

Vol XIII, Part I.

April 1934

Serial No. 37.

JOURNAL
OF
INDIAN HISTORY

(Published three times a year)

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PRINTED BY

G. S. PRESS: LINO PRINTERS

MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS.



JL
V2m, N23
N34.13

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CONTRIBUTORS are requested to be so good as to address papers and correspondence to the Editor, *Journal of Indian History*, 'Śrīpadam', 143, Brodies Road, Mylapore, Madras.

Contributors of articles to this journal will greatly oblige the editor if they will leave the upper half of the first sheet of manuscript blank, for the convenience of the editor, in entering instructions to the press regarding titling, style of printing, submission of proof, etc. Such instructions, when sent separately, are liable to result in confusion and delay.

Contributors will also greatly lighten the task of the editor, as well as lessen the cost of composition and correction, by observing the following suggestions:—

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THE MANAGER,
Journal of Indian History,
'Śrīpadam',
143, Brodies Road, Mylapore,
MADRAS, S.

CORRIGENDA.

Volume XIII, Part I. APRIL 1934. Serial No. 37.
(Pages 1 to 16)

Title: for "On a Writing Oceanique of Neolithic Origin". read:
"On an Oceanic Writing of Neolithic Origin".

Text:

Page 3, line 14
Instead of: *Pyrennees*, read: *Pyrenees*

Page 4, line 19
Instead of: *Rev. Langdon* " *Prof. Langdon*

Page 6, line 5
Instead of: *from* " *for*

Page 8, line 4 from the bottom
Instead of: *Geisler* " *Geiseler*

Page 12, line 1
Instead of: *four thousand years* " *from the fourth millenary*

Page 15, line 17
Instead of: *The Melanesians say that it is not what
Polynesians still say* " *To say "Melanesian"
is not yet to say "Polynesian"*

Page 16, line 1
Instead of: *Schirokogoroff* " *Shirokogoroff*

Page 16, line 16
Instead of: *and more minutely* " *is more intense*

Page 16, line 18
Instead of: *very strong* " *stronger*

Page 16, line 15 from the bottom
Instead of: *Easter Isles* " *Easter Island*

Page 16, line 6 from the bottom
Instead of: *did not know* " *did not know it*

Page 16, line 5 from the bottom
Instead of: *I could not recover the whole during these
two occasions* " *I could recover it all together in two cases*

Journal of Indian History

On a Writing Oceanique of Neolithic Origin

By

M. G. DE HEVESY.

An account given at the Conference of the French Pre-historic Society during its Session on 22nd June 1933.

[The Editor acknowledges with gratitude his obligation to M. G. de Hevesy and the Soci  t   Pr  historique Fran  aise for permission to print the following English version of M. Hevesy's lecture published in the bulletin of the Soci  t  , as No. 7-8, 1933, and for the loan of the excellent blocks illustrating the lecture. The translation was done by Mr. V. J. George, M.A., L.T., of the Women's Christian College, Madras. The Editor offers his thanks both to him and to Miss E. Macdougall, the Principal of the College, for revising the translation.]

THE lecturer recalls that it is at the instance of our President that it has been decided to propound this question before the Society. After some complimentary words to the Assembly, he asked for an immediate discussion when questions may be put and objections raised. In fact, he said, there exist only a few questions that need engage our serious attention.

Passing on to a consideration of the facts M. de Hevesy continued as follows :—

“ We have all learned that in India savages and barbarians alone lived till the arrival of the civilised Aryans. Their sacred books the Vedas, their Sanskrit language, have been for us for all times, synonymous with what we knew of ancient, most classic, and, I would almost say, the most venerable.

To-day we know that this view is practically untrue.

Sir John Marshall and his collaborators have discovered in the region of the Middle Indus, a civilization, ancient, prosperous and magnificent, a civilization even more developed than the contemporary civilizations of Sumeria and Egypt, and a civilization which may appear marvellous, since ten years ago no one even suspected its existence.

You know that Mohenjo-Daro has already revealed the plan of a town so highly developed, that it could rival those (plans) of modern times.

You know that the spacious storeyed houses contained bathing rooms and other sanitary installations, of which the drainage had been secured by means of drains with culverts having almost the dimensions of those in Paris.

You also know that the artistic sense of the population has been attested by countless objects, as I shall have occasion to illustrate later on.¹

* * * *

They (Sir John Marshall and collaborators) soon secured evidence, that the newly discovered civilization could not have been Aryan, since we know a good deal about the latter from the Vedas. The Aryans had only villages, but here we find towns; they built with wood and bamboos, but here all is in stone masonry with red (baked) bricks, of such a finish that one hardly comes across even at present. The Aryans did not, for example, consume fish; at Mohenjo-Daro, it is one of their favourite dishes. There it was the cow that was and still is their god; here it is the bull. The absolute intolerance of the Aryans towards all those who did not belong to their race is well known; but at Mohenjo-Daro on the contrary, the skulls found there show that there was a population consisting of at least four different races.

I could proceed further, but I prefer to draw your attention to two main points. The objects coming from the Indus found at

1. The lines of points substituted in the account given in the passages at the conference have presented and explained the reproductions of the document.

Sumer, on the one side, and metals and stones found at Mohenjo-Daro on the other, prove that the towns of India, had communications with distant places, and that their commerce might have reached the Black Sea on one side and Burma on the other, and even Central Asia, as is vouched by the jade found there.

Secondly, more important still. People have the impression from the point of view of its extent, of its geographical area, that the newly discovered civilization must have been superior to those that are known already before this.

At first, Mohenjo-Daro did not possess any fortification, from which we conclude that it was not a frontier town.

Next, they have found at Harappa, which is removed from Mohenjo-Daro by the same distance that separates Paris and the Pyrennees exactly the same objects.

Finally, Sir John Marshall wrote to me a few weeks ago—his letter is dated end of April—from Taxila, that he has just identified some "scores of sites" which await excavation, and a small fund, and some spirit of enterprise would quite suffice to unveil "this most fascinating chapter of human history."

You will also be probably interested to know that Sir John has added: "I hope that France and other countries will not wait further to send their own expeditions to take an active part in the exploration of these prehistoric antiquities."

That civilization had also a hieroglyphic script similar to all those of the period. The greater part of these writings recorded, evidently on perishable materials, have been lost for ever. But, fortunately they have also found some brass plates full of writing, and specially a large number of seals in steatite (a kind of soap-stone).

* * * *

It would appear that the objects you have just seen served a religious purpose; just as a Bible used to be found in the house of every Englishman who respected himself, so also we have found that these seals are seen indiscriminately in almost all the houses discovered in Mohenjo-Daro as well as at Harappa.

One would think that they placed these writings—and also the seals (marks) which they discovered thanks to them—along-

side the offerings which they made to the animals: the tutelary deity of each family being always an animal. It is by means of these visiting cards—seals—that one wished to communicate to his sacred animal what one wanted to make known, and particularly the name of the person who made the offering.

There are among these animals some domestic ones also, for instance the bull and the buffalo, as well as wild beasts like the tiger, the rhinoceros, the elephant, and even the crocodile. These signs are found by the side of these animals.

* * * *

On the other hand, I could also state that on these numerous seals found till now—there are almost a thousand—the lion, the king of beasts which played such a prominent part in the West, does not appear even once. If this omission is not accidental, it gives room for reflection; you will tell me if we are right in concluding that the people of Mohenjo-Daro would have come from a country where there were no lions, that is to say from the direction of the East.

The writing in the new civilization had been studied at close quarters by English scholars, by Rev. Langdon, of Oxford, and by Dr. Hunter of the same University. If these "savants" have not succeeded in reading it, they have at least made many interesting statements.

Thus, they were certain that writing proceeded from right to left. Besides in a good many cases it was writing "boustrophedon," that is to say a kind of writing in which the figures of the alternate lines turned in the opposite direction.

This last statement appears to me particularly interesting, from that we can conclude, I believe, that the use of writing in the Indus region must have been very extensive and not confined to inscription on plates.

In fact, why did they in ancient times use this method of writing (boustrophedon); or still the other methods of writing where the figures in each line were placed somewhat on the top, obliging one to turn (shift the position of) the tablet for the purpose of reading? It was always to enable one to pass from one line to the next with certainty.

When we read, we are generally desirous of jumping from the end of one line to the commencement of the next and we are seldom mistaken. But with the hieroglyphics not only the writing but also the reading must evidently have been less easy.

Therefore, we find at Mohenjo-Daro "boustrophedon" writing.

But on the other hand we never find more than three lines on the surface of each seal—people often wrote on both sides—so much so that the risk of being deceived in reading did not exist.

Even though there is the "boustrophedon" writing, that is to say that they had it ready at hand, other writing infinitely longer and for which the use had been indicated, must have existed.

Here for example, a seal was found at Harappa, where the figures of the line on top and the line at the bottom are turned topsy turvey at 180 degrees in relation of the one to the other.

Dr. Langdon has already published a complete copy (corpus) of all the inscriptions found at Mohenjo-Daro till 1927.

Mr. Hunter wrote from India, where he is now, that the same body (collection) of signs found at Harappa will be sent for publication.

Mr. Hunter has also given me to understand that he has since established the whole of the inscriptions of the seals found at Mohenjo-Daro as well as at Harappa between 1927 and 1930. There would be signs not known yet, but the whole, says he, would not seriously affect the list of signs already known.

Certainly the most interesting result of the researches of English scholars is that the writing of Mohenjo-Daro and of Harappa represents a well established system, that is to say that the writing is without doubt more a writing simply ideographic, but still already semi-syllabic.

They have studied that stems could be grafted to these signs, that borders could be added, circumflex accents put over them, and other accents, such as dots, could be placed on both sides: they have found the evidence from this "methodical collection," which is always, as you know, one of the most characteristic and remarkable features of any invention.

With this, ladies and gentlemen, let us leave India. Let us cross over the seas and transport ourselves to 20,000 kilometres (about 12,000 miles) just to the antipodes of Mohenjo-Daro.

The learned bishop of Australia, Father Jaussen, had asked his clergy in the Pacific to send him from his collections of Tahiti all the objects of ethnographic interest.

It is thus that he received one day some hairs of the natives. The missionary from whom he received it, Father Zumbohm, was doing his work about 70 years before at the *Island of Paques*.* It is a small barren island covering an area of 12,000 hectares (about 3,000 sq. miles) only; and also as distant in the wide ocean, from all land, and all human habitation, as for example between Paris and the confines of Iceland.

The Bishop Jaussen saw at once that the wooden tablet with which his missionary had wrapped the hairs, was of infinitely greater interest than all the rest, for the tablet was covered with an hieroglyphic writing.

* * * *

Two special reasons rendered the discovery of that writing particularly disturbing: the first is that never before nor ever since had they found in Australia any inscriptions; the second is that they had found them precisely in that island of Paques where one of the most mysterious of phenomena had already drawn their attention.

There are in that isle, as you know, ancient statues of immense size reaching up to 20 metres (60 feet roughly) and more, statues carved from a single block of stone of an extinct volcano and then carried, they know not how, up to the seashore and a stone covering placed over it—like a hat—the covering itself being 2 to 3 metres, and marking finally that place as the burial ground of the natives.

They have counted in all hundreds of these statues which made the *Island of Paques** one of the grandest Mausoleums in the world.

* * * *

* Easter Islands.



PLAE I.

Top: Various specimens of the seals of Mohenjo-Daro (after Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation*).

Bottom: One of the "talking woods" of the Easter Islands. The tablet called *mamari* preserved by the Friars of the Picpus at Braine-le-Compte—A certain number of common signs are seen.

But let us return to our tablet. The Bishop of Tahiti asked for some of the pieces of this kind which the natives called their "speaking wood" and he received seven in all.

On the other hand the explorers have found among them in the island, of the kind, of which they now know, about fifteen.

But "*habent sua fata libelli*" even if these tables are of wood, actually these inscribed tablets of the Isle of Paques are spread all over the world : one finds them at Santiago, at Chili, at Leningrad, at Washington, at London, Berlin, Vienna; however, the finest ones are without doubt those that are preserved at Braine-le-Compte, in Belgium.

Thanks to your dear President, Paris will have very soon something better than all these different museums. Dr. Rivet is, in fact, collecting at the Trocadero Museum exact moulds of all the existing tablets which will then considerably facilitate further researches.

* * * *

The largest tablet that exists, precisely one of those at Braine-le-Comte, is almost 1 metre in length and 12 centimetres in breadth and contains on the 2 sides more than 1,500 characters.

Another, preserved at the museum at Leningrad in the shape of a club, the weapon called "mere" which was carried by the chiefs of New Zealand which was, besides, often in wood like the tablets.

(The lecturer drew attention to the fact that from one of the tablets at Braine-le-Comte, the best preserved one among those existing, and of which he gives an extract that one ought to read the text, by turning down (bringing round) the tablet at the end of each line, since the figures of the alternate lines appeared in some sort head downwards.) (See Plate I.)

Some explorers, he continued, particularly the missionaries claimed that they read the tablets from left to right; some scholars like Geisler, Haberland and Harrisson, held an entirely different view. The process of magnifying the writing had already inclined me to support the opinion of the latter, when two anomalies, one on one of the tablets at Braine-le-Comte, the other on one of the

tablets at Washington, irregularities which are not present here, and which are otherwise inexplicable, have furnished me with the proof, that the writing evidently proceeded from right to left.

There remains the commencement of the text. The explorers of whom I have spoken, say, probably on the strength of the evidence supplied by the natives, that it begins in one of the corners at the bottom from right or left.

I must confess that they are more fortunate than myself, for I could not say where the beginning is. It is certain that in 2 tablets on which I could test the anomalies that existed, in the order of the drawing, the text begins in both cases, without any doubt, with the fifth character from the left, of the first line on top. For all the other tablets, just as for these that I place before you, I could not say where to begin the reading.

As for the reading of the text itself, I shall not expatiate upon the various tests which I was able to make, on this subject, since they are still incomplete; nevertheless I could confidently state that in more than the mechanical aspect of the writing, which already with its incessant repetitions recalls strongly the Polynesian, I have also been able to secure a proof, quite probable, that it was connected with a Polynesian language. What will be most interesting to know, and what when well understood would facilitate considerably the reading of the tablets, would be to know what the different figures represented. But there we come across great difficulties because the manner by which these scripts and the ancient writers attempted to represent the objects, was very peculiar.

Thus you will agree with me in finding that this figure before us must be that of a man and that one certainly of a fish.

But this triangle at the end of a handle, is it a weapon? And this circumference, with these off-shoots, a tortoise, or simply an insect (hanneton)?

Do these 2 arcs of a circle wish to represent a quarter of the moon which is formed by the triangle in the middle?

Finally, this picture of an animal with a kind of trunk, does it represent an elephant and the other one a monkey? You see the colossal importance of having some sort of certainty and de-

finiteness on the matter of these figures, for the 2 species, the elephant and the monkey, being as you know, utter strangers to the Polynesian fauna, the field for finding the birth place of this writing would recede further immediately.

But, unfortunately, we are after all for almost all these figures at the mercy of guesses. On the contrary, it is here that we meet with one of the most disturbing proofs, and it is the fact of having made this small proof that confers on me now the great honour of being called upon to give this modest address.

The writing of the Isle of Paques and that of its antipodes, the valley of the Indus, belong to the same source, and you will judge so immediately for yourselves.

I was present at the lecture of one of the Professors of the College of France, M. Sylvain Levi, when he explained to us the new civilization of Mohenjo-Daro. He had insisted at that time on the fruitless attempts made to co-ordinate this writing with other hieroglyphic systems. But all the terms of comparisons were found in the West. In the East among others the writings of the Isle of Paques,* has been comparatively neglected. Then I decided to see on this side, I admit without any conviction—indeed with indifference on the matter, but just to relieve my conscience I took with me only the photograph of a tablet in the British museum reproduced in the book of Mrs. Rootledge. But that I soon found a common sign, three circles placed one over the other, cut by a vertical line. It was not however a very simple sign but that did not explain matters much.

I remember very well what one of the great scholars of our time M. Dussaud, had recalled regarding the controversy of Glozel; that in short not only the same signs if they are simple prove nothing, but still it is natural enough that the hieroglyphic representation of the same objects resemble each other. It was clear that one can ascribe the same source to this writing only if the number of the same signs was large and numerous, and if there were among them signs altogether complicated.

Ladies and gentlemen, you are going to see very well that such is the case. I shall spare you the trouble of proving the

* Easter Islands.

general concordance of these two writings; for example, of proving to you that here and there there are the same elements of modifications and of combinations that govern the use of these signs: that they are of the stems which are grafted on the signs, the same stops and borders—"tassels"—that are added to them and that one can note even the same circumflex accents sometimes put over them.

It will suffice me to confine myself to the signs alone and to compare them. And you could verify not only the strong analogies, but proceed even up to the absolute identity.

Certainly the signs found at the Isle of Paques* appear something like a more ancient edition. You will see that their design is more detailed and finer; one cannot find there still this simplified character: this trouble of standardising which I already met with at Mohenjo-Daro, where undoubtedly they made a frequent use of the writing.

But permit me to show you some of the comparisons presented by M. Pelliot at the Institute, and as I have just said it, you could judge for yourself.

* * * *

The lecturer explained then some plans by which one could compare the signs of those in Indus with the others at the Island of Paques,* and of which we give you on the opposite side some reproductions (Plates II and III). It may be remarked that outside of these simple signs there exists a resemblance between the signs of which the intricacy is such as to exclude any element of chance. The comparisons have been applied to over 300 signs on each side.

It is probably, continued M. de Hevesy, that the comparison of signs having man for their basis graph that is the most surprising.

At Mohenjo-Daro, the man is already reduced to a very simple figure; some lines, the trunk, the hand, the legs, almost a simple scheme.

But compare the position of the hand and the legs of those of the men in the Isle of Paques, and, much more than these fore-



PLATE II.

Signs of the Indus writing compared with those of the Easter Isles. (In each of the four columns, the signs of the Indus are at the left, those of the Easter Isles are at right).

most the objects that the men held in their hands ; and you can go on to striking resemblances.

There are finally some signs and groups of signs, very simple, as well as the employment of the same accent, the kind of circumflex accent that you have seen.

Ladies and gentlemen, what ought one to conclude from all these? It is now that the prudence and circumspection and reflection of which I had spoken to you in the beginning, becomes necessary.

It is not perhaps rash to affirm of the enormous number of the signs that these two writings are the same. In any case, on that point not one of the savants that have seen not only the comparisons that I am going to present to you but my manuscript which is still more in detail (and I could show it not only to the French savants but also to the Belgians, English and Austrians) has expressed a doubt. In spite of the great difference in the space and the time which the two writings present the new point of departure of which I spoke to you in the beginning is certainly given. But what next? How to explain the affinities between these two writings?

Since I have spoken to you of prudence you evidently expect nothing else from me, and it also is proper on my part that I should describe, enumerate and recall some of those facts in the course of time before you pronounce your final judgment.

Let us divide them at first in 2 groups: firstly the questions relating to those tablets in the Isle of Paques; secondly the questions raised by the similarities of these two writings.

Of the tablets of the Isle of Paques one could ask among other things if their execution is relatively new, dating for example by some centuries only, or if it is really ancient, one could next ask if these have been made in the Isle itself, or if they have been conveyed there. Finally, in that case, whence have they brought them.

The age of these tablets? We know nothing. You only know that wood can be preserved very long. You will see at Louvre the Egyptian statues in wood that date from the fifth Egyptian

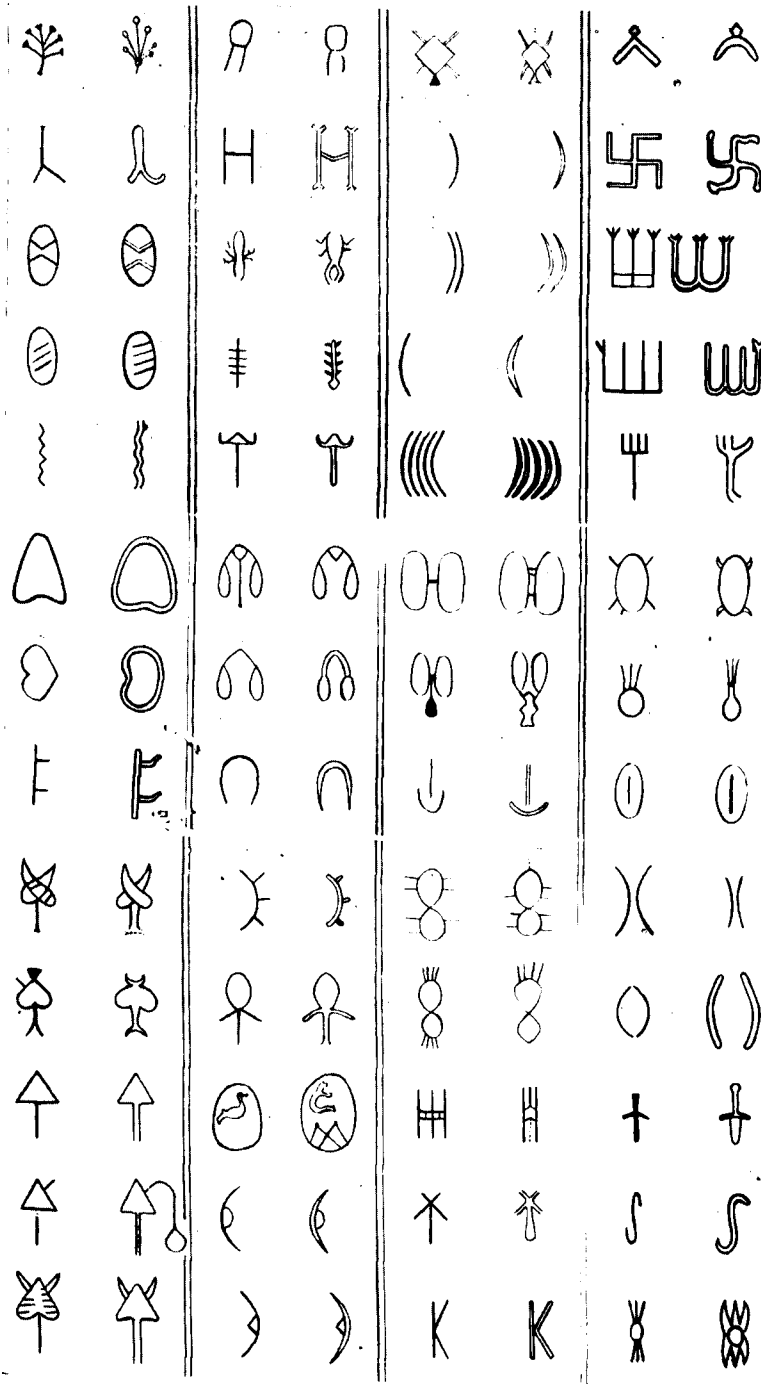


PLATE III.

Signs of the Indus writing compared with those of the Easter Isles. (In each of the four columns, the signs of the Indus are at the left, those of the Easter Isles are at right).

dynasty, that is to say four thousand years before our era. Thus it is possible to assign any date to them.

The tablets, have they been imported or not ? Upon that one could reply with some assurance, and the answer is yes.

We are in the act of analysing the wood of the tablets in order to determine the species (the variety); the analysis which, by the scientific methods actually at our disposal, could be already made over some millimetre cubes. We are still in the beginning of the work, but an analysis of the first discovered tablets, those around which had been wrapped the hairs, has already revealed that it referred to that of a *Podocarpus*, that is to say of a wood that did not grow in the Isle of Paques. From a strictly scientific point of view we can exactly say if it refers to a "*Podocarpus Latifolia*" which grows in the tropics, at Molluccas, at Celebes, and even in Central America, or still that of "*Podocarpus Ferruginea*" that we find in New Zealand.

In any case, I could test that the "*miro*" with which the natives of the Isle of Paques described their more important trees, the "*Sophora*," has in New Zealand, that is to say in the Maori language, the name of *Podocarpus Ferruginea*.

They have also ventured the hypothesis that we have to do in the case of the tablets of the Isle of Paques with the floating woods brought into the isle by ocean currents. The chemists assure me that one could even to-day decide that wood must have floated in the sea-water. For the purpose of that analysis a few millimetre cubes of the tablets will be sufficient, and assuredly no museum will be prepared to sacrifice its own tablets.

There is still another reason which makes us think that these woods have been brought from outside, and that is the tradition of the natives.

Ladies and gentlemen, all of you know from experience what importance you should attach to such historical traditions since you have often seen for yourselves the changing character of facts even within a brief period of 20 years; and all of you will be incredulous, if I were to say that they have reconstructed almost the whole of Polynesian history by means of their traditions.

But with these people the truth of tradition is indisputable.

The very foundation of religion and religious rights, in some islands were so rigorous as to entail capital punishments on those who dared to alter them.

The memory of the great achievements of ancestors as well as their genealogies, some oral genealogies going back sometimes to more than a hundred generations, that is to say for more than three thousand years, constituted for the Polynesians their most sacred knowledge.

These traditions were taught in special schools and always in the most solemn manner. Europeans have expressed the opinion that there are gaps in the genealogies of the distant island; it is thus that they had the evidence that they had been preserved as reverently and exactly as possible.

There are the Polynesians, of whose migrations we know well enough now—since you could retrace their steps with certainty up to 'Indonesia'—it is the seafaring people who carried a writing to the Isle of Paques.

For if the tradition of these islanders that their chief Hotu-Matua, came to the Island in 2 large boats with 300 warriors and their families, which could be perhaps 900 years ago, they might have carried 67 written tablets with them—and not one more or less—there is a great probability that this is true, that is to say, that the writing of the tablets could not be seen to-day in the Isle even, unless they have been imported from outside.

There remains to be known from where these tablets have been imported? It is not perhaps very extravagant to trace the sources now up to New Zealand. The inhabitants of the Isle of Paques might have come from the Isle of Rarotonga, but the latter ought to have been colonised by the New Zealanders. Certain details of rights and customs and "last but not least" certain linguistic peculiarities have always made us imagine that the natives of the Isle of Paques belonged wholly to New Zealand.

But leaving for the moment the question of tablets and passing to those of the relations between the two writings, at first sight, having given the difference in the time and the space, nothing appeared more improbable than the hypothesis of direct relations between the Indies and Australia.

What is then the explanation that we are coming to on the subject of the similitude of these writings?

The explanation has already been given, it appears to me, by a conjecture of Sir John Marshall. The latter in giving an account in his book on Mohenjo-Daro of the different efforts made to trace back (or co-ordinate) his writings to those of the other ancient writings puts us on our guard against these reconciliations.

On the contrary he thinks that if the writings of the Mediterranean region and of Eastern Asia as of the Sumerian, the Egyptian, the Hittite, the Cretan, the Proto-Elamite and naturally those of the Indus are evolved separately, they could not by succession of the different languages trace to the same and unique source.

The principles on which they are founded, says he, are the same, and there is every likelihood that all are derived from a common source, that goes probably very far back even up to the neolithic period.

This neolithic writing, the most ancient of all writings, do we not have it before us in these tablets of the Isle of Paques,* that is the whole culture of which at the moment of its discovery was neolithic still.

Allow me to say that I could scarcely believe it to be any other.

Where is the birth place of the first writing? And where should we search for the native place of this neolithic civilization, already very much developed without doubt, and to whom does this credit of invention go?

In Eastern Asia, some part of it in eastern extremity, in the hot country on the border of the ocean? At this moment we cannot still say. But the tablets must nevertheless exist there as witnesses. In any case we have already two lines of evidence linking together the centre of the Pacific to the east of Asia. Of the first, of the linguistic evidence, unfortunately I cannot say anything good about it. There are undoubtedly some linguistic bonds between the two parts of the globe, but the relationships that we believe exist now—thus the “Austrian” family of languages established by Father Schmidt, and notably “Austro-Asiatic”

* Easter Islands.

family of Schmidt, as well as what I explained to the Asiatic Society of Paris—appear to be non-existent. I reckon besides to enlarge on that topic at the Third International and Linguistic Congress, in the coming September at Rome. I refer to that last in my communication “a false linguistic family”, which will be more appropriate than the terms “Austrian” and “Austro-Asiatic,” since they actually define nothing, and are, because of it, very dangerous.

More true, more serious, and therefore more successful are the ties that you archaeologists have established between the Pacific and Australasia. And why should they not be so, since they are associated with palpable objects, and further, since, you can find pleasure by interesting yourself in the labour of your colleagues and controlling those labours, whereas the linguists excel in evading similar control, by declaring each time, that the question under discussion in no manner concerns their special domain.

The memorable researches of Mr. Mansuy and Miss Colani “in Indo-China and at Tonkin,” further the labours of a Dutch scholar Mr. van Callenfels, and finally those of an Austrian scholar Baron Heine-Geldern, Professor at the University of Vienna, have already taken back the Melanesians in those parts up to the frontiers of China to-day.

The Melanesians say that it is not what the Polynesians still say. But perhaps we shall reassure ourselves in recounting one day the Asiatic migrations of that marvellous race, of those unrivalled sailors who, at the time when our ancestors plied along the coast, a thousand years before the Christian Era, crossed already the high seas, and which, in the sixth century of our Era, penetrated up to the Antarctic, finding the way of going and coming between islands separated by a distance of several thousands of miles; (further) that they reached with their whole fleets, carrying their women, children, domestic animals, and even those plants and tools to cultivate the earth, thus showing themselves to be the greatest colonisers of all times.

Already Baron Heine Geldern has written to me that he has found some positive relationships between the indigenous culture of New Zealand, which resembles exactly those of the inhabitants of the Easter Isle and the Neolithic culture of Northern China.

Professor Schirokogoroff, who has come to demonstrate so peremptorily the absurdity of a common Ural-Altaic (family), wrote on the first of April from Peking: "experimentally I have shown your characters, after having explained the origin of the Chinese with which one is familiar to-day, (to be of the same nature), with the ancient writing of the Chinese; they are known as "Chinois" and they are so called in China. That is at least very curious and perhaps significant; I hope to show these Chinese (characters) all made familiar to you."

All this is evidently very vague still, and even though vague, I could make certain minor statements in this field, statements yet little investigated that I prefer not to speak of them for the time being. But perhaps the day is not far removed, when our knowledge of the prehistoric conditions of that part of the globe will widen itself considerably. Just as you know to-day of the commerce between the two sides of the Pacific, and more minutely that between (those of) the Atlantic, even so it could be that the movement of the civilising emigration had been very strong in the South East of Asia as in the Western lands; thus we forget very often that at the end of the Paleolithic and the beginning of the Neolithic age there existed a mixture of the races in Indo-China as perhaps did not exist in any other part at that time.

In conclusion, I shall show you further an instance that, though in itself not absolutely probable, appears to be too strange to be neglected. I draw your timely attention to the last tablet of the Easter Isles, concerning the manner of representation of the profile of a man. It is the mouth that is specially prominent on the face, and the feet are turned towards one another. It is indeed surprising that one could find the same representation of a man in an old relic of the drawings of Khmer, exhibited at a brilliant conference, that our dear President held on a voyage to Indo-China.

Another feature similar to one of the objects that are found in ancient Indo-China is that of the arc over the tablets. The Polynesians did not know—as those at Mohenjo-Daro—or very little; I could not recover the whole during these two occasions. But there, his form, with the two ends bent back and the centre slightly projecting, is the same.

I think that in pursuing these studies one could find many other analogies, in the same way that in ten years nobody guessed

the existence of the civilization of the Indus, so also the future years might unveil completely a highly developed Neolithic civilization in the East of Asia.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen.

At the commencement of my modest lecture that I am about to conclude I recalled with what prudence we had to proceed. Similarly I expressed up till now a single and unique conclusion: to know that the two writings the Indus and those of Oceania belonged to the same source. All the rest, I consider to be more or less probabilities, eventualities, possibilities; it is not some sort of a list that I have attempted to trace for you.

However, ladies and gentlemen, one could arrive at a twofold conclusion still, and even at one conclusion unmistakably.

You could ascertain by some point in the French possessions, that Tonkin, and the Indo-China play some part in the new problems; you could see, how the cultural lines that could unite the Pacific and India converge all towards these territories.

Already the science of ancient history has come into existence, more than any other science in the soil of France. Till lately it is the French scholars that have taken the lion's share in the reconstruction of the great civilizations of the Mediterranean and the West of Asia.

Being granted that Indo-China appeared naturally the spot for the continuation of these researches, I arrive at a twofold conclusion, that will appear convincing to you: the prehistoric science not only has been but still remains, or to be more exact, all the probabilities are, that they would still remain an unrivalled French science."

The Genealogy and Early Chronology of the Early Kadambas of Banavasi

By

MR. M. GOVIND PAI.

(Continued from p. 373 Vol. XII Part III.)

II.

We have already seen that no Kadamba king from Mayūrasarma down to Śāntivarman ever performed the *Aśvamēdha*, and as further there is no reference to it in the records of Śāntivarman's son Mṛigēśavarman, whether in respect of his father or of himself, it is conclusive that neither of them performed it. It is but natural therefore that there could be no reference to *Aśvamēdha* in any of the Kadamba records dated anterior to the death of Mṛigēśavarman. The earliest reference to *Aśvamēdha* in the Kadamba records is found in the Bīrūr plates of Viṣṇuvarma, where it is asserted that his father Kṛishṇavarman I celebrated it, and this fact is further repeated in his Hebbāṭa plates, and is confirmed by the Bannahāḷi plates of his grandson Kṛishṇavarman II. In the line of Mṛigēśavarman, however, the first reference to the *Aśvamēdha* as having been celebrated in the Kadamba family is found in the Nilambūr plates of Ravivarman,⁵³ where the whole family itself is said to have been washed pure and (rendered) sinless by the ablutions performed after the celebration of the *Aśvamēdha*—

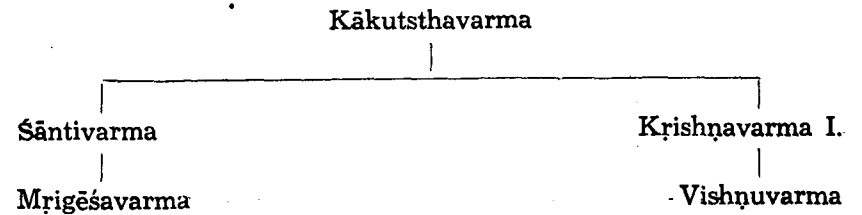
अश्वमेधावधूतस्तान पवित्रीकृतानघानाम्.....कदम्बानाम् ।

Ravivarman therefore must have come to the throne after Kṛishṇavarman I had ruled and celebrated his *Aśvamēdha*, i.e. to say, Kṛishṇavarman I must have ruled as king between Mṛigēśavarman and his son Ravivarman. In other words, Kṛishṇavarman I must be either another son of Śāntivarman and thus the younger brother of Mṛigēśavarman, or he must have been a grandson⁵⁴ of that younger

and unnamed brother of Kākutsthavarman, in which case he would be a cousin-brother of Mṛigēśavarman. In either case, Kṛishṇavarman I would be the uncle of Ravivarman, whether once or thrice removed from him, and it was thus on account of the precedence due to seniority that he ruled between Mṛigēśavarman and Ravivarman.

In the Bīrūr plates of Viṣṇuvarma, the son of Kṛishṇavarman I, we are told that the grant in question was made with the permission of his elder uncle⁵⁵ Śāntivaravarma, who is also said to be a *Dharmamahārāja*, as well as the master of the entire Karnāṭa country— समग्रकर्नाट भूवर्ग भर्तारं ज्येष्ठपितरं श्री शान्तिवरवर्म धर्म-महाराजमनुज्ञाप्य ,

and all the scholars are of one opinion that this Śāntivaravarma is the Kadamba king Śāntivarman of the Tālagunda inscription (i.e. the son of Kākutsthavarman and the father of Mṛigēśavarman), who is the only king of that name in the Kadamba dynasty, and who, as we have already seen, has also been called Śāntivaravarma in two of the grants of his son Mṛigēśavarman.⁵⁶ Consequently it has been held that Viṣṇuvarma's father Kṛishṇavarman I was another son of Kākutsthavarman, and therefore a younger brother of Śāntivarman of the Tālagunda inscription. But this is quite inadmissible, nay, it is impossible; for, in that case, their mutual relationship would be :—



and evidently there would be the intermediate reigns of two kings,

55. Mr. Rice has taken the word ज्येष्ठपितृ to mean 'grandfather,' which however is entirely wrong (E. C. II. Translations p. 33).

56. श्री शान्तिवरवर्मति राजा (I. A. VI. p. 24; VII. p. 35); and in the latter grant Mṛigēśavarman himself has also been called Mṛigēśavaravarma :—

श्री शान्तिवरवर्मतनयः श्रीमृगेशवरवर्मा.

53. E. I. VIII (pp. 147-148).

54. He could not be a son of that unnamed brother of Kākutsthavarman, as in that case being an uncle of Mṛigēśavarman (and thus his senior) he should have ruled between Śāntivarman and Mṛigēśavarman, and his horse sacrifice would have been referred to by Mṛigēśavarman.

Krishnavarma I and Mrigēśavarma (the former ⁵⁷ of whom having had to make many a conquest for the *Aśvamēdha*, which he celebrated, must have ruled sufficiently long), between the death of Śāntivarma and the accession of Vishṇuvarma. Is it possible then that Śāntivarma could have lived on till after Vishṇuvarma came to the throne and became the *Dharmamahārāja*? Whether it was his brother Krishnavarma I or his son Mrigēśavarma, who immediately succeeded Śāntivarma, he could do so only after the latter's death, and never when the latter was still living and ruling; and likewise Vishṇuvarma could come to the throne only after the death of his cousin brother Mrigēśavarma or of his own father Krishnavarma I, according as Krishnavarma or Mrigēśavarma was the immediate successor of Śāntivarma. Or even supposing that Śāntivarma had been deposed by his brother Krishnavarma I or by his son Mrigēśavarma, would it be possible that he could have lived on till after Vishṇuvarma ascended the throne? Even if it were so, would ever a deposed and crownless ex-king be still called the master of the entire Karnāṭa region and a *Dharmamahārāja* to boot, when Vishṇuvarma was the actual *Dharmamahārāja*, as is so apparent from the same Birūr plates? Unquestionably therefore the Śāntivarma of the Tālagunda inscription had been long dead before Vishṇuvarma came to the throne, and never could be present, when the Birūr plates were issued by Vishṇuvarma. Thus the theory that the Kadamba Śāntivarma of the Tālagunda inscription was the elder brother of Krishnavarma I and the paternal uncle of the latter's son Vishṇuvarma is easily disposed of as quite untenable. The Śāntivaravarma mentioned in the Birūr plates must therefore be an entirely different person, and has to be looked for elsewhere than in the Kadamba dynasty, as there is no other king of that name in it. Who then could he be?

If in his Birūr plates Vishṇuvarma says that Śāntivaravarma was his elder uncle, in his Hebbāṭa plates he says that he was

57. From the fact that Krishnavarma I performed the *Aśvamēdha*, which at once argues him a paramount sovereign, as well from the other fact that in the Bennūr plates (E. C. V. Bl. 245) of his great grandson Krishnavarma II he has been spoken of as *Rājarāja* (king of kings i.e., an emperor), it seems clear that Krishnavarma I was a very great king and ruled as the sole monarch of the Kadamba kingdom during his time, and as such without doubt had his capital nowhere else than at Banavāsi, which from Mayūraśarma onwards was the principal capital of the Kadambas.

anointed to the throne by the Pallava king Śāntivarā⁵⁸ whose full royal name, it need hardly be said, would be Śāntivaravarma. Coordinating these two homologous statements, we can at once make out that it was the Pallava king Śāntivaravarma, who was the elder uncle of Vishṇuvarma, and who further installed him on the Kadamba throne. It may, however, be questioned how could a Pallava be the ज्येष्ठपितृ of a Kadamba? How again could a Pallava be the master of the entire Karnāṭaka country, as has been said in the Birūr plates?

According to the Hindu habit of calling one's relations, it is not only one's father's elder brother that is called as ज्येष्ठपितृ, but the husband of one's mother's elder sister is also called as such,⁵⁹ and thus the Pallava, who had married the elder sister of the mother of a Kadamba, would naturally be the ज्येष्ठपितृ of that Kadamba. The Pallava king Śāntivaravarma therefore must have married the elder sister of Vishṇuvarma's mother.

In the Anaji stone inscription,⁶⁰ we are told that the Kēkaya king Śivanandavarma lost his country, whence he was exiled, and when in the tumultuous battle that ensued between the Pallava king (who, however, has not been mentioned by name⁶¹) and king Krishnavarma the defeat of the latter's army broke his heart, he

58. M. A. R. 1925 (p. 98)—शान्तिवर महाराज पल्लवेन्द्रामिषितेन श्री विष्णुवर्म महाराजेन.

59. Similarly the husband of one's mother's younger sister is called कनिष्ठपितृ, exactly as one's father's younger brother would be called.

60. E. C. XI (Dg. 161). According to Mr. Rice, this Śivanandavarma was a son of the Kadamba Krishnavarma I, which, however, is simply impossible in that Śivanandavarma, as is clearly stated in this Anaji inscription, was born of the Kēkaya family, which was of Ātrēya-sa gōtra and of the lunar race, whereas the Kadambas were of Mānava-sa gōtra, and having been descended from the Brāhmaṇa Mayūraśarma they could neither be of the solar race nor of the lunar race as we have already said.

61. This inscription is believed to reveal a new Pallava name, that of Naṇakkāsa Pallava (E. C. XI. Int. p. 6; M. C. I. p. 24); but what in fact it reveals is a mislection pure and simple due to a wrong grouping of letters in the 2nd and 3rd lines:—‘शिवनन्दवर्मा स्वदेशक्षये नणकास पल्लवराज

lay on a bed of *kuśa* grass and starved himself to death. The most important thing to note here is that Śivanandavarma is said to have lost his country and to have been exiled thence before Kṛishṇavarma's army was put to rout by the Pallava king, i.e., to say, his exile preceded that battle. There could be no question whether Śivanandavarma may have been an ally of the Pallava king, as that would tell against the fact that it was the defeat of Kṛishṇavarma by that Pallava that broke his heart, and it was on that account that he starved himself to death. If on the other hand, he had not been an ally of Kṛishṇavarma, not only would he have deplored the loss of his own army much more than he did that of Kṛishṇavarma's, but also the loss of his country and his consequent exile would have been subsequent to the defeat of Kṛishṇavarma. The only possible conclusion therefore seems to be that Śivanandavarma never took part in that battle. Why else then could he be exiled unless because he must have interceded to avert that battle? Why would he thus intervene unless because he must have been equally interested in, or in other words, equally related to both the combatants? Now in the Bannahalli plates, the Kadamba king Viṣṇuvarma is said to be the son of Kṛishṇavarma I begotten by him on the daughter of the Kaikēya king :—

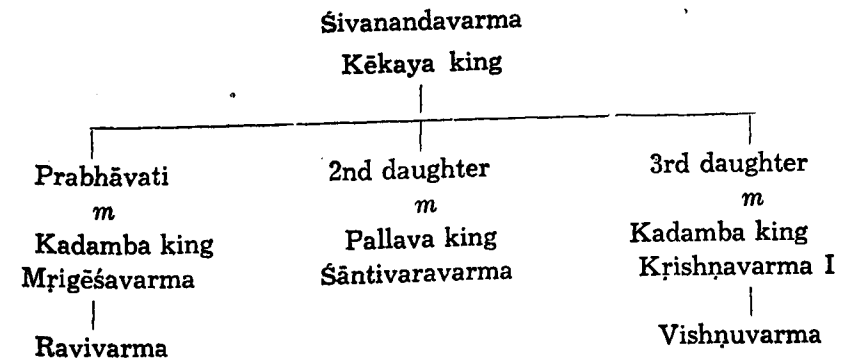
श्रीकदम्बानां कृष्णवर्म धर्ममहाराजस्य.....कैकेयसुतायामुपन्नेन श्रीविष्णु
वर्म धर्ममहाराजेन;

and consequently the presumption would be natural that the Kṛishṇavarma spoken of in the Añaji stone inscription could be

कृष्णवर्मराजयोः समरे तुमुलिने (?) प्रवृत्ते कृष्णवर्मराजसैन्ये भग्ने

which has been consequently wrongly translated as :—'Śivanandavarma, in the ruin of his country, Kṛishṇavarma Rāja's army being overcome in the tumultuous battle which took place between Neñakkasa Pallava Rāja and Kṛishṇavarma Rāja'; whereas the undoubtedly correct reading of those lines is :—'... 'स्वदेशक्षयेन निष्कासित' ...' which means Śivanandavarma having lost his country and having been exiled on that account &c,' for the word निष्कासित means 'exiled,' 'driven out.' It is thus the last letter न (of the instrumental singular स्वदेशक्षयेन) and the first three letters of the next word निष्कासित (which could not be correctly made out) that have brought forth a new Pallava, or given a new (but an impossible) name to an unnamed Pallava. This inscription therefore discloses no new Pallava name, but only refers to a battle fought between Kṛishṇavarma and an unnamed Pallava.

none else than the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarma I, who would thus be a son-in-law of the Kēkaya king Śivanandavarma. Likewise, the Pallava king spoken of in the same inscription was in all probability another son-in-law of Śivanandavarma, and it was thus to avert the impending battle between his two sons-in-law that he must have interceded, which however, as the Pallava son-in-law would not brook it, cost him his kingdom as well as his life. The Pallava adversary of Kṛishṇavarma I would then be the Pallava king Śāntivaravarma, who, we have already seen, had married the elder aunt of Viṣṇuvarma i.e., the elder sister-in-law of Kṛishṇavarma I. Further from an unfinished inscription found on the left jamb of the doorway of Śrī Praṇavēśvara temple at Tālagunda,⁶² we know that Prabhāvatī, the queen-consort of Mṛigēśvara and the mother of Ravivarma, sprang from the Kaikēya family. As we have already seen that Mṛigēśvara and Kṛishṇavarma I were either own brothers or cousin-brothers, and also that the former must have preceded the latter on the Kadamba throne, their wives, who were both alike descended from the Kaikēya family, would likely be sisters, in which case Mṛigēśvara's wife would naturally be the elder sister of the wife of Kṛishṇavarma I, and both of them thus would be the daughters of the Kaikēya king Śivanandavarma. This triple alliance of Śivanandavarma may be thus represented :—



The other question why the Pallava king Śāntivaravarma must have come to be called the master of the entire Karnāṭa region

62. M. A. R. 1911 (pp. 33 and 35):— उदितोदित कैकेय महाकुलप्रसूता
एषा प्रभावती राज्ञीविख्यातकदम्बकुलोद्भूतस्य श्रीमृगेशवर्मधर्ममहाराज
प्रियभार्या या श्रीरविवर्मधर्ममहाराज माता ॥

will be duly discussed later on, when also the identity of that Pallava will be determined.

We have yet not only to find out the connecting link or links between the Kadamba pedigrees A and B, but also to settle the proper places of (1) Vijayaśiva Māndhātṛivarma of the Kūḍagere plates,⁶³ (2) Maduvarma of the Taḍagaṇi stone inscription,⁶⁴ (3) Māndhātārāja of the Shimoga plates⁶⁵ and (4) Dāmōdara of the Koṇṇūr rock inscription⁶⁶ in the Kadamba Genealogy.

(i) *Vijayaśiva Māndhātṛivarma*

In his Kūḍagere plates, Vijayaśiva Māndhātṛivarma is said to be a *Dharmamahārāja* ruling from Vijayanti i.e., Banavāsi, whence it is evident that he actually ruled as king. As we have already seen, the names of 'Vijaya,' 'Śiva' and 'Vijayaśiva,' are merely honorific prefixes, wherefore his real proper name would be Māndhātṛivarma, and an indication of his antiquity is furnished by the fact that the Kūḍagere plates are in the box-headed characters. Though, however, this document is integral enough containing as it does all the different epithets of the Kaḍamba dynasty as are found in almost all their records, it has no reference whatever to the horse-sacrifice, as having been performed in the family, wherefore the donor Māndhātṛivarma must have reigned prior to Kṛishṇavarma I. The Kūḍagere plates further begin with the auspicious word 'Siddham,' as does the Maḷavalli pillar inscription of Śiva-skandavarma as well as the Tālagunda inscription of Śāntivarma, whereas in the Kadamba inscriptions of Mṛigēśavarma onwards it freely alternates with the other auspicious word 'Śvasti,' so much so that from the time of Kṛishṇavarma I onwards *Siddham* becomes conspicuous by absence. Thus it would follow that this Māndhātṛivarma must be placed earlier than Mṛigēśavarma. Then there is his epic name Māndhātṛi,⁶⁷ which stands apart from the mythological and other names of the Kadambas later than Śāntivarma, and claiming direct kinship with the only three other epic

63. E. C. VII. (Sk. 29).

64. Ibid (Sk. 66).

65. M. A. R. 1911 (p. 32).

66. I. A. XXI. (p. 96).

67. *Mahābhārata* (Śāntiparva. chapters 29 and 122).

names—Bhagīratha, Raghu and Kākutstha—among those of his predecessors, it sufficiently argues him to be another son of Bhagīratha and another brother of Raghu and Kākutstha, as all these four names alike are those of the four famous kings of the Ikshvāku dynasty of the solar race. Thus then this Māndhātṛivarma would be that another and third son of Bhagīratha, who, as we have seen, would be governing the Kadamba principality, which had Triparvata for its capital, when his eldest brother Raghu was ruling as king on the principal capital at Banavāsi, and his next elder brother Kākutsthavarma was governing the other Palāśikā division of the Kadamba kingdom. We have also seen, he succeeded Kākutsthavarma, and ruled as king between him and his son Śāntivarma.

(ii) *Madu (?) -varma.*

At the outset it must be remarked that in so far as can be made out from the facsimile of the Taḍagaṇi stone inscription given in the 15th plate of E. C. VII (Translations p. 195), the first five letters of the 6th line do not appear to be श्रीमदुवर्मा, as they have been read there, whereas the 3rd letter clearly seems to be a double consonant, most likely a द्वे (ddē), for which reason the correct reading would be श्रीमद्देवर्मा (Śrīmad-dēvārmā). The correct name of the donor however would be श्रीमद्देववर्मा (Śrīmad-Dēvavarmā i.e. the illustrious Dēvavarmma.) Evidently one of the two consecutive letters व (va) was left out by the sculptor, and accordingly the name stands mis-spelt as श्रीमद्देवर्मा instead of श्रीमद्देववर्मा. The name Maduvarma moreover does not seem to lend itself to be a proper name, in that the word मधु (Madu) by itself is meaningless, and in case it is the Skt. word मधु (Madhu) that has been mis-engraved as such, or if it has been used as a vulgar or vernacular variant of that Skt. word, it means

68. We have similar instances in the Tagare plates of Bhōgivarma (M. A. R. 1918; p. 35), in which one of the two consecutive letters म (ma) has been left out unengraved with the result that कृष्णवर्म महाराज is mis-spelt as कृष्णवर्महाराज. (line 6), and भोगिवर्म महाराज as भोगिवर्महाराज (1. 8); and also in the Dēvagere plates of Yuvarāja Dēvavarma (I. A. VII. p. 34), in which his name is engraved in the 6th line as देववर्मा, leaving out one of the two consecutive letters व, just as in the inscription under notice.

in the masculine gender the Chaitra month, the name of a demon slain by God Vishṇu, a certain plant, and liquorice, and in the neuter gender it means milk, nectar, liquor, honey and flower-juice, none of which senses would be fit enough to be a proper name.

Further, in the 5th line of the Taḍagaṇi inscription, it is only two letters at its end that are either missing or are illegible, and there is scarcely any room for an additional letter. Therefore filling in the gap, as well as fitting in well with the context, they would in all probability be राजा (rājā), when the connected phrase would read as कदम्बानाराजा. It would not be inconsequent then to conclude that inasmuch as it is in an inscription composed in prose, which is quite unrestricted by metrical or other exigences, that the donor Dēvavarma (Maduvarma) is said to be merely a राजा and not a धर्ममहाराज, nor even a महाराज, he could not have ruled as king, but must have been only a prince governing one of the principalities of the Kadamba kingdom. There is no mention in this inscription of the Aśvamēdha as having been performed in the family, for which reason this Dēvavarma (Maduvarma) will have to be placed before Kṛṣṇavarma I. It begins with the auspicious word Svasti, wherefor also he must be placed just before Mṛigēśavarma, or alongside of him.

We have already seen from the Tālagunda inscription that the Kadamba kingdom had 3 capitals, viz., the principal capital at Banavāsi, where the king resided, and the other two at Palāśikā and Triparvata (or Uccaśṛṅgi) whence the princes of blood royal governed the principalities called after the names of those respective sub-capitals; and when therefore Raghu was ruling as king from Banavāsi, and his next brother Kākutsthavarma was governing from Palāśikā,⁶⁹ their youngest brother Mādhātṛivarma would be in charge of the Triparvata principality. As a matter of course therefore when the reigning king, whether he belonged to the branch of Kākutsthavarma or to that of Mādhātṛivarma (as Raghu was without issue) would be ruling from Banavāsi, the descendants of Kākutsthavarma would continue to be the occupants of the Palāśikā principality, while the descendants of Mādhātṛivarma would retain that of Triparvata. This Taḍagaṇi inscription, which is engraved on a stone, and is therefore not liable to any change of

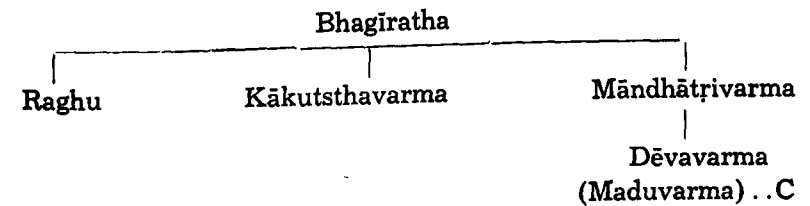
69. I. A. VI (p. 23).

place, stands practically within the precincts of the Triparvata principality, and it must therefore have been issued from that sub-capital. Consequently this Dēvavarma, who is the donor of that grant, must be a scion of the line of Mādhātṛivarma, and was presumably his son.

Now in his Tālagunda inscription, Śāntivarma calls himself (v. 34) the legitimate son of Kākutsthavarma (तस्यौरस), and in the other Kadamba inscriptions that filiation is thus expressed:—

श्रीमत्काकुत्स्थराजप्रियहिततनयः शान्तिवर्मवनीशः⁷⁰,
which means 'king Śāntivarma the beloved and favourite son of king Kākutsthavarma'; श्री काकुत्स्थनरेन्द्रस्य सुतः.....
श्रीशान्तिवर्मैतिराजा⁷¹

which means 'the king called Śāntivarma who is the son of king Kākutstha'; and श्रीमत्काकुत्स्थ प्रियतनय सुत श्रीमृगेश्वरवर्मा,⁷² which means 'Mṛigēśavarma, who is the son of the beloved son (i.e. Śāntivarma) of Kākutstha.' Thus none of the Kadamba inscriptions says that Śāntivarma was the *eldest* son of Kākutstha, and if he were so, that fact would certainly have been mentioned in one or other of these inscriptions. The presumption therefore is natural that Śāntivarma was the *only* son of Kākutsthavarma, for which reason he must have spoken of himself as the lawful as well as the beloved and favourite son of his father, as is but natural in the case of an only son of a father. This affords a further reason why this Dēvavarma (Maduvarma), who thus could not be a full brother of Śāntivarma, will have therefore to be placed in the line of Mādhātṛivarma; and his pedigree then would be:—



70. I. A. VI. (p. 28) Dr. Fleet has rendered the word हित by 'eldest,' as 'the beloved and the eldest son' (Ibid. p. 29), which is evidently quite wrong.

71. Ibid (p. 24).

72. E. C. VIII (Sb. 33).

(iii) *Māndhātārājā*

The Shimoga plates⁷³ speak of a grant made by a Kadamba *Māndhātārājā*, who is said to be the son of *Mahārāja* Kumaravarma. These plates begin with the benedictory words *जितंभगवता*, which, though invariably found in the Pallava as well as Gaṅga records, are conspicuous by absence in those of the Kadambas anterior to the time of Vishṇuvarma, and make their first appearance in his Hebbāṭa plates,⁷⁴ where also he is further stated to have been anointed by the Pallava king Śāntivarma. This phrase therefore must have been directly copied or borrowed from the Pallavas,⁷⁵ from whom the Gaṅgas also took it up. Consequently, this *Māndhātārājā* will have to be placed alongside of or after Vishṇuvarma, and also in his line, as the aforesaid benedictory phrase never opens the records of the Kadambas of Mrigēśavarma's line, who, it may also be noted here, were hostile to the Pallavas,⁷⁶ and therefore never succumbed to their influence, as their cousins of the other branch did. In referring to the *Aśvamēdha* performed in the family, these plates have:— *अश्वमेध पवित्रीकृतान्वयानां*..... *कदम्बानाम्*. (i.e. of the Kadambas whose family was sanctified by the celebration of the *Aśvamēdha*) which are exactly the same words as are found in the Tagare plates of Bhōgivarma;⁷⁷ whereas in the Bīrūr and the Hebbāṭa plates of Vishṇuvarma as well as the Bannahaḷli plates of his grandson Kṛishṇavarma II, that sacrifice is clearly stated to have been performed by Kṛishṇavarma I, who was the father of the former and the great grandfather of the

73. M. A. R. 1911 (p. 32).

74. Ibid 1925 (p. 98).

75. There is also another epithet occurring in the Bennūr plates (E. C. V. Bl. 245) of Kṛishṇavarma II, which also must have been borrowed from the Pallavas:— '*पञ्चमोलोकोपातः*' (Vide the Uruvapalli plates—I. A. V. p. 50). This epithet is explained as follows:—In the Nānāghāt cave inscription (Lüders' list, No. 1112), the gods *Yama*, *Varuṇa*, *Kubēra* and *Vāsava* (*Indra*) are mentioned as the four *Lōkapālas* i.e. the guardians of the world; and in the Gupta inscriptions, Samudra Gupta is spoken of as 'equal to (the gods) *Dhanada* (*Kubēra*), *Varuṇa*, *Indra* and *Antaka* (*Yama*)' (Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions: No. I, p. 14, fn. 4; Nos. 4, 10 &c.), which description is also found later on in many other records (E. I., XII, p. 34 &c.). It is but natural that a king, held equal to those four *Lōkapālas*, might well be described as a *fifth Lōkapāla* (See also F. G. I., No. 57, p. 250).

76. I. A. VI. (pp. 24 and 29).

77. M. A. R. 1918 (p. 35).

latter, while in the Sirsi plates of Kṛishṇavarma II,⁷⁸ which as will be seen later on, were issued after he himself also had performed that sacrifice, we have the expression: *अश्वमेधामिपिकानां*..... *कदम्बानाम्* (i.e. of the Kadambas who had taken the sacred bath of the *Aśvamēdha*), as is appropriate in the case of one who had himself taken that ceremonial bath. In the other line of Śāntivarma, however, the only reference to the *Aśvamēdha* as having been performed in the family occurs in the Nilambūr plates⁷⁹ of Ravivarma, which, as we have already seen, is *अश्वमेधावभृथ पवित्रीकृतान्वयानां*..... *कदम्बानाम्* (i.e. of the Kadambas washed pure and rendered sinless by the ritual bath taken after the *Aśvamēdha* ceremony). Thus it follows that as the expression found in the Shimoga plates of *Māndhātārājā* is quite different from any of these, whereas it is quite the same as that found in the Tagare plates of Bhōgivarma, it must have been copied from the Tagare plates, or *vice versa*; and in either case therefore this *Māndhātārājā* and Bhōgivarma must be approximate to each other, or in other words *Māndhātārājā* will have to be placed either a step above or a step below Bhōgivarma or alongside of him.

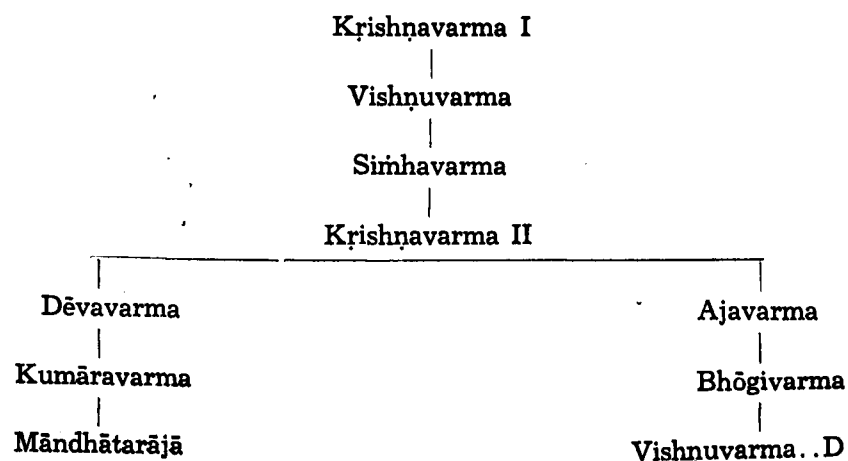
Then again these Shimoga plates were issued from *विजयोच्छ्री* i.e. the court of *Māndhātārājā* at *Ucchṛīngi* (i.e. *Ucchāśṛīngi*), and we have seen that *Ucchāśṛīngi* is only an *alter nomen* of *Tripārvata*. We have also seen that it was at *Ucchāśṛīngi* or *Tripārvata* that Kākutstha's younger brother *Māndhātṛivarma* (alias *Vijayaśiva* *Māndhātṛivarma*) held his court during the reigns of his elder brothers *Raghu* as well as *Kākutsthavarma*, and that thenceforth that principality remained in the hands of his descendants. Later on it will be seen that, when after the death of *Kṛishṇavarma I* his son *Vishṇuvarma* ascended the Kadamba throne, his cousin-brother *Ravivarma* of the senior branch fought with him, and having defeated him and his Pallava ally *Chañḍadaṇḍa*, seized the Kadamba crown and enthroned himself as king.⁸⁰ As a consequence, *Vishṇuvarma* was obliged to remove his court to a place called *Kūḍalūr* (whence he made his Hebbāṭa grant), which was

78. E. I. XVI (p. 270).

79. E. I. VIII (pp. 147-148).

80. I. A. VI (p. 29).

perhaps some outlying place and lay within the sphere of Pallava influence, if not within the Pallava kingdom itself. Thus the Triparvata principality which was till then governed by the princes of Māndhātṛivarma's branch was consequently lost to the senior branch (as is evident from the fact that in the Halsi grant⁸¹ of Harivarma of the senior branch, his uncle Śivaratha is said to be in charge of Uccaśṛṅgi) until when after Harivarma's death, Kṛishṇavarma II became king and appointed the members of his own junior branch to govern it (as again is evident from the fact that the Dēvagere grant of his son crown-prince Dēvavarma⁸² was made from his court at Triparvata). Accordingly this Māndhātārājā may be properly assigned to the branch of Yuvarāja Dēvavarma, and it may also be presumed with a close approximation to the truth that he was the grandson of that Dēvavarma, when the concerned pedigree B from Kṛishṇavarma I would be further extended as :—



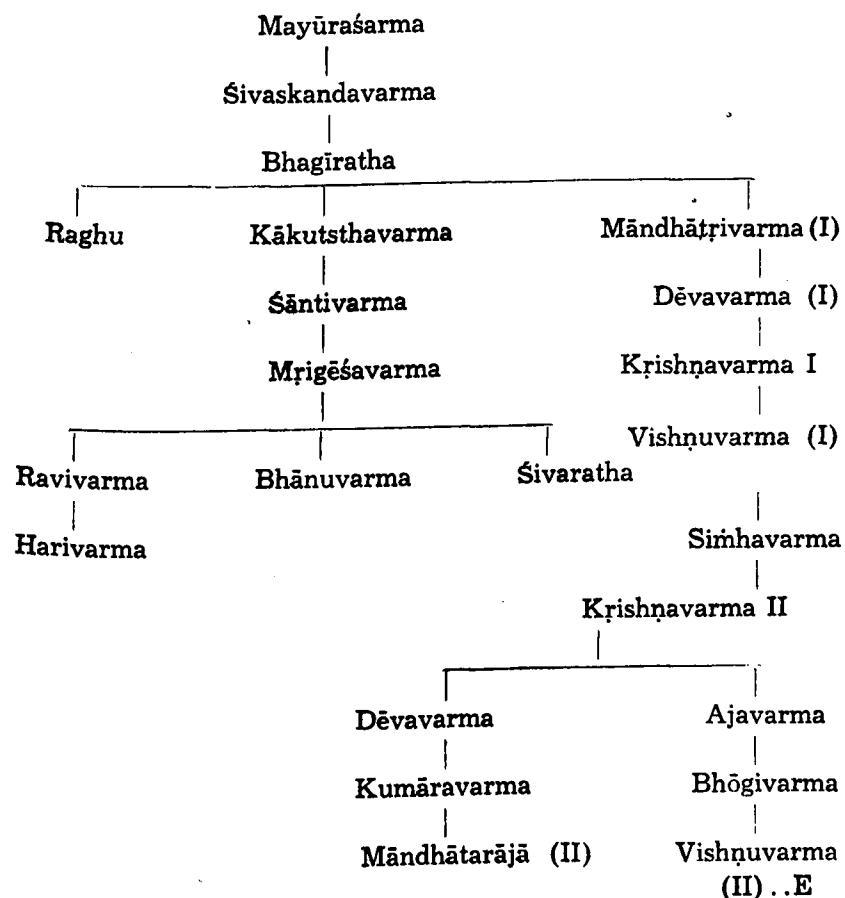
It is apparent that the names Kṛishṇa and Vishṇu are repeated twice in this pedigree; or in other words those names of the ancestors were given to their descendants, which however is not the case in the pedigree of the other branch, where no name occurs twice. It follows therefore that this pedigree must be an extension of the line of Māndhātṛivarma and his son Dēvavarma (Madu-

81. I. A. VI (p. 30).

82. I. A. VII. (p. 33).

varma) inasmuch as their names also are repeated in it in the branch of Dēvavarma the eldest son of Kṛishṇavarma II, the latter name (Dēvavarma) being repeated in his (i.e. Yuvarāja Dēvavarma's) own name, and the former (Māndhātṛi) in that of his grandson Māndhātārājā. We have already seen that Māndhātṛivarma was the younger brother of Kākutsthavarma, wherefore his son Dēvavarma (Maduvarma) would be a cousin brother of Śāntivarma, who was the son of Kākutsthavarma. We have further seen that Kṛishṇavarma I must have ruled immediately after Mṛigēśavarma and must therefore be a cousin brother of his. It follows therefore that Kṛishṇavarma I was the son of Dēvavarma (Maduvarma) and the grandson of Māndhātṛivarma.

Consolidating then the pedigrees A, C and D, we have :—



(iv) *Dāmōdara*

Finally there is one other name, that of *Dāmōdara*, who has to be properly placed in the Kadamba genealogy. It occurs in an epigraph consisting of a single verse inscribed on a rock near Konṇūr in Belgaum district,⁸³ which runs:—

पितुर्भक्तश्चुचिर्दक्षः सस्वोत्साहप्रतापवान् ।

कदम्बानां कुले जातः श्रीमान्दामोदरो नृपः ॥

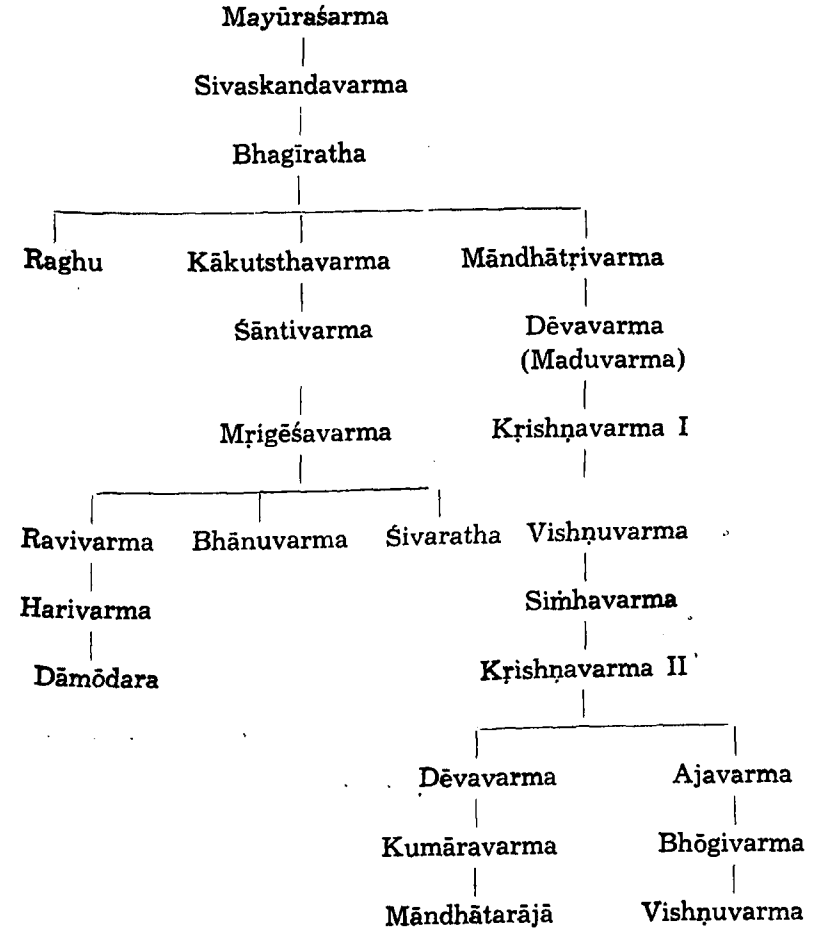
Though being too short an inscription to include any reference to *Aśvamēdha*, and for the same reason lacking in the benedictory word or words at its opening, neither of those tests, which had been applied in the preceding cases, can be of any use to determine the limits within which *Dāmōdara* will have to be placed in the Kadamba genealogy, the fact, that this is an immovable lithic record standing unquestionably within the precincts of the Palāśikā division of the Kadamba kingdom, sufficiently argues that *Dāmōdara* must be placed in the line of *Kākutsthavarma*. Another point with regard to this record is that it is in what has been called the box-headed characters, just as the *Tālagunda* inscription of *Śāntivarma* as well as the other unfinished inscription of *Mrigēśavarma*'s wife and *Ravivarma*'s mother *Prabhāvatī* found on the doorway of the temple at *Tālagunda*⁸⁴ are. But it must be noted once for all that just above this *Konṇūr* inscription, there occurs twice the name '*Śrī Dāmōdara*' inscribed in the same rock: once in box-headed characters of precisely the same type, and once in the characters customarily used in the early and western Chalukya records.⁸⁵ It would therefore follow that *Dāmōdara* will have to be assigned to a period when the box-headed type was fast going out of use, and was being steadily replaced by the other characters, in about the 5th century and not earlier; or in other words *Dāmōdara* must be later than *Ravivarma* in whose reign the record of his mother came to be inscribed. As we shall see later on, *Ravivarma* died at about the end of the 4th century, and his son *Hari-varma*, who succeeded him ruled till about the end of the first quarter of the next, i.e. the 5th century. Presumably therefore this *Dāmōdara* was the son of *Harivarma*.

83. I. A. XXI. (p. 96).

84. M. A. R. 1911 (pp. 33 and 35).

85. I. A. XXI (p. 96).

Thus then the final genealogy of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi in so far as it can be settled from all their records hitherto accessible to us would be as follows:—

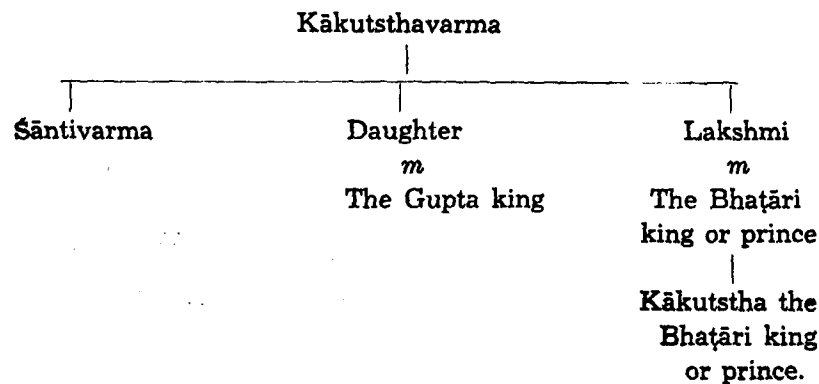


There is yet another lithic record inscribed in box-headed characters on the right jamb of the doorway of *Prāṇavēśvara* temple at *Tālagunda*⁸⁶ which speaks of a grant made by a certain king or prince *Kākutstha* of the *Bhaṭāri* dynasty and his queen-mother *Lakshmi*, who was a Kadamba princess by birth. Now from the *Tālagunda* pillar inscription of *Śāntivarma*, we know (v. 31) that

86. M. A. R. 1911 (pp. 33 and 35). काकुत्स्थेन भटारिवशंतिलकेनानन्य

रूपश्रिया मात्रा चापि कदम्बवंशभवया लक्ष्म्या च ।

his father Kākutsthavarma had several daughters (at any rate more than one), one of whom (and in all probability the eldest) was given in marriage into the Gupta family. We know too that it is a very common practice to give a child the name of its maternal grandfather, and this is not less common than that of calling it after its paternal grandfather. The inscription in question is on the right jamb on the same doorway, the left jamb of which contains the inscription of Ravivarma's mother Prabhāvati; and inasmuch as the right side has long been held to be the better side and that of honour, this inscription must have naturally preceded that of Ravivarma's mother. It therefore stands to reason that this Kadamba princess and Bhaṭāri queen Lakshmi was one of the daughters of the Kadamba king Kākutsthavarma, and those two steps in the Kadamba pedigree would be :—



(to be continued)

Samudra Gupta's Asvamedha Sacrifice

By

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ALL students of ancient Indian History know that *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudra Gupta, son of *Mahārājāhirāja* Chandra Gupta I. of the imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha, performed an *Asvamedha* sacrifice. It is evidenced by the *Asvamedha* type of coins issued by Samudra Gupta himself and his epithet, *chir-otsann-āsvamedhā-harṭri* (i.e. performer of the *Asvamedha* sacrifice which was for a long time in abeyance) in the inscriptions of his descendants. In the Poona plates of his grand-daughter, the *Vākāṭaka* queen Prabhāvati Guptā, he is even called *anēk-āsvamedha-yājī* (performer of more than one horse-sacrifice). The boast, however, seems to me unfounded. First, if Samudra Gupta performed many *Asvamedha* sacrifices, his successors would have emphatically mentioned it in their official records. The Gupta kings after Samudra Gupta cannot be called reserved with reference to boasts; because, as has been noticed by Dr. Raychaudhuri in his *Political History of Ancient India* (3rd. Ed. p. 314), even the epithet *chir-otsann-āsvamedhā-harṭri* applied by them to Samudra Gupta was an exaggeration. Secondly, there appear to be some mistakes in both the plates of Prabhāvati Guptā (J. P. A. S. B., N. S., XX. 58; Ep. Ind., XV. 41). In her grants Prabhāvati calls *Mahārāja* Ghaṭotkacha, the *ādirāja* (the first king) of the Gupta family, while the official Gupta records begin the Gupta line with *Mahārāja* Gupta, the father of Ghaṭotkacha.¹ Next, here Chandra

1. The passage *Gupt = ādirāja mahārāja-Śrī-Ghaṭotkacha* has been translated by Messrs. K. B. Pathak and K. N. Dikshit as "Ghaṭotkacha who had Gupta as the first." It however seems that there is an instance of the *Shashṭhi-tat-purusha* compound: *Guptānām = ādirājah* i.e., the first king of the Guptas. As a *Bahuvrihi* compound, the word *Gupt-ādirāja* of course means Gupta *ādirāja yasya* i.e., having Gupta as the first king. It is then certainly inappropriate as an epithet of an individual king. The Gupta family of course, may well be styled *Guptādirāja vamsah*. That the above translation is wrong can also be proved from the Riddhāpūr plates of the same queen, where we have *Guptānām = ādirāja* which admits of no double interpretation (See J. P. A. S. B., N. S., XX. 58).

Gupta I. has been given the simple title *Mahārāja* ; but the official records of his royal successors style him as *Mahārājādhirāja*. Even Samudra Gupta is called *Mahārāja* in the Riddhāpūr plates. Again, some attributes, such as *Sarva-rāj-ochchētri* etc., applied to Samudra Gupta in the Gupta records, are here applied to his son Chandra Gupta II. These facts appear to prove that references to the Guptas in the grants of Prabhāvatī Gupta were not very carefully made. Moreover, as has been suggested by H. R. Divekar in *Annals of Bhandarkar Or. Res. Institute* (VII, pp. 164-65), Samudra Gupta performed the *Āśvamedha* very late in life i.e., after the engraving of the Allahabad pillar inscription, which does not make mention of any such sacrifice. It is, therefore, doubtful whether, the Gupta emperor had time enough to perform *anēka āśvamedha*.

Now, in a paper entitled *Two Copper-plate grants of the Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgi* in the *Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, pp. 21 ff., Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao thus remarks on the epithet *assamedha-yājī* (performer of horse-sacrifice) applied to the Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* Dēvavarman in the Ellore Prakrit plates (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, 56) : "I am of opinion that the boast *āśvamedha* (horse-sacrifice) started with the Imperial Guptas and the contagion spread to the minor dynasties like the Chēdis, the Vākātakas, the Kadambas, the Śālaṅkāyanas and others. The proximity in time of Vijaya-Devavarman to Samudra Gupta's South Indian triumphal march, in my opinion, explains the insertion of the word *Āśvamedha-yājīnā* (1.5) in the grant of Vijaya-Deva. He must have seen some of the Imperial grants with similar titles and coolly imitated them." My theory, however, is exactly opposite to what has been propounded by Mr. Lakshmana Rao.

The first point to notice here is that there is no reference to any title like *āśvamedha-yājī* in the Gupta records. If, however, we take it that the epithet is an imitation of *chir-otsann-āśvamedhā-hartri*, we should hold that the Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* Devavarman lived to see the records of Samudra Gupta's successors ; because we do not get the epithet in his own epigraphs so far known. But the theory appears to be untenable, as it can be proved that this Devavarman was earlier than Samudra Gupta's contemporary *Vaiṅgēyaka* Hastivarman ; and he could therefore have been at best an earlier contemporary of the Gupta emperor.

Here we shall take notice of the Peddavēgi plates of the Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* Nandivarman II, published in the *J. Andhra*

Hist. Res. Sec., I, pp. 92 ff. In this grant we get the following genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana kings :

Mahārāja Hastivarman, his son

Mahārāja Nandivarman I., his son

Mahārāja Chaṇḍavarman, his eldest son

Mahārāja Nandivarman II.

This inscription, like all other Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions, is issued from Veṅgīpura, and can be palaeographically assigned to the 5th century A. D. So there can hardly be any doubt that this Hastivarman Śālaṅkāyana, *Mahārāja* of Veṅgī, is the same as the *Vaiṅgēyaka* Hastivarman, a king defeated by Samudra Gupta (c. 330—375 A.D.) according to the Allahabad pillar inscription (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, pp. 213-4). If Devavarman saw the records of Samudra Gupta's successors, he must have come after Nandivarman II, who was approximately contemporaneous with Skanda Gupta (end of rule about A. D. 467). But Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman could not possibly rule after Nandivarman II and, therefore, not after Hastivarman, the regular succession (from father to son) between Hastivarman and Nandivarman II being established by the Peddavēgi plates (*Ibid.*, p. 212). Devavarman records his Ellore grant in Prakrit, while Nandivarman's grants are all in Sanskrit ; this fact goes to prove, as has been noticed by Prof. Hultsch (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, 58), that Devavarman was a predecessor of Nandivarman. Devavarman might have been the immediate predecessor of Hastivarman. It therefore seems to me most likely that the idea of *Āśvamedha* was borrowed not by the Śālaṅkāyanas from the Guptas, but by the Guptas from the Śālaṅkāyanas.

Whatever the value of the above suggestion may be, I have no doubt that Samudra Gupta got the inspiration of performing the horse-sacrifice from his connection with the southern countries, which may be rightly called the land of Vedic Customs. Even to-day Southern India represents Vedic rituals more fanatically than Northern India. So, we may see, it was also in ancient times. In comparison with the number and variety of Vedic sacrifices performed by early South Indian kings, the one *Āśvamedha* performed by Gājāyanasaratāta, the two by Pushyamitra and the two performed by the Gupta kings, Samudra Gupta and Kumāra

Gupta I, are ridiculously insignificant. The South might well, in this respect, be the teacher of the North.

Besides *Mahārāja* Devavarman, many other south Indian monarchs performed numerous Vedic sacrifices, including the *Aśvamedha*, before the performance of the horse-sacrifice by *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudra Gupta. The *Sātavāhana* king referred to in the Nanaghat Inscription No. I (A. S., W. I., V. pp. 60 ff.) is known to have performed the *Aśvamedha* twice along with numerous other sacrifices, such as *Agnyādheya*, *Anvārambhanīya*, *Rājasūya*, *Bhagaladaśarātra*, *Gargatrirātra*, *Gavāmayana*, more than one *Āngirasāmayana*, *Satātirātra*, *Āngiratrirātra*, *Chhandomapavamānatrirātra*, *tryodaśarātra*, *Daśarātra* and many others the names of which cannot be read owing to the fragmentary condition of the inscription. This *Sātavāhana* king, who has been taken to be the same as *Śātakarṇi*, the husband of *Nāyanikā*, must have ruled before the Christian era.

Another early performer of horse-sacrifice is *Vāsiṭhiputa Chāmtamūla* I of the *Ikshvāku* dynasty, who appears to have ruled over the *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa-Jaggayyapetta* region in about the middle of the 3rd century A. D.² He is described in the *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* inscriptions of his son, as a performer of *Agnihotra*, *Agnishṭoma*, *Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices.

It is strange, how Lakshmana Rao could say that the *Vākātakas* imitated the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice from the *Guptas*. Of the *Vākātakas*, *Mahārāja* Pravarasena I claims to have performed four *Aśvamedhas* along with *Agnishṭoma*, *Āptoryāma*, *Ukthya*, *Shoḍaśī Atirātra*, *Bṛihaspatisava* and *Sādyaskra*. But it must be noted that Pravarasena could not be later than Samudra Gupta. We know that *Prabhāvatī* Guptā, the grand-daughter of Samudra Gupta was given in marriage to the *Vākātika* king Rudrasena II who was the

2. Like the *Sātavāhana* and other early *Prakrit* inscriptions, the *Ikshvāku* records express double consonants by single letters. This fact seems to show that the *Ikshvāku* kings known from the *Jaggayyapetta* and *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* inscriptions are earlier than the *Pallava* king *Śivaskandavarman* (c. 300 A.D.), whose *Mayidavolu* and *Hirahadagalli* grants express double consonants, in many cases, by two letters. The latter grant moreover begins and ends with two *maṅgaḷas* in *Sanskrit*. The legend on the seals of both these grants is also written in *Sanskrit*.

grandson's grandson of Pravarasena I. We give here a genealogical chart for easy reference.

Vākātakas	Guptas
Pravarasena I	
Gautamīputra	
Rudrasena I	Chandra Gupta (acc. 320 A. D.)
Prithivisena I	Samudra Gupta (c. 330—375).
Rudrasena II	married Prabhāvatī Guptā daughter of Chandra Gupta II (c. 375—414).

It therefore appears that Rudrasena I *Vākātika* was a contemporary of Samudra Gupta's father, who began to reign from 320 A. D. The beginning of the reign of Pravarasena I, grandfather of Rudrasena I, may fall in the ninth or the tenth decade of the 3rd cent.

So, if any was the borrower, it was the *Guptas* and not the *Vākātakas*.³

It must also be noted that king Bhavanāga, who was the *Vaiivāhika* (father of son's wife) of this Pravarasena I, is said to have been the *mahārāja* of the *Bhāraśivas* who performed ten *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. These *Aśvamedhas* were evidently performed before the *Aśvamedha* of Samudra Gupta. The early *Pallava* king *Śivaskandavarman*, who has been described as the

3. That Pravarasena I was earlier than Samudra Gupta can also be proved from *Purāṇic* evidence. The *Purāṇas*, which do not mention any Gupta king by name and which limit the Gupta rule within the area *anugaṅgam prayāgaṅ* = *ca sāketa-magadhāms* = *tathā* (*Vāyu*, 99. 383), not only mention *Vindhyasakti* and his son *Pravira* (doubtless Pravarasena I.), but also refer to the performance of some *Vājapeya* (according to one MS. *Vājimedha*) sacrifices by the latter. cf.

Vindhyasakti-sutaś=cāpi pravīro nāma vīryavān . . .

Yakshyanti Vājapeyais = *ca śamāpta-varadakshinaiḥ* (*Ibid.*, vv. 371-2).

Pravarasena I could, however, have got the inspiration from his relatives, the *Bhāraśivas*, who have been credited with the performance of ten *Aśvamedha* sacrifices.

performer of *Agnishṭoma*, *Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha*, in the Hira-hadagalli grant seems also to have been earlier than Samudra Gupta.

I do not know whether any Chēdi king performed an *Aśvamedha* as Lakshmana Rao tells us. But I am sure, later dynasties like the Kadambas, Vishṇukunḍins, Śailodbhavas, Chālukyas, etc., who performed the *Aśvamedha*, could necessarily be inspired not by the *Aśvamedha* of Samudra Gupta, but by the time-honoured traditions of their own land where Vedic sacrifices were being usually performed from pre-Christian times.

It must be noticed that the *Aśvamedhas* performed by these southern monarchs possibly lacked the grandeur of the *Aśvamedhas* described in the Epics. These were simpler like the *Aśvamedhas* of the Vedic age when, we know, a king could perform a good many *Aśvamedhas*. According to a *gāthā* recorded in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Bharata Daushyanti performed 133 *Aśvamedhas* (according to another *gāthā*, more than 1000 *Aśvamedhas*) on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna (XIII. iii. 5. 11 & 13). We should also note the grandeur of the *Aśvamedhas* performed by mighty Epic heroes like Daśaratha, Rāma and Yudhisṭhira, and the fact that even Epic imagination could not go beyond the performance of 100th *Aśvamedha*, which it connected with the attainment of the seat of Indra. As for an instance of the simpler nature of the South Indian *Aśvamedhas*, Mādhavarman I,⁴ the third of the known Vishṇukunḍin kings, is described in his own *Īpūr* (No. 1) and Polamūru grants and the *Īpūr* (No. 2) Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulla grants of his descendants, as a performer of eleven *Aśvamedhas* and one thousand *agnishṭomas* (or *kratus*). Mādhavarman I, appears to have ruled in about the middle of the 6th century A.D. (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX. 961) and as it was the age of the growth of the Chālukya and Pallava powers, it is almost impossible that Mādhavarman I could have performed even a single *Aśvamedha* in the Epic signification of the sacrifice.⁵

4. Mādhavarman I, of the *Īpūr* plates (No. 2) must be identical with Mādhavarman of the *Īpūr* plates (No. 1) the Rāmatīrtham, Polamūru and the Chikkulla plates; because in all these records the king is referred to as a performer of eleven *aśvamedhas* and one thousand *agnishṭomas* (*kratus*). (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX. p. 273.)

5. In this connection, we must also note the very late tradition that credits Mayūrasarman (varman), the earliest Kadamba King, with the performance of eighteen *Aśvamedhas* (*Ep. carn.*, VII, Sk. 178). The tradition itself is certainly without any historical foundation; but its spirit appears to support our conjecture.

A Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya of the Eleventh Century A. D.

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THE very interesting controversy that has been raging over the Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya problem will, it seems to me, be silenced by the article on that subject published in the *Journal of Indian History* for August 1933 (Vol. XII, No. 35) by Mr. Doraiswami Iyengar of Mysore. The Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya whose identity or non-identity formed the bone of contention in the above-mentioned controversy are of the fourteenth century. There is another Mādhava alias Vidyāraṇya who is mentioned in an unpublished Sanskrit work called *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā* as having lived in the eleventh century.

Brahma Pratiṣṭhā is a Sanskrit metrical account of the introduction of Kanarese Brahmans into his kingdom by King Udaya Varma of Kōlattunāḍ, the northernmost of the ancient principalities in the Malayālam country. The colophon of the work indicates that it is only a portion (a *prakaraṇa*) of a work called *Kēraḷa Māhātmyam* (= the glory of Kēraḷa). According to the colophon this section of the work, *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā* (= the settlement of the Brahmans), is included in *Udaya Varma Charitam* forming part of *Kōlarāṣṭra Varṇanam* (= a description of Kōlattunāḍu) in *Kēraḷa Māhātmyam*. This is the colophon: 'iti śrī kēraḷamāhātmye kōlarāṣṭravarnanē udayavarmacharitē brahmapratiṣṭhā nāma prakaraṇam sampūrṇam.' But an edition of *Kēraḷa Māhātmyam* in Malayālam characters by Śeṣu Śāstri (Trichur, 1912) does not contain this section. The 80th chapter of this edition (pp. 163, 164), however, refers to the introduction of some northern Brahmans into his kingdom by a king of the Madhya Khaṇḍa (the Middle Division) of Kēraḷa.

Brahma Pratiṣṭhā consists of 122 verses in *anuṣṭub* metre followed by the colophon quoted above and ends with the following śloka (the 123rd):

kamalākaramadhyē yad rōdhōntē kamalādikē (sic)
lālasīti param daivam haimākhyam tanmahō'vatu.

Rōdhōnta here is Chirakkal, a portion of Kōlattunāḍu. Since the *ślōka* is in praise of the deity of Chirakkal we may suppose that the author was a native of Chirakkal, perhaps one of the Chirakkal Rajas reputed for their learning. A Sanskrit poem called *Dēśyaṣṭakam* (= eight *ślōkas* on the *Dēśi* or Kanarese Brahmans) has two *ślōkas* appended to it, the last (the tenth) of which makes mention of a detailed history (in two chapters) of Udaya Varma of Kōlattunāḍu who brought the Kanarese Brahmans, written by a member of his own family. The opening verse of *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā* is in praise of Sri Rama of Cherutāḷattu temple, called Krūśādhah Kṣētra by the author of the *prakaraṇa*. Cherutāḷattu is in the Chirakkal taluk, North Malabar.

The *prakaraṇa* is in the form of a dialogue between some Brahman enquirers and Sūta of the *Purāṇas*, that took place while he was in the great temple at Rīṣabhādri (= Trichur in Cochin). Sūta recounts to them the story about *Dēvabrahma pratiṣṭhā*, i.e., the erection of temples and the settlement of Kanarese Brahmans in Kōlattunāḍ, as narrated previously by Nārada the famous Rishi to a *Gandharva* called Suprabha who was very curious to know the story of the new kind of Brahmans whom the latter saw in Kōlattunāḍ while aviating over Kēraḷa.

Nārada prefaces his story with a list of the five kings, eight Sāmantas and five Śūdra chiefs among whom the eighteen divisions of Kēraḷa were distributed by Chēramān Perumāḷ before his pilgrimage to Mecca (*ślōkas* 11 to 15).

The most important of the eighteen rulers of Kēraḷa was the King of Kōlattunāḍ. Udaya Varma of that kingdom once waged war with his enemies and chanced to kill Brahmans and incur the sin of *Brahmahatyā* (Brahmanicide). In order to expiate that sin he made up his mind to give gifts to the Brahmans. But the Nambudiris of Kakshmī Grama, i.e., Perinchellūr, and other villages declined to accept the sinner's gift, and in consequence he cast about for other Brahmans who would accept the expiatory gift.

There were at that time some Kanarese and Tuḷu Brahmans in Tiruvallā (in Central Travancore), who were the *pūjāris* of Viṣṇu. This idol had been brought by the Tuḷu Brahmans from the river Gaṇḍaki, a tributary of the Ganges, to Gōkarṇa on the West Coast. It was unfortunately lost in the Gokarṇa river while the Tuḷus crossed it, but with the help of some of the Kanarese

Brahmans of Gokarṇa they lifted it out of the water. Both the Tuḷu and Kanarese Brahmans together took it to Tiruvallā, and settling down there, officiated as *pūjāris* of that image. The Tuḷus belonged to the Śrīvalli *grāma* and the Kanarese to the three *grāmas* of Iḍukunchi, Viḷakkūr and Guḍubanta (called Gunavati in the *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā*).

In the year 220 M.E. (A.D. 1044-45) indicated by the chronogram *nararatna* (see appendix), Udaya Varma who had been on the look-out for Brahmans who would receive his expiatory gifts, sent messengers to Tiruvallā and took to his kingdom 237 families of Kanarese Brahmans (known as Tiruvallā *Dēśis*) belonging to 14 houses of the three *grāmas* already mentioned. These willingly received Udaya Varma's gifts along with his sin of *Brahmahatyā*. The gift included two new temples, one at Krūśādhah (Cherutāḷattu in Malayālam) and the other at Arhastha (Arattil in Malayālam), besides land and money. These Brahmans were also given precedence in his kingdom over the Nambudiri Brahmans already settled there. These Nambudiris, however, ostracized the Kanarese *Dēśis*¹ on account of their having done *pūja* to Viṣṇu in Tiruvallā according to Pāncharātra and Kāpāla rites, and of having accepted the sinner's gifts.

The Kanarese Brahmans of Kōlattunāḍ were ill at ease and continued in that state of ostracism for a long time. Then one day a *yogi* called Nityānanda came to the temple of Cherutāḷattu from Badaryāśrama along with four disciples, and began to perform his *pūjā* in it. But the *Dēśis* ousted them from the temple, and the *yogi* went away having cursed them. Some of the elders among the *Dēśis* then overtook him on his way and entreated him to remove the curse. 'Another *yogi* would be here in a year, and he would,' he said, 'deliver you from my curse if you would please him.'

On his way back from Cherutāḷattu temple Nityānanda was entertained by Mādhava Bhaṭṭa (a Kanarese Brahman), who learned from the *yogi* a certain form of *dhyāna* (contemplation) and some *mantras* and rituals (*tantras*). Nityānanda went away to the north, and Mādhava doing *pūja* to the God (Śiva) of the

1. *Dēśis* or *Dēśasthas* are those who live in *dēśas* as opposed to the *grāmas* of the Nambudiris, who are called *grāmis* or *grāmakkār* as distinct from *dēśis* or *pōṭṭis*.

village called Guṇavati (Guḍubanta) according to Nityānanda's instructions and rites became endowed with the eight *aiśvaryas* (or divine faculties) and the eighteen *vidyas* (or forms of ancient lore). Thereafter he was given the title of *Paṇḍita* at a meeting of learned men held at the Vākrūraka temple (not identified).

Subsequently Mādhava Paṇḍita came one day to Kōlattunāḍ on his way to the Tirunelli temple in Wynad, in a palanquin borne by *bhūtas* (spirits). The Kanarese *Dēśis* then approached him and told him the whole story relating to Nityānanda's curse and their ostracism. He advised them not to accept any more expiatory gifts from the king, and promised to rid them of their curse on his return from Tirunelli.

Mādhava Paṇḍita proceeded to the Tirunelli temple to perform the *piṇḍa* * ceremony for the souls of his departed ancestors. On his arrival he found a dead dog on the rook (called *Piṇḍappāra*), on which *piṇḍa* had to be offered and immediately bringing it back to life, offered *piṇḍa* on the purified stone and gave Kanarese Brahmans of (his own) Haika sect the right of performing *piṇḍa* ceremonies at the temple. Soon after this miraculous resuscitation of the dog there came a voice from heaven praising Mādhava Paṇḍita and calling him Mādhava Āchārya.

Mādhavāchārya then went to the temple at Trucchambaram (in North Malabar). There his palanquin was abandoned by the *Bhūtās*, and divining that the reason for it was the continued acceptance by the Kanarese *Dēśis* of his own race, of expiatory gifts from Udaya Varma, he too cursed them and went to the Cheru-*taḷattu* temple.

Udaya Varma and the *Dēśis* approached Mādhavāchārya. He was very angry and went away in disgust. The king and the *Dēśis* finally succeeded in extracting from him a promise of restitution. 'Come to the next meeting at Gokarṇa,' he commanded, 'and I shall see what I can do for you.' He then reached Gokarṇa and became Vidyāranya Muni.

Then in the month of Kumbha in the year 264 M.E. (A.D. 1089) a great meeting of kings and *yatis* (ascetics) and the Brahmans of the 64 *grāmas* of Kerala, was held in the Gokarṇa temple. Udaya

* Offering of food in the shape of bales of boiled rice or other equivalent for the satisfaction of departed ancestors. (Editor).

Varma and his Kanarese Brahmans also went to the meeting and presented their case before the assembly. The Brahmans were then taught the four Vedas, and in obedience to the dictates of the assembly they gave gifts in expiation of their guilt. They were thus purified, and to them were joined 237 families of orthodox Kanarese Brahmans belonging to ten houses from 13 *grāmas*. Udaya Varma now had 477 families of Kanarese Brahmans in all. All these belonging to (14+10) 24 houses or main families from (3 + 13) 16 *grāmas*, were *yajurvēdis* and of the *bōdhāyana sūtra*. They were all Haikas too. The 240 *Dēśis* swore before the assembly by the God Mahābala of Gokarṇa, on 27th Kumbha, 264 M. E. (see appendix), that they would co-operate with their new associates (the 237 families from Gokarṇa) in all religious and social functions and intermarrying with them, remain as one united people, or lapse into their former degenerate state if they should break their promise.

Udaya Varma then gave gifts to God Mahābala and presents to Vidyāranya Swāmi and others, and returned happy to his own kingdom along with the (237 + 240) 477 families of Haika Brahmans. His brother Ravi Varma, his eight ministers² and his subjects were glad of their return. The 237 families were settled in four *dēśas* (districts) and the 240 in five. Houses, temples and lands also were granted them by the king. The above nine *dēśas* are between Nilēśvaram in the north and Cherukunnu in the South, Perinchellūr in the East and Payyannūr in the West. Udaya Varma went a step further and made the language, dress and customs of his Kanarese Brahmans the same as those of the orthodox Nambudiris of Perinchellūr *grāma*, and appointed some Nambudiris of the *grāma* as *Smārtās* and *Vaidikas* to his Brahmans. The king performed the *hiranyagarbha* ceremony, gave *mahādāna* and other gifts, and finally went to heaven (died) after having long enjoyed the pleasures of life along with the Kanarese Brahmans that he had introduced into his country, and also with the Nambudiri Brahmans of Perinchellūr.

After the demise of Udaya Varma his Kanarese Brahmans have spread over the whole of Kerala and lived as *pūjāris*. In consequence of their having done *pūja* to the God (Vishṇu) of Tiru-

2. The king of Kōlattunāḍ had a council called *Enmaryōgam*, the council of eight.

vallā according to the Pāncharātra and Kāpāla systems, and of the abandonment of their original home (in the Kanarese country) the other Brahmans (remaining in the Kanarese *grāmas*) do not regard these Dēsis as belonging to their *grāmas*.

Nārada thus concluded his story and returned to Satyaloka, and Suprabha the listener went to the house of Chitraratha, king of the gandharvas.

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There is a poem of 10 ślokaś called *Dēśyaṣṭakam* which gives a summary of the *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā* story narrated above. The *Aṣṭaka* story is as follows.

Udaya Varma of Kōlattunāḍ grew very haughty on account of his wealth and insulted the Nambudiri Brahmans of Lakshmigrāma (Perinchellūr) as well as their God Rājarājēśvara. Consequently, all his religious ceremonies had to be discontinued, and he became childless. On consultation with his brother Ravi Varma and his ministers, he went and bathed in the Ganges and brought away 8000 *Sāligrāmas* (holy ammonite shells) from the Gaṇḍaki (a tributary of the Ganges). On his way back he visited King Mayūra Varma of Gokarṇa (and returned to Kōlattunāḍ). He then went again to Mayūra Varma (with the necessary materials) and (having exhibited his prowess) by repairing in one night a tank there called Kōṭitirtham, bought from the king 14 houses of Kanarese Brahmans and returned with them to his kingdom.

They comprised 237 families. Udaya Varma built houses for them in five *dēśas* (districts) and settled them there. He built also the Cherutaḷattu temple for them, and changing their language and mode of dress, gave them riches and titles of honour. The 8000 *sāligrāmas* were installed in the temple of Raghunātha (Sri Rama), and the king caused *pūja* to be done to them by his new Brahman colonists. He built also many other temples for Subramanya, Śiva and other deities, and gave them as gifts to his new Brahmans. Udaya Varma made them the authorities of the temples of Śrī Rāma, the Sun, Durga, Subrahmanya, Hanumān and other deities, and performed the ceremony of *hiranyagarbha* according to their instructions. Later on came the relatives of those Brahmans, and the king settled them in four *dēśas* (or districts). After both these colonists were thus settled in (5 + 4) nine *dēśas*, others came from Gokarṇa. These Kanarese Brahmans also were allowed to settle down in all parts of his kingdom.

In spite of Udaya Varma's having thus peopled his kingdom with Brahmans he remained childless because he had insulted God himself and the Nambudiris. He was sorry because those Kanarese Brahmans were devoid of Keralan manners and customs. In his distress he went to Perinchellūr and propitiated the Nambudiris there with gifts. They blessed him and thereby children were born to him. The Nambudiris of Perinchellūr were appointed *smārtas* and *vaidikas* of the Kanarese Brahmans after the manners and customs of the latter had been made the same as those of the Nambudiris. With these two kinds of Brahmans (the Nambudiris and the Dēsis) Udaya Varma lived a long life and went to heaven after a glorious reign (Here ends the eighth śloka).

In course of time the Dēsis spread over the whole of Kerala and have been appointed *pūjāris* in temples by the Nambudiris and the other people of Kerala. The Dēsis marry their girls to Kanarese Brahmans who come from Gokarṇa, and even now retain their (Kanarese) manners and customs. The above *Aṣṭaka* (or poem of 8 ślokaś) was composed by a Brahman (probably a Dēsi) after duly consulting the larger history of Udaya Varma in two chapters written by one of his own family (Here ends the tenth śloka).

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The chief divergences between the *Pratiṣṭhā* account and the *Aṣṭaka* account, and the additional details in the latter may now be noted. In the first place, the author of the *Aṣṭaka* introduces a new personage, Mayūra Varma. Secondly, the *Aṣṭaka* makes the king buy the first colony of 237 families belonging to 14 houses from Mayūra Varma, while the *Pratiṣṭhā* makes the king bring them from Tiruvallā. This difference may be explained by assuming that the author having no idea about the relative ages of Mayūra Varma and Udaya Varma put in that king's name also because he was well-known to tradition as the person who brought Brahmans to the region north of Malabar. We may suppose that the episodes of the partition of Kēraḷa, of the image of Viṣṇu brought from the Gaṇḍaki river, and of Nityānanda yogi, Mādhavacārya and the Gokarṇam conference are not found in the *Aṣṭaka* because it is avowedly nothing more than a *saṃkṣēpa* (or summary) of the *Pratiṣṭhā*, several expressions from which are in fact repeated in the *Aṣṭaka*.

The God Rājarājēśvara³ mentioned in the *Aṣṭaka* is the God of a temple in Talipparampu (Perinchellūr) built (presumably) by some king called Rājarāja (perhaps a Chēramān Perumāḷ or Chera king). The famous temple at Tanjore built by Rājarāja Chōla (A.D. 985-1018) is called Rājarājēśvaram. It is not impossible that this Rājarāja, who is known to have conquered Coorg bordering on Kōlattunāḍ, and some parts of Kēraḷa, built a temple at Talipparampu and called it Rājarājēśvaram.

The *Aṣṭaka* mentions also (according to my interpretation of 'Lakshmī-grāma dvijēndrānapi, tadadhipatim, Rājarājēśvaram cha') the *adhipati* or lord of the Nambudiris of Perinchellūr. This lord was probably the head-man of their *grāma*, known from a *Kēraḷōlppatti* as Nāyaka Nambūrippāḍu of Puḷiyapparambu house in Perinchellūr *grāma*. Nāyaka means leader. This Nambūdiri Nāyaka is mentioned also in *Kēraḷa Māhātmyam* (1912), p. 77, *śloka* 21, as lord of the Nambūdiris of Lakshmipuram (This *śloka* is appended to the present article.)

Udaya Varma of Kōlattunāḍ who according to *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā* was alive from 220 to 264 M.E. (A.D. 1044 to 1089) may or may not be the Udaya Varma to whom (according to *Kēraḷōlppatti*) the Perumāḷ (i.e., the Kēraḷa king) who went to Mecca (or Makta Dēsa according to *Kēraḷa Māhātmyam*, 1912, pp. 137, 138) gave Kōlattunāḍ. Bhaskara Ravi Varma who reigned from A.D. 1047 to 1105 or even later was Perumāḷ of Kēraḷa when Udaya Varma of *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā* and *Dēśyāṣṭakam* was reigning in Kōlattunāḍ. Bhaskara Ravi is sometimes called the last Perumāḷ of Kēraḷa.

And who is this Mayūra Varma of the *Aṣṭaka*? There is a Kaḍamba king of that name famous in Kanarese and Mahratta legends preserved in the Mackenzie MSS. According to the Kanarese tradition Mayūra Varma's son Chandrāṅgada introduced a large colony of Brahmans into Kēraḷa, Tuḷuva, Haigiri,⁴ Konkana and Chorada before Paraśurāma came with his Nambudiris of the 64 *grāmas* of Kēraḷa. The Mahratta tradition says that Mayūra

3. Chapters 32-34 of Śeṣu Sastri's edition of *Kēraḷa Māhātmyam* (Trichur, 1912) describe the God Rājarājēśvara and the temple at Lakshmipuram, i.e. Talipparampu.

4. The Dēsis introduced into Kōlattunāḍ are called Haikas in *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā*. Haigiri and Haika may be one and the same place.

Varma, king of Kēraḷa and Saurāṣṭra (i.e., Kathiawar), not satisfied with the social status of the Boyijati Brahmans introduced into Kēraḷa by Paraśurāma sent for other Brahmans from Hai-kshētram and settled them in different parts of his kingdom. The date of this Mayūra Varma (or these two Mayūra Varma's ?) is not known, nor is there any Mayūra Varma (known to me) who was a contemporary of our Udaya Varma of circa 1050 A.D.

