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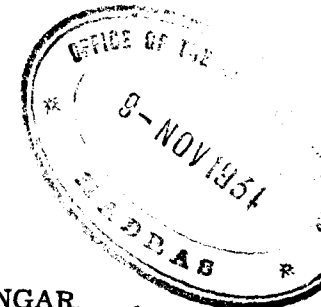
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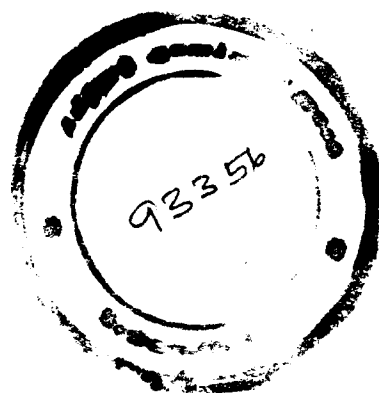


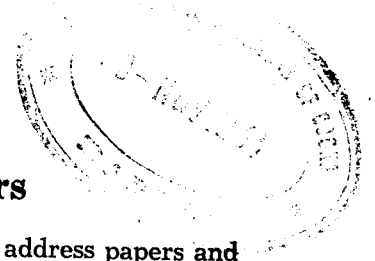


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Journal of Indian History

Nedu-nal-vādai

An Ancient Tamil Idyll

BY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EDITOR]

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

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

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

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

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

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

“NEḌU-NAL-VĀḌAI”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Genealogy and the Chronology of the Early Kadambas of Banavasi

By

MR. M. GOVIND PAI.

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

KADAMBA CHRONOLOGY

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

कदंबाणं मयूरशम्मण (णा) विणिम्मिअं
तडाकं दुभ त्रकूड अभीर पल्लव पारि-
यात्रिक सकस्था (ण) सयिन्दक पुणाट मोकरिण

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

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

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

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

कदंबाणं मयूरशम्मण (णा) विणिम्मिअं
तडाकं दुभ त्रकूड अभीर पल्लव पुरि
योतीक सकस्था [ण] सयिन्दक पुण्ड मोकरिण

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

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

India itself (Cambridge History of India. Vol. I. Map. 5) and referred to in Bāna's *Harsha-charita* (शशापदं शकस्थानम्) rather than the Seistan, is more or less inconceivable. Had he performed an *Āśvamēdha*, however, he could have been believed to have conquered, or at least invaded, these distant countries, but, we know, he performed none. Accordingly, the reading of the 2nd and 3rd lines of this inscription has to be thoroughly revised. Mr. Jayaswal has lately proposed a new reading of this inscription in his 'History of India : ' 150-350 A.D.' (Jy.)—App. B (pp. 220-21); but as it is also said to be based on the photograph itself, we have to leave it to others to discuss its correctness.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

96. Ibid. I (p. 397).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

101. E. C. VII (Sk. 264). ४ सच्चरं पडम सरद पक्खं त्वितिय विपसं पडम नक्खत्तं रोहिणियं

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

106. E. C. VII (Sk. 283).

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

108. समानुलाय...कोण्डिन्यसगोत्ताय कोसिकीपुत्ताय कोण्डमाणकुलतिलकाय सिरिनागदत्ताय

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

115. I. A. VI (p. 24)—*गुप्त मन्त्रालयस्य पञ्चमप्रलयानलः* :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

148. E. C. VIII (Sb. 523). Or could it be 'सहामिषव युक्ता, where **अमिषव** means the same as **अमिषेक**? (**अमिषवः क्रतौ मद्य सन्धानं क्षान्त्योरपि**—(Anēkārthasaṅgraha. v. 1675).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

153. Ibid. (Bl. 245).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) That he was the *Dharmamahārāja* of the Kadambas—

कदम्बानां...श्रीमद्वर्ममहाराज विजयशिवकृष्णवर्मा

—wherefore he must have been already crowned king before that date.

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

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

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

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

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

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

यथा युधिष्ठिरस्येव शालायां यस्य सन्ततम् ।
ब्राह्मणानां सहस्राणि समश्नन्ति यथासुखम् ॥

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

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

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

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

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

There is no other record of Kṛishṇavarma II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

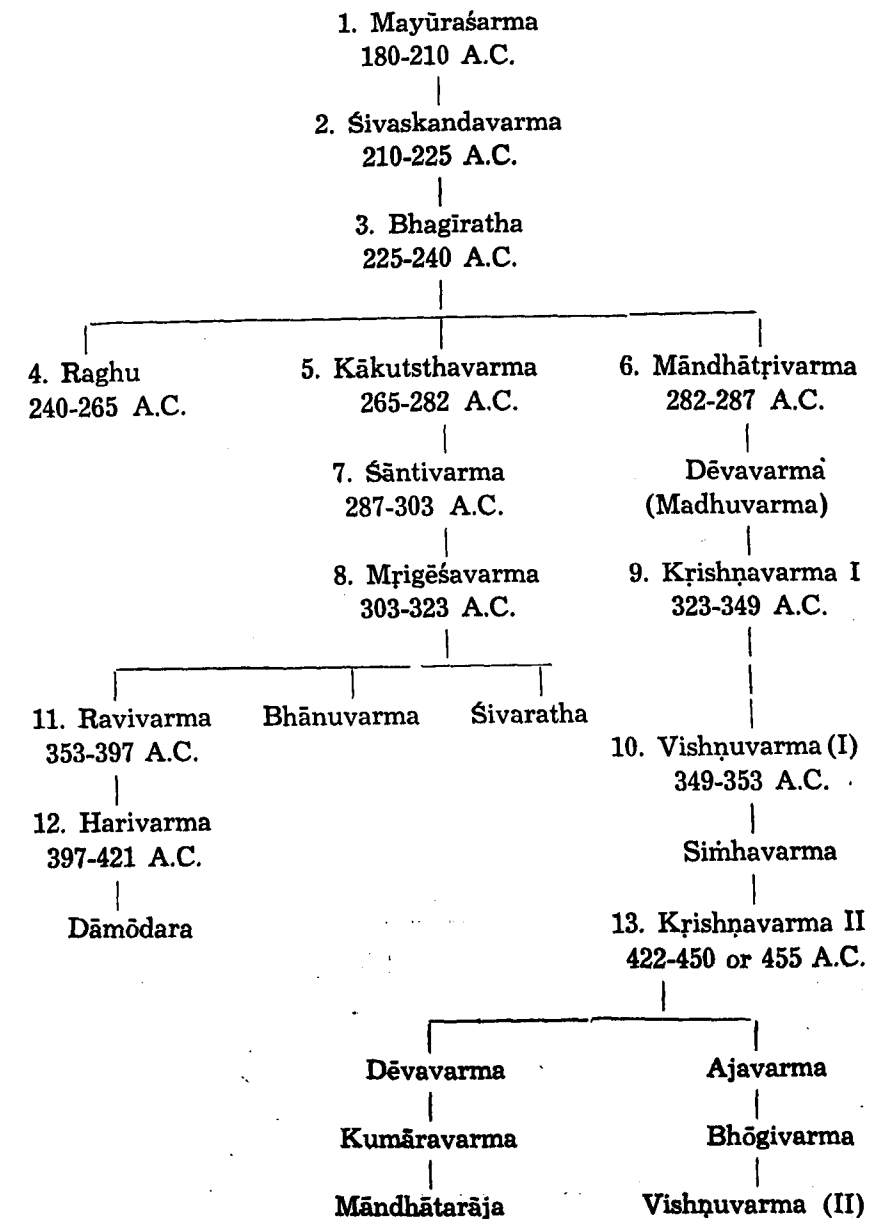
Thus in the absence of any conclusive evidence, the death of Kṛishṇavarma II may be located between 450 and 455 A.C., and the regnal periods of the three kings who occupied the Kadamba throne after Vishṇuvarma, the son and successor of Kṛishṇavarma I, would be :—(11) Ravivarma, 353-397 A.C.; (12) Harivarma, 397-421 A.C.; and (13) Kṛishṇavarma II, 422-450 or 455 A.C.

The genealogy of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi from Mayūraśarma the founder of that dynasty onwards with the respective

170. I. A. X (p. 249); F. K. D. (pp. 559-60).

171. It is thus obvious that this inscription gives merely an abbreviated genealogy of the early Kadambas mentioning only three prominent names in it from the progenitor Mayūraśarma down to Bhōgivarma (Nāgavarma) just sufficient to denote the filiation between the Kadambas of Banavāsi and those of Hāṅgal and to indicate the particular branch of the early Kadambas from which the latter traced their descent. From Bhōgivarma (Nāgavarma) onwards perhaps this genealogy records every step faithfully. Instances of such curtailed genealogies are common in inscriptions.

regnal periods of those of them, who reigned as king, as determined above, would therefore stand as follows :—



Before we close, a few words may be said with regard to the personal religion of these early Kadambas, who are still believed, and wrongly believed, to have been of the Jaina persuasion. The

more or less invariable phrases स्वामि महासेन मातृगणानुभ्याताभिषिक्तानां.....प्रतिष्ठत स्वाध्याय चर्चापारगानां¹⁷² कदम्बानाम्— which occur in these very same or similar words in almost all of their inscriptions from at least the Maḷavalli inscription of Śivaskandavarma onwards, and with which they describe themselves as being devoted (अनुभ्यात) to god Skanda (स्वामि महासेन) and the divine Mothers (मातृगण), who by the way can have no place in the Jaina theology, and as being well-versed in teaching the Vedas to others as well as in the discussion of the same, suffice to prove that the early Kadambas of Banavāsi were the followers of no other creed than the Vedic faith. Yet, let us examine more closely.

There would be no question in respect of Mayūraśarma, who from the account given of him in the Tālagunda inscription (vv. 4-6; 10-12) was past doubt a Brāhmaṇa of the Brāhmaṇas; nor with respect to his son Sivaskandavarma, who according to the same authority (v. 23)— समराध्वर* प्रांशुवेष्टितः । —was surrounded by wars and sacrifices, and who further in his own Maḷavalli inscription¹⁷³ expressed the pious hope— चातुर्विजं विससत्तु (चातुर्विद्य विशस्यताम्) —‘May the four Vedas be recited!’; nor in the case

172. This difficult phrase has been differently rendered by different scholars as follows:—(1) ‘studying the requital (of good or evil) as their sacred text’ (E. I. VI. p. 17; M. C. I. p. 23); (2) ‘well-versed in repeating the sacred writings one by one’ (E. I. VIII. p. 148; M. C. I. p. 23); (3) ‘well-versed in the system of private study and prayer that they have adopted’ (I. A. VI. p. 27); (4) ‘who have adopted the system of private study and prayer’ (I. A. VII. p. 36); (5) ‘well-versed in the Vedas and their commentary’ (M. A. R. 1925, p. 98); and (6) ‘versed in the views they have formed (adopted) on the sacred writings’ (E. C. VIII. Sb. 33; E. C. V. Bl. 121—Transl.). But none of these renderings seems to be satisfactory. I believe the word प्रतिष्ठत has been used here in the sense of ‘rendered (i.e. taught) to others,’ as opposed to स्वीकृत, which means ‘taken to oneself’ or ‘made one’s own’, in which case the whole phrase would mean—‘(those who were) used to rendering (i.e. teaching) the स्वाध्याय (i.e. the sacred texts) (to others) and (were also themselves) past-masters (पारग) in the discussion (चर्चा) (of the same).’ This right to teach and expound the scriptures, which is thus claimed as a continuous family *biruda* by the Kadambas, even after they became Kshatriyas (as has been explained above), is undoubtedly a significant reminiscence of their original Brāhmaṇa ancestry, as it is only Brāhmaṇas, who, of all the three twice-born classes, are entitled to teach and expound the Vedas.

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

* Is this not an erroneous reading for *pāmsur*? (Editor).

of his son Bhagīratha, nor again in that of Raghu, who according to the description given of him in the Tālagunda inscription (v. 26) was धृतिपथनिपुणः i.e. well-skilled in the way of the Vedas. None would contend that either Śāntivarma, who in his Tālagunda inscription¹⁷⁴ praises God Śiva (v. 1) and asserts that after God Śiva (came) the Brāhmaṇas who are conversant with the three Vedas *Ṛik*, *Yajus*, and *Sāma*, and whose favour ever saves the three worlds from the fear of ‘sin’ (v. 2); or Kṛishṇavarma I, who, as we have seen, was the first Kadamba king to perform the horse-sacrifice (which, however, no Jaina king would even dream of performing), or his son Viṣṇuvarma, who in his Birūr plates¹⁷⁵ claims to be the great protector of Brāhmaṇas (परमप्रहण्य शरण्य), or his grandson Kṛishṇavarma II, who again was the next in the dynasty to celebrate the *Aśvamēdha*, or Bhōgivarma or Māndhātārāja, who, in their respective Tagare¹⁷⁶ and Shimoga¹⁷⁷ plates, take pride in the fact that the *Aśvamēdha* had been celebrated in their family, which had been sanctified thereby, could ever be a Jaina. Nor would there be any doubt as regards Māndhātārivarma or his son Dēvavarma (Madhuvarma), the latter of whom, however, did not rule as king.

The only Jaina grants of some of these early Kadambas of Banavāsi are as follows:—

(a) Kākutsthavarma’s Halsi plates,¹⁷⁸ which record that he granted a field to his general Śrutakīrti, evidently a Jaina, for saving himself (आत्मनस्तारणार्थम्) i.e. for earning merit, which therefore that Jaina general would soon make over to some Jaina temple or some Jaina community of mendicants. This grant, no doubt, begins with a praise of Jinendra and ends likewise with an obeisance to the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛishabhanātha, as of course the Jaina donor and the recipient would like to have it. This common courtesy would never make Kākutsthavarma a jaina, and all doubt will be removed if we just

174. सिद्धम् नमश्शिवाय ॥ जयति विश्ववेदसंघात निमित्तैकमूर्तिस्सनातनः । स्थाणुरिन्दुरहिम विष्णुरित धृतिमज्जटा भारमण्डनः॥१॥ तमनु भूसुरा द्विजप्रवरास्सामर्ग्येजुर्वेदवादिनः । यत्प्रसादस्मायतेनियं भुवनत्रयं पाप्मनो भयात् ॥ २ ॥

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

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

177. Ibid. 1911 (p. 32).

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

remember that he was much respected for his adoration of the Brāhmaṇas with the best of his wealth, as described in his own son's Tālagunda inscription—**प्रधानवसुभिर्मुख्यं द्विजाभ्यर्चणम् ।** (v. 28), and also that it was he who caused a large tank to be built at the temple of God Śiva at Tāla-guṇḍa **भगवतो देवस्यादिदेवस्य सिन्ध्यालये.....इदमुक्तं सलिलोपयोगाश्रयम् भूपतिः कारयामास काकुत्स्थवर्मा तटाकम् शुभम् ॥**

(b) Three grants of Mrigēśavarma, viz. (1) his Dēvagere plates¹⁷⁹ dated in his 3rd regnal year, (2) another set of his Dēvagere plates¹⁸⁰ dated in his 4th year, and (3) his Halsi plates¹⁸¹ dated in his 8th year, all of which record the grants he made to the gods, the divine Arhats. Against these there are also the Hitnahebbāgilu plates¹⁸² of his 7th year, and the Hiresakuna plates¹⁸³ of his 8th year, both of which contain grants which he made to the Brāhmaṇas, and in the former of which he avows himself as 'devoted to the worship of the gods, Brāhmaṇas, elders and the wise (देवद्विजगुरुप्राज्ञजनाभ्यर्चनपरः) and compares himself to God Viṣṇu in his devotion to the cause of the Brāhmaṇas (विष्णुरिव ब्रह्मण्यः) Further, even in one of these Jaina grants, the Dēvagere plates of his 4th year, he describes himself as being 'constant in making gifts of cows and land and gold and couches and clothing and food and many other things to gods and the twice-born (i.e. Brāhmaṇas) and elderly men and holy men'—**देवद्विजगुरुसाधुजनेभ्यः गोभूमिहिरण्य शयनाच्छादनाश्वाद्यनेकविधं प्रदाननित्यः ।** while another Jaina grant of his, the Dēvagere plates of his 3rd year, opens with a verse,¹⁸⁴ which, though to all appearance it is in praise of Arhat, contains nevertheless the names of the Brāhmanic gods Śiva and Viṣṇu cunningly woven into it, for 'Hara' and Īśvara' are the names of god Śiva, and 'Ananta' that of god Viṣṇu.

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

180. Ibid. (pp. 37-38).

181. I. A. VI (pp. 24-25).

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

183. E. C. VII (Sb. 33).

184. **जयत्यर्होऽस्त्रिलोकेशः सर्व्वभूतहिते रतः ।**

रागाद्यरिहरोऽनन्तोऽनन्तज्ञानदृगीश्वरः ॥

(c) The three Halsi grants of Ravivarma.¹⁸⁵ Against these, there are his Sirsi plates¹⁸⁶ and Nilambūr plates,¹⁸⁷ both of which record grants which he made to Brāhmaṇas, and the latter of which describes him as descended from a family which was rendered sinless by the celebration of the *Aśvamēdha*, and rounds off with a pious wish for the happiness of the cows and the Brāhmaṇas—**स्वस्त्यस्तु गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः ।**

(d) The two Halsi grants of Harivarma.¹⁸⁸ Against these, there is his other Sangoli grant¹⁸⁹ in which he calls himself a great devotee of God Śiva—**परममहेश्वर**—and says that he was devoted to the service of the Brāhmaṇas—**द्विजाति शुश्रूषापरः ।**

(e) And lastly, the Dēvagere grant of Yuvarāja Dēvavarma.¹⁹⁰ In this the donor crown-prince refers to the *Aśvamēdha* performed by his father Kṛishṇavarma II, in which in all probability he too must have taken an active part. This grant further closes with the same verse¹⁸⁴ as is found at the beginning of the Dēvagere plates of the 3rd year of Mrigēśavarma, and which, as we have already pointed out, is apparently in praise of Arhat or Jaina but contains also the names of the Brāhmanic gods Śiva and Viṣṇu.

Conclusively, therefore, none of the early Kadamba kings was ever a Jaina, but one and all of them were unquestionably the devout followers of the Vedic faith, and were devoted particularly to the gods Śiva and Skanda. If, nevertheless, some of their records speak of grants made to the Jains or the Jaina temples, it had better be remembered once for all that 'such was the religious toleration in those early times that the mere fact that grants were made to the Jains does not necessarily prove' that the donors 'were themselves of that religion.'¹⁹¹

185. I. A. VI (pp. 25, 27, 30).

186. E. I. XVI (p. 266).

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

188. I. A. VI (pp. 30-32).

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

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

191. F. K. D. (p. 290. f.n. 3).

LIST OF EARLY KADAMBA INSCRIPTIONS

No.	King or Donor.	Name of the inscription.	Reference.	Date details in the inscription.	Equivalent or approximate English date.
1.	Mayūśarma	Chandravallī rock.	M. A. R. 1929 (No. 1)	Nil.	
2.	Śivaskandavarma	Majavallī pillar	E.C. VII (Sk. 264)	4th year; 1st fortnight of autumn; 2nd lunar day; first (occurrence) of Rōhini.	18th October 213 A.C.
3.	Yuvarāja Kākutsthavarma	Halsi plates	I.A. VI (p. 23)	80th year.	
4.	Māndhātṛivarma	Kūdagere plates	E.C. VII (Sk. 29)	2nd year; the full-moon day of Vaiśākha.	29th April 283 A.C.
5.	Śāntivarma	Tālagunda pillar	E.C. VII (Sk. 176)	Nil.	
6.	Dēvavarma (Madhuvarma)	Tadagaṇi stone	E.C. VII (Sk. 66)	Nil.	
7.	Mṛigēśavarma	Dēvagere plates	I.A. VII (p. 35)	3rd year; Pausha <i>saṃvatsara</i> ; 10th day of the dark fortnight of Kārtika; Uttarā-bhādrapada <i>nakshatra</i> .	29th October 305 A.C.
8.	Do.	Do.	Ibid. (p. 37)	4th year; 8th fortnight of the rainy season; full-moon day.	9th October 306 A.C.
9.	Do.	Hitnahebbāgilu plates	E.C. IV (Hs. 18)	7th year; Mārgasira month; 10th lunar day of the bright fortnight.	30th October 309 A.C.
10.	Do.	Halsi plates	I.A. VI (p. 24)	8th year; Vaiśākha <i>saṃvatsara</i> ; the full-moon day of Kārtika.	24th October 310 A.C.
11.	Do.	Hiresakuna plates	E.C. VIII (Sb. 33)	8th year; Vaiśākha full-moon day.	19th April 311 A.C.
12.	Viṣṇuvarma	Bīrūr plates	E.C. VI (Kd. 162)	3rd year; Phālguna month; 5th lunar day of the bright fortnight.	6th February 352 A.C.
13.	Do.	Hebbaṭa plates	M. A. R. 1925 (p. 98)	5th year; Kārtika full-moon day.	14th October 357 A.C.
14.	Ravivarma	Halsi plates	I.A. VI (pp. 29-30)	Nil.	
15.	Do.	Do.	Ibid. (p. 25)	Nil.	
16.	Do.	Nīlambur plates	E.I. VIII (pp. 147-148)	5th year; Kārtika full-moon day.	14th October 357 A.C.
17.	Do.	Halsi plates	I.A. VI (p. 28)	11th year; 6th fortnight of the cold season; 10th lunar day.	11th January 363 A.C.

No.	King or Donor.	Name of the inscription.	Reference.	Date details in the inscription.	Equivalent or approximate English date.
18.	Do.	Sirsi plates	E.I. XVI (p. 266)	35th year; Kārtika month; bright fortnight; 5th lunar day.	3rd October 387 A.C.
19.	Ravivarma's mother Prabhāvatī	Tālagunda temple	M. A. R. 1911 (p. 33)	Nil.	
20.	Ravivarma's wife	Kavaḍi stone	E.C. VIII (Sb. 523)	Nil.	
21.	Harivarma	Halsi plates	I.A. VI. (pp. 30-31)	4th year; bright fortnight of the month of Phalguna; 13th lunar day.	24th February 400 A.C. or 12th February 401 A.C.
22.	Do.	Do.	Ibid. (pp. 31-33)	5th year.	
23.	Do.	Sangōli plates	E.I. XIV (p. 166)	8th year, the new-moon day of Āsvayuja and the day of the (autumnal) Equinox.	20th September 404 A.C.
24.	Kṛishṇavarma II	Bannahalli plates	E.C. V (Bl. 121)	7th year; Kārtika month; 5th day of the bright fortnight; Jyēshthā <i>nakshatra</i> .	26th September 412 A.C.
25.	Do.	Bennūr plates	Ibid. (Bl. 245)	Pushya month; bright fortnight; 1st lunar day.	3rd December 438 A.C.

26.	Do.	Sirsi plates	E.C. XVI (p. 271)	19th year; Kārtika full-moon day.	26th October 440 A.C.
27.	Yuvārāja Dēvavarma	Dēvagere plates	I.A. VII (p. 33)	Nil.	
28.	Dāmōḍara	Koṇṇūr rock	I.A. XXI (p. 96)	Nil.	
29.	Bhōgīvarma	Tagare plates	M. A. R. 1918 (p. 35)	Nil.	
30.	Māndhātārāja	Shinoga plates	M. A. R. 199 (p. 32)	5th year; Kārtika month; bright fortnight; 12th lunar day.	These date details do not admit of verification.

(Concluded)

Dasabandham *

BY

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I

IN ANCIENT INDIA

THERE are many technical terms in ancient Indian Literature and inscriptions which do not admit of correct interpretation, having gone out of use in modern times. There are again other terms, the true meaning and significance of which have considerably changed with the march of time. To the latter class belong the two words *Daśabandha* and *Pañcabandha* which have been in use at least from the epoch of the legal literature of India down to our own times. The terms *Daśabandha* and *Pañcabandha* occur in the ancient Arthaśāstra literature as also in the legal literature. In elaborately discussing civil and criminal causes, and in dealing with agreements and debts which come under the jurisdiction of the civil justice, Kauṭalya makes mention of as many as ten court offences committed by either of the parties concerned. It is not necessary for our purpose to give an account of these different offences. Suffice it to say that such offences which are technically termed *parokta* were punishable with fines, which were one-fifth or one-tenth of the sum involved or sued for, according to the nature of the offence.

Dr. Shāma Śāstri translates the terms *pañcabandha* and *daśabandha*, as five times the amount and ten times the amount. This is not correct. If we suppose, for example, the sum sued for is Rs. 100, the court cannot punish either of the parties for an offence with Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000. It is not only unreasonable but unconvincing. But if the court would impose a fine of Rs. 10 or Rs. 20 it certainly stands to reason. Though Dr. Śāstri is aware of the interpretation of the T. M. commentary as 1/5 and 1/10, he would not accept it.¹ In a later chapter dealing with the relations of masters and hired servants, it is clearly ruled thus: 'Failure to pay wages

shall be punished with a fine of 1/10 the amount of wages or 6 *pañas*: misappropriation of wages shall be punished with 1/5 of the amount of the wages or 12 *pañas*.² Here again the translator makes it ten times the amount of wages, or 6 *pañas* and five times the amount or 12 *pañas*.³

But he meets with a difficulty. For, as if to explain himself, Kauṭalya has said *daśabandha*, or 6 *pañas* or *pañcabandha*, or 12 *pañas*, and this means that the Arthaśāstra distinctly means by its terms 1/10 and 1/5. As this would not suit his interpretation Dr. Shāma Śāstri remarks curiously enough that the words *daśabandha* and *pañcabandha* seem to have been erroneously interchanged. That the text is not erroneous can again be proved from another expression—*bandha caturguṇāḥ* at the commencement of Chapter XI of the same book in dealing with debts, meaning thereby four times the amount. In the same way Kauṭalya would have used *bandha daśaguṇa* and *bandha pañcaguṇa* if he wanted the fine to be ten times and five times the amount. This shows that the text is correct and that the author of the Arthaśāstra is not vague in his expressions. The Śrīmūlam commentary gives the terms the same meaning as we do and the Mitākṣara corroborates it as we shall see in the sequel.

In the chapter entitled *Rṇādānam*⁴ Kauṭalya says :

परस्पराभियोगे वैषामुत्तमाः परोक्ता दशबन्धं दधुरवराः पञ्चबन्धम् ।

Dr. Shāma Śāstri translates thus: 'creditors guilty of *parokta* shall pay a fine of ten times the amount: but if incapable to pay so much they shall at least pay five times the amount sued for.' On this the translator observes in a footnote "since the *pañcabandha* must be less than *daśabandha* the interpretation of *pañcabandha*, as *pañca-māmsa*, one-fifth by Vijñāneśvara cannot be accepted. Here again the translator goes against the traditional and accepted interpretation.

Let us examine here the passages both in the *Mānavadharmasāstra* and *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*. In the code of Manu the verse as translated runs: "A man who without being ill, does not give evi-

1. See p. 169 of the Translation, 1929.

2. Book III, Ch. XIII.

3. Translation p. 208.

4. Bk. III. Ch. II.

dence in (cases of) loans and the like within three fortnights (after the summons), shall become responsible for the whole debt and (pay) a tenth part of the whole (as a fine to the king)."⁵

This verse is significant in more than one respect. First as in the *Kaṭṭaliya* it deals with *Rṇam*, or debts. Secondly, the expression *daśabandham* occurs and is correctly interpreted by Kullūka-bhaṭṭa as *daśamām bhāgam*, or one-tenth part. Thirdly, there is coincidence between the *Arthaśāstra* portion dealing with witnesses and Manu's. For example we may compare the verses 64 and 69 of Chapter VIII of Manu here.

Thus we have the unimpeachable authority of Manu for our interpretation. Added to this is the *Mitākṣara* authority. Commenting on the verse (II. 171) of *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, on the term *Pañcabandha*, Vijñāneśvara says: *pañcabandha naṣṭadravyasya pañcamāmśah*.⁶

The term *Pañcamāmśa* as interpreted by Vijñāneśvara bears unmistakable testimony to the fact that what was meant by the expression *pañcabandha* is one-fifth part. Not only is it the traditional interpretation, but it is the only construction of the *Kaṭṭaliyan* term. What applies to *pañcabandha* equally applies also to the other term *daśabandha*, as it occurs in the *Mānavadharmasāstra*.

Let us now turn our attention to what the *Śrīmūlam* commentary has to say on this: ⁷

एषां स्वामिभृत्यादीनां परस्परामियोगे, उत्तमाः परोक्ताः स्वामिभ्र-
त्विगादयः पराजिताश्चैत, दशबन्धं पराजितधनदशभागं दद्युः अवरेभ्यः ।
अवराः भृत्यादयः, परोक्ताः, पञ्चबन्धं पराजित धनपञ्चभागं दद्युः उत्तमेभ्यः ।
इति—

Thus two classes of creditors are distinguished, those higher in social rank and those lower. Those lower in social rank e.g., a *bhṛtya* or servant, are to pay a greater fine than those in higher rank as *svāmin* or master. This is a prescription quite in keeping with the prevailing views in those ancient days, when it was assumed that ordinarily people of higher rank would not commit of-

5. Bühler's Trans. (Sacred Books of the East Series).

त्रिपक्षादुबन् साक्ष्यमृणादिषु नरोऽगदः

तद्वृणं प्रापनुयात् सर्वे दशबन्धं च सर्वतः । VIII. 107.

6. p. 243 of the *Nirnayasāgar* press ed. of the *Yājñavalkya smṛti*.

7. Vol. II p. 68 (Trivandrum Sanskrit series).

fences, and, if they did, they were to be given light punishment. By heavy punishments, persons of lower status were compelled as it were to conform to the rules as far as possible. Then it was not a question of ability or capability to pay as the translator would have it. In fact there is no term in the text for interpreting, "if incapable to pay so much". In the light of the above authorities we cannot accept Dr. Shāma Śāstri's translation of the text. The following translation is then offered: "Creditors of higher social status (*svāmin*, *Rtvik*, *ācārya* and parents) guilty of *parokta* shall pay a fine, equal to one-tenth of the amount sued for; creditors of lower status (servants, pupils and sons) one-fifth of the amount."⁸

II

IN THE MEDIÆVAL PERIOD

The South Indian inscriptions often call to notice the term *daśabandha* or *daśavantam*. Though we do not meet with the term *pañcabandha*, it is interesting to note that this term has changed in its original interpretation. It is no more a legal term connected with judicial procedure. In the inscriptions the term occurs in the sense of a tax or an allowance of land or revenue as compensation for the construction of a tank, well or channel.⁹ According to the second Nellore record, a sale deed is given for the *daśabandham* tank dated s. 1348¹⁰. The term *daśabandha* again occurs in a Tamil inscription on the east wall of Ujjivanāthaswāmi temple, Trichinopoly Taluq, dated in the third year of the Coḷa king Rāja-Keśari-varman¹¹ as one of the items of grant for a festival in the same temple. Again a Kanarese record s. 1450 of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇarāya registers the permanent grant *daśavanda* of the tank at Dondavate to a certain Malesāni, by the people of that village.¹² In this connection a record dated A. D. 1496 of the Mulbagal Taluq¹³ being a copy of the *Kaṭṭu-goḍage* agreement may be of value:

"Be it well (on the date specified), to Alapa's son Nārasimha-deva,—the temple priest of the god Nārasimha, Koṇḍapa-Timman-

8. See also author's *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 258-9.

9. See V. Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency Vol. II. Nl. 368 and 797*.

10. *Ibid* p. 109.

11. A. R. E. 462 of 1908.

12. See A. R. E. 194 of 1913. See also A. R. E. 527 of 1914. cp. A. R. E. 434 of 1911 being a Telugu record of the Cuddapah District and 65 of 1915 being a Telugu record of the Kurnool District.

13. No. 172 Op. Cit. Vol. X.

na's son Ásvapa granted a kaṭṭu-goḍage agreement as follows :—Whereas the Guṇḍalanahaḷḷi village, which is Narasimhapura, in Hode-nad, belonging to the offerings of our god Kadiri Lakshmi-Nārasimha, by the order of the god Nārasimha, I have given in possession to the Nambi Apachi-Anantapa,—and it provides for the offerings and ceremonies (specified) of the god and the livelihood of the attendants,—on your expending money and causing a virgin tank to be constructed in the Māvinahaḷḷa to the west of the old tank of Guṇḍalanahaḷḷi, forming an embankment with plenty of earth, building it up with stone, fixing a stone sluice and making it secure with bricks and good mortar, and thoroughly completing the tank,—of the rice-lands formed under that tank, four parts of the rice raised in them you may enjoy free of rent. After those four parts have been filled up¹⁴, we grant you in the rice-lands that will be formed under the tank a *daśavanda* of three in ten as kaṭṭu-goḍage, marking out with stones the best, middling and inferior soils and of the dry fields granted as kaṭṭu-goḍage-mānya for this tank which are now cultivated and sown with ragi, we give you as kaṭṭu-goḍage-mānya, 1 khaṇḍuga (as specified).

