate it or carry it into effect, but in the light of practical results."

On the constructive side, the Irwin-Gandhi pact is an act of the Viceroy's courage and statesmanship, and it appears to be clear that this event at least will get to the pages of history. The forging of an All-India Federal Constitution was a task of no mean importance, and though Lord Irwin's government had not envisaged a speedy achievement of the ideal, things did move faster than

any optimist thought. It must however be said that his Government's despatch on constitutional reforms of 1929 was a failure.

We shall refer only to one more circumstance. The Ruling Princes of India have been the objects of the solicitude of successive Viceroys who have all tendered sound advice to them as to how they should become good rulers and good men. Lord Irwin's exhortation, compendious and pointed, will bear a full quotation:—"Your Highnesses will perhaps allow me to indicate briefly what in my view these are. There must be a reign of law based either expressly or tacitly on the broad good will of the community: individual liberty and rights must be protected, and the equality of all members of the State before the law be recognised. To secure this an efficiently organised police force must be maintained, and a strong and competent judiciary, secure from arbitrary interference by the executive and irremovable so long as they do their duty.

Taxation should be as light as circumstances permit, easy of collection, certain, and proportionate to the means of the tax-payer to pay. The personal expenditure of the Ruler should be as moderate as will suffice to maintain his position and dignity, so that as large a proportion as possible of the State revenues may be available for the development of the life of the community, such as communications, education, health and social services, agriculture, housing and other kindred matters. There should be some effective means of ascertaining the needs and desires of its subjects and of keeping close touch between the Government and the governed.

Religious toleration and conciliation in all disputes between the subjects are important, and last, but not least, is the need to choose and trust good counsellors. By this, perhaps more than aught else, is a wise Ruler known, and the fullness of his trust in competent advisers will, in great part, be the measure of the confidence which his people repose in him."

Princes who act upon this advice will be readily accepted by their own peoples and by British India into whose constitutional system they are about to enter.

There is no space to discuss his Toronto address, which raises many controversial issues; but it is a speech which must be read as the expression of a sympathetic Britisher's interpretation of Indian history and of Indian demands.

N. D. V.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

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B. A. Saletore—The Vijayanagara Conquest of Ceylon.

N. N. Das Gupta—To the East of Samatata.

Kalipada Mitra—The Gāy-Daur Festival; the Cult of the Mother Goddess.

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B. A. Saletore—Dynastic Continuity in Vijayanagara History.

Sir R. C. Temple—Capelan (The Ruby Mines District of Burma).

Dasharatha Sharma—Gleanings from Sanskrit Literature.

Pandit Anand Koul—Kashmiri Riddles.

Pandit B. N. Reu—Rāo Chandrasen, A Forgotten Hero of Rajputana.

V. V. Mirashi—Historical Data in Rājasēkhara's Viddhasāla-bhanjika.

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Appendix—A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India written in Brahmi and its derivative Scripts from about A.C. 300—By Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. (Nos. 1308 to 1632).

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L. Sundram—The Revenue Administration of the Northern Sarkars.

Brahmachari Pranavanandaji—Our Kailāsa Yātra.

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Somasundara Desikar—The Kākatiyas in Tamil Literature.

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V. Raghavan—The Vṛttis.

P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri—History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil.

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K. S. Ramaswami Sastri—The Contribution of Jainism to the World's Re-adjusted Life.

L. A. Phaltane—Ancient Jainas and Geography.

A. S. Gopani—Vadilal Shah—A Superman.

E. Sharpe—Shri Shanti Vijayaji.

K. N. Sitaram—Jainism—Its Message to Humanity.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids—Are there Jain Values in Original Buddhism?

Sital Prasadji—Flesh Eating is prohibited in Buddhism.

Summerchand Jain—The Jain Geography of the World.

L. A. Phaltane—Ancient Jainas in Maharashtra.

M. A. Upadhye—Notes on Some Jaina Ascetic Practices.

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N. Subba Rao—Two Centuries of Wāḍeyar Rule in Mysore (1565-1761).

K. Narayanaswami Iyer—Śrī Vidya.

M. Srinivasa Rao—Māṇḍookya Upanishad.

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S. Srikanta Sastri—Gautamiputra, Rudradama and Kanishka.

H. L. Hariyappa—Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa: A Critique.

L. V. Ramaswami Iyer—Two Dravidic Problems.

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 149

S. Srikantaiya—Heavenly Mansions of the Hindus.

S. C. Mitra—(1) Studies in Bird Myths, Nos. XL and XLI.
(2) Studies in Plant Myths, Nos. XVIII and XIX.

A. Aiyappan—Rock-cut Cave Tombs of Feroke.

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S. R. Balasubrahmanyam—The 100-Pillared Mantapam at Chidambaram.

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V. N. Srinivasa Rao—Chandragiri.

G. M. Moraes—Chitravāhana II.

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Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara, Vol. I, Nos. 5, 6 and 7.

V. Sankara Iyer—Sabda Sāmrajya Chakravartin—or Pāṇini Achārya.

C. Doraiswami Aiyangar—Hinduism as followed by the Visishtādvaidins.

A. Padmanabiah—Early Dravidian Races.

K. Krishnamacharya—A Note on Kumāradāsa and Jānaki-harāṇa.

S. Subrahmanya Sastri—Śrī Venkaṭāchala Māhātmya.

Pandit V. Vijayaraghavachari—Nārada Śilpa Śūtras.

N. Kuppuswamaiya—Tirukkuraḷ Kāmakāṇḍam in Telugu.

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