According to the *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā* account Nityānanda Yogi and Mādhavācārya alias Vidyāranya were contemporaries of Udaya Varma of Kōlattunāḍ. Nothing is known about Nityānanda and his date. There is the well-known Dvaita teacher Mādhavācārya * born near Udipi in South Kanara in 1119 A.D. He lived in the 12th century, some time after Udaya Varma of the 11th century.

One cannot be sure whether the combination of dates and names in the *Pratiṣṭhā* and *Aṣṭakam* is reliable. It is quite possible that the authors of the two metrical accounts merely recorded tradition which had already made a mess of well-known names, events, and chronograms.

There is a Vidyāranya buried at Śringēri, and another Vidyāranya buried at Hampe. 'Epigraphy shows,' according to Mr. Doraiswamy Iyengar's article, p. 247, 'that Vidyāranya' (of the 14th century) 'died at Śringēri and a temple was erected over his tomb there. But a *kaḍita* of Śringēri as well as oral tradition make out that the tomb at Hampe is equally genuine.' Could the Hampe tomb be supposed to be that of Vidyāranya of the eleventh century mentioned in *Brahma Pratiṣṭhā*?

APPENDIX

A. Extracts from *Pratiṣṭhā* :—

Śloka 1. श्रीराघवं प्रणम्याह कृशाघः क्षेत्रवासिनं ।
कोलभूपोदयोदन्तं ब्राह्मणस्थापनं हुवे ॥

Śloka 28. 'नररत्न' समायां प्राक् कोळंबे 'सागरान' द्विजान् ।
आनाय्य तेभ्यो ददिवान् क्षेत्राद्युदयभूपतिः ॥

* The Dvaita teacher's name is *Madhvācārya* not *Mādhavācārya*. The two names differ in form and meaning. (Editor).

- Sloka 69. ततश्चिरगते काले कोळंबाब्दे सयागते ।
'वचोरे' कुंभयासे 'सौरे'हि सुरगायक ॥
- Sloka 70. गोकर्णाख्ये महाक्षेत्रे संगतासीन्महासभा ।
तत्र पूर्वोक्तवद्राजा विप्रास्तेपि समाययुः ॥
- Sloka 84. महाबलस्य गोकर्ण महाक्षेत्राधिवासिनः ।
सन्निधौ सत्यमकरोत् सत्सभेयं सभान्तरे ॥
- Sloka 85. कोळंबाब्दे 'भातिरक्षे' कुंभयासे 'सुरे'हनि ।
विद्यारण्ययतीन्द्रश्च षोडशग्रामिणो द्विजाः ॥
- Sloka 86. कोलभू पोन्यभूपाश्च नानादेशमहाजनाः ।
गोकर्णाख्ये महाक्षेत्रे तत्र सम्मिलिता सभा ॥
- Sloka 87. सर्वे धयममीनित्यं भ्रौतस्मार्तादि कर्मसु ।
विवाहोपनयाद्येषु भवामः सहकारिणः ॥
- Sloka 122. यत्प्रसादात् सत्कथेयं मन्देनापि मयोदिता ।
तान् गुरुन् सर्वदा नौमि षडाननपरायणान् ॥
इति श्रीकेरळमाहात्म्ये कोलराष्ट्रवर्णने उदयवर्मचरिते ब्रह्मप्रतिष्ठा
नाम प्रकरणं संपूर्णम् ॥
- Sloka 123. कमलाकरमध्ये यद् रोधोन्ते कमलादिके ।
लालसीति परं देवं हेमाख्यं तन्महोचतु ॥
शुमयस्तु
- B. Extract from *Kēraḷa Māhātmyam* (1912), p. 77 :—
- Sloka 21. काश्यपान्वय संभूतं नायकं नामभूसुरं ।
नायकं सर्वविप्राणां रक्षार्थं समकल्पयत् ॥

Yachama Nayaka—The King-Maker

By

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THE accounts of two independent writers, one of them an Indian, and the other, a foreigner, agree as regards the activities in the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire, bringing into relief the noble figure of Yāchama Nāyaka. These two writers are Yajñanārāyaṇa Dikshita¹ and Manuel Barradas.² The vivid account of the civil war in the capital as given by Barradas is to be found in Robert Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagara*. In a letter written while at Cochin on December 11th, A.D. 1616, Barradas describes the events of A. D. 1614. We shall first summarise them, and then turn our attention to the narrative of Dikshita in order to clear the mist that hangs over the deplorable state of affairs in the Hindu capital. And in so doing we shall eschew all epigraphical and other contemporary sources, in order to understand better the evidence of the two writers.

Manuel Barradas tells us about "the death of the old king of Bisnaga, called Vencattapatti Rayulu, and of his selection as his successor of a nephew by name Chica Rayulu."³ Sewell locates these events at Chandragiri,⁴ obviously on the strength of the statement of Barradas that Emperor Veṅkaṭapati Dēva, called by some the I, and by others, the II of that name,⁵ kept a putative son of his "always shut up in the palace of Chandragiri. . . ."⁶ Excepting this there is no other clue to the place where the events took place, in the letter of Barradas.

This putative son was really the offspring of Brahman parents. How Emperor Veṅkaṭapati Dēva Rāya's queen—who, by the way,

1. His work styled *Sāhitya Ratnākara* has been edited by Mr. T. R. Chintamani, M.A., Madras, 1932. Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar noticed it in his *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 267 seq. published in 1917.

2. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 222 seq. (1900).

3. Sewell, *A For. Emp.*, p. 223.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, III, Intr., p. 28.

6. Sewell, Ibid.

was the daughter of Jagga Rāya—came to bring him forward is also narrated by Barradas.⁷ He was called “Chica Raya.” The Emperor imprisoned him at Chandragiri but on the boy attaining the 14th year, gave him in marriage to a niece of his. But three days before his death, the old monarch set aside this “Chica Raya” and selected as his successor his nephew also called “Chica Raya” or “Chica Rayulu,”⁸ identified by Sewell with Raṅga Rāya III.⁹

This selection drowned the land in civil war. On the side of the putative boy was his supposed mother Queen Bāyammā—who was the daughter of Jagga Rāya. This nobleman together with two others called by Barradas “Tima Naique” (Timma Nāyaka) and “Maca Raya” (Mācha Rāya?) refused to swear allegiance to Chikka Raya (Raṅga Rāya III), and espoused the cause of his namesake.¹⁰ Between these three rebels they could muster an army of 38,000 men, and command a revenue of 1,200,000 cruzados.¹¹

Chikka Rāya, whom we shall henceforth style in this paper as Ranga Rāya III, soon gave an opportunity to Jagga Rāya to raise the standard of revolt. The Emperor Raṅga Rāya III displeased three of his own nobles, his Daḷavāyi, whose name Barradas does not give; his minister, who is likewise not given a name; and “Narpa Raya” whom Barradas makes the brother-in-law of Emperor Veṅkaṭapati Dēva.¹² Excepting these three and Jagga Rāya, Timma Nāyaka, and “Maca Raya,” the rest of the kingdom proved loyal to Raṅga Rāya, III.

Jagga Rāya and his rebel compatriots soon executed a plot. And Barradas tells us briefly how Raṅga Rāya III surrendered to the traitors with his wife, daughters, and sons.¹³ Jagga Rāya crowned his own nephew king after having taken possession of the fortress and all the riches in it.¹⁴

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 222-3.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 222, n. (2).

10. On this Chikka Raya read Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 225.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

12. Sewell, *A For. Emp.*, p. 225.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-7.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

On this dark background shines a solitary figure—that of Yāchama Nāyaka. Alone among the unfaithful followers of Raṅga Rāya III, Yāchama “stopped outside the fortress with eight thousand men, and refused to join Jagga Rāya.” Instead, as Barradas continues, “hearing of the treason, he struck his camp and shut himself up in his own fortress and began to collect troops.”¹⁵

The immensity of the task which Yāchama Nāyaka had undertaken can be understood when we realize the forces of the rebels led by Jagga Rāya and of their new ally who now joined them—the Nāyaka of Madura.¹⁶ Barradas does not mention him by name but Sewell identified him with Muttu Virappa Nāyaka (A.D. 1609-1623).¹⁷

Jagga Rāya had deposed and imprisoned Raṅga Rāya III. He despaired of securing Yāchama Nāyaka’s allegiance but he won over many of the nobles of the latter by gifts and promises.¹⁸

Meanwhile Yāchama Nāyaka got possession of one of the sons of Raṅga Rāya III. How cleverly he did this through the medium of a washerman is told by Barradas.¹⁹ On hearing this Jagga Rāya doubled the guards around the imprisoned king.²⁰

Four of Jagga Rāya’s followers now joined Yāchama Nāyaka with 8,000 men. Yāchama Nāyaka next made three attempts to rescue Raṅga Rāya III. The first attempt was with the aid of twenty soldiers. It failed just when Raṅga Rāya “was descending into it (the underground passage) in order to escape.”²¹ Yāchama Nāyaka next bribed a captain of Jagga Rāya to slay the guards and rescue the king. Jagga Rāya forestalled Yāchama Nāyaka in this and so the second attempt also failed. The captain and his 500 men were killed.²²

It was now that Jagga Rāya decided to kill Raṅga Rāya III. “He entrusted this business to a brother of his named China-

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

17. *Ibid.*, n. (2).

18. Sewell, *A For. Emp.*, p. 226.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-7.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-8.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

Obrya (Chinna Ōbala Rāya ?), ordering him to go to the palace, and tell the poor king that he must slay himself, and that if he would not, he himself would kill him with stabs of his dagger."²³ The tragic story of how Raṅga Rāya then beheaded his own wife, his youngest son and his little daughter ; how Raṅga Rāya's eldest son beheaded his wife ; how Raṅga Rāya threw himself upon a long sword of four fingers' breadth ; and how his eldest son did the same—all this is related by Barradas.

Jagga Rāya alienated the sympathy of his followers some of whom now joined the side of Yāchama Nāyaka. The prince who had been rescued by the washerman, was the only person who remained of all the royal family. With 10,000 men under him, Yāchama Nāyaka offered battle to Jagga Rāya who commanded more than 60,000 men and a number of elephants and horses. With a sense of patriotism and justice unrivalled in the history of southern India, Yāchama Nāyaka put to flight Jagga Rāya and proclaimed the son of Raṅga Rāya as the King of Vijayanagara. But for two years (A.D. 1614-16) Jagga Rāya managed to wage war with such of the disloyal people who had deserted the cause of the rightful king.²⁵

Yāchama Nāyaka's ally was the "Naique of Tanjore" whose name Barradas does not give.²⁶

Now we may cite Yajñanārayaṇa Dikshita as a witness in order to corroborate the evidence of Barradas. The activities of Jagga Rāya and his confederates come in two cantos-X and XIII of the *Sāhitya Ratnākara*. We shall first take the former. In the court of Achyuta Nāyaka, father of Raghunātha Nāyaka, the great minister Gōvinda Dikshita proposed measures to bring the vile Chōlaka and the Pārasikas to reason.²⁷ The spy, who was sent to ascertain the strength of the Pāṇḍya king and his allies, is then introduced.²⁸ This Pāṇḍya king, having been defeated by Achyuta

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-9.

25. Sewell, *A For. Emp.*, p. 229.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 230, n. (3).

27. *Sāhitya Ratnākara*, Canto 10, v. 22, p. 68.

28. *Ibid.*, vv. 32-37, p. 69.

Rāya, had conspired to attack him.²⁹ And among his allies was one Jagga Rāya who had killed the king of Karṇāṭaka and the members of his family, and with the remaining son of the Karṇāṭaka king had taken the side of the Pāṇḍya king against Achyuta Nāyaka. Gōvinda Dikshita tells us merely that Jagga Rāya had killed the King of Karṇāṭaka with his children and grandchildren.³⁰ He describes in a later passage how they were killed.

The spy then advocates a policy of alliance with the son of the dead Karṇāṭaka king, and of sending Prince Raghunātha who was to be crowned, against the foe.³¹

Before we proceed with the narrative of the spy, we may observe the following : all the events mentioned by Barradas from the time of the Brahman child was adopted as the son of the Emperor Venkaṭapati Dēva till the actual murder of the Karṇāṭaka king by Jagga Rāya, are not to be found in Dikshita's narrative.

There is another point of difference between Dikshita and Barradas as chroniclers. According to the latter, one of Raṅga Rāyas's sons escapes. This son, as we saw, was handed over to Yāchama Nāyaka by the washerman. But Dikshita tells us that the remaining son of the murdered Karṇāṭaka king was in the hands of Jagga Rāya.³²

Since we know from the chronicle of Barradas who the king who fell into the hands of Jagga Rāya was, we may safely identify the Karṇāṭaka king mentioned by Dikshita with Chikka Rāyalu or Raṅga Rāya III. Evidently Dikshita confounds the putative son of the Emperor Venkaṭapati Dēva with one of the sons of Raṅga Rāya III.

This confusion is rectified by Dikshita in the second account of Jagga Rāya as given in Canto XIII. where the same spy relates the same incidents in connection with Jagga Rāya. This traitor on

29. *Ibid.*, v. 54, p. 71.

30. *Sāhitya Ratnākara*, Canto 10, vv. 55-57, p. 69.

31. *Ibid.*, vv. 60-64, p. 71.

32. *Ibid.* v. 56, p. 71. [Śl. 56 states quite correctly that the surviving Prince was in the guardianship of "Yācha-bhūpa" who was on his way to Tanjore with the Prince. The error is in Mr. Chintamani's interpretation as given on p. xvi which apparently Dr. Saletore borrowed. (Editor)].

the pretext of serving the Emperor with his army, killed him with all his relatives and children :³³

Then allying himself with the kings (of Dramira, Chōla, and Pāṇḍya, Jagga Rāya caused much havoc in the land. Hearing the murder of the Karṇāṭaka king, Yācha Mahipa (Yāchama Nāyaka) escaped with one of the sons of the king and had just come to seek the aid of Raghunātha Nāyaka.³⁴

The reason why the Pāṇḍya king was ravaging the territory of Raghunātha Nāyaka is next given. It was because he was prompted to do so by Jagga Rāya who came to know of the escape of Yāchama Nāyaka with one of the sons of Rāṅga Rāya.³⁵

Raghunātha Nāyaka resolves to reinstate the son of the Karṇāṭaka king at Kumbhakonum and to crush Jagga Rāya with his rebel partisans.³⁶ Here we have all the allies of Jagga Rāya named—the Pāṇḍya, Tuṇḍira, Chēra, Dramira, Magadha kings.³⁷

Having thus determined Raghunātha Nāyaka puts his forces into motion, and after due formalities passes out of the city of Tanjore.³⁸ Dikshita's work breaks off abruptly here throwing the reader back on the narrative of Manuel Barradas.

There are certain considerations in our estimate of Dikshita as a chronicler. He does not enlighten us on the method adopted by Yāchama Nāyaka to rescue Rāṅga Rāya III, and when he failed to do it, to secure the possession of one of the sons of the Karṇāṭaka king. About the first battle between Jagga Rāya and Yāchama Nāyaka, and the proclamation of the prince as the "king of all the Empire of Bisnaga," which Barradas so graphically describes, Dikshita is silent.

Barradas' statement in regard to one of the allies of Jagga Rāya and the continuation of the war, we may be permitted to repeat,

33. *Ibid*, Canto XIII, v. 74, p. 103.

34. *Sāhitya Ratnākara*, Canto 13, v. 78, p. 104.

35. *Ibid*, v. 78, p. 104.

[At least this serious inconsistency should have led to careful reading of §1. 55 to 57 of canto x. It does not appear to have been done. (Editor)].

36. *Ibid*, v. 80, p. 104.

37. *Ibid*, v. 82, p. *ibid*.

38. *Ibid*, Canto 16, v. 74, p. 126.

helps us to assign a date to the composition of *Sāhitya Ratnākara*. After the defeat and flight of Jagga Rāya, Barradas says:—"that the war has continued these two years, (i.e., A.D. 1616),³⁹ fortune favouring now one side now the other. But the party of the young prince has always been gaining strength; the more so because, although the great Naique of Madura took the side of Jagga Rāya, and sustained him against the Naique of Tanjore. Yet the latter, though not so powerful, is, with the aid of the young king, gradually getting the upper hand. Indeed, there are now assembled in the field in the large open plains of Trichinopoly not only the hundred thousand men that each party has, but as many as a million of soldiers."⁴⁰

We know from Dikshita that Raghunātha Nāyaka determined to join the struggle immediately on Yāchama Nāyaka soliciting his aid. It is not too much to say, we suppose, that the Tanjore Nāyaka joined the war after the first battle between Jagga Rāya and Yāchama. This would mean that Raghunātha Nāyaka actually took the field in A.D. 1615-16. Since Dikshita describes the active preparations made by Raghunātha Nāyaka,⁴¹ his quitting the city, and has nothing to say about the battle of Trichinopoly mentioned by Barradas, it may not be too bold a venture to suggest that the *Sāhitya Ratnākara* may have been composed in A.D. 1615-16, just before the battle of Trichinopoly.

A few other points may be mentioned here before we pass on to the result of the civil war on the history of the Vijayanagara Empire. Dikshita speaks only of the Karṇāṭaka king whom we have already identified with Rāṅga Rāya III. Why he does not mention him by name is difficult to say. What we may conjecture is that in a work like this written in honour of his patron Raghunātha Nāyaka, Dikshita thought it improper to include the name of the Emperor of Vijayanagara, or that because of the confusion in the land and the helplessness of the Emperor, the author thought it worth while to ignore his name. However that may be, the fact that on every occasion Dikshita speaks of Rāṅga Rāya III as the

39. Sewell, *A For. Emp.*, p. 230.

40. Sewell, *A For. Emp.*, p. 230, and n. (1).

41. *Sāhitya Ratnākara*, Canto 14, vv. 1-29, 72-73, pp. 107-9, 112-3, Canto 15, pp. 111-119.

Karṇāṭaka king,⁴² proves beyond doubt that even in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the royal members of the well known Telugu dynasty were called by the name of the province from which the founders of the Vijayanagara Empire hailed Karṇāṭaka.

Although Dikshita does not explicitly mention the Vijayanagara Emperor, yet from the manner in which he styles Jagga Rāya—who had apparently no grievance against the Nāyaka of Tanjore—as *svāmi-drōhi*,⁴³ one may assume that it may refer to the over-lord of Ragunāth Nāyaka.

Neither Dikshita nor Barradas has anything to say on the result of the battle of Trichinopoly. But one significant detail is mentioned by Barradas. The struggle between the rival parties gave scope to foreigners to have a firmer footing in the land. San Thome or Mylapore was lost to the Hindus having fallen into the hands of the Portuguese.⁴⁴ Mylapore was no doubt lost to Vijayanagara but Yāchama Nāyaka gave a new lease of life to the Empire the rightful ruler of which he lived to uphold successfully as the King of Bisnaga.

The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughals

By

ABDUL AZIZ, BAR-AT-LAW.

[AUTHOR'S COPYRIGHT.]

Chapter II: Jewel Treasury (Continued)

OTHER DIAMONDS

THE other diamonds may be taken chronologically.

Akbar.

For this long reign, unfortunately, no notices of individual diamonds are available. We will content ourselves with Abū'l-Faẓl's brief mention of prices in the *Ā'in*. His quotation for diamonds, which is apparently suggested as a standard, is one lakh of rupees for a stone of 136 *ratīs*¹—a much lower price, as the reader will notice, than those recorded for later reigns. We are not told how prices were calculated; whether the well-known rule of the square of the number of weight units multiplied by the rate per unit being equal to the price was accepted. Nor can any such rule be deduced from the run of prices, the details of which are available.

For the rest, we will not anticipate here what Abū'l-Faẓl has to say about the classification of precious stones and pearls in the Imperial Treasury, which falls more properly under Administration of the Jewel Treasury, and will be given at length in the chapter of that name.

42. *Sāhitya Ratnākara*, Canto 10, vv. 55-7, p. 71, Canto 13, vv. 74-6, 78, 80, pp. 103-4.

43. *Ibid*, Canto 13, v. 74, p. 103.

44. Sewell, *A For. Emp.*, pp. 230-1.

1. *Ā'in*, Text, I, . . . (Blochmann, I, 16) has a slip here.

It may be noted that "Akbar Shah" or "Jahangir Shah" (No. 6 of 'Famous Diamonds,' p. 69 below) ought to come in here; but we find no record of this stone in the Persian histories.

Jahāngīr.

For Jahāngīr's reign the following bits of information are available:

The emperor, while relating (at the end of the 10th regnal year) the acquisition of the Khokhara diamond mines (in the Bihar and Patna province) informs us that a large diamond worth Rs. 50,000 had lately been brought from there (*Tūzuk*, 155; R. & B., I, 316).

Ibrāhīm KHān "Fath-jang," when governor of Bihar, sent to court nine diamonds, which were laid before Jahāngīr on the 15th of *Tīr*, 12th regnal year (1026 A.H. = 1617 A.C.). One of these weighed $14\frac{1}{2}$ *tānks* or 348 *ratīs*, and was valued at Rs. 100,000 (*Tūzuk*, 188; R. & B., I, 379). This would be the largest diamond in Mughal history, and the price ridiculously low, if it was a cut stone. But we are told in the annals of the next year that 'some of the diamonds that Ibrāhīm Fath-jang had sent to Court after the taking of the mine had been given to the Government lapidaries to cut.' Bahrām, son of Jahāngīr Qulī KHān (governor of Bihar), happening at this time to pass through Agra to join the royal court (in Gujarāt), KHwāja Jahān, governor of Agra, sent along with him some of the diamonds that were ready. 'One of them,' continues the royal diarist, 'is of a violet colour [*banafsha*], and cannot be outwardly distinguished from a sapphire. Up to this time I had not seen a diamond of this colour. It weighed several *surkh* [according to another manuscript "thirty *surkh*"], and jewellers estimated its value at Rs. 3,000, and represented that if it had been white (*safīd*) and had had perfect marks, it would have been worth Rs. 20,000.' (*Tūzuk*, 244-45; R. & B., II, 38).

Whether the large diamond was or was not among the stones sent by the Governor of Agra on this date (and possibly it was not, since it is not specifically mentioned here), it is reasonable to assume that the large diamond which weighed 348 *ratīs* in the rough, was among the stones entrusted to the lapidaries. We meet with no mention of this gem-stone in later history; presumably it was so reduced in the cutting that it deserved none.

Again, in the 12th regnal year, Jahāngīr received from Ibrāhīm 'Adil SHāh II, King of Bijāpur, the so-called "chamkora" diamond,² weighing 30 *ratīs*, valued at Rs. 40,000, and another diamond (weight, 24 *ratīs*; price, Rs. 30,000) from Quṭbu'l-mulk of Golconda (*Tūzuk*, 198; R. & B., I, 400). Judging from the prices these two diamonds must have been of a very high quality.

Early in the 13th regnal year (1027 A.H. = 1618 A.C.) a diamond ring was presented to Prince KHurram 'as part of the offering of Quṭbu'l-mulk. It was of the value of 1,000 muhars,' says Jahāngīr, 'and on it there appeared three letters of equal size and of good form, such that they made the word Lillahi (for God). This diamond had been sent, as it was reckoned one of the marvels of the world. In fact, veins and scratches are flaws in precious stones, but it was generally thought that the marks on this one were fabricated.³ Moreover, the diamond did not come from any celebrated mine. As my son, SHāh-Jahān, wished that it should be sent to my brother, SHāh 'Abbās, as a souvenir of the conquest of the Deccan it was sent to the SHāh along with other gifts.' (*Tūzuk*, 229; R. & B., II, 8-9).

2. 'The name of Chamkora is derived from this, that there is in the Deccan a plant called *sāg-i-chamkora*. At the time when Murtaẓā Nizāmu-l-mulk conquered Berar he had gone one day with his ladies round to look at the garden, when one of the women found the diamond in a chamkora vegetable, and took it to Nizāmu-l-mulk. From that day it became known as the Chamkora diamond, and came into the possession of the present Ibrāhīm 'Adil KHān during the interregnum (*fatarāt*) of Ahmadnagar.' (*Tūzuk*, *ibid*).

3. So the translator. The text has:

لیکن بظاہر عام فریب برد

which means: but apparently it was such as to mislead the common people (into thinking that the marks were miraculous writing). One is reminded of the so-called 'natural gems,' i.e., gems with 'natural pictures' or figures of Jesus, Mary, etc., and of staurolite crystals or fairy-stones showing a representation of the cross—really due to twinning of two crystals. See Kunz, pp. 266-67 and 270-71. Graphic granite and other minerals present a somewhat similar phenomenon.

On the New Year's Feast of the 14th regnal year (4, *Rabī* 'II, 1028 A.H. = 10 March '1619 A.C.) *SHāh Jahān*, offered to his royal father a diamond worth Rs. 18,000 (*Tūzuk*, 265; R. & B., II, 78).

SHāh Jahān

For *SHāh Jahān*'s reign, unfortunately, mentions of individual diamonds, which would yield some information of interest, are rare. This sounds somewhat paradoxical, considering that emperor's passionate fondness for gems. The reason, presumably, is to be found in the fact that *SHāh Jahān*, unlike his father, wrote no memoirs, and his tastes and preferences are not fully reflected in the histories which were written to his order.

We have the following in the *Bādshāhnāma*: *SHāh Jahān*, returning from Kabul, crossed the Indus near Sarāi *KHāirābād* on 3 *Ramaẓān*, 1057 A.H. Prince *Dārā SHukoh*, with his son, *Sulaimān SHukoh*, came from Lahore to receive him. Sa'dulla *KHān*, the Prime Minister, was ordered to go out to meet the Prince. *Dārā SHukoh*, being presented, offered 1000 *muhurs* as *naẓr*, and the Emperor bestowed on him a diamond used as turban ornament (*almās-i-sarāwez*) weighing 100 *ratīs* and valued at one lakh of rupees. (B. N., III, P. U. L. MS., f. 5 a-b.).

The following passage from the third volume of *Bādshāhnāma* relates *SHāh Jahān*'s sending of a jewelled candle to Madina. It occurs in the records of the 21st regnal year:

'Some time earlier it had reached the royal ears that a large and rare diamond had come into the possession of *Quṭbu'l-Mulk* from the mine in his territory. Orders were issued that it should be sent to the royal court, the price of it to be credited to him in the account of the yearly tribute (*peṣhkaṣh*) of two lakhs of *hūns* due from *Quṭbu'l-mulk*.

Before the issue of these directions, however, *Quṭbu'l-mulk* had handed over the stone, which weighed uncut 180 *ratīs*, to his lapidaries. Only a little cutting had been done when the imperial demand arrived. *Quṭbu'l-mulk* sent it half-finished as it was to the royal court. When the Emperor's diamond cutters, under his orders, had cut away some 70 *ratīs*, an exceedingly rare piece weighing 100 *ratīs* was left. The price was fixed at Rs. 1,50,000, which yields an average of Rs. 1,500 per *ratī*. As from the beginning of this reign no jewel of such value had yet come into the

royal jewel treasury as *peṣhkaṣh*, the Emperor decided to make an offering of it at the holy sepulchre of the Great Prophet at Madina; and selecting from among the ambergris-scented pastiles [*shamā'im-i-'ambarīn*] in the royal stores, the largest weighing 700 *tolas* [say, 18½ lbs.] and priced at Rs. 10,000 (which by a lucky chance was shaped like a candle), he ordered that it should be worked in a gold lattice. The whole was to be artistically decorated, and the great diamond along with the other smaller stones was to be set in. The total cost of this unparalleled candle came to 2½ lakhs of rupees—1½ lakhs, price of the diamond, the remaining 1 lakh, the cost of jewels, gold, and ambergris.' (B. N., III, P. U. L. MS., f. 11 a). This candle was sent with cash presents through Sayyid *Aḥmad Sa'id*, who left Agra on 23 *Muḥarram*, 1058 A.H.

Aurangzeb.

Tavernier saw in Aurangzeb's Treasury some diamonds and diamond jewels besides the one discussed under the *Koh-i-Nūr* dispute. They are of minor importance; but first-hand evidence is always welcome. The following is in continuation of Tavernier's account of his inspection of Aurangzeb's jewels already quoted (*J. of I. H.*, XII, i, 68-69):—

After I had fully examined this splendid stone, and returned it into the hands of 'Akil *KHān*, he showed me another stone, pear-shaped, of good form and fine water, and also three other table diamonds, two clear, and the other with some little black spots. Each weighed 55 to 60 *ratīs*, and the pear 62½. Subsequently he showed me a jewel set with twelve diamonds, each stone of 15 to 16 *ratīs*, and all roses. In the middle a heart-shaped rose of good water, but with three small flaws, and this rose weighed about 35 or 40 *ratīs*. Also a jewel set with seventeen diamonds, half of them table and half rose, the largest of which could not weigh more than 7 or 8 *ratīs*, with the exception of the one in the middle, which weighed about 16. All these stones are of first-class water, clean and of good form, and the most beautiful ever found.' (Tavernier, I, 316.).

The information so far obtained may be summed up in a tabular form for easy reference. Only important stones are included in the tables that follow:

INDIAN DIAMONDS WHICH ENTERED THE MUGHAL TREASURY

BABUR'S REIGN.

No.	Name or description.	Weight.		Price.	Authorities.
		When uncut.	When cut.		
1.	Babur's Diamond.		589.088 grs. = 186.06 carats.	The costliest jewel in Babur's Treasury.	B. N. E., 477.

JAHANGIR'S REIGN.

1.	Large diamond from the Khokhara mines.			Rs. 50,000.	Tuzuk, 155; R. & B., I, 316.
2.	Diamond sent by Ibrāhīm KHān "Fath-jang," governor of Bihar.	348 ratīs.		Rs. 100,000.	" 188; R. & B., I, 379.
3.	The "chamkora" diamond.		30 ratīs.	Rs. 40,000.	" 198; R. & B., I, 400.
4.	Diamond from Qutbu'l-Mulk.		24 ratīs.	Rs. 30,000.	" " "
5.	Diamond ring, which came from Qutbu'l-Mulk, and was finally sent to the SHāh of Persia.			1,000 muhurs.	" 229; " , II, 8-9.
6.	Diamond of violet colour (<i>banafsha</i>).		30 (?) ratīs.	Rs. 3,000.	" 244-45, R. & B., II, 38.

7.	Diamond offered by Prince SHāh Jahān on the New Year's Day of the 14th regnal year.			Rs. 18,000.	Tuzuk, 265; R. & B., II, 78.
8.	Diamond which Hīrānand bought and presented to Jahāngir. ¹		3 misqāls = 78 or 79½ ratīs.	Rs. 100,000.	Hawkins (Purchas, III, 41-42)
SHAH JAHAN'S REIGN.					
1.	Diamond bestowed by SHāh Jahān on Dārā SHukoh.		100 ratīs.	Rs. 100,000.	B. N., III, P.U.L. MS., f. 5 b.
2.	Diamond acquired by SHāh Jahān from Qutbu'l-Mulk, set in a chandelier, and sent to the shrine at Madīna.	180 ratīs.	100 ratīs.	Rs. 150,000.	" " f. 11 a.
3.	Mir Jumla's Diamond.		216 ratīs.	Rs. 216,000.	" " f. 119 a.

(1) See the story related from Hawkins in a later chapter, 'Administration of the Imperial Treasury and Rules for purchase and acquisition of gem-stones.'

We know also something about certain diamonds which never found their way into the Mughal Imperial Treasury, but were seen by merchants and others in different parts of India. These are not strictly relevant to our inquiry. The information about them, however, is condensed in the table next following under the impression that it will help in fixing the relative values of stones which are the proper subject of our study.

INDIAN DIAMONDS WHICH NEVER ENTERED THE MUGHAL TREASURY

No.	Name or description.	Weight.		Price.	Authorities.
		When uncut.	When cut.		
1.	A large diamond, the size of a small hen's egg, reported by Garcia da Orta (1563) as having been seen at Vijayanagar.		250 mangelins = 416 2/3 ratīs = 312 1/2 Eng. car.		Garcia da Orta, <i>Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India</i> , trans. Sir C. Markham, London, 1913, p. 347. (Tavernier, II, 333).
2.	Also mentioned by Garcia da Orta.		140 mangelins = 233 1/3 ratīs = 175 Eng. car.		" " " "
3.	" " "		120 mangelins = 200 ratīs = 150 Eng. car.		" " " "
4.	" " "		232 43/50 Eng. car.	Rs. 450,000.	" " " "
5.	Diamond seen by Tavernier at Golconda (1642). Largest Diamond Tavernier saw in India in the possession of merchants. "The Great Table" of Streeter. Prof. Maskeyne suggests it is "Daryā-i-nūr."				Tavernier offered Rs. 400,000 on behalf of two friends, but could not purchase it. Tavernier thinks it could have been purchased for Rs. 450,000. (Tavernier, II, 98; illustr. No. 3 on pl. fac. p. 97).
6.	Streeter's "Ahmadābād Diamond." Bought by Tavernier for a friend.	178 ratīs = 150 24/25 Eng. car.	90 18/25 Eng. car.		<i>Ibid.</i> , II, 98-99 and 348.

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The standard of all stones, specially of diamonds, seems to have been so high in Mughal India that there was no room for inferior specimens. Hawkins relates how difficult it was, on one occasion, for the government lapidary to find a foul diamond wherewith to make powder for cutting and polishing other diamonds. 'There was,' he says, 'a Diamant cutter of my acquaintance, that was sent for to cut a Diamant of three Mettegals [*Misqāls*] and a halfe, who demanded a small foule Diamant to make powder, wherewith to cut the other Diamant. They brought him a Chest, as he said, of three spannes long, and a spanne and halfe broad, and a spanne and halfe deepe, full of Diamants of all sizes and sorts: yet could he find never any one for his purpose, but one of five Rotties [*ratīs*], which was not very foule neither.' (Purchas, III, 42). The reason was that there was an abundance of good diamonds.

The above passage no doubt applies primarily to the conditions in the Imperial Treasury. But when we see that the Imperial Court was the chief buyer of this commodity, we are inclined to think that diamonds of smaller size and inferior water were in cold request in the country at large; so that it was hardly worth while working mines which produced only these. The following passage may be cited in corroboration [Tavernier is relating a meeting with Mir Jumla, the Commander-in-Chief of the King of Golconda, which took place at Gandikota (Cuddapah District in the Carnatic) in September, 1652]:

'On the morning of the 10th [September, 1652] he [Mir Jumla] sent to summon us, and as soon as we were seated in his tent, close to him, the attendants brought him five small bags full of diamonds, and each bag contained about as many as one could hold in the hand. They were all lasques,⁴ but of very dark water and very small, and most of them were only 1 carat or half a carat in weight, but otherwise very clear. There were very few of them

4. 'Lasques, a term applied by jewellers to flat and oval stones, such as are used in Indian jewellery, and derived from Pers. *lashk*, "a bit, piece." The "table" was the original form in which diamonds were cut. The technical name of this is "lasque," and small slabs in this form are still used for covering miniatures, and are then called portrait stones (Streeter, *The Great Diamonds of the World*, 283).' (p. 230, f.n. 1).

which weighed 2 carats. The Nawāb, showing us these stones, asked if such goods were saleable in our country. We replied that they might be sold provided the water was white, because in Europe we do not esteem diamonds if they are not clear and white, and we make no account of other kinds of water. When he first began to contemplate the conquest of this Kingdom for the King of Golkonda, he was told that it contained diamond mines, and he sent 12,000 men to work them, but in the space of a year they found only those which he had in the five bags. The Nawāb, seeing that they found only stones of very brown water, tending much more to black than white, rightly considered that it was loss of trouble, and, forbidding further mining, sent all these poor people back to tillage.⁵ (Tavernier I, 230).

Now that the reader knows as much about diamonds in Indian history as can be known from the fragments available, perhaps he is sufficiently interested in diamonds at large to ask questions about the famous diamonds in the world. This, again, we are fully conscious, is not pertinent to the subject in hand. But a few striking facts about these, will, it is believed, give the reader his bearings in the world of diamonds; so that he will be able to judge for himself where the Mughal emperors' collection of gem-stones exactly stood as compared with similar collections in other countries and in more recent times. The information has been boiled down to facts and figures, so as to stand in proper proportion to the rest.

5. 'The exact position of these mines (or washings?) is unknown, but they were probably situated in the neighbourhood of the Penner river. The nearest of the Kadapa (Cuddapah) sites known in modern times was at Jammalamadugu, which is only 5 or 6 miles E. of Gandikota. There are a number of mines near Kadapa (See *Economic Geology of India*, p. 9). In vol. ii. 67, Tavernier says there were six of them. The mine at Wajrā-Karūr, in Anantapur, was also taken by Mir Jumla.' (p. 230, f. n. 2).

SOME FAMOUS DIAMONDS

No.	Name of Stone.	Weight.		Price.	
		When uncut.	When cut.		
1.	"Pitt" or "Regent." Measures 30 by 25 by 19 millimetres.	410 car.	{ Brilliant weighing 163 $\frac{3}{8}$ car. Fragments.	£20,400 (in the rough). £1,35,000 (present value, £4,80,000.)	Purchased by Pitt for £20,400 in India. The cutting cost £5,000. Sold to Duc d'Orléans, Regent of France (1717) for about £1,35,000. Now exhibited in the Apollo Gallery of the Louvre (Paris).
2.	"Orloff." Forms the top of the imperial sceptre of Russia. Rose-cut.		194 $\frac{3}{4}$ car.	£7,000. First sold for £2,000; then for £12,000 in London; finally to Prince Orloff for £90,000 and an annuity of £4,000.	Stolen from a temple in Mysore (India), where it formed the eye of a statue of Brahma. Finally presented by Prince Orloff to Catherine II of Russia.
3.	"Moon of the Mountains."				Captured by Nādir SHāh at Delhi. Finally acquired by the Russian Crown for an enormous sum.
4.	"Nizam."		340 car.		Belonged to the Nizam of Hyderabad. Fractured at beginning of Indian Mutiny.
5.	"Daryā-i-Nūr." Fine diamond. Rose-cut. Is of the purest water. Now the largest diamond in the Persian collection.		186 car.		Captured by Nādir SHāh at Delhi.

No.	Name of Stone.	Weight.		Price.	
		When uncut.	When cut.		
6.	"Akbar <u>SHāh</u> " or " <u>Jahāngīr SHāh</u> ."		116 car. Later, 71 car.	About £23,333.	Once the property of Emperor Akbar, this diamond was engraved on two faces with Arabic inscriptions by the instructions of his successor. It disappeared, but turned up again in Turkey under the name of "Shepherd's Stone," being recognized by its original inscriptions, which it still retained. Recut in 1866, being reduced from 116 to 71 carats, the inscriptions being destroyed. Stone sold to the Gaekwar of Baroda for 3½ lakhs (Smith, <i>Gem-Stones</i> , 163.).
7.	"Nassak." Originally pear-shaped. Re-cut to a triangular form, being reduced to		89¾ car.	£7,200.	
8.	"Napoleon."		78⅝ car.	£8,000.	Purchased by Napoleon Bonaparte.
9.	"Cumberland."		32 car.	£10,000.	
10.	"Pigott." A fine Indian stone.		47½ car.	£30,000.	Brought to England by Lord Pigott (1775) and sold. Destroyed at 'Alī Pāshā's death.
11.	"White Saxon." Square in contour, measuring 1 1 12 in.		48¾ car.	£150,000.	
12.	"Pacha of Egypt." Brilliant.		40 car.	£28,000.	

13.	"Star of the South." Largest of Brazilian diamonds. Cut as brilliant.	254½ car.	125½ car.	£40,000 (in the rough.)	Discovered 1853.
14.	"Star of South Africa."	83½ car.	46½ car.	£25,000 (when cut).	
15.	"Stewart."	288¾ car.	120 car.	£6,000; shortly afterwards, £9,000.	
16.	"Victoria," "Imperial," or "Great White."	457 car.	180 car.	£20,000.	Eventually sold to the Nizam of Hyderabad for £20,000.
17.	"Excelsior." By far the largest South African stone till 1905. From it were cut 21 brilliants of varying weights, total weight of cut stones amounting to (Smith).	969½ car.			Found 1893. According to Dr. Bauer, this stone measures 2½ by 2 by 1 in., and is valued by different experts at amounts varying from £50,000 to £1,000,000. But that writer seems to identify this stone with No. 18 below.
18.	"Jubilee." From it was obtained a splendid, faultless brilliant weighing	634 car.			Discovered in Jagersfontein mine (1895).
19.	"Porter Rhodes."	150 car.	239 car.	£200,000.	Found at Kimberley, Feb. 12, 1880. Surpasses all the other South African diamonds in beauty, says Dr. Bauer, who wrote before the discovery of "Cullinan."
20.	A yellowish octahedron found at De Beers.	428½ car.	228½ or 225 car.		
21.	"Star of Minas." Had shape of a dome with a flat base.	174¾ car.			Found in 1911.

No.	Name of Stone.	Weight.		Price.
		When uncut.	When cut.	
22.	"Star of Africa" or "Cullinan."	3025¾ car. (about 1 1/3 lb.)		Discovered at the Premier mine near Pretoria (Transvaal), Jan. 25, 1905. More than three times the size of any known stone, it broke all previous records, and set up a new scale of size and value. What is most remarkable, its shape suggested that it was a portion of an enormous stone more than double its size. Purchased by Transvaal Government for £150,000, and presented to King Edward VII (Nov. 9, 1907). Pendeloque or drop brilliant. Has 74 facets. Placed in the sceptre. { Square brilliant. Has 66 facets. Placed in the crown. { The first two are the two largest brilliants in existence. All the stones are of the finest quality.
			516½ car.	
			309 8/16 car.	
			and 103 other smaller stones (Total weight of cut stones being 1036 5/32 car.)	

COLOURED DIAMONDS

No.	Name of Stone.	Weight.		Price.
		When uncut.	When cut.	
1.	"Hope" Largest of coloured diamonds.		44½ car.	£18,000 (London, 1830). £80,000 (America, 1908). £16,000 (1909). £60,000 (1911).
2.	"Dresden."		40 car.	Possibly a portion of the drop-form stone (weighing 67 carats) brought by Tavernier from India (1642). Now privately owned in U. S. A. In Green Vaults of Dresden.

The Ambaṣṭhas

By

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THE Ambaṣṭhas as a tribe existed at least as early as the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa when they were probably settled in the Punjab and can be traced up to now in parts of Bengal and Bihar where they had migrated in later times. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 21-23) King Ambaṣṭhya is mentioned as having been consecrated with the Aindra Mahābhīṣeka along with nine other kings. According to Goldstücker, the older denomination of the tribe was, probably, Ambaṣṭha, and not Ambaṣṭha. The name Ambaṣṭhya of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, "alleged by Kāśikā, would, according to Pāṇini (IV. I., 171) come from Ambaṣṭha, the latter designating a Kṣatriya, or military man of a country bearing the same name" (Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 401). The Mahābhārata mentions the Ambaṣṭhas along with the Śivis, Kṣudrakas, Mālavas and other north-western tribes (II. 52. 14-15). In the Bhīṣma (Ch. 20, 10) and Droṇa (119, 14) Parvas they are referred to as having taken part in the Kurukṣetra war on the side of the Kauravas. Śrutāyuh, the valiant Kṣatriya, is elsewhere described in the Great Epic, as a King of the Ambaṣṭhas who was killed by Arjuna (Karna P. ch. 5, 18). The Ambaṣṭhas were also once defeated by Nakula, the fourth Pāṇḍava, along with the Śivis, the Trigarttas, and the Mālavas (Sabhā P. ch. 32, 7), and this king was among those who did homage and made presents to Yudhiṣṭhira after their defeat (Sabhā P. ch. 52, 14-15). In the Purāṇas, however, the Ambaṣṭhas are represented as Āpava Kṣatriyas, and are said to have originated from Subrata, son of Uśinara; they were thus very intimately related with the Yaudheyas and the Śivis (Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 109), and were settled on the eastern border of the Punjab (Ibid. p. 264). The country of the tribe is mentioned in the Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra (Ed. by F. W. Thomas, p. 21) where it is associated with Sind (Kāśmīra-Hūn-Ambaṣṭha-Sindhavaḥ), while the tribe itself is included in the list extracted by Colonel Wilford, from the Varāha Samhitā (Asiatic Researches, Vol. VIII., pp. 344 and 346).

It is difficult to ascertain to which of the four *varṇas* the Ambaṣṭhas belonged. The Purāṇas seem to represent them as Kṣatri-

yas, descended as they were from Uśinara (A. I. H. T., pp. 108, 109); the Mahābhārata also refers to their king Śrutāyuh as the best of Kṣatriyas (Karna P. Ch. 5, 18). But the evidence of Smṛti literature seems to point to their mixed origin. According to the Gautama Dharmasūtra (IV. 16), children born in the regular order of wives of the next, second or third lower castes become Sabarṇas, Ambaṣṭhas, Ugras, Niṣādhas, Daśyantas or Pāraśaras. The Ambaṣṭhas were thus descendants of Brāhmaṇas by Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or Sudra wives. In the Ambaṭṭha Sutta (Dialogues of the Buddha, I. p. 109) an Ambaṭṭha is called a Brāhmaṇa; but according to the Jātakas (Jātaka IV., No. 363) the Ambaṭṭhas are referred to as farmers, while Manu, the Smṛti writer, describes them as a people who practised the art of healing ("Ambaṣṭhānām chikitsitām," Manu, X. 47). It is thus equally difficult to determine their profession.¹

The Ambaṣṭhas are the same as the Abastanoi (Arrian), Sambastai (Diodoros), Sabarcal (Curtius) or Sabagrae (Orosius) of Alexander's historians (McCrindle's Invasion of Alexander, p. 292 ff). The tribe in the time of Alexander was settled on the lower Akeshines and had a democratic government. Their army consisted of 60,000 foot, 60,000 cavalry and 500 chariots (Ibid. p. 252). They are also referred to by Ptolemy in his Geography as Ambautai, a tribe who is described as settled in the east of the country of the Paropanisadai which was but 'a collective name for the tribes that were located along the southern and eastern sides of the Hindukush' (McCrindle's Ancient India—Ptolemy. Majumder's Edn. pp. 311-12). Lassen thinks (Indische Alterthumskunde) that the Ambautai might have been connected in some way with the Ambastai (Ibid. p. 161), another tribe mentioned by Ptolemy as dwelling 'along the country of the Bettigoi' and the mountain range (Southern portion of the western Ghats) of the same name (Ibid. p. 159).

The Ambaṣṭhas seem to have migrated in later times to some place near the Mēkhala hill which is the source of the Narmada

1. S. N. Mazumder thinks (C. A. G. I. Notes, p. 670) that "they were a tribe of Brahma Kṣatriyas (i.e. brahmins by descent but warriors by profession). Ray Chaudhuri thinks (P. H. A. I., pp. 157-58, 2nd Ed.) that they were "tribe who were at first mainly a fighting race, but some of whom took to other occupations, viz., those of priests, farmers, and according to the Smṛti writers, physicians."

which is also called Mēkhalāsutā. In the Kūrmāvibhāga of the Brhatsamhitā (XIV. 7) they are associated with the Mēkhalas who dwelt on the Mēkhala hill; and the mention of Mēkhala-muṣṭa, which is only a misreading for Mēkhalāmbaṣṭha, in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (LVIII, 14), proves decisively that the two were neighbouring tribes.

But the tribe seems to have migrated eastwards as well. For in Bihar can be traced even to-day a class of Kāyasthas known as Ambaṣṭha Kāyasthas, while the Vaidyas of Bengal claim to be designated as Ambaṣṭhas; in fact they are described as such by Bharata Mallika in his commentary on the Bhaṭṭikāvyaṁ.

Editorial

MANASĀRA—A TREATISE ON ARCHITECTURE OF THE HINDUS

*Volume I text, Volume II translation in English, and Volume III,
157 plates in line and colours*

WE welcome the publication of this monumental work on the architecture of the Hindus by Professor Prasanna Kumar Acharya of the Allahabad University. Professor Acharya has been engaged in the study of this subject ever since he obtained the Government of India scholarship to proceed to Europe, and has produced, as a result of his twenty years' study, five voluminous works on Hindu architecture. The first of these volumes is a Dictionary of Hindu Architecture and the second is a general account of architecture according to the *Silpa Sastras* of the Hindus and cognate treatises. The remaining three volumes relate to the *Mānasāra*, and constitute the latest instalment of his work. Professor Acharya deserves to be congratulated upon having brought his labour of twenty years to such fruition as these five volumes together would indicate.

It seems to be quite an accidental coincidence that this magnificent work on the *Mānasāra* should have been brought out almost at the centenary of its first notice in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland * by Rama Raz, the talented pioneer in this field of work. Rama Raz was a typical product of the nineteenth century, and his work, practically the last one, as he died before the work was actually out, had to be brought out, such as it was, under disadvantages and difficulties that he had to overcome, quite comparable to those that Professor Acharya had actually to surmount. Rama Raz' notice was based upon the few scattered chapters, and from a few manuscripts collected from here,

* Professor Acharya refers to Rama Raz as having published his work in 1838 on page 1 of his preface giving the history of the publication. The edition of Rama Raz's work with me is dated 1834, and a notice of the publication was made in the tenth annual report of the Royal Asiatic Society which should have been the report of the year 1833.

and there, and put together not by any successful effort at translation, but by what could more or less be guessed at by references to living workmen and extant buildings with such assistance as could be got from Pandits whose knowledge of the science was by no means profound. Having regard to the disadvantage under which this first work was published, it must be regarded as a very creditable performance, even from the vantage point of our possession of the whole text and the far superior equipment that we have for understanding and appreciating the work as a whole.

The work *Mānasāra* is regarded, even among architectural works, as one of high authority. At the outset we are confronted with the difficulty whether the name *Mānasāra*, is the name of the author, or of the work. It is quoted, wherever it is quoted, as the *Mānasāra*, and does not give us a hint as to the significance of the term, whether the word *Mānasāra* is the name of the author or of the work. Professor Acharya seems inclined, on this particular authority, to take it as the name of an author, it may be even a mythical author. It seems, however, to be the name of the treatise, the term meaning the essence of measurements; in other words, it is a work treating of the essentials of measurement, proportion, etc., which constitute the actual substance of the subject as a whole. As such, it would imply a comprehensive treatise bearing upon the whole subject of architecture and iconography, resting, as it does, upon the proper proportion and measurement, which is of the essence of these two, namely, structures or structural buildings, and images. Let us hope we may yet discover authority for such an interpretation.

Among architectural works so far available, this is undoubtedly the most comprehensive and consists of 70 chapters, of which the first eight are devoted to preliminaries. The next 42 deal with buildings as such, the remaining chapters being devoted to sculpture and iconography. The introductory matter consists really of the invocation to the gods and *Rishis* who seem to be called by the name *Mānasāra*, which again would mean only *Rishis* expert in architecture. The next one has to deal with measurements, qualifications of the architects and so on. The third has reference to the divisions of the subject. The next two chapters deal with characteristics of the soil and the selection of suitable sites for various classes of buildings. In these chapters, the soil test and the quality required for particular buildings are treated with sufficient elaboration for various kinds of buildings. Chapter VI deals with

the orientation of buildings, in the course of which the principles of mechanics and gnomon, that is dial, etc., are described. The following chapter VII, deals with site plans. Thirty-two schemes of these are given, divided into squares for various purposes of structure. The section concludes in the VIII chapter with the ceremonies necessary to propitiate the deities of the sites, etc.

In the section actually dealing with buildings, the first two chapters are devoted to town-planning, which towns, of course are divided into the two principal divisions, *grāma* and *nagara*, village and city. The latter are subdivided into town and fort. Then follows the usual classification of villages, and eight such classes are given. Similarly the towns are also divided into eight classes and so are the forts. The well-known classification of forts, or fortification generally into hill fort, water fort, etc., also figures in this group, the divisions being six instead of the usual four. But two more may be regarded as being added to, to make the number eight here also by dividing forts into three kinds, those on the top of the hill, those on the slope of the hill and those at the foot of the hill. The next chapter, chapter XI, deals with classes of buildings and their proportions, relative to length, breadth and height. They also fall into five classes, according to form, namely, square, rectangular, octagonal, round and oval. Apart from these, another division is also adopted, the buildings in general being divided into four different classes, *Jāti*, *Chhanda*, *Vikalpa* and *Abhāsa*. This four-fold classification applies to all kinds of buildings, whether they be religious, military or residential. Buildings one to three stories are ascribed to the chief feudatories of the kingdom and to the heir-apparent. Buildings from five to twelve stories constitute the palaces, and are marked off for the residence of monarchs of high-standing, such as Emperors. Chapter XII devotes itself to the description of foundations for various kinds of buildings, for the layout of villages and even for tanks. The general prescription is to carry the excavation deep enough to cover the height of a man standing with uplifted arms. It may have to be carried even deeper if the sand or rock necessary for providing a suitable basis should not be reached. The material with which the excavation should be filled up are then described. In this particular case there is very considerable similarity between the description of the *Mānasāra*, in fact of all architectural works, and the description of Vitruvius. Chapters XIII-XVI deal with the column and its component parts. What applies to the column in Indian architecture applies generally also to the basement and the

wall up to the roof. The parts of the columns are taken to be four main divisions, the pedestal, the base, the shaft and the entablature. As a matter of fact, these four divisions include the well-known eight of other books of architecture. Twelve kinds of pedestals are mentioned, their measurements and ornaments being also described. The bases of them are divided into 64 kinds. The entablatures are described in eight varieties, including the capital, architrave, freizes and cornices. In regard to these Professor Acharya notes that the Graco-Roman orders are regulated by fixed and immutable rules, both in regard to the base and in regard to the pedestal, while in the Indian orders there is much more freedom so long as the variety subserves the ends of beauty of appearance. In regard to the entablatures, the Indian variety is massive as compared with the light structure of the Greeks. As in the Graco-Roman buildings, columns are divided into five orders, but the Indian names given are rather fanciful, such as the *Brahmakānta*, *Vishṇukānta*, which by themselves could mean nothing except being mere names, whereas the Puranic names seem to be more significant, where they speak of, say for instance, *dvivajra* and *Vṛitta*. The total number of mouldings which constitute a column is forty-seven according to the *Mānasāra*, the divisions of the shaft alone being five. According to the *Purāṇas*, the divisions are given as eight. The same number is prescribed for the Graco-Roman mouldings. The *Kāmika Āgama* also gives eight. Chapter XVII deals with joinery work, wood-joining being the principal subject. Wood is divided into those that ought to be rejected and those that are to be regarded desirable in structures, and the forms in which they could be joined are also described, among them the well-known forms *Svastika*, *Sarvatobhadra* and *Nandyāvarta*. Chapter XVIII opens with a description of the general features of buildings and the following twelve chapters deal with buildings in general. Buildings are classified under several headings, first according to the number of stories, say from 1 to 12, then according to style, the three well-known ones, *Nāgara*, *Vēsara* and *Drāviḍa*, which seem to be distinguishable from one another by the shapes of the top portion only; whereas in the *Kāmika Āgama* and other works, it is not merely the top, but the whole structure seems to contribute to the difference of style. Incidentally building materials come in for description and classification. The next section opens with the classification of buildings, *Jāti*, etc., as recited above, based on the unit of measure, such as the cubic. There is another classification followed, also based on the relative propor-

tion of height, width and length, and seem more or less intended to distinguish the posture of the idol to be placed within the temple. The divisions seem to take their principle from that feature, the general classification being *sthānaka*, *Āsana*, which means sitting, and *Sayana*, which means lying or recumbent, the first one probably meaning standing, the alternative names for these being *Samchita*, *Asamchita* and *Apasamchita*. Then there is another division, masculine, feminine and neuter, according as buildings are square, rectangular or circular. Plans and measurements of buildings are described at great length. The general principle that is followed in the settlement of proportion is that the whole height of the building is taken as the standard, and is divided into a certain number of parts. A number of these parts constitutes the length as well as breadth, the whole being governed by the considerations of symmetry and beauty. In regard to the division of portions, a similar proportion is also observed; the divisions ought to be parts or fractions of the whole length of the structure. The description given of the water channels both on the ground floor and on the upper floor is noticeable, and reminds one of what has been seen in the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro. Incidentally the various deities, whose images may be made use of for decorating doors and walls of buildings, are also mentioned in the course of that description.

Buildings are generally divided into eight types, and this division applies to buildings of from a single story to five stories. Buildings of six stories fall into thirteen types; and those of seven and eight stories also into eight types. Buildings of nine stories also fall into eight types, of ten and eleven stories into six types and buildings of twelve stories into ten types. These ten types are distinguished by geographical names which seem clearly to refer to different localities of India such as *Pāṇchāla*, *Drāviḍa*, etc. Chapter XXXI deals with the compounds of big houses, temples and palaces. The divisions fall into five courts, and the fourth court is called the *Prākāra*, and falls into five classes beginning with *Jāti*. They are also divided into *Śudhha*, of a single material, *Miśra* of two kinds of material and *Sankīrṇa*, more than two kinds of material. These buildings with *prākāras* fall into five classes, and are defined with reference to *Bali* or offerings, *Parivāra*, attendant deities, *Śoba* or beauty of appearance and *Rakshana* or defence. These perhaps refer to buildings with *prākāras* enclosing within them the *balipīṭas* and shrines for *parivāra devatas*. At the same time, they should subserve the ends of beauty

by having a good appearance, and capable of being defended. The location of the attendant deities is described in a following chapter, of which a certain number have to be within the *prākāra*. They ought to be generally at the eight cardinal points of the first court. If there are more attendant deities, they are to be located in the second and third courts. Beyond the third court, the *Mānasāra* places a special pavilion. Then the shrines of the deities are described grouping them into three according to the nature of the deity, among the well-known trinity of the Hindus, Brahma, Vishnu and Śiva. We find an elaborate description of gate-houses of various kinds both in connection with temples and palaces. They naturally fall into five classes, because of the five *prākāras*.

The next following chapter, chapter XXXII, deals with the attendant deities and temples to them built within the *prākāra* or enclosure. They are divided into groups of eight, sixteen, thirty-two, etc., and are usually located in the innermost of the enclosures next round and so on. Chapter XXXIII is devoted to the building of houses near the gate for various purposes. They are of three different sizes, small, medium and large, and are of five different classes at the five enclosures, each one of which is given a different name, perhaps indicating a different purpose for which these buildings are erected. The chapter concludes with an interesting description of windows both for the gate-houses and for buildings both residential and religious. Windows are usually named after the particular patterns, and are decorated with florals and foliated ornaments. There is no effort at laying down rules for dimensions, which seem to be left entirely to the discretion of the architect. Chapter XXXIV is devoted to a description of pavilions and may include buildings within the compound walls, outside. Detailed description is given of walls, roofs, floors, verandahs, etc., of these buildings. Large pavilions are named after the seven mountains typical of large buildings and other pavilions intended for various uses and for other various purposes. The next chapter contains a description of buildings which are divided into six classes:—(1) a single row called (*Donḍaka*); (2) cruciform (*Svastika*); (3) rectangular with one side open (*Maulika*); (4) square (*Chaturmukha*); (5) round, (called *Sarvatobhadra*); and (6) (*Vardhamāna*), the last two according as they contain seven rows or ten rows of buildings. The description includes their layout and the various architectural principles forming it, ornaments, etc. Chapter XXXVI deals with residential houses and gives a description of their constituent dimensions, etc. Chapter XXXVII des-

cribes the ceremonies in connection with the completion and entry into house. The two following chapters, XXXVIII and XXXIX are devoted to a description of doors of various kinds including dormer-windows, other windows having been dealt with already.

The three following chapters XL-XLII deal with the palaces of Kings, and contain incidentally descriptions of royal orders, insignia and entourage including the army, revenues, etc. Royalty is here divided into nine classes beginning with a *chakravartin* as the highest and coming down to rulers of small divisions and feudatories, perhaps rendering military service. A minute description of the palaces of these separate classes of rulers is also given. Other buildings of monarchs, such as pavilions for gardens, audience halls, arsenals, treasury, etc., are also described along with the residence of the crown prince, the priests, ministers, etc. Stables ought to be built near the main gate. Prisons ought to be built in an out of the way place, and the palace enclosure is to contain also gardens, groves, tanks, etc., Chapter XLIII is devoted to a description of cars and chariots, and these are classified and described almost in the same terms as the buildings themselves, perhaps because they are regarded as miniature copies of these. Similarly the following chapter XLIV is devoted to couches and swings. One whole chapter, that is, chapter XLV is devoted to a description of thrones. These are of four varieties, the first intended for the coronation ceremony, the second used on more frequent auspicious occasions, the third intended for special coronation as hero on occasions of signal warlike achievements and the fourth for celebrating the victorious monarch. This kind of a division is also followed in regard to the thrones of gods and goddesses for various similar purposes. These fall into ten divisions more or less according to the shape and the purpose perhaps for which they are used. Chapter XLVI deals with arches. This establishes beyond a doubt that arches were known to the ancient Hindus, and the various shapes given happen to be such as the triangular, circular, rose-shaped, bow-shaped and of other shapes as well. Their rules of construction are given in detail. The ornaments of those arches are called *torāṇas* and are of four types generally, either leaves, or flowers, or jewel patterns, or painted patterns. These arches are sometimes supported by leographs at the sides as we find these in the case of pillars.

Chapter XLVII is devoted to the theatre and the yard surrounding it attaching to big temples and palaces. The details of

construction, dimensions and ornaments are given in full. The material used are said to be wood, stone, brick, iron, etc. Chapter XLVIII is devoted to a description of the wish-giving tree called *kalpavṛksha* which forms an ornament of thrones, the theatres, pavilions and arches. Chapter XLIX is devoted to a description of crowns of gods and goddesses, kings, queens, etc. Twelve kinds of crowns are described in detail. Chapter L describes the ornaments of wear and articles of house furniture. The jewellery worn by gods and monarchs are described, and are divided into a certain number of classes, according to the patterns of their make. Similarly articles of furniture are divided into seven groups consisting of face mirrors, wardrobes, etc. The portion relating to architecture ends with this chapter XLIX.

The following twenty chapters are devoted to iconography and sculpture, and the section begins with the material of which images are made divided into nine classes, gold, silver, copper, stone, wood, stucco, grit, glass and terra-cotta, and then follows a description of the various kinds of the images, their shape and forms, this chapter devoting itself to the Hindu triad or Trimurti, Brahma, Vishnu and Śiva. Chapter XLII is devoted similarly to the *phallus* and the *pīṭa* representative of Śiva. They form several types more or less according to the sects in one way, according to the general architectural classification in another, and then according to the methods of worship or the character of worship. The following chapter is devoted entirely to a description of the *pīṭa*. Chapter LIV deals with the female deities, Sarasvati, Lakshmi, etc. Chapter LV is devoted to Jain images and contains not merely details of measurement, but even classification of these images and the attendant deities. Images of the sages are described in chapter LVII and there is a description of images of the seven well-known sages and others of that kind. Chapter LVIII is devoted to a description of the semi-divine beings, good and evil. Chapter LIX is similarly concerned with the description of the human followers who had attained to salvation. The *vāhanas* (vehicles of these gods and goddesses, are described in chapter LX. Chapter LXI is devoted to discussions on the rules in regard to dimensions, etc., of these vehicles, the ornaments that they should wear and so on. Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishnu comes in for elaborate description. Chapter LXII is similarly devoted to a description of Nandi, and chapter LXIII deals with the lion, the mount of Pārvati. Chapter LXIV describes images of attendant deities in Viṣṇu temples. Incidentally it supplies a general *resumé* of all

kinds of architectural and sculptural measures, their verification, etc., The next two chapters, LXV and LXVI expound the *Tāla* system and the *Tāla* measure. They give also a general description of the features of these lengths. Chapter LXVII deals with plumb lines and their use in the construction of images. The casting of images is described in chapter LXVIII, while the defects of limbs, etc., of these images is described in chapter LXIX. The concluding chapter LXX is devoted entirely to the description of the chiseling of the eyes of an image. This is the final function and with this the work of the architect and others associated with him is over, to be followed by the ceremony of purification and consecration.

This brief summary is enough to indicate that the *Mānasāra* is a complete work of architecture and sculpture as applied to the construction of temples and images, and all work of building connected therewith. Though we know of something like 300 works on these subjects, most of which exist only in manuscripts, none of them attains to the voluminous and the detailed treatment of the *Mānasāra*. A certain number have been published since, such as the *Mayamata*, *Silparatna*, and *Manushyālayachandrikā* in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, and a few others elsewhere; but none of them comes up to the comprehensiveness or complete details of the *Mānasāra*. The Āgamāic works, both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, have to deal with these very topics, as one of the main sections of these works, both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva, have reference to temple-worship. Some of them do give detailed description of these, the best among them being the *Kāmika Āgama*. This is a vast work of 160 chapters of which a fairly large number are devoted to these subjects. There again architecture is generally regarded as subsidiary to town-planning. The building of temples of course forms a part of town-planning. When we get to a description of temples, naturally it takes us on to the description of the making of images, being connected intimately with each other. Mr. Acharya draws attention incidentally to the fact that even Vedic Indians were not ignorant of stone forts or walled cities, stone houses, carved stones and even brick edifices, although they are generally regarded as being ignorant of these. A certain amount of information on these subjects could be collected from Buddhist literature as Mr. Acharya points out, not to speak of the description of palaces and towns, such as we find in the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* and works of that kind. The *Purāṇas* like the *Āgamas* contain elaborate chapters upon these subjects, as again they have to deal with the connected subject of temple worship.

A co-ordinated study of these gives a detailed idea of architectural notions of the Hindus, and these theoretical principles could be verified from even existing buildings where they do exist in some number.

Coming to the question of the age of the author of this work, Mānasāra, Professor Acharya, goes into the investigation whether the name Mānasāra is not that of the author. As we have already remarked, it probably is the name of the work itself, and consequently the name of the author of the work by a figure of speech. We would not have referred to it again here but for the fact that Prof. Acharya makes an effort to find out a connection between the name Mānasāra and the name of the victorious king of Malva by name Mānasāra referred to in the Daśakumāra-charitra of Dandin. We very much fear that the possibility of a connection between the two is remote indeed, and there is nothing to indicate that the work has had anything to do with a ruler of a kingdom. As Mr. Acharya himself points out, Malva does not figure among the ten regional divisions of India* architecturally speaking. Prof. Acharya is inclined to regard the work as that of the age of Guptas more or less. The work may possibly have belonged to that particular age on the ground of its similarity to the Matsya Purāṇa chapters on architecture. But whatever the date of the present redaction, the Matsya Purāṇa is perhaps datable to a considerably earlier period, and the question would then have to be whether the architectural chapters do actually belong to the earlier epoch of the work Matsya Purāṇa. We do not consider, as Prof. Acharya does, that there should have been a united empire, and an orderly administration, which he considers elaborately, to build his conclusion thereon. Neither of them seems to us necessary for a mere student of architecture to study, and individual scholars or students do not appear to have found travelling so difficult in those early times from what we know of others, both in the age of the Guptas and even in periods anterior to that. People seem to have been able to move about from place to place with the freedom, which, having regard to the imperfect conditions of communication, seems to us really remarkable. We may conclude by congratulating Professor

* We may incidentally point out here that one of the ten which Prof. Acharya reads as Virāṭa strikes us as a wrong variant reading of Varāṭa, where perhaps there is room for a distinct architectural style, at least that is the form in which the name occurs in the other works Maymata and Śilparatna.

Acharya upon the monumental work that he has produced, and brought to a term the labours of twenty years of devoted study. Though, accidental, so far as Professor Acharya is concerned, the publication of this work, the preface to which is dated February 6, 1933 seems to be almost exactly the centenary of the completion of the first work on this subject by Rama Raz, as we have already noted. There could be no more appropriate celebration of the centenary of the publication for such an important work as the Mānasāra than this careful, complete and an admirably adequate edition of the great work. Let us hope that this publication will lead to a scientific study of Hindu architecture with a view to the practical applications which Prof. Acharya wants. We commend the work to those concerned with all our heart, and say amen to the wish of the learned editor and translator.

NEW CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY : A REPORT

By

OTTO STEIN.

1. UNDER the titles "The earliest philosophy of the Karma-mīmāṃsā" and "Udgīthavidyā" ¹ Prof. Otto Strauss of the Breslau University (Germany) has recently made two contributions to the Pūrva- and Uttaramīmāṃsā. The purpose of the former paper is to show the connection between these two aspects, exemplified by Śabaraśvāmin's commentary on Mīmāṃsāsūtra I, 1, 5, where he quotes his predecessor, the Vṛttikāra who relies on Upavarṣa again. The discussion in Mīmāṃsābhāṣya I, 1, 5 is concerned with the means of knowledge, the enumeration and description of which appear in a pūrvapakṣa-form. Among other points the ātman-theory has to be defended against Buddhist antagonists of the Vijñānavāda-School; and the whole discussion is relevant for the problem of sambandha, i.e. the eternal connection between the word and its object. The sūtra I, 13 is explained by Śabara as an introduction to sūtra 4, while the latter shows a slightly different

1. Sitzungberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 1932, 66 pp., resp. 1931, 70 pp. The chronological order of the publications has been inverted here from a historical-symmetrical point of view.

reading in Śabara's text and in that of the *Vṛttikāra*; the difference, however, of interpretation is still greater. Śabara takes the *sūtra* as one single sentence, as *Siddhānta*, denying the possibility that a perception (*pratyakṣa*) can serve as a means of knowledge of dharma. The *Vṛttikāra* sees the *Siddhānta* in s. 5, whereas s. 4 is for him the *Pūrvapakṣa*, to be divided into two assertions: the cause of dharma-knowledge must not be investigated, as *pratyakṣa* etc. means of knowledge are known; further, also the *śāstra* belongs to them, therefore it must not be investigated too. Kumārila ascribes the doctrine of the six *pramāṇas* to Śabara (Śloka v., *Abhāvapariccheda* 57); the *Vṛttikāra* acknowledges only two means of knowledge, namely: *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*, while the other four (*śāstra*, *upamāna*, *arthāpatti*, *abhāva*) are for him nothing but sub-species of *anumāna*. It is interesting that the treatment of *anumāna* (inference) shows connections with Praśastapāda's *Vaiśeṣikabhāṣya*; in discussing the later *svataḥpramāṇya*-doctrine of the later *Mīmāṃsā* he seems to attack the *Vijñānavādins*. In the *Siddhānta*-portion of s. 5 first the latter part of s. 4 is refuted, then many problems are to be solved: the relation between word and the object, designated by the former, whether the *sambandha* is due to human origin, the nature of the word, explained to be sounds, not *sphoṭa*, the nature of the object. The kernel of that *sūtra* is the proof that the relation between word and its object is eternal, unproduced, as there is no author (*sambandhī*) of the connection. The remaining part of the *sūtra*-discussion has to be attributed to Śabara only, no more to the *Vṛttikāra*; its contents are concerned with the *ātman*. The fictive opponent is a Buddhist, while the arguments contra are taken from the *Vaiśeṣika* again. The Buddhist remarks he cannot see any difference between the body and the *ātman*, his *ātman*-defendant tries to convince him by the *prāṇa*. That, however, declares the Buddhist, is merely a function of the body, which argument leads the *Mīmāṃsaka* to explain the difference existing between *prāṇa* and the qualities of the body. Again the Buddhist objects the inference from qualities to a holder of qualities, as there are only *dharma*s, and the question: to whom belongs this or that, would involve a *regressus ad infinitum*. The *Mīmāṃsaka* says that *vijñāna* requires a subject, belonging to the verb *jānāti*; and this subject can be nothing else but *ātman*. The next argument of the Buddhist militates against the view the *ātman* being the bearer of the *smṛti*, as the *ātman*-defendant argues, because the desire (*icchā*) for an object, perceived some time before, is impossible without the existence of a constant subject, which

is able to remember that once perceived object. The Buddhist denies that by the reference to the (*kṣaṇikavāda*-) doctrine of the non-identity of a Devadatta of to-day with that of yesterday, or, that Devadatta can remember things seen by Yajñadatta. Finally, the *Siddhānta* of the *ātmanist*, the *ātman*-existence is proved by the consciousness of the I, and also the *śruti* is a proof of the existence of the eternal in man.

This analysis is followed by the German translations of the *Mīmāṃsāsūtrabhāṣya* I, 1, 1-5 and I, 3, 30-35, because Śabaraśvāmin refers to that portion himself in the former passage.

2. In *Chāndogya*-Up. I, 2 and *Bṛhadār.*-Up. I, 3 the *Prāṇa* is celebrated as the Absolute in connection with the *Sāman* called *Udgītha*; these passages have the same *Udgīthavidyā*. The question which of the two Up.-passages, parallels to which are to be found in *Jaim. Up. Br. I, 60; II, 1; 3; 10*, is the earlier has, from a historico-critical point of view, to be answered in that direction that there is no difference between them, while Deussen believed the passage in *Chānd.*-Up. to be later than that in *Bṛhadār.*-Up. Rather these are merely variants of diction; but the idea, the speculation on the absolute One, identified with the *Prāṇa* in man and connected with the *Sāman Udgītha*, is the same. From a systematical-orthodox point of view, as expressed by Śaṅkara, the question has to be put whether there are meant two *upāsanas* of two different *vidyās*, or only one. The *pūrvapakṣa* defends—in accordance with modern view—that merely one *upāsana* is necessary, while Śaṅkara declares them to be two *vidyās*. Remarkable and interesting are, besides the material explanation, the connections of interpretation between the *Brahmasūtra* and Śaṅkara on the one hand, the *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* and Śabarabhāṣya on the other. In spite of the difference between *Pūrva*- and *Uttaramīmāṃsā*, or *Vedānta*, the latter relies on the method of the former.

Prof. Strauss whose two papers represent preparatory studies to his contribution on *Mīmāṃsā* and *Vedānta* in the "Grundriss," started by the late Prof. Bühler, give not only illuminating expositions, but offer also German translations of the respective texts with copious notes. In the paper on *Udgīthavidyā* he translated *Brahmasūtra* III, 3, 1-9 with Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* and offers for the first time—a German rendering of *Vācaspatimiśra's Bhāmati*.

3. Without going to investigate the background, the fact has to be stated that—apart from later Buddhist philosophy—no other system of Indian philosophy gets so much attention now, in Europe

at least, as Yoga. English reading Indologists are aware of the book "The Yoga-System of Patañjali", published by Prof. J. H. Woods (Cambridge, Mass. 1914). One year before, in 1913, the French scholar, P. Masson-Oursel, wrote a paper "Sur la signification du mot 'Yoga'" (On the meaning of the word Yoga) in the *Revue d'histoire des Religions* 68, 1913, pp. 18-31; in books, dealing with the philosophy or cultural history of India, that theme had been touched at least. Heinrich Zimmer is the author of an article on "The position of Yoga in the spiritual world of India" *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 4, 1926, pp. 21-56). From an aesthetical and religious point of view he discussed the problem of the *yantra* in its relation to the art in his book "Kunstform und Yoga im indischen Kultbild" (Artistic form and Yoga in the Indian cult-picture, 1926). In October 1931 the public was surprised by the issue of the first number of newly started Journal, published under the title "Yoga," by Dr. Helmuth Palmié, M.D.

The main representative of Yoga-studies in Germany is Prof. J. W. Hauer of the University at Tübingen. Already his first book, as the title indicates: "Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis" (1922), brought an "investigation into the roots of Indian Mysticism according to the *Rgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*." In a paper, "Der Indische Yoga im Lichte der Psychotherapie" (The Indian Yoga in the light of therapeutics, 1930), the same author gives a succinct theory of the Yoga-system. He lays stress on the psychological part of *dhyāna* and *samādhi* which tries to eliminate the sub-consciousness, to make the man conscious of all his thoughts. Hauer sees in Haṭhayoga a psychotechnical method of Yoga without leading to the final goal of *mukti*.

The contents of the journal, "Yoga. International Journal for the Scientific Investigation of Yoga," are as rich as the languages used by the contributors, German, French, English and Italian. The Number opens with introductions by Prof. Hauer, taken from his book "Der Yoga als Heilweg," by Mrs. Rhys Davids, by Mr. P. Masson-Oursel and F. Belloni-Filippi, welcoming the publication of the new organ, from which they expect a progress of the knowledge, and a clearing up of the problems, of Yoga. The first scientific paper comes from the pen of Prof. Hauer, bringing a German "Translation of the Yoga aphorisms by Patañjali with Vyāsa's commentary." This translation, reaching from I, 1-4 only, is preceded by an exhaustive introduction, dealing with the texts, their

composition and history, with the commentaries, and the hitherto existing translations by Deussen, Rama Prasad, and Woods, and finally with the difficulty of an adequate translation into an European language. All that forms again—with some exceptions of formal nature—parts of the book, mentioned above, and will find its due report, when dealing with the latter. While Prof. Hauer has some contempt for Haṭhayoga, Prof. H. Zimmer defends it. In his paper "Teachings of the Haṭhayoga, didactical texts, part I" (pp. 45-62), he expounds the different aspects and the practice of that Yoga-form according to the Haṭha-yogapadīpikā by Svātmārāma, the Gheraṇḍasamhitā, and the Śīvasamhitā, with extensive translated quotations from these sources.

This first part, covering the pages 25-62 called, owing to the international character of the journal, "translationes" in Latin, is followed by papers, called "disputationes originales" and opened by Sir John Woodroffe's contribution on "Kuṇḍalinī Śakti" (pp. 65-73). According to the Śākta doctrine with which the author is concerned "Yoga is that process by which the identity of the two (*jīvātman* and *paramātman*),—which identity ever in fact exists—is realized by the Yogin or practitioner of Yoga." Out of the four forms of Yoga: *mantra*-, *haṭha*-, *laya*-, and *rājayoga*, *kuṇḍaliyoga* is *layayoga*, that means the arousing of *Kuṇḍalinī Śakti*, treated in the author's "Serpent-Power." As the fundamental principle of Tantrasāstra, man is described as a microcosm "*ksudra-brahmāṇḍa*," the outer world being within him, man being the all-pervading Spirit, vehicled by Śakti in the form of mind and matter the centres of which are the six *chakras*, viz. of the mind the *ājñā-chakra*, the other five *chakras* or centres of matter or *bhūtas* being: *viśuddha* of *ākāśa*, *anāhata* of *vāyu*, *maṇipūra* of *agni*, *svādhiṣṭhāna* of *āpaḥ*, *mūlādhāra* of *pṛthivī*. The author tries to identify and localize the seat of these *chakras* with the plexus of the body according to Western anatomy. The *Mērudanḍa* as the spinal cord of man, is the axis of the body supporting the trunk. Western anatomy divides the cerebral column into five regions and these correspond to the regions in which the five *chakras* are situated. Beyond those five in the trunk and the sixth in the lower cerebral centre, there is a seventh in the upper brain or *satyaloka*, the abode of the Supreme Śiva-Śakti. As the Kuṇḍalinī Śakti is a *śakti*, power of Kuṇḍali, coiled like a serpent in the *Mūlādhāra*, situated at the base of the spinal cord in a position midway in the perinaeum between the root of the genitals and the anus (cf. Zimmer in the same journal p. 54 on Śīvas. II, 21-28; and "Serpent Power"). While

in Rāja- and Haṭha-yoga which belong to *dhyāna*- or *bhāvanayoga*, ecstasy (*samādhi*) is attained by intellectual processes (*kriyājñāna*). Kuṇḍaliyoga, another kind of Haṭhayoga, does not neglect intellectual processes, but has that aim: the creative and sustaining Śakti, i.e. Kuṇḍalinī Śakti, is actually and truly united with the Lord Consciousness; that means: Kuṇḍalinī Śakti is to rouse from Kuṇḍali through the cerebral cord to unite with the Supreme Śiva Śakti, to enjoy the bliss of Śiva and Śakti through her and to gain the accompanying powers, *siddhis*. Liberation, *mukti*, may be obtained by pure *jñānayoga* through detachment, exercise, stilling of the mind, and also by *bhakti*, devotion; but the Śākta Tantra gives enjoyment, *bhukti*, and liberation, *mukti*. It is impossible to reproduce here the extensive remarks of the author on philosophical, biological, cosmical, and psychological aspects of the Kuṇḍalinī Śakti. It may be merely added that this kind of Yoga is believed to be superior to Rājayoga and to Haṭhayoga of the *dhyānayoga*-colour.

Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids wants in her paper, "The Fellow-man in Yoga" (pp. 75-78), to answer the questions: "To what extent does Yoga 'cover' early Buddhism? Or, to what extent did early Buddhism make its own contribution to Yoga?" In Buddhism, or, as the authoress prefers to say, in Śākya or Shakya (cf. her book: Śākya, or Origins of Buddhism) two equivalent terms for Yoga are found: *samādhi* and *jhāna* (= *dhyāna*). The former does not occur in the Upaniṣads earlier than the relatively late Maitri-Up.; *dhyāna* is met once in the Taitt. Ār. in just a passing mention. Attention, however, is paid to the term in Chāndogya-Up. and the Śvetāśvatara-Up., much nearer to the days of Śākya's beginning; attempts to distinguish between the divine all-containing Self and the human self, *dhyāna* is here a mode of linking and illuminating. In the Suttapiṭaka there can be seen a distinction between *jhāna* and rational thought; *samādhi* is given a wider denotation, including the four stages of *jhāna*, "and also various forms of zealous heedfulness in the study of blameless living." But a transformation of the original *dhyāna* into Śākya shows the meaning of readiness to be impressed, the *jhāyin* was listening, watching; the positive contribution by Śākya to Yoga was to facilitate in the *aṅga* called *jhāna*, intercourse with, sodality with, the fellowman as not on earth only, but with all *sattas*, also of other worlds. Thus Yoga in the term *dhammayoga* means Yoga of the immanently divine "worshipped in Śākya, not as *ātman*, but as *dhamma*, or inward monition (of the ideal, the Ought-to-be)."

In the year 1925 the Professor of Philosophy of the University at Vienna (Austria), Dr. Heinrich Gomperz, published a big volume: "The Indian Theosophy," containing a history of thought of ancient India on the Divine; among the chapters of that book one was devoted to Yoga. Now he raises the question, how one should understand utterances in the Yogasūtra like that in III, 24: a practitioner of Yoga gets the vires of an elephant ("Psychological interpretation of the doctrine of magic power?", pp. 79-82). There are four possibilities to understand such a sentence: (1.) the magical, by concentration one gets really the power of an elephant by means of witchcraft; (2.) the realistic, one gets in nature a great power, though not that of an elephant, e.g. by strong muscles; (3.) the psychological, the Yogin believes himself to possess the power; (4.) the mythic, the utterance is without any real base, it is a superstition only. The author decides himself for the psychological explanation: the Yogin is convinced of his feelings as being real, for instance of going through the air, or, entering another person's body.

Mr. B. Bhattacharyya (Baroda) informs the reader in his paper "Sādhana or God-Realisation" (pp. 83-86) on the *sādhana*s or processes prescribed for attaining the different *siddhis*, perfections, in the Tantric literature of the Buddhists and Hindus. The Buddhist literature of *sādhana*s was always written in Sanskrit, by most of the well-known Tantric authors and by the *mahāsiddhas*, these being the best and middle class of *siddhas*, flourishing during the Pāla-Period (8-12th cent. A.D.). Some collections of *sādhana*s are still to be found in the Durbar Library and in Buddhist monasteries of Nepal, Mss. of which have migrated to Bombay, Calcutta, Cambridge and Paris. These collections are called *Sādhana-mālā* or *Sādhana-samucchaya*. Nine Mss., obtained from different libraries, were collated together and critically edited by Mr. Bhattacharyya as Nos. 26 and 41 of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. For giving a general idea of the contents of the *sādhana* or the detailed process through which spiritual eminence or *siddhi* is obtained, the author of this paper describes the daily routine of a *siddha*, as found in the *sādhana* for the goddess Tārā, No. 98 in the *Sādhana-mālā* composed by the Sthavira Anupama Rakṣita who was a well-known Tantric author. About half a dozen of his works are preserved in Tibetan translations, forming part of the Tangyur.

Mr. Richard Rösler, author of a treatise "The psychological foundations of the Yoga-practice" (1928), discusses, in his contri-

bution "Yoga and kindred systems in the occultism of to-day" (pp. 87-92), such western movements which made use—or misuse—of elements of the Yoga or other Indian thoughts. Among these movements are the Theosophical, founded by Mrs. H. P. Blavatsky, the Anthroposophy of the late Rudolph Steiner, the "Correspondence-lessons" by Karl Brandler-Pracht who goes back perhaps to Rāma Prasād's work "The Nature's Finer Forces." In the "Neugeist" (New Spirit-) movement teachings and practices of the Yoga are to be found, specially in the writings by W. Adelman-Huttula who freely borrows from Patañjali's Yogasūtra. The Japanese Omoto-movement made its way into European fields; magic spells are used freely in the publications by Peryt Shou. The "Aryan-Zaratushtrian art of living," allied to the Mazdaznan-teaching, belongs to that progress of thought in Europe too.

"On the ocular concentration in the Yoga," writes the French scholar, Mr. J. Filliozat, who is the author (with Mr. Cantonnet) of a book, entitled: *Le strabisme. Physiologie et pathologie de la vision binoculaire* (The strabism. Physiology and Pathology of the binocular vision, Paris, 1932). He is opposed to the view which explains concentration in Yoga as a hypnotic state, as auto-hypnosis. Rather a prolonged fixation of the eyes on some object of little interest, as on the tip of the nose, evokes the appearance of the vague mist, within which gradually pictures are to be seen; the interpretation of those pictures is for some people the key to the future. In the moment the confusion by the mist appears, the visual field of consciousness is free, and that moment is favourable for the return of a great number of reminiscences in the form of visions. These reminiscences have the force of revelations, and the sub-conscious elements, either absurd or logical, may be interpreted as visions of future events, while they are nothing but new combinations of forgotten reminiscences. The author calls that a particular state of psychological dissolution ("désagrégation" pp. 93-102).

The last paper (pp. 103f.) by Mr. H. Vorwahl alludes, under the title "The ecstasy in modern literature," to some works of modern German fiction, esp. to Hermann Hesse's novels "Demian" and "The Steppe-Wolf" in which the man, free from sub-conscious thoughts, is able to see and to feel whatever he likes. This method of liberation from the subconsciousness is treated to-day in medicine (cf. O. A. H. Schmitz, *Psychoanalyse und Yoga*, Darmstadt 1924, and the forthcoming book by J. H. Schultz, *Autogenes Training*).

For completeness, though it does pertain to Indian philosophy, it may be mentioned that this Number of the "Yoga" contains Reviews on Hauer's paper "Der indische Yoga im Lichte der Psychotherapie" (by Schäfer, pp. 131-3), the author's report of the book: *Autogenes Training*, (p. 134) besides reviews on the work of V. G. Rele. The Vedic gods as figures of Biology (by W. Wüst, pp. 125-130) and on books by W. Schubring: *Worte Mahāvīras*, 1927; *Die Jainas*, 1927, (by H. v. Glasenapp) as well as on Wendell Thomas: *Hinduism invades America* (by the same). The first number of the Journal is dedicated to Prof. Wilhelm Geiger and to Sir John Woodroffe; it contains biographies and bibliographies of both these scholars. Finally there is a Report of the Pali Text Society for 1930 and a Bibliography of important and relevant books and Journals.

4. As mentioned above, Prof. Hauer is the author of a new book on Yoga of which the first part was published in Stuttgart 1932 under the title: "Der Yoga als Heilweg" (The Yoga as the path of salvation) XVII, 159 pp. In the Preface the author gives a historical review of previous publications on Yoga, and, in an introductory (reprinted in the Journal, alluded to above), he attempts to show the relation and importance of Yoga to the spiritual state of the West. He believes that Yoga is a way for those who, unprotected by their faith and institutions of bygone days, want to have recourse to their own Interior. For the Yoga appreciates conscious experience, rational working, and tradition, but prepares the man also to know the Ultimate, world-preserving powers. The presupposition, however, is a critical study of the best sources of the Yoga. The allied movement of psychoanalysis suffers under the exaggeration of the importance of sexual complexes, but its refinement, as found in the works of Prof. C. G. Jung, may represent an able collaboration for the guidance of the souls of the West. For the East again the renaissance of Yoga, though too little known in India of to-day, may mean the re-discovering of its spiritual counterpoise, the spiritual remedy against the shocks by the invasion of the West with its science, technics, industrialism and parliamentarism.

In the first four chapters the author offers an exhaustive history of the Yoga-elements in the Vedic literature. Though he does not frighten away from the assertion that the beginnings of Yoga may go back to the ur-Indo-European times, he finds traces of the murmur-meditation (*japa*) in the Śatarudriya, the earliest version

of which is to be seen in the Taitt. S. IV, 5 (Vājas. S. 16 ; Kāṭhaka 17 ; one may add now Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha S. 27), a text recommended still in Vāchaspatimiśra's Commentary on Yogasūtra II, 1 among those for the *svādhyāya* of the Yoga-practitioners. Further, it is remarkable that from the beginnings the Yoga is closely related to worship of Rudra-Śiva. In connection with the humming of the syllable *om* the practices of breathing led to the supposition of their metaphysical powers. All that found its favourable soil among the circles of those non-brahmanical "Consecrated devotees," the *Vrātyas*, to whom the origin of the XVth Book of the Atharvaveda has to be attributed, a view that Prof. Hauer has expressed in his books on "The Beginnings of the Yoga-practice" (1922) and "The *Vrātya*" (1927) already. The ur-elements of the Yoga in the Vedic Period are contained in the brahmanical sacrifice, holy ceremonies and observances of heretical character, in customs and experiences of frenetic ecstasies. Though the Yoga was known in the times of the earlier Upaniṣads, the brahmanical speculations on the sacrifice and the struggle against the offenders of the ceremonials absorbed all their mental efforts; in the Upaniṣads of the Rudra-Śiva-faith the Yoga is evident. The first place is taken by the *Śvetāśvatara-Up.* (cf. Hauer's "The *Svetāśvatara-Up.*, a monotheistic tract of a Rudra-Śiva-community" ZDMG 9, 1930, pp. *97* ff. and "A monotheistic tract of Ancient India," Gotha 1931); here all the important teachings of the later Sāṃkhya and Yoga are apparent already. In the *Mahānārāyaṇa-Up.* occur terms which belong to the Tantric Yoga of later times, though the metaphysics are quite different. Like the *Maitrāyaṇas* also the *Kāṭhakas*, as the author concludes from the Yoga-passages in *Kāṭhaka-Up.*, were members of the Rudra-community, the former being adherents of the *Vrātya*-movement. Other Yoga-Upaniṣads, like the *Brahmabindu*, *Amṛtanāḍabindu*, *Chūlikā*, *Yogaśikhā*, *Haṃsa*, may be dated into the time between Buddhism and the later parts of the *Mahābhārata*, though the tradition goes back to the end of the Vedic period, i.e., circa. 700 B.C. From the point of view of psychotechnics the *Kṣurikā-Up.* is interesting, as her contents are instructions for practices of breathing and concentration. The brahmanical *Tejobindu-Up.* lays stress on the *dhyāna*. Neither in the *Sannyāsa-Up.* the elements of Yoga are missing, as in the *Brahma-Up.*, nor in the *Viṣṇuitic-Up.*, as in the *Yogatattva*-and *Dhyānabindu-Up.*

A close connection exists between Yoga, Buddhism and Jainism; Yoga and Yoga-elements in Jainism must have their common Vedic antecedents, especially in the *Atharvaveda*; and Bud-

dhism got some hints from Yoga, but developed them in its own congenial way. In the Epic, in the *Mahābhārata*, Yoga finds its place in the XIIth Book, in the *mokṣadharmā*, through the Viṣṇuism, and still more through the Sivaism, of Videha in the company of which Sāṃkhya and Yoga appear. Both these systems were once a common movement of India, but separated their ways in metaphysics, and metapsychics in that time to which the *Yogasūtra* may belong. The Sāṃkhya becomes atheistic, the Yoga is theistic; the former is based on initiative speculation and on tradition, whereas the latter relies upon immediate experience and conscious introspection.

With the 5th chapter the inquisition reaches the main source of the *Rājayoga*, the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali; he has been identified with the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, while recent researches by Woods, Jacobi and Hauer himself tried to show the 4th till the 6th cent. A. D. as the probable time of the origin of the *Yogasūtra*. Prof. Hauer, who has published some part of his date-theory in the *Studia Indo-Irancia* (pp. 122ff.), is of opinion that the present text is a composition of texts, differing in views as well as in age. The four books of the *Yogasūtra*, the result of a redaction with the aim to get four books of nearly the same length without taking into consideration the contents, the redactor being the author of the first part, are to be divided according to Prof. Hauer in that way: I, 1-22; *nirodha-text*; I, 23-51, *īśvarapraṇidhāna-text* both parts showing Buddhist influences. Book IV *nirmāṇacitta-text* belongs to the time of Buddhist philosophy after Vasubandhu, to the 4th and 5th cent. A. D. (see the paper in *Studia Indo-Irancia*). II, 28-III, 55 is the complete systematical sūtra of the Yoga, *yogāṅga-text* the earliest of the whole *Yogasūtra*, which has been divided midway (in Book II and III) only for the purpose of having two books of the same number of sūtras, viz., 55. II, 1-27, remarkable through the systematical treatment of the *kleśas*, is the *kriyāyoga-text*. Book I and IV belong to the time of the later Buddhist philosophy, whereas there is nothing of that connection in the *yogāṅga-text* which must be earlier, perhaps the 2nd cent. B. C., if its author is to be identified with the grammarian Patañjali.

The chapter 6 brings the transcribed Sanskrit text with its German translation and extensive notes in the order, as Prof. Hauer reproduced its historical development; I, 1; II, 28-III, 55 (*yogāṅga-text*); II, 1-27 (*kriyāṅga-text*); I, 23-51 (*īśvarapraṇi-*

dhāna-text); IV (*nirmāṇacitta*-text); I, 1-22 (exactly 2-22, *nirodha*-text). The seventh chapter of the book sketches the development of the Yoga after the time of the redacted Yogasūtra. In the 4th cent. A. D. the idealistic *viñānavāda* of Asanga's Yogācāra-school influenced the Yoga; the *dhyāna*-phases, e.g., were united with the *bhūmis*, that evolution of the *dhyāna*-system can be seen also in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*. The tendency goes to unite the metaphysical knowledge with the practice and experience of meditation, ending in the *Lankāvatārasūtra* by the dissolution of consciousness in the *śūnyatā*. The other way of Mahāyāna was the *bhakti*, in which Buddha becomes the highest deity, an instance being the *Amitāyurdhyānasūtra* in which the meditation leads to the adoration of the Buddha. The *dhāranī* (cf. Hauer's paper "The *Dhāranī* in Northern Buddhism and its parallels in the so-called Mithras-liturgy", 1927) gets its place as a base for meditation and brings occultism and magic into religion. In the second half of the first millenary in which Śivaism and Buddhism are melted together, the Buddha turns into the *Adibuddha*, the *Adinātha*, no more to be separated from Śiva, the lord of the world, and obtains his female consort, like Śiva, in the goddess-mother *Tārā*. By the work of Bodhidharma who saved, about 520, Buddhism to China, from its complete decay, being himself a great Yogin, Yoga revives in the Far East through the *dhyāna*-schools, as represented by the Zen-movement of Japan. In Śivaism the polarity between the male and female principle introduces erotic-religious thoughts in which the Yoga submerges, finding expression in the *Mahānirvāṇa-Tantra*. In the Viṣṇuitic *Bhakti*-religion, as shown in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, the date of which is probably the time after the redaction of the Yogasūtra, Yoga is treated in amalgamation with *bhakti*, and the commentator of the Yogasūtra, Vāchaspatimīśra, quotes frequently the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.

Nevertheless, the Yoga kept its own literature. Not only the *Yogasāstra* by Hemachandra, but also an extensive literature of commentaries are the proofs. The earliest classical commentary is the *Bhāṣya* of Vyāsa to whom all the later commentaries are more or less indebted. As the *Bhāṣya* cites in III, 53 (end) and IV, 13 the Sāṃkhya-teacher Vārṣaganya, a contemporary of Vasubandhu, it must belong to a time later than both these thinkers; but not later than 650 A. D. A feature of the *Yogabhāṣya* is the theism of the earlier Yoga, the tenor of which is circumscribed by the *Svetāśvatara-Up*; the *īśvara* is Śiva. That indicates a turning of the Yoga to theism, quite in accordance with the general theistic ten-

dency of the 2nd millenary, expressed in the *Bhakti* movement and in the Śivaism of Northern as well as of Southern India. Vyāsa himself shows influences of the *Bhakti* movement, e.g., in his explanation of *īśvarapraṇidhāna* by *bhakti* (I, 23), or by similarities between his *Bhāṣya* and the *Bhagavadgītā* (in II, 1 and II, 23) and in the introduction to his commentary he pays reverence to Śiva.

The important commentary *Rājamārtanḍa* by Bhojarāja is influenced by Śivaitic theism; to the 9th cent. A. D. has to be attributed the *Tattvavaiśārādī* of Vāchaspatimīśra who underlines the philosophical aspect of Yoga and intermingles Sāṃkhya and Yoga again. The last phase of the development of yoga represents the *Haṭhayoga*; its founder seems to be Gorakṣanātha, 13th cent. A. D. to whom are ascribed the Sanskrit works *Haṭhayoga* and *Gorakṣaśataka*. From them the classical treatises on *Haṭhayoga* took their origin: the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* and the *Gheraṇḍasāṃhitā*. The technics of *Haṭhayoga* became known in the West in the 19th cent. by the Yogin Haridās and by the reports of J. Braid in his "Observations on trance or human Hybernation" (1850). The Yoga-literature, however, was never dead; in the 16th cent. wrote *Vijñāna-bhikṣu*, though his *Yogavārttika* shows tendencies of the *Vedānta*. A short manual by the same author is the *Yogasārasaṃgraha*. New apostles for Yoga arose in the 19th cent. in the impressive personalities of Rāmakṛṣṇa and Svāmi Vivekānanda.

In a second part Prof. Hauer proposes to deal with the metaphysics, the theory of knowledge, the aim of the Yoga, its practices and the fruits thereof.

THE HISTORY OF THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS

By

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THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS AND THEIR TIMES

By

PROFESSOR A. S. ALTEKAR,
(*Poona Oriental Series, Oriental Book Agency, Poona.*)

The Rāshṭrakūṭas were a dynasty of rulers whose sway extended over the whole of the Dakhan and reached farther out northwards into Hindustan extensively over mid-India, and south-

wards beyond the Mysore plateau and even the territory of the Cholas at various periods of Rāshtrakūṭa History. The dynasty was one of great importance and lasted the usual term of very near two centuries and a half, and happened to be among the most influential of the Hindu kingdoms known to the first Muhammadan historians. The centuries of Rāshtrakūṭ rule constitute an important period in medieval Indian History, and have been dealt with so far only in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts in the Bombay Gazetteer*. A number of inscriptions have since been published relating to this dynasty and our knowledge of the subject has widened in other directions as well making a revision of Fleet's work almost a necessity. It is none too soon therefore that the two scholars whose names are associated with the books under review should have found it necessary to treat the subject afresh.

The first work under review is obviously on the plan of the late Dr. Fleet, and deals with the subject only to the extent of settling the dynastic details and dynastic synchronisms and no more. The origin of the Rāshtrakūṭas is traced with reference to the contemporary dynasties with a wealth of new material gathered from inscriptions as well as from other sources, such as literature, etc. When he comes to deal with the important dynasty itself, each ruler is taken and the inscriptions bearing upon his reign is collected, and the main incidents of their history also are given in summary with illuminating comments here and there from even sources not tapped by Dr. Fleet. Within the limited purpose, the book makes an important contribution to the study of the complicated history of this dynasty.

There are a number of minor blemishes which detract from the value of the publication, but we have no doubt they would all be corrected in a new edition; but there are one or two of a more serious character to which we must draw attention. On page 61, the *śloka* from the *Harivamṣa Purāṇa* which gives the date Śaka 705 for a certain number of rules, is interpreted in a way that the ruler of the north at the time was Indrāyudha, of the south Krishna's son Śrī Vallabha and of the east Vatsa Raja of Avanti and of the west Varāha. It is, however, open to doubt whether this interpretation would be acceptable either historically or even otherwise. Varāha, or more properly perhaps Jaya Varāha, was the ruler of the Adimandala of the Sauryas, with the variant Sauras, that is Gujarat. Being thus fixed specifically, the four other rulers would be required and the equation of Māḷava ruler with Vatsa Raja is more than open to doubt. On page 36 occurs

a statement that all the rock-cut temples before the days of the Rāshtrakūṭas were meant either for the Buddhists or the Jains, which again could be hardly true, as there are Chālukya cave-temples dedicated to Brahmanical gods in the very same area, not to speak of temples to these in the neighbouring territory of the Pallavas, etc. On page 65, there is the sentence Govinda Raja liberated king Ganga of Coimbatore. What is meant seems to be that Govinda Raja liberated the Ganga king, whose territory might have included part of Coimbatore, but certainly did not constitute the Chera kingdom, for which about this period we shall have to go farther west. We need go no farther, but conclude that the publication is of great value as presenting a complete conspectus of the material bearing upon the history of this important dynasty.

We turn to the other work, which is larger in plan and much more comprehensive in the treatment of the subject. It goes beyond the history of the dynasty into an attempt to give a history of the times when the dynasty held the prominent position. The first six chapters deal with the history proper of the dynasty and covers the ground taken up by the other work. The next six chapters, chapters VII to XII are devoted to the Rāshtrakūṭa administration. The following chapters XIII to XVII give the religious, social, literary, etc., condition of the Dakṣiṇ under the Rāshtrakūṭas. As the prefatory note says, this is work accepted for the thesis for the D. Litt. Degree of the Benares Hindu University and does credit to the author who occupies the Manindra Chandra Nandi Chair in that University. The book is an exhaustive effort exploiting almost all the available sources with a view to a more or less complete history of the period and the dynasty. We might almost say that the work is based entirely upon inscriptions, but that is not true; but a vast amount of literary and other sources are also brought to bear upon the information collected from the inscriptions. These sources include the Smṛiti literature so far as it bears upon the subjects and ranges along through the literature of Sanskrit and Kanarese, and includes the early Muhammadan historians, among those whose works have been brought to bear upon the subject. It is a work of importance and perhaps is by far the most comprehensive publication on the subject so far available. The work needed doing, and Professor Altekar has done the work on the whole satisfactorily and with sufficient comprehensiveness.

While we have nothing but admiration for the range of the author's information, we must still point out that there are places where as much care is not exhibited as would normally

be expected from such a careful scholar. On page 33, foot-note 33, Prabhāvākacharita is quoted to support the identification of Nagbhaṭa with Nāgavalōka. But we have pointed it out long ago that the work referred to does not support this identification, and there is no reference to the Bappabāṭṭicharita which was published in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, where this subject is discussed. In the chapter on administration, there is much that is open to criticism. Apart from small blemishes which we pass over, as being too minor and would get corrected in the usual course, there are more serious errors to which we should draw attention. Here is a general statement: "Village assemblies or councils in Tamil country consisted neither of the whole adult population, as was the case in Karnatak, nor of a few select gentlemen, as was the case in Maharashtra and Gujarat, but of about 20 to 30 individuals elected by a kind of selection by ballot." This is stated on the authority of the A. S. R. for 1904-5. This is very wide of the mark as a careful perusal of the record would show. This record lays down the franchise at $\frac{1}{4}$ vēli of land (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres) or a house built on one's own site. The 30 referred to are men for constituting committees of administration of which there were as many as 8 or 10.

Of a perhaps less important character, the terms *mēlvāram* and *kuḍivāram* are written *mēla-vāram* and *Chuḍi-vāram*. Numbers of administrative terms are investigated, but the result of the investigation cannot be said to be very satisfactory in very many cases. Sometimes the very terms are misunderstood for lack of knowledge of the language, such as for instance, the Kannada word *Arasa*, the equivalent of the Sanskrit word *Raja*, is written *rasa*, on page 264. On page 266 there is a reference to a *Kumāra Pāla* of Assam. This is apparently a reference to *Kumāra Rāja* or *Kumāra Bhaskaravarman* in full style. There is no warrant apparently for the Assam ruler being called *Kumāra Pāla*. While the work exhibits painstaking research and is praiseworthy in its effort to treat comprehensively of an important period of Indian History, it still leaves something to be desired to make it a thoroughly reliable work on the subject, which it would become if it is carefully revised before another edition of it is published.

Reviews

LIFE IN MEDIAEVAL SOUTH INDIA :
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE IN THE VIJAYANAGARA
EMPIRE (A. D. 1346—A. D. 1646)

In Two Volumes

BY

DR. B. A. SALETORÉ, M.A., PH. D.,
Alexander von Humboldt, Shifting Scholar, Berlin

WITH A FOREWORD BY

DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PH. D., MADRAS.
(Messrs. B. G. Paul and Co., Publishers; 1934—8 Vols. Vol. I
pp. IIII and 470; Vol. II. pp. 525. Price Rs. 12)

This book is a voluminous and detailed study of the political and social institutions of the Empire of Vijayanagara during the three centuries that formed the duration of its life. It rightly points out that the rulers of Vijayanagara were burdened with the double task of stemming the tide of Muhammadan aggression from the Deccan and of creating a strong government which would preserve the integrity of Hindu society, its traditions and its ancient Dharma. The empire was not an expression of mere force, but served as the visible embodiment of the spirit of the nation and its culture. The author discusses at length the origin of the founders of the empire and lays stress on their continuing the Hoysala tradition. He points out how the tutelary god of the first three dynasties of the empire was always a Karnataka deity, though at the end a great Telugu dynasty took upon itself "the much-worn mantle of Vijayanagara authority". He is at some pains to indicate the many points of analogy between the structure of Vijayanagara administration and the maxims of the mediæval work, *Sukraniti*. Perhaps it might have been possible for him to have identified, or attempted to identify, pretty accurately the list of towns that lined the Coromandel coast, according to Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*. Places like Manapur, Vaipur, Calicare

Manancort are easily identified as sites associated with the activities of great missionaries like Beschi and Nobili, and the account of San Thomé and Mylapore might well have been rendered more accurate and up-to-date and not made to depend mainly on the traditions contained in the Mackenzie collection and on the accounts of travellers like Duarte Barbosa. The detailed examination of the different capitals of the empire involves a close scrutiny into the questions of who the founder was and what the date was of the foundations, of the city of Vijayanagar. Dr. Saletore rejects the theory of the foundation of the city by Harihara I with the help of Vidyāranya and concludes that there was no city of Vijayanagara till July 17th, 1368, that it was founded by Bukka I, some time before November of that year, and that the memory of its foundation by that monarch survived till the day of Couto and Faria y Sousa. He traces the connection between the founders of the empire and the pontificate of the Mutt of Śringeri; and shows by epigraphic and literary evidence, that Kriyāśakti Āchārya was the first *Rājguru* of the rulers, and he could not be identified with the Vidyāranya of tradition. He also suggests that it was Harihara II who might have built the famous diamond throne and that Vidyāranya might have visited the capital about the time when its construction was completed under the ægis of that monarch. Pursuing the history of the fortunes of the capital city, he tries to show that Rama Raya was not deserted on the field of battle by the Hindus and the tide was turned only through the treachery of two Muhammadan captains in the Vijayanagara army. He further shows that the city was not destroyed by the Muhammadan invaders, nor plundered immediately after the battle by hordes of wandering gipsies.

