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CORRIGENDA.

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(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

Date of Pallava Śivaskandavarman

By

MR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A.,
Calcutta.

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 *viṣaya*-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 Tiastenês (= Caṣṭana) ruler of Ozênê (= Ujjayini) and Siritolomaios (= siri-Pulamāyi) ruler of Baithána (= 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 Vāsiṣṭhīputra 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 Sātavāhana kings and seems, therefore, to be more authentic as regards Sātavāhana chronology than the other Purāṇas, the following kings of the Sātavāhana 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 Sātavāhana 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 Sātavāhana 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 Sātavāhanas 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. xxvii—viii; xxx, xxxvi—viii).

(XX, 1, 1) quoted in the *Śabdakalpadrūma-parīṣiṣṭa*, s.v. *Aśva-medha*, "a universal (*sārvabhauma*) king can perform the *Aśva-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 *Aśvamedha* 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 *Aśvamedha*. 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 *Aśvamedha*.

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 *Aśvamedha*. In support of this theory, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar says that "even a feudatory chieftain can perform a Horse-sacrifice" (ibid., p. 115) and that the *Aśvamedha* "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 *Aśvamedha*, 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; *Bauddh-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 *Aśvamedha* 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-Brahmaṇa*, XIII, 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 *Aśvamedha-turaṅga*, i.e. horse let loose in connection with a Horse-sacrifice. Quarrels with neighbouring kings in connection with the *Aśvamedhas* of Puṣyamitra are distinctly referred to in the *Mālavī-*

ance of these sacrifices by Cāmtamūla I most probably suggests his success against the Sātavāhanas.

We do not know for how many years king Cāmtamūla 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 Ehuṇḍa Cāmtamūla 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 Ehuṇḍa Cāmtamūla 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 Ehuṇḍa Cāmtamūla (II). Śivaskanda, 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 Veṅgi 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 (*Lind. List*, No. 1124), Śivaskandavarman of the Malavalli inscription (*ibid.*, No. 1196) and Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi 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

PROF. DASHARATHA SHARMA,

Vice-Principal and Professor of History, Dungar College, Bikaner.

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 Padmāvatī, 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 *Kāvyamālā* text contains the words '*Gatavaktraśrī-r-Nāgarājah*' instead of the '*Gajavaktraśrī-r-Nāgarājah*' found in the Mithilā manuscript catalogued by Mr. Jayaswal. The *Kāvyamālā* reading is found also in the two manuscripts of the book which I consulted at the Mahimagani Jaina Bhandār, 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 *Kāvyamālā* edition.

The 80th verse of the book too cannot be used as a prop to Mr. Jayaswal's theory. In the verse,

पण्मुखसेव्यस्य विभोः सर्वाङ्गेऽलंकृतित्वमापन्नाः
पन्नगपतयः सर्वे वीक्षन्ते गणपतिं भीताः ॥

the word Gaṇapati stands evidently for Gaṇeśa, the Hindu god. Like the two other nouns Ṣaṇmukha and pannaḡapatayaḥ 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 (स्कन्धाहनमयूरदर्शनभीताः 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 Kāvyaṃālā 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 कपटिकगोत्रसागरसुधाधामा सुकामाद्भुतः
श्रीविद्याधर इत्यशेषभुवनप्रख्यातनामामृतः ।
यः केदारपदारविन्दयुगलप्रत्यग्रपूजाविधि-
प्राप्ताशेषपवित्रमव्यविभवैः सार्थीकृतार्थिभ्रमः ॥ ९८ ॥
तत्पुत्रः सर्वमित्रं सरसकविकुलस्तूयमानोरुकीर्तिं
विख्याती जालपाख्यो जगति विजयते टाकवंशप्रशस्यः ।
विष्णुर्दैत्येन्द्रयुद्धव्यतिकरसमये व्याकुलत्वात् स्वभार्या
लक्ष्मीं निक्षिप्य यस्मिन् विहरति दिनशः स्वेच्छया स्वस्थचित्तः ॥ ९९ ॥
तस्माज्जातः सुजातो निजगुणमणिभिः प्रीणिताशेषलोकः
कोकाहङ्कारहारिस्मितमद्वितमुखष्टाकवंशप्रशस्यः ।
भाति श्रीनागराजो परनरपतिर्दक्षितोद्यत्प्रतापो
राजेते यं समेते विगलितकलहे वाक्च पद्मालया च ॥ १०० ॥