“ If any damage should come to the tank you build, you will make it good from your four parts of mānya. When that is filled up¹⁵ if any the least failure occurs, we will levy money and grain from the rice-lands and on the tank, including those of your *daśavanda*, and have it repaired.

“ For the rice-lands and dry fields of your kaṭṭu-goḍage there are no payments under the various heads (as specified) on account of our temple.

The same provisions are laid down for any future extension of rice-lands under the tank. Also permission to cultivate on half share or on contract, free of all payments on account of the temple, as before specified : If the flow of water from the tank allows, you may plant areca, cocoanut or other permanent gardens in your kaṭṭu-goḍage, and have the full enjoyment of the same. If the tank should not fill sufficiently for your three-tenths *daśavanda* rice-fields, you will take your turn for the water. For building houses for the ryots who cultivate your *daśavanda* rice-fields we will point out sites. From such ryots we will not exact house-tax or other taxes (specified). ”

14. tumbida-baḷika.

15. tumbida-baḷika.

III

IN MODERN INDIA

We now proceed to examine how this term *daśabanda* got further changed in its interpretation in the days of the East India Company and after.¹⁶ According to H. H. Wilson the Telugu term *daśabandham* is ‘ a deduction of 1/10 of the revenue on account of compensation for some public work, as the construction of a tank, etc.’¹⁷ *Daśabandham* was a subject of enquiry by the Inam Commission appointed in 1858-59. It is one of the nine kinds of *inams* which were examined by the Inam Commission as to the validating titles etc. The other kinds of *inams* were (1) for religious institutions and services, (2) for purposes of public utility, (3) Bhaṭṭa-vritti and khairat, (4) maintenance for the families of poligars and ancient land-officers, (5) lands alienated for the support of members of the family, like bisai, doratanam, mukhasa, amaram, likai, etc., (6) grants connected with general police duties (like kattu badias), (7) grāmamāniyams and (8) grants to village artizans. Both (7) and (8) are the ‘Watan’ of Central India.¹⁸ Baden Powell who has examined this, defines *Daśabandham* to be one among the *inams* ‘for the construction, maintenance and repair of irrigation works in the Ceded Districts, in Kistna, Nellore, North Arcot and Salem.’¹⁹ These *daśabandham inams* ‘were granted as a recompense to private individuals, who constructed tanks, wells and river channels, by means of which the revenue of the State was augmented. The extent and value of the *inam* were in proportion to the capital expended on the work and the outturn in revenue.’²⁰ Two classes of these *inams* are distinguished (1) Khanda *Daśbandhams*, or *inams* granted to specific localities, (2) Shaumilaut *Daśbandhams* or *inams* being of the nature of an allowance of some proportion of the annual cultivation with reference to particular work. This class of *inams* had nothing to do with the locality and consequently did not find a place on the *inam* registers. Ordinari-

16. Professor C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Annamalai University has kindly drawn my attention to some of these references.

17. p. 127. A Glossary of the Judicial and Revenue terms and of the useful words occurring in official documents relating to the Administration of the Government of British India—Compiled and published under the authority of the Court of Directors—London, W. H. Allen & Co., MDCCLV.

18. See Baden Powell ‘Land Systems of British India’ Vol. III, pp. 81-2; also Madras Manual of Administration, (1885) Vol. I, pp. 168-9.

19. Op. cit. p. 81.

20. Madras Manual. op. cit. p. 168.

ly those who enjoy *daśabandham* rights are to undertake due repair of irrigational works. But there have been cases of what are now treated as personal grants, where the obligation of repair of works of irrigation was neither a condition attached or has fallen into disuse by continued neglect on the part of the *daśa-bandhamdar*. "In the Ceded Districts, certain Wodder or tank diggers held *inams* for the service of executing the ordinary repairs of large government tanks. Under the present organization of the Public Works Department the Wodder occupied an anomalous position, and the services attached to their tenures were very inefficiently rendered. Their *inams* have consequently been enfranchised."²¹

Thus we have passed in review the story of a technical expression *Daśabandha*. It has undergone considerable transformation in its interpretation through the ages. Being in use as a legal term of significance in all India, it has now been confined to certain parts of the Andhra districts as a term connected with administration of land.

21. op. cit. p. 168.

Divyasūri Charitam

BY

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MATERIALS for the study of the History of Vaishṇavism in general, and of its history in South India in particular, are amply forthcoming from a variety of sources, the most important of which are literary. These literary sources, for the most part in Sanskrit, Tamil and Maṇipravāḷam, can be easily divided into the purely historical and the non-historical, according as they are acknowledgedly historical treatises or merely works of art with general literary excellence for their sole aim. While the *Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai* of Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar can be assigned to the first category, the '*Divyasūri Charitam*' of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita, another important source book, must be said to belong to the second group. The latter is a beautiful *kāvya* in Sanskrit modelled¹ on the classics of Kālidāsa, the subject being the lives of the '*Divyasūris*' as the *Āl-vārs* and *Āchāryas* are called in Vaishṇava phraseology. It would appear, from the colophon at the end of the first *sarga* of the work, that the name of the author is *Srīnivāsakavi* and that '*Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita*' and '*Kavivaidya-Purandara*' were his '*Aparanāmadhēyas*', other names or titles. It would also appear from these colophons that his father was a certain *Varada* of the *Vādhūla Gōtra*, while his mother's name was *Lōkēśā*. The prose colophon, however, notes that he belonged to the *Kāśyapa Gōtra* in that it calls him² '*Kāśyapa-kula-tilaka*'. More about this discrepancy regarding the author's *gōtra* can be reserved for a later occasion.

It has been accepted on all hands that the author of the '*Divyasūri Charitam*' was a contemporary of Rāmānuja; the opinion, therefore is unanimously held that the *kāvya* is earlier in point of time to the *Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai*, and that it in fact form-

1. Compare the opening verses of the *kāvya* with those of *Raghuvamśa*.

2. स्वामी रंगपति गुर्वरवराधीशश्च यस्यातुलो
वाधूलो वरदः पिता वरवरक्ष्मेमेशलक्ष्मीसखः ।
लोकेशा जननी तु तस्य गरुडभीषाङ्गनश्रीसदः
काव्ये दीव्यति दिव्यसूरिचरिते सर्गोपमादिर्गतः ॥

This is the verse colophon as found in the Mysore edition, in the *Saḥrdaya Journal Publication* and in several MSS of the Government Oriental MSS

ed the basis for the later work of ³ Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar. This contemporaneity of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita with Rāmānuja is made to rest mainly on three grounds; which can be examined one by one;

I. The author of 'Divyasūri Charitam' does not mention the demise of Ramanuja, but simply states that he was awaiting his end after the full ⁴ completion of his activities in Srirangam.

This cannot be by any means an argument for the supposed contemporaneity. In the first place, it must be noted that the author has given all about the great Achārya's doings in this world in full two *sargas*, the 17th and 18th; so much so that no prominent phase of his life and doings as can be gleaned from other sources has been omitted. Scholars have been misled by the fact that there is no mention in so many words of his demise. For that matter, the demise of none of the Ālvārs is actually mentioned in the work, the concluding portions of each life-story merely stating

Library, Madras. In one MS of the Oriental MSS Library, however, we find this different colophon *sloka*:

यज्ञायः फणिराजभोगशयनो रक्तेश्वरो यत्पिता
सौम्य श्रीसखमङ्गलाधिपविभुः सर्वज्ञचूडामणिः ।
यन्माता भुवनाधिपा विहगराज्ञैवाहाभिध श्रीसदः
काव्ये दीव्यति दिव्यसूरिचरिते सगोऽयमाविर्गतः ॥

Descriptive catalogue of MSS (Madras), vol. XXI, p. 8125, Serial No. 12150.

Though different, these *ślokas* are in the nature of synonyms and convey the same meaning. Thus, we have 'रक्तेश्वर' and 'फणिराजभोगशयनः' for God Śrī Ranganātha. 'लोकेश' and 'भुवनाधिपा' for the mother of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita and 'गरुडश्रीवाहनश्रीसदः' and 'विहगराज्ञैवाहाभिध श्रीसदः' for Garuḍavāhana himself in the two *ślokas*. The prose colophon is as follows:

इति श्रीकाश्यपकुलतिलकस्य रङ्गाधिपारोग्यशालावल्लभस्य गरुडवाहन
पण्डितस्य श्रीनिवासकवेः कृतौ दिव्यसूरिचरिते महाकाव्ये प्रथमः सर्गः
(D. S. Charitam. Mysore edition—1886, p. 7.)

3. 'History of Śrī Vaishnavas'—T. A. Gopinatha Rao, p. 14. It will be noted that Mr. Gopinatha Rao places D. S. Charitam chronologically before Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar's Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparampara Prabhāvam.

4. Ibid., p. 14.

that they lived ever⁵ afterwards doing good to mankind. It would be absurd to argue on that ground that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita was contemporary with the early Ālvārs. The fact is that pious sentiment precludes the mention of the demise of such holy and venerable personages as Rāmānuja, the presumption always being that the great souls are still ⁶ with us.

But then, the question arises: Why did the author of 'Divyasūri Charitam' stop with the life of Rāmānuja? Could he not have proceeded further if he was later than Rāmānuja? These questions are easily answered. It is clear from the *Pratigñā* set forth in

5. निर्वर्ण्य तं ते परमानुभूति प्रतारितान्तः करणाः प्रबन्धान् ।

कृत्वा पृथक्सर्व जनावनाय योगं समास्थाय पुनर्विचेरुः ।

(D. S. Charitam: *sarga* II, *śloka* 22, Mysore Edn.)

6. 'ஆழ்வார்களுக்கும் உடையவருக்கும் தீர்த்த திவஸம் சொல்லா தொழிவானென்னென்னில், அதுபாபி அகிலாத்மோத்தாரணர்த்தமாக அர்ச்சாவிக்கரஹங்களை அங்கீகரித்து இங்கே எழுந்தருளி யிருக்கிறார்களாகையாலே. அன்றிக்கே அவர்கள் இங்கிலும் கால்வாங்கிப்போகில் ஆத்மகோடிகளுக்கு ஈடேற வழியில்லையிறே. இத்தை நினைத்திறே நம்பூர்வாசாரியர்கள் தீர்த்தம் கொண்டாடித் திதி பரிபாலனம் பண்ணுதொழுகிறதும்' (Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparampara Prabhāvam, Ed. by S. Krishnamacharya. Prabhāva: pp. 213-214.)

The point is made clear in the passage relating to the close of Rāmānuja's life in this world. Quite in conformity with the sentiment above expressed, the Jiyar says:

‘ இத்திரையில் செய்ய திருவாதிரையிலே ஸ்ரீபெரும் பூதாரிலே அவதரித்து அகிலசாஸ்த்ரங்களையும் அப்யஸித்து பெரிய நம்பியை ஆஸ்ரயித்து பஞ்சஸ்ம்ஸ் காரங்களையும் பெற்று ஆஸ்ரமப்ராப்தி பண்ணியருளி, ஸ்ரீரங்கைஸ்வரயத்தைப் பெற்று, ஸ்ரீபாஷ்ய மருளிச்செய்து, திக்விஜயம் பண்ணி மேல் நாட்டுக்கெழுந்தருளி செல்வப் பிள்ளையைப் பெற்றெடுத்து ப்ரதிஷ்டிப்பித்தருளி ஐம் பத்திருவர்களுக்காக அர்ச்சாரூப விக்ரஹத்தை அங்கீகரித்து அவர்களாலே ஸேவ்யமானராய் காலமுன்னதனையும் இங்கே ஸுப்ரதிஷ்டிதமாய் விளங்காநின்று கொண்டு வாழ்ந்தருளுகிறாராய்த்து உடையவர் ’

Sometimes, when the demise of holy personages has to be mentioned, it is not put down as such in so many words, but conveyed through veiled suggestions often in euphemistic phraseology. Thus, for instance, we have with reference to the demise of Rāmānuja himself the *śloka*:

माद्यशुद्धशस्यान्तु मध्याह्नेमन्वासरे ।

योगिराजस्त्वभोगीशमावं स्वमेसमम्यगात् ॥

(Ibid., p. 203.)

the opening verses of the first *sarga* itself that he confined himself to the task of giving an account of the lives of the Ālvārs leading upto and ending⁷ with Rāmānuja. It is but natural that he did not go beyond that well-defined task set for himself. The reason for such a *Pratigñā* must have been that the Śrīvaishṇava Guruparamparai i.e., the accredited line of Āchāryāic descent after Rāmānuja was different for different Śrīvaishṇava sects, and that with Rāmānuja ends a definite epoch of the History of Vaishṇavism in South India. Evidently, the author believed that the schismatic period of Post-Rāmānuja Vaishṇavism was not⁸ a fit subject for *kāvya* delineation.

II. Tradition has it that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita wrote the *kāvya* and had it proclaimed in the august presence of Rāmānuja himself and⁹ his chief disciples.

An argument from tradition has to be necessarily subject to the most careful scrutiny. It is true that we have references to a certain Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita in Kōil Oḷugu. It is true also that he is mentioned therein as a contemporary of Rāmānuja. For, among the many acts of the great Āchārya in connection with the organisation of the temple and its affairs in Śrīrangam, there is one connected with the name of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita. The former is said to have re-established the Dhanvantri Nilaya within the precincts of the Śrīrangam temple, placed it in charge of his disciple Garuḍavāhana

7. सरोमुखानां भक्तानां लक्ष्मणार्यावसायिनां ।
अवतारापदानादीन्वक्ष्येहं विदितंमया ॥

(D. S. Charitam, Mysore Edn.: *sarga* I, *śloka* 12.)

8. When it is established that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita is definitely posterior to Rāmānuja, this fact, namely his stopping with the life of Rāmānuja, would lead us to the inference that he must have lived long after the great teacher. For, it is only from the times of Pillai Lōkāchārya and Vēdānta Dēśika, nearly two centuries after Rāmānuja, that the schismatic period begins definitely. Once splits came into being, different schools began to construct for themselves different genealogies or succession lists of Āchāryas in the direct line of descent from Rāmānuja. It would be natural then for a writer of this later schismatic period to stop with the life of Rāmānuja in a work of this kind.

9. 'Divyasūri Charitam' (Tamil translation by Tiru V. Sami Iyengar Swami—Harisamaya Divākaram Press—Preface, p. 1).

and entrusted him with the service of offering *kashāyam*¹⁰ every night to God Śrī Ranganātha. Apart from this, there is no further mention of this Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita having been the author of any *Kāvya* either in the Kōil Oḷugu itself or elsewhere. It is inconceivable how this fact could have been omitted in traditional works like the Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparampara, the Rāmānujārya Divya Charitam and the Prapannāmṛtam. While the first-named work of Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar does not even refer to Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita by name, or to the service (*kainkarya*) allotted to him, the second-named biography by Pillailōkam Jiyar makes but a passing reference to the organisation of this daily routine of service by Rāmānuja. Taking our stand then on the Kōil Oḷugu alone, we can say no more than that there was a certain Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita a contemporary of Rāmānuja who was entrusted with a particular service in the temple. The authorship of Divyasūri Charitam is an altogether different problem unless we can establish upon sufficient grounds that it is the same Garuḍavāhana who wrote the *kāvya* also. In other words, the question still remains. Is this Garuḍavāhana, the disciple and contemporary of Rāmānuja, the author of Divyasūri Charitam? There can be, and in fact there is, no answer to this from pure tradition. The contemporaneity of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita with Rāmānuja may be established, but not so, that of the author of Divyasūri Charitam with Rāmānuja.

III. The definiteness lacking in tradition is sometimes sought in the *kāvya* itself. The particular *śloka* which is supposed to establish the contemporaneity runs as follows:

राज्ञीयोपचरणलालसो मुरारौ तद्विषप्रशममदापयत्कषायं ।¹¹
आरोग्योपपदमथाकलय्यशालां श्रीधन्वन्तरि हरिधाम तच्चकार ॥
रक्तेन्दोस्स गरुड वाहन भट्टकृतं पथ्यायानुदिनमदापयत्कषायं”॥

A free rendering of the above into English will be:

“In order that Śrī Ranganātha may not suffer from the effects of the poison, Rāmānuja offered Him a *kashāyam*; (there-after)

10. ‘பின்பு உடையவர் தம் கிஷ்யரான கருடவாஹன பண்டிதரைக்கொண்டு பெருமானுக்குச் சிகிதவரிப்பித்து; பூர்வம் புராணவரித் தமாய் ஜீர்ணமாயிருந்த தர்வந்த்ரியைப் ப்ரதிஷ்டிப்பித்து அந்தக்கோயிலை கருடவாஹன பண்டிதருக்குக் கட்டினாயிட்டு, அவரிடத்திலும் நித்யமாக ராத்திரி திருக்காப்பு சேர்க்கிறதற்கு முன்பாகக்குடிநீர்பால் அலங்காரமாக வந்து அமுது செய்தருளும்படி திட்டம்பண்ணி’
(Kōil Oḷugu: p. 43.)

11. D. S. Charitam, Mysore Edn.: 17th *sarga*, *śloka* 86-7.

permanently established a 'vaidyaśāla' and made (them) look upon it as the shrine of 'Dhanvantri' no less than 'Hari' Himself. Ever afterwards, Garuḍavāhana Bhaṭṭa was entrusted (by Rāmānuja) with the service of the daily offering of the *kashāyam* to the deity."

The reference to Garuḍavāhana Bhaṭṭa in the above text is clearly in the third person. There is not even a veiled suggestion of a personal reference to himself by the author. We will not, therefore, be justified in concluding on the strength of this *śloka* that the author of 'Divyasūri Charitam' was a contemporary of Rāmānuja. The fact is that the prevailing opinion is based on the assumption that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita is the name of a person. It is not so. We have the authority of the Kōil Oḷugu itself to maintain that it is but a title, and that it was borne by all those in charge of the Ārōgyaśāla in Śrīrangam¹² ever since Rāmānuja. On the mere similarity of their titles the disciple and contemporary of Rāmānuja has been identified with the author of 'Divyasūri Charitam.' On the other hand, it may well be that the author was a much later person who bore that title.

The prevailing notion regarding the contemporaneity of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita with Rāmānuja is thus seen to be baseless. It will be fruitful at this stage to enquire if anything in the nature of positive evidence can be gathered from the *kāvya* itself regarding the author and his date. The verse colophon at the end of the *sarga* beginning with स्वामीरूपति gives important information. It states that Garuḍa Śrī Vāhana or Garuḍavāhana was the son of a certain Varada of the Vādhūla Gotra (वाधूलोवरदःपिता), and that his mother's name was Lōkēśā (लोकेशजननी). We are also informed that his *guru* or Āchārya was one Varavarādhīśa (गुरुवरवराधीशः) and that he had for his patron God Śrī Ranganātha himself. (स्वामीरूपतिः). Immediately after the verse colophon we have another in prose which gives additional information about the author

12. 'பூர்வம் ஆரோக்ய ஸாலைபுத் திருநடை மானிகையும் கங்கை தேவரான சிங்கணத்தண்டநாயகர் திருப்பணியாயிருந்தும், உடையவர் கைங்கர்யமாயிருந்தும். துலுக்கவாணத்திலே சேதமாகையால். இந்தக் கோயிலும் கோபுரமும் மதில்களும் திருமண்டபமும் முன்னிலை முகமண்டபமும் கருடவாஹந பண்டிதர் கைங்கர்யம். உடையவர் நாள் முதலாக ஆரோக்ய ஸாலாதிபதிகளுக்கு கருடவாஹந பண்டிதரென்று பட்டப்பேர் நடந்து வருகிறது'.

(Kōil Oḷugu: p. 120.)

of the work. We learn that his original name was Śrīnivāsa Kavi and that he had the title "Kavivaidya Purandara" (कविवैद्यपुरन्दर) and "Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita" (गरुडवाहनपण्डित). The term Ārōgyaśāla Vallabha (आरोग्यशालावल्लभ) denotes that he was in charge of the Dhanvantri-shrine in the temple of Śrī Ranganātha, while "Kāśyapakula Tilaka" indicates that he belonged to the Kāśyapa Gōtra and not to the Vādhūla as said in the verse colophon. One is apt to conclude that in the face of such a contradictory version regarding the author's gōtra, both cannot be true and that one of them must be rejected. Thus we are confronted with a serious discrepancy which makes us doubt the genuineness of the colophons themselves.

The facts given above regarding the Garuḍavāhanas will help us to solve the difficulty. It was said that there have been several who bore the title ever since Rāmānuja. Though the wardenship of the Dhanvantri Nilaya and the title attached to it were hereditary just like many other rights of service in the Śrīrangam temple they seem to have been enjoyed by different families at different times. At any rate, we learn that the Uttamanambis had long enjoyed this right of service together with its emoluments in Śrīrangam: and they were certainly Kāśyapas. In all probability, the original Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita, the disciple and contemporary of Rāmānuja also belonged to the Kāśyapa Gotra. We have the authority of the Kōil Oḷugu again to state that several of these proprietary temple rights and trusteeships changed hands by being bought and sold, and that this particular Dhanvantri Nilaya had its own vicissitudes.¹³ At one stage in its history, it seems to have

13. Enumerating the list of duties enjoined on a particular group of persons in Śrīrangam called the 'Sihānattār' (people of the locality), the following observation is made regarding the right of service enjoyed by the Garuḍavāhanas.

'அதுமுதலாக நாச்சியார் கோயில் தழையிடுவாரகைங்கர்யங்களும். கருட முத்தையும் உத்தம் நம்பி ஆதினமாக நடந்துவருகிறது. * கருட வாஹந பண்டிதர் கைங்கர்யமான குடிநீர் பாலமுது கைங்கர்யமும் வேறாக நடந்துவருகிறது. (Kōil Oḷugu: p. 83.)

There is clear evidence to show that this right changed hands from time to time.

The following passage referring to certain changes in several proprietary rights of service in the Śrīrangam temple points out that in cir. 1340 Śaka, an agreement was entered into by the then living Bhaṭṭar with the family of the Kandādais to the effect that he and his family would enjoy certain of the latter's rights and privileges (included in which was the wardenship of

come under the care of the Kōil Kandāḍai Anṇan family, members of which belong to the Vādhūla Gotra. There is nothing improbable, therefore, in the title having been held at sometime or other by a person belonging to the Vādhūla Gotra.

We shall now examine the two colophons in the light of the foregoing brief history of the Arōgyasāla and its trusteeship. The prose colophon must in all probability have been a later introduc-

the Dhanvantri Nilaya) until their return to Śrīrangam from outside. The implications are clear that:

(i) For sometime in the history of the Arōgyasāla, the family of the Kandāḍais, viz., the descendants of Mudali Anḍan belonging to the Vādhūla Gotra had enjoyed the proprietorship over it.

(ii) Owing to the absence of the Kandāḍais from Śrīrangam, the Bhaṭṭars took possession of it.

(iii) A settlement was, therefore, effected in the presence of the then living Uttama Nambi by which the Bhaṭṭars were permitted to enjoy the same until the return of the Kandāḍais to Śrīrangam.

(iv) Possibly therefore the Kandāḍais again regained their rights. Here is the passage.

‘இந்தப்படி நாலு வருஷம் பட்டருக்குப் பின்பு அந்த அதிகாரம் மாற நாடி மெய்நிலையிட்ட உத்தம நம்பி பிள்ளை விஜயநகரத்திலும் வந்து நீரிப்படியே ஸ்ரீகாரியம் நிர்வஹிக்கத் தொடங்கினவுடனே அந்த உத்தம நம்பி தகப்பன் அழகிய மணவாள நம்பி எம்பெருமானார் காலத்திலும் கருடவாஹன பண்டிதருக்கு நியமித்த கைங்கர்யத்தை பரம்பரையாய், திருமடைப்பள்ளி கள் அழகிய மணவாளனுக்குத் திருமேனி திருப்பவளங்களுக்குப் பாங்காக அமுது செய்கிற பதார்த்தங்களுக்கு பக்வங்கள் சொல்லிவைத்து. நிறைவு குறைவு விசாரிக்கிற கைங்கர்யமும் ராத்திரி திருப்பதியார் கொத்திலே சேர்ந்து குடிநீர்பால் அமுது செய்யப் பண்ணிவைக்கிறதும் எம்பெருமானார் காலம் தொடங்கி வம்ச பாரம்பர்யமாய் இந்த அழகிய மணவாள நம்பி துலுக் கவாணத்துக்குமுன் கந்தாடை ஸ்ரீரங்கராஜ நாயன் வாதுல தேசிகன் திரு வடிகளிலே ஆஸ்ரயித்தவரானபடியால் அந்த அபிமானத்தால் அனந்தக் கொத்துப் பரிகரங்களும் உடையவராஜனை அதிகரமிக்கலாகாதென்று யோசித்து. பட்டரை நிராகரித்து கந்தாடையாராஜினத்தையும் அதுக்குள்ள வரிசைகளையும் அவர்கள் தேசாந்தரஸ்தர்களானபடியாலே ஸ்ரீ பண்டாரத் திலே சேர்க்க. நாளளவிலே அந்தப்பட்டரும் எல்லாரையும் அதுஸரித்து அர்த்தபலத்தாலேயும் ஸமயம் முதலானதுகளைத் தம்முடைய வசம் பண்ணு கையில் ஜீயர்மதுஷ்யரிருவரும் கொப்பண்ண திம்மராஜர் ஸ்தலத்தார் முன் னிலைக்கும் உத்தம நம்பி பேருக்கும் கந்தாடையாரவாள் வருகிறவரைக்கும் நாங்கள் அனுபவிக்கிறோமென்று உடன்படிக்கை யெழுதித் கொடுத்தது சகாப்தம் ஆயிரத்து முந்துற்று நாற்பதுக்குமேல் விகாரி வருஷத்திலே’.

.....
விகாரிணி ஹதுதலநாடி:

வெஷாய-ஹதுதலநாடி.....

விதீய-ஹதுதலநாடி ஹதுதலநாடி

(Kōil Oḷugu: pp. 113-14.)

tion by persons who were misled into thinking that the author of the *kāvya* was the original Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita of the Kāśyapa Gotra. The very fact that they have not dared to obliterate the verse colophon altogether in spite of their apparent contradiction shows that it must have been the original and the genuine one by the author himself. It is unusual and not quite in the fitness of things that a *kāvya* writer should write the colophon to his work in prose. Above all there being nothing at all incongruous in Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita belonging to the Vādhūla Gotra, we can safely take it that it is the verse colophon that originally belonged to the *kāvya*, and that the other one in prose was a later introduction.

The names Varavarādhīśa and Vādhūlavarada are familiar even to those who have but a nodding acquaintance with Vaishṇava tradition in this country. The appellation ‘Guru’ to the former makes the identity still more unmistakable. The reference in all probability is to Varavaramuni or Maṇavāḷamāmuni as he is sometimes called, one of the great Śrī Vaishṇava Āchāryas after Rāmānuja, and considered the Guru by the *Ten-kalai* sect of Śrī Vaishṇavas. Similarly, Vādhūlavarada can be identified with one of the early Āchāryas of the Kōil Kandāḍai Anṇan family. But for the fact that there are two of that name immediately after Varavaramuni, we will be in a position to identify this Vādhūlavarada of the colophon with the famous Vādhūlavarada, the first of the Anṇan family of Āchāryas. It may be mentioned in passing that this Vādhūlavarada or Kōil Kandāḍai Anṇan as he was commonly called was one of the eight chief disciples, ‘*Aṣṭadiggajas*’ of the Great Varavaramuni. His grandson bore the same name. We are thus in a position to infer that Śrīnivāsa Kavi must have been the son of either the first of the Anṇan family, or of his grandson also a Vādhūla Varada. It is then just in the fitness of things that he claims Varavaramuni as his Guru—the Guru of all who belonged to the *Ten-kalai* sect of Śrī Vaishṇavas irrespective of their own immediate Āchāryas. Taking our stand on the identifications set forth above, we may assign the Divyasūri Charitam to the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. which must be the approximate date of the author who came three generations after Varavaramuni (1369-1445).

Further evidence is forthcoming from an unexpected and till now unrecognised if not unknown source confirming the foregoing. There are two MSS of this *kāvya* in the Government Oriental

Manuscript Library, Madras, which contain more than 18 *sargas*.¹⁴ This portion over and above the eighteen *sargas* found in the Mysore Edition of the *kāvya* consists of about hundred and ten *ślokas*. The last of these ends abruptly with the first half of its *pūrvārdha* thus 'शकुं कर्णशजोरङ्गी'.... thereby indicating clearly that that portion is incomplete in the MSS. In other words, we have reason to presume that there were some more *ślokas* comprising this portion. Since it has so far not been published, we have to rely on those incomplete MSS alone. The incompleteness of this unpublished part of the *kāvya* precludes the possibility of any definite conclusion regarding its nature. We are unable to say for certain whether this formed part of the *kāvya* itself as its nineteenth *sarga*, or was merely the composition of a later writer who added it on to the original as a possible continuation. Thus problems arise as to the nature and authorship of this unpublished text.

A proper solution of these problems depends largely on the right understanding of the contents of these texts. We know how the eighteenth *sarga* completes the life of Rāmānuja, and finishes up with saying that, after his labours in the cause of Vaishṇavism in this world, he was peacefully awaiting his end.¹⁶ As if in continuation of this, the narrative of the unpublished part begins by announcing an interview between Rāmānuja and one of his chief disciples by name Dāśarathi or Mudali Aṇḍān. The latter prays to his Guru (which prayer runs to nearly seventy verses in the text)¹⁷, and requests to be informed as to how the two-fold task of the propagation of the Śrī-Bhāshya and Divya Prabandha cultures, otherwise called the two-fold '*pravachanas*' should be carried on in future.¹⁸ The anxious disciple's concern for the fu-

14. Triennial catalogue of MSS, Vol. VI (Sanskrit), No. 4670. Ibid., vol. V, Part I Sanskrit B. No. 4558, p. 6635.

16. इत्याशास्य सरशान्तकमुख श्रीदिव्यसूर्याकृतीः
आचार्यस्य तत्प्रबन्धनिवहैस्सार्थं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सः ।
श्रीरङ्गादिमधामसु स्वयम्भूत श्रीदिव्यसूरिभजैः
तैस्साकं परमं पदं जिगमिषु रामानुजाख्यो मुनिः ॥

(D. S. Charitam, Mysore Edn. 18th *sarga*, *śloka* 98.)

17. Much ingenuity and great skill have been employed in the authorship of these *ślokas*.

18. Śrī-Bhāshya-*pravachana* means the study of the Vēdānta Sūtras with the commentary of Rāmānuja as also the other allied studies. "*Drāviḍāmnāya-pravachana*" means largely the study of the Nālayira-Divya-Prabandham of the Ālvārs with the various commentaries thereon and other allied studies.

ture of his religion was such that he wanted to know the names of persons who would be engaged in such '*pravachanas*'. At this request, Rāmānuja first gives out in order the prominent names of Āchāryas in the traditional Śrī-Bhāshya *paramparā* starting from Tirukkurugai-Pirān-Pillān and ending with Vēdānta Dēśika. Then he declares again in chronological order the prominent names of Āchāryas in the *Bhagavad-vishaya-paramparā* commencing from Pillān and ending with Varavaramuni. After Varavaramuni, this *Drāviḍāmnāya-pravachana* is said to be continued by Vādhūla Varada, Abhirāmavara,¹⁹ and others in the Aṇṇan family of Āchāryas. Rāmānuja concludes by saying that Śrinivāsa *kavi* alias Garuḍavāhana would write the life stories of the Ālvārs in *kāvya* form, and that thus both the *pravachanas* would go on uninterrupted in future for the good of mankind. Having received this assuring account of the future from his master, Dāśarathi also gets ready to depart from this world, and eagerly awaits his end. From this point the narrative proceeds to give one by one the places in which the Ālvārs and Āchāryas ended their last days. In so doing, it comes to an abrupt end, after the mention of Mahāpūrṇa or Peria-Nambi one of the preceptors of Rāmānuja.