Coming to the instructive chapters dealing with the administrative system of the empire, one finds the continuation of the meticulous care, elaboration and definiteness in all matters regarding the registration and survey of land and the assessment and collection of revenue that marked the Chola Government. We find, however, a distinct rise in the rule of assessment which, in the time of Achyuta Raya, resulted in a recourse to oppressive means. But it should be pointed out that the heavy taxation was counter-balanced by liberal remissions of dues to all kinds of people and by the prompt measures that the monarchs took to remedy the evils of the actions of officials and nobles. Evidence also points to the existence of a centralised treasury at the capital, but it is not clear enough to support the view that the provincial rulers had dis-

tinct treasuries of their own. Taxes were generally farmed out on the contract system; but the provincial officers were different as a class, from the revenue-farmers, the *guttēdars* as they were called. The system of contracts was extended to all sources that were markedly productive. We learn, from the inscriptions of the time, that the Brahmans, temples and *mutts* were not exempt from taxation, and that remissions were frequently granted for religious, political and social considerations. Royal benevolence freed the barbers from the payment of the profession-tax in the epoch of the rule of Rama Raya and his successors. One of the leaders of this class, Kandoja, wielded considerable influence at the court of Sadasiva Raya and he was eulogised in a poem of the Telugu poet, Rudrayya.

The author sets the classical and mediæval theories of the king's duties with the maxims of Krishnadeva Raya, as embodied in the work, *Amuktamālyada*, wherein can be seen the idea of responsibility for good government being shared between the king and his great officers. We came across instances of the king consulting the council of ministers and nobles, from among whom the *mahapradhāna* and the *rājaguru* towered prominently. Besides secretaries and executive agents we have different grades of army officers and composers and engravers of the royal records, at whose head was the *Sāsanāchārya*.

The difficulty of guarding the northern frontier against Muslim aggressions, of preventing provincial revolts and *coups d'état* like usurpations, of all of which we have only numerous instances, was worsened in the epoch of the Āraviḍu dynasty, when dismemberment of the provinces became a regular feature. Nor did Vijayanagara foster a system of sustained commercial enterprise and present an efficient competition against foreign traders. Dr. Saletore holds that the rule of the provincial *nāyaks*, while having its own merits, was, to a certain extent, responsible for the confusion that prevailed in South India in the 17th and 18th centuries and that the poligar system, extended into the extreme south by Visvanatha Nayak and his *dalavāi*, was the most potent factor of internal disorder. This judgment is perhaps too harsh an estimate and goes farther than Dr. Caldwell, who perceived some good features in the *poligars* in the latter half of the 18th century, when they had fully deteriorated.

Krishnadeva Raya is said to have made an advance on the classical theory of punishment when he declared in his book that

the criminals, except traitors plotting against the State, should be given the chance of appealing thrice to the king. In all social questions, popular arbitration was resorted to; and legal proceedings were conducted in the presence of a royal officer. Official oppression was sometimes successfully resisted by the united opposition of corporate bodies. Law was embodied in the precepts of the classical law-givers and strengthened by constitutional usage which received the status of law and was termed *pūrvada maryāde*.

The book goes into the details of the army and its organisation and of the important part that the cavalry played. It was the desire of these monarchs to control a monopoly of horses for their State that induced them to help the Portuguese settlement on the West Coast. We also read of a comparison of the Hindu and Muhammadan methods of maintaining soldiers and of the importance of the annual review of troops. Again, it is interesting to read of a description of the battle-array of the Hindu army and of the manner in which rewards were distributed after a victory.

The second volume is devoted to social institutions of the centuries during which the empire flourished. The rulers took upon themselves the duty of protecting all the castes, of promoting *sakala-varnāśrama dharmas*; but they had no hesitation in putting down the turbulent kurumbars who thus disappeared as a political factor from the Tamil country. They, however, protected the rank of these tribes whose leaders alone were crushed. We come across several factors that struggled against the rigidity of the caste-system, like the Vipravinodins, of the wrangles of the Right and Left Hand castes and of the colonisation of the Tamil country by Telugu tribes, collectively called the Badagas. The author goes very minutely into the prevalence of *sati* which Karnataka and Tamil tradition had sanctified long before Vijayanagara period. There is no explanation to offer as to what the raised hand on a *sati* stone commemorates. Detailed information is given about the guild of the Vira-Banajigas and its officers and also of some of the features of slavery as it prevailed in South India. Notice has been taken of the status of the Brahmans about whom Nuniz has recorded much information. Woman played a prominent part in the political, social and literary life of the people, as evidenced by the learned Gangadevi, who wrote the *Mathurāvijayam* and the *Tirumaladevi* and *Chinnadevi* queens, who accompanied Krishnadeva Raya when he conducted the siege of Konḍaviḍu. Courtesans occupy a prominent place in the notices of foreign travellers.

The significance of a useful measure of social legislation, against *Kanyāśulka* (bridegrooms price) is pointed out as a definite provision for State interference in purely social matters, embodied in an inscription dated Saka 1347. Social legislation some times took a strange turn and helped the dismemberment of castes instead of unifying conflicting elements. Social sins were sometimes punished by the State, as legal offences would have been.

We have a large amount of matter regarding court etiquette, the coronation ceremony of kings, the methods of making gifts, the titles and *birudas* of officials and the houses, food and dress of the people. Attention is drawn by the learned author to the abundance of corporate life in social matters and to the harmony that normally existed between the different religious creeds. The last chapter is devoted to a descriptive account of festivals, games and amusements: A lengthy and exhaustive bibliography of sources carefully divided into sections, an elaborate glossary of technical terms with explanations and an exhaustive index are further testimony to the care that has supplemented the comprehensive erudition and preparation of the author.

C. S. S.

RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA

By

MAJOR B. D. BASU, I.M.S.

Second edition—With 4 maps and 58 plates.

Published by R. Chatterjee, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 1011.

This is the second edition in the compass of a single bulky volume of Major Basu's *magnum opus* originally brought out in five volumes of smaller size. Major Basu has endeavoured to evaluate the records of the Company's rule in India, the private correspondence of its Directors and servants and other contemporary records which, unfortunately, are not abundant. He does not place much faith upon the language of the treaty engagements and looks on the whole development of the British power in India in the light of the growth of European Christian dominance in the land. He deplores that the Company's officials dared not present a true history of the country and the exceptions to this were few, like Captain Cunningham and Major Evans Bell, both of whom were disgraced and punished for opinions and views expressed in

their works. He justifies the title, 'Rise of the Christian Power in India,' which he has given to the book as a very appropriate one, on grounds with which it may not be possible for every one to agree. Of course there has been and will continue to be a great deal of criticism of the book as 'biased' and 'rabid' history; but the view-points presented in the treatment and put in summary form by N. Kasturi in his *British Occupation of India* require the careful consideration of the serious student. The presentation belongs to the class of ideas embodied in the works of authors like Henry Torrens (*Empire in Asia*), J. Dickenson (*Government of India under a Bureaucracy*), Evans Bell (*Empire in India*), R. U. Bird (*Dacoitee in Excelsis*) and others. It is needless to review in detail the various features of the book in its second edition which is the same as the first except for a few minor alterations and corrections and for the omission of the chapter on the colonisation of India by the Europeans. The illustrations and maps constitute a welcome and attractive addition.

C. S. S.

INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN

By

MAJOR B. D. BASU,

WITH THE COLLABORATION OF

PHANINDRANATH BOSE, M.A., PH.D.,

AND

NAGENDRA NATH GHOSH, M.A., L.T.

Illustrated, First Edition.

R. Chatterjee, Publisher, Calcutta, April 1933, pp. vii & 570.

This book is the posthumous work of Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., which continues the narrative contained in his well-known *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, down to the end of Lord Reading's Viceroyalty. The Publisher informs the readers that Major Basu had outlined the plan and prepared elaborate notes and sources of information; and the two collaborators helped him in preparing a complete manuscript of the book in its finished form. The narrative begins with the outbreak of the Mutiny, which the author attributes, in a large measure, to the annexation policy

pursued and to the unemployment of the aristocracy and the disbandment of the sepoys of the annexed States. He points out how, immediately after the Queen's Proclamation, men began to lose faith in its sincerity, and even persons like the Duke of Argyle began to doubt its expediency and wisdom. Likewise the partial character of the report of the Indigo Commission the excitement caused by the 'Nil Darpan' case (1861), the perception by Lord Elgin, as early as 1862, of the 'extreme difficulty of administering equal justice between natives and Europeans' and Sir John Lawrence's-Dalhouse-ite policy towards Mysore and Bhutan are vigorously and forcefully demonstrated. Lawrence tried to make out that the Maharaja of Mysore was "not a sovereign prince, having no rights whatever beyond those conferred upon him by the Subsidiary Treaty; and he further maintained that the Nizam, at the time of his co-operation in the conquest of Mysore in 1799, was "in the condition of a purely dependent ruler, and in a state of subordinate alliance with the British Government"; and this was in reply to the Mysore Ruler's plea that if his territories should lapse, they would not lapse to the British Government alone, but to the Allies (i.e., the British power and the Nizam) who shared in the conquests and arranged the partitions of 1799. It is too much on the part of Major Basu to conclude that one of the motives which prompted the Company to pursue an anti-missionary spirit in the measure in which it did, was the fear of criticism and exposure to the English and European public of their own misrule in India. He effectively contrasts this attitude with the extreme partisanship of the post-Mutiny Government which harmed rather than helped the cause of Christianity.

The inefficient famine-relief measures undertaken to combat the great Orissa famine of 1866 helped to promote the failure of Lawrence's Viceroyalty which was not sympathetic to the employment of Indians in the higher services, at least, in the Regulation Provinces. Lord Mayo, the ideal of rulers, according to Sir William Hunter, was against perpetual meddling in the affairs of Indian States, but strove to further consolidate British hold over them and preferred to diminish the number of Indian troops to the reduction of the quota of British soldiers in the country. The vetoing of the Mufassil Municipal Bill of 1872 by Lord Northbrook is shown to have been prompted by, among other motives, an unwillingness to make elementary education obligatory upon the big towns of Bengal. Again, Northbrook's refusal to prohibit, on grounds of free-trade, export of rice, while arranging for special

imports, during famines, was, to say the least, illogical and sacrificed millions of money to an idea, in the words of Sir George Campbell.

Criticising Lord Lytton's administration, Major Basu, demonstrates, repeating the dissents expressed by the members of the Viceroy's Council, the oversensitiveness of the Government to attack, the illogicality of distinguishing between the English and the vernacular press and absence of necessity in the circumstances for any repressive legislation. His treatment of the Afghan blunder of Lytton is not very illuminating, but effectively pieces together the fragments of the Viceroy's own point of view. Ripon's stand over the payment of the cost of the Indian contingent sent to Egypt in 1882 and his views on the Russo-Afghan boundary question and conflict with Major Evelyn Baring over the budget of 1882-83 are overshadowed by his memorandum on Local Self-Government, his Education Commission and his part in the Ilbert Bill controversy. Over the last question the Viceroy felt that it was not of sufficient importance or urgency to encounter the storm of Anglo-Indian opposition. Under Lord Dufferin we are given his comments on the inevitable risks and responsibilities created in the Afghanistan buffer-state policy. Major Basu does not obviously approve of Lord Randolph Churchill's encomium on Lord Dufferin for his solution of the Afghan question; and he also maintains that much of his views on the question of Indian constitutional reform should be really set down to the long-standing habit of "marking time by the utterance of pious platitudes and pompous magnifications of the difficulty of letting India have self-rule," Lansdowne's speech on the anti-cow-killing movement is regarded as a clear-cut policy on the part of the authorities and as possibly "useful to the Hindu and Moslem leaders even at the present day". His approval of University teachers and students participating in political discussions is contrasted with Lord Curzon's banishing politics from the field of education. It is interesting to note that Lord Elgin interpreted the existing constitution of India "to confer on the Secretary of State no power of initiative in Indian legislation" and "no power to command the votes of members of the Legislature on either the Secretary of State or the Government of India" in spite of his declaration that the Viceroy had to carry out the mandate of the Secretary of State in matters of administrative policy. According to Major Basu failure was writ large on most of the schemes of Lord Curzon whose high-handed policy retarded, among other things, the possible intimacy, between India and Tibet.

We read glimpses of the controversy of the Hobhouse Commission with Lord Minto and also of the intriguing Minto-Fuller episode. The rule of later Viceroys has been treated in a less ample measure; and, in truth, historical estimates about them have not had time to crystallise into definite shape. The Rowlatt Act, the Third Afghan War, the Amritsar Tragedy and the Civil Disobedience campaign of Gandhiji have all been portrayed, as well as the chief stages of constitutional progress down to 1925. The documentation is not on the exhaustive scale that has marked Major Basu's *magnum opus*, *The Rise of the Christian Power*; but the narrative is a critical and searching commentary on the post-Mutiny period of Indian History, refreshingly free from platitudes.

C. S. S.

HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

By

S. K. BELVALKAR AND R. D. RANADE.

Vol. XII—Indian Mysticism, Mysticism in Maharashtra

by R. D. Ranade.

Poona, 1933 ; pp. (46) 494 ; Price Rs. 10.

MYSTICISM EAST AND WEST

By

PROFESSOR RUDOLF OTTO,

Macmillan, London, 1932 ; pp. xvii, 262 ; Price 16/- net.

It is the aim of the editors of the Encyclopaedic History of Indian Philosophy to give a full and comprehensive account of the subject in all its phases. A look at the outline scheme at the end of the present volume will show the extent and variety of the topics to be covered. The volume under review is the first of two projected parts treating of mysticism and deals with that phase of thought as it developed in Maharashtra. The work, wisely entrusted to Prof. Ranade, has been accomplished with the scholarship, care and devotion that may at all times be expected of him.

The book is divided into twenty chapters ; the first treats of the development of Maharashtra mysticism up to the age of Jñāna-deva ; the last is a general review and reply to critics. The inter-

vening chapters deal with Jñānadeva, Nāmadeva, Ekanātha, Tukārāma and Rāmadāsa, not to mention a host of minor mystics. The treatment is sympathetic and very detailed. The accounts of all these—brahmin, barber, cobbler, potter, servant-maid, minister—makes very fascinating reading; it is not possible to rise from a study of the volume without a strong sense of a spiritual reality deeply interfused in the world.

One cannot help wishing, however, that the account had been made a little more critical. Though the present book is professedly historico-analytical (p. 425), some critical light should have been thrown on the psychology and philosophy of mysticism; else we are left in considerable doubt as to the worth of the teaching expounded. We are told that "Even though thus for practical purposes Personal Being is proved to be superior to the Impersonal, for logical purposes, Jñāneśvara very often sets up the conception of the Absolute as an intellectual ideal." (p. 69) This divergence between the logical and the practical may not be indefensible; but surely it requires some elaboration and justification. How again are we to reconcile the absolutism of Jñānadeva with his conception of approximation to the good as asymptotic (p. 127)? It may well be that attainment as empirically understood can be but asymptotic, while from the transcendental view-point the identity of the jīva with the Absolute is eternally attained. But no reconciliation is offered on these or any other lines by the mystic or his expositor. The learned preface brings out several interesting analogies between the mystics of the East and the West. One has to note here again that Prof. Ranade is not as alert as one might wish. Surely there is a notable difference between Jñāneśvara, according to whom in realisation the image (the jīva) gets back to its prototype, and Tauler, who says that if the mystic could see himself "he would *fancy* himself God" (p. 6 of the preface; italics ours). To compare God and the self to two mirrors each reflecting itself infinitely in the other is surely different from saying with St. John of the Cross that "though in essence different, yet in glory and appearance the soul seems God and God the soul" (p. 7 of the preface). Mystic experience is not the monopoly of any nation or any part of the globe; but in spite of the general resemblance of form, the relevant details vary considerably. The aspects of experience that are stressed are different; and because of this, they exercise divergent appeals and provoke divergent reactions.

This feature of difference in the midst of apparent well-marked identity is brought out by Prof. Otto in the other book under re-

view. Prof. Otto with his conception of the "numinous" is a figure of some note in the field of the philosophy of religion. Some years back he made a short study of the religion of grace in India and Europe, and exhibited the divergences present in the midst of great similarities. The same task he has pursued in the present volume in relation to the mysticism of Śaṅkarācārya and Meister Eckhart. The book is roughly divided into three parts treating of the resemblance, the differences, and the transition from the former to the latter. The conformity is very striking indeed. Both the mystics seek to expound not a system of metaphysics but a doctrine of salvation; and yet what they teach is a way of knowledge, not an emotional mysticism. Neither has any truckle with occultism, miracles or visions or "illumination" as Otto calls it. Nor does either of them profess nature-mysticism consisting in the experience of unity with all things "being immersed in the unity of nature"; for Śaṅkara as for Eckhart, Nature is the not-self, and the mysticism they present is that of the self or spirit. The finite and limited jīva, the work of māyā, is analogous to Eckhart's "creature in itself." In essence, however, the soul is not a creature; it is Godhead itself. But, short of the final exaltation, the soul has to recognise a God; and the teachings and injunctions of theism have a very definite place in the mystic doctrine. These resemblances, however, go with differences which are equally striking, and which Otto accounts for on the ground of geographical difference. Śaṅkara's teaching grew on the soil of India, not of Palestine. The principal differences are Eckhart's recognition of an independent value for the soul, and the dynamic nature of his mysticism, with its insistence on continuous striving. "Just as the slender columns and responds of the Gothic building do not finish in the repose of a semi-circle, but by an urge after the infinite, throw up in the incompleteness of the pointed arch, so Eckhart demands 'the climbing spirit'" (pp. 185-186); whereas for Śaṅkara "as a mystic and from the point of view of his true ideal, all activity and all deeds disappear completely" (p. 207). Humility is a virtue according to Eckhart; but his soul is no meek and passive participant in the absorption in the Absolute; rather does it demand to be identified with the Godhead, rebelling against the withholding of some part of perfection from itself; this demand Eckhart calls "the rage of the soul." "Almost every type of mystical experience demands surrender of the will"; but, according to Eckhart, this is not "simply the submissive resignation of self-will"; it is the unifying of the will with the will of the Highest

for fresh action." "Into the eternal, active and unified will the created, individual and sundered will is merged, but in such a way that in the renewed will of the unified subject there now lies the eternal, holy and almighty will" (p. 208).

The difference of terrain is repeatedly stressed by Otto, though he makes little attempt to elaborate or justify it. His suggestion is not without value. Granted that reality is one, the modes of realisation and the values attached to whatever is short of that reality are yet bound to differ. And it is in the nature of things plausible that such differences are linked with differences of race, place, culture and history. The detailed exposition of the association is, however, yet to be attempted. In the meantime it should not be forgotten that the differences may be over-stressed or falsely presented. Otto does not appear to have steered clear of this danger; and the failure is due, one fears, to unfamiliarity with some of the finer shades of Indian thought. Thus, it is not true that, according to Śaṅkara, "all activity and all deeds disappear completely on realisation. Realisation is possible even while embodied; for one thus released activity does not cease; it continues, being motivated by the welfare of the world, though not by one's private desires, since these have ceased to be. Nor should Śaṅkara's negation of activity be interpreted too narrowly; for, most of the time he has in mind ritualistic activity, not activity in general, when he speaks of "karma." Again, it is not true that the independent value of the soul is distinctive of a teaching that grew on the soil of Palestine. The Śaiva Siddhānta, while viewing the soul as subordinate to the Lord, would not make it a mere subsidiary, an *amśa* of the Lord. It does not meekly surrender itself in release; rather does it see and know all things through the Lord; that is true "*pati-jñānam*," not the Lord knowing or enjoying through the soul. The assignment of such a central position to the soul goes, however, with a great degree of abasement and a realisation of its unworthiness and sinfulness. There would seem to be no analogue to the "rage of the soul." This difference, however, is compatible with a great deal of similarity in fundamental concepts; and there is legitimate ground for the suspicion that our author, while rightly sensible of the existence of difference, has failed to locate it or define it adequately. But the book undoubtedly supplies a necessary corrective to the views of those who tend to see an identity in all mysticism.

S. S. SURYANARAYANAN.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1934.

Qadi an-Nu'man, the Fatimid Jurist and Author, by Asaf A. A. Fyzee.

The victory of Bhūti Vikramakēśari over the Pallavas by Rev. H. Heras, S. J.

(This suggests an earlier date than that usually assigned to the Kodumbālūr chief, Bhūtivikramakēśari and endeavours to synchronise the reigns of Paradurgamardana and Samarābhīrama, the predecessors of this chief with the times of Narasimhavarman Mahamalla and Mahendravarman II. It also tries to show that the territory south of the Kaveri had come under the Chola kings, by a Chola-Kodumbālūr alliance against the Pallavas, in the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I and that the Kodumbālūr temples may be classified as 'an archæological puzzle' rather than as belonging to the Chola style.)

Babylonian and Hebrew Demonology with reference to the supposed borrowing of Persian Dualism in Judaism and Christianity by S. Langdon.

Archaic Sons and Grandsons. A study of a Chinese Complication Complex by L. C. Hopkins.

Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. (VII); Government and Social Conditions by F. W. Thomas.

Some Notes on the Saundarananda Kāvya (of Āśvaghōṣa) by Jarl Charpentier.

Epigraphia Indica (Vol. XXI. Part II April 1931).

No. 9. Two Paramāra Inscriptions by K. R. Halder (concluded.)

The Arthuna Inscriptions of the time of Vijayarāja, Vikramasamvat 1166, enables the construction of the genealogy of this branch down to Vijayarāja V, the 10th ruler of the line.

No. 10. Mathura Brahmi Inscription of the year 28 by Sten Konow.

This record is dated the 1st day of the Macedonian month of Gurpiya of the year 28—the only known example of the

use of a Macedonian month in an Indian Brāhmi inscription; and the corresponding date, according to the writer, is 19th August, 156 A.D. It adds to the knowledge about the chronology of Kanishka's successors, as it reduces the interval between Vasishka and Huvishka to a few months.

No. 11. Additional Prakrit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa by Prof. J. K. Vogel. These would enable the drawing up, of a chronological list showing the order in which the various Buddhist buildings were raised at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the reigns of Mātharīputta Siri-Virapurisadatta and Vāseṭhiputta Siri Ehuvula-Chātumūla.

No. 12. The Clay Seals of Nālanda by Hirananda Sastri.

This treats specially of the seals of Sarvavarman Maukhari and of Harsha of Thānēsar; and the collection has led to the valuable discovery of several seals representing the Gupta kings and others besides, bringing out points of historical interest.

No. 13. The Baigram Copper-Plate Inscription of the Gupta year 128 by R. G. Basak.

This is the 8th of the series of valuable records of the Gupta period from North Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti). We learn that the term rūpaka, occurring in this charter, refers to silver coins, though it may ordinarily stand for a coin of any variety and also of several phases of the Gupta administrative system referring to the administration of the *vishaya* and the *bhukti*.

No. 14. Mauryan Brahmi Inscription of Mahāsthān by D. R. Bhandarkar.

The alphabet remarkably resembles that of the Asokan records and the language is the same as the one used in the Pillar Edicts. The record is fragmentary and appears to show that some ruler of the Mauryan period, if not of the Mauryan family, had stationed at Puṇḍranagara with a view to relieve distress caused by famine to the people called Samvāṁgiyas in and about the town.

No. 15. The Jubbulpore Kotwali Plates of King Jayasimha-deva Kalachuri year 918 by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal.

This record, of 1167 A.D. gives a glimpse of the revenue administration in the 12th century and mentions some peculiar offices and taxes.

Journal of the American Oriental Society—Vol. 53—No. 4. Dec. 1933.

New Testament Times and Now by A. T. Olmstead.

This is a plea for the study of the history of the times of the New Testament as part of 'classical history'; it is the presidential address delivered at the meeting of the Society in April 1933.

The Indic God Aja—Ēkapād, the One-Legged Goat by P. E. Dumont. This paper supports the view that the god seems to be the sun and props up this hypothesis with a number of supports.

The death of Seunacherib by Emil J. Kraeling.

A Perplexing Passage in the Confucian Analects by Derk Bodde.

The So-called Seuia Medium in the Light of the Christian Palestinian Idiom by H. L. Ginsberg.

The Indian Historical Quarterly—Vol. IX, No. 4.

Kalidāsa in China by Prof. Louis Finot. (Showing references to the legendary life of Kalidasa, with quotations from his poems, in a *ms.* preserved in a Buddhist monastery of the Che-Kiang provinces).

Vāmana's Theory of Rīti and Guṇa by P. C. Lahiri (showing how Vāmana develops logically and systematically the crude teachings of Daṇḍin and emphasizes the importance of diction in poetry).

Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha II. by S. L. Khatre (showing that in the narration of the Jarāsandha episode, the Mahābhārata presents Kṛṣṇa in essentially human colours; and the Purāṇas present him in pure divine colours).

The Rise of Najib-ud-daula by Sir J. N. Sarkar. (An account of the rise of the adventurer, Najib-ud-daula, in association with Mir Bakshi Imad-ul-Mulk, in the years 1753-56; taken from a unique *ms.* of his Persian life, written a year after his death by Sayyid Nuruddin Hasan Khan; British Museum Persian Ms. 24, 410.)

The Architecture of the Taj and its Architect by S. C. Mukherjee (showing the untenability of the Italian theory of the origin of the Taj and supporting the assignment of the work to Ustād Isā).

The Purāṇic Traditions (about earlier homes and migrations of the Indian Āryas) II. Satya yuga or The Age of Instinct (Serial) by N. Tripathi.

The Origin of the Malpaharias of the Rajmahal Hills (showing the final process in the transformation of the Malers, on the basis of an examination of the existing documents) by Śaś-ānka Sarkar.

Some Sanskrit Texts on Paintings by V. Raghavan (discussing *varṇaka hastalēkha* and *chitra*).

Two Types of Subjectivism in Monistic Vedānta by M. Mukherji.

The Date of Karkācarya by G. B. Makoday (presenting in English one of the works of Vidyābhūṣana Pandit Dinanath Sastri of Indore, on the date of Karkācharya, a commentator on Kātyāyana's *Śrauta-sūtras*) on the basis of his description of the astronomical positions concerned, existing in his own time).

Literary Reference to Samudragupta by R. C. Majumdar (noticing the name of Samudragupta, as still a living tradition in India when the original Sanskrit text of the *Pañchatantra* was composed; and maintaining that a version of the *Pañchatantra* served as the basis of the Arabian *One Thousand and Nights* and the reality of the tradition of the descent of the Pāla kings from Samudragupta, that had already grown up in the 11th century).

An Almost Contemporary Account of Mahmud's Invasions of India by Sri Ram Sharma (a brief rendering of the *Zainul Akhbar* of Girdizi giving an account of Mahmud of Ghazni's invasions of India and written, at the latest, in 1052 A.D.). The writer promises to give a comparative estimate of the accounts of Utbi and Girdizi, two contemporary historians of the Ghazni invader.

Daspalla Copper-Plate Agreement by Binayak Misra (definitely connecting the present ruling family of Baud with the Bhañja rulers of old epigraphic records).

King Narasimha of Ganda and the Study of the Mahābhāṣya in Bengal by J. C. Ghosh.

Early History of the Gāhadavāla Dynasty by D. C. Ganguly (maintaining that Chandradeva, a military adventurer, got the sovereignty of Kanauj through the favour of Prince

Mahmud of Ghazni between 1086 and 1094 A.D., on condition of paying an annual tribute to the Sultan of Ghazni (the *Turushka-danḍa*) who launched a number of expeditions in the 12th century on the kingdom of the Gāhadavālas to force the successors of Chandra to be regular in their tribute).

Epigraphic Notes II (III Chronology of the Vishnukundins; order of succession, dates, etc.) by D. C. Sarkar.

The Art of Pantomime in Kerala (describing the features of the Kathākālī) by C. S. Srinivasachari.

The Dāsas of the Karnāṭaka country (14th to 19th century A.D.), dealing with the Dāsakūṭa, followers of Sri Madhva, who were particularly prominent in the 16th century and included Purandara Dāsa, Kanaka Dāsa and Vādirāja, by S. Hanumantha Rao.

Āryadēva by Vidhushēkhara Bhaṭṭāchārya (fixing the birth-place of Āryadēva as Simhaḷadvīpa).

Varāhamihira and Buzūrmehr by A. N. Upadhye [trying to prove the identity of the Indian astronomer with Buzūrmehr (Bṛhanmitra) patronised by Khushru Nūshīrwān].

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society—Vol. XIX, Part IV.

Tibeto-Nepalese War, 1788-1796, by D. B. Diskalkar.

This article describes, on the evidence of some letters, found among the Macartney Papers in the Parasnis Museum, Satara and of other letters preserved in the records of the Government of India, Calcutta and in the India Office, London, the war that was engaged between Nepal and Tibet from 1788 to 1793, about which very little has been so far known. The 18 letters published here show that both Nepal and Tibet represented their case to the British power in India without success.

Malava in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D. by D. C. Ganguli.

(This article tries to show that Mahāsenagupta's predecessors were also the rulers of Mālava and not Magadha; and the Kalachūri Buddharaja followed his father in the lordship of Mālava which was not taken away from him by the triumph of Rājyavardhana. Hiuen Tsang's Molapo represents Cen-

tral Mālava whose capital was Ujjain. The history of Mālava from 641 A.D. till the rise of the Pratihāras, in the early years of the eighth century is almost blank).

Appendix. Sanskrit Restoration of Yuan Chwang's *Vijñapti-mātratāsiddhi-Sāstra* by Tripiṭakācārya Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution—Vol. VII, Part 2, 1934.

L'Ērān-vēz et l'origine légendaire des Iraniens—E. Benveniste. *Iranian Studies*, III.—H. W. Bailey.

A Letter from James I to the Sultan Ahmad by E. Denison Ross.

(In 1605, the Earl of Salisbury put the case of Sir Thomas Shirley, imprisoned by the Ottoman Sultan, before King James I, who wrote several letters to the Sultan, demanding the release of his subject. Sir Thomas was the brother of Antony Shirley and Robert Shirley.

The Letters of Al-Mustansir bi'blāh by Husain F. Al-Hamdāni.

[A synopsis of the historical matter contained in the letters issued by the Fātimid Khalifa, al-Mustansir bi'blāh (d—A.D. 1094) to the Sulahids of the Yemen.] The ms. containing the collection is a modern copy which belonged to an Ismā'ili priest in India.

The Nature of the Persian Language written and spoken in India during the 13th and 14th Centuries by M. J. Borah (showing from an account of Amīr Khusrau of Dihli that the Persian speech prevalent in India was everywhere the same and the standard style of Persian adopted in India was that of Transoxiana).

Isophones of the Orthographic gh-, bh-, dh-, etc., and of h- in the Ambala District by Banarsi Das Jain.

Beiträge Zu einer Milindapañha-Bibliographie—Von Siegfried Behrsing.

A Grammar of the Language of Vaturanga, Guadalcanal, British Solomon Islands, by W. G. Ivens.

Some Swahili Nautical Terms by B. D. Copland.

OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, Patna Junction, E. I. Ry.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, "The Ashrama", Luz, Mylapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Le Monde Oriental*, Kungl : Universitetets Bibliotek, Uppsala.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
20. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U. S. A.
21. *Yoga-Mimansa*, Kun'javana, Lonavla, Bombay.
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23. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.
24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archaeological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
25. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City.
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom, Ahlu*, 6, Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.
29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People*, 2, Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
32. *The Young men of India*, 5, Russell St., Calcutta.
33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
34. The Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.
35. *The Federated India*, Madras.
36. 'Tarikh' Kotlah Akbar Jah, Hyderabad (Deccan).
37. The Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
38. Verlag Der Asia Major, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr, 2.
190, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
39. *The Indian Literary Review*, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co.,
40. *Triveni*, Editor, Y. M. I. A. Buildings, 9, Armenian Street, Madras.
41. *Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, Cathedral P. O., Madras.
42. *Journal of the Bombay University*, Senate House, Bombay.
43. *Muslim University Journal*, Muslim University, Aligarh.
44. *Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara*, Tirupati Sri Mahan't Press, 21, Anderson Street, G. T., Madras.
45. The Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar.
46. *The Punjab University Journal*, Lahore.
47. The U. P. Historical Society, Lucknow.

Journal of Indian History

Nedu-nal-vāḍai

An Ancient Tamil Idyll

BY

MR. J. M. SOMASUNDARAM, B.A., B.L.

[This poem, apart from its literary merits as a classic, is of great importance to Tamil literature, because of the very important position occupied by the author among literary figures, and of the hero among the rulers of ancient Tamil India. Tradition, incorporated in later literature, associates the poet Nakkīrar with the third Tamil Academy so-called, as its distinguished president. Because of his uncompromising character as a critic he is said to have got into a disputation with God Śiva himself, paid the penalty for it, and attained to Śiva's grace ultimately. This story finds reference in the Tēvāram of Appar, whose date we happen to know, as contemporary of the great Pallavas, Mahendravarman and Narasimhavarman Mahāmalla. He is the author of a number of poems scattered through the various Tamil collections. In several of them he celebrates this identical Pandyan and makes a feature of the battle associated with the name of the Pandyan. It is Nakkīrar in poem 36 of the Ahanānūru that actually gives the names of the seven allies, two kings and five chieftains, whom he defeated in battle. His name is also associated with a rhetorical work in Tamil called Kaḷaviyal, otherwise Iraiyanār Ahapporuḷ. One school of criticism regards this work with exceeding suspicion and would reject it as spurious. A careful study of the work and its commentary would however justify a better estimate of the work, and its position in the history of Tamil literature.

Coming to the Pandyan himself, the word Śeḷiyan forming part of it is about as general as the word Pandyan itself, and means the same. The attribute Neḍum would simply indicate something corresponding to great or prosperous. Neḍum Śeḷiyan together would mean no more than the great Pandyan. As there are a number of other Pandyans who were regarded as entitled to this consideration, he is to be distinguished from the rest of them, and Tamil literary men have their own peculiar way of doing this. We have two names coming in for distinction that way. (1) Neḍum Śeḷiyan whose name figures in the Śilappadhikāram is distinguished as the great Pandyan who defeated the Aryan forces. So this Pandyan is marked off as the one victor at Talai-ālangānam. We have information elsewhere that tells us that the enemies that met him at Talai-ālangānam consisted of the two kings, his contemporaries, namely, the Chēra and the Chola, and five chieftains.

From other sources we can make out the names of the kings to be the Chola, who celebrated the Rājasūya, and the Chēra ("Prince of the elephant look"). The five chieftains are named distinctly in poem 36 of the Ahanānūru collection by Nakkīrar himself. From a study of these poems, which, in the estimation of the Tamil literary public are alone called Śāngam works we gain the information that the Pandyan was a ruler of great celebrity and had for his contemporaries among literary men, men of the first rank such as Nakkīrar, Kaṭiyālūr Rudran Kaṇṇan, whose long poem Madurai Kānji constitutes perhaps the most important poem of the Ten Tens, Kallādan, Madurai Marudan Iṇāhan and a number of others. From these sources alone we may take it that he was a ruler of eminence, not only as a warrior, but even in the field of art and administration.

This is hardly the place where we should take it upon ourselves to examine the whole question; but some of the salient features which led to fixing up the period of this Pandyan's rule must be mentioned in the short note. In the larger Śinnamanūr-plates recently published by the Government Epigraphist in the latest volume of the South Indian Inscriptions, Old Series, a Pandyan is referred to among the ancient Pandyas of the genealogical table, who is given credit for certain achievements for all of which we find authority in the Śāngam poems of the various authors, whose names get associated with that of this particular Pandyan. Of these the most important are a great measure of famine relief to prevent the recurrence of famine, as the result of a famine that actually devastated the country either in his own reign or immediately preceding his time. He is said to have celebrated the successful achievement of this by a great festival to Indra, the God of Rain. These festivals to Indra are an important common feature of early Indian civilization. Then he is said to have won a victory at Talai-ālangānam against enemies who seemed at first sight too formidable for him to overcome. The next achievement of his was the getting of the Mahābhārata done into Tamil, and the last of it was the establishment of the Tamil Śāngam in Madura. A careful and critical study of the Śāngam classics would provide material for associating all these achievements with one and the same person, this Pandyan Neḍum Śēliyan, victor at Talai-ālangānam. By a careful comparison of the genealogical table and a critical consideration of the achievements of the Pandyas whose names figure on that table, we can arrive at the conclusion that the period of rule of this great Pandyan king must be some time in the third century A.D., perhaps the latter part of it. For the whole argument leading to this, we would refer our readers to chapter VI of our "Beginnings of South Indian History," and Volume IX, No. 1 of the Indian Historical Quarterly.

An unlooked-for confirmation of this comes from a reference in Daṇḍin's rhetorical work, Kāvyaḍarśa, which, referring to other literatures than that of Sanskrit, speaks of the literary works in Tamil being generally found in collections. He refers apparently to what the Tamil scholar knows now-a-days as the eight *Toḥai*, eight collections, etc. Daṇḍin was a contemporary—an elder contemporary—of Narasimhavarman II, Rājasimha, for whose education the work, Kāvyaḍarśa is said to have been composed. We shall therefore have to look to the time of the Śāngam much anterior to his time, and how we arrive at the actual period is clearly indicated in the places above referred to. The Pandyan and his contemporary poet alike may be ascribed to the third century A.D.

The poem is a simple description of the later rains, or in Tamil idiom "the season of the rain-winds from the north." It consists of 188 lines, the first 70 or 72 of which are devoted to a mere description of the season and its features. Then follows a description of the city, its palace and its interior appointments till the author takes us down to the main bed-chamber of the great Pandya. This is followed by a description of the chamber, on the bed of which is introduced to us the queen in distress. She is lightly dressed and fairly bereft of all ornaments, and is in great distress and anxiety at the absence of the king, who is away on the field of war. In this distressful condition, the whole of her entourage exert themselves to the uttermost to find some kind of diversion for her that would turn her thoughts from this one all-engrossing absence of the monarch. Finding all their efforts proving futile to bring about some relief to her, the eldest among those in attendance, who could claim to be the foster-mother of the queen, hits upon a device to offer prayer to the Goddess of Victory that the king might return victorious to his capital then and there. This device is made very skilful use of to point out to the queen how the king is occupied in camp, and at dead of night which is a time of so much distress to her, and ends with the prayer that he might return victorious to his distressed queen immediately. The king is there exhibited as having been wounded. He has returned to camp for medical aid. But instead of attending to this necessary work, he goes about visiting in the camp all those veteran soldiers who, like him, fought at the front and have been sent back to the camp to have their wounds attended to. He is shown as being led from tent to tent by his general who introduces the wounded soldiers. The king receives each one of them with a smile on his lips and offers them words of encouragement and consolation. It is thus that the king is occupied, the old servant points out to the queen, and follows it up with the prayer that he returns victorious. The poem is a *tour de force*, and exhibits the poet at the height of his power.

The following translation is by Mr. J. M. Somasundaram, who has already done similar work on another of this very same collection, Mullaip-paṭṭu, as it is called, published in the Indian Antiquary, Volume LII.

EDITOR]

"Neḍu-nal-vāḍai" or "the long Good Winter Wind" is the seventh of the collection of the "Ten Idylls" or *Pattu-Paṭṭu* of Śāngam-fame. The author is the uncompromising critic, Nakkīrar, the President of the "Third Tamil Academy" at Madura. The hero of the piece is the Pāṇḍya, Neḍum Śēliyan¹ the victor at Talai-ālan-

1. Lyric 72 of the Puṇānūru collection is attributed to him. He is known no less as a patron of letters and a poet. Three of the Ten Idylls are dedicated to him. His name is not found in any list of Pāṇḍyan rulers, and it can only be conjectured that it is but an epithet applied to him while his real name perished. Neḍum Śēliyan means Śēliyan—the flourishing and it is a title given to many of the Pāṇḍyas. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar identifies him with Ugra Pāṇḍyan and Kaḍum-kōn* the latter two names being synonymous.

* This is now out of date. (Editor).

gānam²—a relentless warrior of the time. He is known in classical lore as a far-famed and victorious sovereign who gained a momentous victory over the armies of Chēra and Chola with their “Agustan Age of Tamil Literature,” generally recognised as the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.

2. Its main theme is Love in separation. The season is winter which is here exquisitely described. The hero is out in camp on a campaign, and the queen is pining away at home in the absence of her lord. The action of the hero reminds one of Shakespeare’s “Royal Captain” on the morning of the famous battle of Agincourt “walking from watch to watch, from tent to tent, with cheerful semblance and sweet Majesty” comforting his brave but wounded soldiers. Meanwhile the queen’s maids, failing in their efforts to comfort her otherwise, pray to *Koṭṭavvai*, the Tamil Goddess of War, for the victory of their king and his speedy return.

3. The diction of the poem is surprisingly rich, and it is needless to point out that much of its exquisiteness is lost in the translation. However, an attempt is here made to give Neḍu-Nal-Vāḍai a possible word-for-word rendering.

“NEDU-NAL-VĀḌAI”

The winter clouds gathered round the hills, and the unfailing rain poured down in torrents. The earth seemed trembling with piercing cold. The shepherds liked not the heavy rain. Grieved at parting from their homesteads, they, with crooks in their hands, drove the cows, bulls and their kind to other pasture less exposed. Their garlands of *Kāndhaḷ* (Gloriosa Superbia) were shattered by the spattering rain. Their bodies shivered in the biting cold; their teeth chattered; they crowded round a fire, warmed their hands and pressed them on their cheeks. Animals forgot to graze; monkeys shivered and shrank; dashing winds blew down birds in roost; shivering kine kicked their calves and did not admit them to teats. Such indeed was the cold of winter, when, at dead of night, the cold wind seemed intended to strike the very hills with chill.

2. Talaiy-ālangānam is probably Talaiy-āṅkāḍu—6 miles from Koradāchēri Railway Station on the Tanjore-Niḍāṁangalam line, S.I.R., on the southern bank of one of the branches in the Kaveri in the Chola country—a place made more famous still by being visited and celebrated by one of the Śaiva Nāyanmārs—St. Appar.

All along the path, the tender *muṣuṭṭai* creeper (*Iponaca Canadicans*) of many branches put forth its white flowers with rounded back along with the gold-tinted *pīrku* (sponge-gourd) on every thicket.

Rain ceased awhile, and carps washed down by the swift current now came up stream in the small side channels. Flights of rain-beaten cranes with slender, yellowish-red legs and snowy feathers, along with red-veined herons, now occupied the whole of the wet white sand-bed of the stream, over-spread with the soft black silt, and fed on the shoals of carp. Rising white clouds ceased to rain, and the expanse of the sky was filled with small dewdrops.

22—29. In the broad beautiful fields filled with rain water, the full-grown stalks of paddy were bent with the weight of the ears of ripening corn. Huge clusters of ripening green nuts, swelling big with sweet milk and soft kernel, shone like gems from the bluish tops of the lofty areca-palms with thick trunks and sapphire necks. Large groves, the tree-tops of which once showed blossoms set thick on their high crowns, now send down a continuous stream of cool drops of rain-water glistening in the sun.

29—35. Sturdy men (*Mlēchas*? foreigners) with sinewy round arms and high shoulders, wearing garlands of leaves and flowers round their necks, the ends of their garments hanging loose on both sides, moved to and fro in exuberant spirits, drunk with sweet toddy, through the streets with storied buildings, wide and sandy as river-beds, of that prosperous and ancient city, and unmindful of the cold drops of the drizzling rain.

36—44. Stately young ladies with high shoulders, strong and sleek with the mark of white chank bracelets sunk in the flesh, softly beautiful in appearance, with teeth white as pearl, of broad and benignant-looking eyes, beauteous with shining bent *Makara* (shark-mouthed) ear-rings, learn of the approach of coming night from the fragrance of the blossoming buds of *Pichchi* (a variety of Jassamine) left by them in their flower trays. Lighting up the wicks of their iron-lamps, softly wet with soaking ghee, they offer worship to their household deities by scattering paddy and flowers on all sides, and standing with uplifted hands held in worshipful posture. The advent of night is likewise celebrated in all the streets of prosperous merchants. Confused as to day or night, the domestic pigeons do not go out in search of food with their mates, but

remain dull on the ridge-boards of houses now on one leg then on another to relieve the strain.

49. The minor domestics of the well-guarded mansions of the vast city are engaged in grinding and mixing perfume on the hard and polished surface of grinding-stones black as gram. The white sandal-stones brought from the North lie without use, as it is too cold for the use of the southern sandal paste. Nor do ladies wear garlands of flowers in their hair, but only a few stray flowers as auspicious signs instead. They burn instead, in fire lighted with sandalwood, eaglewood with candied sugar to warm the tresses of their hair. The beautiful red fan of skilful workmanship is hanging encased from a hook in a corner overspread with silvery cob-webs.

The summer bedrooms in the topmost storeys, high as the abode of the Gods, instead of letting the zephyr blow in gently as in summer, have their well-fitting double doors of their numerous windows bolted fast. The drizzling rain makes the young and old alike discard the narrow-mouthed water-jugs, and gather round the forked fire-pan to warm themselves. The dancing women hug to their bosom their black-bodied guitar (*yāl*) to give the strings of the *Yāl* the necessary warmth for use. Lovers separated from their beloved are weeping in sorrow. Thus reigns supreme the Winter with a profusion of timely rains.

72. The glorious Sun sending forth his rays on all sides to the extremity of the extensive sky was gliding towards the west. At such a time, when the gnomon does not cast its shadow on either side, in the middle ten days of the month of Chittirai (*Chāitra*, April-May) at mid-day, men skilled in architecture (*Śilpa*) with their lines, mark the exact directions of the Compass. With due regard to the presiding deities of the various directions, they mark out the sites of the various buildings befitting the dignity of kings of high standing. Encompassing all these, runs a high wall with a great gateway, the door of which is wrought with massive iron plates and nails, and painted with red ochre. The double door well joined and provided with bolts, carried in the middle of it a representation of the goddess Lakshmi, with a she-elephant and a blossoming lotus on either side; fitted together by skilful carpenters, the great doors showed no crevices and were strong, and remained fixed to strong stone-beams carrying a similar representation of the goddess of Victory, Lakshmi in the middle, and bearing the name of the con-

stellation, *uttiram* (Denebola or β Leonis). Further, they were smeared over with oil and white mustard to propitiate the gods.

87. The large tower-gate with the surrounding high walls, looked like a tunnel cut through a mountain, and was high enough for victorious elephants carrying the royal standards on their backs, to enter with ease. In the front part of the courtyard, overspread with fine clean sand, the long-tailed yak and the short-legged swan frisked together in sport.

The neighing of the horses, restive in their stables and surfeited with grass; the river-like gurgle of the rainwater rushing through the shark-mouthed spouts from the terrace where the King used to enjoy the moon-light; and, the trumpet-like cry of the proud softly moving peacocks with their long and soft feathers held together—all these together give one the impression of a mountain dense with forest. Such indeed was the royal palace of flawless appointment, the abode of the goddess of Prosperity (*Lakshmi*).

101. Lamps of skilled *Yavana* workmanship, made in the form of beautiful damsels holding lamps in their hands, their thick wicks fed with ghee and burning brightly, wick and ghee being renewed as often as either of them burnt out, lighted the various sections of the palace, kept under such strict guard that no man, not even the servants, had free entry except the far-famed Pandyan king. The palace looked as majestic as hills; and, the flags of various colours floating high in the air over it looked like rain-bows settled on them.

The inner chambers, fair to the sight and named after the inset figures on the walls, were plastered clean white; the supporting pillars were strong and round, and of the black colour of the emerald, the high walls with bunches of flowers, the whole presenting a beautiful appearance.

115. The tusks of war-like elephants that fell in battle, of forty summers of great beauty, with white spotted foreheads and of strong drum-like legs, are wrought into shape by chipping off their round sides. Large thin sheets of metal with their surfaces filled with scenes of hunting and flower-covered gardens worked in by the deft chisel of the artisan and inset with coloured wool to show the black lines, etc., on tigers and other animals, are fixed between the tusks to form the frame of the Royal Couch. Its legs are stout and round at the bottom, becoming thin and straight

as they near the frame. On all sides of this ivory-couch hang beautiful strings of pearls.

126. The beautifully soft and well-fitting bed is overspread with the softest down of the amorous swan. A well-washed sheet covers the whole. The bed is amply provided with pillows and sprinkled over with the fragrant and soft petals of purple water-lily (*Śengalunir*) and other flowers.

136. The king is absent on a distant campaign. The queen whose breast many a necklace adorned before, now wears only her long plaited hair (the long-pointed *Tali**) which lies loosely on her bosom. Her beautiful face shows the dried up hair of her front locks. The heavy lustrous *Makara* (Shark-like) pendants having been removed, her ears show but little elongation, wearing as she did only a pair of small ear-rings sticking close to her ears. On her fore-arms, scarred by the habitual wearing of golden bracelets, and adorned by the orderly growth of hair, she wears but a pair of conch-shell wristlets and the talismanic thread; her fair red fingers wear but a solitary folded ring (*Mudakku*) made in the shape of the open mouth of a salmon. Her body which used to be clothed in the costliest silk, embroidered with flowers, now wears but a common cotton cloth not quite free from dirt. She thus presented the form of a picture as yet unfinished, and without the final touches by the painter. Her delicately built chamber-maids with slender waists and complexion resembling the tenderest mango leaves but swallowed, their shoulders broad and smooth as the bamboo, and of swelling lotus bosoms strapped tight, gently massage the unadorned feet of the Queen in the hope of bringing on sleep.

182. Nurses just turning grey, of cheerful but ruddy faces, becoming anxious, crowd round the sorely troubled queen and tell

**Tali*. Sacred emblem of wedlock in the shape of a Tiger's Molar tooth is the Mangala-Sūtram worn round the neck of married women. Its use is said to be traced to the ancient Tamils. Reference to this is found in *Purāṇam*: Lyric 374; *Tirukōvaiyār*, and in the other ancient classics. The late Mr. J. M. Nallaswami Pillai explains its use as to the then prevailing custom, when brides were won by prowess shown in killing a tiger, and a tiger's tooth tied in consequence round the bride's neck. This is not strange, because in later times, brides were won by subjugating fierce bulls. Śrī Krishna is said to have subjugated seven bulls for this purpose, and is sung by poets as having done so. It is reminiscent of an heroic age when none but the brave deserved the fair.

her tales which would soothe her, ever assuring her, merely to comfort her, that her dear Lord would be there that very day. She is not comforted, but turns her look on the canopy above her. The moon and the starry heaven are painted in the order of the zodiac signs beginning Aries on the oiled canvas held up on legs of carved workmanship with bulky round bases varnished with red-lac. Her eyes are fixed on the bright star Rohini* (Aldebaran or α Taurus in the Pleiades) which is never apart from her Lord the Moon. She bewails her lot that she has not such good fortune as never to be apart from her husband. Tears collect in her deep dark eyes; she scatters them with the tips of her tender fingers and draws a deep sigh off and on. While the lady lay thus disconsolate one of the elderly ladies-in-waiting approached the goddess of Victory *Korāvvai* (one form of Lakshmi) and prayed to Her as follows:—
“Good Mother. The king fighting against the heroic warriors of his opponents, whose achievements in actual battles consisted in the cutting down of the trunks of war-elephants, is wounded, and has just returned to camp to have his wounds dressed. The cold north wind beats at every gust, and the thick vertical flames of the many lamps are beaten prone towards the south. The general preceded by a lictor carrying a javelin with a wreath of neem leaves on top, leads the way introducing to him the wounded warriors in order. The elephants and horses forming his escort in full accoutrement of war stand out in the miry wet streets shaking off the drops of drizzling rain. He holds in his left hand the upper cloth slipping down his shoulder; and his right hand rests on the shoulder of the stout-hearted warrior who carried the king's sword hanging from his shoulder. Greeting with a smile each of the wounded warriors, he passes, his victorious umbrella decorated with garlands of pearls, protecting him from the noisily beating rain. Thus moving through his camp the King does not retire to bed even at dead of night with noise peculiarly its own. Such happens to be the round of duties in camp of this redoubtable warrior carrying as he does his campaign against a combination of enemies, and may his hard campaign come to a victorious end even to-day.”

**Urōhini*: *Urōhini* is a group of stars in Taurus said to be the favourite Queen of the Moon, and on that account, an object of jealousy to every one of the 26 other asterisms.

The Genealogy and the Chronology of the Early Kadambas of Banavasi

By

MR. M. GOVIND PAI.

(Continued from p. 34, Vol. XIII, Part I.)

KADAMBA CHRONOLOGY

THE earliest of the Kadamba inscriptions hitherto accessible to us is of course the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūrasarma,⁸⁷ which in its published copy runs thus :—

कदंबाणं मयूरशम्मण (णा) विणिम्मिअं
तडाकं दूभ त्रकूट अभिर पल्लव पारि-
यात्रिक सकस्था (ण) सयिन्दक पुणाट मोकरिण

But from a closer examination of its transcript given in plate XI of that report, several of these letters seem to read otherwise. The 4th and 5th letters of the 2nd line have been read as दूभ (dūbha) and translated 'who (has) defeated.' First of all, do they read as दूभ? For the 4th letter cannot be asserted to be a long consonant, nor does the 5th letter appear to be a भ, as can be made out from comparing it with the letter भो (भि) which occurs in the word अभिर (अभिर) and stands only some 4 letters off. The word दूभ moreover can never mean 'who (has) defeated'; for it is the Prākṛit form of the Sāṃskṛit word द्रोह, which means 'perfidy, injury, treachery,' and none of these senses can fit in with the context, nor can the word itself, which is an abstract noun, have any connection whether grammatical or any other with either the name मयूरशम्मण in the instrumental singular, or with the other names of kings or countries that follow.

As far as can be made out from the said transcript, the following would appear to be the more probable reading⁸⁸ :—

87. M. A. R. 1929 (p. 50).

88. It may be said once for all that for this reading we have entirely relied on the eye-copy of the letters, as we could not make out anything from the photograph given just above it in the said plate. That Mayūrasarma could have conquered the eastern Maukharis as well as the far-off Pāryātra and Śākasthāna, even though the last might be the Śaka-dvīpa situated in

कदंबाणं मयूरशम्मण (णा) विणिम्मिअं
तडाकं दुट्ट त्रकूट अभिर पल्लव पुरि
योतीक सकस्था [ण] सयिन्दक पुण्ड मोकरिण

Here the 4th and the 5th *aksharas* of the 2nd line read as दुट्ट, and from the fact that in the Banavāsi Prākṛit inscription,⁸⁹ Viṇhu-kaḍa (Viṣṇuskanda) is said to be the king of the दुट्ट (Duṭṭu) family, whereas in his Maḷavalli Prākṛit inscription⁹⁰ he is said to belong to the चुट्ट (Chuṭṭu) family, we know that the names Chuṭṭu and Duṭṭu, whether they are synonyms or variants of each other, denote one and the same family. Further, the name मोकरि, which is the last member of the long *dvandva* compound beginning with दुट्ट, would in all probability seem to terminate in the genitive plural, and if such is the case, it may be presumed to have been followed by a substantive meaning 'a conqueror,' which, being in apposition with the instrumental singular मयूरशम्मण (णा) must take the same number and case.

Inasmuch as Mayūrasarma has not been mentioned by any royal title in this inscription, it may be suspected that he could not yet have been crowned king, when this epigraph came to be inscribed. The suspicion, however, is not well-grounded in that this is *prima facie* an incomplete document, whether because it abruptly ends where it now stops, or because its portions (preceding or succeeding or both) have worn out beyond the possibility of decipherment, and consequently we know not what information has been irretrievably lost. Further there is the fact, and an irresistible one, of the conquests, which Mayūrasarma seems to have achieved over some 8 or 9 powers, as related in this inscription. This however would hardly have any meaning, if nevertheless, it is still held that all those conquests were made by him before he himself had be-

India itself (Cambridge History of India. Vol. I. Map. 5) and referred to in Bāṇa's *Harsha-charita* (शशपदं शकस्थानम्) rather than the Seistan, is more or less inconceivable. Had he performed an *Aśvamēdha*, however, he could have been believed to have conquered, or at least invaded, these distant countries, but, we know, he performed none. Accordingly, the reading of the 2nd and 3rd lines of this inscription has to be thoroughly revised. Mr. Jayaswal has lately proposed a new reading of this inscription in his 'History of India : ' 50-350 A.D.' (Jy.)—App. B (pp. 220-21); but as it is also said to be based on the photograph itself, we have to leave it to others to discuss its correctness.

89. I. A. XIV (p. 331).

90. E. C. VII (Sk. 263).

come king, as it would mean that he was merely a marauder or an aimless adventurer at the most. But Mayūraśarma was certainly neither a marauder nor an aimless adventurer. While yet in the Tripurvata region, whence he defeated the Pallava frontier-guards and levied tribute from the Bāṇa king, he was crowned king by the contemporary Pallava king, as no mere marauder or adventurer would be. It is thereafter therefore that the various other powers must have been conquered, as claimed in this inscription, in the right style of a crowned king that he was, and their number itself suffices to assign this inscription to about the end of his victorious reign, when all the conquests indispensable to the founder of a new kingdom having been done, he set himself to do civic work (such as the construction of the reservoir mentioned in this inscription) for the benefit of the people living in the kingdom he had thus newly carved out for himself.

Now, the omission of the name of the Western Gaṅgas, more than that of any other contemporary power, is indeed quite significant. Their kingdom, the first capital of which was at Kuvalāla (i.e. Kōlār), lay almost next door to the Tripurvata region which Mayūraśarma had made his first home and whence he levied tribute from the neighbouring Bāṇa king. Presumably therefore he ought to have come into collision with the Gaṅgas too, had the Gaṅga power been already in existence in his time. Evidently therefore, the Gaṅga dynasty could not have been founded until after the time of Mayūraśarma; and as elsewhere the foundation of that dynasty has been assigned to *circa* 250 A.C.⁹¹ Mayūraśarma will have to be allotted to sometime before 250 A.C.

Next to this Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarma as well as the Maḷavalli inscription of his son Śivaskandavarma⁹² are Prākṛit records, whereas the Halsi plates of Yuvarāja Kākutsthavarma,⁹³ (which by the way is the very next in order among the Kadamba records hitherto available to us) are in Saṃskṛit. It thence follows that Mayūraśarma and his son Śivaskandavarma must have lived at a time when Prākṛit had not yet yielded place to Saṃskṛit in South Indian epigraphy. Now the Mayidavōlu plates⁹⁴ of the Pallava crown-prince (Yuvamahārāja) Śivaskanda-

91. Karnataka Historical Review (K. H. R.)—II. No. 1.

92. E. C. VII (Sk. 264).

93. I. A. VI (p. 22 ff.).

94. E. I. VI (pp. 84-89).

varma, as well as the Hirahadagalli plates⁹⁵ of his 8th regnal year (when he had become king) are Prākṛit charters, whereas his Darśi plates⁹⁶ issued likewise while he was king are in Saṃskṛit; whence again it follows that the transition from the use of Prākṛit to that of Saṃskṛit in at least the Pallava inscriptions had already set in during the reign of that Pallava king Śivaskandavarma *alias* Kumāravishṇu. Such an innovation is always easily catching, and the more so when the change was from a less known to a better known language, and when further it had been initiated by the greatest monarch of the day, the Pallava king Kumāravishṇu, it would be ere long adopted by his contemporaries, whether feudatories or independent kings, so that Prākṛit would be nowhere in South Indian inscriptions soon after the time of Kumāravishṇu. As a case in point it may be remarked that there is not a single Prākṛit inscription of the Western Gaṅgas, whose rule, as we have just seen, began in about 250 A.C. Now elsewhere⁹⁷ we have assigned the reign of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarma *alias* Kumāravishṇu to circa 167-200 A.C., and his Hirahadagalli plates, which are thus the last Prākṛit charter of the Pallavas, to about 174 A.C. It would not therefore be amiss to assert that the displacement of Prākṛit by Saṃskṛit must have become a settled fact at the latest by the year 225 A.C. Accordingly the Maḷavalli inscription of the 4th regnal year of Kadamba king Śivaskandavarma, which contains several non-Prākṛit forms, e.g.— वैजयन्ती (वेजयन्ती), मानव्य (मानव्य), सोत्वेन (सोत्तेन), परित्यक्तेन (परित्यक्तेन) कौडिन्य (कौडिज), उक्तं (उत्तं), विश्वकम्मा (विस्सकम्मा), सैले (सेले) etc. will have to be placed a few years before 225 A.C.; and the Chandravalli inscription of his father Mayūraśarma, which also contains such non-Prākṛit forms as मयूर (मोर), शम्म (सम्म), व्रकूड (विकूड), सकस्थान (सकठान) etc. will naturally have to be assigned to yet an earlier date. *Ipsa facto* the enthronement of Mayūraśarma, who, having been the founder of the dynasty as well as the conqueror of several contemporary kings, must have had a sufficiently long reign, will have to be assigned to a date sometime earlier than 200 A.C.

At last from the Tālagunda inscription we have seen that the quarrel spoken of in it was unquestionably connected with the cele-

95. Ibid. I. (pp. 2-10).

96. Ibid. I (p. 397).

97. Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (Q. J. A. H. R. S.) VII (Nos. 1 and 3).

bration of the *Aśvamēdha*, which the Pallava contemporary of the Brāhmaṇa youth Mayūraśarma was then engaged in. Now from the various Pallava records it is patent that no Pallava king besides Śivaskandavarma *alias* Kumāravishṇu performed the *Aśvamēdha*; and from the Hirahadagaḷli plates of his 8th regnal year, i.e., 174 A.C., we know that he had already finished it by then. Thus then Mayūraśarma was a contemporary of the great Pallava king Śivaskandavarma (*alias* Kumāravishṇu), who, as we have already said, ruled from about 167 A.C. to 200 A.C.; and it was likewise at the latter's horse-sacrifice that he was present and perhaps also officiated. It is therefore by the same Pallava king that Mayūraśarma must have been crowned king at his first foothold in the Triparvata region, and accordingly that event may, with a close approximation to the truth, be assigned to 180 A.C., which would also then mark the date of both the foundation of the Kadamba kingdom and the rise of the Kadamba dynasty. His Chandravaḷli inscription, which, as we have seen, allots itself to the tail-end of his reign, may accordingly be assigned to *circa* 205—210 A.C.

Now that we know that it was the Pallava king Śivaskandavarma (*alias* Kumāravishṇu) who performed the coronation of Mayūraśarma, the doubt as regards the correct form of his son's name—whether it was Skandavarma as found in the Tālagunda inscription (v. 23), or Śivaskandavarma as given in his own Maḷavaḷli inscription—would be readily settled; for in one word, he must have been given the name Śivaskandavarma by his father in grateful recognition of the honour which the Pallava king of that name did him in performing the function of his own coronation.⁹⁸ This correct and full name Śivaskandavarma therefore must have been abbreviated as Skandavarma under metrical necessity in the Tālagunda inscription, which from one end to the other is a metrical composition.

The fact that Mayūraśarma was crowned by the Pallava king may, no doubt, lead to the presumption that he obtained the territory he ruled over as a military fief from that Pallava king.⁹⁹ But there are other facts which strongly

98. We have a similar instance in the Penukoṇḍa plates (E. I. XIV. pp. 334-35) of the Gaṅga king Mādhava who has been also called Śiṃhavarma obviously after the Pallava king of that name, who installed his grandfather Ayyavarma (*alias* Harivarma) on the Gaṅga throne, as is expressed in those plates.

99. Journal of the Bombay Historical Society I (p. 91).

militate against this view, and they cannot be easily brushed aside. First there is his Chandravaḷli inscription, in which, though he has not been mentioned by any title, paramount or subordinate, the whole string of his various and widespread conquests is revealed, and to believe that even after, or in spite of, achieving so many conquests, he was yet a feudatory of some other king, would be nothing short of calling history itself in question. Then there is the indisputable evidence of the Tālagunda inscription in the 19th and 20th verses of which it is said that at last the Pallavas, recognising the superior strength of Mayūraśarma and seeing that their own power and ancestry were of little avail before him, chose him forthwith as their *ally* (अयं मित्रमेवाशु वद्विरे), and thereupon his coronation was performed by the Pallavas themselves. It need hardly be said that a feudatory could never be an ally, inasmuch as the latter is one's equal placed on an equal footing with oneself, whereas the former is a subordinate, who is subject to one's overlordship and is therefore inferior in rank; nor need it be said that the mere act of having performed the coronation of Mayūraśarma would not entitle the Pallava king to claim supremacy over him in that their inter-relations were clearly defined by the compact of a mutual alliance made on the basis of friendship (मित्र) and therefore of equality. As a case in point it may be remarked that in the Maṇṇe plates (E. C. IX. Nl. 60.) as well as in the Alur plates (M. A. R. 1924, pp. 72-76) of the Western Gaṅga prince Mārasinḥa, the coronation of his father Śivamāra is said to have been performed with their own hands by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III and the Pallava king Nandivarma II, and Śivamāra was not a feudatory of either of those kings, as is well known; or even if at all he were, he could be the feudatory of only one of them, but never of both of them at one and the same time. And lastly, there is the Maḷavaḷli inscription¹⁰⁰ of the 4th regnal year of his son Śivaskandavarma, in which the donor king calls himself **वैजयन्ती धम्ममहाराजाधिराज**, which is unmistakably a paramount title. In the absence, therefore, of any evidence to the contrary, it may be reasonably concluded that this paramount title cannot have been first conferred on Śivaskandavarma himself, nor can it have been first assumed by him during the 3 or 4 years he had been king till then. It must have been inherited by him directly from his father Mayūraśarma, when, on the death of the latter, he ascended the Kadamba throne, and it would be absurd that a king who bore such a paramount title should neverthe-

100. E. C. (Sk. 264).

less be a vassal, or in any other way subordinate to another. It may be further remarked that among the Pallavas it was the aforesaid Śivaskandavarma *alias* Kumāravishṇu himself who first assumed the paramount title *Dharmamahārāja* as against the much lesser title *Mahārāja* borne till then by his predecessors, as is evident from his Hirahaḍagaḷḷi plates. Possibly therefore he may have himself conferred that title of paramountcy on Mayūraśarma, when he crowned him, in token of his friendship as well as in confirmation of his acceptance of the Kadamba king as an equal ally; or it is equally possible that Mayūraśarma may have assumed it himself when, only a few years after his coronation by the Pallava king, he conquered Banavāsi, and established his capital there, and recrowned himself as king, as has been already explained from the Tālagunda inscription. In either case he was nobody's feudatory: he started his career as an independent king, and ruled throughout as such. The first province, where he had settled, was the Triparvata region, which he must have conquered from the Chuṭu kings of Banavāsi or the Bāṇa kings of the Kōlār side as we have already said. Thenceforth he went on conquering, and all the wide kingdom he carved out for himself was of his own making and the outcome of his own conquest. He did not owe a foot of ground to another's bounty, nor did he occupy it unless and until he had first made it his own by force of arms.

Next we pass on to the Maḷavaḷḷi pillar inscription¹⁰¹ of Mayūraśarma's son and successor Śivaskandavarma *alias* Skandavarma.¹⁰²

101. E. C. VII (Sk. 264). ४ सञ्जलुरं पडम सरद पक्खं त्वतिय दिप्पं पडम नक्खस्सं रोहिणियं

102. Mr. Jayaswal (Jy. pp. 129-132) has tried to identify this Kadamba king (whom, however, he calls Kaṅgavarma) with a certain king Kanaka, who has been thus spoken of in the Purāṇas—He who is named Kanaka will rule over Strīrāshṭra and Bhōkshakas (or Bhōjakas or Mūshikas)—Pargiter's 'Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties' (pp. 54, 74). But the identification is not correct; for in one word it may be said that no dynasty that ruled in South India has been mentioned in the Purāṇas, though even several foreign dynasties, such as those of Śakas, Yavanas, Tushāras, Hūnas, etc., (Pargiter, pp. 45-46) have been duly mentioned, no doubt because the latter ruled in northern India. If, however, the Purāṇas speak of the Sātavāhana dynasty, which (later on) was decidedly a southern dynasty, we have only to remember that at some earlier period the Sātavāhanas held the position of suzerains in northern India (Camb. Hist. Vol. I. p. 531), and were in possession of Ujjayinī (Ibid. pp. 533, 600), sometime before they finally settled in South India; and thus they were in fact a northern, and not a southern, dynasty. The same thing cannot be said of the Pallavas or the Kadambas, etc., none of whom

It is dated the 2nd day of the 1st fortnight of *autumn* under the *first* (occurrence of) Rōhiṇi *nakshatra* in the 4th year of his reign. Evidently therefore there was a *two-fold* occurrence of Rōhiṇi in the course of that month (as no *nakshatra* can ever occur twice within a fortnight), and it was on the first of those two occasions that this grant was made. Now Rōhiṇi can occur twice in a month only in the *Amānta* month of Vaiśākha or Jyēshṭha (neither of which summer months could ever fall in the autumn) as well as in the *Pūrṇimānta* month of Kārtika (from Āśvayuja full-moon to the Kārtika full-moon) and Mārgaśira (from Kārtika full-moon to Mārgaśira full-moon). Manifestly therefore this grant has been dated according to the *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement of the lunar months. Now again in the *Pūrṇimānta* Kārtika, if there should be a double occurrence of Rōhiṇi within its course, the first occasion would be on the 3rd lunar day of its first fortnight, and not on the 2nd lunar day as has been expressly stated in this record, whereas the double occurrence of Rōhiṇi in the *Pūrṇimānta* month of Mārgaśira is quite usual and very common. Naturally therefore the lunar day specified in this grant would be the 2nd lunar day in the 1st fortnight of the *Pūrṇimānta* month of Mārgaśira, which in the *Amānta* system would be the 2nd day of the dark fortnight of Kārtika.

The three primitive seasons were:—(1) *Grīshma* (the hot weather or summer) from Phālguna full-moon to Āshāḍha full-moon, (2) *Varshāh* (the rains) from Āshāḍha full-moon to Kārtika full-moon, and (3) *Hēmanta* (winter) from Kārtika full-moon to

would seem to have belonged to any north Indian dynasty; and when even the Pallavas of Kāñchi, who were far greater in power and dominions, and whose dynasty must have started much earlier than that of the Kadambas, have not been even referred to in the Purāṇas, it is idle to seek for a Kadamba name in those chronicles. The Kanaka of the Purāṇas, therefore, can never be the same as the 2nd Kadamba king Skandavarma *alias* Śivaskandavarma, nor could he ever belong to any of the South Indian dynasties, nor can we believe with Mr. Jayaswal (Jy. p. 130) that Kanaka was 'nearly the emperor of the South' as there is nothing in the Purāṇas themselves to warrant this description. He will have to be looked for elsewhere in some one or other of the so many dynasties of North India, whether indigenous or foreign. Further, as we have already explained, so far as we have been able to make out from the plate 17 given in E. C. VII (opp. p. 200) the name of Mayūraśarma's son reads as Skandavarma in the Tālagunda inscription and not as Kaṅgavarma, as was read by the late Mr. Rice, and it is hardly possible that the name *Skandavarma* could ever be changed into *Kanaka* by either the composers or the scribes of the Purāṇas.

Phālguṇa full-moon.¹⁰³ In this division, however, the name of the autumnal season is conspicuous by absence. But we have to remember that this three-fold division of the year was in observance more or less for purposes of performing the different religious rites, and especially those called the *Chātur-māsya* (i.e. four-monthly) sacrifices, a significant trace of which still abides in the *Chātur-māsya* rites, which the monks have even now to perform during the middle *Chātur-māsya*, i.e. of the rainy season. Side by side with this three-fold division of the year there was also another, and perhaps a secular, division of the year into six seasons of 2 months or 4 fortnights each, as will be seen from the following passage occurring in the ancient surgical work, the *Suśruta*.¹⁰⁴

इह तु वर्षा शरद्धेमन्त वसन्त ग्रीष्म प्रावृषः षडतवो भवन्ति ।
ते तु भाद्रपदाद्येन द्विमासिकेन व्याख्याताः ।
तद्यथा भाद्रपदाश्वयुजौ वर्षाः ।
कार्तिकमार्गशीर्षौ शरत् । पौषमाघौ हेमन्तः ।
फाल्गुनचैत्रौ वसन्तः । वैशाखज्येष्ठौ ग्रीष्मः ।
आषाढ श्रावणौ प्रावृडिति ॥

When, however, the difference between the religious and secular divisions of the year was eventually lost, the season beginning with the full-moon day of Kārtika (or more correctly the day next to that full-moon), which would be Hēmanta (winter) in the four-monthly division, but Śarat (autumn) in the two-monthly division, would naturally come to be called both ways as Hēmanta and Śarat in common parlance. Accordingly, the lunar day, on which this grant was made, would be the 2nd day of the dark fortnight immediately following the Kārtika full-moon.

Now in the first quarter of the 3rd century there were three occasions when the moon was in conjunction with Rōhiṇi *nakshatra* on the specified 2nd lunar day of the Pūrṇimānta month in which there was also a second occurrence of the same *nakshatra*:—(1) Wednesday the 20th October 202 A.C., (2) Monday the 18th October 213 A.C., and (3) Friday the 23rd October 218 A.C. Seeing that Mayūraśarma, whose coronation has been assigned to 180 A.C.,

103. कार्तिकाग्रहायण पौषमाघाः शीतः । फाल्गुन चैत्र वैशाख ज्येष्ठ ग्रीष्मः । आषाढ श्रावण भाद्राश्विना वर्षाः ॥ (*Śabdakalpadruma*: art. ऋतु)

104. *Suśruta* (*Sūtrasthāna*: chap. VI)—quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma*.

had made several conquests and accordingly must have had a sufficiently long reign, the first date may be safely rejected, and of the two others the former date (18th October 213 A.C.) would seem to be nearer the truth as it is also the day of Sun's transit into the Sign of Scorpio (वृश्चिक संक्रान्ति) which is an auspicious occasion for making grants, as all the 12 annual days of the solar transit are. In that case, as this grant was of his 4th regnal year, Śivaskandavarma would appear to have ascended the throne in 210 A.C. and his father Mayūraśarma to have reigned from 180 A.C. to 210 A.C.

An important feature of this Maḷavaḷli inscription is its donative passage where the grant is said to have been made for a *second* time (द्वितीयं दत्तं), when the proprietary right of the donee or his descendants to the earlier grant made by some former king of Vaijayanti (i.e. Banavāsi) had been relinquished i.e. had ceased or lapsed (वैजयन्तीपतिना पुनर्दत्तीति सोत्वेन परित्यक्तेन¹⁰⁵) It need hardly be said that the earlier grant thus referred to is no doubt the one contained in the Chuṭu inscription engraved on the same pillar¹⁰⁶ for in that Chuṭu inscription not only are we informed of a grant made by a Chuṭu king of Banavāsi (वैजयन्ती पुरराजा) but the donee is one Koṇḍamāṇa the son of Takiñchi (?) who himself is said to be of Kaunḍinya *gōtra*, while his mother was of Hārīta *gōtra*,¹⁰⁷ whereas in the later Kadamba inscription the donees are: (1) the illustrious Nāgadatta, an ornament of the Koṇḍamāṇa family, who himself was of Kaunḍinya *gōtra*, while his mother was of Kauśika *gōtra*, and (2) his maternal uncle,¹⁰⁸ who is not mentioned by name. It thus stands to reason that the latter donee Nāgadatta, who is said to be an ornament of the family of Koṇḍamāṇa, must be a direct lineal descendant of the earlier donee Koṇḍamāṇa of the Chuṭu inscription, and as such had an inherent or hereditary right (Pr. सोत्व = Skt. स्वत्व) to the villages mentioned in the earlier grant. Accordingly the second i.e. the Kadamba inscription is a ratification of the covenant of an earlier date, or in other words, the Kadamba grant is rather an ad-

105. This is perhaps an instrumental absolute (cf. *Isāvāsyaōpanishad* तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः ।)

106. E. C. VII (Sk. 263).

107. तकिञ्ची(?)पुत्ताय...कोण्डिन्यसगोत्ताय हारितीपुत्ताय कोण्डमाणाय

108. समातुलाय...कोण्डिन्यसगोत्ताय कोसिकीपुत्ताय कोण्डमाणकुलतिलकाय सिरिनागदत्ताय

ministrative measure, and not merely a meritorious deed or an act of charity; and this is further confirmed by the words of the latter inscription—**पुद्गोचित गामा** i.e. villages known¹⁰⁹ as before, the enjoyment of which was confirmed by it. The need for this confirmation would necessarily imply that during the interval between these two Maḷavalli inscriptions, there must have been a change of rulers in the government of the country in which that village (Maḷavalli) was then situated, and which was no other than the Nāgarakhaṇḍa division of the Banavāsi kingdom, and further that the said change must have been brought about in all probability by war, as otherwise there would be scarcely any necessity to restore or ratify the grant made by a previous ruler. Now the earlier inscription is that of Viṇhukaḍa (Viṣṇuskanda) Sātakaṇṇi of the Chuṭu dynasty,¹¹⁰ who is said to be the king of Banavāsi (**वैजयन्तीपुर राजा...विण्ह, कडु चुटुकुलानन्द सातकण्णी**) and the latter is that of Śivaskandavarma of the Kadamba dynasty, who also is said to be the king of Banavāsi (**वैजयन्ती धम्ममहाराजाधिराजे....कदम्बाणं राजा शिवखड्गवम्मणा**). Further in the latter inscription the donor of the earlier grant is also said to be a king of Banavāsi (**वैजयन्तीपतिना**). The explanation therefore is not far to seek that the Banavāsi kingdom must have passed from the Chuṭu family into the hands of the Kadambas. Then again as Nāgadatta, who is the donee of the Kadamba grant, is obviously a descendant (whether a son or grandson) of Koṇḍamāṇa, who was the donee of the earlier Chuṭu grant, at least some 20 to 40 years may have elapsed between the 2 grants, and in the interval the Kadambas must have succeeded the Chuṭus in the possession of the Banavāsi kingdom. If, however, it was the Kadamba king Śivaskandavarma himself who first occupied it, he must have accomplished it in the 3 or 4 years that he had been on the Kadamba throne, when he made his Maḷavalli grant, and a reference to so recent a conquest would have certainly found a conspicuous place in his Maḷavalli inscription, where, on the other hand, it is conspicuous by absence. Evidently therefore this significant omission once for all settles the fact that it was not Śivaskandavarma, but it was his father Mayūraśarma himself who first took possession of the Banavāsi kingdom.

109. उचितं विदितेभ्यस्ते मितेयुक्तेषु (Hemachandra's Anēkārthasaṅgraha. v. 849).

110. The date of this inscription as well as that of his Banavāsi inscription will be duly discussed in our forthcoming article on the Sātavāhana chronology, to which they properly belong.

If, on the other hand, it is not Mayūraśarma but his son Śivaskandavarma who was responsible for the ratification of the earlier Chuṭu grant, it is possibly because the conquest of Banavāsi, though perhaps the most important, was one of the later achievements of Mayūraśarma, and as such may be properly placed on this side of 200 A.C.

Now let us pass on to the successors of Śivaskandavarma. Though there are no records of either his son and successor Bhagīratha nor of Raghu, who was the eldest son and immediate successor of Bhagīratha, there is an important record of Kākutsthavarma issued while he was yet a *Yuvarāja* under his brother Raghu as we have already explained. It is his Halsi grant¹¹¹ and its importance lies in the unique date it bears—**स्ववैजयिके अशीतितमे संवत्सरे** i.e., in the 80th year of the rule, but whose rule we are not told.¹¹² It cannot be the 80th year of his *Yuvarāja*-ship, nor of the reign of his elder brother Raghu, nor even that of his own life-time, as such a style of dating is nowhere found. It must there-

111. I. A. VI (p. 23).

112. Mr. Jayaswal's reference of this 80th year to the Gupta era (Jy. pp. 101, 103. f.n. 1) is hardly sensible in that the Gupta era is never known to have been in use anywhere in South India, nor are the Kadambas ever known to have been the feudatories of the Guptas. Samudragupta's southern campaign closed with his conquest of the Pallava king Viṣṇugōpa I, and it need hardly be said that the Pallavas themselves never employed the Gupta era. Then again, from the Vākāṭaka record, the Poona plates (E. I. XV pp. 41-42) it is known that Prabhāvatī Gupta, the chief queen of Vākāṭaka Rudrasēna II and daughter of the Gupta king Chandragupta II, became regent to her minor son Divākarasēna subsequent to the death of her husband, and from the said document, which in its genealogical portion reads like an out and out Gupta record, it is manifest that it is with an absolute confidence in her father that she undertook the arduous task of that regency, and as such the destiny of the Vākāṭaka kingdom would seem to have been virtually in the hands of that Gupta monarch at that time. But even then the said plates are dated in the years of her regency and not in those of the Gupta era. If then the Gupta era was not adopted by a Gupta princess herself, why it must be believed to have been adopted by a Kadamba prince, who was yet a *Yuvarāja* under his elder brother, and whose only connection with the Guptas was that one of his daughters was married into the Gupta family presumably after he himself had become king, is simply unintelligible. Furthermore, it may be noted once for all that this 80th year has been so clearly defined as **स्ववैजयिके** i.e. in the 80th year of his or their own (स्व) rule; and since it can never mean the 80th year of his *Yuvarāja*-ship or the 80th year of Raghu's reign, it can only be explained as their 80th dynastic year i.e. the 80th year from the foundation of the Kadamba dynasty by Mayūraśarma, and can never be referred to the Gupta era or any other for that matter.

fore be the 80th year from the coronation of his first ancestor Mayūśarma, in which case the date of this grant would be $180 + 80 = 260$ A.C. i.e., 259-260 A.C. when Raghu was ruling as king and Kākutsthavarma was the crown-prince under him. Now, in the Tālagunda inscription, neither Śivaskandavarma (v. 23) nor his son Bhagīratha (v. 24) has been spoken of in such glorious terms as Raghu (vv. 25-26) has been. He has been compared to the first pre-historical emperor Prithu, and has been described as having made the whole earth to be enjoyed by his family; and he is further said to have been a great Vēdic scholar, a poet, and an expert in many an art and also a very liberal king loved by his subjects. He was thus a great conqueror who must have had a sufficiently long reign in the course of which the Kadamba kingdom must also have expanded. Assigning his death to *circa* 265 A.C. the regnal periods of the first four Kadambas would be:—(1) Mayūśarma, 180-210 A.C.; (2) Śivaskandavarma, 210-225 A.C.; (3) Bhagīratha, 225-240 A.C.; (4) Raghu, 240-265 A.C.; and the accession of Kākutsthavarma to the Kadamba throne in succession to his elder brother Raghu would therefore allot itself to 265 A.C.

By means of a picturesque metaphor we are told in the Tālagunda inscription (v. 31) that Kākutsthavarma by giving his daughters in marriage into the Gupta and other royal families exalted their positions. If this is not merely a vain boast but contains any truth in it, it cannot be that it was Kākutsthavarma or his daughters who directly brought about that exaltation. It must be that the marriages, in which those members of the Gupta and other royal families took the daughters of Kākutsthavarma as wives, synchronized with the attainment by those kings to some unforeseen exalted position, which, however, the relations of their wives would naturally attribute either to the special dignity conferred on those kings by such marriages, or to the good luck of the wives whom they had newly wedded. We know not into what different royal families the daughters of Kākutsthavarma were given in marriage; but we know that one of them, however, was married into the Gupta family. Now, Kākutsthavarma came to the throne in *circa* 265 A.C., and the Gupta marriage may perhaps have taken place in about 270 A.C. From the date we have already found out for the initial year of the Gupta era,^{112a} it was in the year 272-273 A.C. that Chandragupta I assumed the paramount title *Mahārājādhirāja* and started his own dynastic era, and

the year 272-273 A.C. thus marks indeed a rare and unique apogee in the annals of the Guptas. It was, therefore, to the first Gupta emperor Chandragupta I himself that one of the daughters of the Kadamba king Kākutsthavarma was given in marriage, and she was therefore one of the wives of that Gupta. The synchronism of the two events would naturally enough provoke the wife's relations, the Kadambas, to ascribe the immediate exaltation of that Gupta king to the fact of the matrimonial alliance he had made with them. For the purposes of history, however, suffice it to say that, this is a very important record in that, in the light of the statement of the Tālagunda inscription (v. 31) with respect to Kākutsthavarma's matrimonial alliance with the Guptas, it tends to fix the foundation of the Gupta era within a close approximation of the 80th year of the rise of the Kadamba dynasty.

We have no other records of Kākutsthavarma; and of those two others that come next in order neither the Kūdagere copper-plate inscription¹¹³ of Māndhātṛivarma dated the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in his 2nd regnal year, nor the undated Tālagunda pillar inscription of Śāntivarma admits of verification. All the same, neither Kākutsthavarma, who ascended the throne after a fairly long reign of Raghu, nor his brother Māndhātṛivarma who came to the throne after that, nor again Śāntivarma, who became king after the successive reigns of three brothers, could have had a long reign. Accordingly, the reigns of each one of these three Kadambas would be necessarily shorter than the average, and their total length would be about 40 to 50 years i.e., from about 265 A.C. to about 305 to 315 A.C. The next name according to seniority is that of Dēvavarma (Madhuvarma), who, as we have already seen, could not have ruled as king, nor could anything be made out of his Taḍagaṇi stone inscription,¹¹⁴ which is undated. So it was Mrigēśavarma who succeeded his father Śāntivarma, and his accession for the above reasons will have to be placed in about the first decade of the 4th century.

Altogether five records of the reign of Mrigēśavarma have come down to us, all of which no doubt contain some details of date, which nevertheless are insufficient for an independent determination of their English equivalents. In his Halsi grant,¹¹⁵ how-

113. E. C. VII (Sk. 29).

114. E. C. VII (Sk. 66).

115. I. A. VI (p. 24)—*बुद्ध गङ्गकुलोत्सादी पल्लवप्रलयानल । :*

ever, which is dated the full-moon day of Kārtika of the Vaiśākha *saṃvatsara* in the 8th year of his reign, it is said that he *overturned* the lofty Gaṅga family and was a fire of destruction to the Pallavas. He must have therefore inflicted a crushing defeat on the contemporary Gaṅga and Pallava kings in the 8th year of his reign, i.e., a little before the date of the said grant, as the said event has not been spoken of in his Hiṭṭahebbāgilu grant¹¹⁶ dated the 10th day of the bright half of Mārgaśira in his 7th regnal year, which is thus only a little less than a year earlier than his Halsi grant. From the contemporary history of the Gaṅga dynasty we know that the Gaṅga king Harivarman (309-341 A.C.)¹¹⁷ removed the capital from Kuvāḷāla (i.e. Kōlār) to Talakāḍ,¹¹⁸ and from his Tagaḍūr plates,¹¹⁹ the date of which, as we have found out, is the 11th February 314 A.C.,¹²⁰ we further know that the capital had already been shifted to Talakāḍ. Then again in the Penukoṇḍa plates¹²¹ of his grandson Mādhavavarman II, we are told that his grandfather Ayyavarman (i.e. Harivarman) was installed on the throne by the Pallava king Simhavarman (i.e. Simhavarman I), who, as we have shown, ruled from 296 to 315 A.C.¹²² It was not without an efficient cause that the Gaṅga king had to abandon his old capital, and his installation had to be performed by the Pallava king presumably at his new capital. It is almost certain, therefore, that the Gaṅga king, whom Mṛigēśavarman claims to have *overturned* (from his old capital) must be the Gaṅga king Harivarman, and it is equally certain that the Pallava king, to whom Mṛigēśavarman claims to have been a fire of destruction, must be that Gaṅga king's ally the Pallava king Simhavarman I. Thus then Mṛigēśavarman would be a contemporary of those two kings, and the date of his aforesaid Halsi plates will have therefore to be looked for in that Vaiśākha *saṃvatsara* which occurred between the years 309 A.C. (which is the 1st year of the Gaṅga king Harivarman's reign) and 315 A.C. (which is the last year of the reign of the Pallava king Simhavarman I). The Vaiśākha *saṃvatsara*, which did occur in that interval, lasted from about the 17th October 309 A.C. till about the 17th November 310 A.C.; and accordingly the precise date of the aforesaid Halsi grant of Mṛigēśavarman is Tuesday the 24th October 310 A.C., on

116. E. C. IV (Hs. 18).

117. K. H. R. (II. No. 1).

118. M. C. I. (p. 32).

119. E. C. III (Nj. 122).

120. K. H. R. (II. No. 1).

121. E. I. XIV (pp. 334-35).

122. Q. J. A. H. R. S. (VII. No. 3).

which day there was also a lunar eclipse, though not mentioned in the grant. As this grant was made in the 8th year of his reign, his accession took place in the year 303 A.C.

The other records of the reign of Mṛigēśavarman are as follows :

(1) His Dēvagere plates¹²³ dated the 10th day of the dark half of Kārtika under the asterism Uttara-Bhādrapadā of the Pausa *saṃvatsara* in the 3rd year of his reign. The 26th *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhādrapadā or Uttara-Bhādrā as it is commonly known, can never occur on the 10th day of the dark fortnight of Kārtika, nor on any other day in its dark fortnight, whether the Kārtika in question be an Amānta or Pūrṇimānta month (inasmuch as it ought to occur just a day or two before the Āśvayuja full-moon, i.e. in the bright half of Āśvayuja, and then again some 3 or 4 days before the next Kārtika full-moon i.e. in the bright half of Kārtika), whereas it may once in a way occur on the 10th day of the bright half of Kārtika. Obviously, therefore, there is an error in terming the correct fortnight, or in naming the right asterism, for the 12th *nakshatra* Uttara-Phālgunī, better known as merely Uttarā (which name by the way sounds similar, and therefore is likely to be mistaken for the name Uttara-Bhādrā of the other asterism by the composer or the engraver of the plates) invariably occurs on the 10th day of the dark fortnight of the Amānta Kārtika, and rarely also on the corresponding lunar day of the Pūrṇimānta Kārtika i.e. Amānta Āśvayuja. As a result, it would appear that the lunar day specified in this grant may be one of these 3 days—(1) the 10th day of the bright half of Kārtika under the asterism Uttara-Bhādrā; (2) the 10th day of the dark half of Amānta Kārtika under the asterism Uttarā (i.e. Uttara-Phālgunī), and (3) the 10th day of the dark half of the Pūrṇimānta Kārtika (i.e. Amānta Āśvayuja) under the asterism of Uttarā. The Pausa *saṃvatsara* in question lasted from about the 14th June 305 A.C. till about the 15th July 306 A.C.; and in that interval it was only on the 10th lunar day of the dark half of Amānta Kārtika, the equivalent English date of which is Monday the 29th October 305 A.C., there was also the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phālgunī, whereas neither there was Uttara-Bhādrā on the lunar day of the bright half of Kārtika (Sunday the 14th October 305 A.C.), nor was there Uttara-Phālgunī on the 10th lunar day of the dark half of Pūrṇimānta Kārtikā (Sunday the 30th September 305 A.C.). Therefore the precise day of these Dēvagere plates is Monday the 29th October 305 A.C.

123. I. A. XIV (p. 334-35).

(2) Another set of his Dēvagere plates¹²⁴ dated the full-moon day of the 8th fortnight of the rainy season in the 4th year of his reign. Here again we have a more conclusive instance of the primitive division of the year into 3 seasons of 4 months each. We have already seen that the rainy season in this three-fold division lasted from the full-moon day of Āshāḍha to that of Kārtika, and consequently the full-moon day of its 8th fortnight is unmistakably the full-moon day of Kārtika. The corresponding English date is therefore Wednesday the 9th October 306 A.C.

(3) His Hiṭṇahebbāgilu plates¹²⁵ are dated the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśira in his 7th regnal year. The equivalent English date is Sunday the 30th October 309 A.C.

(4) Lastly, there are his Hiresakuna plates¹²⁶ dated the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in his 8th regnal year. In the year 310 A.C. there was an intercalation of Vaiśākha.¹²⁷ Therefore if the grant in question had been made in either lunar month of that name in that year, the fact, whether the month was the intercalary or the natural Vaiśākha, would have been naturally specified. In the absence of any such specification, the presumption is natural enough that the grant must have been made in the following year, and accordingly the equivalent English date is Thursday the 19th April 311 A.C., on which date there was a lunar eclipse, though not referred to in the grant.

From the fact that his Halsi plates dated the Kārtika full-moon day (24th October 310 A.C.) as well as these Hiresakuna plates dated the Vaiśākha full-moon day belong equally to the 8th year of his reign, it would follow that the accession of Mrigēśavarma took place in the year 303 A.C. between the Vaiśākha full-moon (18th April 303 A.C.) and the Kārtika full-moon (12th October 303 A.C.).

The regnal periods of his predecessors may be approximately set down as follows:—(5) Kākutsthavarma, 265—282 A.C.; (6) Māndhātṛivarma, 282—287 A.C.; and (7) Śāntivarma, 287—303

124. I. A. VII (p. 37).

125. E. C. IV (Hs. 18).

126. E. C. VIII (Sb. 33).

127. According to the true system of intercalations, Vaiśākha was intercalary, whereas according to the mean system, it was the previous month of Māgha that was intercalary.

A.C.; in which case the equivalent English date of the Kuḍagere plates¹²⁸ of Māndhātṛivarma dated the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the 2nd year of his reign would be the 29th April 283 A.C.; and seeing that the Tālagunda pillar inscription of his nephew and successor Śāntivarma is a *praśasti* of his own family as well as a dedicatory inscription in respect of the construction of the tank undertaken and already completed by his father Kākutsthavarma, it might be expected that as a dutiful son Śāntivarma would set up that dedication soon after his accession; therefore that inscription may be properly assigned to the early part of his reign and located between 287 and 290 A.C.

Beyond the two documents of his 8th regnal year, we have no further information as regards Mrigēśavarma; nor have we any whatsoever with respect to his cousin brother and immediate successor Kṛishṇavarma I. All that we know of Kṛishṇavarma I from the Bīrūr¹²⁹ as well as the Hebbāṭa¹³⁰ plates of his son Viṣṇuvarma, as well as the Bannahalli plates¹³¹ of his great-grandson Kṛishṇavarma II is that he had celebrated the *Aśvamēdha*, whence he may be presumed to have been a great conqueror and to have had a sufficiently long reign. From the Aṇaji stone inscription,¹³² we further know that in a battle, that took place between him and the contemporary Pallava king, he was defeated and his army was put to rout by that Pallava, and we have also found out that Kṛishṇavarma I had married the younger sister of the wife of that Pallava, and both of those princesses were the daughters of the Kēkaya king Śivanandavarma. Not having been told the name of the Pallava, who was thus so close a relation and so deadly an adversary of Kṛishṇavarma I, neither the fact of his relationship with an anonymous Pallava nor his defeat by that Pallava helps us towards arriving at any definite date in the reign of Kṛishṇavarma I. We have, therefore, to see if any definite information is available in the subsequent records of his successors.

128. E. C. VII (Sk. 29).

129. E. C. VI (Kd. 162).

130. M. A. R. 1925 (p. 98).

131. E. C. V (Bl. 121). Just as the fact that he performed the *Aśvamēdha* argues him a paramount sovereign, the other fact that he has been spoken of as *Rājarāja* in the Bennūr plates (E. C. V. Bl. 245) argues him a very great king. Thus he seems to have been one of the greatest of the early Kadambas, and it is unfortunate that no records of his have come down to us.

132. E. C. XI (Dg. 161).

In the Bīrūr plates, which are obviously the earlier of the two records we have of Vishṇuvarma, it is said that his elder uncle Śāntivaravarma was the master of the entire Karnāṭa country; while in his later Hebbāṭa plates it is said that Vishṇuvarma was crowned by the Pallava king Śāntivaravarma, who as we have already shown, was no other than his elder uncle Śāntivaravarma. Further, in his earlier Bīrūr plates issued from Vaijayanti (i.e. Banavāśi), which was the principal capital of the Kadambas, Vishṇuvarma is described as *Dharmamahārāja*, and is not said to have been crowned by his elder uncle the Pallava king Śāntivaravarma, though the grant in question is said to have been made with the express sanction or permission of the latter; whereas in his later Hebbāṭa plates issued from his residence at Kūḍalūr, which, by the way, was none of the three Kadamba capitals, the title he allots to himself is *Mahārāja* and he is further said to have been crowned by that Pallava king. If Vishṇuvarma had already been crowned king by the Pallava, when he issued his Bīrūr plates, that fact would never have been omitted but would certainly have been duly and faithfully mentioned in the said plates, where even such a fact of comparatively lesser consequence as the said grant was made with the permission of that Pallava has been so obsequiously recorded. The omission is indeed significant enough to argue that the coronation of Vishṇuvarma by the Pallava king was assuredly his re-coronation, which was performed in his new residence at Kūḍalūr. Evidently, therefore, Vishṇuvarma must have lost the throne of Banavāśi in the interval between the dates of his Bīrūr and Hebbāṭa grants. This is amply corroborated by an undated Halsi grant of his cousin-brother Ravivarma,¹³³ the son of Mṛigēśavarma, which states that having conquered Vishṇuvarma and others and having overturned Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, the lord of Kañchi (i.e. the Pallava king), Ravivarma settled himself firmly at Palāśikā (Halsi). It was Ravivarma, therefore, who wrested the Kadamba crown from Vishṇuvarma, and drove him to seek sanctuary perhaps beyond the bounds of the Kadamba kingdom into the province of Kūḍalūr, which was then probably included in the Pallava kingdom or lay within their sphere of influence; and the Pallava king Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, whom he further claims to have overturned, would therefore be no other than Śāntivaravarma, who, as we have seen,

133. I. A. VI (p. 30). श्रीविष्णुवर्म प्रभृतीन्नेन्द्रान् निहत्य जित्वापृथिवीं समस्ताम् । उत्साद्य काञ्चीश्वर चण्डदण्डम् पलाशिकायां समवस्थितः सः ॥

performed the re-coronation of Vishṇuvarma at his new provincial residence.

The whole story of this disputed succession may be put together as follows :—

When Kṛishṇavarma I was ruling as king at Banavāśi, his nephews Ravivarma and his brothers (Bhānuvarma and Śivaratha), who belonged to what might be conveniently called the Palāśikā branch, were naturally at Palāśikā in charge of that division of the Kadamba kingdom, whereas his eldest son Vishṇuvarma would be with him at Banavāśi. On the death of Kṛishṇavarma I, Vishṇuvarma seized the Kadamba throne, and with the help of his elder uncle the Pallava king Śāntivaravarma and that of his adherents, of whom he could easily find many at Banavāśi, he established himself as king. It was in the 3rd year of that coronation that he issued his Bīrūr plates, in which the Pallava king has been described as the master of the entire Karnāṭa region. Soon after this, Ravivarma, who was the elder cousin-brother of Vishṇuvarma, and whose prior right as such to the Kadamba throne had thus been usurped by him, marched against him and his ally the Pallava king, and having defeated them established his rightful succession. Thus defeated, Vishṇuvarma retired to Kūḍalūr, where he was re-crowned by that Pallava, presumably as a provincial ruler, if not an actual feudatory of that Pallava. The victorious Ravivarma, however, thought it best to settle his capital for a time at least at Palāśikā, where he was much safer and stronger than at Banavāśi, where on the other hand, as might be expected, there would be still a large number of the supporters of the lost cause of Vishṇuvarma. When, however, all was quiet and peaceful, Ravivarma soon established himself at Banavāśi, whence the Nilambūr plates of his 5th regnal year were issued. Then he also nominated one of his brothers Bhānuvarma as governor of the Palāśikā division, as is evident from the latter's Halsi plates of the 11th year of Ravivarma, and likewise appointed another brother Śivaratha governor of the Ucchaṣṛṅgi or Triparvata division, as is manifest from the Halsi plates of Ravivarma's son Harivarma's 4th regnal year. Thus the Triparvata division, which was in the possession of the descendants of Māndhātṛivarma was taken away from them, when Ravivarma of the senior branch snatched the crown from Vishṇuvarma of that junior branch, and drove him outside the Kadamba kingdom.

This trend of events further tends to establish a definite synchronism of the coronation of Ravivarma at Palāśikā as the king

of the Kadamba kingdom with the re-coronation of Vishṇuvarma as a provincial ruler by the Pallava king at Kūḍalūr. Accordingly the Nilambūr plates¹³⁴ of Ravivarma dated the full-moon day of Kārtika in his 5th regnal year as well as the Hebbaṭa plates of Vishṇuvarma dated the same lunar day in the 5th year of his local rule would allot themselves to the same year and the same day of it.

Who then is this mysterious Pallava who thus appears under this double style of Śāntivaravarma as well as Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, neither of which names, however, finds place in Pallava history? In the Bīrūr plates, he has been further described as the master of the entire Karnāṭa country; and the clue, if any, to his identification will have therefore to be looked for in that unique description. Now in the 4th century, with which we are at present concerned, the Karnāṭaka country was mainly or exclusively made up of two large kingdoms, viz., the Kadamba kingdom and the Gaṅga kingdom; and accordingly he who held both the Kadambas and the Gaṅgas in subordination, or he whose supremacy was, whether virtually or nominally, acknowledged by those kings, or at least he to whom the contemporary Kadamba and Gaṅga kings owed their respective thrones, would indeed be entitled to be looked upon as the master of the entire Karnāṭaka country. No Pallava could have held that position so long as Mṛigēśavarma, who was as a fire of destruction to them (vide f.n. 115), was on the Kadamba throne; and though therefore his Gaṅga contemporary Harivarma is known to have been installed by (or in other words, to have owed his throne to) the Pallava king Simhavarma I (as we have seen from the Penukoṇḍa plates¹³⁵), that by itself would not suffice to entitle Simhavarma I to be regarded as the master of the entire Karnāṭaka country, so long as there was Mṛigēśavarma on the Kadamba throne. Nor could that position be claimed for the Pallava king during the next reign of Kadamba Kṛishṇavarma I, who was a *Rājarāja*, had performed the *Aśvamēdha* and thus gained the supremacy which that sacrifice entitled him to claim. If, in one of his campaigns the Pallava king got the better of him, as has been stated in the Aṇaji stone inscription, it need hardly be said that that one victory would make the Pallava the master of the entire Karnāṭaka country. In the next reign of Vishṇuvarma, however, the scales

134. E. I. VII (p. 147-148).

135. E. I. XIV (p. 334-335).

suddenly turned, when, having seized the Kadamba throne with the help of the Pallava king, he had to acknowledge the latter's authority, as is patent enough from the Bīrūr plates of his 3rd regnal year, in which, though he proclaims himself to be a *Dharmamahārāja*, the specified grant is expressly said to have been made with the permission of that Pallava. It is in the same plates that the Pallava king is described as the master of the entire Karnāṭa country, and the irresistible conclusion, therefore, is that the contemporary Gaṅga king also was already under a like obligation to the same Pallava as otherwise that description would not fit in. In other words, the contemporary Gaṅga king must have either acquired his throne with the help of that Pallava king, or must have been installed upon it by that Pallava before the similar installation of the Kadamba Vishṇuvarma. Now, the two reigns of Mṛigēśavarma and Kṛishṇavarma I would naturally take up the whole of the first half of the 4th century, by which time the Pallava kings Simhavarma I (296-315 A.C.) as well as his brother and successor Vishṇugōpa I (296-315 A.C.) were already dead, and Skandavarma IV (346-364 A.C.), the son of Simhavarma I had already ascended the Pallava throne.¹³⁶ We have already seen in our Pallava article¹³⁷ that it was this Skandavarma IV who installed the Gaṅga king Mādhavavarma II (*alias* Simhavarma) on the Gaṅga throne, as recorded in the latter's Penukoṇḍa plates, the date of which, as has been found out in our Gaṅga article,¹³⁸ is the 10th March 350 A.C. Without doubt, therefore, it is the same Pallava king Skandavarma IV, who likewise helped Vishṇuvarma to secure the Kadamba throne. The mystery that hitherto wrapped the Pallava names Śāntivaravarma and Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, at once clears up, and now they stand out in their unquestionable identity with the well-known name of the Pallava king and king-maker Skandavarma IV (340-364 A.C.). It was this Skandavarma IV, therefore, who had married the elder sister of Kṛishṇavarma I's wife, and who further defeated him, as stated in the Aṇaji stone; and it was this Skandavarma IV too who helped his own nephew Vishṇuvarma, who was the son of Kṛishṇavarma I, to secure the Kadamba throne (perhaps as a reparation for the defeat he had inflicted on his father Kṛishṇavarma I), and gave permission as Śāntivaravarma to the Bīrūr grant which his nephew made; and again it was this Skanda-

136. Q. J. A. H. R. S. (VII. No. 3).

137. Q. J. A. H. R. S. (VII. No. 3).

138. K. H. R. (II. No. 1).

varma IV, who as Chaṇḍadaṇḍa was defeated by Ravivarma (who also, by the way, was another nephew of his), whereupon again as Śāntivaravarma he re-installed Viṣṇuvarma in his provincial residence at Kūḍalūr.