भारत्यां यदि पुंस्त्वमामरतरुव्रते विवेकोस्ति चेत्
साङ्गत्वं यदि मन्मथे सकलता नित्यं शशाङ्के यदि ।
सिंहे चेन्नरता जितारियशसो भावश्चन्द्रामणेः
तत्तत्सङ्गणतोपमानघटना स्यान्नागराजप्रभोः ॥ १०१ ॥
यत्तीक्ष्णक्षतधारदुर्धरमहाकौक्षेयकाक्षेपण—
शुभ्यक्षमापतिवल्लमोदरदरी निर्भिन्नगर्भायते ।
सोयं दुर्जयदोर्भुजंगजितप्रौढप्रतापानल—
ज्वालाजालखिलीकृतारिनगरः श्रीनागराजो जयते ॥ 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 Jātīla Parantaka as Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri does, the temple must be dated about 800 A.D. See "The Pandya Kingdom", p. 40.

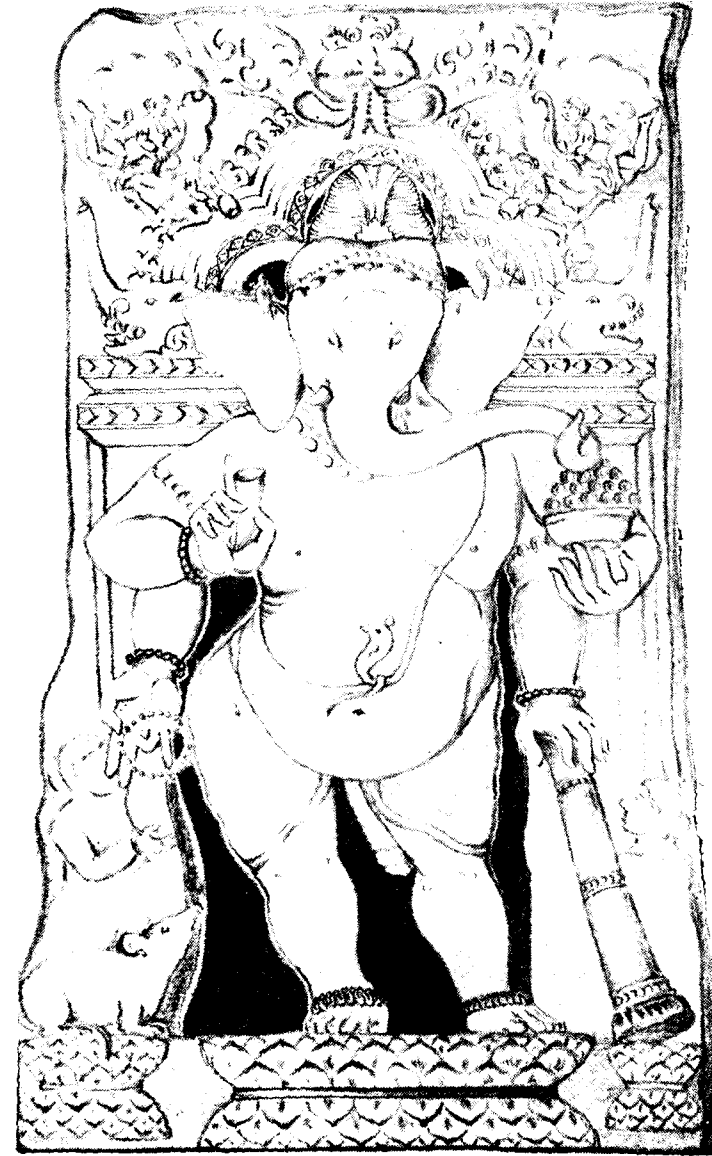


IMAGE OF VIGHNĒŚVARA

(Pāla Image)