There is nothing in the foregoing summary of the contents of the unpublished part to show that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita himself could not have been the author of it. On the other hand, the reference to himself and his work in the words of Rāmānuja and the fact that the narrative regarding the future course of *Drāviḍāmnāya-pravachana* stops with his name are quite suggestive. They lead one to infer that the author of Divyasūri Charita continued to give in a summarised form the Śrī-Bhāshya and Bhagavad-Vishaya *paramparās* up to his own days, and cleverly introduced his own name at the end of it all. It is evident that he has cleverly managed to convey all this through the mouth of Rāmānuja, the setting for all purposes being perhaps imaginary. In the light of this one may safely conclude that this unpublished text comprises what is possibly the nineteenth *sarga* of Divyasūri Charitam of which some portions are unfortunately missing in the available MSS. The contents of this missing portion, however, can be easily guessed. The scheme of the narrative in the available texts is clear. We saw how after the conclusion of Rāmānuja's account of the future to Dāśarathi, the texts begin giving in order the places where the Ālvārs and Āchāryas passed away from this world. In this way, we are first

19. Abhirāmavara is a grandson of Varavaramuni. He is hence popularly called 'आचार्यपौत्र'

given in a series the *Brindāvana* spots of the Ālvārs beginning with the first three of them. Incidentally, we are told about how and where persons like Kaṇi-Kaṇṇan, Śrī-Vallabha Pāṇḍya, Lōka-sāranga Muni, and Dēvadēvi all of whom were connected with one or other of the Ālvārs as gleaned from the *Guruparamparā* accounts, also attained salvation. Then comes the list of Āchāryas beginning from Nāthamuni and the places where they attained *mukti* (Salvation). We are led on right up to Mahā-pūrṇa (Tam.—Periaya Nambi). The last incomplete verse evidently refers to Tiruvarangapperumāl Araiyaṇ, one of the preceptors of Rāmānuja. From this point onwards, we have only to infer, from the trend of the narrative so far, that the remaining portions which are missing should refer to the passing away of the three other preceptors of Rāmānuja, viz., Periya-Tirumalai-Nambi, Tirukkoṭṭiyūr-Nambi and Tirumalai Āṇḍān. Possibly, it would contain references also to Māranēri-Nambi and Tirukkachchi-Nambi before finally coming up to Rāmānuja himself. It is highly probable, almost certain, that the narrative stopped with the mention of Rāmānuja's passing away from this world at Śrīrangam.

When once the genuineness of this nineteenth sarga—if it can be so called—is granted, that portion of it relating to Garuḍavāhana and his work becomes significant as affording an unmistakable solution for the problem on hand, viz., the date of Divyasūri Charitam. We saw how the narration of names proceeded chronologically in both the *paramparas*. We also saw how the author of Divyasūri Charitam referred to himself as the son of Śrīmad Varada Dēśika, the grandson of the first Vādhūla Varada Nārāyaṇa-Guru. In this way, what was a little indefinite in the colophon verse is made definite by this reference. In other words, while all that could be learnt from the colophon was that he must have been the son of a certain Vādhūla Varada, we are now led to conclude precisely that that Vādhūla Varada was the grandson of the first Āchārya of the same name. Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita must then be assigned to the fourth generation after Varavaramuni—a conclusion not at all different from that derived from an examination of the colophon itself. Thus the evidence contained in the colophon regarding the date of the *kāvya* is amply confirmed by this the yet unpublished part of Divyasūri Charitam itself.

The conclusion need not be altered even in case the genuineness of the nineteenth sarga is still doubted. For then, the only alternative is to suppose that all that portion is a later-day addition to the original *kāvya* by an unknown author. It may also be

argued that the conversation between Rāmānuja and Dāśarathi is at best an imaginary one. Granting all this, one cannot escape the fact that the narration of the post-Rāmānuja Śrī-Bhāshya and Bhagavad-Vishaya *paramparas* is in exact chronological order, as presented in tradition, and that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita is definitely mentioned as the author of the *kāvya*, and referred to clearly as the son of Vādhūla Varada. It is just possible that the author of this part, whoever it was, wanted to give us the aforesaid *paramparas*, and invented the imaginary setting of a dialogue between Rāmānuja and Dāśarathi. This device is common to 'Paurāṇikas.' The Prapannāmṛtam for instance gives the lives of the Ālvārs as though narrated by Bhaṭṭar to Vēdānti (Nanjīyar). In fact, this is a common enough paurāṇic device which might have been followed by this unknown author for his own narrative. This need not, however, prevent us from accepting the genuineness of the narrative itself, specially when it is seen to conform most exactly to accepted traditions. There is certainly no reason to doubt the references to Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita also. The unknown authorship of the text and its imaginary paurāṇic setting are absolutely immaterial considerations.

The conclusion is thus borne in upon us that the date of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita is the first half of the sixteenth century A. D. Having thus been chronologically posterior to the Ārāyirappaḍi-Guru-*paramparai* of Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar, the Divyasūri Charitam could not have been the basis for the Jiyar's work. A careful examination of the texts of both these works will help us to revise the accepted views on the matter. The following extracts of translations and parallel passages culled from both these sources will bear out the question :

1. Translation of the original *Guru-paramparai* words into Sanskrit : some typical instances alone may be given :

கணிகண்ணன்	कणिकुणः
உடையநங்கையார்	नाथनायिका
அறந்தாங்கியார்	धर्मधरः
செந்தாமரைக்கண்ணர்	पाटललोचनः

We have only to look a little carefully into the composition of these two sets of names to be able to conclude that Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar's work and his names are the originals, and the names occurring in the *kāvya* are exact translations of them. The combination of the two words कणि and कुणः into the compound कणिकुणः is of

course understandable. But then, what is the meaning of 'कणि' in the compound? If the Sanskrit term alone is the original this in the compound should have a meaning. As it is, however, we know of no such word in Sanskrit. On the other hand, the adjunct 'कणि' in the Tamil word 'கணிகண்ணன்' denotes in all probability his proficiency in the Śāstras. For, 'கணி' * generally denotes one that is proficient in astronomical calculations and the like Śāstras. It becomes clear then that the more intelligible Tamil compound is the original, and கணிகுண: is the translation. Similarly, the nature of the two sets of names must enable us to infer which is the original and which the translation.

II. Where translation of the original Tamil word was found difficult the author of the D. S. Charitam kept them as they were in their original form. Often the Tamil forms had to be retained for fear, translations of them would lead to absurdities. A few examples may be given. Tiruvaḷudivaḷanāḍar, (திருவழுதிவ ளநாடர்), the name of one of the ancestors of Nammāḷvar is simply retained in its original form as श्रीमद्भुदिवलनाडेन्द्र: in the *kāvya*. Just in the same way, the name 'Kāri' is retained in Sanskrit without any alteration. The proper name 'Poṛkāri' (பொற்காரி) is also similarly retained possibly because the translation of it into स्वर्ण कारि will lead to an absurdity. For, स्वर्णकारि in Sanskrit denotes a goldsmith.

III. Occasionally, in the *kāvya* we come across instances of mistaken Sanskritisation of the original which betrays its posteriority to the latter. One such typical instance is the translation of the term 'மண்ணியாற்றங்கரையிலிருந்து' in the Ārāyirappaḍi into the Sanskrit 'मृदापगात्'. We see how Maṇṇiyāru (மண்ணியாறு) was misunderstood as மண்ணாறு and how this misunderstanding has led to its translation as मृदापगा.

IV. Translations apart, we find several instances in which the words, compounds of words and wholesale phrases of the Ma-

* Kani is astrologer in Tamil and the name would mean astrologer Krishna which may be a professional name. If this was the name the translation in Sanskrit will be from the name and need not be from another source as is suggested above so far as this goes. (Editor.)

nipravālam text of the Ārāyirappaḍi are bodily imported into the *kāvya* verses. Here are a few of them:

(a) அநந்தரம் உல்பஸம்வேஷ்டிதமாய் ஒன்றும் ஸூகரியாமல் அவ தரிக்கையாலே அந்த உல்பாவ்ருத பிண்டாக்குதியானது²⁰

eto. eto. eto.

निक्षिप्य तस्यान्तिकवेन्नगते
गर्भे तमुल्बावृतमुखणामं²¹

(b) தத்பத்தியும் கர்ப்பவதியாய் ஒரு குமாரனை ப்ரஸவிக் க, ஸூவி துரரைப்போலே விளங்குகிற அந்தப் புத்ரனைக்கண்டு அவருக்கு 'கணிகண்ணன்' என்று திருநாமம் சாத்தி அகில வித்யைகளையும் அதிகரிப்பித்தார்கள்²².

काले गते सा हरिभक्तिभाजं प्राप्तु शूद्री सुधियंकुमारं ।
तेजस्विना तेन रराज शूद्रा यथा हि माता विदुरेण पूर्व ॥
चकार नाम्नाकणिकुणमेनम् अशिक्षयत्सर्वकलाश्चतातः ॥²³

(c) ஆழ்வாரும் தம்முடைய வலத்திருவடியின் பெருவி லிலே ஒரு கண்ணைத் திறந்துவிட அக்கண்ணில் நின்றும் அக்கி ப்ரளயஹு தவாறு கோடிகல்பமாய் ஜ்வலித்துக்கொண்டு கிளம்ப கோடிவைப் வாநர ப்ரக் யமாய் அத்யர்க்ககோடிப தீர்க்கஜ்வாலா ஜாஜ்வல்யமாநாக்ரியில் ஸம்பு வின்லோசநாக்ரி அடங்க eto. eto.²⁴

समीक्ष्य तं शांभवलोचनाग्निं प्रसारयामास पदाम्बुजे सः ।
ज्वलत्कुशान्न्यकृतवन्धभूवन्तयोस्तदा तादृशलोचनानि ॥
अत्यर्कवैभ्वानरमस्य पादचक्षुर्महास्सोदुमशक्नुवानः ॥²⁵

(d) 'இவர்கள் ஒருவர்க்கொருவர் பாலும் பாலும் சேர்ந்தாப்போலவும் பகவதநுபவம் பண்ணியிருந்தார்கள்²⁶.

यथा पयोभिः पयसां समागमो यथामधूनां मधुभिश्च संगमः ।
तथैकरस्यात् प्रणयस्तयोरभूत् मुकुन्दचिन्तारस मुह्यदात्मनोः ॥²⁷

Paradoxical as it may seem, it is the deviations of the *kāvya* from its original more than their close similarities, parallellisms and in-

20. Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai—Ed. S. Krishnamacharya. Prabhāva: p. 12.

21. D. S. Charitam, Mysore Edn., sarga II, śloka 36.

22. Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai, p. 13.

23. D. S. Charitam, sarga II, śloka 48-50.

24. Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai, p. 15.

25. D. S. Charitam, Mysore Edn., sarga II, śloka 72-74.

26. Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai—Ed. S. Krishnamacharya, Prabhāva, p. 17.

27. D. S. Charitam, sarga III, śloka 12.

ter-changeable texts that indicate clearer still the posteriority of Divyasūri Charitam to the Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai. While in general, the *kāvya* follows the original even in respect of the sequence of the narrative, it makes occasional departures from it. Broadly analysed, such departures may be found to occur.

1. When the poet indulges in descriptive passages. This involves, however, a deviation in manner rather than in detail and may therefore be passed over.

2. When he has placed the life of Nammālvār just after Tirumaḷisai, and not last as is done by the Jiyar. This again need not be seriously considered. In an introductory note to the life of Kulaśēkhara, the Jiyar himself points out the reason for treating the life of Nammālvār last, and not in the traditional order after Tirumaḷisai. He declares that he reserves Nammālvār to the last on the ground of his greater importance than the rest of the Ālvārs²⁸. The author of D. S. Charitam perhaps never troubled himself to make any change and merely narrated events in the traditional order. In the result, both of them having accepted the traditional order, we see no deviation at all of one from the other.

3. When he has elaborated the wedding of Śrī Aṇḍāl with Śrī Ranganātha in about four *sargas*—it is not so much this elaboration as some details contained in it that are at variance with facts mentioned in the Ārāyirappaḍi. For instance, it is said in the *kāvya* that all the Ālvārs met together to attend the divine wedding, that Tirumangai attacked the bridal procession and robbed Aḷagiyamaṇavālan of his ornaments and so on. Indeed, it is a romantic pen-picture that we get in this part of the work and it may be asserted unhesitatingly that it forms the best part of it. It is clear that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita made use of the comparatively drab details given by the Jiyar about the marriage in order to weave this enchanting picture replete with manifold touches of literary excellence: If he made bold to assert that all the twelve Ālvārs attended the wedding, that a regular wedding feast and entertainment was held in the residence of Nammālvār and other

28. இங்கே அவதாரம் பார்த்தில் நம்மாழ்வார் திருவவதார வைபவம் சொல்லலாயிருக்க ஸ்ரீகுலசேகராழ்வார் திருவவதார வைபவம் சொல்லுகிறது அவயவ நிருபணம் பண்ணியே அவயவியை நிரூபிக்கவேண்டுமென கையாலே,

(Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai, p. 22.)

Does this not argue the independence of the *kāvya*?—(Editor.)

such details, it is certainly to enhance the *kāvya* interest and to embellish the essentially romantic setting. In the whole range of the lives of the Ālvārs, no other episode than his wedding could have been made the centre of interest in a *kāvya*. It is no wonder therefore that he chose to elaborate this theme, and made it in fact the central one of his excellent work. In so doing, it is natural that he gave free play to his poetic imagination to create new incidents and import details not found in the prosaic narrative of the *Guruparamparai*. These departures, then, from the original were made with a purpose and were called for by the author's scheme of *kāvya*-delineation in the most classic style known in Sanskrit literature.

It would be difficult to explain the above mentioned differences between the *Guruparamparai* and the D. S. Charitam, if it is held that the latter was the basis of the former. We cannot possibly assign any reason for the Jiyar who is a matter of fact historian deviating in the least from the original. The traditionalist that he was, he would not have strayed away from it for any reason. If on the other hand the proper relation between the two works is understood, viz., that the Ārāyirappaḍi was the earlier and the basic work on which Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita built, then, the difficulty vanishes. The Jiyar gave us the matter of fact history in his *Guruparamparai*; the later writer made use of the facts in this history to write a *kāvya*. In so doing, he naturally made certain changes. This in brief is the most reasonable view to take regarding the two works under discussion.

We are now in a position to understand fuller the implications of the author's *pratigñā* or resolve in the opening verses of the first *sarga*.²⁹ We have already referred to the fact that he revealed therein his determination to conclude the *kāvya* after depicting the life of Rāmānuja. In so doing, he is seen to have declared that he, as a humble person, felt himself unequal to the task of depicting the lives of the *Divyasūris*, and that he merely followed the work of previous writers on the same subject. In other words, we learn from the introductory portion of the first *sarga* that Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita based his work on another work by an author long before his own time. The relevant *śloka*s may now be quoted:

29. See foot-note 7.

क दिव्यसूरिचरितं क च मे मन्दशेमुषी
नियन्तुकामोऽसि गजं साहसात् विसतन्तुना ॥
प्राचां प्रशस्तिं प्राज्ञानां प्रार्थये प्राकृताग्रणीः
पिपासोरगमाग्रस्थम् क्षौद्रं पङ्कोस्समोऽस्म्यहम् ॥
पूर्वाचार्यादितं वृत्तं सूरिणामाद्रियेऽप्यहम्
द्युमणिद्योतितापि द्यौः खद्योतेनापि भासते ॥
प्राचीनवाचां विषयं चरितं वर्णयाम्यहम्
गजेन प्रस्थिते मार्गे किं न याति पिपीलिका ॥

In the above, we find that he refers to the subject of the history of the Ālvārs (सूरिणां वृत्तम्) as one that has been dealt with before him by a Pūrvāchārya or Āchāryas. (पूर्वाचार्यतः) He says further that the same subject is dealt with by him also.³⁰

Now, who could have been this Pūrvāchārya who wrote on the subject of *Divyasūri Charita* or the lives of the Ālvārs? The facts set forth above regarding the relation between the *Ārāyirappaḍi* and the *kāvya* must make it absolutely clear that it must have been no other than *Pinbālagiya Jiyar*. Those who maintain that *Garuḍavāhana* was a contemporary of Rāmānuja, and wrote the *kāvya* in the Āchārya's own life-time must find it impossible to reconcile their opinion with the facts given in these *ślokas* regarding a previous writer on the subject. For, they cannot point out to any one such who had written on the subject of the *Guruparamparai* prior to Rāmānuja. Tradition which ascribes several works to the authorship of Āchāryas prior to Rāmānuja does not at all mention any such work. If there was a work of that kind older than Rāmānuja himself, later writers and traditionalists must certainly have made at least passing references to it. As it is, we are unable to find any reference to a pre-Rāmānuja work on the lives of the Ālvārs and Āchāryas. This in itself is enough for us to reject the supposed contemporaneity of *Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita* to Rāmānuja. On the other hand, the date which we have assigned to the work, viz., the first half of the sixteenth century is quite consistent with what is contained in the *ślokas* quoted above. On the basis of accepted tradition, *Pinbālagiya Jiyar*'s work must be assigned to about the first half of the thirteenth century. It is but natural that

30. Literally, आद्रियेऽप्यहं means 'is patronised by me also.' From the context, however, the meaning is clear. To say that the Pūrvāchāryas patronised the life stories of the *Divyasūris* is to say that they spoke and wrote about them fervently.

Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita based his work on it. The intervening period of nearly three centuries between them is a sufficiently long one and it is only in the fitness of things, therefore, that he refers to it as the work of the ancients (प्राचीनवाचां विषयचरितं).

Before finally concluding, it is necessary to discuss some more facts and observations which would militate against the sixteenth century date for *Divyasūri Charitam*. It is sometimes asserted that the *kāvya* has been referred to by Śrī Vēdānta Dēśika and others in their works.³¹ If this is a fact, it would be impossible to assign the work to any later date after Dēśika as we have done. Dēśika's date (1269-1369) must then fix the lower limit for the *kāvya*. As far as we have been able to ascertain, however, there is no such reference at all either to *Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita*, or to his work, in the whole range of Vēdānta Dēśika's works.³² This absence may even be an argument in favour of the post-Dēśika date for *Divyasūri Charitam*. But this is an argument from silence which need not be pressed too far. It is enough if we point out here that there are no references to the *kāvya* in Dēśika's works, and to that extent, therefore, our conclusion is not vitiated. A greater obstacle is furnished by certain Mss. and almost all the printed editions of the *Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparā-Prabhāvam* which include D. S. Charita *ślokas* in their texts. This leads to the natural conclusion that it must have been anterior to the *Guruparamparai*. Nevertheless, a careful and thorough examination of the text as also of some of the *ślokas* in these editions of the *Jiyar*'s work will reveal startling facts. In all the available editions, *ślokas* not only from the *Divyasūri Charitam* but also from other works are quoted. Thus for instance, we find two *ślokas* from *Lakshmi Kāvya* incorporated in the text dealing with the births of Bhaṭṭar and Govinda.³³ This *Lakshmi kāvyam* is clearly

31....दिव्यसूरिवैभवं सदाचार्योपदेशपरम्परालब्धं वेदान्तदेशिकादिभिः
रहस्यग्रन्थेषु प्रमाणत्वेन निर्दिष्टं

(Preface to D. S. Charitam, Mysore Edn.)

32. I am deeply indebted to Mr. A. V. Gopalacharya, the editor of Śrī Dēśika's works and to Mahāmahōpādhyāya Śētlūr Narasimhachar Swami, who have assured me to that effect.

33. *Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai*, p. 148. The *ślokas* quoted from *Lakshmi Kāvya* are:

पुत्रीकृतो रङ्गपुराणधरेण पराशरः कुरङ्गलप्रदीपः
गोविन्दशिष्यस्तु तामुनार्यमनोरथं पुरितवान्नितीयम् ॥
गोविन्दराजान्वयजो मनीषी पराङ्मुखो तामुनैवमनस्यम्
अपाचकार प्रसमं तृतीयं विराजते वृत्तमणिप्रदीपः ॥

a work of about the sixteenth century by a certain uttama-nambi Tirumalādhīsa and therefore the ślokas could not possibly have been quoted by the Jiyar. Similarly we find Jayantimāla ślokas quoted also. These Jayantimāla ślokas or avatāra ślokas were most probably compiled by some unknown hand long after the Jiyar's time. This is clear from the fact that this compilation includes the avatāra śloka of Varavaramuni also.³⁴ Again how could Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar have quoted from Vēdānta Dēśika's "Sankalpasūryōdaya" as is seen from the available editions. The fact is that the original Ārāyirappaḍi did not contain these ślokas, and they came to be incorporated into it gradually through efflux of time. Being avatāra ślokas, they were added on to the text of the Guruparamparai whenever the context admitted of such incorporation.

It is possible to reveal the interpolatory character of the several texts containing the D. S. Charitam ślokas by a comparative study of the context in which they occur in several editions. At the outset, what strikes the critical reader is the total absence of method in regard to the manner in which the quotations are supposed to have been made. This could certainly have not been the case if Pinbaḷagiya Jiyar himself had quoted these ślokas from the D. S. Charitam. In fairness to him, it must be said that he would have followed a uniform method in quoting them in his work. As it is, we find these ślokas are thrown in here and there in the midst of the maṇipravāḷam text. If we confine our attention only to that part of the text which contains D. S. Charitam ślokas and compare

कांच्यां सरसि हेमाब्जे जातंकासार योगिनम्
कलये यः श्रियःपत्ये रवि दीपमकल्पयत् ॥
मुकुन्दस्य मुखोल्लासमूलवाग्जालमूर्चितम्
मुनिमुख्यं सरोजातं मुक्तिमूलमुपास्महे ॥ (Taniyan)

என்றும்

हेमाब्जिनीहेमसरोजगर्भात् श्रीपाञ्चजन्योऽजनि तत्रऽयोगी
तारे हरेराश्वयुजाख्यमासे समस्तजीवावनकर्महेतोः ॥

(D. S. Charitam)

³⁴ पाथोभावं गतायां कलियुगशरदि भ्रष्टराये शकाब्दे
वर्षे साधारणेऽर्के समधिगततुले वासरे तीरसंख्ये ।
वारे जैवेचतुर्थ्या समजनित तिथौ शुक्लपक्षे सुकर्मा
भ्राजन्मूलाख्यतारे यतिपतिरपरो रस्यजामातृनामा ॥

them as they are found in MSS and in all the available printed editions, we shall see that no two of them will be similar. In some of them, the avatāra ślokas taken from the kāvya are put down next to the 'taniyan' ślokas before the maṇipravāḷam prose text itself relating to the avatāra of the Āḷvār. Thus—

आज्ञाधी श्रीचन्दने द्वापरान्ते सिद्धार्थाख्ये वत्सरे मासि शेषे ।
शुक्लाष्टम्यां भौमवारे शुपक्षे विष्णोजन्म प्राप कासारयोगी ॥

(Jayantimāla)

என்றும் சொல்லுகிறபடியே, முதலாழ்வார் மூவரிலும் வைத்துக்கொண்டு
ப்ரதமம் பொய்கையாழ்வார் கண்ணன் வெண்காவில் த்வாபர
யுகத்தில் ஐப்பசிமாயத்தில் ஸ்ராவண நகரத்திரத்திலே ஸ்ரீபாஞ்
சஜன்யாம் ஸ்ராய் அவதரித்தருளினார்.

(Prose text) (Guruparamparā Prabhāvam edited by Āsūri, Panna
nujacharya and others 1878—Srinidhi Press).

We find that the order is changed in other editions

कांच्यां सरसि हेमाब्जे जातं कासारयोगिनं
कलये यः श्रियः पत्ये रवि दीपमकल्पय ॥
मुकुन्दस्य मूर्धितं
मुनिमुख्यं मुपास्महे ॥

आज्ञाधी श्री चन्दने वत्सरे मासि शेषे ।
शुक्लाष्टम्यां प्रापकासारयोगी ॥
(Jayantimāla)

முதலாழ்வார் மூவரிலும்வைத்துக்கொண்டு ப்ரதமம் பொய்கையாழ்வார்
. கச்சியிலே ஐப்பசி மாஸத்திலே ஸ்ர
வண நகரத்திரத்திலே ஸ்ரீபாஞ்ச ஜன்யாம்ஸ்ராய் அவதரித்
தருளினார். (Prose text)

हेमाब्जिनी तत्र योगी
तारे हरे कर्महेतोः ॥
(D. S. Charitam)

என்று திவ்யஸூரி சரிதையிலே சொல்லிற்றிதே.

The interpolatory character of these D. S. Charitam ślokas in the Ārāyirappaḍi text will be clear from the following extracts. The

natural flow and regular sequence in these extracts are visibly retarded by the later introduction of these *ślokas* into the body of these texts. Without the *ślokas*, one finds that the sentences read correctly and naturally.

Referring to the *avatāra* of Tirumaṭṭaiśai Āḷvār, the text runs thus :

“ஆழ்வார் திருமழிசைப் பிரானுகிரார் அவதரித்தருளினபடியும்
எங்ஙனே யென்னில் பார்க்கவருடைய பத்திரகர்ப்பினியாய்
. தைமாஸத்தில் மகாநகரத்திரத்தில் ஸுதர்சனம்சமாய் பிண்டா
க்ருதியாகப் பரஸவிக்க,

ஸா மஹாபாயுத உதேயவதீ ஸுதர-தநாஸெந ததா நுவிஷ்ட
வவாத மஹேஷ ஹுவி தெஷ்டாஸெஷ வவாவி யாதெ உஹநீயதா
ரெ || லிஷ்டாபி-தத-உஷ ரஸெஷ உகரஉயிமதெ உவவரெஷ நயாரா
செஷாஷெ ஸெவத ரெளவெமதவதி அ லிஷெ ஸவவிஸெஷெவாஷெ
நஷ்டெ ஹாநுவாரெ உ நிவர தநயொ ஹிஷாரெ உநீந
பூஷாநு பூராவாவதாராஜமஹவகரதயவவ-ஷெஷெஷெஷெ ||

என்கிறபடியே ஸுதர்சனம் பேர திருமழிசைப்பிரான் அவதரித்தாரெ
ன்று திவ்யஸூரிசரிதையிலே சொல்லித்திறே”

Another extract from the text also referring to the same *avatāra* may be given :

“ஆழ்வார் திருமழிசைப்பிரானுகிரார் ஷ்டீக்ருஷ்ணனைப்
போலே யாய்த்து அவதரித்தருளினபடியும் வளர்த்தருளினபடியும். எங்ங
னேயென்னில் :— பார்க்கவருடைய பத்திரும் கர்ப்பவதியாய்
பன்னிரண்டு மாஸத்துக்குப் பின்பு த்வாபரயுகத்திலே தை
மாஸத்தில்மகாநகரத்திரத்தில் ஸுதர்சனம்ஸமாய்பிண்டாக்ருதியாகப் பரஸவிக்க

ஸா மஹாபாயுத உதேயவதீ ஸுதர-தநாஸெந ததா நுவிஷ்ட
வவாத மஹேஷ ஹுவி தெஷ்டாஸெஷ வவாவி யாதெ உஹநீயதா ரெ ||

என்கிறபடியே ஸுதர்சனம்ஸமாய திருமழிசைப்பிரான் அவதரித்தாரெ
ன்று திவ்யஸூரிசரிதையிலே சொல்லப்பட்டதிறே”

The utter confusion and the disjointed nature of the sentences in the above extracts are due to the forced introduction of *Jayanti-māla* and D. S. Charitam *ślokas* into the body of the original by later people. Untampered the original *Ārāyirappaḍi* text would certainly have contained much more regular and correct passages of dignified *manipravālam*.

It is easy to over-estimate the value of D. S. Charitam as a source work for the history of Vaishnavism, as has been done so far. Very often sole reliance is placed upon this work for several important conclusions concerning the early history of this religion. Such conclusions are bound to be modified in view of its later-day authorship and its romantic setting as a *kāvya*. At best it must be considered as a historical romance and it would be imprudent to seek more history in it than what such romances can offer. Nevertheless, one cannot forget that it is entirely based upon, and has mainly drawn from the *Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparā-Prabhāvam*; and as such, it must be of some use to the student of history. If only the proper relationship between the two works is understood and the essentially romantic setting of the *kāvya* is given its proper place beside the basic facts—which are the same in both—then, it can be said to be as valuable as the earlier work itself. The author must be praised for his discretion in building upon the *Ārāyirappaḍi* material. He has shown commendable moderation for a *kāvya* writer. It is easy to spot out the deviations from the original, and therefore also to eschew all imaginary embellishments as fictitious and unreliable.

Akbar's Regulation System ; when did it end ?

BY

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MR. MORELAND discussing Akbar's revenue system which he prefers to call "the regulation system", remarks that "the effects of the system must have depended wholly on the manner of its administration: according to circumstances it might be either helpful or intolerably vexatious: and evidence is wanting to show which alternative is nearer the truth. We may safely guess that neither was universally true, that there were good collectors as well as bad, and the balance was determined in the last resort, by the personal qualification of the Emperor. We can believe them if we choose that the system worked reasonably well in the reserved districts under Akbar's rule and yet *went to pieces under Jahangir*; but we know only that it had disappeared before the accession of Aurangzeb"¹.

Again he remarks "if we could rely on their silence [the chronicles of the 17th century] we should be justified in inferring that the methods of assessment elaborated under Akbar and described in the last chapter remained in operation in their integrity. This influence is however negatived decisively by general orders issued by Aurangzeb in the year 1665, which show by that time Akbar's method had become almost entirely obsolete, etc."²

Further on, he remarks "seasonal measurement was costly and cumbrous. We must regard it as an expedient under a strong administration. Remove Akbar's personal influence and the gradual extension of group assessment would be the line of least resistance as the administrative difficulties of measurement recurred."³

Mr. Moreland's remarkable anticipation that the change in the Agrarian policy may have occurred in Jahangir's time is confirmed

by a fresh bit of evidence, which unfortunately escaped his attention. It is rather strange that the change could have come so early as 1609, only four years after the death of the great Emperor. But the evidence is there and that from an unimpeachable source and we have to accept it. This is contained in Father Xavier's letter "from the city and court of Agra" to Father Ituren which is dated 14th September 1609⁴.

Father Jerome Xavier was one of the three priests who were sent to the court of Akbar in 1593 A. D. The others being Father Pinheyro and Brother Benedict Goes.

"There can be no doubt" says MacLagan "that the members of the party were picked men Jerome Xavier had entered the Society at Alcala 26 years previously and had spent most of his services in India firstly as rector at Bassein, then Cochin and finally at Goa For 23 years he was to remain at the Moghul court, sometimes in favour, sometimes in prison. At last in 1617 he returned to Goa and died there on 17th June of that year being at the time Archbishop-elect of Cranganore"⁵.

Jerome Xavier was a grand nephew of St. Francis Xavier the Apostle of the East. He belonged to a noble family of Navarre. What is of more importance to us is he knew Persian, and moved in the highest court circle. Coming down from such an authority and that too after 16 years of stay in the country, it would be un-fresh light on the term "Nasâq".

The letter runs "your reverence asks me for news from this country. It is very healthy etc., The country is very fruitful. The tyranny of the mogores has ruined it; however it is well-provided with everything. The king is absolute Lord of all his kingdom; and great and small have only as much land and property as he wishes to give them. To some he gives very great revenues e.g., 100, 200 and 500 thousand cruzados. But when he gets angry he deprives them of the land and gives them to others; and so during the time that someone holds certain lands he squeezes out of them whatever he can and the *poor labourers desert them and run away*—which is the reason why they are so poorly peopled."

1. Agrarian system of Moslem India pp. 115-116.

2. Ibid 124.

3. Ibid 125.

4. J. A. S. B. 1927. pp. 121-122.

5. J. A. S. B. LXV, p. 64.

This is practically Captain Hawkins' story of frequent change of assignments which he blames as responsible for the misery of the tenants. But the flight of the peasants from Agricultural occupation which Bernier noticed and Aurangzeb's orders tried to remedy seems to have begun as early as the beginning of Jahangir's reign.

The latter portion of the letter is the most interesting and most important. Xavier writes "There are other lands which the King reserves for himself; he farms them out to the highest bidder and the lessees in order to extract from them what they promised to pay and derive profit, rob the labourers and oppress them in a hundred ways until they leave the land and go away and so they are less populated than they might be."

The system described by Xavier as operating in the King's reserved lands or Khalisa is certainly not Akbar's regulation system. It is neither sharing nor group settlement. The explanation seems to be what Mr. Moreland suggests that 'Nasaq' or group settlement may cover a wider meaning and perhaps included farming. He remarks "The two methods look very much alike when viewed from above In each case the Collector has to deal with an individual who has engaged to pay a lump sum on account of a village or larger area. It may make little difference to him whether that member is one of the village or an outsider"⁶.