The *Aśvamēdha* performed by Kṛishṇavarma I would naturally be over by the time Skandavarma IV ascended the Pallava throne; or even if not, as so close a relation of that Kadamba, it cannot be said that the Pallava would thwart the progress of such a solemn event. The battle that was fought between them was therefore a later affair and must have been occasioned by other causes. Now, the date of the Penukoṇḍa plates of the Gaṅga king Mādhavarvarma II is, as we have already said, the 10th March 350 A.C., and we have also seen in our Gaṅga article that he was installed on the throne by the Pallava king Skandavarma IV at about the end of 349 A.C. when he was still young. The need for the Pallava intervention naturally argues the apprehension of the opposition from some other great power, which in that century could be none else than the Kadambas. It would thus appear that shortly before that event (i.e. to say between the death of the predecessor of the Gaṅga king Mādhavarvarma II and the accession of that Mādhavarvarma II) the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarma I invaded the Gaṅga territory, just as his predecessor Mṛigēśavarma had done within a year of the accession of the Gaṅga king Harivarma, as we have already seen. Kṛishṇavarma I, however, does not appear to have succeeded, for the Pallava king Skandavarma IV espoused the cause of the young Gaṅga prince¹³⁹ and put the Kadamba army to rout. This Kadamba defeat would thus allot itself to about 348-349 A.C., and the death of Kṛishṇavarma I may therefore be properly located in the early part of 349 A.C., as the Gaṅga installation would not take place, as might be expected, so long as that old Kadamba lion was still in the way.

Thus then Kṛishṇavarma I died in 349 A.C., and was immediately succeeded by his son Viṣṇuvarma. The Bīrūr plates issued

139. From the fact that the Gaṅga king Ayyavarma (i.e. Harivarma) was installed on the throne by the Pallava king Siṃhavarma I, and that Harivarma's grandson Mādhavarvarma was installed by Siṃhavarma I's son Skandavarma II (as stated in the Penukoṇḍa plates), and the further fact that Viṣṇugōpa, who was the son of the Gaṅga king Harivarma and father of Mādhavarvarma II bears the same name as the Pallava king Viṣṇugōpa, who was the brother of Siṃhavarma I, it is quite likely that there was some close and running relationship between these Gaṅgas and Pallavas.

by Viṣṇuvarma from his capital at Banavāsi are dated the 5th lunar day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the 3rd year of his reign, and the corresponding English date therefore is the 6th February 352 A.C. Shortly thereafter Ravivarma wrested the succession from Viṣṇuvarma, and as we have already said the coronation of Ravivarma as the Kadamba king at Palāśika,¹⁴⁰ and the installation of Viṣṇuvarma as a local ruler by the Pallava king Skandavarma IV at Kūḍalūr¹⁴¹ took place in the same year. The Nilambūr plates of Ravivarma¹⁴² dated the full-moon day of Kārtika in his 5th regnal year as well as the Hebbaṭa plates of Viṣṇuvarma dated the same lunar day in the 5th year of his provincial rule allot themselves, for this reason, to the same year and the same day of it. If thus Ravivarma and Viṣṇuvarma, between whom no love was lost, should choose the same day for making their respective grants quite unknown to each other, that day indeed must be a very auspicious occasion for the purpose, and it need hardly be said that by no other occurrence are the full-moon and the new-moon days rendered so auspicious as by that of eclipses. Now it is only in the year 357 A.C. that there was a lunar eclipse on the specified full-moon day of Kārtika in the long interval between 329 A.C. and 375 A.C., and the date therefore of the Nilambūr plates of Ravivarma as well as of the Hebbaṭa plates of Viṣṇuvarma is the 14th October 357 A.C., on which night there was a lunar eclipse.

Accordingly, it was in the year 353 A.C. that Viṣṇuvarma lost the Kadamba throne and Ravivarma gained it, and the regnal periods of the predecessors of Ravivarma would be :—(8) Mṛigēśavarma, 303-323 A.C.; (9) Kṛishṇavarma I, 323-349 A.C.; and (10) Viṣṇuvarma, 349-353 A.C.

The other records of the reign of Ravivarma are as follows :—

(1) His Halsi plates,¹⁴⁰ in which he claims to have conquered Viṣṇuvarma and others and to have overturned Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, the lord of Kāñchi, i.e. the Pallava king Skandavarma IV, as we have seen. This record is not dated.

(2) Another set of his Halsi plates.¹⁴³ This record also is not dated.

140. I. A. VI (pp. 29-30).

141. M. A. R. 1925 (p. 98).

142. E. I. VII (pp. 147-148).

143. I. A. VI (pp. 25-26).

(3) The Halsi plates of his brother Bhānuvarma,¹⁴⁴ dated the 10th lunar day in the 6th fortnight of the cold season in the 11th year of the reign of Ravivarma. This lunar day is clearly the 10th lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha, and the equivalent English date accordingly is the 11th January 363 A.C.

(4) His own Sirsi plates¹⁴⁵ dated the 5th lunar day of Kārtika in the 35th year of his reign. The corresponding English date is the 3rd October 387 A.C.

(5) An incomplete as well as undated inscription of Mṛigēśavarma's wife and Ravivarma's mother Prabhāvatī,¹⁴⁶ which is engraved on the left jamb of the door-way of Śrī Praṇavēśvara temple at Tālagunda. As in this inscription the queen-mother Prabhāvatī is spoken of also as 'या श्री रविवर्म धर्ममहाराज माता' (i.e., who is the mother of Ravivarma, who is *Dharmamahārāja*), it is certain that it was engraved during the reign of Ravivarma.

The Saṅgōli plates of Harivarma,¹⁴⁷ the son and successor of Ravivarma, are dated the new-moon day of Āśvayuja, which was also the day of the (autumnal) equinox in the 8th year of his reign. We have seen that Ravivarma ascended the throne in 353 A.C., and from the Sirsi plates of his 35th regnal year, it is manifest that he ruled for at least 35 years. Accordingly the accession of Harivarma will have to be placed at about the end of the 4th century, or the beginning of the 5th. This coincidence of the Āśvayuja newmoon and the autumnal equinox should indeed give a definite fixture in the Kadamba chronology of that period, as this phenomenon, of which the intercalation of the very next month of Kārtika is the necessary consequence, is indeed very rare. It never occurred in the 1st century A.C. nor in the 2nd, nor in the 4th, whereas it occurred only once in the 3rd century (i.e. in the year 263 A.C.), and only twice in the 5th century i.e. in the years 404 A.C. and 488 A.C. Of these two years 404 A.C. and 488 A.C., the latter is quite disposed of as impossible, as in that case Ravivarma will have to be accredited with a reign of more than a hundred years. The unquestionable date of the Saṅgōli plates is therefore Tuesday the 20th September 404 A.C., which as the lunar day was the newmoon day of

144. Ibid. (pp. 28-29).

145. E. I. XVI (p. 268).

146. M. A. R. 1911 (pp. 33, 35).

147. E. I. XIV (p. 166).

Amānta Āśvayuja, and as the solar day was the day of the autumnal equinox. This then fixes the year 397 A.C. as that in which Ravivarma died and was succeeded by his son Harivarma.

The other records of the reign of Harivarma are as follows:—

(1) The undated Kavaḍi stone inscription,¹⁴⁸ which mentions the queen (राज्ञी), who was anointed along with Ravivarma—**रविवर्मणा सहाभिषेक युक्ता**—as can be easily made out if the 3 letters missing at the beginning of the 3rd line are thus filled up and the next letter च correctly read as से. Perhaps she was the mother of Harivarma. So far, however, as can be made out, there is nothing in this inscription to say that she 'probably became a *Sati*, and was burnt with his (i.e. Ravivarma's) body' as has been conjectured by Mr. Rice.¹⁴⁹ All that can be surmised is that it is perhaps her attainment of *Mukti* (सा मुक्ता —3rd line) i.e. salvation, or in other words her death that has been recorded in this inscription, and that event in all probability happened during the lifetime of her husband Ravivarma, as no mention has been made here of her son Harivarma, as for instance in the aforesaid Tālagunda inscription of the queen-mother Prabhāvatī, where her son Ravivarma is spoken of as the king. This inscription would therefore be properly allotted to the reign of her husband Ravivarma.

(2) The Halsi grant,¹⁵⁰ made at the advice of his paternal uncle Śivaratha on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the 4th year of his reign. The corresponding English date is the 24th February 400 A.C., or the 12th February 401 A.C., according as Harivarma ascended the throne in the early part of 397 A.C. or in the later.

(3) Another grant also from Halsi,¹⁵¹ dated without further details in his 5th year i.e. in 401-402 A.C., states that he allotted a village at the request of Bhānuśakti of the Sēndraka family.

We are nowhere told whether it was Dāmōdara the son of Harivarma, or Kṛishṇavarma II of the other and junior branch, who was the immediate successor of Harivarma, nor are we told how

148. E. C. VIII (Sb. 523). Or could it be 'सहाभिषेक युक्ता, where अभिषेक means the same as अभिषेक ? (अभिषेकः क्रतौ मय सन्धानं ज्ञानयोरपि —(Anēkārthasaṅgraha. v. 1675).

149. E. C. VIII (Int. p. 3).

150. I. A. VI (pp. 30-31).

151. Ibid. (pp. 31-32).

the Kadamba sceptre passed from one branch to the other. Now there are the three following records of Kṛishṇavarma II :— (1) the Bannahaḷli plates¹⁵² dated under the asterism of Jyēsthā on the 5th lunar day of the *bright* half of Kārtika in his 7th year, (2) the Bennūr plates¹⁵³ dated without further details on the 1st lunar day of the bright fortnight of Pausa, and (3) the Sirsi plates¹⁵⁴ dated the full-moon day of Kārtika in his 19th year.

The first of these i.e. the Bannahaḷli plates, is a remarkable document, the importance of which has not been adequately recognised so far. In it Kṛishṇavarma I and his son Viṣṇuvarma, who are respectively the great grandfather and the grandfather of the donor Kṛishṇavarma II, are spoken of with the paramount title *Dharmamahārāja*, and both of them, we know, sat on the Kadamba throne, whereas the donor's father Siṃhavarma as well as the donor Kṛishṇavarma II himself are allotted the comparatively inferior title *Mahārāja*. The contrast is significant enough to argue (1) that Siṃhavarma never ruled as a paramount king i.e. never sat on the Kadamba throne, (2) that his son Kṛishṇavarma II had not yet become the Kadamba king, but was still a local ruler when he issued these Bannahaḷli plates, and (3) that Siṃhavarma had been dead and succeeded by his son Kṛishṇavarma II (at least) six or seven years before the date of these plates. The date details of the Bannahaḷli plates¹⁵⁵ regularly correspond to the 26th September 412 A.C., and to no day else in the 5th century.¹⁵⁶ It is therefore certain that it was in the year 405-406 A.C., when Harivarma was on the Kadamba throne, that Siṃhavarma died and was succeeded by his son Kṛishṇavarma II in his provincial rule.

The same result is arrived at from the contemporary records of the Gaṅga king Avinīta, who, in his own records as well as those

152. E. C. V (Bl. 121).

153. Ibid. (Bl. 245).

154. E. I. XVI (p. 271).

155. कार्तिकमासे आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पञ्चम्यां ज्येष्ठानक्षत्रे (E. C. V. Bl. 121). 'आपूर्यमाण' means 'that which is being filled up,' and when referred to the fortnight, it means the *bright* fortnight; therefore Mr. Rice's translation 'the last fortnight' is quite inadmissible.

156. These details might also seem to correspond to the 25th September 385 A.C., as well as to the 25th September 488 A.C., but both of these dates are quite disposed of, as the former is too early a date for Kṛishṇavarma II, and the latter is not only too late but is equivalent to the lunar day in the intercalary, and not the ordinary month of Kārtika, and as such, is quite inadmissible in the absence of any such specification in the grant itself.

of his successors, is represented as the son of the sister of Kṛishṇavarma II, as we have already seen. The striking insistence with which in all these Gaṅga records Avinīta is said to be the son of Kṛishṇavarma II's sister—अश्वमेधावभृथाभिषिक्त श्रीमत् कदम्बकुलामल गभस्तिमालिनः श्रीमत् कृष्णवर्म महाधिराजस्य प्रिय भागिनेयः¹⁵⁷ and nowhere as the son of Siṃhavarma's daughter as well as the entire absence of reference to that filiation in the Nonamaṅgalam (No. 2) plates¹⁵⁸ dated the 26th February 418 A.C. and the Śringēri plates¹⁵⁹ dated the 15th April 419 A.C., of the first and second years respectively of the reign of Avinīta, doubtless argue (1) that Siṃhavarma never sat on the Kadamba throne, and (2) that Kṛishṇavarma II had not yet ascended the Kadamba throne as far at least as the 15th April 419 A.C.

Again, from the Residency plates of the same Gaṅga king Avinīta¹⁶⁰ dated the 25th of October 442 A.C., in which he is described as—अश्वमेधावभृथाभिषिक्त श्रीमत्कदम्बकुलामल गभस्तिमालिनः श्रीमत्कृष्णवर्म महाधिराजस्य प्रिय भागिनेयः

—the son of the sister of the Kadamba *Mahādhira* Kṛishṇavarma II, who had been bathed with the sacrificial waters of the *Aśvamēdha*, it is certain that Kṛishṇavarma II had not only become the Kadamba king before that date, but also had already performed the horse-sacrifice by that time. His coronation as well as the *Aśvamēdha* performed by him will have therefore to be located between the 15th April 419 A.C. and the 25th October 442 A.C.

Now in the Bennūr plates¹⁶¹ of Kṛishṇavarma II, we are told :

(1) That he was the *Dharmamahārāja* of the Kadambas—
कदम्बानां...श्रीमद्धर्ममहाराज विजयशिवकृष्णवर्मा
—wherefore he must have been already crowned king before that date.

(2) That thousands of Brāhmaṇas were being daily fed (*present tense*) in his शाला (hall), as in that of king Yudhiṣṭhira himself, who, by the way, had performed the *Aśvamēdha* as narrated in the *Mahābhārata*—

157. Residency plates (M. A. R. 1911, p. 32).

158. E. C. X (Ml. 72).

159. M. A. R. 1916 (pp. 34-35).

160. M. A. R. 1911 (p. 32); K. H. R. (II. No. 1).

161. E. C. V (Bl. 245).

यथा युधिष्ठिरस्येव शालायां यस्य सन्ततम् ।
ब्राह्मणानां सहस्राणि समञ्जन्ति यथासुखम् ॥

and as the word शाला here is manifestly an abbreviation, *metris causa*, of the fuller compound यज्ञशाला, meaning the sacrificial hall, it stands to reason that he had already undertaken the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice, which, however, would then be going on and cannot yet have been consummated, as the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas in connection with it is said to be still in progress.

(3) And that he was then marching in triumph towards Banavāsi—वैजयन्ती विजययात्रामभिप्रस्थितः—wherefore he must have finished by then the *Digvijaya*, which is a *sine qua non* of that sacrifice and was then returning home to his capital in triumph to celebrate its consummation.

Further, in the Sirsi plates¹⁶² of the 19th year of Kṛishṇavarma II the whole of the Kadamba dynasty is spoken of as having been bathed with the sacrificial waters of the *Aśvamēdha*—अश्वमेधाभिषिक्तानां.....कदम्बानाम्; which, however, we know well enough, is not a fact, as it was only two Kadamba kings, viz., Kṛishṇavarma I and Kṛishṇavarma II who celebrated that sacrifice from Mayūraśarma down to Kṛishṇavarma II. The epithet seems to have been used on purpose to import that all the past and the future generations of the Kadambas are no less sanctified by that sacrifice than the actual performer of it i.e. Kṛishṇavarma II. Evidently, therefore, the said sacrifice had already been finished, when he issued the Sirsi plates in his 19th year from Banavāsi. All this must have been accomplished within the 23 years from 419 A.C. to 442 A.C. Consequently, the accession of Kṛishṇavarma II may be properly assigned to 421-422 A.C., in which case the date of his Sirsi plates, which is the Kārtika full-moon day in his 19th regnal year, would be the 26th October 440 A.C., on which day there was a lunar eclipse though not spoken of in the grant. And similarly, his Bennūr plates dated the 1st lunar day of the bright fortnight of Pausa may be assigned to the 3rd December 438 A.C., as the grant was presumably made in connection with the total solar eclipse, which, though not mentioned in the grant, took place on the very previous day (i.e. the 2nd December) of the new-moon, and was visible in all India. In that case the consummation

162. E. I. XVI (p. 271).

of his *Aśvamēdha* would naturally allot itself to the early part of 439 A.C.

There is no other record of Kṛishṇavarma II.

How did Kṛishṇavarma II acquire the Kadamba throne? Was it in peace or by war? The answer seems to be found in the Dēvagere plates¹⁶³ of his son Yuvarāja Dēvavarma, where he is said to have enjoyed his heritage by attacking or overcoming the chieftains of the Nāga descent—नागजानाक्रम्य दायानुभूत, as well as in his own Bennūr plates which record a grant which he made in the Sēndraka's country, and the Sēndrakas were of Nāga descent as we have already seen (f. n. 52). We know from the Halsi plates¹⁶⁴ of Harivarma that he made a grant at the request of the Sēndraka chieftain Bhānuśakti, whence it would appear that the latter was a favourite as well as trusted feudatory of the former. If then Kṛishṇavarma II had peacefully succeeded Harivarma, the Sēndrakas would naturally become his trusted feudatories too, exactly as they were of his predecessor, and there would be no reason why he should attack them. But we know he did attack them, and that in order to win his heritage; whence it necessarily follows that Sēndrakas, who were the staunchest followers of Harivarma and therefore of his son (in case Harivarma had then been dead), would naturally be the formidable opponents of Kṛishṇavarma II and offer him great resistance, so that it was only after overcoming them that he could win his heritage, by which however his son (Dēvavarma) would not mean anything besides the Kadamba crown. It is, therefore, by war that Kṛishṇavarma II secured the Kadamba throne.

We have seen that it was in 405-406 A.C. that Simhavarma died and his son Kṛishṇavarma II succeeded to his provincial rulership, when Harivarma was on the Kadamba throne. Kṛishṇavarma II thus appears to have waited for at least 15 or 16 years before he strove for the Kadamba crown. It would not, therefore be from his uncle Harivarma that he wrested the succession, but it must be from his cousin-brother Dāmōdara, who was the son of Harivarma. Already he had waited long enough perhaps in deference to the age and rank of his uncle Harivarma, and as might be expected, he would not let go the opportunity when it once presented itself in the death of that old uncle, but would readily seize it and com-

163. I. A. VII (p. 33).

164. I. A. VI (pp. 31-32).

mit himself forthwith to the enterprise for which he had been so long waiting. Accordingly, Harivarma was no sooner dead at Banavāśi than Kṛishṇavarma II would set out on his expedition to seize the Kadamba throne; and as in the Dēvagere plates of his son Dēvavarma he is said to have enjoyed his heritage after overcoming the chieftains of Nāga descent, the real struggle he had had in this expedition was perhaps only with the Sēndrakas. Therefore he must have either met Dāmōdara on his way to Banavāśi and quickly disposed of him, or Dāmōdara not being equal to the occasion must have vacated the throne and retired in all probability to the Palāśika province, within the precincts of which his Koṇṇūr inscription stands. The interval between the death of Harivarma and the capture of Banavāśi by Kṛishṇavarma II would thus be very short. Presumably, therefore, Kṛishṇavarma II must have forestalled Dāmōdara and arrived at the gates of Banavāśi before the latter could be crowned king. The death of Harivarma may, therefore, be assigned to the early part of 421 A.C., the occupation of Banavāśi by Kṛishṇavarma II to its latter part, and the coronation of the latter would in that case be performed in the early part of 422 A.C.

The undated Koṇṇūr rock inscription of Dāmōdara^{164a} stands positively within the precincts of the Palāśika division of the Kadamba kingdom, and naturally therefore it was there that he must have established himself when he had lost the throne of his father. It would appear thence that when Kṛishṇavarma II defeated Dāmōdara and seated himself on the throne of Harivarma, he did not pursue his cousin any further, nor drive him beyond the bounds of the Kadamba kingdom, but allowed him to remain in possession of the Palāśika principality, while his own son Yuvarāja Dēvavarma governed the Tripurvata division, as is evident from the undated Dēvagere plates¹⁶⁵ of that prince. Thus the Tripurvata principality, which had been in the possession of the lineal descendants of Māndhātṛivarma till 352-353 A.C., when Viṣṇuvārma, who had been

164a. I. A. XXI (p. 96). If, in this inscription, Dāmōdara calls himself नृप (which no doubt means a king), it does not mean that he actually ruled as king, as will be clear from the similar title राज by which Ravivarma's younger brother Bhānuvarma, who never sat on the throne, is mentioned भानुवर्मराज and भानुवर्माभूषः in the Hāsi plates (I. A. VI. p. 28). Such and similar titles came as a matter of course to the members of the royal family.

165. I. A. VII (pp. 33-34).

dislodged from the Kadamba throne by his cousin-brother Ravivarma, went into exile and settled himself at Kūdalūr, reverted to the princes of that line in about 421-422 A.C. when Kṛishṇavarma II became the Kadamba king, and soon nominated his son Yuvarāja Dēvavarma in its governance.

How long Kṛishṇavarma II ruled, or by whom he was succeeded, or whether his eldest son Yuvarāja Dēvavarma sat at all on the Kadamba throne, we have no means to ascertain. All that can be made out from the Tagare plates¹⁶⁶ of his grandson Bhōgivarma, in which both himself and his grandfather Kṛishṇavarma II are spoken of with the title *Mahārāja*, whereas his own father Ajavarma is mentioned with none whatsoever, is that the said title *Mahārāja* had not yet completely lost the paramount meaning it originally had. This is evident from the fact that it is coupled with the name of Mṛigēśavarma in one of his grants,¹⁶⁷ and with that of Ravivarma and his son Harivarma in a couple of the grants¹⁶⁸ of the latter, and consequently Bhōgivarma must have ruled as king, whereas his father Ajavarma cannot have sat on the throne; perhaps Ajavarma predeceased his father Kṛishṇavarma II. Similarly, from the insufficiently dated Shimoga plates¹⁶⁹ of Māndhātārāja, in which his father Kumāravarma has the title *Mahārāja*, and his son the donor Māndhātārāja calls himself simply as *Rāja*, it would appear that Kumāravarma did rule as king, and Māndhāta was perhaps yet a prince, when he issued the said plates. Hence it follows that the 5th year, in which the grant was made, was that of his local rule as the governor of the Uchchāṣṛiṅgi or Tripurvata division of the Kadamba kingdom. If therefore Yuvarāja Dēvavarma did not succeed to the throne, he also must have predeceased his father Kṛishṇavarma II, in which case it would be Kumāravarma, who, as the son of Dēvavarma the eldest son of Kṛishṇavarma II, would be the immediate successor of his grandfather; and it would likewise be his younger cousin-brother Bhōgivarma, who would be the immediate successor of Kumāravarma. Then again there is no indication as to who the successor of Bhōgivarma

166. M. A. R. 1918 (p. 35).

167. I. A. VII (pp. 35-36).

168. I. A. VII (pp. 30 and 32).

169. M. A. R. 1911 (p. 32).

was, whether it was his nephew Māndhātārāja or his own son prince Viṣṇuvarma, at whose request he made the Tagare grant. If the genealogy of the Kadambas of Hāṅgal given in the Kargudari stone inscription¹⁷⁰ of 1108 A.C. may be relied upon with respect to its first four steps, then the Mayūravarma, who heads that list, would be readily equated with the veritable Mayūraśarma, who was the progenitor of the Kadambas, its next name Kṛishṇavarma would naturally and correctly be identified with that of Kṛishṇavarma II, and the third name Nāgavarma of that pedigree would be precisely that of Bhōgivarma of the Tagare plates, in that both the words *Nāga* and *Bhōgi* are synonymous and mean 'a serpent,' and the fourth name Viṣṇuvarma would be no other than that of the prince of that name at whose request his father Bhōgivarma made the grant detailed in his Tagare plates.¹⁷¹ In that case, it would seem that this prince Viṣṇuvarma did succeed to the Kadamba throne either as the immediate successor of his father Bhōgivarma, or after the decease of his cousin-brother Māndhātārāja of the senior branch, if the latter also ruled as king between father and son. It would thus be from this Viṣṇuvarma (II) that the line of the Kadambas of Banavāsi continued, as it was from him that the Kadambas of Hāṅgal traced their descent.

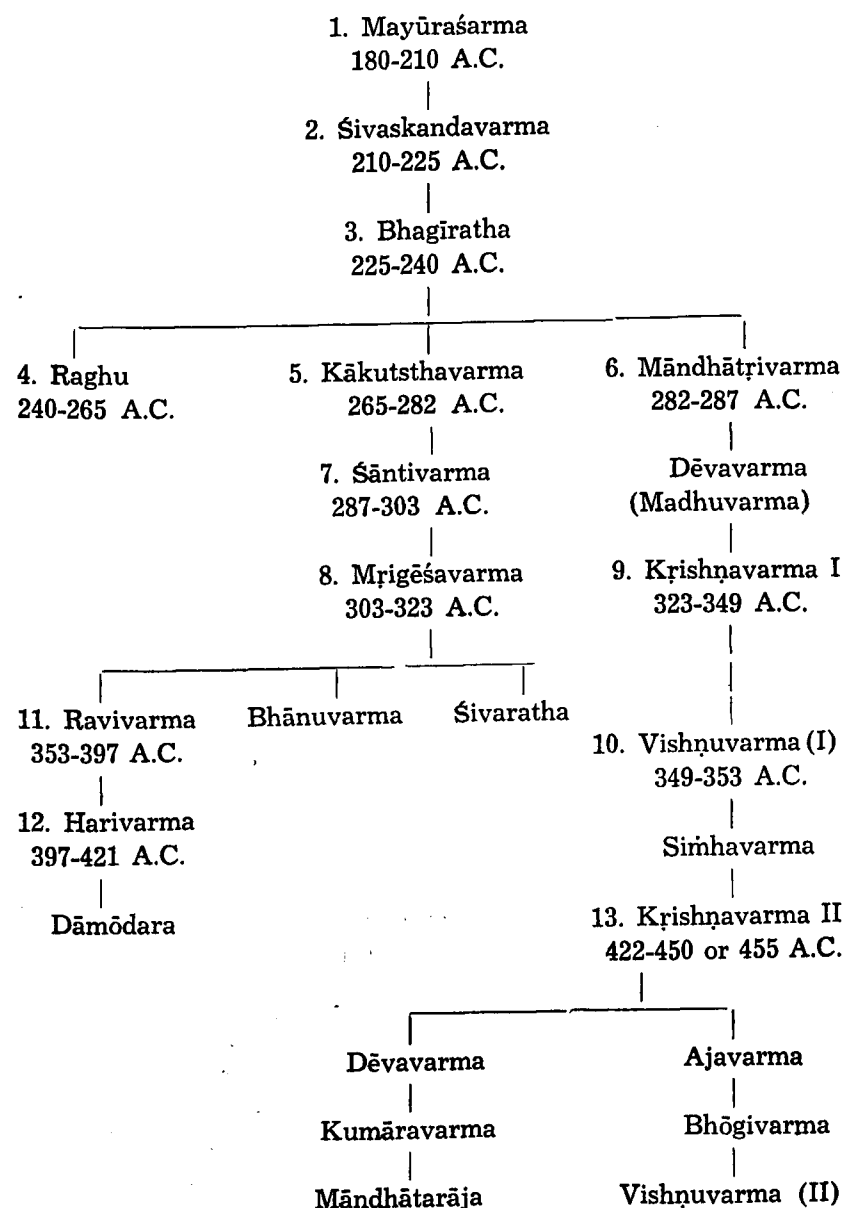
Thus in the absence of any conclusive evidence, the death of Kṛishṇavarma II may be located between 450 and 455 A.C., and the regnal periods of the three kings who occupied the Kadamba throne after Viṣṇuvarma, the son and successor of Kṛishṇavarma I, would be :—(11) Ravivarma, 353-397 A.C.; (12) Harivarma, 397-421 A.C.; and (13) Kṛishṇavarma II, 422-450 or 455 A.C.

The genealogy of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi from Mayūraśarma the founder of that dynasty onwards with the respective

170. I. A. X (p. 249); F. K. D. (pp. 559-60).

171. It is thus obvious that this inscription gives merely an abbreviated genealogy of the early Kadambas mentioning only three prominent names in it from the progenitor Mayūraśarma down to Bhōgivarma (Nāgavarma) just sufficient to denote the filiation between the Kadambas of Banavāsi and those of Hāṅgal and to indicate the particular branch of the early Kadambas from which the latter traced their descent. From Bhōgivarma (Nāgavarma) onwards perhaps this genealogy records every step faithfully. Instances of such curtailed genealogies are common in inscriptions.

regnal periods of those of them, who reigned as king, as determined above, would therefore stand as follows :—



Before we close, a few words may be said with regard to the personal religion of these early Kadambas, who are still believed, and wrongly believed, to have been of the Jaina persuasion. The

more or less invariable phrases स्वामि महासेन मातृगणानुध्याताभिषिक्तानां...प्रतिष्ठत स्वाध्याय चर्चापारगानां¹⁷² कदम्बानाम्— which occur in these very same or similar words in almost all of their inscriptions from at least the Maḷavalli inscription of Śivaskandavarma onwards, and with which they describe themselves as being devoted (अनुध्यात) to god Skanda (स्वामि महासेन) and the divine Mothers (मातृगण), who by the way can have no place in the Jaina theology, and as being well-versed in teaching the Vedas to others as well as in the discussion of the same, suffice to prove that the early Kadambas of Banavāsi were the followers of no other creed than the Vedic faith. Yet, let us examine more closely.

There would be no question in respect of Mayūraśarma, who from the account given of him in the Tālagunda inscription (vv. 4-6; 10-12) was past doubt a Brāhmaṇa of the Brāhmaṇas; nor with respect to his son Sivaskandavarma, who according to the same authority (v. 23)—समराध्वर* प्रांशुवेष्टितः।—was surrounded by wars and sacrifices, and who further in his own Maḷavalli inscription¹⁷³ expressed the pious hope—चातुर्विजं विसससु (चातुर्विद्य विशस्यताम्) —‘May the four Vedas be recited!’; nor in the case

172. This difficult phrase has been differently rendered by different scholars as follows:—(1) ‘studying the requital (of good or evil) as their sacred text’ (E. I. VI. p. 17; M. C. I. p. 23); (2) ‘well-versed in repeating the sacred writings one by one’ (E. I. VIII. p. 148; M. C. I. p. 23); (3) ‘well-versed in the system of private study and prayer that they have adopted’ (I. A. VI. p. 27); (4) ‘who have adopted the system of private study and prayer’ (I. A. VII. p. 36); (5) ‘well-versed in the Vedas and their commentary’ (M. A. R. 1925, p. 98); and (6) ‘versed in the views they have formed (adopted) on the sacred writings’ (E. C. VIII. Sb. 33; E. C. V. Bl. 121—Transl.). But none of these renderings seems to be satisfactory. I believe the word प्रतिष्ठत has been used here in the sense of ‘rendered (i.e. taught) to others,’ as opposed to स्वीकृत, which means ‘taken to oneself’ or ‘made one’s own’, in which case the whole phrase would mean—‘(those who were) used to rendering (i.e. teaching) the स्वाध्याय (i.e. the sacred texts) (to others) and (were also themselves) past-masters (पारग) in the discussion (चर्चा) (of the same).’ This right to teach and expound the scriptures, which is thus claimed as a continuous family biruda by the Kadambas, even after they became Kshatriyas (as has been explained above), is undoubtedly a significant reminiscence of their original Brāhmaṇa ancestry, as it is only Brāhmaṇas, who, of all the three twice-born classes, are entitled to teach and expound the Vedas.

173. E. C. VII (Sk. 264)

* Is this not an erroneous reading for pāmsur? (Editor).

of his son Bhagīratha, nor again in that of Raghu, who according to the description given of him in the Tālagunda inscription (v. 26) was श्रुतिपथनिपुणः i.e. well-skilled in the way of the Vedas. None would contend that either Śāntivarma, who in his Tālagunda inscription¹⁷⁴ praises God Śiva (v. 1) and asserts that after God Śiva (came) the Brāhmaṇas who are conversant with the three Vedas *Ṛik*, *Yajus*, and *Sāma*, and whose favour ever saves the three worlds from the fear of ‘sin’ (v. 2); or Kṛishṇavarma I, who, as we have seen, was the first Kadamba king to perform the horse-sacrifice (which, however, no Jaina king would even dream of performing), or his son Viśṇuvarma, who in his Birūr plates¹⁷⁵ claims to be the great protector of Brāhmaṇas (परमब्रह्मण्य शरण्य), or his grandson Kṛishṇavarma II, who again was the next in the dynasty to celebrate the *Aśvamēdha*, or Bhōgivarma or Māndhātārāja, who, in their respective Tagare¹⁷⁶ and Shimoga¹⁷⁷ plates, take pride in the fact that the *Aśvamēdha* had been celebrated in their family, which had been sanctified thereby, could ever be a Jaina. Nor would there be any doubt as regards Māndhātārivarma or his son Dēvavarma (Madhuvarma), the latter of whom, however, did not rule as king.

The only Jaina grants of some of these early Kadambas of Banavāsi are as follows:—

(a) Kākutsthavarma’s Halsi plates,¹⁷⁸ which record that he granted a field to his general Śrutakīrti, evidently a Jaina, for saving himself (आत्मनस्तारणार्थम्) i.e. for earning merit, which therefore that Jaina general would soon make over to some Jaina temple or some Jaina community of mendicants. This grant, no doubt, begins with a praise of Jinendra and ends likewise with an obeisance to the first Tirthaṅkara Ṛishabhanātha, as of course the Jaina donor and the recipient would like to have it. This common courtesy would never make Kākutsthavarma a jaina, and all doubt will be removed if we just

174. सिद्धम् नमश्शिवाय ॥ जयति विश्ववेदसंघात निश्चितैकमूर्तिस्सनातनः । स्थानुरिन्दुरक्षि विच्छुरित द्युतिमज्जटा भारमण्डनः॥१॥ तमनु भूसुरा द्विजप्रवरास्सामर्ग्यजुर्वेदवादिनः । यत्प्रसादस्त्रायतेनियं भुवनत्रयं पाप्मनो भयात् ॥ २ ॥

175. E. C. VI (Kd. 162).

176. M. A. R. 1918 (p. 35).

177. Ibid. 1911 (p. 32).

178. I. A. VI (p. 23).

remember that he was much respected for his adoration of the Brāhmaṇas with the best of his wealth, as described in his own son's Tālagunda inscription— प्रधानवसुभिर्मुख्य द्विजाभ्यर्चणम् । (v. 28), and also that it was he who caused a large tank to be built at the temple of God Śiva at Tāla-guṇḍa भगवतो देवस्यादिदेवस्य सिन्ध्यालये..... इदमुक्तं सलिलोपयोगाश्रयम् भूपतिः कारयामास काकुत्स्थवर्मा तटाकम् शुभम् ॥

(b) Three grants of Mṛigēśavarma, viz. (1) his Dēvagere plates¹⁷⁹ dated in his 3rd regnal year, (2) another set of his Dēvagere plates¹⁸⁰ dated in his 4th year, and (3) his Halsi plates¹⁸¹ dated in his 8th year, all of which record the grants he made to the gods, the divine Arhats. Against these there are also the Hitnahebbāgilu plates¹⁸² of his 7th year, and the Hiresakuna plates¹⁸³ of his 8th year, both of which contain grants which he made to the Brāhmaṇas, and in the former of which he avows himself as 'devoted to the worship of the gods, Brāhmaṇas, elders and the wise (देवद्विजगुरुप्राज्ञजनाभ्यर्चनपरः) and compares himself to God Viṣṇu in his devotion to the cause of the Brāhmaṇas (विष्णुरिव ब्रह्मण्यः) Further, even in one of these Jaina grants, the Dēvagere plates of his 4th year, he describes himself as being 'constant in making gifts of cows and land and gold and couches and clothing and food and many other things to gods and the twice-born (i.e. Brāhmaṇas) and elderly men and holy men'— देवद्विजगुरुसाधुजनेभ्यः गोभूमिहिरण्य शयनाच्छादनाभ्याद्यनेकविध प्रदाननित्यः । while another Jaina grant of his, the Dēvagere plates of his 3rd year, opens with a verse,¹⁸⁴ which, though to all appearance it is in praise of Arhat, contains nevertheless the names of the Brāhmanic gods Śiva and Viṣṇu cunningly woven into it, for 'Hara' and Īśvara' are the names of god Śiva, and 'Ananta' that of god Viṣṇu.

179. I. A. VII (pp. 35-36).

180. Ibid. (pp. 37-38).

181. I. A. VI (pp. 24-25).

182. E. C. IV (Hs. 18).

183. E. C. VII (Sb. 33).

184. जयत्यर्हं सिलोकेशः सर्वभूतहिते रतः ।
रागाद्यरिहरोऽनन्तोऽनन्तज्ञानदृगीश्वरः ॥

(c) The three Halsi grants of Ravivarma.¹⁸⁵ Against these, there are his Sirsi plates¹⁸⁶ and Nilambūr plates,¹⁸⁷ both of which record grants which he made to Brāhmaṇas, and the latter of which describes him as descended from a family which was rendered sinless by the celebration of the *Aśvamēdha*, and rounds off with a pious wish for the happiness of the cows and the Brāhmaṇas— स्वस्त्यस्तु गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः ।

(d) The two Halsi grants of Harivarma.¹⁸⁸ Against these, there is his other Sangoli grant¹⁸⁹ in which he calls himself a great devotee of God Śiva— परममहेश्वर —and says that he was devoted to the service of the Brāhmaṇas —द्विजाति शुश्रूषापरः ।

(e) And lastly, the Dēvagere grant of Yuvarāja Dēvavarma.¹⁹⁰ In this the donor crown-prince refers to the *Aśvamēdha* performed by his father Kṛishṇavarma II, in which in all probability he too must have taken an active part. This grant further closes with the same verse¹⁸⁴ as is found at the beginning of the Dēvagere plates of the 3rd year of Mṛigēśavarma, and which, as we have already pointed out, is apparently in praise of Arhat or Jaina but contains also the names of the Brāhmanic gods Śiva and Viṣṇu.

Conclusively, therefore, none of the early Kadamba kings was ever a Jaina, but one and all of them were unquestionably the devout followers of the Vedic faith, and were devoted particularly to the gods Śiva and Skanda. If, nevertheless, some of their records speak of grants made to the Jains or the Jaina temples, it had better be remembered once for all that 'such was the religious toleration in those early times that the mere fact that grants were made to the Jains does not necessarily prove' that the donors 'were themselves of that religion.'¹⁹¹

185. I. A. VI (pp. 25, 27, 30).

186. E. I. XVI (p. 266).

187. E. I. VIII (pp. 147-148).

188. I. A. VI (pp. 30-32).

189. E. I. XIV (p. 166).

190. I. A. VII (pp. 33-34).

191. F. K. D. (p. 290. f.n. 3).

LIST OF EARLY KADAMBA INSCRIPTIONS

No.	King or Donor.	Name of the inscription.	Reference.	Date details in the inscription.	Equivalent or approximate English date.
1.	Mayūśāarma	Chandravallī rock.	M. A. R. 1929 (No. 1)	Nil.	
2.	Śivaskandavarma	Malavalli pillar	E.C. VII (Sk. 264)	4th year; 1st fortnight of autumn; 2nd lunar day; first (occurrence) of Rōhiṇi.	18th October 213 A.C.
3.	Yuvarāja Kākutsthavarma	Halsi plates	I.A. VI (p. 23)	80th year.	
4.	Māndhātṛivarma	Kūdagere plates	E.C. VII (Sk. 29)	2nd year; the full-moon day of Vaiśākha.	29th April 283 A.C.
5.	Śāntivarma	Tālagunda pillar	E.C. VII (Sk. 176)	Nil.	
6.	Dēvavarma (Madhuvarma)	Tadagaṇi stone	E.C. VII (Sk. 66)	Nil.	
7.	Mṛigēsavarma	Dēvagere plates	I.A. VII (p. 35)	3rd year; Pausa <i>saṃvatsara</i> ; 10th day of the dark fortnight of Kārtika; Uttarā-bhādrapada <i>nakṣatra</i> .	29th October 305 A.C.
8.	Do.	Do.	Ibid. (p. 37)	4th year; 8th fortnight of the rainy season; full-moon day.	9th October 306 A.C.
9.	Do.	Hītnahebbāḡṭu plates	E.C. IV (Hs. 18)	7th year; Mārgaśira month; 10th lunar day of the bright fortnight.	30th October 309 A.C.
10.	Do.	Halsi plates	I.A. VI (p. 24)	8th year; Vaiśākha <i>saṃvatsara</i> ; the full-moon day of Kārtika.	24th October 310 A.C.
11.	Do.	Hīresakuna plates	E.C. VII (Sb. 33)	8th year; Vaiśākha full-moon day.	19th April 311 A.C.
12.	Vishnuvarma	Bīrūr plates	E.C. VI (Kd. 162)	3rd year; Phālguna month; 5th lunar day of the bright fortnight.	6th February 352 A.C.
13.	Do.	Hebbāṭa plates	M. A. R. 1925 (p. 98)	5th year; Kārtika full-moon day.	14th October 357 A.C.
14.	Ravivarma	Halsi plates	I.A. VI (pp. 29-30)	Nil.	
15.	Do.	Do.	Ibid. (p. 25)	Nil.	
16.	Do.	Nilambur plates	E.I. VIII (pp. 147-148)	5th year; Kārtika full-moon day.	14th October 357 A.C.
17.	Do.	Halsi plates	I.A. VI (p. 28)	11th year; 6th fortnight of the cold season; 10th lunar day.	11th January 363 A.C.

No.	King or Donor.	Name of the inscription.	Reference.	Date details in the inscription.	Equivalent or approximate English date.
18.	Do.	Sirsi plates	E.I. XVI (p. 266)	35th year; Kārtika month; bright fortnight; 5th lunar day.	3rd October 387 A.C.
19.	Ravivarma's mother Prabhāvatī	Tālagunda temple	M. A. R. 1911 (p. 33)	Nil.	
20.	Ravivarma's wife	Kavaḍi stone	E.C. VIII (Sb. 523)	Nil.	
21.	Harivarma	Halsi plates	I.A. VI. (pp. 30-31)	4th year; bright fortnight of the month of Phālguna; 13th lunar day.	24th February 400 A.C. or 12th February 401 A.C.
22.	Do.	Do.	Ibid. (pp. 31-33)	5th year.	
23.	Do.	Sangōli plates	E.I. XIV (p. 166)	8th year, the new-moon day of Āsvayuja and the day of the (autumnal) Equinox.	20th September 404 A.C.
24.	Krishnavarma II	Bannahaḷli plates	E.C. V (Bl. 121)	7th year; Kārtika month; 5th day of the bright fortnight; Jyēsthā <i>nakṣatra</i> .	26th September 412 A.C.
25.	Do.	Bennūr plates	Ibid. (Bl. 245)	Pushya month; bright fortnight; 1st lunar day.	3rd December 438 A.C.

26.	Do.	Sirsi plates	E.C. XVI (p. 271)	19th year; Kārtika full-moon day.	26th October 440 A.C.
27.	Yuvārāja Dēvavarma	Dēvagere plates	I.A. VII (p. 33)	Nil.	
28.	Dāmōdara	Koṇṇūr rock	I.A. XXI (p. 96)	Nil.	
29.	Bhōgivarma	Tagare plates	M. A. R. 1918 (p. 35)	Nil.	
30.	Māndhātārāja	Shimoga plates	M. A. R. 199 (p. 32)	5th year; Kārtika month; bright fortnight; 12th lunar day.	These date details do not admit of verification.

(Concluded)

Dasabandham *

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* Paper presented to the Winternitz Commemoration Volume, Prague.

I

IN ANCIENT INDIA

THERE are many technical terms in ancient Indian Literature and inscriptions which do not admit of correct interpretation, having gone out of use in modern times. There are again other terms, the true meaning and significance of which have considerably changed with the march of time. To the latter class belong the two words *Daśabandha* and *Pañcabandha* which have been in use at least from the epoch of the legal literature of India down to our own times. The terms *Daśabandha* and *Pañcabandha* occur in the ancient Arthaśāstra literature as also in the legal literature. In elaborately discussing civil and criminal causes, and in dealing with agreements and debts which come under the jurisdiction of the civil justice, Kauṭalya makes mention of as many as ten court offences committed by either of the parties concerned. It is not necessary for our purpose to give an account of these different offences. Suffice it to say that such offences which are technically termed *parokta* were punishable with fines, which were one-fifth or one-tenth of the sum involved or sued for, according to the nature of the offence.

Dr. Shāma Śāstri translates the terms *pañcabandha* and *daśabandha*, as five times the amount and ten times the amount. This is not correct. If we suppose, for example, the sum sued for is Rs. 100, the court cannot punish either of the parties for an offence with Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000. It is not only unreasonable but unconvincing. But if the court would impose a fine of Rs. 10 or Rs. 20 it certainly stands to reason. Though Dr. Śāstri is aware of the interpretation of the T. M. commentary as 1/5 and 1/10, he would not accept it.¹ In a later chapter dealing with the relations of masters and hired servants, it is clearly ruled thus : ' Failure to pay wages

shall be punished with a fine of 1/10 the amount of wages or 6 *paṇas*: misappropriation of wages shall be punished with 1/5 of the amount of the wages or 12 *paṇas*.² Here again the translator makes it ten times the amount of wages, or 6 *paṇas* and five times the amount or 12 *paṇas*.³

But he meets with a difficulty. For, as if to explain himself, Kauṭalya has said *daśabandha*, or 6 *paṇas* or *pañcabandha*, or 12 *paṇas*, and this means that the Arthaśāstra distinctly means by its terms 1/10 and 1/5. As this would not suit his interpretation Dr. Shāma Śāstri remarks curiously enough that the words *daśabandha* and *pañcabandha* seem to have been erroneously interchanged. That the text is not erroneous can again be proved from another expression—*bandha caturguṇāḥ* at the commencement of Chapter XI of the same book in dealing with debts, meaning thereby four times the amount. In the same way Kauṭalya would have used *bandha daśaguṇa* and *bandha pañcaguṇa* if he wanted the fine to be ten times and five times the amount. This shows that the text is correct and that the author of the Arthaśāstra is not vague in his expressions. The Śrīmūlam commentary gives the terms the same meaning as we do and the Mitākṣara corroborates it as we shall see in the sequel.

In the chapter entitled *Rṇādānam*⁴ Kauṭalya says :

परस्पराभियोगे ऋषामुत्तमाः परोक्ता दशबन्धं दद्याद्वराः पञ्चबन्धम् ।

Dr. Shāma Śāstri translates thus : 'creditors guilty of *parokta* shall pay a fine of ten times the amount : but if incapable to pay so much they shall at least pay five times the amount sued for.' On this the translator observes in a footnote "since the *pañcabandha* must be less than *daśabandha* the interpretation of *pañcabandha*, as *pañcamāmsa*, one-fifth by Vijñāneśvara cannot be accepted. Here again the translator goes against the traditional and accepted interpretation.

Let us examine here the passages both in the *Mānavadharmasāstra* and *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*. In the code of Manu the verse as translated runs : "A man who without being ill, does not give evi-

1. See p. 169 of the Translation, 1929.

2. Book III, Ch. XIII.

3. Translation p. 208.

4. Bk. III. Ch. II.

dence in (cases of) loans and the like within three fortnights (after the summons), shall become responsible for the whole debt and (pay) a tenth part of the whole (as a fine to the king)."⁵

This verse is significant in more than one respect. First as in the *Kaṭṭaliya* it deals with *Ṛṇam*, or debts. Secondly, the expression *daśabandham* occurs and is correctly interpreted by Kullūka-bhaṭṭa as *daśamām bhāgam*, or one-tenth part. Thirdly, there is coincidence between the Arthaśāstra portion dealing with witnesses and Manu's. For example we may compare the verses 64 and 69 of Chapter VIII of Manu here.

Thus we have the unimpeachable authority of Manu for our interpretation. Added to this is the Mitākṣara authority. Commenting on the verse (II. 171) of *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, on the term *Pañcabandha*, Vijñāneśvara says: *pañcabandha naṣṭadravyasya pañcamāśah*.⁶

The term *Pañcamāśa* as interpreted by Vijñāneśvara bears unmistakable testimony to the fact that what was meant by the expression *pañcabandha* is one-fifth part. Not only is it the traditional interpretation, but it is the only construction of the *Kaṭṭaliyan* term. What applies to *pañcabandha* equally applies also to the other term *daśabandha*, as it occurs in the *Mānavadharmasāstra*.

Let us now turn our attention to what the *Śrīmūlam* commentary has to say on this: ⁷

एषां स्वामिभृत्यादीनां परस्परामियोगे, उत्तमाः परोक्ताः स्वामिक-
विगादयः पराजिताश्चेत्, दशबन्धं पराजितधनदशभागं दद्युः अवरेभ्यः ।
अवराः भृत्यादयः, परोक्ताः, पञ्चबन्धं पराजित धनपञ्चभागं दद्युः उत्तमेभ्यः ।
इति—

Thus two classes of creditors are distinguished, those higher in social rank and those lower. Those lower in social rank e.g., a *bhṛtya* or servant, are to pay a greater fine than those in higher rank as *svāmin* or master. This is a prescription quite in keeping with the prevailing views in those ancient days, when it was assumed that ordinarily people of higher rank would not commit of-

5. Bühler's Trans. (Sacred Books of the East Series).

त्रिपक्षादशुषन् साक्ष्यमृणादिषु नरोऽगदः

तद्वृणं प्रापनुयात् सर्वं दशबन्धं च सर्वतः । VIII. 107.

6. p. 243 of the Nirṇayasāgar press ed. of the *Yājñavalkya smṛti*.

7. Vol. II p. 68 (Trivandrum Sanskrit series).

fences, and, if they did, they were to be given light punishment. By heavy punishments, persons of lower status were compelled as it were to conform to the rules as far as possible. Then it was not a question of ability or capability to pay as the translator would have it. In fact there is no term in the text for interpreting, "if incapable to pay so much". In the light of the above authorities we cannot accept Dr. Shāma Śāstri's translation of the text. The following translation is then offered: "Creditors of higher social status (*svāmin*, *Rtvik*, *ācārya* and parents) guilty of *parokta* shall pay a fine, equal to one-tenth of the amount sued for; creditors of lower status (servants, pupils and sons) one-fifth of the amount."⁸

II

IN THE MEDIÆVAL PERIOD

The South Indian inscriptions often call to notice the term *daśabandha* or *daśavantam*. Though we do not meet with the term *pañcabandha*, it is interesting to note that this term has changed in its original interpretation. It is no more a legal term connected with judicial procedure. In the inscriptions the term occurs in the sense of a tax or an allowance of land or revenue as compensation for the construction of a tank, well or channel.⁹ According to the second Nellore record, a sale deed is given for the *daśabandham* tank dated s. 1348¹⁰. The term *daśabandha* again occurs in a Tamil inscription on the east wall of Ujjivanāthaswāmi temple, Trichinopoly Taluq, dated in the third year of the Coḷa king Rāja-Keśari-varman¹¹ as one of the items of grant for a festival in the same temple. Again a Kanarese record s. 1450 of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇarāya registers the permanent grant *daśavanda* of the tank at Dondavate to a certain Malesāni, by the people of that village.¹² In this connection a record dated A. D. 1496 of the Mulbagal Taluq¹³ being a copy of the *Kaṭṭu-goḍage* agreement may be of value:

"Be it well (on the date specified), to Alapa's son Nārasimha-deva,—the temple priest of the god Nārasimha, Koṇḍapa-Timman-

8. See also author's *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 258-9.

9. See V. Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency Vol. II*. Nl. 368 and 797.

10. Ibid p. 109.

11. A. R. E. 462 of 1908.

12. See A. R. E. 194 of 1913. See also A. R. E. 527 of 1914. cp. A. R. E. 434 of 1911 being a Telugu record of the Cuddapah District and 65 of 1915 being a Telugu record of the Kurnool District.

13. No. 172 Op. Cit. Vol. X.

na's son Aśvapa granted a kaṭṭu-goḍage agreement as follows :—Whereas the Guṇḍalanahaḷli village, which is Narasimhapura, in Hode-nad, belonging to the offerings of our god Kadiri Lakshmi-Nārasimha, by the order of the god Nārasimha, I have given in possession to the Nambi Apachi-Anantapa,—and it provides for the offerings and ceremonies (specified) of the god and the livelihood of the attendants,—on your expending money and causing a virgin tank to be constructed in the Māvinahaḷla to the west of the old tank of Guṇḍalanahaḷli, forming an embankment with plenty of earth, building it up with stone, fixing a stone sluice and making it secure with bricks and good mortar, and thoroughly completing the tank,—of the rice-lands formed under that tank, four parts of the rice raised in them you may enjoy free of rent. After those four parts have been filled up¹⁴, we grant you in the rice-lands that will be formed under the tank a *daśavanda* of three in ten as kaṭṭu-goḍage, marking out with stones the best, middling and inferior soils and of the dry fields granted as kaṭṭu-goḍage-mānya for this tank which are now cultivated and sown with ragi, we give you as kaṭṭu-goḍage-mānya, 1 khaṇḍuga (as specified).

“If any damage should come to the tank you build, you will make it good from your four parts of mānya. When that is filled up¹⁵ if any the least failure occurs, we will levy money and grain from the rice-lands and on the tank, including those of your *daśavanda*, and have it repaired.

“For the rice-lands and dry fields of your kaṭṭu-goḍage there are no payments under the various heads (as specified) on account of our temple.

The same provisions are laid down for any future extension of rice-lands under the tank. Also permission to cultivate on half share or on contract, free of all payments on account of the temple, as before specified : If the flow of water from the tank allows, you may plant areca, cocoanut or other permanent gardens in your kaṭṭu-goḍage, and have the full enjoyment of the same. If the tank should not fill sufficiently for your three-tenths *daśavanda* rice-fields, you will take your turn for the water. For building houses for the ryots who cultivate your *daśavanda* rice-fields we will point out sites. From such ryots we will not exact house-tax or other taxes (specified).”

14. tumbida-baḷika.

15. tumbida-baḷika.

III

IN MODERN INDIA

We now proceed to examine how this term *daśabanda* got further changed in its interpretation in the days of the East India Company and after.¹⁶ According to H. H. Wilson the Telugu term *daśabandham* is ‘a deduction of 1/10 of the revenue on account of compensation for some public work, as the construction of a tank, etc.’¹⁷ *Daśabandham* was a subject of enquiry by the Inam Commission appointed in 1858-59. It is one of the nine kinds of *inams* which were examined by the Inam Commission as to the validating titles etc. The other kinds of *inams* were (1) for religious institutions and services, (2) for purposes of public utility, (3) Bhaṭṭa-vritti and khairat, (4) maintenance for the families of poligars and ancient land-officers, (5) lands alienated for the support of members of the family, like bisai, doratanam, mukhasa, amaram, likai, etc., (6) grants connected with general police duties (like kattu badias), (7) grāmamāniyams and (8) grants to village artizans. Both (7) and (8) are the ‘Watan’ of Central India.¹⁸ Baden Powell who has examined this, defines *Daśabandham* to be one among the *inams* ‘for the construction, maintenance and repair of irrigation works in the Ceded Districts, in Kistna, Nellore, North Arcot and Salem.’¹⁹ These *daśabandham inams* ‘were granted as a recompense to private individuals, who constructed tanks, wells and river channels, by means of which the revenue of the State was augmented. The extent and value of the *inam* were in proportion to the capital expended on the work and the outturn in revenue.’²⁰ Two classes of these *inams* are distinguished (1) Khanda *Daśbandhams*, or *inams* granted to specific localities, (2) Shaumilaut *Daśbandhams* or *inams* being of the nature of an allowance of some proportion of the annual cultivation with reference to particular work. This class of *inams* had nothing to do with the locality and consequently did not find a place on the *inam* registers. Ordinari-

16. Professor C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Annamalai University has kindly drawn my attention to some of these references.

17. p. 127. A Glossary of the Judicial and Revenue terms and of the useful words occurring in official documents relating to the Administration of the Government of British India—Compiled and published under the authority of the Court of Directors—London, W. H. Allen & Co., MDCCLV.

18. See Baden Powell ‘Land Systems of British India’ Vol. III, pp. 81-2; also Madras Manual of Administration, (1885) Vol. I, pp. 168-9.

19. Op. cit. p. 81.

20. Madras Manual. op. cit. p. 168.

ly those who enjoy *daśabandham* rights are to undertake due repair of irrigational works. But there have been cases of what are now treated as personal grants, where the obligation of repair of works of irrigation was neither a condition attached or has fallen into disuse by continued neglect on the part of the *daśa-bandhamdar*. "In the Ceded Districts, certain Wodder or tank diggers held *inams* for the service of executing the ordinary repairs of large government tanks. Under the present organization of the Public Works Department the Wodder occupied an anomalous position, and the services attached to their tenures were very inefficiently rendered. Their *inams* have consequently been enfranchised." ²¹

Thus we have passed in review the story of a technical expression *Daśabandha*. It has undergone considerable transformation in its interpretation through the ages. Being in use as a legal term of significance in all India, it has now been confined to certain parts of the Andhra districts as a term connected with administration of land.

Divyasūri Charitam

BY

MR. B. V. RAMANUJAM, M.A.

MATERIALS for the study of the History of Vaishṇavism in general, and of its history in South India in particular, are amply forthcoming from a variety of sources, the most important of which are literary. These literary sources, for the most part in Sanskrit, Tamil and Maṇipravāḷam, can be easily divided into the purely historical and the non-historical, according as they are acknowledgedly historical treatises or merely works of art with general literary excellence for their sole aim. While the *Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai* of Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar can be assigned to the first category, the 'Divyasūri Charitam' of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita, another important source book, must be said to belong to the second group. The latter is a beautiful *kāvya* in Sanskrit modelled¹ on the classics of Kālidāsa, the subject being the lives of the '*Divyasūris*' as the *Āḷvārs* and *Āchāryas* are called in Vaishṇava phraseology. It would appear, from the colophon at the end of the first *sarga* of the work, that the name of the author is Srinivāsakavi and that 'Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita' and 'Kavivaidya-Purandara' were his '*Aparanāmadhēyas*', other names or titles. It would also appear from these colophons that his father was a certain Varada of the Vādhūla Gōtra, while his mother's name was Lōkēśā. The prose colophon, however, notes that he belonged to the Kāśyapa Gōtra in that it calls him² 'Kāśyapa-kula-tilaka'. More about this discrepancy regarding the author's *gōtra* can be reserved for a later occasion.

It has been accepted on all hands that the author of the '*Divyasūri Charitam*' was a contemporary of Rāmānuja; the opinion, therefore is unanimously held that the *kāvya* is earlier in point of time to the *Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai*, and that it in fact form-

1. Compare the opening verses of the *kāvya* with those of Raghuvaṃśa.

2. स्वामी रंगपति गुरुर्वरवराधीशश्च यस्यातुलो
वाधूलो वरदः पिता वरवरक्ष्मेमेशलक्ष्मीसखः ।
लोकेशा जननी तु तस्य गरुडभ्रीवाहनश्रीसदः
काव्ये दीव्यति दिव्यसुरिचरिते सगोयमादिर्गतः ॥

This is the verse colophon as found in the Mysore edition, in the *Saḥrdaya Journal Publication* and in several MSS of the Government Oriental MSS

ed the basis for the later work of ³ Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar. This contemporaneity of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita with Rāmānuja is made to rest mainly on three grounds; which can be examined one by one;

I. The author of 'Divyasūri Charitam' does not mention the demise of Ramanuja, but simply states that he was awaiting his end after the full ⁴ completion of his activities in Srirangam.

This cannot be by any means an argument for the supposed contemporaneity. In the first place, it must be noted that the author has given all about the great Achārya's doings in this world in full two *sargas*, the 17th and 18th; so much so that no prominent phase of his life and doings as can be gleaned from other sources has been omitted. Scholars have been misled by the fact that there is no mention in so many words of his demise. For that matter, the demise of none of the Ālvārs is actually mentioned in the work, the concluding portions of each life-story merely stating

Library, Madras. In one MS of the Oriental MSS Library, however, we find this different colophon *sloka* :

யநாத: கணிராஜபொகசயனோ ரக்ஷேவரோ யத்யிதா
சௌமய ஶ்ரீசக்தமகூலாதிபவிபு: சர்வஜ்ஞஹமணி: |
யந்மாதா புவநாதிபா விஹராஜ்வாஹாமித ஶ்ரீசத:
காவ்யே ஶீவ்யதி விவ்யஸூரிசரிதே சர்வோ:ஸ்யமாதிர்மத: ||

Descriptive catalogue of MSS (Madras), vol. XXI, p. 8125, Serial No. 12150.

Though different, these *ślokas* are in the nature of synonyms and convey the same meaning. Thus, we have 'ரக்ஷபதி' and 'கணிராஜபொகசயன:' for God Śrī Ranganātha, 'லோகேஷா' and 'புவநாதிபா' for the mother of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita and 'கருடஶ்ரீவாஹநஶ்ரீசத:' and 'விஹராஜ்வாஹாமித ஶ்ரீசத:' for Garuḍavāhana himself in the two *ślokas*. The prose colophon is as follows :

ஐதிகாச்யபகூலதிலகஸ்ய ரக்ஷாதிபாரொய்ஸாலாவல்லபஸ்ய கருடவாஹ
பண்டிதஸ்யஶ்ரீநிவாஸகவே: கருதௌ விவ்யஸூரிசரிதே மஹாகாவ்யே ப்ரதம: சர்வ:
(D. S. Charitam. Mysore edition—1886, p. 7.)

3. 'History of Śrī Vaishnavas'—T. A. Gopinatha Rao, p. 14. It will be noted that Mr. Gopinatha Rao places D. S. Charitam chronologically before Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar's Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparampara Prabhāvam.

4. Ibid., p. 14.

that they lived ever⁵ afterwards doing good to mankind. It would be absurd to argue on that ground that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita was contemporary with the early Ālvārs. The fact is that pious sentiment precludes the mention of the demise of such holy and venerable personages as Rāmānuja, the presumption always being that the great souls are still ⁶ with us.

But then, the question arises: Why did the author of 'Divyasūri Charitam' stop with the life of Rāmānuja? Could he not have proceeded further if he was later than Rāmānuja? These questions are easily answered. It is clear from the *Pratigñā* set forth in

5. निर्वर्ण्य तं ते परमानुभूति प्रतारितान्तः करणाः प्रबन्धान् ।

कृत्वा पृथक्सर्व जनावनाय योगं समास्थाय पुनर्विचेरुः ।

(D. S. Charitam: sarga II, śloka 22, Mysore Edn.)

6. 'ஆழ்வார்களுக்கும் உடையவருக்கும் தீர்த்த திவஸம் சொல்லா தொழிவானென்னென்னில், அத்யாபி அகிலாத்மோத்தாரணர்த்தமாக அர்ச்சாவிக்கரஹங்களை அங்கீகரித்து இங்கே எழுந்தருளி யிருக்கிறார்களாகையாலே. அன்றிக்கே அவர்கள் இங்கிலும் கால்வாங்கிப்போகில் ஆத்மகோடிகளுக்கு ஈடேற வழியில்லையே. இத்தை நினைத்திறே நம்பூர்வாசாரியர்கள் தீர்த்தம் கொண்டாடித் திதி பரிபாலனம் பண்ணுதொழுகிறதும்'

(Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparā Prabhāvam, Ed. by S. Krishnamacharya. Prabhāva: pp. 213-214.)

The point is made clear in the passage relating to the close of Rāmānuja's life in this world. Quite in conformity with the sentiment above expressed, the Jiyar says:

‘ சித்திரையில் செய்ய திருவாதிரையிலே ஸ்ரீபெரும் பூதாரிலே அவதரித்து அகிலசாஸ்த்ரங்களையும் அப்யஸித்து பெரிய நம்பியை ஆஸ்ரயித்து பஞ்சஸம்ஸ் காரங்களையும் பெற்று ஆஸ்ரமப்ராப்தி பண்ணியருளி, ஸ்ரீரங்கைஸ்ரவரயத்தைப் பெற்று, ஸ்ரீபாஷ்ய மருளிச்செய்து, திக்விஜயம் பண்ணி மேல் நாட்டுக்கெழுந்தருளி செல்வப் பிள்ளையைப் பெற்றெடுத்து ப்ரதிஷ்டிப்பித்தருளி ஜம் பத்திருவர்களுக்காக அர்ச்சாரூப விக்ரஹகத்தை அங்கீகரித்து அவர்களாலே ஸேவ்யமாநராய் காலமுள்ளதனையும் இங்கே ஸுப்ரதிஷ்டிதமாய் விளங்காநின்று கொண்டு வாழ்ந்தருளுகிறாய்த்து உடையவர்’

Sometimes, when the demise of holy personages has to be mentioned, it is not put down as such in so many words, but conveyed through veiled suggestions often in euphemistic phraseology. Thus, for instance, we have with reference to the demise of Rāmānuja himself the *śloka*:

माघशुद्धदशम्यान्तु मध्याह्नेमन्वासरे ।

योगिराजस्वभोगीशभावं स्वमेसमभ्यगात् ॥

(Ibid., p. 203.)

the opening verses of the first *sarga* itself that he confined himself to the task of giving an account of the lives of the Ālvārs leading upto and ending⁷ with Rāmānuja. It is but natural that he did not go beyond that well-defined task set for himself. The reason for such a *Pratigñā* must have been that the Śrīvaishṇava Guruparamparai i.e., the accredited line of Āchāryāic descent after Rāmānuja was different for different Śrīvaishṇava sects, and that with Rāmānuja ends a definite epoch of the History of Vaishṇavism in South India. Evidently, the author believed that the schismatic period of Post-Rāmānuja Vaishṇavism was not⁸ a fit subject for *kāvya* delineation.

II. Tradition has it that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita wrote the *kāvya* and had it proclaimed in the august presence of Rāmānuja himself and⁹ his chief disciples.

An argument from tradition has to be necessarily subject to the most careful scrutiny. It is true that we have references to a certain Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita in Kōil Oḷugu. It is true also that he is mentioned therein as a contemporary of Rāmānuja. For, among the many acts of the great Āchārya in connection with the organisation of the temple and its affairs in Śrīrangam, there is one connected with the name of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita. The former is said to have re-established the Dhanvantri Nilaya within the precincts of the Śrīrangam temple, placed it in charge of his disciple Garuḍavāhana

7. सरोमुखानां भक्तानां लक्ष्मणार्यावसायिनां ।
अवतारापदानादीन्वक्ष्येह विदितमया ॥

(D. S. Charitam, Mysore Edn.: *sarga* I, *śloka* 12.)

8. When it is established that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita is definitely posterior to Rāmānuja, this fact, namely his stopping with the life of Rāmānuja, would lead us to the inference that he must have lived long after the great teacher. For, it is only from the times of Pillai Lōkāchārya and Vēdānta Dēśika, nearly two centuries after Rāmānuja, that the schismatic period begins definitely. Once splits came into being, different schools began to construct for themselves different genealogies or succession lists of Āchāryas in the direct line of descent from Rāmānuja. It would be natural then for a writer of this later schismatic period to stop with the life of Rāmānuja in a work of this kind.

9. 'Divyasūri Charitam' (Tamil translation by Tiru V. Sami Iyengar Swami—Harisamaya Divākaram Press—Preface, p. 1).

and entrusted him with the service of offering *kashāyam*¹⁰ every night to God Śrī Ranganātha. Apart from this, there is no further mention of this Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita having been the author of any *Kāvya* either in the Kōil Oḷugu itself or elsewhere. It is inconceivable how this fact could have been omitted in traditional works like the Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparampara, the Rāmānujārya Divya Charitam and the Prapannāmṛtam. While the first-named work of Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar does not even refer to Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita by name, or to the service (*kainkarya*) allotted to him, the second-named biography by Pillailōkam Jiyar makes but a passing reference to the organisation of this daily routine of service by Rāmānuja. Taking our stand then on the Kōil Oḷugu alone, we can say no more than that there was a certain Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita a contemporary of Rāmānuja who was entrusted with a particular service in the temple. The authorship of Divyasūri Charitam is an altogether different problem unless we can establish upon sufficient grounds that it is the same Garuḍavāhana who wrote the *kāvya* also. In other words, the question still remains. Is this Garuḍavāhana, the disciple and contemporary of Rāmānuja, the author of Divyasūri Charitam? There can be, and in fact there is, no answer to this from pure tradition. The contemporaneity of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita with Rāmānuja may be established, but not so, that of the author of Divyasūri Charitam with Rāmānuja.

III. The definiteness lacking in tradition is sometimes sought in the *kāvya* itself. The particular *śloka* which is supposed to establish the contemporaneity runs as follows:

राज्ञीयोपचरणलालसो मुरारौ तद्विषयशममदापयत्कषायं ।¹¹
आरोग्योपपदमथाकलय्यशालां श्रीधन्वन्तरि हरिधाम तच्चकार ॥
रक्तेन्दोस्स गरुट वाहन भट्कुलं पथ्यायानुदिनमदापयत्कषायं ॥

A free rendering of the above into English will be:

"In order that Śrī Ranganātha may not suffer from the effects of the poison, Rāmānuja offered Him a *kashāyam*; (there-after)

10. 'பின்பு உடையவர் தம் சிவ்யரான கருடவாஹன பண்டிதரைக்கொண்டு பெருமானுக்குச் சிகிதவழிப்பித்து, பூர்வம் புராணவரித் தமாய் ஜீர்ணமாயிருந்த தந்வந்த்ரியைப் பரதிஷ்டிப்பித்து அந்தக்கோயிலை கருடவாஹன பண்டிதருக்குக் கட்டளையிட்டு, அவரிடத்திலும் நித்யமாக ராத்திரி திருக்காப்பு சேர்க்கிறதற்கு முன்பாகக்குடிநீர்பால் அலங்காரமாக வந்து அமுது செய்தருளும்படி திட்டம்பண்ணி'

(Kōil Oḷugu: p. 43.)

11. D. S. Charitam, Mysore Edn.: 17th *sarga*, *śloka* 86-7.

permanently established a 'vaidyāsāla' and made (them) look upon it as the shrine of 'Dhanvantri' no less than 'Hari' Himself. Ever afterwards, Garuḍavāhana Bhaṭṭa was entrusted (by Rāmānuja) with the service of the daily offering of the *kashāyam* to the deity."

The reference to Garuḍavāhana Bhaṭṭa in the above text is clearly in the third person. There is not even a veiled suggestion of a personal reference to himself by the author. We will not, therefore, be justified in concluding on the strength of this *śloka* that the author of 'Divyasūri Charitam' was a contemporary of Rāmānuja. The fact is that the prevailing opinion is based on the assumption that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita is the name of a person. It is not so. We have the authority of the Kōil Oḷugu itself to maintain that it is but a title, and that it was borne by all those in charge of the Ārōgyasāla in Śrīrangam¹² ever since Rāmānuja. On the mere similarity of their titles the disciple and contemporary of Rāmānuja has been identified with the author of 'Divyasūri Charitam.' On the other hand, it may well be that the author was a much later person who bore that title.

The prevailing notion regarding the contemporaneity of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita with Rāmānuja is thus seen to be baseless. It will be fruitful at this stage to enquire if anything in the nature of positive evidence can be gathered from the *kāvya* itself regarding the author and his date. The verse colophon at the end of the *sarga* beginning with **स्वामीरक्षपति** gives important information. It states that Garuḍa Śrī Vāhana or Garuḍavāhana was the son of a certain Varada of the Vādhūla Gotra (**वाधूलोषरदःपिता**), and that his mother's name was Lōkēśā (**लोकेशाजननी**). We are also informed that his *guru* or Āchārya was one Varavarādhīśa (**गुरुवरवराधीशः**) and that he had for his patron God Śrī Ranganātha himself. (**स्वामीरक्षपतिः**). Immediately after the verse colophon we have another in prose which gives additional information about the author

12. 'பூர்வம் ஆரோக்ய ஸாலையும் திருநடை மானிகையும் கங்கை தேவரான சிங்கணத்தண்டநாயகர் திருப்பணியாயிருந்தும், உடையவர் கைங்கர்யமாயிருந்தும். துலுக்கவாணத்திலே சேதமாகையால். இந்தக் கோயிலும் கோபுரமும் மதில்களும் திருமண்டபமும் முன்னிலை முகமண்டபமும் கருடவாஹ பண்டிதர் கைங்கர்யம். உடையவர் நாள் முதலாக ஆரோக்ய ஸாலாதிபதிகளுக்கு கருடவாஹ பண்டிதரென்று பட்டப்பேர் நடந்து வருகிறது'.

(Kōil Oḷugu : p. 120.)

of the work. We learn that his original name was Śrīnivāsa Kavi and that he had the title "Kavivaidya Purandara" (**कविवैद्यपुरन्दर**) and "Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita" (**गरुडवाहनपण्डित**). The term Ārōgyasāla Vallabha (**आरोग्यशालावल्लभ**) denotes that he was in charge of the Dhanvantri-shrine in the temple of Śrī Ranganātha, while "Kāśyapakula Tilaka" indicates that he belonged to the Kāśyapa Gōtra and not to the Vādhūla as said in the verse colophon. One is apt to conclude that in the face of such a contradictory version regarding the author's gōtra, both cannot be true and that one of them must be rejected. Thus we are confronted with a serious discrepancy which makes us doubt the genuineness of the colophons themselves.

The facts given above regarding the Garuḍavāhanas will help us to solve the difficulty. It was said that there have been several who bore the title ever since Rāmānuja. Though the wardenship of the Dhanvantri Nilaya and the title attached to it were hereditary just like many other rights of service in the Śrīrangam temple they seem to have been enjoyed by different families at different times. At any rate, we learn that the Uttamanambis had long enjoyed this right of service together with its emoluments in Śrīrangam: and they were certainly Kāśyapas. In all probability, the original Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita, the disciple and contemporary of Rāmānuja also belonged to the Kāśyapa Gotra. We have the authority of the Kōil Oḷugu again to state that several of these proprietary temple rights and trusteeships changed hands by being bought and sold, and that this particular Dhanvantri Nilaya had its own vicissitudes.¹³ At one stage in its history, it seems to have

13. Enumerating the list of duties enjoined on a particular group of persons in Śrīrangam called the 'Sthānattār' (people of the locality), the following observation is made regarding the right of service enjoyed by the Garuḍavāhanas.

'அதுமுதலாக நாச்சியார் கோயில் தழையிடுவார்கைங்கர்யங்களும் கருட முத்தரையும் உத்தம நம்பி ஆதீனமாக நடந்துவருகிறது. கருட வாஹ பண்டிதர் கைங்கர்யமான குடிநீர் பாலமுது கைங்கர்யமும் வேறாக நடந்துவருகிறது. (Kōil Oḷugu : p. 83.)

There is clear evidence to show that this right changed hands from time to time.

The following passage referring to certain changes in several proprietary rights of service in the Śrīrangam temple points out that in cir. 1340 Śaka, an agreement was entered into by the then living Bhaṭṭar with the family of the Kandādais to the effect that he and his family would enjoy certain of the latter's rights and privileges (included in which was the wardenship of

come under the care of the Kōil Kandāḍai Anṇan family, members of which belong to the Vādhūla Gotra. There is nothing improbable, therefore, in the title having been held at sometime or other by a person belonging to the Vādhūla Gotra.

We shall now examine the two colophons in the light of the foregoing brief history of the Ārōgyasāla and its trusteeship. The prose colophon must in all probability have been a later introduc-

the Dhanvantri Nilaya) until their return to Śrīrangam from outside. The implications are clear that :

(i) For sometime in the history of the Ārōgyasāla, the family of the Kandāḍais, viz., the descendants of Mudali Anḍān belonging to the Vādhūla Gotra had enjoyed the proprietorship over it.

(ii) Owing to the absence of the Kandāḍais from Śrīrangam, the Bhaṭṭars took possession of it.

(iii) A settlement was, therefore, effected in the presence of the then living Uttama Nambi by which the Bhaṭṭars were permitted to enjoy the same until the return of the Kandāḍais to Śrīrangam.

(iv) Possibly therefore the Kandāḍais again regained their rights.

Here is the passage.

‘இந்தப்படி நாலு வருஷம் பட்டருக்குப் பின்பு அந்த அதிகாரம் மாற நாடி மெய்நிலையிட்ட உத்தம நம்பி பிள்ளை விஜயநகரத்திலும் வந்து நீரிப்படியே ஸ்ரீகாரியம் நிர்வஹிக்கத் தொடங்கினவுடனே அந்த உத்தம நம்பி தகப்பன் அழகிய மணவாள நம்பி எம்பெருமானார் காலத்திலும் கருடவாழ்வு பண்டிதருக்கு நியமித்த கைங்கர்யத்தை பரம்பரையாய், திருமடைப்பள்ளிக் கள் அழகிய மணவாளனுக்குத் திருமேனி திருப்பவளங்களுக்குப் பாங்காக அழுது செய்கிற பதார்த்தங்களுக்கு பக்வங்கள் சொல்லிவைத்து. நிறைவு குறைவு விசாரிக்கிற கைங்கர்யமும் ராத்திரி திருப்பதியார் கொத்திலே சேர்ந்து குடிநீர்பால் அழுது செய்யப் பண்ணிவைக்கிறதும் எம்பெருமானார் காலம் தொடங்கி வம்ச பாரம்பர்யமாய் இந்த அழகிய மணவாள நம்பி துலுக் கவாணத்துக்குமுன் கந்தாடை ஸ்ரீரங்கராஜ நாயன் வாதுல தேசிகன் திரு வடிகளிலே ஆஸ்ரயித்தவரானபடியால் அந்த அபிமானத்தால் அனந்தக் கொத்துப் பரிகரங்களும் உடையவராஜை அநிகரமிக்கலாகாதென்று யோசித்து. பட்டரை நிராகரித்து கந்தாடையாராதினத்தையும் அதுக்குள்ள வரிசைகளையும் அவர்கள் தேசாந்தரஸ்தர்களானபடியாலே ஸ்ரீ பண்டாரத் திலே சேர்க்க. நாளளவிலே அந்தப்பட்டரும் எல்லாரையும் அறுஸரித்து அர்த்தபலத்தாலேயும் ஸமயம் முதலானதுகளைத் தம்முடைய வசம் பண்ணு கையில் ஜியர்மனுஷ்யரிருவரும் கொப்பண்ண திம்மராஜர் ஸ்தலத்தார் முன் னிலைக்கும் உத்தம நம்பி பேருக்கும் கந்தாடையாரவான் வருகிறவரைக்கும் நாங்கள் அனுபவிக்கிறோமென்று உடன்படிக்கை யெழுதித் கொடுத்தது சகாப்தம் ஆயிரத்து முந்நூற்று நாற்பதுக்குமேல் விகாரி வருஷத்திலே’.

.....
விகாரினிஹிதாதுதலிவநாஃ

வெஜாபு-ஹிதாதுதலிவநாஃ

வித்ய-ஹிதாதுதலிவநாஃ

(Kōil Oḷugu : pp. 113-14.)

tion by persons who were misled into thinking that the author of the *kāvya* was the original Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita of the Kāśyapa Gotra. The very fact that they have not dared to obliterate the verse colophon altogether in spite of their apparent contradiction shows that it must have been the original and the genuine one by the author himself. It is unusual and not quite in the fitness of things that a *kāvya* writer should write the colophon to his work in prose. Above all there being nothing at all incongruous in Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita belonging to the Vādhūla Gotra, we can safely take it that it is the verse colophon that originally belonged to the *kāvya*, and that the other one in prose was a later introduction.

The names Varavarādhīśa and Vādhūlavarada are familiar even to those who have but a nodding acquaintance with Vaiṣṇava tradition in this country. The appellation ‘Guru’ to the former makes the identity still more unmistakable. The reference in all probability is to Varavaramuni or Maṇavālamāmuni as he is sometimes called, one of the great Śrī Vaiṣṇava Āchāryas after Rāmānuja, and considered the Guru by the *Ten-kalai* sect of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. Similarly, Vādhūlavarada can be identified with one of the early Āchāryas of the Kōil Kandāḍai Anṇan family. But for the fact that there are two of that name immediately after Varavaramuni, we will be in a position to identify this Vādhūlavarada of the colophon with the famous Vādhūlavarada, the first of the Anṇan family of Āchāryas. It may be mentioned in passing that this Vādhūlavarada or Kōil Kandāḍai Anṇan as he was commonly called was one of the eight chief disciples, ‘*Aṣṭadiggajas*’ of the Great Varavaramuni. His grandson bore the same name. We are thus in a position to infer that Śrīnivāsa Kavi must have been the son of either the first of the Anṇan family, or of his grandson also a Vādhūla Varada. It is then just in the fitness of things that he claims Varavaramuni as his Guru—the Guru of all who belonged to the *Ten-kalai* sect of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas irrespective of their own immediate Āchāryas. Taking our stand on the identifications set forth above, we may assign the Divyasūri Charitam to the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. which must be the approximate date of the author who came three generations after Varavaramuni (1369-1445).

Further evidence is forthcoming from an unexpected and till now unrecognised if not unknown source confirming the foregoing. There are two MSS of this *kāvya* in the Government Oriental

Manuscript Library, Madras, which contain more than 18 *sargas*.¹⁴ This portion over and above the eighteen *sargas* found in the Mysore Edition of the *kāvya* consists of about hundred and ten *ślokas*. The last of these ends abruptly with the first half of its *pūrvārdha* thus 'शकुर्णशजोरङ्गी'.... thereby indicating clearly that that portion is incomplete in the MSS. In other words, we have reason to presume that there were some more *ślokas* comprising this portion. Since it has so far not been published, we have to rely on those incomplete MSS alone. The incompleteness of this unpublished part of the *kāvya* precludes the possibility of any definite conclusion regarding its nature. We are unable to say for certain whether this formed part of the *kāvya* itself as its nineteenth *sarga*, or was merely the composition of a later writer who added it on to the original as a possible continuation. Thus problems arise as to the nature and authorship of this unpublished text.

A proper solution of these problems depends largely on the right understanding of the contents of these texts. We know how the eighteenth *sarga* completes the life of Rāmānuja, and finishes up with saying that, after his labours in the cause of Vaishnavism in this world, he was peacefully awaiting his end.¹⁵ As if in continuation of this, the narrative of the unpublished part begins by announcing an interview between Rāmānuja and one of his chief disciples by name Dāśarathi or Mudali Āṇḍān. The latter prays to his Guru (which prayer runs to nearly seventy verses in the text)¹⁷, and requests to be informed as to how the two-fold task of the propagation of the Śrī-Bhāshya and Divya Prabandha cultures, otherwise called the two-fold '*pravachanas*' should be carried on in future.¹⁸ The anxious disciple's concern for the fu-

14. Triennial catalogue of MSS, Vol. VI (Sanskrit), No. 4670. Ibid., vol. V, Part I Sanskrit B. No. 4558, p. 6635.

16. इत्याशास्य सरशठान्तकमुख श्रीदिव्यसूर्याकृतीः
आचार्यस्य च तत्प्रबन्धनिवहैस्सार्थं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सः ।
श्रीरङ्गादिमधामसु स्वयमभूत् श्रीदिव्यसूरिव्रजैः
तैस्साकं परमं पदं जिगमिषु रामानुजाख्यो मुनिः ॥

(D. S. Charitam, Mysore Edn. 18th *sarga*, *śloka* 98.)

17. Much ingenuity and great skill have been employed in the authorship of these *ślokas*.

18. Śrī-Bhāshya-*pravachana* means the study of the Vēdānta Sūtras with the commentary of Rāmānuja as also the other allied studies. "*Drāviḍāmnāya-pravachana*" means largely the study of the Nālayira-Divya-Prabandham of the Ālvārs with the various commentaries thereon and other allied studies.

ture of his religion was such that he wanted to know the names of persons who would be engaged in such '*pravachanas*'. At this request, Rāmānuja first gives out in order the prominent names of Āchāryas in the traditional Śrī-Bhāshya *paramparā* starting from Tirukkurugai-Pirān-Pillān and ending with Vēdānta Dēśika. Then he declares again in chronological order the prominent names of Āchāryas in the *Bhagavad-vishaya-paramparā* commencing from Pillān and ending with Varavaramuni. After Varavaramuni, this *Drāviḍāmnāya-pravachana* is said to be continued by Vādhūla Varada, Abhirāmavara,¹⁹ and others in the Aṇṇan family of Āchāryas. Rāmānuja concludes by saying that Śrīnivāsa kavi alias Garuḍavāhana would write the life stories of the Ālvārs in *kāvya* form, and that thus both the *pravachanas* would go on uninterrupted in future for the good of mankind. Having received this assuring account of the future from his master, Dāśarathi also gets ready to depart from this world, and eagerly awaits his end. From this point the narrative proceeds to give one by one the places in which the Ālvārs and Āchāryas ended their last days. In so doing, it comes to an abrupt end, after the mention of Mahāpūrṇa or Peria-Nambi one of the preceptors of Rāmānuja.

There is nothing in the foregoing summary of the contents of the unpublished part to show that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita himself could not have been the author of it. On the other hand, the reference to himself and his work in the words of Rāmānuja and the fact that the narrative regarding the future course of *Drāviḍāmnāya-pravachana* stops with his name are quite suggestive. They lead one to infer that the author of Divyasūri Charita continued to give in a summarised form the Śrī-Bhāshya and Bhagavad-Vishaya *paramparās* up to his own days, and cleverly introduced his own name at the end of it all. It is evident that he has cleverly managed to convey all this through the mouth of Rāmānuja, the setting for all purposes being perhaps imaginary. In the light of this one may safely conclude that this unpublished text comprises what is possibly the nineteenth *sarga* of Divyasūri Charitam of which some portions are unfortunately missing in the available Mss. The contents of this missing portion, however, can be easily guessed. The scheme of the narrative in the available texts is clear. We saw how after the conclusion of Rāmānuja's account of the future to Dāśarathi, the texts begin giving in order the places where the Ālvārs and Āchāryas passed away from this world. In this way, we are first

19. Abhirāmavara is a grandson of Varavaramuni. He is hence popularly called 'आचार्यपौत्र'.

given in a series the *Brindāvana* spots of the *Ālvārs* beginning with the first three of them. Incidentally, we are told about how and where persons like Kaṇi-Kaṇṇan, Śrī-Vallabha Pāṇḍya, Lōka-sāranga Muni, and Dēvadēvi all of whom were connected with one or other of the *Ālvārs* as gleaned from the *Guruparamparā* accounts, also attained salvation. Then comes the list of *Āchāryas* beginning from Nāthamuni and the places where they attained *mukti* (Salvation). We are led on right up to Mahā-pūrṇa (Tam.—Periaya Nambi). The last incomplete verse evidently refers to Tiruvarangapperumāl Araiya, one of the preceptors of Rāmānuja. From this point onwards, we have only to infer, from the trend of the narrative so far, that the remaining portions which are missing should refer to the passing away of the three other preceptors of Rāmānuja, viz., Periya-Tirumalai-Nambi, Tirukkottiyūr-Nambi and Tirumālai Āṇḍān. Possibly, it would contain references also to Māranēri-Nambi and Tirukkachchi-Nambi before finally coming up to Rāmānuja himself. It is highly probable, almost certain, that the narrative stopped with the mention of Rāmānuja's passing away from this world at Śrīrangam.

When once the genuineness of this nineteenth sarga—if it can be so called—is granted, that portion of it relating to Garuḍavāhana and his work becomes significant as affording an unmistakable solution for the problem on hand, viz., the date of Divyasūri Charitam. We saw how the narration of names proceeded chronologically in both the *paramparas*. We also saw how the author of Divyasūri Charitam referred to himself as the son of Śrīmad Varada Dēśika, the grandson of the first Vādhūla Varada Nārāyaṇa-Guru. In this way, what was a little indefinite in the colophon verse is made definite by this reference. In other words, while all that could be learnt from the colophon was that he must have been the son of a certain Vādhūla Varada, we are now led to conclude precisely that that Vādhūla Varada was the grandson of the first *Āchārya* of the same name. Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita must then be assigned to the fourth generation after Varavaramuni—a conclusion not at all different from that derived from an examination of the colophon itself. Thus the evidence contained in the colophon regarding the date of the *kāvya* is amply confirmed by this the yet unpublished part of Divyasūri Charitam itself.

The conclusion need not be altered even in case the genuineness of the nineteenth sarga is still doubted. For then, the only alternative is to suppose that all that portion is a later-day addition to the original *kāvya* by an unknown author. It may also be

argued that the conversation between Rāmānuja and Dāśarathi is at best an imaginary one. Granting all this, one cannot escape the fact that the narration of the post-Rāmānuja Sri--Bhāshya and Bhagavad-Vishaya *paramparas* is in exact chronological order, as presented in tradition, and that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita is definitely mentioned as the author of the *kāvya*, and referred to clearly as the son of Vādhūla Varada. It is just possible that the author of this part, whoever it was, wanted to give us the aforesaid *paramparas*, and invented the imaginary setting of a dialogue between Rāmānuja and Dāśarathi. This device is common to 'Paurāṇikas.' The Prapannāmṛtam for instance gives the lives of the *Ālvārs* as though narrated by Bhaṭṭar to Vēdānti (Nanjīyar). In fact, this is a common enough paurāṇic device which might have been followed by this unknown author for his own narrative. This need not, however, prevent us from accepting the genuineness of the narrative itself, specially when it is seen to conform most exactly to accepted traditions. There is certainly no reason to doubt the references to Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita also. The unknown authorship of the text and its imaginary paurāṇic setting are absolutely immaterial considerations.

The conclusion is thus borne in upon us that the date of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita is the first half of the sixteenth century A. D. Having thus been chronologically posterior to the *Ārāyirappaḍi-Guru-paramparai* of Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar, the Divyasūri Charitam could not have been the basis for the Jiyar's work. A careful examination of the texts of both these works will help us to revise the accepted views on the matter. The following extracts of translations and parallel passages culled from both these sources will bear out the question :

1. Translation of the original *Guru-paramparai* words into Sanskrit : some typical instances alone may be given :

கணிகண்ணன்	कणिकृष्णः
உடையநங்கையார்	नाथनायिका
அறந்தாங்கியார்	धर्मघरः
செந்தாமரைக்கண்ணர்	पाटललोचनः

We have only to look a little carefully into the composition of these two sets of names to be able to conclude that Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar's work and his names are the originals, and the names occurring in the *kāvya* are exact translations of them. The combination of the two words कणि and कृष्णः into the compound कणिकृष्णः is of

course understandable. But then, what is the meaning of 'कणि' in the compound? If the Sanskrit term alone is the original this in the compound should have a meaning. As it is, however, we know of no such word in Sanskrit. On the other hand, the adjunct 'कणि' in the Tamil word 'கணிகண்ணன்' denotes in all probability his proficiency in the Śāstras. For, 'கணி' * generally denotes one that is proficient in astronomical calculations and the like Śāstras. It becomes clear then that the more intelligible Tamil compound is the original, and **कणिकृष्णः** is the translation. Similarly, the nature of the two sets of names must enable us to infer which is the original and which the translation.

II. Where translation of the original Tamil word was found difficult the author of the D. S. Charitam kept them as they were in their original form. Often the Tamil forms had to be retained for fear, translations of them would lead to absurdities. A few examples may be given. Tiruvaḷudivaḷanāḍar, (திருவழுதிவளநாடர்), the name of one of the ancestors of Nammāḷvar is simply retained in its original form as **श्रीमद्वழுदिवलनाडेन्द्रः** in the *kāvya*. Just in the same way, the name 'Kāri' is retained in Sanskrit without any alteration. The proper name 'Poṛkāri' (பொற்காரி) is also similarly retained possibly because the translation of it into **खर्णा कारि** will lead to an absurdity. For, **खर्णकारि** in Sanskrit denotes a goldsmith.

III. Occasionally, in the *kāvya* we come across instances of mistaken Sanskritisation of the original which betrays its posteriority to the latter. One such typical instance is the translation of the term 'மண்ணியாற்றங்கரையிலிருந்து' in the Ārāyirappaḍi into the Sanskrit 'मृदापगात्'. We see how Maṇṇiyāru (மண்ணியாறு) was misunderstood as **मृदापगा** and how this misunderstanding has led to its translation as **मृदापगा**.

IV. Translations apart, we find several instances in which the words, compounds of words and wholesale phrases of the Ma-

* Kani is astrologer in Tamil and the name would mean astrologer Krishna which may be a professional name. If this was the name the translation in Sanskrit will be from the name and need not be from another source as is suggested above so far as this goes. (Editor.)

nipravālam text of the Ārāyirappaḍi are bodily imported into the *kāvya* verses. Here are a few of them :

(a) அந்தரம் உல்பஸம்வேஷ்டிதமாய் ஒன்றும் ரூபீகரியாமல் அவ
தரிக்கையாலே அந்த உல்பாவ்ருத பிண்டாக்குதியானது²⁰

eto. eto. eto.

निक्षिप्य तस्यान्तिकवेगगतै
गर्भे तमुत्थावृतमुखणाम²¹

(b) தப்பத்தியும் கர்ப்பவதியாய் ஒரு குமாரனை ப்ரஸவித்
க, ஸ்ரீவிதரரைப்போலே விளங்குகிற அந்தப் புத்ரனைக்கண்டு
அவருக்கு 'கணிகண்ணன்' என்று திருநாமம் சாத்தி அகில வித்யைகளையும்
அதிகரிப்பித்தார்கள்²².

काले गते सा हरिभक्तिभाजं प्राप्तु शूद्री सुधियंकुमारं ।
तेजखिना तेन रराज शूद्रा यथा हि माता बिदुरेण पूर्व ॥
चकार नाम्नाकणिकृष्णमेनम् अशिक्षयत्सर्वकलाभ्यतातः ॥²³

(c) ஆழ்வாரும் தம்முடைய வலத்திருவடியின் பெருவி
லிலே ஒரு கண்ணைத் திறந்துவிட அக்கண்ணில் நின்றும் அக்கி ப்ரளயஹு-
தவாறு கோடிகல்பமாய் ஜ்வலித்துக்கொண்டு கிளம்ப கோடிவைப்ர வாகர ப்ரக்
யமாய் அத்யர்க்ககோடிநிப தீர்க்கஜ்வாலா ஜாஜ்வல்யமாநாக்கியில் ஸம்பு
வினலோசநாக்கி அடங்க eto. eto.²⁴

समीक्ष्य तं शांभवलोचनाग्निं प्रसारयामास पदाम्बुजे सः ।
ज्वलत्कृशान्यकृतवन्यभूवन्तयोस्तदा तादृशलोचनानि ॥
अत्यर्कवैभानरमस्य पादचक्षुर्महास्सोदुमशक्नुवानः ॥²⁵

(d) 'இவர்கள் ஒருவர்க்கொருவர் பாலும் பாலும் சேர்த்தாப்போலவும்
. பகவதநுபவம் பண்ணியிருந்தார்கள்²⁶.

यथा पयोभिः पयसां समागमो यथामधूनां मधुभिश्च संगमः ।
तथैकरस्यात् प्रणयस्तयोरभूत् मुकुन्दचिन्तारस मुह्यदात्मनोः ॥²⁷

Paradoxical as it may seem, it is the deviations of the *kāvya* from its original more than their close similarities, parallelisms and in-

20. Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai—Ed. S. Krishnamacharya. Prabhāva : p. 12.

21. D. S. Charitam, Mysore Edn., sarga II, śloka 36.

22. Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai, p. 13.

23. D. S. Charitam, sarga II, śloka 48-50.

24. Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai, p. 15.

25. D. S. Charitam, Mysore Edn., sarga II, śloka 72-74.

26. Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai—Ed. S. Krishnamacharya, Prabhāva, p. 17.

27. D. S. Charitam, sarga III, śloka 12.

ter-changeable texts that indicate clearer still the posteriority of Divyasūri Charitam to the Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai. While in general, the *kāvya* follows the original even in respect of the sequence of the narrative, it makes occasional departures from it. Broadly analysed, such departures may be found to occur.

1. When the poet indulges in descriptive passages. This involves, however, a deviation in manner rather than in detail and may therefore be passed over.

2. When he has placed the life of Nammālvār just after Tirumaḷisai, and not last as is done by the Jiyar. This again need not be seriously considered. In an introductory note to the life of Kulaśēkhara, the Jiyar himself points out the reason for treating the life of Nammālvār last, and not in the traditional order after Tirumaḷisai. He declares that he reserves Nammālvār to the last on the ground of his greater importance than the rest of the Ālvārs²⁸. The author of D. S. Charitam perhaps never troubled himself to make any change and merely narrated events in the traditional order. In the result, both of them having accepted the traditional order, we see no deviation at all of one from the other.

3. When he has elaborated the wedding of Śrī Aṇḍāl with Śrī Ranganātha in about four *sargas*—it is not so much this elaboration as some details contained in it that are at variance with facts mentioned in the Ārāyirappaḍi. For instance, it is said in the *kāvya* that all the Ālvārs met together to attend the divine wedding, that Tirumangai attacked the bridal procession and robbed Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷan of his ornaments and so on. Indeed, it is a romantic pen-picture that we get in this part of the work and it may be asserted unhesitatingly that it forms the best part of it. It is clear that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita made use of the comparatively drab details given by the Jiyar about the marriage in order to weave this enchanting picture replete with manifold touches of literary excellence: If he made bold to assert that all the twelve Ālvārs attended the wedding, that a regular wedding feast and entertainment was held in the residence of Nammālvār and other

28. இங்கே அவதாரக்ரமம் பார்க்கில் நம்மாழ்வார் திருவவதார வைபவம் சொல்லலாயிருக்க ஸ்ரீகுலசேகராழ்வார் திருவவதார வைபவம் சொல்லுகிறது அவயவ நிருபணம் பண்ணியே அவயவியை நிரூபிக்கவேண்டுமெனவே,

(Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai, p. 22.)

Does this not argue the independence of the *kāvya*?—(Editor.)

such details, it is certainly to enhance the *kāvya* interest and to embellish the essentially romantic setting. In the whole range of the lives of the Ālvārs, no other episode than his wedding could have been made the centre of interest in a *kāvya*. It is no wonder therefore that he chose to elaborate this theme, and made it in fact the central one of his excellent work. In so doing, it is natural that he gave free play to his poetic imagination to create new incidents and import details not found in the prosaic narrative of the *Guruparamparai*. These departures, then, from the original were made with a purpose and were called for by the author's scheme of *kāvya*-delineation in the most classic style known in Sanskrit literature.

It would be difficult to explain the above mentioned differences between the *Guruparamparai* and the D. S. Charitam, if it is held that the latter was the basis of the former. We cannot possibly assign any reason for the Jiyar who is a matter of fact historian deviating in the least from the original. The traditionalist that he was, he would not have strayed away from it for any reason. If on the other hand the proper relation between the two works is understood, viz., that the Ārāyirappaḍi was the earlier and the basic work on which Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita built, then, the difficulty vanishes. The Jiyar gave us the matter of fact history in his *Guruparamparai*; the later writer made use of the facts in this history to write a *kāvya*. In so doing, he naturally made certain changes. This in brief is the most reasonable view to take regarding the two works under discussion.

We are now in a position to understand fuller the implications of the author's *pratigñā* or resolve in the opening verses of the first *sarga*.²⁹ We have already referred to the fact that he revealed therein his determination to conclude the *kāvya* after depicting the life of Rāmānuja. In so doing, he is seen to have declared that he, as a humble person, felt himself unequal to the task of depicting the lives of the *Divyasūris*, and that he merely followed the work of previous writers on the same subject. In other words, we learn from the introductory portion of the first *sarga* that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita based his work on another work by an author long before his own time. The relevant *ślokas* may now be quoted:

29. See foot-note 7.

क दिव्यसूरिचरितं क च मे मन्त्रशेषेषु
नियन्तुकामोऽस्मि गजं साहसात् विसतन्तुना ॥
प्राचां प्रशस्तिं प्राज्ञानां प्रार्थये प्राकृताग्रणीः
पिपासोरगमाग्रस्थम् क्षौद्रं पङ्क्तोस्समोऽस्म्यहम् ॥
पूर्वाचार्यादृतं वृत्तं सूरिणामाद्रियेऽप्यहम्
द्युमणिद्योतितापि द्यौः खद्योतेनापि भासते ॥
प्राचीनवाचां विषयं चरितं वर्णयाम्यहम्
गजेन प्रस्थिते मार्गे किं न याति पिपीलिका ॥

In the above, we find that he refers to the subject of the history of the Ālvārs (सूरिणां वृत्तम्) as one that has been dealt with before him by a *Pūrvāchārya* or *Āchāryas*. (पूर्वाचार्यादृतं) He says further that the same subject is dealt with by him also.³⁰

Now, who could have been this *Pūrvāchārya* who wrote on the subject of *Divyasūri Charita* or the lives of the Ālvārs? The facts set forth above regarding the relation between the *Ārāyirappaḍi* and the *kāvya* must make it absolutely clear that it must have been no other than *Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar*. Those who maintain that *Garuḍavāhana* was a contemporary of *Rāmānuja*, and wrote the *kāvya* in the *Āchārya*'s own life-time must find it impossible to reconcile their opinion with the facts given in these *ślokas* regarding a previous writer on the subject. For, they cannot point out to any one such who had written on the subject of the *Guruparamparai* prior to *Rāmānuja*. Tradition which ascribes several works to the authorship of *Āchāryas* prior to *Rāmānuja* does not at all mention any such work. If there was a work of that kind older than *Rāmānuja* himself, later writers and traditionalists must certainly have made at least passing references to it. As it is, we are unable to find any reference to a pre-*Rāmānuja* work on the lives of the Ālvārs and *Āchāryas*. This in itself is enough for us to reject the supposed contemporaneity of *Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita* to *Rāmānuja*. On the other hand, the date which we have assigned to the work, viz., the first half of the sixteenth century is quite consistent with what is contained in the *ślokas* quoted above. On the basis of accepted tradition, *Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar*'s work must be assigned to about the first half of the thirteenth century. It is but natural that

30. Literally, *आद्रियेऽप्यहम्* means 'is patronised by me also.' From the context, however, the meaning is clear. To say that the *Pūrvāchāryas* patronised the life stories of the *Divyasūris* is to say that they spoke and wrote about them fervently.

Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita based his work on it. The intervening period of nearly three centuries between them is a sufficiently long one and it is only in the fitness of things, therefore, that he refers to it as the work of the ancients (प्राचीनवाचां विषयचरितं).

Before finally concluding, it is necessary to discuss some more facts and observations which would militate against the sixteenth century date for *Divyasūri Charitam*. It is sometimes asserted that the *kāvya* has been referred to by Śrī Vēdānta Dēśika and others in their works.³¹ If this is a fact, it would be impossible to assign the work to any later date after Dēśika as we have done. Dēśika's date (1269-1369) must then fix the lower limit for the *kāvya*. As far as we have been able to ascertain, however, there is no such reference at all either to *Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita*, or to his work, in the whole range of Vēdānta Dēśika's works.³² This absence may even be an argument in favour of the post-Dēśika date for *Divyasūri Charitam*. But this is an argument from silence which need not be pressed too far. It is enough if we point out here that there are no references to the *kāvya* in Dēśika's works, and to that extent, therefore, our conclusion is not vitiated. A greater obstacle is furnished by certain Mss. and almost all the printed editions of the *Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparā-Prabhāvam* which include D. S. Charita *ślokas* in their texts. This leads to the natural conclusion that it must have been anterior to the *Guruparamparai*. Nevertheless, a careful and thorough examination of the text as also of some of the *ślokas* in these editions of the *Jiyar*'s work will reveal startling facts. In all the available editions, *ślokas* not only from the *Divyasūri Charitam* but also from other works are quoted. Thus for instance, we find two *ślokas* from *Lakshmi Kāvya* incorporated in the text dealing with the births of Bhaṭṭar and Govinda.³³ This *Lakshmi kāvyam* is clearly

31.दिव्यसूरिवैभवं सदाचार्योपदेशपरम्परालब्धं वेदान्तदेशिकादिभिः
रहस्यग्रन्थेषु प्रमाणत्वेन निर्दिष्टं

(Preface to D. S. Charitam, Mysore Edn.)

32. I am deeply indebted to Mr. A. V. Gopalacharya, the editor of Śrī Dēśika's works and to Mahāmahōpādhyāya Śētlūr Narasimhachar Swami, who have assured me to that effect.

33. *Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai*, p. 148. The *ślokas* quoted from *Lakshmi Kāvya* are :

पुत्रीकृतो रङ्गधुरन्धरेण पराशरः कूरकुलप्रदीपः
गोविन्दशिष्यस्स तु यामुनार्यमनोरथं पुरितवान्नितीयम् ॥
गोविन्दराजान्वयजो मनीषी पराङ्मुखो यामुनैवमनस्यम्
अपाचकार प्रसभं तृतीयं विराजते वृत्तमणिप्रदीपः ॥

a work of about the sixteenth century by a certain uttama-nambi Tirumalādhīśa and therefore the ślokas could not possibly have been quoted by the Jiyar. Similarly we find Jayantimāla ślokas quoted also. These Jayantimāla ślokas or avatāra ślokas were most probably compiled by some unknown hand long after the Jiyar's time. This is clear from the fact that this compilation includes the avatāra śloka of Varavaramuni also.³⁴ Again how could Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar have quoted from Vēdānta Dēśika's "Sankalpasūryōdaya" as is seen from the available editions. The fact is that the original Ārāyirappaḍi did not contain these ślokas, and they came to be incorporated into it gradually through efflux of time. Being avatāra ślokas, they were added on to the text of the Guruparamparai whenever the context admitted of such incorporation.