(in the Nāgēśvara Temple at Kumbhakonam)

with the holy water of the Ganges. Accordingly Gaṇapati 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 *abhiśhēka* 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 *kirtimukha* 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 *mōḍaka* (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 *kaṇḍa-makuṭa*, whereas the present one has a *jaṭā-makuṭa*. 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-makuṭas*. 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 *kaṇḍa-makuṭa*, 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 *kaṇḍa-makuṭa*, 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 Rāṣaśūra, 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 Saivism, 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 *dvārapāla* (guardian) image in the Airāvātēśvara temple at Dārāsūram near Kumbhakonam with an inscription on its pedestal.¹⁴ It says that the image was brought from Kalyāṇapuram, the later Chāḷukya 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 Tiruppaḷanam 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. Worsted 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 Aurangzebe*, 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 Comodore 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

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.

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

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. Niccamp'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. Fabricus, 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 Zamin-dars 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. 3,60,000 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 Dolamba 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 Makhazani-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 Mukhzan 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 Mukhzan written 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 Mukhzan 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.

Makhazani-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 Mukhzan-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 vakil 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. Lachhmi 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 Kokradesh. 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 in spite 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 in spite 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.I., 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.I., 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 vakil 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) Shujaudaulah 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.I., 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; Rivaz, 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-Shaddīd*, 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 تراز قلعہ مسطور کم یاب و مفقود شوند خود بخود تسخیر و افتتاح قلعہ بجلوہ بنمائش خواهد رسید و لشکر فیروز یی عرصت لایمائی بہ محاصرہ شدید مستعد و 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. *Murchāl* 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' rā 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 ہمسریلاں بر نہر آب درست کنائیدہ و از پشت فیلاں در گذشتہ و جسارت بہادرانہ ساختہ و بردیوار گڑھی چسپیدہ اندروں برفتند۔

14. Sohan Lal, *Daftar* (ii), p. 181.

ایمانے الطاف اقتضائے از سرکار دولتمدار گردیدہ کہ ہشت ضرب توپ بر فیلاں کوہ نمینیل بار کردہ و رد بروئے قلعہ بردہ از صدمات متواترہ دیوار قلعہ مذکور مثل غرابال بایر 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 seize 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.

چون قلعه ملتان ضرب الشل روزگار و در بلندی غیرت ده این فیروزه 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 صلح و مشورت نمودند.

20. Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh, p. 55.

عطر سنگی و هاری را به سر جنگ قلگیان ساغر هستی 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), *vasūnīdan-i-naqb* (advancing of a mine) and *dwūnīdan-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 سخی و شجاع و کرم گسترے
ظفر جنگ در روز جنگ آمدہ سر دشمنش زیر سنگ آمدہ
ز تدبیر او فتح منگیر شد نشاط و خوشی در ہمہ ڈیرہ شد
چنان شلق از تو چنانہ نمود کہ تاب و توان باغیاں در ربود
ظفر جنگ دست تور کشاو ظفر قلعه منگیرہ را در کشاو

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 shovelmen, 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 کے قریب جوار کے کوٹ رسید ہو۔*

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 کے روز ہشتاد و چارم از ایام محاصرہ و شب دیو رنجت محصوران پیچارہ بود۔ محاصران بر نقب از مورچال نمود کہ برابر دروازه خضری داشتند کشیدہ بخندق پیوستند و روز نہ از آنجا بر آوردہ سترہ سوار گشتند

See also Zafarnama, p. 114.