My own impression is that the Persian Dictionary "Farhangi Jahāngiri" may give a clue. It was composed by Mir Jamaludin Hussain Inju himself a high mansabdar in the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. It has besides the advantage of being a contemporary dictionary. I have been unable to verify my impression as a copy of it is not available here. Scholars who can consult may throw fresh light on the term "Nasâq".

However, it is I think fairly established that by 1609, perhaps earlier still, Akbar's "regulations system" came to an end, and we may safely say that "group settlement" and "farming" were the most important Mogol agrarian institutions in the whole of 17th century and in the early quarter of the 18th century as well.

6. Agrarian system. Appendix D. p. 237.

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

BY

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(Continued from p. 113 of Vol. XII, Part I)

XIII

I—GODEHEU'S GOVERNORSHIP AND FIRST DIFFICULTIES.

By the time that the Diarist's account is available to us in September 1754—there being an extensive gap from December 8, 1753 to September 8, 1754, due, presumably, to the entire disappearance of one volume of the original *Diary*—much had occurred. The French forces had failed in their last attempt to take Trichinopoly by assault; the conference of English and French deputies at Sadras had broken up; and M. Godeheu had landed at Pondicherry, with orders recalling Dupleix and with a mandate to bring the struggle with the English to a close and to free the French Company's trade from the encumbrances of war. The Diarist's account for September 1754 begins with "a new Governor, Godeheu, at that great *Gouvernement* which Dupleix had built for his own magnificence, but had scarcely occupied two years, and a Governor who was charged with the duty of reversing the policy of Dupleix, which for all its possibilities had obtained little beyond private fortunes, coupled with public disasters."

Ranga Pillai was sulky, because the new Governor kept him, at first at a distance. He thought that the Diarist was afraid of Dupleix and unwilling to take part in business. The Diarist complained that Papayya Pillai, Dupleix's dubash, to whom the land-revenue had been rented and who was in arrears, had been imprisoned without his advice and that his own measures for recovering money from him had been disregarded, asserting that he would have managed to clear up the whole matter, but "what was done was like tying up air in a bag". Godeheu was persuaded, largely through M. Boyelleau, to take back Ranga Pillai into favour and entrust to him, as before, the affairs of the Tamils and the Muhammadans and the country business.¹ Dupleix who was making

1. In the beginning of January, the Diarist was formally commissioned to take sole charge of all this business.

hurried preparations for his departure to Europe, sent for Ranga Pillai, urging him to tender his advice to the Governor, even when not sent for and consulted, particularly in the grant of the leases of revenue, as to the persons to whom they should be granted. From the entry for September 14, we learn that Godeheu took the Diarist into his confidence, asking him to "let bygones be bygones" and promising not to allow anyone else to have a hand in the management of the country affairs and those of the Tamils and Muhammadans, and adding that "I will see that none except our two selves manage matters."

The relations with the country powers displayed a very unsatisfactory aspect. Murari Rao wrote complaining that he had not received the promised contribution for 8 or 9 months and that Dupleix had made false charges against him, although he owed him more than 13 lakhs of rupees,² forwarding to his vakils at Pondicherry, all the notes executed by the late Governor. Muhammad Ali sent a threatening letter through M. Maissin, warning the French to confine themselves to trade and not to exceed those limits and refusing to release the French soldiers that had been captured. Godeheu also complained that Bussy had not been writing to him at all; and the Diarist explained the matter by saying that Bussy had been hitherto managing all affairs without any interference and now he feared that some hindrance might arise. It was even suggested by the new Governor that the Diarist should send his men to get Salabat Jang's camp-news "without M. Bussy's knowing it." He was anxious about the visits paid by the vakils of Nanja Raja and Murari Rao to Dupleix and instructed Ranga Pillai to "watch who visits him and tell me." He had a letter written to Murari Rao that he should settle with the old Governor for the sum of money owing to him, or that he might set off his claims against the sum that Nanja Raja owed to the French, paying the latter whatever might remain after the adjustment. At the same time Murari Rao was to be exhorted not to abandon the French alliance. Nanja Raja bitterly protested against the departure of Maissin, the French commandant, and charged the Pondicherry Government with having broken their promises to him, imploring that the French troops might be made to stay on at Trichinopoly. He agreed to give suitable hostages for the 15 lakhs of rupees, owing from him to the French, together with the cost of the *sibbandi*, if they should capture the Trichinopoly fort and

2. According to a despatch of Fort St. George, dated November 10, 1754, the French owed him 9 lakhs.

give it to him; even otherwise, he would pay off the debt from out of the sum that the enemy had offered to give him.³ Godeheu replied that he had arranged with the English for a truce of three months and that the Dalavai would have to pay for the French troops from the time of their joining him; he also suggested, impliedly, that he might make his own terms with the enemy, adding, "if you get the 60 lakhs of rupees which were offered to you, what cannot be done with the help of so much money?" In the next letter to the Dalavai, he wrote that Maissin had received orders to stay on with his troops, "at which I was overjoyed, that you (Godeheu) thus escape the dishonour of reducing to despair him who has trusted the French these three years."

II. DUPLEIX'S DEPARTURE FOR EUROPE—THE DIARIST'S VIEW.

Dupleix departed for Europe by the *Duc d'Orleans*, on the morning of the 14th October, nearly 13 years after he landed from Bengal. He had hoped, according to the Diarist, to leave his bones in Pondicherry; yet now he had been "dismissed, accused and arrested." Sententiously the Diarist reflected—"Such is the fate of the man who seeks his own will without the fear of God . . . Madame alone had caused all Dupleix's troubles; but he did not understand this till matters were irretrievable . . . He has eaten

3. Orme remarks that "it is difficult to find an example of a prince conducting himself with more weakness than the Mysorean in the course of this war; the Nabob had procured his assistance by a promise which he never intended to perform. . . . The Nabob's breach of faith in refusing to deliver up the city to him, only served to exasperate his eagerness to get possession of it, which rendered him as great a dupe to the promises of M. Dupleix, as he had been to those of the Nabob; for it is certain that he at last discovered it himself, that the French never intended to give him Trichinopoly if they had succeeded in taking it; nor was he less deluded by his ally Morari-Row, who after persuading him to assist the French against the Nabob, deserted him as soon as his treasures began to fail. . . ." (Vol. I; Book V., p. 389).

Nanja Raja had to return to Mysore in the course of 1755, at the urgent summons of his brother, "having nearly exhausted the treasury in the expenses of this unprofitable war, added to a subsidy paid during most of the time to his Mahratta ally Morari Rao of Gooty and a loan of ten lakhs of pagodas to Muhammad Ali which was never repaid". According to Governor 'Saunders' despatch from Fort St. George, dated November 10, 1754, the Mysoreans trusted the French so little that they would have withdrawn long ago, "but that the Dalavay's brother (Deva Rajah) fears for his life, should he acknowledge his defeat by withdrawal."

the fruit of his actions . . . I dwelt in truth and justice under his government ; but from first to last, he regarded neither justice, nor truth. Without God's help no labours can serve to make one rich."

Dupleix had indeed continued to promise, even till the eve of his departure, to make good the losses that the Diarist had suffered through him, first on account of the lease of Tiruvati, Bhuvanagari and other places which had been given to him for three years in 1749, but taken away later and transferred by Madame Dupleix to Rango Pandit ; and, next, on account of the amount of half a lakh of rupees due on the balance of his private transaction with the late Governor.⁴ The Diarist had prayed, "with my head bowed towards my belly," that he might be paid the debts due to the Company and to others and waited even to the last moment of the ex-Governor's embarkation, thinking "it would be improper to speak of it in another's ear." He even showed Dupleix the petition that he had resolved to present to M. Godeheu, who had given an undertaking that the sum of 46,000 and odd rupees due on his private transactions, should be adjusted in the Company's accounts as well as the Covelong business. But Dupleix's ship sailed away in the early hours of that day (14th October); and the Diarist was left helpless.

III. RIGHT AND LEFT HAND CASTE DISPUTES.

Godeheu's administration was faced with the problems of caste disputes and factions between the Right and Left Hand caste

4. He thus wrote in the Diary for 15th October:—"From the day when this town became populous and flourishing till now Europeans have made 40, 50, and 60 lakhs of rupees, have obtained the title of Nawab and ruled the country, using the Fish and other emblems of power. But I who was the root and support of this prosperity, have secured nothing but debt. I can blame nothing but my fortune." Dupleix to whom these words were addressed, was further told:—"others for their own benefit have given petitions complaining of the bribes they paid you; them you sent for and gave bonds to. You know well what sums I have paid; and God knows also. Your accounts, my heart and mind all bear witness. Scorning to be as unjust as others, I only ask for what you yourself promised me. Be pleased to stop the wound of my debts." Dupleix put the Diarist off with promises and told him to wait till the ship sailed. On the eve of his departure he said he was leaving at 7 or 8 o'clock the next morning and would then do what he wished. But the Diarist heard the guns announcing his departure at three in the morning. "So how could I see him? I can only continue my labour." Malleson gives a quite different picture of Dupleix's embarkation followed by the principal officers and employees and all the common people.

groups.⁵ We find the Diarist advising the Governor that when headmen were to be appointed in any caste, the caste-people assembled and chose two persons and reported their choice to the chief dubash who confirmed it. He also urged that the Governor

5. Similar disputes were frequent and significant in Madras and the country round Conjeeveram. The distinction between the two Hands is very old and was prevalent in all the Tamil and Canarese districts and also in some of the Telugu districts; it was absent in Malabar. A mythical account of the origin of the Left Hand castes is given in Inscription No. 489 of 1912 (South Indian Epigraphy) which is noticed on p. 109 of the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1913. The earliest inscriptional reference to the Right Hand is a record of Rajendra Chola Deva I (No. 341 of 1907). In the *Tondaimandala Satakam*, we have got a reference to the unfriendly feelings between the Kammalars (Panchalars) and the Vellalas, the respective principal elements of the Left and Right Hand groups. In Conjeeveram the differences between the two groups were more marked than in any other place. The Depressed Classes were also included in the divisions. Mr. Nelson, the author of the *Madura Country, a Manual*, (1868) thinks that religious differences had nothing to do with these distinctions. The Abbe Dubois and Dr. Francis Buchanan have remarked on the prominence of the distinctions in the Mysore country about 1800. The Madras Consultations (for October, 30, 1707) have an entry regarding a paper, signed by President Baker, Agent Greenhill and Mr. Gurney in 1652 (only 12 years after the foundation of the settlement) for composing differences among the Right and Left Hand castes, which Governor Pitt had from the latter (See *Fort St. George Records, Diary and Consultation Book for 1707*—pp. 75-76; J. T. Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time* (1882)—pp. 263-4; F. Buchanan's *A Journey from Madras etc.*, Vol. I pp. 77-80; *The Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. III. *Glossary*—pp. 1036-37; *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II pp. 46-57; M. Srinivasa Iyengar's *Tamil Studies, First Series*—pp. 92 et seq; and C. S. Srinivasachari on *The Origin of Right and Left Hand Caste Divisions in The Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. IV. pp. 77-85.).

In the growth of the city of Madras we find that the temple of Kachalesvarar was built about 1725 by the prominent merchants of the Left Hand group. The Ekambaresvarar Pagoda was built about the close of the 17th century by Alangatha Pillai, a dubash of the Right Hand group. The Kandaswami Temple is sacred to the Beri Chetty merchants of the Left Hand. The disputes between the groups had to be often put down with the help of troops; and separate parts in the towns had to be assigned for them. The factions became sporadic in the second half of the 18th century and considerably diminished in the 19th.

In Madras the Beri Chettis, artisans, oil-mongers, weavers and leather-workers were the chief elements in the Left-Hand faction; while the Vellalas, the Arya Vysias, the Vanniars and the Adi-Dravidas belonged to the Right-Hand division. The grounds of quarrel were mostly with reference to the particular routes that the marriage and funeral processions of these castes should take, and the symbols and trappings that should adorn their processions and pandals, on occasions of festivity. The two factions were as

should help in the rebuilding of the Vedapuri Isvaran Temple which belonged to the Right Hand castes and had been destroyed in 1748 and that the English at Madras and the Dutch at Negapatam had helped the construction of Hindu temples with money grants and monthly allowances and with the protection of sepoy and peons at festival times, to prevent disorder. He added that the town would not flourish unless the temple were built, and that, in the time of Governor Lenoir, when orders were received to destroy the Vedapuri Isvaran Temple, as a church had to be built on its site, there was a vigorous protest on the part of all the Hindu castes; and subsequent orders were obtained from Europe that all should be allowed to follow their own respective religions and the Governor permitted a new temple to be built and allowed festivals to be conducted as men pleased.⁶ M. Godeheu, while admitting that all this was true, said that he could give no orders without the Company's specific permission, "although it was the reason why the town had not thriven, because men could not follow the customs of their caste." When it was suggested that the Diarist should enlist the favour of Father Lavour, the Superior of the St. Paul's Church, for gaining his object, his only and proper answer was:—"Each should look to his own business; he who governs should treat all alike." The Diarist managed to persuade the Governor to permit the weavers who had gone away to return and live in peace under two heads of their own choice and to release

ready to fall out with each other on the smallest provocation "as Orangemen and Ribbonmen were in Ireland or the Montagues and Capulets in Verona."

It was in the award given by the Council and President, in the earliest dispute between these castes in 1652-53, that the name of Chennapatnam, as applied to Madras, first occurs in an official document. The result of this award was that the eastern half of the Hindu town (known as Black Town, now George Town) came to be generally occupied by the Left Hand castes and the western half by the Right Hand ones.

6. The English seem to have pursued a quite different policy and adopted an attitude of friendliness and protection.

In Madras, the Chennakesava Perumal (the Town) Temple which was almost co-eval with the birth of the town, was for long under the special protection and patronage of the Company, whose Chief Merchant was usually its warden. It was commonly known as the Company's Pagoda; and the servants attached to the existing Town Temple, which has replaced the older one, wore till lately a badge bearing the words 'East India Company'—(See Davison Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II. p. 461. note 3.) The Triplicane Temple was also managed for long by the Company's Chief Merchants.

those who were in prison. He was also bold enough to tell Godeheu when he inquired whether the people of Pondicherry desired war or peace with the English, that "the merchants, ryots and all people desire peace, and pray with all their hearts that God will be pleased to send some happy man to establish peace throughout the country and restore contentment to the people;" and that only the smaller portion of the people, the sepoy, jemadars, officers, soldiers and troopers, who lived by plunder selfishly, desired that war should be continued."

IV. GODEHEU'S ATTITUDE TO THE COUNTRY POWERS.

Meanwhile, Godeheu assured the Mysore wakil at Pondicherry that he had written to Maissin to remain with Nanja Raja, but to take care not to attack the English or Muhammad Ali Khan or their countries. The wakil said that his master was concerned greatly about Madura as it belonged neither to Muhammad Ali Khan, nor to the English, but had been held by Alam Khan for Chanda Sahib and was now liable to be attacked from Trichinopoly and taken from Alam Khan's people who were in occupation of it. Further, he added that Mahfuz Khan was about to attack Madura, and that, if it was so, permission should be given to attack him. To this Godeheu would only reply that all matters were to be settled with Maissin who was to remain with Nanja Raja.⁷

The Poligar of Udaiyarpalayam from whom no *peshkash* had been secured for the last three years was threatened with an attack by the French troops from Trichinopoly and Vriddachalam on his domains and with his own supersession. News came in that Murari

7. Read below note 13. Orme says that "the Mysoreans could not be made to understand that they were no longer at liberty to commit hostilities against the English or the Nabob; and the regent, when advised by the French to return to his own country, said that he was under no obligation to regard any treaties that he had not made himself, that, therefore, he should never leave Seringham until he had got Trichinopoly, which he did not despair of effecting even without their assistance: finding however that the French thought themselves obliged to acquaint the English of any schemes that he might put in practice for this purpose, he offered the commanding officer, 3,00,000 rupees, if he would retire with the French troops to Pondicherry, and leave him at liberty to carry on his projects without control: the English, however, were under no apprehensions of the effects of them; and at the request of the Nabob, a detachment of 500 Europeans and 2,000 sepoy were ordered to proceed into the countries of Madura and Tinnevely to assist in reducing them to his obedience" (Vol. I, Bk. V., p. 380—4th edition).

Rao who was returning to his place, was plundering the land round Vellore, Arni and other forts and meant to do likewise all along his march. His vakil at Pondicherry was dismissed curtly, Godeheu refusing to pay the balance due to him under the agreement, on the plea put forward by M. Delarche that "the old Governor is gone; and so his business is closed"; and the matter could not be reopened.

The Peishwa, Balaji Rao, now sent a letter to Pondicherry, demanding the payment of *chauth* for the last two years and insisting that its collection should be in the hands of his own men under Narasinga Rao whom he now sent as his agent. The letter also solicited that the French should help the Marathas with troops, ships, cannon and powder for the capture of an island from the hands of the Habshis (Abyssinians). The Peishwa had sent a copy of his letter to Bussy demanding that the Arcot *chauth* should be paid to his agent. Bussy had then been sent to settle the Rajahmundry and Chicacole countries, to settle the peshkash of the zamindars and arrange for prompt payment and return speedily to the court of the Nizam.⁸

It was also noticed by the Diarist that Dupleix had imprisoned the agent of Abdul Nabi Khan of Cuddapah and released him only at the intercession of the vakils of Murari Rao and of Mysore, and since then nobody had been willing to go to Pondicherry and that "Dupleix has done so much like this that the whole country lost confidence in him." As a final stroke of the hand of misfortune that has seized Dupleix's reputation, the Diarist recorded that, on the 29th of October, the belfry of the Padre's Church that Dupleix had built and was able to complete only recently (opposite the house of the Diarist) collapsed, and the bell and the stone

8. Bussy marched in July 1754 with the bulk of his troops to see to the establishment of the French Government in the Circars as trouble was being given to Moracin, his deputy, by the Raja of Vizianagaram and other zamindars. He reported to Dupleix, in a letter of October 5, 1754, the settlement that he made of the revenues of the Circars which were expected to produce 31 lakhs for 1754-55. In his own *Memoirs*, Bussy estimated the sum total of the agreements with the various renters at 18½ lakhs for the year, a sum which, if fully realised, would have just met the expenses of the Deccan army. He returned to the Deccan at the close of 1754. Jafar Ali Khan who had invited the Mahrattas from Nagpur, having no resource left, flung himself on the clemency of Salabat Jang and went to Aurangabad to make his submission (See p. 99 of Vol. XII of the *Journal of Indian History*—Note 10 for Jafar Ali Khan).

arch above fell near the church door and part broke into the church. The fall of the belfry was considered an ill-omen; and Dupleix had tried to make it loftier than the flag-staff itself. The Diarist concludes his observations with his usual sententious comment that "what is destined must happen, but only at the appointed time; and a man can neither escape, nor foresee destiny."

The Mysore negotiations dragged on through the month. The Dalavai protested that Godeheu had agreed, without his knowledge, on a truce of three months,⁹ with the English and Muhammad Ali, and that he himself had no means or chance of getting the sum of 60 lakhs which they had offered him when Trichinopoly was being besieged and that meanwhile the English were gathering troops at that fort daily, while all the French troops had been recalled, "but 300 military and 1,000 foot with a commander." Godeheu had to reassure him that the English could do him no harm during the truce, that Europeans never broke their word and that Muhammad Ali was going to Cuddalore. The truce was deemed to commence from the 11th October, 1754; but it was very much doubted if a stable peace could be concluded. Major Lawrence wrote from his camp on October 6th, that Salabat Jang had written to Muhammad Ali, assuring him that he would be confirmed as the Nawab of the Carnatic and had also sent another letter to the Dalavai with orders to return home and not continue to disturb the Nawab.¹⁰ Ranga Pillai laments that when Chanda Sahib's son came to offer congratulations to Godeheu on his name day (November 4, 1754), he was received with a salute of 21 guns, that im-

9. The truce was to continue from the 11th of October 1754 to the 11th of January, 1755.

10. Compare the fears expressed by the Mysore general with the letter of Major Heron, dated Tanjore, 22nd October, 1754 that ran as follows:—"My chief attention during the cessation of arms, will be to have a sufficiency of the above in store, that we may have nothing to do, but take the field in the most advantageous situation when the cessation of arms expires". With regard to the French encamped in the Island of Srirangam, Colonel Killpatrick wrote on the 24th of October, 1754, that there were only about 150 Europeans and 500 sepoys with 2 guns, left on the Island, while the rest had marched back to Pondicherry; and the Mysore troops remained in the same situation as before. That officer also wrote to Madras that the French troops were very much inclined to desert and he was ordered to enlist all the Germans that came over to the British side and to send the French to Fort St. David (Records of Fort St. George, *Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department*, 1754; pp. 250 et seq.). The English kept one advantage in their power, by not releasing 650 prisoners whom they had taken in the war more than the French had taken from them (See Orme, Vol. I. p. 377).

plied that the Nawabs were still rulers, and that the French only servants. He wrote that ever since 1749-50, the French had been masters and the Arcot people had been under them; and now, by treating the Muhammadans as though they were still masters, the Governor had cast away half the glory that his nation had acquired; and he wailed, in his entry in the *Diary* for that day, that "the Governor had done this, because the time had come for all this glory to be lost, and Raja Lakshmi (the goddess of prosperity) was continued here by the influence of Jupiter only until M. Dupleix departed."

Meanwhile Murari Rao¹¹ who had agreed with Muhammad Ali, in return for a considerable sum, to leave the Carnatic, as he found his situation unprofitable, proceeded as told before, to the Arcot country where he extorted contributions from several *killedars* and harried the villages, carrying off the cattle. Abdul Wahab Khan, a brother of Muhammad Ali, who had been left in charge of Arcot and the surrounding territory, was powerless to stop these depredations. Murari Rao complained to Godeheu that he had ordered his troops not to touch French territory and had trusted in Dupleix's word, but had not received the stipulated sum and that he would lay the burden on him and would abide by his decision.

The Reddi of Turaiyur¹² complained of Nanja Raja's aggressions against his country and urged that Godeheu should order the

11. The Fort St. George Despatch of November 10, 1754, already quoted, says that the Nawab and the Raja of Tanjore had made an agreement with Murari Rao to leave the French and go home, for which Tanjore would pay him 3 lakhs and the Nawab would give him certain grants. The agreement was made some time back; and Murari Rao had been marching slowly, raising contributions on the way and had, by now, got only as far as Polur; and it was doubtful whether he would continue his march. He had offered to join the English for 1¼ lakhs a month; but this was more than they could afford. The French were said to owe him 9 lakhs; and so there would be no reconciliation with them, unless the Mysoreans should find the money. Murari wished that the English would guarantee his treaty with Muhammad Ali; but "as Eastern princes make such terms in adversity as they never mean to observe in prosperity", the Presidency should try to avoid doing so.

12. In 1752 Turaiyur was overrun by the Mysore and French troops who deposed the then poligar and appointed his cousin in his place. The Mysoreans continued to have a control over the poligar till they abandoned the Trichinopoly country in 1755 and left the French Government as the representatives of all their rights and pretensions in the Carnatic.

Dalavai and Maissin not to interfere with him. Nanja Raja himself advised that the French Governor should have the Dutch and the Danes as mediators when discussing peace with the English; and that he should produce the *parwanas* given by Muzaffar Jang, Salabat Jang and Chanda Sahib as against the grants to the English made by Nasir Jang and Ghazi-ud-din Khan, his elder brother. He concluded that "if you treat with the English without mediators, the matter will not be settled for centuries." In a further letter he complained that an agreement was made to give 2 lakhs of rupees to Maissin on account of his expenses for three months, for which one lakh's worth of land was assigned on the banks of the Kaveri and the other lakh was assigned on Turaiyur. The French agents had received money from the Poligar of Turaiyur for settling the affair at one lakh instead of two, as previously determined and were troubling the Dalavai not to interfere in the affairs of that *pālayam*.

It was again lack of ready money that led the Governor to discharge most of the sepoy, guards and troopers posted in the several parganahs, immediately after the conclusion of the truce. But the differences that arose about the terms of the truce made Godeheu, according to the Diarist, to order new enlistments and to desire the Pathan captains to send troops to their several camps; and on December 12, the Diarist was told by Godeheu that both Saunders, the Governor of Madras, and himself, would be returning to Europe in February as peace could not be concluded.

V. THE SITUATION AT THE END OF 1754.

The last two months of 1754 were very gloomy for the French cause; there was a marked decline in trade, while Pondicherry itself passed through a time of severe depression. The heavy rains brought great losses; and the French and English factories at Porto Novo were washed away. As for building a factory at some other site, the Diarist remarked that, even according to the views of a French observer, the French were incapable of trade or government or administration and lost their temper easily; that the Dutch were best at trade and building purposes and the English might be half as good as the Dutch. The troops that returned from Trichinopoly served but to increase the insolence displayed by the soldiers towards peaceful citizens, "their cutting and stabbing men, their plundering the bazaars and the money-changers' shops and their stopping the work in the washing-place by stealing or

burying the stamping-blocks." It was also resolved by the Council to segregate the Tamil population of Pondicherry in the western part of the town, separated from the European quarter by a wall with three gates, and to order that the Tamils should give up to Europeans who wanted them, their houses east of the canal at cost price and those who required sites for building purposes would be given lands and gardens in Pavaḷappēṭṭai (coral merchants' quarter).

Godeheu himself confessed to the Diarist, according to the entry for December 7, 1754, that he also wanted to make money like former Governors, but in the manner of Lenoir and Dumas and by fair means, and not according to the methods of Dupleix whose "injustice was notorious." The Diarist told him that Lenoir sternly refused to take bribes offered by the Company's merchants and only made large profits in the Mocha trade; and that Dumas made money both by trade and by other means. Dupleix managed the country affairs by means of Delarche and Writer Ranga Pillai, and allowed all and sundry to make money in collecting rents and revenues from the country and to make deductions for various kinds of claims. It was possible to get, in the days of Dumas, large voluntary contributions as trade was very vigorous; but for the last ten years the town had been suffering from English troubles, bad trade and poor seasons, and people had been living on what they had saved; and many would have nothing to live on "but for the country revenue and the sepoys." In this miserable situation, the Diarist still hoped to recover a measure of prosperity, if he should be entrusted with the management of the country business and that of the merchants and the mint-people with the same powers as had been enjoyed in the time of Martin by the Company's Dubash: and, in that case, he would prevent the raising of complaints and settle everything within two months.

A statement of the Mysore wakil at Pondicherry that the Mysoreans had been in possession of the Tinnevely country for nearly four years from the time of their occupation of it early in 1751 was supplemented by him with another that Madura was held before the truce neither by Muhammad Ali Khan, nor by the English, nor by the French, but by a Pathan soldier and that some Mysore troops were sent before the conclusion of the truce; and these seized a portion of the country and besieged the fort. The Mysore troops did not fight at all during the truce; but Muhammad Ali treacherously attacked them in the Tinnevely fort, slew some

of their captains and captured the place.¹³ Godeheu was urged to inquire narrowly into the question whether Tinnevely was captured now or before (i.e., before the truce commenced). All that Godeheu could reply was that he would be writing to Maissin to

13. From the time of the expulsion of the Marathas by the Nizam in 1744, the Madura country was held by officers appointed by Anwar-ud-din and Muhammad Ali. A Record Office MS., quoted by Nelson (in p. 268 of Part III of *The Madura Country—A Manual*) says that Muhammad Ali and Maphuz Khan ruled the country in subordination to their father and left it in charge of one, Mayana, in 1748, when they departed to assist their father against Chanda Sahib. This Mayana was supplanted by one, Abdūl Hakimat Khan; and he, in his turn, was ousted by Alam Khan, probably a relative of Mayana. Orme says that Alam Khan was a soldier of fortune who was in the service of Chanda Sahib and of the Raja of Tanjore and who contrived to get recognised by his troops as the governor of Madura under Chanda Sahib whom he acknowledged as his master. In the beginning of 1751, while Alam Khan had been established in Madura, a detachment was sent by Muhammad Ali against that place, under Captain Cope, assisted by a body of Muhammadan cavalry under the Nawab's brother, Abdul Wahab Khan. Cope had no battering cannon and was forced to withdraw after an attack of the walls, while the Nawab's troops went over to Alam Khan. (Orme; Vol. I.).

While Orme does not notice any subsequent success of Captain Cope, Hindu accounts tell a different story. The Madura *Śrī-tāla* book tells us that Alam Khan placed Mayana in charge of the Madura country, and the latter sold it to the Mysoreans; and Captain Cope called Kukku Sahib in the chronicle, took possession of the place on behalf of the Raja of Mysore and was, soon afterwards, driven out by Vellaiyan Sērvaikāran, the Dalavai of the Ramnad Setupati and the minister of the Sivaganga ruler. These two besieged the fort for nearly 2 months, forced Cope to capitulate and crowned the adopted son of the late Nayak Queen, Minakshi, as the ruler of Madura. This person ruled for 16 months and was then deposed by three Muhammadan captains, who were, shortly afterwards, forced to give up the fort by Captain Cope and the Dalavai of Ramnad who had allied themselves against him.

Nelson would plead for the substantial accuracy of this account of the *Śrī-tāla* book, in spite of its highly improbable features like (1) Cope being described as the general of the Raja of Mysore; (2) his entering into an alliance with the Dalavai of Ramnad; and (3) Orme not making any mention of these. He says that it is directly corroborated by the Record Office MS; and by a memoir supplied to him by a Muhammadan gentleman, and indirectly by other Mss. The Record Office Ms. says that Mayana sold the Madura country to the Mysoreans; that Kukku Sahib, a Mysore general, took possession of Madura; and he surrendered the fort, after a siege, to the Ramnad Dalavai and the Sivaganga minister, who crowned Vangaru Tirumala's son; and that these and their Nayak *protegé* were subsequently expelled by the Muhammadans; but it says nothing about Captain Cope's alliance with the Ramnad Dalavai.

Alam Khan went over in the beginning of 1752 to take part in the operations round Trichinopoly and was, soon afterwards, killed there. He appointed

ascertain and inform him what happened about the Tinnevely country, the Madura fort etc., from beginning to end. He also accused the Mysoreans of carrying on discussions with Nawab Muhammad Ali and of giving the French nothing except empty words of friendship and co-operation in spite of repeated demands for the monthly expense of the army. The vakil only replied that in the agreement between Dupleix and the Mysoreans, no definite payment was fixed and the soldiers and sepoys were to be counted and paid what was due; and since then they had not been counted, nor had a balance been struck; and the matter might be considered when the accounts should be settled. A letter was subsequently received from the Mysore Dalavai that he would be paying not

Mayana commander of Madura and Nabi Khan the captain of Tinnevely. After the death of Alam Khan and of Chanda Sahib, Mayana intrigued with his son-in-law, Muhammad Barki, for the cession of Madura to some party or power. Thus Nelson gives his views of the whole series of transactions:— "Now it appears from Wilks; Vol. I. Ch. VIII; that early in 1752, a Mysore army marched to the assistance of Muhammad Ali, and it is quite possible, although neither Wilks nor Orme tells us anything about it, that a detachment of Mysoreans was commanded by Captain Cope, in his expedition against Madura; and if so, the fact of his being called a Mysorean general in the native Mss., would be very naturally accounted for. And on the supposition that he contrived to get possession of Madura, by paying to Mayana a sum of money advanced by the Mysoreans for the purpose, the account given in the *Śrī-tāla* book and in the Record Office Mss. becomes at once intelligible and credible. The Raja of Mysore was in possession of Dindigul at the time; and if he thought proper to buy the adjoining province of Madura, when professedly an ally of Muhammad Ali, who claimed to be its master, the transaction would of course be kept strictly secret. It is quite possible too that the terms of the transfer were unknown for some time to Captain Cope, . . . and that he took possession of the fortress under the impression that it had been surrendered to Muhammad Ali."

"However this may have been, whether Captain Cope was hoodwinked, or whether he was guilty of treacherous and unsoldierlike conduct, and whether or not he took possession of Madura, I think there can be no doubt that in the year 1752 the adopted son of Minakshi was declared king by Mayana and his colleagues assisted by the governments of Ramnad and Sivagangei . . . was then deposed . . . by his Mahometan patrons who seem to have been bought over by Mohammad Ali. Orme states that Mohammad Ali produced as evidence of his title to the sovereignty of Madura and Tinnevely, a writing which purported to have been signed by Mayana, Mohammad Barki and Nabi Khan, and was dated 29th November, 1752; and it would seem not unlikely that this document, which acknowledged the justice of Mohammad Ali's claims, was executed shortly before Mayana found it convenient to relegate his client . . . Mayana is said to have been in turn expelled by the Dalavay of Ramnad; but whether this is true or not, it is im-

only the former dues according to the accounts, but also the cost of the army and supplies sent by the French, every month.