It is possible to reveal the interpolatory character of the several texts containing the D. S. Charitam ślokas by a comparative study of the context in which they occur in several editions. At the outset, what strikes the critical reader is the total absence of method in regard to the manner in which the quotations are supposed to have been made. This could certainly have not been the case if Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar himself had quoted these ślokas from the D. S. Charitam. In fairness to him, it must be said that he would have followed a uniform method in quoting them in his work. As it is, we find these ślokas are thrown in here and there in the midst of the maṇipravāḷam text. If we confine our attention only to that part of the text which contains D. S. Charitam ślokas and compare

कांच्यां सरसि हेमाब्जे जातंकासार योगिनम्
कलये यः श्रियःपत्ये रवि दीपमकल्पयत् ॥
मुकुन्दस्य मुखोल्लासमूलवाग्जालमूर्चितम्
मुनिमुख्यं सरोजातं मुक्तिमूलमुपास्महे ॥ (Taniyan)

என்றும்

हेमाब्जिनीहेमसरोजगर्भात् श्रीपांचजन्योऽजनि तत्रय्योगी
तारे हरेराश्वयुजाख्यमासे समस्तजीवावनकर्महेतोः ॥

(D. S. Charitam)

³⁴ पाथोभावं गतायां कलियुगशरदि भद्रराये शकाब्दे
वर्षे साधारणेऽर्के समधिगततुले वासरे तीरसंख्ये ।
वारे जैवेचतुर्थ्या समजनित तिथौ शुक्लपक्षे सुकर्मा
आजन्मूलाख्यतारे यतिपतिरपरो रस्यजामातृनामा ॥

them as they are found in MSS and in all the available printed editions, we shall see that no two of them will be similar. In some of them, the avatāra ślokas taken from the kāvya are put down next to the 'taniyan' ślokas before the maṇipravāḷam prose text itself relating to the avatāra of the Āḷvār. Thus—

आज्ञाधी श्रीचन्दने द्वापरान्ते सिद्धार्थाख्ये वत्सरे मासि शेषे ।
शुक्लाष्टम्यां भौमवारे शुपक्षे विष्णोजन्म प्राप कासारयोगी॥
(Jayantimāla)

என்றும் சொல்லுகிறபடியே, முதலாழ்வார் மூவரிலும் வைத்துக்கொண்டு
ப்ரதமம் பொய்கையாழ்வார் கண்ணன் வெண்காவில் த்வாபர
யுகத்தில் ஐப்பசிமாயத்தில் ஸ்ரவண நகரத்திரத்திலே ஸ்ரீபாஞ்
சஜந்யம் ஸராய் அவதரித்தருளினார்.

(Prose text) (Guruparamparā Prabhāvam edited by Āsūri Ramanujacharya and others 1878—Srinidhi Press).

We find that the order is changed in other editions thus :

कांच्यां सरसि हेमाब्जे जातं कासारयोगिनं
कलये यः श्रियः पत्ये रवि दीपमकल्पय ॥
मुकुन्दस्य मूर्चितं
मुनिमुख्यं मुपास्महे ॥ (Taniyan)

आज्ञाधी श्री चन्दने वत्सरे मासिशेषे ।
शुक्लाष्टम्यां प्रापकासारयोगी ॥
(Jayantimāla)

முதலாழ்வார் மூவரிலும்வைத்துக்கொண்டு ப்ரதமம் பொய்கையாழ்வார்
. கச்சியிலே ஐப்பசி மாஸத்திலே ஸ்ர
வண நகரத்திரத்திலே ஸ்ரீபாஞ்ச ஜந்யம்ஸராய் அவதரித்
தருளினார். (Prose text)

हेमाब्जिनी तत्र योगी
तारे हरे कर्महेतोः ॥
(D. S. Charitam)

என்று திவ்யஸூரி சரிதையிலே சொல்லிற்றிறே.

The interpolatory character of these D. S. Charitam ślokas in the Ārāyirappaḍi text will be clear from the following extracts. The

natural flow and regular sequence in these extracts are visibly retarded by the later introduction of these *ślokas* into the body of these texts. Without the *ślokas*, one finds that the sentences read correctly and naturally.

Referring to the *avatāra* of Tirumaliśai Ālvār, the text runs thus :

“ஆழ்வார் திருமழிசைப் பிரானாகிறார் அவதரித்தருளினபடியும் எங்ஙனே யென்னில் பார்க்கவருடைய பத்திரப்பிணியாய் தைமாஸத்தில் மகாநகரத்திரத்தில் ஸுந்தர்சனம்சமாய் பிண்டாக்குதியாகப் ப்ரஸவிக்க,

ஸா மஹாபாயத உதெஸ்வதீ ஸுஹாபாநாஸெந ததா நுவிஷா
வவாத மஹேசா ஸுவி தெஷ்யோஸெ உவாஸி யானெ உஹநீயதா
ரெ || விரிசாபிதாநாஸெ உகாநயிமதெ உவாஸெநாநயாரா
செஷாஷெ ஸ்வத ரெளவெ மதவதி அ ஷிநெ ஸவஸிஸெ உவாஸெ
நகரத்தே ஸாநாஸெ உநிவா தநபொ ஸகிராரெ உநீந
ஸ்ரீநாநு ப்ராபாவதாநாஸெ உவகர தயெவவ ஷெனாநெஷ்யுர ||

என்கிறபடியே ஸுந்தர்சனம் பேரந திருமழிசைப்பிரான் அவதரித்தாரென்று திவ்யஸூரிசரிதையிலே சொல்லித்திறே”

Another extract from the text also referring to the same *avatāra* may be given :

“ஆழ்வார் திருமழிசைப்பிரானாகிறார் ஸ்ரீக்ருஷ்ணனைப் போலே யாய்த்து அவதரித்தருளினபடியும் வளர்த்தருளினபடியும். எங்ஙனேயென்னில் :— பார்க்கவருடைய பத்திரம் கர்ப்பவதியாய் பன்னிரண்டு மாஸத்துக்குப் பின்பு த்வாபரயுகத்திலே தைமாஸத்தில்மகாநகரத்திரத்தில் ஸுந்தர்சனம்ஸமாய்பிண்டாக்குதியாக ப்ரஸவிக்க

ஸா மஹாபாயத உதெஸ்வதீ ஸுஹாபாநாஸெந ததா நுவிஷா
வவாத மஹேசா ஸுவி தெஷ்யோஸெ உவாஸி யானெ உஹநீயதா ரெ ||

என்கிறபடியே ஸுந்தர்சனம்ஸமாய் திருமழிசைப்பிரான் அவதரித்தாரென்று திவ்யஸூரிசரிதையிலே சொல்லப்பட்டதிறே”

The utter confusion and the disjointed nature of the sentences in the above extracts are due to the forced introduction of *Jayanti-māla* and D. S. Charitam *ślokas* into the body of the original by later people. Untampered the original *Ārāyirappadi* text would certainly have contained much more regular and correct passages of dignified *maṇipravālam*.

It is easy to over-estimate the value of D. S. Charitam as a source work for the history of Vaishnavism, as has been done so far. Very often sole reliance is placed upon this work for several important conclusions concerning the early history of this religion. Such conclusions are bound to be modified in view of its later-day authorship and its romantic setting as a *kāvya*. At best it must be considered as a historical romance and it would be imprudent to seek more history in it than what such romances can offer. Nevertheless, one cannot forget that it is entirely based upon, and has mainly drawn from the *Ārāyirappadi Guruparamparā-Prabhāvam*; and as such, it must be of some use to the student of history. If only the proper relationship between the two works is understood and the essentially romantic setting of the *kāvya* is given its proper place beside the basic facts—which are the same in both—then, it can be said to be as valuable as the earlier work itself. The author must be praised for his discretion in building upon the *Ārāyirappadi* material. He has shown commendable moderation for a *kāvya* writer. It is easy to spot out the deviations from the original, and therefore also to eschew all imaginary embellishments as fictitious and unreliable.

Akbar's Regulation System ; when did it end ?

BY

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MR. MORELAND discussing Akbar's revenue system which he prefers to call "the regulation system", remarks that "the effects of the system must have depended wholly on the manner of its administration: according to circumstances it might be either helpful or intolerably vexatious: and evidence is wanting to show which alternative is nearer the truth. We may safely guess that neither was universally true, that there were good collectors as well as bad, and the balance was determined in the last resort, by the personal qualification of the Emperor. We can believe them if we choose that the system worked reasonably well in the reserved districts under Akbar's rule and yet *went to pieces under Jahangir*; but we know only that it had disappeared before the accession of Aurangazeb"¹.

Again he remarks "if we could rely on their silence [the chronicles of the 17th century] we should be justified in inferring that the methods of assessment elaborated under Akbar and described in the last chapter remained in operation in their integrity. This influence is however negatived decisively by general orders issued by Aurangazeb in the year 1665, which show by that time Akbar's method had become almost entirely obsolete, etc."²

Further on, he remarks "seasonal measurement was costly and cumbrous. We must regard it as an expedient under a strong administration. Remove Akbar's personal influence and the gradual extension of group assessment would be the line of least resistance as the administrative difficulties of measurement recurred."³

Mr. Moreland's remarkable anticipation that the change in the Agrarian policy may have occurred in Jahangir's time is confirmed

by a fresh bit of evidence, which unfortunately escaped his attention. It is rather strange that the change could have come so early as 1609, only four years after the death of the great Emperor. But the evidence is there and that from an unimpeachable source and we have to accept it. This is contained in Father Xavier's letter "from the city and court of Agra" to Father Ituren which is dated 14th September 1609⁴.

Father Jerome Xavier was one of the three priests who were sent to the court of Akbar in 1593 A. D. The others being Father Pinheyro and Brother Benedict Goes.

"There can be no doubt" says Maclagan "that the members of the party were picked men Jerome Xavier had entered the Society at Alcala 26 years previously and had spent most of his services in India firstly as rector at Bassein, then Cochin and finally at Goa For 23 years he was to remain at the Moghul court, sometimes in favour, sometimes in prison. At last in 1617 he returned to Goa and died there on 17th June of that year being at the time Archbishop-elect of Cranganore"⁵.

Jerome Xavier was a grand nephew of St. Francis Xavier the Apostle of the East. He belonged to a noble family of Navarre. What is of more importance to us is he knew Persian, and moved in the highest court circle. Coming down from such an authority and that too after 16 years of stay in the country, it would be un-fresh light on the term "Nasâq".

The letter runs "your reverence asks me for news from this country. It is very healthy etc., The country is very fruitful. The tyranny of the mogores has ruined it; however it is well-provided with everything. The king is absolute Lord of all his kingdom; and great and small have only as much land and property as he wishes to give them. To some he gives very great revenues e.g., 100, 200 and 500 thousand cruzados. But when he gets angry he deprives them of the land and gives them to others; and so during the time that someone holds certain lands he squeezes out of them whatever he can and the *poor labourers desert them and run away*—which is the reason why they are so poorly peopled."

1. Agrarian system of Moslem India pp. 115-116.
2. Ibid 124.
3. Ibid 125.

4. J. A. S. B. 1927. pp. 121-122.
5. J. A. S. B. LXV, p. 64.

This is practically Captain Hawkins' story of frequent change of assignments which he blames as responsible for the misery of the tenants. But the flight of the peasants from Agricultural occupation which Bernier noticed and Aurangzeb's orders tried to remedy seems to have begun as early as the beginning of Jahangir's reign.

The latter portion of the letter is the most interesting and most important. Xavier writes "There are other lands which the King reserves for himself; he farms them out to the highest bidder and the lessees in order to extract from them what they promised to pay and derive profit, rob the *labourers* and oppress them in a hundred ways until they leave the land and go away and so they are less populated than they might be."

The system described by Xavier as operating in the King's reserved lands or Khalisa is certainly not Akbar's regulation system. It is neither sharing nor group settlement. The explanation seems to be what Mr. Moreland suggests that 'Nasaq' or group settlement may cover a wider meaning and perhaps included farming. He remarks "The two methods look very much alike when viewed from above In each case the Collector has to deal with an individual who has engaged to pay a lump sum on account of a village or larger area. It may make little difference to him whether that member is one of the village or an outsider"⁶.

My own impression is that the Persian Dictionary "Farhangi Jahāngiri" may give a clue. It was composed by Mir Jamaludin Hussain Inju himself a high mansabdar in the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. It has besides the advantage of being a contemporary dictionary. I have been unable to verify my impression as a copy of it is not available here. Scholars who can consult may throw fresh light on the term "Nasâq".

However, it is I think fairly established that by 1609, perhaps earlier still, Akbar's "regulations system" came to an end, and we may safely say that "group settlement" and "farming" were the most important Mogol agrarian institutions in the whole of 17th century and in the early quarter of the 18th century as well.

6. Agrarian system. Appendix D. p. 237.

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

BY

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(Continued from p. 113 of Vol. XII, Part I)

XIII

I—GODEHEU'S GOVERNORSHIP AND FIRST DIFFICULTIES.

By the time that the Diarist's account is available to us in September 1754—there being an extensive gap from December 8, 1753 to September 8, 1754, due, presumably, to the entire disappearance of one volume of the original *Diary*—much had occurred. The French forces had failed in their last attempt to take Trichinopoly by assault; the conference of English and French deputies at Sadras had broken up; and M. Godeheu had landed at Pondicherry, with orders recalling Dupleix and with a mandate to bring the struggle with the English to a close and to free the French Company's trade from the encumbrances of war. The Diarist's account for September 1754 begins with "a new Governor, Godeheu, at that great *Gouvernement* which Dupleix had built for his own magnificence, but had scarcely occupied two years, and a Governor who was charged with the duty of reversing the policy of Dupleix, which for all its possibilities had obtained little beyond private fortunes, coupled with public disasters."

Ranga Pillai was sulky, because the new Governor kept him, at first at a distance. He thought that the Diarist was afraid of Dupleix and unwilling to take part in business. The Diarist complained that Papayya Pillai, Dupleix's dubash, to whom the land-revenue had been rented and who was in arrears, had been imprisoned without his advice and that his own measures for recovering money from him had been disregarded, asserting that he would have managed to clear up the whole matter, but "what was done was like tying up air in a bag". Godeheu was persuaded, largely through M. Boyelleau, to take back Ranga Pillai into favour and entrust to him, as before, the affairs of the Tamils and the Muhammadans and the country business.¹ Dupleix who was making

1. In the beginning of January, the Diarist was formally commissioned to take sole charge of all this business.

hurried preparations for his departure to Europe, sent for Ranga Pillai, urging him to tender his advice to the Governor, even when not sent for and consulted, particularly in the grant of the leases of revenue, as to the persons to whom they should be granted. From the entry for September 14, we learn that Godeheu took the Diarist into his confidence, asking him to "let bygones be bygones" and promising not to allow anyone else to have a hand in the management of the country affairs and those of the Tamils and Muhammadans, and adding that "I will see that none except our two selves manage matters."

The relations with the country powers displayed a very unsatisfactory aspect. Murari Rao wrote complaining that he had not received the promised contribution for 8 or 9 months and that Dupleix had made false charges against him, although he owed him more than 13 lakhs of rupees,² forwarding to his vakils at Pondicherry, all the notes executed by the late Governor. Muhammad Ali sent a threatening letter through M. Maissin, warning the French to confine themselves to trade and not to exceed those limits and refusing to release the French soldiers that had been captured. Godeheu also complained that Bussy had not been writing to him at all; and the Diarist explained the matter by saying that Bussy had been hitherto managing all affairs without any interference and now he feared that some hindrance might arise. It was even suggested by the new Governor that the Diarist should send his men to get Salabat Jang's camp-news "without M. Bussy's knowing it." He was anxious about the visits paid by the vakils of Nanja Raja and Murari Rao to Dupleix and instructed Ranga Pillai to "watch who visits him and tell me." He had a letter written to Murari Rao that he should settle with the old Governor for the sum of money owing to him, or that he might set off his claims against the sum that Nanja Raja owed to the French, paying the latter whatever might remain after the adjustment. At the same time Murari Rao was to be exhorted not to abandon the French alliance. Nanja Raja bitterly protested against the departure of Maissin, the French commandant, and charged the Pondicherry Government with having broken their promises to him, imploring that the French troops might be made to stay on at Trichinopoly. He agreed to give suitable hostages for the 15 lakhs of rupees, owing from him to the French, together with the cost of the *sibbandi*, if they should capture the Trichinopoly fort and

2. According to a despatch of Fort St. George, dated November 10, 1754, the French owed him 9 lakhs.

give it to him; even otherwise, he would pay off the debt from out of the sum that the enemy had offered to give him.³ Godeheu replied that he had arranged with the English for a truce of three months and that the Dalavai would have to pay for the French troops from the time of their joining him; he also suggested, impliedly, that he might make his own terms with the enemy, adding, "if you get the 60 lakhs of rupees which were offered to you, what cannot be done with the help of so much money?" In the next letter to the Dalavai, he wrote that Maissin had received orders to stay on with his troops, "at which I was overjoyed, that you (Godeheu) thus escape the dishonour of reducing to despair him who has trusted the French these three years."

II. DUPLEIX'S DEPARTURE FOR EUROPE—THE DIARIST'S VIEW.

Dupleix departed for Europe by the *Duc d'Orleans*, on the morning of the 14th October, nearly 13 years after he landed from Bengal. He had hoped, according to the Diarist, to leave his bones in Pondicherry; yet now he had been "dismissed, accused and arrested." Sententiously the Diarist reflected—"Such is the fate of the man who seeks his own will without the fear of God . . . Madame alone had caused all Dupleix's troubles; but he did not understand this till matters were irretrievable . . . He has eaten

3. Orme remarks⁴ that "it is difficult to find an example of a prince conducting himself with more weakness than the Mysorean in the course of this war; the Nabob had procured his assistance by a promise which he never intended to perform. . . . The Nabob's breach of faith in refusing to deliver up the city to him, only served to exasperate his eagerness to get possession of it, which rendered him as great a dupe to the promises of M. Dupleix, as he had been to those of the Nabob; for it is certain that he at last discovered it himself, that the French never intended to give him Trichinopoly if they had succeeded in taking it; nor was he less deluded by his ally Morari-Row, who after persuading him to assist the French against the Nabob, deserted him as soon as his treasures began to fail. . . ." (Vol. I; Book V., p. 389).

Nanja Raja had to return to Mysore in the course of 1755, at the urgent summons of his brother, "having nearly exhausted the treasury in the expenses of this unprofitable war, added to a subsidy paid during most of the time to his Mahratta ally Morari Rao of Gooty and a loan of ten lakhs of pagodas to Muhammad Ali which was never repaid". According to Governor Saunders' despatch from Fort St. George, dated November 10, 1754, the Mysoreans trusted the French so little that they would have withdrawn long ago, "but that the Dalavay's brother (Deva Rajah) fears for his life, should he acknowledge his defeat by withdrawal."

the fruit of his actions . . . I dwelt in truth and justice under his government ; but from first to last, he regarded neither justice, nor truth. Without God's help no labours can serve to make one rich."

Dupleix had indeed continued to promise, even till the eve of his departure, to make good the losses that the Diarist had suffered through him, first on account of the lease of Tiruvati, Bhuvanagari and other places which had been given to him for three years in 1749, but taken away later and transferred by Madame Dupleix to Rango Pandit ; and, next, on account of the amount of half a lakh of rupees due on the balance of his private transaction with the late Governor.⁴ The Diarist had prayed, "with my head bowed towards my belly," that he might be paid the debts due to the Company and to others and waited even to the last moment of the ex-Governor's embarkation, thinking "it would be improper to speak of it in another's ear." He even showed Dupleix the petition that he had resolved to present to M. Godeheu, who had given an undertaking that the sum of 46,000 and odd rupees due on his private transactions, should be adjusted in the Company's accounts as well as the Covelong business. But Dupleix's ship sailed away in the early hours of that day (14th October); and the Diarist was left helpless.

III. RIGHT AND LEFT HAND CASTE DISPUTES.

Godeheu's administration was faced with the problems of caste disputes and factions between the Right and Left Hand caste

4. He thus wrote in the Diary for 15th October:—"From the day when this town became populous and flourishing till now Europeans have made 40, 50, and 60 lakhs of rupees, have obtained the title of Nawab and ruled the country, using the Fish and other emblems of power. But I who was the root and support of this prosperity, have secured nothing but debt. I can blame nothing but my fortune." Dupleix to whom these words were addressed, was further told:—"others for their own benefit have given petitions complaining of the bribes they paid you; them you sent for and gave bonds to. You know well what sums I have paid; and God knows also. Your accounts, my heart and mind all bear witness. Scorning to be as unjust as others, I only ask for what you yourself promised me. Be pleased to stop the wound of my debts." Dupleix put the Diarist off with promises and told him to wait till the ship sailed. On the eve of his departure he said he was leaving at 7 or 8 o'clock the next morning and would then do what he wished. But the Diarist heard the guns announcing his departure at three in the morning. "So how could I see him? I can only continue my labour." Malleon gives a quite different picture of Dupleix's embarkation followed by the principal officers and employees and all the common people.

groups.⁵ We find the Diarist advising the Governor that when headmen were to be appointed in any caste, the caste-people assembled and chose two persons and reported their choice to the chief dubash who confirmed it. He also urged that the Governor

5. Similar disputes were frequent and significant in Madras and the country round Conjeeveram. The distinction between the two Hands is very old and was prevalent in all the Tamil and Canarese districts and also in some of the Telugu districts; it was absent in Malabar. A mythical account of the origin of the Left Hand castes is given in Inscription No. 489 of 1912 (South Indian Epigraphy) which is noticed on p. 109 of the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1913. The earliest inscriptional reference to the Right Hand is a record of Rajendra Chola Deva I (No. 341 of 1907). In the *Tondaimandala Satakam*, we have got a reference to the unfriendly feelings between the Kammalars (Panchalars) and the Vellalas, the respective principal elements of the Left and Right Hand groups. In Conjeeveram the differences between the two groups were more marked than in any other place. The Depressed Classes were also included in the divisions. Mr. Nelson, the author of the *Madura Country, a Manual*, (1868) thinks that religious differences had nothing to do with these distinctions. The Abbe Dubois and Dr. Francis Buchanan have remarked on the prominence of the distinctions in the Mysore country about 1800. The Madras Consultations (for October, 30, 1707) have an entry regarding a paper, signed by President Baker, Agent Greenhill and Mr. Gurney in 1652 (only 12 years after the foundation of the settlement) for composing differences among the Right and Left Hand castes, which Governor Pitt had from the latter (See *Fort St. George Records, Diary and Consultation Book for 1707*—pp. 75-76; J. T. Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time* (1882)—pp. 263-4; F. Buchanan's *A Journey from Madras etc.*, Vol. I pp. 77-80; *The Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. III. *Glossary*—pp. 1036-37; *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II pp. 46-57; M. Srinivasa Iyengar's *Tamil Studies, First Series*—pp. 92 et seq; and C. S. Srinivasachari on The Origin of Right and Left Hand Caste Divisions in *The Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. IV. pp. 77-85.).

In the growth of the city of Madras we find that the temple of Kachalesvarar was built about 1725 by the prominent merchants of the Left Hand group. The Ekambaresvarar Pagoda was built about the close of the 17th century by Alangatha Pillai, a dubash of the Right Hand group. The Kandaswami Temple is sacred to the Beri Chetty merchants of the Left Hand. The disputes between the groups had to be often put down with the help of troops; and separate parts in the towns had to be assigned for them. The factions became sporadic in the second half of the 18th century and considerably diminished in the 19th.

In Madras the Beri Chettis, artisans, oil-mongers, weavers and leather-workers were the chief elements in the Left-Hand faction; while the Vellalas, the Arya Vysias, the Vanniars and the Adi-Dravidas belonged to the Right-Hand division. The grounds of quarrel were mostly with reference to the particular routes that the marriage and funeral processions of these castes should take, and the symbols and trappings that should adorn their processions and pandals, on occasions of festivity. The two factions were as

should help in the rebuilding of the Vedapuri Isvaran Temple which belonged to the Right Hand castes and had been destroyed in 1748 and that the English at Madras and the Dutch at Negapatam had helped the construction of Hindu temples with money grants and monthly allowances and with the protection of sepoys and peons at festival times, to prevent disorder. He added that the town would not flourish unless the temple were built, and that, in the time of Governor Lenoir, when orders were received to destroy the Vedapuri Isvaran Temple, as a church had to be built on its site, there was a vigorous protest on the part of all the Hindu castes; and subsequent orders were obtained from Europe that all should be allowed to follow their own respective religions and the Governor permitted a new temple to be built and allowed festivals to be conducted as men pleased.⁶ M. Godeheu, while admitting that all this was true, said that he could give no orders without the Company's specific permission, "although it was the reason why the town had not thriven, because men could not follow the customs of their caste." When it was suggested that the Diarist should enlist the favour of Father Lavaur, the Superior of the St. Paul's Church, for gaining his object, his only and proper answer was:—"Each should look to his own business; he who governs should treat all alike." The Diarist managed to persuade the Governor to permit the weavers who had gone away to return and live in peace under two heads of their own choice and to release

ready to fall out with each other on the smallest provocation "as Orangemen and Ribbonmen were in Ireland or the Montagues and Capulets in Verona."

It was in the award given by the Council and President, in the earliest dispute between these castes in 1652-53, that the name of Chennapatnam, as applied to Madras, first occurs in an official document. The result of this award was that the eastern half of the Hindu town (known as Black Town, now George Town) came to be generally occupied by the Left Hand castes and the western half by the Right Hand ones.

6. The English seem to have pursued a quite different policy and adopted an attitude of friendliness and protection.

In Madras, the Chennakesava Perumal (the Town) Temple which was almost co-eval with the birth of the town, was for long under the special protection and patronage of the Company, whose Chief Merchant was usually its warden. It was commonly known as the Company's Pagoda; and the servants attached to the existing Town Temple, which has replaced the older one, wore till lately a badge bearing the words 'East India Company'—(See Davison Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II. p. 461. note 3.) The Triplicane Temple was also managed for long by the Company's Chief Merchants.

those who were in prison. He was also bold enough to tell Godeheu when he inquired whether the people of Pondicherry desired war or peace with the English, that "the merchants, ryots and all people desire peace, and pray with all their hearts that God will be pleased to send some happy man to establish peace throughout the country and restore contentment to the people;" and that only the smaller portion of the people, the sepoys, jemadars, officers, soldiers and troopers, who lived by plunder selfishly, desired that war should be continued."

IV. GODEHEU'S ATTITUDE TO THE COUNTRY POWERS.

Meanwhile, Godeheu assured the Mysore wakil at Pondicherry that he had written to Maissin to remain with Nanja Raja, but to take care not to attack the English or Muhammad Ali Khan or their countries. The wakil said that his master was concerned greatly about Madura as it belonged neither to Muhammad Ali Khan, nor to the English, but had been held by Alam Khan for Chanda Sahib and was now liable to be attacked from Trichinopoly and taken from Alam Khan's people who were in occupation of it. Further, he added that Mahfuz Khan was about to attack Madura, and that, if it was so, permission should be given to attack him. To this Godeheu would only reply that all matters were to be settled with Maissin who was to remain with Nanja Raja.⁷

The Poligar of Udaiyarpalayam from whom no *peshkash* had been secured for the last three years was threatened with an attack by the French troops from Trichinopoly and Vriddachalam on his domains and with his own supersession. News came in that Murari

7. Read below note 13. Orme says that "the Mysoreans could not be made to understand that they were no longer at liberty to commit hostilities against the English or the Nabob; and the regent, when advised by the French to return to his own country, said that he was under no obligation to regard any treaties that he had not made himself, that, therefore, he should never leave Seringham until he had got Trichinopoly, which he did not despair of effecting even without their assistance: finding however that the French thought themselves obliged to acquaint the English of any schemes that he might put in practice for this purpose, he offered the commanding officer, 3,00,000 rupees, if he would retire with the French troops to Pondicherry, and leave him at liberty to carry on his projects without control: the English, however, were under no apprehensions of the effects of them; and at the request of the Nabob, a detachment of 500 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys were ordered to proceed into the countries of Madura and Tinnevely to assist in reducing them to his obedience" (Vol. I., Bk. V., p. 380—4th edition).

Rao who was returning to his place, was plundering the land round Vellore, Arni and other forts and meant to do likewise all along his march. His wakil at Pondicherry was dismissed curtly, Godeheu refusing to pay the balance due to him under the agreement, on the plea put forward by M. Delarche that "the old Governor is gone; and so his business is closed"; and the matter could not be reopened.

The Peishwa, Balaji Rao, now sent a letter to Pondicherry, demanding the payment of *chauth* for the last two years and insisting that its collection should be in the hands of his own men under Narasinga Rao whom he now sent as his agent. The letter also solicited that the French should help the Marathas with troops, ships, cannon and powder for the capture of an island from the hands of the Habshis (Abyssinians). The Peishwa had sent a copy of his letter to Bussy demanding that the Arcot *chauth* should be paid to his agent. Bussy had then been sent to settle the Rajahmundry and Chicacole countries, to settle the peshkash of the zamindars and arrange for prompt payment and return speedily to the court of the Nizam.⁸

It was also noticed by the Diarist that Dupleix had imprisoned the agent of Abdul Nabi Khan of Cuddapah and released him only at the intercession of the vakils of Murari Rao and of Mysore, and since then nobody had been willing to go to Pondicherry and that "Dupleix has done so much like this that the whole country lost confidence in him." As a final stroke of the hand of misfortune that has seized Dupleix's reputation, the Diarist recorded that, on the 29th of October, the belfry of the Padre's Church that Dupleix had built and was able to complete only recently (opposite the house of the Diarist) collapsed, and the bell and the stone

8. Bussy marched in July 1754 with the bulk of his troops to see to the establishment of the French Government in the Circars as trouble was being given to Moracin, his deputy, by the Raja of Vizianagaram and other zamindars. He reported to Dupleix, in a letter of October 5, 1754, the settlement that he made of the revenues of the Circars which were expected to produce 31 lakhs for 1754-55. In his own *Memoirs*, Bussy estimated the sum total of the agreements with the various renters at 18½ lakhs for the year, a sum which, if fully realised, would have just met the expenses of the Deccan army. He returned to the Deccan at the close of 1754. Jafar Ali Khan who had invited the Mahrattas from Nagpur, having no resource left, flung himself on the clemency of Salabat Jang and went to Aurangabad to make his submission (See p. 99 of Vol. XII of the *Journal of Indian History*—Note 10 for Jafar Ali Khan).

arch above fell near the church door and part broke into the church. The fall of the belfry was considered an ill-omen; and Dupleix had tried to make it loftier than the flag-staff itself. The Diarist concludes his observations with his usual sententious comment that "what is destined must happen, but only at the appointed time; and a man can neither escape, nor foresee destiny."

The Mysore negotiations dragged on through the month. The Dalavai protested that Godeheu had agreed, without his knowledge, on a truce of three months,⁹ with the English and Muhammad Ali, and that he himself had no means or chance of getting the sum of 60 lakhs which they had offered him when Trichinopoly was being besieged and that meanwhile the English were gathering troops at that fort daily, while all the French troops had been recalled, "but 300 military and 1,000 foot with a commander." Godeheu had to reassure him that the English could do him no harm during the truce, that Europeans never broke their word and that Muhammad Ali was going to Cuddalore. The truce was deemed to commence from the 11th October, 1754; but it was very much doubted if a stable peace could be concluded. Major Lawrence wrote from his camp on October 6th, that Salabat Jang had written to Muhammad Ali, assuring him that he would be confirmed as the Nawab of the Carnatic and had also sent another letter to the Dalavai with orders to return home and not continue to disturb the Nawab.¹⁰ Ranga Pillai laments that when Chanda Sahib's son came to offer congratulations to Godeheu on his name day (November 4, 1754), he was received with a salute of 21 guns, that im-

9. The truce was to continue from the 11th of October 1754 to the 11th of January, 1755.

10. Compare the fears expressed by the Mysore general with the letter of Major Heron, dated Tanjore, 22nd October, 1754 that ran as follows:—"My chief attention during the cessation of arms, will be to have a sufficiency of the above in store, that we may have nothing to do, but take the field in the most advantageous situation when the cessation of arms expires". With regard to the French encamped in the Island of Srirangam, Colonel Killpatrick wrote on the 24th of October, 1754, that there were only about 150 Europeans and 500 sepoys with 2 guns, left on the Island, while the rest had marched back to Pondicherry; and the Mysore troops remained in the same situation as before. That officer also wrote to Madras that the French troops were very much inclined to desert and he was ordered to enlist all the Germans that came over to the British side and to send the French to Fort St. David (Records of Fort St. George, *Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department*, 1754; pp. 250 et seq.). The English kept one advantage in their power, by not releasing 650 prisoners whom they had taken in the war more than the French had taken from them (See Orme, Vol. I. p. 377).

plied that the Nawabs were still rulers, and that the French only servants. He wrote that ever since 1749-50, the French had been masters and the Arcot people had been under them; and now, by treating the Muhammadans as though they were still masters, the Governor had cast away half the glory that his nation had acquired; and he wailed, in his entry in the *Diary* for that day, that "the Governor had done this, because the time had come for all this glory to be lost, and Raja Lakshmi (the goddess of prosperity) was continued here by the influence of Jupiter only until M. Dupleix departed."

Meanwhile Murari Rao¹¹ who had agreed with Muhammad Ali, in return for a considerable sum, to leave the Carnatic, as he found his situation unprofitable, proceeded as told before, to the Arcot country where he extorted contributions from several *killedars* and harried the villages, carrying off the cattle. Abdul Wahab Khan, a brother of Muhammad Ali, who had been left in charge of Arcot and the surrounding territory, was powerless to stop these depredations. Murari Rao complained to Godeheu that he had ordered his troops not to touch French territory and had trusted in Dupleix's word, but had not received the stipulated sum and that he would lay the burden on him and would abide by his decision.

The Reddi of Turaiyur¹² complained of Nanja Raja's aggressions against his country and urged that Godeheu should order the

11. The Fort St. George Despatch of November 10, 1754, already quoted, says that the Nawab and the Raja of Tanjore had made an agreement with Murari Rao to leave the French and go home, for which Tanjore would pay him 3 lakhs and the Nawab would give him certain grants. The agreement was made some time back; and Murari Rao had been marching slowly, raising contributions on the way and had, by now, got only as far as Polur; and it was doubtful whether he would continue his march. He had offered to join the English for 1¼ lakhs a month; but this was more than they could afford. The French were said to owe him 9 lakhs; and so there would be no reconciliation with them, unless the Mysoreans should find the money. Murari wished that the English would guarantee his treaty with Muhammad Ali; but "as Eastern princes make such terms in adversity as they never mean to observe in prosperity", the Presidency should try to avoid doing so.

12. In 1752 Turaiyur was overrun by the Mysore and French troops who deposed the then poligar and appointed his cousin in his place. The Mysoreans continued to have a control over the poligar till they abandoned the Trichinopoly country in 1755 and left the French Government as the representatives of all their rights and pretensions in the Carnatic.

Dalavai and Maissin not to interfere with him. Nanja Raja himself advised that the French Governor should have the Dutch and the Danes as mediators when discussing peace with the English; and that he should produce the *parwanas* given by Muzaffar Jang, Salabat Jang and Chanda Sahib as against the grants to the English made by Nasir Jang and Ghazi-ud-din Khan, his elder brother. He concluded that "if you treat with the English without mediators, the matter will not be settled for centuries." In a further letter he complained that an agreement was made to give 2 lakhs of rupees to Maissin on account of his expenses for three months, for which one lakh's worth of land was assigned on the banks of the Kaveri and the other lakh was assigned on Turaiyur. The French agents had received money from the Poligar of Turaiyur for settling the affair at one lakh instead of two, as previously determined and were troubling the Dalavai not to interfere in the affairs of that *pālayam*.

It was again lack of ready money that led the Governor to discharge most of the sepoys, guards and troopers posted in the several parganahs, immediately after the conclusion of the truce. But the differences that arose about the terms of the truce made Godeheu, according to the Diarist, to order new enlistments and to desire the Pathan captains to send troops to their several camps; and on December 12, the Diarist was told by Godeheu that both Saunders, the Governor of Madras, and himself, would be returning to Europe in February as peace could not be concluded.

V. THE SITUATION AT THE END OF 1754.

The last two months of 1754 were very gloomy for the French cause; there was a marked decline in trade, while Pondicherry itself passed through a time of severe depression. The heavy rains brought great losses; and the French and English factories at Porto Novo were washed away. As for building a factory at some other site, the Diarist remarked that, even according to the views of a French observer, the French were incapable of trade or government or administration and lost their temper easily; that the Dutch were best at trade and building purposes and the English might be half as good as the Dutch. The troops that returned from Trichinopoly served but to increase the insolence displayed by the soldiers towards peaceful citizens, "their cutting and stabbing men, their plundering the bazaars and the money-changers' shops and their stopping the work in the washing-place by stealing or

burying the stamping-blocks." It was also resolved by the Council to segregate the Tamil population of Pondicherry in the western part of the town, separated from the European quarter by a wall with three gates, and to order that the Tamils should give up to Europeans who wanted them, their houses east of the canal at cost price and those who required sites for building purposes would be given lands and gardens in Pavaḷappēṭṭai (coral merchants' quarter).

Godeheu himself confessed to the Diarist, according to the entry for December 7, 1754, that he also wanted to make money like former Governors, but in the manner of Lenoir and Dumas and by fair means, and not according to the methods of Dupleix whose "injustice was notorious." The Diarist told him that Lenoir sternly refused to take bribes offered by the Company's merchants and only made large profits in the Mocha trade; and that Dumas made money both by trade and by other means. Dupleix managed the country affairs by means of Delarche and Writer Ranga Pillai, and allowed all and sundry to make money in collecting rents and revenues from the country and to make deductions for various kinds of claims. It was possible to get, in the days of Dumas, large voluntary contributions as trade was very vigorous; but for the last ten years the town had been suffering from English troubles, bad trade and poor seasons, and people had been living on what they had saved; and many would have nothing to live on "but for the country revenue and the sepoy." In this miserable situation, the Diarist still hoped to recover a measure of prosperity, if he should be entrusted with the management of the country business and that of the merchants and the mint-people with the same powers as had been enjoyed in the time of Martin by the Company's Dubash: and, in that case, he would prevent the raising of complaints and settle everything within two months.

A statement of the Mysore vakil at Pondicherry that the Mysoreans had been in possession of the Tinnevely country for nearly four years from the time of their occupation of it early in 1751 was supplemented by him with another that Madura was held before the truce neither by Muhammad Ali Khan, nor by the English, nor by the French, but by a Pathan soldier and that some Mysore troops were sent before the conclusion of the truce; and these seized a portion of the country and besieged the fort. The Mysore troops did not fight at all during the truce; but Muhammad Ali treacherously attacked them in the Tinnevely fort, slew some

of their captains and captured the place.¹³ Godeheu was urged to inquire narrowly into the question whether Tinnevely was captured now or before (i.e., before the truce commenced). All that Godeheu could reply was that he would be writing to Maissin to

13. From the time of the expulsion of the Marathas by the Nizam in 1744, the Madura country was held by officers appointed by Anwar-ud-din and Muhammad Ali. A Record Office MS., quoted by Nelson (in p. 268 of Part III of *The Madura Country—A Manual*) says that Muhammad Ali and Maphuz Khan ruled the country in subordination to their father and left it in charge of one, Mayana, in 1748, when they departed to assist their father against Chanda Sahib. This Mayana was supplanted by one, Abdul Hakim Khan; and he, in his turn, was ousted by Alam Khan, probably a relative of Mayana. Orme says that Alam Khan was a soldier of fortune who was in the service of Chanda Sahib and of the Raja of Tanjore and who contrived to get recognised by his troops as the governor of Madura under Chanda Sahib whom he acknowledged as his master. In the beginning of 1751, while Alam Khan had been established in Madura, a detachment was sent by Muhammad Ali against that place, under Captain Cope, assisted by a body of Muhammadan cavalry under the Nawab's brother, Abdul Wahab Khan. Cope had no battering cannon and was forced to withdraw after an attack of the walls, while the Nawab's troops went over to Alam Khan. (Orme; Vol. I.).

While Orme does not notice any subsequent success of Captain Cope, Hindu accounts tell a different story. The Madura *Śrī-tāla* book tells us that Alam Khan placed Mayana in charge of the Madura country, and the latter sold it to the Mysoreans; and Captain Cope called Kukku Sahib in the chronicle, took possession of the place on behalf of the Raja of Mysore and was, soon afterwards, driven out by Vellaiyan Sērvaikāraṇ, the Dalavai of the Ramnad Setupati and the minister of the Sivaganga ruler. These two besieged the fort for nearly 2 months, forced Cope to capitulate and crowned the adopted son of the late Nayak Queen, Minakshi, as the ruler of Madura. This person ruled for 16 months and was then deposed by three Muhammadan captains, who were, shortly afterwards, forced to give up the fort by Captain Cope and the Dalavai of Ramnad who had allied themselves against him.

Nelson would plead for the substantial accuracy of this account of the *Śrī-tāla* book, in spite of its highly improbable features like (1) Cope being described as the general of the Raja of Mysore; (2) his entering into an alliance with the Dalavai of Ramnad; and (3) Orme not making any mention of these. He says that it is directly corroborated by the Record Office MS.; and by a memoir supplied to him by a Muhammadan gentleman, and indirectly by other Mss. The Record Office Ms. says that Mayana sold the Madura country to the Mysoreans; that Kukku Sahib, a Mysore general, took possession of Madura; and he surrendered the fort, after a siege, to the Ramnad Dalavai and the Sivaganga minister, who crowned Vangaru Tirumala's son; and that these and their Nayak *protégé* were subsequently expelled by the Muhammadans; but it says nothing about Captain Cope's alliance with the Ramnad Dalavai.

Alam Khan went over in the beginning of 1752 to take part in the operations round Trichinopoly and was, soon afterwards, killed there. He appointed

ascertain and inform him what happened about the Tinnevely country, the Madura fort etc., from beginning to end. He also accused the Mysoreans of carrying on discussions with Nawab Muhammad Ali and of giving the French nothing except empty words of friendship and co-operation in spite of repeated demands for the monthly expense of the army. The vakil only replied that in the agreement between Dupleix and the Mysoreans, no definite payment was fixed and the soldiers and sepoys were to be counted and paid what was due; and since then they had not been counted, nor had a balance been struck; and the matter might be considered when the accounts should be settled. A letter was subsequently received from the Mysore Dalavai that he would be paying not

Mayana commander of Madura and Nabi Khan the captain of Tinnevely. After the death of Alam Khan and of Chanda Sahib, Mayana intrigued with his son-in-law, Muhammad Barki, for the cession of Madura to some party or power. Thus Nelson gives his views of the whole series of transactions:—"Now it appears from Wilks; Vol. I. Ch. VIII; that early in 1752, a Mysore army marched to the assistance of Muhammad Ali, and it is quite possible, although neither Wilks nor Orme tells us anything about it, that a detachment of Mysoreans was commanded by Captain Cope, in his expedition against Madura; and if so, the fact of his being called a Mysorean general in the native Mss., would be very naturally accounted for. And on the supposition that he contrived to get possession of Madura, by paying to Mayana a sum of money advanced by the Mysoreans for the purpose, the account given in the *Śrī-tāla* book and in the Record Office Mss. becomes at once intelligible and credible. The Raja of Mysore was in possession of Dindigul at the time; and if he thought proper to buy the adjoining province of Madura, when professedly an ally of Muhammad Ali, who claimed to be its master, the transaction would of course be kept strictly secret. It is quite possible too that the terms of the transfer were unknown for some time to Captain Cope, . . . and that he took possession of the fortress under the impression that it had been surrendered to Muhammad Ali."

"However this may have been, whether Captain Cope was hoodwinked, or whether he was guilty of treacherous and unsoldierlike conduct, and whether or not he took possession of Madura, I think there can be no doubt that in the year 1752 the adopted son of Minakshi was declared king by Mayana and his colleagues assisted by the governments of Ramnad and Sivagangei . . . was then deposed . . . by his Mahometan patrons who seem to have been bought over by Mohammad Ali. Orme states that Mohammad Ali produced as evidence of his title to the sovereignty of Madura and Tinnevely, a writing which purported to have been signed by Mayana, Mohommad Barki and Nabi Khan, and was dated 29th November, 1752; and it would seem not unlikely that this document, which acknowledged the justice of Mohammad Ali's claims, was executed shortly before Mayana found it convenient to relegate his client . . . Mayana is said to have been in turn expelled by the Dalavay of Ramnad; but whether this is true or not, it is im-

only the former dues according to the accounts, but also the cost of the army and supplies sent by the French, every month.

As for the Deccan, Godeheu only received a complaint from Muzaffar Khan¹⁴ who had gone over to the service of Balaji Rao Peishwa, from that of Bussy, that he had been deprived, unjustly, of property worth 5 lakhs, by Bussy and his diwan, Rumi Khan, who had made for themselves 30 or 40 lakhs in many ways and told many falsehoods about himself to Salabat Jang. The Peishwa wrote to Godeheu recommending that Muzaffar Khan and Hasanud-din Khan should retain their jaghirs and the insignia of the Fish Standard, the covered palankin and other honours. As Hirasat Khan of Satghar, who had married Reza Sahib's sister, had died without any legitimate son or brother, and as Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore had designs of seizing Satghar, a letter was written to the English Governor to order Abdul Wahab Khan, the subhadar of Arcot, not to attack Satghar nor do any harm.

possible to say. According to Orme Mohammad Barki was in possession of Madura in 1755. Perhaps, although he was attacked and defeated by the Ramnad Dalavay, he was nevertheless permitted to retain Madura, as a tributary and vassal of Ramnad, and on condition that he disavowed Mohammad Ali's authority. Orme states that the Poligar of Maravar, by whom I suppose he means the Setupati, sided with Chanda Sahib and the Mysoreans against Muhammad Ali; and it is therefore quite possible that he attacked Mayana when Mayana changed sides and sold himself to the Nabob."

This long extract from Nelson's work (pp. 271-73 of Part III) should naturally throw some light on the statements of the Mysore vakil that are summarised by our Diarist. Particularly the profession of allegiance to Mysore by Mayana under the pressure of the Setupati, as stated by Nelson, may be said to be a support of the vakil's claim that the Mysore troops had seized a portion of the Madura country before the truce was concluded. Also the Diarist records a sentence in his entry for March 19, 1755, that the Dalavai claimed the Setupati for his ally. Mr. Dodwell, in Note I of p. 118 of Vol. IX of the Diary, states that "the Mysoreans might have taken the country before the truce, and also been dispossessed before that event"; and that, earlier in 1754, they were asking English help to obtain possession of these districts. Nelson's account also renders more intelligible the statements given by Dodwell; viz., (1) In July 1752 the Mysore general sent a party to take possession of Madura, which was taken from him again, about the beginning of December, by the Maravans, who, though in friendship with us, are like to keep it for themselves until we are in a better capacity to call them to account; and (2) Heron, writing in October 1754, that he heard from the Nawab that Cope Sahib endeavoured, with Mysore troops, to raise disturbances in the Madura country and plundered Tinnevely.

14. For an account of him, see J.I.H.—Vol. X—Part I—(pp. 19-25); and Vol. XII—Part I—Note 18, p. 104.

The last entries of the Diarist for the year 1754 disclose, first, Godeheu's resentment that the second and other Councillors did whatever they pleased, that he did not hear of things that were going on and his insistence that, henceforth, nothing should be done without his orders; and next, that Clouet, brother of the Governor, was carrying a proposal to the Madras Government that there should be no war for 18 months from January, 1755, or until orders should be received from Europe about it.

VI—THE CLOSE OF GODEHEU'S GOVERNORSHIP

On the second of January, 1755, Godeheu gave an order that all the people of Pondicherry, but the Europeans, *viz.*, Tamils, Muhammadans and all Indians, should report news to the Diarist and do as he directed and presented him with a *sarpech* (ornament on the turban) *kalgi turra* and jewels, two pieces of broad cloth and two pieces of cloth of gold woven in silk, besides ordering a salute of 15 guns to be fired in his honour. This honour to the Diarist began his short-lived second spell of prosperity. It was followed by the announcement that, until news should arrive of a settlement between the English and the French in Europe, neither side should take up arms for 18 months.¹⁵ In spite of the proclamation of the truce, the Diary tells us of a body of English horse and sepoy seizing villages under Kiliyanagar and Koyap-

15. The despatch from Governor Saunders to the English Company, dated January 12, 1755, says that at first Godeheu declined to conclude a provisional treaty, saying he had advices from France, of April 10, that Lord Holdernes had told the Duke of Mirepoix that no treaty could be negotiated in India and that the Companies were issuing orders. Later, in order to bring matters to a crisis, Saunders proposed a truce (dependent on a provisional treaty) to continue till orders were received from Europe; and Palk and Vansittart were sent in a private capacity to furnish any necessary explanations and to require positive answer in 3 days. The proposals were accepted, and when digested into regular form, were signed. The truce was proclaimed on the 1st of January. "The main considerations for making a truce are the infinite superiority of the French force, their great influence with the country powers, and the impossibility of a mere trading company to bear all expenses of war. If war had continued, the French, by means of their cavalry, could have protected their own territories and raided ours also; whereas we might have lost our own districts in attempting to seize theirs. Further the revenues remaining in the Nawab's power will probably enable him to reduce his debt." The conclusion of the truce was expected to revive the investments at Madras, Fort St. David and Salem and to increase the demand for imports from Europe. All troops except the necessary garrisons in the country forts could be called in and their batta stopped; and

pakkam and threatening to seize Acharapakkam, Chunampattu, Cheyyar and Kolattur and their occupation of the Karunguzhi country about the third week of January. Godeheu wrote to Saunders about the matter and to Pigot who succeeded him, about this and other acts of Muhammad Ali's troops; and he got from Pigot a reply that he had written to Abdul Wahab Khan, the killedar and agent at Arcot, not to plunder the country in French occupation. Proclamation of the mutual release of prisoners was made at Pondicherry on January 28; and the next day, the English soldiers and officers, upwards of 500 in all, who were imprisoned at Pondicherry, were sent to Fort St. David, on the understanding that an equal number of French soldiers and officers should be sent to Pondicherry, and the rest to France, by way of England, on a Europe ship. The Diarist records that, in return for the release of the English soldiers in Pondicherry, 167 stout picked Frenchmen, with some Mestice and Topass servants arrived.^{15a}

When Godeheu prepared to sail for Europe, he promised Ranga Pillai that he would leave instructions to his successor, M. Leyrit that all affairs concerning the Indian population of Pondicherry and the country people generally should be conducted through the Diarist himself and an order to this effect would be signed by himself and all the Councillors and sealed and handed over. According to the Diarist, the townspeople were fearful as to what might happen after Godeheu's departure. He had revived confidence to some extent and abolished the collection of tolls at Vaḷudāvūr, which had been made part of the Company's *jaghir*. The Diarist rightly told him that trade would decay if both land and sea-customs were collected; and that former Governors desired to get rid of the tolls in order to promote the town's prosperity.¹⁶ Just prior to Godeheu's departure, the Diarist entrusted to him a *cahier* in French, recounting all his services to the Company since his accession to the office of the Company's Chief Dubash, early in 1746, in succession to Kanakaraya Mudali; even before this, Lenoir had sent him to

the sepoy could be quartered in the Nawab's territories at his expense. (Dodwell—*Calendar of the Madras Despatches* 1744-1755—pp. 252-3). See also the Consultation of the Madras Council, dated 6th December, 1754; the letters of Messrs. Palk and Vansittart to Saunders, dated 14th and 16th December, and the Consultation of the Council of the 22nd December (*Diary and Consultation Book* 1754, *Military Department*.).

15a. According to a Fort St. George Despatch, the Nawab would still have about 700 Frenchmen after the exchange of prisoners.

16. In his entry for January 30, 1755, the Diarist had already advised the abolition of the toll for Vaḷudāvūr and Villiyanallūr, both in French limits.

Porto Novo and managed all trade through him; and his bales of blue cloth were stamped R and sent to Europe. Godeheu promised to show the document to the Company and the Ministers and secure for him a medal of recognition and rewards; and he said that he had written a note to Leyrit about the Diarist and to treat him well. The latter had no confidence in Barthelemy, Second in Council; and the Diarist tells us that Godeheu ordered him to do nothing without the consent of the Council, "for fear that he should shake all the fruit, ripe and unripe, from the tree."

Complaints reached Pondicherry of the disturbance created by the poligar of Vettavalam and the killedar of Eravasanallur fort who seized the crops and revenues of the neighbouring tracts and even planned to plunder the neighbourhood of Villupuram and Tiruvati. As a number of mutual complaints had been made by the French and the English, of villages in the Karunguzhi country being seized after the suspension of arms, Saunders and Godeheu had agreed to appoint commissaries, two on each side, to investigate and report. They met in the beginning of February, but could hardly arrive at any agreement regarding even a single village. Du Rocher, one of the French commissaries, is described by the Diarist, as being very clever and capable, which was not to the liking of Barthelemy. The Diarist records that Mir Sahib (of Eravasanallur) was seriously disturbing the Kallakurichi taluk yielding a revenue of two lakhs and similar troubles affected the revenue of Wandiwash taluk which was about a lakh. He accused the English of throwing some obstacle in the way of a fair settlement and declared to Barthelemy that "they must be treated as they treat us."¹⁷ He urged that troops should be sent against Mir

17. Contrast the English Governor's letter of March 8, 1755, to the Company about this matter, in which he wrote that "the French seem disposed to protract matters, in order to keep possession, as long as possible, of villages they have no right to," and that the English should insist on "the revenues of the disputed villages being received by both parties jointly until the matter is settled."

According to Pigot, (*vide* his letter to the Company, dated 8th March, 1755), the poligars of the Arcot country were also indebted to the English Company and similar measures (like those taken by Heron against the poligars of Madura and Tinnevely) were needed with them. Abdul Wahab Khan, who was in charge of these parts, had applied for help; but since he was suspected of applying his collections to his private use, Pigot would send him no help from Madras till the Nawab should come up from the Madura expedition. The Commissaries were appointed after agreement with Godeheu, since many complaints were made by both the French and the Nawab of villages being seized after the suspension of arms.

Sahib who was suspected of being in the English interest and that, with the help of the pro-French poligars of the neighbourhood, these should be put down. The trouble about the killedar of Eravasanallur was serious. And the strained relations with Nanja Raja grew only worse. Godeheu had always mistrusted the promises made by the Mysore wakil on behalf of his master who gave "nothing except words" and promised "anything". He had even threatened to withdraw the French troops from the siege of Trichinopoly. This he did on more than one occasion. On the other hand, the Mysore Dalavai found his treasury empty and saw that war could not be conducted round Trichinopoly at a profit. He now complained that he had believed in Dupleix, given up his agreement with Muhammad Ali and for two years maintained his own sibbandis, at the same time bearing the cost of the French troops. Dupleix insisted on his continuing at Trichinopoly, though he had been summoned to Seringapatam and allured him with prospects of reinforcements from France. Godeheu recalled Mainville and sent Maissin who "spoiled everything". He concluded a truce with the enemy, but insisted that the Mysore troops and commander should not go back saying that, after the expiry of the truce, he would send large forces to capture Trichinopoly; and the truce was followed by another for 18 months. Now the English and Muhammad Ali had captured the southern country (Madura-Tinnevely) and the middle country (Dindigul?) belonging to Mysore,¹⁸ while Salabat Jang and Bussy advanced across the Krishna, threatening an invasion of the Mysore territory. Nanja Raja demanded that Trichinopoly should be given to him or Muhammad Ali should pay him his expenses and that the French should prevent Bussy and Salabat Jang from causing disturbances in Mysore. The Dalavai was charged with having attacked the fort and town

18. The English advised the Nawab to settle first the affairs of the Trichinopoly country. "This must be done by fair words and promises, because the terms of the agreement are that no one is to take possession of any district that is not at present in his hands. If you could get the people at Madura and Tinnevely to take phirmaunds from you for the several districts and acknowledge you for their master, by promising them your favour and protection against all disturbers, you will then have a right to collect the revenues without any dispute. I have ordered Colonel Heron and Major Killpatrick to assist you in this business". (Letter from Governor Pigot to Muhammad Ali, dated 17th January, 1755.)—Heron marched for Madura on February 23, and reached it on March 3. He advanced without opposition to Tinnevely whence he sent out Captains Lee and Beaver with two parties against the poligars. He returned to Trichinopoly on June 6, leaving Mahfuz Khan in possession of the Madura and Tinnevely countries.

of Ariyalur and secured several lakhs of plunder; but he defended himself saying that Turaiyur was pledged to him for interest on the loans given by him to [Muhammad Ali] and that he had not exceeded his rights. The Diarist believed that Dusaussaye, the French commander with the Dalavai, had been bribed to consent to and countenance his action in seizing Turaiyur.

VII—THE INTERREGNUM TILL THE ARRIVAL OF DE LEYRIT

The more stable did the position of Muhammad Ali become, the more marked became the honours that were paid by the Pondicherry authorities to Chanda Sahib's son. Godeheu wanted to treat the French Nawab as if he were a real power; and we learn from the Diarist that the Commission of the three Councillors, with Barthelemy at their head, to whom the Governor's powers were entrusted in the five week's of interregnum between Godeheu's departure and the arrival of Duval de Leyrit as Governor, continued to pay honours to Raza Sahib which Ranga Pillai would not at all countenance. The Diarist was also not sparing in his condemnation of Barthelemy, stressing on his readiness to "do unheard-of things for whatever was offered him" and noting down how he was glad when Leyrit did not arrive by a certain ship by which he was believed to be coming. Leyrit, the *Directeur* of Bengal, arrived on the 25th of March and took up the office of Governor. The letters received in the previous week from the camp at Srirangam, reported the capture of Madura by Muhammad Ali and his intention to march against the Setupati with the aid of the Raja of Tanjore and the Tondaiman of Pudukottah; and of the flight of Mandumiyan (Mayana?)¹⁹ to the Setupati and the imprisonment of his wife and family in the Madura fort. Madura was plundered by Muhammad Ali Khan's people; and when Dusaussaye remonstrated with the English at the Trichinopoly fort that they should not help Muhammad Ali Khan to capture Madura and Tinnevely or to attack the Setupati, they agreed to withdraw their troops within a week but, ordered the advance to Tinnevely, as soon as they

19. Mr. Dodwell says that it might be Mudamiah.

The Setupati now offered to submit to the Nawab and apologised for his conduct during the war in siding with Chanda Sahib and even offered to cede two settlements on the sea-coast of his country opposite to Ceylon, which would greatly facilitate the English communications with the Tinnevely country; and Colonel Heron attacked the representative of Alam Khan in the fortress of Koilgudi, a strong pagoda situated about 8 miles to the east of Madura, to which he fled for protection.

had sent the French commandant back to Srirangam. The Turaiyur affair was going on badly; Nanja Raja and Dusaussaye could not agree over the amounts of the presents that the new poligar should give the French Governor and officials; while the wakil of the old poligar continued to offer his own terms; and there was delay over the installation of the new poligar. Meanwhile the truculent Mir Sahib of Eravasanallur was secretly negotiating for a lease of his fort from Muhammad Ali for a period of 10 or 12 years.

The new Governor, de Leyrit, was told, the next day after he landed, that the Diarist had not been treated well since Godeheu's departure and had been hoping for some encouragement from him. Thereupon he urged the Diarist to attend to the Company's affairs as in Godeheu's time, at which Barthelemy was not pleased and went away to his house "with a downcast look". The Diarist was cautioned that the Governor was very close and only acted with deliberation, taking every plan to pieces and that he should refrain from making hasty proposals to him.

(To be continued.)

The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughals

By

ABDUL AZIZ, BAR-AT-LAW

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Part II : Jewel Treasury

Chapter II : Biographical Notices of Gems and Gem-stones (Continued)

RUBIES

Akbar.

ABU'L-FAZL tells us that a ruby weighing 284 jewellers' *ratīs* was worth a lakh of rupees on the treasury registers. This may be taken as an indication of the current price of this gem-stone in Akbar's reign (*Ā'in*, I, 12; Blochmann, 16).

Jahāṅgīr

In the month of *Jumāda* I, 1st regnal year, 'Jahāṅgīr presented to Prince Parwīz a ruby worth Rs. 25,000 (*Tūzuk*, 37; R. & B., I, 77).

Again, on 21 *Jumāda* II, same year, a necklace composed of 4 rubies and 100 pearls was bestowed on Parwīz (*Tūzuk*, *ibid.*; R. and B., I, 79).

Next comes an insignificant stone. In II R. Y. a man pretending to be Mirzā Ḥusain son of Mirzā SHah Rukh, presented a petition for military assistance, and offered as *peshkash* 'a ruby of the colour of an onion, which was worth 100 rupees' (*Tūzuk*, 56; R. and B., I, 118).

A ruby ring and a ruby are described in the following passage :

'Murtaẓā KHān from Gujarat sent by way of offering a ring made of a single ruby of good colour, substance, and water, the stone, the socket, and the ring being all of one piece. They weighed 1½ tanks and one surkh, which is equal to one *miṣqāl* and 15

surkhs.¹ This was sent to me and much approved. Till that day no one had ever heard of such a ring having come to the hands of any sovereign. A single ruby weighing six surkhs or two tanks and 15 surkhs,² and of which the value was stated to be £25,000,³ was also sent. The ring was valued at the same figure' (*Tūzuk*, 63; R. & B., I, 132-33).

On the 22nd. *Jumāda* I (III R. Y.) Aṣaf KHān made Jahāṅgīr 'an offering of a ruby of the weight of seven *tānk*, which Abū-l-qāsim, his brother, had bought in the port of Cambay for 75,000 rupees. It is of a beautiful colour and well-shaped, but to my belief is not worth more than 60,000 rupees' (*Tūzuk*, 70; R. & B., I, 148).

On the 17th. *Jumāda* II (IV R. Y.) Jahāṅgīr bestowed on Prince Parwīz a ruby worth Rs. 60,000, and another ruby with two single pearls, estimated at about Rs. 40,000, were conferred on KHurram (*Tūzuk*, 75; R. & B., I, 156).

In the beginning of *Zi'l-qa'd* (same year), KHānkhānān sent to Jahāṅgīr by Mullā Ḥayātī a ruby and two pearls worth about Rs. 20,000 (*Tūzuk*, 77; R. & B., I, 160).

A famous ruby was offered by Rānā Amar Singh, when hard pressed, to Prince KHurram. The latter placed it among his offerings to the Emperor on his return to court. The story is thus told by Jahāṅgīr : 'On the first day he [KHurram] paid his respects, he laid before me a celebrated ruby of the Rānā, which, on the day of his paying his respects, he had made an offering of to my son, and which the jewellers valued at 60,000 rupees. It was not worthy of the praise they had given it. The weight of this ruby was eight *tānk*, and it was formerly in the possession of Rāy Maldeo,⁴ who was the chief of the tribe of the Rāṭhors and one of the chief rulers (or Rays) of Hindustan. From him it was transferred to his son

1. This should be 1 *miṣqāl* and 11 *surkhs*, else the equation is quite wrong. The point is discussed above (p. above).

2. This equation is absurd as it stands. Even if we assume '2 *miṣqāls*' has been omitted before 'six *surkhs*', we cannot equate the two weights until we also assume the '15 *surkhs*' to be a mistranscription for '11 *surkhs*' (as we did before). This would give a not unlikely value of 26½ *ratīs* for the *miṣqāl*.

3. A misprint Rs. 25,000.

4. This Rāja Māldev we often find associated with one gem or another. We have already seen how he made a bid, albeit an unsuccessful one, for Bābur's diamond. He seems to have had a taste for precious stones; and of course he was a man of considerable resource.

Chandar Sen, who, in the days of his wretchedness and helplessness, sold it to Rānā Uday Singh. From him it went to Rānā Prātāp, and afterwards to this Rānā Amar Singh. As they had no more valuable gift in their family, he presented it on the day that he paid his respects to my fortunate son Bābā KHurram, together with the whole of his stud of elephants, which, according to the Indian idiom, they call [which the Hindus call] *gheta chār*, I ordered them to engrave on the ruby that at the time of paying his respects Rānā Amar Singh had presented it as an offering to Sul-tān KHurram' (*Tūzuk*, 140; R. & B., I, 285-86).

On the 10th. *Farwardīn* (XI R. Y.) 'Dayānat KHān presented his offering of two pearl rosaries, two rubies, six large pearls, and one gold tray, to the value of 28,000 rupees. At the end of Thursday, the 11th., I went to the house of I'timād-ud-daulah in order to add to his dignity. He then presented me with his offering, and I examined it in detail. Much of it was exceedingly rare. Of jewels there were two pearls worth 30,000 rupees, one *quṭbī* ruby which had been purchased for 22,000 rupees, with other pearls and rubies. Altogether the value was 110,000 rupees. These had the honour of acceptance, and of cloth, etc., the value of 15,000 rupees was taken' (*Ibid.*, 156; R. & B., I, 318-19).

Eight days later Prince KHurram offered to the Emperor 'a ruby of the purest water and brilliancy, which they pronounced to be of the value of 80,000 rupees' (*Tūzuk*, 157; R. & B., I, 320).

Next, we have an interesting story from Jahāngīr which throws welcome sidelight on Prince KHurram's discrimination and memory, and shows that even from a boy he took a lively interest in pearls and precious stones: 'After the victory over the Rānā', says the Emperor, 'my son presented me in Ajmir with an exceedingly beautiful and clear ruby, valued at 60,000 rupees. It occurred to me that I ought to bind this ruby on my own arm. I much wanted two rare pearls of good water of one form to be a fit match for this kind of ruby. Muqarrab KHān had procured one grand pearl of the value of 20,000 rupees, and given it to me as a New Year's offering. It occurred to me that if I could procure a pair to it they would make a perfect bracelet. KHurram, who from his childhood had had the honour of waiting on my revered father, and remained in attendance on him day and night, represented to me that he had seen a pearl in an old turban (*sar-band*)^{4a} of a

4a. A *sar-band* is a wreath or fillet for fastening a lady's head-dress (*Steingass*). *Bahār-i-'Ajam* supports this sense.

weight and shape equal to this pearl. They produced an old *sar-pīch* (worn on the turban), containing a royal pearl of the same quality, weight and shape, not differing in weight even by a trifle, so much so that the jewellers were astonished at the matter. It agreed in value, shape, lustre, and brilliance; one might say they had been shed from the same mould. Placing the two pearls alongside of the ruby, I bound them on my arm, and placing my head on the ground of supplication and humility, I returned thanks to the Lord that cherished His slave, and made my tongue utter His praise⁵—

از دست و زبان که بر آید
کنز عهدہ شکرش بدر آید

'Whose hand and tongue can perform the dues of His thanks adequately?'

The story of the bargain of a ruby is thus narrated in the *Tūzuk*. It occurs in the annals of XII R. Y.:—'Then Mahābat KHān had the honour of kissing the ground, and presented an offering of 100 muhrs and 1,000 rupees, with a parcel (*gaṭhṛī*) of precious stones and jewelled vessels, the value of which was 124,000 rupees. Of these one ruby weighed 11 miskals; an European brought it last year to sell at Ajmir, and priced it at 200,000 rupees, but the jewellers valued it at 80,000 rupees. Consequently the bargain did not come off, and it was returned to him and he took it away. When he came to Burhanpur, Mahābat KHān bought it from him for 100,000 rupees' (*Tūzuk*, 195; R. & B., I, 394).

Among the offerings made by Prince SHāh Jahān after his victorious return from the Deccan (XII R. Y.) there was 'a fine ruby they had bought for my son at the port of Goa for 200,000 rupees; its weight was 19½ tanks,⁶ or 17 miskals, and 5½ surkhs. There

5. *Tūzuk*, 158; R. & B., I, 322. I have quoted the verse in the original, and have appended to it my own translation.

6. The Persian text has '19 tanks', which seems to be the more correct reading. See P. above.

was no ruby in my establishment over 12 tanks, and the jewellers agreed to this valuation' (*Tūzuk*, 198; R. & B., I, 399-400). This ruby of 12 *tānks*, to which the Emperor refers as hitherto the largest in the treasury, is probably the one mentioned in the last paragraph.

According to Sir Thomas Roe, some seventeen months earlier this ruby had been offered to Jahāngīr by the Portuguese merchants for five lakhs of rupees, when the Emperor wouldn't pay more than a lakh for it. According to another note by the ambassador, seven lakhs was demanded. The stone, he says, weighed 13 *tolas*! (Roe, 161-62 and f.n.). The way in which Roe has coolly multiplied both the weight and the value by three does not add to his reputation for responsible accuracy.

On Thursday, the 9th. *Āzar* (XII R. Y.) the Emperor presented Prince *SHāh Jahān* with 'a ruby of one colour, weighing 9 tanks and 5 *surkh*, of the value of 125,000 rupees, with two pearls. This is the ruby', he says, 'which had been given to my father⁷ at the time of my birth by *Ḥaẓrat Maryam-makānī*, mother of H. M. Akbar, by way of present when my face was shown, and was for many years in his *sarpīch* (turban ornament). After him I also happily wore it in my *sarpīch*. Apart from its value and delicacy, as it had come down as of auspicious augury to the everlasting State, it was bestowed on my son' (*Tūzuk*, 202-3; R. & B., I, 409).

On Tuesday, the 15th. *Isfandārmuz* (XIII R. Y.), Jahāngīr was on a hunting expedition to Amānābād with the ladies of the *maḥal*, where 'a string [necklace?] of pearls and rubies that *Nūr-Jahān Begam* had on her neck was broken, and a ruby of the value of Rs. 10,000 and a pearl worth Rs. 1,000 were lost.' Both of them were found on the following Thursday (*Tūzuk*, 263; R. & B., II, 74). We learn incidentally the value of some of the jewels worn by the Empress.

A fortnight later, on New Year's Day of R. Y. XIV (which fell on Thursday, the 4th. of *Rabī* 'II, 1028 A.H.=March 10, 1619 A.C.) Prince *SHāh Jahān* offered to his royal father, among other things, a *yāqūt* (ruby) weighing 22 *surkhs*, of good colour, water, and shape, valued by the jewellers at Rs. 40,000, and a very fine *quṭbī*⁸ ruby (*la'l-i-quṭbī*), 3 *tānks* in weight, also valued at 40,000 rupees (*Tūzuk*, 265; R. & B., II, 78).

7. This is the translator's oversight: the ruby was presented to the infant Salīm, and not to his father.

8. The translator prefers to read this word '*Qibṭī*', i.e., Egyptian.

Towards the close of XV R. Y., the *SHāh* of Persia sent to Jahāngīr 'a ruby weighing 12 *tānks*,⁹ which had belonged to the jewel-chamber of M. *Ulugh Beg*, the successor of M. *SHāh-rukh*. In the course of time, and by the revolutions of fate, it had come into the hands of the *Ṣafawī* family. On this ruby there were engraved in the *Naskh* character the words: "Ulugh Beg b. M. *SHāh-rukh Bahādur* b. *Mir Tīmūr Gūrgān*". My brother, *SHāh* 'Abbās, directed that in another corner they should cut the words:

Banda-i-*SHāh-i-Wilāyat* 'Abbās

"The slave of the King of Holiness, 'Abbās", in the *Nasta' līq* character. He had this ruby inserted in a *jūgha* (turban ornament), and sent to me as a souvenir. As the ruby bore the names of my ancestors, I took it as a blessing for myself, and bade *Sa'idā*, the superintendent of the goldsmith's department, engrave in another corner the words "*Jahāngīr SHāh* b. *Akbar Shāh*", and the current date. After some days, when the news of the conquest of the Deccan arrived, I gave that ruby to *KHurram*, and sent it to him' (*Tūzuk*, 325; R. & B., II, 195-96).

This is the ruby which was afterwards set in the middle slab of the rail of the Peacock Throne, as will be mentioned in another place (*B. N.*, I, ii, 80). The price of this stone is stated to be one lakh of rupees.

SHāh Jahān

When *SHāh Jahān* was marching from Junair to Agra, where his coronation was awaiting him, and approached Mewar, *Rānā Karan* paid his respects at Gogunda (4th. *Jumāda* I, 1037 A. H.). Among the presents *SHāh Jahān* bestowed on the *Rānā* was a *dhakdakī quṭbī* ruby worth Rs. 30,000 (*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, I, 220, *Qar-niya*, *Qazwinī*, and *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, 304. *Tūzuk*, 426, has only Rs. 3,000, which is an error).

The account of some important ornaments in *SHāh Jahān's* Jewel Treasury given by *Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī* is interesting:

The *sarpech* [turban ornament] which the Emperor wears on high occasions consists, he says, of five large rubies and twenty-four large pearls, the central ruby weighing 12 *tānks* or 288 jewel-

9. We have "12 *miṣqāls*" in the *Iqbāl-nāma*, p. 178.

lers' *ratīs*. Although the price of this stone is only two lakhs of rupees on the royal registers, if a merchant were to obtain such a gem-stone, princes or nobles would pay even four lakhs for it and buy it for presentation to the Emperor: money is so abundant and such a present so rare. It is true that there are a few rubies in the royal jewel treasury exceeding it in weight; for instance, the one which Prince SHāh Jahān bought for two lakhs and presented to his father on 11 SHawwāl, 1026 A. H., when he waited on him after his first victory in the Deccan. This last is the heaviest ruby in the imperial collection, and 1½ times the weight of the ruby in question; but none equals the latter in purity [*kāmīl 'iyārī*] (B. N., II, 391).

We have already reviewed Jahāngīr's report of presentation of this second ruby, which weighed 19 *tānks* (p. 231 above). Now the question is whether this central ruby of the *sarpech* is the stone which Mahābat KHān purchased from a European for a lakh of rupees, and offered to Jahāngīr. The weight agrees, since 288 strikes very nearly a mean between 286 and 291½, the two alternative weights of the other stone. The prices assigned differ enormously no doubt, but the price asked originally by the European may after all be reasonable; besides gem-stones of special size and quality were at a premium in SHāh Jahān's reign generally.

In a gem-stone, continues 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, four things are required: (1) colour; for instance, colour of a ruby should be neither dark red, which is too deep, nor the colour of a peach-blossom, which is too light. (2) Clearness and flawlessness [*bejiramī*]. (3) Shape. (4) Size and weight. This ruby is of a beautiful colour and has all the four qualities.

The best and the largest of the pearls in the *sarpech* is of the shape of a guava and weighs 47 *ratīs*, and is priced at Rs. 50,000. The total value of the *sarpech*, allowing only two lakhs for the large ruby, is estimated at 12 lakhs (B. N., II, 391-92).

Next the same historian tells us of a *tasbīh* [chaplet or necklace] which consisted of five rubies and thirty pearls, the total price of the ornament being 8 lakhs of rupees.

The largest and the purest of the pearls, he continues, are put on the *sarpech*, and such as are left over are strung on this *tasbīh*. Besides these there are two *tasbīhs* containing altogether 125 pearls between which are strung alternately coloured *yāqūts*. These two *tasbīhs* are valued at 20 lakhs. Each pearl on these *tasbīhs* weighs 32 *ratīs*, and is worth Rs. 40,000 (*Ibid.*, 392).

On 24 *Rabī 'II*, 1057 A. H., when the Emperor was at Kabul, Princes SHāh Shujā' and Murād Bakhsh came and waited on him. The Emperor bestowed on SHāh Shujā' a *khil'at* (robe of honour) with *nādirī*, a string of pearls, a *sarpech* of rubies, and a *jūgha* (turban ornament) set with diamonds, besides some jewelled weapons—the whole of the value of a lakh of rupees (B. N., II, 681).

Aurangzeb

For this reign a few European notices are available.

Tavernier, when he inspected the leading gems in Aurangzeb's treasury, saw there a chain 'of pearls and rubies of different shapes pierced like the pearls.' In the middle of this chain, he says, 'there is a large emerald of the "old rock"¹⁰, cut into a rectangle, and of high colour, but with many flaws. It weighs about 30 *ratīs*.'

Tavernier also saw 'a balass ruby cut en cabochon, of fine colour and clean pierced at the apex, and weighing 17 melscales [*miṣqāls*]. Six melscales make one ounce (French).' Possibly the famous stone which, we know, was presented by Prince SHāh Jahān to Jahāngīr in XII R. Y. (p. 234 above).

Tavernier also saw 'another cabochon ruby of perfect colour, but slightly flawed and pierced at the apex, which weighs 12 melscales [*miṣqāls*].' (I, 318).

Is this the stone which Mahābat KHān purchased from a European for a lakh of rupees and offered to Jahāngīr, and which weighed 11 *miṣqāls*?

Among the articles Tavernier presented to Nawāb Ja'far KHān was a 'ring with a perfect ruby which cost 1,300 livres [£97 10s.].' (Tavernier, I, 114).

It appears that SHāh Jahān knew more about precious stones than the jewellers and experts themselves. In the following anecdote from Tavernier, he is appealed to in a dispute where appraisers disagreed on a vital point, and his verdict was accepted as final with tacit consent.

10. 'Precious stones were denominated "of the old rock" (*rocca velha*), when they exhibited more or less perfect crystalline forms, being considered more developed than those with amorphous forms. (Linschoten, ii, 137; Fryer, i, 96; Bernier, 148).' (P. 318, f.n. 2).

'No. 2 [in Pl. IV],' says Tavernier, 'represents a large stone believed to be a ruby, and sold as such to Ja'far Khān, the Great Mogul's uncle, who bought it for the sum of 95,000 rupees, which amount to 1,425,000 livres.¹¹ He presented it to the Great Mogul, with many other precious things, on the King's festival, that is to say, the day whereon he is weighed, as I have elsewhere said. This stone having been priced at a little less than it cost, there happened to be present at that time an old Indian who had previously been chief jeweller to the King, but had been dismissed from his charge through jealousy. Having taken this stone in his hands, he maintained that it was not a balass ruby, that Ja'far Khān had been cheated, and that the stone was not worth more than 500 rupees. The King having been informed of the discussion, summoned the old Indian, with all the other jewellers, who maintained on their side that the stone was a balass ruby. As in the whole Empire of the Great Mogul there was no one more proficient in the knowledge of stones than Shāh Jahān, who was kept as a prisoner at Agra by Aurangzeb, his son, the latter sent the stone to the Emperor, his father, asking for his opinion. After full consideration he confirmed the verdict of the old jeweller, and said that it was not a balass ruby, and that its value did not exceed 500 rupees. The stone having been returned to Aurangzeb, he compelled the merchant who had sold it to take it back and return the money he had received.' (Tavernier, II, 100-101).

The story is corroborated by Bernier in the following passage: 'During a festival of this kind [a royal anniversary] *Aureng-Zebe* having paid a visit to *Jafer-kan*, ["Umdat-ul-Mulk" Ja'far KHān], not as his *Vizir* but as a kinsman, on the pretext that he wished to see a house which he lately erected, the *Vizir* made a present to the King of gold coins to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns, some handsome pearls, and a ruby, which was estimated at forty thousand crowns, but which *Chah-Jehan*, who understood better than any man the value of every kind of precious stone, discovered to be worth less than five hundred, to the great confusion of the principal jewellers, who in this instance had been completely deceived' (P. 271-72).

Now we can proceed to tabulate the information obtained so far:

11. There is here a mistake on one side or the other; a cipher should either be added to the rupees or subtracted from the livres.' (P. 100 f.n. 2).

**RUBIES WHICH ENTERED THE MUGHAL TREASURY
JAHANGIR'S REIGN**

No.	Description	Weight of Cut Stone	Price	Authorities
1.	Presented by Jahāngīr to Prince Parwīz (<i>Jumādā</i> I, I R. Y.).		Rs. 25,000	<i>Tuzuk</i> , 37; R. & B., I, 77
2.	Presented to Jahāngīr by "Mirza Husain" (II R. Y.)		Rs. 100	" 56; " " I, 118
3.	Ruby Ring in one piece sent to Jahāngīr by Murtaẓā KHān from Gujarāt. Of good colour, substance and water.	37 <i>ratīs</i>	Rs. 25,000	" 63; " " I, 132
4.	Ruby sent by same.	59 <i>ratīs</i>	" "	" " " " I, 133
5.	Offered by Asaf KHān to Jahāngīr (<i>Jumādā</i> I, III R. Y.). Of beautiful colour and well-shaped.	168 <i>ratīs</i>	Rs. 60,000	Abū'l-Qāsim bought it in Cambay for Rs. 75,000. <i>Tuzuk</i> , 70; R. & B., I, 148
6.	Bestowed by Jahāngīr on Prince Parwīz (<i>Jumādā</i> II, IV R. Y.)		" "	" 75; " " I, 156.
7.	Celebrated Ruby offered by Rānā Amar Singh to Prince KHurram, and by the latter to Jahāngīr. It came originally from Raja Maldeo.	192 <i>ratīs</i>	" "	" 140; " " I, 285-86.
8.	Quṭbī Ruby presented by I'timād-ud-daula to Jahāngīr (Beginning of XI R.Y.)		Rs. 22,000	" 156; " " I, 318.
9.	Ruby of the purest water and brilliance offered by Prince KHurram.		Rs. 80,000	" 157; " " I, 320.

No.	Description.	Weight of Cut Stone.	Price	Authorities
10.	Purchased by Mahābat KHān from a European and offered to Jahāngīr.	286 or 291½ <i>ratīs</i> .	Rs. 100,000	" 195; " I, 394.
11.	Fine Ruby offered by Prince SHāh Jahān to Jahāngīr (XII R. Y.). Largest in the Treasury.	456 <i>ratīs</i>	Rs. 200,000	Bought at Goa. <i>Tūzūk</i> , 198; R. & B., I, 399-400
12.	Ruby of one colour bestowed by Jahāngīr on Prince SHāh Jahān (XII R. Y.). Akbar's mother had presented it to Prince Salīm at the latter's birth.	221 <i>ratīs</i>	Rs. 125,000	" 202-3; " I, 409
13.	Ruby on Nūr Jahān's necklace.		Rs. 10,000	" 263; " II, 74.
14.	Ruby offered by SHāh Jahān to his royal father (XIV New Year's Day). Of good colour, water and shape.	22 <i>ratīs</i>	Rs. 40,000	" 265; " II, 78.
15.	Also a very fine <i>Quṭṭbī</i> Ruby (on same occasion).	72 <i>ratīs</i>	" "	" " " "
16.	An engraved Ruby of Timurid family sent by SHāh 'Abbās of Persia to Jahāngīr; then bestowed by the latter on Prince SHāh Jahān. This history engraved on it in three inscriptions. Later set in the middle slab of the rail of the Peacock Throne.	288 or 312 <i>ratīs</i>	Rs. 100,000	" 325; " II, 195-96; B. N., I, ii, 80.
1.		SHAH JAHAN'S REIGN		
		288 <i>ratīs</i>	Rs. 2,00,000 or more.	B. N., II, 391.

INDIAN RUBIES WHICH NEVER ENTERED THE IMPERIAL TREASURY

No.	Description.	Weight of Cut Stone.	Price.	Authorities.
1.	A <i>Dhakḍakī quṭṭbī</i> Ruby which SHāh Jahān bestowed on Rānā Karan before Coronation (1037 A.H.).		Rs. 30,000	' <i>Amal-i-Sālih</i> , I, 220; <i>Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahān-gīrī</i> , 304; <i>Tūzūk</i> , 426.
2.	Ruby which belonged to the King of Bijāpur. 'It is hollowed from beneath [i.e. cut <i>en cabuchon</i>], clean, and of the first quality.'	16 4/5 Engl. car.	Rs. 49,700 (1653).	Tavernier, II, 101 and 348 (Pl. IV, Nos. 3 and 4).
3.	A Ruby of the second quality. In form an almond cabuchon, somewhat hollowed beneath, and bored near the point.	58 <i>ratīs</i> =48 18/25 Engl. car.	Rs. 50,000	A Banian merchant showed it to Tavernier at Benares. Tavernier, II, 102 and 348 (Pl. IV, No. 5).
4.	A Ring with a perfect Ruby which Tavernier presented to Nawāb Ja'far KHān.		£ 97 10s.	Tavernier, I, 114.

Some of the world's famous rubies are tabulated here to give a scale of sizes and values.

FAMOUS RUBIES (Nos. 1—7 from ruby mines near Mogok, near Mandalay, Upper Burma.).

No.	Description.	When uncut.	Weight. When cut.	Price.	Authorities.
1.	Ruby, rich in colour; was originally cushion-shaped.	37 carats	32 5/16 carats	£ 10,000	Brought to Europe in 1875. According to Streeter the finest that ever came to Europe.
2.	Ruby, a blunt drop in form.	47 carats	38 9/16 carats	£ 20,000	
3.	A colossal stone. Broken into three pieces: Two were cut and the third was sold uncut in Calcutta.	400 carats	The weights of the cut pieces: 70 carats and 45 carats.	Price of the third piece, sold uncut: 7 lakhs of rupees = £46,667.	Sold in India (1904) for 4 lacs (£26,667) Was presented in 1777 to the Czarina Catherine by Gustav III of Sweden when on a visit to St. Petersburg. Now amongst the Russian regalia. Tavernier, II, 100 and 348 (Pl. IV, No. 1).
4.	Another large stone broken into two parts.		98 carats 74 carats		
5.	A beautiful ruby, found in Tagounnandaing Valley; perfectly clear and of splendid colour.	18½ carats	11 carats	Sold for £ 7,000. Now valued at £ 10,000.	
6.	Ruby found in 1899.	77 carats			
7.	Ruby as large as a pigeon's egg.				
8.	SHah's Ruby. Belongs to the King of Persia. 'It is of the thickness and shape of an egg, is bored through and of very high colour, beautiful and clean, with the exception of a small flaw at the side.'		192 ratīs= 161 7/25 Engl. car.		

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SAPPHIRES

Akbar

The Ā'in's quotation for a *yāqūt* of 4 *tānks* and 7¾ *surkhs*, viz., 103¾ jewellers' *ratīs* is Rs. 50,000 (Ā'in, I, 12; Blochmann, 16).

Jahāngīr

In the XII R. Y. 'Adil KHān sent to Jahāngīr a sapphire weighing 6 *tānks* and 7 *surkhs*, i.e., 151 jewellers' *ratīs*, and valued at Rs. 100,000. The Emperor says he had not seen before such a large and fine sapphire, nor one of such a beautiful and rich colour (Tūzuk, 198).

In XIII R. Y., again, on Thursday, the 17th. SHa'bān, I'timād-ud-daula presented an offering of a *quṭbī* sapphire exceedingly delicate (Tūzuk, 237; R. & B., II, 23).

Aurangzeb

Tavernier saw in Aurangzeb's Treasury 'an oriental topaz [yellow sapphire (corundum)] of very high colour cut in eight panels, which weighs 6 melscals [miṣqāls], but on one side it has a small white fog within' (Tavernier, I, 318-19). This, in all probability, was the only jewel which Aurangzeb wore on his cap when he ascended the throne (*Ibid.*, 296).

This stone is illustrated as No. 6 of Pl. IV, where the author adds that he did not see the Emperor wear any other jewel during the time he remained at his court on his last visit to India. It weighed 152 4/25 Engl. carats, and was bought at Goa for the Great Mogul for Rs. 181,000 or £20,412 10s. (*Ibid.*, II, 102 and 348).

Bernier is probably speaking of the same stone in the following passage: 'The King appeared seated upon his throne, at the end of the great hall, in the most magnificent attire. His vest was of white and delicately flowered satin, with a silk and gold embroidery of the finest texture. The turban, of gold cloth, had an aigrette whose base was composed of diamonds of an extraordinary size and value, besides an Oriental topaz, which may be pronounced unparalleled, exhibiting a lustre like the sun' (Bernier, 268).

As we have already seen, Tavernier also saw in Aurangzeb's Treasury an oriental amethyst, i.e., a purple sapphire, strung in the middle of a chain of pearls and emeralds—a long table, weighing some 40 *ratīs* (See p. 242 below).

SAPPHIRES IN MUGHAL TREASURY
JAHĀNGĪR'S REIGN.

No.	Description.	Weight of Cut Stone.	Price.	Authorities.
1.	Sent by 'Adil KHān to Jahāngīr (XII R.Y.). Large and fine. Of beautiful and rich colour.	151 <i>ratīs</i>	Rs. 100,000	<i>Tūzūk</i> , 198; R. & B., 1,400
2.	<i>Quṭbī</i> sapphire offered by I 'timād-ud-daula to Jahāngīr (XIII R. Y.) Exceedingly delicate.			" 237; " II, 23.
1.	The favourite 'Oriental Topaz' of Aurangzeb. Of very high colour. Cut in eight panels. 'Unparalleled.'	152 4/25 Engl. car.	Rs. 181,000	Bought at Goa for the Emperor. Tavernier, I, 296, 318-19; II, 102 and 348. Bernier, 268.
2.	The 'Oriental Amethyst' in the middle of Aurangzeb's chain of pearls and emeralds. A long table. 'Perfection of beauty'.	40 <i>ratīs</i>		Tavernier, 318.

INDIAN SAPPHIRE OUTSIDE MUGHAL TREASURY

No.	Description	Weight of Cut Stone	Price.	Authorities.
1.	A <i>Yāqūt-i-kuḥlī</i> (Budāyūnī) or <i>Yāqūt-i-arzaq</i> (<i>Firishṭa</i>) plundered by Maḥmūd at Muttra in 409 A.H.=1018 A.C.	450 <i>miṣqāls</i> . (!!!) or 400 <i>miṣqāls</i>		Budāyūnī, <i>Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh</i> , I, 15; Engl. Transl., I, 25. <i>Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa</i> (Nawalkishor), p. 29. The weight, whether 450 <i>miṣqāls</i> or 400 <i>miṣqāls</i> be taken as the correct tradition, is incredible. It comes to well over 2 seers or 4lb. Nor is such a stone heard of at any later time.

FAMOUS SAPPHIRES

No.	Name or Description.	Weight. When uncut When cut	Price.
1.	By far the most gigantic ever reported.	951 carats (cut ?)	} Seen in 1827 in the treasury of the King of Ava. Two splendid rough specimens in the Jardin des Plantes collection. In possession of Duke of Devonshire. In Mineral Gallery of the British Museum (Natural History).
2.	"Rospoli." Quite flawless.	132 1/16 carats.	
3.	2 in. long and 1½ in. thick.		
4.	A fine cut stone, brilliant-cut above, and step-cut below, the girdle.	100 carats	
5.	Image of Budha cut out of a single sapphire, mounted on a gold pin.		

EMERALDS

Akbar

Abū'l-Faẓl quotes Rs. 52,000 for an emerald weighing $17\frac{3}{4}$ *tānks* and 3 *surkhs*, i.e., 429 jewellers' *ratīs* (*Ā'in*, I, 12; Blochmann, 16).

Jahāṅgīr

Among the offerings of Ibrāhīm 'Adil KHān already spoken of was an emerald. 'Although it is from a new mine,' says Jahāṅgīr, 'it is of such a beautiful colour and delicacy as I have never before seen' (*Tūzuk*, 198; R. & B., I, 400).

Aurangzeb

Tavernier saw in Aurangzeb's Treasury a chain of 'pearls and emeralds, round and bored. All the pearls are round,' he says, 'and of diverse waters, and from 10 to 12 *ratīs* each in weight.' In the middle of this chain there was 'an oriental amethyst [*i.e.*, a purple sapphire], a long table, weighing about 40 *ratīs*, and the perfection of beauty' (Tavernier, I, 318).

In the middle of the chain of rubies already spoken of (under Rubies) there was a large emerald of the "old rock", cut into a rectangle, and of high colour, but with many flaws. It weighed about 30 *ratīs* (*Ibid.*).

EMERALDS IN THE MUGHAL TREASURY
JAHĀNGĪR'S REIGN.

No.	Description.	Weight of Cut Stone.	Price.	Authorities.
1.	Sent by 'Adil KHān to Jahāṅgīr (XII R. Y.). Fine and of good colour.	AURANGZEB'S REIGN. 30 <i>ratīs</i> .		<i>Tūzuk</i> , 198; R. & B., I, 400.
1.	Large Emerald of the 'old rock'. Cut into a rectangle. Of high colour, but with many flaws.			Tavernier, I, 318.

FAMOUS EMERALDS

No.	Description.	Weight		Price.	Remarks.
		When uncut	When cut.		
1-5.	Five choice stones (the so-called Spanish or Peruvian emeralds) presented by Cortez to his bride. These stones had been worked to divers fantastic shapes.				Lost in 1529, when Cortez was shipwrecked.
6.	Largest single crystal known to exist at present. Diameter, 2 in., length, about the same. Of good colour, but badly flawed.		1347 carats		In possession of the Duke of Devonshire. Exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851.
7.	A fine, though much smaller, crystal, but of even better colour. Widest cross-diameter, 1 1/8 in.; length, same.		156 1/2 carats		In Mineral Gallery of the British Museum (Natural History).
8.	Finest cut emerald.		30 carats.		Belonged to the Czar of Russia.
9.	Small but perfect and flawless, faceted emerald. Set in a gold hoop.				In British Museum (Natural History). See Illustration in Smith, <i>Gem-stones</i> , Pl. I, fig. 5.

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TOPAZ

Jahāngīr

Among the presents offered by Mīr Jamāl'ud-Dīn Ḥusain early in XI regnal year was 'a jewelled dagger which had been made under his superintendence. On its hilt was a yellow ruby [*yāqūt-i-zard*, really a topaz] exceeding clear and bright, in size equal to half a hen's egg. I had never before seen so large and beautiful a yellow ruby. Along with it were [set] other rubies of approved colour and old emeralds. Brokers [*muqayyimān*] valued it (the dagger) at 50,000 rupees' (*Tūzuk*, 155-56; R. & B., I, 317-18).

TOPAZ IN MUGHAL TREASURY
JAHĀNGĪR'S REIGN

Description	Weight of Cut Stone.	Price	Authorities.
Topaz set on the hilt of a dagger offered to Jahāngīr by Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn Husain (XI R.Y.). Bright and large and beautiful: in size equal to half a hen's egg.		The dagger worth Rs. 50,000	Tāzūk, 155-56; R. & B., I, 317-18.

FAMOUS TOPAZ

Name.	Weight. When uncut	When cut	Price.	Remarks.
"Braganza"	1680 carats			In the Portuguese regalia. Supposed to be a diamond but probably a white topaz, says Mr. Smith (p. 170). The <i>New Standard Dictionary</i> treats it as a diamond; and the <i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i> article apparently counts it as a topaz.

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PEARLS

Akbar

The standard price given in *Ā'in* is Rs. 50,000 for a pearl weighing 5 *tānks*, which means 120 jewellers' *ratis* (*Ā'in*, I, 12; Blochmann, 16).

Jahāngīr

We have already seen (p. 228 above) that Jahāngīr presented a necklace consisting of four rubies and one hundred pearls to Prince Parwiz (I R. Y.).

Again, a ruby and two single pearls valued at about Rs. 40,000 were bestowed on Prince KHurram in IV R. Y. (p. 229 above).

Some five months later, KHān Khānān sent to Jahāngīr a ruby and two pearls of the value of about Rs. 20,000 (*ibid.*).

On the New Year's Day of V R. Y. KHān-i-A'zam offered a pearl worth Rs. 4,000 (*Tāzūk*, 79; R. & B., I, 165).

Here is a good example of a gift of low-priced pearls on a large scale: 'As I had made a rule', says Jahāngīr, 'that they should bring before me after two watches of the night had passed the dervishes and necessitous people who had collected in the illustrious palace, this year also after the same manner I bestowed on the dervishes with my own hand and in my own presence 55,000 rupees and 190,000 bighas of land, with fourteen entire villages, and twenty-six ploughs, and 11,000 *kharwār*¹² (ass-loads) of rice; I presented as well 732 pearls, of the value of 36,000 rupees, to the servants who by way of loyalty had bored their ears' (*Tāzūk*, 136-37; R. & B., I, 279).

We have also already learnt (p. 230 above) that among Dayānat KHān's offerings (XI R. Y.) there were two pearl rosaries and six large pearls, though their price is not separately marked.

The next day I'timād-ud-Daula offered, among other things, two pearls worth Rs. 30,000 (*Ibid.*).

12. A KHārwar, lit., an ass-load, was a weight equal to 100 Tabrizī maunds or nearly 700 lb. English.

The story has already been narrated of a grand pearl worth Rs. 20,000 which Muqarrab KHān had procured for Jahāngir, and for which Prince KHurram found a match in an old *sarpech* of Akbar's time. We need only refer here to p. 231 above.

Among 'Adil KHān's offerings came (XII R. Y.) two pearls, one weighing 64 or 65 *surkhs* and valued at Rs. 25,000, and another weighing 16 *surkhs*, very round and fine, valued at Rs. 12,000 (*Tūzuk*, 198; R. & B., I, 400).

We have already noticed (p. 232 above) how on a hunting expedition to Amānābād Nūr Jahān broke her necklace and lost a ruby worth Rs. 10,000 and a pearl worth Rs. 1,000.

Among the offerings brought forth by Prince SHāh Jahān on the XIV New Year's Feast were six pearls: one of these, which SHāh Jahān's agents had bought in Gujarāt for Rs. 25,000, weighed 1 *tānk* and 8 *surkhs*, or 32 *ratis*; while the other five were altogether worth Rs. 33,000 (*Tūzuk*, 265; R. & B., II, 78).

John Company's servants once bought some pearls at a total cost of £ 1521 17s. On being brought to Jahāngir's court, they were rejected by Aṣaf KHān. They were then offered to Muqarrab KHān, but were 'disgraced in the Kings presence by Assuff Can, as being his refuzalls' (*English Factories*, 1618—21, p. 9). After having been unsuccessfully offered to many people, they were finally sold in June, 1618, to Aṣaf KHān for Rs. 8,092—at considerable loss (Roe, 450, f. n. 1). Sir Thomas Roe takes them to task for such ruinous dealings. He exhorts them either to buy cheaper or to invoice their goods right. The ambassador assures them that at the prices scheduled by him, a yearly sale to the value of £50,000 ready money is possible, if pearls of good weight and beauty were chosen; and, further, that a trade of similar volume could be driven in precious stones, if bought according to his specifications (Roe, 450).

SHāh Jahān

In the passage quoted at length from 'Abdu'l-Ḥamid's *Bādshāhnāma* (p. 233 above) we have already seen that SHāh Jahān's celebrated *sar-pech* (turban ornament) comprised besides five rubies twenty-four large pearls. The best and the largest of these, we were told, was of the shape of a guava, weighed 47 *ratis*, and was valued at Rs. 50,000.

Next to this *sarpech* came the *tasbīḥ* on which there were thirty pearls and five rubies—total value, 8 lakhs of rupees (*Ibid.*).

The two other *tasbīḥs* already referred to comprised 125 pearls. These rosaries, which contained pearls and coloured *yāqūts*, were priced at 20 lakhs; and the central pearl of each was valued at Rs. 40,000, and weighed 32 *ratis* (*Ibid.*).

SHāh Jahān sent one lakh of rupees through Mīr Ibrāhīm Ṣaf-darkhānī to Madina, to be paid to Imām Qulī KHān, who had been shamefully ill-treated by his younger brother, Naṣr Muḥammad KHān of Tūrān, and who was now visiting the Holy places. Imām Qulī KHān, it so happened, died at Madina before Mīr Ibrāhīm reached there. The latter thought it best under the circumstances to invest the money in purchases; so he bought from 'Alī Pāshā, governor of Laḥsā, a guava-shaped pearl weighing 43 *surkhs* for Rs. 30,000, besides some arab horses.

On 21 *Ramāzān*, 1054 A.H., Ibrāhīm Ṣafdar KHānī came back to Court and waited on the Emperor. The pearl was approved and placed on the famous *sar-pech*, the price being fixed at 40,000 rupees (B. N., II, 390-91).

We have it in the *Bādshāhnāma* that on the occasion of Jahān Arā's recovery from a long illness lasting 8 months and 8 days, a feast of rejoicing was held from the 5th to the 12th of *SHawwāl*, 1054 A. H., the bath of recovery taking place on the last day of *Ramāzān*. On the opening day of the feast the Emperor bestowed on her 130 unbored pearls for a *dast-band* (bracelet), the value totalling 5 lakhs of rupees (B.N., II, 396-397).

Aurangzeb

Tavernier has a long note on pearls he found in Aurangzeb's Jewel Treasury: When inspecting it he saw 'two grand pear-shaped pearls, one weighing about 70 *ratis*, a little flattened on both sides, and of beautiful water and good form. Also a pearl button, which might weigh from 55 to 60 *ratis*, of good form and good water. Also a round pearl of great perfection, a little flat on one side, which weighs 56 *ratis*. I ascertained this to be the precise weight,' he continues 'and that Shāh Abbās II, King of Persia, sent it as a present to the Great Mogul. Also three other round pearls, each of 25 to 28 *ratis*, or thereabouts, but their water tends to yellow. Also a perfectly round pearl of 36½ *ratis*, of a lively white, and perfect in every respect. It is the only jewel which Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, has himself purchased on account of its beauty, for the rest either came to him from Dārā Shikoh, his eldest brother, he having appropriated them after he had caused his head to be cut off, or they were presents made to him after he ascended the throne. I have

elsewhere remarked that the Emperor has no great regard for jewels, priding himself only on being a great zealot of the law of Muhammad.

'Akil KHān also placed in my hands, for he allowed me to examine all at my ease, two other pearls, perfectly round and equal, each of which weighed $25\frac{1}{4}$ ratis. One is slightly yellow, but the other is of a very lively water, and the most beautiful that can be seen. It is true, as I have elsewhere said, that the Prince of Arabia, who has taken Maskat from the Portuguese, possesses a pearl which surpasses in beauty all others in the world; for it is perfectly round, and so white and lively that it looks as though it was transparent, but it only weighs 14 carats. There is not a single monarch in Asia who has not asked the Prince of Arabia to sell him this pearl. Also two chains, one of pearls and rubies of different shapes pierced like the pearls; the other of pearls and emeralds, round and bored. All the pearls are round and of diverse waters, and from 10 to 12 ratis each in weight. In the middle of the chain of rubies there is a large emerald of the "old-rock," cut into a rectangle, and of high colour, but with many flaws. It weighs about 30 ratis. In the middle of the chain of emeralds there is an oriental amethyst [purple sapphire], a long table, weighing about 40 ratis, and the perfection of beauty' (Tavernier, I, 317-18).

Corresponding to the Illustration No. 4, Pl. V, we have the following letterpress :

'No. 4 is the figure of a large pearl perfect both as regards its water and its form which is like that of an olive. It is in the middle of a chain of emeralds and rubies that the Great Mogul sometimes wears round his neck, and it hangs down to his waist' (Tavernier, II, 103).

Now Tavernier, in the long passage quoted above, speaks no doubt of a chain of pearls and rubies, and of another chain of pearls and emeralds, but he has spoken nowhere of one of emeralds and rubies. Nor is it likely that here he is speaking of a third chain; for he himself tells us in letterpress to No. 5 just below¹³ that it is customary to place a pearl between two rubies or between two emeralds—which is corroborated by the arrangement of the two chains already spoken of. The truth of the matter is

13. See next quotation.

that Tavernier is pleasant easy-chair reading, but once you prick the bubble everything goes to pieces. It appears it wasn't Tavernier's practice to turn back to what he had once written, to compare or to verify. Consistency, we have noticed again and again, is a minor virtue with him.

The following letterpress corresponds to Illustration No. 5 on Plate V :

'As a round pearl of perfect form, this is the largest I know of, and it belongs to the Great Mogul. Its equal has never been found, for which reason the Great Mogul has not worn it, but has left it with other jewels which are unmounted. For if a match for it had been found, the pair might have been used as ear pendants, and each of the two pearls would have been placed between two rubies or two emeralds, in conformity with the custom of the country, every one, rich or poor, in proportion to his means, wearing in each ear a pearl set between two coloured stones' (Tavernier, II, 103-4).

Is this one of the single pearls mentioned by Tavernier in his inspection note, or had he forgotten all about this important pearl? In any case no cross reference is given to facilitate identification; and we can only make guesses.

The largest pearl Tavernier saw at the Mughal court was the one which, he says, 'is suspended from the neck of a peacock made of precious stones, and rests on the breast, and this peacock surmounts the throne'. This pearl is illustrated in Tavernier, Pl. V, No. 2 (Tavernier, II, 103).

In the following passage Tavernier speaks of a grand bouquet of nine large pear-shaped pearls, which he presented to Aurangzeb, and goes on to narrate at length the story of the sale of a pear-shaped pearl of 55 Florentine (or $52\frac{1}{2}$ English) carats, which Ja'far KHān tried in vain to buy, and which was finally sold to SHā'ista KHān at a considerable rebate :

'When I arrived at Jahānābād, one of them [*i.e.*, the two Persians, *viz.*, Nawāb 'Aqil KHān "Mir 'Askari" and Mirzā Mu'azzam, and the Banian, Nihāl CHand] came and told me that he had the Emperor's order to see what I brought, before I would be permitted to exhibit it in his presence. They sincerely wished that the Emperor was not at Jahānābād, because they would have tried to buy all that I had for themselves, in order to profit by reselling it to the Emperor, and to the Princes when the opportunity should

occur—this, nevertheless, they had never been able to induce me to do.

On the following day all three came to see me, one after the other, and they wished to get from me amongst other things a grand bouquet of nine large pear-shaped pearls, the largest of which weighed thirty carats and the least sixteen, with another single pear-shaped pearl of fifty-five carats. As for the bouquet, the Emperor took it; but with regard to the pearl, seeing that, notwithstanding all that they could say, I was unwilling to sell them anything, they so managed that before I had shown my jewels to the Emperor Ja'far KHān, his uncle saw it, after which he did not wish to return it, saying that he would pay me as high a price for it as the Emperor, asking me not to mention it; for in fact he desired to present it to the Emperor.

After the Emperor had selected from among my jewels those which he desired, Ja'far KHān bought several pieces from me, and at the same time purchased the great pearl. Some days afterwards he caused me to be paid the amount agreed upon, with the exception of the pearl, upon which he desired me to rebate 10,000 rupees. The two Persians and the Banian had maliciously informed him that on my arrival they might, if they had wished, have had the pearl for 8,000 or 10,000 less than I had sold it to him for; this was wholly untrue, and Ja'far KHān having told me that if I would not accept the money which he offered me I might take it back, I took him at his word, assuring him that he would never see it again during his life. I kept to my word, and remained firm in my resolve.

Having then started for Bengal [i.e., Tavernier having then started for Bengal], these three inspectors of jewels, incensed with spite, and urged on, no doubt, by Ja'far KHān, who was anxious to take his revenge for my refusal, wrote to Shāista Khān that I was taking some jewels to show to him, and among others a very beautiful pearl which I had sold to Ja'far Khān; but that he had returned it to me when he ascertained that I was trying to make him pay 10,000 rupees more than it was worth. They wrote similarly regarding the other jewels which I carried, and it was upon these false and malicious advices, which Shāista Khān did not receive till after he had delivered to me my bill of exchange, that the Prince wished to deduct 20,000 rupees from the total sum; this was reduced finally to a rebate of 10,000 rupees, with which I was obliged to content myself (Tavernier, I, 112-13).

The author informs us in another place (II, 89) that this pearl 'of well-formed pear shape, and of fine water' came from the pearl fishery of the Margarita island. The pearls found there, he says, surpass the others in perfection, both as regards water and size.

This pearl is illustrated as No. 3, Pl. V, where, however, the water is described as 'somewhat dead'—by no means a solitary example of the author's short memory and slipshod manner. It is the largest pearl, he adds, which has ever been taken from Europe to Asia (II, 103).