مصر فخر جنگ ہم سرداران را طلب داشتہ فرماں داد کہ داخل خندق شدہ از دھوکہ کوٹ 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, escalated 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 سلسلِ کند غریبے ز کوس شجاعت بلند
یاں گشته سرباز و شمشیر زن نموده عیاں جو صیر خویشتن
به پولاد پوشه علم آمدند بر رستم قدم بر قدم آمدند
نفسِ ننگاں در آن کارزار بر آورده از مغز شیراں دمار
در آن رزم سنگماں پولاد پوش بروز دغا پر دل و سخت گوش
قبائے حیات اندراں دار و گیر گرفت آواز 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 قلعہ درمات و حصات تمام در ملک پنجاب شہر فاق چنانچہ یکے ڈیوڑھے پٹھانکوٹ دوم سیالکوٹ
دوم شہر پورہ نامزد صفایج 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-kalān* 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 بھد ریک من پختہ 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 reconnoitered 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 منیکره که بطرف مغرب در کرکوه مارگستان قلعه ایست متین و سی 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 بکشتن و نظاهری بانواب مشا اید قات باشتند و در باطنی داعیه شرف یا بی سرکار و دستار ایشان خاطر میزدند.
Sohan Lal, d. (ii), p. 293.

41. Cf. *Zafarnama*, p. 150.

چاهان خام کندید و از نو 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 *párchá-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 به پنج زعفرانی حضور آمدن دیگران نام عند تیر و تبریل جاگیر دے آب بند و دیر و سبیلان و غیره ترتیب
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.

دوسر قلعہ تصرف سنگھان سیالکوٹ دروئے آنجا سیر 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 Porea 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 *Drāvida*, 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 *Drāvida* 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 Chālukyan 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 *Yugāśram* 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 *Chaturaśram* and *Vedāśram* alternatively. While *Yugāśram* therefore may admit of the interpretation two-sided, it is equally capable, perhaps really more appropriately, as signifying four-sided. The term *Yugāśram* 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 Vindhyas. Vēsara between the Vindhyas 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 Mahēndravarmā 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 Vēsara 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 *faids* 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 Vaidyādhīpa, 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-Behar 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 Kākatīyas 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 Maharashtra 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 Tippu 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 Tungabadra 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 (1) 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 *Habshees*, 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 *defacto* 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 Coromandel 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 the 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 Brahmins, Jogis and others. In this he pretends to have received information from learned Brahmins, 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 an 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 Lakheres 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 Pāli 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 Dipavamsā 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 Hīnayāna texts were also written in pure and mixed Sanskrit. The Sarvāstivāda school of the Hīnayāna 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 Hīnayāna 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 Aśvaghoṣa 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 Avalokiteśvara. 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 Mahāvira 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 Mahāvira 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, Harivaṃśa

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 PĀLI 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 *bhikkunīs* 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 Sāmajñaphala 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 Nigaṇthas 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*, *Buddhaghōṣa* 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 *Buddhaghōṣa* 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 *Digha 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 *Theragātha* commentary written by *Dhammapāla*.

The next chapter deals with Pāli chronicles—the *Dipavaṃśā* 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*, *Śūmhas*, *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 *Vikramorvośiṣya* he refers to Bharata and his theory of eight *rasas*.

It is significant that the words *nṛitya* (dance), *nṛitta* (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 Dhanañjaya 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.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society—October 1934.

The combat of 'Aleyān-Ba'al and Mōt—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 Ānanda Kings of Guntur (Attivarman of the Gorantla Plates and Dāmōdaravarman of the Mattepad 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.

The Israelite Occupation of Eastern Palestine in the light of Territorial History by A. Bergman.

A New Deity in a Jerash Inscription by C. C. McCown.

The Widow of Pa (3rd Century B.C.)—A Woman among Rich Merchants by N. L. Swann (dealing with the biography of the one woman listed among the rich merchants of the pre-Christian era of Chinese history).

The Turkish *chalabi* 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).

Negri Sembilan (or Nine States) by R. O. Winstedt (dealing with the Minangkaban settlers, their polity and beliefs, mainly).

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) *Kulliyāt-e-Sa'ib*, containing the poetical works of Mirzā Sā'ib, the great Persian poet (d. 1677-78) and (2) *Diwān-e-Zuhūri*, 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 Rāṣtrakūta 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

Vṛtras—Adverse Demons—Ch. VII, Famines—Ch. VIII, Ṛtus—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

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.
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