As for the Deccan, Godeheu only received a complaint from Muzaffar Khan¹⁴ who had gone over to the service of Balaji Rao Peishwa, from that of Bussy, that he had been deprived, unjustly, of property worth 5 lakhs, by Bussy and his diwan, Rumi Khan, who had made for themselves 30 or 40 lakhs in many ways and told many falsehoods about himself to Salabat Jang. The Peishwa wrote to Godeheu recommending that Muzaffar Khan and Hasanu'd-din Khan should retain their jaghirs and the insignia of the Fish Standard, the covered palankin and other honours. As Hirasat Khan of Satghar, who had married Reza Sahib's sister, had died without any legitimate son or brother, and as Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore had designs of seizing Satghar, a letter was written to the English Governor to order Abdul Wahab Khan, the subhadar of Arcot, not to attack Satghar nor do any harm.

possible to say. According to Orme Mohammad Barki was in possession of Madura in 1755. Perhaps, although he was attacked and defeated by the Ramnad Dalavay, he was nevertheless permitted to retain Madura, as a tributary and vassal of Ramnad, and on condition that he disavowed Mohammad Ali's authority. Orme states that the Poligar of Maravar, by whom I suppose he means the Setupati, sided with Chanda Sahib and the Mysoreans against Muhammad Ali; and it is therefore quite possible that he attacked Mayana when Mayana changed sides and sold himself to the Nabob."

This long extract from Nelson's work (pp. 271-73 of Part III) should naturally throw some light on the statements of the Mysore vakil that are summarised by our Diarist. Particularly the profession of allegiance to Mysore by Mayana under the pressure of the Setupati, as stated by Nelson, may be said to be a support of the vakil's claim that the Mysore troops had seized a portion of the Madura country before the truce was concluded. Also the Diarist records a sentence in his entry for March 19, 1755, that the Dalavai claimed the Setupati for his ally. Mr. Dodwell, in Note I of p. 118 of Vol. IX of the Diary, states that "the Mysoreans might have taken the country before the truce, and also been dispossessed before that event"; and that, earlier in 1754, they were asking English help to obtain possession of these districts. Nelson's account also renders more intelligible the statements given by Dodwell; viz., (1) In July 1752 the Mysore general sent a party to take possession of Madura, which was taken from him again, about the beginning of December, by the Maravans, who, though in friendship with us, are like to keep it for themselves until we are in a better capacity to call them to account; and (2) Heron, writing in October 1754, that he heard from the Nawab that Cope Sahib endeavoured, with Mysore troops, to raise disturbances in the Madura country and plundered Tinnevely.

14. For an account of him, see J.I.H.—Vol. X—Part I—(pp. 19-25); and Vol. XII—Part I—Note 18, p. 104.

The last entries of the Diarist for the year 1754 disclose, first, Godeheu's resentment that the second and other Councillors did whatever they pleased, that he did not hear of things that were going on and his insistence that, henceforth, nothing should be done without his orders; and next, that Clouet, brother of the Governor, was carrying a proposal to the Madras Government that there should be no war for 18 months from January, 1755, or until orders should be received from Europe about it.

VI—THE CLOSE OF GODEHEU'S GOVERNORSHIP

On the second of January, 1755, Godeheu gave an order that all the people of Pondicherry, but the Europeans, *viz.*, Tamils, Muhammadans and all Indians, should report news to the Diarist and do as he directed and presented him with a *sarpech* (ornament on the turban) *kalgi turra* and jewels, two pieces of broad cloth and two pieces of cloth of gold woven in silk, besides ordering a salute of 15 guns to be fired in his honour. This honour to the Diarist began his short-lived second spell of prosperity. It was followed by the announcement that, until news should arrive of a settlement between the English and the French in Europe, neither side should take up arms for 18 months.¹⁵ In spite of the proclamation of the truce, the Diary tells us of a body of English horse and sepoy seizing villages under Kiliyanagar and Koyap-

15. The despatch from Governor Saunders to the English Company, dated January 12, 1755, says that at first Godeheu declined to conclude a provisional treaty, saying he had advices from France, of April 10, that Lord Holderness had told the Duke of Mirepoix that no treaty could be negotiated in India and that the Companies were issuing orders. Later, in order to bring matters to a crisis, Saunders proposed a truce (dependent on a provisional treaty) to continue till orders were received from Europe; and Palk and Vansittart were sent in a private capacity to furnish any necessary explanations and to require positive answer in 3 days. The proposals were accepted, and when digested into regular form, were signed. The truce was proclaimed on the 1st of January. "The main considerations for making a truce are the infinite superiority of the French force, their great influence with the country powers, and the impossibility of a mere trading company to bear all expenses of war. If war had continued, the French, by means of their cavalry, could have protected their own territories and raided ours also; whereas we might have lost our own districts in attempting to seize theirs. Further the revenues remaining in the Nawab's power will probably enable him to reduce his debt." The conclusion of the truce was expected to revive the investments at Madras, Fort St. David and Salem and to increase the demand for imports from Europe. All troops except the necessary garrisons in the country forts could be called in and their batta stopped; and

pakkam and threatening to seize Acharapakkam, Chunampattu, Cheyyar and Kolattur and their occupation of the Karunguzhi country about the third week of January. Godeheu wrote to Saunders about the matter and to Pigot who succeeded him, about this and other acts of Muhammad Ali's troops; and he got from Pigot a reply that he had written to Abdul Wahab Khan, the killedar and agent at Arcot, not to plunder the country in French occupation. Proclamation of the mutual release of prisoners was made at Pondicherry on January 28; and the next day, the English soldiers and officers, upwards of 500 in all, who were imprisoned at Pondicherry, were sent to Fort St. David, on the understanding that an equal number of French soldiers and officers should be sent to Pondicherry, and the rest to France, by way of England, on a Europe ship. The Diarist records that, in return for the release of the English soldiers in Pondicherry, 167 stout picked Frenchmen, with some Mestice and Topass servants arrived.^{15a}

When Godeheu prepared to sail for Europe, he promised Ranga Pillai that he would leave instructions to his successor, M. Leyrit that all affairs concerning the Indian population of Pondicherry and the country people generally should be conducted through the Diarist himself and an order to this effect would be signed by himself and all the Councillors and sealed and handed over. According to the Diarist, the townspeople were fearful as to what might happen after Godeheu's departure. He had revived confidence to some extent and abolished the collection of tolls at Vaḷudāvūr, which had been made part of the Company's *jaghir*. The Diarist rightly told him that trade would decay if both land and sea-customs were collected; and that former Governors desired to get rid of the tolls in order to promote the town's prosperity.¹⁶ Just prior to Godeheu's departure, the Diarist entrusted to him a *cahier* in French, recounting all his services to the Company since his accession to the office of the Company's Chief Dubash, early in 1746, in succession to Kanakaraya Mudali; even before this, Lenoir had sent him to

the sepoy could be quartered in the Nawab's territories at his expense. (Dodwell—*Calendar of the Madras Despatches 1744-1755*—pp. 252-3). See also the Consultation of the Madras Council, dated 6th December, 1754; the letters of Messrs. Palk and Vansittart to Saunders, dated 14th and 16th December, and the Consultation of the Council of the 22nd December (*Diary and Consultation Book 1754, Military Department*).

15a. According to a Fort St. George Despatch, the Nawab would still have about 700 Frenchmen after the exchange of prisoners.

16. In his entry for January 30, 1755, the Diarist had already advised the abolition of the toll for Vaḷudāvūr and Villiyanallūr, both in French limits.

Porto Novo and managed all trade through him; and his bales of blue cloth were stamped R and sent to Europe. Godeheu promised to show the document to the Company and the Ministers and secure for him a medal of recognition and rewards; and he said that he had written a note to Leyrit about the Diarist and to treat him well. The latter had no confidence in Barthelemy, Second in Council; and the Diarist tells us that Godeheu ordered him to do nothing without the consent of the Council, "for fear that he should shake all the fruit, ripe and unripe, from the tree."

Complaints reached Pondicherry of the disturbance created by the poligar of Vettavalam and the killedar of Eravasannallur fort who seized the crops and revenues of the neighbouring tracts and even planned to plunder the neighbourhood of Villupuram and Tiruvati. As a number of mutual complaints had been made by the French and the English, of villages in the Karunguzhi country being seized after the suspension of arms, Saunders and Godeheu had agreed to appoint commissaries, two on each side, to investigate and report. They met in the beginning of February, but could hardly arrive at any agreement regarding even a single village. Du Rocher, one of the French commissaries, is described by the Diarist, as being very clever and capable, which was not to the liking of Barthelemy. The Diarist records that Mir Sahib (of Eravasannallur) was seriously disturbing the Kallakurichi taluk yielding a revenue of two lakhs and similar troubles affected the revenue of Wandiwash taluk which was about a lakh. He accused the English of throwing some obstacle in the way of a fair settlement and declared to Barthelemy that "they must be treated as they treat us."¹⁷ He urged that troops should be sent against Mir

17. Contrast the English Governor's letter of March 8, 1755, to the Company about this matter, in which he wrote that "the French seem disposed to protract matters, in order to keep possession, as long as possible, of villages they have no right to," and that the English should insist on "the revenues of the disputed villages being received by both parties jointly until the matter is settled."

According to Pigot, (*vide* his letter to the Company, dated 8th March, 1755), the poligars of the Arcot country were also indebted to the English Company and similar measures (like those taken by Heron against the poligars of Madura and Tinnevely) were needed with them. Abdul Wahab Khan, who was in charge of these parts, had applied for help; but since he was suspected of applying his collections to his private use, Pigot would send him no help from Madras till the Nawab should come up from the Madura expedition. The Commissaries were appointed after agreement with Godeheu, since many complaints were made by both the French and the Nawab of villages being seized after the suspension of arms.

Sahib who was suspected of being in the English interest and that, with the help of the pro-French poligars of the neighbourhood, these should be put down. The trouble about the killedar of Eravasannallur was serious. And the strained relations with Nanja Raja grew only worse. Godeheu had always mistrusted the promises made by the Mysore wakil on behalf of his master who gave "nothing except words" and promised "anything". He had even threatened to withdraw the French troops from the siege of Trichinopoly. This he did on more than one occasion. On the other hand, the Mysore Dalavai found his treasury empty and saw that war could not be conducted round Trichinopoly at a profit. He now complained that he had believed in Dupleix, given up his agreement with Muhammad Ali and for two years maintained his own sibbandis, at the same time bearing the cost of the French troops. Dupleix insisted on his continuing at Trichinopoly, though he had been summoned to Seringapatam and allured him with prospects of reinforcements from France. Godeheu recalled Mainville and sent Maissin who "spoiled everything". He concluded a truce with the enemy, but insisted that the Mysore troops and commander should not go back saying that, after the expiry of the truce, he would send large forces to capture Trichinopoly; and the truce was followed by another for 18 months. Now the English and Muhammad Ali had captured the southern country (Madura-Tinnevely) and the middle country (Dindigul?) belonging to Mysore,¹⁸ while Salabat Jang and Bussy advanced across the Krishna, threatening an invasion of the Mysore territory. Nanja Raja demanded that Trichinopoly should be given to him or Muhammad Ali should pay him his expenses and that the French should prevent Bussy and Salabat Jang from causing disturbances in Mysore. The Dalavai was charged with having attacked the fort and town

18. The English advised the Nawab to settle first the affairs of the Trichinopoly country. "This must be done by fair words and promises, because the terms of the agreement are that no one is to take possession of any district that is not at present in his hands. If you could get the people at Madura and Tinnevely to take phirmaunds from you for the several districts and acknowledge you for their master, by promising them your favour and protection against all disturbers, you will then have a right to collect the revenues without any dispute. I have ordered Colonel Heron and Major Killpatrick to assist you in this business". (Letter from Governor Pigot to Muhammad Ali, dated 17th January, 1755.)—Heron marched for Madura on February 23, and reached it on March 3. He advanced without opposition to Tinnevely whence he sent out Captains Lee and Beaver with two parties against the poligars. He returned to Trichinopoly on June 6, leaving Mahfuz Khan in possession of the Madura and Tinnevely countries.

of Ariyalur and secured several lakhs of plunder; but he defended himself saying that Turaiyur was pledged to him for interest on the loans given by him to [Muhammad Ali] and that he had not exceeded his rights. The Diarist believed that Dusaussaye, the French commander with the Dalavai, had been bribed to consent to and countenance his action in seizing Turaiyur.

VII—THE INTERREGNUM TILL THE ARRIVAL OF DE LEYRIT

The more stable did the position of Muhammad Ali become, the more marked became the honours that were paid by the Pondicherry authorities to Chanda Sahib's son. Godeheu wanted to treat the French Nawab as if he were a real power; and we learn from the Diarist that the Commission of the three Councillors, with Barthelemy at their head, to whom the Governor's powers were entrusted in the five week's of interregnum between Godeheu's departure and the arrival of Duval de Leyrit as Governor, continued to pay honours to Raza Sahib which Ranga Pillai would not at all countenance. The Diarist was also not sparing in his condemnation of Barthelemy, stressing on his readiness to "do unheard-of things for whatever was offered him" and noting down how he was glad when Leyrit did not arrive by a certain ship by which he was believed to be coming. Leyrit, the *Directeur* of Bengal, arrived on the 25th of March and took up the office of Governor. The letters received in the previous week from the camp at Srirangam, reported the capture of Madura by Muhammad Ali and his intention to march against the Setupati with the aid of the Raja of Tanjore and the Tondaiman of Pudukottah; and of the flight of Mandumiyar (Mayana?)¹⁹ to the Setupati and the imprisonment of his wife and family in the Madura fort. Madura was plundered by Muhammad Ali Khan's people; and when Dusaussaye remonstrated with the English at the Trichinopoly fort that they should not help Muhammad Ali Khan to capture Madura and Tinnevely or to attack the Setupati, they agreed to withdraw their troops within a week but, ordered the advance to Tinnevely, as soon as they

19. Mr. Dodwell says that it might be Mudamiah.

The Setupati now offered to submit to the Nawab and apologised for his conduct during the war in siding with Chanda Sahib and even offered to cede two settlements on the sea-coast of his country opposite to Ceylon, which would greatly facilitate the English communications with the Tinnevely country; and Colonel Heron attacked the representative of Alam Khan in the fortress of Koilgudi, a strong pagoda situated about 8 miles to the east of Madura, to which he fled for protection.

had sent the French commandant back to Srirangam. The Turaiyur affair was going on badly; Nanja Raja and Dusaussaye could not agree over the amounts of the presents that the new poligar should give the French Governor and officials; while the vakil of the old poligar continued to offer his own terms; and there was delay over the installation of the new poligar. Meanwhile the truculent Mir Sahib of Eravasanallur was secretly negotiating for a lease of his fort from Muhammad Ali for a period of 10 or 12 years.

The new Governor, de Leyrit, was told, the next day after he landed, that the Diarist had not been treated well since Godeheu's departure and had been hoping for some encouragement from him. Thereupon he urged the Diarist to attend to the Company's affairs as in Godeheu's time, at which Barthelemy was not pleased and went away to his house "with a downcast look". The Diarist was cautioned that the Governor was very close and only acted with deliberation, taking every plan to pieces and that he should refrain from making hasty proposals to him.

(To be continued.)

The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughals

By

ABDUL AZIZ, BAR-AT-LAW

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Part II: Jewel Treasury

Chapter II: Biographical Notices of Gems and Gem-stones (Continued)

RUBIES

Akbar.

ABU'L-FAZL tells us that a ruby weighing 284 jewellers' *ratīs* was worth a lakh of rupees on the treasury registers. This may be taken as an indication of the current price of this gem-stone in Akbar's reign (*Ā'in*, I, 12; Blochmann, 16).

Jahāṅgīr

In the month of *Jumāda* I, 1st regnal year, Jahāṅgīr presented to Prince Parwīz a ruby worth Rs. 25,000 (*Tūzuk*, 37; R. & B., I, 77).

Again, on 21 *Jumāda* II, same year, a necklace composed of 4 rubies and 100 pearls was bestowed on Parwīz (*Tūzuk*, *ibid.*; R. and B., I, 79).

Next comes an insignificant stone. In II R. Y. a man pretending to be Mirzā Ḥusain son of Mirzā SHah Rukh, presented a petition for military assistance, and offered as *peshkash* 'a ruby of the colour of an onion, which was worth 100 rupees' (*Tūzuk*, 56; R. and B., I, 118).

A ruby ring and a ruby are described in the following passage:

'Murtaẓā KHān from Gujarat sent by way of offering a ring made of a single ruby of good colour, substance, and water, the stone, the socket, and the ring being all of one piece. They weighed 1½ tanks and one surkh, which is equal to one *miṣqāl* and 15

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surkhs.¹ This was sent to me and much approved. Till that day no one had ever heard of such a ring having come to the hands of any sovereign. A single ruby weighing six surkhs or two tanks and 15 surkhs,² and of which the value was stated to be £25,000,³ was also sent. The ring was valued at the same figure' (*Tūzuk*, 63; R. & B., I, 132-33).

On the 22nd. *Jumāda* I (III R. Y.) Āṣaf KHān made Jahāṅgīr 'an offering of a ruby of the weight of seven *tānk*, which Abū-l-qāsim, his brother, had bought in the port of Cambay for 75,000 rupees. It is of a beautiful colour and well-shaped, but to my belief is not worth more than 60,000 rupees' (*Tūzuk*, 70; R. & B., I, 148).

On the 17th. *Jumāda* II (IV R. Y.) Jahāṅgīr bestowed on Prince Parwīz a ruby worth Rs. 60,000, and another ruby with two single pearls, estimated at about Rs. 40,000, were conferred on KHurram (*Tūzuk*, 75; R. & B., I, 156).

In the beginning of *Zī'l-qa'd* (same year), KHānkhānān sent to Jahāṅgīr by Mullā Ḥayātī a ruby and two pearls worth about Rs. 20,000 (*Tūzuk*, 77; R. & B., I, 160).

A famous ruby was offered by Rānā Amar Singh, when hard pressed, to Prince KHurram. The latter placed it among his offerings to the Emperor on his return to court. The story is thus told by Jahāṅgīr: 'On the first day he [KHurram] paid his respects, he laid before me a celebrated ruby of the Rānā, which, on the day of his paying his respects, he had made an offering of to my son, and which the jewellers valued at 60,000 rupees. It was not worthy of the praise they had given it. The weight of this ruby was eight *tānk*, and it was formerly in the possession of Rāy Maldeo,⁴ who was the chief of the tribe of the Rāṭhors and one of the chief rulers (or Rays) of Hindustan. From him it was transferred to his son

1. This should be 1 *miṣqāl* and 11 *surkhs*, else the equation is quite wrong. The point is discussed above (p. above).

2. This equation is absurd as it stands. Even if we assume '2 *miṣqāls*' has been omitted before 'six *surkhs*', we cannot equate the two weights until we also assume the '15 *surkhs*' to be a mistranscription for '11 *surkhs*' (as we did before). This would give a not unlikely value of 28½ *ratīs* for the *miṣqāl*.

3. A misprint Rs. 25,000.

4. This Rāja Māldev we often find associated with one gem or another. We have already seen how he made a bid, albeit an unsuccessful one, for Bābur's diamond. He seems to have had a taste for precious stones; and of course he was a man of considerable resource.

Chandar Sen, who, in the days of his wretchedness and helplessness, sold it to Rānā Uday Singh. From him it went to Rānā Pratāp, and afterwards to this Rānā Amar Singh. As they had no more valuable gift in their family, he presented it on the day that he paid his respects to my fortunate son Bābā KHurram, together with the whole of his stud of elephants, which, according to the Indian idiom, they call [which the Hindus call] *gheta chār*, I ordered them to engrave on the ruby that at the time of paying his respects Rānā Amar Singh had presented it as an offering to Sul-tān KHurram' (*Tūzuk*, 140; R. & B., I, 285-86).

On the 10th. *Farwardīn* (XI R. Y.) 'Dayānat KHān presented his offering of two pearl rosaries, two rubies, six large pearls, and one gold tray, to the value of 28,000 rupees. At the end of Thursday, the 11th., I went to the house of I'timād-ud-daulah in order to add to his dignity. He then presented me with his offering, and I examined it in detail. Much of it was exceedingly rare. Of jewels there were two pearls worth 30,000 rupees, one *quṭbī* ruby which had been purchased for 22,000 rupees, with other pearls and rubies. Altogether the value was 110,000 rupees. These had the honour of acceptance, and of cloth, etc., the value of 15,000 rupees was taken' (*Ibid.*, 156; R. & B., I, 318-19).

Eight days later Prince KHurram offered to the Emperor 'a ruby of the purest water and brilliancy, which they pronounced to be of the value of 80,000 rupees' (*Tūzuk*, 157; R. & B., I, 320).

Next, we have an interesting story from Jahāngir which throws welcome sidelight on Prince KHurram's discrimination and memory, and shows that even from a boy he took a lively interest in pearls and precious stones: 'After the victory over the Rānā', says the Emperor, 'my son presented me in Ajmir with an exceedingly beautiful and clear ruby, valued at 60,000 rupees. It occurred to me that I ought to bind this ruby on my own arm. I much wanted two rare pearls of good water of one form to be a fit match for this kind of ruby. Muqarrab KHān had procured one grand pearl of the value of 20,000 rupees, and given it to me as a New Year's offering. It occurred to me that if I could procure a pair to it they would make a perfect bracelet. KHurram, who from his childhood had had the honour of waiting on my revered father, and remained in attendance on him day and night, represented to me that he had seen a pearl in an old turban (*sar-band*)^{4a} of a

4a. A *sar-band* is a wreath or fillet for fastening a lady's head-dress (Steingass). *Bahār-i-Ajam* supports this sense.

weight and shape equal to this pearl. They produced an old *sar-pīch* (worn on the turban), containing a royal pearl of the same quality, weight and shape, not differing in weight even by a trifle, so much so that the jewellers were astonished at the matter. It agreed in value, shape, lustre, and brilliance; one might say they had been shed from the same mould. Placing the two pearls alongside of the ruby, I bound them on my arm, and placing my head on the ground of supplication and humility, I returned thanks to the Lord that cherished His slave, and made my tongue utter His praise⁵—

از دست و زبان که بر آید
کز عهد شکرش بر آید

'Whose hand and tongue can perform the dues of His thanks adequately?'

The story of the bargain of a ruby is thus narrated in the *Tūzuk*. It occurs in the annals of XII R. Y.:—'Then Mahābat KHān had the honour of kissing the ground, and presented an offering of 100 muhrs and 1,000 rupees, with a parcel (*gaṭhri*) of precious stones and jewelled vessels, the value of which was 124,000 rupees. Of these one ruby weighed 11 miskals; an European brought it last year to sell at Ajmir, and priced it at 200,000 rupees, but the jewellers valued it at 80,000 rupees. Consequently the bargain did not come off, and it was returned to him and he took it away. When he came to Burhanpur, Mahābat KHān bought it from him for 100,000 rupees' (*Tūzuk*, 195; R. & B., I, 394).

Among the offerings made by Prince SHāh Jahān after his victorious return from the Deccan (XII R. Y.) there was 'a fine ruby they had bought for my son at the port of Goa for 200,000 rupees; its weight was 19½ tanks,⁶ or 17 miskals, and 5½ surkhs. There

5. *Tūzuk*, 158; R. & B., I, 322. I have quoted the verse in the original, and have appended to it my own translation.

6. The Persian text has '19 tanks', which seems to be the more correct reading. See P. above.

was no ruby in my establishment over 12 tanks, and the jewellers agreed to this valuation' (*Tūzuk*, 198; R. & B., I, 399-400). This ruby of 12 *tānks*, to which the Emperor refers as hitherto the largest in the treasury, is probably the one mentioned in the last paragraph.

According to Sir Thomas Roe, some seventeen months earlier this ruby had been offered to Jahāngīr by the Portuguese merchants for five lakhs of rupees, when the Emperor wouldn't pay more than a lakh for it. According to another note by the ambassador, seven lakhs was demanded. The stone, he says, weighed 13 *tolas*! (Roe, 161-62 and f.n.). The way in which Roe has coolly multiplied both the weight and the value by three does not add to his reputation for responsible accuracy.

On Thursday, the 9th. *Āzar* (XII R. Y.) the Emperor presented Prince *SHāh Jahān* with 'a ruby of one colour, weighing 9 tanks and 5 *surkh*, of the value of 125,000 rupees, with two pearls. This is the ruby', he says, 'which had been given to my father' at the time of my birth by *Ḥaẓrat Maryam-makānī*, mother of H. M. Akbar, by way of present when my face was shown, and was for many years in his *sarpīch* (turban ornament). After him I also happily wore it in my *sarpīch*. Apart from its value and delicacy, as it had come down as of auspicious augury to the everlasting State, it was bestowed on my son' (*Tūzuk*, 202-3; R. & B., I, 409).

On Tuesday, the 15th. *Isfandārmuz* (XIII R. Y.), Jahāngīr was on a hunting expedition to Amānābād with the ladies of the *maḥal*, where 'a string [necklace?] of pearls and rubies that *Nūr-Jahān Begam* had on her neck was broken, and a ruby of the value of Rs. 10,000 and a pearl worth Rs. 1,000 were lost.' Both of them were found on the following Thursday (*Tūzuk*, 263; R. & B., II, 74). We learn incidentally the value of some of the jewels worn by the Empress.

A fortnight later, on New Year's Day of R. Y. XIV (which fell on Thursday, the 4th. of *Rabī* 'II, 1028 A.H.=March 10, 1619 A.C.) Prince *SHāh Jahān* offered to his royal father, among other things, a *yāqūt* (ruby) weighing 22 *surkhs*, of good colour, water, and shape, valued by the jewellers at Rs. 40,000, and a very fine *quṭbī*⁸ ruby (*la'l-i-quṭbī*), 3 *tānks* in weight, also valued at 40,000 rupees (*Tūzuk*, 265; R. & B., II, 78).

7. This is the translator's oversight: the ruby was presented to the infant Salīm, and not to his father.

8. The translator prefers to read this word '*Qibṭī*', i.e., Egyptian.

Towards the close of XV R. Y., the *SHāh* of Persia sent to Jahāngīr 'a ruby weighing 12 *tānks*,⁹ which had belonged to the jewel-chamber of M. Ulugh Beg, the successor of M. *SHāh-rukh*. In the course of time, and by the revolutions of fate, it had come into the hands of the *Ṣafawī* family. On this ruby there were engraved in the *Naskh* character the words: "Ulugh Beg b. M. *SHāh-rukh Bahādur* b. *Mir Timūr Gūrgān*". My brother, *SHāh* 'Abbās, directed that in another corner they should cut the words:

Banda-i-*SHāh-i-Wilāyat* 'Abbās

"The slave of the King of Holiness, 'Abbās", in the *Nasta'liq* character. He had this ruby inserted in a *jigha* (turban ornament), and sent to me as a souvenir. As the ruby bore the names of my ancestors, I took it as a blessing for myself, and bade Sa'idā, the superintendent of the goldsmith's department, engrave in another corner the words "Jahāngīr *SHāh* b. Akbar *Shāh*", and the current date. After some days, when the news of the conquest of the Deccan arrived, I gave that ruby to *KHurram*, and sent it to him' (*Tūzuk*, 325; R. & B., II, 195-96).

This is the ruby which was afterwards set in the middle slab of the rail of the Peacock Throne, as will be mentioned in another place (B. N., I, ii, 80). The price of this stone is stated to be one lakh of rupees.

SHāh Jahān

When *SHāh Jahān* was marching from Junair to Agra, where his coronation was awaiting him, and approached Mewar, *Rānā Karan* paid his respects at Gogunda (4th. *Jumāda* I, 1037 A. H.). Among the presents *SHāh Jahān* bestowed on the *Rānā* was a *dhakdakī quṭbī* ruby worth Rs. 30,000 (*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, I, 220, *Qar-niya*, Qazwinī, and *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, 304. *Tūzuk*, 426, has only Rs. 3,000, which is an error).

The account of some important ornaments in *SHāh Jahān's* Jewel Treasury given by Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī is interesting:

The *sarpech* [turban ornament] which the Emperor wears on high occasions consists, he says, of five large rubies and twenty-four large pearls, the central ruby weighing 12 *tānks* or 288 jewel-

9. We have "12 *misqāls*" in the *Iqbāl-nāma*, p. 178.

lers' *ratīs*. Although the price of this stone is only two lakhs of rupees on the royal registers, if a merchant were to obtain such a gem-stone, princes or nobles would pay even four lakhs for it and buy it for presentation to the Emperor: money is so abundant and such a present so rare. It is true that there are a few rubies in the royal jewel treasury exceeding it in weight; for instance, the one which Prince *SHāh Jahān* bought for two lakhs and presented to his father on 11 *SHawwāl*, 1026 A. H., when he waited on him after his first victory in the Deccan. This last is the heaviest ruby in the imperial collection, and 1½ times the weight of the ruby in question; but none equals the latter in purity [*kāmil 'iyārī*] (B. N., II, 391).

We have already reviewed *Jahāngīr's* report of presentation of this second ruby, which weighed 19 *tānks* (p. 231 above). Now the question is whether this central ruby of the *sarpech* is the stone which *Mahābat KHān* purchased from a European for a lakh of rupees, and offered to *Jahāngīr*. The weight agrees, since 288 strikes very nearly a mean between 286 and 291½, the two alternative weights of the other stone. The prices assigned differ enormously no doubt, but the price asked originally by the European may after all be reasonable; besides gem-stones of special size and quality were at a premium in *SHāh Jahān's* reign generally.

In a gem-stone, continues 'Abdu'l-Ḥamid, four things are required: (1) colour; for instance, colour of a ruby should be neither dark red, which is too deep, nor the colour of a peach-blossom, which is too light. (2) Clearness and flawlessness [*bejiramī*]. (3) Shape. (4) Size and weight. This ruby is of a beautiful colour and has all the four qualities.

The best and the largest of the pearls in the *sarpech* is of the shape of a guava and weighs 47 *ratīs*, and is priced at Rs. 50,000. The total value of the *sarpech*, allowing only two lakhs for the large ruby, is estimated at 12 lakhs (B. N., II, 391-92).

Next the same historian tells us of a *tasbīḥ* [chaplet or necklace] which consisted of five rubies and thirty pearls, the total price of the ornament being 8 lakhs of rupees.

The largest and the purest of the pearls, he continues, are put on the *sarpech*, and such as are left over are strung on this *tasbīḥ*. Besides these there are two *tasbīḥs* containing altogether 125 pearls between which are strung alternately coloured *yāqūts*. These two *tasbīḥs* are valued at 20 lakhs. Each pearl on these *tasbīḥs* weighs 32 *ratīs*, and is worth Rs. 40,000 (*Ibid.*, 392).

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On 24 *Rabī 'II*, 1057 A. H., when the Emperor was at Kabul, Princes *SHāh Shujā'* and *Murād Bakhsh* came and waited on him. The Emperor bestowed on *SHāh Shujā'* a *khil'at* (robe of honour) with *nādirī*, a string of pearls, a *sarpech* of rubies, and a *jigha* (turban ornament) set with diamonds, besides some jewelled weapons—the whole of the value of a lakh of rupees (B. N., II, 681).

Aurangzeb

For this reign a few European notices are available.

Tavernier, when he inspected the leading gems in *Aurangzeb's* treasury, saw there a chain 'of pearls and rubies of different shapes pierced like the pearls.' In the middle of this chain, he says, 'there is a large emerald of the "old rock" ¹⁰, cut into a rectangle, and of high colour, but with many flaws. It weighs about 30 *ratīs*.'

Tavernier also saw 'a balass ruby cut en cabochon, of fine colour and clean pierced at the apex, and weighing 17 melscals [*miṣqāls*]. Six melscals make one ounce (French).' Possibly the famous stone which, we know, was presented by Prince *SHāh Jahān* to *Jahāngīr* in XII R. Y. (p. 234 above).

Tavernier also saw 'another cabochon ruby of perfect colour, but slightly flawed and pierced at the apex, which weighs 12 melscals [*miṣqāls*].' (I, 318).

Is this the stone which *Mahābat KHān* purchased from a European for a lakh of rupees and offered to *Jahāngīr*, and which weighed 11 *miṣqāls*?

Among the articles Tavernier presented to *Nawāb Ja'far KHān* was a 'ring with a perfect ruby which cost 1,300 livres [£97 10s.].' (Tavernier, I, 114).

It appears that *SHāh Jahān* knew more about precious stones than the jewellers and experts themselves. In the following anecdote from Tavernier, he is appealed to in a dispute where appraisers disagreed on a vital point, and his verdict was accepted as final with tacit consent.