A few more stories of pearls which never entered the Mughal Treasury to our knowledge are nevertheless interesting. Some or all of these may have found their way eventually into the Imperial Treasury.

Tavernier went to meet Mir Jumla at Gandikota, and paid a preliminary visit to him on September 3, 1652.

'On the 4th,' he says, 'we again visited the Nawāb, and showed him the jewels which we hoped to sell to the King. They consisted of some pear-shaped pearls of a weight, beauty, and size which were unusual—the least exceeding 24 carats. After having examined them well, and shown them to a number of nobles who were present with him, he asked us the price; which having heard, he returned them to us, and at the same time said he would consider it' (Tavernier, I, 229).

Elsewhere Tavernier narrates the story of a 'large pearl of good water, but badly shaped', which Shāista KHān had once refused to buy from him. The nobleman asked for it again. Tavernier's report of the transaction is as follows:

'After I had handed it to him, "Say no more about it", said he. "In a word, how much do you want for this pearl?" I asked him 7,000 rupees for it, and it is true that rather than carry it back to France I would have taken 3,000. "If I give you", he replied, "5,000 rupees for this pearl, you will be well repaid for the loss which you say you have sustained on the golden rupees. Come to-morrow and I shall pay you 5,000 rupees. I wish you to leave contented, and you shall have in addition a khil'at and a horse." I then made him a bow, and besought him to give me a young horse, fit for work, as I had a long journey to make. Accordingly, on the following day, I received as he had promised, the robe, mantle, two waistbands, and the turban, which constitute, as I have elsewhere described, the complete suit which these princes are accustomed to

bestow upon those whom they desire to honour' (Tavernier, I, 17-18).

The Editor guesses that this pearl was the chief of the pearls Tavernier showed to Mir Jumla at Gandikota.

Once in the hands of SHā'ista KHān, it may subsequently have found its way into the Imperial collection.

Tavernier has the following story of a pearl belonging to the 'Prince of Muscat': 'This Prince,' he says, 'possesses the most beautiful pearl in the world, not by reason of its size, for it only weighs 12 1/16 carats, nor on account of its perfect roundness; but because it is so clear and so transparent that you can almost see the light through it. As the Gulf opposite Hormuz is scarcely 12 leagues wide from Arabia Felix to the coast of Persia, and the Arabs were at peace with the Persians, the Prince of Muscat came to visit the KHān of Hormuz, who entertained him with magnificence, and invited the English, Dutch, and some other Franks, in which number I was included, to the festival. At the close of the feast the Prince took this pearl out of a small purse which he carried suspended from his neck and showed it to the KHān and the rest of the company. The KHān wished to buy it, to present to the King of Persia, and offered up to 2,000 tomāns [about £6,900], but the Prince was unwilling to part with it. Since then I crossed the sea with a Banian merchant whom the Great Mogul was sending to this Prince to offer him 40,000 écus [£9,000] for this pearl; but he refused to accept that sum' (Tavernier, II, 87).

A footnote by the Editor supplements this information as follows: 'The account in the *Persian Travels* is that the pearl belonged to the Amir of Vodana, who showed it to M. Constant and our author at Hormuz; it was perfectly round and transparent, and weighed 17 'abbās, or 14 7/8 carats, the 'abbās being equal to 7/8 of a carat. On behalf of the Governor of Surat, the latter, on a subsequent occasion, offered 60,000 rupees, say £6,750, to the owner for it, but he refused to sell it (*Persian Travels*, bk. ii, ch. ix.).' (P. 86, f.n. 1). We can only add that the discrepancies are irreconcilable and thoroughly characteristic of the author.

**PEARLS IN THE IMPERIAL TREASURY
AKBAR'S REIGN**

No.	Description	Weight	Price	Remarks and Authorities
	Model Pearl in Akbar's Treasury.	120 <i>ratīs</i> .	Rs. 50,000.	<i>A'in</i> , I, 12; Blochmann, 16.
1.	Offered by " <u>KHān-i-A'zam</u> " to Jahāngīr (V New Year's Day).		JAHĀNGĪR'S REIGN Rs. 4,000.	<i>Tūzūk</i> , 79; R. & B., I, 165.
2.	732 pearls distributed by Jahāngīr among his loyal servants.		Rs. 36,000 for 732 pearls.	" 136-37; R. & B., I, 279.
3.	Two pearls offered by I'timād-ud-Daula (XI R. Y.).		Rs. 30,000 for both.	" 156; " " I, 318-19.
4.	Grand Pearl procured by Muqarrab <u>KHān</u> for Jahāngīr.		Rs. 20,000.	Another to match it found in Akbar's <i>sarpech</i> . <i>Tūzūk</i> , 158; R. & B., I, 322.
5.	'Adil <u>KHān</u> 's offerings (XII R. Y.): One Pearl.	64 <i>ratīs</i> .	Rs. 25,000.	" 198; " " I, 400.
6.	Another Pearl. Very round and fine.	16 <i>ratīs</i> .	Rs. 12,000.	" " " "
7.	Pearl on Nūr Jahān's Necklace.		Rs. 1,000.	" 263; " " II, 74.
8.	Prince <u>SHāh</u> Jahān's offerings (XIV New Year's Feast): One Pearl.		Rs. 25,000.	Bought in Gujarāt. } <i>Tūzūk</i> , 265; R. & B., II, 78.
9.	Five other Pearls.	32 <i>ratīs</i> .	Rs. 33,000 for all the five pearls.	

SHAH JAHAN'S REIGN

No.	Description	Weight	Price	Remarks and Authorities
1.	The best and the largest Pearl on <u>SHah</u> <u>Jahan's</u> famous <i>sarpech</i> . Of the shape of a guava.	47 ratīs.	Rs. 50,000.	B. N., II, 392.
2.	The central Pearl of each of the two <i>tashīhs</i> .	32 ratīs.	Rs. 40,000.	" " "
3.	Guava-shaped Pearl bought by Mir <u>Ibrā-him</u> <u>Ṣafdarkhānī</u> at Madina.	43 ratīs.	Bought for Rs. 30,000. Official price : Rs. 40,000	" " 390-91.
4.	130 unbored Pearls presented by <u>SHah</u> <u>Jahan</u> for <u>Jahan</u> <u>Arā's</u> bracelet.		Rs. 500,000 for all the pearls.	" " 396-97.

AURANGZEB'S REIGN

No.	Description	Weight	Price	Remarks and Authorities
1.	Seen by Tavernier in Aurangzeb's Treasury : (a) Pear-shaped Pearl. A little flattened on both sides. Of beautiful water and good form.	70 ratīs.		Tavernier, I, 317-18.
2.	(b) A Pearl-button. Of good form and good water.	55 to 60 ratīs.		
3.	(c) A round Pearl of great perfection. A little flat on one side. Sent by <u>SHah</u> 'Abbās II to the Great Mogul.	56 ratīs.		
4.	(d) Three round Pearls. Their water tends to yellow.	25 to 28 ratīs each.		
5.	(e) A perfectly round Pearl. Of a lively white. Perfect in every respect. The only jewel purchased by Aurangzeb on account of its beauty.	36½ ratīs.		
6	(f) Two other Pearls. Perfectly round. One slightly yellow. The other of very lively water, and most beautiful.	25¼ ratīs each.		

No.	Description	Weight	Price	Remarks and Authorities
7.	(g) The Pearls on the chain of pearls and rubies, and on that of pearls and emeralds. All the pearls round and of diverse waters.	10 to 12 <i>ratīs</i> each.		Tavernier, II, 103 (Illustr. No. 4, Pl. V).
8.	Large Pearl 'in the middle of a chain of emeralds and rubies'. Perfect as regards water and form. Of the shape of an olive.			
9.	Round Pearl of perfect form. Largest in Tavernier's knowledge.			" " 103-104 (Illustr. No. 5 Pl. V). It may or may not be the same as No. 3 (c) or No. 5 (e) above.
10.	Pearl suspended from the neck of the peacock on the Peacock Throne. The largest pearl Tavernier saw at the Mughal Court.			Tavernier, II, 103 (Illustr. No. 2, Pl. V).
11-12.	A grand bouquet of nine large pear-shaped Pearls offered by Tavernier to Aurangzeb. The largest of these weighed 30 Flor. carats. and the smallest 16 Flor. carats.			Tavernier, I, 112.

INDIAN PEARLS OUTSIDE THE MUGHAL TREASURY

No.	Description	Weight	Price	Remarks and Authorities
1.	Pear-shaped Pearl of fine water which Ja'far KHān tried to buy, and SHā'ista KHān finally purchased from Tavernier.	55 Flor. car=52 4/5 Engl. car.	Probably a costly article since a rebate of Rs. 10,000 was asked on it.	Tavernier, I, 112-113, and II, 103 (Illustr. No. 3, Pl. V) and 348.
2.	Some pear-shaped Pearls of unusual weight, beauty, and size shown by Tavernier to Mir Jumla.	From 24 Flor. carats upwards.		Tavernier, I, 229.
3.	Large Pearl of good water but badly shaped, sold by Tavernier to SHā'ista KHān.			Tavernier, I, 17-18. Possibly the chief of the pearls shown by Tavernier to Mir Jumla (No. 2 above).

FAMOUS PEARLS

No.	Description	Weight	Price	
1.	Largest known pearl. Cylindrical in form, with a slight swelling at one end. Measures 2in. in length, 4½in. in circumference about the thicker, and 3¼in. about the thinner, end. About three-quarters of it is white in colour with a fine 'orient', the remainder bronze in tint (Smith, 294).	454 carats.	Over £12,000	Was at one time in Henry Philip Hope's famous collection.
2.	Large pearl.	300 carats.		In Imperial crown of Emperor of Austria.
3.	Pear-shaped.			In possession of the <u>SH</u> ah of Persia.
4.	"La Pellegrina". Beautiful white Indian pearl. Perfect sphere in shape.	28 carats.		In Museum of Zosima in Moscow.
5.	"Great Southern Cross". Consists of nine large pearls naturally joined together in the shape of a cross, was discovered in an oyster fished up in 1886 off the beds of Western Australia' (Smith, 294).			
6.	Some pearls of curious shapes.			In Green Vaults at Dresden.
7.	The pearl of the Prince of Muscat. The most beautiful in the world. Round, perfectly clear and transparent.	12 1/16 or 14 7/8 Flor. carats.	More than £9,000.	Tavernier, II, 87; and p. 86, f.n. 1.
8.	The largest pearl of which Tavernier had knowledge. The King of Persia bought this in 1633 from an Arab who had just received it from the fisheries at Al-katif. 'It is the largest and most perfect pearl ever discovered, and it has not the least defect.'		£110,400	Tavernier, II, 103 (Illustr. No. 1, Pl. V).
9.	The biggest absolutely perfect pearl. The most superb specimen in the world. 'Although its diameter is that of a dime, the pearl is flawless, with a clear, lustrous beauty which excites wonder in all who see it' (Newspaper report, April, 1930).		\$750,000.	'Experts with the greatest knowledge of pearls say it is the biggest absolutely perfect pearl they have ever seen. It is certain there is not another like it in the whole world. It is one of nature's miracles. There are pearls in England that are bigger, but in quality cannot equal this one.'—Speech of Captain W. Llewellyn Amos, Secretary, National Jewelers' Association. It was fished by divers in the Persian Gulf, and came by way of India. Now in possession of a London firm. If all this is not mere journalistic sensationalism, this pearl ought to be among pearls what Cullinan (when whole) was among diamonds.

Editorial

INDIAN CULTURE: QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE
INDIAN INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH, CALCUTTA.

WE welcome the publication of the quarterly journal, *Indian Culture*, of which the first number for July 1934 has just been issued. This is intended to be the organ of the Indian Research Institute, newly started in Calcutta, with a very useful, if somewhat extensive, programme of work. We have already received two fascicules of their projected publication on the Rig Veda with the commentary of Sāyana together with translations in English, Hindi, and Bengalee. They have also projects for the publication of a Philosophical series, an Ayurvedic series and a Fine Arts series. The journal is intended to be the organ of the institute, and has a comprehensive programme dealing with topics like "history, geography, art, archaeology, iconography, epigraphy, numismatics, religion, literature, philosophy, ethnology, anthropology, folk lore, etc.," relating to India from the earliest times to the mediaeval period. It is a very extensive programme and goes into almost every detail of what really forms the basal portion of the indigenous culture of India, or, briefly, Hindu culture. It is under the capable editorship of Professors Bhandarkar and Baruva, and Dr. B. C. Law, assisted by an advisory board of twelve representative scholars all over India. The journal starts under very good auspices. Sir Devi Prasad Sarvadhikari, the President of the Institute, in an interesting and learned foreword, draws attention to the fact that "culture is the basis and bedrock of order and orderliness", and follows it up by pointing out "ours is an humble but devoted effort to supplement the labours of this band of constant workers in keeping our vision in the forefront of intellectual and spiritual workings of the day and to keep the flag flying". He invokes the blessings of the God of Nations upon this noble effort, and we say amen with all our heart. The first issue of the journal shows a large variety of articles and miscellaneous notes. We hope the succeeding numbers will realise the promise of the first, and wish the new enterprise all success.

THE SĀṆKHYA OF MANIMĒKHALAI

IN the third part of the eighth volume of our journal, we published an article on "The Manimēkalai account of the

Sāṅkhya". The author tried to make out that the account showed divergence from the classical Sāṅkhya of Īśvarakṛṣṇa and some affinities with Sāṅkhya as expounded in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Charakasamhita*. With reference to a particular point, the evolution of the motor organs from the sense of touch, which seemed to be implied by the Tamil words *avaṛṇiṭṭiṭṭi rokku-vikāramāi*, he said 'It would be interesting to know if there is any analogue to the view of the evolution of the organs of action from the skin.' It has been brought to our notice that Charaka, whose Sāṅkhya seems to figure so largely in the *Maṇimēkalai*, himself held a closely analogous view. According to him the sense of touch is all pervading, and all organs (not merely the motor organs) are modifications thereof (see *Sūtrasthāna*, xi, 32). The view seems to have been popular enough at one time; it is ascribed to a section of the Sāṅkhyas by Vāchaspati Miśra (see the *Bhāmati* on, II, ii, 10) and criticised much earlier by Gautama in the *Nyāya Sūtras* (III, i., 52-57). The reference to such an ancient view tends to confirm the early date we have always assigned to the *Maṇimēkalai*. For further information about this view of the sense of touch, reference may be made to Sinha's *Indian Psychology: Perception*.

GENERAL INDEX,

EPIGRAPHIA CARNATICA, VOLUME XIII, PART I
MYSORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

By

DR. M. H. KRISHNA, M.A., D.Sc.,
Mysore Government Press.

This useful and much-needed work is quite a welcome publication, though it had taken an unconscionable length of time in the preparation. The labours of Mr. B. L. Rice, C.I.E., the Director of Archaeology, resulted in the accumulation of a very large number of inscriptions, which were published in the comparatively long period, 1886 to 1904, in twelve bulky volumes, containing the text of the inscriptions, transliterated in Roman characters, the same in the language in which they are in the original and translation in English to accompany. Each volume had been prefaced with an introduction, in which the more important inscriptions and their bearing on history were discussed elaborately. It would be readily admitted that such a volume of material requires an index as an

essential auxiliary to any research work based on this material. So early as 1904 the idea of an index in a separate volume had been entertained, but owing to changes in the Department, the work could begin only in 1908 under Rao Bahadur M. R. Narasimhachariyar, the then head of the Department. The draft was completed and sent to the press in 1917, and the work was carried out in part, the index of 376 pages going so far only up to the end of letter K. The rest will have to be published in a subsequent volume.

This is a mere index of names occurring in the inscriptions, and even as such, it is of great value. The work has been long in preparation and is quite welcome as such. It is to be hoped that the subsequent part will be issued without taking anything like the same length of time, though the unfavourable circumstances, which contributed to the delay, cannot be said altogether to have ceased to exist. Notwithstanding that, let us hope that the Mysore Government will see to issuing the other part and complete the work for the benefit of those engaged in research.

Reviews

THE INDIAN TANGLE

By

SIR ALBION RAJKUMAR BANERJI, C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Messrs. Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., London.

In this little book of 250 pages, Sir Albion Banerji, discusses the complicated problems concerning India in her struggle for political emancipation. Sir Albion has been a distinguished member of the Civil Service and has had varied experience as an administrator not only as a member of the distinguished service to which he belonged, but as the head of the administration in the Indian states of Cochin and Mysore; he also held a responsible position in Kashmir. Naturally he looks at the whole question from the point of view of an experienced administrator. In the first few chapters, he expounds the features that constitute the Indian tangle as he calls it. He finds that while standardization and uniformity are the commonly accepted principles of democracy, the bureaucracy that governs India actually does leave the people to follow their own group traditions and cultures. It is not the bureaucracy that is really responsible for this state of affairs. It is the natural consequence of conditions obtaining in India, and is but a mere continuation of the historical tradition that is perpetuated by that bureaucracy, and this must be frankly recognized before anything is attempted to be done to introduce democracy into India. Speaking of the India under the Crown, he notes that while all castes and creeds enjoy the fullest freedom under the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria, they enjoy equal protection from the Government. Notwithstanding these differences, there has been growing during this last period a spirit of nationality and a bond of union, as the various communities, while following their group traditions, still could fraternise and live in amicable relations. To a considerable extent this common feeling had been encouraged by the English education that had been imparted, and a considerable fraction of the population is educated under this system. While the caste system, as it has developed, exhibited a wonderful power of conservation, the British rule for the last 75 years has been able to superimpose upon it a certain amount of solidarity of national interests. Any attempt therefore at political reform ought

to take note of this. One peculiar feature of the group organization of India is the freedom that the various groups at differing cultural levels enjoy—the freedom to order their own destinies according to the level of culture attained by them and their convictions in consequence. The binding force of the group consciousness of India is infused by a religious sentiment which in a general way is common to all the groups. Anything therefore that interferes with religion is likely immediately to create an opposition, whether it be the one group or another that is actually affected, and that is why all radical reform movements have met with comparatively little success, because the differences in the level of culture are actually real and so varied that anything like an attempt at uniformity seems wellnigh impossible. Sir Albion says “religious sentiments and prejudices are older than civilization itself, and civilization has yet to devise a means to man’s common purpose and good.” The very possibility of that common purpose and good is a recent feature arising out of the improvement of communications which has resulted in the annihilation of distances. It would be futile to look for history supplying an example. It is not beyond possibility however to cultivate the spirit of unity in the midst of all this variety, and it may have to be done perhaps by an artificial system of education. It will not do, however, to ignore the strength of the religious sentiment even in doing this. Anything therefore that neglects this sentiment is bound to fail in India. Sir Albion looks to the youth of the country to bring about this unity. But he seems to neglect that the youth of the country has received an education in which religion or even spirituality, has had neither part nor lot, and this defect in their equipment would raise against them the most vital sentiment of the whole of the country.

Coming to the question of the relation between Great Britain and India, he discusses the question of British dominence and comes to the conclusion that it is imperative that the relationship should be one of equality, not that of British dominating over India. It is here that the question of dominion status comes in, and the attempt at explaining away its implications, or attempting to whittle down its significance is bound to have consequences which might defeat all the good that the reforms may bring. While therefore insisting on equality of status between Great Britain and India, he is frankly of opinion that the British connection should be maintained. This could hardly be done if British pledges are attempted to be explained away as has been attempted recently; a successful solution is possible, but only by frankly facing the problem of how best to

carry out the pledges honestly. Sir Albion does not think well of the Simon Commission Report which he regards as unworkable. The rising tide of nationalism cannot be stopped; and must be harnessed to bring about not merely the internal unity of India but must be made to subserve the maintenance of the good relationship between Great Britain and India. Is it possible? Will the suggested federal constitution, with responsibility at the centre, and safeguards for vested interests, bring about the much desired solution. Sir Albion feels that there is considerable reaction in the country against the Gandhi cult with its Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience; and considers that the want of spirituality in Indian politics is a positive danger. Quoting Mussolini’s statement, “fascism gives impulse and vigour to the religion of the country.” Sir Albion is of opinion that the Gandhi cult is bound to fail, because it fails to give that impulse and vigour to the religious sentiment of the Indian community. He is frankly of opinion that Mr. Gandhi should retire from politics for silence and meditation, whatever is meant by it. It is perhaps creditable to the prescience of Sir Albion that this threatens to come about.

On the question of Indian women, he calls for a reform of the system of women’s education, and, as a necessary preliminary, the removal of various social disabilities and evils to which they are liable under the present social system. He would recommend the grant of all political rights that they demand, as the privileges that they obtain are not likely to be utilised to the fullest measure for a considerable time yet. But he insists upon the satisfaction being given.

The question of 52 millions of Depressed Classes and their position under the reforms is beset with peculiar difficulties. While recognizing the existence of such divisions elsewhere, he does not minimise the peculiarity of the position of the so-called Depressed Classes; but would insist upon their economic uplift and their being persuaded into clean living before anything more drastic could be attempted.

The ruling princes according to him present a problem more intricate in character. The 600 and odd states that constitute Indian India would present problems of peculiar difficulty in an attempt to bring them under the common federation with responsible government in the federal centre. But the problem is how far the rulers of these states are willing to forego their prerogatives on

the one side, and, on the other, to what extent they are prepared to give their subjects political rights to bring them up to the level of British Indian subjects across their borders. One other great difficulty is the problem of financial adjustment between the Federal Government and the State Governments. Sir Albion finds the White Paper scheme a compromise between the Simon Commission Report and the Round Table Conference, and in consequence fails to please either the one or the other. Supporters of the Simon plan object to what is regarded as too liberal concessions, while the members of the Round Table Conference find that the White Paper constitutes a great departure from the pledges given from time to time conceding Dominion Status to India. While he would approve of the White Paper as such, he finds a serious defect in it in its not prescribing a time limit for the further grant of full responsible government. The special responsibilities of the Governors and the Governors-General, and the safeguards constitute another defect. Another very objectionable feature is the Secretary of State's retention of his personal authority in regard to the services, and the Governors and the Governor-General. He concludes, however, with the conviction that whatever the defects "every friend of India as well as the Empire should welcome and support it as a bona fide and honest attempt to solve the Indian Tangle."

He next discusses the problem of Empire Trade Relations, Ottawa Agreements, and would recommend the appointment of "an impartial tribunal consisting of Indian and British experts, and a few foreign experts from countries with which India at the present moment has a considerable amount of trade. This tribunal would investigate the whole question (of the trade relations) and suggest means and methods by which both countries may receive advantages in equal proportion as far as possible, after making such sacrifice of sentiment and material gains as may be needed to secure those advantages on a basis of absolute equality and partnership."

In a concluding chapter on "The Outlook" for India, Sir Albion sees the vision of India split into two owing to outside influences. He believes that the already decayed Hindu culture and the Hindu caste system will break up to bring about a great upheaval of the submerged classes. These external influences will act differently upon the two great minorities now, the Indian Mussalman and the uplifted Depressed Classes. One of two possible courses would be the consolidation of the Islamic power through external influences, and the formation of a Mussalman empire ultimately. On the other

side the Depressed Classes, the proletariat of India may take its inspiration from the East, from a reformed China or conquering Japan, and may become dominant in Eastern India, so that India would split up into two, a Moslem West perhaps with Delhi as its headquarters, and the national East, if perhaps it could be called the Hindu East. A new force will come into play in the Bolshevism of Russia, which, according to Sir Albion, would undergo modifications making it more adaptable to the East than to the West. In such a case the Mussalman nations would become more susceptible to Bolshevist influences than their Hindu contemporaries. He believes that Neo-Hinduism will then have a "chance of asserting itself and bringing about that harmony, which is the keynote of all Hindu conception of the Universe." He finds unity essential for India in the confusion and turmoil, factions and economic warfare in the world, and considers that the immediate needs for the attainment of this desired object are a political truce with Great Britain, an Economic Treaty with the British Empire and a great national effort to counteract the evil effects of communalism within. The first object is attainable by the surrender of British control and monopoly, leaving it optional to the provinces and the states to take as much assistance as they care to. The second could be obtained only by the maintenance of the British connection, and the grant of the right of determining economic policy by India herself for India. In regard to the last, Sir Albion is of opinion that Brahman culture has ceased to be a living force, that Hindu society has to be resuscitated. To do this, he wants all social reform to come from within, and not to be superimposed by legislation. At the same time he wants religious sentiment should be fostered in the educational system of the country, would admit of religious propaganda by each religious group with the principle of toleration and mutual regard as an essential feature. He would recommend referendum for the acceptance of the Reform Act, those that wish to stand out being given the freedom to remain out as long as they like, joining the federation whenever they wish to. He concludes the work with a clear statement of his opinion that, if this course as a whole is not adopted, the prospects of a happy and contented India as an integral part of the British Empire are indeed very gloomy, and the tendency towards disintegration will work itself out. It is hardly to be expected that on such an important and complicated question everybody could agree with Sir Albion in every detail. But his views, so clearly and carefully recorded, would undoubtedly have the consideration of all those

who are interested in the solution of the present Indian Tangle in some satisfactory fashion.

HISTORY OF BOLSHEVISM
FROM MARX TO THE FIRST FIVE YEARS' PLAN

By

ARTHUR ROSENBERG

(Translated from the German by Jan. F. D. Morrow),
Oxford University Press.

Soviet Russia has become the object of attention to all interested in social reorganization, which has become a matter of urgent importance owing to the generally prevalent world depression. Soviet Russia is quoted as an example for the successful solution of the great difficulty on the one side, and is held up as a warning against the easy-going and irresponsible recommendation to launch out into a revolution to bring about a communistic system elsewhere. It is none too soon therefore that a serious, detached and impartial study of what Bolshevism really is, and how far Bolshevism Russia has actually realized the ideals of its authors. Apart from this, the establishment of Bolshevism in Russia is a new phenomenon and deserves careful study in itself. Professor Arthur Rosenberg's work provides a handbook, which would satisfy the serious student of the phenomenon.

The movement in favour of a communistic organisation of society is more or less directly the consequence of the French Revolution, which brought democracy into vogue in Europe. The English Revolution of 1688 and the French Revolution are similar in their ultimate aim and resulted in the introduction of government by the middle class as against government by a privileged aristocracy, whether it be feudal or other. Obviously this revolution in the establishment of one class government in place of another had left out of consideration the proletariat among the agricultural classes and the newly rising urban class of labour—the artisans engaged in various urban occupations—the direct result of the Industrial Revolution. Among those middle class intellectuals who brought about this revolution, there was a body of enthusiasts who soon discovered that this middle class revolution did not result in the government of the people by the people themselves, nor was it always conducted in the interest of the people. Those that thought out the

matter carefully came to the conclusion that the middle class revolution did not achieve the ultimate result they fondly hoped for. The Holy Alliance and the emergence of the European Concert naturally produced its own reaction, and several countries in Europe which did not enjoy popular government even to the extent that England and France did, naturally looked for opportunities to bring about a more thorough-going popular government than what might well be described as parliamentary democracy, which was popular just then. This shortcoming in the achievement of the Revolution gave rise to other projects to bring about a really popular movement, which meant a social organization, both economic and political, in which such government as is necessary was to be conducted naturally by all the people and in the interest of all of them generally. The peculiar position of Germany after the Revolutionary War made Germany the homeland for the development of an extreme school of thought, which wanted complete socialisation of every productive resource and an entirely new system of distribution to be brought about, not by the middle class which showed itself to be quite as much devoted to class rule as the aristocratic classes that they overthrew. The idea therefore developed gradually that this socialisation was to be brought about by a revolution and no less than a revolution which would place the proletariat and the urban labour classes at the head of the State, and all resources of the state being in consequence harnessed to the requirements of the people as a whole and not of particular classes. The revolution in various European countries in the middle of the nineteenth century had more or less this sort of aim, although not perhaps equally clear-cut and well defined elsewhere. As this idea developed naturally, it was felt that in order to make this movement a success, it would be necessary to bring about the movement not in any one country or another, but in all the countries likely to be economically interdependent. Therefore then the idea underwent a modification and the movement took a turn for becoming international. Governments in all countries were to be so transformed and all resources to be socialised everywhere. It is these ideas that gave rise to international organisations which went by the name, the First International, the Second International and the Third International.

While the idea would be thoroughly logical, the actual putting it into effect becomes a question of resources, of successfully upsetting the existing order and of maintaining a new order that may be introduced. This practical consideration leads illogically enough to the necessity of having to establish the tyranny or autocracy of a

new power, it may be the labour power, nor could this be achieved except by a revolution perhaps a worse and more bloody revolution than the French Revolution itself. In the circumstances of Germany at the time, and, having regard even to the development of thought, Karl Marx could only formulate his theory of communism as a revolutionary movement which had for its object the establishment of a state where the whole of the economic resources of the state would be socialised so as to become equally available to all the people. This constitutes the cardinal principle of communism, and having been adopted more or less in one of the meetings of the International by a majority, a small majority of two, it came to be called, the opinion of the majority or Bolshevism, as opposed to a school which took different forms at different times, which made the improvement of the lot of the proletariat and the labouring classes the main object of the movement, and would be satisfied to bring it about in whatever manner was possible. This party took note of the actual difficulty of bringing about a successful revolution all round, and therefore would organise with a view to obtaining better terms for these classes. In voting they were in a minority and came to be called Mensheviks. It becomes clear therefore that the cardinal principles of Bolshevism is the complete socialisation of the economic resource of the state to be brought about by a revolution which would place the urban classes and the agricultural proletariat at the head of the State. This in general terms is the principle as enunciated by Karl Marx and the class of socialists called communists stand for this. On the face of it the bringing about of such a movement all over the world at all simultaneously, or, at any rate, within a measurable period of time seemed problematic in the extreme. The conditions, economic, social and political obtaining in various countries actually involved in the movement proved too strong in many cases for the achievement of this ideal then or ever after. So it underwent gradual changes from time to time, so that even when it was put into active operation by the bringing about of the revolution in Russia, because circumstances proved unfavourable for that revolution elsewhere even at the very commencement of the Russian Revolution, the Bolshevism that came to be introduced was something very different from the communism of Marx. Lenin found it necessary in the circumstances of Russia to modify the theory to a great extent. The establishment of a socialistic state directly as a result of the revolution was impossible. While therefore the revolution was to be brought about, the actual government had to be carried on, not by the peo-

ple as a whole, which was the ultimate object, but by an autocracy of socialist idealists of one way of thinking, that is, those that understood the ultimate object and the way of achieving it. A small body of middle class intellectuals, almost a caucus, was to be entrusted with the power, the agricultural proletariat and the urban labour was to support them while they led. Such was the state that resulted from the revolution, and, as such, the state had a chance of maintenance only when it is resolved to get rid of opposition by all means possible, so that to begin with, the Bolshevik state established an autocratic government of a few people resting on the support of the proletariat generally, and conducting the administration in the interest of the proletariat generally, and actually to the detriment of the classes in power before, and even as against socialists who differed from them in regard either to the ultimate idea or the actual method.

Professor Rosenberg takes us on from stage to stage of this progress, altogether objectively, with knowledge and a judgment which for one so directly connected with the movement for years may be regarded as remarkably impartial. He gives credit where credit is due, and points out defect of principle and of practice alike unflinchingly both in respect of men and measures. He brings the account down logically from stage to stage to the end of the first five year plan, and recognises handsomely the achievements, at the same time pointing out clearly how different the Soviet Russia of Stalin is from the communistic ideal of Marx and even of the Third International. That the communistic ideal has failed is clearly recognised, and a chapter is devoted to the exposition of socialism of the Marxian type, even as modified by Lenin, as it works in a single state. Professor Rosenberg does not shrink from pointing out that the Soviet government of Russia is nothing more than any other national government, working through a process of centralisation of resources in a far larger measure than any other state, but nonetheless nationalistic and quite as far from the international ideal of the communists as any other autocracy. Although the book brings the account down to the end of the year 1932, the very recent entry of Russia into the League of Nations, which confirms this course of development, and brings it to its logical development, it would be very interesting to compare the achievements of the Soviet state with those of the fascist Italy or of Hitlerite Germany; but the time is not yet. Professor Rosenberg has provided a very good handbook for those who wish to acquire knowledge of Bolshevism, both in its principle and as it actually works in Russia, and

we commend it to all who wish for accurate knowledge on the subject.

ŚĀBARA BHĀSHYA—TARKAPĀDA

With the Commentary *Bṛhati* of Prabhākara.
(Madras University Sanskrit Series.)

By publishing the *Tarkapāda* of the *Śābara Bhāshya* with its commentary by Prabhākara, the 'Bṛhati,' the Madras University has placed all lovers of Mimāmsa under a deep debt of gratitude. I have a deep personal interest in the *Bṛhati*; as for several months I strained my intelligence, and my eyes, over the manuscript of the work that I could procure from the Bengal Asiatic Society, when I was preparing my work on the *Prābhākara School*. It is then very gratifying to find before me an edition of the work in such a neat and inviting form as to be a consolation to fatigued eyes—and minds.

What is to be specially commended is the care that has been taken in printing the text of the original *Śābara Bhāshya* itself. We all know, to our cost, that the first Edition of the work (in the *Bibliotheca Indica*),—excellent all round,—contains some bad mistakes,—specially bad, as not noticeable by the ordinary reader. These errors have been copied by the later Editions. It is refreshing therefore to find that the learned Editors of the volume under reference have taken special care to see that those mistakes are not repeated. It may be safely affirmed that the text of *Śābara* as presented in this volume is as near perfection as it can be.

The same care has been taken with the *Bṛhati* also; but the manuscript material available for this work is so scanty that one dare not be very sure of the soundness of the text. But it cannot be denied that even here, with the material available, no better Edition could be provided. The Editor deserves our hearty congratulations.

We hope that the 3rd volume will be followed by others; manuscripts of the *Bṛhati* are available, to the middle of *adhyāya* VI; and there is no reason why the Editors should not go on with the work so well begun.

GANGANATHA JHA.

RANJIT SINGH

By

NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA, M.A.,
Published by the University of Calcutta
1933.
pp. xi & 216.

The author is an aspiring student who has attempted to make use of unpublished papers in the Imperial Records Department in order to throw some additional light on the career and achievement of the great Sikh ruler, Ranjit Singh. He avoids getting into details about the personal and court surroundings that could convey no lofty ideas. Ranjit Singh's tussle with his mother-in-law, Sada Kour, and his successful absorption of the Manjha misls were both effected by means of weapons of intrigue and of the sowing of discord. The conclusion is that in all his conquests he depended more on diplomacy than on force; but he was more unscrupulous than cruel. According to a contemporary shrewd traveller, Baron Hugel "Never perhaps was so large an empire founded by one with so little of criminality." The same observant writer has remarked that the fate of the empire after his death never occasioned Ranjit Singh even a moment's anxiety. Mr. Sinha discusses the importance of the acquisition of Sindh to Ranjit Singh, as it would have enabled him to open communications with other countries free from British control. He is charged with having shown inert helplessness in the last decade of his life in the matter of his relations with the British power. He was convinced that a struggle with the English was inevitable; and, towards the close of his life, he attempted to be on friendly terms with the Nepalese. He was anxious also to anticipate any exclusive plans that the British Government might have formed in regard to Afghanistan. Not that he ever wanted to conquer that country, or was more than partially successful with the tribes beyond the Indus. Perhaps he dreamed of establishing a balance of power against the British Government which feared that a continual contact between Lahore and Nepal might be followed by other states attempting to establish relations with these two.

Ranjit Singh's rule was that of a popular military autocracy which however was based on, and was passively helped by an armed population. The revenues were extracted to the point of straining the people, but the commerce bore the heavy taxation well enough. Mr. Sinha gives an account of the European Chiefs and

Generals whom he employed; but his reformed army became in the end an intolerable burden which brought about its own ruin and that of the State. After dealing with his chief advisers and favourites, the author discusses the significance of his hero's career and concludes that he was a supreme example of an intellect without a conscience. He centralised everything in himself to such an extent that his death caused a void in which the entire structure of the government was lost. The conclusion is here made that the one great external cause of Ranjit Singh's failure is to be found in his relations with the British Government. In his alliance with the British, his power was limited on the east and on the south, and he was all hesitancy and indecision. Even had it been otherwise, it was hardly possible that Ranjit Singh could have prevailed against British Imperialism. There is an appendix giving a critical bibliography of Persian and English sources of Ranjit Singh's history, and also of the relevant parliamentary papers and of the Punjab Government Records.

C. S. S.

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA.

(1526-1761)

PART I.

BY

S. R. SHARMA, M.A.,

WITH PREFACE

BY

REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A.,

(Karnatak Printing Press, 318-A, Thakurdwar, Bombay.)

pp. x and 352)

This text book is intended for the average college student whom it attempts to familiarise with the sources of information. In our judgments on the achievements of the Mughal Emperors, we are warned not to take an absolute stand, but to judge from contemporary and truly historical perspectives, and take into account also contemporary standards of political morality and governmental rectitude prevailing in Europe and elsewhere. This is indeed a very desirable caution and should perforce be supplemented by a sober and impartial weighing of all available sources of information before any judgment is formed.

We appreciate the author's method of presentation in which extracts from original sources are largely given. They are strung fairly near to one another on the thread of the author's narrative. Supplementary notes and references are given at the foot of each page in which additional information and more recondite sources are given. The financial breakdown of Mughal dominion came even in the lifetime of Baber; and his successor Humayun had to suffer from the additional factors of revolution, intrigue and lack of continuity of effort proceeding from his dilettante character. But even he had to set himself to devise means of improving the administration and planned to separate the Empire into several great divisions, each one of them with a local capital and a Board of Administration for directing affairs. The Emperor was to give the Empire unity as a whole, visiting each part with a large imperial army under his own immediate command.

The interregnum of the Sur dynasty proved fortunate for the restored Mughal Empire, as the latter profited from the structure of administrative machinery which the genius of Sher Shah built up. Too much credence is placed on the flattering account of the Afghan monarch given by his enthusiastic biographer, Abbas Khan Sarwani. Nor is the caution sufficiently stressed that even Sher Shah's career is but the lot of the successful soldier of fortune in a time of great disorder and anarchy. Sher Shah is compared by our author with Frederick William I of Prussia in the matter of his military organisation and civil administration, Kautilya and Machiavelli and even Asoka are drawn into the comparison. Finally he is judged to be a combination of Baber and Frederick the Great of Prussia. Estimates of modern writers about Sher Shah's capacity are also given. Hemu who tried to prevent the second conquest of the Mughals is perhaps not given that full tribute for talent and capacity that is his due. With reference to Akbar whose restoration of the Mughal Empire is dealt with at length, we get an elaborate use of the principal Persian historians and Jesuit sources. The empire is depicted as trying to achieve the ideas and aims of a benevolent autocracy, acting through bureaucratic machinery. The description of the central and provincial administrations, and the working of the revenue and military departments is supplemented by a sketch of the social and religious reforms effected by the Emperor. The genesis of his reform was neither sudden nor abnormal; it can be explained very rationally, to a large extent, by the spiritual and religious awakening in India proceeding intensively at the time. Opinions about the Great

Emperor embodied in well-known works of recent times are given at the end. Each chapter of the book has got a supplementary note on the original and secondary sources bearing on it, as well as a genealogy of the principal personages mentioned therein. The effort to make the student acquainted with the sources is perhaps the most distinct contribution of this book. There is a plate of coins of the Mughal Empire the key to which has been kindly furnished by Professor B. L. Verma who has already given us a note on the Persian records in the Poona Daftar in the *Selections* that have been published under the editorship of Mr. G. S. Sardesai.

C. S. S.

MODERN INDIA
A COMPARATIVE SURVEY.

EDITED BY

SIR JOHN CUMMING, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Oxford University Press, London.

Pages VII to 304.

This book is a symposium. It does not profess to be a regular history of the country, nor to be an attempt at the solution of problems of current interest. It puts forward views, some of which are not acceptable to the Nationalistic school of Indian thought, but are nevertheless supportable by arguments and facts of a kind. Thus we are told that the main lines of cleavage in Modern India are not so much racial or linguistic as religious. Is it true to maintain that movements at social reform are, at every turn, confronted with the difficulty that the social system is based on, and permeated by religion? Perhaps, it would be truer to say that all our social features are seen through a colouring which appears to be entirely religious to foreign observers. Sir William Barton, one of the contributors, hopes that the Indian Princes will constitute a dominant element, and their states will become a dominant factor in a reasoned settlement of the political problems, which now occupy the Indian stage. He is apprehensive that the position of the Frontier will not improve when the control of a Federal Government is substituted for that of the British Indian Government. The British Government has not succeeded in assimilating the Pathans of the Frontier with the Punjab, and in giving their political aims and ideals a definitely Indian tinge. Therefore the Federal Government cannot succeed in this task, where the British

Government has failed. He would also want a radical alteration of policy as regards our Trans-border relations. As the mass of the people in the tribal areas cannot be left indefinitely in the air but should be made to converge somewhere, they should, for the peace of India, be drawn towards Delhi, lest they should run down to Kabul. Perhaps their differing nationalism might prove too much of an insoluble element for the coming Government. But the making of the attempt should be regarded as one of its primary duties.

Sir William Marris who was so helpful in the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme, writes about the machinery of the Indian Government. He describes the Indian administration of the period almost up to the introduction of the Reforms of 1909 as having been only a huge civil or non-military autocracy, in which however, control was less rigid in practice than in theory, and loosened at each successive link of the chain of development. The legitimate duties of the Government towards the people are more social than before, and take in much of activity that would be comprehended in the scope of State Socialism. Sir William says that the framers of the Reforms Scheme of 1919 were more cautious and less logical in their dealings with the Central Government. He would urge that thoughtful Indians should manifest towards the British Services a far greater measure of friendship and good-will than had been shown to them in recent years.

The Army in India has now been largely mechanized. The attempt at Indianization has not proved very successful, while 20 percent Gurkhas in the army cannot at all be Indianised.

Mr. O'Malley describes the various higher services of the Government, and gives naturally enough, the Indian Civil Service the pride of place among them, both because of its past history and also on account of its present position.

The Editor who writes the chapter on Law and Order, gives an abundant measure of praise to the Police who have sustained their morale through crises which would have demoralised any other force; and he would institute a very favourable comparison between the body of Indian Police and that of the U.S.A., where the obstacles to effective administration, though similar to those in India, have not been effectively surmounted. As regards the Indian educational system, it is pointed out by Sir Philip Hartog that the greatest danger ahead of us is a certain Chauvinism and

an undue absorption in the glories of the past; and he would urge that young Indian leaders in the educational field should always look forward and never backward. The progress of scientific investigation, the linguistic survey, and other scientific service of the Government are noticed. The fear is felt and expressed in the book that political changes might be increasingly injurious to the proper assessment of the land revenue and that, in this respect, the future Government will allow the incidence of land revenue to vary inversely with the political influence of the assesses. Famine and Famine Relief, irrigation projects, the construction of railways, and like matters have been justly made subjects of pride among the achievements of British rule in the country. The plea put forward that the ordinary calculations of the incidence of taxation upon the individual citizen and of the weight lying upon him should not be judged in the same manner which is followed in other countries; and we are told that the onus of proving that the Indian taxation is a crushing load rests upon those who assert it. The salt-tax is regarded as more suitable than any other which could be imposed in its place. The consumption of opium is said to have decreased and this is looked on with a smug satisfaction.

Lastly, Mrs. Vera Anstey examines the fundamental causes of poverty in India and tries to remove the misconceptions that are prevalent with regard to the financial policy of the Government. She concludes that the primary causes of India's poverty are to be found in spheres other than purely economic, the outstanding factors being the population problem and the influence of social stratification.

C. S. S.

POLITICAL INDIA

1832-1932.

EDITED BY

SIR JOHN CUMMING, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Oxford University Press, (Humphrey Milford), London.

1932.

Pages, VIII and 324.

This book is intended to be complementary to the co-operative survey of the main features of India at the present day which was published under the editorship of Sir John Cumming in the pre-

vious year. That book dealt with the country, the machinery of government, the problems of education, art and culture, and the various other problems of social, economic and cultural betterment of the people. The present book is an attempt at the tracing of political life in India in the recent past, and at the understanding of the trend of affairs that has resulted in the labours of the Simon Commission and the Round Table Conference. The late Viceroy, Lord Irwin, now Viscount Halifax, writes the first chapter in which he traces the change in the essential character of the administration of the country since the transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown. He states that, for a long time from 1858, the administration remained essentially an autocracy, though continually tempered by the introduction of institutions and principles of popular control and representative government. These new principles should, in his opinion, be linked up closely with the general realisation of responsible self-government throughout the Empire. He views with self-satisfaction the contribution of the British people towards the realization of this progressive evolution, and declares that one should not fall into the error of expecting too much enthusiasm for, or response to, it from the people of India; and while agreeing that the Indian National Congress was, in its genesis, the outcome of co-operation between the British and the Indian elements, he would give credit to the older Indian Liberal school for their enlightened attempts to create the basis for a true politically organized party. Political and quasi-political organizations have, in the last two decades, unfortunately assumed communal forms; and the stirrings of the times have brought into the political field other than purely political bodies animated by, and functioning in, an atmosphere which is non-national.

Prof. Dodwell, in tracing the course of political activities in the epoch 1832-84, has pointed out the nature of the first fruits of Macaulay's Educational Policy, and what he considers to be the root causes of how true and comprehensive reform has been over-shadowed by political agitation. John Bright, and the Indian Reform Society of which he was the Chairman, regarded that British India should not be governed from a single centre, but should be split up into a number of mutually independent governments. This was perhaps a right kind of procedure from the point of view of the then political reformer, as the introduction of reforms would have been then easier and more effective in smaller administrative units. But these reforms would have had the effect of retarding

that sense of national unity which is now cherished as, perhaps, the most valuable of the benefits conferred by the continuance of British rule. Mr. Dodwell considers that the policy of the government towards the Indian Press evidently favoured over-hasty development as in the educational field.

Prof. Rushbrook Williams traces, in what might be regarded as an impartial, though soul-less, manner, the development of the National Congress in its various phases first through the dominance of the old stalwarts like Surendranath Bannerji, Dadhabhai Naoroji, Hume, Wedderburn, and Mehta, then through stages that led to the rise of the Leftists who contrived subsequently to attain to the dominant control of the whole organization. Mr. Jones, the erstwhile Editor of the *Statesman*, analyses the elements of the Moderate Parties of the Right and the Centre, and the reasons for their separation from the Radicals and the Leftists. He is conscious, perhaps too badly conscious, of the barrenness of the results achieved by the Non-co-operation Movement. But its moral effects in chastening to some extent the minds of the Moderates and the Government also should have been stressed in a survey like his.

Sir Theodore Morison, a veteran educationist and economist, writing on the recent tendencies of the Pan-Islamic movement as affecting Indian Muhammadans, says that their activity for the last half century shows them to have pursued a fairly consistent policy which is best seen in their not having evinced much enthusiasm for popular government. Communal antagonisms, especially the differences which separate Hindus and Muslims, are regarded by Sir Hugh Macpherson being mainly confined to the urban masses and as not having touched the uneducated rural masses.

Other writers have stressed upon the subject of minority communities like the Sikhs and the Depressed Classes and upon the change in the outlook of the British planters and merchants, as well as of the Anglo-Indians, the Indian Christians and other smaller elements of the Indian population.

Prof. Coatman says that the 1919 Reforms have given rise to something like the beginning of a true Federal structure in India, in the separation of the spheres of the provincial and Central governments, and maintains that the record of both Central and Provincial Legislatures in the working of the reforms has been creditable, nay even impressive. One may be justified in not agreeing with these two verdicts, especially in view of the universal condemnation of the system of Dyarchy and the findings of the Reforms Enquiry Committee of 1925.

Sir Evan Cotton describes the place of Mahatma Gandhi as a factor in Indian politics and says that he has been hypnotized into the belief that his normal teaching has been making headway. The problems of anarchial movements in the country, of Indians over-seas and of the Indians States and their Princes in the coming Federal Scheme, are dealt with more academically than they should have been in a book like this. The solutions suggested are consequently attended with the charge of not being entirely practicable. The work of the Round Table Conference is summarised towards the end, the closing chapter leads to the pessimistic conclusion that differences of race, religion, and culture are still tenaciously clung to and retard political development, and will continue to be dominant for some time yet.

C. S. S.

BULLETIN OF MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM

EDITED BY

THE SUPERINTENDENT.

TIRUPARUTTİKUNṚAM AND ITS TEMPLES

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.,

1934, Madras Government Press, pp. VI ; II and 260 and 36 plates.

The village of Tiruparuttikunram is situated on the outskirts of Conjeevaram, and contains two Jaina temples, one of them being in the later Pallava style, and the other and larger in the early Chola style, with a Mandapa in Vijayanagara style. The ceilings of the Mandapa and the verandah of the larger temple are adorned with paintings illustrating Jaina mythology, some of which have been made use of by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. Mr. Ramachandran, with his usual enthusiasm and pains-taking thoroughness, has shown that Tiruparuttikunram was identical with Jina Kanchi, and was, perhaps, a corruption of the name Sempor-Kunram by which it is known in an inscription. We have plenty of evidence showing that Jainism flourished for several centuries, side by side with Buddhism, in Kanchi and was, perhaps, the more dominant of the two religions in the early centuries of the Christian Era, and continued to be one of the principal popular faiths till after the close of the first millennium A.D. The records of the place show us that the Chola Kings did not persecute the Jainas, but, on the other hand, even helped their shrines with grants and endowments. Mr. Ramachandran explains the cause of the

continued popularity and prevalence of Jainism, as well as the reasons for the persecution of Buddhism both by Hindu Reformers and also by Jaina teachers. Among these, he mentions interpolations in the Jaina cult embodying Brahmanical ritual and absorption of Hindu mythology into their own by the Jainas. He supports this conclusion with the details explained in his treatment of the Jaina iconography and the classification of souls in which are found many instances of what might be termed Hindu influence.

The older of the two temples of Tiruparuttikuṇṇam is dedicated to Chandra-Prabhā, the eighth Tirthankara and is attributed to the period of the Pallava King Paramēśvara Varman II, who built the Vaikunṭanātha Perumāḷ Temple. The later Vardhamana temple contains an inner shrine and an outer block of structures. The earliest inscription in this temple is dated 1116 A.D., and belongs to the reign of Kulottunga I; and it is taken as the basis of proving that the Ardhamandapa of this shrine was perhaps somewhat earlier. There are several Chola inscriptions of later date in various parts of this temple which contains a Maṇḍapa built by Irugappa, a general and minister of Bukka Raya II, who, according to an epigraph in its ceiling, built the hall in 1387-88 A.D. for holding musical concerts, etc. There is also a figure of Irugappa in the temple; he was a disciple of the sage Pushpasēna, who then lived in Jina-Kānchi.

After giving the architectural details of the two temples, Mr. Ramachandran proceeds to trace the religious history of Tiruparuttikuṇṇam, which was the chief centre for the propagation of the Digambara creed as well as the regular hierarchy of Gurus and Śiṣhyas which flourished at the place. The traditions regarding Akaḷaṅka who is most closely associated with Kanchi and the other great Āchāryas like Malliśēna (the author of the *Mērumandara Purāṇa*, recently edited by Principal A. Chakravarti of Kumbhakonam), and Pushpasēna are next given. The author expects to find inscriptions and portrait-sculptures of several of these Āchāryas under their Samādhis or in the neighbourhood; and he tells us that the Pallava Chief Kopperunjinga of Śēndamangalam, who flourished in the 13th century, revered the memory of the three Jaina sages who flourished before Malliśēna. He would infer from the Kanarese Grantha inscription (No. 188 of the Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy for 1901 and situated in the base of the verandah of the Vardhamana Temple) of Krishna Deva Raya dated 1517 A.D. granting to the temple a village, first, that

Kanarese was the Court language of the Vijayanagar Kings in that period, and secondly, that the Jainas of Kānchi were in close touch with the Kanarese country.

In the earlier temple, architecture alone should serve as the main indication of the date. The later temple has got many inscriptions, some of which are of value from the historical and religious points of view. The author gives notes of such of the inscriptions as have been already published and transliterations also of the unpublished ones. He also gives us an account of the paintings preserved in the temple; those which illustrate the life-stories of Jain Tirthankaras, Rishabha Déva and Némianātha and the latter's cousin, Krishna, have got explanatory labels under them. There are also twenty-seven rows of paintings representing scenes from the life of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the 24th Tirthankara; these, however, are not so elaborate and finished as those relating to Rishabhadéva. There have been examples of South Indian Jain paintings from the 7th century onwards; first, the frescoes of the ceiling of the Jain Cave at Sittannavāśal; next, the paintings at Tirumalai, and those at Tirupattikuṇṇam and at Śravaṇa Belgōḷa. The notes on the paintings given by the author on the basis of the *Śrī Purāṇa* and other works, are very detailed and elaborate. One of them describes the acquisition of Kévala-jñāna by the first Tirthankara, wherein the Samavasaraṇa, or heavenly pavilion, is depicted according to the descriptions in the Digambara works, as the *Śrī Purāṇa*, the *Mēru Mandara Purāṇa*, and the *Ādi Purāṇa*. Scenes from the life of Krishna, the Hindu god, who is declared to be cousin of Tirthankara Némianātha, are also found among the paintings; and they are much the same as those found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata*. The paintings that are found in a faded condition in the ceiling of the Sangīta Maṇḍapa, near the *bali pīṭha* are said to be earlier than the others by a century. The appendix gives tables of measurements necessary to understand the details and significance of Jaina Cosmology, classification of souls, human, sub-human, hellish, celestial, and perfect, and also an account of the different worlds of Jaina belief. There are also given the details of Jaina Iconography and of the sculptures of Tirthankara Siddhas, of Sāsanadévatās, of the Tirthankaras of the future age, of the Arhats and Āchāryas, the Upādhyāyas, the Sādhus, the Prati-Vāsudévas, Chakravartins, etc. This account of Jaina icons and images is very interesting, and puts in a compact form information that could be had only from a large number of sources otherwise.

The elaborateness of the index, the plans given of the two temples and the illustrations of their figures, the ornaments and paintings do not leave anything to be desired. The review of a book so well done and embodying conclusions, that are so carefully sustained, cannot close without a tribute of praise to the learning and careful presentation of the author.

C. S. S.

Select Contents From Oriental Journals.

Journal of the University of Bombay (History, Economics and Sociology: No. 2).—Vol. II., Part IV.

- (1) *Studies in the History of Gujarat.*—By M. S. Commissariat. Part II.

This deals with the life of Shantidas Jawahari, the great Jain magnate and Nagarneth of Ahmadabad in the 17th century based on the unpublished *Chintāmani-Praśasti*, an unpublished poem in Sanskrit verse, and on *farmans* granted by the Mughal Emperors, including three not hitherto known to exist. Some of these deal with the financial transactions between the Mughal government and Shantidas and his sons.

Three forgotten Pallava Kings.—By the Rev. H. Heras, S.J.

This paper gives an account of three Pallava kings—Nanakkāsa, Śāntivarman and Chaṇḍaṇḍa—mentioned only in the inscriptions of the Kadambas of Banavāsi. It attempts to prove that these three Pallavas were contemporary with the Pallava Kings that ruled over Andhra Desa, during the so-called Chola *interregnum*; and they belonged to a side-branch of the family who had dispossessed the main line of their capital and were ruling from Kānchīpura and interfering in the Kadamba Kingdom.

Development of Constitutional Ideas in the History of the Marathas.
By D. V. Kale.

This chapter of a thesis stresses on the supersession of the monarch by the Peishwa; the unconscious encouragement of the individual ambition of the Sardars; the breakdown of the Bhat hegemony and the convention cabinet of the Bhatbhai. It traces the running vein of military outlook throughout Maratha history.

The State and the Individual.—By V. Pratapgiri, who stresses the idea that political obligation has its basis on sociality, and in the recognition that the state, in the ultimate, represents ourselves.

The Economic Life of an Aboriginal Tribe of Gujarat.—By B. H. Mehta, dealing with the Chodhra tribe in the Mandwi and Bardoli talukas, and in Baroda and Rajpipla States.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, July, 1934.

1. *Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan, VIII.*—By F. W. Thomas: Government and Social Conditions B. documents (4, Travel and animals; 5, Objects and presents; 6, Burial and mourning and other ceremonial; 7, Medicine; 8, Law; 9, Writing and letters.)
2. *Iranica (II)*. By H. W. Bailey (continuation of J. R. A. S., 1930—pp. 11 et seq.).
3. *The Early History of the Baghdad Boil.*—By C. Elgood. This is an essay proving the existence of the disease, cutaneous Leishmaniasis, from the time of Abū Manṣūr Hassan al-Bukhari (d. 991 A.D.) and of Avicenna, and suggesting that the Mongols carried the parasites of the sore with them through Balkh into Iraq from which it passed on to the Gulf ports by the end of the 13th century A.D.
4. *The Root 'Rap' in the Rigveda.*—By E. H. Johnston. This urges that the meaning of "whisper" cannot be attributed to *rap* and *lap* at any stage of the language and that Vedic *rap* should be divided into two roots, one used originally only in the intensive, and the other equivalent to Avestan *rap*, with the general sense 'hold to,' 'be devoted to' and 'favour'; and the independent existence of the second root had ceased to be recognised before the rise of the grammarians.
5. "Bird Script" on Ancient Chinese Swords.—By W. Perceval Yetts—one of the scripts practised in the Chin period, and also perhaps earlier, illustrated in a bronze sword of some note.
6. *Who was the author of the "Liber Introductorius in Artem Logicae Demonstrationis"?*—By H. G. Farmer who suggests that Al Farabi or, better still, Md. b. Ma 'shar al-Busti, one of the authors of the famous *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Safā, might have been the author and that Gerard of Cremona or John of Seville might have translated it into Latin.
7. *A Note on the Name of the last great Sātavāhana King.*—By D. C. Sarkar. He suggests that the name, on the basis of epigraphic evidence, was Yajña-Śātakarṇi and not Yajñasri-Śātakarṇi, the name given in the Purāṇas.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 54—No. 1.

1. *The Ḥashwiyya.*—By A. S. Halkin who sketches the development and doctrines of the Ḥashwiyya and to define the extent to which they are identifiable with the Ashāb-al-Ḥadith and Ḥanbalites and the universal condemnation of them.
2. *An Aramaic Inscription from the Janf.*—By C. C. Torrey. This record is that of the establishment of a cemetery in the Mared District of the oasis of Al Janf, for a colony of Aramæans, either antecedent to, or contemporary with, the occupation of the region by the Nabatæans; and it is in the older Aramaic alphabet.
3. *More Old Persian Inscriptions.*—By R. G. Kent. One stands intermediate, regarding the empire of Darius, between the list of Persepolis and that of Naksh-i-Rustam; it divides the *Saka* into three groups.
4. *The Armenian Version of I. and II. Kings.*—By H. S. German; containing observations on the provenance and affinities of these two books in the Armenian translation which has only a few individualisms.
5. *Ras Shamra Notes II.*—By J. A. Montgomery.
6. *The Confucian Utopia.*—By Dudley Tyng; denying the futurity of the conditions of Utopia prevailing.
7. *Three Pāṇḍalāda Fragments.*—By Le Roy Carr Barret, dealing with three pieces of manuscript in the last page of of the facsimile of the birch bark version of the Kashmirian Atharva Veda.
8. *Some Observations as to the Origin of the Babylonian Syllabary.*—By G. A. Barton. This throws some light on the problems presented by the polyphony of the Sumerian syllabary and suggests the presence of a third race (closely akin to the proto-Elamites who had invented an independent pictographic script) besides the Sumerians and the Akkadians.
9. *The Date of the 'Oriental Geography of Ibn Haukal'.*—By H. Kurdian, concluding that the book was written before 891 A.H., and not after 902 A.H.

Antiquity, a Quarterly Review of Archæology—June, 1934.

1. *The Stone Age of Palestine*. By Dorothy A. E. Garrod. This paper describes the results of excavations carried on during six seasons in the Wadyal-Mughara (Valley of the Caves) on Mount Carmel by a Joint Expedition of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem and the American School of Pre-historic Research; and it deals with the sequence of deposits from the upper Acheulian stage onwards to the upper Natufian, the layers following each other without any hiatus, while nothing has been found elsewhere in Palestine which does not fit into this sequence.
2. *Simonides, Aeschylus and the Battle of Marathon*.—By J. L. Myres. It supports the suggestions of the identification of epigrams composed by Simonides and by Aeschylus to commemorate those Athenians who fell at Marathon, and of a competition for this epitaph.
3. *Aboriginal Rock-Carvings in Tasmania*.—By A. L. Meston. The carvings in the promontory near Devenport are said to represent Tasmanian art which was strictly utilitarian, something arising out of a belief in magic, as in the case of Melanesian religion generally.

Journal Asiatique—Tome CCXXII. No. 1., July-Sept., 1933.

1. *Trois textes Arabes d'El-Hamma de Gabes* (W. Marçais et Jelloûli Farès).
2. *Les Contes du Hûba Tarang* (S. Mohiuddin Qadri). A mystic Masnavi composed by Miyan Hûb Mohammad Cisti de Ahmadabad in 1575 A.D.
3. *L'Abbê François Nau* (Maurice Brière). A great scholar and Orientalist, 1864-1931.
4. *Melanges* (P. Masson-Oursel)—dealing with *Abhai*, *Adhai*, *Ati* and their use as prefixes.

The Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. LIV., Part I.

The Oriental Origin of Herakles.—By G. R. Levy. This paper connects the Greek Herakles with a Babylonian God, through the bridge of Luvian-Hittite culture that was associated in the western mainland of Asia Minor with the

Troy-Yortan culture. "Together with the Luvian culture, which was also the beginning of European civilisation, came Sandas destined to shed his effeminate robes and most of his divinity, to dance the Olympian foot-race among the Kouretes from Minoan Crete, in order to win rebirth as a Hellenic hero."

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XX., 1934, Part I.

1. *Some Unpublished Seals*.—By K. P. Jayaswal. These include a Maurya mould for casting *mudras* to be used probably as pass-ports; a gold signet-ring with the design of a *Makara-torana* and two pre-Guptan seals.
2. *Six Unique Silver Coins of the Sungas*.—By K. P. Jayaswal—including coins of Sumitra, son of Agnimitra, Suryamitra, Dhanadeva and Asvagosha, besides a unique coin of Agnimitra under his father, the Sēnāpathi.
3. *Unknown Pictographic Script near Ramtek*.—By Dr. G. R. Hunter.

The rock engraving of Mansar is attributed to the pre-Aryan Korkus or Gonds. Mr. Jayaswal says, it is the well-known "Shell Writing" and allied to Brahmi.

4. *The Tripod Symbol (Sthāpanāchārya of the Svetāmbara)*.—By N. C. Mehta.
5. *The Kandahā Inscription of King Narasimhadeva of Mithila (Oinwar Dynasty, dated S. 1357)*.—By K. P. Jayaswal. It gives a definite date of the ruler and a reliable date for Vidyapati.
6. *Dating in Lakshmanasena Era*.—By K. P. Jayaswal showing how the reckoning was on the basis of the era commencing in 1119-20 A.D.; and from about the time of Akbar, a lunar calculation was given to the era; and to obtain true dates of *mss*, the dates in the Lak. era have to be converted into Fasli years and thence into modern years.
7. *Mimāmsāsāstrasarvasva and its Author*.—By Umesh Misra.
8. *The Initial Date of the Ganga Era: An Examination*.—By G. Ramdas. The paper examines the unassailability of the data put forward by Messrs. J. C. Ghosh (Indian Anti-

quary, 1932) and R. Subba Rao (J.A.H.R.S., Vol. V., part 4) regarding the Gangeya Era.

9. *The Date of the Patna Museum Plates of Raṇabhanjadeva.*—By J. C. Ghosh—suggesting that the Rāṇaka Rāṇabhanja of Ubhayakhinjalimaṇḍala of this grant is, most probably, identical with Raṇasūra of Takkaṇalāḍam which was perhaps North Khinjali.
10. *The Dates of the Tirlingi and the Jirjingi Grants.*—By J. C. Ghosh.
11. *The Maukharis of Kanauj.*—By Rama Shankara Tripathi, —asserting a Kshatriya origin for the dynasty, maintaining that Kanauj was the capital of Harivarman's line and that the date given in the Haraha inscription which is fixed for V. S. 611, as the main starting point in the Maukhari chronology.
12. *On the Conventional Methods of Punishment and Disgrace in Folklore.*—By Kalipada Mitra.
13. *European Cemeteries at Balasore.*—By Kalipada Mitra.
14. *Ulūka Country.*—By J. C. Vidyalkara—identified with Kulūta, the modern Kulu, on the basis of the reading in a Nepal palm-leaf ms. of the Mahābhārata.
15. *Mount Viṣṇupada.*—By J. C. Vidyalkara—trying to locate the site in the Siwalik Hills near the Beas.
16. *Unity between the Deity and the Devotee.*—By Kalipada Mitra.
17. *The Date and Place of Sher Shah's Birth.*—By Paramatma Saran. This tries to point out errors regarding sequence and dates of events in Sher Shah's early life, that have crept into Prof. Qanungo's Biography, on an examination of Abbas Khan's account and the *Makhzan-i-Afghana*.

OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, Patna Junction, E. I. Ry.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, "The Ashrama", Luz, Mylapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Le Monde Oriental*, Kungl: Universitetets Bibliotek, Uppsala.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
20. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U. S. A.
21. *Yoga-Mimansa*, Kun'javana, Lonavla, Bombay.
22. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
23. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.
24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archaeological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).

25. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City.
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom*, Aahlu, 6, Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.
29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People*, 2, Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
32. *The Young men of India*, 5, Russell St., Calcutta.
33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
34. The Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.
35. *The Federated India*, Madras.
36. 'Tarikh' Kotlah Akbar Jah, Hyderabad (Deccan).
37. The Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
38. Verlag Der Asia Major, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr, 2.
39. *The Indian Literary Review*, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 190, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
40. Triveni, Editor, Y. M. I. A. Buildings, 9, Armenian Street, Madras.
41. *Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, Cathedral P. O., Madras.
42. *Journal of the Bombay University*, Senate House, Bombay.
43. *Muslim University Journal*, Muslim University, Aligarh.
44. Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara, Tirupati Sri Mahan't Press, 21, Anderson Street, G. T., Madras.
45. The Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar.
46. *The Punjab University Journal*, Lahore.
47. The U. P. Historical Society, Lucknow.
48. *Indian Culture*, The Indian Research Institute, 55, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
49. Bharathi, The Bharathi Office, 7, Thambu Chetty Street, G. T., Madras.
50. *Karnataka Sahitya Parishat*, Sri Krishnarajendra Parishat Buildings, Hardinge Road, Chamarajpet, Bangalore City.

Journal of Indian History

Date of Pallava Śivaskandavarman

By

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THERE is a controversy over the date of the early Pallava king, Śivaskandavarman, who issued the Mayidavolu (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 86) and Hirahadagalli (*ibid.*, I, p. 2) grants. Fleet placed him after Viṣṇugopa of Kāñcī, who is known to have come in conflict with Samudragupta during the latter's southern campaign about the middle of the fourth century A.D. (*Bom. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 319). Prof. Dubreuil, on the other hand, assigns Śivaskandavarman to the third quarter of the third century A.D., circa 250—275, (*Anc. His. Dec., Eng. tr.*, p. 70). Scholars, however, are now generally agreed that Śivaskanda is to be placed earlier than Viṣṇugopa (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 248). In the present note, I am trying to prove that the rule of Pallava Śivaskandavarman began in about A.D. 300, and that vijaya-Skandavarman of the British Museum plates (*ibid.*, VIII, p. 143), who is now generally identified with Śivaskandavarman, ruled possibly a little later than Śivaskanda.

Ptolemy, who wrote his *Geography* about A.D. 140, mentions Tiasenês (= Caṣṭana) ruler of Ozênê (= Ujjayini) and Siritolomaïos (= siri-Pulamāyi) ruler of Baithāna (= Paithān, in the Aurangabad District) as his contemporaries (VII, i, §63, 82). The Andau inscription issued in the joint-reign of Caṣṭana and his grandson Rudradāman is dated in the year 52, which must be referred to the Śaka era and should correspond to A.D. 130 (*Raychaudhuri, Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd. ed., pp. 307 ff). Caṣṭana's contemporary Pulumāyi, who has been identified with Vāsiṣṭhi-putra śrī-Pulumāyi, son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (*ibid.*, p. 313), must also have ruled about A.D. 130.

According to the Matsya-Purāṇa, which is the only work that gives a fuller list of the Śātavāhana kings and seems, therefore, to be more authentic as regards Śātavāhana chronology than the other Purāṇas, the following kings of the Śātavāhana family ruled after Vāsiṣṭhiputra śrī-Pulumāyi (see Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins*, p. lxvii).

(1) Śivaśrī (Śātakarṇi)	.. 7	years.
(2) Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi	.. 7	"
(3) Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi	.. 29	" ¹
(4) Vijaya	.. 6	"
(5) Caṇḍaśrī (Śātakarṇi)	.. 10	" ²
	—	
	59	"
(6) Pulomā (yi)	.. 7	" ³
	—	
	.. 66	"
	—	

The only inscription of Pulumāyi (Pulumāvi), the last king of the dynasty, has been discovered at Myakadoni in the Bellary District (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 153). We, therefore, cannot be definite as regards his rule over the Andhra country. But the Amarāvati inscriptions of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi and Sivamaka Sada (= Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi?), the Chinna (Kistna District) inscription of Yajña Śātakarṇi and the Kodavali (Godavari District) inscription of Caḍa Sāta (= Caṇḍaśrī Śātakarṇi) leave no doubt that at least the Śātavāhana kings who reigned before Pulumāyi of the Myakadoni grant were rulers of the Andhra country (*A.S.S.I.*, pp. 61 & 100; *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 95; XVIII, p. 316). As Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi is known to have ruled in the second quarter of the second century, it appears that the Andhra country was under the Śātavāhana yoke at least up to about the end of that century.

1. The Chinna inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 95) is dated in the 27th regnal year of Yajña. The duration of his rule given in some of the Purāṇas as twenty-nine years may, therefore, be taken as correct. For his real name, see my note in *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1934, p. 560.

2. His real name seems to have been Caṇḍa (or Candra) Śātakarṇi.

3. The Myakadoni inscription (*ibid.*, XIV, p. 153) of Pulumāvi is, however, dated in his eighth regnal year.

According to Krishna Sastri (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 318), the second year of Caḍa Sāta (= Caṇḍaśrī Śātakarṇi) was probably equivalent to A.D. 210. We may therefore approximately arrange the chronology of the above kings as follows:

(1) Śivaśrī (Śātakarṇi)	c. A.D. 160—166.
(2) Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi	c. A.D. 167—173.
(3) Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi	c. A.D. 174—202.
(4) Vijaya	c. A.D. 203—208.
(5) Caṇḍaśrī (Śātakarṇi)	c. A.D. 209—218.

According to the Matsya-Purāṇa, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi ruled for 28 years. He, therefore, seems to have ruled from about A.D. 132 to 159. This date, though approximate, corroborates the fact that Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi was a contemporary of the Greek Geographer Ptolemy who wrote his *Geography* about A.D. 140 and of the early Śaka Satrap Caṣṭana who is known to have ruled in A.D. 130.⁴

The Ikṣvākus who succeeded the Śātavāhanas in the rule of the Kistna-Guntur region (i.e. the Andhradeśa) must, therefore, have risen to prominence after Caṇḍaśrī Śātakarṇi, i.e., about the end of the first quarter of the third century A.D. Vāsiṣṭhiputra Cāmtamūla (I), the first known Ikṣvāku king, must be placed after Caṇḍaśrī. Cāmtamūla I was certainly an independent king, as he is known to have performed the *Vājapeya* and the *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. According to the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (V, 2), the performance of *Vājapeya* bestows on the performer a superior kind of kingship called *sāmrājya*, while Keith has rightly pointed out that the *Aśvamedha* "is an old and famous rite, which kings alone can bring, to increase their realms" (*Relig. Philos. Ved. Upaniṣ.*, p. 343). The *Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra* (XV, 1) says that a king victorious and of all the land should perform this sacrifice. According to the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* (III, 8, 9, 4): "he is poured aside who, being weak, offers the *Aśvamedha*," and again (V, 4, 12, 3), "it is essentially, like the fire-offering, an *utsanna-yajña*, a sacrifice of great extent and elaboration" (see Keith, *Black Yajus*, pp. cxxxii—cxxxiv). According to the *Āpastamba-Śrauta-Sūtra*

4. Prof. Rapson has come to the above date of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi from an altogether different line of argument (*Cat. C. British Mus.*, pp. xxvi—vii; xxx, xxxvi—viii).

(XX, 1, 1) quoted in the *Śabdakalpādruma-parīṣiṣṭa*, s.v. *Āśva-medha*, "a universal (*sārvabhauma*) king can perform the *Āśva-medha*, but not ($n = āpi$) an ununiversal (*asārvabhauma*) king."⁵ It is clear from the above statements that a subordinate king could not perform the *Āśvamedha* and *Vājapeya* sacrifices.⁶ Perform-

5. In place of $n = āpi$, there is an alternative reading *api*, which is a later interpolation according to Keith (*Black Yajus*, p. cxxxii), but which means to say that ununiversal (*asārvabhauma* = not master of all the land) kings could also perform the *Āśvamedha*. The word *asārvabhauma* never means a subordinate chief. The alternate reading only shows that in later times kings who were very powerful, but who did not claim to be ruler of the earth, i.e., the whole or major portion of India, did also perform the *Āśvamedha*.

6. In a note in *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 114-5, it has been suggested that since Mādhavarman I Viṣṇukunḍin and Pravarasena I Vākāṭaka have been called simply *Mahārāja* in the inscriptions, they are to be taken as petty chiefs even though they performed the *Āśvamedha*. In support of this theory, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar says that "even a feudatory chieftain can perform a Horse-sacrifice" (it'd., p. 115) and that the *Āśvamedha* "may or may not be preceded by a *dig-vijaya*" (p. 116). These theories, however, are not only against the evidence of the Vedic literature, but go also against the evidence of the inscriptions of these kings. In inscriptions, Pravarasena I has been called *samrāt*, which never signifies a subordinate chieftain (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 270, line 4 and note 4; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 235; etc.). That Mādhavarman I was not incapable of a *dig-vijaya* is proved by a reference to his expedition for conquering the eastern countries in the Polamuru grant (*Journ. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 17). Moreover, an essential feature of the *Āśvamedha*, beside the actual slaying of the horse, is that about the completion of the performance, at the bidding of the Adhvaryu "a lute-player, a Rājanya, sings to the lute three Gāthās, verses, made by himself which refer to the victories in battle connected with the sacrifice" (Keith, *Relig. Philos. Ved. Upanis.*, p. 344). Further, "As revealed in the later texts, the sacrifice is essentially one of princely greatness. The steed for a year roams under the guardianship of a hundred princes, a hundred nobles with swords, a hundred sons of heralds and charioteers bearing quivers and arrows and a hundred sons of attendants and charioteers with staves (*Śat. Br.*, XIII, 4. 2. 5; *Baudh. Śraut-Sūtra*, XV, 1)" See Keith, *Black Yajus*, loc. cit. To manage these requirements is simply impossible for a subordinate chief. Moreover, that the progress of the *Āśvamedha* was sometimes impeded when other kings challenged one's authority to perform the sacrifice, is not only proved from the two cases referred to in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XII, 5. 4. 21-22, but is also proved from an instance recorded in the Udayendiram (No. 2) grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 273). Udayacandra, general of Nandivarman-Pallava-malla is here reported to have defeated the Niṣāda king, Prthivivāghra, who was accompanying the *Āśvamedha-turaṅga*, i.e. horse let loose in connection with a Horse-sacrifice. Quarrels with neighbouring kings in connection with the *Āśvamedhas* of Puṣyamitra are distinctly referred to in the *Mālavī-*

ance of these sacrifices by Cāṃtamūla I most probably suggests his success against the Sātavāhanas.

We do not know for how many years king Cāṃtamūla I ruled over the Andhra country. But, from the Jaggayyapetta inscriptions, his son Virapurīśadata is known to have ruled up to his twentieth year, and from the Kottampalugu inscription his grandson Ehuṇvula Cāṃtamūla II is known to have ruled up to his eleventh year. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that these three Ikṣvāku kings together ruled for more than half a century. The end of the reign of Ehuṇvula Cāṃtamūla II therefore seems to have fallen in about the beginning of the fourth quarter of the third century A.D.

According to the evidence of Mayidavolu grant dated in the reign of Pallava Śivaskandavarman's father, the Andhrāpatha with its headquarters at Dhānyakaṭaka passed from the Ikṣvākus to the possession of the Pallavas. Śivaskandavarman was preceded in the suzerainty of the Andhra country at least by his father, who must have ruled the Andhrāpatha after Ehuṇvula Cāṃtamūla (II). Śiva-skanda, therefore, can hardly be placed earlier than A.D. 300.

As I have already noticed (see Above, XIII, p. 38 note) there is a great linguistic difference between the grants of Pallava Śivaskandavarman and the records of the Ikṣvāku kings. Like the Sātavāhana grants and all other early Prakrit inscriptions, the Ikṣvāku records of Jaggayyapetta and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa express double-consonants by single letters. The Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants of Śivaskandavarman on the other hand express double-consonants, in many cases, by two letters. Though the grants of Śivaskanda are in Prakrit, the legend on the seals of both the grants is written in Sanskrit. The Hirahadagalli grant moreover ends with a *maṅgala* which is also written in Sanskrit. This linguistic difference between the grants of the known Ikṣvāku kings and those of Śiva-

kāgnimitra, Act V. It is stated that Puṣyamitra's sacrificial horse was let loose to roam for a year at its own will, under the guardianship of his grandson Vasumitra, who was attended by a hundred princes and, when the horse wandered down the southern bank of the Sindhu and was captured by the Yavana horse-men, brought the horse back after defeating the Yavanas. *Mahārājādhirāja* based on *rājātirāja* of the Scytho-Kuşans was, in early times, not very often used in South India. See my note in *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 311 ff.

skandavarman (one of whose grants is dated in the reign of his father) clearly points to the fact that there was an interval between the time of the known Ikṣvāku kings and that of Pallava Śivaskanda, who could not have, therefore, ruled much earlier than the beginning of the fourth century. He could not have ruled later than Viṣṇugopa who came in conflict with Samudragupta about the middle of the fourth century. We have elsewhere (*Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 498 ff) shown that he was earlier than Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman, predecessor of Samudragupta's Veṅgī contemporary hastivarman. His rule therefore seems to have begun about A.D. 300.

The British Museum grant issued in the reign of a Pallava king named Skandavarman is also written in Prakrit. A linguistic consideration may, therefore, be useful in ascertaining its date. This grant expresses double-consonants in all cases, by two letters. It has moreover the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. There can, therefore, be hardly any doubt that the British Museum grant was issued later than the grants of Śivaskandavarman.

Some scholars think that the word *śiva* in the name *Śiva-Skandavarman* is a simple honorific compounded with the name, just like the honorific *viṣaya* in the name of the Pallava king mentioned in the British Museum record, and that king *Śiva-Skandavarman* and *Viṣaya-Skandavarman* are identical. It is, however, extremely doubtful, as *Śiva-skanda* or *Śivaskandavarman* was a fairly common name in ancient India. For argument's sake, let us think that *śiva* in the names of *Śivaskandanāgaśrī* of the Banavase inscription (*Lūd. List*, No. 1124), *Śivaskandavarman* of the Malavalli inscription (*ibid.*, No. 1196) and *Śivaskanda Sātakarṇī*⁷ of the Purāṇas is an honorific, because they belonged to royal families. But *Śivaskandagupta* is the name of an ordinary person in a Karli inscription (*ibid.*, No. 1105) and *Śivaskandila* is the name of an ordinary officer in a Nasik inscription (*ibid.*, No. 1124). Since honorifics are not known to be compounded with the name of ordinary persons, it is clear that *Śivaskandavarman* was not an improper name in ancient India.

7. It must, however, be noticed that no other king of the Purāṇic list has been mentioned with an honorific. This name is therefore almost certainly without honorific. Moreover, *śiva* is never known to be singly used as an honorific. Some Kadamba kings have the honorific *śrī-viṣaya-śiva*, not simply *śiva*.

The Nāgarāja of the Bhāvaśataka

By

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In his History of India, A.D. 150 to A.D. 350, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal identifies the Nāgarāja mentioned in the *Bhāvaśataka* with Gaṇapati Nāga, the ruler of Padmāvati, a contemporary and rival of Samudragupta, the second Gupta emperor of India. He arrives at this conclusion, because,

(a) The second verse in a Mithilā manuscript of the book reads as follows :—

नागराजसमं (शतं) ग्रन्थं नागराजेन तन्वता ।
अकारि गजवक्त्रश्रीनागराजो गिरां गुरुः ॥

(b) In verse 80, the author says that by looking at Gaṇapati, the other Nāgas feel afraid.

In (a) Mr. Jayaswal equalises the words '*Gajavaktraśrī-r-Nāgarājah*' with '*Śrī Gaṇapati Nāgarāja*', and in (b) he sees a reference to this very ruler.

The above two reasons do not, however, appear very convincing. The second verse in the Kāvyaṃālā text contains the words '*Gatavaktraśrī-r-Nāgarājah*' instead of the '*Gajavaktraśrī-r-Nāgarājah*' found in the Mithilā manuscript catalogued by Mr. Jayaswal. The Kāvyaṃālā reading is found also in the two manuscripts of the book which I consulted at the Mahimagaṇi Jaina Bhaṇḍār, Bikaner.¹ The reading given by the Mithilā manuscript, which, by the way, does not seem to be very correct from the one sample that we have before us, may therefore be regarded as faulty and consequently unfit to be made the basis of any sound historical theory.

1. The five or six Mss. of the book in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, too agree with the Kāvyaṃālā edition.

The 80th verse of the book too cannot be used as a prop to Mr. Jayaswal's theory. In the verse,

षण्मुखसेव्यस्य विभोः सर्वाङ्गेऽलंकृतित्वमापन्नाः
पन्नगपतयः सर्वे वीक्षन्ते गणपतिं भीताः ॥

the word Gaṇapati stands evidently for Gaṇeśa, the Hindu god. Like the two other nouns Ṣaṇmukha and *pannagapatayaḥ* used here, it does not refer to any human being. Further the Nāgas do not feel afraid by looking at Gaṇapati, as averred by Mr. Jayaswal; rather, all the Nāgas look to Gaṇapati's trunk as their refuge on seeing the peacock of Kārttikeya or Ṣaṇmukha (स्कन्धाह्नमयूरदर्शनभीताः शुण्डादण्डप्रवेशाय)

Mr. Jayaswal has allowed himself to be unduly influenced by the reading given by the Mithilā manuscript, for, had he read without any previous bias the verses at the end of the book, he would have found that Nāgarāja is not a defining word, but a proper noun. The 98th verse in the Kāvya-mālā edition gives Vidyādhara as the name of the grandfather of Nāgarāja, the 99th speaks of Jālapa, his father, and the next three are in praise of Nāgarāja himself. Thus when the writer gives the proper names of the father and the grandfather, one fails to see why he should omit the proper name of his patron, not merely in one, but all the three verses devoted to the glorification of his character and achievements. According to the *Bhāvaśataka*, Nāgarāja belonged to the Tāka family. I cannot say whether the Tākas were Nāgas at all.

The five verses referred to just now are as follows :—

आसीत् कर्पटिकगोत्रसागरसुधाधामा सुकामाद्भुतः
श्रीविद्याधर इत्यशेषभुवनप्रख्यातनामामृतः ।
यः केदारपदारविन्दयुगलप्रत्यग्रूपजाविधि-
प्राप्ताशेषपवित्रभव्यविभवैः सार्थीकृतार्थिभ्रमः ॥ ९८ ॥
तत्पुत्रः सर्वमित्रं सरसकविकुलस्तूयमानोरुकीर्तिं
विस्थाती जालपाख्यो जगति विजयते टाकवंशप्रशस्यः ।
विष्णुर्देव्येन्द्रयुद्धव्यतिकरसमये व्याकुलत्वात् स्वभार्या
लक्ष्मीं निक्षिप्य यस्मिन् विहरति दिनशः स्वेच्छया स्वस्थचितः ॥ ९९ ॥
तस्माज्जातः सुजातो निजगुणमणिभिः प्रीणिताशेषलोकः
कोकाहङ्कारहारिस्मितमद्वितमुख्यष्टाकवंशप्रशस्यः ।
भगति श्रीनागराजो परनरपतिर्दशितोद्यत्प्रतापो
राजेते यं समेते विगलितकलहे वाक्च पद्मालया च ॥ १०० ॥

भारत्यां यदि पुंस्त्वमामरतरुव्रते विवेकोस्ति चेत्
साङ्गत्वं यदि मन्मथे सकलता नित्यं शशाङ्के यदि ।
सिद्धे चेन्नरता जितारियशसो भावन्नचूडामणेः
तत्तन्सद्गुणतोपमानघटना स्यान्नागराजप्रभोः ॥ १०१ ॥
यत्तीक्ष्णक्षतधारदुर्धरमहाकौक्षेयकाक्षेपण—
क्षुभ्यर्क्षमापतिवल्लमोदरदरी निर्भिन्नगर्भायते ।
सोयं दुर्जयदोर्भुजंगजितप्रौढप्रतापानल—
ज्वालाजालखिलीकृतारिनगरः श्रीनागराजो जयी ॥ १०२ ॥

These at least do not give any indication of the word Nāgarāja being a mere adjective. Hence some more and better evidence is necessary before we accept as correct the identification of the Nāgarāja of the *Bhāvaśataka* with Gaṇapati Nāga, the ruler of Padmāvatī.

A Note on a Pala Image* of Ganapati at Kumbhakonam

By

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THE image which is the subject of this note is enshrined in the Śiva temple of Śrī Nāgēśvara at Kumbhakonam, a station in the South Indian Railway, 192 miles to the south of Madras. No temple in this famous "city of temples" can claim greater antiquity than that of Śrī Nāgēśvara, for the present structure of the central shrine dates back, at a modest estimate to about A.D. 850 at least, as is evidenced by an inscription of the early Pandya king Mārañjadaiyan found on its walls.¹ The shrine as such appears to have been in existence at least from the beginning of the 7th century, for it is celebrated in a decade of verse by Saint Tirunāvukkarasu or Appar, who was the contemporary and spiritual teacher of the Pallava monarch Mahēndravarman I.

The image in question is installed in a small stone *vimāna* of the later Chola style built within the *mukhamandapa* of the temple. It is facing north. Exactly opposite to it is a door which opens into the north *prākāra*. Just in front of this entrance is a well.

The chief priest of the temple says that this *Vināyaka* image is named Gaṅgaikoṇḍa *Vināyaka* in the Sanskrit Sthala-Purāṇa, and that the well referred to above is Gaṅgā-tīrtham. There is also a story behind these names. Once upon a time Vighnēśvara somehow came under the baneful influence of a curse which, somebody suggested, could be washed off by bathing Śrī Nāgēśvara

* The temple authorities refused permission to photograph the image. Hence the pencil sketch kindly made for me by Mr. Danabalan, a student of the Art School, Kumbhakonam. My thanks are due to him and to the Headmaster of the School who readily deputed the boy to do the work.

1. No. 13 of 1908. If this Mārañjadaiyan can be identified with Jatila Parantaka as Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri does, the temple must be dated about 800 A.D. See "The Pandya Kingdom", p. 40.

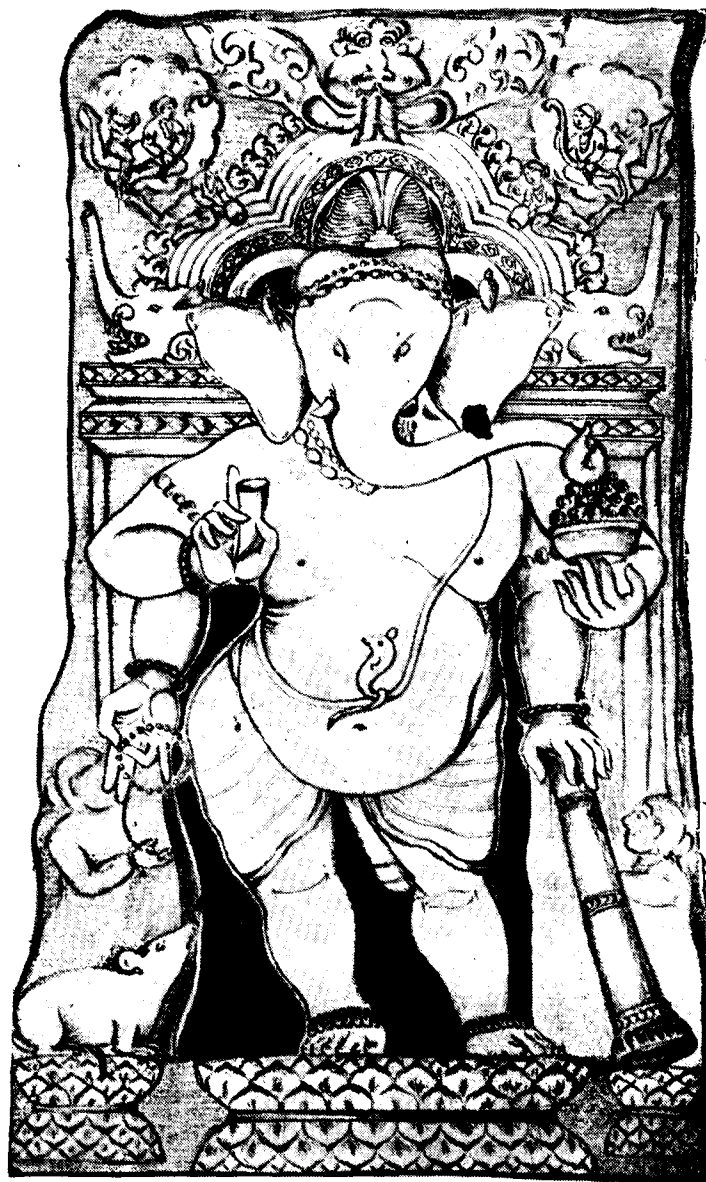


IMAGE OF VIGHNĒŚVARA

(Pāla Image)

(in the Nāgēśvara Temple at Kumbhakonam)

with the holy water of the Ganges. Accordingly Ganapati struck the earth with his trunk, and lo!, a jet of the Ganges water welled up in a spout. With the water thus obtained the *abhishēka* of the *linga* was performed by him, and forthwith the burden of his course fell from him.

The *Vināyaka* image is finely carved in a stone which looks like black-marble. It is a highly polished stone of brilliant black and of closely knit crystalline texture. There is no doubt that this is the stone which Mr. N. N. Bhattasali has described as "black chlorite."

The height of the image is about 3 feet. Exact measurement, of course, could not be taken, on account of priestly objection. The figure stands gracefully balanced in the *tribhanga* (thrice bent) attitude, with the entire weight of the body thrown on the right leg which is in high tension. A low-set and abruptly receding *jaṭā-makuṭa* crowns the head, and a couple of beaded strings adorn the forehead. The face is slightly turned to the right and the trunk is twisted vigorously to the left. The ears are brought slightly forward. They are carved with such unusual delicacy and skill that they simulate beaten-metal. The tusks are mere sprouts. The right one is entire and the left is truncated. Two necklaces of oval and globular beads fall on the upper part of the breast.

This figure is a four-handed one. The front right hand holds the severed tusk, and the back right counts the beads of a rosary between the thumb and the ring-finger. The front left hand holds a cup piled up with sweet-balls over which the trunk fondly curves; and the back left rests on the handle of a club. A hooded snake is substituted for a *yajñōpavīta* (the Brahmanical thread). The waist line is practically hidden except at either end by the bulging and overhanging belly. A series of lightly chiselled lines above the knees represent the loin-cloth, one end of which falls in between the legs. *Pādasarams* (foot-stings) adorn the feet. The figure stands on a *padmāsana*. A triple-arched *makara-tōraṇa* with a *kīrtimukha* at its top surmounts the image. Scroll designs issue from its wide mouth. Flying *Gandarvas* with garlands in their hands and a woman companion in the *anjali hasta* (hands folded in worship) attitude riding behind on their outstretched legs are carved in low relief over conventional clouds on the top corners. Two other *Gandarvas* in the act of showering flowers on the god below are also carved on either side of the *makara-tōraṇa*. Two plain pilasters flank the central figure. The bottom corners are taken up

by the reliefs of two human devotees, and a couple of small lotus pedestals on one of which a couchant rat is carved while on the other rests the club. The interspaces are pierced.

This image may be described as *Prasanna-Gaṇapati*. Gopinatha Rao writes about it as follows: "This Gaṇapati is described as a standing figure which has either a few bends in the body or is perfectly erect. . . . The bends, when found, are generally three. The seat or pedestal upon which this figure should stand is a *padmāsana*. In two of his hands he should hold the *pāśa* (rope) and *aṅkuśa* (the goad), while the remaining two are to be one in the *varada* (boon-bestowing) and the other in the *abhaya* (protection-offering) pose. In regard to this, however, there is generally a difference observable between what is found in the actual sculptures and the description given in books. *Prasanna Gaṇapati* is not seen in actual sculptures to have two of his hands in the *varada* and *abhaya* poses, but is made to hold in them a *danta* (tusk) and a *mōdaka* (sweet-pie) respectively, the latter of these being represented as if it is being picked up with the trunk, to be lifted and put into the mouth."² This description fits our image closely except for the *akṣhamāla* (rosary) and the *gada* (club) in the place of *pāśa* and *aṅkuśa*.

This figure is exceptionally dignified and monumental. The animated treatment of the proboscis has particularly made the figure powerful. There is a marvellous serenity and balance in the attitude. The modelling of the body and limbs is admirable. Even the inevitable protuberance of the belly has a charm of its own. The technique of placing the figure in the background leaving the central figure to prominently occupy the foreground, has definitely enhanced the strength, freedom and individuality of the whole piece.

A casual look at this image would convince any student of Indian sculpture of its affinity to the Eastern Indian sculpture of the mediaeval period. The very stone in which this figure is sculptured is a tell-tale, for it is impossible to find even a single instance of a South Indian image carved in this variety of stone, whereas almost every image of the mediaeval period is "invariably carved in a fine-grained and rather hard slate stone, which I have called "black chlorite"³. This alone will prove that the image under discussion belongs to the Pāla school.

2. Elements of Hindu Iconography. Vol. I, pt. I, p. 57.

3. P. xvii of N. K. Bhattasali's "Iconography of the Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum."

However, many more reasons may be given in support of this conclusion. The framework of this sculpture is characteristically and unmistakably Eastern Indian in style and detail. An examination of the numerous plates that enrich the volumes of R. D. Bannerji⁴ and N. K. Bhattasali would reveal the fact that no image of the Bengal school is thinkable without an elaborate framework, richly adorned with *makara-tōraṇams*, *pilasters* and attendant deities and devotees. The flying *gāndarvas* with their fair burdens and the cloud effect are typical of the school. South Indian images of Vināyaka belonging to the Pallava or Chola period are generally carved in the round and unframed, and the particular *Gandarva* motif is rarely seen in South Indian sculptures.

There are many striking differences between this image and the generality of South Indian images, in details. The usual crown of this popular God in the south is the variety known as the *karāṇḍa-makūṭa*, whereas the present one has a *jaṭā-makūṭa*. All the four images of Vināyaka⁵ figured in R. D. Bannerji's monumental work and all the three⁶ in Bhattasali's have without exception *jaṭā-makūṭas*. As a contrast to this, all the nine illustrations⁷ of the South Indian images of Gaṇapati ranging over a period of 1000 years found in Gopinatha Rao's "Elements", Vol. I, pt. i, show only *karāṇḍa-makūṭa*, as well as the three pictures⁸ of Vināyaka bronzes of South India published in the Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum (New Series—General Section, Vol. I, pt. 2). Of twelve bronzes of Gaṇapati described in pages 124-125 of the Bulletin eleven are described as wearing *karāṇḍa-makūṭa*, the only exception being a bronze coming from Togur in the Tanjore Taluk which is described as having a *jaṭā-bandha*.

It is, therefore, clear that this image has very little in common with the South Indian school of sculpture. That this is, on the other hand, an example of Pāla sculpture is also proved by the material used, the peculiar technique and the decorative details. Mr. N. K. Bhattasali says: "They (the Bengal sculptures) can be easily taken to have left the sculptor's hands only yesterday."⁹

4. Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture.

5. Op. cit. Plate LX.

6. Plates LV and LVI.

7. Plates X-XIII and XV and XVI.

8. Plate XXII.

9. Op. cit. p. xviii.

If this enduring freshness is a characteristic of the Eastern Indian sculpture, no better example of it can be found than this one in the whole range of that school.

The only marked difference between the generality of the Eastern Indian Sculpture and this one is that the top is almost always shaped into a semi-circle or as a pointed arch.

Mr. N. K. Bhattasali has placed the golden age of the Pala sculpture between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1200. He observes: "Images of the early Pala period are rare. On the other hand, images of the period between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1200 can be counted by thousands."¹⁰ It may not be far wrong if we date this image in the earlier half of this period.

How did this image come to be islanded as it were in the heart of the Tamil country? It could not have certainly been the result of peaceful diffusion, for, in that case many more specimens of the school should be found in the south, and the South Indian school of sculpture must also show traces of conscious imitation of the outstanding motifs of the Pāla school. If this possibility is ruled out, the only other alternative is that it might have been brought as a trophy of war by an invading army from the South. In the recorded history of South India only one such invasion is mentioned. It is the well-known Gangetic campaign of Rājendra Chola surnamed Gangaikonda in commemoration of that event. The Tanjore inscription¹¹ of this king states that three kings of Bengal were defeated by his army. They were Raṇaśūra, Govindachandra and Mahipāla. This expedition was undertaken in about A.D. 1022. That was exactly the period in which the Pāla school of sculpture was particularly active. It is quite likely that a victorious monarch and his army who were under the influence of a nascent Śaivism, carried with them from the conquered country the beautiful image of a god belonging to the Śaiva pantheon. We also know that the Chola kings were passionate lovers of art.

The story told about this image and the tirtham, and their suggestive names as well as the orientation of the image towards the north are reminiscent of Gangaikonda Chola and the Gangetic expedition.

10. Op. cit. p. xiv.

11. S. I. I. Vol. ii, pt. 2, 1, 7.

South Indian History records many such instances. Paranjoti, the commander of the Pallava campaign against Vātāpi returned at its finish to his birth-place and consecrated a shrine for 'Vātāpi-Gaṇapati.' Two other Vātāpi-Gaṇapatis were installed at Gaṇḍarādityam in Trichinopoly District and Tiruppugalūr in the Tanjore District.¹² The Epigraphist for the Southern Circle remarks: "There is no inscriptional evidence to show that these images were brought over by the Pallava general from his Bādāmi campaign."¹³ But it is quite possible that they might have been brought from there to the South. Ancient Tamil literature knows nothing of the Gaṇapati cult and it might have been introduced from the Maharatta Country, the cradle of this cult, into the Tamil land by the soldiers of the Pallava army. There is a beautiful *dvāṇḍapāla* (guardian) image in the Airāvātēśvara temple at Dārāsuram near Kumbhakonam with an inscription on its pedestal.¹⁴ It says that the image was brought from Kalyāṇapuram, the later Chālukya capital after its sack by Rājādhirāja I. An inscription at Tiruvaḍatturai¹⁵, South Arcot District, mentions that the Hoysala king took away the images of gods from the local temple. Another inscription¹⁶ of the time of Rājārāja I states that several images were brought from Malabar by the Chola Commander as spoils of war. One of them was an image carved in emerald which was presented by the king to the Commander who consecrated it in the Śiva temple at Tiruppaṇanam near Tanjore.

12. A. R. E. 1928-29, p. 77.

13. A. R. E. 1928-29, p. 77.

14. No. 24 of 1908.

15. No. 228 of 1928-29.

16. A. R. E. 1927-29, p. 52.

The Danes in India

By

MR. V. SRINIVASAN, M.A.

THE DANISH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

THE Danish East India Company was formed in March, 1616, under the distinguished patronage of King Christian IV, one of the remarkable figures in Denmark's history, who desired to secure for his people a share in the newly discovered wealth of the East Indies. Two years later, a Dutch merchant named Marcellis de Bosch, professing to act on the authority of the Kandyan King, solicited on behalf of his principal, Danish assistance against the Portuguese of Ceylon, and it was then resolved to send an expedition to that island. The 'Oeresund' was dispatched under another Dutchman, Roelant Crape, who had previously spent some time at the Tanjore Nayak's court. The expedition reached Ceylon, but Crape, after sending word to the Kandyan King that a fleet was following, passed on to the Coromandel Coast where, however, his progress was intercepted by an attack by some Portuguese galleys under Botelho da Costa. Worst of all in the engagement that followed, he and his men had to take refuge at Tanjore where Raghunatha, the Nayak Chief, received them well.¹

Meanwhile, the main fleet under the command of Ove Gjedde composed of two men-of-war belonging to the Danish Royal Navy and three merchant ships which had Boschonwer for chief merchant, had left home and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope about the middle of 1619. Boschonwer died in the course of the voyage, and Gjedde who reached Ceylon some months later, met the King of Kandy but found him to be by no means ready to make good all that de Bosch had promised. Disappointed, he pushed on to the Indian coast with a view to discovering how Crape had fared on the mainland.

THE SETTLEMENT OF TRANQUEBAR.

Their combined efforts resulted in a treaty by which the Nayak of Tanjore agreed to cede to them the port of Tranquebar (Trincumbarr) 143 miles south-west of Madras (Nov. 1620). Following the wise example of the Hollander, the Danes proceeded with the erection of a fortress which they called Dansborg, and also laid the foundation of a church. One Henrik Hess was appointed first officer to be in charge of the settlement and he was left behind with about twenty persons and a few cannons. One of the merchant-ships was despatched direct to Europe. Gjedde, in his ship the 'Elephant', proceeded first to Ceylon, and, joining the party he had left there, sailed thence in May, 1621, to Copenhagen which he reached in safety the following spring. The other vessels were not so fortunate; one of them was wrecked off Trincomalee and the other fell into the hands of the Portuguese.

Thus ended the adventure which brought Denmark her first possession in India. From Tranquebar expanded the fortunes of her company whose trade extended in four years to Masulipatam and Bengal. The Danes were moreover the first Protestant nation to commence evangelical work in India,² and from their missionary centre in Tranquebar radiated for over a century a bright light of Christian effort in the peninsula.

The nationals of other European states who had already settled in the country were not slow to direct their attention to the people that commenced operations in their midst, and the references in contemporary records to the doings of the Danes indicate the misgivings with which they viewed their advent. The English factors of Surat writing home in Nov. 1619, recorded the intelligence they had received from the Cape, of the arrival there, of five ships, 'who though they pretended to be bounded for Ceylon to inhabit, it is to be feared they have some more facill designe'³ and in a petition to Afzal Khan, they had stated the previous month 'this year several vessels have come belonging to a country called Denmark. Their intentions are doubtful and it would be well to safeguard his (H. H. Prince Shah Jehan's) and Your Honour's ships.'⁴ The Danes had come to stay, however, and, on

1. W. Foster: *English Factories in India*, Vol. I (1618-1621), Introduction, p. xlv.

2. Ringeltaube's London Missionary Society began work in Travancore only in 1806.

3. Foster: *English Factories*, Vol. I, p. 131.

4. Ibid.

account of their flourishing commerce, several towns in Denmark attained within a generation a high degree of prosperity and the merchant fleets of the kingdom were to be seen in distant seas. Ere long, they were found in the Far East where the Dutch were erecting their great island empire.

Andries Sowrie, the Dutch chief at Masulipatam, writing on May, 1621, made mention of the Danish settlers at Tranquebar,⁵ most of whom were in the eyes of the Dutch and the English alike, their 'deadly and most cruel enemies'.⁶ They gave the Nayak great bribes which, we learn, the English were not willing. The expansion of their trade had been steady if slow and they were soon seen on the eastern Archipelago and beyond where their trade became so brisk that there were imported annually into Copenhagen commodities worth 5,000,000 rix dollars. President Hawley and Council in Batavia informed the authorities at home (1625) that they had settled a factory at Macassar.⁷

THE SPICE TRADE OF MACASSAR.

Macassar had at that time come into great prominence as a market for cloves, mace and nutmeg. The Portuguese had early established themselves there under the protection of the ruler of that country and the Dutch who had followed could not establish the monopoly in the trade as they had desired. The Danes, however, made the spice trade of Macassar their speciality and the Dutch were constrained to adopt various measures whereby their supplies could be either cut off or prevented from reaching Macassar. The vessels of the Danish Company were intercepted, the settlement at Macassar was blockaded and spices were offered below cost.⁸ These proceedings on the part of the Dutch drove the Danes from the Far East and their energies were thenceforth confined to the preservation of their settlements on the mainland of India.

The acute competition of the Danes during their stay at Macassar had, however, affected Dutch commerce in the Coromandel very adversely. The practice of the Danes at Tranquebar and Masulipatam of supplying spices procured from Macassar made it

5. Ibid., p. 254 n.

6. Ibid., Vol. III, p. xl, 15.

7. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 119.

8. W. H. Moreland: *India from the Death of Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 25-26.

hard for the Hollander to obtain good profits on his sales. The Dutch price of cloves which from the unheard of level of 14½ pagodas in 1618 had to their immense advantage risen to 20 in 1631, fell to 8 pagodas in 1632 on account of Danish competition and in 1638 the price dropped still further to 6 pagodas and next year it stood between 4 and 4½, a figure which the English factors of the time considered to be such as to 'break the Danes altogether'.⁹ When the Macassar chapter came to an end, Danish efforts are found to be directed towards expansion in Bengal.

THE DANES IN BENGAL: CONFLICT WITH NATIVE GOVERNMENT.

According to Thomas Bowrey (the famous interloper who interfered so much with the English East India Company's trade in the Bay of Bengal), the Danes obtained their first settlement at Balasore. But about 1642 when ships failed to arrive from Denmark, the local Moghul governor had the residents poisoned,¹⁰ seized on their goods and demolished their factory. This was the prelude to a conflict which waxed and waned for well nigh thirty-five years. The next Danish fleet that arrived found the settlement desolate and the commander declared war. The operations were not prosecuted effectively and negotiations conducted in 1674 put an end to the unsettled state of affairs, and the Danes were admitted to a settlement at Serampore near the Hughli.

Though they had thus secured a settlement whose fame outlived their occupation in India, it is clear that the attacks and counter-attacks incidental to a protracted state of war did not do the Danes any good whatsoever. The unsettled conditions of the period deprived them of the benefits of trade accruing from the important circumstance of the Portuguese domination having become a thing of long past.¹¹ Total annihilation of their trade would indeed have been the share of the Danes had they not secured some concessions from Nawab Shayista Khan of Bengal, in addition to Serampore already acquired.

The inspection notes of Streynsham Master who toured the country during the years 1675-1680 contain interesting particulars of the part played by Wilke Wygbert,¹² the chief of the Danes at

9. Ibid., p. 169.

10. The poisoning story is discredited by scholars as improbable.

11. W. H. Moreland, p. 49.

12. or Withbert. Bowrey states the name to be Captain Wilkins.

Balasore during the negotiations that secured the concessions. Wygbert who paid a visit to Master¹³ had formerly been a skipper in Dutch service and had lost his leg in Macassar.¹⁴ He entered the King of Denmark's service in 1670 and strove 'to make purchase (conquest) of the people of Bengala' and eventually, at Dacca, procured from Shayista Khan a parwana for the Danish nation, to trade free of customs in Bengal and Orissa (1676)¹⁵. A sum of four or five thousand rupees was spent in the transaction¹⁶ and Wygbert evinced the greatest interest in the advancement of the Danish traders.¹⁷ He was a capable man, says Streynsham Master, and during his tenure of office, Balasore was fortified by a natural moat which defended it from land attack.¹⁸ At that time there were at Calcutta some Danes settled in the area known as Deans (Danes)-town.¹⁹

THE SECOND DANISH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Note should be made at this stage of a new company that had been started in Denmark whose brief history is bound up with the fortunes of the Ostend Company. On its suspension attempts were made to resuscitate the Ostend Company but they were all futile. A fresh Danish Company was started in 1729, Frederick IV granting a special charter which enabled the shareholders of the defunct Austrian organisation to join his subjects in the India trade. An India House was also established at Altona near Hamburg. Such of the Ostenders who did not join, joined the Swedish Company founded later on in 1731 by Henry Koning which was fortunate in having an unhampered existence. But as soon as the second Danish Company was floated the British and the Dutch united in successful diplomatic protests against what they termed the revival in a new form of the Ostend Company and they secured the abolition of the India House at Altona.²⁰

13. Diaries of Streynsham Master, (1675-1680), Vol. I, p. 303.

14. Ibid., p. 318.

15. Ibid., p. 319.

16. Ibid.

17. Bowrey states that Malik Kasim outwitted him.

18. Diaries of Streynsham Master, Vol. I, p. 319n.

19. C. R. Wilson: Old Fort William, Vol. I, p. 197 n.

20. Bryce, J.: The Holy Roman Empire, p. 406.

DANISH RELATIONS WITH THE OTHER DOMINANT POWERS.

Fresh trouble cropped up for the Danes in the south some years after the termination of the war in Bengal. Their settlement in Tranquebar was in jeopardy. The King of Tanjore had taken up an attitude of unfriendliness if not of hostility and taking advantage of their weakly manned fleet he closely besieged the Danes. An appeal was made to the English for help by way of arms and ammunition, 'the cost whereof they promised thankfully to repay.'²¹ The request was granted and the minute of Governor Pitt and his Council who arranged for its compliance states the decision to have been influenced by consideration not only of the alliance between Great Britain and Denmark but of the need for strengthening the Right Honourable Company's interests in those parts expecting suitable returns for them, 'if ever this place of Fort St. David should fall under the like circumstances.'²² The ship 'Sidgwick' was fitted out to carry provisions and ammunitions to the Danes and some 5,000 pagodas were sent by peons. Tranquebar was saved and grateful acknowledgment was made of the timely help rendered by the English Government.²³

A curious incident is recorded of April 1746 at the time of the governorship of Morse. When a Commodore Barnet's ship came into collision with a French ship at the neutral port of Tranquebar, a Frenchman fired and some shot also came from the Danish quarters. The English captured some Frenchmen whereupon the Danish Governor Bonsack protested. He was enraged at this manifestation of hostility on the part of a Britisher in a friendly port which resulted in the breach of neutrality. Bonsack exclaimed, 'We are weak, they are strong. Let it be. God is just. An enquiry will surely be made into this matter in Europe.' Ananda Ranga Pillai, Dubash to the great Dupleix, states the name of the French ship to be 'Pondicherry Marchant' and that its commander, M. Puel, who cruising off Kolachel, betook to Tranquebar on the advice of the Travancore ruler.²⁴ Dupleix, it appears from Ananda Ranga Pillai's diary, was sure that the King

21. J. Talboys Wheeler: Madras in Olden Times, Vol. I, p. 341.

22. Ibid., p. 341.

23. Ibid., p. 342.

24. The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Vol. I, p. 383. Entry for 11th April 1746.

of Denmark would demand adequate satisfaction of the British for their hostile proceedings in a friendly port and for the killing of a gunner and the wounding of two men in the Danish Royal Service. 'The people of one nation,' ran the French Governor's comment, 'cannot attack those of another although they are their enemies and when the latter are protected by the flag of a neutral power. If such a thing happens it is equivalent to a declaration of war by the first nation against the third.'²⁵ That was the view taken of the affair in the French court. The results, however, are not known of the protracted correspondence that ensued Commodore Barnet's thundering reply to Bonsack's protest letter wherein the latter also had claimed the French ship as a wreck.²⁶ The incident must have resulted in much bad blood betwixt the two nations.

In forcible contrast to the British attitude was the friendliness exhibited by the French towards the Danes at the time. Writing under date April 12 of the same year, 1746, Ananda Ranga Pillai has set down that the Deputy Governor of the Danes arrived at Pondicherry that day on a short visit to Dupleix who treated his guest with much deference and circumstance. The diarist, explaining his understanding of the extraordinary warmth of the welcome, attributes it to the anxiety of the French to propitiate the Danes on account of the affair of the mishap to M. Puel's vessel only a few days before and has also added that the Danes had always obliged the French in everything they had asked.²⁷

In 1753, the Danes of Tranquebar made arrangements to erect a fort at Serampore which was then known as Fredericksnagar. On the 8th May of that year, 'three Danish gentlemen came (to Pondicherry) in a sloop from Tranquebar on their way to Bengal to build a new factory there. After visiting the (French) Governor, they went aboard their sloop this afternoon and a salute of eleven guns was fired from the fort.'²⁸

THE SERAMPORE SETTLEMENT.

From the first they had a difficult time in Serampore. The Nawab of Bengal fined them heavily in 1756; the Dutch account

25. *Ibid.*, p. 384.

26. Talboys Wheeler: *Madras in Olden Times*, Vol. III, p. 385.

27. See Vol. I of the *Diary*, pp. 386-387.

28. Ananda Ranga Pillai: *Diary*, Vol. VIII, pp. 334-5, entry for May 8, 1753.

puts the fine at Rs. 25,000²⁹ and the British at Rs. 50,000.³⁰ The Nawab, however, only wanted their money; their small settlements did not seriously concern his government whose wrath was more directed against the English³¹ who have been asserting even from the lifetime of Aurangzebe claims of right to fortify their factories. The heavy fines checkmated Danish commercial progress and late in the year 1756, we find the Dutch Council at Hugly writing to the Governor-General at Batavia (letter, dated Gustavus, 24th Nov. 1756): 'The Danes have received only one ship named the "King of Denmark" from Tranquebar which is to return before long. Consequently, this nation is getting on very badly.'³² We have also the testimony of J. Z. Holwell writing from Fulta to the Court of Directors in England; 'Though liberty of trade is granted to the Danes and Prussians, yet they are prohibited fortifications and garrisons.'³³ And Ananda Ranga Pillai³⁴: 'True, the Tranquebar people have suffered troubles, the like of which they had never known before.' It is clear that the affairs of the Danes were none too satisfactory. This was true as much of their condition in the south as in Bengal. And to the former, we should now advert.

TROUBLES IN THE SOUTH.

On account of certain indiscreet proceedings on their part the Danes came to incur in 1756 the wrath of the Tanjore ruler who imposed a huge fine on them. The Tranquebar people had requested an enlargement of their bounds which was, however, refused and the Danes retaliated (on the pretext of some outrages from the Nayak's officers) by attacking two temples in the neighbourhood. One they took and whilst engaged before the other, they were attacked by a detachment of the Nayak's men. An engagement ensued in which the 'hat-wearers' were worsted, the casualties on their side being 40 killed and 100 wounded. The rest

29. S. C. Hill: *Bengal in 1756-1757*, Vol. I, p. 307—letter from Ft. Gustavus to Batavia. See also reference in Vol. II, p. 79.

30. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 68.

31. cf. letter to Coja Waheed: 'I swear by the majesty of God. I will not permit the English to remain settled in my country.'

32. Hill: Vol. I, p. 307.

33. Hill: Vol. II, p. 17.

34. *Diary*, Vol. X, p. 171, entry for Aug. 14, 1756.

of the Danish force retired to Tranquebar. Negotiations followed and thanks to 'the interposition of the presidency administration at Madras', an agreement of peace was concluded.³⁵ Ananda Ranga Pillai heard of the truce on July 16, but his information was that the sum promised on account of the temple demolished had not been paid up and that fresh preparations were being made for war,³⁶ about which, however, we do not have anything on record.

During this little war, the French once thought of sending the Danes some troops under General Goupil. But the view having been put forth by the English that the combatants should be left to themselves and that they, the English, would intercept reinforcements sent to aid the Danes, the proposal fell through. The diarist Ananda Ranga Pillai adds: 'The Governor must have considered that in view of the 18 months truce (in Europe) he ought not to ignore the letter (of the English).' 37

But the time was come when protestations of sympathy even on the part of the French were to cease. Comte de Lally, in 1758, two years after the events detailed above, asked the Dutch at Negapatam to supply his wants of money, ammunitions and provisions,³⁸ which, awed by his force, they gave. 'The Danish settlement at Tranquebar, from the same dread of his violence, promised likewise assistance and furnished six small field pieces with 10,000 weight of gun powder.'³⁹

In the war of 1760, the Danish were neutral; but Haidar Ali, twenty years later, exacted a fine of 14,000 for supplying arms to the Nawab of Arcot.

THE PERIOD OF THE GREAT WARS.

From what has been mentioned, the inference is inevitable that their unambitious policy of peace with the dominant powers, native and European, had only brought the Danes to the verge of ruin. They had lacked adequate support from home and their

35. R. Orme: *A History of the Military Transactions of the English Nation in Indostan*, II, i, Bk. 6.

36. *Diary*, Vol. X, p. 146.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 124, entry for 4th July 1756.

38. "Hitherto the conduct of Mr. Lally had been free from the reproaches of those pecuniary views which he continually imputed without distinction to everyone in the service of the French Company." (Orme).

39. R. Orme: II, i, 321.

fortunes declined when at the beginning of the Napoleonic era, their country was drawn into the vortex of European politics. Bernstorff (d. 1797) maintained a prudent neutrality which obtained for Denmark even during the early stages of the French Revolution an interval of signal prosperity. But the Armed Neutrality she had joined was disrupted in 1807 when Napoleon forced Denmark to go to war with Great Britain. In the course of that conflict her dominion was desiccated of Norway which was lost for ever, thanks to the strange complicity of Russia and Sweden, her two hereditary enemies.

BRITISH OCCUPATION OF DANISH SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA.

During the troublous period that followed, England conducted operations in India which well nigh shattered the Danes. The Marquis of Wellesley was long intent on seizing their stations. He had been protesting to Dundas against the dangerous privileges enjoyed by neutrals who might at any moment in the troubled state of Europe become Britain's enemies. He thought the right to pass up the river Hughli ought to be placed under very strict regulation (See P. E. Roberts: *India Under Wellesley*).⁴⁰ 'You already know how injurious Tranquebar has proved to our interests during the whole of the present war. I assure you that the Danish settlement at Serampore is, in some respects, a still greater evil. Its vicinity to the seat of Government in Bengal renders it particularly obnoxious; adventurers of every nation, Jacobins of every description, swarm at Serampore and it is the asylum of all our public defaulters and debtors.'⁴¹ On hearing of the breach between the two nations in Europe, Wellesley promptly ordered the occupation of the Danish settlements (1801). The Fort of Tranquebar capitulated to Col. Dugald Campbell and Serampore too passed into the keeping of the Company. The Governor-General was particularly pleased but we read that the English had special instructions to treat the vanquished with consideration.

THEIR RESTORATION.

The settlements were restored under the terms of the peace that was concluded in 1814. The military proceedings against

40. at p. 144.

41. Martin: *Wellesley Despatches*, ii, 204. Quoted in P. E. Roberts: *India under Wellesley*, p. 144.

Denmark during the war were much regretted by thoughtful people. In the words of Rev. Penny, 'probably no event in the history of British India was so greatly regretted as the necessity of making war upon the Danes, who were at the same time our peaceful neighbours, our esteemed kinsmen and our gallant allies.'⁴²

THE DECAY AND FINAL DISAPPEARANCE OF THE DANES FROM INDIA.

During the years that followed the Peace of Paris, the Danish government at home were too interested in assisting the nation in its recovery from the ravages of the great wars to devote attention to the settlements in distant India which one by one were lost. Eddowa, six miles from Anjengo, where the Danes had built a factory in 1695 on land granted by the Queen of Attinga,⁴³ had long ago been abandoned. And the factory at Calicut⁴⁴ which went back to 1752 was partially destroyed in 1784 and was soon incorporated in the British settlement. Their settlement at Holcheri was shortlived as was also the one at Kolachel, the ancient seaport in the Eraniel Taluk in Travancore.⁴⁵ By slow degrees, Denmark's possessions in India went out of her hands and by the time of the death of Frederick IV, in 1839, only Serampore and Tranquebar remained. Even these the government of Christian VIII, who succeeded Frederick, sold to the British for 12½ lakhs (1845).

STORY OF THE DANISH OCCUPATION OF THE NICOBARS.

The Danes had colonised the Nicobar Islands in 1756. The colony was shortlived⁴⁶ and it perished in 3 years, after which some Moravians tried their hand. Despite Danish co-operation, the Moravians too were unsuccessful and the Danish Company withdrew from the island in 1773 leaving them to a terrible fate. The appearance of the Austrians soon after offended the dignity of the Danes who kept during 1784-1807 a guard at the Nuncowry

harbour. The settlements in the island passed into British hands during the Napoleonic wars and were restored when hostilities ceased. In 1831, Rosen from Tranquebar colonised but for want of support, he was obliged to return within three years. After the death of Frederick IV (1839) the Danes were glad to give up their rights. In 1845, they sent Busch from Calcutta who left a good narrative of his sojourn after which he left the islands on a scientific mission. And in 1848 the Danish Government formally relinquished their sovereignty of the island which passed in 1809 to the Austrians from whom in turn the English got it. The Nicobars were thus the last settlement of the Danes in the Indian waters and which they retained for some years after they had sold their settlements at Tranquebar and Serampore.

RELICS OF DANISH OCCUPATION IN INDIA—THEIR COINAGE.

Though their flag flies nowhere in India to-day the Danish nation have, through their missionaries, played a great part in the annals of Modern India and the relics of their occupation have an interest scarcely less abiding to the student of history. The old citadel of Dansborg served for long as a jail but is now in ruins and Tranquebar to-day is entered by a gateway which bears the date 1702 and a monogram of the King of Denmark. A busy port in Danish times, the town drew away under British rule the trade of Negapatam until the railway in 1861 restored it to the latter. The Danes had a mint at this place from which have issued a considerable variety of coins which though scarce, are of great interest to the student of numismatics. The lead coins issued during 1640-87 are among the more interesting. We have too a gold pagoda struck by the Danes bearing on the obverse the crowned monogram of King Christian VII of Denmark and on the reverse the Persian letter **ت** said to be Haidar Ali's initial. This coin is said to furnish proof of the Danes having had to do homage to that warrior. The coins of the Danes generally bear the initials DB or TB standing for Dansborg or Trincumbarr. Among other relics of Danish occupation, the more interesting are the large guns in the Madras Museum bearing the monogram of C7 among the collection of arms transferred in 1845 from Tranquebar to Fort St. George. Of equal interest is the big iron cannon nearly thirty feet long attributed to a Dane whom at least one account has identified with the European figure in the Tanjore pagoda. When the church at Tranquebar was handed over to the Madras Government in 1846, all records and registers appear to have been removed to Denmark and of the relics extant in the New Jerusalem

42. F. Penny: *The Church in Madras*, p. 253.

43. W. Logan: *Malabar I*, xiv; *II*, xcvi.

44. It may be noted here that the Dutch never had any settlement in Calicut.

45. It was in this place that the Dutch sustained in 1740 a defeat at the hands of Rama Aiyar Dalawa, commander of the Travancore forces.

46. See *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XIX, p. 64.

Church to-day, mention should be made of the silver communion service and the painting of the Last Supper.

THE STORY OF THE DANISH CHURCH.

An account should be given, ere we close, of the work of the Danish Missions in the country. As stated at the outset, the foundation of the first church was laid by the Danes soon after their arrival at Tranquebar. Like the Company, the Danish church was a royal institution. As Gericke put it in his classic report of 1802 it was not a charity school and being an institution founded by royal charter the remuneration of the pastors appointed was paid out of funds provided by the Government of Denmark who for a long time sent 300 pagodas every month.⁴⁷ The Danish Mission at Tranquebar soon began to receive the active support of the English at Madras whose chaplain during 1681-1714 Mr. Lewis viewed their activities with sympathy. Keenly interested as he was in educational matters, Mr. Lewis had the Bible and the Catechism translated into the Portuguese language and sent the translation for the perusal and suggestion of Zeigenbolg, one of the two Lutheran Missionaries whom the King of Denmark had sent for evangelizing work in the country. Copies of the translation were after Zeigenbolg's approval distributed among the Portuguese schools that worked at the Fort St. George and the Fort St. David. Mr. Lewis also discussed with Zeigenbolg the feasibility of opening another school, but he had to vacate his office at this stage and his successor William Stevenson of the Tasburgh Rectory in Norfolk got up an altogether fresh scheme providing for Eurasian education.

J. E. Grundler, an associate of Zeigenbolg, obtained permission from the English to start a charity school either at Madras or Devanapatam (or Fort St. David).⁴⁸ The school was eventually brought into existence and the S. P. C. K. engaged two missionaries⁴⁹ (both of them Malabar Christians) educated under the Danish Mission at Tranquebar and these Indians were found to be more serviceable than the Europeans who constantly came and went. The Danes received unstinted support from the Rev. William Stevenson whom they described as a man 'truly unwearied

47. Penny: *The Church in Madras*, p. 253.

48. N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning in India by the early European Settlers*, p. 71.

49. J. Talboys Wheeler: *Madras in Olden Times*, Vol. II, p. 180.

in spreading Christianity among the nations.'⁵⁰ Stevenson is the hero with Anderson, the author of the *History of the Colonial Church*.

The Danish missionaries grew to be very popular indeed with the European community of the province to whose spiritual needs they ministered and their importance became augmented with the arrival in 1750 of a contingent of Swiss soldiers to whom English chaplains could not minister, the ministration of the Danish clergymen being more acceptable to them.⁵¹ Naturally the progress of the Protestants was inimical to the interests of the Romanists of the Tanjore country. Writing in 1755, Ananda Ranga Pillai refers to the annoyance caused by the Tranquebar people who encouraged by the kind offices of one Venkatampettai Sadasiva Pillai preached their religion much to the chagrin of the Catholics of Panikkan Kuppam⁵² and we are also told elsewhere⁵³ that the Protestant religionists were destroying the padre's church at that village which forced the Catholic priest to persuade the French authorities to move in the matter. But, despite such distractions, the Danes were able to extend the sphere of their activities.

THE SERAMPORE STATION.

We now turn to Bengal where at Serampore, the Baptists were to establish themselves with the honoured names, at a later date, of Carey, Masterman and Ward. The path of the foreign missions was beset with difficulties in Bengal. The English East India Company originally did not encourage the labours of Protestant missions of other European states and Lord Minto⁵⁴ and Sir George Barlow even viewed their activities with suspicion. J. Z. Kiernander, a graduate of Upsala who arrived from Cuddalore in 1758, was the first to be permitted to establish himself at Calcutta;⁵⁵ but obstacles continued long after and Lord Wellesley who occupied the Danish settlements in 1801-2 commenced

50. Niecamp's *History of the Danish Mission*, p. 109, quoted in Penny, p. 141.

51. Penny, p. 199.

52. See Ananda Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, Vol. IX, pp. 213-14.

53. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 289.

54. See Lord Minto's letter in Ramsay Muir (*The Making of British India*, p. 251), where he has criticised the Mission's activities.

55. W. W. Hunter: *Indian Empire*, p. 260—Kiernander died at Chinsurah in 1799.

a policy which, intensified by his successors, was reversed only in 1813 when the charter contained provisions which allowed the Danish missions to carry on their propaganda in British territory instead of being confined to their settlement in Serampore.

EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHMEN.

The missions had much to do with printing. They published the first vernacular newspaper in India and at Tranquebar they printed many works a list of which is to be found in the *alberti fabricii salutaris lux evangeli*.⁵⁶ And with Carey's arrival in 1799 began a wonderful period of literary activity in Bengal which has rendered illustrious the group of the Serampore missionaries. In ten years time the Bible was translated and printed wholly or in part into 31 languages and by 1816 the missions had made seven hundred converts in Bengal alone.

THE ROLL OF HONOUR.

The early Protestant missionaries were indeed men of great ability and some of their writings still hold a high place in missionary literature. The roll of honour includes the illustrious names of Zeigenbolg, Plutschau and Grundler. Bartholomew Zeigenbolg, the first great divine from Denmark to work in Tranquebar, was the author of a useful book on the genealogy of South Indian gods and he began a translation of the Bible into Tamil which his successor Benjamin Schultze completed in 1725—the first Protestant translation of the Scriptures. Zeigenbolg enjoyed the confidence of Mr. Lewis, the English chaplain, and the New Jerusalem Church in Tranquebar was erected on his initiative. The great missionary died in 1719 leaving behind 355 converts and his death as that of Grundler next year left a void which the Danes found it hard to fill. Schultze, his worthy successor, besides completing the Tamil translation commenced by his predecessor in office, rendered the scriptures into the Hindustani language. M. Plutschau, the other missionary sent by the king of Denmark with Zeigenbolg, was also a prominent worker in the cause of the mission.

Christian Frederick Schwartz, a German missionary who joined the Danish Mission at Tranquebar in 1750, was the founder

56. Paolino: *Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 395, referred to in Law: *Promotion of Learning*, p. 102.

of the famous Tinnevely Mission. He settled himself at Trichinopoly where he became an army chaplain. He became well known and respected for his scholarship and character and was sent by the Madras Government on a secret mission to Haidar Ali at Seringapatam in 1778. Schwartz died in 1798 and lies buried in the St. Peter's Church, Tanjore, and his memory is perpetuated by the famous statue by Flaxman representing the last visit of Sarbhoji Raja to him in Christ Church which he built.

Koenig, the physician to the Tranquebar Mission, was a botanist and made extensive collection during his stay in the country. J. P. Fabricius, a native of Frankfurt-a-la-main, came to Madras in 1740 and founded in 1765 the school at Vepery which bears his name. The institution received large endowment from his successor C. W. Gericke whose munificence improved the finances of other institutions at Negapatam and at Vellore where he died. Other honoured names are J. P. Rottler who was employed by the S. P. C. K., Klein and Heyne.

The early educational efforts of the Danish missionaries who established the schools at Tranquebar, Negapatam, Cuddalore and Vellore were much encouraged by the active sympathy of their English friends who were struck by their earnestness in the cause of learning. The Directors of the East India Company in London helped them by sending books for libraries and allowed transmission of books in their ships free of freight—a concession which helped the missions in importing books. Zeigenbolg himself had been enabled to bring books passage free and the favour was repeated afterwards.⁵⁷

THE DECAY OF THE DANES.

But as time wore on, this considerate attitude ceased to influence English policy and towards the close of the eighteenth century a want of sympathy began to grow between the two nations chiefly, we are told, in consequence of a difference in policy on the caste question.⁵⁸ When the Danish settlements passed into British hands in 1845 the Christians of the Danish Mission were not affiliated to the Tanjore Mission but were taken over by the Leipzig Evangelical Mission. The church was handed over to the Madras Government in 1846.

57. N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning in India*, p. 94.

58. F. Penny: *The Church in Madras*, p. 256.

Of the 57 Danish and German missionaries who were connected with the establishment at Tranquebar between 1706 and 1846, 20 died and were buried there, 22 at other stations and only 25 returned to their native country.⁵⁹

Their efforts were later on revived in the establishment in 1863 of the Danish Missionary Society in South Arcot working in the adjacent North Arcot district too, which has under its management a number of workers and several orphanages, hospitals and educational institutions with hostels attached.

THE EXPLANATION.

The decay and disappearance of the Danes in India is quite intelligible and is to be explained chiefly by the difficulties experienced by a little country like Denmark in maintaining a colony in far off India. The resources of the Danes were limited both at home and in their colonies and the increase recorded in their eastern trade only meant increased national debt for the peasant population of Denmark. Their trade, however, was not widespread in India. Mainly confined to the coasts, it was limited in its range of articles of commerce. Though generally not aggressive, they had to incur from time to time serious expenses and not seldom they fell a victim to the wrath of a Moghul Viceroy or a Tanjore Nayak who, unless steadfastly humoured, preyed upon the European settlers, imposing heavy fines. And the worst of it was that even the policy of peace they pursued in their relations with the other dominant powers, native or European, was of no avail but only placed them in predicaments the full implications of which told disastrously on their financial interests. The truth is they suffered from a chronic shortage of capital and were more than once on the point of yielding their possessions to their rivals. Within ten years of their settling at Tranquebar, we read of a move from the Dutch to take up the settlement should the Danes abandon it. The purpose fell through mainly on account of the Tanjore Nayak's discountenancing the same.⁶⁰ For the rest, their settlements had to face other troubles as well. They were in English hands when the enemy was thundering at their gate in their native homeland Denmark. And Serampore was again and again devastated by inundations from the Hughli. The attitude of their English rivals too which was friendly in the beginning was

59. Ibid.

60. W. Foster: *English Factories in India*, Vol. III (1624-1629), p. 359 n.

not indubious with the passage of time and their want of sympathy made their work difficult during the close of their stay in India and hastened their decay.⁶¹

CONCLUSION.

Despite these vicissitudes, the missions persisted in their work and did much through their pens, presses and schools to propagate Christian knowledge in the country.

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61. The English Company even penalised other communities who were inclined to be friendly to Danish interests. The Armenians, for instance, forfeited some privileges because they carried their trade on Danish ships (J. Talboys Wheeler: *Madras in Olden Times*, II, 371) and the proceedings of the Company on another occasion in 1731 show that when an Ostend vessel obtained protection at the Tranquebar port, the English resolved to avoid thenceforward commerce with the Austrians (Ibid., Vol. III, p. 100). And it is recorded of Governor George Morton Pitt that when he found Peers and Parks had been engaging in clandestine trade with Europe through Tranquebar, he sent them to England to be dealt with under the Standing Orders of the Company (Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 125-6).

Bengal Under Jahangir Baharistan-i-Ghaibi of Mirza Nathan

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(Continued from P. 355 of Vol. XI, P. III)

PART II

GHIAS-UD-DIN was now helped by the expeditionary force that had been sent under Sayyid Hakim against Raja Ram Chandra of Bakla⁶². His mother advised him to submit, but his Brahman advisors protested. For a week the fort was besieged and defended hotly but it was taken at last. The Raja submitted and was sent to Dacca. The Governor gave back his own territories to him, but in the newly conquered districts revenue officials were sent to take charge of the country and a part of it was given in Jagirs. Raja Ram Chandra was however kept as a hostage.

The forces returning from Bakla were now told off to join Ghias-ud-Din in the conquest of Jessore. Ghias-ud-Din was sitting before the fort of Bodhan.⁶³ In order to delay the advance of the Mughals, Pratap sent a message through Nathan that he wanted to submit. Ghias was however too much for him. The abortive negotiations were soon broken and he marched on to Kharavan Ghat. Pratap entrenched himself between the river Bhagirathi and a small channel Kahar Ghata. Nathan however succeeded in defeating him after a great loss of men. Pratap now submitted, visited Ghias-ud-Din and was given the usual gifts. He was, after four days, sent to Dacca under an escort with Ghias-ud-Din. Here he was chained and kept a prisoner while Ghias-ud-Din was appointed to rule Jessore. Revenue officials were sent to assess the land.

62. Bagula in the district of Nadia on E. B. R., described as a Sarkar in the Ain, II, 134.

63. A Bodhan is described as one of the Mahals of the Sarkar of Satgaon in Bengal in the Ain, II, 141.

Nathan and other mansabdars left with him began to enjoy themselves in Jessore so much so that they claimed that Jessore could rival Kashmir in its beauty of landscape and opportunities for enjoyment.

QASIDA BY AGAHI

In Dacca meanwhile an unpleasant accident took place. Islam Khan lured Shaikh Husain who had been sent to distribute Imperial presents in Orissa to Dacca. He had instructed the Hakim of Raj Mahal who was his man that none should be allowed to return to the capital without his instructions, or admitted into Bengal or Orissa. When the Shaikh came, Islam Khan put on airs and stood on ceremony. The Shaikh was also an imperial messenger, and what is more, had been his companion. Islam Khan received him in court. When he tried to embrace him, Islam Khan's men took him by the neck and made him do obeisance. There was naturally trouble and the Shaikh was arrested. Islam Khan wrote to the Emperor explaining his conduct.

Nathan was very much pleased with the house of Raja's Kathika (story-teller) at Bankra and wanted to transplant it. He tried to make Chandrabhan of Chandar Kona⁶⁴ and other Zamindars submit to him. Dalip of Bardara⁶⁵ who was a youngster was kept with Nathan. An expedition to Pata Pakhanda (near Hijili) however upset all his plans. Chandar Bhan rebelled and wounded the Imperial commander, Murad.

Now Islam Khan wanted to blind Alawal Khan and Anwar Ghazi. He told Anwar that for his perfidious conduct towards Islam Quli he should betroth his daughter or niece to Islam Quli's son. He agreed though unwillingly, but Islam Khan sent them all to Rohtas. Husain Khan, Anwar's brother, was left at Dacca. He contrived to escape by drugging his guard and fled to Bania Chang. Islam Khan tore 35 of his guards from limb to limb. He sent Raja Rai of Shahzadpur against him who lost his boats and artillery in a creek to Husain who was lying in ambush. Raja Rai escaped alone. Islam Khan now compelled Musa Khan to send one of his

64. Probably Chandraguna in Chittagong hill tracts, headquarters of the district till 1868.

65. Is it Bardiya in the Sarkar of Sonargaon mentioned in the Ain, II, 138?

confidants, Ullu Khan, against Husain. Ullu Khan was killed in the battle, but Husain was arrested and placed in confinement.

Raja Kalyan, son of Todar Mal, was about this time appointed Governor of Orissa in place of Hashim transferred to Kashmir.⁶⁶ He led an expedition against Parshotam Dev who was compelled to submit. He sent his daughter with Rs. 3,00,000 to the Emperor and paid Rs. 3,00,000 as a tribute.⁶⁷ When his daughter was being sent to the court, Shaikh Husain at Akbar Nagar did not allow them to proceed according to Islam Khan's instruction. However he at last let the cavalcade pass. Jahangir transferred Husain when he heard this, but Islam Khan still would not send him to his new post. This pride and foolishness of Islam Khan became his undoing.

Nathan now left Jessore in order to get married to the daughter of Mirza Yaqub Beg at Malda. Passing Shah Pur, he reached Gaur and there visited the tomb of Shah Alla. Spending sometime in his Jagirs he went to Malda for his marriage.

Islam Khan now sent a message to Nathan in order to send him to assist Abdul Wahad in Balwa. Nathan saw him at Dacca but refused to proceed unless he was given Rs. 20,000 for expenses. He was however prepared to undertake the service if time was given him either to see his father, or to raise money at Dacca. The earlier expedition to Jessore had taken six months instead of a month. There was much quarrelling between Islam Khan and Nathan thereon in the course of which the Governor committed many foolish and cruel acts. Nathan's men were whipped. Islam Khan's son who had stabbed his father's clerk and insulted Islam Khan by passing before the Jharoka riding an elephant was whipped within an inch of his life. But he recovered and Ihtmam Khan came from his place and made peace between Nathan and Islam Khan, though Nathan still remained a prisoner in Islam Khan's garden.

Islam Khan's messenger telling of his conquest of Baki Nagar was very well received by the Emperor who sent gifts to him. Islam Khan received them in the usual fashion and sent a letter explaining at length his measures against Usman, who, he declared, he

66. Hashim Khan was transferred to Kashmir on Rub'i-ul-Akhar 21, 1021 (July 3, 1611). Raja Kalyan's Mansib was increased on the same day but as Hashim Khan was to remain in Orissa for sometime more, Raja Kalyan's appointment was not made till sometime later. Cf. Tuzuk, 98, 99. Raja Kalyan was appointed the chief of the Sarkar of Orissa.

67. Cf. above p. 14, Chapter V.

would soon capture if the Emperor would send Shuja'at Khan to help him in this work.

Jahangir now recalled Shuja'at Khan from the Deccan and sent him to Bengal⁶⁸ with his companions. When they reached Dacca, Islam Khan sent a letter to Usman asking him to submit and warning him against results, if he continued rebellious. Usman contemptuously rejected the offer.

Shuja'at Khan now interceded with Islam Khan for Nathan who was released and sent to accompany him against Usman. However Islam Khan now imprisoned Nathan's servant who again got enraged, and this brought more trouble. At last Islam Khan became reasonable and Ihtmam Khan and Nathan were sent to accompany Shuja'at. The expedition included artillery, 4,000 matchlockmen, 500 picked horse, the provincial pack of elephants increased by 20 specially sent by the Emperor. Islam Khan proposed that Shuja'at Khan should be appointed Governor of Orissa in place of Kalyan Mal. Shuja'at Khan sent his son Shaikh Qutab to Orissa⁶⁹ and himself set out on the expedition.

Shuja'at sent Kumal against Bayzid and others, brothers of the ruler of Sylhet. As the Mughals advanced, they ravaged the land and made the people prisoners. Islam Khan was now frightened as Dacca was left unprotected. He begged for reinforcements from the Emperor who ordered Afzal Khan, Governor of Bihar, to send his men. In 15 days an army reached Dacca from Patna under Mirza Amam Quli Beg.

68. Baharistan as well as the Tuzak are somewhat misleading in connection with this appointment. What was Shuja'at Khan's exact office and status? It is clear that he was appointed to lead this expedition independently of the provincial Governor, Tuzak, Baharistan, Tarikh-i-Daudi, Makhzana-Afghani (last four folios of the fourth chapter in the Author's autographic copy in the Kapurthala Palace), Iqbalnama Jahangiri (page 61), all are agreed on this point though Riazus-Salatin asserts that Islam Khan sent Shuja'at Khan (p. 175) against Usman. Of course the Mansabdars in the province were all asked to accompany him. Tuzak-i-Jahangiri (p. 103) recounts the defeat of Usman as one of the brave deeds of Islam Khan. But on page 94 of the Tuzak we are told that Shuja'at Khan was appointed Governor of Bengal though on page 103 we are told that he had joined Islam Khan (in Bengal).

69. Was Orissa a province or simply a sarkar at this time? Baharistan as well as the Tuzak (p. 99), would have us believe that it was simply a Sarkar. After Hashim Khan's transfer to Kashmir it seems it was once again absorbed into Bengal and became one of its sarkars.

Shuja'at Khan had crossed the waters of the Pankasya and was waiting for Nathan and Ihtmam Khan to bring up the war boats. When they reached he marched forward. Islam Khan sent the Bakshi to review the troops. Ihtmam's Kaviraj who was an astrologer as well, foretold that Usman would be killed in this expedition. After the ninth stage the army halted for a day. Here the news came that a son was born to Nathan. Ihtmam Khan and Shuja'at celebrated that event and arranged for an elephant fight. The army now reached Tubia held by Wali, Usman's brother. Nathan was sent to dislodge him, he marched all night and dug trenches round his camp before the fort. Wali however was frightened and fled away. The place fell into Mughal hands on February 3, 1612, on the day of the Id. The next day the victory was well celebrated. At the feast they had apples enough. Mirza Husan Mashdai now came from Islam Khan to record the division of troops among Mansabdars. Shuja'at got the advance recorded in Nathan's name though he had a very small Mansab. When Husan returned, Islam Khan sent 1,000 horse as a reinforcement and appointed a garrison at Bhaval. Usman now left Udhar and reached Dolamba Pur⁷⁰ in Pargana Jawalis. Here he arranged his troops in battle array. His elder brother Sulaiman led the van with 1,500 horse, 2,000 feet and 50 elephants. Usman was in the centre with 2,000 horse, 5,000 foot and 40 elephants. Another brother Wali led the left with 1,000 horse, 2,000 foot and 30 elephants. Sher Maidan, his slave, led the right with 700 horse, 1,000 foot and 20 elephants. Thus his

70. The site of the battle given here settles a question which puzzled Beveridge. Udhar was the capital of Usman. The battle was fought at Dulamba Pur according to Nathan whose father served in the war and who himself was also there. The Kapurthala copy of the MS (which professes to

be author's) of Mukhzani-Afghani has *کابل* as field of battle. The

Tuzak (p. 105) speaks of Udhar and the neighbourhood being in possession of Usman and thus incidentally agrees with Baharistan in making Udhar, Usman's capital. The battle could not have been fought here. Usman who according to Makshazani-i-Afghani was living in Kohistan of Dahaka could not have allowed the Mughal armies to penetrate to his very capital. Beveridge is wrong in identifying this Dahaka with Dacca as we are told in Mukhazan that after the defeat of Usman, Wali retreated to Dahaka which was besieged and taken by the imperialists. I see no reason for rejecting Baharistan-i-Ghaibi's definite statement in favour of the Mukhazan written after about half a century. Iqbalnama (61) makes the battlefield close to a stream and marshy ground.

army consisted of 5,200 horse, 10,000 foot, 140 elephants. Shuja'at entrenched himself a mile away from the enemy. The Mughals sent an envoy to Usman tempting him with 5 Hazari mansab including all his lands, but Usman was not lured thereby. Next morning on the first of Muharram⁷¹ followed a very well contested battle. The Afghans proved themselves worthy antagonists of the Mughals. Mughal artillery was left behind when the battle began, but it joined the struggle in time to affect the fortunes of war. Many Mughal chiefs were killed, Usman got an arrow in his eye and in the attempt to draw it out he lost the other as well. By night-fall however both the armies had had their full doze of fighting. Nathan was saved, as if by a miracle, in the battle. The Mughals were not sure whether Usman was dead or wounded. They had been very hard hit. They were afraid of a night attack. Luck however favoured them.

At night the Afghans retreated still further to their capital, Udhar.⁷² Usman was dead and was buried in an inaccessible place. They killed his wives and daughters except the one that had been already promised in marriage to Daud. She was now married to him.

Usman's son Mumrez was declared his successor and the Afghans made haste to prepare for resistance. But Wali, disputed the succession on the plea that his nephew was too young to fight the Mughals. This created dissensions and the Afghans at last decided to submit. They came in a body and submitted to Shuja'at Khan ten days after Usman's death on March 4, 1612⁷³. He took

71. The Tuzuk gives the date as ninth Muharam (p. 103), Iqbalnama gives no date, the Mukhazan only notes the year of Usman's defeat. Price's original was silent, so is Maasir-i-Jahangiri (pp. 80 to 83).

72. Cf. Maasir-i-Jahangiri (MS), pp. 80 to 83.

Makshazani-Afghani (MS), last four folios of the fourth chapter. Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, pp. 61 to 64. Tuzuk pp. 103 to 105.

Tuzuk mentions the interesting fact that Jahangir took an omen by opening his copy of the Diwan-i-Hafiz. I have seen the copy with Jahangir's note on the margin of the folio which he opened in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Bankipur.

73. Neither Baharistan nor the Tuzuk mentions the fact that Usman's brother Wali had been in correspondence with Islam Khan during this campaign and even before, a fact attested by Mukhazan-i-Afghani (Kapurthala MS). When Usman had defeated a wing of Shuja'at Khan's army he asked Wali to attack another which Wali did not. Thus though the annalists do not say so, treachery had been at work in the ranks of the Afghans and was part-

them to Dacca. Islam Khan first received them on March 30, 1612 at the Jharoka and then came down to the garden to meet them. They were kept standing till he came and took his seat. Their elephants were taken and, as promised, they were given their own territory in Jagir. The chiefs however were detained at Dacca.

The expedition against Bayzid of Sylhet under Kumal was also successful. Bayzid submitted and so did Ya'kub.

Ihtmam Khan died while the army was on its way to Dacca. He used to take some tonic which among other things contained a poison. It was necessary to take soup of grams with it and avoid salt. But while marching Ihtmam Khan kept indulging himself. On the 4th day he died and was buried by his son at Kadam Rasul. He was eighty at the time of his death and had served with distinction under Akbar and Jahangir. He had been six years in Bengal. Shuja'at Khan sympathized with Nathan and all the army paid him visits of condolence at his quarters on the third day.

MIR QASIM'S MASNAVI ON USMAN. MUBARAK'S ON SYLHET

About this time a Persian envoy had arrived at the court of Jahangir.⁷⁴ He ordered therefore that Islam Khan should send Usman's son and brothers and Bayzid and other Zamindars of Sylhet to the court with Diwan Mu'taqid Khan who had been transferred from Bengal. Mirza Husain Beg was appointed to succeed him.⁷⁵

Jahangir appointed Na'yim Asafhani to be the newswriter in Bengal. He was to send an account of whatever happened in the

ly responsible for their defeat. Another cause of the submission of the Afghans after Usman's death was the fact mentioned by Makhazani-i-Afghani that Usman's relations with the neighbouring Rajas and chiefs had not been pleasant so the Afghans were sure of a hard time now that their leader was gone.

The Kapurthala text of the Makhazan bears out Blochmann's account of Usman as the son of Isa Khan, a prominent chief of Kutlu and a brother of Sulaiman.

Usman had sent a wakil to Islam Khan on the latter's arrival in Bengal. He saw the Governor on January 2, 1609.

74. He was presented in the court on April 8, 1611. Tuzuk, p. 94.

75. Cf. Tuzuk, p. 113. Mu'taqid Khan was the son of Iftkhar Khan Cf. Maasir-ul-Umra; III, pp. 482 to 485. Husain Beg's appointment is referred to in Tuzuk, p. 184.

province and whatever the provincial Governor did, to the court written chronologically. This was to be kept secret from the Governor.

Five Mahals of Ihtmam Khan's Jagir were proposed to be given to Nathan, who executed a deed of *Qabuliat* (acceptance). Nathan was now created a commander of 100 horse. The late Iftkhar Khan's son Mirza Mu'taqid Khan came to Dacca to perform the six monthly Urs of his father's death who had been killed in the battle against Usman. Ihtmam Khan's property was taken stock of and sealed and put under Mohammad Usaf and Qasim in the presence of representatives of the Diwan, Subah and Bakhshi. All the property was now sent to the court along with Tola Ram who used to be Islam Khan's purchaser. He however resigned his job but was prevailed upon to go when Nathan gave him some money for his expenses.

When an account of Shuja'at Khan's success reached Agra, Jahangir created him a commander of 6,000 horse and subahdar of Bengal. Islam Khan was ordered to the court.⁷⁶ Islam Khan was very much upset and proposed that Shuja'at Khan should leave by river towards Orissa and he himself would march by land to the capital so that they should not meet. Shuja'at Khan had been one of Islam Khan's men. Shuja'at Khan was to receive the Imperial Farman as the Subedar of Bengal at Raj Mahal.

About this time Jahangir sent representatives of the Persian ambassador to visit different provinces of India so that they might acquaint themselves with his recent victories. The Governors were told to give not more than Rs. 12,000 each to the ambassador's agents. A brother of the ambassador was sent to Bengal. When

76. Baharistan's statement about Islam Khan's supercession by Shuja'at Khan is hard to believe if one keeps in mind the fact that Islam Khan's death is bewailed by Jahangir as that of the most successful Governor of Bengal. No other writer mentions this fact which is intelligible because Shuja'at Khan's appointment as Governor of Bengal as mentioned here never took effect. But we can understand Tuzuk's statement as to the original appointment of Shuja'at Khan's to be the Governor of Bengal only in conjunction with this statement of Baharistan. I am inclined to believe that Shuja'at Khan was sent to Bengal on this expedition against Usman on the understanding that if he succeeded therein he might succeed Islam Khan in the Government of Bengal. His success gave Jahangir his chance, who appointed him to be the Governor of Bengal in Islam Khan's place, who was called to the court though he was promoted to be the commander of 6,000 horse.

he reached Bengal, Islam Khan paid the usual honours to the Imperial Farman and embraced the ambassador's brother. There was a great crowd and many men in the city were trampled under foot. Islam Khan gave a big feast in his honour and gave him Rs. 12,000.

Nathan celebrated his father's six monthly Urs by holding a grand feast.

Jahangir sent a Farman with seventeen pieces of advice to the Governors.⁷⁷

(i) Imperial servants should not be remiss in eating, drinking and paying the dues of the people.

(ii) They should not forget their places in the Imperial service and avoid such things as sitting in the Jharoka.

(iii) Subahdar's seat should not be higher than half a man's height from the ground.

(iv) They should not indulge in making Amirs or Ahdis do them obeisance by way of Taslim and Salam.

(v) They should not keep the imperial servants standing in their presence.

(vi) They should not skin any man alive.

(vii) They should on no account blind any man.

(viii) They should not keep their soldiers standing and thus extort Taslim.

(ix) They should not sound the drums when coming out of the palace.

(x) They should not go to their palaces with the drums in front just as the Emperor does.

(xi) They should make no distinction among Imperial servants for their own selfish ends.

(xii) They should do nothing without orders except when duly authorized.

(xiii) If they make a present of a horse to a Khan they should not compel him to do obeisance to them by putting reins round his neck.

77. Cf. the text of this Farman in the Tuzuk, 107; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, 59; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, 78b, 79a; and Mughal Administration by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, pp. 132 to 143.

(xiv) They should not put the Amirs to trouble in the interests of their own servants.

(xv) If they intend to find out and report on the merits of Imperial servants and their own, they should send them separately to different expeditions.

(xvi) They should try to see that all their servants are honest and should do nothing against the Imperial regulations.

(xvii) They should duly report the services performed by imperial servants.

Islam Khan's Mansab was decreased by 2,000 horse and Sowar on account of his sending Kishwar Khan to death against such an enemy as Usman when he himself had remained at his court.

Islam Khan paid no heed to the Imperial orders and indulged in all the forbidden practice as usual.

Mirza Nathan held a drinking carouse lasting for a week. All the Mansabdars were invited and they came though the first day happened to be Friday. Islam Khan used to expect every Mansabdar at the mosque on Fridays and the absentees were severely dealt with. Nathan spent a week in merry-making. They played *holi* and thus was Nathan's mourning for his father brought to an end.

Shuja'at Khan who was proceeding to the court was killed near Kela Bari.⁷⁸ One of his elephants got out of control. Shuja'at was riding a female elephant. Afraid, he jumped down from the running animal and was killed.⁷⁹ Islam Khan was very much pleased thereat and his pleasure was justified when he was re-appointed Governor of Bengal. Raja Kalyan, whom Islam Khan had transferred was, by royal orders, re-appointed ruler of Orissa.

Mirza Husain Beg, the new Dewan was coming to Dacca travelling by boat. Near Gaur his boat caught fire while he was smoking and he barely escaped with his life and that of his children. Property worth Rs. 80,000 was lost though all the cash was recovered.

Islam Khan had sent Shaikh Kumal to Kachhar against the Raja who advanced to meet him. He shut himself in the fort later on

78. Probably Koliabar of Gait, p. 108.

79. Cf. Tuzuk, p. 111. He was going to Orissa according to the Tuzuk.

and within a month took it. They advanced to Asora Batkar which was ultimately taken as reinforcements daily poured in. Kumal made peace with the Raja with Islam Khan's consent but against the wishes of the Amirs who complained to the Emperor against Islam Khan. He was accused of ascribing the victories of all and sundry to his own servants. Jahangir at once issued orders forbidding him to send any Imperial servant with his own men. Kumal was recalled and the Amirs under Mubariz Khan pressed the Raja hard who at last submitted. This was about the time when Nai'm the newswriter, and Husain, the new Diwan reached Dacca.

CHAPTER ELEVENTH

Islam Khan now sent an expedition against Kuch under Mukkaram Khan with Shaikh Kumal and Raja Raghunath as his assistants.⁸⁰ Besides the contingents of the feudatory chiefs of Sylhet Bhati, Sunargaon, Bhusna, Birbhum, Pachet, Hijili, Jessore, Fatehabad and Bhalva, there were 400 war boats, 5,000 matchlockmen, 300 elephants (with the appropriate number of foot and horse). Rs. 7,00,000 were given for expenses. Passing through Tuk and Bhaval they stayed a week at Patladah.⁸¹ Nathan had a quarrel with Mukkaram Khan egged on by Shaikh Kumal, who objected to his beating the drums in the camp. Islam Khan who was referred to, decided, however, in Nathan's favour, who rather ingeniously maintained that as he had been given two elephants one for himself and one for his drums he had the right to beat them.

Nathan made two rapid voyages in order to see a beautiful Tuk, and reached it in eighteen hours at the dead of night. He had a carouse with his crony Mirza Karim Beg and then woke up the boy and took him in a boat on the river. They drank and made a night of it. He left him at last with gifts worth Rs. 2,000.

80. Cf. Gait pp. 65 to 67; Bhattacharya, *A History of Mughal North East Frontier Policy*, 135 to 146; *Badshah Nama*, II, pp. 65 to 67. *Badshah Nama* gives the reasons or rather supplies the occasion of this attack on Parichhat's territory. Raja Raghunath of Sushank family had been imprisoned by Parichhat. Lachmi Narain also egged Islam Khan against Parichhat. The total strength of the Mughal force according to *Badshah Nama* was 6,000 horse and 10 to 12,000 foot and 500 ships. Bhattacharya wrongly states that according to the *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* the force included 500 war boats. *Baharistan* mentions 400 war boats clearly. He again wrongly puts Mukkaram Khan and Kumal in joint command of the expedition relying on *Baharistan* which distinctly makes Mukkaram Khan the leader of the expedition.

81. In the *Sarkar of Ghora Ghat* according to the *Ain*, II, 135.

Mirza Nathan spent a good deal in placating the boatmen, 130 in number. Next he made another voyage from Patladah. He was unfortunate this time. He was very nearly detected and what was worse the boy would not come as he had let off some blood the previous day. But Nathan was not to be discouraged. He rowed back to Bara Kajur, 24 miles distant, and knocked at the door of his beloved by sending his confident servant to him. He was at last won over, came to Nathan's boat and once again they had their fill of it.

From Patladah the army proceeded forward. Nathan now got 20 elephants from his father's stables. Near Salkona⁸² Raja Parichhat's commander barred their way with 300 war boats. He was defeated and gave way. When Islam Khan got the news he sent a reinforcement of 1,000 horse and 1,000 foot.

The Mughals were now in the enemy's country and proceeded very carefully in battle order. They expected surprise night attacks and prepared for them by digging trenches and spending the nights in battle formation. From here they marched on Fort Dhubri⁸³ where the Raja was sent to frighten the countryside into submission and for a week he terrorised the neighbouring places by loot arson, and enslavement. Many of the Zamindars submitted.

The Mughals tried to take the fort by assault with the help of elephants but were beaten back. They decided to erect siege works there. They erected Sabats and earthen mounds as high as the fort walls. Arrangements were made to fill the ditch under the protection of the roaring batteries. The sappers succeeded in effecting a breach in the fort wall and the Mughals pushed on their elephants. The Raja's elephants however did not give way easily. A fierce elephant combat ensued in which the Mughals were successful. Fateh Khan's son was captured and he gave himself up to the Mughals. The Bengalis fled away leaving the Mughals in possession. Negotiations were now opened with the Raja who gave Rs. 1,00,000, 100 elephants and 100 horses for the subahdar and thrice as much for the Emperor. He professed his willingness to send his daughter to the court. Shaikh Kumal

82. Salguna according to Gait, 65, Bhattacharya identifies it rightly with Tolconon on the left bank of the Brahmaputra, between Patladah and Kari Bary; Cf. Talish, *Tarikh-i-Asham* for the difficulties of the March, (pp. 14, 24, 26, 27).

83. 26° 2' N, 90° 2' E. Headquarters of a sub-division in Goalpara District.

who acted as the negotiator took Ram Dass, Raja's representative, to Dacca where however Islam Khan disapproved of the peace and sent Kumal back.⁸⁴

The hostilities now commenced in the month of Ramzan. Raja Parichhat attacked Raja Lachhmi Narain of Kamta, who was occupying Khonta Ghat in his territories. He was pressed hard and asked for Mughal reinforcements. Raja Satarjit was sent to his help who compelled Parichhat to raise the siege. He now decided to deliver a night attack on Dhubri. With 5,000 mailed horsemen, 1,56,000 foot, 5,000 matchlockmen and 300 elephants he came on towards Dhubri. His son-in-law Dumuria⁸⁵ attacked the fort of Chauki with his war boats and defeated the Mughals who ran away. Parichhat's plans were upset by the falling down of the wooden bridge under his army and the disorder caused by an elephant who ran amock. He reached Dhubri 4 or 5 *Gharis* after sunrise.

The battle that followed raged on many sides. The artilleries tried to outdo each other, the war boats tried to contribute towards the fortunes of the day, the elephants fought hard against one another. Mercifully the night intervened. The Raja was disheartened and fled to Gila⁸⁶ (or Kila) his capital though the Mughals themselves were in a sad plight and another day's warfare might have told heavily against them. The Mughals were overjoyed next morning, the last day of the Ramzan, to find themselves masters of the field. The Mughals attacked Gila, the Raja ran away to Kamrup. The city was occupied and a good deal of loot including aloes wood fell into their hands. They lighted their fire with its sticks. Next morning the Mughals left for Payna Sala. From there they reached the banks of the Fonkos. Raja Lachhmi Narain of Kamta came to Mukkaram Khan. They suffered from lack of provisions and fodder. When they reached the river Daulai, rumour spread that the enemy meant delivering a night attack. However nothing happened and they reached the bank of the Manas when they had been marching for 3 days. Parichhat now submitted in fear of losing Kamrup. Ram Dass, his agent, acted as a mediary. Parichhat was taken to Dacca under Lachhmi Narain with promises of personal safety and the return of his kingdom.

84. Cf. *Badshah Nama* p. 66. Islam Khan would not make peace till Parichhat was captured and his country conquered.

85. Cf. Talish, *Tarikh-i-Asham*, p. 36.

86. *Kahila of Badshanama*, cf. p. 67.

About this time Shaikh Iban Yamin came from the Emperor with oral orders. He reprimanded Islam Khan for his disobeying the Imperial commands. Islam Khan imprisoned him.

While he was making ready to receive Raja Parichhat at Bhawal he was taken ill and died and was buried in Dacca in the royal garden.⁸⁷

It was customary that the officer-in-charge of Mungir and failing him the Governor of Bihar, should hasten to Dacca on its Governor's death. Islam Khan's brother Qasim Khan was there but he did not like to proceed to Bengal without the Emperor's orders. Khizar Khan, Governor of Bihar, was out on an expedition against Bari Sal of Kokradash. He left the work undone and came to Dacca. Here Hoshang obstructed him. The Emperor at last appointed Qasim Khan, the Governor of Bengal.

87. Cf. *Tuzuk*, p. 127. *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* (MS), f. 96 (b). He died on August 21, 1613 after a single day's illness. For his character cf. *Tuzuk*, p. 127, *Maasir-ul-Umra*, I, 119-120 which obviously is based on *Subih-i-Sadiq* (MS) f. 1979 b to 1980 b. He is said to have spent Rs. 1,20,000 a year on dancing girls and musicians alone.

The Downfall of Mir Qasim

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MIR Qasim had long prepared¹ for a rupture with the English, and he welcomed it in an exultant mood² after Ellis's attack on Patna in the hope of vindicating his right to a complete independence of the English. His quick recovery of Patna had evidently led him to expect an easy triumph over his opponents, and he believed the hour of his deliverance from the English control to be near at hand. With his peculiar vindictiveness, he hastened to celebrate his victory at Patna by ordering a general massacre of Englishmen wherever found.³ Little did he foresee that his exultation was to be shortlived, and that within a few months he would be expelled from the country bag and baggage! At the outset he had apparently everything in his favour. He had a large army at his disposal, and this was numerically superior to that of the English. As regards the sinews of war, he had been able to hoard a fabulous amount of treasure in jewels and specie, a part of which he carried away with himself⁴ was estimated at about five millions sterling.⁵ Thus, the Nawab must have embarked on hostilities with every hope of success: but his downfall was complete before long. His army belied in all his fond expectations, and his hopes were rudely shattered. His fall happened to be as dramatic as his rise had been. The failure of Mir Qasim's attempt to overthrow the power of the English was not due to mere chance, but was the result of a multiplicity of circumstances which are too significant to be lost sight of.

1. Verelst's view, etc., p. 47.

2. Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 52, p. 84.

3. Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 727; Riyaz (A.S.B. Text), p. 382; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. Ms.), p. 791; Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., VI.), p. 613.

4. Siyar, p. 733.

5. Governor Verelst's letter, dated Calcutta, 5th April, 1769. (Vide "A Short Review of the British Government in India", 1790, p. 76.) Vide also Ninth Report from the Select Committee, 1783, p. 54.

The Nawab was lacking in soldierly talents, and so he could not either lead his forces in person, or inspire it with courage and enthusiasm by his presence on the battle-field. He never actually dared to hazard his own person in any of the battles that his army had to fight with the English. How far his absence from the battle-field was due to sheer timidity and cowardice, or to excessive apprehension of treachery on the part of his officers, it is difficult to ascertain. The fact remains that he was no soldier himself, and was thus unable to keep the military staff in check, and co-ordinate their efforts in a judicious manner. A mercenary army officered by unenterprising and selfish men might have had a chance of success, only if it had been led and directed by a military genius. The Nawab always kept himself at a safe distance from the field of action, and was never in a position therefore to control his men properly and adequately. Being abnormally suspicious, he refused to entrust the supreme command to anyone. The consequence was that the operations were both ill-planned and ill-directed. Even Gurgin Khan was not allowed⁶ to command the army in person, lest he should turn a traitor! There was no unity of command in the Nawab's army, and the officers in the absence of a strict control failed to co-operate with each other.

The Nawab's army was further handicapped for want of a sufficient number of really efficient and faithful generals. Except Muhammad Taqi Khan, or Najaf Khan there was nobody else who could distinguish himself on the battlefield. Most of the officers quarrelled among themselves, and magnified their own petty jealousies when they should have looked only to their master's interests. At Katra, Taqi Khan was wilfully hampered by Sayyid Muhammad Khan who was extremely envious⁷ of the former's reputation and talents. The officers who had been sent from Monghyr to co-operate with Taqi Khan were equally jealous of the latter, and wanted his defeat and ruin. They practically gave no assistance to Taqi Khan, and deliberately kept themselves at a distance⁸ during the commencement of the battle. Taqi Khan fought with remarkable gallantry, till he was killed by a stray bullet which passed through his forehead. The panic-stricken troops fled after his death, and the refractory commanders who

6. Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. Ms.), p. 347.

7. Siyar, p. 729.

8. " p. 730.

had so long watched the battle like passive spectators were among the first to run away.⁹ There was the same lack of co-operation at the battle of Sooty,¹⁰ while at Udanala the officers and troops showed not only an overbearing spirit,¹¹ but were also criminally negligent.¹² Barring Najaf Khan, the rest of the commanders passed their time in¹³ merry-making and unworthy dissipation. In short, the record of Mir Qasim's military staff during the war was inglorious in the extreme, and at the hour of trial, the host of adventurers whom the Nawab had welcomed were found wanting. They proved to be too selfish to be of any use to their employer.

The Nawab's own suspicious nature was partly responsible for his undoing. He could never trust anybody, and was ever apprehensive of treachery. This is one of the reasons why he failed to inspire his subordinates with a genuine loyalty or devotion. The murder of Gurgin Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, at his own instance is an illustration of his extreme suspicion. He was given to understand that the Armenian general was secretly conspiring with the English in order to betray him.¹⁴ This was enough to convince the Nawab of the guilt of his commander-in-chief, and he determined to put him to death immediately.¹⁵ Half-way¹⁶ between Monghyr and Patna, Gurgin Khan was murdered by a common trooper who had approached him on the pretext of complaining of the smallness of his salary just received by him.¹⁷ It

9. " p. 731.

10. " pp. 732-33.

11. " p. 734.

12. " p. 736.

13. " p. 737, and *Khulasat* (J.B.O.R.S., VI.), p. 126.

14. It appears, however, that some other Armenian officers in the Nawab's service such as Marcat and Arratoon received secret instructions from Khwajah Petruse to "direct their steps towards the good of the English". (Vide *Beng. Pub. Cons.*, Nov. 21., 1763.).

15. Gentil's *Memoires*, pp. 217-235. Gentil who was an eye-witness of the murder has left a graphic account of it. Vide also *Riyaz*, p. 385.

16. Between *Shahbazgarhi* and *Nawabganj*. (Vide *Beng. Pub. Cons.*, Oct. 10, 1763.).

17. Gentil's *Memoires*, pp. 217-235; *Siyar*, p. 739. Ghulam Husain's version is not accurate. Raymond writes, "As to the Moguls murmuring for their pay, as pretends our author (i.e. Ghulam Husain), their plea must have been a fictitious one; for the author himself says that the army had been mustered and paid a week before." (*Siyar*, Translation by Raymond, Calcutta Reprint, II, p. 502, foot-note No. 267.). As a matter of fact, Gentil makes it quite clear that the Mughal trooper did not actually demand his

was a serious blunder indeed. The Nawab thus deprived himself of the services of his most efficient general without caring to investigate the malicious report against him. Gurgin Khan had been sincerely devoted to the cause of his master, and had never thought of betraying or leaving him. His death was an irreparable loss to the Nawab. Gentil who knew him intimately, and had served under him writes, ". . . I never observed the slightest infidelity on his part," although, he goes on to say, "The English had proposals made to him to leave the Nawab." Another contemporary writer, Thomas Khojamall, an Armenian, relates how Gurgin Khan had consistently refused to betray his master inspite of the fact "that the English secretly wrote and asked him to make a prisoner of the Nawab, for which he would be handsomely rewarded."¹⁸

It seems Gurgin Khan had earned the Nawab's displeasure by proposing¹⁹ an accommodation between him and Mir Jafar. Besides, he had always behaved well to the English prisoners, and this was another circumstance which must have accentuated the Nawab's suspicions.²⁰ Gurgin Khan was not the only one who fell a victim to the Nawab's inordinate suspicion. There were forty more who shared his fate along with him on the occasion.²¹ If there was anyone who could have stood the Nawab in good stead during his adversity, it was without doubt Gurgin Khan. After the death of Taqi Khan and Gurgin Khan, there was no other officer of outstanding genius in the army, who could have turned the scale against the English.

The English had to encounter an army about four times as large as their own, yet they obtained successive victories²² at

pay, but only pretended to complain of its smallness. Ghulam Husain again does not suggest that the Nawab himself was responsible for the murder. The account given in the *Riyaz* (p. 385) is more explicit. Raymond fully corroborates Gentil's version. There is no doubt about the fact that the Nawab himself had brought about the murder of his innocent general on mere suspicion.

18. Vide *Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings*, Vol. X.

19. Surgeon Anderson's *Diary*, Aug. 31, 1763.

20. *Beng. Pub. Cons.*, Oct. 10, 1763. Adams wrote on Sept. 9, ". . . the Moguls were induced to affront and assault Coja Gregore by Cossim Aly Cawn who began to be very jealous of him on account of his good behaviour to the English." Vide also his letter, dated Oct. 3.

21. *Ibid.* Adams got this information through a 'harkarah' from the Nawab's camp.

22. *Beng. Pub. Cons.*, Sept. 5, 8, 19, etc

Katwa, Murshidabad, Gheria, Sooty, Udanala, Monghyr, and Patna. In fact, the Nawab's troops inspite of superior numbers were decidedly inferior to those of the English, and were lacking in proper discipline, and loyalty which alone could have enabled a purely mercenary force to have any chance of success. Composed as it was of heterogeneous elements, and being only recently recruited and trained, the Nawab's army could be no match for the highly disciplined forces of the Company. Ghulam Husain has needlessly sneered at Gurgin Khan's vain attempt to enforce the same strict discipline that was known to the English troops, and has sarcastically referred to the fable of the crow that foolishly attempted to emulate the linnet.²³ It appears that after their rout at Udanala, the Nawab's troops got completely demoralised, and it was futile to carry on hostilities with such an army. Ghulam Husain who was an eye-witness found them openly disobedient and insolent, and he opines that such conduct was natural after the recent adverse turn of affairs.²⁴ Desertions had already commenced,²⁵ and the force quickly lost all confidence in itself after a few reverses.

The Nawab lacked the patience and tenacity of a leader, and there is no doubt that after the very first defeat at Katwa, he lost his balance,²⁶ and became unusually overwhelmed with grief and anxiety. The news of each subsequent disaster added to his nervousness,²⁷ and made him more and more anxious²⁸ for his own safety, and that of the ladies of his family, whom he had sent²⁹ to Rohtas immediately after the death of Taqi Khan. After the rout of his troops at Udanala, the Nawab became utterly dispirited³⁰ and panic-stricken, and thought only of escaping with his life and honour. The panicky state of the Nawab's own camp could hardly have raised the hopes of anybody, and it was openly rumoured that the Nawab had not taken his food for three days.³¹ The latter

23. Siyar, p. 738.

24. " p. 734.

25. Surgeon Anderson's Diary, Aug. 13, and Sept. 29, 1763.

26. Muzaffar-Namah, p. 347.

27. Siyar, p. 738.

28. Surgeon Anderson's Diary, Sept. 29, 1763.

29. Siyar, p. 733; Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., VI), p. 124.

30. Siyar, p. 739; Riyaz, p. 385.

31. Surgeon Anderson's Diary, Sept. 24., 1763.

had not the courage to hold out at Monghyr, and precipitately left for Patna where in a frenzy of rage he ordered the English prisoners to be butchered as soon as he heard³² of the fall of Monghyr. The fall of a ruler who knew not how to face defeat calmly and bravely is hardly surprising. Instead of coolly putting up with his misfortune, he exhibited from the beginning an unworthy nervousness which must have chilled the ardour of his followers. In his hour of adversity, the Nawab did not evince the slightest courage which could have redeemed his lack of military talents.

The extreme insecurity of the Nawab's position was further enhanced by the fact that he had entrusted the command of the principal centres—Murshidabad, Dacca, Monghyr, Purnea, and Patna—to weak and unreliable people. Not one of them cared to offer more than mere nominal resistance, and the result was that these places fell easily into the hands of the English. The loss of these places not only shattered the waning prestige of the Nawab, but ultimately forced him to seek refuge in Oudh. Deprived of the important cities which had been the visible symbols of his power, the Nawab could not have long held out in the country. Murshidabad was abandoned by its pusillanimous Naib, Sayyid Muhammad Khan, without the least opposition, and he fled from the town in precipitate haste just to save his own skin.³³ Mir Jafar was therefore triumphantly escorted to his capital, and formally seated on the masnad again.³⁴ The successful restoration of Mir Jafar on the 'masnad' of Murshidabad was a serious blow to the influence of Mir Qasim. Dacca was also easily captured, and Mir Jafar appointed Muhammad Riza Khan as his own Naib there.³⁵ Thus, on the very outbreak of war, Mir Qasim was deprived of his hold over a large part of the country, simply because Dacca and Murshidabad had not been adequately safeguarded or defended. After the disaster of Udanala, the Nawab was too panic-stricken to hold out in his own capital which he left in charge of Arab Ali Khan,³⁶ a native of Baghdad. The latter was

32. Siyar, p. 739; Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., VI), p. 128.

33. Siyar, p. 731, and Riyaz, p. 384; Trans. P.L.I., July-Dec., 1763, No. 14, p. 8.

34. Siyar, p. 731, and Muzaffar-Namah, p. 349; Trans. P.L.I., July-Dec. 1763, No. 10, p. 6.

35. Muzaffar-Namah, p. 349; Trans. P.L.I., July-Dec. 1763, No. 16, p. 9.

36. Siyar, p. 738. According to Khulasat, "Izzat Khan" (J.B.O.R.S., VI, p. 128).

a despicable coward,³⁷ and he treacherously capitulated to Adams soon after the latter had besieged Monghyr.³⁸ The surrender of Monghyr meant an unspeakable loss to the Nawab whose ruin was now almost complete. Purnea, ill-governed as it was, fell into the hands of an unscrupulous adventurer, Mir Ruhu-d-din Husain Khan, who had managed to make his escape from Monghyr during the Nawab's flight from Patna.³⁹ He took possession of the place without the least opposition, and issued a proclamation in the name of Mir Jafar who recognised him as his Faujdar.⁴⁰ Patna too had been placed in the hands of incompetent persons who fled in utter panic as soon as the walls happened to be breached.⁴¹ Mir Muhammad Ali Khan, the commandant, surrendered unconditionally, and was rewarded with a pension of Rs. 500.⁴² The fall of Patna completed the downfall of Mir Qasim who had now no other option but to escape with his life from his 'subah'.

Mir Qasim had not only to fight against the English, he had also to contend against his own father-in-law's authority. The Council decided⁴³ on July 4, 1763, to restore Mir Jafar, and, on July 7,⁴⁴ proclaimed him Subahdar of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The English then carried on the war ostensibly on behalf of the old Nawab. A proclamation⁴⁵ was issued to the zemindars and other important people of the country calling upon them⁴⁶ to assist their rightful Nawab in overthrowing Mir Qasim. This caused an inevitable reaction against the latter. Mir Qasim lost the support of the zemindars and other influential people who were quick to realise the utility of bowing to the rising sun.⁴⁷ Mir Jafar was made to accompany the English forces up to Patna, and this undoubtedly tended to weaken Mir Qasim's influence over his people. The author of the Muzaffar-namah relates how the Nawab became extremely depressed when he heard about the coming of

37. Siyar, p. 738.

38. Ibid., p. 741.

39. Ibid., pp. 735-6, and Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., VI, pp. 125-6).

40. Trans. P.L.R., July-Dec., 1763, No. 21, p. 15.

41. Siyar, p. 742; Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., VI, p. 129); and Trans. P.L.R., July-Dec., 1763, No. 44, p. 35.

42. Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., VI), p. 129.

43. Beng. Pub. Cons., July 4, 1763.

44. Beng. Pub. Cons., July 7, 1763.

45. Trans. P.L.R., 1762-3, No. 60, p. 63.

46. Vansittart's Narrative, III, p. 328.

47. Muzaffar-Namah, p. 346.

Mir Jafar along with the old nobles like Raja Dulab Ram, and congratulated many of his courtiers on the restoration of their old master by way of taunting them.⁴⁸ Mir Qasim had not been unreasonably alarmed at the prompt restoration of the late Nawab. Many of his adherents who had been wavering in their loyalty to him prepared to flock to the standard of Mir Jafar, and the zemindars stopped the payment of revenue. New officers were quickly appointed to restore order and collect the revenues on behalf of the old Nawab.⁴⁹ The establishment of a parallel government in Mir Jafar's name during the progress of the war completely undermined the foundations of Mir Qasim's sway in the country. The latter had to depend entirely on his own immediate resources, as he was cut off from the rest of the country which rendered allegiance to his rival. After the proclamation of Mir Jafar as Subahdar, Mir Qasim's cause was at once rendered dubious. He was apparently in the position of a rebel against the lawful ruler of the country, and this circumstance was partly responsible for the speedy collapse of his power.

During his short rule, Mir Qasim had alienated the sympathy of all the important people in the country by his ruthless oppression and cruelty. There was hardly any influential person left whom he had not either maltreated, or imprisoned. Those who had been reputed for their wealth were invariably persecuted. The Nawab had confiscated their wealth, and put them into prison on any plausible pretext. Others who had been attached to the late Nawab met with the same fate. Thus, in the course of about three years, the Nawab had succeeded in ruining almost all the principal persons whom he distrusted for some reason, or other. Not even the zemindars could escape the tyranny of the Nawab who confined a number of them at Monghyr as prisoners. The exact number of such political prisoners cannot be ascertained, but there is no doubt that it was very large,⁵⁰ and all of them were inhumanly killed at the time of the Nawab's flight from Monghyr. Ramnarayan, Rajballabh, and many others were drowned in the Ganges

48. Ibid., pp. 346-7. (Ghulam Husain does not mention this.).

The principal officials like Jasarat Khan left the Nawab's service to offer allegiance to Mir Jafar. (Vide Tarikh-i-Nusratjangi, A.S.B. Text, p. 135, etc.).

49. Muzaffar-Namah, pp. 348-9; Trans. P.L.R., July-Dec., 1763, Nos. 11, 17, 19, 23, 32, etc., pp. 7-22.

50. Siyar, p. 734; Riyaz, pp. 383-5; Muzaffar-Nama, p. 330, etc.; Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., VI), pp. 124-5.

with bags of sand fastened to their necks,⁵¹ while the Seths were shot⁵² by Samroo near Barh.⁵³ These assassinations were, it may be added in this connection, followed by the cold-blooded massacre⁵⁴ of the English prisoners at Patna. It cannot be denied that the ruthless Nawab had thus prepared the way for his downfall by his own savage tyranny and bloody administration.⁵⁵ The cruelties that he had systematically perpetrated from the very commencement of his rule were bound to create a general hatred for the Nawab, and this is why the latter lost the moral support of all those who were of any importance in the country. His ruin did not excite the pity of anyone, and people were relieved to hear of his overthrow. But for the discontent that prevailed in the

51. Siyar, p. 734; Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., VI), p. 125; Surgeon Anderson's Diary, Aug. 15, 16, 17, and 19; Surgeon Peter Campbell's Diary, Aug. 16.

52. This is the version of Gentil who wrote from personal knowledge, and may therefore be relied upon (Gentil's Memoires, p. 226). It is in a way supported by all the sources like Siyar, Khulasat, Muzaffar-Namah, Riyaz, Surgeon Anderson's Diary, and Beng. Pub. Cons., 26th Oct., 1763. (Letter from Adams, dated Oct. 18.).

Raymond alone refers to the popular beliefs of those days to the effect that the Seths were drowned at Monghyr (His translation of Siyar, Calcutta Reprint, II, p. 504, foot-note 269.). Such a belief may have been due to the fact that most of the Indian prisoners had actually been drowned at Monghyr.

We learn from Gentil that the Seths were suspected of having instigated the English opposition, and of having undertaken to defray the whole expense for the Company's war against the Nawab. They were put in irons as traitors, and were shot with a pistol by Samroo under the orders of the Nawab, in spite of their offer of four crores of rupees for pardon.

53. According to Siyar (p. 739) the murder took place in the town of Barh itself. But, according to all other authorities, it occurred in a village ("Chandi" according to Khulasat) near Barh. From Major Grant's evidence before the House of Commons, we learn that the Seths were buried in a house near Barh, their bodies having originally been exposed to beasts and birds of prey.

54. Fullarton's Narrative; Surgeon Anderson's Diary; Beng. Pub. Cons., Oct. 26, 1763 (Letter from Adams, dated Oct. 18); Gentil's Memoires, p. 228; Muzaffar-Namah; Siyar; Khulasat; Raymond's foot-note No. 270 to his translation of the Siyar (Calcutta Reprint, II, p. 505), etc.; may be referred for details. Vide also Vansittart's Narrative, III, p. 396.

For details regarding the actual victims, vide Sir Evan Cotton's illuminating article on the "Patna Massacre of 1763" (Bengal, Past and Present, Vol. XLI, pp. 1-29.). Beveridge's article on the same subject may also be consulted (Calcutta Review, Vol. LXXIX, Oct. 1884.).

55. Muzaffar-Namah, p. 303.

country against Mir Qasim, the latter could not have been driven out at least so quickly, as it actually happened to be. The Nawab had made himself thoroughly unpopular, and it is not strange that his cause failed to evoke any enthusiasm, when the hour of his nemesis dawned. His brief regime was too frightful to have merited the least popular sympathy. The mainstay of his power had been his mercenary army, and when this broke down, his ruin was inevitable.

It has usually been supposed that the Wazir of Oudh, and Shah Alam espoused the cause of the fugitive Nawab after the latter's escape to Oudh, and together invaded Bengal with the object of restoring him to the 'masnad' of Bengal. But, this view is untenable. Their attack on Bengal had only been pretended in the beginning to be in favour of Mir Qasim who was foolish enough to finance their selfish enterprise, and even this hollow pretence was given up after the latter's arrest and imprisonment by the Wazir—a fact which has generally been overlooked. The battle of Buxar shattered the ambition of Shujaudaulah alone; neither Shah Alam who was ill at ease under the irksome control of his titular minister, nor Mir Qasim who was a disgraced prisoner was really concerned.

Mir Qasim had long been looking for an alliance with the Wazir and the Emperor, and he at last went over to them to seek their assistance in regaining the 'masnad' of Bengal. Little did he anticipate the designs of the Wazir who simply wanted to fish in the troubled waters of Bengal, and annex the whole, or, at least, a part of it to his own dominions. The Wazir would have been the last person to espouse a ruined cause out of sheer generosity towards a co-religionist. Mir Qasim had been repeatedly warned⁵⁶ of the dangerous consequences of going to Oudh, but he refused to hold out at Rohtas owing to its unhealthy climate, or to go to the Marathas as he distrusted them. The advice of Mirza Shamsuddin, his wakil at the court of Shujaudaulah, who held out hopes of an alliance with the Wazir influenced Mir Qasim to a great extent.⁵⁷ There were many others in the camp who persuaded him to escape to Oudh for their own selfish interests; and when, finally, the Wazir's promise of safe conduct was received along with a

56. Siyar, p. 742 and Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., VI), p. 129.

57. Siyar, p. 743.

'Quran', Mir Qasim no longer entertained any doubts, and left the banks of the Karamnasa for the Wazir's country.

The question arises, "Why did the Wazir invite the ex-Nawab at all?" That he did not intend to espouse the latter's cause is certain. If he had so intended, he would have responded to Mir Qasim's appeal, and would have interfered in the war much earlier, and, besides, would not have repeatedly congratulated the English on their victory proffering also at the same time his friendship for them.⁵⁸ It seems that the Wazir had a number of objects in view, when he pretended to welcome the fugitive Nawab:—

(i) He knew that the latter carried with him a huge treasure,⁵⁹ and this he wanted to secure⁶⁰ somehow;

(ii) He deemed it impolitic to allow⁶¹ Mir Qasim to be at large, lest he should cause disturbance to Oudh itself;

(iii) He was further aware of the fact that Mir Qasim also thought of seeking the support of the Marathas. He wanted to prevent such an alliance at all costs.⁶² A coalition between Mir Qasim and the Marathas might have been a menace to himself;

(iv) Mir Qasim was also reported to be thinking of going over to the Rohillas, or the Jats, and this also the Wazir meant to frustrate⁶³;

(v) Shujauddaulah had his own designs on Bengal,⁶⁴ and so he must have considered it expedient to harbour the fugitive Nawab in his own interests;

58. Trans. P.L.R., July-Dec., 1763, No. 25, p. 18, No. 27-A, p. 23; and Trans. P.L.R., 1763-4, Nos. 1, 2, 11, and 13, pp. 1-18, etc. Vide also Siyar, p. 744.

59. Three hundred and eighty-five elephants bore his treasure consisting of gold and silver coins as well as jewels (Vide Imadus Saadat, Lucknow Text, p. 92.).

60. Letter from Shitab Ray to Adams (Trans. P.L.R., 1763-4, No. 3, p. 3); Letter from Padre Windel to Adams (Trans. P.L.R., 1763-4, No. 19, p. 30.).

61. Letter from Shital Ray to Adams (Trans. P.L.R., 1763-4, No. 17, p. 24).

62. Letter from the Wazir (Trans. P.L.R., 1763-4, No. 28, p. 48.).

63. Letter from Shakiruddaulah to Batson (Trans. P.L.R., 1763-4, No. 40, p. 64.).

64. Imadus Saadat, p. 94.

(vi) The Wazir further intended to persuade the English to cede the province of Bihar to him⁶⁵ as a price for his recognition of Mir Jafar. He was led to believe that his professed friendship for Mir Qasim would ultimately force Mir Jafar to acquiesce in the cession of Bihar. It is significant that even on the eve of the battle of Buxar, the Wazir wrote⁶⁶ to Mir Jafar, and to the Governor that matters could be immediately settled, if Patna⁶⁷ were relinquished, and the usual revenues remitted to the Imperial Court. It was because these absurd demands could not be complied with, that the Wazir at last seriously determined to commence the hostilities. He had carried on negotiations⁶⁸ with the English and Mir Jafar through Shitab Ray for a long time past behind the back of his unfortunate guest, but these were ultimately broken off, particularly because of his insistence on the cession of Bihar.

The Wazir had welcomed Mir Qasim in pursuance of the objects explained above, and it was the latter's money⁶⁹ which enabled him to march against Bengal. Mir Qasim had never imagined that he would merely be a useful pawn in the hands of his host. His disillusionment came when at Buxar he was treacherously imprisoned⁷⁰ at the instance of the Wazir. He was also deprived of almost all that he still possessed. The cup of his humiliation was thus full! The grounds⁷¹ on which this shameful treatment was apparently justified by the Wazir are, firstly, Mir Qasim had failed to remit the war contributions regularly; secondly, he had not joined in the attack on Patna; thirdly, he had not sent his troops under Samroo to co-operate with the allied forces; fourthly, he

65. Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 58; and Trans. P.L.R., 1763-4, No. 33, p. 115.

66. Trans. P.L.R., 1763-4, No. 257, p. 504; No. 261, p. 506.

67. According to Imadus Saadat, Mir Qasim had also agreed to grant the province of Bihar in case he was restored. The Wazir was thus guilty of double-dealing.

68. For details, vide Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., VI, pp. 132-45). As Shitab Ray was the father of Kalyan Singh, the latter's narrative is of special value.

69. Siyar, p. 746. The Nawab, according to the latter, had stipulated to pay eleven lakhs per month for the expenses of the war.

According to Imadus Saadat (p. 93), the Nawab had agreed to pay one lakh per day when the army would be on march, and fifty thousand rupees per day when it would remain in camp.

70. Siyar, p. 755; Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., VI) pp. 303-4; Riyaz, p. 385; Imadus Saadat, p. 93; Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 63; and Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, pp. 815-6.

71. Ibid. Vide also Chahar Gulzar Shujai (Elliot, Vol. VIII, p. 218.).

had been alleged to have ordered the murder of the Wazir during the engagement at Patna; fifthly, he had been reported to have designed to escape to Rohtas; and finally, he was alleged to have treacherously written to Sah Alam praying for the post of Wazir, and also the Subah of Oudh for himself, and offering for these favours one crore of rupees in cash, besides jewels worth fifty lakhs. As a matter of fact, these accusations were hollow, and the real explanation of the Wazir's attitude was different. Mir Qasim's wealth was tempting to the Wazir who only needed some fair excuses for robbing him of it. Besides, the Wazir was also eager to placate the English by punishing Mir Qasim, thereby proving his attachment to their cause.⁷² He aimed at a peaceful compromise with the English, hence the incarceration of the ex-Nawab was necessary. Kalyan Singh plainly writes⁷³ that the imprisonment of Mir Qasim was due to the intrigues of Maharaja Beni Bahadur, the pro-English minister of the Wazir.

The ultimate failure of the negotiations between the English and the Wazir did not alter the condition of the unhappy prisoner who passed his days miserably under a close surveillance, and was barbarously tortured by his cruel jailor. According to the Imadus Saadat,⁷⁴ Abul Hasan, the jailor, once forced the ex-Nawab to sit inside a kettle full of boiling water, and pressed him to reveal what secret treasure he still owned! Mir Qasim is said to have complained in anguish, "What does the Nawab Wazir want from me now? He has seized whatever I possessed. If his object is to kill me, I am ready in the name of God. If he likes to spare my life, he may say so, so that I may go wherever I like."⁷⁵

72. Trans. P.L.R., 1763-4, No. 233, p. 463.

73. Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., VI), p. 303.

74. For full details, vide Imadus Saadat, p. 93.

75. Ibid.

On the eve of the fateful battle⁷⁶ at Buxar, the Wazir suddenly released⁷⁷ Mir Qasim and allowed him to escape from the battle-field. The luckless prince somehow managed to escape on a lame elephant,⁷⁸ and did not even wait to watch the result of the battle. Mir Qasim's downfall was now complete. Driven out from Bengal, he had still a vast treasure, and a large force with him. His alliance with the Wazir of whom he had always been justly mistrustful since his accession was a sad blunder, and brought on his total ruin. Mir Qasim was henceforth an impecunious adventurer, although he lived for a number of years more. His long and futile intrigues with the country powers and the Abdali ruler are only of biographical interest, and his fanciful scheme of a grand coalition against the English remained for obvious reasons an unfulfilled dream!

76. For details regarding the battle, vide Siyar, Khulasat, Imadus Saadat, Ibrat-Namah, Chahar Gulzar Shujai, Riyaz, Gentil's Memoires, Rene Madec's Memoires, Diaries of Champion and Harper, Major Munro's reports, Journals of Swinton, Caraccioli's Life of Lord Clive, Williams's Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry, Broome's Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army, General Letter to the Court, 3rd Jan. 1765, etc. Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham's article on the "Battle of Buxar" (J.B.O.R.S., XII, pp. 1-38) may be perused with profit.

77. Siyar, p. 763; Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., VI), p. 306. But, according to Imadus Saadat (p. 94), Fateh Ali Khan, an officer of Shujaudaulah, procured Mir Qasim's release.

78. Siyar, p. 763.

The Army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh

PART V.¹

"Attack and Defence of Fortified Places."

By

MR. SITARAM KOHLI, M.A., F.R.HIST.S.

IN the opening years of the nineteenth century when young Ranjit Singh was just entering upon his career of conquest and consolidation, the Punjab from Jumna to the Sutlej was split up into a large number of small, independent principalities and chieftainships under the overlordship of Sikh, Rajput, Pathan and other Muslim tribal heads. The territory in the possession of the Sikh Sardars lay, for the most part, in the plain country between the Jumna and the Indus, and was bounded on the north by the chain of mountains that extend in an oblique line across the land of the Punjab; on the east, by the districts of Karnal and Panipat; on the south-east, by the Agra district; on the south by Multan and on the west by the Indus. Within these wide limits of Sikh dominions there were interspersed a few Mohammadan chiefships like that of Kassur, Attock and Mankera.²

The hilly tract in the north was mostly inhabited by the Dogra Rajputs and comprised among others, small principalities, like

1. For Parts I to IV see *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. I, pp. 189-226, 1922; Vol. I, pp. 397-418, 1922; Vol. II, pp. 178-205, 1923; and Vol. V, 20 ff. The long interval between No. IV and V, perhaps, requires a word of explanation. It is due to the fact that I have had to suspend the study of this subject owing to a couple of more important works which I took in hand. These are now completed and published in the form of *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh* (1928), *Trial of Diwan Mul Raj* (1932) and *Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Urdu* (1934). I am now able to resume my study of this subject. During the course of my investigations since 1926 I have come across additional material on the subject of the military organization of the Sikhs which I propose to incorporate in the present and the following two articles.

2. Some of the principal towns in the Sikh dominions where the chiefs had established their headquarters were Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kaithal and Ambala in Sarhind; Kapurthala, Phagwara, Banga, Hoshiarpur and Hariana in the Bist Jullundur; Batala, Qadian, Sri Hargobindpura, Lahore and Am-

Suket, Mandi, Kulu, Kangra, Basohli, Chamba, Nurpur and Jammu, with an aggregate fighting strength which may be estimated at about 2,500 men.

Kashmir and the adjoining territories comprising Punch and Rajouri on one side and Pakkli, Dhamtour and Hazara on the other side, were governed by the Afghan rulers with a fighting strength of not less than 7,000 horse and foot. In the north-west of the Punjab; the Derajat, Tonk, Bannu and Peshawar under their Pathan governors formed provincial governments attached to the Durrani empire. The nominal force maintained for the support of these provinces was about 3,000 men, but the entire Pathan population was warlike and could be depended upon to supply an undefined number of fighting men who could at once take the field. Again, in the south of the Sikh dominion, Bahawalpur and Multan were two powerful, independent Muslim provinces which maintained between them a force of 8,000 picked men who could give a good account of themselves in the open field. Across the Jumna, the East India Company had secured a strong foot-hold by occupying the Imperial Cities of Delhi and Agra in A.D. 1804.

Within the limits of the Punjab, between the Jhelum and the Indus, there was a large number of individual Zamindars and other warlike clans organised more or less on a feudal basis such as the Gakhars of Jhelum, the Maliks of Shahpur, the Baluchies of Sahiwal and Khushab, and the Sials of Jhang. They all possessed armed retinues and, feeling secure in their strongholds, could defy, with immunity, any encroachment on their territory by the neighbouring rulers. They could always put into the field altogether some 3,000 men, but at a pinch the number could without difficulty be doubled.

Such, in brief, was the political state of the Punjab when Ranjit Singh appeared on the scene and essayed the task of conquest which he seems very early to have set before himself. It should also be added that the entire province was dotted over with forts and strongholds of various kinds including some of the bigger forts like those of Attock, Multan, Shiekhupura, Pathankot and Kangra; all of which Ranjit Singh had to reduce one after an-

ritsar in the Bari Doab; Gujranwala, Gujrat, Wazirabad, and Sialkot in the Rechna and the Chhaj Doabs; and Pind Dadakhan, Dhanni and Rawalpindi in the Sindh Sagar Doab.

other before he could expect to be able to establish himself as the undisputed ruler of the Punjab.³ Besides, many of the bigger towns were not without some provision for offering resistance to a sudden attack, such as the existence of a wide moat with only one bridge over it which could at once be lifted up, while the whole town would be surrounded by walls sometimes not less than 8 feet thick, strengthened, here and there, by bastions on which guns could be mounted and a more or less prolonged resistance offered to an invading army. It is also worth mentioning that, in the early years of Ranjit Singh's reign, an invading army was not expected to bring powerful batteries to bear upon the defences of a walled town, much less of a strong fortress. As we have seen in an earlier article⁴ of the present series, it was Ranjit Singh himself who, under the guidance of his European military officers, was able to cast cannon of large calibre for attacking fortified places.

From a survey of the political conditions as Ranjit Singh found them to exist when he came to power, let us turn to the means at his disposal for reducing fortified places and the methods and resources which he brought into use. So far as we can see, there does not seem to have been any marked improvement or change in India in either the skill or the methods of attacking or defending fortified places during the eighteenth or the early part of the nineteenth century. Mr. William Irvine's observation⁵ that the Moghul army seldom succeeded in capturing a place which offered resistance unless they were helped by treachery from within the walls or by shortage of food supply of the garrison, may be said largely to hold good in the case of the Sikh army as well. In reducing a garrison Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his generals made the fullest use of the device of cutting off communications of the besieged with the outside world and, at the same time, inducing the *qila'dar* to surrender by offers of Jagirs or other rewards. We can, perhaps, best illustrate the methods, tactics and strategy of warfare adopted by the *Khalsa* army by describing some of the specific cases in which these methods were employed.

3. Among the more important forts we have not mentioned the fort of Rohtas commanding the main route from Rawalpindi to Lahore, as this fort was already in the possession of Ranjit Singh having been taken by his grandfather, Sardar Charat Singh, in 1765 A.D.

4. In this article I described, at some length, the development and organisation of the artillery branch of Ranjit Singh's army. Vide J. I. H., Vol. I, September 1922, pp. 397-418.

5. See 'The Army of the Indian Moghuls', p. 270.

ENFORCING STRICT BLOCKADE.⁶

As already remarked, the most common and frequent mode of reducing a strong place in India during the eighteenth century was to surround it by an overwhelmingly large force and cut off all communications and lines of approach. The garrison was thus thrown upon its own resources and was forced, sooner or later, to surrender, provided only if the besieging army could afford to wait long enough and maintain the blockade effectively. The reduction, in 1812, of the strong hill fort of Kotla, situated half way between Kangra and Nurpur, is a typical instance of this kind. As soon as the Sikh army had arrived in front of the fort and laid siege to it, the Maharaja issued orders to all the tributary hill chiefs of the district to maintain a strict guard over all approaches and accesses to the town and citadel of Kotla so that no additional supplies of food or ammunition could reach the garrison. At the same time, his own officers were instructed not to attempt an assault on the fortress but strictly to maintain the siege and wait for eventualities. He expressed his own conviction that as soon as the provisions of grain and military stores in the fort were exhausted, the garrison would surrender of their own accord.⁷ The Maharaja's anticipation was fulfilled to the letter; the *qila'dar* 'despaired of all help from without, sought safety in flight and the fort fell into the hands of the Maharaja'.

CUTTING OFF THE WATER SUPPLY

This method was enforced and proved successful in the case of the small hill fortress of Kussak in the neighbourhood of the Khewra salt mines as well as in the case of the fort of Kutlehr near Nadaun in the district of Kangra. The fort of Kussak is perched on the top of a small hillock and, considering the means of attack available to a besieging army of those days, was fairly difficult to take. It was, however, entirely dependent for its water

6. The term for strict investment is *Mahāsarah-i-Shaddād*, and the blockade is expressed by the phrase *insidād kardan tariq-i-Zihāb-o-ayāb...*

7. Sohan Lal: *Roznamcha-i-Ranjit Singh*, Daftar (ii), p. 129.

ہر گاہ کہ غلات و سرب و بار و تیر از قلعہ مسطور کم یاب و مفقود شوند خود بخود تسخیر و افتتاح قلعہ بجلوہ نمائش خواهد رسید و لشکر فیروزی شریک است ایماے بہ محاصرہ شدید مستعد گردید۔

supply on the well-known springs of Saidan Shah situated at the foot of the hillock. The Sikhs, under general Hukma Singh Chimi,⁸ laid siege to it early in A.D. 1810, with a large force and a park of light artillery. Having failed to take the fort by assault and bombardment, Sardar Hukma Singh took possession of the springs. The brave Janjua garrison under their gallant leader, Sultan Fateh Muhammad, we are told, still held out for a short while longer, but their water stores having been exhausted, Fateh Muhammad was compelled to open negotiations with the Sikh general and agreed to evacuate the fort only if his terms were accepted, adding in his communication "it is better to die with honour than to live with disgrace". The Maharaja welcomed such an offer and was pleased to grant him a few villages as a jagir, at the same time continuing the twelve per cent. royalty on the revenue from the salt mines which he had enjoyed under the previous rulers.⁹

The fort of Kutlehr was built on an eminence and like the fort of Kussak was dependent for the necessary supply of drinking water on a couple of small springs situated outside the walls of

8. Sardar Hukma Singh had a sort of family connection with the Maharaja. His father, Ram Singh Gandhi, a resident of Bhera in the Shahpur District, entered as a trooper in the service of Sardar Charat Singh, the grandfather of Ranjit Singh and continued to serve till his death, under Ranjit Singh's father, Mohan Singh. Hukma Singh, when he was able to bear arms, was taken in his army by Ranjit Singh. As he grew in years, Hukma Singh displayed considerable military talents and distinguished himself in several campaigns. "There were few of the Maharaja's campaigns," writes Sir Lepel Griffin, "in which Hukma Singh did not serve; and his skill and bravery were so well recompensed that at one time he held jagirs amounting to upwards of three lakhs of rupees." Hukma Singh was created a Sardar in A.D. 1804 at a comparatively young age, with a command of 200 troops, horse and foot, together with a park of light artillery or *topkhāna khurd*. Hukma Singh is said to have shown himself so brave and energetic during the siege of Sialkot that Ranjit Singh embraced him and expressed his surprise that such a *chimna* of a man should be more courageous than men twice his size. *Chimna* or *Chamuna* in the Punjabi dialect, signifies both a man of small stature and a little bird, swift and strong of wing; and Hukma Singh, too, was somewhat undersized. The Punjab Chiefs by Lepel Griffin, pp. 377-79, ed. 1865; and Zafarnama--i-Ranjit Singh, edited by the writer, p. 31, Lahore 1928.

9. See Sohan Lal: Daftar (ii), pp. 103-4 and 111-12 and also Jhelum District Gazetteer, p. 70, ed. 1904.

the fort. It occupied a commanding position on the road to Nadaun and was considered to be an advantageous acquisition for the protection of the district. The Sikh army under Jamadar Khushal Singh was instructed to lay siege to the fort in 1825 A.D. The garrison offered determined and sustained opposition. During the operations of the siege, an assaulting party, led by Diwan Kirpa Ram,¹⁰ made a vigorous effort and succeeded in seizing the water springs and cutting off the only source of supply of fresh water to the garrison. The garrison after this made no further resistance and surrendered on accepting a jagir to the value of rupees ten thousand a year.

CAPTURE OF HILL FORTS AND USE OF ELEPHANTS

In extremely difficult cases the Khalsa army made use of elephants not only for crossing rapid hill torrents but also for providing a sort of raised moveable platform, so to say, at a convenient distance, from which to subject to bombardment particular portions of the walls of a fortress. Munshi Sohan Lal, in his narrative of the invasion of Kashmir, by the Sikh army during A.D. 1813-14, gives an interesting account of the capture of the hill fort of Baharamgala. This small but strong fortress was situated at the mouth of the pass of the same name and was reached after crossing the heights of the Rattan Punjal range. It occupied a commanding position and was a serious obstacle in the way of the Sikh army *en route* to the valley by way of the Pir Panjal range. Rapid and deep mountain nullahs flowed on either side of the fortress within a distance of a mile. The bridge connecting the fort with the Baharmgala road had already been destroyed under instructions from Azim Khan, the ruler of Kashmir. As soon as the

10. Diwan Kirpa Ram was the grandson of Ranjit Singh's famous general, Diwan Mohkam Chand. Mohkam Chand had entered the Maharaja's service in the beginning of 1807 A.D., at an advanced age, and died in October 1814, while yet in service. During the period of eight years that he was in the service of the Maharaja, Diwan Mohkam Chand rendered his master invaluable help and assistance in every matter whether military or administrative. Speaking of the Diwan's services to the Maharaja, Sir Lepel Griffin observes: "The most distinguished of the generals by whose skill and courage Ranjit Singh rose from a subordinate chiefship to the Empire of the Punjab was Diwan Mohkam Chand." For a detailed account of the life and work of Diwan Mohkam Chand and his family, see Sir Lepel Griffin's Punjab Chiefs, pp. 551-60.

Sikh army appeared before the fortress, the general in charge sent to the *qila'dar* his terms for the surrender of the fortress, but feeling confident of his strong and secure position the *qila'dar* refused to submit. On the contrary, the garrison assumed a distinctly defiant attitude and were prepared to offer resistance.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh himself was following his army and was, at this time, at Thanna at a distance of some seven miles.¹¹ He approached Raja Ruhullah Khan, ruler of Punch, and sought his aid in obtaining the submission of the garrison. The latter, however, could not afford to displease Azim Khan by offering active assistance to the Maharaja's army as his own son was then living as a hostage at the court of Kashmir. Seeing no other way out of the difficulty, the Sikh general determined to capture the fort. "Two murchal"¹² writes Sohan Lal, "were immediately erected, on one of which were placed two guns and on the other a few *Zambura* or small swivel guns; and from these fire was opened on the walls of the fort." At the same time a picked body of men was organised into an assaulting party, but they failed to make any advance owing to the strong current of the stream running in front of the Sikh trenches. Raja Ugar Khan, chief of Rajouri, and an ally of Ranjit Singh, now came to the rescue of the Sikh army. He led the Sikh infantry battalions and marched up along the right bank of the nullah and, winding his way through circuitous routes, crossed it over at a fordable spot, and then descending upon the fort from the left side delivered a surprise attack, slaughtered the guards and succeeded in capturing the trenches of the enemy. Meanwhile the assaulting party had not been idle. They had managed to cross the rapid stream on the backs of a row of elephants and, making a simultaneous attack

11. The Sikh army comprised 30,000 men horse and foot with a few guns. It had taken the Gujrat-Bhimbar route and marched via Adhidhak, Sarai Saidabad, Naushehra, Rajouri and Thanna. cf. also *Shir-o-Shakar* by Pandit Daya Ram, foll. 67b-68b., Punjab University Library Ms. No. 651.

12. *Murchal* in its general sense denotes intrenchment and trenches. *Arāstan Murchāl* is throwing up of earth-works for emplacement of guns. Another phrase which is frequently used in connection with the siege operations is *qila' rá dar murchāl bastan* viz., to bring a fort within the lines of intrenchment.

from the right side, scaled the walls, descended into the fort and, without serious difficulty, overpowered the small garrison.¹³

Another interesting case where the elephants were put to use during the operations of the siege of a hill fort may also be mentioned. Encouraged by the failure of Ranjit Singh in the last Kashmir expedition (1813-14), the chiefs of Bhimber, Rajouri and other minor principalities situated at the foot of the Pir Panjal range had abandoned their allegiance to the Sikh ruler. Ranjit Singh was anxious to bring them under submission with a view as much to restore his prestige as with the object of clearing his way to the eventual conquest of the valley of Kashmir. He, therefore, marched on Rajouri in October 1815. Considering his position far from safe at his headquarters, Raja Ugar Khan removed his treasure, arms and ammunition, and with a picked force retired to his fort which was perched on a high cliff not far from the town of Rajouri. The besieging Sikh army could not get access to the fort nor did they find a suitable place to erect emplacement for their guns to bring the fort within the range of their artillery. The Sikh general, Sardar Dal Singh, seeing no prospects of success against the fort, sent an express message explaining the real situation to the Maharaja who was himself advancing in that direction from Bhimber by easy marches. The instructions issued by the Maharaja, we are told by the court historian, were that "eight guns should be placed on the backs of big elephants and taken to a suitable place opposite the fort and the walls of the fort subjected to a continuous bombardment till they are perforated like a sieve."¹⁴ The same writer further tells us that, as soon as he saw the elephants brought in front of the fort, Raja Ugar Khan lost his courage and decided to surrender.

13. Sohan Lal, Daftar (ii), p. 156.

از طرف دوم جسرفیلاں برنہر آب درست کنائیدہ و از پشت فیلاں در گذشتہ و جسارت بہادرانہ ساختہ و بر دیوار کڑھی چسپیدہ اندرون گرفتند۔

14. Sohan Lal, Daftar (ii), p. 181.

ایمانے الطاف اقتضائے از سرکار دولتمدار گردیدہ کہ ہشت ضرب توپ بر فیلاں کوہ قنیل بار کردہ و بروئے قلعہ بردہ از صدات متواترہ دیوار قلعہ مذکور مثل غریبال باید ساخت

In this connection it is worthy of note that a similar practice of firing guns from the backs of elephants seems to have been in vogue in the Mughal army as well. The author of *Jauhar-i-Samsam*, quoted by Mr. William Irvine, speaks of two *gajnáls* (elephant-pieces)¹⁵ and two soldiers being carried on the back of each elephant. He is not quite explicit as to whether the pieces were actually fired from the backs of the elephants or the animals were simply used as beasts of burden. Mr. Irvine is inclined to the latter view. But the fact that, as late as the early nineteenth century, the Khalsa army often employed elephants not only for carrying mountain pieces but also for firing them from their backs, would distinctly show that the *gajnáls* were fired from the backs of elephants as the *Shutarnál* (camel-guns) were carried on and fired from the camels' backs.

SIEGE OF MULTAN FORT AND ITS ACTUAL CAPTURE, JUNE 1818.

This is one of the best known sieges undertaken by the army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Before they succeeded in capturing the fort the Sikhs had made as many as five abortive attempts at different times to sieze it.

The fort of Multan was situated on a high mound and surrounded by a deep ditch. Nawab Muzaffar Khan, during his rule of forty years had spared neither money nor care to strengthen its defence till it was rendered almost impregnable to the resources of artillery attack available in those days.¹⁶

It was in the fourth week of February, A.D. 1810, after the conquest of Khushab, that Ranjit Singh with Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, Nihal Singh Attariwala, Attar Singh Dhari and several other notable chiefs and their contingents marched against Multan. The Maharaja this time was particularly anxious to take the place, partly because it was a strong fort and partly because it command-

15. *Gaj* in Hindi is an elephant and *nál* in Persian is a barrel. Similarly, *Shutar-nál* is a camel gun from *Shutar*, in Persian a camel. William Irvine, p. 181.

16. For the description of the fort see the *Gazetteer of Multan District*. Also *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh*, edited by the writer, p. 114, Lahore, 1928.

جوں قلعہ ملتان ضرب الشل روزگار و در بلندی غیرت ده ایں فیروزہ حصار است۔

ed the southern route from Afghanistan and was situated in the midst of a warlike Muslim population on his own southern frontier. As we know, Multan and the contiguous Muslim principalities like the Derajat, Bahawalpur and Peshawar were, at that time, outlying provinces of the Durrani empire of Kabul; but of late owing to the political commotions in that region had ceased to pay their annual tribute to the suzerain power. Shah Shuja and his brother, Shah Zaman, had been expelled from Kabul in A.D. 1808 and were on the look out for a favourable opportunity to bid again for the lost throne and were, for that purpose, trying in north-western India, if possible, to collect sufficient resources which might promise success. The only quarter from which Shah Shuja could expect succour in the way of arrears of tribute was the comparatively affluent province of Multan. Ranjit Singh on his own part was not only consolidating his own conquests but also expanding his dominions in all possible directions. He was, therefore, keen to forestall Shah Shuja by conquering Multan and annexing it to his own dominions.¹⁷

On the arrival of the Sikh force before Multan, Muzaffar Khan determined to defend himself and made every preparation to offer a stout resistance. By a mass assault the Sikh troops, under the command of Sardar Nihal Singh Attariwala, succeeded in carrying the walled town after a whole day's hard fight and then at once proceeded to lay siege to the citadel itself where the Nawab had retired after the fall of the town. The Sikh soldiers made strenuous attempts to take the fort by assault but they were repulsed.¹⁸ Artillery fire was then opened from their siege guns but even this

17. Shah Shuja had met Ranjit Singh at Khushab early in February 1810; and during this interview the Maharaja had offered help to the ex-King of Kabul in recovering Multan and Kashmir, obviously it seems, to discover the intention of the Shah.