10. 'Precious stones were denominated "of the old rock" (*rocca velha*), when they exhibited more or less perfect crystalline forms, being considered more developed than those with amorphous forms. (Linschoten, ii, 137; Fryer, i, 96; Bernier, 148).' (P. 318, f.n. 2).

'No. 2 [in Pl. IV],' says Tavernier, 'represents a large stone believed to be a ruby, and sold as such to Ja'far Khān, the Great Mogul's uncle, who bought it for the sum of 95,000 rupees, which amount to 1,425,000 livres.¹¹ He presented it to the Great Mogul, with many other precious things, on the King's festival, that is to say, the day whereon he is weighed, as I have elsewhere said. This stone having been priced at a little less than it cost, there happened to be present at that time an old Indian who had previously been chief jeweller to the King, but had been dismissed from his charge through jealousy. Having taken this stone in his hands, he maintained that it was not a balass ruby, that Ja'far Khān had been cheated, and that the stone was not worth more than 500 rupees. The King having been informed of the discussion, summoned the old Indian, with all the other jewellers, who maintained on their side that the stone was a balass ruby. As in the whole Empire of the Great Mogul there was no one more proficient in the knowledge of stones than Shāh Jahān, who was kept as a prisoner at Agra by Aurangzeb, his son, the latter sent the stone to the Emperor, his father, asking for his opinion. After full consideration he confirmed the verdict of the old jeweller, and said that it was not a balass ruby, and that its value did not exceed 500 rupees. The stone having been returned to Aurangzeb, he compelled the merchant who had sold it to take it back and return the money he had received.' (Tavernier, II, 100-101).

The story is corroborated by Bernier in the following passage: 'During a festival of this kind [a royal anniversary] *Aureng-Zebe* having paid a visit to *Jafer-kan*, ["Umdat-ul-Mulk" Ja'far KHān], not as his *Vizir* but as a kinsman, on the pretext that he wished to see a house which he lately erected, the *Vizir* made a present to the King of gold coins to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns, some handsome pearls, and a ruby, which was estimated at forty thousand crowns, but which *Chah-Jehan*, who understood better than any man the value of every kind of precious stone, discovered to be worth less than five hundred, to the great confusion of the principal jewellers, who in this instance had been completely deceived' (P. 271-72).

Now we can proceed to tabulate the information obtained so far:

11. There is here a mistake on one side or the other; a cipher should either be added to the rupees or subtracted from the livres.' (P. 100 f.n. 2).

RUBIES WHICH ENTERED THE MUGHAL TREASURY
JAHANGIR'S REIGN

No.	Description	Weight of Cut Stone	Price	Authorities
1.	Presented by Jahāngīr to Prince Parwīz (<i>Jumādā</i> I, I R. Y.).		Rs. 25,000	<i>Tūzūk</i> , 37; R. & B., I, 77
2.	Presented to Jahāngīr by "Mirza Husain" (II R. Y.).		Rs. 100	" 56; " " I, 118
3.	Ruby Ring in one piece sent to Jahāngīr by Murtaẓā KHān from Gujarāt. Of good colour, substance and water.	37 <i>ratīs</i>	Rs. 25,000	" 63; " " I, 132
4.	Ruby sent by same.	59 <i>ratīs</i>	" "	" " " " I, 133
5.	Offered by Asaf KHān to Jahāngīr (<i>Jumādā</i> I, III R. Y.). Of beautiful colour and well-shaped.	168 <i>ratīs</i>	Rs. 60,000	Abū'l-Qāsim bought it in Cambay for Rs. 75,000. <i>Tūzūk</i> , 70; R. & B., I, 148
6.	Bestowed by Jahāngīr on Prince Parwīz (<i>Jumādā</i> II, IV R. Y.).		" "	" 75; " " I, 156.
7.	Celebrated Ruby offered by Rānā Amar Singh to Prince KHurram, and by the latter to Jahāngīr. It came originally from Rāja Māldeo.	192 <i>ratīs</i>	" "	" 140; " " I, 285-86.
8.	Qaṭṭī Ruby presented by I'timād-ud-daula to Jahāngīr (Beginning of XI R. Y.).		Rs. 22,000	" 156; " " I, 318.
9.	Ruby of the purest water and brilliance offered by Prince KHurram.		Rs. 80,000	" 157; " " I, 320.

No.	Description.	Weight of Cut Stone.	Price	Authorities
10.	Purchased by Mahābat KHān from a European and offered to Jahāngīr.	286 or 291½ <i>ratīs</i> .	Rs. 100,000	" 195; " I, 394.
11.	Fine Ruby offered by Prince SHāh Jahān to Jahāngīr (XII R. Y.). Largest in the Treasury.	456 <i>ratīs</i>	Rs. 200,000	Bought at Goa. Tūzūk, 198; R. & B., I, 399-400
12.	Ruby of one colour bestowed by Jahāngīr on Prince SHāh Jahān (XII R. Y.). Akbar's mother had presented it to Prince Salīm at the latter's birth.	221 <i>ratīs</i>	Rs. 125,000	" 202-3; " I, 409
13.	Ruby on Nūr Jahān's necklace.		Rs. 10,000	" 263; " II, 74.
14.	Ruby offered by SHāh Jahān to his royal father (XIV New Year's Day). Of good colour, water and shape.	22 <i>ratīs</i>	Rs. 40,000	" 265; " II, 78.
15.	Also a very fine <i>Qutbī</i> Ruby (on same occasion).	72 <i>ratīs</i>	" "	" " " "
16.	An engraved Ruby of Timurid family sent by SHāh 'Abbās of Persia to Jahāngīr; then bestowed by the latter on Prince SHāh Jahān. This history engraved on it in three inscriptions. Later set in the middle slab of the rail of the Peacock Throne.	288 or 312 <i>ratīs</i>	Rs. 100,000	" 325; " II, 195-96; B. N., I, ii, 80.
1.	Central Ruby of SHāh Jahān's <i>sarpech</i> . Superior in quality even to the much heavier stone, No. 11 of Jahāngīr.	288 <i>ratīs</i>	Rs. 2,00,000 or more.	B. N., II, 391.

SHAH JAHAN'S REIGN

INDIAN RUBIES WHICH NEVER ENTERED THE IMPERIAL TREASURY

No.	Description.	Weight of Cut Stone.	Price.	Authorities.
1.	A <i>Dhakdākī qutbī</i> Ruby which SHāh Jahān bestowed on Rānā Karan before Coronation (1037 A.H.).		Rs. 30,000	' <i>Amal-i-Sālih</i> , I, 220; <i>Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahān-gīrī</i> , 304; Tūzūk, 428.
2.	Ruby which belonged to the King of Bijāpur. 'It is hollowed from beneath [i.e. cut <i>en cabuchon</i>], clean, and of the first quality.'	16 4/5 Engl. car.	Rs. 49,700 (1653).	Tavernier, II, 101 and 348 (Pl. IV, Nos. 3 and 4).
3.	A Ruby of the second quality. In form an almond cabuchon, somewhat hollowed beneath, and bored near the point.	58 <i>ratīs</i> =48 18/25 Engl. car.	Rs. 50,000	A Banian merchant showed it to Tavernier at Benares. Tavernier, II, 102 and 348 (Pl. IV, No. 5).
4.	A Ring with a perfect Ruby which Tavernier presented to Nawāb Jāfar KHān.		£ 97 10s.	Tavernier, I, 114.

Some of the world's famous rubies are tabulated here to give a scale of sizes and values.

FAMOUS RUBIES (Nos. 1-7 from ruby mines near Mogok, near Mandalay, Upper Burma.).

No.	Description.	When uncut.	Weight. When cut.	Price.	Authorities.
1.	Ruby, rich in colour; was originally cushion-shaped.	37 carats	32 5/16 carats	£ 10,000	Brought to Europe in 1875. According to Streeter the finest that ever came to Europe.
2.	Ruby, a blunt drop in form.	47 carats	38 9/16 carats	£ 20,000	
3.	A colossal stone. Broken into three pieces: Two were cut and the third was sold uncut in Calcutta.	400 carats	The weights of the cut pieces: 70 carats and 45 carats.	Price of the third piece, sold uncut: 7 lakhs of rupees = £46,667.	Sold in India (1904) for 4 lacs (£26,667) Was presented in 1777 to the Czarina Catherine by Gustav III of Sweden when on a visit to St. Petersburg. Now amongst the Russian regalia. Tavernier, II, 100 and 348 (Pl. IV, No. 1).
4.	Another large stone broken into two parts.		98 carats 74 carats		
5.	A beautiful ruby, found in Tagoungnandaing Valley; perfectly clear and of splendid colour.	18 1/2 carats	11 carats	Sold for £ 7,000. Now valued at £ 10,000.	
6.	Ruby found in 1899.	77 carats			
7.	Ruby as large as a pigeon's egg.				
8.	SHZi's Ruby. Belongs to the King of Persia. 'It is of the thickness and shape of an egg, is bored through and of very high colour, beautiful and clean, with the exception of a small flaw at the side.'		192 ratīs = 161 7/25 Engl. car.		

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SAPPHIRES

Akbar

The A'in's quotation for a *yāqūt* of 4 *tānks* and 7 3/4 *surkhs*, viz., 103 3/4 jewellers' *ratīs* is Rs. 50,000 (A'in, I, 12; Blochmann, 16).

Jahāngīr

In the XII R. Y. 'Adil KHān sent to Jahāngīr a sapphire weighing 6 *tānks* and 7 *surkhs*, i.e., 151 jewellers' *ratīs*, and valued at Rs. 100,000. The Emperor says he had not seen before such a large and fine sapphire, nor one of such a beautiful and rich colour (Tūzuk, 198).

In XIII R. Y., again, on Thursday, the 17th. SHa'bān, I'ti-mād-ud-daula presented an offering of a *quṭbī* sapphire exceedingly delicate (Tūzuk, 237; R. & B., II, 23).

Aurangzeb

Tavernier saw in Aurangzeb's Treasury 'an oriental topaz [yellow sapphire (corundum)] of very high colour cut in eight panels, which weighs 6 melsals [miṣqāls], but on one side it has a small white fog within' (Tavernier, I, 318-19). This, in all probability, was the only jewel which Aurangzeb wore on his cap when he ascended the throne (Ibid., 296).

This stone is illustrated as No. 6 of Pl. IV, where the author adds that he did not see the Emperor wear any other jewel during the time he remained at his court on his last visit to India. It weighed 152 4/25 Engl. carats, and was bought at Goa for the Great Mogul for Rs. 181,000 or £20,412 10s. (Ibid., II, 102 and 348).

Bernier is probably speaking of the same stone in the following passage: 'The King appeared seated upon his throne, at the end of the great hall, in the most magnificent attire. His vest was of white and delicately flowered satin, with a silk and gold embroidery of the finest texture. The turban, of gold cloth, had an aigrette whose base was composed of diamonds of an extraordinary size and value, besides an Oriental topaz, which may be pronounced unparalleled, exhibiting a lustre like the sun' (Bernier, 268).

As we have already seen, Tavernier also saw in Aurangzeb's Treasury an oriental amethyst, i.e., a purple sapphire, strung in the middle of a chain of pearls and emeralds—a long table, weighing some 40 *ratīs* (See p. 242 below).

SAPPHIRES IN MUGHAL TREASURY
JAHANGIR'S REIGN.

No.	Description.	Weight of Cut Stone.	Price.	Authorities.
1.	Sent by 'Adil KHān to Jahāngīr (XII R.Y.). Large and fine. Of beautiful and rich colour.	151 ratīs	Rs. 100,000	Tūzūk, 198; R. & B., 1,400
2.	Quṭbī sapphire offered by I 'timād-ud-daula to Jahāngīr (XIII R. Y.) Exceedingly delicate.			" 237; " II, 23.
1.	The favourite 'Oriental Topaz' of Aurangzeb. Of very high colour. Cut in eight panels. 'Unparalleled.'	152 4/25 Engl. car.	Rs. 181,000	Bought at Goa for the Emperor. Tavernier, I, 296, 318-19; II, 102 and 348. Bernier, 268.
2.	The 'Oriental Amethyst' in the middle of Aurangzeb's chain of pearls and emeralds. A long table. 'Perfection of beauty'.	40 ratīs		Tavernier, 318.

INDIAN SAPPHIRE OUTSIDE MUGHAL TREASURY

No.	Description	Weight of Cut Stone	Price.	Authorities.
1.	A Yāqūt-i-kuḥlī (Budāyūnī) or Yāqūt-i-erzāq (Firīšta) plundered by Maḥmūd at Muttra in 409 A.H.=1018 A.C.	450 miṣqāls. (!!!) or 400 miṣqāls		Budāyūnī, <i>Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh</i> , I, 15; Engl. Transl., I, 25. Tārīkh-i-Firīšta (Nawalkishor), p. 29. The weight, whether 450 miṣqāls or 400 miṣqāls be taken as the correct tradition, is incredible. It comes to well over 2 seers or 4lb. Nor is such a stone heard of at any later time.

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FAMOUS SAPPHIRES

No.	Name or Description.	Weight. When uncut	When cut	Price.
1.	By far the most gigantic ever reported.	951 carats (cut?)		Seen in 1827 in the treasury of the King of Ava.
2.	"Rospoli." Quite flawless.	132 1/16 carats.		Two splendid rough specimens in the Jardin des Plantes collection.
3.	2 in. long and 1½ in. thick.			In possession of Duke of Devonshire.
4.	A fine cut stone, brilliant-cut above, and step-cut below, the girdle.	100 carats		In Mineral Gallery of the British Museum (Natural History).
5.	Image of Budha cut out of a single sapphire, mounted on a gold pin.			

EMERALDS

Akbar

Abū'l-Faẓl quotes Rs. 52,000 for an emerald weighing $17\frac{3}{4}$ *tānks* and 3 *surkhs*, i.e., 429 jewellers' *ratīs* (*Ā'in*, I, 12; Blochmann, 16).

Jahāngīr

Among the offerings of Ibrāhīm 'Adil KHān already spoken of was an emerald. 'Although it is from a new mine,' says Jahāngīr, 'it is of such a beautiful colour and delicacy as I have never before seen' (*Tūzuk*, 198; R. & B., I, 400).

Aurangzeb

Tavernier saw in Aurangzeb's Treasury a chain of 'pearls and emeralds, round and bored. All the pearls are round,' he says, 'and of diverse waters, and from 10 to 12 *ratīs* each in weight.' In the middle of this chain there was 'an oriental amethyst [i.e., a purple sapphire], a long table, weighing about 40 *ratīs*, and the perfection of beauty' (Tavernier, I, 318).

In the middle of the chain of rubies already spoken of (under Rubies) there was a large emerald of the "old rock", cut into a rectangle, and of high colour, but with many flaws. It weighed about 30 *ratīs* (*Ibid.*).

EMERALDS IN THE MUGHAL TREASURY
JAHĀNGĪR'S REIGN.

No.	Description.	Weight of Cut Stone.	Price.	Authorities.
1.	Sent by 'Adil KHān to Jahāngīr (XII R. Y.). Fine and of good colour.	AURANGZEB'S REIGN. 30 <i>ratīs</i> .		<i>Tūzuk</i> , 198; R. & B., I, 400.
1.	Large Emerald of the 'old rock'. Cut into a rectangle. Of high colour, but with many flaws.			Tavernier, I, 318.

FAMOUS EMERALDS

No.	Description.	Weight		Price.	Remarks.
		When uncut	When cut.		
1-5.	Five choice stones (the so-called Spanish or Peruvian emeralds) presented by Cortez to his bride. These stones had been worked to divers fantastic shapes.				Lost in 1529, when Cortez was shipwrecked.
6.	Largest single crystal known to exist at present. Diameter, 2 in., length, about the same. Of good colour, but badly flawed.		1347 carats		In possession of the Duke of Devonshire. Exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851.
7.	A fine, though much smaller, crystal, but of even better colour. Widest cross-diameter, 1 1/8 in.; length, same.		156 1/2 carats		In Mineral Gallery of the British Museum (Natural History).
8.	Finest cut emerald.		30 carats.		Belonged to the Czar of Russia.
9.	Small but perfect and flawless, faceted emerald. Set in a gold hoop.				In British Museum (Natural History). See Illustration in Smith, <i>Gem-stones</i> , Pl. I, fig. 5.

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TOPAZ

Jahāñgīr

Among the presents offered by Mir Jamāl'ud-Dīn Ḥusain early in XI regnal year was 'a jewelled dagger which had been made under his superintendence. On its hilt was a yellow ruby [*yāqūt-i-zard*, really a topaz] exceeding clear and bright, in size equal to half a hen's egg. I had never before seen so large and beautiful a yellow ruby. Along with it were [set] other rubies of approved colour and old emeralds. Brokers [*muqayyimān*] valued it (the dagger) at 50,000 rupees' (*Tūzūk*, 155-56; R. & B., I, 317-18).

TOPAZ IN MUGHAL TREASURY
JAHANGIR'S REIGN

Description	Weight of Cut Stone.	Price	Authorities.
Topaz set on the hilt of a dagger offered to Jahāngir by Mir Jamāl-ud-Dīn Husain (XI R.Y.). Bright and large and beautiful: in size equal to half a hen's egg.		The dagger worth Rs. 50,000	<i>Tūzuk</i> , 155-56; R. & B., I, 317-18.

FAMOUS TOPAZ

Name.	Weight. When uncut	When cut	Price.	Remarks.
"Braganza"	1680 carats			In the Portuguese regalia. Supposed to be a diamond but probably a white topaz, says Mr. Smith (p. 170). The <i>New Standard Dictionary</i> treats it as a diamond; and the <i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i> article apparently counts it as a topaz.

IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE GREATER MUGHALS 249

PEARLS

Akbar

The standard price given in *Ā'in* is Rs. 50,000 for a pearl weighing 5 *tānks*, which means 120 jewellers' *ratis* (*Ā'in*, I, 12; Blochmann, 16).

Jahāngir

We have already seen (p. 228 above) that Jahāngir presented a necklace consisting of four rubies and one hundred pearls to Prince Parwīz (I R. Y.).

Again, a ruby and two single pearls valued at about Rs. 40,000 were bestowed on Prince *KH*urram in IV R. Y. (p. 229 above).

Some five months later, *KH*ān *Khānān* sent to Jahāngir a ruby and two pearls of the value of about Rs. 20,000 (*ibid.*).

On the New Year's Day of V R. Y. *KH*ān-i-A'zam offered a pearl worth Rs. 4,000 (*Tūzuk*, 79; R. & B., I, 165).

Here is a good example of a gift of low-priced pearls on a large scale: 'As I had made a rule', says Jahāngir, 'that they should bring before me after two watches of the night had passed the dervishes and necessitous people who had collected in the illustrious palace, this year also after the same manner I bestowed on the dervishes with my own hand and in my own presence 55,000 rupees and 190,000 *bighas* of land, with fourteen entire villages, and twenty-six ploughs, and 11,000 *kharwār*¹² (ass-loads) of rice; I presented as well 732 pearls, of the value of 36,000 rupees, to the servants who by way of loyalty had bored their ears' (*Tūzuk*, 136-37; R. & B., I, 279).

We have also already learnt (p. 230 above) that among Dayānat *KH*ān's offerings (XI R. Y.) there were two pearl rosaries and six large pearls, though their price is not separately marked.

The next day I'timād-ud-Daula offered, among other things, two pearls worth Rs. 30,000 (*Ibid.*).

12. A *KH*arwār, lit., an ass-load, was a weight equal to 100 Tabrizi maunds or nearly 700 lb. English.

The story has already been narrated of a grand pearl worth Rs. 20,000 which Muqarrab KHān had procured for Jahāngīr, and for which Prince KHurram found a match in an old *sarpech* of Akbar's time. We need only refer here to p. 231 above.

Among 'Ādil KHān's offerings came (XII R. Y.) two pearls, one weighing 64 or 65 *surkhs* and valued at Rs. 25,000, and another weighing 16 *surkhs*, very round and fine, valued at Rs. 12,000 (*Tūzuk*, 198; R. & B., I, 400).

We have already noticed (p. 232 above) how on a hunting expedition to Amānābād Nūr Jahān broke her necklace and lost a ruby worth Rs. 10,000 and a pearl worth Rs. 1,000.

Among the offerings brought forth by Prince SHāh Jahān on the XIV New Year's Feast were six pearls: one of these, which SHāh Jahān's agents had bought in Gujarāt for Rs. 25,000, weighed 1 *tānk* and 8 *surkhs*, or 32 *ratis*; while the other five were altogether worth Rs. 33,000 (*Tūzuk*, 265; R. & B., II, 78).

John Company's servants once bought some pearls at a total cost of £ 1521 17s. On being brought to Jahāngīr's court, they were rejected by Āṣaf KHān. They were then offered to Muqarrab KHān, but were 'disgraced in the Kings presence by Assuff Can, as being his *refuzalls*' (*English Factories*, 1618—21, p. 9). After having been unsuccessfully offered to many people, they were finally sold in June, 1618, to Āṣaf KHān for Rs. 8,092—at considerable loss (Roe, 450, f. n. 1). Sir Thomas Roe takes them to task for such ruinous dealings. He exhorts them either to buy cheaper or to invoice their goods right. The ambassador assures them that at the prices scheduled by him, a yearly sale to the value of £50,000 ready money is possible, if pearls of good weight and beauty were chosen; and, further, that a trade of similar volume could be driven in precious stones, if bought according to his specifications (Roe, 450).

SHāh Jahān

In the passage quoted at length from 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd's *Bādshāhnāma* (p. 233 above) we have already seen that SHāh Jahān's celebrated *sar-pech* (turban ornament) comprised besides five rubies twenty-four large pearls. The best and the largest of these, we were told, was of the shape of a guava, weighed 47 *ratis*, and was valued at Rs. 50,000.

Next to this *sarpech* came the *tasbīḥ* on which there were thirty pearls and five rubies—total value, 8 lakhs of rupees (*Ibid.*).

The two other *tasbīḥs* already referred to comprised 125 pearls. These rosaries, which contained pearls and coloured *yāqūts*, were priced at 20 lakhs; and the central pearl of each was valued at Rs. 40,000, and weighed 32 *ratis* (*Ibid.*).

SHāh Jahān sent one lakh of rupees through Mīr Ibrāhīm Ṣaf-darkhānī to Madīna, to be paid to Imām Qulī KHān, who had been shamefully ill-treated by his younger brother, Naẓr Muḥammad KHān of Tūrān, and who was now visiting the Holy places. Imām Qulī KHān, it so happened, died at Madīna before Mīr Ibrāhīm reached there. The latter thought it best under the circumstances to invest the money in purchases; so he bought from 'Alī Pāshā, governor of Laḥsā, a guava-shaped pearl weighing 43 *surkhs* for Rs. 30,000, besides some arab horses.

On 21 *Ramaẓān*, 1054 A.H., Ibrāhīm Ṣafdar KHānī came back to Court and waited on the Emperor. The pearl was approved and placed on the famous *sar-pech*, the price being fixed at 40,000 rupees (B. N., II, 390-91).

We have it in the *Bādshāhnāma* that on the occasion of Jahān Ārā's recovery from a long illness lasting 8 months and 8 days, a feast of rejoicing was held from the 5th to the 12th of *SHawwāl*, 1054 A. H., the bath of recovery taking place on the last day of *Ramaẓān*. On the opening day of the feast the Emperor bestowed on her 130 unbored pearls for a *dast-band* (bracelet), the value totalling 5 lakhs of rupees (B.N., II, 396-397).

Aurangzeb

Tavernier has a long note on pearls he found in Aurangzeb's Jewel Treasury: When inspecting it he saw 'two grand pear-shaped pearls, one weighing about 70 *ratis*, a little flattened on both sides, and of beautiful water and good form. Also a pearl button, which might weigh from 55 to 60 *ratis*, of good form and good water. Also a round pearl of great perfection, a little flat on one side, which weighs 56 *ratis*. I ascertained this to be the precise weight,' he continues 'and that Shāh Abbās II, King of Persia, sent it as a present to the Great Mogul. Also three other round pearls, each of 25 to 28 *ratis*, or thereabouts, but their water tends to yellow. Also a perfectly round pearl of 36½ *ratis*, of a lively white, and perfect in every respect. It is the only jewel which Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, has himself purchased on account of its beauty, for the rest either came to him from Dārā Shikoh, his eldest brother, he having appropriated them after he had caused his head to be cut off, or they were presents made to him after he ascended the throne. I have

elsewhere remarked that the Emperor has no great regard for jewels, priding himself only on being a great zealot of the law of Muhammad.

'Akil KHān also placed in my hands, for he allowed me to examine all at my ease, two other pearls, perfectly round and equal, each of which weighed $25\frac{1}{4}$ ratis. One is slightly yellow, but the other is of a very lively water, and the most beautiful that can be seen. It is true, as I have elsewhere said, that the Prince of Arabia, who has taken Maskat from the Portuguese, possesses a pearl which surpasses in beauty all others in the world; for it is perfectly round, and so white and lively that it looks as though it was transparent, but it only weighs 14 carats. There is not a single monarch in Asia who has not asked the Prince of Arabia to sell him this pearl. Also two chains, one of pearls and rubies of different shapes pierced like the pearls; the other of pearls and emeralds, round and bored. All the pearls are round and of diverse waters, and from 10 to 12 ratis each in weight. In the middle of the chain of rubies there is a large emerald of the "old-rock," cut into a rectangle, and of high colour, but with many flaws. It weighs about 30 ratis. In the middle of the chain of emeralds there is an oriental amethyst [purple sapphire], a long table, weighing about 40 ratis, and the perfection of beauty' (Tavernier, I, 317-18).

Corresponding to the Illustration No. 4, Pl. V, we have the following letterpress :

'No. 4 is the figure of a large pearl perfect both as regards its water and its form which is like that of an olive. It is in the middle of a chain of emeralds and rubies that the Great Mogul sometimes wears round his neck, and it hangs down to his waist' (Tavernier, II, 103).

Now Tavernier, in the long passage quoted above, speaks no doubt of a chain of pearls and rubies, and of another chain of pearls and emeralds, but he has spoken nowhere of one of emeralds and rubies. Nor is it likely that here he is speaking of a third chain; for he himself tells us in letterpress to No. 5 just below¹³ that it is customary to place a pearl between two rubies or between two emeralds—which is corroborated by the arrangement of the two chains already spoken of. The truth of the matter is

13. See next quotation.

that Tavernier is pleasant easy-chair reading, but once you prick the bubble everything goes to pieces. It appears it wasn't Tavernier's practice to turn back to what he had once written, to compare or to verify. Consistency, we have noticed again and again, is a minor virtue with him.

The following letterpress corresponds to Illustration No. 5 on Plate V :

'As a round pearl of perfect form, this is the largest I know of, and it belongs to the Great Mogul. Its equal has never been found, for which reason the Great Mogul has not worn it, but has left it with other jewels which are unmounted. For if a match for it had been found, the pair might have been used as ear pendants, and each of the two pearls would have been placed between two rubies or two emeralds, in conformity with the custom of the country, every one, rich or poor, in proportion to his means, wearing in each ear a pearl set between two coloured stones' (Tavernier, II, 103-4).

Is this one of the single pearls mentioned by Tavernier in his inspection note, or had he forgotten all about this important pearl? In any case no cross reference is given to facilitate identification; and we can only make guesses.

The largest pearl Tavernier saw at the Mughal court was the one which, he says, 'is suspended from the neck of a peacock made of precious stones, and rests on the breast, and this peacock surmounts the throne'. This pearl is illustrated in Tavernier, Pl. V, No. 2 (Tavernier, II, 103).

In the following passage Tavernier speaks of a grand bouquet of nine large pear-shaped pearls, which he presented to Aurangzeb, and goes on to narrate at length the story of the sale of a pear-shaped pearl of 55 Florentine (or $52\frac{1}{2}$ English) carats, which Ja'far KHān tried in vain to buy, and which was finally sold to SHā'ista KHān at a considerable rebate :

'When I arrived at Jahānābād, one of them [*i.e.*, the two Persians, *viz.*, Nawāb 'Aqil KHān "Mīr 'Askari" and Mīrzā Mu'azzam, and the Banian, Nihāl CHānd] came and told me that he had the Emperor's order to see what I brought, before I would be permitted to exhibit it in his presence. They sincerely wished that the Emperor was not at Jahānābād, because they would have tried to buy all that I had for themselves, in order to profit by reselling it to the Emperor, and to the Princes when the opportunity should

occur—this, nevertheless, they had never been able to induce me to do.

On the following day all three came to see me, one after the other, and they wished to get from me amongst other things a grand bouquet of nine large pear-shaped pearls, the largest of which weighed thirty carats and the least sixteen, with another single pear-shaped pearl of fifty-five carats. As for the bouquet, the Emperor took it; but with regard to the pearl, seeing that, notwithstanding all that they could say, I was unwilling to sell them anything, they so managed that before I had shown my jewels to the Emperor Ja'far KHān, his uncle saw it, after which he did not wish to return it, saying that he would pay me as high a price for it as the Emperor, asking me not to mention it; for in fact he desired to present it to the Emperor.

After the Emperor had selected from among my jewels those which he desired, Ja'far KHān bought several pieces from me, and at the same time purchased the great pearl. Some days afterwards he caused me to be paid the amount agreed upon, with the exception of the pearl, upon which he desired me to rebate 10,000 rupees. The two Persians and the Banian had maliciously informed him that on my arrival they might, if they had wished, have had the pearl for 8,000 or 10,000 less than I had sold it to him for; this was wholly untrue, and Ja'far KHān having told me that if I would not accept the money which he offered me I might take it back, I took him at his word, assuring him that he would never see it again during his life. I kept to my word, and remained firm in my resolve.

Having then started for Bengal [*i.e.*, Tavernier having then started for Bengal], these three inspectors of jewels, incensed with spite, and urged on, no doubt, by Ja'far KHān, who was anxious to take his revenge for my refusal, wrote to Shāista Khān that I was taking some jewels to show to him, and among others a very beautiful pearl which I had sold to Ja'far Khān; but that he had returned it to me when he ascertained that I was trying to make him pay 10,000 rupees more than it was worth. They wrote similarly regarding the other jewels which I carried, and it was upon these false and malicious advices, which Shāista Khān did not receive till after he had delivered to me my bill of exchange, that the Prince wished to deduct 20,000 rupees from the total sum; this was reduced finally to a rebate of 10,000 rupees, with which I was obliged to content myself (Tavernier, I, 112-13).

The author informs us in another place (II, 89) that this pearl 'of well-formed pear shape, and of fine water' came from the pearl fishery of the Margarita island. The pearls found there, he says, surpass the others in perfection, both as regards water and size.

This pearl is illustrated as No. 3, Pl. V, where, however, the water is described as 'somewhat dead'—by no means a solitary example of the author's short memory and slipshod manner. It is the largest pearl, he adds, which has ever been taken from Europe to Asia (II, 103).

A few more stories of pearls which never entered the Mughal Treasury to our knowledge are nevertheless interesting. Some or all of these may have found their way eventually into the Imperial Treasury.

Tavernier went to meet Mir Jumla at Gandikota, and paid a preliminary visit to him on September 3, 1652.

'On the 4th,' he says, 'we again visited the Nawāb, and showed him the jewels which we hoped to sell to the King. They consisted of some pear-shaped pearls of a weight, beauty, and size which were unusual—the least exceeding 24 carats. After having examined them well, and shown them to a number of nobles who were present with him, he asked us the price; which having heard, he returned them to us, and at the same time said he would consider it' (Tavernier, I, 229).

Elsewhere Tavernier narrates the story of a 'large pearl of good water, but badly shaped', which SHā'ista KHān had once refused to buy from him. The nobleman asked for it again. Tavernier's report of the transaction is as follows:

'After I had handed it to him, "Say no more about it", said he. "In a word, how much do you want for this pearl?" I asked him 7,000 rupees for it, and it is true that rather than carry it back to France I would have taken 3,000. "If I give you", he replied, "5,000 rupees for this pearl, you will be well repaid for the loss which you say you have sustained on the golden rupees. Come to-morrow and I shall pay you 5,000 rupees. I wish you to leave contented, and you shall have in addition a khil'at and a horse." I then made him a bow, and besought him to give me a young horse, fit for work, as I had a long journey to make. Accordingly, on the following day, I received as he had promised, the robe, mantle, two waistbands, and the turban, which constitute, as I have elsewhere described, the complete suit which these princes are accustomed to

bestow upon those whom they desire to honour' (Tavernier, I, 17-18).

The Editor guesses that this pearl was the chief of the pearls Tavernier showed to Mir Jumla at Gandikota.

Once in the hands of SHā'ista KHān, it may subsequently have found its way into the Imperial collection.

Tavernier has the following story of a pearl belonging to the 'Prince of Muscat': 'This Prince,' he says, 'possesses the most beautiful pearl in the world, not by reason of its size, for it only weighs 12 1/16 carats, nor on account of its perfect roundness; but because it is so clear and so transparent that you can almost see the light through it. As the Gulf opposite Hormuz is scarcely 12 leagues wide from Arabia Felix to the coast of Persia, and the Arabs were at peace with the Persians, the Prince of Muscat came to visit the KHān of Hormuz, who entertained him with magnificence, and invited the English, Dutch, and some other Franks, in which number I was included, to the festival. At the close of the feast the Prince took this pearl out of a small purse which he carried suspended from his neck and showed it to the KHān and the rest of the company. The KHān wished to buy it, to present to the King of Persia, and offered up to 2,000 tomāns [about £6,900], but the Prince was unwilling to part with it. Since then I crossed the sea with a Banian merchant whom the Great Mogul was sending to this Prince to offer him 40,000 écus [£9,000] for this pearl; but he refused to accept that sum' (Tavernier, II, 87).

A footnote by the Editor supplements this information as follows: 'The account in the *Persian Travels* is that the pearl belonged to the Amīr of Vodana, who showed it to M. Constant and our author at Hormuz; it was perfectly round and transparent, and weighed 17 'abbās, or 14 7/8 carats, the 'abbās being equal to 7/8 of a carat. On behalf of the Governor of Surat, the latter, on a subsequent occasion, offered 60,000 rupees, say £6,750, to the owner for it, but he refused to sell it (*Persian Travels*, bk. ii, ch. ix.).' (P. 86, f.n. 1). We can only add that the discrepancies are irreconcilable and thoroughly characteristic of the author.

PEARLS IN THE IMPERIAL TREASURY
AKBAR'S REIGN

No.	Description	Weight	Price	Remarks and Authorities
	Model Pearl in Akbar's Treasury.	120 ratīs.	Rs. 50,000.	<u>Ā'in</u> , I, 12; Blochmann, 16.
1.	Offered by " <u>KHān-i-A'zam</u> " to Jahāngīr (V New Year's Day).		Rs. 4,000.	<u>Tūzūk</u> , 79; R. & B., I, 165.
2.	732 pearls distributed by Jahāngīr among his loyal servants.		Rs. 36,000 for 732 pearls.	" 136-37; R. & B., I, 279.
3.	Two pearls offered by 'Imād-ud-Daula (XI R. Y.).		Rs. 30,000 for both.	" 156; " " , I, 318-19.
4.	Grand Pearl procured by Muqarrab <u>KHān</u> for Jahāngīr.		Rs. 20,000.	Another to match it found in Akbar's <i>sarpech</i> . <u>Tūzūk</u> , 158; R. & B., I, 322.
5.	'Adil <u>KHān</u> 's offerings (XII R. Y.): One Pearl.	64 ratīs.	Rs. 25,000.	" 198; " " I, 400.
6.	Another Pearl. Very round and fine.	16 ratīs.	Rs. 12,000.	" " " "
7.	Pearl on Nūr Jahān's Necklace.		Rs. 1,000.	" 263; " " II, 74.
8.	Prince <u>SHāh Jahān</u> 's offerings (XIV New Year's Feast): One Pearl.	32 ratīs.	Rs. 25,000.	Bought in Gujarāt. } <u>Tūzūk</u> , 265; R. & B., II, 78.
9.	Five other Pearls.		Rs. 33,000 for all the five pearls.	

SHAH JAHAN'S REIGN

No.	Description	Weight	Price	Remarks and Authorities
1.	The best and the largest Pearl on <u>SHah</u> Jahan's famous <i>surpech</i> . Of the shape of a guava.	47 <i>ratīs</i> .	Rs. 50,000.	B. N., II, 392.
2.	The central Pearl of each of the two <i>tasbīhs</i> .	32 <i>ratīs</i> .	Rs. 40,000.	" " "
3.	Guava-shaped Pearl bought by Mir Ibrāhīm Ṣafdarḵānī at Madīna.	43 <i>ratīs</i> .	Bought for Rs. 30,000. Official price : Rs. 40,000	" " 390-91.
4.	130 unored Pearls presented by <u>SHah</u> Jahan for J. hān Arā's bracelet.		Rs. 500,000 for all the pearls.	" " 396-97.

AURANGZEB'S REIGN

No.	Description	Weight	Price	Remarks and Authorities
1.	Seen by Tavernier in Aurangzeb's Treasury : (a) Pear-shaped Pearl. A little flattened on both sides. Of beautiful water and good form.	70 <i>ratīs</i> .		Tavernier, I, 317-18.
2.	(b) A Pearl-button. Of good form and good water.	55 to 60 <i>ratīs</i> .		
3.	(c) A round Pearl of great perfection. A little flat on one side. Sent by <u>SHah</u> 'Abbās II to the Great Mogul.	56 <i>ratīs</i> .		
4.	(d) Three round Pearls. Their water tends to yellow.	25 to 28 <i>ratīs</i> each.		
5.	(e) A perfectly round Pearl. Of a lively white. Perfect in every respect. The only jewel purchased by Aurangzeb on account of its beauty.	36½ <i>ratīs</i> .		
6.	(f) Two other Pearls. Perfectly round. One slightly yellow. The other of very lively water, and most beautiful.	25¼ <i>ratīs</i> each.		

No.	Description	Weight	Price	Remarks and Authorities
7.	(g) The Pearls on the chain of pearls and rubies, and on that of pearls and emeralds. All the pearls round and of diverse waters.	10 to 12 ratis each.		Tavernier, II, 103 (Illustr. No. 4, Pl. V).
8.	Large Pearl 'in the middle of a chain of emeralds and rubies'. Perfect as regards water and form. Of the shape of an olive.			" " 103-104 (Illustr. No. 5 Pl. V). It may or may not be the same as No. 3 (c) or No. 5 (e) above.
9.	Round Pearl of perfect form. Largest in Tavernier's knowledge.			Tavernier, II, 103 (Illustr. No. 2, Pl. V).
10.	Pearl suspended from the neck of the peacock on the Peacock Throne. The largest pearl Tavernier saw at the Mughal Court.			Tavernier, I, 112.
11-12.	A grand bouquet of nine large pear-shaped Pearls offered by Tavernier to Aurangzeb. The largest of these weighed 30 Flor. carats. and the smallest 16 Flor. carats.			

INDIAN PEARLS OUTSIDE THE MUGHAL TREASURY

No.	Description	Weight	Price	Remarks and Authorities
1.	Pear-shaped Pearl of fine water which Ja'far KHān tried to buy, and SHā'ista KHān finally purchased from Tavernier.	55 Flor. car=52 4/5 Engl. car.	Probably a costly article since a rebate of Rs. 10,000 was asked on it.	Tavernier, I, 112-113, and II, 103 (Illustr. No. 3, Pl. V) and 348.
2.	Some pear-shaped Pearls of unusual weight, beauty, and size shown by Tavernier to Mir Jumla.	From 24 Flor. carats upwards.		Tavernier, I, 229.
3.	Large Pearl of good water but badly shaped, sold by Tavernier to SHā'ista KHān.			Tavernier, I, 17-18. Possibly the chief of the pearls shown by Tavernier to Mir Jumla (No. 2 above).

FAMOUS PEARLS

No.	Description	Weight	Price	
1.	Largest known pearl. Cylindrical in form, with a slight swelling at one end. Measures 2in. in length, 4½in. in circumference about the thicker, and ¾in. about the thinner, end. About three-quarters of it is white in colour with a fine 'orient', the remainder bronze in tint (Smith, 294).	454 carats.	Over £12,000	Was at one time in Henry Philip Hope's famous collection.
2.	Large pearl.	300 carats.		In Imperial crown of Emperor of Austria.
3.	Pear-shaped.			In possession of the <u>SH</u> ah of Persia.
4.	"La Pellegrina". Beautiful white Indian pearl. Perfect sphere in shape.	28 carats.		In Museum of Zosima in Moscow.
5.	"Great Southern Cross". Consists of nine large pearls naturally joined together in the shape of a cross, was discovered in an oyster fished up in 1886 off the beds of Western Australia' (Smith, 294).			
6.	Some pearls of curious shapes.			In Green Vaults at Dresden.
7.	The pearl of the Prince of Muscat. The most beautiful in the world. Round, perfectly clear and transparent.	12½16 or 14% Flor. carats.	More than £9,000.	Tavernier, II, 87; and p. 86, f.n. 1.
8.	The largest pearl of which Tavernier had knowledge. The King of Persia bought this in 1633 from an Arab who had just received it from the fisheries at Al-katif. 'It is the largest and most perfect pearl ever discovered, and it has not the least defect.'		£110,400	Tavernier, II, 103 (Illustr. No. 1, Pl. V).
9.	The biggest absolutely perfect pearl. The most superb specimen in the world. 'Although its diameter is that of a dime, the pearl is flawless, with a clear, lustrous beauty which excites wonder in all who see it' (Newspaper report, April, 1930).		\$750,000.	'Experts with the greatest knowledge of pearls say it is the biggest absolutely perfect pearl they have ever seen. It is certain there is not another like it in the whole world. It is one of nature's miracles. There are pearls in England that are bigger, but in quality cannot equal this one.'—Speech of Captain W. Llewellyn Amos, Secretary, National Jewelers' Association. It was fished by divers in the Persian Gulf, and came by way of India. Now in possession of a London firm. If all this is not mere journalistic sensationalism, this pearl ought to be among pearls what Cullinan (when whole) was among diamonds.

Editorial

INDIAN CULTURE: QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH, CALCUTTA.

WE welcome the publication of the quarterly journal, *Indian Culture*, of which the first number for July 1934 has just been issued. This is intended to be the organ of the Indian Research Institute, newly started in Calcutta, with a very useful, if somewhat extensive, programme of work. We have already received two fascicules of their projected publication on the Rîg Veda with the commentary of Sāyaṇa together with translations in English, Hindi, and Bengalee. They have also projects for the publication of a Philosophical series, an Ayurvedic series and a Fine Arts series. The journal is intended to be the organ of the institute, and has a comprehensive programme dealing with topics like "history, geography, art, archaeology, iconography, epigraphy, numismatics, religion, literature, philosophy, ethnology, anthropology, folk lore, etc.," relating to India from the earliest times to the mediaeval period. It is a very extensive programme and goes into almost every detail of what really forms the basal portion of the indigenous culture of India, or, briefly, Hindu culture. It is under the capable editorship of Professors Bhandarkar and Baruva, and Dr. B. C. Law, assisted by an advisory board of twelve representative scholars all over India. The journal starts under very good auspices. Sir Devi Prasad Sarvadhikari, the President of the Institute, in an interesting and learned foreword, draws attention to the fact that "culture is the basis and bedrock of order and orderliness", and follows it up by pointing out "ours is an humble but devoted effort to supplement the labours of this band of constant workers in keeping our vision in the forefront of intellectual and spiritual workings of the day and to keep the flag flying". He invokes the blessings of the God of Nations upon this noble effort, and we say amen with all our heart. The first issue of the journal shows a large variety of articles and miscellaneous notes. We hope the succeeding numbers will realise the promise of the first, and wish the new enterprise all success.

THE SĀṆKHYA OF MANIMĒKHALAI

IN the third part of the eighth volume of our journal, we published an article on "The Maṇimēkalai account of the

Sāṅkhya". The author tried to make out that the account showed divergence from the classical Sāṅkhya of Iśvarakṛṣṇa and some affinities with Sāṅkhya as expounded in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Charakasamhita*. With reference to a particular point, the evolution of the motor organs from the sense of touch, which seemed to be implied by the Tamil words *avarṛiṭṭi rokku-vikāramāi*, he said 'It would be interesting to know if there is any analogue to the view of the evolution of the organs of action from the skin.' It has been brought to our notice that Charaka, whose Sāṅkhya seems to figure so largely in the Maṇimēkalai, himself held a closely analogous view. According to him the sense of touch is all pervading, and all organs (not merely the motor organs) are modifications thereof (see *Sūtrasthāna*, xi, 32). The view seems to have been popular enough at one time; it is ascribed to a section of the Sāṅkhyas by Vāchaspati Miśra (see the *Bhāmati* on, II, ii, 10) and criticised much earlier by Gautama in the *Nyāya Sūtras* (III, i, 52-57). The reference to such an ancient view tends to confirm the early date we have always assigned to the Maṇimēkalai. For further information about this view of the sense of touch, reference may be made to Sinha's *Indian Psychology: Perception*.

GENERAL INDEX,

EPIGRAPHIA CARNATICA, VOLUME XIII, PART I MYSORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

By

DR. M. H. KRISHNA, M.A., D.Sc.,
Mysore Government Press.

This useful and much-needed work is quite a welcome publication, though it had taken an unconscionable length of time in the preparation. The labours of Mr. B. L. Rice, C.I.E., the Director of Archaeology, resulted in the accumulation of a very large number of inscriptions, which were published in the comparatively long period, 1886 to 1904, in twelve bulky volumes, containing the text of the inscriptions, transliterated in Roman characters, the same in the language in which they are in the original and translation in English to accompany. Each volume had been prefaced with an introduction, in which the more important inscriptions and their bearing on history were discussed elaborately. It would be readily admitted that such a volume of material requires an index as an

essential auxiliary to any research work based on this material. So early as 1904 the idea of an index in a separate volume had been entertained, but owing to changes in the Department, the work could begin only in 1908 under Rao Bahadur M. R. Narasimhachariyar, the then head of the Department. The draft was completed and sent to the press in 1917, and the work was carried out in part, the index of 376 pages going so far only up to the end of letter K. The rest will have to be published in a subsequent volume.

This is a mere index of names occurring in the inscriptions, and even as such, it is of great value. The work has been long in preparation and is quite welcome as such. It is to be hoped that the subsequent part will be issued without taking anything like the same length of time, though the unfavourable circumstances, which contributed to the delay, cannot be said altogether to have ceased to exist. Notwithstanding that, let us hope that the Mysore Government will see to issuing the other part and complete the work for the benefit of those engaged in research.

Reviews

THE INDIAN TANGLE

By

SIR ALBION RAJKUMAR BANERJI, C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Messrs. Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., London.

In this little book of 250 pages, Sir Albion Banerji, discusses the complicated problems concerning India in her struggle for political emancipation. Sir Albion has been a distinguished member of the Civil Service and has had varied experience as an administrator not only as a member of the distinguished service to which he belonged, but as the head of the administration in the Indian states of Cochin and Mysore; he also held a responsible position in Kashmir. Naturally he looks at the whole question from the point of view of an experienced administrator. In the first few chapters, he expounds the features that constitute the Indian tangle as he calls it. He finds that while standardization and uniformity are the commonly accepted principles of democracy, the bureaucracy that governs India actually does leave the people to follow their own group traditions and cultures. It is not the bureaucracy that is really responsible for this state of affairs. It is the natural consequence of conditions obtaining in India, and is but a mere continuation of the historical tradition that is perpetuated by that bureaucracy, and this must be frankly recognized before anything is attempted to be done to introduce democracy into India. Speaking of the India under the Crown, he notes that while all castes and creeds enjoy the fullest freedom under the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria, they enjoy equal protection from the Government. Notwithstanding these differences, there has been growing during this last period a spirit of nationality and a bond of union, as the various communities, while following their group traditions, still could fraternise and live in amicable relations. To a considerable extent this common feeling had been encouraged by the English education that had been imparted, and a considerable fraction of the population is educated under this system. While the caste system, as it has developed, exhibited a wonderful power of conservation, the British rule for the last 75 years has been able to superimpose upon it a certain amount of solidarity of national interests. Any attempt therefore at political reform ought

to take note of this. One peculiar feature of the group organization of India is the freedom that the various groups at differing cultural levels enjoy—the freedom to order their own destinies according to the level of culture attained by them and their convictions in consequence. The binding force of the group consciousness of India is infused by a religious sentiment which in a general way is common to all the groups. Anything therefore that interferes with religion is likely immediately to create an opposition, whether it be the one group or another that is actually affected, and that is why all radical reform movements have met with comparatively little success, because the differences in the level of culture are actually real and so varied that anything like an attempt at uniformity seems wellnigh impossible. Sir Albion says “religious sentiments and prejudices are older than civilization itself, and civilization has yet to devise a means to man’s common purpose and good.” The very possibility of that common purpose and good is a recent feature arising out of the improvement of communications which has resulted in the annihilation of distances. It would be futile to look for history supplying an example. It is not beyond possibility however to cultivate the spirit of unity in the midst of all this variety, and it may have to be done perhaps by an artificial system of education. It will not do, however, to ignore the strength of the religious sentiment even in doing this. Anything therefore that neglects this sentiment is bound to fail in India. Sir Albion looks to the youth of the country to bring about this unity. But he seems to neglect that the youth of the country has received an education in which religion or even spirituality, has had neither part nor lot, and this defect in their equipment would raise against them the most vital sentiment of the whole of the country.

Coming to the question of the relation between Great Britain and India, he discusses the question of British dominance and comes to the conclusion that it is imperative that the relationship should be one of equality, not that of British dominating over India. It is here that the question of dominion status comes in, and the attempt at explaining away its implications, or attempting to whittle down its significance is bound to have consequences which might defeat all the good that the reforms may bring. While therefore insisting on equality of status between Great Britain and India, he is frankly of opinion that the British connection should be maintained. This could hardly be done if British pledges are attempted to be explained away as has been attempted recently; a successful solution is possible, but only by frankly facing the problem of how best to

carry out the pledges honestly. Sir Albion does not think well of the Simon Commission Report which he regards as unworkable. The rising tide of nationalism cannot be stopped; and must be harnessed to bring about not merely the internal unity of India but must be made to subserve the maintenance of the good relationship between Great Britain and India. Is it possible? Will the suggested federal constitution, with responsibility at the centre, and safeguards for vested interests, bring about the much desired solution. Sir Albion feels that there is considerable reaction in the country against the Gandhi cult with its Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience; and considers that the want of spirituality in Indian politics is a positive danger. Quoting Mussolini’s statement, “fascism gives impulse and vigour to the religion of the country.” Sir Albion is of opinion that the Gandhi cult is bound to fail, because it fails to give that impulse and vigour to the religious sentiment of the Indian community. He is frankly of opinion that Mr. Gandhi should retire from politics for silence and meditation, whatever is meant by it. It is perhaps creditable to the prescience of Sir Albion that this threatens to come about.

On the question of Indian women, he calls for a reform of the system of women’s education, and, as a necessary preliminary, the removal of various social disabilities and evils to which they are liable under the present social system. He would recommend the grant of all political rights that they demand, as the privileges that they obtain are not likely to be utilised to the fullest measure for a considerable time yet. But he insists upon the satisfaction being given.

The question of 52 millions of Depressed Classes and their position under the reforms is beset with peculiar difficulties. While recognizing the existence of such divisions elsewhere, he does not minimise the peculiarity of the position of the so-called Depressed Classes; but would insist upon their economic uplift and their being persuaded into clean living before anything more drastic could be attempted.

The ruling princes according to him present a problem more intricate in character. The 600 and odd states that constitute Indian India would present problems of peculiar difficulty in an attempt to bring them under the common federation with responsible government in the federal centre. But the problem is how far the rulers of these states are willing to forego their prerogatives on

the one side, and, on the other, to what extent they are prepared to give their subjects political rights to bring them up to the level of British Indian subjects across their borders. One other great difficulty is the problem of financial adjustment between the Federal Government and the State Governments. Sir Albion finds the White Paper scheme a compromise between the Simon Commission Report and the Round Table Conference, and in consequence fails to please either the one or the other. Supporters of the Simon plan object to what is regarded as too liberal concessions, while the members of the Round Table Conference find that the White Paper constitutes a great departure from the pledges given from time to time conceding Dominion Status to India. While he would approve of the White Paper as such, he finds a serious defect in it in its not prescribing a time limit for the further grant of full responsible government. The special responsibilities of the Governors and the Governors-General, and the safeguards constitute another defect. Another very objectionable feature is the Secretary of State's retention of his personal authority in regard to the services, and the Governors and the Governor-General. He concludes, however, with the conviction that whatever the defects "every friend of India as well as the Empire should welcome and support it as a bona fide and honest attempt to solve the Indian Tangle."

He next discusses the problem of Empire Trade Relations, Ottawa Agreements, and would recommend the appointment of "an impartial tribunal consisting of Indian and British experts, and a few foreign experts from countries with which India at the present moment has a considerable amount of trade. This tribunal would investigate the whole question (of the trade relations) and suggest means and methods by which both countries may receive advantages in equal proportion as far as possible, after making such sacrifice of sentiment and material gains as may be needed to secure those advantages on a basis of absolute equality and partnership."

In a concluding chapter on "The Outlook" for India, Sir Albion sees the vision of India split into two owing to outside influences. He believes that the already decayed Hindu culture and the Hindu caste system will break up to bring about a great upheaval of the submerged classes. These external influences will act differently upon the two great minorities now, the Indian Mussalman and the uplifted Depressed Classes. One of two possible courses would be the consolidation of the Islamic power through external influences, and the formation of a Mussalman empire ultimately. On the other

side the Depressed Classes, the proletariat of India may take its inspiration from the East, from a reformed China or conquering Japan, and may become dominant in Eastern India, so that India would split up into two, a Moslem West perhaps with Delhi as its headquarters, and the national East, if perhaps it could be called the Hindu East. A new force will come into play in the Bolshevism of Russia, which, according to Sir Albion, would undergo modifications making it more adaptable to the East than to the West. In such a case the Mussalman nations would become more susceptible to Bolshevik influences than their Hindu contemporaries. He believes that Neo-Hinduism will then have a "chance of asserting itself and bringing about that harmony, which is the keynote of all Hindu conception of the Universe." He finds unity essential for India in the confusion and turmoil, factions and economic warfare in the world, and considers that the immediate needs for the attainment of this desired object are a political truce with Great Britain, an Economic Treaty with the British Empire and a great national effort to counteract the evil effects of communalism within. The first object is attainable by the surrender of British control and monopoly, leaving it optional to the provinces and the states to take as much assistance as they care to. The second could be obtained only by the maintenance of the British connection, and the grant of the right of determining economic policy by India herself for India. In regard to the last, Sir Albion is of opinion that Brahman culture has ceased to be a living force, that Hindu society has to be resuscitated. To do this, he wants all social reform to come from within, and not to be superimposed by legislation. At the same time he wants religious sentiment should be fostered in the educational system of the country, would admit of religious propaganda by each religious group with the principle of toleration and mutual regard as an essential feature. He would recommend referendum for the acceptance of the Reform Act, those that wish to stand out being given the freedom to remain out as long as they like, joining the federation whenever they wish to. He concludes the work with a clear statement of his opinion that, if this course as a whole is not adopted, the prospects of a happy and contented India as an integral part of the British Empire are indeed very gloomy, and the tendency towards disintegration will work itself out. It is hardly to be expected that on such an important and complicated question everybody could agree with Sir Albion in every detail. But his views, so clearly and carefully recorded, would undoubtedly have the consideration of all those

who are interested in the solution of the present Indian Tangle in some satisfactory fashion.

HISTORY OF BOLSHEVISM
FROM MARX TO THE FIRST FIVE YEARS' PLAN
By

ARTHUR ROSENBERG

(Translated from the German by Jan. F. D. Morrow),
Oxford University Press.

Soviet Russia has become the object of attention to all interested in social reorganization, which has become a matter of urgent importance owing to the generally prevalent world depression. Soviet Russia is quoted as an example for the successful solution of the great difficulty on the one side, and is held up as a warning against the easy-going and irresponsible recommendation to launch out into a revolution to bring about a communistic system elsewhere. It is none too soon therefore that a serious, detached and impartial study of what Bolshevism really is, and how far Bolshevism Russia has actually realized the ideals of its authors. Apart from this, the establishment of Bolshevism in Russia is a new phenomenon and deserves careful study in itself. Professor Arthur Rosenberg's work provides a handbook, which would satisfy the serious student of the phenomenon.

The movement in favour of a communistic organisation of society is more or less directly the consequence of the French Revolution, which brought democracy into vogue in Europe. The English Revolution of 1688 and the French Revolution are similar in their ultimate aim and resulted in the introduction of government by the middle class as against government by a privileged aristocracy, whether it be feudal or other. Obviously this revolution in the establishment of one class government in place of another had left out of consideration the proletariat among the agricultural classes and the newly rising urban class of labour—the artisans engaged in various urban occupations—the direct result of the Industrial Revolution. Among those middle class intellectual who brought about this revolution, there was a body of enthusiasts who soon discovered that this middle class revolution did not result in the government of the people by the people themselves, nor was it always conducted in the interest of the people. Those that thought out the

matter carefully came to the conclusion that the middle class revolution did not achieve the ultimate result they fondly hoped for. The Holy Alliance and the emergence of the European Concert naturally produced its own reaction, and several countries in Europe which did not enjoy popular government even to the extent that England and France did, naturally looked for opportunities to bring about a more thorough-going popular government than what might well be described as parliamentary democracy, which was popular just then. This shortcoming in the achievement of the Revolution gave rise to other projects to bring about a really popular movement, which meant a social organization, both economic and political, in which such government as is necessary was to be conducted naturally by all the people and in the interest of all of them generally. The peculiar position of Germany after the Revolutionary War made Germany the homeland for the development of an extreme school of thought, which wanted complete socialisation of every productive resource and an entirely new system of distribution to be brought about, not by the middle class which showed itself to be quite as much devoted to class rule as the aristocratic classes that they overthrew. The idea therefore developed gradually that this socialisation was to be brought about by a revolution and no less than a revolution which would place the proletariat and the urban labour classes at the head of the State, and all resources of the state being in consequence harnessed to the requirements of the people as a whole and not of particular classes. The revolution in various European countries in the middle of the nineteenth century had more or less this sort of aim, although not perhaps equally clear-cut and well defined elsewhere. As this idea developed naturally, it was felt that in order to make this movement a success, it would be necessary to bring about the movement not in any one country or another, but in all the countries likely to be economically interdependent. Therefore then the idea underwent a modification and the movement took a turn for becoming international. Governments in all countries were to be so transformed and all resources to be socialised everywhere. It is these ideas that gave rise to international organisations which went by the name, the First International, the Second International and the Third International.

While the idea would be thoroughly logical, the actual putting it into effect becomes a question of resources, of successfully upsetting the existing order and of maintaining a new order that may be introduced. This practical consideration leads illogically enough to the necessity of having to establish the tyranny or autocracy of a

new power, it may be the labour power, nor could this be achieved except by a revolution perhaps a worse and more bloody revolution than the French Revolution itself. In the circumstances of Germany at the time, and, having regard even to the development of thought, Karl Marx could only formulate his theory of communism as a revolutionary movement which had for its object the establishment of a state where the whole of the economic resources of the state would be socialised so as to become equally available to all the people. This constitutes the cardinal principle of communism, and having been adopted more or less in one of the meetings of the *International* by a majority, a small majority of two, it came to be called, the opinion of the majority or Bolshevism, as opposed to a school which took different forms at different times, which made the improvement of the lot of the proletariat and the labouring classes the main object of the movement, and would be satisfied to bring it about in whatever manner was possible. This party took note of the actual difficulty of bringing about a successful revolution all round, and therefore would organise with a view to obtaining better terms for these classes. In voting they were in a minority and came to be called Mensheviks. It becomes clear therefore that the cardinal principles of Bolshevism is the complete socialisation of the economic resource of the state to be brought about by a revolution which would place the urban classes and the agricultural proletariat at the head of the State. This in general terms is the principle as enunciated by Karl Marx and the class of socialists called communists stand for this. On the face of it the bringing about of such a movement all over the world at all simultaneously, or, at any rate, within a measurable period of time seemed problematic in the extreme. The conditions, economic, social and political obtaining in various countries actually involved in the movement proved too strong in many cases for the achievement of this ideal then or ever after. So it underwent gradual changes from time to time, so that even when it was put into active operation by the bringing about of the revolution in Russia, because circumstances proved unfavourable for that revolution elsewhere even at the very commencement of the Russian Revolution, the Bolshevism that came to be introduced was something very different from the communism of Marx. Lenin found it necessary in the circumstances of Russia to modify the theory to a great extent. The establishment of a socialistic state directly as a result of the revolution was impossible. While therefore the revolution was to be brought about, the actual government had to be carried on, not by the peo-

ple as a whole, which was the ultimate object, but by an autocracy of socialist idealists of one way of thinking, that is, those that understood the ultimate object and the way of achieving it. A small body of middle class intellectuals, almost a caucus, was to be entrusted with the power, the agricultural proletariat and the urban labour was to support them while they led. Such was the state that resulted from the revolution, and, as such, the state had a chance of maintenance only when it is resolved to get rid of opposition by all means possible, so that to begin with, the Bolshevist state established an autocratic government of a few people resting on the support of the proletariat generally, and conducting the administration in the interest of the proletariat generally, and actually to the detriment of the classes in power before, and even as against socialists who differed from them in regard either to the ultimate idea or the actual method.

Professor Rosenberg takes us on from stage to stage of this progress, altogether objectively, with knowledge and a judgment which for one so directly connected with the movement for years may be regarded as remarkably impartial. He gives credit where credit is due, and points out defect of principle and of practice alike unflinchingly both in respect of men and measures. He brings the account down logically from stage to stage to the end of the first five year plan, and recognises handsomely the achievements, at the same time pointing out clearly how different the Soviet Russia of Stalin is from the communistic ideal of Marx and even of the Third International. That the communistic ideal has failed is clearly recognised, and a chapter is devoted to the exposition of socialism of the Marxian type, even as modified by Lenin, as it works in a single state. Professor Rosenberg does not shrink from pointing out that the Soviet government of Russia is nothing more than any other national government, working through a process of centralisation of resources in a far larger measure than any other state, but nonetheless nationalistic and quite as far from the international ideal of the communists as any other autocracy. Although the book brings the account down to the end of the year 1932, the very recent entry of Russia into the League of Nations, which confirms this course of development, and brings it to its logical development, it would be very interesting to compare the achievements of the Soviet state with those of the fascist Italy or of Hitlerite Germany; but the time is not yet. Professor Rosenberg has provided a very good handbook for those who wish to acquire knowledge of Bolshevism, both in its principle and as it actually works in Russia, and

we commend it to all who wish for accurate knowledge on the subject.

SĀBARA BHĀSHYA—TARKAPĀDA

With the Commentary *Bṛhati* of Prabhākara.
(Madras University Sanskrit Series.)

By publishing the *Tarkapāda* of the *Sābara Bhāshya* with its commentary by Prabhākara, the 'Bṛhati,' the Madras University has placed all lovers of Mīmāṃsa under a deep debt of gratitude. I have a deep personal interest in the *Bṛhati*; as for several months I strained my intelligence, and my eyes, over the manuscript of the work that I could procure from the Bengal Asiatic Society, when I was preparing my work on the *Prābhākara School*. It is then very gratifying to find before me an edition of the work in such a neat and inviting form as to be a consolation to fatigued eyes—and minds.

What is to be specially commended is the care that has been taken in printing the text of the original *Sābara Bhāshya* itself. We all know, to our cost, that the first Edition of the work (in the *Bibliotheca Indica*),—excellent all round,—contains some bad mistakes,—specially bad, as not noticeable by the ordinary reader. These errors have been copied by the later Editions. It is refreshing therefore to find that the learned Editors of the volume under reference have taken special care to see that those mistakes are not repeated. It may be safely affirmed that the text of *Sābara* as presented in this volume is as near perfection as it can be.

The same care has been taken with the *Bṛhati* also; but the manuscript material available for this work is so scanty that one dare not be very sure of the soundness of the text. But it cannot be denied that even here, with the material available, no better Edition could be provided. The Editor deserves our hearty congratulations.

We hope that the 3rd volume will be followed by others; manuscripts of the *Bṛhati* are available, to the middle of adhyāya VI; and there is no reason why the Editors should not go on with the work so well begun.

GANGANATHA JHA.

RANJIT SINGH

By

NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA, M.A.,
Published by the University of Calcutta
1933.
pp. xi & 216.