18. From what I have read of the siege operations by the Khalsa army, the impression left on my mind is that although the Sikh soldiers displayed great audacity and vigour during an assault their storming parties appear to have been ill-organised. They seldom met with success. On the contrary, all contemporary accounts reveal that they were repulsed with heavy loss of life by the defenders who would roll down from the walls heavy pieces of stone and throw down fire pots and other burning and combustible material. The author of *Shir-o-Shakar*, on fol. 68a, mentions that during the siege of the hill fortress of Kangri (near Bhimbar) very many of the soldiers and officers received fatal injuries while attempting an assault under such circumstances. On this particular occasion, for instance, the young intrepid

failed to make an impression on the strong walls of the fort. Sardar Nihal Singh next had recourse to driving a mine right underneath the wall of the bastion of the fort.¹⁹ But even here his efforts were thwarted, the besieged having succeeded in digging a counter mine and blowing up one of the batteries of the Sikhs killing Sardar Attar Singh Dhari and seriously wounding others, among whom was Sardar Nihal Singh himself.²⁰

By this time, both parties were tired. Nawab Muzaffar Khan was glad to get rid of the besieging army by paying a heavy tribute of one lakh and eighty thousand rupees and by undertaking, for the future, to transfer all allegiance from Kabul to Lahore. On the other hand, Ranjit Singh was also not reluctant to retire from a difficult position and leave the conquest of the country to a more favourable occasion when he could bring larger resources of guns and man-power to bear upon this strong citadel.²¹ Ranjit Singh

chief Hari Singh Nalwa, while in the act of escalading was 'much burnt by a fire-pot thrown from the walls of the fort and it was some months before he was again fit for service'. See the Punjab Chiefs by Lepel Griffin, p. 185, Ed. 1865, Lahore. Mr. William Irvine, pp. 282-8 of his book, describes, in some detail, the several modes of repelling assault employed in India during the eighteenth century.

19. Sohan Lal, Daftar ii., p. 99.

بعد از آن سرکار دولتمدار در باب رسانیدن نقب زیر دیوار برج قلعه صلاح و مشورت نمودند.

20. Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh, p. 55.

عطر سنگ دھاری را به سر تنگ قلگیاں ساغر ہستی لبریز گردید.

It may be mentioned here that this mode of attack, namely of laying mines to blow up the walls of a fort was fairly well-known and practised by the Sikh army. The phrases used in this connection which I have come across in contemporary literature are *Kandīdan-i-naqb* (digging of a mine), *rasānīdan-i-naqb* (advancing of a mine) and *dwānīdan-i-naqb* (running a mine). Sometimes the Hindi word *Surhang* is used to denote a mine as it is done by the author of the Zafarnama quoted above.

21. Muzaffar Khan was, about this time, in correspondence with the British Governor-General in Calcutta, and Ranjit Singh feared that tender of allegiance might not only be made but accepted. This may have been an additional reason for the retirement of Ranjit Singh from Multan. See also Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, edited by H. L. O. Garrett, p. 149.

returned to the attack six years later but failed again to capture the fort. Still another attempt was made in A.D. 1817 but with no better result. In A.D. 1818, however, better luck attended the Sikh army when the last and successful attempt was made under the famous artillery general, Misar Diwan Chand, the subsequent conqueror of Kashmir, Mankera and Peshawar.²² A large and well equipped army, consisting of 25,000 horse and foot with a strong park of siege guns, was marched from Lahore into the trans-Chenab territory of the Nawab of Multan early in January, A.D. 1818. After taking Khangarh and Muzaffargarh, two flourishing towns belonging to the Nawab, the army appeared before Multan early in February. The town was occupied after a short struggle. The Khalsa army then proceeded, without loss of time, to lay siege to the fort which the Nawab was now holding with a select force of about 1,300 men.²³

22. Misar Diwan Chand started service in a comparatively humble position, in the artillery department of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army and subsequently rose to the chief command of the entire artillery branch of the service. He displayed considerable military genius during several campaigns in which he was engaged. The conquest of Multan, Mankera and Kashmir by the Khalsa army is largely attributed to him, and for his devoted and distinguished services in these campaigns, the Misar was amply rewarded by his master by the grant of liberal jagirs and honorary distinctions such as *Zaffar-i-Jang Bahadur* (the victorious in war) and *Fateh-o-Nusarat Nasib*. Misar Diwan Chand died of colic pain in July 1825. He was held in much esteem by the Sikh army and the court historian, Munshi Sohan Lal, gives us to understand that the entire Durbar was plunged into grief at his death. A few couplets which Sohan Lal has added in his book, while summarising the achievements of Misar Diwan Chand, may be read with interest.

لطیف و ظریف و سخن پرورے منی و شجاع و کرم گسترے
ظفر جنگ در روز جنگ آمدہ سر دشمنش زیر سنگ آمدہ
ز تیر او فتح منگیر شد نشاط و خوشی در تہمہ ڈیرہ شد
چنان شلق از تو پچانہ نمود کہ تاب و توان باغیاں در ربود
ظفر جنگ دست تور کشاؤ ظفر قلعه منگیرہ را در کشاؤ

23. Syed Muhammad Latif (History of the Punjab), and Sir Edward Maclagan (Multan District Gazetteer) give the strength of the garrison at 20,000 men. I have followed the manuscript of the family history of the Nawabs which was so kindly lent to me by Nawab Azim Ali Khan, the great grandson of Nawab Muzaffar Khan.

During the first week of March, the Sikh army commenced preparations for a prolonged siege and Misar Diwan Chand reconnoitering the situation, drew up his plan of attack, fixed the position for his batteries and selected the lines of his entrenchment.

Special arrangements for *dak chowki*²⁴ between Lahore and Multan were also made to keep the Maharaja in constant touch with the progress of the siege. On his own part, Maharaja Ranjit Singh seems to have spared no pains in sending reinforcements and provisions from Lahore to the field of action. He kept up sending a regular supply of grains, ammunition, shot and other war material both by road and river. On a special requisition from the field officers, an additional force of 500 *beldars* (diggers) was raised in Lahore and despatched to Multan, early in March.

On the arrival of this additional force a large number of shovelmén, mine diggers and earth workers were detailed for the duty of digging trenches and erecting emplacements for guns. Twelve batteries were established on commanding positions and the firing was directed on the fort simultaneously from all points. The besieged made several sorties and many a desperate encounter took place between detachments of the two forces. The continuous bombardment from the Sikh cannon had a good effect and during the course of the following six weeks several buildings within the fort as well as the upper works of the defences were almost all demolished, thus depriving the garrison of their shelter from a constant storm of shot and shell which continued from the enemy's guns day and night. During the month of May, the Sikhs continued to push their works forward till their trenches were established in the neighbourhood of the Kamarkot (outer lines of defence)²⁵ and from the new position of their guns they were able to inflict further damage on the defences of the fort; small parties of skirmishers and riflemen issuing from the nearest trenches after dark supplementing the efforts of the gunners. Two big breaches were now made in the wall of the fort as a result of the heavy bombardment from the famous Zam Zama gun,²⁶ but the defenders

24. Literally a stage where a relay of horses is posted.

25. Sohan Lal, Daftar ii, p. 219. *مورچال کہ قریب جوار کمر کوٹ رسیدہ بود۔*

26. This great gun popularly known as top-i-Bhangi was sent from Amritsar and carried to Multan in 12 days. Sohan Lal, Daftar ii, pp. 212, 215, and family Mss., pp. 101-2.

raised mounds of earth behind them and continued to put up a heroic defence. They now removed the standing bridge over the deep fort ditch which connected the Kamarkot gate with the glacis and were prepared for the final struggle at the breaches, should the assaulting parties of the enemy eventually succeed in crossing over the ditch. The Sikh general had already organised assaulting columns and had also set to work a number of *beldars* to dig out *naqb* or underground passages connecting a couple of his trenches with the ditch. Accordingly "on the 84th day from the commencement of the siege", writes the author of the family history of the Nawab, "under the cover of darkness, the besiegers succeeded in driving a *naqb* from one of their trenches opposite the Khizri gate of the fort and brought it right up to the ditch. An opening was effected and the storming parties emerged out of it and descended into the ditch during the night and forced their way through it."²⁷ Similar galleries of descent into the ditch were also made from other trenches and additional parties of assault found their way in and advanced to the attack.²⁸ During the whole night the besiegers and the besieged were engaged in a severe and determined fight in which the assailants suffered heavy losses. But by the break of day, the Sikh columns had secured a firmer footing within the ditch as also in their trenches near the ditch. While matters were at this stage, a storming party of gallant Akali soldiers led by their equally brave and intrepid leader, Sadhu Singh, moved across the ditch,²⁹ rushed into an outer work of the fort and, after a very severe struggle, succeeded in overpowering one of the Afghan guards. The bold conduct of Sadhu Singh and his Akali party

27. Family Mss., fol. 105.

روز کہ روز ہشتاد و چہارم از ایام محاصرہ و شب دیو برخت محصوران بیچارہ بود۔ محاصران بد نقب از مورچال خود کہ برابر دروازہ خضری داشتند کشیدہ بخندق پیوستند و روز نہ از آنجا برادرہ سید راہ متبردا گشتند

See also Zafarnama, p. 114.

مصر نظر جنگ ہمہ سرداران را طلب داشتہ فرماں داد کہ داخل خندق شدہ از دھوکوٹ بگذرند۔

28. The first column to advance consisted of the Rajputs of Jammu and the contingent of the Ramgarhia Sardars, vide *Shir-o-Shakar*, fol. 109b. See also Zafarnama, p. 114.

29. Sayed Muhammad Latif writes that Sadhu Singh had made the move without orders. On the contrary, the author of the Zafarnama explicitly mentions that Sadhu Singh had obtained leave to do so from Prince Kharak Singh who was in charge of the expedition. The same author gives

served as a signal for the rest of the assaulting columns which then made a simultaneous advance on the spur of the moment, escaladed the walls and carried the entire works killing a number of defenders in a hand to hand fight. The entire Sikh force flushed with this success, now advanced to the assault of the fort and effected entrance through the breaches at the Khizri gate. The gallant old Nawab with a small but devoted band of his kinsmen and followers stood at the breach with a drawn sword till he fell down dead after a most desperate struggle with the enemy.³⁰

SIEGE OF SHEIKHUPURA.

The capture of the fort of Sheikhpura which we now proceed to describe serves to illustrate at once the difficulties of attacking a strongly fortified place and the help from the garrison itself which Ranjit Singh was always ready to avail himself of. According to Sohan Lal, the fortress of Sheikhpura was regarded as one of the three strongest forts in the Punjab of those days; the other two being the forts of Pathankot and Sialkot.³¹ It was situated on the main road at a distance of some twenty five miles due west of

in a few Persian couplets a vivid picture of the bravery displayed by this devoted band of Akali soldiers. Zafarnama, p. 115.

چوں زلفِ بتاں شد سلسل کند
غریبے ز کوس شجاعت بلند
یلاں گشته سرباز و شمشیر زن
نموده عیاں جو صبر خویشتن
به پولاد پوشے عسلم آمدند
بر رستم قدم بر قدم آمدند
نفیر ننگاں در آں کارزار
بر آورده از مغز شیراں دمار
در آں رزم سنگهاں پولاد پوش
بروز دغا پردل و سخت گوش
قبائے حیات اندراں دار و گیر
گرفت آتواز زخم شمشیر و تیر

30. This account is based on Sohan Lal, Daftar ii, Nawab's family Mss., Ganesh Das's Ballad (Mss.), Multan District Gazetteer by Sir Edward Maclagan and Syed Mohammad Latif, History of the Punjab.

31. Sohan Lal, Daftar ii, p. 70.

سہ قلمہ در تانت و حصانت تمام در ملک پنجاب شہر فاق چنانچہ یکے ڈیوڑھے پٹھانکوٹ دوم سیالکوٹ
وسوم شیخوپورہ نامزد صفای روزگار است۔

Lahore and it was inevitable, that, sooner or later, Ranjit Singh should bring it within his own expanding dominion. Finding his hands comparatively free from the pressure of other work in the beginning of A.D. 1808, he despatched towards Sheikhpura a strong force with a park of heavy artillery commanded by Mian Ghouse Khan, an experienced artillery officer in his service.³² The nominal command of the expedition was given to Prince Kharak Singh, a boy of eight years of age.³³ As the invading army reached a distance of five Kos (about 7 miles) of Sheikhpura they were met by the Vakils or representatives of Sardar Amir Singh Virak,³⁴ who had come to negotiate for terms. But the Virak Sardar was too near his capital for Ranjit Singh to brook him as a rival. The Vakils were accordingly dismissed with the message that the Sardar must accept a Jagir and vacate the fort. In the meanwhile, the Lahore army was reinforced and the Maharaja himself had also marched down to Sheikhpura. The brave Virak garrison, on their own part, having full confidence in the strength of their fortifications were also determined to hold out to the last, and offered a very vigorous resistance. The Lahore troops having suffered heavy losses in their attempt to take the fort by assault, Ranjit Singh ordered his artillery officers to open fire and bombard the fortifications. The siege guns, it may be mentioned, also included the *top-i-kalán* or the famous Zam Zama gun which would discharge a ball of 80 lbs. in weight.³⁵ But even this failed to cre-

32. Mian Ghouse Khan held the chief command in the artillery service till his death in 1814 A.D. He is sometimes styled as *Sipah Salar* or commander. This designation he, probably, got on receiving a command of 2,000 horse in addition to his artillery park. Ghouse Khan used to live in a great style in a magnificent house called the Rang Mahal. The greater part of this house was pulled down and rebuilt some years ago. It is occupied, at present, by the Mission High School, at Lahore.

33. One reason for giving such nominal commands, it may be mentioned, was to preclude the chances of possible jealousy and friction amongst the big chiefs and jagirdars. Even in the Multan expedition of A.D. 1818, although Misar Diwan Chand was invested with the power and authority of direction, the official and nominal command was conferred upon Prince Kharak Singh.

34. The Virak Sikhs claim a purely Rajput origin whose ancestors migrated from Jammu hills. The men of this tribe are brave and fearless warriors.

35. Sohan Lal, Daftar ii, p. 12. توپ کلاں کہ گولہ بقدریک من ختمه بخورد۔

ate an appreciable impression on the strong walls of the fort.³⁶ When matters were at this stage and Ranjit Singh's troops were being overtaken with despair, unexpected help came from within the fort. "An unknown person, angel-like in appearance and spotless in character," writes the official historian, "secretly came out of the fort and pointed out that underneath the left side bastion of the main gate there was a long and wide underground chamber which makes this portion of the fort wall weaker than the rest. Should the artillery fire be directed upon this portion of the wall, a breach was sure to be made." The Maharaja kept this informer under strict supervision close to his own tent and ordered his artillery men to do as was suggested by the "unknown person". A few rounds of artillery had the desired effect. A practicable opening was thus made in the wall from where the assaulting parties, after another hard struggle with the defenders, eventually effected entrance into the fort. The commandant, Amir Singh, and his brother Shamer Singh were seized and put in irons and the Maharaja replaced the old garrison by one of his men.³⁷

SIEGE OF MANKERA, A.D. 1821.

Another instance where desertion and treachery from the side of the enemy proved of great help to Ranjit Singh in taking possession of a strong and fortified place is the conquest of Mankera. Mankera was the capital of a small principality on the Central Indus, ruled by Nawab Hafiz Ahmad Khan. The territory of the Nawab extended on both banks of the river and included Dera Ismail Khan, Tonk and Bannu on one side and Leiah, Bhakkar and Kundian on the other side.

In A.D. 1818, Ranjit Singh had taken Multan and two years later Dera Ghazi Khan, another dependency of Kabul situated along the southern Indus, was seized by him. Again on the upper course of the river the fort of Attock was acquired by the Maharaja in A.D. 1812. He had conquered Kashmir in 1819, and during the course of the following year partial attempts were made to re-

36. It appears that in the early days of Ranjit Singh's reign there were few skilled artillery men who possessed sufficient science and skill to work this huge piece of ordnance.

37. We are left by Sohan Lal, the official historian, to guess whether this man was prompted in his treacherous conduct by mere love of treachery or by some hope of a bribe from Ranjit Singh.

duce the turbulent tribes inhabiting the valley of Hazara on the northern course of the Indus between Attock and the southwestern portion of his province of Kashmir. The territory on the central Indus which included the principality of Mankera was still unsubdued. To complete his conquests in this region, Ranjit Singh now moved from Lahore, in October 1821, after the celebration of the Dusserah festivities. Reaching the river Jhelum by rapid marches, he crossed it near Mitha Tiwana. The Sikh army was now reinforced by the arrival of fresh troops from Kashmir under Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa who was relieved of the government of that province by Diwan Kirpa Ram. Taking the direct road from Khushab, the invading army marched into the territory of the Nawab of Mankera and encamped near Kundian. The entire force was divided into three big divisions and it was resolved to seize some of the important portions of Nawab's territory before delivering an attack on the capital. Accordingly, one of these divisions, about 15,000 strong, under the joint command of S. Dal Singh³⁸ and Jamadar Khushal Singh was despatched across the Indus to reduce Dera Ismail Khan, the Trans-Indus possession of the Nawab. The second division was sent under Misar Diwan Chand, and was ordered to march towards the southern portion of the kingdom and to reduce the fort of Bhakkar; while the third remained with the Maharaja himself who moved forward from Kundian by slow marches. Sardar Dal Singh easily overpowered Diwan Manak Rai, the Nawab's governor at Dera Ismail Khan, seized his person and sent him under strict guard to the Maharaja's camp. Sayed Imam Shah and Hakim Shah, the officers of the Nawab holding the fort of Bhakkar had also surrendered to Misar Diwan Chand. From Bhakkar the Misar moved south-east towards the capital and seized the fortress of Khangarh on the way and then appeared before the capital town of Mankera where he was joined by the Maharaja.

38. Sardar Dal Singh Naherna was the adopted son of Sardar Fateh Singh Kalianwala, the most esteemed of Ranjit Singh's early military officers. On this occasion when he was invested with the command, Dal Singh was honoured with a first class Khilaat consisting of a pair of Kashmir shawls, a piece of Kimkhawab cloth, a pair of gold bangles, a plume, a Jigha and an elephant with howdah and trappings. Vide Sohan Lal, *Daftar ii*, p. 293. Syed Muhammad Latif in his *History of the Punjab*, gives the strength of Sardar Dal Singh's division at 8,000 only.

The town of Mankera was surrounded by a thick wall of mud, but the citadel was made of pucca brick and protected by a deep ditch. The country all round the town and the citadel was a sandy desert. The entire absence of water wells in the country added to the natural difficulties of the invading army.³⁹

The Nawab now prepared to offer a determined resistance. He secured every gateway and bastion of the fort and mounted his guns on the ramparts thus providing himself with every possible means of defence. He also did his best to soothe his troops and win their good will and co-operation by paying up all arrears due to them.⁴⁰

On the 15th November, the Maharaja personally reconnoitred the situation and, two days later, the actual siege commenced; the chief authority for the direction of siege operations being given to Misar Diwan Chand. Sardar Dal Singh with a portion of his detachment was also recalled from Dera Ismail Khan. The Maharaja personally supervised the arrangements for the supply of drinking water for his troops. A camel corps was detailed for the duty of bringing the supply from Manjgarh. At the same time a number of *beldars* were set to work in sinking *kachcha* wells near the trenches of the besieging army, and 'in a couple of days, drinking water became available in large abundance'.⁴¹

39. *Shir-o-Shakar*, fol. 122a; also *Zafarnama*, p. 150.

قلعه منیکوه که بطرف مغرب در کریمه مارگستان قلعه استیتین و سی کرده هر چهار طرف آب ندارد.

40. It seems the mind of the garrison had already been secretly worked upon on behalf of Ranjit Singh's agents.

افغانان نکبت نشان و نظا هر ی با نواب شازادیه اوقات باشند و در باطنی داعیه شرف یابی سرکار دولت ایشان را دماغ میبازند.
Sohan Lal, d. (ii), p. 293.

41. Cf. *Zafarnama*, p. 150.

چا مان خام کندید و از و فور آب هر یک سیراب گردید

The author of *Shir-o-Shakar*, fol. 122b, also writes in the same strain, "the earth yielded to the prestige of the Maharaja and the water that lay hidden in her deep bowels now gushed out, and was made available after digging into the depth of a few yards."

The besieging army opened fire on the fortifications of the citadel from their heavy guns which was answered with equal rapidity by the besieged. The daring Sikh general, however, in the midst of constant fire from the enemy's guns and musketry, succeeded, on the tenth day of the siege, in carrying his works close to the ditch. At this time desertions commenced from the side of the Nawab. Some of his principal officers including Sayad Imam Shah and Hakim Shah, who had a few weeks back surrendered the fort of Bhakkar, secretly came out of the fort and joined the Maharaja's camp. Seeing treachery all around him, the Nawab now decided to surrender. Accordingly, he despatched the trusted messengers, Sikandar Khan and Qazi Gul Muhammad as '*alámán goyán*' (announcers of peace) to negotiate for terms. As they came out of the fortress waving the *párcha-i-ámán* or white flag of truce, hostilities were suspended, and negotiations commenced. The Maharaja agreed to confer on the Nawab a suitable Jagir with permission to live in his old style and dignity in his own trans-Indus possession of Dera Ismail Khan. As soon as the Nawab received a solemn pledge from the Maharaja in the form of an impression of his open hand dyed with saffron on a sheet of paper, for the due execution of the agreement, he evacuated the fort.⁴²

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF SIALKOT.

This siege was undertaken early in A.D. 1807. The town of Sialkot was surrounded by a strong wall while the citadel was situated a little outside the town on the top of a high mound. The

42. *Zafarnama*, p. 150.

چنانچه عهدنامه مرتین بر بنج از عفرانی حضور آمدن دیگر اقسام عدم تفرق و تبدیل جاگیر رفته آب سنده و دریه سلیطان محکمون غیره ترتیب یافت

From the above, it is obvious that it was a common practice in those days to send out persons who were known as announcers of peace. They carried with them a white flag of truce which they waved in the air as they advanced towards the lines of the besieging force. It was a point of honour for the besieging general to suspend hostilities immediately to give safe conduct to the men so as to deliver any message they might be carrying from the besieged commandant. Again when the terms of peace were settled the document, at least in some cases, bore an impression of the right hand of the grantor in saffron. This was regarded as a solemn pledge that the terms settled in the documents would be honourably observed.

ruler of the place, Sardar Jiwan Singh, who was confident of his strength was determined to resist the aggressive policy of Ranjit Singh to the last. He had further strengthened his position by storing in ample provisions of food and ammunition to last a considerable time. A few good pieces of artillery had also been mounted on the ramparts of the fort.

The invading army first captured a couple of small forts in the vicinity of the town by a sudden cavalry charge (*Sar-i-suwari*)⁴³ and then took possession of the walled town without serious difficulty. Finding his position insecure, Jiwan Singh with a body of 1,000 picked men now retired to the fort, which the Lahore troops at once closely invested. They had prepared the emplacements for their siege guns with great care and labour but the higher situation of the fort kept it out of the range of their guns. The defenders in their turn kept up a steady fire from above which made it extremely difficult for the besiegers to move their trenches forward. Despairing of the prospects of success against the citadel, Ranjit Singh opened negotiations with one Sardar Mohar Singh who was in possession of a tower or *Attari* situated at a distance of a mile from the nearest walls of the fort. The combined threats and persuasion of the Maharaja, we are told by the official historian, had the desired effect and Mohar Singh evacuated the *Attari*. Mounting their swivel guns on the high walls of the tower, Ranjit Singh's troops were now able to direct a murderous fire upon the garrison.⁴⁴ At the same time the diggers and miners were set to

43. Sohan Lal, *Daftar ii*, p. 67.

دوسم قلعہ متصرفہ سنگھان سیالکوٹ درنولے آجاسر سواری مفتوح گردیدند۔

This expression *Sar-i-Suwari* would mean a sudden and vigorous cavalry charge, and signify something approaching a *coup de main*. Sohan Lal again uses this expression in connection with a successful cavalry charge made by the Sikh army, after dusk, on the walled town of Sahiwal, where its ruler, Fateh Khan, had taken shelter.

44. Similar device of mounting guns on high wooden towers specially built for the purpose, it appears, was also resorted to in the Mughal days. Speaking of the siege of Gurdaspur where the Sikhs had taken shelter, Ghulam Mohi-ud-din writes as follows: "The Sikh answered shot for shot, and the imperialists were unable to move out to an attack in the open. Then, at the battery of Arif Khan, Abdus Samad Khan prepared a tower overtopping the fort wall, and mounted his guns upon it. This device disconcerted the besieged, as the interior of the fort was now commanded and their

work who drove "with the speed of lightning their mines and trenches from all directions right underneath the walls of the fort from which issued the assaulting columns and began escalading the walls of the fort". This was not all. As the same authority tells us, "a heavy fire from one of the batteries was concentrated on one of the bastions of the fort. The besieged seeing all this lost their wits and self-confidence, and early next morning Jiwan Singh deputed his son to the Maharaja, accepted a Jagir and surrendered the fort."⁴⁵

movements thereby hampered. Similar towers were raised on two other sides of the attack where Zakariyah Khan, and Qam-rud Din Khan commanded respectively." Quoted by Irvine, p. 279.

45. On pages 6-7, *Daftar i*, of Sohan Lal, we read an account of the siege of Sialkot fort by Ranjit Singh's grandfather, Sardar Charat Singh, in 1762, when it was in the possession of Ahmad Shah Abdal's lieutenant Nur-ud Din. Charat Singh, we are told, surrounded the fort with 2000 men and caused a strict blockade which compelled Nur-ud-Din to surrender.

Editorial

I

We are in receipt of an Uppsala University publication, the *Livro Da Seita Dos Indios Orientalis* (Brit. Mus. Ms. Sloane 1820) of Father Jacobo Fenicio, S.J., edited with introduction and notes by Jarl Charpentier, Uppsala, £ 1-1-0. This is a Portuguese document of considerable interest, bearing on the condition of South India, particularly religious, in the seventeenth century. The interesting manuscript, now published for the first time, had lain hidden for long from public view, although the document itself is of great historical value. It gives a rather elaborate account of the religious condition of that part of India where he lived and worked actively for about half a century. He was born at Capua about A.D. 1558, and, having entered the Society of Jesus in 1580, he set sail for India in 1583. On arrival in 1584, he was stationed at Cochin and was made a Vicar of St. Andrew's in Porca in 1587. He remained in that position from 1594 to 1604, and there is a reference to his stay there in 1619. Probably he lived there to the end of his life. In 1600, he went to Calicut, and is reported to have stayed there in the years 1605-06 and 1608-09. In the interval in 1606, he founded a new missionary station at Thanore, and subsequently various other missions in the Malabar coast. He died at Cochin in 1632 when he was about 75 years of age. He seems to have been a strenuous missionary setting about his business very seriously. It is recorded that he used to preach in the Malayalam language.

Three letters of his are known and a report of the mission to the Nilgiris besides the document under review. The *Livro Da Seita Dos Indios Orientalis* was a work of Father Fenicio, and the authorship was not known till Professor Charpentier himself discovered it in 1922 from references in his letters. Further investigation had pointed it out to him that this was the original on which three well-known Portuguese authors based their accounts of the religious condition of Malabar in the sixteenth century. The first is Emanuel Barradas, A.D. 1572-1646, who is known to students of Indian History from the translation of a part of one of his letters by Sewell and published as an appendix to his work "a Forgotten Empire, Vijayanagar." It was this Father Barradas (about A.D. 1619) that makes a reference to this work. This was

for long taken to be a work of Barradas, although Barradas himself does not say so. The manuscript signed by Barradas was ultimately discovered, and shows close correspondence with the original manuscript of Fenicio recently discovered in the Sloane Manuscripts. Except for the abridgement and reduction of size, the work is, as near as possible, a reproduction of the original work of Father Fenicio. It is this account that is incorporated in the work of Faria Y. Sousa, the great historian of Portuguese India. Similarly another Portuguese author Ildephonsus A Praensentiosne, it has been discovered recently, published the Latin translation of this very work of Father Fenicio. A third author Baldaeus has made use of this manuscript somewhat unscrupulously borrowing largely from it to make up his own work bearing on the subject. Professor Charpentier has been long at it, and had already written two articles in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* to extricate this forgotten work from complete oblivion.

It is work apparently of great value which is placed before the public in the Portuguese original. The editor has done his part extremely well giving the full text with explanatory notes of very great value. The Malayalam passages quoted in the work are set down in transliteration. So far it is very good, but it is very disappointing that an English translation which he planned at an earlier date could not be published for lack of financial aid. It is a great pity that it should be so, as, in its present form, the work could but be very imperfectly understood by a considerable body of scholars interested in the subject. We see enough of it to appreciate its value, and should certainly be glad if the editor could find means to publish an English translation. We are none the less thankful to him for the work itself even in its present form, and what is really the more valuable part of it, his valuable and elaborate introduction. We must point out even this introduction is rather too full of quotations in original from Portuguese and Latin to be appreciated to the fullest extent. None the less it constitutes a very important addition to the literature of the period, and its utility would be greatly enhanced if he could publish it, as we hope he would, in an English edition.

II

The publication recently of the Government of India Report on the 'Indus Valley Civilization' by Sir John Marshall opens several new vistas of enquiry for understanding and locating the new culture thus unearthed. One of the main problems connected with it is the decipherment of the Script, and the discovery of the

language for which the Script is the vehicle. Of course, the comparison that suggested itself at the first flush is to the Sumerian script and language with which the Indus script shows considerable similarity. A new suggestion came from Professor Guillaume de Hevesey of Paris, who drew attention to the Oceanic script discovered on wooden tablets in various places, particularly the Easter Islands, and the similarity between that and the Indus script. The same scholar is opening out another possible line of enquiry, likely perhaps to prove more fruitful. This is the study of the Munda languages of India which, according to Schmid's classification, belongs to the Austro-Asiatic, or the still wider group of Ural-Austrian family of languages. Professor Hevesey's thesis is that the existence of a group of languages like the former remains so far without proof. Further the Munda languages do not belong to Austro-Asiatic family of Schmid, even if the existence of the latter should be proved. He is rather confident that the Munda group of language belong to the linguistic stock described as the Ural-Austrian, and in that large group to the Ugric and more narrowly to the Finnish-Ugric in particular. Figulla has already arrived at the conclusion that the Munda languages do not belong to the Finnish-Ugric family. This view, Professor Hevesey would controvert on the following grounds :—

The structure of the Munda languages shows the characteristic features of the Finnish-Ugric, and there can be no doubt that the Munda family of languages belongs to that group. There are about thirty verbal and noun prefixes common to the groups. Similarly there are twelve Case Affixes. The Personal Pronouns of the Singular happen to be the same for both, while the Plural shows partial similarity. The Cacuminal sounds in Munda and Ugric-Finnish are about the same, and many are common to the two languages. The last, perhaps the best of all, the history of creation among the Woguls, is almost identical with that of the Mundas. On these grounds, it would be difficult to reject the Finnish Thesis. A study of this group of language and their structure may possibly throw some very considerable light upon the character and provenance of the Indus and the Sumerian scripts.

III

WE are in receipt of the Madras Government Museum Bulletin, Vol. III, part 1, of the General Section, New Series, as usual issued in a neat and handy form by the Government Press, Madras. It bears on the very interesting subject, the three main styles of temple architecture, *Nāgara*, *Vēsara* and *Drāviḍa*, which terms we took

occasion to discuss recently in the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art. We welcome none the less, the investigation of the significance of these terms attempted in this Bulletin, which is an effort in the words of the joint authors, Messrs. Gravely and Ramachandran, "to correct, in the light of literal translations of the original texts, the current identification of the *Nāgara*, *Vēsara* and *Drāviḍa* styles of temple architecture." They go further and state it "as what has been called *Nāgara* by recent authors proves to be really *Vēsara*. We have had to consider at some length the real identity of the *Nāgara* style, and this necessitated the inclusion of a brief account of the development and affinities of early Chāḷukyan and other temples with square *śikara*." These extracts give us clearly to understand what the object of the authors is. They have taken a certain number of texts into consideration such as the *Suprabhēda-Āgama* and the *Mānasāra* principally. They translate the texts bearing on this particular part, and proceed to consider the buildings that have come down to us in the Dakhan. The translations of these passages are not always easy, as they are very far from clear, mainly because we have not got the knowledge of the objects under discussion to be able to understand the technical terms completely, nor is the grammar or syntax in passages sufficiently correct to place our interpretation beyond doubt. The interpretation of passages themselves is a matter of considerable difficulty. Mr. Ramachandran's translation of *Yugāsram* as "two-cornered" neglects the consideration, essential to the correct interpretation, of corresponding passages in other texts and in other definitions of the *Nāgara* style which use the terms *Chaturāsram* and *Vedāsram* alternatively. While *Yugāsram* therefore may admit of the interpretation two-sided, it is equally capable, perhaps really more appropriately, as signifying four-sided. The term *Yugāsram* is therefore made to indicate the four yugas and not necessarily the pair. For the eight-sided often-times we get the term *Vasvasram* (*Vasu-asram*), *vasu* standing for the eight *vasus*, and the compound word standing for eight-sided. In the interpretation of the passage from the *Mānasāra* quoted in the book, there is the same confusion indicated. In consequence the definition given of *Nāgara* fails to be complete, nor is it in keeping with definitions found elsewhere in *Āgama* texts, which are the authority for the *Śilpa Śāstra*. The authors assume that the equation of *Nāgara* with northern style is "by no means proved". How exactly they arrive at the conclusion, with an initial confusion as to the actual definition, is not quite clear. But the whole pamphlet is

devoted to an examination of the buildings that stand, and their conclusions such as they are, are based upon this investigation. They start with the premise that no correct northern style of building, according to the definition, has so far come down to us in the north, and therefore it should not be called northern. A few such are traceable among the surviving buildings in the Dakhan among the group generally known as the Chālukyan group, and therefore it must be regarded essentially Chālukyan, forming part of the Vēsara group. This we are sorry ought to be regarded as false ratiocination. The notion in regard to Nāgara being northern, Vēsara being essentially Dakhan and Drāviḍa being southern is clearly grounded on pretty reliable ancient authority, even the Mānasāra depending upon *purātana tantra*, ancient works. A great number of the northern temples suffered destruction at various periods of history and the absence of this type is rather to be taken for granted. Even a solitary instance in the north ought to suffice to justify the name. From the very nature of the case these styles are not exclusive as intrusions are found even in modern temples, as modern institutions have their own justification in the traditional beliefs of the builders and worshippers. There is a small shrine of the northern Khajuraho-Benares style, in the temple at Tiruviḍaimarudūr near Kumbhakonam. Therefore intrusive buildings of different styles have to be expected in the localities. The few buildings of the northern style in the Dakhan in the sphere of the Chālukyas would not make the style itself a Dakhan style. It would simply mean that they were intrusive buildings. An old work like the Kāmika Āgama, which is not referred to in this Bulletin lays it down beyond all doubt that the country extending from the Himalayas to Rameśvaram is divided into three parts, limited by the boundaries of the Vindhya and the Krishna River. Nāgara is the prevalent style between the Himalayas and the Vindhya, Vēsara between the Vindhya and the Krishna, and Drāviḍa from the Krishna southwards.

According to the Kāmika Āgama again, the division, Nāgara, Vēsara and Drāviḍa, is not confined to styles of buildings alone. This difference of style is carried even in regard to the making of images and image pedestals. It would rather be difficult in the circumstances to dismiss it as a mere figment of the imagination. Apart from the Kāmika Āgama, the Mayamata is equally clear in respect of this division. It is carefully pointed out there, of course incidentally in the course of description of buildings of a single floor, that the Nāgara buildings are square in forma-

tion, the Drāviḍa octagonal or hexagonal and Vēsara circular or in an elongated circle. That is in respect of the base. The part rising from the neck to the crown is square for the Nāgara, thus making the Nāgara style square from bottom to top. So the Drāviḍa of eight sides or six sides, and the Vēsara circular or elongated circle with variations of course. It would therefore be difficult to dismiss as baseless, in the manner that the Bulletin under review attempts to do; that the distinctive character of these styles and their difference in point of location, and include the Nāgara as a part of Vēsara or Chālukya, or anything else. Apart from this general position, the detailed investigation throughout the rest of the pamphlet, offers nothing so compelling as to make this a necessary conclusion. In the face of the explicit statement quoted in the work itself in an inscription of Mahēndra Varman Pallava that buildings till then were constructed of other material than stone, and that Mahēndravarman set the fashion of temples in stone or cut out of rock, it would be rather too much to argue as the joint authors have done that the buildings that have come down to us are alone the buildings conceived of by Hindu architects, or constructed by them. The writing of a handbook is not always strictly synchronous with the origination of ideas contained in them. It is much rather the other way. Ideas must have had a long anterior vogue, and must have been carried out through a more or less extensive area and even over a considerable length of time before handbooks get to be written, and these handbooks merely codify the current ideas in respect of the principles and the practice obtaining at the time.

We are not sure that the date that these authors would ascribe to the Mānasāra could be proved, nor does such a late date for the work seem likely. In fact the authority upon which they base the conclusion that the Āchārya Śrī Guṇḍa as a southern Āchārya is at the very best a guess, as among the three inscriptions relied upon, it is only one of them that mentions the south, and not in a context which could be brought to mean that he came from the south. He might well have. This is followed by a discussion on the term *sūtradhāri* which, according to architectural treatises, is the designation of the architect that carries out as against the architect that designs who is the *sthapati*, and the qualifications and learning expected of a *sthapati* are very much higher than that of the *sūtradhāri*, and the two classes of subordinate workers under them are classed as *vardhaki* and *takshaka*. The Sūtradhāri therefore in the context has no reference to the Sūtrā that one wears. It is much rather

the sūtra that one carries by means of which he marks the line for buildings, pillars or whatever it is. The classification here is the sthapati who has to form the ideas and give instruction to the sūtradhāri. The sūtradhāri marks it on wood or stone or other material that has to be worked upon, and the other two classes of artisans come in to cut these out into shape. While the sthapati therefore should be the top man of the trade, the sūtradhāri is the chief man, the same kind of difference as in the engineers that design and prepare schemes, and the engineers that carry them out. But the gap between the two cannot be anything very great. It is conceivable at particular stages that the functions get to be combined in the sūtradhāri, and what is implied here in these inscriptions appear to be absolutely nothing more.

We cannot consider that there is any reference to any excommunication in these records. Taking the expressions as they appear in the two longer records, the general sense is clear that the experts in these arts were saved an evil reputation by the expertness of the sūtradhāri actually mentioned, which seems merely to imply, notwithstanding the obscurity of the terms used, that probably the local artisans failed in carrying out a certain part of the work which this particular expert completed and thus saved them their faces as it were.

In regard to the main topic of discussion however it is not impossible to find even some of the eleventh century structures showing features of the *Nāgara* style in the north. While there has been an invasion of the *Vēśara* into localities in which the prevailing style is said to be *Nāgara*. A temple in ruins, called the *Kākanātha* at Suhania of the eleventh century, may well illustrate the northern *Nāgara* style, and is given in plate II in the *Archaeology of Gwalior*. While appreciating to the fullest extent the methodical effort at research in the *Bulletin* in respect of these styles, we regret very much we are not able to agree with the conclusions of the joint authors regarding them.

IV.

Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt is quite a timely publication* and is welcome on the eve of the Reforms Scheme pending legislation.

* Messrs. Macmillan's, 21s. net.

"Indian History has never been made interesting to English readers except by rhetoric" wrote *The Times* so long ago as 1892. The present work seems designed by the joint authors to remove the defect indicated, and provide a book which would interest the general reader and at the same time equip him with sufficient and reliable information to form his own conclusions on questions of first importance, such as the reforms which agitate the public mind at present. The book before us, in regard to its method, strikes the mean between making literally the authorities speak, and writing one's own account based on authorities. The work is written by the authors but interspersed with a sufficient number of telling selected extracts for the real light they throw upon the events, and woven into the work so as not to destroy its unity. The authors realise to the full the difficulties and dangers that upset a plain and unvarnished tale, but none the less make an attempt to present even the recent history of India with sufficient objectivity to make the narrative fair and dispassionate. While following a chronological order, they have taken care not to overload the book with dates and facts arranged underneath dates unduly. Beginning with the foundation of the East India Company, the history of British India unfolds itself gradually, and the division into books and chapters, while confirming to the sequence of dates, follows the topic more than chronology. The first portion sustains the interest of the narrative and is at the same time impartially critical in regard to the various activities of the Company to begin with, and of the early Governors of Bengal right down to the establishment of the central administration under Warren Hastings. The account of Warren Hastings himself is full and free from the bias very generally exhibited, which would gloss over those of his transactions of a shady character because of his ultimate services. He is exhibited in the real light of one who achieved greatly, and, by the very fact of that achievement, committed himself to wrong doing. Cornwallis' work is appreciated to the full, while the account of the Governor-Generalship of the Marquiss of Hastings is presented in less attractive light than we are accustomed to in the histories of the period. There is a striking frankness in the discussion of the Afghan policy under Lord Auckland and in the Conquest of Sind. Dalhousie appears on the whole in much better light than usual. The post-Mutiny history which is really the constructive period of British administration in India that we are concerned with at present, is described in the course of its development with sufficient attention to chronology, while at the same time the

continuity of the account in regard to topics of importance is made to dominate.

Throughout the work material and moral progress, and even social questions receive particular attention. Notwithstanding the wider and more comprehensive treatment of history as such, the book provides on the whole interesting reading conveying valuable information without letting the interest of the reader flag too much in the course of the narrative. While it may not be that an Indian reader sees eye to eye with the authors, there is little room for complaint on the score of any bias as such, or partiality. The authors have succeeded in producing a book which realises their ambition of providing fuller information which would enable a better judgment in regard to questions Indian of a general character. It is hardly necessary to say more than to welcome the publication as a very valuable addition to the literature of the subject. The bibliography though short is adequate, and includes the most recent publications.

There are a few slips, but just a few such as the following :— On page 16 occurs "Berhampur in Khandesh". The town should be Burhanpur to distinguish it from the two Berhampores elsewhere; on page 33, foot-note 1, Singapore in an original authority is explained as *Singhur*. The authors' correction or explanation may make it *Singhad*, though the former may occur as the equivalent of the latter in earlier writers.

V.

THE Indus Valley Civilization, as presented to the students of the Punjab University by Mr. Sitaram Kohli of the Punjab Educational Service, has been issued as a pamphlet by the University of which we have had the pleasure of receiving a copy. The subject is dealt with in three separate lectures, the first giving an idea of the city in ruins; the second treats of the social and economic life of the people and the third with their religious beliefs. Of course, as is inevitable, the work is based on the three volumes of the report published some time since by Sir John Marshall for the Government of India and issued in a splendid form by Mr. Arthur Probsthain, Oriental Bookseller, London. The lecturer has presented the facts bearing upon the topics in a clear and succinct form, and the pamphlet in which it is issued ought to be of assistance to students to gain an idea of the whole civilization without having to go to the voluminous work. It is a useful publication and a welcome addition to the literature on the subject, as it gives evidence not only of a care-

ful study of the report but also much other collateral study by the author.

HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN STUDIES IN ASSAM.

Since our last notice of the activities of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam in our Journal (Vol. XI, Part 1, April 1932), much has been done by the Honorary Provincial Director and his collaborators. We have received the Department's *Bulletin* No. 2 which was published early in 1934, and its other publications. The activities of the Department, have increased to a considerable extent and include the publication of four more books in addition to the two *Chronicles* noticed in the first Bulletin. These are, the *Tungkhungia Buranji*, the *Deodhai Asam Buranji*, the *Asamar Padya-Buranji* and the *Tungkhungia Buranji (English Translation)*.

The Buranjis contain prefaces and introductions in English and are thus accessible to some extent to the English-reading public. All of them have been edited by Professor S. K. Bhuyan, who has been deservedly appointed Honorary Provincial Director on the retirement of Mr. A. H. W. Bentinck, C.I.E., the first Director. The *Tungkhungia Buranji* was compiled by Srinath Barbarua, who was a distinguished member of the Ahom Rangachela Duara family. Srinath was the younger brother of a famous Assamese minister, Harnath, who played a distinguished part during the reigns of three successive sovereigns. He was the Barbarua (head of the executive and the judiciary) of King Kamaleswar Singha who ruled in the first decade of the 19th century. The Tungkhungia dynasty was the last dynasty of the Ahom Sovereigns of Assam. It ruled over the land from 1681 to 1826 when the British got the province from the Burmese by the Treaty of Yandaboo. It was founded by Gadadhar Singh who recovered Western Assam from the hands of the Mughals. The Government of the Ahom kings in this period was, formally that of a monarchy; but in reality, it was controlled by three hereditary Councillors of State, namely, the Buragohain, the Bargohain and Barapatragohain, who had the privilege of selecting the king from among the existing princely families. In all appointments the different Ahom families or *foids* were to be represented. The monarch was known as Svargadeo and was the source of all honours, titles, offices, etc.

The adult population was divided into *Khels*. Each of these was to render some specific service to the State and was in charge

of a *Phukan* or a *Barua* who was assisted by a gradation of officers. The vast body of subjects thus formed a standing militia; and their loyalty depended very largely upon the loyalty of their Chiefs. It was only after 1772, that non-Ahom individuals were appointed to be *Phukans*. Succession to the throne was at first regular and confined to the ruling family; but later on any political *coup d'état* could set aside the main family in favour of any prince from the collateral branches.

The value of the Assamese Buranjis has been noticed by several writers and their importance has been increasingly appreciated, ever since Sir Edward Gait wrote his *History of Assam*. The *Tungkhungia Buranji* of Srinath Barbarua covers the period A.D. 1751 to 1806. It, therefore, literally occupies only a portion of the Tungkhungia period. Mr. Bhuyan has however made good the hiatus, first by prefixing an account of the earlier kings of the dynasty from the founder, Gadadhar Singh, to the year 1751, and secondly by adding at the end an account of the events from the year 1806 to the termination of Ahom rule in 1826. Both the preliminary and supplementary portions have been collated by him from other Buranjis in a manner and style conforming to the style of the old chronicles. The English translation¹ of the *Tungkhungia Buranji* thus covers the whole history of that period. Srinath himself merely gives a synopsis of the events from the accession of Gadadhar to the accession of Rajesvar Singh, and ends his narrative in A.D. 1806. The Assamese original² of the Buranji edited by Prof. Bhuyan with running marginalia and introduction stops with A.D. 1806; but contains the accounts of the Tungkhungia Kings previous to 1861. It is, indeed, very pleasing to note that the translation runs very smoothly, while professing to be a literal rendering of the original. We feel to some extent the imperiousness and majesty that are regarded as attributes of these kings in the narrative which is interspersed with letters conveying messages from the Ahom Government to other powers, and with details of even minor occurrences at the Court. The introductions to both the Assamese version and the English transla-

1. An Old Assamese Chronicle of the Tungkhungia Dynasty of Ahom Sovereigns, with Marginalia, Genealogical Tables, Bibliography, Glossary and Index by S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. xxxii and 262. Price Rs. 10.

2. The *Tungkhungia Buranji* or a Chronicle of the Tungkhungia Kings of Assam (Assamese Text), edited by S. K. Bhuyan, 1932 (D. H. A. S.).

tion of the Buranji, are full, and lay stress on the important features of Assamese History and Government. They also treat of the historical and literary value of Srinath's chronicle which has got one absorbing theme, viz., "the Moamaria insurrection reviewed in all its offshoots and ramifications, whose indirect effect could be seen in the strained Ahom relations with the neighbouring states, and the admittance of exterior aid for the solution of internal difficulties."

The *Deodhai Asam Buranji*³ edited by Prof. Bhuyan and published by the department in 1932 contains a sustained chronicle based on an old Ahom Buranji extending from the earliest times to the accession of Jayadhwaj Singha in A.D. 1648 and a number of shorter chronicles dealing with the establishment and consolidation of Ahom power in Assam. Mr. Bhuyan regards this book as a History of Ahom Foundations, and gives in it an account of certain social customs of the Ahoms and of the legendary origins of some of the tribes with whom the Ahoms had intimate political relations. The language is the Deodhai (*lit.* nurse of the gods) or pure old Assamese; and the book presents strictly the Ahom ways, expression and thoughts, and customs and manners. The Bahgaria Buragohair Buranji which is included in this book enlightens us about the inauguration of the Ahom custom of compiling chronicles. The early histories of the dynasties of the Rajas of Cooch Behar, Cachar, Jayantia, Chutia and Nara are also given, being taken from several chronicles. The early history of the Mikirs has been translated from an English account by an Assamese scholar. Mr. Bhuyan discusses the dates and the lists of all the Ahom kings from Sukapha to Purandar Singha, and includes in this book a very useful table giving the Śaka equivalence of the Ahom Lakliers.

The *Asamar Padya-Buranji*⁴ also edited by Prof. Bhuyan and published in 1932, is a Metrical Chronicle of Assam containing two separate books, viz., Kali-bharat Buranji by Dutiram Svarankar Hazarika Satola, a history of Assam from the accession of Sulikpha Ratnadhvaj Singha Lora Raja in 1679, to the transfer of the territories of the Honourable East India Company to the Crown in 1858; and Belimarar Buranji by Bishveshvar Vaidyādhira, from

3. *Deodhai Asam Buranji*, with several shorter Chronicles of Assam, edited by S. K. Bhuyan, 1932 (D. H. A. S.).

4. Or a Metrical Chronicle of Assam, edited by S. K. Bhuyan, 1932 (D. H. A. S.).

Captain Welsh's expedition to Assam in 1792 to the victory of the Burman army at Khagarijan or Nowgong in 1819. Both these books were compiled at the order of King Purandar Singha who reigned during the period of the Burmese invasion and later as the feudatory Chief of Upper Assam under British protection. Mr. Bhuyan points out that the rhymed Assamese chronicles have great significance as compilations of facts, and, therefore, valuable as correct records of events as they truthfully happened. Dutiram Hazarika's *Buranji* can be regarded as a complement to Srinath Barbarua's *Chronicle*. It also supplements the latter and gives an elaborate account of the events up to 1858. Dutiram was born in 1806 and was intimate with the Royal household; and more than half his book is devoted to events of which he had personal knowledge. The other *Buranji*, by Bishveshvar Vaidyādhya, deals with the last phase of Ahom Rule beginning in 1792 and gives a vivid and succinct account of the Moameria and Burmese disturbances which mainly led to the termination of Ahom rule. Since the author had not given the book a title, Prof. Bhuyan has named it "The Belimarar *Buranji*", or the "History of the Sun-set" in keeping with the subject matter. The book seems to have been composed some time between A.D. 1833 and 1846. It seems to have fully imbibed and assimilated the spirit and diction of Vaishnava poetry. Its historical value lies in the fact that it is one of the very few contemporary documents of the Burmese invasion and faithfully records the atrocities of the Burmese which have been commonly known as Manar Upadrav.

It is claimed by Mr. Bhuyan that after the Burmese occupation, bards and ballad-singers stepped into the place of the trained historian and poet, to record the peoples' sufferings; and works of this new character like the *Barphukanan Gift* of Badanchandra, which was edited by himself and published in 1924, are also stated to be useful.

It may not be out of place on this occasion to notice the two publications of the Assam Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies issued before the coming out of its first Bulletin. These are the *Assam Buranji* of Harakantha Sarma-Barua Chaudhury Sadar-Amin, published under the editorship of Mr. Bhuyan in 1930, and the *Kamrupa Buranji* compiled in 1930 from old manuscript chronicles by our indefatigable Professor from several original sources so as to bring out the history of Kamrup down to the invasion of Assam by the Mughals ending in A.D. 1682. The latter book contains a detailed contemporary account of the conflicts of

the Mughals with Cooch-Bihar and Assam commencing from the dismemberment of the former kingdom after the death of Maharaja Naranarayan and ending with the accession of Gadadhar Singha in A.D. 1681 and the defeat of the Mughal army under Nawab Mansur Khan in the battle of Idakhuli in April 1682. It also contains a number of letters that passed between the representatives of the Ahom and Mughal courts inserted in their appropriate places. The book though made up from different sources is claimed to have a unity of its own and to show that there is close agreement between the Persian and the Assamese sources for the Muhammadan wars of Assam.

The Assam *Buranji* was written by Hara Kantha who was a spectator of the last days of Ahom rule, and of the foundation and consolidation of the British power in the land, and who describes the book as an enlarged version of Tamuli-Phukan's *Buranji*.

In addition to this creditable out-put of historical material, we learn from the second Bulletin of the Department that it has collected a number of fresh manuscripts from different centres, built up a small library of its own, appointed several gentlemen interested in historical research as its Corresponding Members, planned the holding of an annual meeting of all the Corresponding Members when papers could be read and manuscripts and historical relics could be exhibited, and made arrangements to collect information about the antiquities of the two districts of Nowgang and Goalpara. The Department has also been planning the preparation of a historical map of the Province. The Bulletin gives a succinct account of the manuscripts previously collected and of the collection made between January 1932 and January 1934. It appeals for funds and for other valuable means of help in the furtherance of its very laudable objects. Not a little of its great activity is due to the tireless enthusiasm of Professor Bhuyan who has been recently elevated to the post of Honorary Provincial Director. We hope that this department in a distant province will show by its out-put of work what can be done by a band of enthusiastic scholars to break new ground in the field of Historical Research and to accumulate material that will otherwise vanish away unutilised, a pray to the devouring hand of time. We are glad to hear that the department is soon to have a building of its own, and we wish the department every success in its endeavour to make itself, among associations for Historical study and research, peerless (*Asama*).

C. S. S.

Reviews

VIJAYANAGARA

Origin of the City and the Empire

By

DR. N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA, M.A., PH.D.

(Bulletin No. 4 of the Department of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University.)

This bulletin deals with the important problem of the foundation of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar considered in its twin aspect of (1) the foundation of the city and (2) the foundation of the empire. The current theory, because there is no specific fact stating categorically when the foundations of the city were actually laid and who the actual founders were, is that the city was founded in the course of the operations under the last great Hoysala, Vira Ballala III, in his efforts to stop the Muhammadan power entering South India and dislodging such Muhammadan garrisons as had found lodgment in that part of India. Dr. Venkata Ramanayya endeavours in this bulletin to prove that this theory has no foundation, and that the actual founders of the city were five brothers, springing from the family of a petty chieftain, Kampila Deva of Doravāḍi in the region which became afterwards famous as that of Hampi-Vijayanagar. The hero of the tale is the chieftain by name Kampila Deva, who is said to have given protection to the rebel Bahaud-din Gurshasp against Tughlak Muhammad and paid the penalty with his life and the destruction of his capital. The territory over which he ruled was annexed and made one of the provinces of the Tughlak empire to govern which at a later stage he had to depute two of the sons of the late ruler who had been compelled to become Muhammadans. These apostate sons of Kampila were appointed and sent over to govern the region. Kampila Deva is depicted as having been all along hostile to Ballala III and is given credit for one or two signal victories against him. This family of the founders is said to have been related to the dispossessed princes of the Kākatiyas of Warangal, and therefore were really Telugu in origin and not Kannada. The bulletin presents what seems rather a baffling array of facts and statements in an attempt to investigate various subsidiary details to establish the thesis.

Unfortunately, however, the wood is hardly visible in the number of trees that have been thrown into prominence this way, and prove all else but his thesis.

What may strike even a casual reader's eye is the map that is given opposite page 1, which purports to be a map of about A.D. 1340. This is made to depict the Vijayanagar empire in green along the northern frontier of the present Mysore State, having its widest along the Arabian Sea extending from Chaul to perhaps well past Mangalore, and on the east coast taking in a considerable part of the Nellore District and the neighbouring parts. The rulers of the Hoysala kingdom on that date are shown as rulers of a very petty state occupying the southern corner of Mysore. At that date it would be difficult to justify the name Vijayanagar for one thing, and to say that the Hoysala territory was confined to the small bit of country confined within the dotted lines, is to say the least of it unproven in the book, and one might even go the length of saying that it would be very hard to prove indeed. The whole series of facts which are presented for justifying this position amounts to this. That from the day of Narasimha II onwards there has been a gradual see-saw in the territory comprising the Southern Mahāratta country roughly, including even the district of Bellary and perhaps the neighbouring part of Anantapur, between Yadavas of Devagiri and the Hoysalas. Over the greater part of the period the Yadavas had the upper hand in this region which would certainly justify their having had a frontier governor of great capacity who may have proved victorious at times, nay even, might have had signal achievements to his credit as against the enemy across the frontier, the Hoysala pre-occupation at the time having been their southern expansion. That ceases to be true from the date of the invasion by Malik Kafur of the Hoysala kingdom. Contemporary accounts state it clearly that Paras Devo Dalvi the Commander-in-Chief of the Yadavas, who was asked to escort the forces of Allaud-din and see to its supplies, etc., stopped short at Sholapur at the southern end of his province or as nearly as that of the Yadava kingdom. Malik Kafur led a dashing raid against Dvarasamudra from there. What had happened to the intervening tract, where in an earlier stage the governors of the Yadavas made themselves formidable and were able to successfully maintain themselves against the Hoysalas on their southern frontier and against the frequent pressure from the Muhammadans, is a problem not attacked. Kampila Deva, undoubtedly a valiant chieftain, is made ruler of a territory dependent on Doravāḍi. Dr. Venkata Ramanayya tries to identify Doravāḍi with the

modern railway station Daroji. Daroji, as everybody knows, is quite a modern foundation, having been the camp of Tipu Sultan, almost at the entrance to what had taken the place of the Vijayanagar kingdom in his days. It is formed from *darvāja*, the gate, which, people of the locality explain as the gate of entry into a kingdom or chieftaincy which held authority over that region. Daroji to Doravāḍi is a far cry for identification.

The next point in connection with this is Kampila Deva being equated with the Kambala of the Muhammadan historians. Most of the Muhammadan historians that speak of the incident refer to the Roy of Kambila or Kambala, and not of Kampila Deva, the chieftain. One of the provinces constituted from out of this conquest by Muhammad is again called Kambila or Kambala, and most people take it to be the kingdom dependent upon the fortified position Kampili, 2½ miles down the Tungabhadra river from Hampi, which even in British times was a very important frontier post to the Southern army. As a matter of fact, Sir Thomas Hislop, the Commander-in-chief of the Southern army, advanced from there in his campaigns against the Maharattas. This position is not worked out in the Bulletin. All other details are proved to his satisfaction. Harihara is made a Muhammadan, at least for a short time, and what is worse perhaps, he is given a Muhammadan son in the person of Ganga Salar, who according to certain other epigraphs in Mysore, is said to be the son of Bukka. Dr. Venkata Ramanayya goes one step further and credits him with having destroyed the Belur temple, which destruction took place late in the century. If Kampila Deva was such a powerful ruler and inflicted more than one crushing defeat upon the Hoysala, it would be ridiculous that he should be sending the fugitive Bahaud-din to the neighbouring Hoysala, ruler. A chieftain who laid down his life in defending a fugitive could hardly be expected to send him down to a weakling monarch quite inferior to him in point of resources, to protect him irrespective of what had happened afterwards. This is nowhere explained. Nor is the point referred to that when Kanhya Nayak of Warangal and the puissant chieftain Kampila and his descendants entered into an agreement to rebel, why they should have sought the assistance of a petty chieftain, according to him, like the Hoysala at the time would require some little exposition. The Hoysalas up to the time of Ballala III's father held sway over not only the whole of Mysore that is at present, but of the neighbouring districts extending eastwards and southwards with a capital a few miles across the Coleroon in Trichinopoly, and exercising authority over the whole

of that region with a very considerable amount of influence even over the Southern Pandya kingdom. These were in fact related by marriage with their Chola and Pandya contemporaries. No doubt Jaṭa Varman Sundara Pandya carried a victorious campaign through all this territory and the Hoysala monarch Somēśvara suffered heavily in the campaign. Not even Jaṭa Varman's inscriptions claim the extinction of the Hoysala power in the south. Very early in the history of Vijayanagar, the whole of this region had been brought under the empire without a campaign worth the name, and the magnificent campaign of Kumara Kampana was against the Sambuvarayans of the Palar basin and the Sultan of Madura, a successor of the Sultan against whom Ballala III fought valiantly and fell. The Bulletin nowhere attempts to explain this anomaly so directly connected with the foundation of Vijayanagar, both the city and the empire. An Inscription is quoted from the Nellore District speaking of Bukka, the father of Sangama, who in turn was the father of the five brothers, responsible for the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire. He is easily made a feudatory of Pratapa Rudra II, and therefore necessarily a Telugu chieftain. But in that very epigraph the chieftain is given Kannada titles. Why a Telugu chieftain should be honoured with Kannada titles by his suzerain who was a Telugu ruler and his successor who equally claimed to be Telugu, is not explained.

Unfortunately it is not only these important points requiring explanation that are not considered. There are even serious mis-statements of fact. An inscription relied upon to establish the greatness of the hero Kampila is Nagar 19. On the authority of this record Kampila is said to have defeated the Hoysala monarch. The record however, offers but little justification for the fact. The inscription is a record on a hero-stone (Viragal). It refers to an attack by a chieftain feudatory of the Hoysala upon Kampila's Commander-in-Chief who was leading the advance guard of the army when the two armies, Kampila's and the Ballala's, were lying face to face, perhaps in expectation of a battle. Except mentioning that the Hoysala army marched onwards invading the territory of Kampila when Kampila advanced at the head of his army to meet him, nothing more is said in the record. The record is concerned only with the fighting and the falling of the chieftain's son and his wife performing Sati. Dr. Venkata Ramanayya has it "in the battle that followed, some of the Hoysala officers were killed, the Ballala was defeated". There is nothing so far as the inscription goes to indicate that the whole of the Ballala's army fought or suffered a defeat. Of course, we may well presume that having march-

ed and come face to face they must have fought. But that is something very different from saying that they actually fought and the Ballala suffered a defeat, which does not come out from the inscription. Nor is the interpretation of another inscription referring to a battle in A.D. 1325 quite correct. Of course, the inscription itself is imperfect.

One more record * and its interpretation, and we close. On page 143 is a table of inscriptions intended to establish the conquest of the Hoysala kingdom by Harihara I. Nelamangala 19 of date 1340 is a grant by a feudatory chief Mailēya Nāyaka, and the inscription refers to Harihara as ruling the region. Dr. Venkata Ramanayya's weighty inferences are: "It is evident that Mayilēya Nāyaka transferred his allegiance to the king of Vijayanagara sometime before 1340. Mayilēya . . . would not have recognised Harihara I as overlord, unless he was subjugated by force of arms. It would mean that Harihara invaded the Hoysala kingdom before 1340. . . . Their success, however, seems to have been short-lived; for a few of Ballala III's inscriptions dated in the succeeding year are found in the Nelamangala taluka". All this inference is made because the document does not refer to the Hoysala monarch for the time being. Unfortunately for the case however, the Nagar 19 that we just referred to above does not refer to the Hoysala monarch, although the very chieftain in whose time the record was indited was a feudatory of Ballala III, and the hero was his son, who led a contingent in support of Ballala III himself. The evidence is far too slender to support the weighty conclusions drawn therefrom. The thesis that is attempted to be established is a very important one. The direct pieces of information available are tantalisingly few, and leave a large number of lacunae. While therefore an investigation upon obscure points connected with the whole position ought certainly to be welcomed, it is

* On this very record, cf. the following remarks of the late Mr. R. Sewell in his *Historical Inscriptions of South India*, page 187.

"Early in October apparently, an inscription (imperfect as to date, since the week day does not suit the given tithi) near Bangalore in E. Mysore mentions Harihara I of Vijayanagar as ruling there.

(This is important, as it shows (i) that Harihara's power was spreading widely; and (ii) that since Hoysala Ballala III undoubtedly was king at that place, he must have countenanced Harihara's establishing himself further north as a great lord, and supported him by allowing him to rule locally in the very heart of the Hoysala kingdom. It gives colour to the theory of the Government Epigraphist that in some way Harihara and his brothers were connected with the Hoysala royal house)." (E.C. ix, N.L. 19).

absolutely of the essence of that investigation that the enquiry should be made with no pre-conceptions to substantiate, nor pet theories to establish. The Bulletin shows painstaking work, but cannot be said to have done all that is necessary to establish the important theses propounded at the commencement.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

By

C. K. WEBSTER AND SYDNEY HERBERT,

Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London,
10 shillings.

The League of Nations came into existence as a great experiment—the direct result of the war-weariness of the nations of Europe and the atrocious waste of resources, material and human. The main purpose of the organisers was to concert measures for avoiding war for the future, and therefore the movement came into existence mainly as a political organisation with this limited purpose. But, having once started, it naturally drew to itself so much in which a common body like the League could do a great deal of useful work. At the end of the first decade, its main work seems rather to be much else than schemes to avoid war, and the sphere of its activity has become other than merely political. The excellent handbook under review, written by two experts of great experience of the League and its work, traces the day-to-day work of the organisation that brought about this transformation in the scope of its work. The book is designed to give the general reader an idea of the achievements of the League of Nations during the ten years of its existence. The first part of the work is devoted to describing the long sustained efforts at creating an international organisation for various purposes down to the outbreak of the War, the urgency for such a foundation that the Great War itself created, and ultimately the drafting and acceptance by a considerable number of powers of the Covenant itself. The second part is similarly devoted to the efforts at the working out of the Covenant which would necessitate the creation of suitable machinery for the work of the League. Of the latter the League itself constitutes the general body transacting business in meetings of the assembly held periodically every four years. A smaller body chosen from among this constitutes a Committee called the Council, and there was another body, whose function is mainly devoted to the administrative work of the Council, the League Secretariat.

Along side of these has come into existence a permanent court, Court of International Justice. Part III deals with the effort to achieve the original object of the League, the organisation of world peace. The main matters dealt with are the efforts to bring about agreement in regard to pacific settlement of disputes, to give the nations, great and small, security in respect of their existence, which would necessarily imply the bringing about of peace among these in groups, and ultimately for all the nations as a whole. An important subject coming under this group is the reduction and limitation of armaments:—the one effective way of suppressing the war-craze and the race in armaments, which a false notion of the nineteenth century nationality idea has inevitably fostered. Although this has not come about as yet, and the recent serious effort at it has only ended in failure so far, what has been done in this direction has prepared the way gradually to the ultimate acceptance of some satisfactory scheme in this regard. It may be difficult to say when and in what form an agreement would be obtained. But it may be hoped that as an inevitable need of the future, it would come about sooner or later—let us hope,—sooner rather than later. Another important topic treated with considerable success is the problem of minorities. These three parts cover the activities of the League in the realisation of the prime purpose for which the League had been brought into existence, and they form the work of the first of the joint authors.

Part IV is devoted to the gradual growth of international co-operation. The various lines of activity in this direction have come about somewhat in a casual way, but have gradually worked themselves in so far as to have superseded the original purpose and become more or less the main purpose of the existence of the League. The main topics coming under this head are really the topics which inevitably require international action, and they are economic and financial reconstruction of the nations of the world, of international labour organisation, transit and communications, social and humanitarian activities, mandates in regard to weaker powers and states requiring protection, and intellectual co-operation. The achievements of the League of Nations in each one of these directions are substantial, and constitute such a volume of experience of a satisfactory character that there is promise of the world, it may be the Western world for the time being, coming round to complete international co-operation all-round. Diplomacy has changed to open conferences. Threats of war and secret alliances have given place to open conferences and

discussions regarding matters constituting causes for war. The great powers of Europe still play the most influential part in the work of the League, and even among them, England and France have shown commendable activity. Other powers are taking more and more important positions, such as for instance, Italy. The League has proved a sort of a protector of the smaller powers and groups, and these have come to be definitely loyal to it. Germany's accession has already rendered services in the satisfactory settlement of the question of reparation and the easing of the dead weight that it threw upon Germany. Though she got out of the League latterly on the armament question, the chances of her rejoining do not seem to be remote. In this matter, Mr. Herbert has the following:—"These are only a prelude to other demands, which include territorial and colonial changes, and challenge three great powers of continental Europe as well as the succession of states. Yet she (Germany) is so weak when left to stand alone, both politically and economically, that it is difficult to see how she can renounce the League system unless she accepts that of Communism. Even that system has come nearer the League, for Russia while continuing to deride and condemn it in the press and the speeches of her statesmen, has worked with it in some of its greatest problems since 1927. The United States is also drawing year by year closer to Geneva. It has been represented in meetings of its conference on non-political questions with the full approval of public opinion. Above all, it has co-operated wholeheartedly in its disarmament work, the most political of all, and, in the Muncharian crisis, laid down principles in regard to neutrality and conference which should make co-operation between it and the League far more easy in the future." It will be readily seen that since the end of December 1932 when the book was actually written, some of these things anticipated as a result of the previous working of the League have come to pass. Soviet Russia has joined the League. Even before the Saar Plebiscite, Germany has shown an inclination to join the League, and is moving closer to it as time advances. The United States seem definitely set towards joining the League again. As it is becoming more and more clear that it is not merely the avoidance of the war, but economic co-operation of all nations in the world is of the essence of the future existence and well-being of these states, the League would naturally come into its own as a body directing healthy co-operation among the nations, not merely of the Western or the Christian world, but of all the world ultimately.

PETER FLORIS : HIS VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES IN THE
GLOBE 1611-1615.

The Contemporary Translation of his Journal.

EDITED BY W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

Published by the Hakluyt Society London, 1934. Pages LXX and 164. (The Book can be obtained from Bernard Quaritch, London, for £ 1-5-0.)

The seventh voyage for the East India Company was made by the *Globe* which was the first English vessel to engage in the trade of the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam. The Journal of this voyage possesses, therefore, a peculiar interest; it was the second phase of the direct commercial intercourse of England with the East that was marked by this voyage. The movement which led to the despatch of the *Globe* was initiated by two Dutchmen, Peter Floris and Lucas Antheunis. We have access to a document purporting to be a *Discourse* by these two Dutchmen which, however, is not dated, but which is not referred to in the Company's Court Minutes which however break off about the end of January 1610. Probably the document was submitted to the Court after that time and the voyage was decided on some months before January 1611 by which time the ship had been procured, the necessary capital raised and all the other equipment arranged. The agreement of the voyage is found in the first Letter Book of the Company and is dated 13th December 1610. Mr. Moreland, the Editor, discusses the commissions issued for the voyage and notes an unusual clause therein, namely, that the Captain and the crew should defend and preserve the two Dutch Merchants from their countrymen in the East. He also notes that royal permission was given to the Company "to admit into their society, merchants, strangers, aliens or denizens," on the 27th November, 1610, the object of which was probably to regularise the position of these two Dutch merchants who contributed to the common stock of the voyage and who were also perhaps formally admitted to membership of the Company.

The first objective of the voyage was the Coromandel Coast where little was to be had except cloth, painted and printed. The first call made by the vessel was at Pulicat and then the voyage touched at Pettapalli and Masulipatam. Peter Floris had lived for some years at the latter place and had a lively knowledge of the troubles to which foreign merchants were exposed from the

demands made by the local officials for presents and forced loans and on account of customs. Thus, they had to pay *chappa-dalali*, that is, stamping-brokerage amounting to six or seven per cent; we hear of the *Shabander* and of the *Lingua*, that is, the interpreter, besides the governor. Floris has also given an account of the decease of Muhammad Quli Qutbshah of Golconda and of the succession of Muhammad Amin, his nephew. Golconda politics were dominated by the feuds of three parties, namely, the Deccanis, the *Habshes*, that is, Africans and the Persian immigrants. Mir Jumla was the head of the Persian party and the title itself seems to have been given to the leader of this party. He was of course a different man from the famous Mir Jumla. The ship touched St. Thome before arriving at Pulicat and found it a *de facto* possession of the resident Portuguese community.

Bantam in Java was the second objective. It was one of the great distributing centres for cotton goods, offered large quantities of pepper for sale and was an entreport for silk, porcelain and other goods from China. Finding that the conditions at Bantam were unfavourable for the movement, Floris sailed for Patani, one of the northern Malay States under the suzerainty of Siam. The ports of Siam were then expected to become great centres for silk trade between China and Japan as no Japanese vessel could then enter Chinese ports. At Patani and in Siam the ruler was also the principal merchant; and he had the first call on all imports, and monopolised all important articles of export. Floris had some difficulties with the officials at Patani, but found the Queen of the place with whom he dealt directly in matters of trade a very straightforward and pleasant person. Trade with Siam was less satisfactory. The markets were disorganised owing to commercial and political difficulties which are dealt with in detail in Floris's description of the land (pages 55 to 58). The account given of the affairs of Siam is judged by Moreland to be of good credibility. It was based upon the letters of his partner, Antheunis, written from Ayuthia; and the latter made no mistake about the main facts of the political situation. He also tries to show that Sir Ernest Satow's study of the situation was based upon a chronicle whose value has been recently demonstrated to be worth nothing.

The *Globe* spent more than a year in Siamese waters and another year in the Coromandal Coast where she was refitted; and, after going to Bantam, she started for home in March 1615. Mr. Moreland considers that this ship was the first English vessel to accomplish the course from Patani to Masulipatam through the

Straits of Malacca and Singapore. Commercially the voyage was a success. The accounts of the enterprise were finally wound up in 1618; but the losses among men were as usual very heavy. Antheunis was left behind and held charge of the factory of Masulipatam for some time before he reached England in 1618. Floris himself died a few weeks after his arrival in London.

The connections started by Floris with the Coromandal Coast, had a continuous development; and it was from Masulipatam where the first permanent factory of the English was erected in 1615, that Armagaon and Hughli came to be settled. The results of this voyage contributed, among other things, to the growth of ill-feeling between the English and the Dutch which soon culminated in open warfare. The appearance of the English in the Gulf of Siam and their entry into the Coromandal Coast were very significant for the Dutch, as Jan Pietersz Coun, the protagonist of the Dutch wrote in 1615; they " (the English) followed us from Jakatra to Jambi, Patani, Siam and Japan". The open warfare between the two Companies lasted between 1617 to 1620, and among the antecedents of this war, Moreland gives a prominent part to the voyage of the *Globe*. He discusses very elaborately the identity and antecedents of the two Dutchmen in the sixth section of the introduction. He says that the identity of Floris with Pieter Williems van Elbing who served the Dutch Company as junior factor before 1608 for a few years, is confirmed by incidental remarks in the Journal. He discusses the movements of the person between 1608 and 1610. The antecedents of the other Dutchman present more obscurities for the Editor, who suggests that he was probably the Lucas Antheunis of Rotterdam who went out to the East in 1601. The Editor gives a sketch of what could be known of these two Dutchmen, describing the character and abilities of Floris, particularly his indulgence in private trade and his loyalty to his employers. Lastly he examines the manuscript of the journal as it is preserved in the records of the India Office, and says that the translator was clearly a Dutchman with an imperfect knowledge of the English idiom, and not personally familiar with the events of the voyage and the details of Eastern trade. Purchas gave lengthy extracts from the Journal as Chapter XIV of Book III of the first part of his *Pilgrimes*. There were also other authors who included the substance of the Journal in their narratives. Mr. Moreland compares the version made by Purchas with the original Journal, and finds that many interesting passages are omitted

by him and his version is marked by a certain loss of atmosphere and perspective. The notes to the Journal have been very elaborate and very accurately done with the help of scholars like Sir Wolseley Haig, Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Dr. Quaritch Wales and Dr. Otto Blagden who have supplied him with information on various miscellaneous points.

C. S. S.

BOMBAY IN THE DAYS OF QUEEN ANNE

Being an account of the Settlement

WRITTEN BY JOHN BURNELL WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY
SAMUEL T. SHEPPARD, *Late Editor of "The Times of India"*

To which is added Burnell's

NARRATIVE OF HIS ADVENTURES IN BENGAL

with an introduction by Sir William Foster, C.I.E., & Notes by
Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., & L. M. Anstey, London.

Published by the Hakluyt Society, 1933. pp. xxx & 192.

It was in 1926 that the attention of the Editor, Mr. Sheppard, was drawn to the *Account of Bombay* here given. Orme Mss, O.V. No. 282 gives as missing the History of Bombay by J. Burnell, Esq., so described in the 1811 *Catalogue* (S. C. Hill, Orme Collection, 1916, page 213). Hill supposed that this was possibly the original of the *Account of the Island of Bombay* copied elsewhere, the authorship of which was stated to be unknown in the Index to the Selections from these volumes. John Burnell was the Governor of Dungarey Fort, one of the *pakhadis* in the island of Bombay. The description of Bombay that has now been assigned to his authorship, takes the form of two letters to his father, the date of the first of which was the 12th May, 1710 and which was apparently completed sometime later in the year; the second letter is undated, but must have been written after Burnell had left India. It is remarked that, perhaps, the two letters were put in their epistolary form as a sort of convention. Evidence for the authorship is given in detail in the Introduction by Mr. Sheppard. Nothing is known of his life in India except what he discloses in his *Account of Bombay* and in a later manuscript that he wrote about Bengal which has also been preserved in the Orme Collection. Official records give very little additional information about Burnell except that he stayed for sometime in

Madras, was admitted as an ensign and later on dismissed, and that he subsequently transferred his activities to Bengal where he was last known as a map-maker early in 1714.

The Bombay of Burnell was not the prosperous town that it was described to have been, by Dr. Fryer, having suffered from the dissensions between the Old and the New East India Companies, and only recently come under the rule of the United Company. Burnell notes that the place enjoyed a good trade with small craft in various food-stuffs and cotton. He saw the signs of Bombay being attempted to be converted from seven islands into one ("the beginning of the great epic of reclamation which has been in progress for two and a half centuries and of which the end is not yet in sight"). The closing of the breaches, as the inlets were called, between Sion and Dharvi, between the latter and Mahim, and between Mahim and Worli were completed in 1710 and in the following year the Great Breach between Worli and Mahalaxmi was begun to be closed. Burnell makes no mention of the attempts to close the Great Breach, nor does he comment on the primary purpose of this reclamation work which was to make the Island self-supporting. He was, however, the first of the early writers on Bombay whose main purpose was to describe the settlement, its people and their customs; previous writers like Ovington only described Bombay incidentally in their books of travel. His topographical details are difficult to follow at the present day, but he is deemed by the Editor to be remarkably correct in his topographical description. He is deemed to have been employed on Survey Work in Bombay as he describes the coast line in detail. He is also accurate in his observations of the daily life of the people and makes some suggestions for improving the ground from the point of view of its military value. Burnell was not a gossip writer and has very little to say of the social conditions of his time. His description of the Civil and Military Government of the Settlement and of the Castle of Bombay is interesting, as also the account of the division of the town into English and Black; but most interesting is the sketch of the European Cemetery of the Fort Island, and its ravenous greed for absorbing the dead. "Adjoining is seated the most famous European repository in the East, Mendums Point, a name more terrible to a sick Bombaian than the Inquisition to a heretick: a cormorant paunch never satisfied with the daily supplies it receives but is still gaping for more, tho' it hath swallowed more English flesh than the Bengal Tamarind Tree, Madras Guava Garden and Green Hill at Bencala; yet still it hath room for those num-

bers twice told, and when those are digested, it will be as ravenous as ever." He also describes the tomb of Sir John Child, now demolished. While the writer is detailed about the Pakhadis and various localities of the Island; however, he is very brief about the Island of Elephanta and says that he was "never upon it to enter into any large description."

The second letter gives an account of the Indian inhabitants of Bombay and their customs and manner of living, their festivals, coins which were current, the Brahmans, Jogis and others. In this he pretends to have received information from learned Brahmans, though he borrowed at intervals from Ovington.

The second part of the book is a Narrative of Burnell's Adventures in Bengal which was originally brought to notice by Dr. C. R. Wilson and was, later on, printed in full by Sir Evan Cotton in *Bengal, Past and Present*; part II, 1923. It is from an examination of the internal evidence of the Narrative and also from some other details of Burnell's stay in Bengal that his authorship of it has been determined. The Introduction to this narrative is by Sir William Foster who constructs, from the different details, Burnell's life in Bengal and explains the origin of the Civil War among the Muhammadans in which he proposed to take a part. The narrative contains descriptions of the Danish and the Dutch settlements, and of Hugli with its suburb of Bandel. It is a pity that Calcutta was not similarly described by him, for such an account would have formed a useful supplement to the meagre description given by Alexander Hamilton who was there a few years before our author. The notes to the narrative were originally furnished by Sir Evan Cotton and have now been supplemented by Miss Anstey, to whose skill and perseverance a large measure of the re-discovery of John Burnell is due. We read of a fighting friar (an Augustinian Padre) who played a prominent part in the operations at Hugli among the different parties to the Civil War. He commanded the Christian soldiers and was very warlike and truculent in temperament. Burnell's description of Gholghat, the English factory in the Hugli town, is also to be noted. An appendix gives an account of Governor Russell who was the Governor of Fort William at the time of Burnell's visit, and another gives a carefully documented account of Captain Hercules Courtney who advised Burnell to take service under the Moors in Bengal and who had done likewise.

C. S. S.

THE LAKHERS

By

N. E. PARRY, (*Indian Civil Service*)

With an Introduction and Supplementary Notes

By

DR. J. H. HUTTON, C.I.E., (*Indian Civil Service*)

Published by direction of the Government of Assam
 Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's St., London, 1932. pages xx-640.
 Price 36/- Nett.

The book was originally written with a view to give the official a thorough knowledge of the customs and habits of the Lakher who live in the Lushei Hills District of Assam, particularly concerning those customs about which litigation most often arises. The Lakher is to be, strictly speaking, designated as the Maras, though the former is the more familiar name by which they are known to the Lusheis. The total number of the tribe both in Assam and in the Chin Hills might be about 10,000. For many years the Lakher was a thorn in the side of the authorities in Chittagong and in Arakan. For a long time it had been a very difficult task for the officials to get into touch with them. Regarding their treatment, our author stresses on the value of encouraging them to preserve the beautiful things that they have already got, and not to insist on their giving up their modes of dress and habits that are not positively offensive. They are rather reserved in disposition. As it is, the Lakher cannot be said to suffer from over-work; and the women folk are on the whole busier than the men, as is generally the case with the tribes of Assam. The entire tribe lives by agriculture of the most primitive type. They have got a kind of rice-beer; and all of them are smokers, both men and women. They make still practically all their own clothes, cultivating their own cotton and dyeing the cloth themselves. It is a peculiar feature that all pottery work is done by old women who have never been married or by widows. The Lakher appears to have known how to make gun-powder for many years; but they use no sulphur in the composition, only adding a little spirit when the nitrate and charcoal are being pounded. They make their own bullets also. They have few medicines and prefer to resort to sacrifices whenever they fall ill. It is strange that there is much less feasting and jollity among the Lakher

than among the Lusheis. The children have but few games and boys do not play with dolls. No Lakher is able to count above a hundred; and the highest number spoken of is 10,000 which is merely used to indicate an indefinite, but great figure. There is practically nothing to show that the Lakher was ever addicted to cannibalism; but it is believed that, if a consumptive should go on a raid and manage to take a head and eat a portion of its ear, he will be cured. Captives were converted into slaves; and the first captive made by each warrior became the property of the Chief and the village. The practice was, once a slave, always a slave. There is a tradition as to the sacrifice of slaves on the death of their master. The last instance of a murder of a slave occurred about 20 years back.

Concerning their tribal and clan organisation, we are told that there is a sharp division between the nobles and the lower classes; and the hypergamous instinct is very strong in the mind of every Lakher who tries to raise his status in society by marrying a girl from a higher clan than his own. Four clans appear to have some sort of totemistic origin. The system of relationship is classificatory, and the same terms are made to do duty for many different relations. The maternal uncle is considered to be as closely related to a person as his parents, and are accorded definite rights and privileges. There is the same respect among the Lusheis also for this relation. Besides duties to the chief, every villager is bound to do certain tasks for the benefit of the community, like the clearing of the paths to the water-supply and of the surrounding jungle at regular intervals, the fencing of the water-supply and the building of the village forge. Migration to another village is rare. The trial of cases by the Chief is said to be unique; and any villager who may be present is at liberty to express his opinion on the case; sometimes recourse is had to trial by ordeal. It is curious to read that eaves-dropping is a definite offence. Theft is not a common offence; but if a poor man steals, a charitable view is taken and he is not considered to have been disgraced. Murder is very rare; and deliberate murder is practically unknown. The courting of a Lakher savours rather more of direct action than that of a young man in the West. Scandal is, on the whole, sternly discouraged. There are many quaint marriage customs, but we can find the nuclei of them in the customs of more advanced peoples in the other parts of India. Divorce is easy; but it is not very common and adultery is considered very disgraceful and is not at all a common offence. The Lakher theory of souls forms curious

reading. The sacrifices are detailed and are numerous, being connected with almost all the rites of domestic and social life. The belief is held that animals also have souls, and animals of the same species can talk to each other. The language of the Lakherers has been classified by Grierson as a member of the Central Chin sub-group of the Kuki group of the Assam-Burma branch of the Tibeto-Burman family. The language is not written. Each of the Lakher group has a dialect of its own. But the language as a whole is poor in synonyms and is less musical than Lushei. At the end Mr. Parry gives typical examples of the folk-lore of the people, much of which is about animals which are moved by the same feelings and impulses as the human being.

C. S. S.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE, VOL. II,

By

DR. M. WINTERNITZ

Translated from the original German by

MRS. KETKAR and MISS H. KOHN, B.A.,
(Published by the University of Calcutta, 1933).

Thanks to the University of Calcutta, we are having an authorised English translation of Dr. Winternitz's History of Indian Literature, from the German original. Dr. Winternitz says in the preface that it is not a mere translation but a new edition as well, in which much has had to be altered, added and improved. The volume is divided into two parts, one devoted to the Buddhist Literature, and the other to Jaina Literature. The Buddhist Literature covers 423 pages devoted to an examination of the Pali canon, or the Tipiṭaka—the Vinayapiṭaka, Suttapiṭaka and the Abhidhamma piṭaka. Of these the Khuddakanikāya of the Suttapiṭaka is supposed to preserve the oldest Buddhist poetry. A poem like Kāśibharadvājasutta carries us back to the early days of Buddhism when a Buddhist monk was looked down upon as an idler by householders. The collection of the Jātakas or stories of former births of Buddha is included in this nikāya. It is not all the Jātakas that belong to the canon, though it is difficult to determine how much of it belongs to it. The Gāthas are regarded as more canonical than the prose portions of the Jātakas. Most

of the legends are in common with those described in the Indian Epics and Purāṇas.

Next comes a study of non-canonical Pāli literature, the great bulk of which is attributed to the monks of Ceylon, the notable exception being Milinda Pañha. Here the Dīpavamsā and Mahāvamsā are also noticed. Then an examination is made of the Buddhist Literature in pure and mixed Sanskrit, which represents the different schools and sects of Buddhism, unlike the Pāli literature which is solely concerned with the Theravādins. These Sanskrit texts, of which fragments have been discovered, have been rendered very early into Central Asiatic Languages. This Buddhist Sanskrit Literature is due to the influence largely of the Mahāyāna School which worshipped myriads of Bodhisattas as divine beings. Remnants of the Sanskrit canon show that a number of Hinayāna texts were also written in pure and mixed Sanskrit. The Sarvāstivāda school of the Hinayāna had a Sanskrit canon of its own. The Nikāyas of the Pāli canon are the Āgamas of the Sanskrit canon. Among the important works of the Hinayāna is the Mahāvastu, where it is interesting to find the mention of the heaven of the Tuṣita gods, frequently referred to in the Vedic and Purāṇic literature. In the same way the Lalita-vistara is a sacred Mahāyāna treatise, and contains some old traditions concerning ancient Buddhism. Then there is a learned discussion about Aśvaghōṣa and his school, followed by that on the Avadāna Literature. Among other books is the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka, where there is a glowing account of the Bodhisattva Aśvalokiteśvara. Among the later writers Nāgārjuna (342 f.) and Dinnāga (p. 365 f) may be mentioned. The Mahāyāna texts in general show similarity to the Purāṇas with their Mahātmyas, Stotras, Dhāraṇīs and Tantras. The section closes with thoughtful remarks on the place of Buddhist Literature in World Literature.

The Section on Jaina Literature begins with the identification of Mahāvīra with Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, a rival or opponent to Gotama Buddha. Both the sects the Śvetambaras and Digambaras agree in twelve *angas*, followed by twelve *upāṅgas*. The language of the Jain canon is *Ardha-Māgadhi* in which Mahāvīra is said to have preached. According to the traditions of the Śvetambaras, the authority of their sacred texts did not go beyond the 5th century A.D. Their sermon is a warning against any kind of killing or injury of living creatures. They followed the national religion and wrote their own Mahābhārata, Harivamsa

and Rāmāyaṇa. The literature of the Śvetambaras consists of Charitras which correspond to the Purāṇas of the Digambaras. The examination of their literature is continued in detail down to the 17th century. This part closes with an account of the services of the Jains in developing Dravidian languages. There are four appendices—the year of Buddha's Death; What is Pāli?; Bhābru-Bairāt Edict; Time and Life of Buddhagoṣa. So far as the Bhābru Edict goes all attempts to identify the texts have not yielded the least satisfactory results. Every identification is based on conjecture and no complete proof is available.

There is a very useful index. The volume is a really valuable contribution to the growing studies on The History of Indian Literature.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR,

A HISTORY OF PALI LITERATURE

By

DR. B. C. LAW, PH.D.,

With a Foreword by Wm. Geiger, University of Munich, Vol. I & II

(Published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd.,
London, 1933.)

The need of a detailed and systematic history of the Pāli Literature which was felt for a long time by scholars interested in Buddhism, has been met by the two volumes of Dr. B. C. Law, under review. The importance, value and usefulness of such a work can hardly be exaggerated. Fully realizing the laboriousness of the task involved, and the mastery of Pāli indicated, we heartily congratulate Dr. Bimala Churn on the splendid success of his great undertaking. In the Introduction to Vol. I of the work Dr. Law discusses with great ability the origin of the Pāli language followed by an equally important discussion, in Chapter I, on the relative Chronology of the canonical texts, making a great advance upon what the late lamented Rhys Davids has said on the subject in his *Buddhist India* (p. 188).

The whole of the First Volume is devoted to a careful examination of the canonical Pāli Literature, which consists of three

Piṭakas—Vinaya Piṭaka, Sutta Piṭaka, and Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Under the Vinaya Piṭaka, we have lucid summaries of the four books—Suttavibhaṅga, Khandhakas, Parivāra and Patimokka. Into the details of these we cannot enter, but we invite the attention of the reader to pages 73-78 where a summary of the rules affecting the *bhikkhus* or women-mendicants, and of the conditions on which they entered the Order is furnished. From the Buddha's prediction given on p. 77 it would appear that the admittance of women into the Order had not the full approval of the Founder of Buddhism.

The Sutta Piṭaka is divided into five *nikāyas*, Dīgha nikāya, Majjhima Nikāya, Samyutta Nikāya, Aṅguttara Nikāya and Khuddaka Nikāya. Every one of them is analysed and a useful summary of the matter contained in it is given. These five *nikāyas* are very important books for a correct study of Buddhism. They also contain incidentally very valuable information for the reconstruction of the social history of the age. To cite a few instances, the Brahmajāla Sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya treats of omens, dreams, charms and spells, thus showing its indebtedness to the Atharva Veda; the Sāmājñaphala sutta furnishes us with a list of ordinary occupations, like those of barbers, washermen, weavers; the Kūṭadanta sutta refers to the kings, nobles, *lokāyata*, etc., while the Mahāgovinda sutta to the path leading to Nirvāṇa, and Singālovāda sutta to the laymen. Again in the Mahādukkhakkhanda sutta of Majjhima nikāya we have a list of offences punishable by the penal laws of Ancient India, and the different kinds of professions that suited the householder. In the Tevijja-Vacchagotta sutta Buddha criticises the Ajivakas, and in the Devadaha sutta the doctrine of the Niganthas is characterised as fatuous. To take a sutta at random from the Aṅguttara, the Navaka Nipāta speaks of the attainment of arhatship, and incidentally of the five destinies of beings. In the Dhammapada again Brahmana vagga defines a true Brahman. The Sutta Nipāta shows Buddhism essentially as an ethical system, its goal being Nirvāṇa. In this work traces of primitive Buddhism are found. Passing on to the Kathāvattu, Dr. Law agrees with the view that it was the work of Moggaliputta Tissa, President of the Third Council under the patronage of Aśoka (see also p. 526). But the very existence of this council is a fact yet to be proved. The remark that it is definitely settled that Aśoka was a Buddhist from the doubtful and mostly unidentified passages of the Bhābhru Edict may prove an overstatement.

The second volume is as valuable as the first. A chapter is devoted to extra canonical matters pre-supposed by the Pāli commentaries. Of these the *Netti* or *Nettipakaraṇa* is a treatise on the textual and exegetical methodology, in other words, the *tantra yuktis* described in the *Arthaśāstra* and the Tamil Grammar, *Tolkāppiyam*. The next important work is *Milinda Pañha* which is a Pāli translation of the original text, perhaps in Sanskrit. *Milinda*, identified with Menander, the Bactrian King in the Punjab, is the King of the Yonas with his capital at Sialkot, of the 2nd Century B.C. It was a discourse between this king and an Arhat on the disputed doctrines of the Buddha. Chapter V is on Pāli commentaries and commentators like the *Buddhadatta*, *Buddhaghosa* and *Dhammapāla*. Both *Data* and *Ghoṣa* were contemporaries. *Buddhadatta* is said to have been born in modern *Uṛaiyūr*, in the *Trichinopoly* District, and flourished during the reign of the *Kadamba* or *Kaḷamba* King *Acyuta Vikrānta*, a contemporary of *Kumāra Gupta I*. As for *Buddhaghosa* he is said to have visited Ceylon during the reign of *Mahānāma* in the first half of the fifth century A.D. *Dhammapāla* was again a Tamilian, a native of *Conjeevaram*. Among the commentaries mention may be made of *Sumangalavilāsini* on the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It contains some historical details. It traces the origin of the *Śakyas* to *Ikṣvāku*, and gives materials for the reigns of *Bimbisāra* and *Ajātaśatru*. The legends of the princes are also referred to in the *Dhammapada* commentary (p. 457). This also gives details with regard to marriage of daughters of Kings and nobles. Among the works of *Dhammapāla*, the *Vimanavatthu* commentary throws light on the Buddhist perspective of Heaven and Hell. It is tempting to find an origin of the Tamil work *Kuṇḍalakeśi* with *Bhadda Kuṇḍalakeśā* in the *Theragāthā* commentary written by *Dhammapāla*.

The next chapter deals with Pāli chronicles—the *Dīpavaṃśā* and *Mahāvaṃśā* of Ceylon. As these are well-known works often quoted by scholars it is not necessary to refer to them at length. Suffice it to say that these chronicles contain some authentic historical tradition. The *Cūlavāṃśa* is a continuation of the *Mahāvaṃśā*, written in the 6th century A.D. It is divided into three sections dealing with 78, 23 and 24 kings respectively. The minor chronicles of which a large number are given we propose passing over. Two chapters, VII and VIII are devoted to an examination of Pāli manuals and Pāli literary pieces. The last chapter is on Pāli grammars, lexicons, works on prosody, etc. It is certainly curious how a literature developed without the development side

by side of grammar and lexicon. It seems to us that we could not ignore the tradition of *Kaccāyana* being a contemporary of the Buddha, and if this tradition were accepted the Pāli grammar must be dated 5th century B.C. If the lower limit to Pāṇini's date be accepted with *Belvalkar* as the 7th century B.C. there is nothing unreasonable in assigning *Kaccāyana* to the 5th century B.C. There are two useful appendices and an index. In judgment sober and in exposition clear, Dr. Law's book is a sound piece of work, and its usefulness to all students of Ancient India can hardly be exaggerated.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES, Vol. II,

By

DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

(Published by Luzac & Co., London, 1934.)

It is well known that Dr. B. C. Law has made a special study of Ancient Indian Tribes—the *Kṣatriya* and other tribes—from the earliest times. The present book is a continuation of his first volume on Ancient Tribes published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot. In this well-printed volume Dr. Law studies as many as twenty tribes. In this study he has utilised the available material scattered in the original Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Pāli works. Numismatic and epigraphical authority has been cited wherever available. The legends narrated in the *Purāṇas* as to the origin of tribes like the *Vaṅgas*, *Sumhas*, *Puṇḍras* as the *Bāleya Kṣatriyas* are also furnished. The primary source for a study of these tribes has been the vast *Purāṇa* Literature which has been pressed into service. Though there may not be total agreement in the identifications proposed of the various kingdoms of these tribes, the work supplies working hypotheses for scholars interested in ancient Indian history and geography. We congratulate the earnest scholar of this little volume for giving us a useful book, being short studies on a great subject.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

THE INDIAN THEATRE.

By

DR. R. K. YAJNIK.

Published by George Allen and Unwin & Co., London.

In this valuable work, Dr. Yajnik has surveyed the Indian drama from its ancient beginnings down to to-day. His presentation of ancient Indian dramatic theory and practice is somewhat meagre and inadequate. It is unfortunate that as yet no authoritative edition of Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* has been published. This lacuna in scholarly endeavour has been a cause of the inadequacy of modern treatment of the ancient Indian theatre. Kalidasa is regarded by most persons as the earliest dramatist. But his perspective is rather a consummation than a commencement. In his *Vikramorvośi* he refers to Bharata and his theory of eight *rasas*.

It is significant that the words *nritya* (dance), *nritta* (pantomime) and *nāṭya* (drama) are agnate words and come from the same source. Music, dance and gesture were integral portions of the drama. P. V. Kane, who is a great student of Indian dramaturgy, says that "Bharata *Nāṭya Śāstra*, *Daśarūpa* of Dhananjaya and *Sāhityadarpana* of Viśvanātha form a triumvirate in the domain of Sanskrit dramatic criticism."

The essence of the drama, which is an aspect of poetry and is described as *seen poetry* (*dr̥śya Kāvya*), is the cognate to the essence of poetry and must hence combine *Rasa* and *Dhvani*, and must charm, guide and uplift the soul like a beloved wife. This main characteristic of the drama should not be forgotten amidst the search for new and modern dramatic expression under the influence of the West. Further, Indian drama has had a religious basis, and the doctrines of karma, reincarnation and grace have been its pivots. These traits should not be given up in our new dramatic developments. They give a new meaning to life, suffering and death, and lessen the poignancy of suffering and the fear of death. Nor is this all. The Indian doctrine of the unity of life and the doctrine of *ahimsa*, have stamped Indian drama with special features. Further, nature is never absent as a background or as a companion in Indian drama. Equally important is the lack of poetry and drama in the Indian stage. Intrigues with married women are never allowed to be themes of dramas. The taking part in human life by gods is another feature of Indian drama.

Dr. Yajnik has brought out these aspects of ancient Indian drama well and says: "It is classical in form but romantic in spirit." He says further: "The Greek theatre was statuesque and the Indian theatre was picturesque." He points out also the importance of the Indian drama of the past in the development of modern Indian drama. He says: "The typical Indian stage to-day takes its rise from a combination of various elements, the mediaeval traditional influence being by no means negligible." Thus we must regard ancient mediaeval and modern Indian drama as a unity.

Dr. Yajnik has devoted the major portion of his work to the modern Indian theatre and has given us a valuable and interesting presentation of the throbbings of new life in Indian drama. Bengal led the way but Bombay followed soon after, Madras bringing up the rear. As Dr. Yajnik puts it well: "The greatest service which the British theatre did was to create a genuine love of amateur acting as an art." The purification of tone was so far accomplished that respectable family women could attend theatrical representations. More than anything else, Shakespeare took captive the Indian mind. Dr. Yajnik says: "Shakespeare, with his universal appeal and his many features in complete harmony with the spirit of the ancient Hindu drama, was loved and admired, passionately studied, and enthusiastically produced." He points out also that the influence of western drama has contributed to modern Indian drama, comedies and farces, and tragedies and historical plays. He says however: "The full-fledged foreign theatre came to a subject nation and overawed it completely, with the obvious result that many efforts were made simultaneously for a commercial success, and the several types had not the necessary period and free atmosphere to grow in due course to fulness, beauty and strength." But this is not the whole truth. Even to-day, the vital, though ancient, Hindu concepts of life and art are in full power and are assimilating the abundant gifts of the West.

Dr. Yajnik has rendered a distinct service to the future of the Indian drama by his detailed descriptions of the stage versions of Shakespeare's comedies and tragedies and of non-Shakespearean plays in the various vernaculars of India. After all is said, it seems as if the greatest gift of the West in the realm of drama is the evocation and application of Indian patriotism so as to present the pageant of India's history in splendid plays.

Dr. Yajnik has done another distinct service by showing that the period of borrowing from the West is over and that the period

of assimilation is going on. There is nothing derogatory to national dignity in feeling the influence of outside genius. But it is necessary that the aim should be not mendicancy but absorption. Italian drama influenced English drama in the Elizabethan Age, but never overshadowed it. In the same way, English drama has been influencing Indian drama, but will never overshadow it. Indian drama will assimilate modernity but will remain true to itself. Dr. Yajnik finds cause for pessimism in political domination, in Indian pessimism, and in the caste system. But he has not fully realised the new nationalism and the real significance of the Hindu ideals of society and spiritual life. The elements of hope are far more numerous and powerful than the elements of despair, and would assuredly triumph.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.

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The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society—October 1934.

The combat of 'Aleyān-Ba'al and Môt—A Proto-Hebrew Epic from Ras-Shamra—The Second Tablet—Transliterated from the Cuneiform Original with Introduction, Provisional Translation, Argument and Commentary by T. H. Gaster—The Second Tablet is that published by Virolle and in *Syria*, October, 1932.

Spirit and Demons in Arabia by A. S. Tritton.

Epigraphic Notes by D. C. Sarkar—(1) Hiranyagarbha (with its different interpretations). (2) Genealogy of the Ananda Kings of Guntur (Attivarman of the Gorantla Plates and Dāmōdaravarman of the Mattēpad Plates).

Averroes' Paraphrase on Plato's 'Politeia' by E. Rosenthal. (A critical study as to the Platonic influence on Islam in its political theory).

On the Prefixes and Consonantal Finals of Si-Hia (language) as evidenced by their Chinese and Tibetan Inscriptions by T. N. Wolfenden.

An Assyrian Chemist's Vade-Mecum by R. Campbell Thompson.

Journal of the American Oriental Society—Vol. 54, Nos. 2 & 3, 1934.

A Parallel between Indian and Babylonian Sacrificial Ritual by W. F. Albright and P. E. Dumont. (Dealing with ritual motives common to both Mesopotamian and Indic civilisations, that had several periods of close contact; and explaining the similarities between Vedic and Babylonian horse-sacrifice ritual.).

The Old Syriac Calendar by J. E. Dean (describing an old Syriac Ms. of 1003-4 A.D., the principal portion of which

is a perpetual calendar intended to give the beginning of Lent for any possible year).

The Lemon in China and Elsewhere by B. Laufer (suggesting incidentally that the beginnings of lemon cultivation in India may fall in the early Middle Ages, say the 4th or 5th to the 9th century).

Vowel Assimilation in Hittite by W. Peterson.

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A New Deity in a Jerash Inscription by C. C. McCown.

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The Turkish *chalabî* by N. N. Martinovitch.

Morocco as it is To-day by R. J. H. Gottheil.

Arabian Wit and Wisdom from Abu Sa'id al-Abi's Kitāb Nathar al-Durar by C. A. Owen.

The Ritualistic Continuity of the Rig Veda—X, 14-18 by H. I. Poleman (attempting to show that these five liturgical hymns show a ritualistic continuity and each takes up the thread of events where the preceding one dropped it).

The Gion (Shinto) Shrine and the Gion Festival by H. B. Chapin.

The Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society—

Vol. XII, Part 2, October, 1934. (A continuation of the journal of the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society).

A History of Selangor by R. O. Winstedt (from the coming of the Bugis).

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Journal of the University of Bombay—Vol. II, Part VI.

Two unique Persian Manuscripts in the University Library by Shaikh Abdu'l Kādir. (These are (1) *Kullīyyāt-e-Sa'ib*, containing the poetical works of Mirzā Sā'ib, the great Persian poet (d. 1677-78) and (2) *Dīwān-e-Zuhūrī*, containing the ghazals and rubā'iyyāt of the famous poet, Zuhuri of Bijapur (d. 1616). Both contain odes in the handwritings of the poets themselves.).

An Ancient Copy of the *Da 'Ā'imū'l-Islam* by A. A. A. Fyzee (noting some of the interesting variants noticed in the text of the *Kitābu'l-Wasāya* edited from it).

The Prakrit Dialect of Pravachanasāra or Jaina Sauraseni by A. N. Upadhye (suggesting the historical background and the circumstances that might have shaped this dialect).

Critical Study of the works of Bhasa with special reference to the sociological conditions of his age as revealed in those works by A. D. Pusalker.

Inami Lands in Bombay City by R. R. Mody (noting that they are comprised in 3 grants made to the Lowjee Wadia family by Government in the years 1783, 1828 and 1885).

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series)—Vol. X, Nos. 1 and 2.

Genuineness of Jāmi's Autographs by W. Ivanow (opining that none of the three available autograph copies of the several poetical works of Jāmi is really an autograph and all of them were transcribed by Muhammad C. Hasan al-Harawī, probably a professional scribe, who possibly copied these works from Jāmi's own drafts).

A Chronological List of the Imams and Da'is of the Musta'lian Ismailis by A. A. A. Fyzee.

Kolhapur Copper-Plate of Akālavarṣadeva by K. G. Kundanagar (recording the grant of the village of Rikkati near Kolhapur by this Rāṣṭrakūta king in Śaka 822 (A.D. 900)).

Meteorology in the Rig Veda by Rao Saheb M. V. Unakar. (Continued from Vol. 9, p. 78)—Chapter VI, Ahis and

Vrtras—Adverse Demons—Ch. VII, Famines—Ch. VIII, Ritus—Seasons—Ch. IX. Some Meteorological Features of present climatic conditions and remarks on a possible deduction of a change of climate from the Rig Veda—Ch. X, concluding remarks on the Principal Features of Vedic Meteorology—Appendix—Rig Vedic References with a Table of Contents.

Some Early Records of Bombay by D. B. Diskalkar (dealing with several letters of Henry Gary, of Bombay, dated from 1662 to 1668).

OUR EXCHANGES

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