The author is an aspiring student who has attempted to make use of unpublished papers in the Imperial Records Department in order to throw some additional light on the career and achievement of the great Sikh ruler, Ranjit Singh. He avoids getting into details about the personal and court surroundings that could convey no lofty ideas. Ranjit Singh's tussle with his mother-in-law, Sada Kour, and his successful absorption of the Manjha misls were both effected by means of weapons of intrigue and of the sowing of discord. The conclusion is that in all his conquests he depended more on diplomacy than on force; but he was more unscrupulous than cruel. According to a contemporary shrewd traveller, Baron Hugel "Never perhaps was so large an empire founded by one with so little of criminality." The same observant writer has remarked that the fate of the empire after his death never occasioned Ranjit Singh even a moment's anxiety. Mr. Sinha discusses the importance of the acquisition of Sindh to Ranjit Singh, as it would have enabled him to open communications with other countries free from British control. He is charged with having shown inert helplessness in the last decade of his life in the matter of his relations with the British power. He was convinced that a struggle with the English was inevitable; and, towards the close of his life, he attempted to be on friendly terms with the Nepalese. He was anxious also to anticipate any exclusive plans that the British Government might have formed in regard to Afghanistan. Not that he ever wanted to conquer that country, or was more than partially successful with the tribes beyond the Indus. Perhaps he dreamed of establishing a balance of power against the British Government which feared that a continual contact between Lahore and Nepal might be followed by other states attempting to establish relations with these two.

Ranjit Singh's rule was that of a popular military autocracy which however was based on, and was passively helped by an armed population. The revenues were extracted to the point of straining the people, but the commerce bore the heavy taxation well enough. Mr. Sinha gives an account of the European Chiefs and

Generals whom he employed; but his reformed army became in the end an intolerable burden which brought about its own ruin and that of the State. After dealing with his chief advisers and favourites, the author discusses the significance of his hero's career and concludes that he was a supreme example of an intellect without a conscience. He centralised everything in himself to such an extent that his death caused a void in which the entire structure of the government was lost. The conclusion is here made that the one great external cause of Ranjit Singh's failure is to be found in his relations with the British Government. In his alliance with the British, his power was limited on the east and on the south, and he was all hesitancy and indecision. Even had it been otherwise, it was hardly possible that Ranjit Singh could have prevailed against British Imperialism. There is an appendix giving a critical bibliography of Persian and English sources of Ranjit Singh's history, and also of the relevant parliamentary papers and of the Punjab Government Records.

C. S. S.

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA.

(1526-1761)

PART I.

By

S. R. SHARMA, M.A.,

WITH PREFACE

By

REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A.,

(Karnatak Printing Press, 318-A, Thakurdwar, Bombay.)

pp. x and 352)

This text book is intended for the average college student whom it attempts to familiarise with the sources of information. In our judgments on the achievements of the Mughal Emperors, we are warned not to take an absolute stand, but to judge from contemporary and truly historical perspectives, and take into account also contemporary standards of political morality and governmental rectitude prevailing in Europe and elsewhere. This is indeed a very desirable caution and should perforce be supplemented by a sober and impartial weighing of all available sources of information before any judgment is formed.

We appreciate the author's method of presentation in which extracts from original sources are largely given. They are strung fairly near to one another on the thread of the author's narrative. Supplementary notes and references are given at the foot of each page in which additional information and more recondite sources are given. The financial breakdown of Mughal dominion came even in the lifetime of Baber; and his successor Humayun had to suffer from the additional factors of revolution, intrigue and lack of continuity of effort proceeding from his dilettante character. But even he had to set himself to devise means of improving the administration and planned to separate the Empire into several great divisions, each one of them with a local capital and a Board of Administration for directing affairs. The Emperor was to give the Empire unity as a whole, visiting each part with a large imperial army under his own immediate command.

The interregnum of the Sur dynasty proved fortunate for the restored Mughal Empire, as the latter profited from the structure of administrative machinery which the genius of Sher Shah built up. Too much credence is placed on the flattering account of the Afghan monarch given by his enthusiastic biographer, Abbas Khan Sarwani. Nor is the caution sufficiently stressed that even Sher Shah's career is but the lot of the successful soldier of fortune in a time of great disorder and anarchy. Sher Shah is compared by our author with Frederick William I of Prussia in the matter of his military organisation and civil administration, Kautilya and Machiavelli and even Asoka are drawn into the comparison. Finally he is judged to be a combination of Baber and Frederick the Great of Prussia. Estimates of modern writers about Sher Shah's capacity are also given. Hemu who tried to prevent the second conquest of the Mughals is perhaps not given that full tribute for talent and capacity that is his due. With reference to Akbar whose restoration of the Mughal Empire is dealt with at length, we get an elaborate use of the principal Persian historians and Jesuit sources. The empire is depicted as trying to achieve the ideas and aims of a benevolent autocracy, acting through bureaucratic machinery. The description of the central and provincial administrations, and the working of the revenue and military departments is supplemented by a sketch of the social and religious reforms effected by the Emperor. The genesis of his reform was neither sudden nor abnormal; it can be explained very rationally, to a large extent, by the spiritual and religious awakening in India proceeding intensively at the time. Opinions about the Great

Emperor embodied in well-known works of recent times are given at the end. Each chapter of the book has got a supplementary note on the original and secondary sources bearing on it, as well as a genealogy of the principal personages mentioned therein. The effort to make the student acquainted with the sources is perhaps the most distinct contribution of this book. There is a plate of coins of the Mughal Empire the key to which has been kindly furnished by Professor B. L. Verma who has already given us a note on the Persian records in the Poona Daftar in the *Selections* that have been published under the editorship of Mr. G. S. Sardesai.

C. S. S.

MODERN INDIA
A COMPARATIVE SURVEY.

EDITED BY

SIR JOHN CUMMING, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Oxford University Press, London.

Pages VII to 304.

This book is a symposium. It does not profess to be a regular history of the country, nor to be an attempt at the solution of problems of current interest. It puts forward views, some of which are not acceptable to the Nationalistic school of Indian thought, but are nevertheless supportable by arguments and facts of a kind. Thus we are told that the main lines of cleavage in Modern India are not so much racial or linguistic as religious. Is it true to maintain that movements at social reform are, at every turn, confronted with the difficulty that the social system is based on, and permeated by religion? Perhaps, it would be truer to say that all our social features are seen through a colouring which appears to be entirely religious to foreign observers. Sir William Barton, one of the contributors, hopes that the Indian Princes will constitute a dominant element, and their states will become a dominant factor in a reasoned settlement of the political problems, which now occupy the Indian stage. He is apprehensive that the position of the Frontier will not improve when the control of a Federal Government is substituted for that of the British Indian Government. The British Government has not succeeded in assimilating the Pathans of the Frontier with the Punjab, and in giving their political aims and ideals a definitely Indian tinge. Therefore the Federal Government cannot succeed in this task, where the British

Government has failed. He would also want a radical alteration of policy as regards our Trans-border relations. As the mass of the people in the tribal areas cannot be left indefinitely in the air but should be made to converge somewhere, they should, for the peace of India, be drawn towards Delhi, lest they should run down to Kabul. Perhaps their differing nationalism might prove too much of an insoluble element for the coming Government. But the making of the attempt should be regarded as one of its primary duties.

Sir William Marris who was so helpful in the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme, writes about the machinery of the Indian Government. He describes the Indian administration of the period almost up to the introduction of the Reforms of 1909 as having been only a huge civil or non-military autocracy, in which however, control was less rigid in practice than in theory, and loosened at each successive link of the chain of development. The legitimate duties of the Government towards the people are more social than before, and take in much of activity that would be comprehended in the scope of State Socialism. Sir William says that the framers of the Reforms Scheme of 1919 were more cautious and less logical in their dealings with the Central Government. He would urge that thoughtful Indians should manifest towards the British Services a far greater measure of friendship and good-will than had been shown to them in recent years.

The Army in India has now been largely mechanized. The attempt at Indianization has not proved very successful, while 20 percent Gurkhas in the army cannot at all be Indianised.

Mr. O'Malley describes the various higher services of the Government, and gives naturally enough, the Indian Civil Service the pride of place among them, both because of its past history and also on account of its present position.

The Editor who writes the chapter on Law and Order, gives an abundant measure of praise to the Police who have sustained their morale through crises which would have demoralised any other force; and he would institute a very favourable comparison between the body of Indian Police and that of the U.S.A., where the obstacles to effective administration, though similar to those in India, have not been effectively surmounted. As regards the Indian educational system, it is pointed out by Sir Philip Hartog that the greatest danger ahead of us is a certain Chauvinism and

an undue absorption in the glories of the past ; and he would urge that young Indian leaders in the educational field should always look forward and never backward. The progress of scientific investigation, the linguistic survey, and other scientific service of the Government are noticed. The fear is felt and expressed in the book that political changes might be increasingly injurious to the proper assessment of the land revenue and that, in this respect, the future Government will allow the incidence of land revenue to vary inversely with the political influence of the assesses. Famine and Famine Relief, irrigation projects, the construction of railways, and like matters have been justly made subjects of pride among the achievements of British rule in the country. The plea put forward that the ordinary calculations of the incidence of taxation upon the individual citizen and of the weight lying upon him should not be judged in the same manner which is followed in other countries ; and we are told that the onus of proving that the Indian taxation is a crushing load rests upon those who assert it. The salt-tax is regarded as more suitable than any other which could be imposed in its place. The consumption of opium is said to have decreased and this is looked on with a smug satisfaction.

Lastly, Mrs. Vera Anstey examines the fundamental causes of poverty in India and tries to remove the misconceptions that are prevalent with regard to the financial policy of the Government. She concludes that the primary causes of India's poverty are to be found in spheres other than purely economic, the outstanding factors being the population problem and the influence of social stratification.

C. S. S.

POLITICAL INDIA

1832-1932.

EDITED BY

SIR JOHN CUMMING, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Oxford University Press, (Humphrey Milford), London.

1932.

Pages, VIII and 324.

This book is intended to be complementary to the co-operative survey of the main features of India at the present day which was published under the editorship of Sir John Cumming in the pre-

vious year. That book dealt with the country, the machinery of government, the problems of education, art and culture, and the various other problems of social, economic and cultural betterment of the people. The present book is an attempt at the tracing of political life in India in the recent past, and at the understanding of the trend of affairs that has resulted in the labours of the Simon Commission and the Round Table Conference. The late Viceroy, Lord Irwin, now Viscount Halifax, writes the first chapter in which he traces the change in the essential character of the administration of the country since the transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown. He states that, for a long time from 1858, the administration remained essentially an autocracy, though continually tempered by the introduction of institutions and principles of popular control and representative government. These new principles should, in his opinion, be linked up closely with the general realisation of responsible self-government throughout the Empire. He views with self-satisfaction the contribution of the British people towards the realization of this progressive evolution, and declares that one should not fall into the error of expecting too much enthusiasm for, or response to, it from the people of India ; and while agreeing that the Indian National Congress was, in its genesis, the outcome of co-operation between the British and the Indian elements, he would give credit to the older Indian Liberal school for their enlightened attempts to create the basis for a true politically organized party. Political and quasi-political organizations have, in the last two decades, unfortunately assumed communal forms ; and the stirrings of the times have brought into the political field other than purely political bodies animated by, and functioning in, an atmosphere which is non-national.

Prof. Dodwell, in tracing the course of political activities in the epoch 1832-84, has pointed out the nature of the first fruits of Macaulay's Educational Policy, and what he considers to be the root causes of how true and comprehensive reform has been over-shadowed by political agitation. John Bright, and the Indian Reform Society of which he was the Chairman, regarded that British India should not be governed from a single centre, but should be split up into a number of mutually independent governments. This was perhaps a right kind of procedure from the point of view of the then political reformer, as the introduction of reforms would have been then easier and more effective in smaller administrative units. But these reforms would have had the effect of retarding

that sense of national unity which is now cherished as, perhaps, the most valuable of the benefits conferred by the continuance of British rule. Mr. Dodwell considers that the policy of the government towards the Indian Press evidently favoured over-hasty development as in the educational field.

Prof. Rushbrook Williams traces, in what might be regarded as an impartial, though soul-less, manner, the development of the National Congress in its various phases first through the dominance of the old stalwarts like Surendranath Bannerji, Dadhabhai Naoroji, Hume, Wedderburn, and Mehta, then through stages that led to the rise of the Leftists who contrived subsequently to attain to the dominant control of the whole organization. Mr. Jones, the erstwhile Editor of the *Statesman*, analyses the elements of the Moderate Parties of the Right and the Centre, and the reasons for their separation from the Radicals and the Leftists. He is conscious, perhaps too badly conscious, of the barrenness of the results achieved by the Non-co-operation Movement. But its moral effects in chastening to some extent the minds of the Moderates and the Government also should have been stressed in a survey like his.

Sir Theodore Morison, a veteran educationist and economist, writing on the recent tendencies of the Pan-Islamic movement as affecting Indian Muhammadans, says that their activity for the last half century shows them to have pursued a fairly consistent policy which is best seen in their not having evinced much enthusiasm for popular government. Communal antagonisms, especially the differences which separate Hindus and Muslims, are regarded by Sir Hugh Macpherson being mainly confined to the urban masses and as not having touched the uneducated rural masses.

Other writers have stressed upon the subject of minority communities like the Sikhs and the Depressed Classes and upon the change in the outlook of the British planters and merchants, as well as of the Anglo-Indians, the Indian Christians and other smaller elements of the Indian population.

Prof. Coatman says that the 1919 Reforms have given rise to something like the beginning of a true Federal structure in India, in the separation of the spheres of the provincial and Central governments, and maintains that the record of both Central and Provincial Legislatures in the working of the reforms has been creditable, nay even impressive. One may be justified in not agreeing with these two verdicts, especially in view of the universal condemnation of the system of Dyarchy and the findings of the Reforms Enquiry Committee of 1925.

Sir Evan Cotton describes the place of Mahatma Gandhi as a factor in Indian politics and says that he has been hypnotized into the belief that his normal teaching has been making headway. The problems of anarchial movements in the country, of Indians over-seas and of the Indians States and their Princes in the coming Federal Scheme, are dealt with more academically than they should have been in a book like this. The solutions suggested are consequently attended with the charge of not being entirely practicable. The work of the Round Table Conference is summarised towards the end, the closing chapter leads to the pessimistic conclusion that differences of race, religion, and culture are still tenaciously clung to and retard political development, and will continue to be dominant for some time yet.

C. S. S.

BULLETIN OF MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM

EDITED BY

THE SUPERINTENDENT.

TIRUPARUTTIKUNṬAM AND ITS TEMPLES

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.,

1934, Madras Government Press, pp. VI; II and 260 and 36 plates.

The village of Tiruparuttikunṭam is situated on the outskirts of Conjeevaram, and contains two Jaina temples, one of them being in the later Pallava style, and the other and larger in the early Chola style, with a Mandapa in Vijayanagara style. The ceilings of the Mandapa and the verandah of the larger temple are adorned with paintings illustrating Jaina mythology, some of which have been made use of by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. Mr. Ramachandran, with his usual enthusiasm and pains-taking thoroughness, has shown that Tiruparuttikunṭam was identical with Jina Kānchi, and was, perhaps, a corruption of the name Sēmpor-Kunṭam by which it is known in an inscription. We have plenty of evidence showing that Jainism flourished for several centuries, side by side with Buddhism, in Kanchi and was, perhaps, the more dominant of the two religions in the early centuries of the Christian Era, and continued to be one of the principal popular faiths till after the close of the first millennium A.D. The records of the place show us that the Chola Kings did not persecute the Jainas, but, on the other hand, even helped their shrines with grants and endowments. Mr. Ramachandran explains the cause of the

continued popularity and prevalence of Jainism, as well as the reasons for the persecution of Buddhism both by Hindu Reformers and also by Jaina teachers. Among these, he mentions interpolations in the Jaina cult embodying Brahmanical ritual and absorption of Hindu mythology into their own by the Jainas. He supports this conclusion with the details explained in his treatment of the Jaina iconography and the classification of souls in which are found many instances of what might be termed Hindu influence.

The older of the two temples of Tiruparuttikunṇam is dedicated to Chandra-Prabhā, the eighth Tīrthankara and is attributed to the period of the Pallava King Paramēśvara Varman II, who built the Vaikunṭanātha Perumāḷ Temple. The later Vardhamana temple contains an inner shrine and an outer block of structures. The earliest inscription in this temple is dated 1116 A.D., and belongs to the reign of Kulottunga I; and it is taken as the basis of proving that the Ardhamandapa of this shrine was perhaps somewhat earlier. There are several Chola inscriptions of later date in various parts of this temple which contains a Maṇḍapa built by Irugappa, a general and minister of Bukka Raya II, who, according to an epigraph in its ceiling, built the hall in 1387-88 A.D. for holding musical concerts, etc. There is also a figure of Irugappa in the temple; he was a disciple of the sage Pushpasēna, who then lived in Jina-Kānchi.

After giving the architectural details of the two temples, Mr. Ramachandran proceeds to trace the religious history of Tiruparuttikunṇam, which was the chief centre for the propagation of the Digambara creed as well as the regular hierarchy of Gurus and Śiṣhyas which flourished at the place. The traditions regarding Akalaṅka who is most closely associated with Kanchi and the other great Āchāryas like Malliśēna (the author of the *Méruman-dara Puraṇa*, recently edited by Principal A. Chakravarti of Kumbhakonam), and Pushpasēna are next given. The author expects to find inscriptions and portrait-sculptures of several of these Āchāryas under their Samādhis or in the neighbourhood; and he tells us that the Pallava Chief Kopperunjinga of Śēndamangalam, who flourished in the 13th century, revered the memory of the three Jaina sages who flourished before Malliśēna. He would infer from the Kanarese Grantha inscription (No. 188 of the Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy for 1901 and situated in the base of the verandah of the Vardhamana Temple) of Krishna Deva Raya dated 1517 A.D. granting to the temple a village, first, that

Kanarese was the Court language of the Vijayanagar Kings in that period, and secondly, that the Jainas of Kānchi were in close touch with the Kanarese country.

In the earlier temple, architecture alone should serve as the main indication of the date. The later temple has got many inscriptions, some of which are of value from the historical and religious points of view. The author gives notes of such of the inscriptions as have been already published and transliterations also of the unpublished ones. He also gives us an account of the paintings preserved in the temple; those which illustrate the life-stories of Jain Tīrthankaras, Rishabha Déva and Némīnātha and the latter's cousin, Krishna, have got explanatory labels under them. There are also twenty-seven rows of paintings representing scenes from the life of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the 24th Tīrthankara; these, however, are not so elaborate and finished as those relating to Rishabhadeva. There have been examples of South Indian Jain paintings from the 7th century onwards; first, the frescoes of the ceiling of the Jain Cave at Sittanāvāsal; next, the paintings at Tirumalai, and those at Tirupattikunṇam and at Śravaṇa Belgola. The notes on the paintings given by the author on the basis of the *Śrī Purāṇa* and other works, are very detailed and elaborate. One of them describes the acquisition of Kēvala-jñāna by the first Tīrthankara, wherein the Samavasaraṇa, or heavenly pavilion, is depicted according to the descriptions in the Digambara works, as the *Śrī Purāṇa*, the *Mēru Mandara Purāṇa*, and the *Ādi Purāṇa*. Scenes from the life of Krishna, the Hindu god, who is declared to be cousin of Tīrthankara Némīnātha, are also found among the paintings; and they are much the same as those found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata*. The paintings that are found in a faded condition in the ceiling of the Sangīta Maṇḍapa, near the *bali pīṭha* are said to be earlier than the others by a century. The appendix gives tables of measurements necessary to understand the details and significance of Jaina Cosmology, classification of souls, human, sub-human, hellish, celestial, and perfect, and also an account of the different worlds of Jaina belief. There are also given the details of Jaina Iconography and of the sculptures of Tīrthankara Siddhas, of Sāsanadēvatas, of the Tīrthankaras of the future age, of the Arhats and Āchāryas, the Upādhyāyas, the Sādhus, the Prati-Vāsudēvas, Chakravartins, etc. This account of Jaina icons and images is very interesting, and puts in a compact form information that could be had only from a large number of sources otherwise.

The elaborateness of the index, the plans given of the two temples and the illustrations of their figures, the ornaments and paintings do not leave anything to be desired. The review of a book so well done and embodying conclusions, that are so carefully sustained, cannot close without a tribute of praise to the learning and careful presentation of the author.

C. S. S.

Select Contents From Oriental Journals.

Journal of the University of Bombay (History, Economics and Sociology: No. 2).—Vol. II., Part IV.

- (1) *Studies in the History of Gujarat.*—By M. S. Commissariat. Part II.

This deals with the life of Shantidas Jawahari, the great Jain magnate and Nagarneth of Ahmadabad in the 17th century based on the unpublished *Chintāmani-Praśasti*, an unpublished poem in Sanskrit verse, and on *farmans* granted by the Mughal Emperors, including three not hitherto known to exist. Some of these deal with the financial transactions between the Mughal government and Shantidas and his sons.

Three forgotten Pallava Kings.—By the Rev. H. Heras, S.J.

This paper gives an account of three Pallava kings—Naṇakkāsa, Śāntivarman and Chaṇḍaṇḍa—mentioned only in the inscriptions of the Kadambas of Banavāsi. It attempts to prove that these three Pallavas were contemporary with the Pallava Kings that ruled over Andhra Desa, during the so-called Chola *interregnum*; and they belonged to a side-branch of the family who had dispossessed the main line of their capital and were ruling from Kāñchīpura and interfering in the Kadamba Kingdom.

Development of Constitutional Ideas in the History of the Marathas.
By D. V. Kale.

This chapter of a thesis stresses on the supersession of the monarch by the Peishwa; the unconscious encouragement of the individual ambition of the Sardars; the breakdown of the Bhat hegemony and the convention cabinet of the Bhambhai. It traces the running vein of military outlook throughout Maratha history.

The State and the Individual.—By V. Pratapgiri, who stresses the idea that political obligation has its basis on sociality, and in the recognition that the state, in the ultimate, represents ourselves.

The Economic Life of an Aboriginal Tribe of Gujarat.—By B. H. Mehta, dealing with the Chodhra tribe in the Mandwi and Bardoli talukas, and in Baroda and Rajpipla States.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, July, 1934.

1. *Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan, VIII.*—By F. W. Thomas : Government and Social Conditions B. documents (4, Travel and animals ; 5, Objects and presents ; 6, Burial and mourning and other ceremonial ; 7, Medicine ; 8, Law ; 9, Writing and letters.)
2. *Iranica (II)*. By H. W. Bailey (continuation of *J. R. A. S.*, 1930—pp. 11 et seq.).
3. *The Early History of the Baghdad Boil.*—By C. Elgood. This is an essay proving the existence of the disease, cutaneous Leishmaniasis, from the time of Abū Manṣūr Hassan al-Bukhari (d. 991 A.D.) and of Avicenna, and suggesting that the Mongols carried the parasites of the sore with them through Balkh into Iraq from which it passed on to the Gulf ports by the end of the 13th century A.D.
4. *The Root 'Rap' in the Rigveda.*—By E. H. Johnston. This urges that the meaning of "whisper" cannot be attributed to *rap* and *lap* at any stage of the language and that Vedic *rap* should be divided into two roots, one used originally only in the intensive, and the other equivalent to Avestan *rap*, with the general sense 'hold to,' 'be devoted to' and 'favour'; and the independent existence of the second root had ceased to be recognised before the rise of the grammarians.
5. "Bird Script" on Ancient Chinese Swords.—By W. Perceval Yetts—one of the scripts practised in the Chin period, and also perhaps earlier, illustrated in a bronze sword of some note.
6. *Who was the author of the "Liber Introductorius in Artem Logicae Demonstrationis"?*—By H. G. Farmer who suggests that Al Farabi or, better still, Md. b. Ma 'shar al-Busti, one of the authors of the famous *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Safā, might have been the author and that Gerard of Cremona or John of Seville might have translated it into Latin.
7. *A Note on the Name of the last great Sātavāhana King.*—By D. C. Sarkar. He suggests that the name, on the basis of epigraphic evidence, was Yajña-Śātakarṇi and not Yajñasri-Śātakarṇi, the name given in the Purāṇas.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 54—No. 1.

1. *The Hashwiyya.*—By A. S. Halkin who sketches the development and doctrines of the Hashwiyya and to define the extent to which they are identifiable with the Ashāb-al-Hadith and Hanbalites and the universal condemnation of them.
2. *An Aramaic Inscription from the Janf.*—By C. C. Torrey. This record is that of the establishment of a cemetery in the Mared District of the oasis of Al Janf, for a colony of Aramæans, either antecedent to, or contemporary with, the occupation of the region by the Nabataeans ; and it is in the older Aramaic alphabet.
3. *More Old Persian Inscriptions.*—By R. G. Kent. One stands intermediate, regarding the empire of Darius, between the list of Persepolis and that of Naksh-i-Rustam ; it divides the *Saka* into three groups.
4. *The Armenian Version of I. and II. Kings.*—By H. S. German ; containing observations on the provenance and affinities of these two books in the Armenian translation which has only a few individualisms.
5. *Ras Shamra Notes II.*—By J. A. Montgomery.
6. *The Confucian Utopia.*—By Dudley Tyng ; denying the futurity of the conditions of Utopia prevailing.
7. *Three Pāippalāda Fragments.*—By Le Roy Carr Barret, dealing with three pieces of manuscript in the last page of the facsimile of the birch bark version of the Kashmirian Atharva Veda.
8. *Some Observations as to the Origin of the Babylonian Syllabary.*—By G. A. Barton. This throws some light on the problems presented by the polyphony of the Sumerian syllabary and suggests the presence of a third race (closely akin to the proto-Elamites who had invented an independent pictographic script) besides the Sumerians and the Akkadians.
9. *The Date of the 'Oriental Geography of Ibn Haukal'.*—By H. Kurdian, concluding that the book was written before 891 A.H., and not after 902 A.H.

Antiquity, a Quarterly Review of Archæology—June, 1934.

1. *The Stone Age of Palestine*.—By Dorothy A. E. Garrod. This paper describes the results of excavations carried on during six seasons in the Wadyal-Mughara (Valley of the Caves) on Mount Carmel by a Joint Expedition of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem and the American School of Pre-historic Research; and it deals with the sequence of deposits from the upper Acheulian stage onwards to the upper Natufian, the layers following each other without any hiatus, while nothing has been found elsewhere in Palestine which does not fit into this sequence.
2. *Simonides, Aeschylus and the Battle of Marathon*.—By J. L. Myres. It supports the suggestions of the identification of epigrams composed by Simonides and by Aeschylus to commemorate those Athenians who fell at Marathon, and of a competition for this epitaph.
3. *Aboriginal Rock-Carvings in Tasmania*.—By A. L. Meston. The carvings in the promontory near Devenport are said to represent Tasmanian art which was strictly utilitarian, something arising out of a belief in magic, as in the case of Melanesian religion generally.

Journal Asiatique—Tome CCXXII. No. 1., July-Sept., 1933.

1. *Trois textes Arabes d'El-Hamma de Gabes* (W. Marçais et Jelloûli Farès).
2. *Les Contes du Hûba Tarang* (S. Mohiuddin Qadri). A mystic Masnavi composed by Miyan Hûb Mohammad Cisti de Ahmadabad in 1575 A.D.
3. *L'Abbé François Nau* (Maurice Brière). A great scholar and Orientalist, 1864-1931.
4. *Melanges* (P. Masson-Oursel)—dealing with *Abhai*, *Adhai*, *Ati* and their use as prefixes.

The Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. LIV., Part I.

The Oriental Origin of Herakles.—By G. R. Levy. This paper connects the Greek Herakles with a Babylonian God, through the bridge of Luvian-Hittite culture that was associated in the western mainland of Asia Minor with the

Troy-Yortan culture. "Together with the Luvian culture, which was also the beginning of European civilisation, came Sandas destined to shed his effeminate robes and most of his divinity, to dance the Olympian foot-race among the Kouretes from Minoan Crete, in order to win rebirth as a Hellenic hero."

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XX., 1934, Part I.

1. *Some Unpublished Seals*.—By K. P. Jayaswal. These include a Maurya mould for casting *mudras* to be used probably as pass-ports; a gold signet-ring with the design of a *Makara-torana* and two pre-Guptan seals.
2. *Six Unique Silver Coins of the Sungas*.—By K. P. Jayaswal—including coins of Sumitra, son of Agnimitra, Suryamitra, Dhanadeva and Asvagosha, besides a unique coin of Agnimitra under his father, the Sēnāpathi.
3. *Unknown Pictographic Script near Ramtek*.—By Dr. G. R. Hunter.

The rock engraving of Mansar is attributed to the pre-Aryan Korkus or Gonds. Mr. Jayaswal says, it is the well-known "Shell Writing" and allied to Brahmi.

4. *The Tripod Symbol (Sthāpanāchārya of the Svetāmbara)*.—By N. C. Mehta.
5. *The Kandahā Inscription of King Narasimhadeva of Mithila (Oinwar Dynasty, dated S. 1357)*.—By K. P. Jayaswal. It gives a definite date of the ruler and a reliable date for Vidyapati.
6. *Dating in Lakshmanasena Era*.—By K. P. Jayaswal showing how the reckoning was on the basis of the era commencing in 1119-20 A.D.; and from about the time of Akbar, a lunar calculation was given to the era; and to obtain true dates of *mss*, the dates in the Lak. era have to be converted into Fasli years and thence into modern years.
7. *Mimāṃsāśāstrasarvasva and its Author*.—By Umesh Misra.
8. *The Initial Date of the Ganga Era: An Examination*.—By G. Ramdas. The paper examines the unassailability of the data put forward by Messrs. J. C. Ghosh (Indian Anti-

quary, 1932) and R. Subba Rao (J.A.H.R.S., Vol. V., part 4) regarding the Gangeya Era.

9. *The Date of the Patna Museum Plates of Raṇabhanjadeva.*—By J. C. Ghosh—suggesting that the Rāṇaka Raṇabhanja of Ubhayakhinjalimāṇḍala of this grant is, most probably, identical with Raṇasūra of Takkaṇalāḍam which was perhaps North Khinjali.

10. *The Dates of the Tirlingi and the Jirjingi Grants.*—By J. C. Ghosh.

11. *The Maukharis of Kanauj.*—By Rama Shankara Tripathi, —asserting a Kshatriya origin for the dynasty, maintaining that Kanauj was the capital of Harivarman's line and that the date given in the Haraha inscription which is fixed for V. S. 611, as the main starting point in the Maukhari chronology.

12. *On the Conventional Methods of Punishment and Disgrace in Folklore.*—By Kalipada Mitra.

13. *European Cemeteries at Balasore.*—By Kalipada Mitra.

14. *Ulūka Country.*—By J. C. Vidyalkara—identified with Kulūta, the modern Kulu, on the basis of the reading in a Nepal palm-leaf ms. of the Mahābhārata.

15. *Mount Viṣṇupada.*—By J. C. Vidyalkara—trying to locate the site in the Siwalik Hills near the Beas.

16. *Unity between the Deity and the Devotee.*—By Kalipada Mitra.

17. *The Date and Place of Sher Shah's Birth.*—By Paramatma Saran. This tries to point out errors regarding sequence and dates of events in Sher Shah's early life, that have crept into Prof. Qanungo's Biography, on an examination of Abbas Khan's account and the *Makhzan-i-Afghana*.



OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, Patna Junction, E. I. Ry.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, "The Ashrama", Luz, Myslapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Le Monde Oriental*, Kungl : Universitetets Bibliotek, Uppsala.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
20. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U. S. A.
21. *Yoga-Mimansa*, Kun'javana, Lonavla, Bombay.
22. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
23. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.
24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archaeological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).

25. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City.
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom, Aahlu*, 6, Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.
29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People*, 2, Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
32. *The Young men of India*, 5, Russell St., Calcutta.
33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
34. *The Superintendent*, Government Museum, Madras.
35. *The Federated India*, Madras.
36. 'Tarikh' Kotlah Akbar Jah, Hyderabad (Deccan).
37. *The Superintendent of Archaeology*, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
38. Verlag Der Asia Major, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr, 2.
39. *The Indian Literary Review*, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 190, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
40. *Triveni*, Editor, Y. M. I. A. Buildings, 9, Armenian Street, Madras.
41. *Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, Cathedral P. O., Madras.
42. *Journal of the Bombay University*, Senate House, Bombay.
43. *Muslim University Journal*, Muslim University, Aligarh.
44. *Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara*, Tirupati Sri Mahant's Press, 21, Anderson Street, G. T., Madras.
45. *The Karnatak Historical Research Society*, Dharwar.
46. *The Punjab University Journal*, Lahore.
47. *The U. P. Historical Society*, Lucknow.
48. *Indian Culture*, The Indian Research Institute, 55, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
49. *Bharathi*, The Bharathi Office, 7, Thambu Chetty Street, G. T., Madras.
50. *Karnataka Sahitya Parishat*, Sri Krishnarajendra Parishat Buildings, Hardinge Road, Chamarajpet, Bangalore City.

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